

ously harmed if either of the public-utility bills introduced in Congress February 6, 1935, becomes a law, as these bills are unfair, unwise, unnecessary, and discriminatory; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4316. Also, petition of F. E. Bussdieker and other citizens of Toledo, Ohio, urging Congress to pass the Townsend old-age revolving pension plan; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4317. Also, petition of J. C. Sloan and other citizens of Toledo, Ohio, urging the Government of the United States to pass a bill obligating itself to pay every citizen of said Government, whose record is free of habitual criminality and who has attained the age of 60 years, a monthly pension of \$200 until the end of his life upon the sole condition that he agree, under oath, to spend the entire amount of the pension within the confines of the United States during the current month in which it is received; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4318. Also, petition of Gertrude S. Cook and other citizens of Columbus, Ohio, stating that they will be seriously harmed if either of the public-utility bills introduced in Congress February 6, 1935, becomes a law, as these bills are unfair, unwise, unnecessary, and discriminatory; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4319. Also, petition of the Newburg Branch of the Townsend Old-Age Pensions Organization, by their president, James H. Rose, and secretary, Hugh E. Smith, Cleveland, Ohio, urging Congressman TRUAX to sign the petition to bring the McGroarty bill out of committee; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4320. By Mr. WHITE: Memorial of the Idaho State Legislature, urging the Congress of the United States to give early and favorable consideration to such legislation as will bring about the full and immediate payment of the adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4321. By Mr. WIGGLESWORTH: Petition of City Council of Brockton, Mass., urging Congress to enact legislation that will permit of the paying of workingmen's compensation to any person suffering injuries or death while working on Emergency Relief Administration projects; to the Committee on Appropriations.

4322. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Roosevelt League of the city of Cleveland, Ohio; to the Committee on Labor.

4323. Also, petition of the city of Gillespie, Ill.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4324. Also, petition of the village of Roseville, Mich.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4325. Also, petition of the city of Akron, Ohio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4326. Also, petition of La Jolla Townsend Club, La Jolla, Calif.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4327. Also, petition of the Golden Hill Townsend Club No. 53, San Diego, Calif.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4328. Also, petition of the Five Point Branch, Unemployment Council, Denver, Colo.; to the Committee on Labor.

4329. Also, petition of the Merchant Tailors Society, of the city of New York; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

4330. Also, petition of the code administrative agency of western Pennsylvania; to the Committee on Labor.

4331. Also, petition of the Idaho State Association of Bank Depositors; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

4332. By Mr. ANDREWS of New York: Petition containing 40 names protesting against enactment of the holding-company bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4333. By Mr. ANDREW of Massachusetts: Petition signed by W. J. Donais and 92 other residents of Merrimac, Mass., and vicinity, favoring the Townsend plan for old-age pensions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4334. By Mr. WITHROW: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, urging Congress to enact tariffs to protect the agricultural industry; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4335. By Mr. WOLCOTT: Petition of Mabel Evans of Akron, Mich., and 27 other resident of Tuscola County,

Mich., urging the prompt enactment of the Frazier-Lemke refinancing bill; to the Committee on Agriculture.

4336. By Mr. BERLIN: Petition of Groups Nos. 124 and 65, of the Polish National Alliance of the United States of North America, with local headquarters at East Vandergrift and New Kensington, Pa., respectively, that House Joint Resolution No. 81 or Senate Joint Resolution No. 11, directing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11 of each year as General Pulaski's Memorial Day, be enacted; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4337. Also a petition of the Council of the City of Monessen, Pa., urging that the Congress of the United States pass, and the President of the United States approve, if passed, the General Pulaski's Memorial Day resolution now pending; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE

TUESDAY, MARCH 19, 1935

(Legislative day of Wednesday, Mar. 13, 1935)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. ROBINSON, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Monday, March 18, 1935, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 5322) authorizing the President of the United States to present in the name of Congress a medal of honor to Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

REPORT OF AMERICAN WAR MOTHERS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a report, submitted pursuant to law, of the American War Mothers for the year ended October 1, 1934, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following resolution of the Senate of Puerto Rico, which was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs:

I, Enrique Gonzalez Mena, secretary of the Senate of Puerto Rico, do hereby certify that the following resolution was unanimously approved by the Senate of Puerto Rico on March 11, 1935:

"Resolution to request His Excellency the President of the United States, the Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt; the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States; the Chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions of the Senate of the United States; the Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives of the United States; the Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Harold L. Ickes, and the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington, the Honorable Santiago Iglesias, that approval be given to the legislation introduced in the Congress of the United States amending the organic act of Puerto Rico in the sense that the municipal bond issues to carry out self-liquidating projects be not charged against the borrowing capacity of the municipalities, and for other purposes

"Whereas a bill has been introduced in the Congress of the United States, providing an amendment to the effect that the bond issues of the municipalities of Puerto Rico to carry out self-liquidating projects be not charged against their borrowing capacity;

"Whereas such legislative measure, if definitely approved, would redound to the great benefit of the municipalities of Puerto Rico and would be of great use in improving the economic conditions thereof: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate of Puerto Rico, First: To request from His Excellency the President of the United States, the Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt; the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States; the Chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions of the Senate of the United States; the Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives of the United States; the Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Harold L. Ickes, and the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington, the Honorable Santiago Iglesias, the approval of the legislation introduced in the Congress of the United States amending

the organic act of Puerto Rico in the sense that the bonds issued by the municipalities to carry out self-liquidating projects should not be charged against their borrowing capacity."

For transmittal to His Excellency the President of the United States, the Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the seal of the Senate of Puerto Rico on this 12th day of March 1935.

ENRIQUE GONZALEZ MENA,
Secretary of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, memorializing Congress to enact legislation directed against mob violence and lynching, which was ordered to lie on the table.

(See joint resolution printed in full when presented today by Mr. BARBOUR, p. 3926.)

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Idaho Association of Bank Depositors, assembled at Boise, Idaho, favoring the enactment of Senate bill 1774, known as the Pope bill, providing for the abatement and refunding of all Federal taxes assessed against or paid by National and State banks since January 1, 1918, that have since then become insolvent, to be paid to the qualified receivers of such insolvent banks for distribution to the unpaid depositors thereof, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

He also laid before the Senate petitions of sundry citizens of the States of Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, praying for the enactment of old-age-pension legislation, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the City Council of San Diego; Townsend Clubs No. 4, of Long Beach, and No. 27, of San Diego, all in the State of California, and the Townsend Club of Strawberry Point, Iowa, favoring the adoption of the so-called "Townsend old-age-pension plan", which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Cleveland (Miss.) Chamber of Commerce, opposing the ratification of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Treaty, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the United Front Committee of Russian Workers in America, New York City, N. Y., protesting against the enactment of alien and sedition legislation that might tend to suppress civil rights, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by Chapter No. 4, National Veterans' Association, of Minneapolis, Minn., favoring the enactment of House bill 5173, providing a national charter for the National Veterans' Association, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by citizens of Milford, N. H., favoring the enactment of legislation, or other appropriate action, requiring that granite be used in the construction of public buildings under the public-works program, which was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the Town Council of Smithfield, R. I., and the Common Council of Naugatuck, Conn., favoring the enactment of pending legislation proclaiming October 11 in each year as General Pulaski's Memorial Day, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MALONEY presented resolutions adopted by the Common Councils of the Cities of Bristol and Naugatuck, in the State of Connecticut, favoring the enactment of pending legislation proclaiming October 11 in each year as General Pulaski's Memorial Day, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WALSH presented a resolution of the Somerville (Mass.) Board of Trade, opposing the adoption of proposed amendments of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Board of Selectmen of Wakefield, Mass., favoring removal of the transient camp under the E. R. A. from Camp Curtis Guild,

or vesting camp officials with the power to discipline offending or criminal transients sheltered at the camp, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a resolution of Revere Post, No. 61, the American Legion, of Revere, Mass., favoring the enactment of legislation providing for the immediate payment of adjusted-service certificates of World War veterans as proposed in the so-called "Vinson bill", which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a resolution of the Jeannette (Pa.) Chamber of Commerce opposing the ratification of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Treaty, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a resolution of the Board of Directors of the Somerville (Mass.) Board of Trade, protesting against the enactment of legislation to provide for the control and elimination of public-utility holding companies, operating or marketing securities, in interstate and foreign commerce, etc., which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented a letter in the nature of a petition from the Central Council of Irish County Associations, Boston, Mass., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the issuance of a postage stamp commemorating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Commodore Jack Barry of the Navy, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Senate of the State of Massachusetts, favoring the enactment of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 117) making appropriations for relief purposes, with the so-called "Hayden highway amendment" embodied therein, which were ordered to lie on the table.

(See resolutions printed in full when laid before the Senate by the Vice President on the 15th instant, p. 3689, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Mr. SHIPSTEAD presented a concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, favoring the making of an appropriation of at least \$125,000 for the use of destitute school districts in Minnesota, etc., which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

(See concurrent resolution printed in full when laid before the Senate by the Vice President on the 18th instant, p. 3798, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Mr. SHIPSTEAD also presented a concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, favoring the enactment of legislation providing that the several States may have power to tax sales and gross income arising from interstate commerce, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

(See concurrent resolution printed in full when laid before the Senate by the Vice President on the 12th instant, p. 3428, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Mr. SHIPSTEAD also presented a concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, favoring the prompt enactment of antilynching legislation, which was ordered to lie on the table.

(See concurrent resolution printed in full when laid before the Senate by the Vice President on the 12th instant, p. 3428, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Mr. BARBOUR presented the following joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, which was ordered to lie on the table:

Assembly Joint Resolution 3

Joint resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to adopt measures directed against mob violence and lynching

Whereas in many sections of the United States crimes of violence are rapidly increasing both in numbers and in seriousness; and

Whereas one of the most deplorable types of crime is the wanton destruction of human life, public and private property by mobs under so-called "lynch law"; and

Whereas such crimes strike at the very fundamentals of our constitutional rights and our system of democratic government, tending, if unchecked, to result in an absolute disregard for and defiance of duly constituted agencies charged with the protection of life and property, and with the proper enforcement of our criminal laws; and

Whereas a continual disregard of the taking of human life and the destruction of property by irresponsible individuals banded together under the influence of excitement to usurp the preroga-

tives of legal agencies devoted to the apprehension, prosecution, and punishment of criminals, can but encourage the rising tide of violence; and

Whereas a stable government can only be maintained where the courts, operating under due process of law, shall be the only agency or power permitted to deprive any citizen of his constitutional rights to life and liberty; and

Whereas we firmly believe that this unfortunate situation can be best curtailed and eradicated through the power of our Federal Government: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey—

1. That the Congress of the United States now in session be memorialized and requested to as speedily as possible adopt and pass some remedial measure, and to take such other action as may be necessary, fit, and proper to curtail as far as possible under Federal laws this growing national evil of mob violence and lynching, to the end that everyone in the United States of America may be accorded and guaranteed full protection of life, liberty, and property under our Constitution; be it further

Resolved. That copies of this joint resolution be transmitted to the Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to the Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States from the State of New Jersey.

2. This joint resolution shall take effect immediately.

Mr. BAILEY presented a joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, opposing the enactment of the so-called "Flannagan bill", relating to Government grading of tobacco, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(See joint resolution printed in full when laid before the Senate by the Vice President on the 18th instant, p. 3797, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Mr. BAILEY also presented a joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, favoring the enactment of legislation providing for the retirement of a pro rata part of the bonded indebtedness of Hyde County, N. C., in certain lands purchased by the Federal Government in that county, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

(See joint resolution printed in full when laid before the Senate by the Vice President on the 14th instant, pp. 3589-3590, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Mr. BAILEY also presented a joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, favoring the enactment of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 117) making appropriations for relief purposes, as proposed by the President of the United States, which was ordered to lie on the table.

(See joint resolution printed in full when presented by Mr. REYNOLDS on the 15th instant, pp. 3702-3703, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Mr. NORBECK presented the following concurrent resolutions of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, which were referred to the Committee on Finance:

House Concurrent Resolution 6

A concurrent resolution memorializing the Federal Government to act immediately making it possible for State legislatures now in session throughout the Union to pass old-age-pension laws to conform with the Federal law

Whereas there is a great demand on the part of the people for an old-age pension; and

Whereas President Franklin D. Roosevelt has conceded the need of such legislation; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States is now in session and has not as yet enacted such a law to provide security for the needy aged: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of South Dakota (the senate concurring), That the Seventy-fourth Congress enact without unnecessary delay an adequate old-age-pension law, to be financed by the Federal Government, or by the Federal Government and the States jointly; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each Representative and Senator from South Dakota now in Washington, D. C.

House Concurrent Resolution 7

A concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to provide for the immediate cash payment of the adjusted-service certificates

Whereas the immediate cash payment of the adjusted-service certificates will increase tremendously the purchasing power of millions of the consuming public, distributed uniformly through the Nation; and will provide relief for the holders thereof who are in dire need and distress because of the present unfortunate economic conditions; and will lighten immeasurably the burden which the cities, counties, and States are now required to carry for relief; and

Whereas the payment of said certificates will not create any additional debt, but will discharge and retire an acknowledged contract obligation of the Government: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of South Dakota (the senate concurring), That since the Government of the United States is now definitely committed to the policy of spending additional sums of money for the purpose of hastening recovery from the present economic crisis, this legislature recommends the immediate cash payment at face value of the adjusted-service certificates; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Congress of the United States, and to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of South Dakota, who are urged to continue their active support of this proposal.

INCREASED WEIGHT OF TRUCKS ON HIGHWAYS

Mr. NORBECK. For the information of the Senate, I present a letter from Mr. B. E. Hepperle, secretary of the South Dakota Railroads Association, Aberdeen, S. Dak., with resolution adopted by several boards of county commissioners in South Dakota, which I ask leave to have printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the matter was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ABERDEEN, S. DAK., March 13, 1935.

HON. PETER NORBECK,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. NORBECK: Enclosed find copy of House Concurrent Resolution No. 9 passed by our legislature which has just adjourned, also copy of resolution passed by the boards of county commissioners at their meeting which was held the 28th day of February 1935, at Pierre.

Having been present at the open meeting of the boards, I am safe in saying that they are also as much interested in regulation of interstate traffic on highways as they were in regard to the resolution they passed on the increased weight on trucks. They did not, however, pass a resolution regarding same.

Yours truly,

SOUTH DAKOTA RAILROADS ASSOCIATION,
By B. E. HEPPERLE, Secretary.

RESOLUTION BY BOARDS OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS

Be it resolved (by the county commissioners, present from the counties of Custer, Fall River, Minnehaha, Beadle, Faulk, Kingsbury, Haakon, Hand, Spink, Aurora, Lyman, Codington, Davison, Mellette, Brookings, Douglas, Butte, Jackson, Day, Pennington, Tripp, Gregory, Grant, Turner, Miner, Moody, Lake, Potter, Charles Mix, Buffalo, and Hamlin, at their meeting at the State capital at Pierre, that was held on February 28, 1935), That Senate bill no. 133, which would increase the weight of trucks, single unit to 24,000 pounds and combination of units to 30,000 pounds, should be killed in the house, in order to protect the highways of this State. Trucks are large enough now, considering private-car drivers, and other forms of transportation, on the farm roads and highways.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. BURKE, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 952) for the relief of Zelma Halverson, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 342) thereon.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 816) for the relief of Logan Mulvaney, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 343) thereon.

Mr. TRAMMELL, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 95) to provide for the carrying at reduced rates of officers and enlisted men of the military and naval forces while on leave of absence or furlough at their own expense, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 344) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 884) for the relief of Lt. Comdr. G. C. Manning, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 345) thereon.

Mr. SCHALL, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 1494) to amend an act entitled "An act authorizing the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota to submit claims to the Court of Claims", approved May 14, 1926 (44 Stat. L. 555), reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 346) thereon.

Mr. NORBECK, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 2241) to authorize an appropriation to carry out the provisions of the act of May 3, 1928

(45 Stat. L. 484), reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 347) thereon.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 829) granting 6 months' pay to Hester Hamilton, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 348) thereon.

Mr. CAREY, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 363) to increase the efficiency of the Veterinary Corps of the Regular Army, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 349) thereon.

Mr. METCALF, from the Committee on Finance, to which was referred the resolution (S. Res. 104) authorizing the United States Tariff Commission to investigate differences in the costs of production of cotton manufactures under paragraphs 903 and 904 of the Tariff Act of 1930, reported it without amendment.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

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

By Mr. McADOO:

A bill (S. 2295) for the relief of the estate of Martin J. Wade; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 2296) to reduce the interest rate on delinquent taxes; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 2297) to amend section 17, as amended, of the act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States", approved July 1, 1898; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RADCLIFFE:

A bill (S. 2298) for the relief of Sallie S. Twilley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HALE:

A bill (S. 2299) for the relief of Thomas A. Sears (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. SHIPSTEAD:

A bill (S. 2300) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Rainy River at or near Baudette, Minn.; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. WAGNER:

A bill (S. 2301) granting the consent of Congress to agreements or compacts between any two or more States with respect to the duplication and evasion of State and local tax laws; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. FLETCHER:

A bill (S. 2302) to provide for the manufacture of citrus-fruit brandy and the use of such brandy in the fortification of citrus wines, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BAILEY:

A bill (S. 2303) to amend the act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States", approved July 1, 1898, as amended and supplemented; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

A bill (S. 2304) granting a pension to Samuel Gwartney (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 2305) granting an increase of pension to Annie R. C. Owen; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TYDINGS and Mr. RADCLIFFE:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 87) authorizing the restoration and preservation of the frigate *Constellation*, and making Baltimore, Md., her home port; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

CHANGES OF REFERENCE

On motion of Mr. NEELY, the Committee on Pensions was discharged from the further consideration of the following bills, and they were each referred to the Committee on Finance:

S. 1031. A bill granting a pension to Silman G. Brogan; and

S. 2109. A bill granting a pension to Hazel Chalk.

HOME-MORTGAGE RELIEF—AMENDMENTS

Mr. ROBINSON submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 6021) to provide additional home-mortgage relief, to amend the Federal Home Loan Bank Act, the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933, and the National Housing Act, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

WORK-RELIEF PROGRAM—AMENDMENT

Mr. AUSTIN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 117) making appropriations for relief purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, as follows:

At the proper place in the bill to insert the following new section:

"Sec. —. Public projects, Federal, State, or municipal, undertaken pursuant to this joint resolution shall be selected and planned so that when completed they shall not compete with existing private enterprises."

AMENDMENT TO INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. POPE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to House bill 6223, the Interior Department appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed, as follows:

On page 68, line 18, strike out "\$80,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$100,000"; on page 68, line 19, strike out "\$499,000", insert in lieu thereof "\$669,000."

On page 69, line 8, strike out "\$110,400", insert in lieu thereof "\$210,400"; page 69, line 9, strike out "\$27,600", insert in lieu thereof "\$32,600"; page 69, line 21, strike out "\$2,500", insert in lieu thereof "\$12,000"; page 69, line 24, strike out "\$18,800", insert in lieu thereof "\$23,800"; page 69, line 25, strike out "\$128,860", insert in lieu thereof "\$288,860."

On page 70, line 15, strike out "\$3,000", insert in lieu thereof "\$6,000"; page 70, line 18, strike out "\$122,866", insert in lieu thereof "\$222,866"; page 70, line 19, strike out "\$17,500", insert in lieu thereof "\$22,500."

On page 71, line 5, strike out "\$145,450", insert in lieu thereof "\$195,450"; page 71, line 6, strike out "\$13,140", insert in lieu thereof "\$16,500"; page 71, line 15, strike out "\$67,690", insert in lieu thereof "\$87,690."

On page 72, line 10, strike out "\$262,855", insert in lieu thereof "\$275,855"; page 72, line 11, strike out "\$210,000", insert in lieu thereof "\$223,000."

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 6644, being the deficiency appropriation bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Colorado to lay aside temporarily the pending unfinished business for the purpose of considering House bill 6644, the deficiency appropriation bill?

Mr. McNARY. I have no objection to that, but it would be better, I think, to have a roll call.

Mr. ROBINSON. I thought I would suggest the absence of a quorum after the deficiency bill had been taken up for consideration.

Mr. McNARY. I prefer to have a quorum.

Mr. ROBINSON. Very well. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

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

Adams	Coolidge	King	Pope
Ashurst	Copeland	La Follette	Radcliffe
Austin	Costigan	Lewis	Reynolds
Bachman	Couzens	Logan	Robinson
Bailey	Cutting	Lonergan	Russell
Bankhead	Dickinson	McAdoo	Schall
Barbour	Dieterich	McCarran	Schwollenbach
Barkley	Donahay	McGill	Sheppard
Bilbo	Fletcher	McKellar	Shipstead
Black	Frazier	McNary	Smith
Bone	George	Maloney	Steiwer
Borah	Gerry	Metcalf	Thomas, Okla.
Brown	Gibson	Minton	Thomas, Utah
Bulkley	Glass	Moore	Townsend
Bulow	Guffey	Murphy	Trammell
Burke	Hale	Murray	Truman
Byrd	Harrison	Neely	Tydings
Byrnes	Hastings	Norbeck	Vandenberg
Capper	Hatch	Norris	Van Nuys
Carey	Hayden	Nye	Wagner
Clark	Johnson	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Connally	Keyes	Pittman	White

Mr. AUSTIN. I announce the absence of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS] because of illness, and ask that this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mrs. CARAWAY] and the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON] are absent because of illness, and that the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. DUFFY], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE], the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] are necessarily detained from the Senate. I ask that this announcement stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-eight Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS] to lay aside temporarily the pending unfinished business for the purpose of considering the deficiency appropriation bill, being House bill 6644?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 6644), making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

Mr. ADAMS. I ask unanimous consent that the formal reading of the bill may be dispensed with and that the bill be considered for amendment, the amendments of the committee to be first considered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will state the first amendment reported by the committee.

The first amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the heading "Title I—General Appropriations—Legislative", on page 2, after line 15, to insert:

Capitol building: For the purchase and installation for the committee rooms of the Senate Committee on Appropriations of complete, improved ventilation, dehumidifying air-conditioning apparatus with automatically controlled ducts and water piping for the connection of the different units of such apparatus, and for all necessary structural alterations required for such installation, including personal services, advertising, traveling, and other necessary expenses incident thereto, \$10,000, to be expended by the Architect of the Capitol without compliance with sections 3709 and 3744 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, to remain available until June 30, 1936.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Independent Offices—California-Pacific International Exposition", on page 4, line 11, after the word "That" to strike out "the allowances" and insert "expenses", and in line 12, after the word "act" to insert "shall be on a per diem allowance basis in lieu of actual expenses and"; so as to read:

For the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the public resolution entitled "Joint resolution providing for the participation of the United States in the California-Pacific International Exposition to be held at San Diego, Calif., in 1935 and 1936; authorizing an appropriation therefor; and for other purposes", approved March 7, 1935, and for each and every object thereof, and within the limits of cost specified therein, \$350,000, to remain available until June 30, 1936: *Provided*, That expenses for subsistence authorized by such act shall be on a per diem allowance basis in lieu of actual expenses and shall not exceed \$5 per day for any person.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 5, after line 7, to insert:

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

Printing and binding: For additional printing and binding, Federal Power Commission, to remain available until June 30, 1936, \$25,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 5, after line 11, to insert:

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

Not to exceed \$1,200 of the appropriation for the Federal Communications Commission for the fiscal year 1935 shall be available for the purchase of an additional tract of land containing approximately 10 acres adjacent to that now owned by the United

States at Grand Island, Nebr., and for enclosing the same, for use in connection with the constant-frequency monitoring station located at said place, as authorized by the act approved May 25, 1934 (48 Stat. 805).

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 6, to insert:

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR AERONAUTICS

The limitation under this head contained in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1935, on the maximum amount expendable for any one person for allowance for living quarters, including heat, fuel, and light, as authorized by the act approved June 26, 1930 (U. S. C., Supp. VII, title 5, sec. 118a), is hereby increased on an annual basis from \$720 to \$1,700, effective April 1, 1935.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "National Archives", on page 6, line 22, after the figures "1936" to strike out "\$458,000" and insert "\$533,000", so as to read:

Salaries and expenses: For the Archivist and for all other authorized expenditures of the National Archives in performing the duties imposed by law, including personal services; supplies and equipment; purchase and exchange of books and maps; contract stenographic reporting services; purchase of newspapers, periodicals, and press clippings; travel expenses, including not to exceed \$500 for the expenses of attendance at meetings concerned with the work of the National Archives; purchase, exchange, maintenance, and operation of motor vehicles, including not more than one passenger-carrying automobile for the official use of the National Archives; and all other necessary expenses, fiscal year 1936, \$533,000, of which not to exceed \$73,000 shall be immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 6, line 25, after the word "basis", to insert "in lieu of actual expenses", so as to make the proviso read:

Provided, That subsistence expenses payable under this appropriation shall be on a per diem allowance basis in lieu of actual expenses and shall not exceed \$5 per day for any person.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, after line 8, to insert:

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION

The limitation under this head contained in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1935, on the maximum amount expendable for any one person for allowance for living quarters, including heat, fuel, and light, as authorized by the act approved June 26, 1930 (U. S. C., Supp. VII, title 5, sec. 118a), is hereby increased on an annual basis from \$720 to \$1,700, effective April 1, 1935.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, after line 21, to insert:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

For the purchase of additional equipment for teaching commercial classes in the junior and senior high schools, to continue available until June 30, 1936, \$15,000.

For the rehabilitation of the Adams Administration Building for use as an elementary-school building for instruction purposes, to continue available until June 30, 1936, \$20,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Department of Agriculture", on page 8, after line 11, to insert:

BUREAU OF BIOLOGICAL SURVEY

Salaries and expenses (control of predatory animals and injurious rodents): For an additional amount for control of predatory animals and injurious rodents, including the same objects specified under this head in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1935, \$15,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Penal and correctional institutions", on page 11, line 22, after the figures "1936", to strike out the colon and "*Provided*, That the use of the annex by the Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, is hereby continued until otherwise provided by law", so as to read:

United States penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kans., buildings: For construction and repair of buildings, including the purchase and installation of machinery and equipment and all expenses incident thereto, to be expended so as to give the maximum amount of employment to inmates of the institution, \$65,410, to remain available until June 30, 1936.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Navy Department—Secretary's office", on page 14, after line 9, to insert:

Miscellaneous expenses: The limitation under this head contained in the Naval Appropriation Act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, on the amount which may be expended for living quarters, including heat, fuel, and light, as authorized by the act approved June 26, 1930 (U. S. C., Supp. VII, title 5, sec. 118a), is hereby increased from \$3,780 to \$5,330 and the maximum allowance on an annual basis for any one person is increased from \$450 to \$900, effective April 1, 1935.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Department of State—Foreign intercourse", on page 18, after line 13, to insert:

International Council of Scientific Unions and Associated Unions: To pay the annual share of the United States as an adhering member of the International Council of Scientific Unions and associated unions, as authorized by the act approved June 16, 1934, as follows: International Council of Scientific Unions, \$19.30; International Astronomical Union, \$617.60; International Union of Chemistry, \$675; International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics, \$2,316; International Scientific Radio Union, \$154.40; International Union of Physics, \$62.72; and International Geographical Union, \$194.66; in all, fiscal year 1935, \$4,039.68, together with such additional sums, due to increases in rates of exchange as may be necessary to pay in foreign currencies the contributions required by the statutes of each union.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 19, line 21, before the word "for" to strike out "and/or" and insert "and", so as to read:

International Monetary and Economic Conference, 1933-35, and General Disarmament Conference, Geneva, Switzerland, 1933-35: The unexpended balances of the appropriations "International Monetary and Economic Conference, 1933-35", and "General Disarmament Conference, Geneva, Switzerland, 1933-35", are hereby continued available until June 30, 1936, and are made available, in addition to the purposes for which they were appropriated, for the expenses of continued participation by the Government of the United States in the General Disarmament Conference and for participation in any naval conference which may be held under the provisions of the treaty between the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, agreeing to a limitation of naval armament, signed at Washington February 6, 1922, and of the treaty between the United States of America and other powers for the limitation and reduction of naval armament, signed at London April 22, 1930, and for any meetings or conversations in connection therewith; including personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere without reference to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended; stenographic reporting, translating, and other services by contract if deemed necessary, without regard to the provisions of section 3709 of the Revised Statutes U. S. C., title 41, sec. 5); rent; traveling expenses; purchase of necessary books, documents, newspapers, and periodicals; stationery; official cards; printing and binding; entertainment; hire, maintenance, and operation of motor-propelled, passenger-carrying vehicles; and such other expenses as may be authorized by the Secretary of State, including the reimbursement of other appropriations from which expenditures may be made for any of the purposes herein specified.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 21, after line 8, to strike out:

To Margoth Olsen von Struve (act of June 27, 1934, 18 Stat. 1465), \$5,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Treasury Department—Division of Supplies", on page 21, after line 12, to insert:

Printing and binding, Treasury Department: For an additional amount for printing and binding, Treasury Department, including the same objects specified under this head in the act making appropriations for the Treasury Department for the fiscal year 1935, \$17,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 21, after line 22, to insert:

BUREAU OF CUSTOMS

Collecting the revenue from customs: The limitation under this head contained in the Treasury Department Appropriation Act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, on the amount which may be expended for living quarters, including heat, fuel, and light, as authorized by the act approved June 26, 1930 (U. S. C., Supp. VII, title 5, sec. 118a), is hereby increased from \$35,000 to

\$50,000, and the maximum allowance on an annual basis for any one person is increased from \$720 to \$1,700, effective April 1, 1935.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 23, after line 12, to insert:

PROCUREMENT DIVISION, PUBLIC WORKS BRANCH

General expenses of public buildings: For an additional amount for general expenses of public buildings, including the same objects specified under this head in the act approved March 15, 1934, making appropriations for the Treasury Department for the fiscal year 1935, \$168,317.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 23, after line 18, to insert:

Rent of temporary quarters, public buildings: For an additional amount for rent of temporary quarters for the fiscal year 1935, including the same objects specified under this head in the Deficiency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1934, approved June 19, 1934, \$15,470.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 23, after line 23, to insert:

Furniture and furnishings for United States courthouse, New York, N. Y.: The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized, out of the lump-sum appropriations available for sites and construction of Federal buildings under the act of May 25, 1926, as amended, to expend not to exceed \$443,772 to provide the necessary furniture and furnishings for the United States courthouse, New York, N. Y., authorized by the act of March 4, 1931 (46 Stat., p. 1598), and the Director of Procurement, Treasury Department, is hereby authorized to make contracts after advertising and competitive bidding for the purchase of said furniture and furnishings and to make expenditures for services, supplies, material, and equipment, including the reconditioning of old furniture, and necessary travel and subsistence in connection with the purchase and inspection of commodities to be contracted for or purchased; and when deemed desirable or advantageous by him, the said Director of Procurement is authorized to employ by contract or otherwise, without regard to civil-service laws and regulations, such temporary outside professional or technical services as he may find necessary in furnishing those portions of the said building requiring special treatment, all within the total amount made available herein: *Provided*, That the cost of furniture and furnishings, except filing equipment in areas devoted exclusively to that purpose, shall be based upon the square-foot area of the rooms to be furnished, and shall not exceed the rates set forth herein, as follows: For district and appellate court rooms, \$1.75 per square foot; judges' private and outer offices, United States commissioners' court rooms, and the law library, \$1.50 per square foot; for all other space, \$1 per square foot.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "War Department—Military activities", on page 25, after line 15, to insert:

Finance service: The limitation under this head contained in the War Department Appropriation Act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, on the maximum amount expendable for allowances for living quarters, including heat, fuel, and light, as authorized by the act approved June 26, 1930 (U. S. C., Supp. VII, title 5, sec. 118a), is hereby increased from \$450 to \$563, effective April 1, 1935.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 26, after line 7, to insert:

Incidental expenses: The limitation under this head contained in the War Department Appropriation Act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, on the amount which may be expended for living quarters, including heat, fuel, and light, as authorized by the act approved June 26, 1930 (U. S. C., Supp. VII, title 5, sec. 118a), is hereby increased from \$9,325 to \$11,363, and the maximum allowance on an annual basis for any one person is increased from \$450 to \$900, effective April 1, 1935.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 28, line 8, after the figures "1936" and the comma, to strike out "\$165,000" and insert "\$225,000", so as to read:

United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands: For the establishment and maintenance of the office of the United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands as authorized by subsection 4 of section 7 of the act approved March 24, 1934 (48 Stat. 456), including salaries and wages; rental, furnishings, equipment, maintenance, renovation, and repair of office quarters and living quarters for the High Commissioner; supplies and equipment; purchase and exchange of law books and books of reference, periodicals, and newspapers; traveling expenses, including

for persons appointed hereunder within the United States and their families, actual expenses of travel and transportation of household effects from their homes in the United States to the Philippine Islands, utilizing Government vessels whenever practicable; purchase, operation, maintenance, and repair of motor vehicles, including not to exceed \$4,500 for the purchase of three passenger-carrying automobiles, and all other necessary expenses, fiscal year 1936, \$225,000, to be immediately available; of which amount not exceeding \$10,000 shall be available for expenditure in the discretion of the High Commissioner for maintenance of his household and such other purposes as he may deem proper.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Title II—Judgments and authorized claims—Damage claims", on page 29, line 7, after the word "in", to insert "Senate Document No. 35 and"; in line 10, after the name "Civil Works Administration", to strike out "\$3,816.10" and insert "\$4,250"; in line 14, after the name "Department of Commerce", to strike out "\$1,011.35" and insert "\$1,111.35"; in line 16, after the name "Department of Justice", to strike out "\$180.46" and insert "\$208.11"; in line 17, after the name "Navy Department", to strike out "\$818.05" and insert "\$846.55"; in line 21, after the name "War Department", to strike out "\$26,527.36" and insert "\$28,053.37"; in line 22, after the words "In all", to strike out "\$43,695.67" and insert "\$45,811.73", and in the same line, after the word "in", to strike out "such document" and insert "House Document No. 127, Seventy-fourth Congress", so as to read:

SECTION 1. For the payment of claims for damages to or losses of privately owned property adjusted and determined by the following respective departments and independent establishments under the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide for a method for the settlement of claims arising against the Government of the United States in sums not exceeding \$1,000 in any one case", approved December 28, 1922 (U. S. C., title 31, secs. 215-217), as fully set forth in Senate Document No. 35 and House Document No. 127, Seventy-fourth Congress, as follows:

Civil Works Administration, \$4,250;
Farm Credit Administration, \$50;
Veterans' Administration, \$81.30;
Department of Agriculture, \$6,699.30;
Department of Commerce, \$1,111.35;
Department of the Interior, \$2,882.66;
Department of Justice, \$208.11;
Navy Department, \$846.55;
Post Office Department (out of postal revenues), \$280.11;
Treasury Department, \$1,348.98;
War Department, \$28,053.37;

In all, \$45,811.73: *Provided*, That in House Document No. 127, Seventy-fourth Congress, the amount allowed in item 14, page 91, shall read "\$125.20" instead of "\$125", and the amount allowed in item 39, page 89, shall read "\$106.59" instead of "\$106.58."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Judgments, United States courts", on page 31, line 6, after the word "in", to insert "Senate Document No. 34 and"; in line 10, after the name "Navy Department", to strike out "\$30,161.89" and insert "\$79,978.18"; and in line 12, after the words "In all", to strike out "\$43,331.87" and insert "\$93,148.16", so as to read:

(b) For the payment of judgments, including costs of suits, rendered against the Government of the United States by United States District Courts under the provisions of an act entitled "An act authorizing suits against the United States in admiralty for damages caused by and salvage services rendered to public vessels belonging to the United States, and for other purposes", approved March 3, 1925 (U. S. C., title 46, secs. 781-789), certified to the Seventy-fourth Congress in Senate Document No. 34 and House Document No. 124, under the following departments, namely:

Department of Labor, \$2,918.38;
Navy Department, \$79,978.18;
War Department, \$10,251.60;

In all, \$93,148.16, together with such additional sum as may be necessary to pay interest, where specified in such judgments, at the rate provided by law.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Judgments, Court of Claims", on page 32, line 17, after the word "in", to insert "Senate Document No. 36 and"; in line 22, after the name "Navy Department", to strike out "\$78,315.89" and insert "\$86,814.05"; after line 23, to insert "Treasury Department, \$6,782.84"; and on page 33, line 1, after the words "in all", to strike out "\$165,803.06" and insert "\$181,084.06", so as to read:

SEC. 3. (a) For payment of the judgments rendered by the Court of Claims and reported to the Seventy-fourth Congress in Senate Document No. 36 and House Document No. 123, under the following departments and establishments, namely: Department of Commerce, \$10,360; Department of the Interior, \$3,259.17; Navy Department, \$86,814.05; Post Office Department, \$8,956.91; Treasury Department, \$6,782.84; War Department, \$64,911.09; in all, \$181,084.06, together with such additional sum as may be necessary to pay interest on certain of the judgments as and where specified in such judgments.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 44, after line 10, to insert:

(b) For the payment of the following claims, certified to be due by the General Accounting Office under appropriations the balances of which have been carried to the surplus fund under the provisions of section 5 of the act of June 20, 1874 (U. S. C., title 31, sec. 713), and under appropriations heretofore treated as permanent, being for the service of the fiscal year 1932 and prior years, unless otherwise stated, and which have been certified to Congress under section 2 of the act of July 7, 1884 (U. S. C., title 5, sec. 266), as fully set forth in Senate Document No. 37, Seventy-fourth Congress, there is appropriated as follows:

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

For Army pensions, \$31.32.
For medical and hospital services, Veterans' Bureau, \$4.50.
For salaries and expenses, Veterans' Bureau, \$1.25.
For salaries and expenses, Veterans' Administration, \$7.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

For air navigation facilities, \$638.40.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

For education, Sioux Nation, \$251.30.
For fulfilling treaties with Sioux of different tribes, including Santee Sioux of Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota, \$127.37.
For conservation of health among Indians, \$85.68.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Prohibition, \$28.08.
For detection and prosecution of crimes, \$3.
For pay of bailiffs, and so forth, United States courts, \$10.
For miscellaneous expenses, United States courts, \$300.
For fees of jurors and witnesses, United States courts, \$3.

NAVY DEPARTMENT

For pay of the Navy, \$28.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

For salaries and expenses, Bureau of Narcotics, \$1.
For pay and allowances, Coast Guard, \$1,182.86.
For freight, transportation, etc., Public Health Service, \$47.80.

WAR DEPARTMENT

For pay, etc., of the Army, \$1,105.80.
For pay of the Army, \$701.58.
For mileage of the Army, \$18.50.
For increase of compensation, Military Establishment, \$21.90.
For general appropriations, Quartermaster Corps, \$297.13.
For supplies, services, and transportation, Quartermaster Corps, \$71.40.
For arming, equipping, and training the National Guard, \$5.
For Reserve Officers' Training Corps, \$3.60.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT—POSTAL SERVICE

(Out of the postal revenues)

For railroad transportation and mail messenger service, \$45.
Total, audited claims, section 4 (b), \$5,020.47, together with such additional sum due to increases in rates of exchange as may be necessary to pay claims in the foreign currency as specified in certain of the settlements of the General Accounting Office.

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That completes the committee amendments.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I offer an amendment and call it to the attention of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS].

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 4, after line 13, it is proposed to insert the following:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA-VIRGINIA BOUNDARY COMMISSION

For the District of Columbia-Virginia Boundary Commission, including the same objects specified under this head in Public Resolution No. 3, approved February 13, 1935, \$10,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1936.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, what is the amendment? The clerk read so rapidly I could not understand it at all.

Mr. ROBINSON. It proposes an appropriation which, in effect, is designed to carry out the provisions of the House

joint resolution extending until December 1 the life of the District of Columbia-Virginia Boundary Commission.

Mr. BORAH. Very well.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Colorado if there will be another deficiency bill?

Mr. ADAMS. There will be.

Mr. COPELAND. The reason why I ask is that I have an item which I had intended to offer to the pending bill, but I do not find it on my desk. Inasmuch as there will be another deficiency bill I shall offer it to that bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. At the proper place it is proposed to insert the following:

American group of the Interparliamentary Union: In order to assist in meeting the expenses of the American group of the Interparliamentary Union during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, there is hereby appropriated the sum of \$10,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, such appropriation to be disbursed on vouchers to be approved by the President and the executive secretary of the American group.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I feel compelled to raise the point of order against the amendment because the appropriation it proposes is not authorized by committee action nor by statute.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I hope the Senator will not make the point of order. The Interparliamentary Union is an organization of members of the various parliaments of the world which meets once a year in the capital of some European country to discuss international problems. For a number of years we made a similar appropriation and no objection was heard with reference to it. It enabled the American group to send a delegation to the annual international conference. Two years ago the Congress declined to make the appropriation, and, as a result, since that time we have had practically no representation at all. It is rather unfair to expect Members of Congress to pay their own way to Europe and back on a purely public service to discuss international problems which arise in all the nations.

The coming sessions in Brussels will be in July, and one of the important questions to be discussed will be the matter of munitions and the relationship of each government to the manufacture and distribution of munitions. I have a feeling that such discussion would be very helpful to our country as well as the world in deciding what action shall be taken.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, may we have order? The Senator from Kentucky is speaking in a rather confidential way to the Senator from Colorado, and it is impossible for us to hear a word he is saying.

Mr. BARKLEY. I was seeking to persuade the Senator from Colorado not to make the point of order and therefore was directing my remarks to him. I apologize to the Senator from Oregon for depriving him of the pleasure of hearing what I was saying.

Mr. McNARY. I was unable to hear a word the Senator from Kentucky said.

Mr. BARKLEY. This is rather an insignificant appropriation.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I am here as a representative of the Committee on Appropriations. I have been instructed by that committee to do certain things. Would the Senator from Kentucky suggest that I should violate my instructions?

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not believe the Senator has any specific instructions with reference to this amendment.

Mr. ADAMS. No; but there are general instructions from the committee, formally adopted as shown by the records of the committee. I feel obligated to comply with them. If the Senator from Kentucky can absolve me in any way, I shall be willing to listen to him.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Robinson] was a delegate to the meeting last year. I should like to hear what he has to say with reference to the amendment.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I think this is a meritorious appropriation. It is essential and particularly important, in view of the conditions and circumstances which have been stated by the Senator from Kentucky. I hope the point of order will not be made.

It is helpful, as I see it, that Members of our Congress have an opportunity to participate in the Interparliamentary Union discussions, and particularly advantageous that the opportunity be afforded during the present year. The subjects matter which will be discussed have a vital bearing upon the relations between nations. The whole purpose and effect of the organization is to promote and conserve international peace. I hope the Senator from Colorado will not make the point of order.

Mr. ADAMS. I think it will be conceded that the rule of the Appropriations Committee is a thoroughly sound rule. It is not a difficult matter to secure an estimate from the Bureau of the Budget and to have the item inserted in the next deficiency appropriation bill. If we violate the rule now, the next time the question shall arise in connection with an appropriation bill it will be said that the proposed item is for a good purpose and that the rule should be violated again.

Mr. ROBINSON. I realize the difficulty under which the Senator is proceeding. With the approval of the Senator from Kentucky I ask unanimous consent that the rule be suspended and that the amendment proposed by the Senator from Kentucky be considered in order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I have no views in the matter so far as the appropriation is concerned, but if we are going to begin voiding the rules of the Senate by unanimous consent, we might as well tear the rule structure down and throw it away. For that reason I object.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is heard. Does the Senator from Colorado insist on the point of order?

Mr. ADAMS. I feel compelled to do so.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, on page 5 of the bill is a provision making an appropriation of "\$60,000,000 from unobligated balances (to be designated by the President) under allocations from the appropriation of \$525,000,000 for relief in stricken agricultural areas contained in the Emergency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1935." This is for the purpose of providing for the authorization contained in the Stock Production Loan Act which passed Congress some weeks ago.

I assume, because the language was placed in the bill by the House, that there must be \$60,000,000 available from unobligated balances, but in order to be certain I wish to ask the Senator from Colorado if he can give assurance to the effect that there does remain \$60,000,000 of unobligated balances from the \$252,000,000, so that there will be no question of the fund's being immediately available.

Mr. ADAMS. That is the information furnished to me.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the engrossment of the amendments and third reading of the bill.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

MEDAL OF HONOR FOR MAJ. GEN. ADOLPHUS WASHINGTON GREELY

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, there has passed the House of Representatives a bill authorizing the President to confer on Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely a Congressional Medal of Honor. An identical bill has been reported by the Senate committee, and is now on the calendar. It is Calendar No. 348, Senate bill 1840. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the Senate bill with a view to substituting the House bill for it.

Seventy-one years have passed since General Greely entered the Army. His service extended over a period of 47 years. His experience as a soldier, as an explorer, and as a scientist marks him as a notable and outstanding heroic citizen.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1840) authorizing the President of the United States to present in the name of Congress a medal of honor to Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely.

Mr. ROBINSON. I move that the House bill be substituted for the Senate bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Arkansas.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 5322) authorizing the President of the United States to present in the name of Congress a medal of honor to Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely, which was read twice by its title, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to present in the name of Congress, a medal of honor to Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely, United States Army, retired, for his life of splendid public service, begun on March 27, 1844, having enlisted as a private in the United States Army on July 26, 1861, and by successive promotions was commissioned as major general February 10, 1906, and retired by operation of law on his sixty-fourth birthday.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, Senate bill 1840 will be indefinitely postponed.

Mr. ROBINSON. I ask unanimous consent that the report of the Senate committee on the Senate bill be printed in the RECORD in connection with my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The report (No. 337) submitted by Mr. SHEPPARD on the calendar day of March 18 is as follows:

The Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1840) authorizing the President of the United States to present in the name of Congress a medal of honor to Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with a recommendation that it do pass.

A similar bill has been reported favorably by the House Military Affairs Committee, and has been passed by the House. The purpose of S. 1840 is to authorize the President to present in the name of Congress a medal of honor to Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely, United States Army, retired. This award is recommended because of his life of splendid public service. He enlisted as a private in the United States Army on July 26, 1861, and by successive promotions was commissioned as major general February 10, 1906. He retired by operation of law on his sixty-fourth birthday. On the 27th of this month General Greely will be 92 years of age.

The War Department has no objection to the enactment of S. 1840. Report of the Department on this measure follows:

MARCH 18, 1935.

HON. MORRIS SHEPPARD,

*Chairman Committee on Military Affairs,
United States Senate.*

DEAR SENATOR SHEPPARD: Careful consideration has been given to the bill S. 1840, a bill authorizing the President of the United States to present in the name of Congress a medal of honor to Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely, which your committee transmitted to the War Department on February 16, 1935, for a report and the views of the War Department relative thereto.

The applicable provision of existing law on this subject is contained in the act of Congress approved July 9, 1918 (40 Stat. 870-872), and reads in part as follows:

" * * * That the provisions of existing law relating to the award of medals of honor to officers, noncommissioned officers, and privates of the Army be, and they hereby are, amended so that the President is authorized to present, in the name of Congress, a medal of honor only to each person who, while an officer or enlisted man of the Army, shall hereafter, in action involving actual conflict with an enemy, distinguish himself conspicuously by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty."

The official records of the War Department show that Adolphus Washington Greely entered the military service on July 26, 1861, as private, Company B, Nineteenth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and served continuously until March 27, 1908. By successive promotions he was commissioned as major general on February 10, 1906, and was retired from active service on March 27, 1908, with the rank of major general.

The official records further show that General Greely was awarded the Purple Heart and one oak-leaf cluster on account of wounds received in action June 30, 1862, and September 17, 1862.

The records show that as first lieutenant of cavalry he commanded the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition from June 20, 1881, sailing from St. Johns, Newfoundland, July 4, until rescued by the expedition under the command of Captain Schley, United States Navy, near Cape Sabine, June 22, 1884.

In view of the distinguished service rendered by General Greely, the Department has no objection to the enactment of the proposed legislation.

Sincerely yours,

GEO. H. DERN, *Secretary of War.*

House Report No. 210, Seventy-fourth Congress, first session, reporting H. R. 5322, a bill identical to S. 1840, favorably to the House, follows:

"The Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 5322) authorizing the President of the United States to present in the name of Congress a medal of honor to Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely, having considered the same, submit the following report thereon with the recommendation that it do pass.

"The following is a statement of the military service of Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
"THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"Washington, January 28, 1935.

"STATEMENT OF THE MILITARY SERVICE OF ADOLPHUS WASHINGTON GREELY

"Born in Newburyport, Mass., March 27, 1844. Appointed from Louisiana. Private, corporal, and first sergeant, Company B, Nineteenth Massachusetts Infantry, July 26, 1861, to March 18, 1863; second lieutenant, Eighty-first United States Colored Infantry, March 18, 1863; first lieutenant, Eighty-first United States Colored Infantry, April 14, 1864; captain, Eighty-first United States Colored Infantry, March 26, 1865; honorably mustered out, March 22, 1867; second lieutenant, Thirty-sixth United States Infantry, March 7, 1867; accepted, May 20, 1867; unassigned, May 19, 1869; transferred to Fifth Cavalry, July 14, 1869; first lieutenant, Fifth Cavalry, May 27, 1873; captain, June 11, 1886; brigadier general, Chief Signal Officer, March 3, 1887; accepted, March 8, 1887; major general, February 10, 1906; accepted, February 10, 1906; retired, March 27, 1908. (By operation of law, sec. 1, act June 30, 1882.)

"VOLUNTEER RECORD

"He entered the service as a private in Company B, Nineteenth Regiment Massachusetts Infantry, July 26, 1861; was promoted corporal, May 15, 1862, and first sergeant, January 1, 1863.

"He served with his regiment in the Army of the Potomac until wounded at the Battle of Antietam, Md., September 17, 1862; was absent on account of wound to November 1862, and with his regiment to March 18, 1863, when he was mustered in as second lieutenant, Eighty-first United States Colored Troops; was promoted first lieutenant, April 26, 1864, and captain, April 4, 1865.

"He received the brevet of major of Volunteers, March 13, 1865, 'for faithful and meritorious services during the war.'

"He served with his regiment, Eighty-first United States Colored Infantry, in the Department of the Gulf (being on sick leave from Oct. 6 to Nov. 15, 1864) until his muster out of service, November 30, 1866, and was then retained in service on detached duty in New Orleans, La., to March 22, 1867, when honorably mustered out.

"REGULAR ARMY SERVICE

"He joined his company August 7, 1867, and served with it at Fort Bridger, Wyo., from August 7, 1867, to November 1867, and at Fort Douglas, Utah, to October 8, 1868; was on duty as acting signal officer, in the office of the Chief Signal Officer, Washington, D. C., to March 29, 1869, and as chief signal officer, Department of the Platte, to March 8, 1871. He joined the Fifth Cavalry, March 15, 1871, and served with it at Fort Laramie, Wyo., to July 15, 1871. He was on duty in the office of the Chief Signal Officer, Washington, D. C., from July 29, 1871, to June 19, 1881. While on this assignment he was absent on signal duty, tours of inspection, etc., as follows: February 17 to November 19, 1873; December 1, 1873, to August 25, 1874; September 28 to December 2, 1874; December 3, 1874, to March 13, 1875; in charge of military telegraph line, Denison, Tex., March 26, 1875, to May 24, 1876, and on leave of absence to November 24, 1876; February 5, 1877, to January 1878; at St. Paul, Minn., and Bismarck, Dakota Territory, June 6, 1878, to January 6, 1879. He commanded the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition from June 20, 1881, sailing from St. Johns, Newfoundland, July 4, until rescued by the expedition under the command of Captain Schley, United States Navy, near Cape Sabine, June 22, 1884; landed at St. Johns, Newfoundland, July 17, 1884; on temporary duty at Portsmouth, N. H., August 1 to October 6, 1884, and was on sick leave to November 22, 1884, when he returned to duty in the office, Chief Signal Officer, Washington, D. C., where he served until December 13, 1886; in charge of the office of the Chief Signal Officer, to March 7, 1887; Chief Signal Officer and in charge of War Department library, March 8, 1887, to February 10, 1906, being on various occasions on detached service abroad. He visited Cuba, March 25 to April 11, 1899; attended a meeting of the National Geographic Society at Berlin, Germany, September 14 to October 14, 1899; in the Philippine Islands, Japan, England, and France on special service, May 24 to November 7, 1901; Alaska, in connection with Alaska cable, June 27 to August 15, 1902; in London, England, attending International Telegraphic Congress, May 12 to June 14, 1903; Berlin, Germany, conference on wireless telegraphy, July 22 to August 29, 1903; in Alaska and Ottawa, Canada, June 14 to August 15, 1904; Berlin, Germany, on public business, August 20 to September 7, 1904.

"He was frequently on detached service to various points in the United States in connection with the duties of his office, the

installation of electrical equipment for the use of the Army, and the laying of cables.

"Following his appointment as a major general he was on special duty in the office of the Chief of Staff to February 13, 1906; commanding the Division of the Pacific, March 9, 1906, to (temporarily commanding the Department of Columbia, July 24 to Aug. 3, 1906, and the Department of California, July 26 to Aug. 2, 1906) August 7, 1906; on leave of absence to September 9, 1906; commanding the Northern Division at St. Louis, Mo., from September 16, 1906, to (temporarily commanding Department of Dakota, Sept. 16 to Oct. 2, 1906; Department of Missouri, Oct. 3-29, 1906; Department of Missouri, Dec. 5, 1906, to May 21 1907) November 13, 1906. He was in charge of the relief work of the Army following the San Francisco earthquake after April 22, 1906. He was in command of the Northern Division, Chicago, Ill., to July 7, 1907; Vancouver Barracks, Wash., commanding Department of Columbia, to December 10, 1907; St. Paul, Minn., commanding the Department of Dakota, December 11-24, 1907; on leave of absence from December 25, 1907, to the date of his retirement.

"He was designated to represent the War Department to assist His Excellency John Hays Hammond, Ambassador Extraordinary, at the coronation of King George V of England, in June 1911.

"General Greely was awarded the Purple Heart with oak-leaf cluster on account of wounds received in action June 30, 1862, at Battle of Glendale, Va., and September 17, 1862, at Battle of Antietam, Md., while serving as a corporal, Company B, Nineteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. Silver coronation medal of Great Britain, 1911.

"General Greely is still on the retired list of the Army. Latest address, 3131 O Street NW., Washington, D. C.

"By authority of the Secretary of War.

"[SEAL]

JAMES F. MCKINLEY,

"Major General,

"The Adjutant General."

The following, concerning Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely, is taken from *Who's Who in America, 1934-35*, volume 18:

"Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely, United States Army; born Newburyport, Mass., March 27, 1844; son of John Balch and Frances (Cobb) Greely; graduated Newburyport High School, 1860; married Henrietta H. S. Nesmith, June 20, 1878; children—Antoinette, Adola, John Nesmith, Rose Isabel, Adolphus W., Gertrude Gale. Served in Civil War, 1861-65, private to captain, and received the brevet of major of volunteers (thrice wounded); appointed second lieutenant Thirty-sixth United States Infantry, March 7, 1867; first lieutenant, Fifth Cavalry, May 27, 1873; captain, June 11, 1886; brigadier general, Chief Signal Officer, United States Army, March 3, 1887; major general, February 10, 1906. First volunteer private soldier of Civil War to reach grade of brigadier general, United States Army. Constructed 2,000 miles military telegraph in Texas, Dakota, and Montana, 1876-79; in pursuance of recommendation of Hamburg International Geographical Congress (1879) was placed, 1881, in command of United States expedition to establish 1 of a chain of 13 circumpolar stations, his party of 25 reached farther north (83°24') than any previous record; discovered new land north of Greenland and crossed Grinnell Land to the Polar Sea; two relief expeditions failed to reach the party, which retreated south to Cape Sabine, where relief still failing, the party largely perished of starvation, only seven survivors being found by third expedition under Capt. Winfield S. Schley.

"During military operations abroad (1898-1902) there were built and operated under his direction 1,000 miles of telegraph in Puerto Rico, 3,800 miles in Cuba, 250 miles in China, and 13,500 miles of lines and cables in Philippine Islands; installed system of 3,900 miles of telegraph lines, submarine cables, and wireless in Alaska, 1900, 1904, the wireless section of 107 miles, from Nome to St. Michael, being the first successful long-distance wireless operated regularly as part of a commercial system. Member of board to regulate wireless telegraphy in United States, 1904; member of board to report on coast defenses of United States, 1905; United States delegate to International Telegraph Conference, London, 1903, and International Wireless Telegraph Conference, Berlin, 1903. Commanding Pacific Division and in charge relief operations, San Francisco earthquake sufferers, April-August, 1906; commanding Northern Division, 1906. Department Columbia, 1907; retired by operation of law, 1908. Gold medalist, Royal, American, and French Geographic Societies.

"Author of *Isothermal Lines of the United States, 1881; Chronological List of Auroras, 1881; Diurnal Fluctuations of Barometric Pressure, 1891; Three Years of Arctic Service, two volumes, 1885; Proceedings of Lady Franklin Bay Expedition, 1888; American Weather, 1890; American Explorers, 1894; Handbook of Arctic Discoveries, 1896; Rainfall of Western States and Territories, 1888; Climate of Oregon and Washington, 1889; Climate of Nebraska, 1890; Climatology of Arid Region, 1891; Climate of Texas, 1891; Public Documents First Fourteen Congresses of United States, 1900; Handbook of Polar Discoveries, 1909; Handbook of Alaska, 1925; True Tales of Arctic Heroism, 1912; Reminiscences of Travel and Adventure, 1927; Polar Regions in Twentieth Century, 1928; Representative United States of America at Coronation of George V of England, 1911.*

"Address, Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C."

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF A JOINT RESOLUTION

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of

his secretaries, who also announced that on March 15, 1935, the President had approved and signed the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 46) authorizing and directing the Federal Communications Commission to investigate and report on the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., and on all other companies engaged directly or indirectly in telephone communication in interstate commerce, including all companies related to any of these companies through a holding-company structure or otherwise.

VETERANS' REGULATIONS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Finance:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of section 20, title I, of the act entitled "An act to maintain the credit of the United States Government", approved March 20, 1933, I am transmitting herewith Executive Orders No. 6989 (Veterans' Regulation No. 1 (g)), No. 6990 (Veterans' Regulation No. 2 (d)), No. 6991 (Veterans' Regulation No. 6 (d)), and No. 6992 (Veterans' Regulation No. 10 (e)), approved by me March 19, 1935.

Executive Order No. 6989 amends Executive Order No. 6156 (Veterans' Regulation No. 1 (a)), approved by me June 6, 1933; Executive Order No. 6990 amends Executive Order No. 6230 (Veterans' Regulation No. 2 (a)), approved by me July 28, 1933; Executive Order No. 6991 amends Executive Order No. 6232 (Veterans' Regulation No. 6 (a)), approved by me July 28, 1933; and Executive Order No. 6992 amends Executive Order No. 6098 (Veterans' Regulation No. 10), approved by me March 31, 1933.

These regulations were promulgated in accordance with the terms of title I of Public, No. 2 (73d Cong.), "An act to maintain the credit of the United States Government", approved March 20, 1933.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, March 19, 1935.

WORK-RELIEF PROGRAM

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 117) making appropriations for relief purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The pending amendment is the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS], which will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 7, it is proposed to strike out "1937, the sum of \$4,000,000,000" and insert "1936, the sum of \$2,000,000,000."

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I have on the desk an amendment to reduce the amount of this appropriation from \$4,000,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000, which, if adopted, will make available a total of \$1,880,000,000. I offer it as an amendment to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS] and ask that it may be stated.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment of the Senator from Virginia to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. In the amendment offered by Mr. ADAMS, it is proposed to strike out "\$2,000,000,000" and to insert in lieu thereof "\$1,000,000,000."

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I have another amendment pending which may not be in order at this time; but, as I desire to discuss both amendments, if the request is in order, I should like to have the clerk state the other amendment which I have on the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 25, after the word "resolution", in the committee amendment, it is proposed to insert a colon and the following:

Provided further, That no part of the funds herein appropriated shall be expended for the administrative expenses of any department, bureau, board, commission, or independent agency of the Government if such administrative expenses are ordinarily financed from annual appropriations.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, a week or so ago the Senate adopted a resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury for certain information with respect to the expenditures made under the \$3,300,000,000 Public Works Appropriation Act, which became operative on June 16, 1933.

As we are considering another large appropriation bill for the construction of public works, I think it would be very advisable at this time for the Senate to examine carefully the method by which the first appropriation has been expended and also to analyze the results of a beneficial character that have come from the expenditure of the money.

In this resolution the Senate asked the Secretary of the Treasury to state the unexpended balance now in the Treasury of the \$3,300,000,000 appropriated by the Public Works Act. The reply to that inquiry, together with the balance of the resolution, is here; and it shows that there is \$1,116,000,000 still unexpended of the appropriation which was made nearly 18 months ago.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator repeat his statement? What was the amount?

Mr. BYRD. One billion one hundred and sixteen million dollars of that appropriation is still unexpended; but in addition to that the report discloses that there are about \$400,000,000 of other unexpended appropriations devoted to public works, so that the total amount now available for public works in the Treasury for expenditure is approximately \$1,500,000,000; and as that money is spent it is natural to assume that unemployment will be relieved.

Mr. President, it was generally assumed that by reason of this large unexpended balance delay occurred on what are known as "non-Federal projects"; in other words, the projects whereby the Federal Government made grants to the States, municipalities, and to other subdivisions. This report, however, discloses that \$657,000,000 is unspent on Federal projects, and \$460,000,000 is unspent on non-Federal projects.

Mr. President, I think this report discloses some very interesting things that the Senate of the United States and the people of the country should carefully consider. I shall now call the attention of the Senate to what I regard as unwarranted diversion from this \$3,300,000,000 appropriation bill which the Congress of the United States thought and the people thought would be primarily devoted to the construction of public works and otherwise to relieve the unemployment in this country.

In calling attention to these matters, I do not charge that these diversions are illegal, because I am not a lawyer, and cannot pass on that question. I do not charge that the expenditures are fraudulent. I do say, however, that the Congress of the United States did not know that such diversions would be made from the fund carried by this appropriation bill; and I further call the attention of the Senate to the fact that by reason of such diversions from emergency appropriations to the ordinary administrative expenses of our Government, we are completely destroying the Federal Budget system.

Mr. President, as Governor of Virginia I became greatly impressed with the necessity of a budget system. For the purpose of economical administration of the affairs of a State or of a nation it is necessary to have a budget system whereby estimates are made by the budget commission or director; those recommendations are submitted to the committees of the legislative body, and the legislative body acts upon them.

Frankly, I can see some justification for a blanket appropriation given to the President of the United States to be used for strictly emergency purposes in time of a great crisis; but I can see no justification for making an emergency appropriation and then diverting from that appropriation funds to the administrative expenses of the ordinary and regular Departments of the Government.

The language of the report itself shows that the sum of approximately \$485,000,000 has been diverted to pay the ordinary or regular expenses of the Government; and I desire to show the Senate some of these diversions. The report is very voluminous, and, of course, I shall not take the time of the Senate to read it all.

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

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Virginia yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. BYRD. I do.

Mr. KING. Has the report, or a synopsis of it, been printed?

Mr. BYRD. The report is very voluminous. I obtained an estimate from the Public Printer, and it will cost \$6,000 to print it, although a certain type of printing can be done, by indenting it or something of the kind, for about \$1,700. In view of the cost of it, I have not asked that the report be printed; but it contains most valuable information.

Mr. KING. I was wondering whether the Department of the Interior, or the Public Works Administration, or some representatives of the President, had submitted a synopsis setting forth briefly but accurately, of course, the expenditures made, and the purposes for which they were made.

Mr. BYRD. There is a synopsis in the first few pages, which perhaps could be printed, giving that information.

This report, fellow Senators, shows that \$500,000 of this Public Works appropriation was diverted to the Federal Alcohol Control Board; under what authority I do not know. I am told that this board has not even been authorized by the Congress; yet by Executive order, \$500,000 of this blanket appropriation has been given for the administrative expenses of a board which has not as yet been approved by Congress.

The report further shows that the Federal Coordinator of Transportation received \$140,000.

The Federal Power Commission received \$700,000.

The General Accounting Office received \$506,000.

The administration of the N. R. A.—which, of course, I may say, was intended by the terms of the act itself—received \$13,428,000.

For stock in the Commodity Credit Corporation, \$3,000,000 was diverted from this appropriation.

The Electric Home and Farm Authority received \$1,000,000, and the report says that much larger appropriations will be necessary for the operation of that particular project. I have made some inquiry as to what the Electric Home and Farm Authority is, and the best I can ascertain is that it is for the establishment of retail stores for the purpose of selling electrical appliances in the Tennessee Valley. If I am incorrect in that, I shall be glad to be corrected; but the point I desire to impress upon the Senate is that the Senate of the United States had no opportunity to decide upon the policy of having the Federal Government go into the retail business of selling electrical appliances in the Tennessee Valley; that by reason of this diversion of money from an emergency appropriation, the Congress of the United States has surrendered its power to say whether or not the Government shall undertake a project of that kind.

For the executive council, \$43,000 was diverted from this appropriation.

For stock in the Export-Import Banks, established here at Washington, \$1,250,000; and I may say in that connection that \$10,000,000 additional was obtained from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

For the administrative expenses of the Federal Housing Administration, \$1,000,000.

For the National Emergency Council, \$1,416,491.

For the National Railroad Adjustment Board, \$200,000.

For the National Resources Board, \$135,000.

For the Office of Adviser on Foreign Trade, \$350,000.

For administrative expenses of the enforcement of the oil code, \$830,000. I understand when the N. R. A. was established that the administrative expenses of the different codes would be paid by assessments upon the members of those codes; but here we find that \$830,000 has been taken from the appropriation carried by the Public Works Act to pay the administrative expenses of the oil code.

For the Immigration and Naturalization Service, \$88,000.

For the United States Employment Service, \$1,300,000.

For the Bureau of Labor Statistics, \$10,000.

For the Office of the Secretary of Labor, \$16,000.

For the Conciliation Board, \$110,000.

For the National Labor Board, \$222,000.

For the National Labor Relations Board, \$1,027,000.

For the National Steel Labor Board, \$58,500.

For the National Longshoremen's Labor Board, \$25,000.

For the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, for administrative expenses, \$1,141,000.

For the Office of the Treasurer of the United States for relief of contractors, \$100,000.

For the Public Health Service, \$43,698.

For the Mississippi Valley Committee, \$45,000.

For the Review Board, \$50,000.

Then, Mr. President, this diversion from the appropriation is shown in the report, "Self-help movement, \$35,000." I submit to the Senate that a larger appropriation should be made for self-help because that is what we want in this country today. What could be done with \$35,000 out of the public-works appropriation to start a self-help movement? I assume that somebody wanted to talk, to go around and make some speeches over the country, and \$35,000 out of this fund was given for that purpose.

Mr. President, there is another item which I wish to call to the attention of the Senate in proof of a charge I now make, that this method of making appropriations has absolutely destroyed the Budget system of this country. It is shown by this report that it will take \$692,000,000 to complete the projects which have already been started under this public-works program. In other words, there are projects all over the country which have been begun under this appropriation, one-half has been completed, and the Congress has not authorized the additional amount necessary. Yet the departments in many instances have obligated the Government—not legally, but they have obligated the Government—to complete the projects which have been started. Otherwise, the investments already made would be valueless.

What I wish to strongly impress upon the Senate here today is that this method of appropriating money, of giving a blanket appropriation for emergency purposes and then permitting these appropriations to be diverted for the payment of the regular and ordinary expenses of the Government has completely destroyed the Budget system.

I want to say further, Mr. President, that it is little short of an absurdity to talk about having two budgets, one budget for the alleged ordinary expenses of Government and one budget for the emergency expenses of Government, when we have evidence before us from the Secretary of the Treasury that from the emergency appropriations have been taken large sums to be used for the regular and ordinary expenses of our Government.

Mr. President, there is only one Treasury of the United States; there is only one Treasury from which the bills and the obligations of the Government can be paid; and I say here and now, as a member of the Democratic Party, that the sooner the administration abandons this absurd proposition of having two budgets, and the sooner the administration comes frankly before the people and says, "We have these deficits in the Treasury, which must be paid in time by taxation", the better my party will appear before the people of this country.

Mr. President, it is not my purpose to take too much time in discussing the details of the report to which I have referred, but I want to call to the attention of the Senate the fact that from 1806, more than a hundred years ago, it has been the policy of the United States Government to require that appropriations as made shall be spent only for the purposes set forth in the appropriation acts. Here is the law as it has existed since that time:

Except as otherwise provided by law, sums appropriated for the various branches of expenditure in the public service shall be applied solely to the objects for which they are respectively made, and for no others.

Yet when the Congress has enacted a law for the relief of the people of this country we find large sums diverted from the appropriation and used for all kinds of conceivable purposes, and I venture the assertion that the Congress of the United States would not have approved many of these appropriations if they had been submitted to the Congress. I venture to say especially, Mr. President, that the Congress would not have approved taking stock in a company to the amount

of \$1,000,000 to finance the sale privately of electrical appliances in the Tennessee Valley, or anything else like that, to compete directly with the business men of the country, who must pay the taxes which must be collected in order to operate our Government.

Mr. President, what has been the effect of the expenditure of these large sums for public works? There has been appropriated \$4,000,000,000 for public works of one kind and another since March 4, 1933. I have information here which does not come officially, but which I think is correct from my own investigation of it, that only three billion of that four billion has been devoted to construction projects; that \$936,000,000 has been spent for other things than for construction.

Let us analyze the reports of the Labor Department, as I think we should very carefully, to see what has been accomplished with respect to unemployment by the expenditure of the public-works money up to this time. I have here the report for December, which is the latest report available, showing that on Federal projects a total of 254,000 people only were put to work in December; of this number, only 16,000 were employed on building construction, and 132,000, or one-half, were employed on road construction, and the Public Works Administration does not entirely deserve credit for that, because heretofore the road appropriations have been made as regular appropriations for the Government, and have been increased, I think, four times under the Public Works Act from the normal appropriations.

The report shows that on rivers and harbors and flood control only 43,000 were at work, and in the forestry work 1,600, and in the reclamation 18,000.

When we come to non-Federal projects we find that only 109,000 were working in December, including 40,000 in building construction and 16,000 on streets and roads.

Mr. President, we are asked to appropriate \$4,880,000,000 to relieve and put to work three and a half million people, when our experience shows that by practically the same plan as that under which that huge sum is to be expended 360,000 only were given work by reason of the public-works program last December.

It is claimed, of course, that for every man at work on a public construction job one additional man is employed in industry. But that is not true with respect to road work; it is not true with respect to rivers and harbors and flood-control work, because that work is nearly all labor. But let us assume that that claim is correct; let us assume that one man is put to work in industry for every man actually employed on one of these jobs. That means that only approximately 600,000 people have been put to work in an average month under the appropriation of \$3,300,000,000.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President—

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

Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. ADAMS. The testimony before the Committee on Appropriations from Secretary Ickes was to the effect that the maximum number given employment in any single month under the Public Works Administration was 600,000. The same hearings disclosed that under the relief administration, with a sum of money only one-third as great, two and a quarter million people had been given work.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Senator. After 2 years of "priming the pump", after 2 years of trying to spend ourselves back to prosperity on borrowed money, we are now asked to appropriate \$5,000,000,000 for public works, to increase the debt of this country 20 percent in 1 year, and we are told that, if we do that, prosperity will return.

Mr. President, in my judgment, there is only one argument which can be made for this joint resolution, and that argument is that its passage and operation will be the final shove which will put this country over the hill to prosperity. I doubt if there is a Member of the Senate who believes that prosperity will return by reason of the passage of the joint resolution, and that those who are unemployed will be put back to work.

By the admission of those in authority, and by the statement made by my distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], we cannot go back to the well again for another huge appropriation of this kind. Representing the administration in fighting the McCarran amendment, he stated that a billion and a half or two billion dollars additional expenditure at this time might impair the credit of this country, and for that reason the President of the United States did not desire the McCarran amendment adopted. It seems to me that we are skating on very thin ice when we admit publicly that a few additional billions of dollars added to the present public debt will create a serious financial condition for the Government of the United States. Yet we are now asked to indulge in another experiment which I say has proven unsuccessful in the past 2 years, and I submit that the figures themselves show that construction of projects is not going materially to relieve the unemployment in this country.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS] in his very able and eloquent speech yesterday called attention to that solemn warning which was given by the President of the United States on March 10, 1933, when he said that for 3 long years this country had been going on the road to bankruptcy. I desire to read to the Senate extracts from two speeches made by the now President of the United States when he was a candidate for that high office. Mr. Roosevelt as a candidate said:

But there is immediate possibility of helping the emergency through appropriations for public works. One question, however, must be answered first, because of the simple fact that these public works cost money. We all know that government treasuries, whether local, State, or Federal, are hard put to it to keep their budgets balanced, and in the case of the Federal Treasury thoroughly unsound financial policies have made its situation not exactly desperate, but at least threatens its future stability if the policies of the present administration (the Hoover administration) are continued. All public works, including Federal, must be considered from the point of view of the ability of the Government Treasury to pay for them.

And then, Mr. President, I was greatly impressed with another speech which the President of the United States made when he was a candidate, with respect to the necessity of preserving the integrity of the credit of the United States Government. He said:

We all know that our family credit depends in large part upon the stability of the credit of the United States. And here at least is one field in which all business, big business and little business and family business and the individual's business, is at the mercy of our big Government at Washington.

Now the credit of the family depends chiefly on whether that family is living within its income. And this is so of the Nation. If the Nation is living within its income its credit is good. If in some crisis it lives beyond its income for a year or two it can usually borrow temporarily on reasonable terms; but if, like a spendthrift, it throws discretion to the winds, is willing to make no sacrifice at all in spending, extends its taxing to the limit of the people's power to pay and continues to fill out deficits it is on the road to bankruptcy.

Starting with \$16,000,000,000 of Federal debt at the beginning of this depression, if this joint resolution shall be passed our Federal debt will be in excess of \$34,000,000,000. We will spend this year alone nearly 5 percent of the total wealth of this country. The total wealth is estimated at over \$200,000,000,000. This \$5,000,000,000 bill, including the bill for the normal expenses of the Government, is nearly 5 percent of the total wealth of this country. If this joint resolution shall be passed, there will be spent this year by the Federal Government alone twice as much as all the farmers received in cash in 1933.

Let us remember also that the American people have to pay local taxes and State taxes, and those other taxes amounted last year to \$9,000,000,000. Those taxes added to the Federal expenditures place a burden of more than \$18,000,000,000 of expenditures upon the people of this country, which is nearly 40 percent of the total gross income of our Nation.

Mr. President, here is what seriously disturbs me about this appropriation, and I hope that in the discussion on the floor of the Senate some advocate of the proposed appropriation will answer this question. If this experiment

fails, if the three and one-half million people are not put back to work under this joint resolution—as they will not be, in my judgment—if prosperity does not return to the American Nation within a year, what will Senators do next year? Will they vote for another \$5,000,000,000 and add that to the public debt, so as to carry out the obligation under which the President of the United States placed himself in his message to Congress, when he said, "I propose to give a job to three and one-half million people unemployed on the relief rolls until the rising tide of employment absorbs them in private industry"?

But suppose they are not absorbed—as they will not be—then is Congress, is any Member of the Senate, going to say that he will vote in favor of another \$5,000,000,000 bill and impair the credit of the Government?

I am wondering what is going to happen to the 5,000,000 people who are unemployed, but who are not on the relief rolls? It seems to me that they are just as deserving of governmental jobs as are those who are on the relief rolls. By reason of their own self-dependence and self-reliance they have kept off of the relief rolls. But this project, as I understand, is to confine the reemployment to the three and one-half million employables who are now on the relief rolls. What is going to happen to the 5,000,000 of others who are not on the relief rolls but are still unemployed?

Mr. President, we hear nothing said here about taxation. We are spending the money, mortgaging the future of the Nation, mortgaging the future of our children and grandchildren and those whom we should hold dearer than ourselves, but no one in authority says anything about raising the taxes to pay the enormous burden we are now placing upon the Government.

I said yesterday in interrogating the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] that 33 cents out of every dollar of normal income would have to be devoted to interest alone. The interest charge today is \$1,000,000,000, not counting this additional interest burden which will be placed upon the country by the passage of this joint resolution.

The normal income of this country today, excluding the processing taxes which are devoted to a specific purpose, is about \$3,000,000,000. Yes, Mr. President, if this joint resolution is passed the first item we must write in every appropriation is from 30 to 40 cents of our income for interest alone, not counting the amount necessary for a sinking fund.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] yesterday made a very pertinent inquiry of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN]. The Senator from Utah said, "The Senator has added up the debts of the counties and the cities and the States and the Federal Government, and has gotten a total of about \$55,000,000,000, but the Senator has not added the debts of the private individuals and corporations of this country"—the total amount of which was about \$225,000,000,000.

Today there are people in the United States who have four or five mortgages on their homes. They have the Federal mortgage increased by this great debt, which takes precedence, I assume, over other mortgages; then the State mortgage by State bond issues; then the county mortgage; then the city mortgage; in many cases they have the sanitary district and other subdivision mortgage; and then they have the mortgage of the individual or the corporation.

It was brought out yesterday by the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS], I think, in comparing this country to England, that it is true that the per capita public debt in England is more than it is in this country, but it is likewise true that the per capita debt of the individual and corporations in this country is far greater than that in England. I do not think anyone can successfully question that statement. There is no comparison whatever between the United States of America and England in this question. Let me say to those who made that comparison, that notwithstanding the difficulties which England has, she has balanced her budget. Yet today we are spending \$5,000,000,000 more than our income if this joint resolution shall be passed. We are spending \$9,000,000,000, and \$5,000,000,000 of it will be added to our public debt. We are spending, fellow Senators,

\$13,000 every minute, day and night, including Sundays, and \$7,000 of that \$13,000 is being added to the public debt for future generations to pay.

Mr. President, in advocating my amendment I want it distinctly and clearly understood that I am not advocating a dole. As a matter of fact, it has been stated and not denied that more than 2,000,000 people of the three and one-half million employables now on the relief rolls are on relief work of some kind or another, less expensive relief work than it is now proposed to give them. But two-thirds of those who are now on the relief rolls, by the statement of the Department itself, are doing relief work of some character or description.

Let us remember, too, the enormous overhead expense which will occur in the expenditure of this fund. On a basis of even 9 percent—and I think that is the average cost of operation in the present relief work—\$450,000,000 will go to overhead expense alone. That amount will not go for relief of the unemployed; it will not go to those who are now suffering and who want jobs.

So, in advocating a reduction of this expenditure from \$4,000,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000, with the transfer of an additional \$880,000,000, I want the Senate to bear in mind that there is still \$1,500,000,000 unspent in the Public Treasury for work relief, in the sense that it may be spent on the construction of projects. I want the Senate to consider that the Congress will convene again next January, and at that time we can meet the situation as it will then confront us. If then it shall be necessary to make still further appropriations, we can do so; but why should the Senate now appropriate \$5,000,000,000 when we know that the money cannot be spent during the period between now and January, and when we are told that even a small addition to the public debt will impair the credit of the country itself?

Mr. President, just a word with respect to the evils of issuing tax-exempt bonds. We shall have issued in this country, if this joint resolution shall be passed, the enormous total of \$55,000,000,000 in tax-exempt bonds of the Government, States, and subdivisions. Whenever we issue a tax-exempt bond we reduce the body of wealth from which the Government must draw in order to obtain taxes, and we likewise establish a refuge for the rich of the country so to invest their money as to avoid the payment of taxes.

Let me also suggest to the Senate that whenever we increase taxes in this country we make it that much more difficult to recover our lost foreign trade, because taxes are a part of the expense of every business, and if we have high taxes those taxes must be added to the cost of the articles sold, which makes it that much more difficult for us to recover our foreign markets.

Mr. President, of course it is my own opinion and others may not share it, but I make the confident prediction that if this measure shall be passed it will be very disappointing, because it will not result in putting the three and a half million people back to work, desirous and anxious as we may be to accomplish that purpose. Those who are now on the relief rolls are scattered in every nook and corner of the United States; they are in the valleys; they are in the mountains; they are in the swamps; and it is an absolute impossibility to create work jobs wherever all these people may be. It would necessitate moving them into and concentrating them into camps.

Mr. President, let us think of the incentive to extravagance which will be afforded by giving to the Government \$5,000,000,000 which it cannot spend before the next session of Congress meets, when it already has \$1,500,000,000 unspent in the Federal Treasury. Every department of the Government would seek extravagant ways in order to spend the money appropriated by Congress.

The Government cannot compete with private business in the employment of people. It is not a wise thing for the Government to undertake to give jobs to those unemployed and maintain them on such jobs until the rising tide of employment shall absorb them. As a matter of fact, there are many people on the relief rolls today who do not have jobs in normal times, when conditions are prosperous. They

do not then have jobs; and are we to continue at this tremendous expense of about \$100 a month per man, as I understand the figures—\$50 for labor and another \$50 for materials—to give jobs to three and a half million people who are on the relief rolls until they shall be reemployed in private industry? What will happen is that when industry shall start up once again the 5,000,000 people not on the relief rolls will be the first ones employed.

Mr. President, I wish to read to the Senate for just a moment, and then I will conclude, an editorial from one of the leading newspapers of the State of South Carolina. The Charleston News and Courier said this editorially the other day:

How long will it be a Republic? What chance have the people to govern, even in one big State, when the Government shall have the disposal, in a year, of \$4,880,000,000?

What if but one-hundredth part, \$48,800,000, shall be spent in South Carolina in a year? Think you that any man in the State critical of a program so glorious could be elected to any office? Governor? Mayor? Superintendent of schools? Senator? Congressman? What if 10 percent of the sum, \$4,880,000, be distributed in salaries to "administrators"? Think you that they, reinforced by the Federal officeholders already existent, will not grip South Carolina in a vise?

With our local policies dictated by Washington, we shall not long have the civilization to which we are accustomed.

There is another editorial which I wish to call to the attention of the Senate. The New York Times is one of the most loyal supporters of the present administration. I have an editorial published in that newspaper on March 14 last, which I will not read in full, but, in speaking of these unexpended balances, it concludes as follows:

With so large a sum existing in the form of "unexpended balances", in consequence of the failure of the entire program of "pump priming" to move as rapidly as was expected, there is good reason to proceed cautiously in estimating future needs. One way out of the morass under which the new work-relief plan seems to have fallen would be to cut the proposed appropriation in half and plan only for the first 6 months of the new fiscal year; that is, for the period from July to December. Congress will reconvene next January and could then consider the existing situation.

I ask that the entire editorial may be placed in the RECORD at this point.

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

[From the New York Times, Mar. 14, 1935]

UNEXPENDED BALANCES

In its debate on the President's work-relief plan the Senate has hit upon the fact that more than a billion dollars, originally put at the disposal of P. W. A. in 1933, still remains unexpended. This does not mean that most of it has not been "allocated" to some specific project. It does mean that the program of Federal Public Works, for which \$3,000,000,000 was appropriated nearly 2 years ago, has moved much more slowly than was anticipated. For this the inevitable delays encountered in acquiring sites, inviting bids, and approving contracts have been primarily responsible.

As a matter of fact, the billion or so remaining at the disposal of P. W. A. is only one of a large number of "unexpended balances" in Washington. R. F. C. still has authority to loan or to spend nearly two billions more than it has actually loaned or spent to date. The outlay of the Commodity Credit Corporation is more than \$300,000,000 short of the amount which it has been authorized to spend. Large funds, in most cases amounting to more than \$100,000,000, remain at the disposal of the Farm Credit Administration, the Federal land banks, A. A. A., the Bureau of Emergency Conservation Work and the home-loan system. Some of these agencies will, no doubt, dip heavily into their present balances before the end of the current fiscal year in June. But taking stock of the whole situation as it exists today, the fact is that the margin between the total amount authorized and appropriated by Congress for the President's relief-and-recovery program, and the amount actually expended thus far by all of the various "emergency" agencies is more than \$5,000,000,000.

With so large a sum existing in the form of "unexpended balances", in consequence of the failure of the entire program of "pump priming" to move as rapidly as was expected, there is good reason to proceed cautiously in estimating future needs. One way out of the morass into which the new work-relief plan seems to have fallen would be to cut the proposed appropriation in half and plan only for the first 6 months of the new fiscal year—that is, for the period from July to December. Congress will reconvene next January and could then consider the existing situation.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, today the American business man is troubled and confused. He is troubled by the enormous public expenditures which are being made at Wash-

ington, and he is confused by the experiments which are being tried out here. In my judgment, the time has come when temporary and emergency legislation should yield to sound principles. The country should be assured of a gradual reduction of governmental expenditures so that within a reasonable time we will have a balanced Budget, the Government conducted within an income that will not require excessive increases in Federal taxes, and constructive efforts to regain our foreign markets. Individuals should be allowed to develop a business without fear of competition by the Federal Government or undue interference with the reasonable control of their business so long as they act with a decent regard for the rights of others.

Business men cannot have faith unless they have good reason to believe that taxes will not absorb their reasonable profits; they cannot feel secure unless they believe that the currency will be sound and fairly stable; they will not invest freely new money unless they have confidence that the Government will protect them in the right to the property they own and their privilege to use that property in gainful pursuits. Under our competitive system of business, recovery depends on the will to work and upon the investments of those who have capital.

Mr. President, I have nothing more to say. I repeat that the amendment which I propose provides for a reduction of the appropriation to \$1,000,000,000, which, with the transfer of balances, will make a total of \$1,880,000,000, which, added to the unexpended balances, will make a grand total available for relief and public works of \$3,300,000,000.

As perhaps I shall not address the Senate again on this subject, I wish merely to add that I hope the Senate will give favorable consideration to the other amendment which I have offered to prevent diversions from this fund to pay the ordinary and administrative expenses of the Government. I say that because we must take such action if we are to preserve the integrity of the Budget; and without a strong budget policy no nation, no state, no county, or municipality can operate on an efficient and satisfactory basis.

Mr. TYDINGS obtained the floor.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me to suggest the absence of a quorum?

Mr. TYDINGS. I thank the Senator for his suggestion, but I prefer not to have that done now.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Maryland has the floor.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Maryland yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. TYDINGS. Very well, Mr. President; I will yield.

Mr. LEWIS. I make the point of the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

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

Adams	Coolidge	King	Pope
Ashurst	Copeland	La Follette	Radcliffe
Austin	Costigan	Lewis	Reynolds
Bachman	Couzens	Logan	Robinson
Bailey	Cutting	Loneragan	Russell
Bankhead	Dickinson	McAdoo	Schall
Barbour	Dieterich	McCarran	Schwellenbach
Barkley	Donahay	McGill	Sheppard
Bilbo	Fletcher	McKellar	Shipstead
Black	Frazier	McNary	Smith
Bone	George	Maloney	Steiwer
Borah	Gerry	Metcalf	Thomas, Okla.
Brown	Gibson	Minton	Thomas, Utah
Bulkley	Glass	Moore	Townsend
Bulow	Guffey	Murphy	Trammell
Burke	Hale	Murray	Truman
Byrd	Harrison	Neely	Tydings
Byrnes	Hastings	Norbeck	Vandenberg
Capper	Hatch	Norris	Van Nuys
Carey	Hayden	Nye	Wagner
Clark	Johnson	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Connally	Keyes	Pittman	White

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RADCLIFFE in the chair). Eighty-eight Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I think the country owes a debt of gratitude to the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr.

BYRD], who has just concluded a very remarkable address filled with logic, filled with facts, filled with philosophy. It should arrest the attention of those who suppose that a magic wand may be waved over a distressed nation, provided the wand is tipped with gold which we have not got and wielded with generosity and humanity.

The Senator from Virginia in the course of his address brought out one very important fact in particular. He said the only justification there could be for a measure of this magnitude at this time would be the fact that we are going to prime the pump and, forsooth, by that priming bring sufficient natural water out of the well to irrigate the economic waste which exists in the United States at the present time. It is my purpose to show that we cannot prime the pump in that way; that the water we put into the pump, instead of bringing more water out of the well, will only add more water to the well and lessen that above ground.

In that connection I must go back to the year 1916, because, Mr. President and Senators, we are dealing with something fundamental. The time has come to deal with the cause of the depression and to remove it. We must stop treating symptoms. We must begin to treat the disease. We must stop discussing phenomena and start to discussing cause. We must deal less with effect and more with cause, if we are to project the policies of our Government so they will endure and keep its institutions alive.

Before the World War the economic position of the United States was a sound one. We were an exporting nation. We had always been for the larger part an exporting nation, selling to the world more of the things we produced than we were buying from the world of the things produced outside our own country. That caused wealth to flow to this Nation in exchange for the surplus of things we were selling over the things we were buying. Of course, payment had to be made in gold. Money flowed to this country because from 1893 down to the outbreak of the World War, and even down to the present time, we had sold to the world each and every solitary year more of the products of our farms, our factories, our mines, and our forests than we have bought of such products from the world. So wealth came to the United States in payment of the balance of trade, which was favorable to the United States.

Before the World War there was another serious economic factor involved. We were a debtor nation, not a creditor nation. Millions upon millions of foreign dollars were invested in the bonds of our National Government, our State governments, the city and municipal governments of the United States. Other millions of foreign capital were invested in our railroad bonds, and stocks, and in our industrial plants, mines, forests, and whatnot. Naturally with all that foreign capital the United States was developed, but there went back to the foreign investors every year interest on those investments, dividends on the stocks, amortization of the loans, so we had a balanced trade before the war. We were selling the world more than we were buying from the world, but the world was getting back the difference in the interest on the investments of foreigners in this country and in the amortization of loans and in dividends upon industrial investments. Money went gradually back and forth across the Atlantic. Our economic position was secure.

The World War came on with suddenness. Foreign investments in this country were largely liquidated. Foreigners withdrew their money in large quantities from the United States for use at home. After the World War was over the United States for the first time in all its history found itself the creditor nation of the world. Instead of owing the world money as we did before the World War, the world owed us money, billions upon billions of dollars, not only as a result of the war debt but since the war because of private loans. We have sent since the armistice wellnigh \$16,000,000,000 of good American investments to foreign governments and foreign municipalities and foreign industrial plants, so that today there is owing to the Government of the United States on war debts or to its private investors \$26,000,000,000 of good American dollars, an amount almost equivalent to the national debt at this time. Do Senators think that is an

insignificant sum? They are beginning to talk about a debt of \$30,000,000,000 bringing the Government to the point where its integrity may be impaired. We have \$16,000,000,000 owing to us in English bonds, French bonds, German bonds, Spanish bonds, South American bonds, and Japanese bonds, to say nothing of the war debts, amounting to some eleven or twelve billion dollars; but, while we are a creditor nation, we still continue to be an exporting nation. We insist on selling the world more than we buy from the world, notwithstanding the fact that the world already owes us more than it can possibly pay.

From 1921 to 1929 we did not have any depression, although one was imminent. We avoided the depression, which was inevitable, through the illusion of trade being in balance, for during that period we loaned our foreign customers the money with which to buy our goods. During that period we sent about \$16,000,000,000 out all over the world, and during the same time our foreign customers used the money which we were lending them to pay the unfavorable balances of trade which were being created.

I am going to go back to March 3, 1921. Woodrow Wilson was President of the United States. On that day he was a discredited man in some respects and in some quarters. He had been the war President. He had tried to bring about a new concept for humanity. Some people thought it was visionary. Some thought it was impracticable, but at any rate he did not have the prestige on March 3, 1921, that he had at one time enjoyed. That was the last day he was President of the United States, but on that day he vetoed a measure known as the "Emergency Tariff Act of 1921." In a message which came up to both Houses of Congress, and which I shall shortly read in part, there is so much of prophecy, so much of logic, so much of vision of the future, that I think we might well take stock of that message.

I imagine on that day, when the message was read in this body, nobody paid any particular attention to it, because the party of the President had gone down in overwhelming defeat; and Mr. Wilson's plans had been blown into the air; and naturally if he had been wrong on one thing he would be wrong on everything else; so I imagine his message had very little weight. Let us see, however, what the President said in vetoing the Emergency Tariff Act of 1921. I quote from his message to the Congress:

Changes of a very radical character have taken place. The United States has become a great creditor Nation. She has lent certain governments of Europe more than \$9,000,000,000, and as a result of the enormous excess of our exports there is an additional commercial indebtedness of foreign nations to our own of perhaps not less than \$4,000,000,000. There are only three ways in which Europe can meet her part of her indebtedness, namely, by the establishment of private credits, by the shipment of gold, or of commodities. It is difficult for Europe to discover the requisite securities as a basis for the necessary credits. Europe is not in a position at the present time to send us the amount of gold which would be needed, and we could not view further large imports of gold into this country without concern. The result, to say the least, would be a larger disarrangement of international exchange and disturbance of international trade. If we wish to have Europe settle her debts, governmental or commercial, we must be prepared to buy from her; and if we wish to assist Europe and ourselves by the export either of food, of raw materials, or finished products, we must be prepared to welcome commodities which we need, and which Europe will be prepared, with no little pain, to send us.

I shall read other excerpts as I go along. That, briefly, was the reason why the President vetoed the emergency tariff bill of 1921; but, all oblivious to the economic factors which had arisen since the war, and which in 1921 had brought America to the brink of the depression, we commenced the very next year to pass the Fordney-McCumber tariff law, insisting on selling to other people more than we were buying from them, people who already owed us money they could not pay; putting them further in debt, driving the world into a cul-de-sac from which there was no escape.

Then the high priests of finance came on, and we had the mad dance of the millions through 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1929, when money was thrown over the world by the international banking element without any regard to the economics involved. Today the banks and the citizens of this country sit with \$16,000,000,000 of obligations in their possession, half the amount of the national debt, which ap-

pear at the present moment, under the world's economic set-up, to be as worthless as last year's newspapers.

Are we going to prolong, therefore, the very philosophy which has brought on the depression, and pass the stop-gap measures from time to time? Are we going to provide for the unemployed on a 1-year plan, thinking that by providing for them for 1 year we shall go to sleep some night and wake up the following morning and find the depression all gone?

That may be a lovely dream, Senators, but just as surely as we are sitting in the Senate Chamber we are going to have permanent unemployment, we are going to have permanent economic distress, until we see a stabilization of international currencies and a revival of world trade.

Finance and trade cannot be built upon the sands of shifting currencies and prohibitive embargo tariffs. This country sells outside its own borders over half the cotton it produces. If we stop buying from the world, we shall not sell a pound of cotton to the world. This country ships one-fifth of its wheat outside the United States. If we refuse to buy from the world, we shall not sell a grain of wheat outside this country. People will find substitutes. They cannot buy unless they can sell; and we are proceeding upon the theory that the less trade the more employment rather than upon the truth that the more trade the more employment.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes.

Mr. HATCH. Is it a correct statement that we ship abroad one-fifth of our wheat?

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes.

Mr. HATCH. Are those late figures?

Mr. TYDINGS. Those figures are taken from the Statistical Abstract of 1932, which I hold in my hand. The exact figure is 18 percent. I used the expression "one-fifth" in order to speak in round numbers.

Mr. HATCH. The point I am making is that, as a matter of fact, the export of our wheat is practically gone; it is practically dead.

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes; it is dead, and I am trying to resurrect it.

What are the consequences of this supernational policy? Plowing under every third row of cotton; paying the farmer not to raise the products that would feed the hungry, while millions starve; and then a \$5,000,000,000 public-works bill touching only the surface of the matter, while all this false philosophy, all this sophistry, tumbles and turns underneath the surface!

We have been in the depression 6 years. There was bound to be a little improvement after we stabilized the banking structure of the country; but, outside of that improvement, we are exactly where we were in 1930. Let us have some truth about this situation, because in the last analysis it will not do any good to be a Democrat or a Republican if we do not save the country from what I conceive to be the path of ruin. We can no more spend our way out of the depression, as long as these economic forces are not working in harmony, than we can expect our hearts to function when their component parts are not performing the normal functions for which they were created. We are treating only phenomena. We are not treating cause. We may treat phenomena forever and ever and ever, and we shall never get rid of unemployment unless we tax everybody who has a dollar, and make work for everybody who is out of employment.

I have heard a lot about the "standard of living"—a good thing, of course. What is a standard of living, however, in a country where 12,000,000 people are unemployed, and 22,000,000, or one-sixth of the population, are dependent upon Government charity for a bare existence? Talk about preserving the workingman's standard of living while twelve million of them could not get jobs if their lives depended upon it! It is the rankest kind of sophistry even to mention the phrase "standard of living" while 12,000,000 people have no living at all except what a generous Government may bestow upon them.

Our world trade is going down. In South America we have already lost our trade. In Central America, right next

door, we have lost it. In Canada we have lost it. Last year, for the first time in the history of the world, Japan took supremacy in the cotton textile trade, selling more cotton textiles than Great Britain sold.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes; I yield.

Mr. BONE. I have not been privileged to hear all the Senator's argument, because I have been out of the Chamber; but I wonder if the Senator, in the course of his remarks, will state his views on this question:

The agricultural population, as I have come to know their viewpoint, are very vigorously objecting to the introduction into the country through the regular, normal channels of trade of those commodities which come actively in competition with what they are producing. That is a very practical matter. It very intimately touches their economic lives. They cannot be brought to see the value of the Senator's arguments. I know the Senator will realize that; but I am wondering just what sort of argument, if any, can be advanced to those people which will satisfy their minds that our economic salvation lies in the direction the Senator has suggested. I am getting objections every day.

Mr. TYDINGS. I think I have the Senator's viewpoint, and while I would come to it a little later, it just so happens that President Wilson in his veto message touched on that very point which had been raised. For example, he pointed out that in the year 1913, 85,000 barrels of flour were imported into this country, where so much wheat is produced. Just think of that, 85,000 barrels of flour, and, mind you, the price of that flour was \$347,000. But then, the President pointed out in the next phrase, in 1920 we exported 800,000 barrels of flour.

The average man who talks tariff never figures whether or not we can stop imports and yet keep on selling. My answer to the question is that there is not an economist in the world who can show how the farmers of the United States, as they are now situated, can export a single pound of goods unless they buy some goods. Cotton is raised in 16 States, a third of all the Union, and as near as I can figure, there are 1,700,000 farm families, not individuals, but farm families, nearly two million of them, who depend on cotton for their livelihood. If we export half of our cotton crop, there are nearly a million farmers who must depend upon the export of cotton for their livelihood. I ask those who would oppose world trade, how are you going to take care of the farmers if we lose those exports? Who is going to pay money into the Federal Treasury to keep a million farmers in idleness?

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. I have a press dispatch here, which reads as follows:

Largest shipment of corn for the season to date, 6,000 tons, was being discharged today at General Steamship Co.'s east San Pedro terminals by the British tramp freighter *Cape Nelson*. The vessel arrived late yesterday from Rosario. The cargo is consigned to six California milling companies.

Another dispatch of about the same date states:

For the first time on record wheat was imported from France in 1934. Total wheat imports from all countries during the latter half of 1934 totaled 1,231,000 bushels, as compared with 75,000,000 bushels which the United States normally exported to foreign nations only a few years ago.

Mr. President, I quite agree with the Senator as to the value of foreign trade, but does the Senator think we can gain anything in the transaction, if our trade arrangements are to such an effect that we are importing corn when we have a surplus of corn and that we are importing wheat when we have a surplus of wheat?

Mr. TYDINGS. Has the Senator the figures as to how much corn we exported last year?

Mr. BORAH. I do not think we exported any large amount.

Mr. TYDINGS. If the Senator will look up the figures, he will find that we exported about 15 times as much as we imported. Does the Senator want to kill all of the exports

in order to keep out one-fifteenth of the amount of corn we exported?

Mr. BORAH. After we had exported the corn of which the Senator speaks, we still had a very large surplus of corn in the United States.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is true.

Mr. BORAH. How could the farmer be benefited by our importing corn, when we had a surplus of corn? In other words, we must build our foreign trade with due regard to our home industries and home market.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, it is only fair that I say to the Senator that it is not proper for me to take any one commodity and say whether there ought to be a tariff on it or whether there should not be. What I am trying to do is to lay down a broad, fundamental viewpoint on the tariff—namely, that we cannot expect to sell any corn unless we buy something else; that nations swap products; that they do not buy goods with money; that money is only an incident to the transaction, the yardstick by which it is measured. My thought, the thing I am trying to project, is that we have approached the tariff question with the idea that we can keep on selling to the world everything we make and produce and buy nothing from the world in return.

There are reasons, for example, let me say to the distinguished Senator from Idaho, why there might be a justifiable tariff on corn. I have not the facts as to that particular commodity, and I would not want to decide the question on the floor. What I am trying to bring out to the Senate is that we have a tariff; that we have the highest tariff in all Christendom; that we have had it for 4 years—nay, more than that, we have had it since 1922. Then, my question is, Where is our prosperity?

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, the Senator says we have the highest tariff in all Christendom.

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes.

Mr. BORAH. The percentage of tariff of Great Britain is higher than that of the United States.

Mr. TYDINGS. Great Britain had tariffs on only about 8 or 10 articles.

Mr. BORAH. Oh, I beg the Senator's pardon. The percentage of the tariff of Great Britain on a great number of articles is higher than that of the United States.

Mr. TYDINGS. Even Great Britain, as far as that observation is concerned, is not going through any period of unbridled prosperity. Besides she is a debtor country to the United States. We have our tariffs, and we have had them since 1922. If tariffs make a country prosperous, why have we 12,000,000 unemployed, why have we come to a bank collapse throughout the entire country, and why are we appropriating \$5,000,000,000 to take care of the unemployed? There is no answer. If a tariff has excluded practically everything from this country, and there is all this misery and unemployment in spite of it, then no argument in the world will support the wisdom of such a policy.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, the Senator will also recall that Great Britain has not had its tariff for very long.

Mr. TYDINGS. I did not want to get into the realm of individual tariff duties, but I may say that Great Britain never considered the tariff before other countries did. The Ottawa agreement was the direct result of the enactment of the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill. I do not want to get into that. If we had not passed that act, Great Britain never would have called the Empire conference, in my judgment.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. I am not defending the extremes of a tariff policy to which the Senator refers.

Mr. TYDINGS. I understand.

Mr. BORAH. But it is correct to say that the initial step with reference to raising tariff duties after the war was taken upon the part of France and Great Britain, prior to the time when any such step was taken by the United States.

Mr. TYDINGS. I am not going to discuss that or take issue with the Senator. I want to be fair; I do not want to say and do not mean to say that we ought to tear down

every tariff tomorrow morning and have an avalanche of goods coming into this country. That would be asinine. I do not want to say that on some particular article a high tariff could not be justified, or an equally low tariff on another article. What I am attempting to say for want of a better phrase is that our tariffs should be built with the idea of buying and selling with our customers and should be designed to give the maximum amount of employment to the people of the United States. That is what I mean to say.

Mr. BORAH. I would not disagree with that statement.

Mr. TYDINGS. For example, let us consider straw hats. I had hoped someone would interrupt and say, "How about straw hats?" I am going to anticipate it.

We used to make in this country all the straw hats that were used here. We did not import any straw hats. In recent years we are importing over half of the straw hats our people wear. I think that when we start to import on a scale like that a higher tariff may be justified, when over half of the goods we consume in the country come from outside. On the other hand, I would not favor such a tariff as would exclude all straw hats, because on the one hand we would play into the hands of an American monopoly, and on the other hand, if we had no tariff at all, we would play into the hands of an Italian monopoly.

I have not yet discussed the pending joint resolution, because I know we will discuss it next year, and I know that the year after that we will discuss it all over again, and I know that in 3 years there will be inheritance taxes and income taxes and perhaps a sales tax, and I know we will discuss it all over again, and I know we will keep on discussing it and discussing it and discussing it until we treat with the causes of this depression.

There are a great many people who tell me it is psychological depression. I never did believe that, but sometimes I was almost persuaded, I heard it so often, that they must be right. There is no more psychology in this depression than there is in a gnat. The people fought and tried to hold it back in every way they could. Finally the Government set up a backstop in an attempt to break the speed of the governmental machine and the economic machine as they came down the hill, but it was just as inevitable that it could not be stopped as it is inevitable that we cannot break it by stopgap legislation.

We cannot prime the pump, as it is called, and get water out of this well. What we are going to do is to take good water which we once got out of the well and pour it back into the well again, without having the water with which we primed the pump.

Let me give one illustration. Before us is a measure designed to result in the employment of three and a half million people, and the fund set aside to employ those people is \$4,000,000,000. That means \$1,425 to a man. Let us suppose there are 10,000,000 people out of employment. At that ratio it would take \$14,250,000,000 to employ all the people who are out of work in this country.

Let us take another calculation. Let us assume that \$50 a month is the security wage, as has been said here by various Senators on the floor. That means \$600 a year. Then, if there are 12,000,000 people out of employment, and we are to pay those 12,000,000 people \$50 a month, or \$600 a year, it would take \$7,200,000,000 just for that operation. That is simple mathematics.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President—

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

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. BYRD. So under this plan another \$50 a month must be provided for the purchase of equipment and material, making the total \$100 per month per capita for those unemployed.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I do not like to say this, and I am measuring my words when I say it, but perhaps a warning would be better than to withhold what comes to my lips. I may be wrong about it but I will call this a measure designed to put the Democratic administration out of power.

Mr. BORAH. Does the Senator want to raise it any?

Mr. TYDINGS. By the time this goes through its natural evolution, the time that this money is all out, all used up, there will be so much resentment about the way it is spent, and the waste, and the lack of permanent wealth being added to the country, and the new taxes that will be inevitable, that I will be very much surprised, indeed I weigh the words, if it does not cost 10 times as much in political disadvantage as those who think it may have political advantage now visualize.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, what is the Senator from Maryland trying to do? Is he trying to get all the Republicans in the Senate to vote for the joint resolution? [Laughter.]

Mr. TYDINGS. No; I am trying to keep the Republicans out of the Senate, may I say to the Senator from Virginia, and I say that with a smile in a humorous way, because, in my judgment, the passage of this joint resolution will probably put more Republicans in the Senate than any other thing they have yet seen since March 4, 1933.

Mr. BORAH. So far the effort to put Republicans in the Senate has not been very successful.

Mr. TYDINGS. This joint resolution had not been passed the last time there was a general election, I will say to the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Does not the Senator believe that good business is always good politics?

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes; and good politics is always good business.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I ask that question to clarify the statement just made, because the inference might be left that the Senator from Maryland was making his argument from a purely political standpoint. However, I want the RECORD to show that at no time is bad business good politics.

Mr. TYDINGS. I accept my friend's observation. Of course, I am the only politician in this body. I am the only politician in this body, and I am fighting this joint resolution, of course, for pure political reasons; and I realize that all the gentlemen who are voting out these billions of dollars are patriots, men who by goodness can rise above politics. [Laughter.] They are the kind of men who can rise above principle.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield to the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. ASHURST. I have listened with great interest and no small degree of admiration to the speech of the able Senator from Maryland. I think what he is trying to say is that "You cannot reclaim the spendthrift by filling his pockets with money."

Mr. TYDINGS. That statement, condensed into a single epigram, really is worth an hour's speech, and I thank my friend from Arizona for it.

Mr. ASHURST. I would have spoken longer had I thought I would have gotten such a compliment as that.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. A few moments ago the distinguished Senator referred to a pump. My connection with the pump leads me to believe that a pump is an instrument with which to get water out of a well. We hear stated on the floor that we are merely trying to "prime this pump."

Mr. TYDINGS. That is correct.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. We are taking something which we call "money" and pouring it into the pump in the hope of getting the pump to operate in order to draw water out of the well. What is the use of priming the pump if there is no water in the well?

Mr. TYDINGS. There is water in the well, and what the Senator should do is not to prime the pump but to repair the valve on the pump so we can get some more water out of it. What the Senator is doing is pouring good water down the pump which would pump if it were only repaired.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, it is my conviction that there is no water in this well, and when the proper time comes I shall suggest a way to get some water in the well. Then we can prime the pump, and the pump will operate and we can draw some water from the well.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I shall be delighted to yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is not the first time that efforts have been made to use a pump to exploit a dry hole.

Mr. TYDINGS. I do not live in the oil country, but I have had some contact with it, and I think the observation of the Senator from Kentucky has a great deal of wisdom.

Mr. President, let us now take this relief list which I hold in my hand. I got it from Mr. Harry Hopkins. It shows the amount of relief moneys expended in the 48 States during the years 1933 and 1934. The total expenditure, if I read the figures correctly, was \$2,272,000,000 for pure relief. The little State of Maryland got \$28,000,000—not from the Federal Government but that is how much we expended for relief. And that is pretty near all we used to raise to run our Government over there. This year the relief estimate for Maryland, I understand, is \$18,000,000.

Let us suppose that this depression is going on for 10 more years. If we appropriate money at the rate of four or five billion dollars for public-works expenditure, are we going to be able to carry the financial load over that period of time? Gentlemen, you are playing with fire here. Debt never was a blessing to anyone, and it is no blessing to the Government of the United States. Men who say, "Oh, England's debt is so-and-so much as compared with ours," are making the statement inferentially that it is a good thing for us to be in debt still further.

I wish we did not owe a dollar, and if no State owed a dollar, and if no city owed a dollar, and no county owed a dollar, and our National Government did not owe a dollar, we could levy all the taxes needed right now to carry this entire relief load. But one reason we cannot do that is because \$1,000,000,000 of our total revenue goes for interest alone without a cent of curtailment of the national expense. Nearly one-third of our entire revenue goes just for interest.

But I have been diverted. I rose primarily to say that, in my judgment, there was no cure in this joint resolution at all. I rose to say, in my judgment, that in a year or 2 years from now we will have another expedient. I do not believe the American people are for trade. They are for selling all the goods they can sell, but for buying none at all. I know what we are up against. Our thought is that we will sell to the whole world, but we will not buy anything. Of course, over in England the cry is "Buy British. Buy from your own people." Over in France, "Buy French." Over in Germany it is "Buy German." And over here it is "Buy American." And here we sit, with dictators on the thrones, with governments crashing, with unemployment in our midst. We increase our tariffs to carry out that policy. We pass four and five billion dollar bills while all the world stagnates, and while no one can sell because they cannot buy and no one can buy because they cannot sell.

A man walked into my office 2 days ago. He wanted an increased tariff on Italian tomatoes. Maryland, as Senators know, is a large tomato State. I listened to him and I said, "By the way, do we sell to Italy more than we buy from Italy?" He said "Yes; we do." "Well", I said, "are you in favor then of curtailing the Italian products? And will not Italy then curtail the American products?" He said, "Yes; that will happen, but I am in favor of that. I do not want their goods to compete with our tomatoes."

I do not know how long we will have to go through with this kind of an economic set-up before the sheer force of governmental debts, before the sheer force of permanent unemployment, before the sheer force of constrained or nationalistic programs, such as ploughing under the cotton and buying up marginal lands, and what not, will drive us to the conclusion that we are not getting anywhere with that sort of a policy.

Adam Smith may be discarded in this day and age as an economist, but he said something which I think is as true as any remark that ever fell from the lips of man. He said, "There must be a division of the world's work for any one nation engaged in trade to be prosperous." Without a division of the world's work there cannot be any international solidarity, any international peace, any international stabilization of currency, or any trade. We cannot consume, with the system of society we have, what we can produce in this country with everyone working. And if we destroy the sources of wealth we will have no tax revenues to carry on experiments such as are now carrying on under the provisions of this joint resolution.

I believe that our policy has to a large extent forced England off the gold standard and helped to make dictators all over the world. I believe that one of the greatest curses we now have in this country is the possession of too much gold. Our foreign customers cannot get the metallic base on which to finance the credit which is necessary in order to purchase the goods we might export. If we had in our Treasury all the gold in the world, what would our foreign customers use in payment of the goods we are selling abroad? Being an export Nation, the more gold we have in the Treasury the less our customers have with which to pay for the goods we send abroad.

I want to ring a cry against supernationalism. I do not mean to say by that that I am an internationalist who believes in all sorts of silly schemes to end war and this, that, and the other, but there is a twilight zone of common sense and reason in which nations can cooperate one with the other, stabilize their currencies, and balance their trade, because a prosperous customer can always buy more than can an impoverished customer. Some men take a delight in saying that we have driven this country or that country off the gold standard. I take no delight in it. I am sorry, because I know we can not drive a country from the security of its currency without in time driving ourselves from the security of our currency.

We have gone on and glorified America, and properly so before the war when we were an exporting and debtor Nation, but if we insist on being an exporting and a creditor Nation, then we must sacrifice \$26,000,000,000 of foreign loans which are owed either to our Government or to our people, on the one hand, or we have got to take goods from our debtors, on the other hand. We cannot have both. The \$26,000,000,000 of international obligations is just about the size of our present national debt. If we want to kiss all that money good-bye, earned wealth, invested capital, savings of labor, all well and good; but may I point out that the present policy is not employing people. I believe if we should not pass the pending measure, and had not passed the last Public Works Act, but had provided simply for relief, conditions would be no worse insofar as the unemployed are concerned. I believe we would have had just about as many unemployed in 1933, 1934, and 1935 as we had in 1932 without the measures referred to. The only dent we have made in the unemployment situation is to scratch the surface by a little public money utilized in the form of a building program; and we cannot keep that up, Senators; we cannot keep it up. Every dollar that the national debt mounts makes recovery more difficult. It requires future taxes to be paid and a future sinking fund to be laid aside, and there is put on the man who is trying to get on his feet a load so heavy that he cannot stagger under it.

Senators here complain about debts in one breath and then vote to drive our indebtedness to the sky in the next. They complain about the size of the national debt—and I agree with them that it is almost too heavy to stand under—and yet, the next instant, or the next week, they vote to increase it \$4,000,000,000 or \$5,000,000,000. Being a bad thing, the way to get rid of it is to have more of it. That, in my judgment, is the philosophy of that kind of reasoning. I want to scale down the debt; I want now to lay the taxes with which to pay as much of the debt as we possibly can.

I made a calculation the other day of what the proportionate share, based on population, of each State in the

Union was of the national debt. I am going to read it. Assuming the national debt to be \$30,000,000,000, then, Maine's share of the national debt is \$200,000,000; New Hampshire's, \$100,000,000; Vermont's, \$80,000,000; Massachusetts', \$1,000,000,000; Rhode Island's, \$150,000,000; Connecticut's, \$325,000,000; New York's, \$3,000,000,000; New Jersey's, \$1,000,000,000; Pennsylvania's, \$2,500,000,000; Ohio's, \$1,500,000,000; Indiana's, \$750,000,000; Illinois', \$1,800,000,000; Michigan's, \$1,100,000,000; Wisconsin's, \$650,000,000; Minnesota's, \$550,000,000; Iowa's \$550,000,000; Missouri's, \$900,000,000; North Dakota's, \$150,000,000; South Dakota's, \$150,000,000; Nebraska's \$300,000,000; Kansas', \$450,000,000; Delaware's, \$50,000,000; Maryland's, \$375,000,000; District of Columbia's, \$100,000,000; Virginia's, \$600,000,000; West Virginia's, \$425,000,000; South Carolina's, \$425,000,000; Georgia's, \$675,000,000; Florida's, \$325,000,000; Kentucky's, \$600,000,000; Tennessee's, \$600,000,000; Alabama's, \$600,000,000; Mississippi's, \$500,000,000; Arkansas', \$475,000,000; Louisiana's, \$500,000,000; Oklahoma's, \$500,000,000; Texas', \$1,400,000,000; Montana's, \$125,000,000; Wyoming's, \$60,000,000; Colorado's, \$260,000,000; New Mexico's, \$100,000,000; Arizona's \$100,000,000; Utah's, \$125,000,000; Nevada's, \$25,000,000; Washington's \$400,000,000; Oregon's \$225,000,000; and California's, \$1,400,000,000.

That is only the share of the respective States in the national debt figured on a basis of population. Back of all that are the State debts. Senators, had we not better stop?

The State debt of my State is only about \$50,000,000, in round numbers, but Maryland's share of the national debt is \$375,000,000. The people of my State do not realize that their share of the national debt is exactly seven times as great as their total State debt. They are going to pay off their share of the national debt. Who is going to pay off this money when it is finally collected? Someone may say we are going to make the rich pay it; oh, we are going to make the rich pay for it. Senators, this debt is going to be paid by the sweat and the toil and the labor of the average man. Some of it may be obtained from the rich, but the poor man is going to put his shoulder under the bulk of it.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President—

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. WHITE. I wish to ask the Senator what was the basis of his computation? What did he assume the national public debt to be?

Mr. TYDINGS. I assumed that debt to be \$30,000,000,000, and I only took the round numbers, I may say to the Senator.

Mr. WHITE. For purposes of my own, I estimated the debt on July 1, 1936, as approximately \$45,000,000,000; and I took occasion to tell the people of Maine that, on the basis of population, their part of that would be \$288,000,000.

Mr. TYDINGS. The Senator was conservative; but our people have no comprehension at all of the fact that the relief money which is coming from the National Government is going to be repaid by them. It is money we get by reaching up into the skies; it does not show on the real-estate tax bills; it will have to be paid back. But let me tell the Senate that it may have been easy to have levied taxes heretofore, but in view of the way the national debt is growing it is going to be hard in the future to levy the necessary taxes; and we are not going to get all the money needed from the very rich. The very poor are going to have their pockets pretty well picked before the debt shall be paid off.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Maryland yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. ADAMS. Am I correct in my understanding that the proportion of the national income which comes from income taxes and estate taxes is approximately one-third and that all the remainder comes from the general citizenry of the country?

Mr. TYDINGS. I would say to my friend from Colorado that I hold in my hand a statement which I have today obtained from Mr. Gaston, Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Gaston, at my request, has shown what each State raises in income taxes and how much of the total

revenues are from each State. Now I can answer the question.

Mr. ADAMS. If I may interrupt the Senator, what I have in mind is that a large part of the internal revenue comes from tobacco taxes, from liquor taxes, from gasoline taxes, and similar taxes, which fall upon the everyday citizen regardless of his wealth. It is only the income and estate taxes which fall upon the well-to-do.

Mr. TYDINGS. The heading of this statement is "Federal internal revenue tax collections—Statement showing by States (1) the amounts and percentages of income taxes collected" in the first column, and in the second column, "The amounts and percentages of total internal revenue collected during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1934 (on a basis of collections)."

It hardly seemed to me that these figures could be accurate, but I will read them, for they must be accurate.

Income taxes for the entire country \$817,025,339.72. I had an idea the amount was greater than that.

Total internal revenue receipts, \$2,672,239,194.52. In other words, the income taxes are a little less than 25 percent of the total taxes raised by internal revenue and other forms of taxation, so that even if we should double the income taxes we would not have half enough money to care for the deficit.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President—

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. FLETCHER. I merely wish to ask if the Senator will put that statement in the Record?

Mr. TYDINGS. I am going to put it in the Record.

There is another striking thing about the tax figures. When it is realized what certain States pay into the fund, and then the amount of money that is appropriated to certain States, we reach the conclusion that 13 or 14 States, while they may draw their revenue from outside their border, are carrying a pretty big load. When we go further and check up the relief expenditures, we find those 13 States which are already paying a majority of the Nation's taxes are likewise paying most of the relief. We have the grandest "pork barrel" in the form of Federal relief that has ever been before the American Congress.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Maryland yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. Did I understand the Senator to say that the States which pay most of the national income into the Treasury are also paying most of the relief?

Mr. TYDINGS. That is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is inevitable. There is no way to avoid that condition because we have to get the money from where it is. I do not see the point of the Senator's argument.

Mr. TYDINGS. Let me explain. I have reached the conclusion that the people who really have no support, no income, no work, are the people who live in the large cities of the United States—Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New York, Boston, Rochester, Syracuse, Chicago, St. Louis, Cleveland, Columbus, Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Kansas City, Denver, and so on. I might go on clear across the country and name others on the far western coast. There the large wells of unemployment exist; but it will be found, in spite of the fact that the unemployment probably exists in the cities, that a great many of the States which have no large cities have gotten more relief money than States with large cities in them.

Mr. BARKLEY. More in actual money or in proportion?

Mr. TYDINGS. More in dollars and cents. Let me refer to one in particular. I do not pick out any one State with any particular object in view, but my eye happens to light on the name of South Dakota in the list. Of course, there was a drought in South Dakota, but South Dakota got \$24,000,000 while the State of Maryland, having one city with a million population, got \$28,000,000. In Baltimore city we have 110,000 on the relief roll, with no work at all. Somehow or other I cannot believe that the citizens of South Dakota were more distressed and had less to eat and less

fuel and less clothes than the people in the big cities who are the victims of the depression. I congratulate the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. NORBECK] upon being a good Ambassador. He knows how to take home the money.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President—

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. COPELAND. The Senator and I have been distressed over unemployment in the cities. We have both contended there is nothing in the joint resolution to help the milliners, the dressmakers, the needleworkers, the female clerks, the nurses, and so forth. Has the Senator found any comfort anywhere? Has he, as the debate proceeded, found anything disclosed to comfort him?

Mr. TYDINGS. I am just coming to that point. If the Senator will bear with me a moment, I think I shall anticipate his question.

Mr. COPELAND. Very well.

Mr. TYDINGS. I believe there is no Senator in this body who would not contend seriously that the main purpose for this relief measure is to provide employment for the unemployed in the large cities and in the towns and villages of the country. I do not mean there is not distress in some agricultural sections, because, of course, there is. Relief there is merited. But as I read the provisions of the joint resolution the idea is to "get the money for my State or my district", and not to think of spending it where unemployment really exists, as in New York City, Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis, and similar places. In proof of that statement let me read how these moneys are to be spent.

Sanitation, prevention of soil erosion, reforestation, forestation, flood-control, and miscellaneous projects, \$350,000,000.

Of course that is for the large cities. We know all about soil erosion and reforestation in the large cities. I can visualize the unemployed people in the large cities building new forests and preventing soil erosion.

Another item is for "rehabilitation and relief in stricken agricultural areas, \$500,000,000." Of course we will get a large slice of that in the large cities.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. COPELAND. There is a provision for cemeteries. That will help us in the large cities. We can at least bury our dead.

Mr. TYDINGS. I hope we do not bury the Democratic Party in it, but it looks like we are getting ready to act as pallbearers. [Laughter.]

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, it may depend upon the efficiency of the doctors of the country as to how many it will be necessary to bury in the cemeteries. [Laughter.]

Mr. COPELAND. I think most of those who will be buried will be the doctors, because they are among the unemployed and the most poorly paid in the country.

Mr. TYDINGS. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. COSTRIGAN] the other day rose, and properly so, and with great earnestness, pleaded with my friend, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], to allow him to insert in the joint resolution the trans-Rocky Mountain project. Rather than have a long debate the Senator from Virginia very courteously stated he could not accede to it, but I think he finally said he would take it to conference. Another friend on the other side of the Chamber wanted some river and harbor improvements inserted in the measure and he offered an amendment to that effect.

Where is the effort to take care of the unemployed? We are not going to get 110,000 people in the city of Baltimore now on the relief rolls to go out to the Rocky Mountains. [Laughter.] We are not going to get the million on the unemployed relief rolls in New York City to go to the Rocky Mountains. If they started out there they would be stopped with an act to repeal this measure before they got fairly started.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Maryland yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. TYDINGS. Certainly.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I should like to give the Senator another example of a project to help the citizens of Baltimore who are in distress. I understand one of the projects is to build a shelter belt of trees a thousand miles long and 100 miles wide just this side of the Rocky Mountains in an arid belt where trees have never been able to grow because of aridity. One of the purposes is to create moisture through the planting of a shelter belt. I have a very interesting suggestion from one gentleman who indicates that it would make more work and accomplish the result better if the administration would remove the Rocky Mountains with pick and shovel and dump the soil in the Atlantic Ocean, which would in turn raise the Atlantic to the level of the Pacific and do away with the necessity for the Panama Canal. [Laughter.]

Mr. TYDINGS. I think we might carry on and build a bridge across the Atlantic to Europe, and then we would not need any tariffs because we could call it "contiguous territory." [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I have detained the Senate for some time and have no desire to proceed at length in conclusion. I do want to try to point out, in no prepared address but simply with the remarks that happen to come to my mind as I proceed, that in my judgment this is simply another piece of stop-gap legislation.

I remember the enthusiasm of Senators when the N. R. A. Act was passed. I can visualize my good friend the senior Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER], when I told him I could not support the measure, making a personal plea to me to support the legislation. In those days I suppose I was regarded as a renegade. I did not vote for the measure. I have seen that great instrument go up in smoke and ashes.

Then I heard other Senators come along with other propositions—I shall not detail them—all of which were going to stabilize and save the country. As I look at the country now, it would seem to me the thing we have done is to waste a good many hundreds of millions of dollars without ever touching the thing that is underneath the whole problem—the cause of the unemployment distress in the country.

Gentlemen, I am a Democrat. Perhaps I am a politician. I am human, but I thought I was a Democrat, because I believe in communities attending to their own affairs. There are very few in the country which cannot attend to their own relief program, but we must make them do it, because they will not do it for themselves as long as we do it for them.

I am also a Democrat, not a free trader, because I believe that, even though tariffs may be necessary, the future of this country and of the world lies in orderly free trade and moderate tariff.

I am a Democrat because I believe the nations should not fight each other in a currency war, and that as soon as we can get back to a sound currency basis the better it will be for us and everybody in the world concerned.

I think the time is past for enacting the stop-gap legislation which heretofore was necessary in many cases, because we had some very unusual cases with which to deal. I think the time has come when we ought to scrap such measures, because I have not seen anybody in the United States Senate who so far has proposed any better system for men to work and live under than the capitalistic system, properly administered, and its abuses checked so far as they can be checked.

All this buncombe about "redistributing wealth" is nothing more than a program which no man who advocates it would have the courage to carry into execution if he had the power to do so. The air is filled with all sorts of catch phrases like "purchasing power", "security", and "standard of living." Senators are talking about keeping up wages when 12,000,000 people have no wages at all. The Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK] has a 30-hour-week bill pending here. If we pass that bill, we are going to lower wages; and yet many men who believe in high wages will vote for it. Why? Because we cannot keep going along without some policy of providing for those who are unemployed. It is not the place to provide for the unemployed in a measure which makes work where no work is necessary.

When this \$4,000,000,000 shall have been spent, if a committee of the country can be appointed to weigh and estimate the benefits accruing from its expenditure, the accretions to our national wealth, they will need a big magnifying glass to find out where \$5,000,000 of it has really stuck, because the soil-erosion corrections will probably be washed away the following spring; blizzards will come; herds will trample down the forests proposed to be planted. There is no coordinated, thought-out plan. It is just a quick way to get rid of \$4,000,000,000; and then we shall be employing only 3,500,000 people, one-third of those who are unemployed.

Suppose John Brown and Henry Smith and another man are neighbors, and all are out of work: Who is to say which one of the three shall get this work, and where are the other two to go? Can two stay on the relief roll while the other man works? Do Senators think that is going to create favor?

Let me ask my friend from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], in the big city of Chicago, where there are millions of unemployed, who is to go out there and take every third man and say, "I have a job for you", and turn down two out of three, and say, "The money will not go far enough to employ you." I venture to say that the Senator from Illinois at least will not seek that opportunity; neither will I. Yet that is exactly what we are doing in this joint resolution. We are providing work for only three and a half million people, while we make statements that there are 22,000,000 persons on the dole, and over 10,000,000 unemployed.

Can we justify a measure that treats with only a third of our population? I would rather raise to that extent the amount paid to those on the dole than to give to one-third of the unemployed a preference that cannot be carried to all the unemployed. If we cannot do it for them all, we have no moral right to pick out one man and tell the other two there is no work for them.

When this joint resolution is finally written into the law, if it is, I venture to say there will not be a piece of legislation in the memory of any Senator that he will have been so ashamed of having supported as this measure when its effects are unraveled with the years. The money is going to be wasted in ill-conceived projects that will confer no permanent benefit upon the country. It will employ only one out of every three workmen who can get no jobs. When the American people see how the money is wasted, I am going to be one to say, "I did not support it for the very reasons you are now complaining about." It may be popular to do it now, but I would rather be a good American than a good Democrat.

Mr. President, I desire to thank for their attention Senators who have done me the honor to listen. All I have said is that we are still dealing with phenomena, not with cause.

We are still trying to run a machine that is out of line. We cannot go on and appropriate money in large quantities like this forever. The time has come to readjust the economic machine. If we do that, we shall have made our due and proper contribution to ending this depression. The longer we put it off, the more difficult it will be for the machine to function when the machine is eventually repaired.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes; I yield.

Mr. COUZENS. I have been out of the Chamber for some little time. Has the Senator told us during his speech how he would readjust the economic machine?

Mr. TYDINGS. I have tried to do so at some length.

Mr. COUZENS. I will read the Senator's speech in the RECORD.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, before I surrender the floor I ask unanimous consent to have printed in connection with my remarks the table to which I referred a moment ago from the Secretary of the Treasury and the letter transmitting it—a statement of the relief expenditures of the various States for 1933 and 1934; and, finally, the veto message of President Wilson, dated March 3, 1921, vetoing the emergency tariff bill; all of which I discussed in my remarks. In conclusion, I believe that the germ of the proper idea will be found in the reasoning of President Wilson in vetoing that tariff bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Maryland? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., March 19, 1935.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In accordance with your verbal request of March 15, 1935, that you be furnished with a current statement similar to that heretofore furnished to Miss Mary G. Kilbreth by the Treasury, and printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 11, 1932, page 3918, there is enclosed a statement showing (1) amounts and percentages of the income taxes collected in each State during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1934; (2) amounts and percentages of total internal-revenue taxes collected in each State during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1934; and (3) amounts and percentages of total Federal-aid payments made to each State during the fiscal year 1934.

Items (1) and (2) are on the basis of collections, and item (2) includes processing taxes. These figures are exhibited in the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the fiscal year 1934, in table 9 on page 321. Item (3) is exhibited in table 47, beginning on page 399.

You will appreciate, of course, the limitations of data representing Federal tax collections in a particular State and the care with which such data must be used in the interest of accuracy. Receipts from internal revenue collected in a particular State, for example, do not necessarily correspond with the amounts which the people of that State ultimately pay toward the expenses of the Government. While the individual reporting income in a certain State is usually a resident of that State, his income is often derived from sources in another State. Also, corporations, particularly the larger ones, pay their income tax in the State in which the principal places of business or the financial headquarters are maintained, although their physical properties may be located in an entirely different State or section of the country and the greater part of their profits from sales derived from many States. It is impossible, therefore, to obtain the exact contribution of any particular State to the support of the Federal Government.

The amounts of expenditures made by the Government as direct payments to the several States and Territories, usually under cooperative arrangements, and ordinarily referred to as "Federal aid to States", are shown in the statement referred to in (3) above. These figures have been compiled from the records of the Treasury so far as possible, and in other cases from information furnished by other departments or Government establishments having administrative control of the appropriations. The expenditures of the Government for the carrying on of its own functions within the States, such as the collection of taxes, constructing and maintaining Federal buildings, public-health activities, under the Treasury Department; military posts and operations, under the War Department; reclamation projects, national parks, under the Department of the Interior; district courts and other judicial functions, under the Department of Justice, etc., are not included in this statement. Complete statistical information of this character can be obtained only from the Departments or Government establishments having administrative control over the appropriations involved.

By direction of the Secretary:

Very truly yours,

HERBERT E. GASTON,
Assistant to the Secretary.

HON. MILLARD E. TYDINGS,
United States Senate.

Federal internal-revenue tax collections and Federal-aid payments

State or Territory	Federal internal-revenue tax collections—Statement showing by States (1) the amounts and percentages of income taxes collected, and (2) the amounts and percentages of total internal-revenue taxes collected, during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1934 (on a basis of collections)				Federal-aid payments—Statement showing by States amounts and percentages of total expenditures made by the Government as direct payments to States under cooperative arrangements during the fiscal year 1934	
	Income taxes	Percent of total	Total internal-revenue receipts	Percent of total	Amount of expenditures	Percent of total
Arizona.....	\$487,599.02	0.06	\$1,371,097.28	0.05	\$13,870,618.72	0.76
Alabama.....	1,938,284.21	.24	12,053,700.16	.45	41,140,248.21	2.25
Alaska.....	158,930.38	.02	243,193.47	.01	637,257.88	.03

Federal internal-revenue tax collections and Federal-aid payments—Continued

State or Territory	Federal internal-revenue tax collections—Statement showing by States (1) the amounts and percentages of income taxes collected, and (2) the amounts and percentages of total internal-revenue taxes collected, during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1934 (on a basis of collections)				Federal-aid payments—Statement showing by States amounts and percentages of total expenditures made by the Government as direct payments to States under cooperative arrangements during the fiscal year 1934	
	Income taxes	Percent of total	Total internal-revenue receipts	Percent of total	Amount of expenditures	Percent of total
Arkansas	\$891,381.50	0.11	\$2,949,794.23	0.11	\$31,194,719.53	1.71
California	57,469,209.10	7.03	151,946,264.43	5.69	73,467,292.49	4.02
Colorado	4,586,088.90	.56	13,462,548.40	.50	20,982,356.98	1.15
Connecticut	15,515,146.55	1.90	29,155,837.74	1.09	19,389,646.15	1.07
Delaware	12,922,925.19	1.58	18,018,636.35	.67	3,563,115.28	.20
District of Columbia	6,725,048.57	.82	11,269,297.86	.42	10,904,557.26	.60
Florida	4,437,630.34	.54	11,589,260.77	.43	40,703,897.60	2.23
Georgia	5,047,449.43	.62	28,782,727.60	1.08	35,479,758.47	1.94
Hawaii	3,287,591.36	.40	5,747,290.65	.22	3,302,786.98	.18
Idaho	402,048.73	.05	1,347,535.30	.05	11,524,425.36	.63
Illinois	63,537,029.35	7.78	215,439,838.46	8.06	112,977,621.04	6.19
Indiana	8,916,842.17	1.09	32,848,176.78	1.23	41,654,055.34	2.28
Iowa	4,240,667.58	.52	17,526,015.72	.66	27,041,382.53	1.48
Kansas	3,013,605.83	.37	23,108,035.04	.87	25,153,033.89	1.38
Kentucky	5,147,249.33	.63	68,654,207.32	2.57	26,239,040.37	1.44
Louisiana	4,799,512.61	.59	17,391,685.60	.65	35,960,982.71	1.97
Maine	3,453,053.05	.42	7,976,326.83	.30	10,283,773.22	.56
Maryland	19,154,022.60	2.34	39,555,734.15	1.48	24,942,438.42	1.36
Massachusetts	39,622,028.81	4.85	97,689,688.31	3.66	63,671,476.36	3.49
Michigan	28,169,277.71	3.46	101,320,561.77	3.79	84,852,000.99	4.65
Minnesota	10,551,764.40	1.29	60,152,191.78	1.88	40,153,374.63	2.20
Mississippi	631,034.61	.08	2,315,293.42	.09	27,687,485.01	1.52
Missouri	22,074,838.51	2.70	76,541,576.32	2.86	43,599,540.34	2.39
Montana	685,114.28	.08	3,968,638.49	.15	18,026,006.79	.99
Nebraska	2,630,338.71	.32	10,351,054.04	.39	15,839,636.95	.87
Nevada	1,736,364.78	.21	2,375,582.83	.09	5,521,558.81	.30
New Hampshire	1,455,411.37	.18	5,294,128.91	.20	7,221,200.56	.40
New Jersey	41,337,659.13	5.06	99,769,014.24	3.73	52,311,954.31	2.86
New Mexico	289,861.02	.04	870,198.12	.03	8,539,871.44	.47
New York	260,844,259.47	31.93	568,022,279.54	21.26	180,843,472.15	9.90
North Carolina	12,957,991.46	1.59	260,405,991.48	9.74	80,833,045.12	4.66
North Dakota	292,321.55	.04	1,730,801.24	.06	17,549,214.45	.95
Ohio	37,895,741.72	4.64	124,681,238.44	4.67	106,601,207.16	5.84
Oklahoma	5,824,570.00	.72	44,967,191.11	1.68	38,687,859.96	2.12
Oregon	1,740,784.85	.21	6,829,280.76	.25	17,425,595.72	.95
Pennsylvania	66,461,022.18	8.13	193,982,574.37	7.26	126,855,891.09	6.95
Rhode Island	6,125,959.00	.75	14,983,135.30	.56	7,443,648.46	.41
South Carolina	2,047,644.16	.25	20,571,380.02	.77	25,955,166.68	1.42
South Dakota	347,033.97	.04	1,331,176.20	.05	23,758,948.85	1.30
Tennessee	5,163,773.23	.63	17,451,058.86	.65	30,364,384.32	1.66
Texas	16,176,688.67	1.98	60,688,688.63	2.27	68,432,543.61	3.75
Utah	914,966.26	.11	2,636,170.28	.10	12,150,541.48	.67
Vermont	644,405.85	.08	1,450,368.70	.05	4,122,164.40	.23
Virginia	8,796,186.92	1.08	122,682,243.62	4.59	21,621,868.53	1.18
Washington	3,592,387.63	.44	14,163,182.95	.53	27,752,539.27	1.52
West Virginia	3,582,747.46	.44	8,929,823.40	.33	31,692,024.26	1.73
Wisconsin	7,796,324.34	.95	43,499,643.57	1.63	61,786,276.31	3.38
Wyoming	422,561.86	.05	1,174,765.18	.04	7,214,156.98	.39
Philippine Islands			475,225.15	.02	288.36	
Puerto Rico			697,813.35	.03	7,581,729.79	.41
Total	817,025,339.72	100.00	2,672,239,194.52	100.00	1,826,010,981.57	100.00

Figured on the basis of population, Maine's share of the national debt is \$200,000,000 in round numbers; New Hampshire's share is \$100,000,000; Vermont, \$80,000,000; Massachusetts, \$1,000,000,000; Rhode Island, \$150,000,000; Connecticut, \$325,000,000; New York, \$3,000,000,000; New Jersey, \$1,000,000,000; Pennsylvania, \$2,500,000,000; Ohio, \$1,500,000,000; Indiana, \$750,000,000; Illinois, \$1,800,000,000; Michigan, \$1,100,000,000; Wisconsin, \$650,000,000; Minnesota, \$550,000,000; Iowa, \$550,000,000; Missouri, \$900,000,000; North Dakota, \$150,000,000; South Dakota, \$150,000,000; Nebraska, \$300,000,000; Kansas, \$450,000,000; Delaware, \$50,000,000; Maryland, \$375,000,000; District of Columbia, \$100,000,000; Virginia, \$600,000,000; West Virginia, \$425,000,000; South Carolina, \$425,000,000; Georgia, \$675,000,000; Florida, \$325,000,000; Kentucky, \$600,000,000; Tennessee, \$600,000,000; Alabama, \$600,000,000; Mississippi, \$500,000,000; Arkansas, \$475,000,000; Louisiana, \$500,000,000; Oklahoma, \$550,000,000; Texas, \$1,400,000,000; Montana, \$125,000,000; Wyoming, \$60,000,000; Colorado, \$260,000,000; New Mexico, \$100,000,000; Arizona, \$100,000,000; Utah, \$125,000,000; Nevada, \$25,000,000; Washington, \$400,000,000; Oregon, \$225,000,000; California, \$1,400,000,000. This shows in round numbers and according to population what each State's share is of the national debt; this in addition to the State debt which each State will have to pay.

Sources of public Emergency Relief funds¹ expended by State and local relief administrations during the years 1933 and 1934
[As reported to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration]

State	Total obligations	Federal funds		State funds		Local funds	
		Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent
Alabama	\$28,572,712	\$27,432,727	96.0			\$1,139,985	4.0
Arizona	11,090,771	9,269,968	83.5	\$1,437,254	13.0	383,549	3.5
Arkansas	24,647,896	23,709,412	96.2	158,690	.6	779,794	3.2
California	105,998,920	66,336,829	62.6	1,803,179	1.7	37,828,912	35.7
Colorado	24,523,797	19,656,732	80.2	1,674,498	6.8	3,192,567	13.0
Connecticut	28,289,918	10,624,978	37.6	3,147,064	11.1	14,517,876	51.3
Delaware	3,984,926	1,445,375	36.3	2,123,264	53.3	413,287	10.4
District of Columbia	10,863,719	7,660,453	70.5			3,203,266	29.5
Florida	26,934,021	26,368,493	97.7			565,528	2.3
Georgia	27,292,925	26,040,731	95.4	6	(²)	1,252,189	4.6
Idaho	8,350,573	7,200,210	86.2	6,561	.1	1,143,802	13.7
Illinois	185,722,657	132,227,621	71.2	44,805,922	23.9	9,189,114	4.9
Indiana	45,583,639	29,095,439	63.8	33,125	.1	16,455,028	36.1
Iowa	21,858,716	11,760,079	53.8	1,801,282	18.2	8,297,355	38.0
Kansas	26,240,579	15,232,325	58.4	225,630	.9	7,788,624	29.7

¹ Includes obligations incurred for relief extended under the general relief program; under all special programs, and for administration. Beginning April 1934 these figures also include purchases of materials, supplies, and equipment (such as team and truck hire), earnings of nonrelief persons, and other expenses incident to the work program.

² Less than one-twentieth of 1 percent.

Sources of public Emergency Relief funds expended by State and local relief administrations during the years 1933 and 1934—Continued
[As reported to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration]

State	Total obligations	Federal funds		State funds		Local funds	
		Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent
Kentucky	\$26,572,212	\$23,436,526	88.2	\$1,211,390	4.6	\$1,924,296	7.2
Louisiana	33,764,996	33,055,001	97.9	1,697	.1	703,298	2.0
Maine	13,103,597	6,041,239	46.1	1,082,036	8.3	5,980,322	45.6
Maryland	28,987,111	18,960,860	65.4	7,882,957	27.2	2,143,294	7.4
Massachusetts	113,424,871	47,353,971	41.8	442,604	.3	65,628,296	57.9
Michigan	106,480,528	77,285,441	72.6	17,197,884	16.2	11,997,203	11.2
Minnesota	44,286,565	33,387,333	75.4	1,960,917	4.4	8,938,315	20.2
Mississippi	18,824,580	18,521,382	98.4	133,737	.7	169,461	.9
Missouri	40,011,708	31,290,162	78.2	2,931,860	7.3	5,789,686	14.5
Montana	15,730,899	13,555,394	86.2	58,304	.4	2,117,201	13.4
Nebraska	12,342,650	8,741,872	70.8			3,600,778	29.2
Nevada	2,950,237	2,762,201	93.6	16,385	0.6	171,651	5.8
New Hampshire	6,693,080	4,017,063	60.0	2,124,258	31.7	551,759	8.3
New Jersey	75,630,286	48,852,584	64.6	20,547,168	27.2	6,230,534	8.2
New Mexico	7,121,605	7,018,017	98.5	11,782	0.2	91,806	1.3
New York	418,136,818	213,780,807	51.1	71,105,192	17.0	133,250,819	31.9
North Carolina	23,372,926	22,168,305	94.8			1,204,621	5.2
North Dakota	15,083,526	13,014,298	86.3			2,069,228	13.7
Ohio	121,733,165	85,130,837	69.9	24,503,385	20.2	12,098,943	9.9
Oklahoma	30,285,805	25,532,877	84.3	266,725	0.9	4,486,203	14.8
Oregon	15,083,411	12,818,829	84.7	892,004	6.2	1,372,578	9.1
Pennsylvania	233,538,926	153,211,862	65.6	64,701,108	27.7	15,625,956	6.7
Rhode Island	11,509,994	4,863,551	42.2	2,919,422	25.4	3,727,021	32.4
South Carolina	23,853,408	23,494,002	98.2			419,406	1.8
South Dakota	24,900,417	22,567,819	90.6			2,341,598	9.4
Tennessee	18,486,708	17,707,655	95.8	643,323	3.5	135,730	.7
Texas	52,010,454	37,176,504	71.5	14,019,951	26.9	813,999	1.6
Utah	14,433,871	11,474,984	79.5	1,925,230	13.3	1,033,657	7.2
Vermont	3,189,157	1,532,227	48.1	29,249	.9	1,627,681	51.0
Virginia	11,759,305	9,992,402	85.0	19,508	.2	1,747,395	14.8
Washington	27,901,997	23,177,343	83.1	2,686,849	9.6	2,037,805	7.3
West Virginia	36,224,703	32,946,125	90.9	2,301,782	6.4	976,796	2.7
Wisconsin	60,497,712	44,270,221	73.2	1,012,972	1.7	15,214,519	25.1
Wyoming	4,234,684	3,851,492	91.0	24,222	.6	358,970	8.4
Total, continental United States	2,272,102,631	1,549,935,555	68.2	299,370,375	13.2	422,796,701	18.6

* Break-down partially estimated.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 3, 1921.

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith without my approval H. R. 15275, an act imposing temporary duties upon certain agricultural products to meet present emergencies, to provide revenue, and for other purposes.

The title of this measure indicates that it has several purposes. The report of the Committee on Ways and Means reveals that its principal object is to furnish relief to certain producers in the Nation who have been unable to discover satisfactory markets in foreign countries for their products and whose prices have fallen.

Very little reflection would lead anyone to conclude that the measure would not furnish in any substantial degree the relief sought by the producers of most of the staple commodities which it covers. This Nation has been for very many years a large exporter of agricultural products. For nearly a generation before it entered the European war its exports exceeded its imports of agricultural commodities by from approximately \$200,000,000 to more than \$500,000,000. In recent years this excess has greatly increased, and in 1919 reached the huge total of \$1,904,282,000. The excess of exports of staple products is especially marked. In 1913 the Nation imported 783,481 bushels of wheat, valued at \$670,931, and in 1920, 35,848,648 bushels, worth \$75,398,834, while it exported in 1913, 99,508,968 bushels, worth \$95,098,838, and in 1920, 218,280,231 bushels, valued at \$596,957,796.

In the year 1913 it imported 85,183 barrels of wheat flour valued at \$347,877, and in 1920, 800,788 barrels, valued at \$8,669,300, while it exported in the first year 12,278,206 barrels, valued at \$56,865,444, and in 1920, 19,853,952 barrels, valued at \$224,472,448. In 1913 it imported \$3,888,604 worth of corn, and in 1920, \$9,257,377 worth, while its exports in the first year were valued at \$26,515,146 and in 1920 at \$26,453,681. Of unmanufactured cotton in 1920 it imported approximately 300,000,000 pounds, valued at \$138,743,000, while it exported more than 3,179,000,000 pounds, worth over \$1,136,000,000. Of preserved milk, in the same year it imported \$3,331,812 worth and exported \$65,239,020 worth. Its imports in the same year of sugar and wool, of course, greatly exceeded its exports.

It is obvious that for the commodities, except sugar and wool, mentioned in the measure, which make up the greater part of our agricultural international trade, the imports can have little or no effect on the prices of the domestic products. This is strikingly true of such commodities as wheat and corn. The imports of wheat have come mainly from Canada and Argentina and have not competed with the domestic crop. Rather they have supplemented it. The domestic demand has been for specific classes and qualities of foreign wheat to meet particular milling and planting demands. They are a small fraction of our total production and of our wheat exports. The price of wheat is a world price; and it is a matter of little moment whether the Canadian wheat goes directly into the markets of the other countries of the world or indirectly through this country. The relatively small quantity of corn imported into this country has a specialized use, and does not come into competition with the domestic commodity.

The situation in which many of the farmers of the country find themselves cannot be remedied by a measure of this sort. This

is doubtless generally understood. There is no short way out of existing conditions, and measures of this sort can only have the effect of deceiving the farmers and of raising false hopes among them. Actual relief can come only from the adoption of constructive measures of a broader scope, from the restoration of peace everywhere in the world, the resumption of normal industrial pursuits, the recovery particularly of Europe, and the discovery there of additional credit foundations on the basis of which her people may arrange to take from farmers and other producers of this Nation a greater part of their surplus production.

One does not pay a compliment to the American farmer who attempts to alarm him by dangers from foreign competition. The American farmers are the most effective agricultural producers in the world. Their production is several times as great for each worker as that of their principal foreign rivals. This grows out of the intelligence of the American farmer, the nature of his agricultural practices and economy, and the fact that he has the assistance of scientific and practical agencies which, in respect to variety of activity, of personnel and of financial support, exceed those of any other two or three nations in the world combined. There is little doubt that the farmers of this Nation will not only continue mainly to supply the home demand but will be increasingly called upon to supply a large part of the needs of the rest of the world.

What the farmer now needs is not only a better system of domestic marketing and credit but especially larger foreign markets for his surplus products.

Clearly, measures of this sort will not conduce to an expansion of the foreign market. It is not a little singular that a measure which strikes a blow at our foreign trade should follow so closely upon the action of Congress directing the resumption of certain activities of the War Finance Corporation, especially at the urgent insistence of representatives of the farming interests, who believed that its resumption would improve foreign marketing. Indeed, when one surveys recent activities in the foreign field and measures enacted affecting the foreign trade, one cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that there is consistency only in their contradictions and inconsistencies.

We have been vigorously building up a great merchant marine and providing for improvement of marketing in foreign countries by the passage of an export-trade law and of measures for the promotion of banking agencies in foreign countries. Now it appears that we propose to render these measures abortive in whole or in part.

I imagine there is little doubt that while this measure is temporary, it is intended as a foundation for action of a similar nature of a very general and permanent character. It would seem to be designed to pave the way for such action. If there ever was a time when America had anything to fear from foreign competition, that time has passed. I cannot believe that American producers, who in most respects are the most effective in the world, can have any dread of competition when they view the fact that their country has come through the great struggle of the last few years, relatively speaking, untouched, while their principal competitors are in varying degrees sadly stricken and laboring under adverse conditions from which they will not recover for many years.

Changes of a very radical character have taken place. The United States has become a great creditor nation. She has lent certain governments of Europe more than \$9,000,000,000, and as a result of the enormous excess of our exports there is an additional commercial indebtedness of foreign nations to our own of perhaps not less than \$4,000,000,000. There are only three ways in which Europe can meet her part of her indebtedness, namely, by the establishment of private credits, by the shipment of gold, or of commodities. It is difficult for Europe to discover the requisite securities as a basis for the necessary credits. Europe is not in a position at the present time to send us the amount of gold which would be needed and we could not view further large imports of gold into this country without concern. The result, to say the least, would be a larger disarrangement of international exchange and disturbance of international trade.

If we wish to have Europe settle her debts, governmental or commercial, we must be prepared to buy from her, and if we wish to assist Europe and ourselves by the export either of food, of raw materials, or finished products, we must be prepared to welcome commodities which we need and which Europe will be prepared, with no little pain, to send us.

Clearly, this is no time for the erection here of high-trade barriers. It would strike a blow at the large and successful efforts which have been made by many of our great industries to place themselves on an export basis. It would stand in the way of the normal readjustment of business conditions throughout the world, which is as vital to the welfare of this country as to that of all the other nations. The United States has a duty to itself as well as to the world, and it can discharge this duty by widening, not by contracting, its world markets.

This measure has only slight interest so far as its prospective revenue yields are concerned. It is estimated that the aggregate addition to the Nation's income from its operation for 10 months would be less than \$72,000,000, and of this more than half would arise from the proposed duty on sugar. Obviously this and much more can be secured in ways known to the Congress, which would be vastly less burdensome to the American consumer and American industry.

The rates, however, have a peculiar interest. In practically every case they either equal or exceed those established under the Payne-Aldrich Act, in which the principle of protection reached its high-water mark, and the enactment of which was followed by an effective exhibition of protest on the part of the majority of the American people. I do not believe that the sober judgment of the masses of the people of the Nation, or even of the special class whose interests are immediately affected by this measure, will sanction a return, especially in view of conditions which lend even less justification for such action, to a policy of legislation for selfish interests which will foster monopoly and increase the disposition to look upon the Government as an instrument for private gain instead of an instrument for the promotion of the general well-being.

Such a policy is antagonistic to the fundamental principle of equal and exact justice to all, and can only serve to revive the feeling of irritation on the part of the great masses of the people and of the lack of confidence in the motives of rulers and the results of Government.

WOODROW WILSON.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS] to strike out "\$2,000,000,000" and to insert in lieu thereof "\$1,000,000,000."

Mr. COPELAND obtained the floor.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I did not yield for that purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Arizona for the purpose of suggesting the absence of a quorum?

Mr. COPELAND. No; I ask my friend not to call for a quorum. I know Senators are occupied in committee work.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I understood that the question was about to be put on the pending amendment. If there is no objection, I will withdraw my request for a quorum call.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I am very much obliged to the Senator from Arizona for withdrawing his suggestion of the absence of a quorum. I feel confident that Senators are occupied with other matters of importance. I fear, also, that their minds are made up on this question; and so, perhaps, it is really useless to debate it at all.

As everybody knows, I am tremendously worried over unemployment in the cities. It so happens that my home is in the city of New York, where is found the largest unit of unemployed persons in the whole country. About one-quarter of our population are on relief. What is true in New

York is true in Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Schenectady, Albany, Elmira, Binghamton, Jamestown, and other cities in my State.

As much as I am concerned about the effect of this joint resolution upon the Treasury and upon the financial credit of our country, I should support it if it had in it a hope of relief for the great urban populations found in my great State.

I concede that there is need for something to restore business. Frankly I am not impressed by the newspaper accounts of material improvement in business. I read, as I assume other Senators did, the report of the chairman of the council appointed by the Secretary of Commerce, which was printed yesterday in the newspapers. There were two statements in it which struck my eye. One related to the increase in exports and the other to a much smaller increase in imports. But, Mr. President, those figures are dollar figures; they are not volume figures. Unless we can have a material increase in volume of production and in volume of products sold, we shall have no real improvement in the way of overcoming the unemployment conditions of the country.

I read every week a little paper which is edited by a friend of mine. He will forgive me if he should read this statement in the RECORD, but I think perhaps I read his news letter because he edits it.

In a box on the face of this newspaper every week is a record of car loadings in the United States. I can think of no one thing which gives a truer index to business than car loadings. While there might be great activity in some commodity locally consumed, and I dare say that often is the case, yet, by and large, so far as the country is concerned, the car loadings give a very accurate index of business.

There is nothing in the record of car loadings to justify the belief that there is any material improvement in business. I find, for example, that during the 4 weeks in January the car loadings amounted to 2,170,471, as against 2,183,081 in 1934. There was a decline during that period of 13,000 car loadings.

If I were contrasting figures now with figures of 10 years ago, I would have to confess at once that perhaps the busses might be carrying the traffic. In that respect there is no difference now from what the condition was a year ago.

The last week recorded in this report is the week of February 16; I find that the car loadings in that week were 581,981, as against 600,268 in the corresponding week of 1934. I have no later figures, but I have no doubt they will show exactly the same contrast.

I want to see improvement in business. Every Member of the Congress desires to have business improve. I am sure that every Member of Congress, regardless of his party, is anxious to have business improve. Everyone stands for this, even if it might perpetuate the present administration, and defeat the hopes and ambitions of the Republicans, if they have any, that they might elect the President next year.

The only argument which can possibly be used for the enactment of the pending joint resolution is that it might "prime the pump" and stimulate a revival of business. We have been "priming the pump" until the pump is worn out; it just will not prime. The junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] this morning pointed out very clearly, however, that if we need money with which to "prime the pump", we have at our disposal a billion and a half dollars of unused money, funds which we voted last year. If we were to accept the amendment offered by the junior Senator from Virginia, another \$1,880,000,000 would be added to the unused money, making nearly \$4,000,000,000 available for "pump priming" purposes.

Mr. President, the Senate will reassemble, I assume, next January. I do not believe that between this time and then the country will be so disgusted with us that they will not let us reassemble. The appropriating body will still be in existence, and if the sum of between three and four billion dollars which will be available for these various functions shall all be used up before the New Year, we can vote some more money at the next session.

It is a distressing thing to observe the effect of the continued offerings of the Government upon the banks and their lending of money. I do not think I blame the bankers. Last year and for a number of years previously I did blame them. I said that a bank had no excuse for living if it could not operate as a bank; that when it boasted that 80 percent of its assets were liquid, it was like a hospital boasting that 80 percent of its beds were empty, when there were a thousand persons seeking admission to the hospital. But the picture has changed or I did not see the whole picture. At the moment certainly the banks are called upon, or are liable to be called upon any day, to absorb Government offerings. They do not dare let out their money in the way of private loans, because they do not dare to be in the position of not being able to absorb their respective proportions of the Government offerings.

Mr. President, we need to remind ourselves time and time again that if there should come a time when the banks declined to take the offerings of the Government, there would be an immediate slump in the value of Government securities. We need not go far back in history to find when such a thing happened. I recall that it was only a few years ago when Government securities were down to 82. If we had a decline today in the market for Government securities, and they fell to 82, or even to 89 or 90, it would put every bank in the United States into insolvency, because during the past few years the portfolios of the banks have been filled with Government bonds and notes. Many banks have as high as 60, 70, and even 75 percent of their securities in the shape of Government securities. Suppose there should be a decline of 10 percent in the value of those securities, so that the decline would wipe out the capital and surplus of a given bank; it would be an insolvent institution.

We cannot afford to go on and on and on in the borrowing of money. Yet we are asked to vote \$5,000,000,000 more, the largest appropriation ever made in any country at any time.

Let me show, if I can, what effect this absorption of Government securities has had upon the lending of money to local industries. Every time a bank lends \$100,000 to the Government, it has a hundred thousand less to lend to local industries, to the manufacturer, or the business man, or the farmer, or the householder. Banks say that they make all loans which are asked where the security is gilt-edged. Go down to a bank and offer some kind of security for a loan, and see what they do about it. One just cannot get the money.

The heavy industries have suffered, according to the report I read yesterday; they are not operating, probably because of lack of funds. One of such establishments we set up was the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. I think the R. F. C. has done a tremendous amount of good, but I say frankly that it has been extremely difficult for many industries in my section of the country to get any money from the R. F. C.

I have in mind as I speak, a corporation—and I shall not mention its name, or be specific enough to identify it—which manufactures heavy machinery. This corporation desired to borrow \$300,000. The business they do amounts to two or three million dollars a year, and their plant runs up into millions of dollars in value. They went to the R. F. C. with an appeal for a loan and finally, after much discussion, it was agreed that they could have \$300,000, \$200,000 in cash and \$100,000 for which the R. F. C. would have trade acceptances as security.

The reason these operators went to the R. F. C. was because they did not want to hypothecate their credit with the local bank. The minute a concern like that shows its hand it is regarded to be insolvent, or at least its credit is attacked. As a result it cannot operate with any degree of efficiency; it is "in the hands of the broker."

After about 9 months of effort this particular concern succeeded in getting the R. F. C. to say they would take \$50,000 in credit securities. That offer, of course, in its effect on credit, is just as bad as the other.

The point I am trying to bring out, Mr. President, is that not alone do the local banks fall down in their function of providing money for industry but the R. F. C., splendid as its work has been in most fields, is not supplying the need of the manufacturers.

Now we propose still further to hamper credit by absorbing \$5,000,000,000 more of the money of the public, and place in the portfolios of the banks of America \$5,000,000,000 more of Government securities. That is what I meant the other day when I said we cannot buy our way into prosperity, and that we are buying our way into poverty. Instead of "priming the pump" all these things have exactly the opposite effect, and make still more difficult the operation of normal banking activities and the restoration of business with normal employment.

I remember very well when Speaker Thomas B. Reed was in power that for the first time in our history the appropriations of Congress amounted to a billion dollars. There was a great protest from the entire country. A billion-dollar Congress! In characteristic fashion Mr. Reed said, "Well, it is a billion-dollar country."

Mr. President, next year this country will not only be a billion-dollar country but it will be a billion-dollar, interest-paying country.

We will be called upon to pay in interest upon our national securities a sum as great as the entire appropriations for the support of the Government when the protest arose against the billion-dollar Congress. That is what we are facing. How long can we continue under such conditions?

I wish to speak briefly about the joint resolution. I have always disliked to hear the charge made that any piece of legislation was "pork barrel" legislation. I listened with some amusement last week when efforts were made to add this, that, and the other project, and I make the statement without criticism of any particular Senator, because I have no particular Senator in mind. But the point of all such efforts was that "So long as the going is good I must get mine."

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. Does not the Senator think that the Senate as a whole is entitled to some credit for not consenting to the inclusion of individual projects which might have justified the criticism that they were of the "pork barrel" variety?

Mr. COPELAND. I think the Senate did vote down one or two.

Mr. BARKLEY. As I understand it, they voted down all which might be regarded as "pork barrel" projects.

Mr. COPELAND. That is, those which were not already in the joint resolution. That is, the barrel was so full of pork that we did not think it wise to put in any more pieces of pork.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, even if there had been no allocation or break-down of the total amount at all, someone might say it was pork.

Mr. COPELAND. Oh, yes; I concede that.

I have here a petition signed by two or three thousand citizens of a community in my State. In order that I may not give offense to this particular community I will not mention the name of the community, and I will call it "Dunlap." I do not know that I have a community called "Dunlap" in my State, but anyway, for the purposes of this argument, I am creating the community of Dunlap.

The petition reads as follows:

We, the undersigned, urge Senators COPELAND and WAGNER to vote for the President's relief bill and urge the President of the United States to include in this program of relief grade-elimination projects.

That is all right. That project is already in that resolution. So I may say to my constituents in Dunlap that grade-elimination projects are in the joint resolution. But my constituents do not stop there.

We urge the President and all concerned to include in the program of relief grade-elimination projects, especially the grade-elimination project for the city of Dunlap.

That is all right. I do not blame the citizens of Dunlap for wanting their grade-elimination project carried there, and I am for it.

Mr. BARKLEY. Will the Senator further yield?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. What is it that the people of Dunlap want eliminated?

Mr. COPELAND. The grade crossings at Dunlap.

Mr. BARKLEY. Oh, yes. There may be many things in Dunlap which ought to be eliminated.

Mr. COPELAND. No; I will say that the residents of Dunlap are a noble aggregation of citizens. Some of them vote for me. But even those who do not I think are fine, outstanding people.

Mr. BARKLEY. But very much misguided.

Mr. COPELAND. But misguided! However, the citizens of Dunlap want the grade crossings in Dunlap taken care of. I want the grade crossings in Dunlap to be taken care of, but I am equally interested in the white-collar folk who have been self-respecting, self-supporting citizens of my city and State and who now have nothing to eat but the sidewalks of New York. There is no other poverty so pressing and distressing as is the poverty in the cities.

I do not want anyone here to think that I speak as a city-born and bred person. I was born on a farm, brought up in a community of 800 people. I know conditions in the rural sections just as well as does any other Member of the Senate. Most of my relatives are farm people. But I do not care how poor or underprivileged or distressed may be the people of the rural districts, there is no poverty equal to the misery imposed by unemployment upon those who live in tenement houses.

There is a square mile in my city where live 500,000 citizens, men women, and children—a half million in a square mile. Where can they get any food if there is unemployment and unrelief? Where are they to go for food? On a farm a few rutabagas or a few potatoes could be cooked or an old rooster could be parboiled, and then served up in some fashion; but in the cities there is nothing to eat but the sidewalks. When poverty comes, thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands in the cities of New York State—dressmakers, milliners, manicurists, needleworkers, garment makers, nurses, clerks, and messengers; women, just as much entitled to be taken care of by a benevolent Government as any workers of the male sex, have no recourse except charity.

Where is there in this bill anything to help them? The last time I spoke here on this subject some Senator referred to "elevated structures." I suppose the poor dressmakers might determine just the degree of elevation of these projects as they do the height of the skirt off the floor. It is ridiculous! There is nothing in the joint resolution to help that class of workers. How long do you think, Mr. President, the "white collar" workers—"workers!"—in quotation marks with an exclamation after the word—how long do you think the "white collar" workers of America in the cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, and all the other of the great cities, are going to endure this state of affairs?

I know there are many projects in this measure which are commendable. I think the good-roads project is well worth while, because 90 percent of every dollar appropriated and applied to the building of roads is for labor. I have no doubt that the road projects, and perhaps the grade-separation projects, for which the citizens of Dunlap appeal, will afford opportunities for labor.

I find in the joint resolution an item of \$600,000,000 for the Civilian Conservation Corps. In my judgment, that movement is one of the outstanding achievements of the Roosevelt administration. In addition to all the other splendid things our President has done, the inauguration of the Civilian Conservation Corps will go down in history, in my judg-

ment, as one of the finest undertakings ever devised or thought of by man.

Mr. Roosevelt was fortunate in the selection of the man, Mr. Robert Fechner, who is in charge of that work. He has carried it on with a degree of intelligence and alertness and activity and has given it a supervision which entitle him to great praise. I should be glad to see that movement continued. There has just come into the Chamber the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], who was chairman of the committee that wrote the bill creating the Civilian Conservation Corps. I am proud that, as a member of that committee, I had a part in it, for nothing we have done, in my judgment, will prove to be more conspicuously an improvement in the relief of distress and in the fighting off of communism than this very movement.

So when I consider these items one after another I can find some of them that are decidedly meritorious. But after we have filled up the barrel, mostly with pork, at the very end we say:

That not to exceed 20 percent of the amount herein appropriated may be used by the President to increase any one or more of the foregoing limitations.

The entire amount assigned to each item may be taken for something else. Every dollar allotted to roads might be devoted to something else; every dollar supposed to be provided for the Civilian Conservation Corps project might be used for some other purpose. There is nothing definite about the joint resolution, and, in my opinion, its authors do not intend that it shall be definite; it is purposely left elastic in order that it may be operated at the pleasure of those who may administer it.

I would not be honest with the Senate if I did not say that my position has been criticized by some of my constituents. I am happy that the critical letters have not been numerous, but where there has been criticism it is because of the impression that I stand only for the "dole." Of course, that is perfectly ridiculous. In the administration of this proposed act, in the future as in the past, whether the entire amount shall be appropriated or a lesser sum, there will be a piecing out of funds by appropriations and by allotments already made. Even though the amount shall be cut to the sum suggested by the Senator from Virginia, there will still be left in the joint resolution a billion dollars, as his amendment provides, and a balance of a billion and a half now unexpended, or two and a half billion, in all, to be used for work projects.

I want to make it very clear that even though we should accept the amendment of the Senator from Virginia, there would still be left the enormous sum of \$2,500,000,000 which could be used for work relief.

This is not by any means a proposal to put everybody on the dole. Let that be made clear. Those of us who object to the large sum proposed to be appropriated by the joint resolution as presented, are just as much interested in work relief as we are in direct personal relief, and there is ample provision for the former. I do not want any constituent of mine to think that I desire to put everybody on a dole.

I have just as much faith in human nature as has any other Senator here. I know that the average citizen wants to work; I know that the average family wants to work; I know that self-respect means everything to them; I know that many of them are even eating the shingles off their houses in order to keep from an appeal to public relief boards. I want my constituents to know that even though this amendment shall prevail, as I hope it will, there will still be available, two and a half billion dollars for work relief.

I have been in the Senate for 13 years. If 13 years ago as a freshman Senator, I had come on the floor and introduced a proposal to spend two and a half billion dollars, I would have been laughed out of the Senate. It would have been said, "That man has gone crazy", and yet if we should adopt the amendment of the Senator from Virginia, we would have left the enormous sum of two and a half billion dollars for work relief, a sum that a dozen years ago would have been ridiculed by the whole country.

Mr. President, what do you say when you get letters? Here is one from a doctor. The chief of indoor sports is to joke about the doctor; and yet my observation is that the man who attempts suicide today, if tomorrow he has a stomach ache, will call a doctor; when he is in trouble he wants a doctor. No other class of our people has suffered more than has the medical man. They contribute always in normal times half their energies to the care of the poor. Now most of their patients, especially those men who are not fortunate enough to ring silver doorbells, are on relief. The vast army of the unemployed have no money for the doctor.

Mr. President, what would you do if you received a letter from a man who is assistant professor in a great medical school, a man of distinction, the author of a splendid textbook, a man who has been successful in his private practice, who would write to you as follows:

You are fully aware, I am sure, of the fact that it is extremely difficult for many physicians to make a living under the existing conditions. The vast majority of our patients are getting welfare aid, and the clinics and hospitals are full of charity cases. Yet in spite of all this we all continue to give freely of our services. We in turn have been compelled to cut our expenses to the core and struggle for the bare necessities of life.

At the end of this letter he makes an appeal to me to find some place where he can go for aid and yet preserve his self respect. What are we going to do for him and thousands like him?

Because I happen to be a physician I have many letters from doctors all over the country, particularly from the Northwest in the stricken areas of the Dakotas, Montana, and other States. The doctors never see any money. They are paid sometimes in products of the farm, perhaps, a side of pork now and then or a few dozen eggs, but they never get any money. There is no money. And yet we are going on and on and on, attempting to continue to do over again the same thing that failed in our past experiments.

I know the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS]—there is no more conscientious or able Member of this body—feels that our philosophy is wrong. There must be something wrong with our philosophy. There is something wrong with what we are attempting to do. We are not achieving relief. We are not finding the path to prosperity. We are not on the way back to better things.

If I felt an appropriation of \$4,000,000,000 or \$5,000,000,000 or \$10,000,000,000 would bring us back to prosperity, I should vote for it with joy in my heart. But I took an oath and I conceive it my duty to my constituents and to my country to vote in all good conscience on the pending measure.

I am going to be faced, and other Senators are going to be faced, as I said the other day, with a great problem. If we are defeated in our efforts to amend the pending measure, since this is the only appropriation now pending for human relief, we shall have to face the question of what we are going to do about it.

So far as I have influence, I beg Senators not to impose a burden of debt upon our country by voting an unneeded \$3,000,000,000 in addition to what the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] has proposed. As I see it, we should vote now for \$1,880,000,000, which, together with other and unused funds, will be ample to carry us into a time when the Senate shall meet again and when the Congress can give renewed attention to the question.

I think we are on the wrong path—and I say it with deepest respect for the President of the United States. There is no one here more anxious than I to do for him everything that he wants done. He comes from my State. He has been my friend and supporter through many years. I should prefer to grant everything he requests. However, Mr. President, in all good conscience I think I have no right at this time to vote against my convictions. To give an additional \$3,000,000,000, as I see it, is a wicked waste of the taxpayers' money and may well have the effect of causing a state of national affairs where the very credit of our Nation may be at stake.

Mr. President, I want relief for the white-collar class. I shall do all I can to help the unemployed, directly or by the use of work relief. But I do not want to saddle upon this

country an additional burden through an appropriation which has in it a threat to our banking institutions, a threat to our industrial development, a threat to our agricultural prosperity, a threat to our financial security. Therefore, Mr. President, for my part I feel it to be my duty to vote in favor of the amendment offered by the junior Senator from Virginia.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, if there is to be no further discussion, I should like to close the matter in a word and then let the respective amendments go to a vote.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I think we should have a quorum.

Mr. GLASS. I should prefer not to have a quorum called. I shall speak no longer than 2 or 3 minutes.

Mr. ROBINSON. Very well.

Mr. GLASS. As Chairman of the Appropriations Committee and by direction of the committee, I reported the pending joint resolution. From time to time I have endeavored to the best of my ability to maintain the integrity of the measure and to justify its various provisions.

The amendment proposed by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS] was offered in committee and failed of adoption, or was adopted at one time and failed of adoption by a tie vote another time and ultimately was defeated in committee by 1 vote. I voted for the amendment in committee and reserved the right to do likewise on the floor of the Senate. On all the committee amendments I have stood throughout with the committee, as I recall, and endeavored to justify the various amendments; but on the amendment of the Senator from Colorado I still maintain the view that the appropriation contained in the joint resolution would bring us too near the point of impairment of the public credit. If that should occur, as already I have pointed out, it would be a disaster too momentous for the human imagination now to grasp, disastrous to the Government itself, disastrous to private enterprise and industry, which, so far from being enabled to expand, would be desperately curtailed; and just in the measure that it should either fail to expand or should be largely curtailed it would do a desperate wrong to the working classes of the Nation.

I have said already that an impairment of the credit of the United States to the point of 10 percent would so impair the credit of the banks as to render 90 percent of them practically insolvent. That would mean more than the mere statement of the fact, because the impairment would not cease at 10 percent. That alone would create such peril and such distrust that it would go on and on, and catastrophe would inevitably follow.

I make this explanation for the RECORD, with no expectation of influencing the vote of any Senator. I think every Senator now knows how he intends to vote on these amendments. I am perfectly content to stand upon the prediction that, if this tremendous appropriation shall be made, it will imperil the credit of the United States, with all of the succeeding consequences.

I call for a vote on the amendment.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

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

Adams	Copeland	La Follette	Radcliffe
Ashurst	Costigan	Lewis	Reynolds
Austin	Couzens	Logan	Robinson
Balley	Cutting	Loneragan	Russell
Bankhead	Dickinson	McAdoo	Schall
Barbour	Dieterich	McCarran	Schwellenbach
Barkley	Donahay	McGill	Sheppard
Bilbo	Fletcher	McKellar	Shipstead
Black	Frazier	McNary	Smith
Bone	George	Maloney	Stelwer
Borah	Gerry	Metcalf	Thomas, Okla.
Brown	Gibson	Minton	Thomas, Utah
Bulkeley	Glass	Moore	Townsend
Bulow	Guffey	Murphy	Trammell
Burke	Hale	Murray	Truman
Byrd	Harrison	Neely	Tydings
Byrnes	Hastings	Norbeck	Vandenberg
Capper	Hatch	Norris	Van Nuys
Carey	Hayden	Nye	Wagner
Clark	Johnson	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Connally	Keyes	Pittman	White
Coolidge	King	Pope	

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. DUFFY], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] are necessarily detained from the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Eighty-seven Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. CUTTING. Mr. President, I should like to address a question to the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS]. Would it be possible to have separate votes on the two parts of his amendment? I ask the question because personally I should like to vote for the 1-year time limit rather than the 2-year time limit, and yet I am absolutely opposed to cutting the amount of the appropriation.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I am very inexperienced in parliamentary procedure, but I should assume it would be an entirely appropriate thing to separate the two parts of the amendment.

Mr. CUTTING. Then I address the question to the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Any Senator may have the amendment divided.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, the effect of dividing the amendment would be to appropriate \$4,800,000,000 for 1 year?

Mr. CUTTING. If the first half of the amendment should be agreed to and the second half should fail, of course, that would be the situation.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President—

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

Mr. CUTTING. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. ROBINSON. I understand that the question is on the amendment of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the pending question.

Mr. ROBINSON. The first vote, therefore, would come on the amendment of the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. CUTTING. I understand that. I simply desired to make sure whether, when the amendment of the Senator from Colorado comes up, he will be willing to have it divided.

Mr. ADAMS. I may suggest to the Senator from New Mexico that I think it will make considerable difference in which order the vote shall be taken on the separate questions.

Mr. CUTTING. I have no particular interest in that. I want a chance to vote differently on the two halves of the Senator's amendment.

I desire to occupy a few moments to explain my position on the two amendments on which we are shortly to be called upon to vote.

I am opposed to both of the amendments. I do not believe that anything adequate can be done in the way of work relief for a smaller sum than that provided in the joint resolution. In fact, to my mind, that sum itself is inadequate. I intend to vote for the amendment which I understand the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] is to offer, increasing the total amount.

It seems to me it has been fairly well demonstrated by the Senators who have spoken in favor of cutting down the appropriation that public works will cost more money per capita than the ordinary straight relief. That seems to me perfectly clear. On the other hand, I agree entirely with the President of the United States that work relief is superior, not only for the morale of our people but for the future results to the country. So, if the amount of money now carried by the joint resolution is inadequate to carry out its purposes, I believe the amount should be materially increased.

The argument which has been advanced on the floor of the Senate today in favor of direct relief, the so-called "dole", has been based almost entirely on grounds of economy.

It seems strange to me that those talking about economy have not gone further and advocated a system, which is now to a large extent used by the Relief Administration and

which is far more economical than the dole itself—that is, the system by which the unemployed produce goods for their own consumption.

I am not sponsoring the adoption of any such system. I can see many distinct disadvantages to it. I am standing by the principle embodied in the pending joint resolution. But if there is to be talk about economy, why not go the whole way?

I received a few weeks ago a very interesting letter from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration concerning the production of goods by persons on work relief. Mr. Baker, Assistant Administrator, sent me with his letter a series of interesting tables showing what is being done at the present time, giving valuable information about the way in which the system has worked out in different parts of the country, and giving an estimate of the cost of employing all of those on relief, in this particular manner. These statistics are entirely too detailed to read to the Senate at this late hour but I shall ask unanimous consent that Mr. Baker's letter, together with the attached tables, shall be printed at the end of my remarks. I shall read portions of Mr. Baker's communication in order to show the general conclusions which he has reached and the system which is employed at the present time.

First, as to the proportion of work-relief persons producing goods, Mr. Baker writes:

Of the 1,600,000 persons working on work relief on November 15 about 15 percent were employed in the production of goods required by the unemployed. Exhibit A shows this distribution by States and compares it with other types of projects upon which people were working. You will note that on public-property projects about 74 percent of the people were employed, against 15 percent in the production of relief goods.

Second, as to the extent of these projects, Mr. Baker says:

On November 15 there were 7,650 projects in operation throughout the country in the production of goods needed by relief people.

He then states how they were divided:

During the succeeding month—

That is, in December—

there were some changes in the number of projects, but they remained approximately the same.

For the month of December Mr. Baker reports that, while the statements which have come to him are incomplete, he estimates the total production at approximately \$18,000,000 for the month of December.

Third, as to the efficiency of this method, Mr. Baker writes:

Whenever the efficiency of work-relief labor is estimated, it turns out to be primarily dependent upon organization and retraining. As it has gone on the engineers and supervisory staffs of the various local relief administrations have developed increasing skill in the use of such labor. At the convention of the Societies of Municipal Engineers and Public Works Officials last fall, officials, in response to my inquiry on the subject, estimated that efficiency ranged from 50 to 90 percent of that which could be got by contractors on similar projects. Since that time there has been some further increase in efficiency. As foremen, gang bosses, and superintendents become trained themselves in the use of retraining men who have lost part of their skill through idleness, we find that efficiency builds up.

Where we have had the possibility of comparing final costs on public construction jobs with engineers' estimates and with contractors' bids, we have found that, given good supervision, the cost of the work is as low as that of the bid.

Mr. Baker goes on to give some details in various States, and says:

The nearest approach we have to a specific record of efficiency is in the case of the Ohio relief production units where the Ohio relief administration is using vacant and idle plants, manning them with their relief labor, and manufacturing a variety of things needed by relief clients. Sheet C shows the December returns in those plants with a total of goods valued, if they had been sold, at \$132,000, produced at a total cost of \$126,000. The goods, of course, were not sold but were distributed to relief clients.

I now come to the portion of Mr. Baker's letter which seems to be most pertinent to the present discussion, and that is with regard to the cost of relief of unemployed persons producing as much as possible for themselves. Mr. Baker writes:

FEBRUARY 20, 1935.

In response to a similar inquiry sometime ago we got together a good deal of data. Necessarily it is somewhat theoretical and changes from time to time as prices change. I enclose a memorandum—D—that summarizes it. The average expenditure for relief of funds from all sources is approximately \$165,000,000 a month. We began with that as a basis and the fact that 42 percent of the clients were on work relief. By planning a program to put as many as possible to work and for them to produce as much of their own needs as possible through rental of idle equipment, it appears that the same relief benefits that cost \$163,000,000 could be readily produced for \$60,000,000.

Which is considerably less than half the cost, as Senators will observe. I continue reading Mr. Baker's letter:

If these benefits were increased 35 percent, it would bring them to a respectable standard of subsistence at a total cash outlay of \$78,000,000 a month.

Still considerably less than half of the present figure—

It must be recognized that at best these are estimates, but they are estimates that have been made by highly competent industrial engineers of very broad experience.

A considerable number of State and local relief administrations have considered this problem. One of the most careful plans that I know of for handling a whole depressed area was recently developed in Illinois for four coal-mining counties that have no immediate prospect of recovery. Rather careful engineering work has been done on this, and it appears that by putting all of the people to work who can they can produce a large part of the things they need and at the same time produce materials for public-work projects that will result in a great many civic community improvements.

Mr. President, as I said before, I am not standing here advocating the particular plan proposed. I can see a great many objections which would arise to it, especially on the part of the retail merchants of the country. It may be that from a political standpoint it would be a difficult or even an impossible plan to carry out at the present time. But I do say that if we are basing our action on grounds of economy then we ought to be willing to follow out that argument to the limit.

If we cannot afford to put the unemployed of the United States to work on useful public projects, if that is simply going to put us head over heels into debt, as Senators have argued all of this day, then why not take up a system which will put the unemployed to work in their own behalf and at a sum far more reasonable than anything which has been advanced? Are the gentlemen who are arguing for economy really prepared to carry out the implications of their own argument?

Mr. President, it seems strange to me that in all the discussion before the Senate so far the alternatives mentioned have been simply those two, work relief on public projects, or the straight dole.

There is a third alternative. It is one which I think deserves at least careful consideration on the part not only of Congress, but of the people of the country, and for that reason, without any endorsement at all, I submit for the RECORD and ask that there be printed this very interesting correspondence between myself and Mr. Hopkins.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Mexico?

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

FEBRUARY 15, 1935.

HON. HARRY L. HOPKINS,
Federal Emergency Relief Administrator,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HOPKINS: I should be very much interested to learn the experience of the Relief Administration in the several States with regard to the operation of work relief in producing things for the unemployed. Any information you may be able to furnish me along these lines would be gratefully received, including those concerned with problems of organization, operation, and efficiency. Specifically, I should like to know the present extent of workrooms and production projects, the nature, and the value of the goods produced.

Have you any figures to show what possible reduction in costs there would be if goods were produced for themselves by the unemployed to the maximum possible extent?

While the question is perhaps not strictly connected with the above, I am wondering also whether you have any statistics showing to what extent relief is supplementing private wages.

I should be very grateful for any information which you can let me have as to the above.

Very sincerely yours,

BRONSON CUTTING.

HON. BRONSON CUTTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR CUTTING: Mr. Hopkins has asked me to reply to your letter of February 15 concerning the use of work-relief labor in the production of things to meet relief requirements. I am attaching a number of reports and memoranda which cover the questions raised in your letter. It may be useful, however, if I summarize the replies here.

A. Proportion of work-relief persons producing goods.

Of the 1,600,000 persons working on work relief on November 15 about 15 percent were employed in the production of goods required by the unemployed. Exhibit A shows this distribution by States and compares it with other types of projects upon which people were working. You will note that on public-property projects about 74 percent of the people were employed as against 15 percent in the production of relief goods.

I also attach a statement of the latest report of average weekly earnings on work-relief projects in the several States.

B. The present extent of workrooms:

On November 15 there were 7,650 projects in operation throughout the country in the production of goods needed by relief people. These were divided up as follows:

	Projects	Percentage
Clothing, sewing of garments, etc.	2,348	30.6
Food, canning, and preserving	1,217	15.9
Fuel, cutting wood, digging peat, etc.	434	5.7
Garden products	576	7.5
Household goods	738	9.6
Construction materials	75	1.1
Other	2,262	29.6
Total	7,650	100.0

During the succeeding month there were some changes in the number of projects, but they remained approximately the same. For the month of December the following production was reported:

	Value
Total meat and meat products	\$7,409,042
Total fruit and vegetables	525,931
Total other food products	10,708
Total foodstuffs	7,945,681
Total clothing	583,260
House furnishings	1,834,412
Miscellaneous	165,736
Total	10,529,089

Reports incomplete. This estimated to be about 60 percent of total, making a total production of approximately \$18,000,000 for December.

You will note from the attached exhibit marked "B-1" the range of things produced covering the wide requirements of relief families. Among other things there were \$80,000 worth of toys produced for distribution to the children of relief families at Christmas time.

C. EFFICIENCY

Whenever the efficiency of work-relief labor is estimated, it turns out to be primarily dependent upon organization and retraining. As it has gone on the engineers and supervisory staffs of the various local relief administrations have developed increased skill in the use of such labor. At the convention of the Societies of Municipal Engineers and Public Works Officials last fall, officials, in response to my inquiry on the subject, estimated that efficiency ranged from 50 to 90 percent of that which could be got by contractors on similar projects. Since that time there has been some further increase in efficiency. As foremen, gang bosses, and superintendents become trained themselves in the use of retraining men who have lost part of their skill through idleness, we find that efficiency builds up.

Where we have had the possibility of comparing final costs on public construction jobs with engineers' estimates and with contractors' bids, we have found that, given good supervision, the cost of the work is as low as that of the bid.

Cost data has not been kept accurately by all the local administrations on their work programs, but on the whole expenses are the same as with contracts. Given good foremanship, the understanding of the need for retraining, full efficiency is developed. (The nearest approach we have to a specific record of efficiency is in the case of the Ohio relief production units, where the Ohio relief administration is using vacant and idle plants, manning them with relief labor, and manufacturing a variety of things needed by relief clients. Sheet C shows the December returns in those plants, with a total of goods valued, if they had been sold, at \$132,000, produced at a total cost of \$126,000. The goods, of course, were not sold but were distributed to relief clients.)

D. COST OF RELIEF—UNEMPLOYED PRODUCING AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE FOR THEMSELVES

In response to a similar inquiry sometime ago we got together a good deal of data. Necessarily it is somewhat theoretical and changes from time to time as prices change. I enclose a memo-

randum—D—that summarizes it. The average expenditure for relief of funds from all sources is approximately \$165,000,000 a month. We began with that as a basis and the fact that 42 percent of the clients were on work relief. By planning a program to put as many as possible to work and for them to produce as much of their own needs as possible through the rental of idle equipment, it appears that the same relief benefits that cost \$163,000,000 could be readily produced for \$60,000,000. If these benefits were increased 35 percent, it would bring them to a respectable standard of subsistence at a total cash outlay of \$78,000,000 a month. It must be recognized that at best these are estimates, but they are estimates that have been made by highly competent industrial engineers of very broad experience.

A considerable number of State and local relief administrations have considered this problem. One of the most careful plans that I know of for handling a whole depressed area was recently developed in Illinois for four coal-mining counties that have no immediate prospect of recovery. Rather careful engineering work has been done on this and it appears that by putting all of the people at work who can they can produce a large part of the things they need and at the same time produce materials for public-work projects that will result in a great many civic and community improvements. A memorandum marked "D-1" covers this.

E. EXTENT TO WHICH RELIEF LABOR SUPPLEMENTS PRIVATE WAGES

It is not our policy to supplement the wages of full-time employees with relief funds. There are a considerable number of workers, however, having part-time employment, but whose wages are insufficient to support the family. A study made last May indicates that of the 3,821,000 employable workers on the relief rolls in urban areas at that time, 544,000, or 14.2 percent of the total, were working at nonrelief jobs at an income insufficient to provide for their families. You are, of course, familiar with the procedure involved in granting relief to families, involving an investigation to determine the amount of family income and an estimate of the amount needed by the family for the bare necessities of life. The difference between estimated needs and the income, if any, is the amount of relief allowed. A few studies of specific communities have been made by the Departments of Labor and Agriculture—one on the onion workers of Ohio was released by the Department of Labor.

It occurs to me that you may be interested in a general summary of the work program which was recently submitted by us to another Senator. I attach it, marking it "Exhibit E."

Yours very sincerely,

JACOB BAKER,
Assistant Administrator.

Number¹ of relief and nonrelief persons working on Emergency Relief Administration program and percentage distribution, by field of project activity, week ending Nov. 15, 1934
[Percentage distributions² are preliminary and represent results of tabulations completed as of Jan. 24, 1935]

State (1)	Total number of persons working ¹ (2)	Percentage distribution, by field of project activity							
		Planning projects (3)	Projects on public property		Projects to provide housing (6)	Production and distribution of goods needed by unemployed (7)	Public welfare, health, and recreation (8)	Public education, arts, and research (9)	Tool and sundry equipment projects (10)
			Highway projects (4)	All other (5)					
Alabama	30,945	0.1	31.4	43.3	2.3	16.6	4.0	2.0	0.3
Arizona	8,899		31.4	34.7		20.7	2.9	9.9	.4
Arkansas	35,163	.3	38.6	33.9	.2	23.0	2.2	1.6	.2
California ³	108,970	(*)	26.7	40.6		13.1	7.4	12.1	.1
Colorado	19,818	.1	45.1	33.8	.1	13.7	1.6	5.5	.1
Connecticut	13,226	3.7	31.1	50.0		5.1	2.7	6.9	.5
Delaware ⁴									
District of Columbia ⁵	7,177		13.4	64.9		7.8	7.7	5.7	.5
Florida ⁶	36,257								
Georgia	84,970	(*)	15.0	55.2	.3	22.0	1.6	5.8	.1
Idaho	10,681	(*)	28.4	52.0		15.0	.5	4.0	.1
Illinois	65,955	.1	31.6	49.4	2.0	6.5	6.8	3.5	.1
Indiana	40,440	.2	36.0	46.8	.5	11.4	3.4	1.6	.1
Iowa	29,343	2.1	39.8	44.2	(*)	11.3	1.2	1.3	.1
Kansas	52,404	.2	43.6	25.4	1.3	21.4	6.6	1.5	0
Kentucky	26,263	.3	48.2	36.8		8.6	4.2	1.9	
Louisiana	28,091		24.4	56.7	.4	9.7	2.6	5.9	.3
Maine	7,794	.3	48.2	42.3		5.7	.5	3.0	
Maryland	7,615		30.2	60.1		2.6	.5	6.2	.4
Massachusetts	83,767	.6	13.7	65.1	.4	12.8	1.1	6.0	.3
Michigan	60,190	.4	36.5	48.6	.5	8.5	1.1	4.2	.2
Minnesota	60,986	1.5	55.9	31.3	.2	3.9	3.0	4.2	0
Mississippi	16,582	(*)	20.3	30.3	.5	32.9	12.6	3.4	
Missouri ⁷	53,553	.3	43.6	16.2		35.7	.8	3.4	
Montana	8,887	.6	19.9	30.4	.2	44.3	.5	3.4	.7
Nebraska	17,790	.1	42.8	38.2	1.5	10.1	3.2	4.1	
Nevada	1,830		10.9	45.9		34.7	1.7	6.5	.3
New Hampshire	3,640	.2	6.0	52.1		27.9	1.9	6.4	5.5
New Jersey	23,578	1.7	16.7	45.8	.4	5.7	6.1	23.1	.5
New Mexico	7,183	1.2	47.7	39.7	.2	8.8	.3	1.9	.2
New York	151,951	3.1	21.3	52.7	.5	4.2	4.0	13.9	.3
North Carolina	22,032	.1	9.9	38.0	(*)	44.6	3.3	3.9	.2
North Dakota	23,389	.2	67.9	17.2	.2	11.8	.9	1.7	.1
Ohio	43,715	.8	25.4	45.6	.7	10.5	6.2	10.5	.3
Oklahoma	55,911	.4	44.9	27.5	(*)	25.2	1.0	1.0	(*)
Oregon ⁸	8,119	1.9	14.5	42.7		26.9	8.1	5.8	.1
Pennsylvania	49,139		23.8	64.0	(*)	1.5	2.7	7.8	.2
Rhode Island	14,843	(*)	40.3	45.2	3.2	9.3	.5	1.3	.2
South Carolina	31,979	.1	14.0	30.0	.1	43.9	6.6	5.2	.1
South Dakota ⁹	66,125		70.3	18.3	(*)	9.2	.4	1.8	(*)
Tennessee	16,278	.2	21.2	38.2	.5	83.3	3.4	2.6	.6
Texas	84,795	.2	33.7	25.7	3.3	29.1	4.2	3.8	(*)
Utah	10,667	.3	40.6	46.6	.4	7.7	1.9	2.5	
Vermont	2,962	(*)	32.0	45.3		11.6	1.2	9.9	
Virginia	15,502	.1	23.6	53.5	.6	15.2	1.6	5.3	.1
Washington	10,851	1.3	13.1	48.1	.7	18.6	2.4	14.9	.9
West Virginia	42,491	.1	58.6	17.1	2.7	12.3	8.4	.6	.2
Wisconsin	36,057	.2	36.3	47.7	.4	10.6	.9	3.5	.4
Wyoming	3,045	3.1	17.4	28.4		38.4	7.6	5.1	
United States	1,599,798	1.6	33.6	41.0	1.7	14.7	3.5	5.7	1.2

¹ Figures obtained from weekly reports and cover all persons working exclusive of persons on administrative project pay rolls.
² The percentage distribution is based on pay rolls tabulated which with a few exceptions cover total number of persons working exclusive of persons working on administrative project pay rolls.
³ Percentage distribution based on 80 percent of the total number of persons working in the State as not all of the pay rolls were received.
⁴ Less than one-twentieth of 1 percent.
⁵ Estimated.
⁶ E. R. A. work program employed only 3 persons.
⁷ Percentage distribution based on the number of persons on work projects exclusive of supervisory personnel.
⁸ To date, work project pay rolls have not been received.
⁹ Percentage distribution based on 34 percent of the total number of persons working in the State exclusive of St. Louis and St. Louis County.
¹⁰ Percentage distribution based on 34 percent of the total number of persons working in the State.
¹¹ Percentage distribution based on 82 percent of the total number of persons working in the State as some of the pay rolls were inadequately prepared and therefore could not be tabulated.
¹² Based on States for which pay rolls have been tabulated.

Number of relief and nonrelief persons working on projects for the production and distribution of goods needed by the unemployed, and percentage distribution, by type of goods produced, week ending Nov. 15, 1934

[Percentage distributions ¹ are preliminary and represent results of tabulations completed as of Jan. 24, 1935]

State (1)	Number of persons working ² (2)	Percentage distribution by type of goods produced						
		Clothing	Food	Fuel	Garden products	Household goods	Construction materials	All other
		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Alabama	5,006	25.7	23.2	2.1	1.7	39.4	2.8	5.1
Arizona	1,810	42.9	8.4	7.8	10.0	4.4		26.5
Arkansas	7,879	2.5	70.7	5.4	4.9	8.1	.4	8.0
California ³	11,349	82.0	3.7	5.6	.3	1.2		7.2
Colorado	2,667	54.3	6.3	1.5	.4	29.8	1.7	6.0
Connecticut	763	52.3	.2	7.1		40.4		
Delaware ⁴								
District of Columbia ⁴	532	94.7				5.3		
Florida ⁵								
Georgia	7,701	3.2	75.7	.2	1.0	12.3	.4	7.2
Idaho	1,653	33.8	40.4	10.0	.2	4.9		10.7
Illinois	4,319	37.1	29.9	13.4	1.6	10.1	.4	7.5
Indiana	5,661	17.4	40.4	6.7	9.5	21.9		4.1
Iowa	3,222	23.9	40.9	2.7	4.3	21.6		1.6
Kansas	11,164	27.4	56.8	.6	.1	4.4		10.7
Kentucky	2,101	34.9	.2	2.4		29.8		32.7
Louisiana	2,748	5.3	41.1	.1	1.6	34.2	2.6	15.1
Maine	630	35.4	6.5	2.2	2.2			53.7
Maryland	202		24.3	13.4		46.0		16.3
Massachusetts	10,109	88.0	.5	4.1	.4	4.1	2.2	.7
Michigan	5,297	21.4	5.6	25.9	14.4	17.2	7.7	7.8
Minnesota	2,152	37.0	5.9	10.2	1.6	13.1		32.2
Mississippi	4,825	45.0	2.1	1.0	9.8	36.8		5.3
Missouri ⁷	17,673	19.5	44.0	1.2	2.4	14.5	1.5	16.9
Montana	3,890	10.5	63.3	2.9		7.9	.5	14.9
Nebraska	2,237	23.6	34.6	10.3	1.2	23.1		7.2
Nevada	634	24.0	49.2	10.3	.5	7.4		8.6
New Hampshire	994	65.5	1.2	22.0	.2	9.0	2.1	
New Jersey	1,354	16.6	2.5	53.0	20.5	7.2		.2
New Mexico	608	26.7	41.9	6.7	5.6	4.1	3.8	11.2
New York	6,382	35.4	46.5	4.9	12.3	.8		.1
North Carolina	9,775	14.5	30.1	6.3	7.0	7.0	.4	34.7
North Dakota	3,645	32.6	17.0	6.1	.6	2.2	.2	41.3
Ohio	4,720	29.3	21.1	3.4	3.3	29.8		13.1
Oklahoma	13,052	32.4	2.3	5.8	3.6	2.1		53.8
Oregon ⁸	733	72.3	.8	1.1	.9	20.2	.3	4.4
Pennsylvania	704	79.4		5.4		15.2		
Rhode Island	1,399	62.3	12.9	.4	.3	23.5		.6
South Carolina	13,973	32.4	6.0	3.1	7.9	2.8		47.8
South Dakota ⁹	4,937	59.0	1.4	4.7	2.7	9.4	.2	22.6
Tennessee	5,405	10.0	53.9	2.8	5.3	17.2	.5	10.3
Texas	24,268	13.2	67.8	5.9	3.6	(¹⁰)	.2	9.3
Utah	878	34.6	3.9	4.2	.2	17.8	5.7	33.6
Vermont	324	72.2	21.6	1.9		4.3		
Virginia	2,315	63.6	3.1	21.3	.6	10.2	.7	.5
Washington	2,118	42.9	5.9	25.5	5.7	10.8		9.2
West Virginia	5,306	41.6	39.3		1.5	17.1		.5
Wisconsin	5,013	15.2	1.0	3.0	1.7	13.3		65.8
Wyoming	1,162	6.2	48.7	5.4	.4	3.8		35.5
United States	225,239	31.3	31.0	5.4	3.8	10.5	.7	17.3

¹ The percentage distributions are based on pay rolls tabulated which, with few exceptions, cover the total number of persons working exclusive of persons on administrative project pay rolls.

² The total number of persons working on projects in the field of production and distribution of goods needed by the unemployed represent 14.7 percent of the total number of persons working on the E. R. A. work program in the United States during the week ending Nov. 15, 1934. Figures giving the relative number employed in this field in each State appear in column (7) of the table covering the number of relief and nonrelief persons working on E. R. A. work program, and percentage distribution by field of project activity.

³ Figures cover only 80 percent of the total number of persons working in the State as not all of the pay rolls were received.

⁴ E. R. A. work program employed only 3 persons.

⁵ Figures cover the number of persons on work projects exclusive of supervisory personnel.

⁶ To date work-project pay rolls have not been received.

⁷ Figures cover the total number of persons working in the State exclusive of St. Louis and St. Louis County.

⁸ Figures cover only 34 percent of the total number of persons working in the State.

⁹ Figures cover only 82 percent of the total number of persons working in the State, as some of the pay rolls were inadequately prepared and therefore could not be tabulated.

¹⁰ Less than one-twentieth of 1 percent.

Number ¹ of relief and nonrelief persons working on E. R. A. work program, distribution of employees, by sex, expressed as a percentage of total, week ending Nov. 15, 1934

[Percentage distributions ² are preliminary and represent results of tabulations completed as of Jan. 24, 1935]

State	All employees		Relief employees		Nonrelief employees				
	Number of persons working	Percentage distribution, by sex		Number ¹ of persons working	Percentage distribution, by sex		Number ² of persons working	Percentage distribution, by sex	
		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female
Alabama	30,945	83.7	16.3	30,619	83.7	16.3	326	85.7	14.3
Arizona	8,899	82.8	17.2	8,734	82.9	17.1	165	79.8	20.2
Arkansas	35,163	87.7	12.3	31,241	87.5	12.5	3,922	92.0	8.0
California ⁴	108,970	82.6	17.4	106,471	82.6	17.4	2,499	84.7	15.3
Colorado	⁵ 19,818	88.4	11.6	⁶ 18,431	88.7	11.3	⁷ 1,387	84.1	15.9
Connecticut	13,226	93.9	6.1	12,430	94.1	5.9	796	91.3	8.7
Delaware ⁴									
District of Columbia	7,177	80.9	19.1	6,833	80.5	19.5	294	90.8	9.2
Florida ⁸	36,257			35,244			1,013		
Georgia	34,970	85.7	14.3	33,304*	85.6	14.4	1,666	89.7	10.3
Idaho	10,681	90.5	9.5	9,633	90.6	9.4	1,048	90.0	10.0
Illinois	65,955	94.2	5.8	62,661	94.4	5.6	3,294	81.8	18.2
Indiana	49,440	93.9	6.1	48,501	94.2	5.8	939	78.3	21.7

[See footnotes at end of table]

Number of relief and nonrelief persons working on E. R. A. work program, distribution of employees, by sex, expressed as a percentage of total, week ending Nov. 15, 1934—Con.
 [Percentage distributions are preliminary and represent results of tabulations completed as of Jan. 24, 1935—Continued]

State	All employees			Relief employees			Nonrelief employees		
	Number of persons working	Percentage distribution, by sex		Number of persons working	Percentage distribution, by sex		Number of persons working	Percentage distribution, by sex	
		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female
Iowa	29,343	93.4	6.6	27,817	93.5	6.5	1,526	91.4	8.6
Kansas	52,404	90.6	9.4	50,689	90.9	9.1	1,715	78.7	21.3
Kentucky	26,263	93.2	6.8	25,300	93.1	6.9	963	99.3	.7
Louisiana	28,091	94.8	5.2	27,571	95.4	4.6	520	51.8	48.2
Maine	7,794	95.5	4.5	7,122	95.9	4.1	672	91.1	8.9
Maryland	7,615	97.4	2.6	7,600	98.2	1.8	15	63.4	36.6
Massachusetts	83,767	85.5	14.5	82,794	85.5	14.5	973	78.3	21.7
Michigan	60,190	94.9	5.1	59,193	95.2	4.8	997	77.8	22.2
Minnesota	60,986	95.1	4.9	56,627	95.5	4.5	4,359	87.4	12.6
Mississippi	16,582	65.4	34.6	15,701	66.6	33.4	881	28.1	71.9
Missouri ¹¹	53,563	82.2	17.8	48,774	82.6	17.4	4,789	78.3	21.7
Montana	8,887	86.2	13.8	7,611	86.2	13.8	1,276	85.9	14.1
Nebraska	17,760	93.6	6.4	17,519	94.4	5.6	241	73.4	26.6
Nevada	1,830	84.6	15.4	1,628	84.2	15.8	202	89.0	11.0
New Hampshire	3,640	78.2	21.8	3,146	80.3	19.7	494	60.8	39.2
New Jersey	23,578	91.3	8.7	22,406	91.6	8.4	1,172	84.6	15.4
New Mexico	7,183	94.7	5.3	6,592	95.2	4.8	591	87.4	12.6
New York	151,951	90.5	9.5	144,465	90.9	9.1	7,486	83.2	16.8
North Carolina	22,032	81.3	18.7	19,927	80.2	19.8	2,105	92.4	7.6
North Dakota	23,889	94.3	5.7	22,909	94.5	5.5	980	81.9	18.1
Ohio	43,715	87.6	12.4	41,103	87.9	12.1	2,612	83.8	16.2
Oklahoma	55,911	87.3	12.7	54,084	87.5	12.5	1,827	79.8	20.2
Oregon ¹²	8,119	74.4	25.6	8,001	74.5	25.5	118	71.8	28.2
Pennsylvania	40,139	96.3	3.7	42,032	98.3	1.7	7,107	84.1	15.9
Rhode Island	14,843	89.4	10.6	14,760	89.5	10.5	83	75.8	24.2
South Carolina	31,979	72.2	27.8	30,708	71.8	28.2	1,271	82.3	17.7
South Dakota	65,125	93.0	7.0	64,635	93.2	6.8	490	84.1	15.9
Tennessee	16,278	85.3	14.7	15,829	85.5	14.5	449	80.1	19.9
Texas	84,795	85.5	14.5	80,662	87.2	12.8	4,133	55.8	44.2
Utah	10,667	93.3	6.7	9,843	94.5	5.5	824	80.1	19.9
Vermont	2,902	82.1	17.9	2,758	82.6	17.4	144	23.8	76.2
Virginia	15,502	79.8	20.2	15,169	79.4	20.6	333	97.0	3.0
Washington	10,851	84.0	16.0	10,106	85.3	14.7	745	69.6	30.4
West Virginia	42,491	91.4	8.6	40,913	91.9	8.1	1,578	79.9	20.1
Wisconsin	36,057	96.0	4.0	35,432	96.1	3.9	625	85.3	14.7
Wyoming	3,045	86.9	13.1	2,474	87.9	12.1	571	82.5	17.5
United States	¹⁴ 1,599,798	¹² 89.1	¹³ 10.9	¹⁴ 1,528,112	¹² 89.4	¹⁴ 10.6	¹⁵ 71,686	¹² 81.3	¹³ 18.7

¹ Figures obtained from weekly reports and cover all persons working exclusive of persons on administrative project pay rolls.
² The percentage distributions, by sex, are based on pay rolls tabulated which, with few exceptions cover the total number of persons working exclusive of persons on administrative project pay rolls.
³ Percentage distribution, by sex, based on 47 percent of the number of nonrelief persons working in the State as not all of the pay rolls were received.
⁴ Percentage distribution, by sex, based on 80 percent of the total number of persons and 79 percent of the number of relief persons working in the State as not all of the pay rolls were received.
⁵ Estimated.
⁶ E. R. A. work program employed only 3 persons.
⁷ To date, work project pay rolls have not been received.
⁸ Percentage distribution, by sex, based on 24 percent of the number of nonrelief persons working in the State as not all of the pay rolls were adequately prepared.
⁹ Percentage distribution, by sex, based on 32 percent of the number of nonrelief persons working in the State as not all of the pay rolls were received.
¹⁰ Percentage distribution, by sex, based on 69 percent of the number of nonrelief persons working in the State as not all of the pay rolls were received.
¹¹ Percentage distribution, by sex, based on the total number of persons working in the State exclusive of St. Louis and St. Louis County.
¹² Percentage distribution, by sex, based on 34 percent of the total number of persons working in the State.
¹³ Percentage distribution, by sex, based on 15 percent of the number of nonrelief persons working in the State as not all of the pay rolls were received.
¹⁴ Totals of States from which weekly reports have been received. The number of relief persons equals 95.5 percent and the number of nonrelief persons equals 4.5 percent of the total number of persons employed in the States from which weekly reports (Federal Emergency Relief Administration form 190) have been received.
¹⁵ Percentage distribution, by sex, based on States for which pay rolls have been tabulated.

Number¹ and earnings of relief and nonrelief persons working on E. R. A. work program
 [Based on latest available reports; subject to revision]

Week ending—	Number of persons working	Total amount of earnings	Average weekly earnings
Mar. 22, 1934	32,542	\$276,900	\$8.51
Mar. 29, 1934	61,524	566,982	9.22
Apr. 5, 1934	530,152	5,438,649	10.26
Apr. 12, 1934	742,620	9,114,967	12.27
Apr. 19, 1934	799,828	9,621,314	12.03
Apr. 26, 1934	815,897	9,678,644	11.86
May 3, 1934	826,532	9,022,551	11.00
May 10, 1934	827,980	9,659,856	11.67
May 17, 1934	867,325	10,070,721	11.61
May 24, 1934	922,234	10,407,533	11.29
May 31, 1934	864,804	9,401,206	10.87
June 7, 1934	958,203	10,608,333	11.09
June 14, 1934	1,008,775	11,224,247	11.13
June 21, 1934	1,049,885	11,051,173	10.53
June 28, 1934	1,014,892	10,860,050	10.64
July 5, 1934	1,012,207	10,284,689	10.16
July 12, 1934	1,168,006	12,297,223	10.53
July 19, 1934	1,226,953	12,620,105	10.29
July 26, 1934	1,220,847	12,151,264	9.95
Aug. 2, 1934	1,175,041	11,685,232	9.94
Aug. 9, 1934	1,293,107	12,888,590	9.97
Aug. 16, 1934	1,330,687	12,963,233	9.74
Aug. 23, 1934	1,305,645	12,593,149	9.65

¹ Exclusive of persons on administrative project pay rolls.

Number and earnings of relief and nonrelief persons working on E. R. A. work program—Continued
 [Based on latest available reports; subject to revision]

Week ending—	Number of persons working	Total amount of earnings	Average weekly earnings
Aug. 30, 1934	1,214,327	\$11,787,008	\$9.71
Sept. 6, 1934	1,289,843	11,972,229	9.28
Sept. 13, 1934	1,422,149	13,671,309	9.61
Sept. 20, 1934	1,444,272	13,713,830	9.50
Sept. 27, 1934	1,408,430	13,435,226	9.54
Oct. 4, 1934	1,346,562	13,228,204	9.82
Oct. 11, 1934	1,397,550	13,988,711	10.01
Oct. 18, 1934	1,416,091	13,988,420	9.88
Oct. 25, 1934	1,443,551	14,153,674	9.80
Nov. 1, 1934	1,348,012	13,083,667	9.71
Nov. 8, 1934	1,498,045	14,802,809	9.88
Nov. 15, 1934	1,589,761	15,867,151	9.92
Nov. 22, 1934	1,573,866	15,291,458	9.72
Nov. 29, 1934	1,392,847	13,134,829	9.43
Dec. 6, 1934	1,543,503	15,347,154	9.94
Dec. 13, 1934	1,710,740	16,697,703	9.76
Dec. 20, 1934	1,833,473	17,368,859	9.47
Dec. 27, 1934	1,551,954	13,931,171	8.98
Jan. 3, 1935	1,495,453	13,719,623	9.17
Jan. 10, 1935	1,726,056	16,349,951	9.47
Jan. 17, 1935	1,814,156	16,684,279	9.20
Jan. 24, 1935	1,675,437	14,799,499	8.83
Total		541,444,025	

Number¹ and earnings of relief and nonrelief persons working on E. R. A. work program, week ending Jan. 24, 1935

[Based on latest available reports]

United States	Number of persons working	Increase (+) or decrease (-) from previous week	Total amount of earnings	Average weekly earnings
Alabama	22,608	-5,392	\$100,458	\$4.44
Arizona	7,236	-644	72,111	9.97
Arkansas	15,585	-17,684	73,368	4.71
California	¹ 132,000	+4,000	¹ 1,595,000	12.08
Colorado	² 25,432	-2,994	² 260,465	10.24
Connecticut	16,145	-164	205,511	12.73
Delaware	49	-1	883	7.82
District of Columbia	7,418	-142	57,669	7.77
Florida	35,737	-4,075	170,356	4.77
Georgia	47,297	+1,719	208,953	4.42
Idaho	¹ 1,582	-11,897	¹ 11,248	7.11
Illinois	² 79,000	-1,400	² 722,000	9.07
Indiana	² 52,831	-395	² 468,081	8.86
Iowa	³ 35,484	-1,495	³ 202,883	5.72
Kansas	³ 59,125	-2,795	³ 420,086	7.11
Kentucky	² 21,242	-7,107	² 84,197	3.96
Louisiana	28,048	+1,556	169,309	6.04
Maine	5,404	-2,120	54,452	10.08
Maryland	7,144	-1,427	44,763	6.27
Massachusetts	¹ 91,142	-1,615	¹ 1,080,045	11.63
Michigan	50,567	-3,123	436,245	8.63
Minnesota	41,918	-8,330	443,516	10.58
Mississippi	¹ 19,470	-6,806	¹ 80,165	4.12
Missouri	¹ 67,195	-5,975	¹ 343,527	5.11
Montana	¹ 6,752	-2,318	76,764	11.37
Nebraska	25,890	-475	191,496	7.40
Nevada	2,250	+299	33,341	14.82

¹ Exclusive of persons on administrative project pay rolls.
² Estimated figures.

Number and earnings of relief and nonrelief persons working on E. R. A. work program, week ending Jan. 24, 1935—Continued

[Based on latest available reports]

United States	Number of persons working	Increase (+) or decrease (-) from previous week	Total amount of earnings	Average weekly earnings
New Hampshire	1,960	+959	\$19,469	\$9.93
New Jersey	² 29,216	-322	² 336,989	11.53
New Mexico	9,290	-104	84,060	9.05
New York	² 143,973	-8,571	² 2,375,239	16.50
North Carolina	² 28,967	-1,518	² 167,202	5.77
North Dakota	¹ 13,707	-2,080	¹ 117,902	8.60
Ohio	¹ 46,000	+4,000	¹ 447,000	9.72
Oklahoma	45,629	-7,106	264,351	5.79
Oregon	² 13,245	-42	² 148,883	11.20
Pennsylvania	¹ 104,100	-4,250	¹ 1,344,317	12.91
Rhode Island	¹ 15,080	-124	¹ 112,732	7.48
South Carolina	29,986	+1,264	130,492	4.35
South Dakota	² 56,546	-3,880	² 266,973	4.72
Tennessee	¹ 17,115	-3,963	¹ 105,606	6.17
Texas	² 107,840	-10,495	² 537,970	4.99
Utah	8,490	-1,194	85,776	10.10
Vermont	3,622	+31	33,664	9.29
Virginia	19,648	-2,997	95,350	4.85
Washington	8,240	-7,521	85,401	10.36
West Virginia	46,122	-4,081	268,463	5.82
Wisconsin	19,080	-5,035	161,278	8.45
Wyoming	2,430	-850	24,490	10.08
Total	1,675,437	-138,719	14,799,499	8.83

¹ Estimated figures.
² Including several thousand skilled workers who earned their entire budgetary allowance during the week.
³ Week ending Jan. 26.

United States¹—Analysis of applications covering projects in operation in the field of production and distribution

Type of project	Number of projects or production units ²	Size of units as indicated by number of persons employed			Estimated number of persons employed ³		
		Less than 11	11 to 40	More than 40	Total	Male	Female
Production and distribution (grand total)	20,606	12,137	6,684	1,785	354,789	172,294	182,495
Production projects (total)	18,513	10,511	6,302	1,700	333,128	153,560	179,568
Clothing (total)	4,938	2,130	2,310	498	95,153	3,880	91,273
Sewing rooms	4,592	1,827	2,282	483	92,681	2,579	90,102
Shoes and leather articles	205	154	18	3	973	877	96
Miscellaneous clothing ⁴	141	119	10	12	1,499	424	1,075
Food (total)	5,804	4,547	847	410	86,940	43,923	43,017
Beef and veal canning	399	205	46	148	30,299	20,094	10,205
Other canning	3,658	2,721	723	214	47,967	18,352	29,615
Canning supervisors	1,548	1,500	39	9	3,538	565	2,973
Cannery construction	105	49	22	34	4,051	3,895	156
Miscellaneous food ⁵	94	72	17	5	1,085	1,017	68
Fuel (total)	900	305	471	124	23,003	22,995	8
Wood cutting	875	298	461	116	20,316	20,316	-----
Coal mining	21	5	8	8	2,645	2,637	8
Miscellaneous fuel ⁶	4	2	2	-----	42	42	-----
Garden products (total)	2,718	1,952	623	143	31,927	28,289	3,638
Gardening	2,074	1,457	508	109	24,594	21,190	3,404
Garden supervisors	302	284	16	2	1,271	1,148	123
Hay and grain farming	224	123	75	26	4,684	4,664	20
Miscellaneous garden products ⁷	118	88	24	6	1,378	1,287	91
Household goods (total)	2,231	921	954	356	54,153	14,111	40,042
Mattresses	647	105	318	224	28,751	8,122	20,629
Comforters, sheets, etc.	1,189	585	526	78	18,602	1,077	17,525
Furniture and toys	273	170	77	26	4,445	3,783	662
Miscellaneous household goods ⁸	56	37	15	4	609	257	352
Repairs and equipment	66	24	18	24	1,746	872	874
Construction materials (total) ⁹	53	11	23	19	2,029	2,029	-----
Miscellaneous (total)	1,869	645	1,074	150	39,923	38,333	1,590
Cattle and sheep program ¹⁰	1,719	553	1,031	135	26,826	26,543	283
Other miscellaneous ¹¹	150	92	43	15	13,097	11,790	1,307
Distribution projects (total)	2,093	1,626	382	85	21,661	18,734	2,927
General relief and surplus commodities	1,558	1,309	199	50	12,933	11,439	1,494
Clothing	443	254	163	26	7,242	6,349	893
Food	92	63	20	9	1,486	946	540

¹ Iowa and North Dakota have been omitted because the number of workers is not given on the project applications. Delaware has no production projects. No applications were received from the District of Columbia.
² Each project is assumed to be 1 unit unless a statement indicating the number of units is found on the application.
³ South Dakota has been omitted because a sex break-down is not given on all applications.
⁴ Sewing in homes, sewing supervision, other clothing production such as knitting mills, and preparation and repairs to equipment for clothing production.
⁵ Fishery, molasses manufacture, meal and flour mills, bakery and dairy.
⁶ Digging peat and compressing waxed paper.
⁷ Guards for gardens, improving vineyards, harvesting crops, preparing and storing seed, preparing pits and cellars for storage, and preparing garden supplies.
⁸ Making soap, rugs, brooms, china, stoves, and weaving of household articles.
⁹ Sawmills, quarrying and crushing rock, tile and brick manufacture, mining lime and preparation of fence poles.
¹⁰ Loading and inspecting of cattle and sheep, breaking steers, curing hides, slaughtering and burying cattle, shearing sheep, and preparing corrals.
¹¹ Barber shop, laundry, making civic decorations, truck repair and maintenance, cooperative garage, ginning cotton, making artificial limbs, processing corn fodder, spinning, weaving, making baskets, building carts, rummage collection and repair, repairing books, sanitorial and cleaning service, rural rehabilitation activities, key men for cooperatives and preparation and repair of buildings for general production activities.

Memorandum

FEBRUARY 19, 1935.

To: The Director of Commodity Distribution.
From: Statistical Department, F. S. R. C.

The attached tables are a revised summary of the quantities and estimated values of Works Division products, as reported for December, on F. E. R. A. Form 230. The report for only one State, North Carolina, is omitted from this tabulation.

December supplementary reports covering Works Division commodities were received from 16 States and the District of Columbia. Reports from Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Washington, omitted from the previous December tabulation, are included in this summary.

Three States, New York, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, did not include any Works Division products, although projects were in operation in those States during November and December. Alaska also did not include any Works Division products. The remaining 46 reports vary in their completeness, all of them reporting some Works Division products. Fourteen States and the District of Columbia have sent in reports which are very comprehensive and probably include their whole works program. The other reports tabulated in this summary are largely confined to the meat programs and sewing-room projects using F. S. R. C. materials.

Of the 49 reports received, 39 States included meat produced from Works Division projects on their December reports or supplements. California, Maryland, New York, and Nebraska reported only beef from commercial plants as their State meat program, while New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Alaska, and the District of Columbia reported no State meat program.

All States and the District of Columbia have received cotton and cotton textiles from the F. S. R. C., which were to be processed into household furnishings, and projects were in operation for this purpose. Three States, Idaho, New Hampshire, and New York, did not report commodities produced from these raw materials.

Clothing produced by Works Division projects was reported by 21 States and the District of Columbia. Twenty-two States re-

ported a vegetable and fruit program as part of their works project operations.

The report from Arizona covering clothing and fruits and vegetables consisted of production figures only, giving no opening inventory and no distribution figures. Therefore these figures were included in receipts during the month and inventory of December 31, and it was assumed that there had been no opening inventory and no distribution.

Ohio and California were able to report only the December 31 inventory of clothing and household furnishings. These inventories were also included in receipts during the month, the assumption being, first, that there were no opening inventories, and, secondly, that no distribution took place during the month. Since this was probably not the case, the amounts shown are too low by an undeterminable figure.

The estimated values of the products of Works Division projects, as given in this tabulation, are based on estimated retail unit prices. These prices are chiefly chain-store and mail-order prices for similar or nearly similar articles. A few of the reports include classifications so broad that pricing must necessarily be a wild guess.

The inventory at the end of November, as shown in our November tabulation, cannot be compared with the inventory reported for December 1, 1934, because of a snit in the States included and the better reporting for December. For example, the Texas report was not included in the November tabulation, while the December form 230 from Texas shows an inventory of over 40,000,000 pounds of meat and meat products.

To avoid duplication of raw materials and finished products, we have not included raw materials produced by Works Division projects that were issued to other Works Division projects for final manufacture. These raw materials will appear in the tabulation when they are completely manufactured and turned over to the Commodity Division for distribution to the unemployed. Thus, 7,820 pounds of fresh corned beef, 70 pounds of fresh mutton, and 4,424,860 pounds of fresh beef, valued at \$1,560, \$11, and \$1,106,165, respectively, were subtracted from the quantity received and the quantity distributed during December.

Summary

VALUE OF COMMODITIES PRODUCED BY WORKS DIVISION PRODUCTION PROJECTS FOR DISTRIBUTION TO THE UNEMPLOYED AS REPORTED FOR DECEMBER 1934 ON F. E. R. A. FORM 230

Products	Inventory Dec. 1, 1934	Receipts during December 1934	Distribution during December 1934	Inventory Dec. 31, 1934 ¹
Foodstuffs.....	\$24,402,578	\$7,945,681	\$3,955,068	\$27,808,603
Clothing.....	249,739	583,260	307,330	524,878
Household furnishings.....	1,321,940	1,834,412	1,228,093	1,872,563
Miscellaneous.....	344,946	165,736	71,751	433,864
Total.....	26,319,203	10,529,089	5,562,242	30,644,911

¹ Excludes slight inventory losses.

NOTE.—Compiled from forms 230. North Carolina, no report. Revised Feb. 19, 1935.

Quantity and value of commodities produced by works division production projects for distribution to the unemployed, December 1934

Product	Unit	Inventory Dec. 1, 1934		Receipts during December 1934		Distribution during December 1934		Inventory Dec. 31, 1934 ¹	
		Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
FOODS									
Beef:									
Boiled, canned.....	Pound.....	12,629,509	\$3,157,377	389,125	\$97,281	89,598	\$22,400	12,927,011	\$3,231,753
Hash, canned.....	do.....	34,891	6,978	14,996	2,999	9,610	1,922	40,079	8,016
Hamburger and ground, canned.....	do.....	18,001,702	2,700,255	11,655,349	1,748,302	4,574,599	686,190	24,961,103	3,744,166
Potted, canned.....	do.....	806,678	201,669	89	22	47,576	11,895	759,041	189,761
Roast, canned.....	do.....	48,298,929	12,074,737	11,947,745	2,986,939	2,813,304	703,327	57,182,447	14,295,614
Stew meat, canned.....	do.....	3,151,578	472,736	704,814	105,723	73,609	11,041	3,782,783	567,417
Stew, canned.....	do.....	7,172,259	860,671	4,220,540	505,454	546,592	65,590	10,847,043	1,301,645
Sausage.....	do.....	49,671	14,902	344,321	103,297	301,487	90,446	92,418	27,726
Corned, fresh.....	do.....	721,102	144,220	39,325	7,865	67,818	13,564	692,610	138,523
Fresh.....	do.....	5,322,055	1,330,516	5,919,048	1,479,766	5,078,023	1,269,504	6,121,134	1,530,286
Broths and soups, canned.....	do.....	5,739,713	401,780	2,285,151	159,961	803,823	56,275	7,155,976	500,917
Chicken, canned.....	do.....	1,373	440	318	102	222	71	1,469	470
Goat meat, canned.....	do.....	9	9	1,849	277	1,691	253	215	32
Lard.....	do.....	60	8	15,050	2,258	12,806	1,921	1,139	171
Liver, canned.....	do.....	0	0	13,547	2,709	1,547	309	12,000	2,400
Meat, miscellaneous, canned.....	do.....	500,028	75,004	291,851	43,778	298,548	44,782	489,309	73,395
Mutton:									
Canned.....	do.....	1,028	154	40	6	71	11	995	149
Fresh.....	do.....	7,404	1,111	18,452	2,768	23,453	3,519	0	0
Pork:									
Canned.....	do.....	1,637	246	500	75	1,011	152	1,117	163
Fresh.....	do.....	11,147	2,229	186,571	37,314	163,921	32,784	32,567	6,513
Smoked.....	do.....	21,798	2,140	20,245	2,025	19,224	1,922	22,429	2,243
Tongue, canned.....	do.....	21,018	6,305	6,330	1,899	1,612	484	17,985	5,395
Veal:									
Canned.....	do.....	107,301	26,825	0	0	0	0	107,301	26,825
Fresh.....	do.....	1,100,561	220,112	586,058	117,212	617,804	123,561	1,065,162	213,032
Total, meat and meat products.....		103,701,491	21,700,424	38,661,314	7,409,042	15,507,949	3,141,923	126,313,333	25,866,616

[See footnotes at end of table]

Quantity and value of commodities produced by works division production projects for distribution to the unemployed, December 1934—Continued

Product (1)	Unit (2)	Inventory Dec. 1, 1934		Receipts during December 1934		Distribution during December 1934		Inventory Dec. 31, 1934 ¹	
		Quantity (3)	Value (4)	Quantity (5)	Value (6)	Quantity (7)	Value (8)	Quantity (9)	Value (10)
FOODS—continued									
Fruit:									
Canned.....	Pound.....	8,684,129	\$1,302,619	1,409,834	\$211,475	2,353,710	\$353,057	7,734,040	\$1,160,106
Dried.....	do.....	101,041	12,125	106	13	72,744	8,729	27,873	3,345
Fresh.....	do.....	0	0	597,509	29,875	255,943	12,797	341,536	17,077
Vegetables:									
Canned.....	do.....	7,206,961	578,557	2,910,985	232,879	2,148,607	171,889	7,983,885	638,710
Dried.....	do.....	63,071	8,153	40,925	2,046	13,159	658	90,529	4,541
Fresh.....	do.....	10,411,694	799,091	2,604,376	49,643	3,895,894	256,118	9,207,249	108,814
Total, fruits and vegetables.....	do.....	26,466,896	2,693,545	7,563,735	525,931	8,740,057	808,248	25,385,412	1,932,593
Cereal.....	do.....	4,196	210	7,211	295	631	32	10,776	474
Chili.....	do.....	37,848	3,755	15,345	1,535	18,873	1,888	34,244	3,425
Cornmeal.....	do.....	62,896	2,515	183,777	7,351	177,835	7,114	68,323	2,732
Cracked wheat.....	do.....	15,428	617	0	0	4,830	193	10,598	42
Fish, canned.....	do.....	12,354	1,482	10,155	1,219	5,583	670	16,926	2,031
Jams and jellies.....	do.....	0	0	2,651	308	0	0	2,051	308
Total miscellaneous.....	do.....	132,602	8,609	218,539	10,708	207,752	9,807	142,918	9,394
Total foodstuff.....	do.....	130,301,079	24,402,578	46,443,588	7,945,681	24,455,758	3,955,068	151,841,663	27,803,603
CLOTHING									
Aprons.....	Each.....	2,107	737	2,082	729	778	272	3,411	1,194
Bands, infants'.....	do.....	1,297	324	3,037	759	1,507	377	2,700	630
Bathrobes.....	do.....	89	267	274	822	223	669	140	420
Bibs.....	do.....	0	0	9	1	0	0	9	1
Bloomers and panties:									
Women's and girls'.....	do.....	9,524	3,333	18,936	6,628	14,865	5,203	13,518	4,731
Children's.....	do.....	2,388	597	3,467	867	2,914	729	2,902	726
Blouses:									
Children's.....	do.....	1,651	1,238	8,368	6,276	4,916	3,687	5,103	3,827
Women's.....	do.....	0	0	4	4	0	0	4	4
Bootes.....	Pair.....	18	4	130	26	56	11	86	17
Brassieres.....	Each.....	170	43	105	26	26	7	249	62
Caps.....	do.....	884	221	267	67	49	12	1,003	251
Clothing accessories.....	do.....	54	8	177	27	12	2	127	19
Clothing:									
Children's, unspecified.....	Each.....	9,768	\$9,768	1,044	\$1,044	2,985	\$2,985	7,808	\$7,808
Unspecified, adults'.....	do.....	412	412	68	68	117	117	363	363
Coats:									
Boys' suit.....	do.....	0	0	121	363	0	0	121	363
Men's suit.....	do.....	100	1,000	1,035	10,350	43	430	1,092	10,920
Women's and girls'.....	do.....	0	0	322	1,932	299	1,614	53	318
Combinations.....	do.....	1,991	1,493	3,055	2,291	2,701	2,026	2,345	1,759
Coveralls, men's.....	do.....	489	1,712	193	676	115	403	567	1,985
Diapers.....	do.....	46,727	4,205	34,562	3,111	23,948	2,155	57,270	5,154
Dresses:									
Children's.....	do.....	18,937	18,937	29,057	29,057	24,918	24,918	23,306	23,306
Infants'.....	do.....	2,454	2,454	3,050	3,050	2,521	2,521	3,249	3,249
Women's, cotton.....	do.....	23,492	35,238	62,263	93,395	21,346	32,019	64,147	96,221
Women's, wool.....	do.....	8	40	1	5	3	15	6	30
Garments, unspecified.....	do.....	34,482	34,482	131,782	131,782	81,556	81,556	84,634	84,634
Handkerchiefs.....	do.....	11,412	228	710	14	7,297	146	4,825	97
Hospital johnnies.....	do.....	96	72	0	0	4	3	92	69
Infants' wear, unspecified.....	do.....	122	92	1,814	1,301	167	125	1,769	1,327
Jackets.....	do.....	194	582	3,918	11,754	869	2,607	3,243	9,729
Jackets, infants'.....	do.....	0	0	277	194	0	0	277	194
Jerseys.....	do.....	4,010	12,030	4,793	14,379	1,987	5,961	6,816	20,443
Jumper jackets.....	do.....	0	0	524	472	0	0	524	472
Kimonos.....	do.....	1,245	1,245	762	762	780	780	1,227	1,227
Layettees.....	do.....	1,335	8,010	2,661	15,966	2,818	16,908	1,178	7,068
Mittens.....	Pair.....	73	18	800	200	747	187	126	32
Nightgowns, women's and girls'.....	Each.....	6,809	5,107	18,857	14,143	15,321	11,491	10,337	7,753
Nightgowns and other sleeping garments:									
Children's.....	do.....	1,299	974	2,479	1,859	1,814	1,361	1,971	1,478
Infants'.....	do.....	1,165	874	884	663	864	648	1,160	870
Nightshirts, men's and boys'.....	do.....	182	136	89	674	471	353	610	458
Outer garments:									
Men's and boys', unspecified.....	do.....	345	1,035	303	909	45	135	603	1,809
Women's and girls', unspecified.....	do.....	757	946	23	29	71	89	709	886
Overalls:									
Children's.....	do.....	223	134	383	230	310	186	295	177
Adults'.....	do.....	2,808	2,808	27,077	27,077	1,281	1,281	28,618	28,618
Overcoats, men's.....	do.....	0	0	106	1,060	0	0	106	1,060
Pajamas:									
Adults'.....	do.....	2,917	2,538	8,340	7,256	6,120	5,324	5,143	4,474
Children's.....	do.....	3,370	1,685	8,762	4,381	7,822	3,911	4,279	2,140
Pants, men's and boys'.....	do.....	1,993	3,986	23,273	46,546	3,623	7,246	21,606	43,212
Rompers.....	do.....	1,746	873	2,423	1,212	883	442	3,284	1,642
Sacks, infants'.....	do.....	1,871	1,871	5,749	5,749	3,098	3,098	4,522	4,522
Sanitary belts.....	do.....	0	0	42	6	0	0	42	6
Sanitary napkins.....	do.....	0	0	1,812	18	1,212	12	600	6
Shirts:									
Children's.....	do.....	4,932	2,466	4,961	2,481	5,270	2,635	4,497	2,249
Infants'.....	do.....	325	244	618	464	701	526	241	181
Men's and boys'.....	do.....	11,954	10,400	55,866	48,603	24,377	21,208	43,444	37,796
Shoes.....	do.....	3,299	14,846	116	522	1,007	4,532	2,408	10,836
Shorts, men's.....	do.....	3,332	1,166	6,623	2,318	1,725	604	8,227	2,879
Skirts, women's.....	do.....	231	347	110	165	155	233	186	279
Sleeves, butchers'.....	do.....	200	20	0	0	0	0	200	20
Slips:									
Children's.....	do.....	4,731	2,366	5,003	2,502	3,291	1,645	6,422	3,211
Infants'.....	do.....	2,428	971	3,044	1,218	2,693	1,077	2,779	1,112
Women's.....	do.....	5,472	4,104	10,332	7,764	8,685	6,514	7,043	5,282
Smocks, women's.....	do.....	10	8	86	65	52	39	44	33
Stocks, children's.....	Pair.....	39	8	1	0	28	6	12	2
Children's stockings.....	do.....	310	62	2,035	407	389	78	1,956	391
Suits:									
Women's.....	Each.....	3,220	386	17,447	2,094	3,181	382	17,486	2,098
Boys'.....	do.....	1,020	6,630	454	2,951	392	2,548	1,046	6,709

[See footnotes at end of table]

Quantity and value of commodities produced by works division production projects for distribution to the unemployed, December 1934—Continued

Product (1)	Unit (2)	Inventory Dec. 1, 1934		Receipts during December 1934		Distribution during December 1934		Inventory Dec. 31, 1934 ¹	
		Quantity (3)	Value (4)	Quantity (5)	Value (6)	Quantity (7)	Value (8)	Quantity (9)	Value (10)
CLOTHING—continued									
Brother and sister	Each	12,443	\$15,554	11,068	\$13,835	10,695	\$13,369	12,816	\$16,020
Children's, cotton	do.	66	82	23	29	8	10	81	101
Children's, play	do.	2,075	1,556	2,300	1,770	2,642	1,932	1,786	1,340
Women's	do.	0	0	1,726	12,082	28	196	1,698	11,886
Men's	do.	1	12	601	7,202	0	0	602	7,224
Sun suits, infants'	do.	56	28	0	0	0	0	56	28
Sweaters	do.	3,754	7,508	7,567	15,134	6,271	12,542	5,050	10,100
Undershirts, men's	do.	0	0	15	4	0	0	15	4
Underwear:									
Children's, unspecified	do.	76	38	2	1	75	38	3	2
Men's and boys', unspecified	do.	23,346	17,510	11,555	8,666	15,304	11,478	19,275	14,459
Women's, unspecified	do.	1,464	1,464	2,607	2,607	1,403	1,403	2,668	2,668
Work pants, men's	do.	275	206	141	106	350	263	66	50
Total clothing			249,739		583,260		307,330		524,876
HOUSE FURNISHINGS									
Bedding, unspecified	do.	19,092	26,729	41,958	58,741	35,413	49,578	25,662	35,927
Bedspreads	do.	0	0	3	3	3	3	0	0
Beds	do.	0	0	1,748	17,480	1	10	1,747	17,470
Blankets	do.	33,208	62,431	1,655	3,111	5,834	10,968	29,038	54,591
Blankets, infants'	do.	247	86	743	260	633	223	357	125
Brooms	do.	3,907	1,563	3,156	1,262	2,309	924	4,754	1,902
Chairs	do.	440	880	6,708	13,416	626	1,252	6,522	13,044
China	do.	0	0	782	63	0	0	782	63
Comforters and quilts	do.	19,312	48,280	197,311	493,278	106,825	267,063	90,348	225,870
Curtains	Pair	15	15	4	4	4	4	15	15
Iron holders	Each	229	11	71	4	10	(²)	290	14
Laundry bags	do.	0	0	5	1	5	1	0	0
Mattresses	do.	74,954	337,293	149,826	674,217	130,473	587,129	92,748	417,366
Mattress covers	do.	1,940	1,940	1,026	1,026	204	204	2,762	2,762
Mattress pads	do.	436	436	257	257	153	153	540	540
Miscellaneous furnishings, unspecified	do.	91	46	64,046	32,023	28,533	14,267	35,719	17,860
Pillows	do.	1,224	1,224	3,565	3,565	3,931	3,931	858	858
Pillow cases	Each	457,118	\$137,135	306,699	\$92,009	145,356	\$43,607	618,293	\$185,488
Rugs	do.	80	40	198	99	38	19	239	120
Sheets	do.	475,499	665,699	247,708	346,791	157,449	220,429	565,717	792,004
Soap	Pound	656	39	1,438	86	427	26	1,667	100
Stoves	Each	0	0	579	11,580	2	40	577	11,540
Tables	do.	20	80	1,357	5,428	28	112	1,349	5,396
Towels	do.	253,417	38,013	531,386	79,708	187,669	28,150	596,754	89,513
Total house furnishings			1,321,940		1,834,412		1,228,093		1,872,568
MISCELLANEOUS									
Bags:									
Burlap	do.	0	0	1,189	119	0	0	1,189	119
Mail	do.	0	0	56	6	56	6	0	0
Benches	do.	3	12	4	16	4	16	0	0
Calfskins	do.	29,666	29,666	1,058	1,058	0	0	30,724	30,724
Cattle skins and hides	do.	66,223	231,781	11,173	39,106	0	0	77,396	270,896
Coal	Ton	500	4,480	674	5,392	381	3,048	856	6,816
Desks	Each	120	600	134	670	0	0	254	1,270
Dipping vats	do.	0	0	1	10	1	10	0	0
Drip pans	do.	0	0	18	3	18	3	0	0
Drip racks	do.	0	0	44	22	44	22	0	0
Fan covers	do.	0	0	60	18	60	18	0	0
Filing cabinets	do.	16	80	24	120	1	5	39	195
Hay	Ton	473	7,095	149	2,235	87	1,305	555	8,025
Leather	Pounds	0	0	1,176	588	0	0	1,169	583
Masks	Each	47	7	100	15	0	0	147	22
Nurses bags	do.	9	4	0	0	0	0	9	4
Pelts:									
Goats	do.	6,261	2,630	1,536	645	0	0	7,797	3,275
Sheep	do.	2,570	1,722	339	227	0	0	2,909	1,949
Miscellaneous	do.	0	0	59,101	32,506	0	0	59,506	32,506
Quilting frames	do.	0	0	1	3	1	3	0	0
Tables, drafting	do.	0	0	1	8	0	0	1	8
Toys	do.	2,527	379	6,262	939	7,073	1,061	1,716	257
Wood	Cord	6,649	66,490	8,203	82,030	6,626	66,260	8,222	82,220
Total, miscellaneous			344,946		165,736		71,751		438,864

¹ Excludes slight inventory losses.

² Less than \$1.

NOTE.—Compiled from F. E. R. A. form 230. North Carolina, no report. Revised Feb. 19, 1935.

Ohio Relief Production Units, Inc.

Unit no.	Sales value	Total cost	Percent of sales	Direct labor	Percent of cost	Material	Percent of cost	Expense	Percent of cost
1	\$3,313.65	\$4,738.10	114.3	\$1,290.84	27.2	\$1,522.40	32.2	\$1,924.86	40.6
2	8,679.80	8,259.36	95.4	3,040.94	36.8	4,146.60	50.2	1,071.82	13.0
3	18,236.25	19,788.68	108.6	5,940.74	30.0	9,730.35	49.1	4,117.59	20.9
4	13,668.40	12,331.84	90.4	6,496.07	52.5	2,229.15	18.2	3,606.62	29.3
5	3,982.44	4,897.37	123.0	2,444.88	50.0	296.93	6.0	2,155.56	44.0
6	16,340.00	14,705.90	90.2	5,797.64	39.4	4,567.50	31.1	4,340.76	29.5
7	4,121.51	4,778.68	116.0	1,411.43	29.6	927.34	19.4	2,439.91	51.0
8	14,846.30	12,453.28	84.0	4,930.20	39.6	5,469.28	43.9	2,053.80	16.5
9	9,257.55	8,621.94	93.1	3,052.72	35.4	3,812.85	44.2	1,756.37	20.4
10	16,340.00	10,720.12	65.0	2,102.94	19.6	6,804.18	63.5	1,813.00	16.9
11	17,563.80	20,011.66	114.0	5,079.96	25.4	11,791.53	58.9	3,140.17	15.7
12	5,942.25	5,049.34	84.9	1,815.83	36.0	1,622.57	32.2	1,610.94	31.8
	132,517.95	126,356.27	95.4	43,404.19	34.3	52,920.68	41.9	30,031.40	23.8

¹ Operating loss.

DECEMBER 10, 1934.

To: Jacob Baker.
 From: George Babcock.
 Subject: Comparative average monthly cost of relief by Federal, State, and local program.

[Allowances for rural rehabilitation, transients, school program, etc., not paid in above benefits \$8,000,000 per month average. This amount is approximately used in above totals]

	4,200,000 families	500,000 single persons, benefits
City areas.....	\$32	\$46
Outside of city areas.....	20	26
Average.....	26	36
1. Grocery order and cash direct relief and cash work relief. 42 percent total clients receive work.....	163,000,000	208,000,000
2. All direct relief retail. No work relief.....	131,000,000	174,000,000
3. All direct relief mass purchased. No work relief.....	103,000,000	137,000,000
4. All possible relief benefits paid by relief processed goods and domestic supplement. 70 percent of all employable clients at work.....	60,000,000	78,000,000

PROPOSED WORK AND PRODUCTION PLAN OF RELIEF IN FOUR "BIG MUDDY" COUNTIES IN ILLINOIS

In these counties there are 13,500 relief cases and the present relief expenditures run to about \$385,000 per month. It is estimated that 10,000 of these cases contain employables and would participate in the proposed national work program to the extent of \$50 per month per case, or \$500,000 plus cost of construction materials. The remaining 3,500 cases contain no employable member and would be State welfare charges.

This proposal is that in order to make these cases as near self-supporting as practical, a sufficient number of employables (estimated at 3,000 cases) be used to produce consumption goods (food, clothing, furniture, fuel, etc.) as required to take care of one-half of the total needs of all employable cases and of most of the needs of the welfare cases. This would mean that each of the 10,000 workers would be paid \$25 in cash and \$25 in certificates redeemable in production goods at the relief commissary, instead of \$50 in cash. Another group of employables (estimated at 1,000 cases) would be used to produce construction materials (bricks, crushed stone, tools, lumber, etc.) to take care of about two-thirds of the requirements of the projects on which the remainder of the employables (estimated at 6,000 cases) would be engaged.

In effect this proposal would result in the expenditure of approximately 20 percent more cash for relief purposes for these 13,500 cases, as is made under present conditions and in the production of sufficient relief goods and construction materials to meet the remaining requirements of the new work program and its increased relief standards for employables. A small increase in the present relief market for private producers would occur—a large part of the 100 percent increase in relief would be produced by relief workmen for their use. There would be no sale of relief goods in the nonrelief market at any time.

There would be a further important advantage for these four counties, in which at present very little industrial activity aside from coal mining exists, because of the production of the new relief factories for producing consumption and construction goods. Once established on an efficient production basis, it is believed that these factories will invite private capital and that some of them will be taken over in that way for private operation.

The construction projects proposed would include the building of farm-to-market highways, water conservation and flood-control dams, rural electrification service, street paving, and other similar works that would add to the real values in the four counties. On these projects, no less than on the production projects, it is proposed to use adequate supervision, equipment, and materials to secure efficient results from the money expended.

As shown by the appended tabulations, the actual cost of the proposed program would be 37 percent less than for a program of the same magnitude based on cash wages entirely. The net savings in these four counties would be approximately \$3,500,000 per year. Extended to the entire State of Illinois the annual net saving would be about \$75,000,000. By the proposed plan the added cash outlay required over the present relief expenditures would represent an increase of less than 25 percent, to give the employable cases (estimated at 10,000, out of 13,500 total cases) a 100-percent increase in real income.

This plan has been submitted (without the cost estimates) to a group of representative and leading bankers, manufacturers, retailers, agriculturists, professional men, and labor leaders in the four counties and has been unanimously endorsed by this group as an acceptable and exceedingly promising plan for the future.

Table of expenditures under proposed plan in 4 Big Muddy counties

Kind of worker	Number of cases	MONTHLY EXPENDITURES			Monthly total	Sale value of goods produced
		Cash wages	Certificate payments	Non-relief purchases		
Welfare cases.....	3,500	\$10,000	\$50,000	\$10,000	\$70,000	
Certificate goods.....	3,000	75,000	75,000	100,000	250,000	\$300,000
Construction goods.....	1,000	25,000	25,000	25,000	75,000	100,000
Construction projects.....	6,000	150,000	150,000	50,000	350,000	
Total.....	13,500	260,000	300,000	185,000	745,000	400,000

Actual cost expenditures on proposed basis:	
\$260,000+\$185,000.....	\$445,000
Administrative expense.....	30,000
	475,000

Cost of carrying some cases without production projects:	
3,500 welfare cases at \$20.....	70,000
10,000 workers at \$50.....	500,000
Construction materials.....	165,000
Administrative expenses.....	30,000
	764,000

Savings from proposed method, monthly (38 percent).....	290,000
Savings from proposed method, annually.....	3,480,000
Cost of carrying 13,500 cases on present basis (per month).....	385,000
Extra cost of doubling relief for 10,000 cases and without change for 3,500 cases (23 percent).....	90,000
Savings by proposed method applied to 300,000 cases in entire State of Illinois:	
Monthly: 300,000	
13,500 × \$290,000.....	6,445,000
Annually: 300,000	
13,500 × \$3,480,000.....	77,340,000

It is recommended that the Commission, after study of the plan herein outlined, ask the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for the necessary special funds and for permission to consider these four counties—Jackson, Perry, Franklin, and Williamson—as an experimental area in which the plan may be instituted as soon as practicable, with a view to the extension of the plan to other parts of the State of Illinois after it has been successfully developed in these counties.

Submitted by: **ARTHUR R. LORD,**
Administrator, Work and Rehabilitation Division.

Approved by: **WILFRED S. REYNOLDS,**
Executive Secretary.

FEBRUARY 19, 1935.

CERTAIN FACTS CONCERNING THE EMERGENCY WORK PROGRAM OF THE FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

There are now approximately 56,000 projects in operation throughout the country under the work program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, providing employment to some 2,300,000 persons on a relief basis. These persons are working at the prevailing hourly rate of pay in their community. The number of hours worked per month is limited, however, to the number which when multiplied by the prevailing hourly wage will provide total earnings estimated to be sufficient to furnish the bare necessities of life to the worker and his family. The procedure followed in placing an unemployed worker on relief work involves a home investigation by a "case worker", who inquires into the amount of income from odd jobs, aid from relatives, or any other source. The amount of money necessary to provide the family with the necessities of life is then estimated. From this estimated budget any income is subtracted, and the difference represents the amount of relief granted to the family. This figure is known as the "budgetary deficiency."

With the "budgetary deficiency" established for the family, the worker is allowed to work the number of hours on the work program which, at the prevailing wage rate, provides an amount equal to his "budgetary deficiency." The average hours worked per month by workers on relief projects is approximately 56 hours per month. Inasmuch as extra allowances are necessary for those working to provide car fare or other transportation to and from the job, the necessary shoes, clothing, and other items, the earnings per person working on the relief projects average about \$27 per month, as compared with \$20 per month for families receiving direct relief only. The \$27 represents the average for work relief throughout the country, the monthly wage ranging from as little as \$10 or \$11 per month in some of the Southern States to \$50 per month in some of the Northern States on the Atlantic seaboard. Expenditures for material, rental of equipment, and for services of supervisors and highly skilled workers, when such persons are not available from the relief rolls, bring the total cost per worker on the present work program to about \$35 per month.

Almost every conceivable kind of work is performed under this work program. Seven hundred and seventy-five thousand, or one-third of the 2,300,000 workers are employed on highways and streets—mostly on maintenance and repair work, although 214,000 are building new roads. Forty-eight thousand employees work on the construction of public buildings, 2,300 on housing, 11,500 on bridges and grade crossings, 126,500 on sewers, 27,600 on public utilities, 73,600 on recreational facilities, 41,400 on waterways and levees, and 239,200 on erosion control and grading, making a total of about 570,000 engaged in new construction exclusive of roads; in addition, 290,000 are doing repair and maintenance work on similar public properties. Another 12,000 projects are in the fields of research, education, art, and other work providing employment for the large number of professional and clerical workers on the relief rolls.

Of the 2,300,000 working under the work program, slightly more than 250,000, or approximately 11 percent, are women. Sixty-three out of every 100 women are engaged in sewing, canning, etc.; another 22 percent of the women are engaged in doing research

or educational work, and 11 percent are employed in the field of public welfare (nursing, nutrition, public health, recreation, etc.). These projects are initiated locally and in a few instances by State offices. They are reviewed by work divisions in the localities and must then be submitted to the State office for approval before the work starts. The work division organization is operative in every State and in almost every county in the country.

All of the projects are done by force account (not under contract) under the supervision of construction units of cities, or under the works division of the emergency relief administrations. Many highway projects are supervised by State highway departments under arrangements entered into with the Bureau of Public Roads.

Suggestions of desirable types of projects, engineering methods, safety measures, and other activities in connection with the work program are made to States by the works division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration operating through a regional field staff.

The two most serious handicaps under which the work relief program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration is now operating are (1) the inadequate funds available for materials, and (2) the restriction on the number of hours an employee may work.

Under the present program, limitation of funds has restricted the cost of materials to only about 12 percent of the total cost. An additional 4 percent is used for the rental of teams and trucks and other equipment. This limitation severely restricts the number of buildings, heavy construction projects, and other desirable work involving large proportions for materials that can be undertaken. It has resulted in many repair and maintenance projects and in the employment of mostly common labor. Partially because of the large proportion of common labor employed, the average hourly earnings are only 48 cents on the present work projects of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Another factor explaining this low hourly average is that the work program includes many more persons proportionately to the total receiving relief (direct plus work relief) in areas of low prevailing wage rates than in other sections.

The restriction on the number of hours worked per month makes the operations on a job difficult and results in a serious decrease in efficiency. It necessitates rotating employment either by employing 1 group 1 week and a different group the next, or 1 group for 2 days a week and a different group taking over the work for the following 2 days. The restriction is especially difficult for skilled and professional workers. These groups are only entitled to receive the same amount of money per month as a common laborer, but inasmuch as the hourly rate is two or three times that of a common laborer, they can work only a few hours a month with the resultant loss of efficiency and morale.

Number of men and women working on emergency-work projects, by types of projects, December 1934

Types of projects	Number of persons working		
	Total	Men	Women
All projects.....	2,300,000	2,050,000	250,000
Construction and maintenance.....	1,655,900	1,647,900	8,000
Eradication of disease bearers, poisonous plants, etc.....	73,600	71,400	2,200
Conservation of fish and game.....	6,900	6,900	
Sewing, canning, etc.....	338,100	180,600	157,500
Public health and welfare.....	80,500	52,800	27,700
Public education and arts.....	90,000	45,100	44,900
Special surveys, research, and planning.....	55,000	45,300	9,700

Types of Emergency Work projects in operation and number of persons working, December 1934

Types of projects	Number of projects	Number of persons working		
		Total	New construction	Maintenance
All projects.....	55,710	2,300,000		
Construction and maintenance.....	33,518	1,655,900	784,300	871,600
Highways, roads, and streets.....	15,813	775,100	213,900	581,200
Bridges, grade crossings, etc.....	592	18,400	11,500	6,900
Public buildings.....	6,881	190,900	48,300	142,600
Construction, remodeling, and repair of houses used by the unemployed.....	456	16,000	2,300	13,700
Sewers, sanitation, etc.....	2,491	163,300	126,500	36,800
Public utilities.....	1,014	50,600	27,600	23,000
Flood control, etc.....	934	73,600	41,400	32,200
Recreational facilities.....	1,990	124,200	73,600	50,600
Erosion control, grading, etc.....	2,935	239,200	239,200	
Miscellaneous.....	412	4,600		4,600
Eradication of disease bearers, poisonous plants, etc.....	2,203	73,600		
Conservation of fish and game.....	191	6,900		
Sewing, canning, etc.....	7,650	338,100		
Public health and welfare.....	3,543	80,500		
Public education and arts.....	6,417	90,000		
Special surveys, research and planning.....	2,188	55,000		

Work-relief program—Statistical summary, Jan. 1, 1935

1. Total number of persons on relief rolls.....	20,000,000
2. Number of families on relief rolls.....	4,400,000
Number of single persons on relief rolls.....	600,000
Total cases (families plus single persons).....	5,000,000
3. Number on work-relief program.....	2,300,000
Number receiving direct relief only (including unemployables).....	2,700,000
Total cases receiving relief.....	5,000,000
4. Average cost of direct relief per family per month ¹	\$20
5. Average earnings per month on work-relief program ¹	\$27
6. Total work-relief costs per worker per month ¹ (including cost of materials, rental of teams, trucks, and equipment, and nonrelief employees in supervising and highly skilled positions).....	\$35
7. Total monthly earnings of workers on work-relief program.....	\$62,000,000
8. Average hours worked per month on work-relief program.....	56
9. Average hourly wages on work-relief program.....	\$0.48

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] to the amendment offered by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS].

Mr. McNARY. I ask for the yeas and nays. The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, unless I may greatly disturb the program of the Senate, I rise to express necessary words to this body at this time. I should like the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] to be present.

Mr. GLASS. He is here, Mr. President. He has been here for a month.

Mr. LEWIS. His presence is always a welcome one. I purpose to touch upon some observations of his, however dangerous the consequence, as presented a few moments past in an obituary on the pending bill, and I did not want to do such in his absence.

Mr. President, I cannot help but feel there is a confusing situation in the support or opposition to this bill, taking an aspect of assault by its friends, which from my standard cannot be justified. I do not know who is for this joint resolution among those who are presenting it.

The distinguished Senator, for whom we have great regard and for whom we have the highest admiration, the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], but a moment ago told the Senate that from his point of view there are dangers and disasters which will follow the adoption of the joint resolution, and that, to my thinking, must be treated as a warning against the results of the bill. He would have us know that the highest patriotism would be to oppose the bill, and the greatest value to the country would be to defeat it.

Mr. GLASS. The Senator is totally mistaken in that. I said that I had undertaken to justify every provision of the bill except one provision, and I voted to curtail the amount.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I call attention to the fact that I feel there has been a great wrong done by the speech of the Senator. His expressions are a misrepresentation to the country in a statement of conditions which I feel the facts oppose. The able Senator, who is admittedly an accepted voice in this body, particularly with respect to measures having to do with banking, calls attention to the fact that the bonds of this country which have been taken possession of by the banks as purchasers, are in the control of those institutions as sacred possessions. He would insist that if anything should happen in legislation or Government action which would reduce them 10 percent of market value, the result would be such an embarrassment of the credit as, according to the able Senator, would imperil the banks, seriously wound their life, and to his thinking greatly injure the whole credit of all the industry of the United States and fall largely, in its final effect, upon the toiler, who would lose all completely.

Mr. President, there is one viewpoint I cannot adopt. There are no banks which have taken these bonds as a favor

¹ 3-month average.

to the Government. There are no banks which are the owners of these bonds as property of its officers, if we treat the matter justly as the record discloses. These banks represent the money of their depositors. It is the depositors' money which has purchased these bonds. It is these bonds which are held by these banks, and it is they that give credit to the banks. When the interest from the bonds is paid, this interest goes to the bank. It is assumed the amount is properly administered, is divided up as something in the form of a payment to their stockholders, or if bonds, in the form of dividends on their bonds. At any rate, it is the interest that presumably goes to those who own the banks.

I myself cannot conceive the thought that we are to indulge the idea that these banks have done a great favor to this country in purchasing the Government securities. What higher security could they purchase in behalf of their own depositors?

And, sir, what theory of reducing these bonds can we indulge as an attack on the credit of the Nation? The value behind the securities of the Government in the form of bonds to carry out the provisions of this measure is in the credit of the Government, and in the credit of the Government lies both the virtue of the bond as well as the institution of the Nation. And I now address my honorable friends, the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS], able and competent as we all know each to be, I ask attention of my good friend from New York [Mr. COPELAND], and I propound to each of the Senators the query: In what way could you destroy the credit of the country more completely than can be done by holding up to the world everywhere, and America particularly, that we have no confidence in the measure sent in by the President, that we doubt its efficacy, that we feel it is an instrument of persecution to the people, and that its effect will be destructive of the whole credit of the country?

If we are for the joint resolution we are for it for some reason; this reason is one that the resolution in its recitals would justify. If we are against the joint resolution, it is for some reason that the joint resolution itself discloses, some principle.

Mr. President, I cannot for myself adopt the theory that on one hand we support the administration in its efforts to relieve the poor, and yet at the same time deny the virtue of any measure sent to us by the President for that object.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEWIS. I will gladly yield to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Is not the Senator aware that the President himself on March 10, 1933, said that for 3 years this country was on the road to bankruptcy?

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I agree that the President at a time such as that may have uttered himself in harmony with the conditions as they then prevailed or had dominated in the previous past, but from that time to now has been multiplied the unhappy state of our citizens, the poverty and misery of our people, and here at this hour now, 1935, between the time of the expression of the President and now, things have happened all over the world, and particularly in America, which have changed the whole aspect of finance, taxation, and legislation to affect each. We must meet conditions as they have arisen, and serve them.

The question now is this: If the eminent Senators are not for the measure, if they find objection to it, what measure can they offer or do they offer which they feel would fulfill their own point of view as stated, and yet serve the necessities of the Government?

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEWIS. I gladly yield to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. BYRNES. I think the Senator certainly misunderstands the situation. As I understand, the Senator from Virginia has merely expressed his individual view, and that so far as the committee was concerned he voted for the Adams amendment in the committee. The majority of the committee, however, thought otherwise, and the Adams amendment in the committee was defeated, and the joint

resolution reported with the recommendation by the committee that the joint resolution be adopted as reported.

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, Mr. President.

Mr. GLASS. I will say to the Senator from South Carolina that in his absence I made that statement.

Mr. LEWIS. I cannot overlook, sir, that coming from so high an authority as the Senator in charge of the joint resolution, with his standing in the financial world and before the committee, his denunciation of the measure, from any viewpoint, will be taken as an expression of the committee as he appears on the floor as the chairman managing the joint resolution. The explanation of the able Senator from South Carolina may have its effect, as far as the understanding of the Senators themselves are concerned, but you cannot correct it to the public, who see that the eminent manager of the joint resolution finds a vice in it so great that he sees no virtue at all worthy of support of the measure. The bill is being bled dry by its sponsors; and if continued, the relief will be slain in the house of its guardians.

Mr. President, I demand that we look at the action fairly and frankly. We may concede that there are all the objections honorable that can arise to the mind against any \$4,000,000,000 appropriation; that if we could we would have avoided the necessity of presenting it; if conditions of our country at this time could give us any possible suggestion of a solution otherwise than that which is confronting us now we would have embraced it.

Mr. President, I therefore say, What is the joint resolution? On the face of it it tells us it is a resolution sent in by the President to provide money to the amount of \$4,000,000,000 to cover work relief and personal relief for 2 years. If we do not have it in this form, in what form will we have it? And if we are to have any relief at all, let us say, why not a complete relief?

My eminent friends, Senators all around, for whom I have a great respect, indeed, a tenderness which the word "affection" does not wholly define, these named Senators cry out against the bill that the amount provided is excessive. What is excessive? The amount? And what is suggested? Eminent Senators suggest cutting it in half. And why and for what? My able friend from Maryland [Mr. TYNINGS] says the amount would only put to work one man out of three. If that is the theory of the objection, and relief is the object, then multiply three times and put to work three out of three. This disposes of that, if such thought expressed by the Senator is the only objection.

But I bring to the Senate's attention the other side. Suppose we cut the amount in half, and the conditions and the necessities continue as we know them now to be, and Congress shall come to its conclusion at the end of the session, in May or June, then through these summer months when poverty is upon the land there is no money to distribute, and no authority or power in the hands of officials to disburse any—where are we then?

Our Congress is closed. Shall we summon a special session? Shall we frighten the land and the country by the call for extra session? In what way would we get the money needed then? Have we not some example of attempted legislative action when Congress is closed? The distinguished former President of the United States during a closed session sent telegrams to all the Senators of the United States for authority when we were out of session to grant a moratorium upon the debts which he felt at that time were urgent and justified his action.

This sum now provided, guided by the best judgment of those who are directing it, it will cover the necessities during the present time and the time when Congress is closed. The bill is to provide for the emergencies as they now or shall exist.

It is intended to cover the necessities for the full time named in the joint resolution. In what other way will we cover them? If we have cut the appropriation in half or cut it to less than necessity requires, then we must devise some other method, and since there is no other method provided by the National Government for national distribution, local relief may be appealed to. But it has been exhausted. The States

have no money, the counties have no money, the cities have no money. We are constantly complaining of the heavy burden of taxes levied upon each locality, exhausting it. Where will we go? The local relief has drained the local reservoirs. Shall it be intimidated by my honorable friends around me that we are content to take the consequences of having millions of men marching up and down in the summer months, out in the open, muttering against their own land, in rebellion against their own country—hungry, without employment, with their voices raised against their flag and their hands lifted against their country? All this, sir, because of the neglect with which we have treated them?

Shall we comprehend the plain fact that to the extent we are indifferent to them they will be indifferent to the Nation? Shall we invite them in an hour like this, when the world is now sputtering its flame of new war, threatening destruction to civilization and bribing public opinion in one form or another, side with those who influence America to enter into the threatening design?

Are we to tell the poor and the miserable we abandon them and thus give them justification for turning against their home and their country, for their officials and their country has turned against them?

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEWIS. I yield to the Senator gladly.

Mr. ADAMS. I call to the attention of the Senator from Illinois, who now objects to changes in the joint resolution, that every word originally contained in the joint resolution in reference to the purposes of the joint resolution has been stricken out and other words put in. In other words, the terms of the joint resolution, as to the reasons and purposes for the appropriation, have all been changed, and most of them by unanimous consent, which included the vote of the Senator from Illinois. We have stricken out of the joint resolution in the Senate practically half of its provisions, and we have added new provisions considerably in excess of those stricken out. We have acted as an independent body exercising our judgment as to how this joint resolution should be drawn, what it should be drawn for, how the money should be spent, and it seems entirely appropriate that as we may have changed the purposes, its allocations, and its limitations, we might similarly change the amount of the appropriation.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I accept the suggestion of the Senator from Colorado, and I build upon it the conclusion that if the joint resolution has undergone that much treatment and under different forms of analysis we have eliminated that which might be said to be evil or objectionable, and it brings itself to a form of completeness before the Senate, and this is the expression of those who analyze it and construct it, why, then, is it found necessary by these architects of the perfected form to discredit it, dishonor it, and defeat it before the country?

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. LEWIS. With pleasure.

Mr. ROBINSON. I do not believe for a moment that the statement made by the Senator from Colorado is accurate. The amendments made by the Senate have not changed the fundamental principles and provisions of the joint resolution. They remain now as they were in the beginning. Provisions more definite in some respects have been inserted, but the joint resolution is directed now just as much as in the beginning to the primary purposes of the legislation, namely, destitution relief and work relief.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I express my appreciation of this assistance from the distinguished leader in calling attention specifically to the analysis of the joint resolution. I am inviting the attention of the Senate to this conclusion. I accept for the purposes of the discussion the position taken by eminent Senators as one which should be very effective, very useful if the condition of the country could justify, if the circumstances confronting us would excuse it, if you could overlook the condition of your land and that which is threatened upon its stability and political morals, and sit yourselves down to a mere abstract thing as an economic

doctrine or an economic solution under ordinary conditions. But such is not our present condition. We have to reason with things as they are and with the needs of humanity as they stand, and meet them in whatever way we can apply the remedy; some way that shall not violate the principles of legislative honor on the one hand and decent regard to the justice due suffering mankind on the other.

Answering my able friends on their query, what about the taxes to be paid under this bill? What taxes I ask? Does any Senator here feel that those who are to pay the taxes would hesitate at this time to pay the particular sum which is necessary to give them security in the possession of what they own? Will they merely, because of an increase in the taxes on the incomes they have enjoyed, decline to attain to themselves a security which the peace of the citizens, the calm temperament of being relieved of hunger, and discontent would assure them?

Let me propound the other side: Think you what might be awakened in the land after we shall have adjourned if we do nothing. Think of the protests of our country in thousands and thousands as the distressed parade up and down the public thoroughfares hungry and hear the cries of their children, the moaning of their countrymen, and visit upon us a condition which threatens to duplicate the destroying and devastating force that is being applied in all its evil on other countries of the world.

How then will the security of these eminent gentlemen be secured and guaranteed? What, then, shall be the value of the securities they possess now? Those values will have quickly vanished, and they who would protest against paying for relief of those who have earned that income, who by their labors which have brought forth that value, but from them lost by the machination of politics, will be deprived of all such value by the death of credit to stocks, bonds, and property melting under the storm of threatened riot and insurrection. Senators, look you upon the scene before you; scoff at it, and guard what you have today that you may not destroy all to be had in the tomorrows.

I take the position that while I regret we are to lay these taxes, none the less I ask my honorable friends in this great body in what other way will we provide for the needy, preserve the country, save the Republic? Sir, have we not some history? At the close of the Napoleonic wars, with the vast bond issue that England had, did England proceed to pay off the bonds by heavy taxation and forced collection upon her people? Eminent students of banking and finance around me will recall that in such predicament as was England's, she promptly issued the consols, which we may define as bonds, and she multiplied and remultiplied them. By this system Pitt and his colleague obtained the money to pay the indebtedness of his country. Did England pay the bonds? Not at all. Did she make an effort to tax her people by which the bonds should be paid? Not at all. She laid only such burdens upon the consols as paid the interest upon those and let the bonds remain as security to maintain the honor of the country and supply a basis for national credit and a security with which none anywhere of any land could compare in such an hour.

Have we paid the bonds of the Civil War? What has the holder of those bonds suffered? He has had the credit; he has had his interest; and he has enjoyed it. He distributes it in such manner as we assume to be perfectly fair; but in the meantime where has been the imposition of a tax so furious upon the citizens to compel the payment of the face value of the security? The generations yet to come will enjoy the benefit of all this we are doing. Why put upon the present generation the whole burden when we bear the sweat and fury, while those to come hereafter will take its values and profits? Let those who reap pay for those who sowed in sorrow and endured in suffering.

Therefore I say the fears of our honorable friends about the burden of taxes of billions and billions upon our people may be well stated as a mere statement of fear. That those burdens will ever in the present generation be laid upon the people to be paid, I deny. Not to deny would be to impeach my countrymen as having no wisdom for their

self-preservation. Where is the party, the political organization, that could levy a burden of that kind upon the people in a single generation without destroying every vestige of their own prosperity while they exist and shatter their own land into a mass of bewilderment and destruction.

Therefore, if we are to have in the coming days the prosperity of which we all confide, and there shall be the rising of advantages and values which we feel time will afford with the undertakings of mankind, the ability and capacity to pay these taxes will be that of those who will inherit the values of the sacrifice we are making.

Therefore, they will be paid in the proper course of government that will have to meet emergencies such as we have had to endure from time to time and now prepare for without shrinking.

I am unable to agree that this is a great peril that we should stand and advertise before the world. As I listen to my honorable friends on this side and the other side of the Chamber, I am unable to agree that we are today in such a threat or peril of vast sum of indebtedness such as we can never hope to be rescued from it. I deny the charge that we are in an era of national bankruptcy, I repel the thought that we are upon the eve of disaster, or that we stand facing an impending chaos, that we are before the world confessed in dishonor. What kind of Americans are we that we advertise to the earth ourselves as unworthy of trust, and impeach ourselves as incapable to guide our land to a success in recovery, and protect it from the fate of dishonor.

Surely the world, hearing the impeachments and indictments laid against America by its own representatives in high halls of legislation, could assail us by the appropriate interrogatory to the United States, "Is this your son, my lord?"

I therefore say to all these objections, I may say all these criticisms of our honorable opponents, I concede them as having the basis that our honorable friends assume they have, and ask them, "If you defeat the pending measure, what then is the result?" You discredit your country. You fill with misery the hearts of discouraged men. You convey to the needy that there is no hope, and assent to the spirits who knock at our doors the malediction: "They who enter here leave hope behind."

What, then, have you in your fellow citizens? What form of patriotism are you inviting? At an hour like this, when everything induces us to summon the masses of mankind by some kind of token that will reward us with their devotion, we advise them that we are abandoning them, we are deserting them, because we refuse to ask those who have made profits of millions from them to contribute a share of those millions to save them from hunger, starvation, and death. This is the duty, is it, of us, the agents of the people and the saviors of the Government? I cannot see it.

I concede the criticism. I admit the unfortunate burden to be borne. I go further: I deplore that we have been brought to this result. Did we do it?

The eminent Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] this morning referred to the conditions that did bring it about. We do not wish to charge politically anything upon any administration. This is not the hour when we should divide ourselves by mere political designations. This is not the day when we should divide among ourselves in order to lay the blame of the consequence upon some. In what way does that feed the hungry? In what way does that preserve the Republic or save its citizenship? I do not wish to indulge it. I decline to adopt it. I have only to say—and here I do insist upon saying, if I may be permitted—that the duty lying just before us is either to save or to rescue our country. Which do you choose? You may take your posts, my eminent Senators. In the text of the Savior of mankind we assert that he "that is not with us is against us." You cannot occupy both positions. You offer the salvation of your country, or you confess the willingness for its destruction.

Here is a bill tendered by the President we elected and placed in power and authorized to administer in this hour of the necessities of the country. Which do you choose—to

decline to give him aid or to aid him? And, if to aid him, do you aid him with a heart and with a conscience and with an honest effort, or do you damn him with faint praise in the one breath and seek the destruction of his ends in the other?

Mr. President, there is a final feature to be considered. I ask the eminent Senators who have expressed great fear in connection with this joint resolution to observe that the amount still remains if we do not spend it. We have merely authorized it. We have merely provided for it. There is no law that compels an immediate tax in whole to be laid for it. It will be paid in such proportions as may be needed. There is no necessity, sir, for going to the extremes which our eminent friends fear may follow.

Therefore, for all of the grievances that have been expressed there seems to me no real foundation. This is an hour, sir, when everything that calls for patriotism, patience, and devotion on the part of the American citizen and his representatives is exacted by the necessities of the situation.

We meet them; we face them. It is my honorable effort to call seriously to your attention the thought that any other course and any other step is disaster to the confidence of America, and possibly may lead to very serious results that need not be detailed in description on this floor, should we awaken our fellow citizens to the feeling of indifference or revolt, such as we see all around the world is threatening civilization all about us. God grant our rescue; and that rescue is in our patriotism that will preserve our country by some small sacrifice leading to what we feel in this hour is so necessary, a devotion to the President of the United States in his honorable design to rescue his country and save its citizens. This is our homeland, our saddened and unfortunate fellow citizens are our brethren. For all our devotion let there be the conscious reward in the knowledge that he who saves his country is by all saved, and saving all, by all is blessed on earth and by Heaven.

THE VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS]. On that question the yeas and nays have been demanded and ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOGAN (when his name was called). On this question I have a pair with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS], who is absent. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BACHMAN], and will vote. I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. AUSTIN. The senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS] is absent because of illness. I am not advised how he would vote on this question. His general pair has already been announced.

Mr. LEWIS. I rise to announce that on this question the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] is paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. DUFFY]. If present, the Senator from Oklahoma would vote "yea", and the Senator from Wisconsin would vote "nay." Both these Senators are necessarily detained from the Senate.

I also desire to announce the absence of the Senator from Arkansas [Mrs. CARAWAY], and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON] because of illness. The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BACHMAN], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] are necessarily detained from the Senate. I am not advised how these Senators would vote if present.

The result was announced—yeas 21, nays 66, as follows:

YEAS—21			
Adams	Carey	Hastings	Townsend
Bailey	Copeland	Keyes	Tydings
Barbour	Dickinson	King	White
Borah	Donahay	McCarran	
Bulkley	Glass	Metcalf	
Byrd	Hale	Schall	
NAYS—66			
Ashurst	Bilbo	Bulow	Clark
Austin	Black	Burke	Connally
Bankhead	Bone	Byrnes	Coolidge
Barkley	Brown	Capper	Costigan

Couzens	La Follette	Neely	Shipstead
Cutting	Lewis	Norbeck	Smith
Dieterich	Logan	Norris	Steiwer
Fletcher	Lonerган	Nye	Thomas, Okla.
Frazier	McAdoo	O'Mahoney	Thomas, Utah
George	McGill	Pittman	Trammell
Gerry	McKellar	Pope	Truman
Gibson	McNary	Radcliffe	Vandenberg
Guffey	Maloney	Reynolds	Van Nuys
Harrison	Minton	Robinson	Wagner
Hatch	Moore	Russell	Walsh
Hayden	Murphy	Schwellenbach	
Johnson	Murray	Sheppard	

NOT VOTING—8

Bachman	Davis	Gore	Overton
Caraway	Duffy	Long	Wheeler

So Mr. BYRD's amendment to the amendment of Mr. ADAMS was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question now recurs on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ADAMS].

Mr. VANDENBERG. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. COUZENS. Let the amendment now be stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 7, it is proposed to strike out "1937" and to insert in lieu thereof "1936", and to strike out "\$4,000,000,000" and to insert in lieu thereof "\$2,000,000,000."

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, I desire to say just a few words with respect to my views about this particular question.

I have no disposition to dispute the President's request for any substantial amount of money which in his judgment seems necessary to take care of relief necessities. However, I have what I think is a very sound objection to carrying the appropriations over for 2 years and 3 or 4 months. My vote, therefore, will be cast in favor of the so-called "Adams amendment" primarily for the reason that under that amendment the appropriation would expire on June 30, 1936, rather than be extended over another year.

We will be here next year, and we hope we may know more next year than we now know. At least we hope we will know more about legislation than we know now, because from the way we are proceeding with this particular legislation, there is no evidence that we know how to legislate.

As I have said, I shall not oppose the President's request. If he says he needs \$4,000,000,000, I am assuming he is the best informed public official in the country to determine that question, but when he asks for the money to be spent over a period of 2 years and 3 or 4 months, I think that is unjustified, and that is my explanation of the vote I shall cast for the Adams amendment.

Mr. CUTTING. Mr. President, it was in response to an inquiry of mine that the Presiding Officer in the chair before the Vice President resumed the chair assured me that there would be a separate vote on the proposed change in the date from 1936 to 1937 and on the amount to be appropriated.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Mexico yield to me?

Mr. CUTTING. I yield.

Mr. ADAMS. In response to an inquiry of the Senator from New Mexico, I indicated that, although I was inexperienced in parliamentary procedure, I thought separation of the two questions might be possible. Further consideration has convinced me that that would be improper, and that such a course would not lead to an ascertainment of the judgment of the Senate in reference to the amendment.

The joint resolution itself provides that \$4,000,000,000 shall be expended on or before July 1, 1937. The amendment provides that \$2,000,000,000 shall be appropriated to be expended not later than June 30, 1936. In other words, the time limit is an essential element in fixing the amount, and if the two elements should be separated we would not ascertain the judgment of the Senate as to the amendment.

After the amendment shall be either adopted or defeated, the Senator from New Mexico will have opportunity to move

to amend the joint resolution as he sees fit, either in reference to the date or as to the amount.

Mr. CUTTING. My difficulty is that I agree with what the Senator from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS] has just been saying as to the advisability of legislating for 1 year at a time, but I do not want to limit the President to \$2,000,000,000 in case he finds that \$4,000,000,000 should be spent between now and the 30th of June 1936 rather than in the year 1936-37. If we cannot get a separation of these two propositions, I shall have to vote against the amendment of the Senator from Colorado, but I submit to the Chair whether it is not possible to get a separation of those two votes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Any Senator can ask for a division of the amendment. It contains two separate proposals. It is not controlled by the Senator from Colorado or any other one Senator.

Mr. CUTTING. Then, Mr. President, I make the request that the question be divided.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the first part of the amendment, to strike out "1937" and to insert in lieu thereof "1936."

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, there is a sound and substantial reason why this amendment should not be agreed to. As everyone understands, it will require some time to work out and select the projects upon which the funds to be appropriated are to be expended, and if we now limit to 1 year the time within which the funds may be expended, it will result in a limitation of the projects in accordance with the time limitation. I hope the amendment will be rejected.

Mr. HASTINGS. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOGAN (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as on the previous roll call, I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. LEWIS. I desire to announce the absence on account of illness of the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mrs. CARAWAY] and the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON].

I wish to announce that the following Senators are necessarily detained: The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BACHMAN], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. DUFFY], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER].

I also announce that the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] is paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. DUFFY]. If present and voting, the Senator from Oklahoma would vote "yea" and the Senator from Wisconsin would vote "nay."

I am not advised as to how the other Senators mentioned would vote, if present.

Mr. AUSTIN. I repeat the announcement I made on the previous vote.

The result was—yeas 30, nays 57, as follows:

YEAS—30

Adams	Copeland	Hastings	Schall
Barbour	Couzens	Johnson	Steiwer
Borah	Cutting	Keyes	Townsend
Bulkley	Dickinson	King	Tydings
Byrd	Donahey	McCarran	Vandenberg
Capper	George	McNary	White
Carey	Glass	Metcalf	
Clark	Hale	Nye	

NAYS—57

Ashurst	Dieterich	McKellar	Russell
Austin	Fletcher	Maloney	Schwellenbach
Bailey	Frazier	Minton	Sheppard
Bankhead	Gerry	Moore	Shipstead
Barkley	Gibson	Murphy	Smith
Bilbo	Guffey	Murray	Thomas, Okla.
Black	Harrison	Neely	Thomas, Utah
Bone	Hatch	Norbeck	Trammell
Brown	Hayden	Norris	Truman
Bulow	La Follette	O'Mahoney	Van Nuys
Burke	Lewis	Pittman	Wagner
Byrnes	Logan	Pope	Walsh
Cannally	Lonerган	Radcliffe	
Coolidge	McAdoo	Reynolds	
Costigan	McGill	Robinson	

NOT VOTING—8

Bachman	Davis	Gore	Overton
Caraway	Duffy	Long	Wheeler

So the first branch of the amendment offered by Mr. ADAMS was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the second portion of the amendment, which provides for striking out the amount of \$4,000,000,000 and inserting in lieu thereof \$2,000,000,000.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask to have read as part of my remarks an editorial by Paul Block, which is reprinted from the Block newspapers of Friday, March 15, 1935.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read, as requested.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

TIME FOR ADMINISTRATION TO HEED BUSINESS ADVICE

It is gratifying to note that another Senator, and a Democrat, has had the courage to come out against the nearly \$5,000,000,000 work-relief bill with the recommendation that it be reduced substantially.

"We are not going to buy our way to prosperity", said Senator COPELAND, "by spending such large sums of money as the administration is recommending, adding billions upon billions of dollars to the ruinous debt already existing. What we are really going to do by such action is to buy our way to poverty."

Nearly 2 years ago the administration started on its high spending spree. It was an experiment, and we believe the great majority of the people were entirely willing to have the President try out almost any method that stood a chance for betterment of conditions.

But what has been the result? Today there are more men and women out of employment than there were a year ago.

And now, instead of listening to experienced business men, the administration has raised the "ante" by suggesting that an additional sum of \$4,000,000,000 be spent on work relief (in addition to the \$880,000,000 really necessary for unemployment relief); and when this money is gone and again it is proven that we cannot "buy our way to prosperity", what will the "new dealers" advise then?

Will they double the stakes again and continue until it becomes impossible for the Government to borrow any more money? And then where are we going?

The American people have a lot of patience. They have proven it time and time again; but surely there must come an end to this ruinous "gambling."

If we had the slightest idea that the spending of this money on work relief would bring permanent employment to those out of work now we would urge the passage of this bill as strongly as anyone.

Do not Congress and the administration know that in order to create more employment, industry must be encouraged? Instead of passing laws that hamper business, instead of more and still more taxes which will make it impossible for most businesses to carry on, why not listen to experienced business men instead of theorists who have never employed labor and have never been in business themselves?

There are nearly a million more unemployed now than when the N. R. A. was started. During this period all other nations have decreased their number of unemployed.

We have, according to the latest figures, more than 23,000,000 of our population on relief, whereas other and comparable nations have materially reduced the number on relief.

How can the administration ignore these facts, and isn't it time to start experimenting with the businessman's remedy instead of the theorists' prescription?

PAUL BLOCK, *Publisher.*

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, 2 years ago the President of the United States deplored the fact that we had accumulated a deficit of \$5,000,000,000, warning the Nation that unless we took stock of our fiscal affairs and inaugurated a sound program of economy we would face disaster. The President charged that loose spending prior to his inauguration caused much hardship. I quote his words:

It has contributed to the recent collapse of our banking structure. It has accentuated the stagnation of the economic life of our people. It has added to the ranks of the unemployed. Our Government's house is not in order, and for many reasons no effective action has been taken to restore it to order.

This strong declaration of the President of the United States was made at a time when the national debt stood at \$21,000,000,000. He declared that the national credit was being endangered, but almost before his words had died away the administration started an orgy of spending which has been unequalled in all history.

Larger and larger appropriations have been asked from the Congress, and the limitations placed upon the power of the President have been gradually whittled away. Today we are asked in a single measure to appropriate as much money as the deficit which the President deplored in 1933.

I am in complete agreement with the declaration made by the President in March 2 years ago. I feel that we cannot bring prosperity by extravagance; we cannot pull ourselves up by our bootstraps. We must take care of our destitute. However, I feel that an amendment reducing this huge appropriation is based not only upon good judgment, but as well is in harmony with what the people of the United States have every right to expect of the present administration. This is borne out by the statement of policy made by the President 2 years ago, by the platforms of both major parties, and by the tenets of good business practice.

The pending joint resolution has been reported to the Senate through a most remarkable procedure. Committees which in the past have given thorough consideration to matters for which they are responsible have been ignored. The Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds has not been consulted. The committees which handle irrigation, reclamation, river and harbor improvements, highway legislation, electric-power problems, reforestation, and agricultural rehabilitation have had no opportunity to consider the effect of this bill upon the various responsibilities with which those committees are charged. If we are to completely abandon the idea that the Congress is responsible for the policies of the Government of the United States, this procedure may be justified. On the other hand, if we are to presume that we are the representatives of the people of the United States, we cannot condone such a remarkable abdication of our congressional responsibilities; we cannot approve of constant shifting of money from one budget to another.

The Congress has already bestowed upon the President more authority than one human being can possibly discharge. His bureaus and commissions reach into almost every phase of public life. He dominates the banks and stock exchanges. He may make economic treaties with foreign countries without the advice and consent of the Senate. He may bring about domestic and industrial agreements and enforce penalties upon violators of regulations which he may make. There is almost no limit at all to the powers we are abdicating in this joint resolution. The joint resolution contains a threat against the whole industrial system of the United States. It contains a threat against the whole financial structure of the United States. Furthermore, it imperils the standard of living of the people of this country.

So long as the national credit is in peril there can be no confidence within this country. Already the costly experiments which have been undertaken have jeopardized the future of business and labor. I should like to cite the cotton industry. Only recently a cotton mill closed down in Fall River, Mass., and the machinery was shipped to San Paolo, Brazil. In Savannah, Ga., a cotton press capable of baling 50,000 pounds of cotton every hour was dismantled and shipped to Brazil. At almost the same time nearly a score of textile instructors prepared to leave for Argentina to teach people to make cotton textiles—to displace a market formerly belonging to the industries of the United States. Simultaneously with these movements, many persons were immigrating to Brazil, Abyssinia, and Argentina for the purpose of growing and manufacturing cotton. In a recent dispatch carried in the newspapers and originating in Brazil, it was stated that a lack of confidence in the future of conditions in the United States was causing this alarming shift of the cotton industry to South America.

Until the past year the cotton textile industry of New England was facing gradual removal to the southern States. Today the whole cotton industry is facing the same problem. It is facing the loss of its market to foreign countries. All this is because of the opposing tide of government policy within this country.

Somewhere, some day, we must find funds to repay the money we are squandering. Somehow we must bring about an end to the jeopardy in which we are placing our national credit. As pointed out by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] our banks are already so full of Government bonds that even a temporary setback in our national credit may jeopardize our whole banking structure. Business cannot go ahead, and natural and permanent prosperity cannot re-

turn, until we have eliminated this danger. Either we must look forward to a total economic collapse and then struggle to build from the wreckage, or we must follow the recommendations of President Roosevelt in 1933, and insist upon a policy of sound national economy.

I quote the President further:

Upon the unimpaired credit of the United States Government rests the safety of deposits, the security of insurance policies, the activity of industrial enterprises, the value of our agricultural products, and the availability of employment. The credit of the United States Government definitely affects these fundamental human values. It, therefore, becomes our first concern to make secure the foundation. National recovery depends upon it.

I can think of no better way in which to express the actual situation which exists today. The President has declared that availability of employment depends upon the unimpaired credit of the United States. He has declared that the activity of industrial enterprises depends upon the credit of the United States, and he has declared that unless we avoid the danger of a loose fiscal policy, national recovery will be on the rocks.

I have said that we must take care of our destitute, but while we are doing so let us plan for the future. Why should we ignore 125,000,000 people while attempting to help 5,000,000 people? We must consider not only the few, but the whole. We must anticipate the return of normal industrial activity and a comfortable living for all of our people, gained through honest toil rather than through wasteful spending. We must consider not only this generation, but the generations which follow, upon whose shoulders we are placing a financial load greater than they will be able to bear. For who is to pay this enormous debt? Surely we cannot anticipate enough taxes to pay off our national debt in 20 or 40 years, or even during the next two generations, and if this cannot be anticipated, how can we expect further credit? How can industry ever hope for a sound fiscal policy which will permit it to operate with confidence and assurance of a reasonable return on its investment?

It would seem to me that if the expenditure or allocation of part of the huge sum proposed, during the next 16 months, cannot bring assurance of success for this program, such assurance can never be anticipated. Why should we appropriate nearly five billion dollars at this time and ignore the warning of the President in 1933, when one year should be sufficient to give us an actual picture of what is going to happen under this program? To do so will only further jeopardize our national credit and give impetus to the loss of our industries to Japan, Brazil, Switzerland, and other foreign countries. We will be here again next year, and if there is indication of a successful culmination of this program, we can extend these appropriations. If there is no indication of success, we should not have voted it anyway.

It is my thought that this fund should be drastically reduced, in order that we may not place our national credit too much in jeopardy, and that the confidence which our people have in their Government may not be further impaired.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the second portion of the amendment of the Senator from Colorado, which provides for striking out "\$4,000,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$2,000,000,000."

Several Senators called for the yeas and nays, and they were ordered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. LOGAN (when his name was called). Making again the same announcement as on the previous roll call, I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. LEWIS. I rise to announce the absence of the Senator from Arkansas [Mrs. CARAWAY] and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON], caused by illness.

I also announce the necessary absence of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BACHMAN], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER]. I am not advised as to how these Senators would vote if present.

I also announce that the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] is paired on this question with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. DUFFY]. If present, the Senator from Oklahoma would vote "yea", and the Senator from Wisconsin would vote "nay." Both Senators are necessarily detained from the Senate.

Mr. AUSTIN. I repeat the announcement previously made in regard to the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS].

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 57, as follows:

YEAS—30

Adams	Clark	Hale	Schall
Bailey	Copeland	Hastings	Steiwer
Barbour	Couzens	Johnson	Townsend
Borah	Dickinson	Keyes	Tydings
Bulkley	Donahay	King	Vandenberg
Byrd	George	McCarran	White
Capper	Gibson	McNary	
Carey	Glass	Metcalf	

NAYS—57

Ashurst	Dieterich	Maloney	Russell
Austin	Fletcher	Minton	Schwellenbach
Bankhead	Frazier	Moore	Sheppard
Barkley	Gerry	Murphy	Shipstead
Bilbo	Guffey	Murray	Smith
Black	Harrison	Neely	Thomas, Okla.
Bone	Hatch	Norbeck	Thomas, Utah
Brown	Hayden	Norris	Trammell
Bulow	La Follette	Nye	Truman
Burke	Lewis	O'Mahoney	Van Nuys
Byrnes	Logan	Pittman	Wagner
Connally	Loneragan	Pope	Walsh
Coolidge	McAdoo	Radcliffe	
Costigan	McGill	Reynolds	
Cutting	McKellar	Robinson	

NOT VOTING—8

Bachman	Davis	Gore	Overton
Caraway	Duffy	Long	Wheeler

So the second branch of the amendment of Mr. ADAMS was rejected.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I have pending an amendment which I ask to have stated by the clerk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from Virginia will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 25, after the word "resolution", it is proposed to insert a colon and the following:

Provided further, That no part of the funds herein appropriated shall be expended for the administrative expenses of any department, bureau, board, commission, or independent agency of the Government if such administrative expenses are ordinarily financed from annual appropriations.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I shall take only a word to explain this amendment. It simply prohibits the diversion of any of the funds carried by the pending joint resolution to pay the administrative expenses of any of the regular departments of the Government. As I explained earlier in the day, such administrative expenses were paid from the appropriation act which was passed a year or so ago.

I very much hope the amendment will be adopted.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, do I understand the amendment of the Senator from Virginia to mean that if any department expending part of this money should require an additional force to administer it, still none of this fund could be used to pay such departmental expenses?

Mr. BYRD. I will accept an amendment from the Senator from Kentucky providing that if the work of any department should be increased by reason of administering this appropriation the additional expense could be paid from the appropriation.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no amendment to offer. I was inquiring merely as a matter of information. I think that if the activities of a department should be increased by reason of the expenditure of part of this money, or if any additional force should be required in connection with the expenditure of part of the money, the department certainly ought not to be required to keep within its ordinary expenditures.

Mr. BYRD. I agree with the Senator from Kentucky; and I will modify my amendment so as to provide that if the work of any department shall be increased by reason of the expenditure of part of this appropriation, the cost of such increased work may be paid out of this appropriation.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Virginia a question.

The Senator has referred to the fact that under a previous appropriation some departments have spent part of the money without specific authorization having been made therefor. For instance, in the General Accounting Office the increase in the expenditure of funds necessarily involved an increase of expense. Am I correct in understanding the Senator's amendment, as presented, to mean that no part of this fund could be used, for instance, to cover the additional expenditures of the General Accounting Office made necessary by the increased expenditures authorized by the joint resolution?

Mr. BYRD. I will say to the Senator from South Carolina that I have just modified my amendment so as to provide that such expenses may be paid out of this appropriation.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I think quite likely this amendment is subject to a point of order. It is really an amendment to a committee amendment which has already been agreed to. I make the point of order on the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The only way in which the amendment offered by the Senator from Virginia may be considered is to reconsider the committee amendment to which it is offered.

Mr. ROBINSON. I make the point of order against the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I am not very familiar with parliamentary procedure, but I should like to have the amendment considered. I move to reconsider the vote whereby the committee amendment constituting that particular section of the joint resolution was adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is trying to ascertain whether or not the time has expired within which this committee amendment could be reconsidered. Usually, the way to secure consideration for an amendment of the kind offered by the Senator from Virginia is to ask unanimous consent for the reconsideration of the amendment to which it is offered. The Chair was about to make that statement when the Senator from Arkansas made the point of order. The point of order is well taken. Let the Chair ascertain on what date the committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD. I ask unanimous consent for the reconsideration of the vote by which the committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ROBINSON. I object.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is advised that the Journal shows that this committee amendment was agreed to on the 13th of March, so the time within which reconsideration could be moved—2 days—has expired.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, I inquire if there are other amendments to be proposed to the joint resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is about to put the question on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the joint resolution if no Senator has an amendment to offer.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, on Saturday my colleague [Mr. STEIWER] addressed some remarks to the committee amendment proposing the inclusion of section 10. Upon a close vote, and through a decision by the Chair, the amendment was defeated. My colleague, who supported the amendment, has been called from the Chamber at this time, and in his behalf I move that the vote by which the amendment was rejected be reconsidered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks the RECORD shows that the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY], at the time when the Senate voted on the amendment, made a motion to reconsider. Later on the Senator gave some kind of a notice, but the RECORD pretty clearly shows that the Senator at that time moved that the vote be reconsidered. The question now is on the reconsideration of the vote by which the amendment referred to was rejected.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, may I ask what is the amendment under discussion?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 9, section 10, the committee proposed to insert the following language:

SEC. 10. Federal public roads projects, rivers and harbors projects, reclamation projects, and public-buildings projects undertaken pursuant to the provisions of this joint resolution shall be carried out under the direction of the respective permanent Government departments or agencies having jurisdiction of such projects, and the performance of all contracts in connection with such projects shall be subject to the supervision and control of such departments or agencies.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment was rejected; and the question now is on a reconsideration of the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

The motion to reconsider was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question now is on the engrossment of the amendments to the joint resolution.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk to be inserted at the proper place in the joint resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the proposed amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. At the proper place, it is proposed to insert the following:

Provided, That in the employment of all officials and employees paid from funds appropriated by this joint resolution, preference shall be given, where they are qualified, to ex-service men.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, it is with great hesitation that I say a word in opposition to this amendment. The Senator from Rhode Island has offered a proposal to give preference to veterans. The fact is, as I think upon reflection the Senator will recognize, that the amendment is improper. The joint resolution is designed to take care of three and a half million men unemployed. Among them are veterans. The amendment would destroy the purpose of the measure by giving preference to veterans, whether or not they were on relief. The joint resolution limits the benefits of the measure to persons on relief. The Senator from Rhode Island seeks to change that, and, under the amendment, whether a veteran were on relief or not, he would have a preference with respect to obtaining employment.

Very properly, in the original Public Works Act we gave preference to veterans. That was a measure which took men from the ranks of the unemployed anywhere, and we provided that veterans should have preference, and they have been given preference. But here the distinction is whether or not a person is on relief. I think we would destroy the purpose of the joint resolution if we should agree to the amendment.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I cannot see how the argument of the learned Senator from Arizona can apply. I see no reason why this amendment should not be agreed to and included in the joint resolution. I ask for a vote.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, in view of the fact that a moment ago the vote was almost taken upon the engrossment of the amendments to the joint resolution, and knowing of the efficiency of the Vice President in facilitating the passage of legislation, I desire to serve notice, and do serve notice, that when all the amendments proposed to the joint resolution shall have been acted on I shall endeavor to secure recognition to call up an amendment now upon the table, the amendment being in the form of title II, and proposing a plan for financing the enormous appropriation carried by the joint resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the Vice President is in the chair at the time and the Senator from Oklahoma is upon his feet, he will recognize the Senator to present his amendment. The present occupant of the chair does not desire and will not undertake to prevent any Senator from offering any amendment to any measure before the Senate, but he does try to facilitate the passage of measures pending.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I should like to call from the table and to offer an amendment which a short time ago I asked leave to present.

The VICE PRESIDENT. An amendment is pending, the amendment offered by the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, as my distinguished friend the Senator from Arizona seems to criticize the amendment proposed by me, I shall modify it by adding the words "on relief" at the end of the proposed amendment, so that it will read "preference shall be given, where they are qualified, to ex-service men on relief."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Rhode Island, as modified. [Putting the question.] The noes seem to have it.

Mr. McNARY. I ask for a division.

On a division, the amendment was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will hereafter announce the vote when a division is called for, although that is not customary in the Senate. The Chair does not think that the RECORD will be hurt by an announcement of the vote of the Senate. It is not necessary for the Journal; it does not affect the legislation, as a matter of course, but the Chair sees no reason why he should not announce the number voting on a division. If there is any objection on the part of any Senator, the Chair would be glad to hear it.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a statement furnished me by the counsel of the P. W. A., setting forth the amount of funds that organization has received, the allotments made, and the contracts made, under the authority of the Congress.

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

The National Industrial Recovery Act made available \$3,300,000,000 and from the Emergency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1935, \$400,000,000 was awarded to P. W. A., making a total of \$3,700,000,000 available through the two acts. The Emergency Appropriation Act also authorized this Administration to dispose of securities accepted on account of loans and to use the proceeds of the sales as a revolving fund for the purpose of extending additional loans. Proceeds derived from such security sales have amounted to \$57,391,833, thereby providing this Administration with a grand total of \$3,757,391,833.

Of this fund the sum of \$310,000,000 was impounded by Executive order to finance certain activities of the Relief Administration. The actual transfer of a portion of this amount has already been made, and it is anticipated that the balance will be transferred at an early date. This has reduced the Public Works fund to \$3,447,391,833.

Allotments from this sum have been made in accordance with statutory provisions in the amount of \$167,500,000 (exclusive of \$10,000,000 originally allotted for Subsistence Homesteads and subsequently impounded and now included in the figure of \$310,000,000 given above). The statutory allotments have provided funds for the Tennessee Valley Authority, Subsistence Homesteads, Farm Credit Administration, and the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department.

Executive orders have authorized allocations amounting to \$425,871,500 for such purposes as the Civil Works Administration, and the Emergency Conservation fund.

Special allotments by this Administration have totaled \$398,322,166. These include the sums set aside for administration of title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act, certain expenses of the Emergency Conservation Work and other items.

After deduction of the foregoing sums the balance available to this Administration for its public-works program has amounted to \$2,445,698,167. Of this amount approximately \$1,490,000,000 has been allotted for public works of Federal agencies and \$955,000,000 for the non-Federal public-works operations of the States, cities, counties, and other political subdivisions as well as for certain private works made eligible for funds by the act.

Of the allocations made by this Administration for public works, approximately \$839,000,000 is repayable on account of public and private loans; \$105,000,000 on account of loans through the Reclamation Bureau, and \$734,000,000 on account of private loans and loans to public bodies. Bonds purchased so far on account of these approved loans have a par value of \$340,317,606.53. In turn sales effected for bonds having a par value of \$53,616,032.59 have produced proceeds or a net profit of \$902,539.39 over and above their par value.

The difference between the total P. W. A. allocations for Federal and non-Federal public-works projects and the amount repayable on account of loans is approximately \$1,600,000,000. This represents grants totaling approximately \$235,000,000 on non-Federal projects; \$400,000,000 for public roads; \$238,000,000 for naval vessels; \$353,000,000 for river and harbor improvements, flood control, and seacoast defenses, and various other items. These expenditures are comparable in type with the normal program of public construction as referred to in the act, and represent projects considered economically sound and socially desirable.

As of March 1, 1935, the total unexpended balance in the Treasury on a check-issued basis was approximately \$1,463,000,000. Allotments covering this entire unexpended balance have been made. Approximately \$1,107,000,000 of this unexpended balance has been encumbered by contract, leaving an available balance of approxi-

mately \$355,000,000 which has been allotted but has not been entirely obligated by contract. Contracts have been written for many of the allotments represented in this latter figure but have not been fully executed. However, this entire amount has been allotted. These contracts are in various stages and are being executed daily except in those cases where the projects are being carried out by force account.

It must be borne in mind that on non-Federal projects funds are advanced from time to time as the needs of the projects require. The entire sum allotted for a particular non-Federal project is not made available in its entirety but is advanced in convenient sums to meet current needs. While a non-Federal project may be almost completed from the construction standpoint, nevertheless there may be a large balance allotted for this project still remaining in the Treasury. As to Federal projects the disbursing officers draw on the Treasury against allotments made for particular projects as the funds are required.

By way of example, an unexpended balance of \$160,000,000 is credited to public highways, although it is generally recognized that the highway program has proceeded with greater speed than almost any other type of projects. In some cases the lag in withdrawals from the Treasury may be accounted for by the fact that funds for construction have been advanced by the State highway departments, as has been their custom in regard to Federal-aid highway appropriations over a period of years. Payment by the Government to the States in these instances is merely a booking transaction, since the entire cost of the project may have already been paid by the State.

Of the sum of \$692,000,000 reported by the Treasury Department as additional funds required to complete projects, the amount necessary for completing the projects initiated by P. W. A. allotments is approximately \$160,000,000 for Federal projects and \$115,000,000 for housing. Of the \$115,000,000 for housing, \$110,000,000 represents a sum previously allotted and subsequently impounded.

Included in the \$692,000,000 as reported by the Treasury as necessary to complete projects already undertaken are items many of which have no connection whatever with the Public Works Administration. For instance, included in the program of the War Department are river and harbor projects authorized by Congress, and which the Corps of Engineers feel should go forward. Some of these have had P. W. A. allocations, others have not. For example, Boston Harbor has been approved by Congress for improvements estimated to cost approximately \$4,800,000. P. W. A. has allocated \$800,000 for a portion of the work and this has been completed. However, an amount of \$4,000,000 was reported as necessary to complete. On the project for the improvement of the Mississippi River the amount necessary to complete the entire 9-foot channel project was reported. This work, which has been approved by Congress, in its entirety has received from P. W. A. \$33,500,000.

Of the amount included in the Treasury statement under additional funds required there appears an item of \$62,000,000 for the Tennessee Valley Authority. This, of course, is not a P. W. A. project.

The Interior Department reports as necessary to complete \$155,338,000. Included in this item are funds such as \$124,000,000 for reclamation projects, \$19,000,000 for soil-erosion work, \$9,000,000 for national-park projects, and similar items.

Instead of \$692,000,000, as reported by the Treasury, P. W. A. will require only \$165,000,000 to complete projects initiated by it.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, in view of the point of order made earlier today by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON], I wish to offer my amendment as a new section to the joint resolution, and I ask the Chair whether that would be in order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It would be in order as an original amendment to the joint resolution.

Mr. BYRD. The amendment as now modified would read as follows:

That no part of the funds herein appropriated shall be expended for the administrative expenses of any department, bureau, board, commission, or independent agency of the Government, if such administrative expenses are ordinarily financed from annual appropriations, unless additional work is imposed upon such department by reason of this joint resolution.

Mr. President, the purpose of the amendment is to prevent the diversion of the funds appropriated by the pending measure to the ordinary expenses of the Government for administrative expenses, as has occurred in the matter of the appropriation of \$3,300,000,000 under the act which became operative on June 16, 1933. If we are to appropriate money for the relief of the unemployed and for the construction of public works, certainly that money should not be diverted to pay the ordinary expenses of the Government.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. DICKINSON. I wish to suggest that in the administration of the A. A. A. the administrative expenses have amounted to over \$38,000,000. I do not believe the Senator covered that item in his remarks this morning.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, one of my main purposes in offering this amendment is to preserve the Budget system of the United States, and that system has practically been destroyed by the diversion of appropriations from emergency appropriations to pay the ordinary expenses of the Government.

This morning I called attention to the fact that a million dollars was taken from the Public Works appropriation, provided 2 years ago, and that that million dollars was given to finance a company in Tennessee which I am told was to retail electrical appliances. In other words, the executive department was not only diverting appropriations but was forming a policy of the Government, a policy which Congress should announce, the policy being as to whether or not this Government should go into the business of the retail sale of electrical appliances.

Mr. President if this joint resolution is what we are told it is, namely, a measure to provide relief for the unemployed, I cannot see any objection to putting in it a provision to the effect that no part of the appropriation may be diverted to pay the administrative expenses of other departments, unless, as is now provided, that additional work is imposed on such departments by reason of this particular appropriation.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRD. I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. ROBINSON. I think the Senator has very much improved his amendment by the incorporation of the provision "unless additional work is imposed."

Mr. BYRD. I made that improvement before the Senator objected and made a point of order against the amendment.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, let us not discuss that. As Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, after consultation with some of the members of the committee, I am perfectly willing to accept the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. AUSTIN rose.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SCHALL] has an amendment which he desires to offer.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Vermont gave notice that he desired to offer an amendment; but the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] being the leader of his side of the Chamber, the Chair thought it his duty to recognize him instead of the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I call up an amendment which now lies upon the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the amendment offered by the Senator from Vermont. It seems the clerk has no copy of the amendment at the desk. Has the Senator from Vermont a copy of it?

Mr. AUSTIN. I send a copy of it to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is advised that the printed amendment has not as yet been received from the Government Printing Office. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. At the proper place in the joint resolution it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SECTION —. Public projects, Federal, State, or municipal, undertaken pursuant to this joint resolution, shall be selected and planned so that when completed they shall not compete with existing private enterprises.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, that amendment needs very little explanation. Every one understands its scope, and everyone must recognize at once that it is in full sympathy with the purposes of the pending joint resolution.

Of course, there is nothing which can return to active service or employment men and women who are not now employed so much as the revival of private enterprise. The Government cannot possibly employ so many people as can private employers. Of course, too, as the second premise, there is nothing which will encourage private enterprise to start up so much as the removal of fear of competition by the Government and the restoration of confidence.

Therefore this amendment is intended to promote the objects of the joint resolution; and I hope it will receive favorable consideration.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. GLASS. There is so much confusion in the Senate that I did not distinctly hear the amendment to the joint resolution proposed by the Senator from Vermont, as read. However, I think I gathered the substance of it; and I should like to ask the Senator from Vermont if he does not think it is covered by section 7 of the joint resolution?

Mr. AUSTIN. I think not. I think it is not covered by section 7 of the joint resolution.

Mr. GLASS. I desire that the clerk again read the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be restated.

The CHIEF CLERK. At the proper place in the joint resolution it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SECTION —. Public projects, Federal, State, or municipal, undertaken pursuant to this joint resolution, shall be selected and planned so that when completed they shall not compete with existing private enterprises.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, section 7 of the joint resolution provides:

Wherever practicable in the carrying out of the provisions of this joint resolution, full advantage shall be taken of the facilities of private enterprise.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, as I understand section 7, I do not believe it accomplishes the same objective as does my amendment. If the distinguished Senator in charge of the joint resolution believes they mean the same thing, I should like to have my amendment agreed to, because I think it would remove from doubt the meaning of the joint resolution.

Mr. GLASS. I have no doubt of the meaning of that provision of the joint resolution.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I ask the attention of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] for a moment.

I submit to the Senator from Virginia that the two provisions have diametrically different meanings. The purpose of the amendment presented by the Senator from Vermont is to prevent the ultimate construction of anything which may interfere with something which may have been done by private enterprise. That is not the purpose at all of section 7, as I understand. I presume our old friends, the power companies, come into the picture thus; and the Senator is afraid that some power plant may be erected in a municipality by funds which come from this source to provide work for men who need work in a particular municipality, and he does not want the funds used in that particular manner.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, the Senator from California was not explicit enough to suit me as to which Senator he had in mind when he said a Senator was proposing to protect the Power Trust.

Mr. JOHNSON. No, no; I was not speaking of the Senator from Virginia in that regard. The Senator referred to section 7, which conveys one idea. The other idea to which I referred was presented by the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. GLASS. I want to know which provision it is that protects the Power Trust. I do not think mine does.

Mr. JOHNSON. My remarks in that regard were perfectly plain, and the Senator from Virginia ought not to take umbrage at them at all.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. BYRNES. If a request for money should be made for the development of a rural electrification project, the Senator's amendment, as I gather its purport, would prohibit expenditure for such a purpose. Is that true?

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I do not understand it to provide so at all.

Mr. BYRNES. Is not the language of the amendment that no funds shall be used for any project which, when completed, would compete with a private enterprise?

Mr. AUSTIN. The last sentence of the Senator from South Carolina was not included in his previous question. Of course, the construction of an electrification project competing with private enterprise would come within the prohibition of the amendment, if the amendment were adopted. Let me say, however, before I finish, that it is something of an assumption to say that the power companies are back of this amendment. The power companies had nothing at all to do with it.

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

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. BYRNES. Of course, I did not make that statement. I was simply asking for the Senator's construction of his own amendment—whether or not it would prohibit the construction of a rural electrification project if that project competed in any way with an existing enterprise?

Mr. AUSTIN. Yes, of course, it would. That is just the point. The waste of money in putting up a competing line of rural electrification is one of the things the amendment would prevent.

Mr. BYRNES. How about the construction of a housing project?

Mr. AUSTIN. It would depend upon where it was located and whether it would compete.

Mr. BYRNES. If a housing project were constructed at a place where other houses were rented, would the Senator say it was in competition with the landlords who owned the other houses?

Mr. AUSTIN. Not unless it competed with private enterprise.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, of course it would compete with private enterprise if people rented the houses which were constructed under a housing project. If they did not rent the houses constructed under the project, they might be forced to rent some other houses. That would be competition; would it not?

Mr. AUSTIN. That does not necessarily follow. A housing project which was not in a place where houses were already in existence would not be in competition with other houses.

Mr. BARKLEY. A housing project is not going to be undertaken out in the middle of a vacant field. It would undoubtedly be in a city or town. It is difficult to see how a housing project in a thickly settled city might not, when completed, compete with some private houses already there.

Let us suppose that in some city, town, or village there is a water system, owned by a private organization, which is inadequate to serve the citizens. Under the Senator's amendment it would be impossible for the municipality to install a water system which would serve the community because one was already there, although it was inadequate to serve the community.

Mr. AUSTIN. I grant that is a possibility. Of course, one can by a stretch of the imagination picture a situation for which the amendment would not be ideal, but I have in mind projects for manufacturing and retail businesses engaged in various activities which have been heretofore simply left to private enterprise—enterprise that provides the taxes which will go to pay the sums appropriated by this measure. It is to prevent an enormous amount of capital being thrown into competition with private capital that I offer the amendment. I ask for a vote.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Vermont. The amendment was rejected.

Mr. SCHALL. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. It is proposed to insert at the proper place in the bill the following:

All corporations organized for any purpose by officials or agencies of the United States for its use since March 4, 1933, shall be liquidated within 90 days; and no other or like corporations shall be organized for any purpose by or in behalf of the United States except by express authorization of Congress.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. President, I should like to inquire of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BYRNES], who seems to be contact man with the President, just the purpose of the corporations whose charters were placed in the RECORD by me on the 6th of February. The question was asked of him by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS] and a similar question by the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON]. I have heard no reply as to the purpose of the corporations which cover private industry from the button on the top of one's cap to the sole of his shoes.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, I make the point of order against the amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Minnesota desires the attention of the Senator from South Carolina to ask him a question.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I heard the question of the Senator from Minnesota. The Senator from South Carolina has never stated at any time, either on or off the floor of the Senate, that he is contact man with the President of the United States. He has no information to give the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. SCHALL. The Senator from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS] inquired what is the purpose of these corporations. The RECORD of February 19 discloses Senator COUZENS asking this question of the junior Senator from South Carolina—

Mr. COUZENS. I ask his attention because I have asked several Senators on the other side of the Chamber the purpose of organizing separate Delaware corporations. The matter has just come to my attention for the second or third time through an amendment offered by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SCHALL]. I inquired from several of the leaders on the other side—leaders in connection with this joint resolution—what was the purpose of organizing these separate corporations under the laws of the State of Delaware. Can the Senator from South Carolina advise me as to that?

Mr. BYRNES. I may say to the Senator that I shall be glad to try to find out for him and give him the information.

The Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] made a similar inquiry of the junior Senator from South Carolina—

Mr. JOHNSON. Why should the United States Government have to go into a single State in the Union and organize corporations with the broadest conceivable powers for its different activities and its different departments?

If the Senator is planning to look up the matter, I suggest that query to him. Personally, I cannot quite fathom why it is essential that that should be done.

I have heard no report as to what is the purpose of these secretly organized, marked "do not publish" corporations. Of course we can all figure out, it seems to me, what is their purpose, but I thought perhaps the Senator from South Carolina had some explanation.

Mr. BYRNES. I have never talked with the Senator from Minnesota at any time and never told him I would secure for him any information. I have no information to give him.

Mr. SCHALL. No; the Senator misunderstands me. The Senator from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS] asked the Senator on the floor of the Senate—and the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] did the same—what was the purpose of the corporations. They undoubtedly acted in their official capacity upon the floor of the Senate, and reply should be made to them here upon the floor or placed in the RECORD where Senators who are required to vote upon this bill might have access to it. I have discovered nothing in the RECORD nor have I been able to find out from anyone what the purpose of these secretly organized corporations were. The Senator from South Carolina said they had something to do with farming or something of that kind, but that he would find out and let us know. Has the Senator found out so the information can be placed in the RECORD?

Mr. BYRNES. If I told the Senator from Michigan I would give him any information, then, if and when I receive that information, I shall give it to him.

Mr. SCHALL. Has the Senator ever received it?

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. SCHALL. Yes. If he has an explanation of these Delaware corporations I should like to have it.

Mr. GLASS. I have no information on the subject. My purpose is to move to lay the matter on the table so we can get through with these minor amendments and complete consideration of the joint resolution some time this session.

Mr. SCHALL. My purpose is to lay these Delaware corporations on the table, these corporations which have been organized in the State of Delaware to take over every industry in the United States.

Mr. ROBINSON. I make the point of order against the amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. What is the ground of the point of order?

Mr. ROBINSON. It is legislation on an appropriation measure, and it deals with corporations which have no relationship to the joint resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Minnesota has the floor.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. SCHALL. Certainly.

Mr. McNARY. I am interested to know what objection the Senator from Arkansas has to the amendment and the nature of his point of order.

Mr. ROBINSON. I have stated the point of order. It is legislation on an appropriation measure and relates to corporations which are not involved in the pending joint resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The point of order is not sustained. The Senator from Minnesota has the floor.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, what is the ruling of the Chair?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The point of order is not sustained.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. President, there has been a great deal of concern with reference to where the administration is going. Some have likened it to the voyage of Columbus in that he did not know where he was going, did not know where he was when he got there, and did not know where he had been when he returned.

I read the speech of the junior Senator from Kentucky sometime ago. I think the speech was in the RECORD of the 19th of February which, it seemed to me, brought the matter to an issue. He said that he was for the new deal and the administration, but he would like to know where the terminal was; he would like to know where we are going; he would like to know the place where we could drop anchor. I think if the Senator will read the articles of incorporation inserted by me in the RECORD on the 6th of February he will find his terminal, so far as the administration is concerned. The terminal is in Delaware.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I inquire of the Senator from Minnesota as to which Senator from Kentucky he alluded?

Mr. SCHALL. The junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LOGAN].

The terminals are in Delaware. These corporations have been organized there. Five of them were marked "Do not publish." It seems that even here in the Senate of the United States we cannot get any information with reference to the purpose of the corporations, although hundreds of millions of dollars of Government money has been put into them and, if the bill passes, billions more to go the same way, unless my amendment is adopted.

The terminal to which this administration is going is Delaware. Delaware is the terminal, and the object is to translate the United States of America into a United States of Soviet Russia.

If this money is appropriated in this joint resolution, these Delaware corporations can take over every industry in the

United States, undertake any project eligible to be included in a comprehensive program of public works; collect fees, tolls, and other charges in the construction and operation of highways, parkways, buildings, canals, tunnels, bridges, docks, drydocks, dams, markets, viaducts, aqueducts, waterworks, reservoirs, sewage systems, airports, gas, light, power plants, hospitals, refrigerating and heating systems; acquire improved or unimproved real estate by purchase, exchange—exercise the power of eminent domain, maintain and improve, sell, exchange, grant, donate, or otherwise dispose of real estate, and sell any personal property; maintain and operate edifices, structures, and buildings of every kind, nature or description; manufacture building materials and supplies of every kind; develop natural resources, develop water power, generate and transmit electrical energy, reclaim, irrigate, and improve land; lease—with or without privilege of purchase—sell, exchange, grant, donate, or otherwise dispose of all or any part of any project which it may undertake, construct, finance, or in any way aid; perform any and all acts and functions customarily done by architects, engineers, or general contractors; furnish, equip, operate, manage, and maintain projects and structures of every kind—including the supplying of heat, steam, water, gas, electricity, transportation, telephone, and other necessary and public utilities; to carry on its functions in the State of Delaware, or in any other State, territory, or locality without restriction or limitation as to amount; acquire personal property of every kind, nature, and description; acquire land, hold, use, or dispose of any franchises, licenses, grant, concessions, patents, trade marks, trade names, copyrights, or inventions granted by or existing under the laws of any government or subdivision thereof; borrow money for its corporate purposes without limit as to amount, to draw, make, accept, endorse, and issue, promissory notes, bills of exchange, bonds, debentures, and other instruments, and evidences of indebtedness, and any others that I may have happened to omit, and any this administration has failed to anticipate is covered in general blanket clauses.

There is not an industry in the United States that they cannot take over. And further than that they can set up business in foreign countries. They will even take over the newspapers; and if there is a newspaper left that does not feel the brad of the administration, and does not succumb, they will run it out of existence, as they have hundreds of papers in the United States today.

Twenty-five days after this administration came into office, 25 days after it raised its hand and said that it would support and defend the Constitution of the United States, it sent to Congress, and saw to it that it passed the House without even allowing it to be printed, a bill which would have put an editor in jail for 10 years, and compelled him to pay a \$10,000 fine, if he dared publish anything of which the administration did not approve. Through the efforts of the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] most of this illegal unconstitutional poison was forced out of the bill.

Then Senators will remember the communications bill. It provided for a complete censorship. It was fixed up here to some extent, but there still remains in that bill a clause which gives the President the power to declare an emergency; and upon the declaring of that planned emergency the President can take over telephone, telegraph lines, radio, and every avenue of communication, not excepting the mails of the United States, which seem already to have been taken over by Mr. Farley in reference to Senator SCHALL of Minnesota. Why, I cannot even send through the mails a speech made in the Senate without having the Postmaster General open my mail and throw it in the waste-paper basket. If it has come to the point, Mr. President, where a United States Senator cannot even communicate with his constituents, God help those who do not happen to be United States Senators.

I tell you, there is something mighty rotten here in Denmark. There is something that ought to be looked into; and I am telling you the culmination of it all is right down there in Delaware, in the six corporations which have been organized to sovietize the United States of America.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield to me?

Mr. SCHALL. Yes; gladly.

Mr. COUZENS. I desire to say to the Senator that when he brought up this question before, I interested myself in it. If the Senator will let this matter go over until tomorrow, I believe I may be able to secure at least most of the information that was promised to him.

Mr. SCHALL. I shall be very glad to do so.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield to me?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. SCHALL. I do.

Mr. ROBINSON. The Senator from Minnesota a few days ago made a statement similar to the one he has just made about the Postmaster General opening his mail, and that he could not communicate with his constituents. My attention was called to that statement. I looked into the record, and I found that during President Hoover's administration the Senator from Minnesota was using his frank to send to newspapers, and to others, communications that were not frankable. The Senator's attention was called to it then, and later he continued the same practice.

I have in my hand an example of the mail matter which the Senator was franking out to newspapers in his State in violation of the privilege of a Senator. It is said that during this administration complaints were filed with the Post Office Department; and some of the envelopes which the Senator was sending out, franking this unfrankable matter, were found open, and it was disclosed that the Senator was continuing the same practice which had been pursued during the Hoover administration.

Representatives of the Post Office Department went to the Senator from Minnesota, both during the Hoover administration and during the Roosevelt administration, for the purpose of collecting the postage which was due on the matter which the Senator had franked out to newspapers and to others in violation of the franking privilege; and that is the basis of the complaint which the Senator makes.

At another time the matter will be presented more fully to the Senate.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. President, I happen to have the floor. I should be very glad if the Senator would get his statement in some shape so that I can answer it.

Mr. ROBINSON. I thank the Senator for yielding to me.

Mr. SCHALL. I have been patiently waiting for the Senator from Arkansas to get this out of his system on my time. I wish he would listen to what I am about to say. Perhaps it will help.

In Minnesota, in my last election, Mr. Hoidale was the Democratic candidate for the Senate. I beat the then Governor of Minnesota by 100,000 votes for the Republican nomination. After the nomination the Governor and his crowd—in fact, all the Republican machine—moved over back of Mr. Hoidale, and every newspaper in the State was over back of Mr. Hoidale, with the exception of 17 papers out of the 600 in Minnesota, and still I beat the whole bunch of them, and they stole 45,000 votes from me in Minneapolis.

During that fight, when I had no chance to get to the newspapers and could not get anything in, somebody sent to the Post Office Department a letter that they said I sent without stamps. I deny it now, and I denied it then, and nothing was ever done about it until the other day one of Farley's inspectors showed up at the office and attempted to put the "squeeze" on me. The postmaster's attention was drawn to it, and all sorts of complaints were sent in from Minnesota in reference to my using my frank. It was just too bad that TOM SCHALL had the use of a frank when nearly every paper in the State was pounding me!

That is the matter to which the Senator from Arkansas refers. In reference to the mail which was ordered to be opened by your Postmaster General, he found in it a speech which was made in the United States Senate June 16, 1934,

in which I treated the censorship of this administration, and it hurt. I know it hurts.

The speech was again read into the RECORD with some remarks I made on the 4th of March and any Senator can easily get it and see for himself the speech that was thrown out of the mails. The beginning of that speech was as follows:

Mr. HARRISON. Of course, the Senator has had read some utterances that reflect very grossly upon certain people, and really violated the rules of the Senate.

Mr. SCHALL. I do not intend to violate any rules, and I do not believe I have violated any rules in my past utterances. I have spoken the truth as I see it in reference to the personnel of this administration and I intend to continue to do so, for God knows there was never a time in the history of our country when plain speaking was so imperative of what is going on here at Washington in taking from the people their Republic and substituting instead a Russian or Italian dictatorship as there is today.

Almost every bill we have passed this session has contained a censorship either directly or indirectly and has in itself constituted a dictatorship. In the last special session 77 powers were filched from the judiciary and Congress by this administration under the guise of emergency which the administration now wants made permanent. Somebody, somewhere, ought to speak; and if it does hurt, I am sorry, for I place the welfare of my country above the welfare of any party.

I have several other speeches along this line that ought to go to my constituents, to whom I am responsible insofar as I can help by deterring what is going on here, and my constituents are entitled to the use of my frank to the end that they may know insofar as I can tell them at least what sort of skulduggery is being pulled off under this sly, secretive, say-one-thing-do-the-other administration. I doubt, though, if I get anything to the State of Minnesota through the Post Office here, as run by Mr. Farley.

In that envelop was a statement, the essence of which I have many times stated upon this floor and on the 4th of March placed it in the RECORD again. It referred to the same subject that Senator BORAH, of Idaho, gathered some very interesting figures upon and which more than verifies the accuracy of this statement.

Although this attempt by the Democratic gang to buy the coming election by using money from the United States Treasury is the most reprehensible political corruption ever attempted in American politics, the farmer should be advised to take the money, because he will be taxed for it. He will have to pay it back with interest whether he takes it or not.

It is estimated that the cost of this political dole campaign in office help is about 14 percent of the money paid out; that another 25 percent sticks to the fingers of those who distribute it; this taken with the interest will put the farmer in debt about double what he has received.

Not to exceed 25 percent of the populace is now on the dole. If Roosevelt can continue his chaos until he has 55 percent on the dole, he will then have a majority. This will give him the power to abolish the Constitution and realize his ambition to set up a communistic dictatorship.

There it is. There is nothing to hide; there is nothing that I sent out under my frank that I did not have a right to send out under it, and it has never before in the history of Congress been criticized. There ought to be something somewhere to prevent a Postmaster General from snooping through the mail. I do not get any mail until after it goes through Mr. Farley. My mail comes in days behind time. I do not know what they expect to get out of my mail, but that is what they are doing. They are going through it; and it may be that the same thing happens to other Senators. I know there are others; they will speak for themselves; but I know of one Senator who tried to mail some truth to his constituency as he had uttered it here upon the floor but it was refused the mail and finally upon his investigation found in the corner of the post office where it had no doubt been accidentally, on purpose, placed. Those who had placed it there believed, no doubt, it would serve the administration better to have it in that corner than in the hands of the Senator's constituents. If this can be done to a United States Senator, God pity the private citizen who attempts to speak his mind. Any Senator, however humble, ought to be of as much service to his country at this perilous time of usurpation of our Republic as the cackling geese were to the Republic of Rome when by their noise in the night the presence

of the stealthy enemies of Rome were discovered and beaten back.

It has come to a pretty pass when a United States Senator or Representative cannot use his frank to tell the people what is going on behind the scenes down here. They ought to be told about these corporations in Delaware. The country ought to hear about them. The administration, if it were frank, should have told the Senate what the purpose was of these secretly organized corporations. Why the administration wants to move the functions of this Government to Delaware, where they can act through them outside the Constitution and beyond the bickerings of a patriotic Congress, elected by the people who, before taking office, swore to maintain and defend the Constitution, is beyond the comprehension of the average honest American. So we have discovered the terminal facilities of the new deal to be located in Delaware. This bill is the first call to get out the transportation. Are we ready for the ride? Are we "on the way" to Delaware? Have we a through ticket to Moscow? Are the people ready to give up their liberty and their property and join on the long socialistic trip that leads to Moscow, perchance to Siberia? Or are we hiding that ticket in a cloak of mystery? That is the joyride they are intending us to take. That is the trip and that is the ticket they have prepared; and if you do not do anything to prevent it you are going to have every business in the United States taken over by the administration through these Delaware corporations.

It seems to me that is something of enough interest that every Senator should interest himself in it; and I hope that during the night, before tomorrow morning, you will look up in the RECORD of February 6 these corporations that are there in print before you. Read about them, and if you do not come back here tomorrow morning and help do something to head them off, then we may as well gracefully surrender and prepare ourselves to succumb to a rule of the United States of Soviet Russia.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, in view of the statements made by the Senator from Minnesota, I send to the desk a letter addressed to me by Postmaster General Farley, and ask that it be read in my time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the letter will be read.

The letter was read, as follows:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., March 13, 1935.

HON. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR ROBINSON: I beg to call your attention to remarks made by Senator SCHALL in his speech entitled "Censorship", as printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Monday, March 4, 1935.

In the right-hand column on page 2947 of the RECORD, Senator SCHALL refers to six letters addressed to newspapers in Minnesota, one of which bore the cancellation stamp of the Washington post office, which were excluded, he states, from the mails at the post office in Washington by my order.

The fact of the matter is that I personally knew nothing whatever about this matter. Such functions are handled by the Third Assistant Postmaster General, and I find upon inquiry that on October 19, 1934, some 200 pieces of so-called "releases" in envelopes of Senator SCHALL were received at the Washington post office. One of the envelopes was unsealed and upon examination the postmaster ascertained that matter was enclosed which was not frankable. The postmaster then called the office of the Third Assistant Postmaster General by telephone and was instructed to follow the usual procedure; that is, to notify the Senator in order that the necessary postage might be paid. This was done and upon failure of Senator SCHALL to pay the postage the matter was returned to him in the regular way.

In the right-hand column on page 2949 appears the statement of the Senator that at my instance a post-office inspector visited him and warned him that he had no business to criticize the actions of the Government through the United States mails under his frank. Again, I am constrained to say that I had no personal knowledge whatever of the visit of the inspector.

Upon inquiry of the Bureau of the Third Assistant Postmaster General, I find that during the administration of President Hoover, complaints were received by the Post Office Department concerning abuses of the franking privilege by Senator SCHALL.

When the Post Office Department has given service upon matter which is found to be unfrankable under the law it is the practice to call upon the Member of Congress responsible to pay the necessary postage.

In July 1934 again complaints were received by the Department alleging abuse of the franking privilege by Senator SCHALL. Two letters were written to the Senator in an effort to ascertain the number of pieces mailed in order that the amount of postage might be computed and the Department reimbursed. We were unable to get any replies to our letters, and on October 11, 1934, the matter was turned over to a post-office inspector for a personal interview with the Senator in an effort to collect postage properly due the Department. The inspector reports that he did have a personal interview with Senator SCHALL, and the Senator contends that any matter should be carried free under his frank which he considers in the interest of the people.

These matters are gone into more fully in a memorandum herewith attached, which was prepared by the Third Assistant Postmaster General. The Congress by law has prescribed what may be carried free of postage under a Member's frank. The statutes concerned are referred to in the memorandum attached hereto. The Post Office Department is merely following the provisions of the law.

The letters that Senator SCHALL refers to were never rightfully within the mails. None of his letters has been excluded from the mails, nor has the Senator been subjected to any treatment other than that which would have been accorded to any Member of Congress under similar circumstances.

I believe that these misrepresentations as to the activities of the Post Office Department should be corrected, and I am therefore taking the liberty of bringing them to your attention.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES A. FARLEY,
Postmaster General.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. ROBINSON. I yield.

Mr. SCHALL. I think the letter itself shows what has been happening to the Senator from Minnesota, so far as the Post Office Department is concerned.

As to the letters not being in the post office, they contained the stamp of the post office. If they had not been in there, how did they get the stamp on them? I had them here when I made the speech, and I can bring them here again and exhibit them. I offered to exhibit them at that time.

The speech referred to in the letter was a speech on censorship, and contained some things which I dare say Farley did not want to reach my constituents, and he took the direct method of throwing the speeches out of the mail.

A representative of my office was told that they were thrown out by order of Mr. Farley. I shall be glad to continue the discussion tomorrow.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I have the memorandum prepared by the Third Assistant Postmaster General, referred to in the letter of Mr. Farley. It is quite voluminous, and if the Senator from Virginia wishes now to proceed with an executive session I shall resume the floor in the morning.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Megill, one of its clerks, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6644) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and for other purposes; requested a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado, Mr. ARNOLD, and Mr. TABER were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6644) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and for other purposes, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. ADAMS. I move that the Senate insist on its amendments disagreed to by the House, agree to the conference asked by the House, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the President pro tempore appointed Mr. ADAMS, Mr. GLASS, Mr. McKELLAR, Mr. HALE, and Mr. KEYES conferees on the part of the Senate.

ALLOCATIONS UNDER N. R. A. APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] brought before the Senate this morning the report of the Secretary of the Treasury pursuant to Senate Resolution No. 91, showing the status of allocations made from the appropriation of \$3,300,000,000. I am presenting a resolution, and ask unanimous consent for its consideration, providing that that report be printed. I am informed that it will not cost in excess of \$2,000.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Let the resolution be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will read the resolution.

The legislative clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 109), as follows:

Resolved, That the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury, dated March 11, 1935, transmitting, pursuant to S. Res. 91, agreed to March 6, 1935, a report of the allocations made for projects out of the appropriation of \$3,300,000,000 under the National Industrial Recovery act, approved June 16, 1933, be printed, together with the accompanying report, as a Senate document, and that 500 additional copies be printed for the Senate document room.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, my attention was otherwise engaged. What is the nature of the proposal?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will again read the resolution.

The legislative clerk again read the resolution.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I do not intend to object to the resolution, but the law requires that accompanying a resolution of this kind there shall be an estimate of the cost.

Mr. BAILEY. We have the estimate now, \$1,700. I have provided that it should not cost to exceed \$2,000.

Mr. FLETCHER. The estimate is here?

Mr. BAILEY. It is.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator whether the statement in question was furnished by the Treasury?

Mr. BAILEY. It was.

Mr. BYRNES. Not by P. W. A.?

Mr. BAILEY. As I understood, it was furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury to the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

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

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting the nomination of Hiram Church Ford, of Kentucky, to be United States district judge, eastern district of Kentucky, to succeed A. M. J. Cochran, deceased, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters, which were ordered to be placed on the Executive Calendar.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The calendar is in order.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Charles T. Fisher, Jr., of Michigan, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. President, this nomination first appeared on the calendar on Saturday. I requested the distinguished leader on this side of the Chamber, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY], to ask for me that the nomination go over until yesterday, and I made a similar request of him yesterday.

I have been making some investigation of this appointee, and I should like the nomination to go over until tomorrow. The Senators from Michigan are exceedingly anxious that action should be taken by the Senate, but I request that I be given another day. I assure the Senate that I shall ask no further delay, and the chances are that I shall not object tomorrow; but I should like the nomination to go over for 1 day.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I announced upon yesterday that I should resist any further effort to postpone consideration of this nomination. My entire inclination is to stand upon that notice, because I know of no possible objection which can be made to Mr. Fisher's qualifications for this position. I think my colleague [Mr. COUZENS] has about the same feeling about the matter. If we can have an agreement that the consideration of the nomination will proceed to a conclusion at tomorrow's executive session, I may be inclined to wait 1 more day, but only on that basis.

I inquire of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HASTINGS] whether he is willing to concede the position which I now state.

Mr. HASTINGS. I do. That was my own suggestion. If the nomination can go over until tomorrow I shall no longer take the time of the Senate, and the chances are that at that time I shall not object to confirmation. However, if I do object I shall certainly not take more than 3 or 4 minutes in explaining my objection, and I shall be prepared to do that tomorrow.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I desire to be courteous to the Senator, and at the same time I wish to be just to this nominee. I feel that there is utterly no basis for complaint against him. If the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS] has no objection, I am willing to agree, as far as I am concerned, to a conclusion of the matter tomorrow; but I am inclined to defer to his judgment in the situation.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, if there were any tangible reason for holding up the confirmation of this nomination, certainly I should not hesitate to comply with the request of the Senator from Delaware. This young man, as manager of the Detroit branch, has been an employee of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation I think almost all the time since its organization. This nomination is a promotion to the Board of Directors of the R. F. C., made with the approval of the directors of the R. F. C. and with the approval of the Republican leader and the Senators from Michigan, who are familiar with this young man's abilities, his past experience, his training, and his fitness for the position. It appears that his uncle, Fred Fisher, made a contribution to the Democratic National Committee in spite of the fact that the whole Fisher family have been Republicans, and this young man and his father are Republicans. Because this young man's uncle made a contribution to the Democratic National Committee, the Senator from Delaware suggests that that subscription to the committee was responsible for the appointment.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. COUZENS. I yield.

Mr. HASTINGS. I did not make any such statement.

Mr. COUZENS. That is a question of veracity. The Senator told me this afternoon in this Chamber, standing right at this very corner, that if that were the fact I myself would object to the confirmation of the nomination.

Mr. HASTINGS. That is true; I said that, but I did not say that was a fact.

Mr. COUZENS. The Senator did not say what?

Mr. HASTINGS. I did not say it was a fact.

Mr. COUZENS. I did not say the Senator said it. I said the Senator suggested that it was the fact.

Mr. President, I am not a partisan, although I recognize that the R. F. C. has to be made up of Republicans and Democrats. Before the nomination of the former Senator from Mississippi, Mr. Stephens, came up for confirmation, the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] suggested to me that the nominations to fill both the Republican and the Democratic vacancies should come before the Senate at the same time, because the places had both been

vacant for a considerable period; and he suggested to me that I call up the White House and ask that the nominations of both men be sent in at the same time. This was agreed to and carried out. The name of Mr. Fisher was sent to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and that committee unanimously reported the nomination favorably. Now it seems that because there appeared in the newspapers an account of a contribution of \$5,000 to the Democratic National Committee by his uncle, Mr. Fred Fisher, there is objection of some sort, at least pending, to this young man's confirmation.

I resent vigorously any intimation that the President of the United States was controlled in making this nomination by a contribution from the uncle of this young man, as I resent any suggestion that I would be supporting this young man's confirmation because his uncle had contributed \$5,000 to the Democratic National Committee.

I see no reason for postponing the confirmation of this nomination. The Senator from Delaware has all the information which is available. In my judgment, he has all the information he will ever get because there is no denial of the facts; and there is no way to prove the suggestion that this man's appointment was bought by a contribution to the Democratic National Committee.

Mr. President, I ask for action tonight.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. President, I do not wish to get into any discussion. It seems to me my request is a reasonable one. This position has been vacant for some 9 months. Certainly a delay of 2 or 3 days will not trouble anyone very much. I do not desire to discuss the nomination tonight. I do not wish to have any argument about it; but unless I can secure an agreement that it shall go over I shall feel compelled to ask for a quorum call and then discuss the nomination tonight, if I have to.

Mr. COUZENS. I call for the question.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Fisher.

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

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Delaware will let the remaining names on the calendar, to which there is no objection, be disposed of before he suggests the absence of a quorum. I hope the Senator will do that.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I call for the regular order.

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

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

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

Ashurst	Couzens	McGill	Robinson
Bailey	Dickinson	McKellar	Schall
Barkley	Glass	McNary	Schwellenbach
Brown	Guffey	Maloney	Sheppard
Burke	Harrison	Minton	Thomas, Utah
Byrnes	Hastings	Moore	Truman
Capper	Keyes	O'Mahoney	Vandenberg
Clark	King	Pittman	
Connally	La Follette	Radcliffe	

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Thirty-four Senators having answered to their names, there is not a quorum present.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the call of the Senate be dispensed with and that, as in legislative session, the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

There being no objection (at 6 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.), the Senate, in legislative session, took a recess until tomorrow, Wednesday, March 20, 1935, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate March 19 (legislative day of Mar. 13), 1935

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Hiram Church Ford, of Kentucky, to be United States district judge, eastern district of Kentucky, to succeed A. M. J. Cochran, deceased.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, MARCH 19, 1935

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Once more, Heavenly Father, we are brought to the duties of a new day. As children of an infinite God and heirs of eternity, enable us to be worthy, long-suffering, and full of kindness one to another. We approach Thee in prayer that we may be lifted up to that reason which is not derived from matter. Do Thou inspire us with sensibility to love that which we cannot touch and would not smother. Merciful Lord, let this old, rugged world be rolled to Thy feet and save it from the selfish and the designing hearts of evil men. In the mad rush for wealth, power, and influence arrest them that they may understand that Thy laws are imperative and that we can be saved only by loyalty to the God of all righteousness, truth, and justice. We beseech Thee, to subdue racial prejudice and narrow, bigoted, and destructive sectarianism, whose wind and wave drive to no desired haven. O may all creeds be swallowed up in pure and undefiled religion. Divine Spirit, descend upon us and bless us with the genius of heavenly love and power. In the name of our Savior. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House, by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed bills of the House of the following titles:

On March 14, 1935:

H. R. 330. An act for the relief of Sophie de Soto.

On March 18, 1935:

H. R. 5221. An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act with respect to rice, and for other purposes;

H. R. 426. An act for the relief of Jacob Santavy; and

H. R. 593. An act for the relief of Fred C. Blenkner.

RESIGNATION FROM COMMITTEE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication, which was read by the Clerk:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 18, 1935.

The Honorable JOSEPH W. BYRNS,

The Speaker of the House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I hereby submit my resignation as a member of the Committee on the Civil Service of the House of Representatives and request that the same take effect immediately.

Yours very sincerely,

J. Y. SANDERS, Jr.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation will be accepted.

There was no objection.

RELIEF AND SECURITY

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by inserting in the RECORD a speech delivered by myself over the Columbia Broadcasting System on the national program for emergency relief and social security.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech delivered by myself over the Columbia Broadcasting System, Saturday past, on the National Program for Emergency Relief and Social Security:

First of all, I want to thank the Columbia Broadcasting System for the time allotted to me this evening.

Ladies and gentlemen, at the present time we find ourselves surrounded by what appears to be logical arguments pro and con on the question of further emergency relief, and particularly the certain clauses thereof held, as evident, to be necessary and tan-

amount to success of these recovery attempts. The one commanding strongest attention at the moment is the prevailing-rate-of-wage amendment to the bill providing for continuance of emergency relief on a public-works basis.

Primarily, I undertake to defend my own point of view in upholding the prevailing rate of wage not only on Federal building construction, as provided for by the Davis-Bacon Act but also on every other Federal and non-Federal project, taking into consideration the protection of our farm lands from soil erosion, our watersheds from the rampages of turbulent streams and rivers, adequate protection of our forests, and the various localized projects categorically termed, "State, municipal, parish, or county." I hold this protection necessary for the reason that under a construction of the bill, whether the Government will supply its labor directly or through any contract or grant to a State, municipality, or political subdivision thereof, the Federal Government will, without the prevailing-rate-of-wage clause, directly and indirectly, enter private business by the negotiation of contracts with contractors, engaged either directly or through a State or its political subdivisions, to perform a particular public works, and for that reason will be making inroads into earnings that may have been otherwise larger than \$50 per month. We should not look on this part of the recovery program as pure charity.

The country is at a stage of economic crisis where employment of its masses is practically today a necessary policy of the Federal Government, not because the Federal Government or Congress would gladly yield to such an enormous bonded indebtedness to provide this giant relief program but because millions who are deprived of the vital necessities, much less the ordinary comforts, of life were growing constantly impatient and possibly intolerant. Not because they were unpatriotic but because the pangs of hunger and the sickly sight of viewing their loved ones—their wives, their mothers, their children—day after day, month after month, being deprived because of some great unbalanced economic-social system in America.

The people on the emergency relief, which is viewed by many critics as a dole, are not adequately provided for. For example, a family of 2 unemployed, say, man and wife, or mother and son, in a particular household get from \$19 to \$21 a month; from the E. R. A., a family of 3 or 4 get \$30 to \$35 a month; a family of 5 to 7, \$36 to \$45 a month; and a family of 8 or larger, anywhere from \$50 to \$55 or \$56 a month. One of the requirements of the E. R. A. is that a family seeking relief must have no cash resources; in other words, they must be paupers. Another requirement is that if anyone is gainfully employed in that family—for instance, if someone in a family of 5 or 6 persons is getting \$50 per month—such family would not be entitled to emergency relief. But where the earnings are so small that would not take care of the absolute minimum requirements of that family, then the Government steps in and provides relief to the extent of the difference between the little \$30 or \$40 a month that the employed person in that family brings into that house to support 5 or 6 persons.

From my own personal experience I know that these E. R. A. relief amounts are very inadequate in face of the ever-rising cost of living. Consequently it will be seen from the statements I have just pronounced concerning the E. R. A. that the only people getting an advantage of a straight \$50 a month on the proposed P. W. A. bill will be a family of two or three or four, where their allowances from the E. R. A. would be considerably less than \$50 per month. As the average family in America contains 4½ people, that would be an increase of about \$10 to \$15 per month based on the assumption that \$50 a month would be paid to the 4,500,000 heads of families supporting the 22,000,000 of people in America now on emergency relief.

Therefore, while the country will gain in improvements through P. W. A. construction, on the other hand the failure to protect the decent wage scale will probably be considered as a set-back and possibly used by other private concerns and major industries as a basis on which to pay salaries. This, in my judgment, is the peril in America today as a result of the administration's declaration that wages or compensation to the relief workers will be not more than \$50 per month, which is considerably below the standard. Why, \$50 a month will just feed you—and the already underfed American family on the Nation's relief rolls—and pay rent. Just try and buy clothes, medicine, and pay doctor bills, and education for your children out of \$50 a month!

I hope to see this Congress declare a national policy for the security of the old aged, the unemployed, maternal cases, and the sick and the disabled. Congress has such a bill for consideration. It may not go as far as I like or you would like, but it is at least significant that if Congress follows the expressed program of President Roosevelt on social security, it will enact a law at this session dealing with these uneconomical barrages that strike at the very root of the administration recovery plans. It will be a new declaration of national policy.

I do not think that a person should have to reach the age of 65 years, as provided by the bill introduced in this Congress, before that person is to be removed from the ranks of the employed, if employed, so as to make room for a younger head of a family; and I don't think that a range from \$30 a month to any figure less than that amount, as I interpret under this bill, quite sufficient to take care of the old aged. Under this bill the Federal Government would appropriate not more than \$15 per month, matching the appropriation of the various States of our Union. If some States did not provide or are not in a financial position to provide for such aged pensions, they are simply out of the picture, according to this bill. Some States may only, as an illustration, be able to appropriate \$5 per month per old-aged person, if that

much. In that event the Government would consider giving that State the same amount, \$5, and therefore such aged persons, each would get \$10 per month, not \$30 per month.

I believe that a person should be retired at the age between 55 and 60, being optional for that period of 5 years, but forcible when such person attains the age of 60; and I further believe that the pension for that aged person should be \$30 or \$40 a month, as prescribed in the plan advocated by my friend, United States Senator HUEY P. LONG. I confidently believe that, if we are ever to have a real security in America, the plan of security as offered by Senator Long in his share-the-wealth program would meet that exigency. Senator Long primarily, in his program, advocates an annual wage from \$2,000 to \$2,500 for the head of a family in America. This plan obviously would secure a family in its prime of life. Why wait until they get too old? Such a plan would remove that insecurity and possible resultant criminal tendency on the part of those who do not have the vitality and the strong-mindedness to patiently wait for some relief or position or job.

While the normal annual pay rolls in America amount to considerably over a hundred billion dollars, the total sum necessary to pay the head of each of, we'll say for example, 30,000,000 families in America, at the rate of the \$2,000 per year, as part of the Long plan, would amount to \$60,000,000,000. The census of the United States computes four and one-half persons to the American family. Of course, that is not taking into consideration the fact that Senator Long does not seek to cut every family head's salary down to \$2,000 or \$2,500 per year. In fact, his share-the-wealth plan would permit earnings up to a million dollars per year, but nothing less than about \$2,000 a year, so that none would be too rich and none too poor. There are other good features about the Senator's plan which I am heartily in accord with. They are: Each family is to be provided, say as a start-off, with a home, an automobile, a radio, or the ordinary comforts of life, to the value of about \$5,000. I am not going to attempt to discuss the ways and means of financing such a plan as my time is limited; however, whatever propaganda may be emanating and subscribed to the contrary will be dealt with in due course of time.

So that my record will be made clear to my radio audience I wish to state that I have supported the present administration, and while I may in my humble consideration find some fault with some provisions, or lack of provisions, of certain bills and laws, nevertheless I have supported all of President Roosevelt's relief bills because I think they were designed to do more general good for the distressed people of America.

However, we are now faced with the startling fact that industry has not responded to the recovery efforts of the present administration; and the further fact that all the relief money is finding its way back to the bankers and manipulators of Wall Street; that we are just about making circles, due to the present methods of high finance, and getting nowhere except spending a large fortune of taxpayers' money. You good people of America may sit back and ponder these questions:

Where are we headed for?

How long can the Government continue this spending?

The answers will inevitably bring us to the conclusion that, if we are to enjoy the fruits of the land of too much to eat but where people are wanting for food, and in the land of too much of everything where people have too little of anything—with this condition facing us, ladies and gentlemen, you will find that we are coming face to face with the one definite plan for the relief of our present economic and social ills through the program sponsored by Senator HUEY P. LONG in his share-the-wealth program.

People of America! That is your consideration.

I thank you.

NEW ENGLAND AND THE NEW DEAL

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague, Mr. FISH, of New York, be allowed to extend his remarks by printing a speech he made in Boston on March 13.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the request will be granted.

There was no objection.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address which I delivered at a dinner of the Women's Republican Club of Massachusetts, Boston, Mass., Wednesday, March 13, 1935:

Instead of the promised "more abundant life" of President Roosevelt, the American wage earners and consumers have become impoverished and ground down between the upper and nether millstones of the N. R. A. and A. A. A. and the resulting high cost of living. The New England States have been the worst sufferers from socialistic experiments of the President and the brain trust, because the Administration policy of destruction of crops, scarcity instead of abundance, and birth control of pigs, has caused foodstuffs and the necessities of life to skyrocket beyond the budget of the wage earners and consumers of the Eastern States. Thus inaugurating a vicious circle as the consumers have not sufficient funds to buy, which means further crop reductions. The price of meat, pork, and butter has risen 20 percent in the last 2 months in addition to having gone up 50 percent in the last 2 years, making the American wage earner and consumer the forgotten men of America. The increasing house-

hold costs, due to the N. R. A. and A. A. A. will keep the New England women with children to feed awake at night trying to devise ways and means to balance their family budgets.

The Eastern and Northern States have been paying the bills largely for the benefit of the South. The State of Mississippi, which paid \$165,000 in personal income taxes, against seventeen millions for Massachusetts, received fifty millions out of the Treasury for cotton reduction, cotton options, and public works. That is where your money goes. The people of New England have the privilege of paying enormous taxes into the Federal Treasury and receive few, if any, benefits in return, except the privilege of paying more for their foodstuffs, clothing, and the necessities of life.

The New England farmer, who pays increased prices for the feed from the West for his cattle and poultry, as well as the men and women in the factories for their food are the hardest hit by the high cost of living. Unbelievable as it sounds, shiploads of corn, meat, and butter are being landed in the United States of America from foreign nations, due to the destruction of American crops and livestock and to the detriment of the farmers of the West.

The Blue Eagle has become a Soviet vulture, perched on smokeless factory chimneys in New England, backed by force and coercion, enforcement agents, spies, and jail sentences. The N. R. A. should be scrapped for a half dozen general codes, but should retain the child-labor provision and the abolition of sweatshop hours and pay.

The small business man is being slowly strangled to death, and business confidence has been almost destroyed by fear and uncertainty, resulting from the unsound administration policies and threats of Government ownership, increased taxation, further inflation, and a mass of restrictions and Executive orders that have business bewildered and afraid to invest or move in any direction. The business man goes to bed with a headache and gets up with a hang-over. He does not know what money will be worth 6 months from now, and in addition a long list of broken administration promises have undermined public confidence.

I charge the administration, through the free-trade policies of Secretary of State Hull, with being responsible for helping to wreck and destroy the textile industry of New England, formerly its greatest source of wealth and employment. Already the gross stupidities and blunders of the State Department in a visionary and totally impractical attempt to break down economic barriers throughout the world has sacrificed the textile industry, America's second largest industry, on the altar of free trade to the Japanese.

The time has come to tell the truth and place the responsibility just where it belongs—on the shoulders of President Roosevelt and his free-trade Secretary of State Cordell Hull. It must be self-evident that American labor cannot compete with skilled Japanese labor, paid 20 cents a day and operating modern textile plants equipped for mass production. However, Secretary Hull, true to his free-trade principles, and long-distance policies, which will take effect after the New England mills have been destroyed and its labor ruined, is deaf, dumb, and blind to the welfare and interests of the American textile industry, which employs 400,000 industrious and loyal American citizens.

New England is vitally interested, and its welfare and interest is at stake. How long will its people continue to remain silent in face of the economic insanity of the administration? To illustrate how far this administration will carry its free-trade policies without regard to the interests of American labor, it turned down 6 months ago an offer of the Philippine congress to grant adequate protection to American textiles as against Japanese, because it would interfere with the visionary principles and long-distance policies of the administration. Thus we have practically lost, through the inexcusable and almost traitorous action of the State Department, our greatest export market for our textiles.

Last December Japan controlled 75 percent of the textile imports into the Philippines, and we did less than 25 percent, whereas 2 years ago it was just the reverse. Another 6 months of State Department blunders and our Philippine textile trade will be wiped out. What has happened in the Philippines has also taken place in Cuba, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Haiti, and the rest of Central and South America, where we exported previously most of our textile products.

However, that is not the entire story, because Japanese cotton goods are beginning to flood the American market. The following figures, showing imports into the United States of Japanese cotton goods, speak for themselves:

	Square yards
1933	1,116,000
1934	7,287,000
1935, in January alone	5,000,000

In February one Japanese ship landed 4,000,000 square yards, and it is estimated that the total for the month will double that of January or exceed the total for 1934. Unless the shipment of Japanese goods into the United States is stopped, one mill after another will be compelled to shut down, throwing American labor into the ranks of the unemployed.

In addition to the direct menace of Japanese textile competition in the United States, and in the Philippines, and Latin America, several New England textile mills and finishing units are being bodily uprooted and transplanted to South America. There is one notable instance of a mill in which Homer Loring is interested, that is being transplanted to the Argentine Republic, which has in the past been an important market for cotton goods from

the United States. Every American mill that is transplanted to South America due to the N. R. A. and Japanese competition means more unemployment at home.

I know how dangerous it is for a politician to predict anything, but if this administration persists in its course to destroy the New England mills and increase the cost of living, and especially on the necessities of life, I predict a political revolt in 1936 in New England such as has never before been witnessed, sweeping every Democrat out of office or any person who upholds the new deal that has all but ruined New England financially and economically, impoverished its people, and increased unemployment.

The people of New England, regardless of party affiliations, do not propose to commit economic suicide for the benefit of the "new dealers", Secretary Hull or President Roosevelt. They do not propose to have their legitimate interests sacrificed by Secretary Hull, a free-trader and an internationalist, for the benefit of Japan or another nation.

Secretary Hull has only one economic policy, and that is to break down the protective principle that has made our wage earners the best paid, the best housed, the best clothed, the best fed, and most contented in the world. The American standard of wages and of living are of little consequence to this confirmed free-trader, provided he can put into effect his visionary ideas to break down world economic barriers. All that he can possibly accomplish will be to permit competition from underpaid foreign labor, to the detriment of free American labor.

The Democratic Party proposes, by Executive order, to enter into bargaining tariffs which will soon result in the destruction of the economic supremacy of the United States and putting millions of more loyal Americans out of work for the benefit of European and Japanese labor. The protective-tariff system since the days of Lincoln has built up our industries in all New England cities, such as Boston, Portland, Providence, Manchester, Springfield, and Hartford. The attitude of the President imperils the welfare of our workmen. American labor declines to compete with the poorly paid and cheap labor of Europe or Asia.

There never was a time when the sound policies of the Republican Party were more needed in America than today, before the "brain trust" and quack medicines have destroyed the economic lifeblood of the American people and caused a collapse of credit, ruinous inflation, governmental bankruptcy, and thrown millions more of industrious and loyal Americans out of work.

The tragedy of the present economic situation is that every day since last May unemployment has been increasing, so that today there are 12,000,000 unemployed, or more than 2,000,000 more unemployed, according to the American Federation of Labor, than there were a year ago. The fact is that after 2 years of socialistic experiments and unsound new-deal measures business confidence has been destroyed, and 12,000,000 American wage earners are walking the streets or depending on charity or doles and 23,000,000 people are on the relief rolls.

I indict the Democratic administration on its record for the past year as the greatest failure in American history. I charge it with having destroyed business confidence, squandered American resources, and with impairment of the national credit. I accuse it of having imposed unsound, unworkable, and socialistic measures upon the Nation that have increased the cost of living, impoverished the American people, and increased unemployment. I denounce it for undermining our free institutions, turning the Constitution into a scrap of paper, and changing our representative form of government, without the approval or consent of the American people, into an autocratic and dictatorial form of government.

I condemn it as having no economic policy except to pile debt upon debt by borrowing, more borrowing, and still more borrowing, without any thought of balancing the Budget or of the inevitable day of reckoning, and collapse of credit and bankruptcy of the Government.

New-deal prosperity apparently means the people out of business and both the Democratic Party and the Government in business. It means debts, deficits, taxation, borrowing, unbalanced Budget, confidence destroyed, and American labor unemployed.

The Democratic administration has no policy except borrowing, leading straight to chaos, ruinous inflation, and bankruptcy. In another year the interest charges alone on the national debt will amount to well over a billion dollars, and will consume over one-third of our revenues. The day of reckoning is inevitable and approaching rapidly. The President, however, continues to smile, even if the ship of state is headed for the financial and economic rocks; and, like the French King Louis XIV, says "I am the state. After me the deluge."

That is small satisfaction for the American people, and for the oncoming generations that must carry the burden of taxation and pay the bill for the devastating failures and experiments of the all-ambitious President and his "brain trust."

COTTON CONTROL ACT

The SPEAKER. The unfinished business today is the vote upon the motion of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BOILEAU] to recommit the bill H. R. 6424. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BOILEAU moves to recommit the bill to the Committee on Agriculture with instructions that the committee report the bill back forthwith with the following amendment:

"On page 6, line 1, strike out all of section 5."

The SPEAKER. The question is upon the motion of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BOILEAU].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. BOILEAU) there were—ayes 47, noes 108.

Mr. BOILEAU. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently there is no quorum present. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 110, nays 272, not voting 49, as follows:

[Roll No. 29]
YEAS—110

Allen	Ditter	Kinzer	Reed, N. Y.
Amile	Dondero	Knutson	Rich
Andresen	Doutrich	Kvale	Robson, Ky.
Andrew, Mass.	Dunn, Pa.	Lambertson	Rogers, Mass.
Andrews, N. Y.	Ekwall	Lehbach	Sauthoff
Arends	Engel	Lemke	Schneider
Bacharach	Englebright	Lord	Seger
Binderup	Fenerty	Ludlow	Short
Blackney	Focht	Lundeen	Snell
Boileau	Gehrmann	McLean	Stefan
Bolton	Gifford	McLeod	Stewart
Brewster	Gilchrist	Maas	Sutphin
Buckbee	Gillette	Mapes	Taber
Buckler, Minn.	Guyer	Marcantonio	Taylor, Tenn.
Burdick	Gwynne	Marshall	Thomas
Burnham	Halleck	Martin, Mass.	Thurston
Carlson	Hancock, N. Y.	Merritt, Conn.	Tinkham
Carter	Hartley	Michener	Tobey
Cavichia	Hess	Millard	Treadway
Christianson	Higgins, Conn.	Mott	Turpin
Church	Hoffman	Perkins	Welch
Cole, N. Y.	Hollister	Pettengill	Withrow
Collins	Holmes	Pittenger	Wolcott
Cooper, Ohio	Hope	Plumley	Wolfenden
Crawford	Hull	Powers	Wolverton
Culkin	Jenkins, Ohio	Ransley	Woodruff
Darrow	Kennedy, N. Y.	Reece	
Dirksen	Kimball	Reed, Ill.	

NAYS—272

Adair	Deen	Harter	Merritt, N. Y.
Arnold	Delaney	Hildebrandt	Miller
Ashbrook	Dempsey	Hill, Ala.	Mitchell, Tenn.
Ayers	DeRouen	Hill, Knute	Monaghan
Barden	Dickstein	Hill, Samuel B.	Montague
Beam	Dies	Hobbs	Moran
Beiter	Dietrich	Hook	Moritz
Berlin	Dingell	Houston	Murdock
Biermann	Disney	Huddleston	Nelson
Blanton	Dobbins	Igoe	O'Brien
Bloom	Dockweller	Imhoff	O'Connell
Boehne	Dorsey	Jacobsen	O'Connor
Boland	Doughton	Jenckes, Ind.	O'Leary
Boylan	Doxey	Johnson, Okla.	Oliver
Brooks	Drewry	Johnson, Tex.	O'Neal
Brown, Ga.	Driscoll	Jones	Owen
Brown, Mich.	Driver	Kee	Parks
Brunner	Duffey, Ohio	Keller	Parsons
Buchanan	Duffy, N. Y.	Kelly	Patman
Buck	Duncan	Kennedy, Md.	Patterson
Bulwinkle	Dunn, Miss.	Kenney	Patton
Burch	Eagle	Kerr	Pearson
Caldwell	Eckert	Kleberg	Peterson, Fla.
Cannon, Mo.	Edmiston	Kloeb	Peterson, Ga.
Cannon, Wis.	Elcher	Kniffin	Pfeifer
Carden	Ellenbogen	Kocalkowski	Pierce
Carmichael	Evans	Kopplemann	Polk
Carpenter	Faddis	Kramer	Quinn
Cartwright	Farley	Lambeth	Rabaut
Cary	Ferguson	Lanham	Ramsay
Casey	Fernandez	Larrabee	Ramspeck
Castellow	Flannagan	Lea, Calif.	Randolph
Celler	Fletcher	Lee, Okla.	Rankin
Chandler	Ford, Calif.	Lewis, Colo.	Rayburn
Chapman	Ford, Miss.	Lloyd	Reilly
Citron	Frey	Lucas	Riechards
Clark, N. C.	Fuller	Luckey	Richardson
Cochran	Fulmer	McAndrews	Robinson, Utah
Coffee	Gambrill	McClellan	Rogers, N. H.
Colden	Gassaway	McCormack	Rogers, Okla.
Cole, Md.	Gavagan	McFarlane	Romjue
Colmer	Gearhart	McGehee	Rudd
Connery	Gildea	McGrath	Russell
Cooley	Gingery	McKeough	Sabath
Cooper, Tenn.	Goldsborough	McLaughlin	Sanders, Tex.
Corning	Granfield	McMillan	Schaefer
Costello	Gray, Ind.	McReynolds	Schuetz
Cox	Gray, Pa.	McSwain	Schulte
Cravens	Green	Mahon	Scott
Crosby	Greenway	Maloney	Scrugham
Cross, Tex.	Greenwood	Mansfield	Sears
Crosser, Ohio	Greever	Martin, Colo.	Secret
Crowe	Gregory	Mason	Shanley
Cullen	Griswoid	Massingale	Shannon
Cummings	Haines	Maverick	Sirovich
Daly	Hamlin	May	Sisson
Darden	Harlan	Mead	Smith, Conn.

Smith, Va.	Tarver	Umstead	West
Smith, Wash.	Taylor, Colo.	Underwood	Whelchel
Smith, W. Va.	Taylor, S. C.	Utterback	Whittington
Snyder	Terry	Vinson, Ga.	Wilcox
Spence	Thom	Vinson, Ky.	Williams
Stack	Thomason	Wallgren	Wilson, La.
Steagall	Thompson	Walter	Wood
Stubbs	Tolan	Warren	Woodrum
Sullivan	Tonry	Wearin	Young
Summers, Tex.	Truax	Weaver	Zimmerman
Sweeney	Turner	Werner	Zioncheck

NOT VOTING—49

Bacon	Fitzpatrick	Lesinski	Robertson
Bankhead	Gasque	Lewis, Md.	Ryan
Bell	Goodwin	McGroarty	Sadowski
Bland	Hancock, N. C.	Meeks	Sanders, La.
Brennan	Hart	Mitchell, Ill.	Sandlin
Buckley, N. Y.	Healey	Montet	Somers, N. Y.
Claiborne	Hennings	Nichols	South
Clark, Idaho	Higgins, Mass.	Norton	Starnes
Crowther	Hoepfel	O'Day	Wadsworth
Dear	Johnson, W. Va.	O'Malley	White
Eaton	Kahn	Palmisano	Wigglesworth
Fiesinger	Lamneck	Peysar	Wilson, Pa.
Fish			

So the motion was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:
On this vote:

- Mr. Bacon (for) with Mr. Hancock of North Carolina (against).
- Mr. Goodwin (for) with Mr. Montet (against).
- Mr. Fitzpatrick of Pennsylvania (for) with Mr. Claiborne (against).
- Mr. Fish (for) with Mr. Sandlin (against).
- Mrs. Kahn (for) with Mrs. O'Day (against).
- Mr. Wadsworth (for) with Mr. Lamneck (against).
- Mr. Eaton (for) with Mr. Dear (against).
- Mr. Crowther (for) with Mr. Fiesinger (against).
- Mr. Wigglesworth (for) with Mr. Sanders of Louisiana (against).

General pairs:

- Mr. Bankhead with Mr. Starnes.
- Mr. Cannon of Missouri with Mr. Buckley of New York.
- Mr. Bland with Mr. Higgins of Massachusetts.
- Mrs. Norton with Mr. Brennan.
- Mr. Somers of New York with Mr. Mitchell of Illinois.
- Mr. Gasque with Mr. Clark of Idaho.
- Mr. Lesinski with Mr. O'Malley.
- Mr. Lewis of Maryland with Mr. Nichols.
- Mr. Healey with Mr. Bell.
- Mr. Robertson with Mr. White.
- Mr. Fitzpatrick with Mr. Ryan.
- Mr. Hennings with Mr. Hart.
- Mr. South with Mr. McGroarty.
- Mr. Meeks with Mr. Johnson of West Virginia.

Mr. GILLETTE changed his vote from "no" to "aye."

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. HIGGINS, is unavoidably absent on official business. If present, he would have voted "no."

Mr. FULMER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. GASQUE, is absent on account of illness. If present, he would have voted "no."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded. The doors were opened.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. KLEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER. Those who favor ordering the yeas and nays on this vote will rise. [After a pause.] Twenty-one Members have arisen; not a sufficient number.

The yeas and nays were refused.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill. The bill was passed.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the title of the bill just passed be amended to read as follows:

To exempt a limited quantity of cotton from the tax under the Cotton Control Act, to provide for the better administration of such act, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the title will be amended accordingly.

There was no objection.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS

Mr. DEROUEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Public Lands may sit for 1 hour this afternoon during the session of the House.

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

There was no objection.

DETAIL OF OFFICERS AND ENLISTED MEN OF UNITED STATES ARMY
TO ASSIST LATIN AMERICAN REPUBLICS

Mr. EDMISTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill S. 707, to amend the act of May 19, 1926, entitled "An act to authorize the President to detail officers and enlisted men of the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps to assist the governments of the Latin American Republics in military and naval matters", there being an identical House bill on the Union Calendar.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. EDMISTON]?

Mr. ZIONCHECK. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I understand this bill is on the Consent Calendar, and I should like to inquire if it is going to be the practice to continue to call up bills in this manner which are on the Consent Calendar?

The SPEAKER. That is a matter for the House to determine.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I have no objection to the bill, but I should like to know what the policy is going to be.

Mr. ZIONCHECK. If the gentleman brings up his bill in this manner, there will be a dozen others who will bring bills up.

Mr. EDMISTON. I am doing this at the request of the Commissioners from the Philippine Islands, who feel that it is of vital importance to them that this legislation pass the House, that the Senate bill be substituted for the House bill and passed. The Filipinos are, as the gentleman knows, now planning their government and their national defense, and we cannot detail any officers to assist in this work until this bill is passed.

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

Mr. ZIONCHECK and Mr. MARCANTONIO objected.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, House Resolution 158, the rule providing for consideration of the bill H. R. 6424, which rule was not called up, will be laid upon the table.

There was no objection.

IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one-half minute.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, today is the anniversary of the birth of William Jennings Bryan, who held membership in this body and who later was a member of the Cabinet of the President of the United States, and who, in all his public service, never compromised with what he believed to be wrong.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to pay tribute to this great American.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, William Jennings Bryan, whose birthday anniversary we observe today, was one of the most powerful and dramatic figures in American political life.

He had millions of followers in the political battles which he fought, and it has been said that there were thousands of persons who followed him with almost fanatical devotion.

It is not, however, in the political arena alone that he claimed merited attention for he was beloved by great groups of our people because of the firm stand he took in behalf of certain principles which he believed to be fundamental and necessary to the growth and security of our Nation.

He early in life took a deep and active interest in public affairs, a quality which I feel after a lapse of many years is finding renewed expression in our Republic today through the increased participation of young men and women in our National problems. It will be recalled that he became a Member of this House in his thirtieth year.

It has always seemed to me that there was a magnificent earnestness about all that Bryan undertook as characterized in his championship of causes which were not always popular but which won him adherence because of his magnetic presence, the weight of his rhetoric, his splendid voice and his unbounded energy.

Defeats had battered him when he came into West Virginia and made his last address in the city of Clarksburg. His appearance there followed his tiring efforts at the Democratic National Convention just prior to that visit, yet he spoke with old-time vigor and, as I listened to his address that night, I felt that he was living a little part at least of his triumphant speech in that same community back in 1896.

In the opening paragraph of his speech at the Democratic National Convention of 1896 is found the man himself and what he stood for, "I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity." Bryan was never a demagogue. He was always honest.

We can well remember Bryan as the sower who went forward and sowed the seed of a liberalism which he himself never lived to reap except as there came to him at times the satisfaction of having been truly "The Peerless Leader."

The SPEAKER. Under the special order the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. LUCKEY] is recognized for 10 minutes to speak on the life and character of William Jennings Bryan.

Mr. LUCKEY. Mr. Speaker, there came into my hands this morning a short poem written by Mr. Horace C. Carlisle dedicated to William Jennings Bryan. I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 additional minutes that at the close of my address I may read this poem.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. LUCKEY. Mr. Speaker, I have the distinct honor and privilege to represent in my humble way the First Congressional District of Nebraska, which in the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses was represented so ably by one of America's most illustrious sons. I deem it not only an honor and privilege but a duty to call your attention to the fact that today, this 19th day of March, is the seventy-fifth birthday anniversary of one of America's great and noble leaders of democracy; a man we all loved and honored; a man who to me was an inspiration, a friend, and a neighbor; a man who to me ever will be one of the highest and noblest examples of American citizenship—the great commoner, William Jennings Bryan.

Thrice was he the banner bearer of our great party. Though defeated for office, yet the principles for which he stood and for which he fought so persistently and heroically are triumphing one by one. We can well pause for a few moments in our deliberations and contemplate the life and character of this great American. William Jennings Bryan will always occupy a unique and prominent place in the annals of American history. He was one of those great figures who occasionally pass across the stage of history, who, though defeated, become greater than their contemporaries who occupy the transient roles of victors.

It was just 39 years ago that the youthful Bryan burst upon the stage of national prominence, inspired by an inborn belief in the just rights of those who toil and labor as against the special interests. Practically unknown in 1895, he became the standard bearer of his party in 1896 and continued for 20 years to be the leader of that great party. Despite this partisan leadership, it was not that activity which most endeared him to millions of American citizens. The followers of the great commoner knew no limited partisan lines or economic stations. Those followers, numbering many millions, were men and women from every walk of life, who saw in the "boy orator of the Platte" the exemplification of Christian leadership and a champion of the causes which they believed were the ultimate goal of a great and free people.

He was born in Illinois in 1860, when our country was entering into that unfortunate struggle between brother and

brother. His early life was colored by the spirit of the times. His youth and young manhood were spent midst the common people he came to love so well. When casting about for a location to practice his chosen profession—that of law—he selected Lincoln, Nebr., because of its commercial, educational, and cultural advantages. Five years later he became a Member of Congress—the first Democratic Representative this district had ever had. From thence on he soon became a national and international figure.

The early nineties were years of depression similar to our present time. To relieve the distress and suffering of the masses was his ambition. One central idea motivated his entire life's work—the betterment of the lot of the common man. Practically unknown he faced the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1896 to defend the interests of those who toil. One great speech made him the leader of his party. Let me quote a few lines from that speech:

I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened if this were a mere measuring of abilities; but this is not a contest between persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in the defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity.

In many ways he was a reformer far ahead of his time. To be sure, he made mistakes—he was human—but his motivating ideal was that of bringing about a better social and political order.

Mr. Bryan was a disciple of the Prince of Peace. He loved peace, yet when a just cause called he was ready to fight. When we declared war against Spain he offered his services to his country and immediately raised a regiment of volunteers, which he commanded. As Bryan gained in years, he recognized more and more the futility of war. No greater figure in our national life ever believed more strongly in the doctrine of peace. He saw in war the hardships laid upon those who labor to produce the wealth of this country. He saw and felt the anguish of the mothers who saw their sons leave, probably never to return. His efforts in behalf of peace were of marked importance. I need only mention the numerous Kellogg peace pacts. May I quote a statement from an address he made before the House of Lords in London at the session of the Peace Conference in 1906:

If peace is to come in this world, it will come because people more and more clearly recognize the indissoluble tie that binds each human being to every other. If we are to build a permanent peace, it must be on the foundation of the brotherhood of men.

His belief was that justice is a nation's surest defense.

In closing let me emphasize that in a period of economic strife William Jennings Bryan brought forth great Christian leadership and lofty ideals. He had implicit and childlike faith in that inspired Book of Books. Well would it be for us had we, too, such faith. Many a perplexing problem of our day would that Book solve.

Mr. Bryan was a great man. He was true to his ideals. He kept faith. On his tomb in Arlington Cemetery are inscribed these words of his, "Some of you may dispute whether I have fought a good fight; some may dispute whether I have finished my course; but no man can deny that I have kept faith." [Applause.]

Permit me to read a poem that came into my hands this morning which I was asked to read; and it seems to be so appropriate at this time that I will do so. It is dedicated to William Jennings Bryan and was written by Mr. Horace C. Carlisle:

BRYAN

Democracy, when the Great Commoner died,
Sat in sackcloth and ashes, and wept,
God answered his prayers for the joys that abide
By calling him home, while he slept.

He suffered no sorrow, no sickness, no pain;
But when he fell asleep, for a rest,
Aweary of life, with its burden and strain,
God took him, because it was best.

The last faithful service he rendered on earth,
Ere his body returned to its sod,
Was wrought in defense of humanity's birth,
As taught in the Scriptures of God.

Democracy suffered a serious loss,
Sacred honor looked Godward and sighed,
Christianity wept at the foot of the cross,
When Bryan the Commoner died.

In Arlington slumbers his dutiful dust,
With the great that make sacred the past,
Thrice honored because of his practical trust
In God, whom he served till the last.

[Applause.]

Mr. MEAD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 minutes.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. Speaker, on the first page of last evening's Washington Star there appeared an article which left the impression that I was transferring considerable of the personnel of the post office at Buffalo to the post office here in Washington, so I became a little perturbed and investigated the situation. I found that complaint is made by temporary employees of the Washington office who were employed to take care of the added business at Christmas time and who are still working and who have no civil-service status whatsoever. They are the most fortunate of their kind in the United States, for Christmas employees usually work from 5 days to a week, and these men are in their third month. They are objecting to the regular civil-service employees who have been transferred here from Buffalo, Baltimore, Scranton, Altoona, Smackover, Ark., Atlantic City, Niagara Falls, and a dozen and one other cities having any work. I want your assistance when we report a substitute bill, which I hope will prevent the employment of temporary non-civil-service employees when there are thousands of available civil-service employees without work. If you will join with me we will see to it that the bona fide civil-service employees of the Post Office Department are given these work opportunities. I wanted the Membership to know, Mr. Speaker, that the article was misleading and that it in no way concerned civil-service employees. If this practice of employing temporary employees is continued and expanded, it will destroy the civil service and it will certainly do damage to the deserving substitute postal employees in whom you and I are interested.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. DALY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 3 minutes.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. DALY. Mr. Speaker, my purpose in rising at this time is to call the attention of the House to an act of Congress that was passed 72 years ago, that will be of interest and information to every Member of the House. On the 3d of April 1863 Congress passed an act authorizing the issuance of \$400,000,000 of Treasury notes to be issued as the Department deemed wise, in denominations that the Department deemed wise, bearing interest not to exceed 6 percent per annum, and to be issued for a period of not exceeding 3 years. Only 201,000,000 of those notes were issued. They have all been redeemed with the exception of \$29,987, and the Department has no idea where this \$29,987 worth of them are.

The remarkable part of the act was that it made these promissory notes—and in essence they are nothing but promissory notes—legal tender for the payment of all public debts.

I have one of the few remaining notes that the Treasury Department has not gotten hold of. It was thought by many Members that it would be of interest to everybody in the House to have me show this note to them. My purpose is simply to inform those who are not familiar with it what the Government has done heretofore.

Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention at this moment, nor will it be my intent hereafter, to offer a measure like this or anything similar to it as a revenue-raising proposition to provide means for the payment of any bill that might now

be before Congress or any that might come before Congress. That is in no sense my idea, and I do not wish to convey that thought. I do not wish my remarks to be so construed. However, I felt it was a matter of great interest to all of us because I have not yet found a Member of Congress who ever heard of the issuance of these notes. The Treasury Department called me this morning and asked me if I would bring the note up and show it to them. They had never seen one. So, thinking it would be of interest to the Members of Congress, I desire to call attention to it and will leave the note with the Clerk for anyone to look at, as well as a copy of the bill authorizing the issue. [Applause.]

The note to which I have referred reads upon its face as follows:

This note is legal tender for \$10.

Act of March 3, 1863

MAY 30, 1864.

One year after date the United States, Washington, will pay to the bearer, with 5 percent interest, ten dollars.

L. E. CHITTENDEN,
Register of Treasury.

B. E. SKINNER,
Treasurer of United States.

ACT APPROVED MARCH 3, 1863

An act to provide ways and means for the support of the Government

Be it enacted, etc., * * *

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized to issue, on the credit of the United States, \$400,000,000 in Treasury notes, payable at the pleasure of the United States, or at such time or times not exceeding 3 years from date as may be found most beneficial to the public interests, and bearing interest at a rate not exceeding 6 percent per annum, payable at periods expressed on the face value of the notes; and the interest on the said Treasury notes and on certificates of indebtedness and deposit hereafter issued, shall be paid in lawful money. The Treasury notes thus issued shall be of such denominations as the Secretary may direct, not less than \$10, and may be disposed of on the best terms that can be obtained, or may be paid to any creditor of the United States willing to receive the same at par. And said Treasury notes may be made a legal tender to the same extent as United States notes, for their face value excluding interest; or they may be made exchangeable under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, by the holder thereof at the Treasury in the city of Washington, or at the office of any Assistant Treasurer or depository designated for that purpose, for United States notes equal in amount to the Treasury notes offered for exchange, together with the interest accrued and due thereon at the date of interest payment next preceding such exchange.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Horne, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a joint resolution and a bill of the House of the following titles:

H. J. Res. 134. Joint resolution to continue the commission for determining the boundary line between the District of Columbia and the State of Virginia for not to exceed 9 additional months, and to authorize not to exceed \$10,000 additional funds for its expenses; and

H. R. 5322. An act authorizing the President of the United States to present in the name of Congress a medal of honor to Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments, in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 6644. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and for other purposes.

WORLD WAR ADJUSTED-SERVICE CERTIFICATES

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 165 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 165

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of H. R. 3896, "a bill to provide for the immediate payment of World War adjusted-service certificates, to extend the time for filing applications for benefits under the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, and for other purposes"; and all points

of order against said bill are hereby waived; that after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 10 hours, to be evenly divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority members of the Committee on Ways and Means, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider as substitute amendments for the bill any such amendments that relate to the payment of World War adjusted-service certificates, and such substitute amendments shall be in order, any rule of the House to the contrary notwithstanding. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the same to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except two motions to recommit, with or without instructions: *Provided, however*, That if the instructions in such motions relate to the payment of World War adjusted-service certificates, they shall be in order, any rule of the House to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANSLEY].

Mr. Speaker, on page 1, line 12, the last word is plural. It should read "member." I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be amended by striking out the letter "s" in the word "members" in line 12, page 1.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resolution will be amended accordingly.

There was no objection.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, this rule, as everybody knows, is for the consideration of the bonus. In the 13 years during which I have served on the Rules Committee, I know of no request for a rule which received greater consideration. There has been no delay whatsoever, either in the House, or in the Committee on Ways and Means, or in the Rules Committee, in bringing the bonus question before the House on this the 19th day of March.

When the Ways and Means Committee requested that the Rules Committee provide for a rule for the consideration of the bonus, we proceeded to hear everybody who desired to be heard in reference to any bill pertaining to the payment of the adjusted-service certificates. We held lengthy hearings, and thereafter the Rules Committee proceeded to consider the proper rule under which this question might be brought before the House.

From the opening of this Congress I might say that the Speaker of the House and the leadership of the House have been anxious that a fair and square deal be given to the proposition in reference to the payment of the bonus. I might say that there was an element of sportsmanship which entered into the matter. While some of us might not agree with the provisions of certain bills, such as the Patman bill, for instance, and while some of us have opposed that particular bill in the past, we felt that the Patman bill was entitled to its day in court and that the whole question should properly be laid before the House. That is the spirit in which the Rules Committee approached this question.

There were no advocates of any particular bill on the Rules Committee. I cannot tell you now, and I doubt if any member of that committee or any man in this House could tell you how the 14 members of the Rules Committee stand in reference to the merits of any particular bill.

Mr. Speaker, the Rules Committee approached this difficult question from the standpoint of dealing fairly with the House and with every proposition with reference to this question of paying the bonus. We had the able assistance of the Parliamentarian, who gave us a great deal of attention and attendance at our hearings. We had during the four meetings of the Rules Committee a thorough discussion of this matter as to how we could best approach the subject. Of course, in the background we always had the rules of the House to preserve, while, on the other hand, we had to somewhat stretch those rules to give some of the bills, which are well known, their day in court.

The Ways and Means Committee came before the Rules Committee and informed us, through their chairman, that the Ways and Means Committee had reported H. R. 3896, commonly called the "Vinson bill", and that sometime thereafter the Ways and Means Committee had voted and authorized its chairman to appear before the Rules Committee to request that H. R. 1, the so-called "Patman bill",

be made in order as a "substitute amendment." Up to that time never in the history of the House had a bill which had not been reported from a committee been made in order as a substitute amendment. It was this unusual request from the Ways and Means Committee which required the Rules Committee to so thoroughly consider the advisability of a departure from the rules of the House.

Mr. Speaker, this great Committee on Ways and Means had to some extent at least considered the Patman bill. It had been considered in the House on several occasions and had passed the House on at least two occasions, if I recollect correctly. The Patman bill was, therefore, of enough importance to be considered in an application for a rule to consider the bonus question. The only reason the Patman bill, the Cochran bill, the Andrews bill, the Tydings bill, or any other bill dealing with the bonus would have to be made in order is because of our fundamental rule of germaneness, which is probably the keystone of our rules. That rule provides that no amendment can be offered to a bill unless the amendment is germane to the section, to the bill, and to the place where offered. We have, however, often brought in rules making committee substitutes and committee amendments in order, even though they were not germane.

Now, let us examine this rule in detail. I am doing so in an attempt to anticipate questions that may be asked. The Rules Committee has lived with this subject so long that I think we have heard every possible suggestion, and we have tried to answer every question that might be asked.

The rule brings before the House the Vinson bill for consideration. That was the bill which was reported by the Ways and Means Committee. To do this is the normal procedure. We waive all points of order against that bill. That is not an unusual procedure. It permits the bill to be considered as reported by the committee. We provide for 10 hours' general debate, the amount requested by the Ways and Means Committee. This time should afford ample opportunity for debate on all of the bonus measures for and against.

We place control of the time in the hands of the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means. This is the usual allocation of time. The Rules Committee some years ago adopted the practice in all of its rules of dividing the time between the chairman of the committee reporting the bill and the ranking minority member, rather than mentioning how the time should be further divided, or among which other individuals in the House it might be divided. We think this the best practice, but we do hope, and we have so requested the committee, that there may be an equitable distribution of this time, so that all parties interested may be treated fairly in the allotment of the time.

Roughly, there are four groups in the House, as we gathered in the hearings before the Rules Committee. There is the group in favor of the Vinson bill; there is the group in favor of the Patman bill; there is the group in favor of the Tydings bill, or the McReynolds bill, or the Cochran bill, or the Andrews bill, or some similar bill; and then there is the group opposed to any bill. These four groups we hope will be treated equitably in the distribution of the time.

At the conclusion of the 10 hours' debate the Vinson bill is read for amendment. The rule then makes in order as amendments every bill or any amendment which pertains to the payment of the adjusted-service certificates. I understand there are some 30 bills that have been introduced in the House. When the bill is read these amendments will be in order. The Patman bill, the Tydings-Cochran-Andrews-McReynolds bill, or any other bill will be in order as a substitute amendment.

It is not within the province of the Rules Committee to control the operation of the Committee of the Whole. We have no control, and we hesitate even to make a suggestion to the distinguished Chairman who will preside over the Committee of the Whole, but I venture this, with great humility, as a suggestion of the procedure which I hope

will be carried out in the Committee of the Whole to expedite this bill. To raise the concrete issues here, I trust that in the Committee of the Whole recognition will be granted, first, to the gentleman from Texas to offer the Patman substitute, and then that recognition will be granted to the Members advocating other substitutes, with the result that the substitute amendments, other than the Patman amendment, will be voted on first in the Committee of the Whole, and then we will get down to the clean-cut issue as between what appears to be the two outstanding measures here, the Vinson bill and the Patman bill. Whichever carries in the Committee of the Whole—I may say in advance of that, as these substitutes are offered they are read through completely and they are not read under the usual rule by sections for amendment. They are read through completely, but amendments are in order to the substitutes, so that when the substitutes in the Committee of the Whole are disposed of the Committee will rise and report back to the House the bill the Committee has agreed upon.

I do not know what is going to happen in the Committee of the Whole or in the House; but, just for example, if the Vinson bill is read, as it will be read, at the end of the first paragraph, the Patman bill can be offered as a substitute amendment to the Vinson bill. The Patman bill will be read for amendment, and amendments will be in order. The Tydings bill, as it is commonly called, can be offered as a substitute to the Patman bill. If that happened, the first vote would come on the Tydings substitute. If this were voted down, the next vote would come on the Patman substitute amendment. If this prevailed and no other substitutes or amendments prevailed, the Committee would rise and report the bill back to the House with one amendment, which would be substantially the Patman bill. The Speaker would then put the question, "Is a separate vote demanded upon the amendment?"; and if a separate vote were demanded, there will be a vote on the Patman amendment, which vote raises the issue, to a large extent at least, between the Patman bill and the Vinson bill.

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

Mr. O'CONNOR. I will yield, but I would rather yield when I am through my statement, if the gentleman does not mind.

The rule further provides that when we get back in the House a roll call may be had on all three corners of this triangle, the Vinson bill, the Patman bill, and the Tydings bill, for instance.

I may say again I do not know what is going to happen; but let us assume that the Patman bill prevails in the Committee of the Whole, and let us assume further that in the House, on a roll call, it is approved as an amendment to the bill, the rule then provides that in the House there shall be two motions to recommit. Ordinarily a rule only provides for one motion to recommit. This rule goes further, however, and provides two for this purpose. If the Vinson bill had been supplanted by the Patman bill in the House, it could not, under the rules, be included in any motion to recommit after the Patman bill had been approved in the House by a roll-call vote, and the other substitutes offered in the Committee of the Whole could not be included in a motion to recommit. In order, therefore, that all three questions may be before the House for a roll-call vote, we have provided for these two motions to recommit, and we hope it will work out satisfactorily to all. We hope that if, for instance, the Patman bill succeeds through the Committee and is approved on a roll-call vote in the House, there can then be a motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Ways and Means with instructions to report it back forthwith with the Vinson bill substituted. This, of course, is a direct reversal of the action just taken by the House and is an unusual provision in a rule, but this is the widest open rule, I think, that was ever granted in the history of Congress. It is the antithesis of a "gag" rule. You have a roll call then on the Vinson bill. We hope, too, if anybody desires it, that a roll call will be afforded on one of these other measures, such as the Tydings-Cochran-Andrews bill, or similar bills.

A motion to recommit can then be made on one of those bills. And in that connection we sincerely hope that there will be no attempt to make any perfunctory motion to recommit in order to prevent these three bills, if anybody desires it, from having a roll call in the House. Such a parliamentary device would violate the spirit in which this rule is brought before this House.

Now then, the three groups will have had their day in court, and the man against all bills has likewise had his day in court by the vote on the final passage of the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I hope the House approaches the question in the same spirit in which we have, and I hope that no attempt at any skulduggery will be made or any attempt to circumvent the spirit in which we have tried to be fair, and I think we have done a pretty good job. [Applause.]

Mr. CONNERY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield.

Mr. CONNERY. Did the gentleman intend to say that after a roll call in the House a motion to recommit would be in order? Suppose the House voted on the Patman bill, how can there be a motion to recommit?

Mr. O'CONNOR. We make it in order.

Mr. CONNERY. If the committee reports back and the House adopts the Patman bill.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The vote does not pass the Patman bill, it approves the amendment—a separate vote on the amendment, which is for example, the Patman bill.

Now, I think that I have covered everything. I hope we will proceed to consider this measure in fairness to every group.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield.

Mr. MAY. If I understand the rule, it makes in order any of the bills pending in the House.

Mr. O'CONNOR. So I said.

Mr. MAY. And when you refer to the Tydings bill, you refer to the Cochran-Andrews bill.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I do not know what the amendments offered will include. They might contain provisions not yet included in any bill.

Mr. TREADWAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. TREADWAY. The gentleman says that a separate vote may be had on three measures. In addition to the three the gentleman has mentioned, I believe my colleague [Mr. ANDREW] has a bill somewhat similar to the Tydings bill but not identical with it. Is there any way in which he can have a separate vote on that?

Mr. O'CONNOR. The committee thought it went far enough when we provided for two motions to recommit. Of course, the Members in favor of the Tydings bill for instance might give way to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ANDREW], but that is to be determined by the Members who favor the Tydings bill. Of course, the right of recognition is always in the Speaker of the House, and the Rules Committee would not attempt to intrude upon the prerogatives of the Speaker.

Mr. ANDREW of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ANDREW of Massachusetts. In the Committee of the Whole there will be a chance to offer any bill dealing with this subject?

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is correct.

Mr. ANDREW of Massachusetts. Then it does not mean what the gentleman said, although he has spoken of the third bill as the Tydings bill. It does not mean necessarily that that bill would be the only one that could be taken up in the House, supposing that the Committee of the Whole were interested in a third or even a fourth bill.

Mr. O'CONNOR. No; that does not necessarily follow at all.

Mr. ANDREW of Massachusetts. Quite a number of measures have been proposed by different Members of the

House, and the gentleman's remarks were rather directed to the fact that there were only three.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I took the Tydings bill as symbolic of a certain group of bills identical or of a similar nature. These bills including the Tydings bill, the McReynolds bill, and the gentleman's bill, as I hastily understood it, represent a different method of paying the bonus from the Patman or the Vinson bill.

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

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. BOILEAU. Under the rules of the House, is it the prerogative of the Speaker to recognize whomsoever he sees fit to move to recommit, regardless of whether the gentleman to be recognized is a member of the minority or the majority of the committee having the bill in charge?

Mr. O'CONNOR. As I understand it—and I do not want to further intrude into the realm of our distinguished Speaker, who is always fair—the motion to recommit is a provision of our rules guaranteeing to the minority an opportunity to express its views. That motion to recommit is one of the very few things that the Rules Committee cannot alter or tear asunder. We cannot touch it. We can, however, extend it to two motions to recommit, for instance: When it comes to recognition, there has grown up in this House a practice, based on precedents, that a member of the minority of the committee reporting the bill has precedence over a member of the minority not a member of that committee. Does that answer the gentleman's question?

Mr. BOILEAU. Almost entirely, and yet I am not so certain. I would like the gentleman's opinion as to whether or not there is any requirement as to the order of recognition among the minority members of the committee.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I am not sure that question is settled, but, according to the usual practice, the ranking minority member of the committee, who in this instance is the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY], I believe, would be entitled to recognition in the first instance.

Mr. BOILEAU. In that event, then an assurance of a vote on both the Vinson bill and the Patman bill, all three bills, depends a great deal upon the attitude of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY] as to his desire to offer one bill or the other in a motion to recommit.

Mr. O'CONNOR. We have discussed that possibility at great length, and we hope that the practical question will be worked out satisfactorily among all the parties concerned.

Mr. BOILEAU. I am glad to have the gentleman's assurance.

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

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. TREADWAY. In view of the remarks just made, I assume that it is the idea of the gentleman from New York, Chairman of the Committee on Rules, that in order to get the three distinct votes to which he has been referring, it will be necessary to have one of those three made on a motion to recommit.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. TREADWAY. But the vote on whatever bill is before us will be the Vinson bill or the Patman bill, and then under the two motions to recommit is the method by which the gentleman expects to get three votes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is the plan of the rule.

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

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. HARLAN. I understand that the plan to give a vote to those who are opposed to all pension schemes will not be on a general motion to recommit?

Mr. O'CONNOR. No.

Mr. HARLAN. Because if that is done, it will preclude the Cochran-Andrew vote.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is correct.

Mr. HARLAN. And those who are opposed to the bonus will get their opportunity on the final passage of whatever bill is accepted?

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is correct.

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

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. SIROVICH. If the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union should report back to the House the Vinson bill with the Patman amendment, then the first thing that would be considered on a roll call would be a motion on the part of the Vinson bill adherents to recommit the bill with the Patman amendment and substitute the Vinson bill. Is that correct?

Mr. O'CONNOR. No; that is not correct.

Mr. SIROVICH. What will be the first roll call?

Mr. O'CONNOR. The first roll call would be on the adoption of the Patman amendment.

Mr. SIROVICH. As recommended to the House?

Mr. O'CONNOR. As recommended by the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union to the House.

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

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. CONNERY. I want to get this clarified in my own mind. Other Members may understand it. Is this the situation? In the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union the Patman bill will be offered as a substitute amendment for the Vinson bill. Suppose that carries. Then the Committee will report back to the House the Vinson bill as amended by the Patman bill, and the question comes then on the Patman amendment.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is correct.

Mr. CONNERY. As to whether that would be the one adopted or the original Vinson bill.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is correct.

Mr. CONNERY. And after that has been engrossed and read a third time come the two motions to recommit?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. CONNERY. And then the final passage of the bill.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes. The gentleman is a great parliamentarian. [Applause.]

Mr. RANSLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. LEHLBACH].

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Speaker, this rule I believe is unique. It may be that at some time under some circumstances a similar rule has been reported from the Committee on Rules for the consideration of the House. If such has been the case, I have never heard or read about it. There is no particular need for a special rule for consideration in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union of any of the bills merely pertaining to the payment of the bonus. I think that they are all germane with respect to that.

But why do we have this special rule that makes germane any bill which mentions the bonus, no matter what else it does, notwithstanding any other rule of the House? For the purpose of putting before the House for consideration a vitally important question that has not been reported by any committee of this House, for which no petition under the discharge rule has been signed, and for which, as far as I can ascertain, there exists no public pressure at the present time, and to which, my information is, the administration is bitterly opposed. Why is the Patman bill made in order by a special rule? Because it has two distinct and separate purposes.

A bill to provide for the immediate payment to veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates—

And a different purpose—

and for controlled expansion of the currency.

In other words, you bring here an inflation bill which has not been reported by any committee, for which no petition has been signed, for which there is no present public pressure, to be considered in the House against the wishes of your own administration. Now, if that is the way you are going to legislate, if that is the way your leadership directs your Committee on Rules to function, why all the bother about amending the rule for the discharge of committees, raising the number from 145 to 218? You do not even require that formality to take from the committee various bills that are now lodged in those committees for inflation by the printing-press method and bring them here for consideration and probable passage by the House.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. LEHLBACH. I yield.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentleman must never overlook the fact that a majority of this House must finally approve any rule brought out here, which is the same number as would be required under a petition to discharge a committee.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Yes; and that condition existed when the rule only required 145 Members to sign a petition the same as the rule now requires 218 Members to sign a petition. It involves, nevertheless, the same practice of putting before a majority of the House the consideration of a question which has never received the report of any committee of the House.

Mr. CONNERY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEHLBACH. Yes; I yield.

Mr. CONNERY. The gentleman speaks about the Democratic Party bringing in a bill against the wishes of the Chief Executive. The original bonus bill in 1924 was brought in against the wishes of President Coolidge and passed over his veto by a Republican House.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Very well, but we did not make speeches about the coattails we were elected on. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. CONNERY. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. LEHLBACH. Yes, I yield.

Mr. CONNERY. I am sure the gentleman does not refer to myself when he says that.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Oh, no; not at all.

Mr. MAVERICK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEHLBACH. Yes, I yield.

Mr. MAVERICK. I think the Republicans were elected on a wave, and we were on the coattails.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Speaker, this bill provides for the issuance of printing-press money at least to the extent of \$2,000,000 necessary for this bill, but it is permanent in its character. It is the opening wedge of meeting Government obligations by the use of printing-press money instead of money that has anything behind it of substantial value. But the title of the bill says "controlled" inflation; "controlled" expansion. How is it controlled? We will find that the method of control is in section 3 (a) of the bill and the control is this: If at any time by printing-press money—that means much more printing-press money than just enough to pay the bonus—your currency gets so cheap that you cannot buy commodities with it you are going to control it to make it rise in value. How? By withdrawing from circulation—see paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 4 of section 3—every form of currency that is secured by anything that has some semblance of value. Control the currency and enhance its value to keep it from being utterly worthless, by withdrawing all forms of currency that are worth anything. That is the brilliant, wonderful scheme that you bring here, without the report of a committee, without a petition, without anything but the action of the Committee on Rules, and, as it was stated, at the suggestion of the Democratic leadership of this House. Only last week the present spokesman for the President in the State of Massachusetts assured the people of the United States that there would be no present inflation.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. LEHLBACH. I yield.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Of course, the gentleman is not discussing the rule. The gentleman is discussing the merits of the bill. If this horrible thing comes up, a majority of this House can vote it down and save the country. All the rule does is to give the House an opportunity to vote, and if it is as terrible as the gentleman states, it undoubtedly will be voted down by a majority of the House.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Oh, yes; but what I am protesting against is that by a rule of the House you make in order a proposition totally different from the proposition under consideration, namely, the payment of the bonus. You make in order a proposition which has not been reported by a committee, which has not been petitioned for, for which there is no insistent public demand, and to which the

administration is opposed. There is no Democrat in this House who can say that the administration wants mandatory printing-press inflation at this moment.

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

Mr. LEHLBACH. I yield.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman, of course, is familiar with the fact that the Ways and Means Committee by a vote of 14 to 9 recommended that this bill should be made in order and that it should be considered in the House.

Mr. LEHLBACH. If the Committee on Ways and Means wanted to report an inflation bill, why did they not have the guts to do so instead of voting it down and then going around and asking the Rules Committee to bring it out? That is puerile; that is a shameful procedure on the part of the Ways and Means Committee.

The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. FULLER] talked only last week berating new Members of this House for showing a little independence of thought with respect to legislation. You talk about being elected on the coattails of the President and that the new Members better hang onto the coattails else they would not be back here in 1936. Here you have a proposition setting aside all orderly procedure to bring out a bill which will shake the confidence of the people in the administration; to bring out a bill not wanted by the administration; to bring out a bill that is contrary to every effort being made by the administration at the present time to assuage and assure business, industry, and the economic life of the country that printing-press inflation is not imminent. Where are the coattails now? You are not hanging onto any coattails. What are you doing to the coattails now? Well, a donkey must kick. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, does the gentleman from Pennsylvania desire to use any more time?

Mr. RANSLEY. I am unable to use further time.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 141)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, together with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Expenditures and ordered printed.

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of section 20, title I, of the act entitled "An act to maintain the credit of the United States Government", approved March 20, 1933, I am transmitting herewith Executive Orders No. 6989 (Veterans' Regulation No. 1 (g)), No. 6990 (Veterans' Regulation No. 2 (d)), No. 6991 (Veterans' Regulation No. 6 (d)), and No. 6992 (Veterans' Regulation No. 10 (e)), approved by me March 19, 1935.

Executive Order No. 6989 amends Executive Order No. 6156 (Veterans' Regulation No. 1 (a)), approved by me June 6, 1933; Executive Order No. 6990 amends Executive Order No. 6230 (Veterans' Regulation No. 2 (a)), approved by me July 28, 1933; Executive Order No. 6991 amends Executive Order No. 6232 (Veterans' Regulation No. 6 (a)), approved by me July 28, 1933; and Executive Order No. 6992 amends Executive Order No. 6098 (Veterans' Regulation No. 10), approved by me March 31, 1933.

These regulations were promulgated in accordance with the terms of title I of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, "An act to maintain the credit of the United States Government", approved March 20, 1933.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, March 19, 1935.

Mr. DOUGHTON. 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.

3896) to provide for the immediate payment of World War adjusted-service certificates, to extend the time for filing applications for benefits under the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, and for other purposes.

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. 3896, with Mr. CANNON of Missouri in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with.

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, will not the gentleman include in his request the further request that the bill be printed in full at this point in the RECORD?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, what bill are they talking about; the Vinson bill?

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. In this connection, I think the Patman bill should go in the RECORD with it, if they are not going to read the bill but print it in the RECORD at this point. If they let the Patman bill go in also, I shall not object. I ask unanimous consent that the request be further modified to permit both the Patman bill and the Vinson bill being printed in the RECORD at this point. Then the RECORD would show the two main propositions under debate.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I shall object, not to dispensing with the first reading of the bill, but to the printing of the bill in the RECORD at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with?

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I object.

The Clerk read as follows:

[H. R. 3896, 74th Cong., 1st sess.]

A bill to provide for the immediate payment of World War adjusted-service certificates, to extend the time for filing applications for benefits under the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, and for other purposes

Whereas the immediate cash payment of the adjusted-service certificates will increase tremendously the purchasing power of millions of the consuming public, distributed uniformly throughout the Nation, and will provide relief for the holders thereof who are in dire need and distress because of the present unfortunate economic conditions; and will lighten immeasurably the burden which cities, counties, and States are now required to carry for relief; and

Whereas the payment of said certificates will not create any additional debt, but will discharge and retire an acknowledged contract obligation of the Government; and

Whereas since the Government of the United States is now definitely committed to the policy of spending additional sums of money for the purpose of hastening recovery from the present economic crisis, the immediate cash payment at face value of the adjusted-service certificates, with cancellation of interest accrued and refund of interest paid, is a most effective means to that end: Therefore

Be it enacted, etc., That notwithstanding the provisions of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended (U. S. C., title 38, ch. 11; U. S. C., Supp. VII, title 38, ch. 11), the adjusted-service certificates issued under the authority of such act are hereby declared to be immediately payable. Payments on account of such certificates shall be made in the manner hereafter provided in this act upon application therefor to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, and upon surrender of the certificates and all rights thereunder (with or without the consent of the beneficiaries thereof). The payment in each case shall be in an amount equal to the face value of the certificate, except that if, at the time of application for payment under this act, the principal with respect to any loan upon any such certificate has not been paid in full by the veteran (whether or not the loan has matured), then, the Administrator shall (1) pay or discharge such unpaid principal in such amount as is necessary to make the certificate available for payment under this act, (2) deduct the same from the amount of the face value of the certificate, and (3) make payment in an amount equal to the difference between the face value of the certificate and the amount so deducted.

SEC. 2. In the case of each and every loan heretofore made pursuant to law by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and/or by any national bank, or any bank or trust company incorporated under the laws of any State, Territory, possession, or the District of Columbia, upon the security of an adjusted-service certificate, any interest that has been or, in consequence of existing law, would be charged against the face value of such certificate either shall be canceled or not so charged, as the case may be, notwith-

standing any provision of law to the contrary. Any interest on any such loan payable to any such bank or trust company shall be paid by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

SEC. 3. (a) An application for payment under this act may be made and filed at any time before the maturity of the certificate (1) personally by the veteran, or (2) in case physical or mental incapacity prevents the making or filing of a personal application, then by such representative of the veteran and in such manner as may be by regulations prescribed. An application made by a person other than a representative authorized by such regulations shall be held void.

(b) If the veteran dies after the application is made and before it is filed, it may be filed by any person. If the veteran dies after the application is made, it shall be valid if the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs finds that it bears the bona fide signature of the applicant, discloses an intention to claim the benefit of this act on behalf of the veteran, and is filed before the maturity of the certificate, whether or not the veteran is alive at the time it is filed. If the death occurs after the application is filed but before the receipt of the payment under this act, or if the application is filed after the death occurs but before mailing of the check in payment to the beneficiary under section 501 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, payment shall be made to the estate of the veteran irrespective of any beneficiary designation.

(c) Where the records of the Veterans' Administration show that an application, disclosing an intention to claim the benefits of this act, has been filed before the maturity of the certificate, and the application cannot be found, such application shall be presumed, in the absence of affirmative evidence to the contrary, to have been valid when originally filed.

(d) If at the time this act takes effect a veteran entitled to receive an adjusted-service certificate has not made application therefor, he shall be entitled, upon application made under section 302 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, to receive, at his option, either the certificate under section 501 of this act, as amended, or payment under this act.

SEC. 4. Subdivisions (b) and (c) of section 302, section 311, subdivision (b) of section 312, section 602, and subdivision (b) of section 604 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended (U. S. C., Supp. VII, title 38, secs. 612, 621, 622, 662, and 664), are hereby amended, to take effect as of December 31, 1934, by striking out "January 2, 1935" wherever it appears in such subdivisions and sections and inserting in lieu thereof "January 2, 1940."

SEC. 5. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

SEC. 6. This act may be cited as the "Emergency Adjusted Compensation Act, 1935."

With the following committee amendment:

Page 4, line 11, beginning with the word "if", strike out all of lines 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 to and including the word "designation", in line 17, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"If the death occurs after the application is made or filed but before the receipt of the payment under this act, payment shall be made to the beneficiaries designated."

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule the time is divided equally between the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. DOUGHTON] and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY]. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN].

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, evidently I shall not be able to include in my remarks everything I would like to, so I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and to include certain excerpts, statements, and other matter in explanation thereof.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

[H. R. 1, 74th Cong., 1st sess.]

A bill to provide for the immediate payment to veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates and for controlled expansion of the currency

Be it enacted, etc., That title V of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof three new sections, to read as follows:

"PAYMENT OF CERTIFICATES BEFORE MATURITY

"SEC. 509. (a) The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is authorized and directed to pay to any veteran to whom an adjusted-service certificate has been issued, upon application by him and surrender of the certificate and all rights thereunder (with or without the consent of the beneficiary thereof), the amount of the face value of the certificate as computed in accordance with section 501.

"(b) No payment shall be made under this section until the certificate is in the possession of the Veterans' Administration, nor until all obligations for which the certificate was held as security have been paid or otherwise discharged.

"(c) If at the time of application to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs for payment under this section the principal and interest on or in respect of any loan upon the certificate have not been paid in full by the veterans (whether or not the loan has matured), then, on request of the veteran, the Administrator shall (1) pay or otherwise discharge such unpaid principal and so much of such unpaid interest (accrued or to accrue) as is necessary to make the certificate available for payment under this section, and (2) deduct from the amount of the face value of the certificate the amount of such principal and so much of such interest, if any, as accrued prior to October 1, 1931.

"(d) Upon payment under this section the certificate and all rights thereunder shall be canceled.

"(e) A veteran may receive the benefits of this section by application therefor, filed with the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs. Such application may be made and filed at any time before the maturity of the certificate (1) personally by the veteran, or (2) in case physical or mental incapacity prevents the making or filing of a personal application, then by such representative of the veteran and in such manner as may be by regulations prescribed. An application made by a person other than a representative authorized by such regulations, or not filed on or before the maturity of the certificate, shall be held void.

"(f) If the veteran dies after the application is made and before it is filed, it may be filed by any person. If the veteran dies after the application is made, it shall be valid if the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs finds that it bears the bona fide signature of the applicant, discloses an intention to claim the benefit of this section on behalf of the veteran, and is filed before the maturity of the certificate, whether or not the veteran is alive at the time it is filed. If the death occurs after the application is made but before the negotiation of the check in payment, payment shall be made to the estate of the veteran irrespective of any beneficiary designation, if the application is filed (1) before the death occurs, or (2) after the death occurs, but before the mailing of the check in payment to the beneficiary under section 501.

"(g) Where the records of the Veterans' Administration show that an application, disclosing an intention to claim the benefits of this section, has been filed before the maturity of the certificate, and the application cannot be found, such application shall be presumed, in the absence of affirmative evidence to the contrary, to have been valid when originally filed.

"SEC. 510. If, at the time this section takes effect, a veteran entitled to receive an adjusted-service certificate has not made application therefor, he shall be entitled, upon application made under section 302, to receive at his option either the certificate under section 501 or payment of the amount of the face value thereof under section 509.

"SEC. 511. The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, in the exercise of his powers to make regulations for payment under section 509, shall to the fullest extent practicable provide a method by which veterans may present their applications and receive payment in close proximity to the places of their residence."

SEC. 2. (a) Payment of the face value of adjusted-service certificates under section 509 or section 510 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, shall be made in United States notes not bearing interest. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to issue such notes in such amount as may be required to make such payment, and of the same wording, form, size, and denominations as United States notes issued under existing law, except that the wording thereon shall conform to the provisions of this act. The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and the Secretary of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed jointly to prescribe rules and regulations for the delivery of such notes in payment under section 509 or 510 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended.

(b) United States notes issued pursuant to the provisions of this act shall be lawful money of the United States and shall be fixed by law. Such notes shall be legal tender in payment of all debts and dues, public and private, and shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received shall be reissued. Such notes, when held by any national-banking association or Federal Reserve bank, may be counted as a part of its lawful reserve. The provisions of sections 1 and 2 of the act of March 14, 1900, as amended (U. S. C., title 31, secs. 314 and 408), and section 26 of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended (U. S. C., title 31, sec. 409), are hereby made applicable to such notes in the same manner and to the same extent as such provisions shall apply at the time of the enactment of this act or in the future to United States notes.

SEC. 3. (a) Whenever the index number of the wholesale all-commodity prices rise above the index number of such prices for the years 1921 to 1929, as computed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, notwithstanding any provisions of law to the contrary, the following methods for contracting the issues of currency in the United States may be in force and effect in this manner and to the extent prescribed in subsection (b) of this section:

(1) Termination of the issuance and reissuance of Federal Reserve notes secured by direct obligations of the United States.

(2) Termination of the issuance and reissuance of national-bank circulating notes, and the retirement of such notes from circulation as rapidly as practicable.

(3) Termination of the issuance and reissuance of Federal Reserve notes secured only by gold or gold certificates.

(4) Termination of the issuance and reissuance of Federal Reserve notes secured by notes, drafts, bills of exchange, acceptances,

or bankers' acceptances which are not issued in direct benefit of commerce, industry, or agriculture.

(b) Any such method of contracting currency issues may be applicable when the Secretary of the Treasury finds that its application is necessary in order to maintain the index number of wholesale all-commodity prices at the approximate level of the index number of such prices for the years 1921 to 1929, or to prevent undue expansion of the currency, and issues an order setting forth such finding. Each such order shall prescribe such rules and regulations as are necessary and appropriate to carry out the provisions of this section with respect to the method of contraction made applicable in the order. The Secretary may make such methods applicable in the order in which they are set forth in subsection (a) of this section, or in any order he chooses. When any such order is issued with respect to Federal Reserve notes, the Federal Reserve Board shall take such action as may be necessary to facilitate the enforcement of the order.

Sec. 4. Section 505 (authorizing annual appropriations ending with the year 1946 for the payment of adjusted-service certificates of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended), except the first sentence thereof, is hereby repealed. Amounts in the adjusted-service certificate fund are hereby authorized to be made available for the expenses of printing and engraving United States notes issued under this act, for paying fractional parts of a dollar which cannot be paid in United States notes issued under the provisions of this act, and for paying the principal and interest on or in respect of loans pursuant to the provisions of subsection (c) of section 509 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended.

Sec. 5. This act may be cited as "the Adjusted Compensation Act, 1933."

APPRECIATION

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, in the beginning I desire to express appreciation to the Members of this House for their loyal support of H. R. 1. This is not just the Patman bill; there are 150 Members of this House entitled to be known as "coauthors of the measure." Before the bill would come up at each session of Congress it has been our custom to organize what is known as "a steering committee." This was done in 1931, 1932, and 1934. We have one Member of the House from each steering-committee district in the United States. This steering committee is composed of 22 members.

STEERING COMMITTEE FOR THE PASSAGE OF H. R. 1

Wright Patman, chairman; Abe Murdock, secretary; Adolph J. Sabath, Illinois; James G. Scrugham, Nevada; Arthur H. Greenwood, Indiana; William L. Colmer, Mississippi; Jennings Randolph, West Virginia; Clarence Cannon, Missouri (parliamentarian); William P. Connery, Jr., Massachusetts; William M. Berlin, Pennsylvania; Frank Hancock, North Carolina; Jed Johnson, Oklahoma; James P. Richards, South Carolina; Gerald J. Boileau, Wisconsin; Andrew J. May, Kentucky; Fred H. Hildebrandt, South Dakota; Martin F. Smith, Washington; Martin Dies, Texas; John E. Miller, Arkansas; George A. Dondero, Michigan; Paul J. Kvale, Minnesota; and Roy E. Ayers, Montana.

I want to express appreciation to them for their effective assistance and loyal support. We have had many meetings. Very seldom did we have less than 100-percent attendance at these meetings; practically every member was there every time he was asked to attend. In addition to expressing thanks to the steering committee, I desire to sincerely thank the members who helped us organize in the beginning of this session of Congress, January 17, 1935. I personally desire to express appreciation to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. DOUGHRON], and to the members of that committee, to the chairman [Mr. O'CONNOR] and members of the Committee on Rules, to the Speaker of the House, and majority and minority leaders, and others who have made it possible for a fair hearing on this legislation before this House. We are not asking for any special privileges or special rights. All we are asking is that this matter be presented fairly to the Members of this House and we believe that we will win. If after presenting it fairly we do not win I presume that we are not entitled to win. I am very thankful personally to everyone who has made it possible to bring this measure up for consideration. We feel like we are receiving a fair and square deal in every way. We also appreciate the support of veterans and nonveterans. Their support has been substantial. I am sorry I cannot give you the names of thousands of them residing in every section of the United States. We can show that these adjusted-service certificates are past due; that is, an amount equivalent to the face, or maturity value, is past due to each veteran who holds such a certificate.

We assert that the payment should be made in a way that will not be a detriment to the other 97 percent of the people of this Nation. I believe we can show you conclusively that the certificates are past due, and that payments can be made in a way that will be a great benefit and a godsend to this country, instead of a detriment to the country.

SOLDIERS PAY VERSUS CIVILIAN PAY

April 6, 1917, war was declared by this country against Germany. Congress immediately commenced consideration of a bill that had for its purpose raising an Army. Little consideration was given to the question of pay that men in uniform would receive. It was well known that if any injustice should be done in this regard it could be corrected later. Between four and five million men were caused to don the uniform of their country. Practically all of these men felt it was their duty, desired to be patriotic, and, like all good soldiers, served wherever they were called upon to serve. Nevertheless, it was admitted that practically all of them suffered a serious economic disability by being required to serve at \$1 a day, when others, for various reasons exempted from military service, were making, in the words of our own great President, from \$8 to \$20 a day in the shipyards and munition factories.

DEDUCTIONS GOT THE \$30 A MONTH

Do not get the impression that the private soldier actually received \$30 a month, as reported. The average allotment of his pay for his dependents, if he had dependents, was about \$15 a month. He was required to carry war-risk insurance, which cost him on an average of \$6.60 a month, the Government thereby requiring him to make his monthly contribution for the protection of the loved ones of his dead buddies. Four million veterans paid Uncle Sam approximately \$400,000,000 in this way, for which they did not receive one penny in return.

Uncle Sam paid for the insurance on his ships but not on his men. The soldier was required to pay for altering and mending his clothing and shoes, his barber bills, laundry bills, and bills at canteens for tobacco and incidentals. If he had anything left, he subscribed for a Liberty bond on the installment plan or he was called a "slacker."

Commissioner O'Reilly, who is now an alderman in a western city, at the end of his first month in the service, after waiting 2 hours in line with his company, approached the paymaster's table, saluted, and gave his name. The paymaster, looking at the company pay roll, replied, "Private O'Reilly, you owe this Government 80 cents."

OTHERS RECEIVED ADJUSTED PAY

When the war was over those who dealt with property rights had their pay adjusted by the Congress of the United States. Seven thousand World War "cost-plus" contractors—many of them had engaged in a "war for profits"—had their pay adjusted. Included in this group were the Du Ponts, who recently admitted that they made a profit of a quarter of a billion dollars out of the war after paying all expenses and taxes on what they billed to South American countries as "sporting goods." The railroad owners and war contractors received an adjustment of pay in cash and other benefits amounting to billions of dollars. They asked the Government for a revision of their contracts and were not called unpatriotic for doing it, and they were paid in cash.

Five hundred thousand Federal employees of the Government, who received up to \$2,500 a year during the war, received an adjustment of pay amounting to \$1,440 each—they asked for a revision of their contracts and they were paid in cash \$240 a year for 6 years.

Foreign countries asked for a revision of their contracts and had their debts adjusted, which resulted in Congress giving to them as an outright gift the huge sum of \$10,000,000,000. Many of these countries used our money to pay their own soldiers adjusted pay and bonuses up to the enormous sum of \$7,290 each.

CONSCIENCE-STRICKEN CONGRESS

After doing so much for property rights and foreign countries, a conscience-stricken Congress was determined to make some adjustment of pay received by the men who wore the uniform. The cost of the war was \$36,000,000,000; the

men in uniform received \$4,500,000,000. It was agreed that the Members of Congress could not save their faces and allow less than \$1 a day as adjusted pay.

SECRET CAUCUS AND CHISELING AMENDMENTS

The Ways and Means Committee of the House consisted of 15 Republicans and 10 Democrats. The Republicans put the Democrats out of the committee room, closed the door, called in representatives from the War Department, and outlined the plan of paying \$1 a day to each veteran for home service and \$1.25 a day for service overseas. These representatives were instructed to suggest how deductions and reductions could be made to propose every chiseling amendment for which any argument could be offered for its adoption and to get up some sort of a plan that would appear to the veterans that they were actually getting the \$1 a day, but which, in fact, would be so manipulated that they would get just as little of it as possible. One of the unfairest chiseling amendments was the deduction of the first \$60. Another was to provide a way whereby the banks would consume one-half of each certificate through compound interest after a few loans, obtained in dribs, had been made.

In this secret caucus, where words were spoken that were supposed to never be known, the plan was conceived which was enacted to give the veteran a post-dated check, an I O U, or a "tombstone" certificate, payable in 1945. The basis for it was the \$1 a day for domestic service and \$1.25 for service overseas, plus interest at 4 percent and plus 25 percent of the basic pay for waiting from 1925 until 1945. The veterans were not asked to take or reject these certificates. They had to take them or leave them alone, just like they were compelled to go in the service, whether they wanted to or not.

CERTIFICATE HOLDERS AND REMAINDER DUE

Three and one-half million veterans hold certificates, averaging \$1,000; three million of them have borrowed the limit allowed by law, which is 50 percent of each certificate, and after deducting prior loans and interest before October 6, 1931, there is a remainder due of \$2,000,000,000. They are paying \$163,000 a day in compound interest on these loans to the Government and to the banks, which is rapidly consuming the balance due.

HIGH INTEREST AND TIME DUE

They have paid as high as 6-percent and 8-percent interest, compounded annually, for their own money. If the Government should now allow the veterans the interest rate the veterans were charged, an amount equal to the face value of each certificate was due long before 1931. If the certificates remain as they are, the average veteran who has a \$1,000 certificate will receive the small sum of \$68.50 in 1945. Compound interest paid to the banks and to the Government on a few small loans obtained in dribs will have eaten up the remainder.

If Congress grants a revision of the contract, as requested in H. R. 1, and these certificates are dated back to the time the services were rendered, and there is an adjustment of interest so as to give the veteran the same rate of interest, and no more, that was paid to war contractors, railroad owners, and all others on contracts growing out of the World War, and is given only the earned part of the 25-percent increase that Congress admitted was due for waiting 20 years and not deduct the first \$60, each veteran is entitled at this time to a substantial sum more than the face value of his certificate. If the Government will allow the veteran the earned part of the 25 percent for waiting, along with the \$1 and \$1.25 a day, together with a rate of interest less than the Government has charged veterans, 6 percent compounded annually, an amount equal to the full face value of each certificate was due October 1, 1931.

PAST DUE ANY WAY IT IS COMPUTED

There is no fair way to compute the amount due a veteran, using the \$1 and \$1.25 a day as a basis, without determining that each veteran was entitled to an amount equal to the full face value of his certificate on or before October 1, 1931.

If the veterans receive credit for a fair adjustment of interest, and the certificates are dated back to 1918, they have borrowed the equivalent of the accumulated interest—the principal remains intact.

We are not trying to change the amount of \$1 a day for home service and \$1.25 a day for service overseas, representing the basic pay of \$1,400,000,000, that Congress acknowledged. We want it paid as of the time the services were rendered.

VETERANS FIGURED OUT OF 7 YEARS' INTEREST

Mr. Andrew Mellon, with his short pencil in the middle of the night, aided by a secret committee meeting, figured the veterans out of 7 years' interest. This omission appears to have been deliberate, since title 5, section 501, of the act provides that in no case shall a veteran receive interest before January 1, 1925. He also persuaded the committee to deduct the first \$60, and then got the bill passed through the House under a gag rule that did not permit an amendment to cross a "t" and dot an "i."

CRIES OF DEFICITS AND TAX REDUCTIONS

The acknowledgment of this debt was delayed several years by cries of deficits and tax reductions, which were not heard when billions were being voted for adjusted pay to others.

The Secretary of the Treasury, when the bill was before Congress, predicted a great deficit at the end of the next fiscal year. He made a billion dollar error in his prediction, but the discovery, months later, was too late—as intended—for the "tombstone" certificate bill had already become a law.

REFUNDS ON INCOME-TAX PAYMENTS

Income-tax payers received approximately \$3,000,000,000 in adjustments on their income-tax payments made during and by reason of the war. Secretary Andrew Mellon made huge refunds to citizen Andrew Mellon and to citizen Andrew Mellon companies. When a payment was made on such a refund 6-percent interest was allowed by him from 1918, or the time of the alleged overpayment. He did not forget his own interest over the same period of time he deprived the veteran of interest on a confessed debt.

Suppose holders of Government bonds should discover they paid money for bonds in 1918 and that they were not drawing interest until 1925. One of such bondholders would make more noise than a thousand veterans are now making over a similar loss.

VETERAN RECEIVED \$1; MUST PAY HIS PART OF \$21

Veteran A entered the service during the war and received \$1 a day. Civilian B went to the shipyards and received \$20 a day. The Government borrowed \$21 a day to pay the pair. When the war was over these debts must be paid. Veteran A, although he received only one of the \$21, must pay his part of the entire \$21. With the adjusted pay the veteran receives about 20 percent or less of what civilians received. If a veteran should receive more than a civilian, the excess could properly be termed a bonus, or pay for patriotism, but such is not the case.

A few companies made as much in net profits during the war as we are asking now to be paid on a confessed debt to three and one-half million men.

WILL GAG-RULE TACTICS BE ENDORSED?

One question is, Shall this debt be paid like the Government paid all other debts; or, will the many wrongs that were perpetrated through "star chamber" proceedings and gag-rule tactics in the enactment of the legislation remain?

WHERE WILL WE GET THE MONEY?

The next question is, How will the payment be made according to H. R. 1? Each certificate is an obligation of the Government.

We propose under H. R. 1 to permit a veteran to deposit his Government obligation and receive "new money" in United States notes in return for the remainder due. We are asking that one form of Government obligation be converted into another form of Government obligation, which will not create a new debt. We are merely asking that the

veterans be allowed to do the same thing in the same way that banks are now permitted to do and get the same kind of money.

EIGHT BILLION DOLLARS IN GOLD IN TREASURY

I hold in my hand an official daily statement of the United States Treasury. It is compiled from the latest proved reports from Treasury offices and depositories. Under the heading of current assets and liabilities there is listed in the form of an asset, \$8,550,000,000. This gold belongs to the United States Government. We have five and one-half billion dollars of actual money in circulation. We can set aside and earmark five and one-half billion dollars in gold to redeem all outstanding money 100 percent. We can then set aside and earmark \$2,000,000,000 in gold to redeem 100 percent the currency issued to pay the veterans under my bill. We will then have \$1,000,000,000 in untouched and idle gold in the United States Treasury. This does not include the enormous silver reserve of \$720,000,000.

LARGE AMOUNT OF MONEY MAY BE SAFELY ISSUED

Eight billion dollars in gold is sufficient to authorize the Government to issue \$20,000,000,000 in currency on a 40-percent gold reserve basis. Since we have outstanding only five and one-half billions in money and we propose to issue under my bill \$2,000,000,000, the Government can still safely issue an additional sum if necessary, amounting to more than \$12,000,000,000. On the devaluation of the gold dollar the Government made \$2,800,000,000 clear profit.

SUFFICIENT RESERVE SHOULD BE ADMITTED

In view of the indisputable fact, which is shown from the official report of the United States Treasury that we have sufficient gold to back all currency now outstanding and the currency we propose to issue under this bill 100 percent in gold and still have a surplus, I believe, in fairness, my honorable opponent will concede that the money to be issued under the terms of my bill will be in all respects sound under the most strict definition of the gold standard.

MORE GOLD BEHIND IT THAN BANKERS' MONEY

The most enthusiastic advocate of the gold standard and the most reactionary banker cannot question the soundness of this money, which will have 60 percent more gold behind it than any Federal Reserve note or other bankers' money ever had.

EAT THEIR CAKE AND KEEP IT, TOO

We have 12 Federal Reserve banks in this Nation. Each of these banks has an official that is authorized by the United States Government to cause to be printed and delivered to it new money, paper currency, produced by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. In order to get this money the bank deposits with itself a Government obligation, which may be payable January 1, 1945, or any other date, as collateral security for the issuance of the money. While the bank uses the money it continues to get interest on the bonds. It pays on the average of 27 cents a thousand dollars for the cost of printing the money. They use the credit of the Nation free. They eat their cake and keep it, too. Approximately three and one-half billion dollars have been issued to Federal Reserve banks on Government obligations.

It is possible for the Government, under our plan, to pay the veterans \$2,000,000,000 and not have one dollar extra circulating money, by merely withdrawing two billion in Federal Reserve notes, upon which the people are paying interest every day they are outstanding, and substitute therefor the two billion in United States notes we propose to issue and upon which no one will be paying interest while they are outstanding. This will take an annual bonus away from the Federal Reserve banks, which they do not need and are not entitled to.

EAT THEIR CAKE AND KEEP MORE CAKE THAN THEY HAVE EATEN

National banks of the country have deposited approximately a billion dollars in United States Government bonds, many of them payable January 1, 1945, and have received approximately a billion dollars in new money in return. Each of these banks can use that money as a reserve and lend \$10 in credit on every one of these dollars that it has in its vaults or with the Reserve bank. These national

banks continue to get interest on the bonds while they are using the money. They eat their cake and keep more cake than they have eaten. This privilege will be stopped within the next year.

IF RIGHT FOR BANKS, RIGHT FOR VETERANS

No person can possibly give a logical reason why it is not right for a veteran to deposit his Government obligation, which is payable January 1, 1945, and receive new money in return for it, and at the same time contend that it is fair and right for banks to deposit Government obligations payable January 1, 1945, and receive new money in return for them. If it is right for the banks, it is right for the veterans. If the money issued to the banks is good money—and it is—the money issued to the veterans will be good money.

There is more justification for issuing the money in return for the certificates, since the banks are paid a bonus to put money into circulation, which fee will not have to be paid to the veterans under the plan proposed. The veterans were not paid in 1924 because it was claimed that the country was not able to stand the payment. Conditions have changed since then, as the country now has several times as much gold as is necessary to pay this debt, if a gold backing is desired for the money issued for that purpose.

HOW INFLATION MAY BE PREVENTED

It has been said that there is danger of inflation after this money is paid. According to H. R. 1 the Secretary of the Treasury cannot withdraw any of the money we propose to issue, as we expect it to remain in permanent circulation, for no one will be paying interest on this money while it is outstanding, but the Secretary of the Treasury can retire sufficient money issued to Federal Reserve and national banks to prevent inflation. Therefore it cannot be said that there will be danger of unbridled inflation under our plan.

HOW VALUE OF ADJUSTED-SERVICE CERTIFICATE ARRIVED AT

Congress decided that each veteran of the World War was entitled to \$1 a day extra pay for home service and \$1.25 a day for service overseas, with the limitation that no veteran would be entitled to more than \$500 for home service or more than \$625 for service overseas, which is intended to cover the period of the emergency.

The average adjusted-service certificate is for \$1,000. As an illustration, it may be assumed that it was arrived at as follows: The veteran was credited with 210 days' domestic service at \$1 a day, \$210, and 200 days' foreign service at \$1.25 a day, \$250, or a total of \$460. The Government deducted \$60 of this amount because the veteran had received an extra \$60 at the time of discharge. This reduced the credit to \$400. The Government, instead of paying the veteran the \$400 in cash, added to the confession of the debt 25 percent for deferred payment, making the credit \$500 and giving the veteran what was equal to an endowment insurance policy for \$1,000, dated January 1, 1925, and payable at death or January 1, 1945. It was determined that the \$500 would purchase such a policy based upon the American experience table of mortality at 4 percent.

In this settlement it will be noticed that the veteran had deducted from his credit \$60 and had added to it \$100, or 25 percent, as a bonus for waiting.

Congress evidently intended to give the veterans the extra pay as of the time the services were rendered. One dollar given to them as of 1925 would be equal to giving them about 65 or 70 cents as of 1918.

If the veteran is given the \$460 from a date representing halfway between the beginning and ending of his service, or June 5, 1918, the time it should be computed from, with 6 percent compounded annually, the veteran was entitled to \$1,000 October 1, 1931, or the full face value of his adjusted-service certificate. A similar computation for each certificate will cause a similar result.

In order to justify this settlement a satisfactory explanation must be given why the \$60 should not be deducted, why the veteran should not accept the \$100 given as a bonus for waiting, and why the veteran should receive 6-percent interest compounded annually.

WHY THE \$60 SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED

In February 1919 Congress passed a law giving to each ex-service man \$60 additional pay upon discharge, considered to be an amount sufficient to purchase a civilian suit of clothes, the soldier having given his civilian clothing to the Red Cross when he entered the service, and it was sent to foreign countries to relieve distress there. The \$60 was authorized to be given to all officers, including the major general, who received \$8,000 a year with additional allowances, as well as the private who had served only 3 days in the military service. When the adjusted-compensation law was passed, the veterans receiving the certificates were required to account for the \$60; in other words, to pay it back. The officer who drew \$8,000 a year was permitted to keep his \$60 and make no return to the Government, although such officer, or any other officer above the grade of captain, did not receive an adjusted-service certificate, Congress feeling that such officers were not entitled to have their pay adjusted. Neither was the private who served 3 days required to pay his \$60 back to the Government. So why should the Government play the role of Indian giver to the holders of adjusted-service certificates? The \$60 should not have been deducted.

WHY THE \$100, OR 25 PERCENT INCREASE, SHOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED

The reason is obvious. The veterans are not asking on adjusted pay for more than the full payment of their certificates. The full amount was due October 1, 1931, without accepting one penny of the 25 percent increase allowed for waiting. By not accepting it, the payment will be for services rendered and no part of it for a bonus; the 6 percent will be sufficient compensation for waiting.

WHY 6 PERCENT INTEREST COMPOUNDED ANNUALLY SHOULD BE ALLOWED

When the Adjusted Compensation Act was passed in 1924, provisions were made for loans to be made to veterans on their certificates after the expiration of 2 years from their date. Only a small amount each year could be borrowed, never a sufficient amount to be of substantial service, and the veterans were required to pay 6, 7, and 8 percent compounded annually for their own money.

Mr. SAMUEL B. HILL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. SAMUEL B. HILL. Did the gentleman from Texas state what kind of currency the Secretary of the Treasury will use to retire the national bank notes?

Mr. PATMAN. If there is too much money in circulation after the veterans are paid he can retire some of the Federal Reserve notes.

Mr. SAMUEL B. HILL. But what kind of currency is the Secretary of the Treasury going to use to retire the bank notes?

Mr. PATMAN. He can use Federal Reserve notes, and we propose to retire two billion of Federal Reserve notes if necessary.

Mr. GREENWOOD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. GREENWOOD. He can use the profits on the gold in the Treasury to affect sales. Is it any further for him to go to say that he can use the same profit to pay adjusted-service certificates, which are obligations of the Government?

Mr. PATMAN. The gentleman's question answers itself.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. BLANTON. After issuing these \$2,000,000,000 of Treasury notes we still would have ample gold reserve in the Treasury under all requirements of law?

Mr. PATMAN. That is true.

TITLE TO GOLD IN THE UNITED STATES

Under the act that you passed in 1934 the title of all the gold in this Nation is vested in the United States Government. Do not forget that. It belongs to the United States Government. There are eight and one-half billion dollars in the Treasury in gold. You said so by the legislation which met with Executive approval. It is the law now that

this gold belongs to the Government—eight and one-half billions of it.

Did you know that you can retire every dollar of money outstanding today in gold 100 percent on the dollar, which would total five and one-half billion dollars—and you could pay this debt of \$2,000,000,000 in gold, and then you will have idle unused gold and silver amounting to \$2,000,000,000 in the Treasury vaults of the United States Government?

Does anyone contend that you can use any sounder money on earth than that? I know that some Members will say that the Federal Reserve banks have gold certificates on some of this gold. That is true with a limitation, and that limitation is that the title of that gold remains in the United States Government.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. MAY. I should like to direct the gentleman's attention to the difference between the Patman bill and the Vinson bill, and in that connection I want to say that I have read carefully the Vinson bill. It declares that the adjusted-service certificates are immediately payable, and that they should be paid as hereinafter set out. Then after that the mechanics of the method are set forth in the bill, and in section 5 it says:

There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such amount as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

Is there any way under that bill by which the adjusted-service certificates can be paid except either by a bond issue, which will bear interest over the period of time, or by an appropriation out of the Treasury?

BONDS AND TAXES

Mr. PATMAN. It is my understanding it will require bonds and taxes. Our bill provides that the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to make these payments in United States notes. I think that is sufficient. I was down to the Treasury Department this morning. I understand there is a difference of opinion about the language used. Some still contend that the language is not sufficient and that it will require an appropriation.

If that is true, before we introduce this bill as an amendment, we will put that language in there and we will make it strong enough to do it and there will be no doubt about it, although I do not think there is a doubt now. Under the bill H. R. 3896, introduced by my friend Mr. VINSON of Kentucky, there is an authorization of \$2,000,000,000 or whatever is necessary, to pay these certificates. That is the principal difference between the two bills, except that I remit interest only back until October 1, 1931, while his bill remits interest clear back to 1927. That will involve millions and millions and millions of small transactions with small banks all over this Nation, and will delay the payment of the money, if it is insisted on. So, the amount being no larger than it is, I think it is in the interest of the veteran to have a certain date where there will be cut off.

VETERANS WILL NOT GET MONEY WHEN H. R. 3896 PASSES IF IT DOES PASS

In regard to this authorization, it is not denied that the method of payment must be agreed on. Later, after this bill H. R. 3896 passes and becomes a law, if it does, then the veterans will not get their money. Another bill will have to be passed, an appropriation bill, which will have to go to the Appropriations Committee, pass this House and pass the Senate and meet with the approval of the President or be passed over his veto. The question will be, how are you going to raise this money? That is a question we have always had to face in this issue. We could not get public approval of this measure until we could show the public that the payment could be made without cost to the Government. We tried every method. At first we tried a bond issue, when there was money coming into the Treasury and the Government was in a different financial situation from what it is now. We tried an authorization, we tried different methods of payment, but we did not get anywhere until we were able to go before the American people and show them a good, safe, sane, sensible method of paying this

money without cost to the United States Government, without extra bonds or additional taxes, and in no way affect the National Budget.

When we were able to make that showing we received the attention of the American people, and we received the approval of the American people. Under this bill 3896 how are you going to do it? Are you going to levy taxes? If so, I doubt that the Ways and Means Committee could tell you now what you have to tax in order to pay it. Further, if you are going to raise taxes, many Members wonder whether they could afford to vote for it at this time. If you are going to pay \$2,000,000,000 right now, and if you are not going to levy new taxes, which you cannot raise, there is only one alternative and that is to issue more nontaxable interest-bearing United States Government bonds.

BANKER'S BONUS BILL

If you issue \$2,000,000,000 dollars of bonds now, then by the time the bonds are paid, the coupon clippers will have received as much as the veterans receive, namely, \$2,000,000,000. It means \$4,000,000,000. That is, \$2,000,000,000 to the coupon clippers and \$2,000,000,000 to the veterans. Take the State of New York. The veterans will receive about \$220,000,000 in the State of New York, and the banks in that State can buy \$220,000,000 worth of tax-exempt bonds.

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

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. DIES. What are the facts with reference to the State of California?

Mr. PATMAN. I shall come to California next. The banks of New York will buy \$220,000,000 in United States Government bonds. The New York banks would not pay 1 penny for those bonds. The banks will give credit on their books and then the Government will send the veterans checks on those New York banks, to pay the balance due on these certificates and the banks will not be out a penny of money, because these credits will flow right back into the banks, but they will get \$6,000,000 or \$8,000,000 a year annual interest on that same credit. That is the reason that I say that it is a banker's bonus bill, because it gives the bankers a \$2,000,000,000 bonus in order to pay the veterans \$2,000,000,000 of debt.

In California about \$122,000,000 will be paid to the veterans. The banks of California will buy \$122,000,000 worth of United States Government bonds, nontaxable, interest bearing. Credit will be given to the Government for the bonds and the credits will remain in California banks, since they will be transferred to the veterans in California. The banks will get three or four million dollars a year annual bonus.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Where does the head of the American Legion come from?

Mr. PATMAN. He is from California.

Mr. HOUSTON. What business is he in?

Mr. PATMAN. He is the vice president of the Bank of America, which has branches all over California. In fact, it handles practically all of the banking business in California.

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

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes more to the gentleman from Texas.

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

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. TREADWAY. The gentleman referred to the amount of gold now in the Federal Treasury, and that all gold in the country is owned by the Federal Government. May I ask the gentleman what good that gold is if it is against the law to have it in circulation?

Mr. PATMAN. It is good in paying international debts. The only time we ever use gold is in our dealings with foreign countries. We do not need it in our domestic transactions. We still use it in dealing with foreign countries.

Mr. TREADWAY. If we have a transaction abroad, we settle that transaction in gold; but if we have a domestic transaction between ourselves, it is against the law to use gold.

Mr. PATMAN. Well, we do not need it. The money you have will buy the same thing.

Mr. TREADWAY. I think the gentleman will find a lot of us would be mighty glad to get our hands on it, if we were allowed to use it in domestic transactions.

Mr. PATMAN. There were \$346,000,000 in United States notes outstanding for 35 years, and behind those notes there was a reserve of \$156,000,000. During that 35 years not one dollar of gold was asked for by the holder of a United States note. Let me enlarge on that to say that if we can use \$156,000,000 for 35 years to support \$346,000,000 in United States paper money and not have a dollar of it demanded, certainly eight and one-half billion dollars will support \$2,000,000,000 in United States notes. [Applause.]

Mr. TREADWAY. May I ask the gentleman one further question, and then I will not interrupt further?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. TREADWAY. Last week, in the course of a transaction at the office of the Sergeant at Arms, I drew against my salary as Congressman what may have been coming to me at that time. I hold in my hand one of the bills that I received. It is a brand new bill, never has been in circulation, and on it is printed the following:

*Redeemable in gold on demand at the United States Treasury.

What would happen to me if I took that down to the Treasury tomorrow morning and asked to have the Government carry out its obligation to pay me in gold?

Mr. BLANTON. Oh, that is an extraneous matter. Do not let the gentleman from Massachusetts waste your time on that. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. TREADWAY. This is between one gentleman from Texas and the gentleman from Massachusetts, not the intruder from Texas. [Laughter.]

Mr. BLANTON. We do not want our colleagues from Texas bothered with irrelevant questions.

Mr. PATMAN. I venture the assertion that the gentleman from Massachusetts never did take a bill to the Treasury and demand gold for it. Did the gentleman ever do that?

Mr. TREADWAY. Oh, we had confidence, and we knew we could get it. Now, you know you cannot get it.

Mr. PATMAN. Well, the gentleman admits, I presume, that he never did ask for gold, and therefore if he has been satisfied with the paper money in the past, why should he not be satisfied with it in the future?

Mr. TREADWAY. That does not answer the question.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. PARSONS. The gentleman from Massachusetts did not read all that is on that bill. It says, "In gold or in lawful money."

Mr. TREADWAY. No. I beg the gentleman's pardon.

Mr. PATMAN. I cannot yield further, Mr. Chairman. The gentleman must not take my time.

Mr. TREADWAY. I will yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes, if we use that much time, but I shall be glad to read the entire language on this bill. It is this:

Redeemable in gold on demand at the United States Treasury or in gold or lawful money.

[Laughter.]

Now the laugh will be on the other side. I have read this a number of times, and I have shown it to people to read; and you cannot make any other interpretation of it than what I am going to give you right now—"or in gold or lawful money at any Federal Reserve bank." That has nothing to do with the manner in which it will be redeemed at the Federal Treasury downtown.

It is an absolute statement that that \$20 piece of paper is worth \$20 in gold and that you will be given \$20 in gold for it at the Federal Treasury down on Pennsylvania Avenue; but, as a matter of fact, they will not do any such

thing. The Federal Treasury has absolutely gone back on its agreement to the American people to redeem that bill in gold, and has positively repudiated its promise. [Applause.] Now, if the gentleman desires to say anything further about it, I shall be glad to hear it, and I yield to the gentleman 5 additional minutes on that account.

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. Let me call attention to the fact that that \$356,000,000 of United States notes was issued by Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War. We have saved in interest on that \$356,000,000, a little more than \$11,000,000,000. [Applause.]

Mr. PATMAN. On the basis of 5 percent compound interest.

Mr. HOUSTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. HOUSTON. I want to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts what he can do with the gold that he cannot do with the bill?

Mr. PATMAN. In any event, if the gentleman wants gold to redeem all the money, there is plenty of gold to do it.

Mr. TREADWAY. Yes; but they will not give it to you.

Mr. PATMAN. The money that the gentleman has will buy just as much as will gold. It will buy 100 cents worth of what the gentleman usually buys. It will buy 100 cents worth of electricity, gas, telephone, or railroad freight and passenger rates, and debts, interest, taxes, and things like that; so there is no reason to complain. You can still use that money and receive 100 cents on the dollar for it.

Mr. RANKIN. Or the gentleman can use it to pay his income taxes.

Mr. PATMAN. Yes. I want it understood that in my reference to the bankers and the bankers' bonus bill there is nothing personal in this between the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. VINSON] and myself.

We have been friends, and we are now; we have worked together on this legislation for years, and all the time that I was changing my bill to improve on it my good friend from Kentucky was helping me in it and was always supporting the legislation all along. The bill has been improved each year, and I am glad that it met with the gentleman's approval too, because he supported it in the past. I do not criticize or censure him for advocating another bill; he has a perfect right to; he has as much right to support that bill and advocate it as I have to support and advocate this one. I am not impugning the motives or questioning the sincerity of any Member of the House, or any person in the United States in discussing these matters. I feel that we are on the side of logic, reason, and justice; I feel that we are armed with a good cause; and if we get the facts to the American people and to the American Congress we are sure to win. [Applause.]

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

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. GIFFORD. The gentleman favors this new method of the payment of the bonus. Would the gentleman apply the same method of payment to the \$4,880,000,000 public-works bill, and these other huge expenditures? Why does the gentleman select this particular thing, and not advocate this method with reference to all other governmental works?

Mr. PATMAN. This cause is older than the depression, or the present administration.

Mr. GIFFORD. Would not the gentleman want to see his plan applied to other governmental obligations?

Mr. PATMAN. That is another matter. If we are properly to bring this cause to the House on this occasion I think we should confine the discussion to the bill. [Applause.]

Mr. GIFFORD. The gentleman does not favor—

Mr. PATMAN. I do not yield for a question on any other bill. Any question the gentleman wants to ask about this bill, of course, I shall be glad to answer.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I should be glad if the gentleman saw fit to include in his remarks a table he has showing the amount which would be

paid under the bill in each congressional district or in each State.

Mr. PATMAN. I shall be pleased to do so. Here is a booklet which includes that table. Any Member of the House who wants a copy for his own use can get it by sending to my office or by calling over the telephone, and it will be mailed to him. I shall be glad to give any Member one who wants one.

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

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. DIES. I understand one of the principal arguments being used for the other bill is that it has a fair opportunity to pass the other body. Can the gentleman explain why it is that the bill has not been introduced in the other body and no effort has been made to have it pass the other body?

Mr. PATMAN. There is no reason why it should not have been introduced over there; there is nothing in the bill that would prohibit the Senate from considering and passing it. I am not impugning the motives of any person on earth, but I am just wondering in my own mind why the House was not let alone at this session so the House could pass the bill it passed 2 years ago and again 1 year ago by tremendous and overwhelming majorities. If this other bill is so strong in the Senate, why did they not introduce it there and get it passed in the Senate? Let the two bills meet half-way, and we could compromise the differences in free conference.

Mr. DIES. Is it not a fact that one of the arguments used was that the bill has been defeated in the other body? Is it not also true that at that time the American Legion was not supporting the payment of the bonus and at that time we did not have as many new Senators as we have now?

Mr. PATMAN. That is true; and if we can do so much against the opposition of the American Legion leaders, what can we do when we have the support of all the leaders of the American Legion? These representatives of the Legion are new converts. I do not say that they changed their minds because their master spoke to them, but I do say that they were not for full payment until the Miami convention ordered them to be for it. They had to be for it or quit their jobs. Probably these men feel that they are rendering a public service by keeping them, but they could not keep their jobs unless they advocated this legislation.

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

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. ARNOLD. Is it not a fact that whatever bill we send to the Senate will be subject to amendment in that body, that they will reach their own conclusions? So the statement that has been made that this bill of the gentleman from Texas has no chance of passing the Senate, but that the other bill has, is entirely without foundation in view of the fact they can amend the bill over there.

Mr. PATMAN. I agree with the gentleman. What would the Senate think if a great Senator should rise and say: "We must pass a bill that the House will approve"?

Mr. ARNOLD. Has the gentleman's bill ever been rejected by a vote of the Senate since 1932?

Mr. PATMAN. On June 17, 1932, the bill was rejected. At that time the so-called "bonus army" was surrounding this Capitol and the Senators felt there was an effort made to intimidate them and they very quickly killed the bill. Since that time there has not been a direct vote on this legislation. It has been offered as an amendment to certain bills, and even our friends voted against it, stating that it had no place on the particular bills where it was offered; and they voted against it for that reason.

Mr. DIES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. DIES. Is it not a fact that since 1932 the Senate has passed bills authorizing the issuance of \$3,000,000,000 of so-called "paper money"?

Mr. PATMAN. The gentleman's statement is correct. The Senate has not voted on this bill since June 17, 1932, but the Senate since that time, on different occasions, has adopted the same policy for the issuance of money that we are asking for in H. R. 1. With this knowledge before us,

and with the support of the great American Legion, instead of its opposition, we should be able to pass the bill by two-thirds vote in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. BOILEAU. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. BOILEAU. Was not that action on the part of the Senate before we impounded the gold and before we revalued the gold?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. BOILEAU. That makes it an entirely different proposition.

Mr. SHORT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman for a question.

Mr. SHORT. May I ask the gentleman if he knows or thinks the President of the United States will sign this measure?

Mr. PATMAN. I do not know.

Mr. Chairman, at Boston, Mass., we fought this out in the American Legion, and because of certain tactics which were used, and which I shall not explain at this time, we were defeated. In Detroit, Mich., it was defeated by a tie vote. Over in Portland, Oreg., the American Legion endorsed full payment and, although full payment was endorsed, no bill was introduced by the American Legion leaders trying to get this payment made. In Chicago, in 1933, there was no resolution favoring full payment. But in the convention at Miami there was a resolution introduced. I will read one paragraph of it, as follows:

Whereas the payment of said certificates will not create any additional debt, but will discharge and retire an acknowledged contract obligation of the Government: Now, therefore, be it Resolved—

What does that say? The American Legion says, "We want this paid in a way that no new additional debt will be created." Can you write it in plainer language than that? If you can, I should like to know the language suggested.

This bill, H. R. 1, will not create an additional debt. You know if you pay a debt now that is payable in 1945, you are not creating an additional debt. There is no argument or reason that will justify you in believing anything else. Now, I did not advocate my bill at Miami, and I do not say any delegate voted for this resolution believing it was my bill. Each delegate had his own individual views. But when I saw that language in there I said that not a better resolution on this subject could be written. I said it before the convention at Miami, Fla. In my speech before that convention which bill did I discuss? The one that would create a new debt or bond issue or create additional taxes? No. I discussed a bill that is on all fours with H. R. No. 1.

Mr. Chairman, may I read what I said in the opening speech that I made on this resolution before the convention at Miami. I stated as follows:

These certificates may be paid without the expansion of currency or they may be paid with the expansion of currency.

Just as we have it here in H. R. 1, so we can put this money out, and if you want to expand it the money can stay out; but if you do not want expansion, the Secretary of the Treasury can draw back Federal Reserve notes. Even without expansion of the currency you can pay it.

I stated further, as follows:

You can pay them in United States notes and not expand the volume of currency one dollar by retiring from circulation this same amount of Federal Reserve notes at the same time.

What did I mean when I said that? Was I discussing H. R. 3896, that provides for more bonds and more taxes, or was I discussing H. R. 1, which says that the payment will be made in United States notes, and in the event there is danger of undue expansion of the currency you can retire Federal Reserve notes and thereby prevent any danger of inflation? Did I not put the convention on notice? As to whether or not any particular delegate noticed that or not, I do not say or know. I certainly did explain there the kind of bill we are asking you today to substitute for H. R. 3896. [Applause.]

Let me read you the individual views of Congressman MORGAN A. SANDERS, a member of the committee, reciting the reasons why he prefers H. R. 1 to H. R. 3896:

1. It will not require a bond issue or additional taxes to make the payment. Therefore, no new debt will be created, and the budget will in no way be affected.

2. Our Government has sufficient gold to redeem all outstanding currency 100 cents on the dollar, pay the veterans \$2,000,000,000 in gold, and have remaining a billion dollars in gold, and in addition, about a billion dollars in silver. The Government has \$1.50 in gold and 20 cents in silver for every dollar outstanding.

3. The payment can safely be made according to the terms of H. R. 1, and without invoking a new principle or precedent for the issuance of money.

4. The bill provides for methods that will prevent inflation of the currency. Under its terms, the Secretary of the Treasury may cause to be retired Federal Reserve notes or national bank currency in the event there is danger of an undue expansion of the currency, or in the event the price level rises above the 1921-29 average.

5. Our circulating medium, consisting of demand deposits and outstanding money amounting to \$200 per capita from 1926 to 1929, is now about \$150 per capita. The payment as suggested in H. R. 1 will restore \$16 per capita of this circulating medium that will be quickly and uniformly distributed into every corner of the Nation; additional purchasing power will be placed into the hands of those who will use it to buy goods.

6. The Government made a profit of \$2,800,000,000 on gold revaluation. This debt of \$2,000,000,000 can be paid to the veterans from that profit.

Veterans everywhere should remember that we cannot win this fight unless we have the support of nonveterans, as well as the veterans; that we must show that this payment will not be a detriment to the country, but will be helping the country; we are asking for the revision of a contract; and we must show that it can conveniently be revised.

THREE MILLION VETERANS WILL LOSE CERTIFICATES BY 1945

If the certificates are not paid now, compound interest will practically consume the remainder due, and in 1945 there will be approximately 200,000 who have not borrowed and who will collect the face value; 400,000 will have died, and their dependents will have collected the remainder due; 2,900,000 will have the measly sum of \$68.50 due them. The point is, we cannot justify causing approximately 3,000,000 men to have their certificates consumed by compound interest paid to banks and to the Government in order to give 400,000 a small amount of protection for their dependents, instead of paying the money to 400,000 veterans themselves.

WHY THE BILLION DOLLARS WERE NOT MORE EFFECTIVE

When the payment of a billion dollars was made to veterans in 1931 it was not felt as much in this country as it would have been ordinarily, in view of a serious financial disturbance in Europe at the time and the rapidly increasing depression in this country. However, this payment delayed the depression, prevented a serious repercussion here, on account of the European situation, and helped business conditions generally.

VETERANS PREFER MONEY TO RELIEF

A prominent gentleman informed me a few days ago that from the standpoint of the veterans' welfare, the certificates should not be paid now, stating that if the payments were made, a large percentage of the veterans would merely use the money to keep off the relief rolls, thereby saving the Government that much money by using their own funds. The answer to that is: The veterans should prefer using their money—and I am sure they do—in a way that will prevent them from accepting relief rather than have the Government and the banks consume the remainder due through the payment of compound interest.

INSURANCE FEATURE WILL BE LOST

Veterans are paying \$163,000 daily to the banks and to the Government in compound interest on loans made to them on their adjusted-service certificates.

The beneficiary of the average veteran who dies this year will receive approximately \$400, after the loan and interest are paid. The beneficiary of the average veteran who dies in 1944 will receive \$68.50. On an average, 80 veterans are

dying each day; therefore, approximately \$32,000 is paid to the beneficiaries of these veterans each day. It is unfair for the Government to require 3,000,000 veterans to lose the remainder due on their adjusted-service certificates by compelling them to pay compound interest to the banks and to the Government in order to permit the beneficiaries of less than one-half million of these veterans to receive benefits from the certificates instead of permitting the veterans themselves to collect the remainder due.

SHOULD HOLDERS OF GOVERNMENT BONDS BE PAID 10 YEARS EARLY?

Suppose holders of Government bonds want their bonds paid 10 years before they are due. Are they not asking for the same thing that the soldier is asking for? No; the man who bought the bond made a contract with the Government. He entered into that contract voluntarily. The soldier who accepted the adjusted-service certificate was compelled to take it or nothing. It was not a contractual obligation; he was forced to take it just like he was forced to serve.

SUBSISTENCE

January 9, 1918, the Quartermaster General testified before the Committee on Military Affairs. On page 714 of the proceedings, he stated that the subsistence cost per man was \$152 per annum. Of course, this did not include tents and tent poles and articles that should not be considered in the computation. But it did include all subsistence.

Therefore, \$30 a month is \$360 a year; add \$152 to that and you will have \$512 each soldier cost the Government a year. And, since it is admitted that civilians received from \$5 to \$20 a day, it must be admitted that there is a considerable difference between the two.

SENATOR OWEN ENDORSES H. R. 1

Former United States Senator Robert L. Owen, president of the National Monetary Conference, Inc., president of the Sound Money League of America, former chairman United States Senate Banking and Currency Committee, author of the Federal Reserve Act, has endorsed H. R. 1 for the payment of the adjusted-service certificates, as follows:

EXTRACTS OF LETTER

Answering your request, I respectfully state that in my judgment the issuance of noninterest-bearing Treasury notes to pay the ex-service men's adjusted-compensation certificates could not possibly expand unjustifiably credit and currency, for the following reasons:

1. If such notes prove to be excessive as pocket money, the excess would flow back into the banks, precisely as the two billions of reserve notes issued in January and February 1933, flowed back into the banks, and were retired in the usual manner. We have, therefore, both reason and experience to teach us there is no danger of undue expansion of pocket money through such issue. Further, your bill provides for the retirement of Federal Reserve notes in the event there is danger of undue expansion of the currency.

2. But up to June 1934 (our last report) over \$20,000,000,000 of demand and time deposits had been canceled by the payment of debts due the banks. This retired 20 billions, approximately, of working capital needed in production and employment. To replace two billions of this enormous shrinkage of money needed in production is not only harmless, but absolutely necessary as a partial step to recovery.

Your bill itself provides for the retirement of an equal amount of Federal Reserve notes if needed. But it is a useless precaution, except to satisfy the hypercritical. Your bill is preferable to the Vinson bill, because it will not impose on the Government the annual interest charge and the annual amortization charge against the Budget. Those who think in terms of the taxpayers ought to keep this item steadily in mind. For if we incur the charge we have got to pay the taxes.

When the Government expands credit to replace the credit destroyed, our production and employment will be restored to normal, our national revenues to normal, and the Budget will balance itself. The enormous expenditures for emergency purposes will cease—a matter greatly to be desired. The National Monetary Conference on January 16, 1935, passed a resolution which endorses your bill, H. R. 1.

UNITED STATES NOTES—ERRONEOUS STATEMENT ANSWERED

It has been suggested that our bill, H. R. 1, does not provide for a gold reserve against the new currency that is to be issued. This statement is erroneous as our bill, section 2, subsection B, provides:

The provisions of sections 1 and 2 of the act of March 14, 1900, as amended (U. S. C., title 31, secs. 314 and 408), and section 26 of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended (U. S. C., title 31, sec. 409), are hereby made applicable to such notes in the same manner

and to the same extent as such provisions shall apply at the time of the enactment of this act or in the future to United States notes.

Title 31, section 314, provides that all forms of money issued by the United States shall be maintained at a parity value with the gold standard and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain such parity. Section 408 of title 31, provides for a reserve fund of \$150,000,000 in gold to redeem United States notes. It is the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire additional gold for this purpose when needed and the method is set forth for the acquisition.

UNANSWERABLE ARGUMENT

The fact that this \$150,000,000 has remained in the Treasury for 35 years and not \$1 of it has been demanded in return for United States notes is the best evidence that any statement to the effect that we cannot use \$8,000,000,000 in gold to keep our money on a parity is absolutely ridiculous.

Section 409 of title 31 gives the Secretary of the Treasury the power to acquire gold on the security of United States bonds for the purpose of maintaining the parity of all forms of money issued by the United States and to strengthen the gold reserve.

Public Law No. 87, January 30, 1934, provides that all rights, titles, and interest in and to all gold passed to and is vested in the United States Government. Section 6 of that act provides as follows:

That the reserve for the United States notes shall be maintained in gold bullion equal to the dollar amounts required by law.

Therefore, under existing law, if the United States notes we propose are issued, the Secretary of the Treasury will set aside sufficient gold bullion for a reserve when and if needed.

TITLE TO ALL GOLD IN UNITED STATES

Therefore, the title of all the eight and one-half billion dollars in gold being in the Government of the United States, no further power or authority is needed to protect the money we propose to have issued to pay the adjusted-service certificates.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS WHICH I HAVE PREPARED ON THE PAYMENT OF THE ADJUSTED-SERVICE CERTIFICATES

1. Q. What is an adjusted-service certificate?—A. It is a Government obligation payable to an honorably discharged veteran of the World War who served longer than 110 days, payable in 1945, or 20 years from date of issuance, in return for services rendered.

Such a certificate is often referred to as a "bonus certificate." It is not a "bonus certificate" and should not be referred to as a "bonus." The term "soldiers' bonus" is a misnomer. It was coined by the enemies of the law in order that our cause might be condemned every time it is used. It is a soldier debt and should not be referred to as a "bonus."

2. Q. Why did the veterans who served less than 100 days not receive such a certificate?—A. When each veteran was discharged he received \$60 cash bonus to purchase civilian clothing, shoes, and so forth. The veteran had given his civilian outfit to the Red Cross when he entered the service. All veterans entitled to receive \$50 or less were paid in cash and not given a certificate. In arriving at the amount of an adjusted-service certificate the first 60 days were deducted on account of the \$60 payment.

3. Q. How did the Government arrive at the amount of an adjusted-service certificate?—A. Each veteran was allowed \$1 a day extra for each day he served in the United States, and \$1.25 a day extra for each day he served overseas with a limitation of \$500 for home service and \$625 for service overseas. John Doe, a veteran, was entitled to a credit of \$460; \$210 for 210 days home service and \$250 for 200 days service overseas. The first \$60 was deducted, reducing his credit to \$400. Since he was being given a certificate due in the future, 20 years from date, the Government increased the amount of his credit by 25 percent for waiting, making the credit \$500. He was then given a certificate for an amount equal to the \$500 credit with 4 percent interest, compounded annually, for the 20 years, which amounted to \$1,000. His certificate was dated January 1, 1925, and made

payable January 1, 1945, or at death. This illustration represents the average veteran's adjusted-service certificate.

4. Q. Why did Congress agree to give the veterans this extra amount?—A. When the Selective Service Act and other various legislative proposals were pending in Congress, relating to induction and enlistment of soldiers, sailors, and marines, the question of pay was very much debated. It was understood then that the pay agreed upon by Congress could be adjusted after the emergency in the event an adjustment was due. Many Members of Congress insisted on a \$3 a day minimum pay. The war cost the United States more than \$36,000,000,000; all the man power in uniform received less than \$4,500,000,000 of this amount, or less than one-eighth of the cost of the war.

5. Q. Did others receive adjusted pay from the Government for their services after the war?—A. Seven thousand war contractors received adjusted pay amounting to billions, directly and indirectly, after the war was over; many of them had invalid and illegal contracts which were validated by Congress. They were paid in cash. The railroad owners received a guaranteed return during the war equal to the average return 3 years prior to America's entrance into the war, which was the most prosperous period of railroad-ing in the United States; in addition, they were given \$3,000,000 a day extra pay for the next 6 months after being released from Government operation. Their adjustments in pay amounted to between one and two billion dollars; they were paid in cash. There were about 500,000 Federal civilian employees during the war, all of them receiving \$2,500 a year or less had their pay adjusted, and the average received \$1,000 extra pay. It was paid in cash. Many soldiers worked on the public roads in America during the war, side by side with civilians who were receiving \$8 a day; these soldiers received an adjustment of \$7 a day, representing the difference between their soldier pay of \$1 a day and the \$8 a day drawn by the civilians. They were paid in cash after the war. Foreign countries, our allies during the war, were loaned billions of dollars by our Government after the war was over. They used a part of this money to pay their own veterans' adjusted compensation and bonuses aggregating as high in some instances as \$7,290 each.

6. Q. Are the veterans asking for the payment of a debt that is not due until 1945?—A. The debt is really past due now, although payable in 1945. The adjusted-service certificate gives the veteran the \$1 a day for home service and the \$1.25 a day for service overseas as of January 1, 1925, thereby depriving the holder of approximately 7 years' interest. If one is entitled to a certain amount daily or monthly over a period of time, the interest should be computed by allowing full interest from a date representing a time halfway between the beginning and ending of the period, about June 5, 1918.

7. Q. If the veterans are allowed interest from the time the services were rendered instead of from 1925, will they be receiving special favors from the Government?—A. No; it has always been the policy of the Government to deal with others in that manner. For instance, when the war was over, applications for tax refunds were filed by individuals and corporations, many of them claiming that they had paid too much income taxes during the war and others claiming that they failed to deduct a sufficient amount for depreciation of their facilities used in war services. These claims were made although they had made and sworn to the income-tax returns themselves. The Secretary of the Treasury refunded to large income-tax payers more than three thousand million, or \$3,000,000,000, from the year 1922 to the year 1929, inclusive—an amount more than sufficient to pay the remainder of the adjusted-service certificates in full. Much of this money was refunded or given back to them on the theory that the taxpayers did not charge off a sufficient amount for depreciation in value of their properties during the war from 1917-19. A large part of it was refunded in plain violation of the law. A large number of the beneficiaries of these large gifts were war profiteers and should have been convicted of treason

for dissipating and plundering our resources during the war. When each refund was paid, the Treasury also paid the one receiving it 6-percent interest from the year it was claimed the deduction should have been made. On one refund to the United States Steel Corporation of \$15,736,595.72, interest amounting to more than \$10,099,765 was paid. Mr. Andrew Mellon while Secretary of the Treasury made large refunds to himself and to his companies, and in each case allowed 6-percent interest from the year he claims the credits should have been given and not from 1925, the date of the adjusted-service certificates, or 7 years later. Those who are so loud in their denunciation of the proposal to pay the veterans this honest debt have been just as silent as the tomb while these war profiteers were wrongfully getting billions of dollars from the Treasury.

One receiving a tax refund in 1925 for an alleged over-payment in 1918 was paid 6-percent interest from 1918 on the amount of the payment. There is no reason why the veterans should not be paid from the time they rendered their services until 1925, the date of the certificates.

8. Q. Why do you say that the certificates are past due?—A. If a holder of an adjusted-service certificate is paid the extra pay Congress has acknowledged and confessed was due him with 6-percent interest, compounded annually, from the time the services were rendered, he was entitled to an amount equal to the face or maturity value of his certificate October 1, 1931.

In other words, if a veteran is given his adjusted-service credit as of the time he rendered the service, without deduction of the \$60 and without adding the 25-percent increase, he was entitled to an amount equal to the full face value of his certificate on October 1, 1931. If you allow him the 25-percent increase, or a portion of it for the number of years elapsed since 1925, the full face value of his certificate was due long before October 1, 1931.

9. Q. Is the interest rate suggested too high?—A. No. The veterans for many years were required to pay the Government 6-, 7-, and 8-percent interest, compounded annually, for their own money when they borrowed on their certificates. The amount charged on these high interest rates is now a part of the loans, and compound interest is being paid on the amount annually. If it was fair for the veterans to pay 6-, 7-, and 8-percent interest, compounded annually, for their own money, and then receive it in small dribs, certainly it is not unfair for the Government to pay the veterans this 6-percent rate.

10. Q. You have stated that \$60 was deducted from each veteran's adjusted-service claim before arriving at the amount of his certificate; why was this \$60 deducted?—A. In February 1919 Congress passed a law giving each ex-service man \$60 additional pay upon discharge, considered to be an amount sufficient to purchase a civilian suit of clothes, the soldier having given his civilian clothing to the Red Cross when he entered the service, and it was sent to foreign countries to relieve distress there. The \$60 was authorized to be given to all officers, including the major general, who received \$8,000 a year with additional allowances, as well as the private who had served only 1 day in the military service. When the adjusted-compensation law was passed, the veterans receiving the certificates were required to account for the \$60; in other words, to pay it back. The officer who drew \$8,000 a year was permitted to keep his \$60 and make no return to the Government, although such officer, or any other officer above the grade of captain, did not receive an adjusted-service certificate, Congress feeling that such officers were not entitled to have their pay adjusted. Neither was the private who served 3 days required to pay his \$60 back to the Government. So why should the Government play the role of Indian giver to the holders of adjusted-service certificates? The \$60 should not have been deducted. A compromise entered into by uninformed persons with the wise, greedy Secretary of the Treasury caused this chiseling amendment to be accepted.

11. Q. What did the veterans receive for their services during the war?—A. An enlisted man, private, received \$1 a day, except the overseas service, when he received 10 percent

extra, or \$1.10 a day. They were permitted and in many cases required to make allotments of a certain amount of their pay monthly to their dependents; the amount varied from \$5 to \$25 a month and were deducted from the amount due them. They also paid for altering and mending their clothing and shoes, barber bills, laundry bills, and other incidental expenses. In addition, the average veteran had deducted from his pay \$6.60 a month for insurance; if he had anything remaining after these deductions were made, he was usually required to subscribe for a Liberty bond on the installment plan or be called a slacker disguised in American uniform.

12. Q. How many of these certificates are there outstanding; what is their average value, and so forth?—A. December 1934 there were 3,531,800 adjusted-service certificates in force, of the face or maturity value of \$3,485,650,000; 3,037,500 of these certificates have been pledged to the Government and to the banks for loans aggregating \$1,465,500,000 not including interest after October 1, 1931. These certificates range in value from \$126 to \$1,590 each, and their average value is approximately \$1,000, to be exact, \$959.88.

13. Q. Why were the veterans not paid in cash in 1924 when the debt was confessed by Congress?—A. Mr. Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, convinced Congress that there was going to be a deficit of more than \$600,000,000 at the end of that fiscal year. Congress, therefore, did not feel that the payment could be made. However, after the tombstone certificates had been issued and the fiscal year expired there was a surplus in the Treasury of more than \$300,000,000. It was Mellon's billion dollar error that caused the issuance of the I O U's payable in 1945.

14. Q. Have the veterans obtained loans on their certificates?—A. Yes; the average veteran has obtained a loan amounting to 50 percent of the face value of his adjusted-service certificate under the law of 1931. Most of the veterans, however, had borrowed on their certificates before the 50-percent loan act was passed. In fact, the average veteran holding a thousand dollar certificate obtained a loan of \$87.99 in 1927, \$26.79 in 1928, \$26.33 in 1929, \$24.59 in 1930, and \$23.50 in 1931, before the passage of the 50-percent loan act. When the 50-percent loan act was passed he borrowed \$271.99 additional, which included the amount he had borrowed with interest to date. The veterans have borrowed the accumulated interest on the amount due them, the principal remains intact if their debts are adjusted in the same way that the Government adjusted the debts of others on contracts growing out of the World War. A veteran who has borrowed the limit on his certificate, if the contract is not revised to do equity, will obtain the following additional sums the dates indicated, and the remainder will be consumed or eaten up by the payment of interest: January 1, 1942, \$30.04; January 1, 1943, \$38.25; January 1, 1944, \$39.79; and on January 1, 1945, he will be given \$68.50, and the debt will be liquidated, nothing before 1942.

15. Q. Would it not be better for the veterans to keep their certificates as a nest egg to be used in 1945 as suggested by Mr. Andrew Mellon?—A. If the remainder is not paid now, practically all of the remainder due will be consumed by compound interest required to be paid on prior loans. The veterans will be benefited more by substantial payments than they will be by receiving their money in dribs; it will benefit the country more.

16. Q. If the veterans are not paid now, how much will be received in future by those who have borrowed the limit allowed by law, and will continue to borrow the limit on their certificates?—A. The following statement will answer for the average veteran holding a certificate of the average value:

Tabulation to show average adjusted-service credit, average amount of certificate, and amounts of principal and interest on loans, and amounts of cash to veterans as loans and at maturity. Assuming loans by a bank in the eleventh (Texas) Federal Reserve district at the maximum interest rate chargeable from 1927 to 1931, inclusive, then a loan on March 1, 1931, for the 50-percent loan value and redemption of the note by the Government in 6 months:

Certificate dated Jan. 1, 1925, made payable Jan. 1, 1945	
average adjusted-service credit, \$1 per day home service, \$1.25 overseas, and after deducting \$60	\$400
Amount of additional 25 percent added for deferred payment from 1925 to 1945	100
Total amount applied to purchase certificate (no interest allowed from 1918 to 1925)	
Amount of certificate issued for the above amount at 4 percent compounded annually from Jan. 1, 1925	500
	1,000

Year	Loan value	Out-standing indebtedness	Interest rate	Interest due beginning of period	Cash to veteran
			Percent		
1927	\$87.99	\$87.99	6		\$87.99
1928	120.06	93.27	6	\$5.28	26.79
1929	153.59	127.26	7	7.20	26.33
1930	188.67	164.08	7	10.49	24.59
1931	225.38	201.88	7	13.21	23.50
Emergency Loan Act, Mar. 1, 1931	500.00	228.01	4½	2.63	271.99
Redemption by the Government:					
Sept. 1, 1931	500.00	511.25	4½	11.25	
1932	503.00		4½		
July 21, 1932		533.68	3½		22.43
Sept. 1, 1933	500.00	552.36	3½		18.68
1934	500.00	571.69	3½		19.33
1935	500.00	591.70	3½		20.01
1936	500.00	612.41	3½		20.71
1937	500.00	633.84	3½		21.43
1938	535.73	656.02	3½		22.18
1939	589.05	678.98	3½		22.96
1940	645.06	702.74	3½		23.76
1941	703.92	727.34	3½		24.60
Jan. 1, 1942	765.86	755.82	3½		8.48
1943	831.12	792.67	3½		26.81
1944	900.00	860.21	3½		29.09
Jan. 1, 1945	1,000.00	931.50			31.50
Total				362.03	637.97

¹ Mar. 2, 1929.

17. Q. How much money will be required to pay the remainder due?—A. About \$2,000,000,000. All except about 500,000 veterans have borrowed the limit allowed by law on their certificates.

18. Q. If this amount of money is needed in circulation, would it not be better for the country to provide that amount for public buildings or highway construction?—A. No; because it would not be so well distributed in that way; it would go to certain localities and certain cities and only to people engaged in that kind of work. If it is paid to the veterans, it will go into every nook and corner of America; will raise the per capita circulation of money about \$15, can be paid immediately without waiting for blueprints, and will place purchasing power into the hands of consumers who will put it into circulation.

19. Q. You are asking that money be distributed to one class, are you not?—A. No; every class, race, and creed; every occupation, avocation, trade, and business will get a share. It is the only plan yet suggested that will cause such a wide distribution of money to such a large number of consumers without payment of a dole.

20. Q. Are you asking for a revision of the contract?—A. Yes; in order that another part of the contract, the legislative intent, may be carried out. Congress contemplated that the veterans should be paid the adjusted pay as of the time the services were rendered and not 7 years later without interest. The report of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House reporting the adjusted-compensation legislation in the year 1924 states two objects they had in mind, as follows:

That it should represent an amount approximately equal to the difference between what the soldier received and what he should have received. That it should confer substantial benefits upon the soldiers.

The first object is not carried out by paying the veterans the amount representing that difference 7 years later. The second object is not carried out if the money is paid in dribs and a large part of the principal consumed by the payment of compound interest on loans.

21. Q. Have others ever asked the Government for a revision of contracts?—A. Yes; the foreign countries that borrowed billions from us asked for a revision of their contracts.

In the revision that was granted them they were given more than \$10,000,000,000 by our Government. Hundreds of thousands of income-tax payers have asked the Government to revise their income-tax returns and allow them credits, refunds, and abatements. This has been done and more than three and one-half billion dollars refunded in that manner. The income-tax returns were prepared wholly by the ones wanting the refunds, yet they asked for a revision and got it. The foreign countries asking for a revision of their contracts were parties to the contracts and had a voice in their making. The veteran had no other alternative than to accept the adjusted-service certificate in the form in which it was offered to him. He did not make it out and agree to it like the income-tax payers or the foreign countries.

22. Q. Did not the veterans agree to accept payment in 1945?—A. No. They were told what would be given them and were never asked to enter into any agreement at all.

23. Q. While a mechanic enlisted as a soldier, what was received by mechanics who stayed at home?—A. As everyone knows, they received America's all-time high wages for mechanics. Laborers were paid as much as \$6 and \$8 a day; and the soldier, through service, probably lost from \$1 to \$10 a day as compared with what he could have made had he not served with the armed forces. The adjustment that was made of his compensation was only a partial adjustment. During the war some laborers in shipyards, doing piecework, are reported to have made as high as \$70 a day. Of course, such cases were exceptional.

24. Q. Did the United States pay her soldiers more than any other country engaged in the war?—A. The United States paid a private \$30, while Canada paid her privates \$33, New Zealand \$36.60, and Australia \$43.10 a month. When the corporal in the United States Army was receiving \$36 a month, the Australian corporal was receiving \$72.90. While the sergeant in the United States Army was receiving \$38 a month, the Australian sergeant was receiving \$76.10 a month.

25. Q. Is it not a fact that the 25-percent increase that the Government allowed the veteran in addition to his \$1 and \$1.25 a day was intended to compensate him for the loss of interest from 1917-18 to 1925?—A. No; it is not a fact, although a former national commander of the American Legion, Mr. Edward Spafford, made this contention before the delegates at the Portland convention. Mr. Charles M. Kinsolving, national commander of the Veterans' Association, is also contending that the 25-percent increase on the adjusted-service credits was intended to compensate the veteran for the loss of interest from the time he rendered the service until 1925, the date of his certificate. Both Mr. Spafford and Mr. Kinsolving are mistaken. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and the reports of the committees reporting the legislation in Congress clearly disclose that there was no such intent. Congress intended, as disclosed by these records, that the 25 percent would compensate the veteran for waiting from 1925 to 1945 for his money. As positive and convincing evidence that the 25-percent increase was not to compensate the veterans for waiting until 1925 from the time the services were rendered, the ones receiving \$50 or less in cash did not receive the 25-percent increase, neither did the beneficiaries of the ones who died prior to the passage of the act receive the 25-percent increase. In other words, a veteran who served 105 days during the war was paid \$60 on discharge. After the Adjusted Compensation Act was passed and in 1925 he was paid \$45 additional. He was not paid the 25-percent increase which he would have been paid if it was intended to cover the period between the time he rendered the services until 1925. The widow of a veteran who died in the service and who was entitled to a claim of \$460 received \$400 in 1925; \$60 was deducted and the \$400 was paid without the 25-percent increase. These two illustrations are convincing proof that Mr. Spafford and Mr. Kinsolving are wrong. Further, Mr. Andrew Mellon, when he was Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Ogden Mills, when he was Under Secretary, both testified before the Senate committee in opposition to my bill, and both admitted in my presence that the 25 percent extra was for waiting

from 1925 to 1945, and was not intended as interest from 1917-18 to 1925.

26. Q. Would it not be better to permit this amount of money to be loaned to big business institutions in order that they may employ labor and get the money in circulation in that way?—A. Labor has already produced more than can be sold. Owing to the lack of purchasing power among the masses, we have underconsumption, not overproduction. Business institutions will not employ labor to produce an additional surplus. The next move toward prosperity will have to be made by the consumers. The farmers and wage earners are the principal consumers. The additional money we propose to place in circulation will cause commodity prices to rise, which will enable farmers to purchase what they need, thereby creating an incentive for manufacturing industries to employ labor and produce more. The large manufacturing industries can get all the credit they want from the banking institutions when they have a real demand for goods, and unless there is a demand they will not use the credit, except to bolster up the financial position of the industry or to pay dividends.

27. Q. Will it wreck the country to make the payment now?—A. The payment can be made without a bond issue, without increasing taxes, without increasing our national indebtedness, and without unbalancing the Budget.

28. Q. What is your plan?—A. It is to have the Government convert the veterans' adjusted-service certificates—into United States notes—Government circulating obligations.

29. Q. Will not that plan involve the issuance of "flat" or "printing press" money, and will it not be unbridled inflation?—A. No; it will be the same kind of money as all other paper money now in circulation, which together represent about 90 percent of our circulating medium at this time. The bill to pay these certificates has a provision against unbridled inflation and provides for controlled expansion of the currency. According to the terms of the bill, if there should be danger of unbridled inflation, the Government will be privileged to withdraw from Federal Reserve banks and national banks a sufficient amount of the currency issued to them in return for Government bonds to prevent such inflation. Personally, I expect the money issued to the veterans to remain in circulation. No one will be paying interest on it. Someone is paying interest on money issued by banks every day it is outstanding. We have \$8,000,000,000 in gold. This is sufficient for the issuance of \$20,000,000,000 on the basis of a 40-percent gold reserve. We only have about \$5,000,000,000 in circulation now. Therefore we could go back on the gold standard and still be able to issue additional money to the amount of \$15,000,000,000. No logical reason can be given why this money should not be issued.

30. Q. Is there a precedent for issuing such money?—A. Either of the 12 Federal Reserve banks can obtain money from the Bureau of Engraving and Printing by making deposits of United States Government obligations. They can deposit a million dollars in Government bonds and receive a million dollars in new money. The only cost to such Federal Reserve bank is the cost of printing, which is about 27 cents a thousand dollars. National banks are permitted to the extent of their capital stock to deposit with the Treasurer of the United States direct obligations of the Government and receive in return national bank currency greenbacks. Such banks must deposit 5 percent of the money in a retirement fund. While the banks, both national and Federal Reserve, obtain the use of the money, they also get interest on the bonds deposited.

31. Q. Compare your plan with the plan used by the national banks and Federal Reserve banks to obtain money from the Government on Government obligations.—A. The veteran has a Government obligation payable January 1, 1945. We are asking that he be permitted to deposit that obligation and receive new money in return for the remainder due in the same way and manner that national banks and Federal Reserve banks are permitted to deposit Government obligations, payable in 1945, and receive new money in return for them. In each case a Government obligation pay-

able in the future is deposited to authorize the issuance of money. In each case a noncirculating Government obligation, or Government bond is converted into a circulating obligation money. The veteran will not continue to draw interest on the deposited obligation until it is payable. In the case of a veteran, the total indebtedness of the Nation will not be increased. In the case of the banks, the total indebtedness of the Nation is increased. In other words, if the Government issues a thousand dollar bond and sells it to a bank, that is one obligation. If the Government accepts the deposit of that thousand dollar bond and issues a thousand dollars in new currency to the owner, that is an additional Government obligation, as the Government guarantees to pay both the money and the bond. In neither case will there be a specific gold reserve set aside as a fractional coverage to redeem the paper money.

However, we have ample gold for that purpose. The Bureau of Engraving and Printing is running every working day and often overtime in order to print money to replace worn-out bills and new money for the national banks and Federal Reserve banks; it has 4,500 employees and prints a billion new bills a year; it turns out about 4 tons of new paper money a day. There are 500 bills to the pound, whether they are \$1 bills or \$10,000 bills. The money to be issued to the veterans will be the same kind of money. The money issued to the banks is sound. Therefore, the money issued to the veterans will be sound. It costs the Government tens of millions of dollars a year to pay interest on the Government bonds which the banks deposit to secure the paper money they obtain from the Government. Since the War between the States we have had outstanding in this Nation \$346,000,000 in United States notes. This is a free medium of exchange and no one is paying interest on it. The fact that the people have not had to pay interest on that paper money has saved them an outlay through the years of more than \$11,000,000,000 on the basis of 5 percent compound interest annually.

32. Q. Why do banks object to the payment of the adjusted-service certificates in full now?—A. The reason is obvious. At this time the banks are receiving interest from the veterans on their adjusted-service certificates. There is one bank in St. Paul, Minn., that has loaned an enormous sum of money on adjusted-service certificates. In fact, it has loaned a sufficient amount to enable the bank to construct two 30-story office buildings and pay for them with the annual interest installments that the veterans must make on their adjusted-service certificates, which the bank holds, between now and 1945. Many other banks are also profiting through these loans. Further, the banks do not want money put into circulation upon which no interest is being paid while it is outstanding. If the \$2,000,000,000 are put into circulation like we propose, no one will be drawing interest on that money while it is outstanding. Whereas if the banks get new money from the Government in exchange for Government obligations and lend it to the people, someone is paying interest on every dollar of that money all the time that it is outstanding.

33. Q. Would paying the certificates in full now with new money help balance the Budget by eliminating the amount set aside annually to retire the certificates in 1945?—A. The country really needs this additional money in circulation, and I do not believe that it will ever have to be retired. As the country increases in wealth, population, and national income, the money should increase per capita. The country's wealth, population, and national income have increased the last 1 or 2 decades to the extent that more than \$2,000,000,000 is needed in circulation, and it will not have to be retired. That being true, Congress can eliminate from its annual Budget the \$112,000,000 payment each year, which now goes into a sinking fund to retire these certificates by 1945.

34. Q. If the certificates are paid now, can the Government be saved annual expenses in administration of the act?—A. Yes; it is now costing the Government from a half million to three-quarters million dollars a year to administer the Adjusted Compensation Act. If the certificates are paid

now, this expense can be abolished, thereby saving the Government many millions of dollars between now and 1945.

35. Q. Is the Government now making a profit on the interest charged on adjusted-service certificate loans?—A. Yes; the Government is borrowing all the money it wants for 13 to 20 cents per hundred dollars a year on short-term paper. The veterans are being charged compound interest at the rate of \$3.50 per hundred dollars a year. They have been charged as high as 6- and 8-percent interest, compounded annually, which was not paid and which was added to the principal and now the veterans are paying 3½ percent, compounded annually on the unpaid 6- and 8-percent interest.

36. Q. Were the veterans given free war-risk insurance?—A. No; but they carried war-risk insurance with the Government by paying premiums monthly out of their pay. The average premium was \$6.60 a month, which was deducted from the soldier's \$30 a month. Much of the Government's cost of veterans' relief at this time is on account of insurance benefits paid to veterans; a benefit that they are entitled to receive, because they paid for it with their own money.

37. Q. Where does the responsibility for the issuance of money rest?—A. Under our Federal Constitution sole authority and responsibility rests with the Congress; section 8, article I, devoted to the duties of the Congress, reads, in part: "To coin money and regulate the value thereof."

38. Q. In what respect has the Congress departed from the above?—A. Under the Federal Reserve laws the issuance of currency is delegated to privately owned and, with the exception of limited governmental supervision, privately controlled banks.

39. Q. Is such private ownership and control objectionable?—A. Yes; in violating both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution in creating an agency whose interests and profit incentives are at variance with the public's; in the unwarranted expansion of credit banks are permitted to create under the law, the chief source of all inflation and resulting deflation. This has been frequently pointed out by J. S. Cullinan, of Houston, Tex., one of the best-informed men on this subject.

40. Q. Why is such expansion of credit undesirable?—A. In the unjustifiable amount of interest collected by the member banks, the law permitting them to extend credit and collect interest on \$10 or more for each dollar of money deposited with the Reserve banks. In their control over the property or securities placed with the member banks as security or collateral by borrowers, and the impossibility of all borrowers meeting their obligations or protecting such property or securities when, through lack of confidence or other causes deflation of credit occurs.

41. Q. How can such conditions be prevented?—A. By restoring the control of the issuance of money, its expansion or contraction, to the Government, where, under our Constitution, it properly belongs.

42. Q. Should the basis of issuing money be changed?—A. Yes; the volume of money should be regulated to conform with national wealth, which it represents, and national income, which as the medium of exchange it is designed to facilitate, in addition to the existing basis—population.

43. Q. Should the volume of credit that may now be issued by member banks under the law continue while the volume of currency is being increased?—A. No; as non-interest-bearing currency is being expanded to pay the veterans, and to meet governmental and individual requirements, the privilege extended by the Government to banks of issuing interest-bearing credit should be contracted.

DO THE VETERANS NEED IT AND WILL THEY WASTE IT?

Let the following letter answer the question:

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PATMAN: I have your letter of October 3, 1931, asking for certain information resulting from the study you understand the Veterans' Administration to have made concerning the direction in which the veterans spent money obtained from loans on their adjusted-service certificates.

You are advised that a general study on this matter has been made, which permits the following broad conclusions in answer to your questions:

(1) The average percent of veterans obtaining loans for personal and family needs was 65 percent.

(2) The percent of veterans who used funds for investment purposes was 20 percent.

(3) The percent of veterans who used funds secured for the purchase of automobiles, purpose undetermined, was 8 percent.

(4) The percent of veterans who utilized funds in such a way as to receive no practical benefits therefrom was 7 percent.

You will realize, of course, that these average percentages are estimates based upon such data as might be secured and upon such impressions as may have been gained by our managers and by those with whom our field managers came in contact. The final figures were secured by average field returns. Generally speaking, it is felt that of the 2,000,000 loans made the data fairly represent the direction in which the money was expended.

I might add that endeavor was made to determine the degree of employment among those securing loans, and from the available data secured it appears that 32 percent of the veterans obtaining loans were unemployed and in need and utilized funds secured by borrowing on their adjusted-service certificates to meet that need.

The foregoing represents the only data which are thus far available as a result of this study.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANK T. HINES, *Administrator.*

The money used for investment purposes included payments on homes. Many of the veterans are paying 10 percent interest on installment loans on their homes.

According to General Hines, the veterans wasted less than 7 percent of the money which was paid to them in 1931. It is true that they used about 8 percent for the purchase of automobiles, but it should be remembered that an automobile, in many cases, is a necessity. There were 32 percent of the veterans unemployed in 1931; I believe that the number at this time is 32 percent. The average age of the veteran at this time is approximately 42 years. There will never be a time in their lives when the money can be used for a better purpose, or when they will have better judgment to use in spending it than now.

If H. R. 1 becomes a law, it will be a long step in a direction of stopping the issuance of more tax-exempt interest-bearing bonds, not another dollar's worth of them should ever be issued. There is no difference between many of the Government obligations that are deposited by banks as collateral security for the issuance of money and the adjusted-service certificates, a Government obligation held by the veterans. They are both made payable in 1945. They are both backed by the credit of this Nation. They are both obligations of this Nation. Money purchased one, services the other. If it is fair for the bank, it is fair for the veterans. In our plan, if there is too much money in circulation, the banks will be required to return their currency or part of it and receive their bonds in exchange, thereby taking a certain amount of money out of circulation.

If this bill is enacted into law, the veterans in the following-named States will receive the amounts indicated:

Alabama (50,867)	\$26,883,528.74
Arizona (10,870)	6,668,187.11
Arkansas (43,849)	21,993,238.27
California (200,424)	122,833,011.86
Colorado (34,259)	19,362,059.24
Connecticut (44,043)	26,914,018.40
Delaware (4,884)	3,527,070.50
District of Columbia (28,281)	16,278,716.59
Florida (39,535)	21,921,858.79
Georgia (58,583)	32,262,946.70
Idaho (13,576)	7,411,798.86
Illinois (259,343)	141,472,589.16
Indiana (95,587)	50,730,624.28
Iowa (79,814)	41,019,480.37
Kansas (57,114)	31,436,036.43
Kentucky (63,696)	34,261,787.60
Louisiana (53,885)	27,849,762.05
Maine (21,412)	12,121,627.12
Maryland (48,424)	27,931,248.31
Massachusetts (137,113)	83,147,947.57
Michigan (134,009)	77,476,794.12
Minnesota (85,532)	52,789,520.36
Mississippi (36,802)	19,308,411.76
Missouri (111,706)	60,820,922.70
Montana (13,106)	10,281,687.92
Nebraska (40,233)	21,802,190.95
Nevada (3,066)	1,771,846.11
New Hampshire (12,370)	7,298,113.14
New Jersey (116,440)	69,579,645.59

New Mexico (10,101)	\$5,810,422.87
New York (377,182)	221,373,427.96
North Carolina (63,926)	34,622,162.80
North Dakota (16,174)	8,762,475.18
Ohio (182,692)	106,061,344.03
Oklahoma (67,181)	35,202,766.82
Oregon (35,376)	20,679,034.90
Pennsylvania (259,931)	155,594,459.25
Rhode Island (20,789)	12,356,383.60
South Carolina (35,747)	19,316,831.04
South Dakota (22,713)	11,757,600.97
Tennessee (59,009)	32,497,536.52
Texas (148,771)	83,696,221.25
Utah (14,387)	8,035,096.92
Vermont (8,243)	5,042,465.50
Virginia (63,132)	36,811,791.20
Washington (56,335)	34,079,306.15
West Virginia (43,294)	23,345,392.42
Wisconsin (83,036)	47,177,680.61
Wyoming (11,177)	6,329,955.57

The figures in parentheses represent the number of veterans holding certificates and the other figures represent the total amount that will be paid to them after deducting all prior loans and interest before October 1, 1931.

There are 3,531,800 veterans of the World War who hold adjusted-service certificates as of December 1, 1934. The aggregate face or maturity value of these certificates is \$3,485,650,000, or an average of \$959.88 each. After the 50 percent loan act was passed veterans who were entitled to certificates of small amounts applied for them, which caused the amount of the average certificates to be reduced.

It is estimated that 49,806 of these veterans reside in Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Canal Zone, Canada, Cuba, Mexico, and other places outside of the limits of the United States.

Three million thirty-eight thousand five hundred of the three million five hundred and thirty-one thousand eight hundred veterans holding certificates have borrowed \$1,465,000,000 on their certificates, not including interest after October 1, 1931. It is estimated that 150,000 of these loans aggregating \$60,000,000 were made by banks, and the remaining 2,885,500 loans were made by the Government, principally from the War Risk Insurance fund, and the adjusted-service certificate fund.

After deducting all prior loans, with interest to October 1, 1931, there is estimated to be a remainder due to the 3,531,800 veterans the sum of \$2,015,162,456.76, which includes the amount due the ones who have not negotiated loans on their certificates; interest on loans prior to October 1, 1931, amounts to a comparatively small sum.

If the face or maturity value of these certificates is paid in full at this time there will be a remainder due the veterans in each county in the United States approximately as follows as of December 1, 1934: (This information compiled from information obtained from the Veterans' Administration, Statistical Division of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and from other governmental sources.)

ALABAMA	
(50,867 certificate holders)	
Autauga	\$200,110.74
Baldwin	287,444.53
Barbour	329,470.42
Bibb	211,145.58
Blount	284,711.22
Bullock	203,382.58
Butler	306,811.30
Calhoun	565,063.37
Chambers	399,459.39
Cherokee	205,445.26
Chilton	249,747.22
Choctaw	208,432.59
Clarke	264,318.58
Clay	180,540.65
Cleburne	130,843.20
Coffee	330,801.52
Colbert	363,407.46
Conecuh	258,384.07
Coosa	126,606.06
Covington	420,218.32
Crenshaw	246,368.62
Cullman	417,119.21
Dale	235,481.17
Dallas	559,610.13
De Kalb	407,499.74
Elmore	348,319.68
Escambia	284,131.99
Etowah	644,197.24
Fayette	187,369.22
Franklin	257,864.89
Geneva	305,886.74
Greene	200,628.94
Hale	266,878.66

ALABAMA—continued

Henry	\$231,874.02
Houston	466,745.53
Jackson	374,747.84
Jefferson	4,384,400.37
Lamar	182,908.16
Landerdale	417,921.93
Lawrence	273,757.66
Lee	366,436.09
Limestone	372,187.27
Lowndes	232,463.35
Macon	275,393.58
Madison	656,634.29
Marengo	370,124.59
Marion	263,850.69
Marshall	404,428.12
Mobile	1,202,686.44
Monroe	305,541.27
Montgomery	1,002,596.03
Morgan	469,194.34
Perry	268,097.98
Pickens	253,029.22
Pike	327,590.64
Randolph	272,934.62
Russell	278,177.70
St. Clair	249,046.11
Shelby	280,199.74
Sumter	273,625.57
Talladega	459,693.80
Tallapoosa	316,901.27
Tuscaloosa	651,858.59
Walker	604,020.64
Washington	166,284.76
Wilcox	252,805.68
Winston	158,470.96
Total	26,888,528.74

ARIZONA

(10,870 certificate holders)

Apache	\$271,964.39
Cochise	627,638.39
Coconino	215,305.78
Gila	474,823.95
Graham	158,800.26
Greenlee	151,344.78
Maricopa	2,311,199.73
Mohave	85,301.75
Navajo	324,581.42
Pima	852,343.89
Pinal	338,038.03
Santa Cruz	148,252.36
Yavapai	435,847.23
Yuma	272,745.15
Total	6,668,187.11

ARKANSAS

(43,849 certificate holders)

Arkansas	\$274,557.60
Ashley	309,659.12
Baxter	117,197.93
Benton	434,034.94
Boone	183,904.35
Bradley	215,386.13
Calhoun	120,066.63
Carroll	194,775.84
Chicot	278,817.56
Clark	306,962.79
Clay	335,846.74
Cleburne	140,024.38
Cleveland	156,904.13
Columbia	336,363.84
Conway	270,236.09
Craighead	550,838.88
Crawford	277,623.29
Crittenden	488,995.71
Cross	316,701.58
Dallas	180,629.36
Desha	268,573.97
Drew	245,353.54
Faulkner	349,426.88
Franklin	194,061.75
Fulton	133,388.21
Garland	443,613.68
Grant	121,076.21
Greene	321,675.63
Hempstead	379,788.27
Hot Spring	222,908.76
Howard	215,324.57
Independence	298,258.20
Izard	158,480.07
Jaekson	344,034.22
Jefferson	789,804.05
Johnson	237,486.17
Lafayette	208,491.41
Lawrence	266,714.86
Lee	327,954.75
Lincoln	249,318.00
Little River	191,020.68
Logan	296,842.32
Lonoke	415,640.81
Madison	164,168.21
Marion	109,281.32
Miller	376,574.84
Mississippi	853,086.17
Monroe	254,255.12
Montgomery	132,575.62
Nevada	251,250.99
Newton	130,063.97
Ouachita	368,005.68
Perry	94,740.84
Phillips	500,889.10
Pike	145,183.11
Poinsett	365,604.84
Polk	182,919.39
Pope	326,846.67

ARKANSAS—continued

Prairie	\$186,982.35
Pulaski	1,695,694.83
Randolph	207,715.76
St. Francis	411,146.93
Saline	192,866.00
Scott	145,318.54
Searcy	136,121.18
Sebastian	670,092.92
Sevier	201,473.57
Sharp	131,923.08
Stone	98,409.82
Union	687,009.60
Van Buren	147,276.15
Washington	483,307.56
White	471,167.93
Woodruff	279,260.79
Yell	262,405.66
Total	21,993,238.27

CALIFORNIA

(200,424 certificate holders)

Alameda	\$10,274,568.59
Alpine	5,214.28
Amador	183,776.19
Butte	737,636.15
Calaveras	129,989.09
Colusa	221,942.09
Contra Costa	1,700,762.69
Del Norte	102,533.01
Eldorado	180,119.70
Fresno	3,123,784.05
Glenn	236,589.66
Humboldt	935,389.19
Imperial	1,317,697.31
Inyo	141,824.00
Kern	1,786,484.52
Kings	549,229.86
Lake	155,043.58
Lassen	272,375.61
Los Angeles	47,782,932.92
Madera	371,360.31
Marin	901,066.13
Mariposa	69,949.19
Mendocino	508,554.18
Merced	795,079.73
Modoc	173,910.17
Mono	29,424.96
Monterey	1,161,961.38
Napa	495,399.50
Nevada	229,255.05
Orange	2,567,630.67
Placer	529,389.65
Plumas	171,205.67
Riverside	1,753,035.27
Sacramento	3,072,290.37
San Benito	244,724.80
San Bernardino	2,897,060.40
San Diego	4,636,182.13
San Francisco	13,725,748.59
San Joaquin	2,227,209.84
San Luis Obispo	640,708.87
San Mateo	1,674,734.58
Santa Barbara	1,409,953.22
Santa Clara	3,139,773.05
Santa Cruz	809,960.39
Shasta	301,324.58
Sierra	52,402.40
Siskiyou	551,285.28
Solano	883,484.43
Sonoma	1,346,235.20
Stanlaus	1,225,484.68
Sutter	316,275.50
Tehama	300,004.78
Trinity	60,775.53
Tulare	1,675,535.12
Tuolumne	200,687.36
Ventura	1,189,460.74
Yolo	511,561.59
Yuba	245,157.52
Total	122,833,011.86

COLORADO

(34,259 certificate holders)

Adams	\$378,439.79
Alamosa	160,797.19
Arapahoe	423,340.38
Archuleta	59,892.38
Baca	197,585.01
Bent	170,741.87
Boulder	606,700.01
Chaffee	151,899.32
Cheyenne	69,594.04
Clear Creek	40,283.42
Conejos	183,247.48
Costilla	108,026.85
Crowley	110,924.27
Custer	39,703.94
Delta	265,515.38
Denver	5,380,985.68
Dolores	20,364.52
Douglas	65,888.12
Eagle	73,351.34
Elbert	122,999.94
El Paso	926,612.01
Fremont	353,222.93
Garfield	186,462.68
Gilpin	22,655.92
Grand	39,404.85
Gunnison	103,316.22
Hinsdale	8,393.16
Huerfano	318,939.07
Jackson	25,908.50
Jefferson	407,694.33
Kiowa	70,771.70

COLORADO—continued

Kit Carson	\$181,789.43
Lake	91,577.01
La Plata	242,541.68
Larimer	619,429.95
Las Animas	673,097.55
Lincoln	146,740.05
Logan	372,850.58
Mesa	484,298.25
Mineral	11,963.52
Moffat	90,866.68
Montezuma	145,786.02
Montrose	219,463.21
Morgan	341,782.82
Otero	455,922.27
Ouray	33,348.32
Park	38,358.04
Phillips	108,363.33
Pitkin	33,086.61
Prowers	275,946.07
Pueblo	1,234,448.34
Rio Blanco	55,705.14
Rio Grande	186,051.43
Routt	174,816.94
Saguache	116,831.25
San Juan	36,170.96
San Miguel	40,825.52
Sedgwick	104,366.74
Summit	18,450.00
Teller	77,407.72
Washington	179,284.57
Weld	1,216,838.23
Yuma	254,467.81
Total	19,362,059.24

CONNECTICUT

(44,043 certificate holders)

Fairfield	\$6,476,871.80
Hartford	7,052,953.65
Litchfield	1,382,730.45
Middlesex	860,687.62
New Haven	7,762,397.31
New London	1,992,561.54
Tolland	480,009.60
Windham	905,886.42
Total	26,914,018.40

DELAWARE

(4,884 certificate holders)

Kent	\$471,119.44
New Castle	2,382,629.48
Sussex	673,321.58
Total	3,527,070.50

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(28,281 certificate holders)

Total	16,278,716.50
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FLORIDA

(39,535 certificate holders)

Alachua	\$513,103.82
Baker	93,662.17
Bay	180,530.73
Bradford	140,426.06
Brevard	193,323.48
Broward	300,023.52
Calhoun	108,966.44
Charlotte	59,918.11
Citrus	82,359.40
Clay	102,411.73
Collier	43,046.08
Columbia	218,559.98
Dade	2,134,461.11
De Sota	115,640.60
Dixie	95,842.09
Duval	2,321,815.30
Escambia	800,212.02
Flagler	36,819.85
Franklin	93,811.48
Gadsden	446,287.59
Gilchrist	61,769.55
Glades	41,239.43
Gulf	47,510.45
Hamilton	141,157.68
Hardee	154,500.99
Hendry	52,139.06
Hernando	73,878.59
Highlands	137,245.76
Hillsborough	2,292,192.19
Holmes	192,968.25
Indian River	100,396.05
Jackson	477,329.14
Jefferson	200,194.85
Lafayette	65,114.10
Lake	345,816.90
Lee	223,815.69
Leon	350,320.16
Levy	185,980.54
Liberty	60,724.38
Madison	233,132.64
Manatee	335,977.37
Marion	441,629.12
Martin	76,312.35
Monroe	203,419.95
Nassau	139,978.13
Okaloosa	147,772.11
Okeechobee	61,650.10
Orange	742,623.15
Osceola	159,746.77
Palm Beach	773,142.12
Pasco	157,880.44
Pinellas	927,946.72
Polk	1,079,376.93

FLORIDA—continued

Putnam	\$270,191.38
St. Johns	278,851.36
St. Lucie	105,368.07
Santa Rosa	210,273.28
Sarasota	185,741.64
Seminole	279,732.29
Sumter	158,925.57
Suwannee	234,879.57
Taylor	196,133.62
Union	110,907.47
Volusia	638,404.77
Wakulla	81,642.71
Walton	217,634.26
Washington	181,859.58
Total	21,921,858.79

GEORGIA

(58,583 certificate holders)

Appling	\$144,989.46
Atkinson	75,075.66
Bacon	76,828.95
Baker	85,138.02
Baldwin	249,141.42
Banks	105,665.67
Barrow	135,046.89
Bartow	276,213.96
Ben Hill	142,081.83
Berrien	159,494.94
Bibb	838,987.38
Bleckley	99,458.37
Brantley	75,083.85
Brooks	232,283.70
Bryan	64,817.28
Bulloch	288,683.01
Burke	318,249.36
Butts	101,767.05
Calhoun	115,172.64
Camden	69,020.82
Campbell	107,843.67
Candler	97,911.99
Carroll	373,262.08
Catoosa	102,594.69
Charlton	47,760.09
Chatham	1,148,143.59
Chattahoochee	96,855.66
Chattooga	167,782.23
Cherokee	217,832.67
Clarke	278,925.57
Clay	75,699.27
Chayton	111,731.40
Clinch	76,393.35
Cobb	385,593.12
Coffee	214,957.71
Colquitt	333,473.58
Columbia	95,755.77
Cook	123,176.79
Coweta	273,633.03
Crawford	76,447.80
Crisp	188,865.27
Dade	45,149.94
Dawson	38,186.78
Decatur	257,243.68
De Kalb	765,327.42
Dodge	235,213.11
Doody	196,292.25
Dougherty	242,912.34
Douglas	163,030.29
Early	198,992.97
Echois	29,882.16
Effingham	110,685.96
Elbert	201,301.65
Emanuel	262,459.89
Evans	77,340.78
Fannin	141,232.41
Fayette	94,361.85
Floyd	529,983.63
Forsyth	115,695.36
Franklin	173,172.78
Fulton	3,469,412.43
Gilmer	79,676.16
Glascok	47,785.32
Glynn	211,266.00
Gordon	183,452.94
Grady	209,088.00
Greene	137,388.24
Gwinnett	303,319.17
Habersham	138,825.72
Hall	330,168.57
Hancock	142,332.30
Haralson	142,332.30
Harris	121,314.60
Hart	165,244.86
Heard	99,139.78
Henry	175,412.36
Houston	192,839.20
Irwin	132,847.11
Jackson	235,322.01
Jasper	93,588.66
Jeff Davis	88,405.02
Jefferson	225,717.03
Jenkins	140,568.12
Johnson	138,095.09
Jones	97,922.88
Lamar	106,123.05
Lanier	56,519.10
Laurens	356,026.77
Lee	90,691.92
Liberty	84,786.17
Lincoln	85,453.83
Long	45,520.20
Lowndes	226,634.06
Lumpkin	53,655.03
McDuffie	98,162.46
McIntosh	62,759.07

GEORGIA—continued

Macon	\$181,242.27
Madison	162,489.69
Marion	75,881.52
Meriwether	244,333.93
Miller	68,837.64
Milton	73,289.70
Mitchell	257,221.89
Monroe	126,389.34
Montgomery	609,117.80
Morgan	100,351.35
Murray	626,806.62
Muscogee	188,288.10
Newton	135,994.32
Oconee	88,012.98
Oglethorpe	140,775.03
Paulding	134,241.03
Peach	111,818.52
Pickens	105,491.43
Pierce	136,364.58
Pike	118,189.17
Polk	273,785.49
Pulaski	98,064.45
Putnam	91,116.63
Quitman	41,599.80
Rabun	68,944.59
Randolph	187,024.86
Richmond	794,861.10
Rockdale	78,919.83
Schley	58,228.83
Screven	223,277.67
Seminole	80,466.21
Spalding	255,860.55
Stephens	127,848.60
Stewart	121,031.46
Sumter	291,852.00
Talbot	92,107.62
Taliaferro	67,213.08
Tattnall	167,825.79
Taylor	115,619.13
Telfair	163,317.33
Terrell	199,178.10
Thomas	355,144.68
Tift	174,930.52
Toombs	186,926.85
Towns	47,327.94
Treutlen	81,544.32
Troup	400,229.28
Turner	121,924.44
Twiggs	91,171.08
Union	69,042.60
Upson	212,453.01
Walker	285,383.34
Walton	229,975.02
Ware	289,216.62
Warren	121,761.09
Washington	272,576.70
Wayne	137,725.83
Webster	54,798.48
Wheeler	99,632.61
White	65,940.84
Whitfield	226,599.12
Wilcox	146,350.71
Wilkes	173,630.16
Wilkinson	118,091.16
Worth	229,713.66
Total	32,262,946.70

IDAHO
(13,573 certificate holders)

Ada	\$632,475.23
Adams	47,812.96
Bannock	521,423.09
Bear Lake	131,281.35
Benewah	106,249.17
Bingham	309,541.80
Blaine	62,838.94
Boise	30,802.42
Bonner	219,335.91
Bonnerville	327,936.53
Boundary	75,963.74
Butte	32,253.32
Camas	23,531.25
Canyon	515,819.61
Caribou	35,371.92
Cassia	218,735.54
Clark	18,711.60
Clearwater	110,051.51
Custer	52,732.68
Elmore	74,896.41
Franklin	156,413.59
Fremont	165,502.55
Gem	123,726.67
Gooding	126,411.66
Idaho	168,554.44
Jefferson	152,944.77
Jerome	139,386.37
Kootenai	324,684.52
Latah	296,817.25
Lemhi	77,431.32
Lewis	87,354.15
Lincoln	54,066.84
Madison	138,685.94
Minidoka	140,136.84
Nez Perce	293,365.11
Oneida	97,893.99
Owyhee	68,425.74
Payette	112,042.29
Power	74,320.39
Shoshone	317,863.62
Teton	59,586.93
Twin Falls	497,441.56

IDAHO—continued

Valley	\$58,169.33
Washington	132,782.23
Yellowstone National Park	16.63
Total	7,411,798.86

ILLINOIS
(253,343 certificate holders)

Adams	\$1,164,015.36
Alexander	417,928.68
Bond	267,087.24
Boone	279,546.12
Brown	146,317.63
Bureau	720,186.30
Calhoun	148,950.36
Carroll	341,747.82
Cass	306,559.98
Champaign	1,191,621.42
Christian	605,954.52
Clark	331,346.88
Clay	299,513.70
Clinton	396,181.28
Coles	691,820.10
Cook	73,828,560.42
Crawford	390,915.90
Cumberland	193,168.26
De Kalb	605,219.76
De Witt	344,806.92
Douglass	332,125.56
Du Page	1,705,642.92
Edgar	462,869.64
Edwards	153,937.62
Effingham	352,501.02
Fayette	435,448.98
Ford	287,166.06
Franklin	1,102,054.68
Fulton	815,444.82
Gallatin	187,087.14
Greene	378,531.18
Grundy	346,290.12
Hamilton	240,927.30
Hancock	489,826.80
Hardin	128,945.70
Henderson	162,744.12
Henry	812,997.54
Iroquois	610,207.02
Jackson	661,507.20
Jasper	237,478.86
Jefferson	575,370.36
Jersey	232,788.24
Jo Daviess	375,156.90
Johnson	189,163.62
Kane	2,323,562.58
Kankakee	928,761.30
Kendall	195,689.70
Knox	951,769.44
Lake	1,935,334.98
La Salle	1,811,265.30
Lawrence	405,747.90
Lee	599,379.66
Livingston	724,765.68
Logan	535,120.02
McDonnough	506,679.66
McHenry	650,364.66
McLean	1,355,689.18
Macon	1,515,292.74
Macoupin	902,953.62
Madison	2,668,608.20
Marion	660,672.90
Marshall	241,446.42
Mason	280,232.10
Massac	261,061.74
Menard	196,060.50
Mercer	308,524.14
Monroe	220,321.26
Montgomery	654,054.12
Morgan	634,809.60
Moultrie	245,599.38
Ogle	521,307.72
Peoria	2,620,517.76
Perry	422,100.18
Piatt	289,001.52
Pike	451,578.78
Pope	148,245.84
Pulaski	275,022.36
Putnam	97,056.90
Randolph	543,463.02
Richland	260,542.62
Rock Island	1,820,651.14
St. Clair	2,925,148.50
Saline	687,834.00
Sangamon	2,071,529.82
Schuyler	216,473.04
Scott	158,313.06
Shelby	472,232.34
Stark	170,271.36
Stephenson	742,786.56
Tazewell	854,360.28
Union	368,630.82
Vermillion	1,656,345.06
Wabash	244,672.38
Warren	403,162.30
Washington	301,942.44
Wayne	354,670.20
White	336,482.46
Whiteside	723,412.26
Will	2,052,971.28
Williamson	908,935.20
Winnebago	2,176,095.42
Woodford	348,403.68
Total	141,472,589.16

INDIANA
(95,587 certificate holders)

Adams	\$328,512.18
Allen	2,415,536.53
Bartholomew	409,286.31
Benton	196,105.45
Blackford	224,149.44
Boone	366,915.69
Brown	85,070.45
Carroll	247,721.59
Cass	568,200.80
Clark	506,406.21
Clay	435,870.82
Clinton	449,862.67
Crawford	167,243.76
Daviess	425,220.56
Dearborn	346,602.82
Decatur	284,906.99
De Kalb	410,059.98
Delaware	1,107,331.47
Dubois	388,322.94
Elkhart	1,133,751.38
Fayette	316,759.03
Floyd	570,455.96
Fountain	295,820.64
Franklin	238,651.58
Fulton	247,540.52
Gibson	480,694.13
Grant	840,597.43
Greene	518,208.75
Hamilton	385,911.69
Hancock	273,334.91
Harrison	284,018.10
Hendrick	324,693.23
Henry	580,052.72
Howard	768,662.86
Huntington	478,570.66
Jackson	390,636.00
Jasper	220,379.87
Jay	343,146.01
Jefferson	315,754.91
Jennings	194,239.80
Johnson	357,302.47
Knox	721,205.80
Kosciusko	452,479.97
Lagrange	226,832.58
Lake	4,301,423.91
La Porte	995,725.89
Lawrence	585,731.77
Madison	1,364,419.37
Marion	6,957,505.03
Marshall	412,792.50
Martin	166,305.49
Miami	477,895.76
Monroe	592,168.02
Montgomery	444,117.78
Morgan	319,738.47
Newton	161,992.71
Noble	368,792.25
Ohio	61,679.37
Orange	287,392.60
Owen	186,848.82
Parke	272,610.63
Perry	273,664.13
Pike	269,318.43
Porter	375,656.49
Posey	293,878.24
Pulaski	184,280.90
Putnam	336,594.53
Randolph	409,204.00
Ripley	297,581.96
Rush	319,540.94
St. Joseph	2,634,303.22
Scott	109,696.11
Shelby	437,072.48
Spencer	275,112.70
Starke	174,815.82
Steuben	220,346.95
Sullivan	436,097.32
Switzerland	138,799.16
Tippecanoe	782,473.64
Tipton	250,338.89
Union	96,790.68
Vanderburg	186,536.52
Vermillion	382,520.72
Vigo	1,627,350.93
Wabash	414,323.37
Warren	150,897.99
Warrick	300,084.03
Washington	268,067.39
Wayne	902,210.95
Wells	303,063.46
White	260,594.10
Whiteley	262,240.20
Total	50,730,624.28

IOWA
(79,814 certificate holders)

Adair	\$235,660.82
Adams	177,063.71
Allamakee	277,004.52
Appanoose	421,325.78
Audubon	208,058.75
Benton	387,667.22
Black Hawk	1,173,061.89
Boone	496,582.52
Bremer	269,185.39
Buchanan	331,665.75
Buena Vista	316,685.66
Butler	298,872.41
Calhoun	298,668.83
Carroll	378,760.59
Cass	329,494.23
Cedar	284,333.40

IOWA—continued

Cerro Gordo	\$652,745.34
Cherokee	317,873.21
Chickasaw	248,316.71
Clarke	176,164.59
Clay	273,255.26
Clayton	416,643.44
Clinton	752,855.81
Crawford	356,740.02
Dallas	422,488.75
Davis	189,159.75
Decatur	252,829.40
Delaware	307,439.73
Des Moines	647,418.33
Dickinson	186,309.63
Dubuque	138,495.51
Emmet	218,102.04
Fayette	494,444.93
Floyd	331,221.66
Franklin	277,920.63
Fremont	263,517.35
Greene	280,397.52
Grundy	239,766.55
Guthrie	293,901.66
Hamilton	355,891.77
Hancock	251,115.93
Hardin	389,295.86
Harrison	422,377.61
Henry	299,601.90
Howard	221,936.13
Humboldt	223,971.93
Ida	202,443.35
Iowa	294,037.38
Jackson	313,530.17
Jasper	558,759.24
Jefferson	275,528.57
Johnson	513,632.34
Jones	325,829.79
Keokuk	324,845.82
Kossuth	431,793.18
Lee	700,111.62
Linn	1,396,830.24
Louisia	196,369.88
Lucas	256,409.01
Lyon	259,445.75
Madison	243,125.42
Mahaska	437,764.86
Marion	436,485.56
Marshall	572,178.56
Mills	269,166.69
Mitchell	238,612.73
Monona	308,983.55
Monroe	254,644.65
Montgomery	284,197.68
Muscatine	498,516.53
O'Brien	312,308.69
Osceola	172,737.63
Page	439,461.36
Palo Alto	261,227.07
Plymouth	409,857.44
Pocahontas	266,129.96
Polk	2,932,179.71
Pottawattamie	1,185,649.92
Poweshiek	317,703.56
Ringgold	203,003.19
Sac	299,279.57
Scott	1,311,937.38
Shelby	200,627.42
Sioux	454,763.79
Story	528,307.07
Tama	373,009.46
Taylor	252,082.94
Union	295,784.78
Van Buren	213,809.90
Wapello	686,743.20
Warren	300,280.50
Washington	336,280.23
Wayne	233,896.46
Webster	685,810.13
Winnebago	222,971.00
Winneshiek	366,952.95
Woodbury	1,724,814.59
Worth	189,397.26
Wright	342,964.44
Total	41,019,480.37

KANSAS
(57,114 certificate holders)

Allen	\$357,507.79
Anderson	223,202.12
Atchison	400,192.79
Barber	170,104.92
Barton	330,516.29
Bourbon	374,137.22
Brown	343,502.29
Butler	600,063.56
Chase	116,188.78
Chautauqua	173,012.98
Cherokee	525,740.85
Cheyenne	116,121.93
Clark	80,155.55
Clay	243,274.43
Cloud	300,934.28
Coffey	228,182.59
Comanche	86,542.70
Cowley	683,611.84
Crawford	824,435.58
Decatur	148,177.46
Dickinson	432,365.31
Doniphan	235,034.92
Douglas	420,214.66
Edwards	121,921.34
Elk	153,926.73
Ellis	265,853.70
Ellsworth	169,336.12

KANSAS—continued

Finney	\$184,076.99
Ford	345,073.32
Franklin	368,087.12
Geary	240,098.96
Gove	94,311.46
Graham	129,893.44
Grant	51,676.60
Gray	103,804.45
Greeley	28,612.66
Greenwood	321,474.56
Hamilton	55,630.87
Harper	214,310.80
Harvey	369,691.56
Haskell	46,879.97
Hodgeman	69,475.95
Jackson	246,951.29
Jefferson	236,137.98
Jewell	241,703.41
Johnson	454,242.63
Kearny	53,414.75
Kingman	195,107.57
Kiowa	100,862.96
Labette	523,885.70
Lane	56,356.24
Leavenworth	713,193.85
Lincoln	162,233.10
Linn	226,193.75
Logan	69,275.39
Lyon	488,688.12
McPherson	394,226.25
Marion	346,610.91
Marshall	385,334.93
Meade	114,617.76
Miami	355,034.26
Mitchell	213,491.80
Montgomery	859,232.05
Morris	198,199.47
Morton	\$68,389.60
Nemaha	306,549.85
Neosho	378,800.15
Ness	139,687.06
Norton	195,558.82
Osage	293,112.60
Osborne	193,335.99
Ottawa	164,104.95
Pawnee	175,653.63
Phillips	203,213.37
Pottawatomie	265,101.61
Pratt	222,483.46
Rawlins	123,041.11
Reno	798,630.71
Republic	246,433.19
Rice	230,639.40
Riley	332,287.87
Rooks	159,341.75
Rush	151,971.31
Russell	184,590.09
Saline	490,309.29
Scott	66,450.89
Sedgwick	2,278,483.29
Seward	134,957.48
Shawnee	1,423,847.60
Sheridan	100,913.10
Sherman	123,676.20
Smith	226,377.59
Stafford	174,817.98
Stanton	35,966.38
Stevens	77,799.02
Sumner	484,008.48
Thomas	122,573.15
Trego	108,133.11
Wabaunsee	181,001.79
Wallace	48,166.87
Washington	285,992.86
Wichita	43,102.83
Wilson	311,630.60
Woodson	142,495.04
Wyandotte	2,360,059.45
Total	31,436,036.43

KENTUCKY
(63,696 certificate holders)

Adair	\$214,918.71
Allen	198,918.72
Anderson	111,305.38
Ballard	129,860.64
Barren	338,659.78
Bath	145,126.80
Bell	507,740.69
Boone	125,732.88
Bourbon	236,658.24
Boyd	574,597.30
Boyle	213,359.33
Bracken	126,008.07
Breathitt	277,057.88
Breckinridge	227,590.28
Bullitt	116,206.28
Butler	165,372.48
Caldwell	180,586.23
Calloway	231,442.85
Campbell	961,715.67
Carlisle	96,484.76
Carroll	106,863.12
Carter	312,386.26
Casey	219,452.69
Christian	449,244.44
Clark	231,154.56
Clay	242,764.71
Clinton	117,988.42
Crittenden	156,343.83
Cumberland	183,713.22
Davies	573,680.02

KENTUCKY—continued

Edmondson	\$150,368.40
Elliott	99,210.39
Estill	223,803.22
Fayette	898,187.48
Fleming	169,447.83
Floyd	549,607.97
Franklin	276,022.66
Fulton	195,003.41
Gallatin	58,142.45
Garrard	51,608.45
Grant	129,415.11
Graves	403,314.92
Grayson	223,488.72
Green	149,398.71
Greenup	321,755.62
Hancock	80,550.29
Hardin	274,043.96
Harlan	845,954.93
Harrison	194,712.34
Hart	211,878.58
Henderson	344,569.68
Henry	164,638.66
Hickman	114,332.40
Hopkins	490,731.70
Jackson	137,159.57
Jefferson	4,656,506.40
Jessamine	162,895.83
Johnson	300,972.68
Kenton	1,225,669.54
Knott	199,573.92
Knox	344,189.67
Larue	119,154.68
Laurel	276,612.34
Lawrence	219,007.16
Lee	127,488.82
Leslie	141,064.56
Letcher	467,839.01
Lewis	187,583.76
Lincoln	231,770.45
Livingston	112,799.24
Logan	286,650.00
Lyon	111,777.12
McCracken	606,335.19
McCreary	191,672.21
McLean	145,087.49
Madison	361,945.59
Magoffin	205,981.78
Marion	203,068.90
Marshall	168,897.46
Martin	112,484.74
Mason	247,167.65
Meade	105,382.37
Menifee	64,969.64
Mercer	189,627.99
Metcalfe	122,823.80
Monroe	171,361.01
Montgomery	152,792.64
Morgan	198,263.52
Muhlenberg	495,121.54
Nelson	216,884.31
Nicholas	112,314.39
Ohio	320,641.78
Oldham	96,995.81
Owen	140,343.84
Owsley	94,650.20
Pendleton	142,519.10
Perry	552,805.35
Pike	829,050.77
Powell	76,003.20
Pulaski	467,026.56
Robertson	43,819.78
Rockcastle	198,512.50
Rowan	142,741.88
Russell	156,330.72
Scott	188,697.60
Shelby	231,665.62
Simpson	148,546.95
Spencer	86,565.03
Taylor	157,863.89
Todd	177,166.08
Trigg	164,206.23
Trimble	70,080.20
Union	223,462.52
Warren	441,290.31
Washington	165,411.80
Wayne	207,672.20
Webster	269,077.54
Whitley	389,581.92
Wolfe	110,401.20
Woodford	143,895.03
Total	34,261,787.70

LOUISIANA
(53,885 certificate holders)

Acadia	\$524,884.13
Allen	203,688.57
Ascension	246,091.99
Assumption	213,418.53
Avoyelles	466,157.33
Beauregard	194,452.45
Bienville	317,511.79
Bossier	378,894.64
Caddo	1,663,970.49
Calcasieu	530,030.17
Caldwell	139,209.21
Cameron	80,802.74
Catahoula	166,183.50
Claiborne	430,907.90
Concordia	170,547.97
DeSota	413,970.56
East Baton Rouge	910,372.18
East Carroll	211,082.81

LOUISIANA—continued

East Feliciana	\$232,891.81
Evangeline	340,121.81
Franklin	407,483.91
Grant	209,668.03
Iberia	376,278.03
Iberville	328,843.39
Jackson	184,295.38
Jefferson	534,307.11
Jefferson Davis	263,803.46
Lafayette	518,223.97
La Fourche	432,696.40
La Salle	155,732.80
Lincoln	304,605.24
Livingston	242,995.49
Madison	197,922.67
Morehouse	316,177.09
Natchitoches	513,552.52
Orleans	6,123,096.42
Ouachita	725,235.94
Plaquemines	128,237.98
Pointe Coupee	280,380.43
Rapides	873,627.89
Red River	214,593.07
Richland	352,013.78
Sabine	321,796.17
St. Bernard	86,915.67
St. Charles	161,645.52
St. Helena	113,342.73
St. James	204,716.29
St. John the Baptist	187,899.07
St. Landry	801,807.68
St. Martin	290,524.15
St. Mary	392,301.76
St. Tammany	279,339.37
Tangipahoe	516,991.77
Tensas	201,486.32
Terrebonne	397,954.16
Union	276,696.61
Vermilion	449,580.35
Vernon	267,567.31
Washington	399,128.69
Webster	303,175.93
West Baton Rouge	129,079.46
West Carroll	185,456.57
West Feliciana	145,802.63
Winn	197,081.81
Total	27,849,962.05

MAINE

(21,412 certificate holders)

Androscoggin	\$1,082,524.02
Aroostook	1,335,301.45
Cumberland	2,046,738.65
Franklin	303,123.15
Hancock	466,989.93
Kennebec	1,074,573.90
Knox	420,961.30
Lincoln	235,585.10
Oxford	630,583.09
Penobscot	1,404,253.18
Piscataquis	277,129.44
Sagadahoc	257,307.33
Somerset	594,526.32
Waldo	308,367.49
Washington	574,993.03
York	1,108,669.74
Total	12,121,627.12

MARYLAND

(48,424 certificate holders)

Allegany	\$1,358,982.74
Anne Arundel	947,824.23
Baltimore	2,140,151.27
Baltimore City	13,828,540.20
Calvert	163,700.57
Caroline	298,726.05
Carroll	618,138.02
Cecil	443,733.69
Charles	277,748.05
Dorchester	460,674.16
Frederick	935,333.64
Garrett	342,039.35
Hartford	542,971.15
Howard	277,799.59
Kent	244,691.81
Montgomery	845,408.29
Prince Georges	1,032,492.20
Queen Annes	260,344.36
St. Marys	260,962.21
Somerset	401,726.15
Talbot	319,274.53
Washington	1,131,918.65
Wicomico	436,545.45
Worcester	371,521.95
Total	27,931,248.31

MASSACHUSETTS

(137,113 certificate holders)

Barnstable	\$632,079.63
Berkshire	2,361,616.20
Bristol	7,133,567.94
Dukes	96,910.40
Essex	9,744,650.61
Franklin	970,708.10
Hampden	6,564,314.74
Hampshire	1,424,424.37
Middlesex	18,292,722.99
Nantucket	71,963.75
Norfolk	5,858,569.12

MASSACHUSETTS—continued

Plymouth	\$3,175,777.03
Suffolk	17,209,001.38
Worcester	9,611,640.93
Total	83,147,947.57

MICHIGAN

(134,009 certificate holders)

Alcona	\$79,205.37
Alger	148,074.46
Allegan	618,751.23
Alpena	294,880.83
Antrim	158,426.61
Arenac	127,119.14
Baraga	145,551.17
Barry	332,252.03
Bay	1,102,969.23
Benzie	104,575.22
Barrien	1,287,003.82
Branch	350,230.20
Calhoun	1,331,894.67
Cass	331,617.59
Charlevoix	190,190.36
Cheboygan	182,606.76
Chippewa	397,646.18
Clare	111,610.04
Clinton	383,786.43
Crawford	49,167.93
Delta	512,577.28
Dickinson	465,343.32
Eaton	503,713.73
Emmet	239,870.49
Genesee	3,360,012.52
Gladwin	17,864.43
Gogebic	501,316.46
Grand Traverse	317,695.64
Graiot	480,280.76
Hillsdale	435,272.30
Houghton	839,052.48
Huron	494,251.64
Ingham	1,850,945.22
Ionia	557,136.47
Isoco	119,339.50
Iron	330,300.18
Isabella	335,396.38
Jackson	1,465,418.31
Kalamazoo	1,450,558.37
Kalkaska	60,312.93
Kent	3,818,352.64
Keweenaw	80,586.58
Lake	64,551.82
Lapeer	450,052.85
Leelanau	130,278.46
Lenawee	791,402.73
Livingston	305,594.03
Luce	103,638.53
Mackinac	139,438.91
Macomb	1,224,760.90
Manistee	276,385.29
Marquette	699,750.58
Mason	297,770.26
Mecosta	249,856.49
Menominee	375,499.16
Midland	304,025.40
Missaukee	111,005.00
Monroe	833,251.81
Montcalm	426,129.60
Montmorancy	44,675.07
Muskegon	1,343,585.88
Newaygo	270,352.41
Oakland	3,353,820.88
Oceana	219,163.13
Ogemaw	104,702.22
Ontonagon	176,445.57
Osceola	203,308.06
Oscoda	27,433.73
Otsego	88,175.31
Ottawa	870,925.61
Presque Isle	179,875.08
Roscommon	32,625.18
Saginaw	1,916,503.10
St. Clair	1,072,630.19
St. Joseph	496,091.47
Sanilac	440,574.88
Schoolcraft	134,168.08
Shiawassee	627,371.90
Tuscola	522,800.19
Van Buren	518,145.02
Washtenaw	1,040,354.28
Wayne	29,988,906.70
Wexford	267,135.46
Total	77,476,794.12

MINNESOTA

(85,532 certificate holders)

Aitkin	\$279,752.76
Anoka	343,237.19
Becker	419,433.42
Beltrami	355,957.78
Benton	280,628.79
Big Stone	183,370.49
Blue Earth	630,874.24
Brown	436,674.50
Carlton	395,743.25
Carver	315,670.11
Cass	290,600.65
Chippewa	293,787.92
Chisago	245,829.78
Clay	430,933.68
Clearwater	177,927.90
Cook	45,385.97

MINNESOTA—continued

Cottonwood	\$275,521.70
Crow Wing	477,661.66
Dakota	644,760.29
Dodge	226,035.16
Douglas	350,655.51
Faribault	403,385.24
Fillmore	461,277.98
Freeborn	535,703.50
Goodhue	583,717.57
Grant	178,151.57
Hennepin	9,650,994.62
Houston	258,056.96
Hubbard	178,859.85
Isanti	225,177.76
Itasca	507,428.14
Jackson	295,670.46
Kanabec	159,512.57
Kandiyohi	439,395.79
Kittso	180,574.64
Koochiching	262,399.85
Lac qui Parle	287,003.33
Lake	131,740.46
Lake of the Woods	78,171.97
Le Sueur	335,315.61
Lincoln	210,676.62
Lyon	360,217.32
McLeod	382,509.56
Mahnomen	114,685.77
Marshall	316,918.92
Martin	417,532.24
Meeker	333,899.05
Millie Lacs	262,362.57
Morrison	474,213.44
Mower	523,103.54
Murray	259,119.38
Nicollet	308,475.45
Nobles	347,020.91
Norman	262,082.98
Olmstead	660,305.22
Otter Tail	950,700.84
Pennington	195,467.20
Pine	377,700.70
Pipestone	228,104.09
Polk	671,358.15
Pope	243,891.32
Ramsey	5,344,192.72
Red Lake	128,366.80
Redwood	384,336.18
Renville	440,719.16
Rice	558,685.39
Rock	204,320.72
Roseau	235,242.82
St. Louis	3,813,464.85
Scott	263,108.13
Sherburne	180,966.06
Sibley	295,707.74
Stearns	1,157,873.32
Steele	344,355.53
Stevens	189,838.22
Swift	274,645.67
Todd	487,782.63
Traverse	147,956.39
Wabasha	328,288.71
Wadena	204,842.61
Waseca	208,625.27
Washington	461,371.17
Watonwan	238,616.48
Wilkin	182,494.45
Winona	655,049.02
Wright	505,471.05
Yellow Medicine	309,873.38
Total	52,789,520.36

MISSISSIPPI
(36,802 certificate holders)

Adams	\$226,497.17
Alcorn	227,352.64
Amite	189,471.75
Attala	250,248.42
Benton	94,322.56
Bolivar	682,942.22
Calhoun	173,784.96
Carroll	189,981.18
Chickasaw	200,266.02
Choctaw	118,602.47
Clalborne	116,805.03
Clarke	189,154.55
Clay	172,352.78
Coahoma	445,295.13
Copiah	303,873.77
Covington	144,449.14
De Sota	244,510.06
Forrest	289,465.38
Franklin	117,920.02
George	72,311.08
Greene	102,310.13
Grenada	161,500.83
Hancock	109,720.98
Harrison	424,302.52
Hinds	818,154.22
Holmes	370,388.81
Humphreys	237,695.15
Issaquena	55,115.21
Itawamba	175,178.70
Jackson	153,532.48
Jasper	179,110.01
Jefferson	137,365.10
Jefferson Davis	137,268.98
Jones	398,821.11
Kemper	210,320.18
Lafayette	192,028.54
Lamar	123,454.98

MISSISSIPPI—continued

Lauderdale	\$507,013.78
Lawrence	119,871.26
Leake	209,570.44
Lee	339,428.55
Leflore	514,299.68
Lincoln	253,343.49
Lowndes	288,235.05
Madison	344,071.16
Marion	191,499.88
Marshall	239,040.83
Monroe	347,387.30
Montgomery	144,265.51
Neshoba	256,553.90
Newton	220,210.92
Noxubee	245,682.72
Oktibbeha	183,771.83
Panola	275,364.68
Pearl River	186,520.86
Perry	78,789.57
Pike	309,516.02
Pontotoc	211,790.81
Prentiss	185,175.18
Quitman	243,222.05
Rankin	195,633.04
Scott	201,026.47
Sharkey	133,385.73
Simpson	200,861.67
Smith	176,908.86
Stone	56,826.85
Sunflower	637,890.77
Tallahatchie	341,879.62
Tate	167,853.66
Tippah	179,340.70
Tishomingo	157,742.74
Tunica	204,091.60
Union	204,428.02
Walthall	123,328.06
Warren	343,965.42
Washington	522,027.72
Wayne	147,025.54
Webster	116,576.34
Wilkinson	134,154.69
Winston	204,149.27
Yalobusha	170,613.00
Yazoo	358,162.35
Total	19,308,411.76

MISSOURI
(111,706 certificate holders)

Adair	\$325,708.49
Andrew	225,713.51
Atchison	224,909.12
Audrain	360,966.37
Barry	382,132.68
Barton	243,996.48
Bates	369,815.55
Benton	196,202.67
Bollinger	205,603.91
Boone	519,414.21
Buehanan	1,652,891.82
Butler	397,114.33
Caldwell	209,625.83
Callaway	333,869.64
Camden	153,201.64
Cape Girardeau	656,415.88
Carroll	334,154.52
Carter	92,219.28
Cass	351,281.20
Cedar	186,617.09
Chariton	328,255.71
Christian	220,686.11
Clark	171,836.54
Clay	449,268.74
Clinton	226,316.79
Cole	516,950.79
Cooper	327,149.63
Crawford	189,147.55
Dade	197,141.12
Dallas	176,646.08
Davies	241,171.40
De Kalb	172,104.66
Dent	183,902.30
Douglas	233,924.93
Dunklin	599,919.05
Franklin	511,437.41
Gasconade	203,978.33
Gentry	240,443.73
Greene	1,389,724.19
Grundy	270,890.33
Harrison	288,790.62
Henry	384,277.70
Hickory	107,753.91
Holt	213,161.76
Howard	226,065.42
Howell	329,663.33
Iron	161,680.64
Jackson	7,883,868.14
Jasper	1,236,907.98
Jefferson	461,900.76
Johnson	375,597.06
Knox	161,848.77
Laclede	273,490.56
Lafayette	490,322.33
Lawrence	398,404.70
Lewis	202,654.50
Lincoln	233,422.19
Linn	391,114.97
Livingston	311,950.17
McDonald	233,539.49
Macon	386,607.06
Madison	157,826.85
Maries	140,230.95

MISSOURI—continued

Marion	\$561,275.70
Mercer	156,687.30
Miller	280,327.83
Mississippi	264,139.60
Moniteau	203,995.14
Monroe	225,663.23
Montgomery	218,038.34
Morgan	183,801.75
New Madrid	507,130.60
Newton	451,778.93
Nodaway	44,925.22
Oregon	204,782.76
Osage	208,838.20
Ozark	159,821.05
Pemiscot	624,805.28
Perry	229,701.91
Pettis	550,899.32
Phelps	256,531.47
Pike	301,660.76
Platte	231,578.81
Polk	298,342.68
Pulaski	180,232.29
Putnam	192,767.28
Ralls	179,377.64
Randolph	442,930.70
Ray	332,579.27
Reynolds	149,531.64
Ripley	187,287.41
St. Charles	408,124.34
St. Clair	222,697.07
St. Francois	600,472.66
St. Louis	3,545,875.59
St. Louis City	13,774,405.68
Ste. Genevieve	169,205.53
Saline	512,761.29
Schuyler	116,474.86
Scotland	148,358.58
Scott	417,492.06
Shannon	182,561.66
Shelby	200,811.12
Stoddard	460,040.62
Stone	194,627.42
Sullivan	254,922.70
Taney	148,593.19
Texas	311,363.64
Vernon	419,469.50
Warren	135,438.16
Washington	242,153.10
Wayne	205,168.20
Webster	270,608.19
Worth	109,513.53
Wright	280,548.68
Total	60,820,922.70

MONTANA
(18,106 certificate holders)

Beaverhead	\$127,257.75
Big Horn	163,384.88
Beam	172,239.75
Broadwater	52,364.25
Carbon	240,420.38
Carter	79,101.00
Cascade	786,917.25
Chouteau	165,144.38
Custer	215,003.25
Daniels	106,201.13
Dawson	183,974.13
Deer Lodge	311,603.63
Fallon	87,363.00
Fergus	316,155.38
Flathead	367,200.00
Gallatin	308,371.50
Garfield	81,319.50
Glacier	101,305.13
Golden Valley	40,659.75
Granite	57,623.63
Hill	263,446.88
Jefferson	79,043.63
Judith Basin	100,176.75
Lake	182,471.63
Lewis and Clark	348,534.00
Liberty	42,036.75
Lincoln	135,577.13
McCone	91,608.75
Madison	120,927.38
Meagher	43,452.00
Mineral	31,070.25
Missoula	416,580.75
Musselshell	138,503.25
Park	208,883.25
Petroleum	39,110.63
Phillips	156,978.00
Pondera	133,186.50
Powder River	74,759.63
Powell	118,613.25
Prairie	75,371.63
Ravalli	197,274.38
Richland	184,231.13
Roosevelt	204,102.00
Rosebud	140,511.38
Sanders	108,899.50
Sheridan	188,744.63
Silver Bow	1,089,532.13
Stillwater	119,588.63
Sweet Grass	75,429.00
Teton	116,050.50
Toole	128,405.25
Treasure	31,766.63
Valley	213,836.63
Wheatland	71,737.91
Wibaux	52,918.88
Yellowstone	588,783.13
Yellowstone National Park	994.50
Total	10,281,687.92

NEBRASKA

(40,233 certificate holders)

Adams	\$415,723.05
Antelope	240,589.34
Arthur	21,264.77
Banner	26,517.68
Blaine	25,062.05
Boone	223,184.64
Box Butte	187,604.75
Boyd	113,427.92
Brown	91,324.59
Buffalo	385,075.84
Burt	206,666.97
Butler	227,995.02
Cass	279,796.25
Cedar	259,908.00
Chase	86,767.85
Cherry	172,428.16
Cheyenne	161,178.72
Clay	214,720.37
Colfax	180,908.75
Cuming	226,681.80
Custer	414,362.36
Dakota	150,388.11
Dawes	181,842.25
Dawson	282,818.25
Deuel	63,161.43
Dixon	183,313.70
Dodge	399,869.41
Douglas	3,686,241.21
Dundy	88,761.42
Fillmore	205,227.17
Franklin	143,885.27
Frontier	128,379.74
Furnas	192,079.08
Gage	478,488.93
Garden	80,676.38
Garfield	50,741.16
Gosper	67,828.92
Grant	22,578.00
Greeley	133,569.33
Hall	429,045.18
Hamilton	192,379.70
Harlan	141,717.66
Hayes	57,006.67
Hitchcock	115,010.12
Holt	261,205.40
Hooker	18,669.96
Howard	158,536.44
Jefferson	259,623.20
Johnson	144,882.06
Kearney	128,063.27
Keith	106,339.67
Keyapaha	50,677.87
Kimball	73,967.85
Knox	302,358.42
Lancaster	1,587,326.33
Lincoln	405,470.40
Logan	31,865.51
Loup	28,764.40
McPherson	21,486.28
Madison	411,957.42
Merrick	168,013.84
Morrill	157,428.90
Nance	137,936.20
Nemaha	195,496.64
Nuckolls	199,316.04
Otoe	314,873.63
Pawnee	149,060.71
Perkins	92,305.55
Phelps	146,527.55
Pierce	175,307.76
Platte	335,125.79
Polk	159,675.63
Redwillow	219,277.10
Richardson	313,686.98
Rock	53,256.86
Saline	258,784.64
Sarpy	164,580.45
Saunders	319,082.28
Scotts Bluff	453,205.37
Seward	252,171.04
Sheridan	170,766.85
Sherman	144,328.23
Sioux	73,841.28
Stanton	123,554.00
Thayer	216,508.25
Thomas	23,891.22
Thurston	165,529.77
Valley	160,831.13
Washington	191,367.09
Wayne	167,175.25
Webster	161,542.62
Wheeler	36,944.37
York	272,755.46
Total	21,802,190.95

NEVADA

(3,066 certificate holders)

Churchill	\$69,754.20
Clark	167,705.00
Esmeralda	21,169.52
Eureka	26,201.45
Humboldt	74,594.52
Lander	33,690.39
Lincoln	70,781.25
Lyon	74,890.36
Mineral	38,619.13
Nye	78,407.70
Douglas	36,167.04
Elko	195,773.76
Ormsby	43,655.93
Pershing	34,127.72
Story	13,110.56
Washoe	533,817.05
White Pine	231,370.78
Total	1,771,846.11

NEW HAMPSHIRE
(12,370 certificate holders)

Belknap	\$353,868.97
Carroll	223,320.84
Cheshire	526,900.77
Coos	609,396.68
Grafton	669,727.88
Hillsborough	2,192,460.93
Merrimack	898,329.59
Rockingham	840,757.50
Strafford	603,468.36
Sullivan	379,881.62
Total	7,298,112.14

NEW JERSEY
(116,440 certificate holders)

Atlantic	\$2,149,077.60
Bergen	6,283,809.01
Burlington	1,610,495.40
Camden	4,344,055.71
Cape May	507,660.47
Cumberland	1,203,382.22
Essex	14,350,593.32
Gloucester	1,218,998.04
Hudson	11,892,298.41
Hunterdon	597,911.98
Mercer	3,222,041.04
Middlesex	3,653,585.14
Monmouth	2,534,497.36
Morris	1,901,531.57
Ocean	569,348.98
Passaic	5,201,755.00
Salem	634,170.98
Somerset	1,121,377.65
Sussex	479,149.11
Union	5,254,783.36
Warren	849,126.23
Total	69,579,645.59

NEW MEXICO
(10,101 certificate holders)

Bernalillo	\$604,309.86
Catron	43,657.17
Chaves	260,040.80
Colfax	254,826.42
Curry	210,291.32
De Baca	384,826.69
Dona Ana	365,196.41
Eddy	210,730.29
Grant	253,403.10
Gaudalupe	93,473.16
Harding	58,808.15
Hidalgo	66,896.95
Lea	81,727.49
Lincoln	65,747.80
Luna	83,067.60
McKinney	454,593.19
Mora	137,303.25
Otero	130,080.26
Quay	144,034.06
Rio Arriba	284,410.07
Roosevelt	147,771.92
Sandoval	148,237.49
San Juan	195,552.71
San Miguel	314,406.08
Sante Fe	260,280.24
Sierra	68,957.57
Socorro	127,245.53
Taos	191,468.99
Torrance	123,295.24
Union	146,800.88
Valencia	215,306.18
Total	5,810,422.87

NEW YORK
(377,182 certificate holders)

Albany	\$3,727,405.46
Allegany	698,707.65
Bronx	22,290,827.19
Broome	2,585,528.90
Cattaraugus	1,273,191.23
Cayuga	1,138,711.09
Chautauqua	2,223,872.81
Chemung	1,313,322.48
Chenang	609,618.69
Clinton	821,037.59
Columbia	731,876.57
Cortland	557,634.48
Delaware	723,892.52
Dutchess	1,854,654.74
Erie	13,407,707.09
Essex	587,202.98
Franklin	803,574.69
Fulton	818,804.16
Genesee	782,014.25
Greene	453,859.49
Hamilton	69,095.40
Herkimer	1,125,609.52
Jefferson	1,469,732.37
Kings	45,027,211.99
Lewis	412,338.95
Livingston	660,530.16
Madison	699,746.94
Monroe	7,454,371.27
Montgomery	1,050,496.54
Nassau	5,329,490.06
New York	32,833,448.84
Niagara	2,626,099.80
Oneida	3,493,446.12
Onondaga	5,128,183.12
Ontario	954,497.74
Orange	2,292,714.49
Orleans	506,388.87

NEW YORK—continued

Oswego	\$1,224,776.97
Otsego	821,442.06
Putnam	241,701.99
Queens	18,977,562.60
Rensselaer	2,106,468.67
Richmond	2,784,672.76
Rockland	1,048,108.02
St. Lawrence	1,599,622.56
Saratoga	1,113,440.01
Schenectady	2,198,619.31
Schoharie	345,863.87
Schuyler	227,017.68
Seneca	439,351.04
Steuben	1,453,852.21
Suffolk	2,832,313.23
Sullivan	620,298.40
Tioga	448,091.28
Tompkins	729,643.14
Ulster	1,409,605.83
Warren	600,983.97
Washington	817,432.45
Wayne	879,212.07
Westchester	9,161,373.95
Wyoming	505,843.71
Yates	296,288.93
Total	221,373,427.95

NORTH CAROLINA
(63,962 certificate holders)

Alamance	\$464,214.24
Alexander	142,348.76
Alleghany	79,160.98
Anson	323,308.69
Ashe	231,545.31
Avery	130,021.85
Beaufort	385,846.42
Bertie	284,697.51
Bladen	246,637.23
Brunswick	174,251.09
Buncombe	1,078,874.00
Burke	323,980.56
Cabarrus	488,350.30
Caldwell	308,624.26
Camden	60,158.38
Carteret	186,170.40
Caswell	200,645.43
Catawba	484,604.86
Chatham	266,331.84
Cherokee	177,919.42
Chowan	124,282.52
Clay	69,860.95
Cleveland	571,854.63
Columbus	415,523.52
Craven	337,805.64
Cumberland	498,132.51
Currituck	73,917.35
Dare	57,305.24
Davidson	527,280.84
Davie	158,476.18
Duplin	386,694.65
Durham	740,231.14
Edgecombe	527,600.31
Forsyth	1,230,277.90
Franklin	324,487.30
Gaston	860,272.49
Gates	106,229.82
Graham	64,344.46
Granville	316,412.57
Greene	205,514.50
Guilford	1,465,238.16
Halifax	586,557.94
Harnett	417,627.58
Haywood	311,455.37
Henderson	257,818.47
Hertford	193,242.68
Hoke	156,911.91
Hyde	94,186.80
Iredell	514,370.09
Jackson	192,989.31
Johnston	634,752.94
Jones	114,874.85
Lee	187,228.94
Lenoir	393,447.46
Lincoln	251,957.96
McDowell	224,021.38
Macon	150,610.76
Madison	223,690.90
Martin	257,774.40
Mecklenburg	1,409,728.54
Mitchell	153,805.40
Montgomery	178,657.49
Moore	310,816.44
Nash	581,446.52
New Hanover	473,798.16
Northampton	299,205.58
Onslow	168,423.63
Orange	233,219.74
Pamlico	102,437.79
Pasquotank	210,879.26
Pender	172,796.98
Perquimans	117,518.69
Person	242,781.63
Pitt	599,997.45
Polk	112,539.46
Randolph	399,429.15
Richmond	374,720.26
Robeson	732,695.20
Rockingham	562,730.33
Rowan	624,221.64
Rutherford	445,619.24
Sampson	441,543.32
Scotland	222,236.79
Stanly	332,859.46
Stokes	245,546.64

NORTH CAROLINA—continued

Surry	\$437,874.99
Swain	127,433.09
Transylvania	105,632.43
Tyrrell	56,886.63
Union	451,424.67
Vance	300,670.71
Wake	1,043,843.12
Warren	257,377.83
Washington	127,818.65
Watauga	167,057.64
Wayne	583,991.21
Wilkes	398,360.60
Wilson	494,772.63
Yadkin	198,398.16
Yancey	159,577.78
Total	34,622,162.80

NORTH DAKOTA
(16,174 certificate holders)

Adams	\$81,634.41
Barnes	242,007.48
Benson	171,518.49
Billings	40,411.80
Bottineau	191,158.11
Bowman	65,881.53
Burke	128,674.26
Burleigh	254,427.03
Cass	627,219.45
Cavalier	187,309.98
Dickey	139,986.99
Divide	124,015.32
Dunn	123,114.42
Eddy	81,673.02
Emmons	160,460.29
Foster	81,763.11
Golden Valley	53,050.14
Grand Forks	411,273.72
Grant	130,424.58
Griggs	88,661.43
Hettinger	113,204.52
Kidder	103,358.97
LaMoure	148,223.79
Logan	104,105.43
McHenry	198,699.93
McIntosh	123,822.27
McKenzie	124,954.83
McLean	231,544.17
Mercer	122,470.92
Morton	252,856.89
Mountrail	174,311.28
Nelson	131,312.61
Olliver	54,851.94
Pembina	189,922.59
Pierce	116,782.33
Ramsey	209,163.24
Ransom	141,351.21
Renville	93,474.81
Richland	138,481.20
Rolette	270,372.96
Sargent	119,065.26
Sheridan	94,890.51
Sioux	60,321.69
Slope	53,410.50
Stark	197,425.80
Steele	89,729.64
Stutsman	335,907.00
Towner	108,017.91
Traill	162,162.00
Walsh	258,004.89
Ward	432,393.39
Wells	170,977.95
Williams	251,647.11
Total	8,762,475.18

OHIO
(182,692 certificate holders)

Adams	\$325,219.62
Allen	1,107,718.99
Ashland	428,716.72
Ashtabula	1,090,836.48
Athens	704,900.48
Auglaize	447,338.54
Belmont	1,511,431.09
Brown	321,501.64
Butler	1,820,438.39
Carroll	256,221.55
Champaign	384,611.58
Clark	1,451,065.76
Clermont	475,295.21
Clinton	343,825.48
Columbiana	1,380,025.19
Coshocton	462,370.04
Crawford	564,000.17
Cuyahoga	19,171,617.44
Darke	606,509.62
Defiance	362,447.30
Delaware	415,137.32
Erie	672,316.29
Fairfield	702,267.57
Fayette	331,187.54
Franklin	5,761,354.64
Fulton	374,622.49
Galla	367,808.85
Geauga	245,961.20
Greene	530,513.87
Guernsey	661,992.11
Hamilton	9,404,353.70
Hancock	644,726.63
Hardin	440,971.70
Harrison	300,693.71
Henry	359,415.47
Highland	405,563.12

OHIO—continued

Hocking	\$325,634.50
Holmes	266,896.79
Huron	537,750.90
Jackson	399,563.28
Jefferson	1,409,114.80
Knox	468,046.47
Lake	664,992.02
Lawrence	710,740.74
Licking	956,813.64
Logan	462,449.82
Lorain	1,742,600.15
Lucas	5,548,392.52
Madison	323,177.13
Mahoning	3,768,117.90
Marion	724,768.94
Medina	473,555.89
Meigs	382,345.68
Mercer	400,456.88
Miami	818,610.06
Monroe	294,023.69
Montgomery	4,363,936.32
Morgan	216,743.94
Morrow	231,200.98
Muskingum	1,075,469.89
Noble	238,732.68
Ottawa	384,707.32
Paulding	244,158.05
Perry	501,767.87
Pickaway	434,630.77
Pike	221,419.34
Portage	681,076.68
Preble	358,314.44
Putnam	400,096.82
Richland	1,051,598.22
Ross	720,953.22
Sandusky	633,987.57
Sloto	1,296,043.50
Seneca	764,994.54
Shelby	397,712.27
Stark	3,539,007.29
Summit	5,491,298.37
Trumbull	1,963,716.30
Tuscarawas	1,088,155.71
Union	306,246.75
Van Wert	419,233.27
Vinton	164,149.66
Warren	436,392.04
Washington	677,167.21
Wayne	750,861.97
Williams	388,010.42
Wood	802,956.24
Wyandot	303,757.46
Total	106,061,344.03

OKLAHOMA
(67,181 certificate holders)

Adair	\$220,720.25
Alfalfa	227,780.43
Atoka	217,384.62
Beaver	171,299.02
Beckham	433,647.38
Blaine	305,921.02
Bryan	482,799.37
Caddo	759,552.29
Canadian	420,544.17
Carter	619,545.41
Cherokee	261,316.26
Choctaw	361,116.04
Cimarron	80,892.87
Cleveland	373,172.19
Coal	172,331.12
Comanche	513,813.63
Cotton	230,981.44
Craig	270,021.82
Creek	959,032.17
Custer	411,599.29
Delaware	229,904.46
Dewey	198,193.50
Ellis	157,672.28
Garfield	681,905.31
Gravin	469,696.16
Grady	712,569.21
Grant	211,655.70
Greer	303,378.16
Harmon	206,929.98
Harper	116,081.04
Haskell	242,558.93
Hughes	453,735.98
Jackson	432,435.78
Jefferson	260,149.54
Johnston	195,680.56
Kay	750,682.19
Kingfisher	238,729.68
Kiowa	443,265.54
Latimer	167,290.28
Le Flore	641,638.37
Lincoln	504,653.01
Logan	415,249.04
Love	144,180.17
McClain	322,718.85
McCurtain	519,925.13
McIntosh	372,813.20
Major	182,577.35
Marshall	164,926.91
Mayes	267,493.92
Murray	185,628.67
Muskogee	993,570.20
Noble	226,449.17
Nowata	203,593.34
Okfuskee	434,021.33
Oklahoma	3,316,757.01
Oklmulgee	845,994.57
Osage	708,020.98
Ottawa	576,511.24

OKLAHOMA—continued

Pawnee	\$297,394.96
Payne	552,024.99
Pittsburg	750,537.33
Pontotoc	485,671.31
Pottawatomie	995,783.98
Pushmataha	220,540.76
Roger Mills	211,865.12
Rogers	283,543.85
Seminole	1,190,970.92
Sequoyah	291,755.79
Stephens	494,645.11
Texas	210,907.80
Tillman	364,825.62
Tulsa	2,805,731.90
Wagoner	335,478.03
Washington	415,488.37
Washita	440,288.73
Woods	254,361.79
Woodward	236,994.56
Total	35,202,766.82

OREGON
(35,376 certificate holders)

Baker	\$363,243.48
Benton	358,928.96
Clackamas	1,001,770.59
Clatsop	457,989.45
Columbia	434,630.01
Coos	615,155.02
Crook	72,327.82
Curry	70,615.02
Deschutes	319,773.07
Douglas	476,223.17
Gilliam	75,168.03
Grant	128,785.14
Harney	128,351.52
Hood River	193,784.78
Jackson	713,695.16
Jefferson	49,671.18
Josephine	240,288.14
Klamath	702,616.17
Lake	104,784.78
Lane	1,181,462.74
Lincoln	214,706.95
Linn	535,520.70
Malheur	244,323.19
Marion	1,312,589.43
Morrow	107,125.83
Multnomah	7,333,403.13
Polk	365,498.30
Sherman	64,566.02
Tillamook	256,356.15
Umatilla	528,994.72
Union	379,244.06
Wallowa	169,415.34
Wasco	274,177.93
Washington	656,392.28
Wheeler	60,685.12
Yamhill	477,762.52
Total	20,679,034.90

PENNSYLVANIA
(259,931 certificate holders)

Adams	\$599,802.84
Allegheny	22,203,593.55
Armstrong	1,281,059.19
Beaver	2,408,096.61
Bedford	602,726.90
Berks	3,743,388.14
Blair	2,259,015.20
Bradford	792,225.05
Bucks	1,562,624.69
Butler	1,300,254.40
Cambria	3,281,823.63
Cameron	85,734.59
Carbon	1,023,903.90
Centre	747,879.57
Chester	2,045,691.50
Clarion	557,848.31
Clearfield	1,401,074.69
Clinton	522,113.45
Columbia	788,412.47
Crawford	1,017,441.90
Cumberland	1,102,342.58
Dauphin	2,069,306.81
Delaware	4,527,664.92
Elk	540,077.81
Erie	2,831,599.94
Fayette	3,207,446.01
Forest	83,682.90
Franklin	1,050,236.55
Fulton	149,126.81
Greene	674,745.89
Huntingdon	630,384.26
Indiana	1,218,006.23
Jefferson	841,901.67
Juniata	231,420.38
Lackawanna	5,014,463.54
Lancaster	3,180,628.71
Lawrence	1,571,202.99
Lebanon	1,084,048.97
Lehigh	2,793,086.42
Luzerne	7,190,735.90
Lycoming	1,509,216.26
McKean	891,222.89
Mercer	1,603,319.13
Mifflin	651,611.93
Monroe	456,960.33
Montgomery	4,294,063.62
Montour	234,522.14
Northampton	2,735,106.12
Northumberland	2,075,982.12
Perry	351,274.32

PENNSYLVANIA—continued

Philadelphia	\$31,517,774.96
Pike	120,877.87
Potter	282,534.80
Schuylkill	3,804,583.28
Snyder	304,295.58
Somerset	1,304,742.42
Sullivan	121,146.35
Susquehanna	546,135.93
Tioga	514,876.01
Union	282,195.54
Venango	1,021,416.03
Warren	669,673.22
Washington	3,308,576.31
Wayne	459,125.10
Westmoreland	4,765,644.23
Wyoming	250,677.14
York	2,700,065.93
Total	155,594,459.25

RHODE ISLAND
(20,789 certificate holders)

Bristol	\$450,924.60
Kent	923,632.47
Newport	748,898.97
Providence	9,705,707.57
Washington	527,219.99
Total	12,356,383.60

SOUTH CAROLINA
(35,747 certificate holders)

Abbeville	\$257,765.80
Aiken	523,897.96
Allendale	146,925.29
Anderson	894,648.35
Bamberg	214,519.32
Barnwell	234,534.50
Beaufort	241,099.38
Berkeley	245,752.28
Calhoun	184,645.77
Charleston	1,116,804.60
Cherokee	355,885.46
Chester	351,486.76
Chesterfield	379,459.37
Clarendon	331,957.88
Colleton	285,373.70
Darlington	457,851.21
Dillon	284,401.12
Dorchester	209,501.72
Edgefield	213,590.96
Fairfield	257,367.99
Florence	674,470.41
Georgetown	240,248.38
Greenville	1,293,183.47
Greenwood	398,734.06
Hampton	190,569.64
Horry	435,183.56
Jasper	110,387.38
Kershaw	354,437.64
Lancaster	309,234.96
Laurens	465,222.89
Lee	266,309.00
Lexington	403,331.69
McCormick	126,777.50
Marion	300,846.50
Marlboro	349,618.97
Newberry	383,294.42
Oconee	368,783.14
Orangeburg	705,824.93
Pickens	372,551.87
Richland	968,895.69
Saluda	200,571.70
Spartanburg	1,385,601.80
Sumter	507,308.91
Union	341,727.84
Williamsburg	385,869.53
York	590,375.74
Total	19,316,831.04

SOUTH DAKOTA
(22,713 certificate holders)

Armstrong	\$1,358.64
Aurora	121,241.64
Beadle	389,190.42
Bennett	77,951.97
Bon Homme	199,329.48
Brookings	286,112.61
Brown	534,251.22
Brule	125,945.93
Buffalo	32,794.18
Butte	145,866.99
Campbell	95,597.31
Charles Mix	283,667.05
Clark	187,186.63
Clay	171,324.51
Codington	296,472.24
Corson	161,932.91
Custer	90,910.00
Davison	285,671.05
Day	248,053.70
Deuel	148,250.56
Dewey	109,981.91
Douglas	122,889.00
Edmunds	147,955.90
Fall River	148,448.41
Faulk	117,097.79
Grant	182,210.61
Gregory	193,945.86
Haakon	79,463.46
Hamlin	140,941.82
Hand	161,083.76
Hanson	104,122.78
Harding	60,951.99

SGUTH DAKOTA—continued

Hughes	\$119,033.85
Hutchinson	236,131.64
Hyde	62,667.27
Jackson	44,767.19
Jerauld	98,773.13
Jones	53,955.00
Kingsbury	217,467.32
Lake	210,232.56
Lawrence	236,403.36
Lincoln	236,369.40
Lyman	107,587.31
McCook	175,196.63
McPherson	149,008.85
Marshall	162,017.82
Meade	194,998.81
Mellette	89,891.02
Miner	142,249.61
Minnehaha	863,959.18
Moody	163,087.75
Pennington	341,001.66
Perkins	148,040.82
Potter	97,856.05
Roberts	268,025.71
Sanborn	124,417.46
Shannon	68,917.02
Spink	259,907.84
Stanley	40,436.53
Sully	65,418.54
Todd	100,165.74
Tripp	215,887.90
Turner	252,893.86
Union	194,964.84
Walworth	149,297.56
Washabaugh	42,015.95
Washington	31,027.95
Yankton	281,730.99
Ziebach	68,594.34
Total	11,757,600.79

TENNESSEE
(59,009 certificate holders)

Anderson	\$244,947.24
Bedford	261,786.34
Benton	139,563.54
Bledsoe	88,529.76
Blount	422,143.38
Bradley	284,045.40
Campbell	333,191.34
Cannon	110,972.70
Carrroll	324,559.44
Carter	362,940.66
Cheatnam	112,090.50
Chester	131,689.26
Claiborne	301,967.46
Clay	118,946.34
Cocke	270,445.50
Coffee	208,668.42
Crockett	215,598.78
Cumberland	142,085.80
Davidson	2,767,846.68
Decatur	125,516.52
De Kalb	176,525.46
Dickson	229,658.22
Dyer	390,050.10
Fayette	358,826.22
Fentress	137,067.12
Franklin	270,706.32
Gibson	577,877.76
Giles	347,958.72
Grainger	158,193.54
Greene	436,177.98
Grundy	120,685.14
Hamblen	206,370.72
Hamilton	1,980,952.74
Hancock	120,138.66
Hardeman	275,637.06
Hardin	201,365.46
Hawkins	299,533.14
Haywood	323,702.46
Henderson	219,275.10
Henry	328,285.44
Hickman	169,073.46
Houston	68,993.10
Humphreys	149,524.38
Jackson	168,775.38
Jefferson	222,491.88
Johnson	151,635.78
Knox	1,936,302.84
Lake	130,236.12
Lauderdale	290,702.52
Lawrence	332,557.92
Lewis	65,304.36
Lincoln	315,741.24
Loudon	221,138.10
McMinn	360,415.98
McNairy	247,170.42
Macon	172,290.24
Madison	634,152.78
Marion	217,958.58
Marshall	193,429.08
Maury	422,478.72
Meigs	76,097.34
Monroe	265,502.34
Montgomery	383,554.44
Moore	50,139.54
Morgan	166,949.26
Obion	361,248.12
Overton	224,541.18
Perry	88,765.74
Pickett	69,738.30
Folk	194,820.12
Putnam	295,086.78
Rhea	172,277.82

TENNESSEE—continued

Roane	\$304,004.34
Robertson	350,132.22
Rutherford	400,992.12
Scott	174,873.60
Sequatchie	50,263.74
Sevier	254,361.60
Shelby	3,806,506.44
Smith	192,174.66
Stewart	164,912.76
Sullivan	634,500.54
Summer	355,485.24
Tipton	341,425.16
Trousdale	69,912.18
Unicoi	157,460.76
Union	141,227.82
Van Buren	43,668.72
Warren	250,995.78
Washington	568,898.10
Wayne	150,704.28
Weakley	363,434.04
White	193,044.06
Williamson	268,734.90
Wilson	297,198.18
Total	32,497,536.52

TEXAS

(143,771 certificate holders)

Anderson	\$511,954.26
Andrews	10,876.61
Angelina	410,872.74
Aransas	32,792.39
Archer	143,110.16
Armstrong	49,195.97
Atascosa	131,334.82
Austin	278,713.05
Bailey	76,638.71
Bandera	55,919.96
Bastrop	353,016.87
Baylor	109,623.21
Bee	232,324.94
Bell	739,343.34
Bexar	4,323,052.68
Blanco	56,777.08
Borden	22,240.89
Bosque	232,753.50
Bowie	717,063.99
Brazoria	340,692.02
Brazos	322,677.63
Brewster	97,889.48
Briscoe	82,609.02
Brooks	87,204.98
Brown	389,873.20
Burleson	293,313.75
Burnet	153,023.19
Caldwell	463,984.87
Calhoun	79,579.53
Callahan	188,936.73
Cameron	1,145,886.12
Camp	148,711.01
Carson	114,455.61
Cass	443,783.34
Castro	69,752.16
Chambers	84,382.38
Cherokee	638,114.04
Childress	237,093.23
Clay	214,946.01
Cochran	29,009.21
Coke	77,628.83
Coleman	349,780.48
Collin	682,448.04
Collingsworth	213,704.06
Colorado	282,688.36
Comal	177,099.55
Comanche	272,358.54
Concho	112,977.81
Cooke	356,681.81
Corvell	295,545.22
Cottle	138,839.31
Crane	32,821.93
Crockett	38,275.02
Crosby	162,897.89
Culberson	18,147.33
Dallam	115,711.74
Dallas	4,813,051.60
Dawson	200,581.79
Deaf Smith	88,357.59
Delta	194,153.35
Denton	485,043.52
DeWitt	405,523.10
Dickens	127,105.53
Dimmitt	130,460.18
Donley	151,651.84
Duval	180,158.60
Eastland	504,757.37
Ector	58,491.23
Edwards	40,846.39
Ellis	797,066.21
El Paso	1,944,740.47
Erath	307,441.51
Falls	572,957.84
Fannin	608,306.81
Fayette	453,802.82
Fisher	200,434.02
Floyd	183,380.21
Foard	93,323.07
Fort Bend	439,172.61
Franklin	125,524.34
Freestone	333,820.25
Frio	139,075.75
Gaines	41,378.40
Galveston	951,717.93
Garza	82,549.91

TEXAS—continued

Gillespie	\$162,853.56
Glasscock	18,664.62
Goliad	149,154.36
Gonzales	418,764.19
Gray	826,446.02
Grayson	973,027.86
Gregg	233,167.29
Grimes	334,603.48
Guadalupe	400,153.65
Hale	298,353.05
Hall	250,723.55
Hamilton	199,842.90
Hansford	52,432.35
Hardeman	214,753.90
Hardin	205,946.21
Harris	5,310,149.19
Harrison	723,190.99
Hartley	22,289.93
Haskell	246,334.49
Hays	220,413.87
Hemphill	68,525.59
Henderson	451,955.58
Hidalgo	1,137,965.12
Hill	635,986.01
Hockley	137,405.85
Hood	100,180.07
Hopkins	434,620.98
Houston	443,591.23
Howard	338,238.87
Hudspeth	55,092.39
Hunt	724,358.45
Hutchinson	219,423.75
Irion	30,280.13
Jack	133,681.79
Jackson	162,262.44
Jasper	252,171.80
Jeff Davis	26,600.40
Jefferson	1,971,252.20
Jim Hogg	72,692.99
Jim Wells	198,852.77
Johnson	492,358.63
Jones	358,115.28
Karnes	344,563.85
Kaufman	604,494.09
Kendall	73,446.66
Kenedy	10,359.38
Kent	56,910.08
Kerr	150,011.48
Kimble	60,870.59
King	17,630.16
Kinney	88,816.44
Kleberg	184,000.88
Knox	167,996.31
Lamar	717,161.57
Lamb	237,905.66
Lampasas	128,228.71
La Salle	121,593.39
Lavaca	407,133.90
Lee	197,877.42
Leon	294,052.65
Liberty	293,609.31
Limestone	583,686.67
Lipscomb	66,678.34
Live Oak	132,351.77
Llano	81,840.57
Loving	2,881.71
Lubbock	578,878.92
Lynn	182,833.42
McCulloch	205,162.98
McLennan	1,458,322.60
McMullen	19,965.08
Madison	180,690.61
Marion	153,262.64
Martin	85,490.73
Mason	81,441.56
Matagorda	261,245.49
Maverick	90,441.36
Medina	205,729.45
Menard	65,717.77
Midland	118,297.89
Milam	560,307.87
Mills	122,553.96
Mitchell	209,596.38
Montague	283,131.71
Montgomery	215,581.47
Moore	22,979.79
Morris	148,193.79
Motley	100,667.74
Nacogdoches	447,625.62
Navarro	894,172.45
Newton	185,079.68
Nolan	286,555.30
Nueces	765,190.07
Ochiltree	77,200.28
Oldham	20,748.32
Orange	223,871.93
Palo Pinto	259,738.13
Panola	355,603.02
Parker	277,220.51
Parmer	86,732.09
Pecos	115,445.74
Polk	259,427.79
Potter	680,970.24
Presidio	150,055.82
Rains	105,130.70
Randall	104,495.24
Reagan	44,747.79
Real	32,467.27
Red River	456,980.10
Reeves	94,682.65
Refugio	113,657.60
Roberts	21,531.55
Robertson	402,552.72
Rockwall	113,169.93
Runnels	322,470.74
Rusk	480,048.56

TEXAS—continued

Sabine	\$177,306.45
San Augustine	184,296.44
San Jacinto	143,509.16
San Patricio	352,248.41
San Saba	151,814.40
Schleicher	46,787.15
Scurry	180,114.27
Schackelford	98,938.71
Shelby	423,049.81
Sherman	34,196.50
Smith	790,051.70
Somervell	44,570.45
Starr	168,602.21
Stephens	244,723.68
Sterling	21,147.32
Stonewall	83,746.93
Sutton	41,481.85
Swisher	108,514.89
Tarrant	2,919,438.24
Taylor	606,237.90
Terrell	39,309.43
Terry	131,272.98
Throckmorton	77,628.84
Titus	236,492.34
Tom Green	532,495.68
Travis	1,149,388.51
Trinity	201,527.50
Tyler	169,178.55
Upshur	329,505.07
Upton	88,195.11
Uvalde	191,301.21
Val Verde	220,546.83
Van Zandt	477,551.07
Victoria	296,299.35
Walker	273,806.79
Waller	147,986.90
Ward	67,964.03
Washington	375,272.54
Webb	622,567.57
Wharton	438,625.82
Wheeler	229,871.79
Wichita	1,099,719.65
Wilbarger	363,228.47
Willacy	155,154.23
Williamson	652,389.59
Wilson	290,181.47
Winkler	100,253.96
Wise	283,412.49
Wood	357,376.38
Yoakum	18,664.62
Young	297,451.59
Zapata	42,368.53
Zavala	152,837.53

Total 83,696,221.25

UTAH
(14,387 certificate holders)

Beaver	\$ 51,261.80
Box Elder	281,789.82
Cache	433,902.53
Carbon	281,599.96
Daggett	6,504.85
Davis	221,840.27
Duchesne	130,737.19
Emery	111,418.53
Garfield	73,445.73
Grand	28,685.29
Iron	114,345.60
Juab	136,148.31
Kane	35,362.17
Millard	157,349.79
Morgan	40,124.15
Piute	30,947.84
Rich	29,634.61
Salt Lake	3,071,081.85
San Juan	55,313.72
Sanpete	253,500.09
Sevier	177,190.58
Summit	150,737.20
Tooele	148,932.49
Uintah	142,951.77
Utah	775,610.27
Wasatch	89,172.80
Washington	117,399.24
Wayne	32,704.03
Weber	825,465.39

Total 8,035,096.92

VERMONT
(8,243 certificate holders)

Addison	\$251,722.95
Bennington	303,646.41
Caledonia	382,141.67
Chittenden	665,638.37
Essex	99,093.43
Franklin	420,309.45
Grand Isle	55,302.77
Lamoille	153,498.84
Orange	234,083.27
Orleans	323,010.80
Rutland	679,407.97
Washington	585,180.13
Windham	364,782.33
Windsor	524,647.16

Total 5,042,465.50

VIRGINIA
(63,132 certificate holders)

Accomac	\$546,307.40
Albemarle	411,109.50
Charlottesville City	232,288.07
Alleghany	307,604.56
Clifton Forge City	104,205.85

VIRGINIA—continued

Amelia	\$136,813.03
Amherst	289,807.74
Appomattox	128,021.28
Arlington	405,532.76
Alexandria City	367,958.32
Augusta	581,489.64
Staunton City	182,691.63
Bath	123,983.47
Bedford	443,259.57
Bland	91,894.35
Botetourt	235,518.31
Brunswick	312,145.19
Buchanan	255,067.38
Buckingham	202,880.66
Campbell	348,698.75
Lynchburg City	619,551.66
Caroline	232,562.34
Carroll	337,362.42
Charles City	74,371.80
Charlotte	244,721.46
Chesterfield	396,908.62
Clarke	109,203.58
Craig	54,274.20
Culpeper	202,743.53
Cumberland	114,810.80
Dickenson	246,275.64
Dinwiddie	281,762.61
Petersburg City	435,229.67
Elizabeth City	302,225.90
Hampton City	97,242.54
Essex	106,293.32
Fairfax	384,947.57
Fauquier	321,058.83
Floyd	178,242.43
Fluvanna	113,759.45
Franklin	370,822.87
Frederick	200,625.58
Winchester City	165,397.64
Giles	195,094.55
Gloucester	167,896.51
Goochland	121,179.87
Grayson	304,999.03
Greene	91,117.26
Greensville	203,992.96
Halifax	629,029.08
Hanover	259,166.14
Henrico	461,833.47
Richmond City	2,787,289.18
Henry	366,080.86
Martinsville City	117,401.09
Highland	68,947.43
Isle of Wight	204,312.94
James City	50,104.33
Williamsburg City	57,565.39
King and Queen	116,075.47
King George	80,710.39
King William	120,814.18
Lancaster	135,548.36
Lee	463,494.31
Loudoun	312,484.93
Louisa	218,026.24
Lunenburg	216,201.75
Madison	136,401.63
Mathews	120,128.51
Mecklenburg	497,061.42
Middlesex	110,818.71
Montgomery	298,721.39
Radford City	94,880.80
Nansemond	343,289.61
Suffolk City	156,499.23
Nelson	249,048.77
New Kent	65,519.10
Norfolk	458,359.44
South Norfolk City	119,717.11
Norfolk City	1,976,391.27
Portsmouth City	696,391.85
Northampton	282,874.91
Northumberland	168,841.20
Nottoway	226,513.25
Orange	183,910.59
Page	226,299.93
Patrick	240,546.52
Pittsylvania	935,917.49
Danville City	338,977.54
Powhatan	93,600.90
Prince Edward	221,241.24
Prince George	157,108.71
Hopewell City	172,589.50
Princess Anne	248,088.84
Prince William	212,571.39
Pulaski	313,364.15
Rappahannock	117,583.93
Richmond	104,800.09
Roanoke	537,698.50
Roanoke City	954,491.83
Rockridge	318,483.78
Buena Vista City	60,978.48
Rockingham	452,676.04
Harrisonburg City	110,193.99
Russell	395,506.81
Scott	368,445.90
Shenandoah	314,720.24
Smyth	382,829.63
Bristol City	134,695.08
Fredericksburg City	103,991.11
Newport News	524,411.83
Southampton	409,418.19
Spotsylvania	153,223.28
Stafford	122,657.85
Surry	118,121.76
Sussex	184,367.70
Tazewell	494,852.05
Warren	127,076.58
Warwick	134,527.48
Washington	515,772.45
Westmoreland	129,468.79

VIRGINIA—continued

Wise	\$779,631.58
Wythe	315,456.85
York	116,029.76
Total	36,811,791.20

WASHINGTON

(56,335 certificate holders)

Adams	\$168,258.77
Asotin	177,348.53
Benton	238,731.70
Chelan	689,557.94
Clallam	445,747.31
Clark	878,808.17
Columbia	116,074.35
Cowlitz	695,486.99
Douglas	164,814.68
Ferry	93,557.02
Franklin	133,774.33
Garfield	79,824.28
Grant	123,507.47
Grays Harbor	1,307,457.64
Island	117,033.47
Jefferson	181,926.11
King	10,103,743.57
Kitsap	670,855.25
Kittitas	395,720.90
Klickitat	214,165.35
Lewis	872,661.14
Lincoln	258,873.05
Mason	219,287.88
Okanogan	403,677.17
Pacific	326,316.06
Pend Oreille	155,964.69
Pierce	3,571,427.92
San Juan	67,508.41
Skagit	766,025.32
Skamania	63,018.02
Snohomish	1,719,012.08
Spokane	3,280,097.65
Stevens	404,352.90
Thurston	693,389.10
Wahkiakum	84,183.88
Walla Walla	619,956.92
Whatecom	1,288,872.15
Whitman	610,649.18
Yakima	1,687,208.80
Total	34,079,306.15

WEST VIRGINIA

(43,294 certificate holders)

Barbour	\$251,813.31
Berkeley	378,909.54
Boone	332,353.55
Braxton	305,221.93
Brooke	333,394.44
Cabell	1,227,245.15
Calhoun	146,886.59
Clay	177,423.75
Doddridge	141,776.79
Payette	973,971.90
Gilmer	143,845.04
Grant	114,105.44
Greenbrier	484,998.81
Hampshire	159,999.05
Hancock	385,411.70
Hardy	132,692.69
Harrison	1,062,068.71
Jackson	217,964.24
Jefferson	213,314.04
Kanawha	2,131,342.51
Lewis	294,611.30
Lincoln	258,950.81
Logan	791,262.62
McDowell	1,223,095.13
Marion	901,042.29
Marshall	538,435.46
Mason	281,012.19
Mercer	828,964.32
Mineral	271,495.52
Mingo	517,996.25
Monongalia	677,022.00
Monroe	161,526.59
Morgan	113,632.31
Nicholas	279,633.35
Ohio	974,336.89
Pendleton	130,583.88
Pleasants	88,475.31
Pocahontas	196,754.40
Preston	392,603.28
Putnam	226,250.77
Raleigh	920,197.30
Randolph	338,612.39
Ritchie	210,799.70
Roane	263,303.61
Summers	276,686.43
Taylor	258,383.05
Tucker	180,789.74
Tyler	172,827.63
Upshur	242,567.00
Wayne	421,842.71
Webster	192,171.89
Wetzel	301,911.02
Wirt	85,947.45
Wood	764,050.88
Wyoming	282,877.67
Total	23,345,392.42

WISCONSIN

(88,036 certificate holders)

Adams	\$128,496.17
Ashland	338,043.03
Barron	550,736.86
Bayfield	240,936.34
Brown	1,127,917.95

WISCONSIN—continued

Buffalo	\$246,138.48
Burnett	164,301.05
Calumet	270,511.49
Chippewa	599,563.16
Clark	548,553.24
Columbia	489,756.17
Crawford	269,435.74
Dane	1,810,105.28
Dodge	836,389.16
Door	291,930.20
Douglas	747,936.65
Dunn	434,106.08
Eau Claire	659,692.88
Florence	60,499.01
Fond du Lac	961,481.46
Forest	178,510.61
Grant	617,658.27
Green	351,144.72
Green Lake	223,387.13
Iowa	321,476.19
Iron	159,484.25
Jackson	264,410.21
Jefferson	560,619.96
Juneau	277,190.79
Kenosha	1,015,975.52
Kewaunee	257,490.08
La Crosse	874,329.48
Lafayette	299,428.35
Langlade	845,910.47
Lincoln	338,332.04
Manitowoc	942,069.75
Marathon	1,134,019.23
Marinette	538,357.68
Marquette	150,733.73
Milwaukee	11,644,822.73
Monroe	461,433.39
Oconto	423,653.62
Oneida	255,274.35
Outagamie	1,008,156.24
Ozaukee	279,278.07
Pepin	119,617.20
Pierce	337,866.41
Polk	426,559.76
Portage	543,126.32
Price	277,511.91
Racine	1,448,524.16
Richland	313,493.40
Rock	1,191,451.54
Rusk	258,196.54
St. Croix	408,705.48
Sauk	514,273.68
Sawyer	142,545.17
Shawano	538,132.90
Sheboygan	1,143,749.16
Taylor	283,950.36
Trempealeau	373,998.96
Vernon	458,194.08
Vilas	117,112.47
Walworth	498,667.25
Washburn	178,299.77
Washington	426,302.86
Waukesha	840,660.05
Waupaca	538,084.73
Waushara	231,639.92
Winnebago	1,229,242.84
Wood	607,960.44
Total	47,177,680.61

WYOMING

(11,117 certificate holders)

Albany	\$338,436.39
Big Horn	315,416.76
Campbell	188,879.04
Carbon	320,166.84
Converse	200,824.52
Crook	149,894.64
Fremont	294,842.43
Goshen	330,369.88
Hot Springs	153,913.94
Johnson	135,363.32
Laramie	744,532.42
Lincoln	306,197.66
Natrona	682,213.11
Niobrara	132,749.37
Park	230,674.15
Platte	272,497.37
Sheridan	474,305.63
Sublette	54,640.01
Sweetwater	510,563.66
Teton	56,298.33
Uinta	184,719.21
Washakie	115,491.67
Weston	131,344.02
Yellowstone National Park (part)	5,621.40
Total	6,329,955.57

If this bill is enacted into law it will result in the following:

First. It will save the Government more than a billion dollars, or \$112,000,000 a year for 12 years on the reserve-fund requirements—will save the Government more than \$2,000,000,000 in all.

Second. It will save the Government more than \$10,000,000 in administration expenses of the Adjusted Compensation Act between now and 1945.

Third. It will pay a debt heretofore confessed by the Government to the veterans for services rendered. It is no bonus. The term "bonus" is a misnomer.

Fourth. It will be granting to the veterans the right to deposit a Government obligation and receive in return therefor new currency, the same right that is now enjoyed by Federal Reserve banks and all national banks.

Fifth. It will prevent the veterans from losing a valuable equity by releasing them from the payment of compound interest on their loans. Veterans who have borrowed 50 percent under the present law will have very little remaining in 1945. It is not right for the Government and the banks to consume these valuable equities by requiring the veterans to pay compound interest on their own money.

Sixth. It will require no bond issue, no increase in taxes, no additional interest payment by the Government. The debt must be paid some time. Everybody will be helped if it is paid now.

Seventh. It will partly restore to Congress its constitutional duty to issue money and deprive a few privileged bankers of a monopoly on the Government's credit.

Purchasing power must be placed in the hands of the masses. In this way it can be distributed quickly without the possibility of graft or favoritism. It is the best plan that has been proposed to be used as a vehicle to convey additional money into the hands of those who will buy goods. Underconsumption is our problem and there is no better way to distribute purchasing power.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. VINSON].

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include certain extracts and excerpts from other articles.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I am happy that I can agree with the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] who has just preceded me that in this legislative battle there is no feeling of unfriendliness between WRIGHT PATMAN and myself. We have been fighting together for many years here in behalf of veterans for the immediate payment of the bonus against the so-called "economy bill" and all other legislation affecting veterans. We have been warm friends—we will continue so to be.

Mr. Chairman, it so happened that in my first session as a Member of this body the original Adjusted Service Compensation Act was passed. As a cub Member, I rose in my place and insisted in a weak voice that what the soldier wanted was a cash settlement of the adjusted-service pay. I have made several campaigns for reelection since that time, and in each instance I have taken the position that the services rendered by the World War veterans were personal and that they were entitled to be paid in cash, as other adjustments were paid. My record has always been and is consistent in this respect. My express pledges in four campaigns prior to the election of our President has committed me to my constituents on veterans' legislation. In every other respect I yield to no Member in more loyal support of our President and the new deal.

PAST FAILURES

It is true that I labored with my friend the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] in two former Congresses for the payment of the adjusted-service certificates in bills carrying his name, namely, H. R. 7726, in the Seventy-second Congress, and H. R. 1, in the Seventy-third. I would say to the gentleman and to the Membership of this House that these two bills, neither of which were favorably reported from our committee, passed the House, went to the Senate, and there were killed. The first bill, H. R. 7726, received 18 votes in the Senate, and the subject matter of H. R. 1 in the last Congress, the Seventy-third, had 4 votes in the Senate—the last time on June 11, 1934. The most votes they

could muster in the Senate was 31. This last vote was on H. R. 1.

When this Congress convened, with what were we confronted? Were we to take a currency-expansion bill, an inflation measure, pass it through the House and see it defeated in the Senate, then go home to our soldier constituency and say, "Well, boys, we fought a good fight. We kept the faith. We passed it through the House, but we could not control the Senate." Then have the cash-payment issue with us in another campaign.

Mr. Chairman, we should not fool the soldier. I do not believe there are many Members of this House who have this purpose, but let me say to you that it requires more than 31 votes to pass a bill in the Senate. It requires more than twice this number to override a possible veto.

I submit that when I take my present position on the floor today I am in no wise inconsistent. I gave the Patman bills my all in two former Congresses. The RECORD will bear me out. If you will take the hearings before the Ways and Means Committee in 1932 you will find that I gave my full support to the Owen plan which changed the money mechanics of that Patman bill.

THE BILL H. R. 3896

The bill H. R. 3896 is the first measure providing for the immediate cash payment of the adjusted-service certificates that has ever been favorably reported by the Committee on Ways and Means. It is the first time that any immediate cash-payment proposal had been considered by the Ways and Means Committee solely upon its own merits, and this is the first time Congress has had the opportunity to vote upon immediate cash payment divorced from other legislation.

SECTION 1

In this section the adjusted-service certificates are declared immediately payable upon surrender of the certificates and all rights thereunder, with or without the consent of the beneficiary thereof. The amount of payment shall be equal to the face value of the certificate, subject to any loan that may be made upon the certificate. The payment made, therefore, would be the difference between the face value of the certificate and the principal of any loan made thereon.

SECTION 2

Any interest that has been or would be charged against the face value of the certificates either shall be canceled or not so charged. Any interest on any such loan payable to any bank or trust company shall be paid by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

SECTION 3

(a) This section provides for the manner in which applications for payments may be made and filed either personally by the veteran or, in case of physical or mental incapacitation, by the proper representative of the veteran.

(b) If the veteran dies after application is made and before it is filed, it may be filed by any person. If the veteran dies after the application is made, it shall be valid if it bears the bona fide signature of the applicant, discloses the intention to claim the benefits of this act, and is filed before the maturity of the certificate.

If the death occurs after the application is made or filed, but before the receipt of payment under this act, payment should be made to the beneficiary designated.

(c) Where the records of the Veterans' Administration show that an application has been filed before the maturity of the certificate and, for any reason, the application cannot be found, such application shall be presumed, in the absence of affirmative evidence to the contrary, to have been valid when the application was filed.

(d) Provides that a veteran who has not heretofore made application for the adjusted-service certificate shall have the right to make such application and to receive either the adjusted-service certificate or cash payment under this act.

SECTION 4

This section extends the time from January 2, 1935, to January 2, 1940, for applying for the benefits of the adjusted-service certificates and the benefits under this act.

SECTION 5

This section is the usual authorization for an appropriation for such amounts as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

SECTION 6

This states that this act may be cited as the "Emergency Adjusted Compensation Act, 1935."

It will be seen from the foregoing that H. R. 3896 provides for the immediate cash payment of the adjusted-service certificates, for the cancellation of interest on loans accrued and to accrue, and, further, for the extension of time in which applications for the benefits hereunder may be filed.

ONE OBJECTIVE—IMMEDIATE PAYMENT

H. R. 3896 has one objective and one objective alone. It provides for the immediate cash payment in full of the adjusted-service certificates, the cancellation of interest, and the extension of time within which to make application for the benefits.

My friend PATMAN's latest bill, his fifth bill on the subject and his seventh plan, H. R. 1 in this Congress, has two objectives. I am taking the title of the bill; I am taking the subject matter of the bill, and I submit to you there can only be one conclusion, namely, that it has two objectives—one, the immediate payment of the certificates, and, two, controlled expansion of the currency.

If there were any doubt as to this conclusion, I would turn to page 74 of my friend's Appeal to Veterans. I would read the last sentence of that document, the words of my friend PATMAN:

Let us kill two birds with one stone—pay the certificates and restore the power to the Government to issue money and regulate its value.

Mr. Chairman, I fear this is what the Patman bill will do—kill two birds with one stone—but the trouble is it is striking at the cause of the soldier and it is striking at the cause of controlled expansion. I fear he has builded better than he knew, and that this measure would kill these two birds with one stone.

We should be practical. We should recognize the conditions that obtain today, and I say to you in all candor, in all friendliness, that the Member of this body who puts controlled expansion or inflation first should vote for H. R. 1. I submit to you in the same breath that if you believe in the payment of the adjusted-service certificates, in my judgment, H. R. 3896 is the strongest vehicle to attain that end.

There has been no effort made in the Senate of the United States in this session. The question is asked, Why has no bill been introduced there? Why, that is piffle. That is fizzledust, as we would say in Kentucky. I could say they await the passage of H. R. 3896; that they will take this bill that has the endorsement of the American Legion, whose help is spurned by some today. I submit that the strength of the American Legion ought to be welcomed in the cause of paying the soldier the adjusted-service certificates. In my service here, the Legion has always been in forefront in the cause of veterans. The term "Legion" and "soldiers" are almost synonymous.

In spite of all attacks, it should be remembered that the voice of the American Legion is the voice of the American ex-soldier. This organization represents in its highest and best sense, the finest type of Americanism. It has been insinuated that they have heretofore opposed the payment of the bonus. At Miami they approved the immediate payment of the bonus with the least possible expense to the country. I have demonstrated that H. R. 3896 best and most reasonably accomplishes the purpose of the Legion and the ex-soldier. This is the only plan before you which accomplishes this plain objective. This is the first bill which gives you the opportunity to vote for the soldier and the soldier alone.

CASH PAYMENT AND INFLATION SHOULD BE DIVORCED

Now, I had some persuasion with reference to my position in this present Congress. It came from my friend, WRIGHT PATMAN, himself. In August of 1934 he said:

I have been thinking for quite a long time that the proposal to pay the adjusted-service certificates should be changed, if possible, so that our advocacy of it will not be in conflict with administration policies.

Although we favor pure money expansion, the administration is opposed to it at this time, and the veterans are very much divided on it; so is the country. If the bill can be changed so as to eliminate the possibility of inflation, it occurs to me that we will strengthen our cause solely from the standpoint of paying the veterans. We can then endeavor to persuade the administration to expand the currency in another way. In the meantime, we will have the inflation issue divorced from the proposal to pay the adjusted-service certificates.

I would not detract from him one iota of the gratitude that soldiers should bear toward him. He is a strong, able advocate for them. At times some people might think that he was an inflationist first, but I am not saying that. I am not saying it, because I believe in his heart of hearts he is the friend of the soldier first. However, in the last Congress, in H. R. 1, controlled expansion was given first place in the title, and when you come down to the conclusion of the bill, which is the citation section, it was to be cited as the "Controlled Expansion Act of 1933." It may have been so treated as a matter of strategy. But the fact remains that the bill under consideration, H. R. 1, differs very little from the H. R. 1 in the last Congress. If it were an expansion bill, then we can well argue H. R. 1 today is inflationary.

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

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. I yield.

Mr. PATMAN. Is it not a fact that the gentleman supported that bill?

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. I supported it whole-heartedly, because I, in 1932, and in the last Congress, believed in controlled expansion of the currency. I have not changed my mind on that issue. My thought is, I may say to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN], that we ought to divorce inflation from the payment of the bonus. We should not hang around the neck of the soldier and put an added burden on him by attempting to pass here a bill for currency expansion, or inflation, the same thing, particularly when it has not been considered by the Banking and Currency Committee of this House. My friend PATMAN makes a better argument for divorcing the soldiers' cause from inflation than I possibly can.

H. R. 3896 IS REGULAR, USUAL COURSE

Every time the bonus matter has been up it has come up in an irregular way. It has come up by the exercise of force, through discharge petitions in both instances, and at times almost intimidation. My friend is so adroit, so clever, that as a lawyer he would attempt to sell to the country and to this House the idea that H. R. 3896 is irregular; that this is unusual. Why, Mr. Chairman, this is the regular way of legislating in Congress. Only two committees of the House have the power of appropriation—the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Accounts.

The Ways and Means Committee cannot appropriate. We come here regularly with an authorization to let the administration pay it as they choose, and my friend PATMAN would say that because it did not carry an appropriation that somebody was shooting a double curve. No one knows better than PATMAN that such is not correct.

H. R. 1 MUST HAVE APPROPRIATION FOR FOUR SEPARATE ITEMS

In H. R. 1 you have four specific authorizations. You have four separate instances in H. R. 1 that require appropriations. In section 4, lines 16 to 24, page 7, there are three specific items that require appropriations. The language clearly shows this. It is as follows:

Amounts in the adjusted-service certificate fund are hereby authorized to be made available for the expenses of printing and engraving United States notes issued under this act, for paying fractional parts of a dollar which cannot be paid in United States notes issued under the provisions of this act, and for paying the principal and interest on or in respect of loans pursuant to the provisions of subsection (c) of section 509 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended.

In section 2, on page 4, line 21 to line 2 on page 5, you have an express authorization. This will require an appropriation for the amount of the notes used. I want to read it,

because if the Patman bill does become a law it will have to go through the same channel, the same legislative procedure, that H. R. 3896 will have to go through. Here is what his bill says on this point:

The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to issue such notes in such amount as may be required to make such payment, and of the wording, form, size, and denominations as United States notes issued under existing law, except that the wording thereon shall conform to the provisions of this act.

It was thought by my friend PATMAN—and I grant you it was a reasonable conclusion—that there was no appropriation needed in this provision. However, my friend needs the same appropriation that we do in H. R. 3896.

No one ever attempted to deny that it required an appropriation. It was the usual way of doing it. But he secures authority from the Treasury that it required an appropriation. Now I present my authority with reference to the appropriation items necessary for H. R. 1. I bring to you authority, the Parliamentarian of the House, the Chairman of the Drafting Service. Then I will read from a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, which was written March 16, 1935, the same authority that the gentleman quoted. It is as follows:

MY DEAR MR. VINSON: Responding to your oral inquiry concerning certain phases of the bill to provide for the immediate payment of adjusted-service certificates (H. R. 1), there would, I am advised, be a necessity for an appropriation to render effective the provision in section 2 (a) of the bill for payment of adjusted-service certificates, and the provisions of section 4 of the bill authorizing certain amounts to be made available for expenses.

The point I want to make is this: If anybody is attempting to shoot a double curve, my friend PATMAN is attempting to shoot one of those Frank Merriwell double-shoots. [Laughter.]

Now, I do not mean that in a caustic way, I think he was honest, I think he was sincere in making the statement that his bill did not require appropriations. It shows that one wants to be careful when he challenges another with taking short cuts.

I submit that the bill H. R. 3896 is the regular and usual way of getting legislation before this House, and that H. R. 1 is irregular and the unusual way of doing it.

CHARGE OF "BANKERS' BILL" ABSURD

There is a difference between a lawyer presenting his case to folks who are not thoroughly familiar with the technique of the subject, between a lawyer presenting his case to a jury whom he might temporarily fool, and coming before committees of the House and before the House itself and making statements of the same tenor. Over the radio we have listened to that mellow voice of my friend in splendid lawyer-like fashion talking about the "bankers' bill." He talked about the bankers taking shears and clipping coupons, and even last week, after my friend had appeared before the Ways and Means Committee and had not said a single word about a "bankers' bill", we heard him today say that it was a bankers' bill.

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

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. Yes.

Mr. PATMAN. The gentleman realizes that I was under certain limitations in the committee, where I could not properly protect myself. [Laughter.]

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. Oh, I never knew the gentleman to be limited at any place anywhere. I complimented the gentleman on that occasion, and I compliment him today. I compliment him on the fact that when he faced Mr. Belgrano before the committee he did not characterize this as a "bankers' bill" or as a "Belgrano bill."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, now will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. Just a moment, please. I am not going to be interrupted, my dear friend. Why characterize it a bankers' bill? The purpose was to arouse in the minds of the American listeners and in the minds of the Members of this body an antagonism to this bill. Some folks are even antagonistic to any one who is acquainted with a banker. "Why, the bankers failed us in our dark hour", they say. They did not have as much sense, as much

business acumen as we had attributed to them, and consequently when the banks were closed and people lost their money there arose a natural resentment against the bankers. No one knows it better than my friend from Texas [Mr. PATMAN], no one knows more than he, that the use of a bromide is more powerful in inflaming emotion than an appeal to the intellect particularly when it will not stand the scrutiny that gentlemen of the House and Senate can give it.

Because Frank Belgrano worked in a bank and later was cashier of a bank, and then through his own efforts was elevated to the vice presidency of a bank is no reason to say that this is a banker's bill. This is the same Belgrano elected national commander of the American Legion at Miami where my friend PATMAN was also present. I say to you it is not a banker's bill, unless WRIGHT PATMAN's bill, the first one he ever introduced, was a banker's bill.

THE FIRST PATMAN BILL, H. R. 3493, SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS

My friend PATMAN calls the Vinson bill a "bankers' bond bill." I wonder if the bill which he introduced on May 28, 1929, in the Seventy-first Congress, could similarly be said to be a "bankers' bond bill." I grant him that in this first bill, which he introduced, he had only one thought in his mind at that time; it was the immediate payment of the face value of the adjusted-service certificates. In that bill we find our friend seeking one thing, having one purpose and one objective, namely, the immediate payment to the veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates.

How was this payment to be made? I will not use my own language to answer this question; I will quote from section 2 of that bill, which was introduced by Mr. PATMAN:

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to issue bonds in such amounts as may be needed to carry out the purpose of this act. Such bonds are to be known as "adjusted-compensation bonds", to bear such rates of interest as the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, may determine, and to be redeemable in 15 years after the passage of this act.

Not only was there a specific authority to issue bonds to provide the money for the cash payment, but the interest rate was left up to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. If my memory serves me correctly, the then Secretary of the Treasury was none other than Andrew Mellon, the personal object of our good friend PATMAN's wrath throughout a period of years. Not for one moment can I believe that my friend PATMAN would prefer to trust the discretion of Mr. Mellon in fixing interest rates upon bonds to the present Secretary of the Treasury, the able and distinguished Henry Morgenthau.

I cannot believe that he would be adverse to vesting Mr. Morgenthau with the same power he would have given to Mr. Mellon.

THE SECOND PATMAN BILL, H. R. 1, SEVENTY-SECOND CONGRESS

When this bill, the first H. R. 1, appeared in Congress, introduced by my friend PATMAN, it had only one purpose and one objective. It was "to provide for the immediate payment to the veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates." This bill was introduced on December 8, 1931, in the Seventy-second Congress. There was no controlled expansion or controlled inflation in that measure. Its method of payment, as contained in the bill, was as follows:

SEC. 2. There is authorized to be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of sections added to title V of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act by section 1 of this act. Amounts now or hereafter in the adjusted-service certificate fund created by section 505 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, are authorized to be made available for the payment of the face value of the adjusted-service certificates under section 509 or 510 of such act, as amended.

The method of financing the payment carried in the foregoing is like the method carried in my bill. The issuance of bonds, carried in the first bill, was dropped, and in its stead there was inserted the usual, regular provision authorizing the appropriation of such amount as was necessary to pay off this debt. There was no suggestion that the debt was to be paid through any issuance of currency. There was only one objective in this bill, and that was the payment of the debt to the veterans, just as Uncle Sam pays any other debt.

No member of the American Legion or anyone else ever charged this "a double curve." It was the regular way to do the job.

THE THIRD PATMAN BILL, H. R. 7726, SEVENTY-SECOND CONGRESS

To provide for the immediate payment to veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates.

On January 14, 1932, in the Seventy-second Congress, my friend PATMAN introduced his third bonus measure. Its stated purpose was "to provide for the immediate payment to veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates." It was in this measure that Mr. PATMAN was endeavoring to change, in conjunction with the bonus payment, the monetary system of the United States. He desired to pay the certificates with Treasury notes. I quote section 2 of this bill:

SEC. 2. Payments of the face value of adjusted-service certificates under section 509 or 510 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, shall be paid in Treasury notes. The Secretary of the Treasury of the United States is hereby authorized to have engraved and printed a sufficient amount of Treasury notes, in the denominations of \$1, \$2, \$5, \$10, \$20, \$25, \$50, \$100, \$500, and \$1,000 each; such Treasury notes shall be full legal tender, non-interest bearing, exempt from all taxes, including Federal, State, and subdivisions thereof.

I would call your attention to the fact that this was a currency expansion, an inflation measure without brakes or control. It was, according to the testimony before our committee, uncontrolled inflation. The avowed purpose of the bill was to pay off the adjusted-service certificates. For the first time there was loaded onto the backs of the soldiers the question of inflation. There was no method suggested or devised to contract the currency if, with the issue of these Treasury notes, inflation would have gotten out of bounds. This was the bill which received consideration by the Ways and Means Committee in the Seventy-second Congress. It was the original language in section 2 that drew the fire and criticism that caused expressions of "greenbacks", "flat", and "printing press" money to be used and which did tremendous damage to the cash-payment cause.

THE OWEN PLAN (THE FOURTH METHOD)

It was while these hearings were progressing that ex-Senator Robert L. Owen prepared an amendment which was submitted to the committee with Mr. PATMAN's expressed approval. The hearings continued with the opponents still talking about the original language, and those of us who favored the cash payment supporting the Owen amendment, which, for information, I quote in full:

SEC. 2. Payment of the face value of the adjusted-service certificates under section 509 or 510 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, shall be paid in Treasury notes.

The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to issue United States notes to the extent required to make the payments herein authorized. Such notes shall be legal tender for public and private debts and printed in the same size, of the same denominations, and of the same form as Treasury notes, omitting the reference to any Federal Reserve bank.

He shall place such notes in the Federal Reserve banks, subject to the order of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, to be used for the purposes of this act.

He shall issue a like amount of United States bonds bearing 3½-percent interest, payable semiannually, with coupons attached, and such bonds shall be due and payable in 20 years from the date of issue, subject to the right of redemption after 10 years.

These bonds shall be deposited in the Federal Reserve banks, as the agents of the United States, in approximate proportion to their current assets at the date of the passage of this act.

In the event that the purchasing power of the dollar in the wholesale commodity markets, as ascertained by the United States Department of Labor, shall at any time fall as much as 2 percent below the average value of the year 1926, the Federal Reserve Board, by resolution in writing, may direct the sale to the public of such portions of said bonds as may from time to time be necessary to restore the purchasing power of the dollar to the normal standard of 1926.

Such currency received for such bonds shall be exchanged for the notes hereby authorized to be issued and they shall be returned to the Secretary of the Treasury for cancellation.

At the conclusion of the hearings the Owen amendment was offered in lieu of section 2 of this bill. It was voted down, as I recall, 14 to 11. Then the majority of the committee voted to report adversely the original Patman bill, H. R. 7726, 14 favoring the adverse report and 11 voting to

report it favorably, with the purpose expressed at the time of the vote that the uncontrolled inflation section would be stricken out and the Owen amendment inserted in lieu thereof. I filed the minority report which was signed by nine other members of the committee. We stated specifically in the report that—

The so-called "Owen plan of payment" would be proposed for adoption under the Patman bill in lieu of section 2 thereof should the bill be considered in the House.

When the bill reached the House Hon. Heartsill Ragon, then a Representative from Arkansas and now gracing the Federal bench, offered the Owen amendment in lieu of section 2 of the bill as originally introduced. It was adopted and was in the bill when it passed the House on June 15, 1932.

Referring to the Owen amendment, it is very plain that the methods used had brakes against a runaway currency. It had specific control features. It called for the issue of bonds in an amount equal to the Treasury notes used, bearing 3½-percent interest, payable semiannually, with coupons attached. They were not to be sold unless the Federal Reserve Board might desire to prevent undue inflation.

THE FOURTH PATMAN BILL (THE FIFTH METHOD), H. R. 1, SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS

This bill was introduced by Mr. PATMAN at the beginning of the last Congress. It passed the House March 12, 1934, failed to pass in the Senate, receiving a vote of 31. The first section of this bill is identical with the second Patman bill, and the first section of the third Patman bill. The Owen amendment was not included in this bill. It had an entirely different method of payment, no hearings were ever held upon it. For the purpose of being exact, I include sections 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the bill:

SEC. 2. (a) Payment of the face value of adjusted-service certificates under section 509 or 510 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, shall be made in United States notes not bearing interest. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to issue such notes in such amount as may be required to make such payment, and of the same wording, form, size, and denominations as United States notes issued under existing law, except that the wording thereon shall conform to the provisions of this act. The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and the Secretary of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed jointly to prescribe rules and regulations for the delivery of such notes in payment under section 509 or 510 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended.

(b) United States notes issued pursuant to the provisions of this act shall be lawful money of the United States and shall be maintained at a parity of value with the standard unit of value fixed by law. Such notes shall be legal tender in payment of all debts and dues, public and private, and shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received shall be reissued. Such notes, when held by any national banking association or Federal Reserve bank, may be counted as a part of its lawful reserve. The provisions of sections 1 and 2 of the act of March 14, 1900, as amended (U. S. C., title 31, secs. 314 and 408), and section 26 of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended (U. S. C., title 31, sec. 409), are hereby made applicable to such notes in the same manner and to the same extent as such provisions apply to United States notes.

SEC. 3. (a) Whenever the index number of the wholesale all-commodity prices rises above the index number of such prices for the years 1921 to 1929, as computed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, notwithstanding any provisions of law to the contrary, the following methods for contracting the issues of currency in the United States shall be in force and effect, in the manner and to the extent prescribed in subsection (b) of this section:

(1) Abolishment of the circulation privilege extended to certain bonds of the United States under the provisions of section 29 of the Federal Home Loan Bank Act, and retirement of such bonds as security for circulating notes as rapidly as practicable.

(2) Termination of the issuance and reissuance of national-bank circulating notes and the retirement of such notes from circulation as rapidly as practicable.

(3) Termination of the issuance and reissuance of Federal Reserve notes secured by direct obligations of the United States.

(4) Termination of the issuance and reissuance of Federal Reserve notes secured only by gold or gold certificates.

(5) Termination of the issuance and reissuance of Federal Reserve notes secured by notes, drafts, bills of exchange, acceptances, or bankers' acceptances which are not issued in direct benefit of commerce, industry, or agriculture.

(b) Any such method of contracting currency issues shall be applicable when the Secretary of the Treasury finds that its application is necessary in order to maintain the index number of wholesale all-commodity prices at the approximate level of the index number of such prices for the years 1921 to 1929 and issues

an order setting forth such finding. Each such order shall prescribe such rules and regulations as are necessary and appropriate to carry out the provisions of this section with respect to the method of contraction made applicable in the order. The Secretary shall make such methods applicable only in the order in which they are set forth in subsection (a) of this section, but he shall make such methods applicable as rapidly as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this section. When any such order is issued with respect to Federal Reserve notes, the Federal Reserve Board shall take such action as may be necessary to facilitate the enforcement of the order.

SEC. 4. Section 505 (authorizing annual appropriations ending with the year 1946 for the payment of adjusted-service certificates) of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, except the first sentence thereof, is hereby repealed. Amounts in the adjusted-service certificate fund are hereby authorized to be made available for the expenses of printing and engraving United States notes issued under this act, for paying fractional parts of a dollar which cannot be paid in United States notes issued under the provisions of this act, and for paying the principal and interest on or in respect of loans pursuant to the provisions of subsection (c) of section 509 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended.

SEC. 5. This act may be cited as the "Controlled Expansion Act, 1933."

This bill did not have the control features set forth in the Owen plan.

I would point out to the committee that it was not until the Patman bill no. 4, which was, in many respects, different from any other bill which he had theretofore introduced, that, appearing from the language of the bill, the controlled expansion of the currency feature became predominant. As a matter of fact, I would not say, even with the language that is confronting me, that the immediate cash payment of the bonus had been subordinated to his views of currency expansion. I can say that my friend had given tremendous study to the question of money and had become quite learned in the question of money mechanics of our country, and, some might say, that in this bill controlled expansion dwarfed his first notion of immediate cash payment of the adjusted-service certificates. I will not say that. It may be that he thought it was the strategic thing to do, but the fact remains that the title of the bill was in this language:

To provide for controlled expansion of the currency and the immediate payment to veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates.

Then, in the citation section, we find that the author of the bill states that "This act may be cited as the 'Controlled Expansion Act, 1933.'"

THE FIFTH PATMAN BILL (THE SIXTH METHOD), H. R. 1, SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

To provide for the immediate payment to veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates and for controlled expansion of the currency.

The fifth bill sees a change in title. Instead of controlled expansion of the currency being the first objective set forth in the title, we see the first purpose to be the immediate payment to the veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates and then for controlled expansion of the currency. The citation section likewise is changed.

The method of contracting currency is somewhat different from that which was carried in Patman bill no. 4.

A SHORT ANALYSIS OF THE METHODS PROVIDING FOR PAYMENT CONTAINED IN THE FIVE PATMAN BILLS

In order to boil down the foregoing analyses, may I say that the original Patman bill, which we will for purpose of convenience call the first Patman bill, expressly authorized the issuance of bonds to provide funds for the payment of the adjusted-service certificates.

The second Patman bill would have financed the payment in the exact way that my bill would finance this payment.

The third Patman bill originally would have financed the payment with Treasury notes, without any brakes on inflation, which many feared would be followed by the issuance of this so-called "printing-press money." It was to this bill that the Owen amendment, which had the control features, was tacked.

The fourth Patman bill, to be cited as the "Controlled Expansion Act, 1933", did not include the Owen amendment of his next prior bill, but would have contracted the currency in the various ways set forth therein.

The fifth Patman bill: While it does not follow no. 4, yet it is somewhat similar to it. However, with the Treasury order of March 11, 1935, a material change in the situation is seen.

So I submit that the statement of our friend that in the book—his Appeal to Veterans—there was a different plan; brings the total of plans to seven, the number of bills to five, each one different, none written into law.

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

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. Yes.

Mr. PATMAN. I invite the gentleman's attention to the fact that Senator Owen, who endorsed H. R. 7726 and subsequent bills, also endorses our bill H. R. 1.

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. Yes; but he does not say that it is not a controlled-expansion bill. I have here in my hand a mimeographed statement which the gentleman today was kind enough to send out to Members, and in the second paragraph he says:

It could not possibly expand unjustifiably credit and currency.

And then he gives his reasons. In other words, Senator Owen does not say that it is not an expansion measure. He says "it could not possibly expand unjustifiably credit and currency." Others might differ relative to the degree. I say to you that unless you divorce currency expansion from cash payment you will have to go back and tell the boys, "Well, we fought a good fight; we did the best we could; but you haven't got your money yet."

STABILIZATION GOLD IS NOT A RESERVE FOR PATMAN MONEY

In this same memorandum the statement is made from the steering committee:

Any statement to the effect that we cannot use \$8,000,000,000 in gold to keep our money on a parity is absolutely ridiculous.

Who said that we could not use that gold? Who ever thought of saying we could not use the profit gold as a reserve for currency? Nobody. But we do say that H. R. 1 does not use this gold; it is not tied up; it is not used as a reserve; it is not a specific reserve for the currency that will be issued under this bill. My friends, they talk about that \$2,800,000,000 as though it were a reserve behind currency. It is not. On March 11, 1935, they took \$642,000,000 of it and brought it over and it will be placed behind Federal Reserve notes as a reserve; but this \$2,000,000,000 stabilization fund, the rest of the gold profit, is not used as a reserve in Mr. PATMAN'S bill.

MY FRIEND PATMAN WOULD ISSUE TWENTY-EIGHT BILLION OF NEW CURRENCY

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] made a statement before the committee that he believed all the securities of the Federal Government should be withdrawn and currency issued in lieu thereof. The gentleman attempted to do that on the floor of this House when he would have limited the interest on securities to one-half of 1 percent. Imagine \$28,000,000,000 more in new currency when our present currency is \$6,000,000,000. The gentleman goes the Townsend plan \$4,000,000,000 better. [Laughter.]

DISCONTINUANCE OF NATIONAL-BANK NOTES

Now, I was talking a moment ago about this so-called "bankers' bill." Reference was made to Frank Belgrano, a splendid gentleman, who, in my judgment, is as sincere in this fight for the immediate cash payment of the soldiers as Mr. PATMAN, myself, or any other Member of this body.

Then they talked about the bankers' profit. You have not heard much about that lately, but before the Ways and Means Committee it was pointed out at that time that less than 3 percent of the securities outstanding were used by our Government as a reserve for currency. It was about \$883,000,000. That was before the gold order of March 11, 1935. When that order was issued, you lifted section 3 (a) (2) from the Patman bill. I want you to understand this, please. Section 3 presumably contains the brakes that will control undue inflation; likewise, it retires currency backed up by interest-bearing securities. Why have brakes, if no inflation? Section 3 (a) (2) deals with the termination of national-bank notes.

Now, they will go out of circulation in entirety by August 1, this year. When they are gone you will have \$677,000,000

of securities taken from behind currency and retired. That will leave you only \$186,000,000 of securities behind all our currency. These are now behind Federal Reserve notes. Ninety-five percent of the reserves for Federal Reserve notes are gold certificates. The only brake left in H. R. 1 under section 3, or any portion of it, is the withdrawal of Federal Reserve notes. The only money you will save, this coupon-clipping proposition, is the interest on \$186,000,000, about five and one-half millions of dollars. Twenty-eight billion dollars of outstanding securities and \$186,000,000 of securities that will be behind the currency. Two-thirds of 1 percent of all United States securities are used as reserve for currency. Where are your millions in profit for bankers. It is so ridiculous—it is funny.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. VINSON] has expired.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Kentucky 15 additional minutes.

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

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. I yield.

Mr. PATMAN. Of course, the gentleman does not say that that is the only brake in the bill? Subsection 1 will terminate the issuance and reissuance of Federal Reserve notes.

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. No. I was talking about sections 2 and 3.

Mr. PATMAN. That is only a small part.

PHANTOM BRAKES

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. Now, just to show you about that—I did not want to bring this up—but in a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury which I received yesterday certain language was quoted from section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act. That is my authority, and I quote from the last two paragraphs of this letter, because it is pertinent, proving conclusively there is no added brake at all in section 3 of your bill. When you take out the national-bank notes, and the gold order does that, subsections 1, 3, and 4 give no added power to the Federal Reserve Board in regard to the control of currency. I read from this letter:

I will say, however, that my understanding is that the authority to issue Federal Reserve notes against the security of direct obligations of the United States is an emergency power, subject to termination by the Federal Reserve Board at any time, and expiring in any event March 3, 1937, unless extended by Congress.

And further—

Again, the Federal Reserve Board is given the right in section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act "to grant in whole or in part, or to reject entirely the application of any Federal Reserve bank for Federal Reserve notes."

Can you say now that the language in section 3 means anything?

SHOULD STABILIZATION FUND BE USED TO PAY CERTIFICATES?

I saw in the press the other day where a question was submitted to Mr. Eccles and the gentlemen endeavored to ask him about the validity of certain currency, to compare Federal Reserve notes with currency that was backed by this gold. Of course, Mr. Eccles said that each was equally sound and valid, but the point I make is that there is nothing done in this bill with that gold. The distinguished Member of this House from Indiana, Mr. GREENWOOD, asked the question:

Why can't we take the same gold and pay the certificates?

He was referring to this \$2,000,000,000 stabilization fund. It is not for me to say how much, if any, of that stabilization fund should be put behind the currency. My answer to that is that if the administration wants to do it, if you pass H. R. 3896, they can take enough of that gold to pay the bonus certificates in full without more ado.

The point is that this is a matter within their province. The stabilization fund is doing a big job; it is an insurance policy on a large scale. The mere fact that we have it makes Johnny Bull and others across the sea cautious in regard to their money operations; but if the administration wants to take it and pay off the adjusted-service certificates, they can do so as soon as our bill is passed. No further authority would be needed.

HOW TO PAY IT

The question has been raised as to how this will be paid. Our friends opposing this bill hold up the question of taxes; and, of course, no legislator looks with friendly mien upon taxes. Mr. Chairman, we are going to be faced with the necessity of raising some \$1,800,000,000 to pay the certificates off on January 1, 1945. You cannot pay them by hokus-pokus. Sometimes I feel that some folks think they can, but I do not believe they will be paid off by hokus-pokus, presto chango, or legerdemain. You will have to raise \$1,800,000,000 by January 1, 1945, to pay off then. A continued payment into sinking fund of \$112,000,000 each year for the next 10 years would mean not an added dollar of cost. This amount of money at interest for 10 years would increase to a total of \$1,350,000,000. Now, no one on this floor will say that Uncle Sam, between now and January 1, 1945, is going to permit the interest on the veterans' money to eat up the other half of the certificates. Justice there is going to cost money, because the money that was lent to the veterans was taken out of the sinking fund, where it was earning interest, and loaned to the veterans at compound interest. This interest charge is now piling up. General Hines told us in 1932 it would cost \$1,000,000,000 to cancel the interest.

There are \$3,500,000,000 of certificates outstanding. The veterans owe \$1,700,000,000; this leaves \$1,800,000,000 to be paid. Paying \$112,000,000 each year for next 10 years into sinking fund, as we are doing now, is not adding one single dime to the backs of the taxpayers, and on January 1, 1945, you will have \$1,350,000,000. In 10 years the carrying charges on \$1,800,000,000 to pay the certificates at 3 percent are \$540,000,000. Add the \$1,000,000,000 of interest that we are going to have to cancel to the \$1,350,000,000 you will have \$2,350,000,000 on January 1, 1945; subtracting \$1,800,000,000 cash payment leaves \$550,000,000 to the good. The carrying charges on \$1,800,000,000 for 10 years at 3 percent, \$540,000,000. Subtracting \$540,000,000 from \$550,000,000 leaves \$10,000,000.

Whatever you save in the relief burden will be added to this \$10,000,000. If it be 20 percent, that means \$360,000,000 more saved; all told, a savings of \$370,000,000.

Sponsors of this measure always think about long-term bonds and taxes. While our average interest rate last year was 3 percent, some short-term securities were sold for two-thirds of 1 percent, but I want to call attention of the House to the fact that in governmental financing it is very rare that the full amount, in a case of this kind, would be raised by taxes in that amount in any one year. Generally speaking, if it were to be financed by a sale of securities, a sinking fund could well be set up that would retire the securities at such period as the administration might desire.

Assume that the regular sinking-fund payment of \$112,000,000 per year would be continued. As heretofore shown, these payments would amount to \$1,350,000,000 on January 1, 1945. With this sum of money on hand, without any extra cost whatever to the taxpayer, because this amount must be raised under existing law, it would be necessary to have \$450,000,000 to retire \$1,800,000,000, the long-term securities, the proceeds from which paid off the adjusted-service certificates. As I compute it, it would take less than \$38,000,000 additional per year to amortize this sum of \$450,000,000 on January 1, 1945. Assuming that 20 percent of this cash payment would be saved from the relief burden, it is apparent that there would be no added costs.

Another way of calculating it: If you subtract \$400,000,000 relief payments from the \$1,800,000,000 paid the soldier, you would have a remainder of \$1,400,000,000. The normal sinking fund payment of \$112,000,000 per year for 10 years comes within \$50,000,000 of this sum. Carrying charges on the total cash payment amount, plus this fifty million would be less than \$600,000,000. By this computation there would be a saving of approximately \$400,000,000.

In these computations we have computed carrying charges on the amount required to pay off the adjusted-service certificates when, as a matter of fact, the sum saved from the

relief burden should be deducted from that amount and the actual carrying charges would be on such remainder. That would make a very considerable saving over a 10-year period.

I am not suggesting that the foregoing plan be adopted, but I am merely pointing out that it is not such a stupendous financial undertaking.

Assuming that the interest on the loans is going to be canceled, I repeat that we can save money by paying off the certificates now. But there are other ways of paying off the certificates under existing laws. Senator THOMAS successfully procured the adoption of an amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act calling for the issuance of \$3,000,000,000 of notes like those in H. R. 1. Senator THOMAS, one might say, is the father of inflation in these latter days. There is no question but that the certificates could be paid under H. R. 3896 with the money authorized by the Thomas amendment if the administration so desired. It could not be paid off directly with these Treasury notes, because they are to be used to retire interest-bearing obligations, but it would be a simple matter to retire such obligations with this money and thereby relieve the debt structure to the extent of \$3,000,000,000. Thereupon the Treasury could float a \$2,000,000,000 issue, and with the proceeds from it pay off the certificates.

Referring to Senator THOMAS, a week or so ago he was reported in the New York Times with having urged monetary caution. Quoting from the press report:

Just how much expansion will be necessary to bring about the 100-cent dollar can only be ascertained by experimenting.

I do not think the amount would be large, and by adopting a policy of slow and gradual expansion no possible harm could be done and no severe shock would result to prices.

CASH BONUS HELD RISKY

The payment of the bonus in cash might go too far, Mr. THOMAS continued. Likewise, the Frazier-Lemke proposal or the Wheeler Treasury note issue proposal might reduce the value of the dollar far below the 1926 level, thereby causing an undesirable increase in prices and living costs.

Now, when the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma, the chief sponsor of inflation, advocates caution when it comes to the proposed monetary changes and he says we should go slow before we change the monetary system of this country, I submit that the most rabid inflationist in this House should stop, look, and listen.

The administration, under the Dies bill, could expand the currency by issuing silver certificates to the amount of about \$1,800,000,000. They could do that without additional legislation. They already have that power.

If the administration so desired, they could use the \$2,000,000,000 stabilization fund—gold profit allocated for this specific purpose—and issue \$5,000,000,000 of currency and pay off the soldiers' certificates. In these last three measures the administration now has the power to expand the currency \$9,800,000,000, or any part of it. All these powers have been conferred since the first Patman bill passed the House; but the trouble is, so far as the Patman proposal is concerned, that the administration does not choose to exercise its powers of inflation. PATMAN's difficulty is that they do not choose to pay these certificates through the inflation route.

A short time ago we authorized the issue of baby bonds. I suggest that we can pay these certificates by sale of these bonds, and with their proceeds, pay off certificates in the regular way. With the soldiers' organizations, the auxiliaries, the veterans and their families, and the people who would be glad to see them paid in cash—perhaps some creditors—you could, in my opinion, put on a campaign and sell \$2,000,000,000 of baby bonds, or at least a large proportion thereof.

CONCLUSION

With our present policy of spending money, determined to increase the price level, and all that sort of thing, I believe the country wants these adjusted certificates paid. I believe they recognize it is for personal services rendered. I believe they want them paid, and paid now. I believe they want them paid in the same way that the war contractors were paid \$3,000,000,000, in the same way that the railroads

were paid \$2,000,000,000, in the same way that all current obligations of Uncle Sam are paid.

I submit in closing that the American people do not believe in repudiation of the debts owing to us by foreign countries for money and supplies received from us to save their native lands from destruction. We generally talk in angry tones about such repudiation, yet we have repudiated a debt to our very own. Practically everyone was employed during the war. Practically every civilian employee, every Federal civilian employee, and most every individual and corporation connected with and used by the Federal Government in that war received adjusted pay in cash, except the man-power that was called to the colors in that grave crisis. It is our thought that the adjusted-service certificate is an acknowledged debt. It is adjusted pay for personal services rendered. We can't get it out of our mind that the men or women who rendered the service are the ones who should receive the benefits of this adjustment in pay.

Already 189,000 have passed to the great beyond. On January 1, 1945, more than 300,000 additional will have failed to receive adjustment in their service pay. In other words, on the technical due date, January 1, 1945, more than 500,000 World War veterans will have failed to get any personal benefit out of this adjusted-service plan. The services were rendered more than 16 years ago. Using the accepted adjusted-service pay, computing the interest in the same way that Uncle Sam has computed it against the soldier, the debt is now past due. In my opinion, the American people do not want this debt repudiated.

I respectfully submit that the Members of this House who desire to do something for the soldiers during their lifetime should take the strongest vehicle to pay that debt. It was for this purpose that I introduced H. R. 3896, and I am happy to present it to you for your serious consideration. [Applause.]

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ANDREWS].

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include two tables having to do with this subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Mr. Chairman and Members, before I proceed with my argument, may I bring to your attention a short summary of some statistics prepared by the Veterans' Bureau having to do with the adjusted-service certificates?

Number of veterans approved as eligible for adjusted-service certificates, 4,051,065.

Number of certificates that have been issued, 3,723,633.

Maturity value of the certificates issued, \$3,676,191,304.

In force and outstanding now, 3,528,590.

Value of those certificates outstanding now, \$3,481,914,998.

Number who have borrowed against these outstanding certificates, 3,015,614 veterans.

Liens against these certificates, \$1,707,298,516.23.

Of these, about 69,000 have not borrowed the full 50 percent allowed.

Before proceeding with an outline of another bill, of which you heard something today, may I state that I believe the time has come, for various reasons, when it is necessary for us to do something definitely and positively of benefit to the veterans? I believe that the veterans who have borrowed on their certificates are abused on interest. I believe there is a need on the part of the great majority of veterans for financial assistance. Before going into a brief description of a bill originally introduced in the Senate by Senator TYDINGS and exactly the same bill as introduced in the House by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN] and myself, H. R. 6804, I hope you will bear with me in a few observations.

Mr. Chairman, I think it is pertinent at this moment to analyze, if we can, what our duty and what our responsi-

bility is. As I see it, we have the responsibility, first, to all of the people in our districts, and this also involves the welfare of the country. In the second place, I will admit a responsibility to the veterans. In the third place, I believe it is true, and I think you will admit it to be true, that the Members on the Democratic side of the House have a responsibility to the leader of their party in the White House, who at the moment is responsible for the welfare of the country. At this time I think it is worth while for you to take that into consideration, even from the standpoint of the veteran himself.

I happen to be a veteran attempting to serve a large congressional district. I mention that because I consider myself a representative of the people and not solely of the veterans. I am of the opinion that veterans, no matter who is leading them, no matter who may have introduced bills for them in the past, have been led up a blind alley in this country for the last 10 years. I know myself that a veteran is never satisfied. I know a veteran always wants all he can get, and I do not blame any veteran for that desire. I will admit that the measure which I shall attempt to outline may not be the most popular one today, but I am reminded of the fact that there were a great many officers who were popular in the training camps and not so popular as you reach the front line. After you are in the front line the object is to gain something, and even though you may not have been popular in the training area, if you take the objective you are all right with the veterans. They look for results.

This bonus bill, or whatever you want to call it, is back in the front-line trenches today. The veterans want something. I do not blame any veteran for wanting full cash payment, and I do not blame you for voting for it, if you are sincerely in favor of it, and can know to some degree where you are coming out at the end. But I suspect there are some Members here who are going to vote for either the Patman or Vinson bills with the full knowledge of belief that the bill they are going to vote for cannot pass. Possibly that is all you want. Maybe all you want to do is to vote for the bonus bill, then go back home and say, "I voted for the bonus", not caring whether the veterans get anything or not. Perhaps that will do in some districts, but may I say that what the veterans want is action and results for their relief. You have a situation here staring you in the face, with the leader of your own party threatening a veto, failure of the Patman bill in the Senate, as in the past, and the fact that if the Vinson bill passes here you do not know how you are going to raise the money with another long drawn-out fight on the necessary appropriation to come. The President, it has been stated, is against these two plans. I, for one, am willing to take something today that is less popular with the veterans as a starter. At least we know that the President has not expressed himself against the bill which I am in favor of. That is something to start on.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. Did I understand the gentleman to say that his bill was identical with the bill known as the "Cochran bill"?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Yes.

Mr. COX. Are not both of those bills, the gentleman's bill and the Cochran bill, much the same as the Vinson bill?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. No; they are not; but our bill resembles the Vinson bill rather than the Patman bill.

Mr. COX. In other words, under the Andrews bill, is there not issued to the veterans negotiable certificates?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Government bonds which are negotiable.

Mr. COX. Well, bonds; not at the present cash surrender value of the certificate, but at a value representing its face value?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. The face value of the bonds issued to the veteran plus the 3-percent interest coupons thereon will equal the face value due on the certificates in 1945.

Mr. COX. If those bonds sell for par, then in effect the gentleman does by his bill the same as is promised under the Vinson bill?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. No; I will admit that if the veteran sold his bonds today he could not receive as much in cash as he would as a result of a sale of bonds by the Government under the Vinson plan, but our bill would not burden the Treasury with any sale of bonds.

Mr. COX. The gentleman's bill is not a proposal to give to the veteran the present cash value of the certificate which he holds.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. No; it is not. It would yield more than the present cash value.

Mr. COX. But you promised to him in bonds the face value of the certificate, the bonds drawing 3½-percent interest, which you believe will cause them to be sold at par.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. No. I am just coming to a brief description of the bill, if I may proceed.

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

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman said a moment ago that the President had expressed his opposition to both the Patman bill and the Vinson bill, but had not expressed opposition to his bill.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. That is correct.

Mr. RANKIN. Has it been called to the President's attention?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I understand it has in a general plan.

Mr. RANKIN. Has he expressed himself on it one way or the other?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I simply know that the bill was introduced in the House by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN] and myself after its introduction in the Senate by Senator TYDINGS and that its final draft was rewritten with the cooperation of the Veterans' Bureau.

Mr. RANKIN. But the gentleman does not know what the attitude of the President is on the bill?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. No.

Mr. RANKIN. That is what I am trying to get from the gentleman.

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

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I yield.

Mr. McFARLANE. Does the gentleman have any idea that the President would approve his bill if he has already stated he is opposed to both the Vinson and the Patman bills?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Yes.

Mr. McFARLANE. What makes the gentleman think so?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Because it is a reasonable and sound bill, and it does not involve any extra expense.

Mr. McFARLANE. Who else besides the gentleman and his coauthors in the House and Senate think that?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Many whom I have consulted, among them veterans. You know, these bills have a way of coming back to you, and this one will be back in 2 or 3 weeks, and then you may know more.

Mr. McFARLANE. Yours will never get out.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I do not expect it will pass now, but if you will bear with me, I will read an opinion on this bill by the Veterans' Bureau:

OUTLINE ON H. R. 6804

This bill is entitled "A bill to provide for the payment of veterans' adjusted-service certificates in bonds of the United States." It provides for amending section 507 of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, and for the addition of a new section to title V of the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, to be known as "section 509."

The amendment to section 507 of the existing act provides for the expenditure of all amounts in the fund for the purposes of the proposed act.

The benefits under this bill may be secured by a certificate holder by filing an application with the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, and the surrender to the Administrator of the adjusted-service certificate and all rights thereunder. Settlement of the amount due under the provisions of this measure shall be made to the veteran, or his authorized representative if the veteran be

incompetent, and to the estate of the veteran if the veteran dies after application has been filed.

When the application and certificates are in the possession of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs he shall discount, at true discount, the amount shown as the maturity value on the face of the certificate surrendered from January 1, 1945, at the rate of interest of 3 percent per annum, compounded semiannually, to the 1st day of January or July, whichever is the earlier date, next succeeding the date of the filing of the application with the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs. From the present value of the maturity value shown on the face of the certificate, determined by the deduction therefrom of the amount of true discount, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall deduct the amount of lien, if any, outstanding against the certificate with interest, if any, accrued to the date of the filing of the application for benefits under this act. On and after January 1, 1932, the amount of interest charged on loans shall be 3 percent per annum, compounded annually.

The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury, upon a form to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, a statement of the amount due each veteran. Upon receipt of this statement the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to issue in settlement of the amount certified to be due negotiable bonds of the United States, with coupons attached, bearing interest at the rate of 3 percent per annum, payable semiannually, in a value equal to the highest multiple of \$50 represented by the amount certified. The difference between the net amount certified as due and the amount represented by the face value of bonds issued shall be paid to the veteran by the Secretary of the Treasury by check drawn upon the Treasurer of the United States.

The bonds issued shall be redeemable in lawful money of the United States on January 1, 1945. The bonds shall be dated from the 1st day of January or July (whichever is the earlier date) next succeeding the date of the filing with the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs of an application for benefits under the provisions of this act. Veterans to whom bonds have been issued are protected from exploitation by a provision in section 509 (h) of the act which prevents the negotiability of the bonds for 6 months after the date of issue for any consideration less than the amount shown on the face of the bond as the redemption value. Violation of this provision of the law is made a fraud and punishment is prescribed of a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment of not more than 2 years, or both.

The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to redeem from the United States Government Life Insurance Fund all adjusted-service certificates held by that fund on account of loans made thereon and to pay to the United States Government Life Insurance Fund the amount of outstanding liens against such certificates, including all interest due or accrued, together with such amounts as may be due under subdivision (m) of section 502, as amended. The Secretary of the Treasury, in making redemption of adjusted-service certificates from the United States Government Life Insurance Fund, is authorized and directed to make payment therefor by issuing to the United States Government Life Insurance Fund bonds of the United States, which shall bear interest at the rate of 4½ percent per annum, to be callable at a date not earlier than 10 years subsequent to the date of issue.

MARCH 18, 1935.

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

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Yes; I yield.

Mr. COX. Has the gentleman made an estimate of the difference in cost to the Government of a settlement made under his bill, the Vinson bill and the Patman bill? In other words, a settlement made under the Vinson bill would cost the Government what figure, a settlement made under the Patman bill would cost the Government what figure, and what would be the cost to the Government of a settlement made under the gentleman's bill?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I do not have any figures on the cost to the Government of the Vinson and Patman bills, but our bill provides no additional expense. It is merely a conversion of a governmental obligation. I may say that on page 3805 of the RECORD the gentleman will find a memorandum prepared by the Veterans' Bureau, together with a table, which was appended to this statement, showing the approximate settlement to the holder of a \$1,000 adjusted-service certificate not pledged as security for loan, and I shall insert this table in the RECORD.

The table referred to follows:

Approximate settlement to holder of \$1,000 adjusted-service certificate not pledged as security for loan

Certificate having maturity value on Jan. 1, 1945, of.....	\$1,000.00
Present value of maturity value of \$1,000 certificate discounted (at true discount) at the rate of 3 percent per annum compounded semiannually from Jan. 1, 1945, to July 1, 1935.....	753.61
Settlement to veteran in cash as of July 1, 1935.....	3.61

Approximate settlement to holder of \$1,000 adjusted-service certificate not pledged as security for loan—Continued

Settlement to veteran in bond issue as of July 1, 1935, convertible into cash.....	\$750.00
Interest on \$750 bond for 9½ years at 3 percent per annum.....	213.75

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

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. What would be the value of such an adjusted-service certificate?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. The present value of maturity value of \$1,000 certificate discounted—at true discount—at the rate of 3 percent per annum, compounded semiannually from January 1, 1945, to July 1, 1935, would be \$753.61.

Settlement to veteran in cash as of July 1, 1935, \$3.61.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I have not completed my answer to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Settlement to veteran in bond issue as of July 1, 1935, convertible into cash, \$750.

Interest on \$750 bond for 9½ years at 3 percent per annum, \$213.75.

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

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Yes.

Mr. McFARLANE. Would not that depend somewhat on the bond market during that period of time?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. No; the bill specifically provides that for a period of 6 months the face value of the bond is guaranteed with violation penalty.

Mr. McFARLANE. Beyond that, what?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Then it is subject to the fluctuations of the bond market; but may I point out that by putting the interest premiums at 3 percent, the bonds would have priority over all other Government bonds outstanding insofar as the interest-bearing rate is concerned.

Mr. McFARLANE. Does the gentleman know how the Wall Streeters took the people for a ride on the bonds that were issued after the war?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I may state that by distributing them direct to the veteran in this way there would be no interest or commission paid to the banks.

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

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I yield.

Mr. HARLAN. In view of the fact that the new issue of Government bonds is at a rate of 2.78, is it not probable that these bonds will sell above par at 3 rather than go the other way?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I am informed by trust officials that they would and that they would command a priority of demand.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I yield.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. I understand from the bill that the Veterans' Administrator will determine the amount due under this bill on each certificate and certify that amount to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. That is correct.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Who will incorporate that amount in a bond issue?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. The Treasury Department.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. In arriving at that amount do I understand the bill rightly, that the Veterans' Administrator will deduct from the face maturity of the bill in 1945 3 percent per annum, compounded semiannually?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. He will deduct whatever loan was made, plus interest on that loan for whatever period it has been outstanding, at 3 percent.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Is that all the deduction that is made?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. That is all the deduction that is made.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. There is no deduction made except the outstanding loan and the interest on it?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. None. The total of the face value of the bonds actually issued to the veterans, plus the 3-percent interest per annum on those bonds, will equal what is finally owed on the certificate in 1945.

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

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I yield.

Mr. PATMAN. Is it not a fact that under the gentleman's plan the average veteran, who holds a certificate of \$1,000 and who has exercised the privilege of borrowing at every opportunity he has had, commencing in 1927, will receive now only \$154 on a \$1,000 certificate?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. No; he will receive more than that.

Mr. PATMAN. The loan and the accumulated interest will amount to about \$600.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. The gentleman is going back to 1927, which is an extreme case.

Mr. PATMAN. Yes; that is when many of them borrowed, especially the distress cases.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I believe, personally, I would wipe out all interest and give them the added benefit of that.

Mr. PATMAN. But the gentleman's bill does not do that.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. It does not read that way now, no; but, personally, I think I would be in favor of that.

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

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. It is a fact, is it not, that the bonds which are necessary to pay the certificates under the Vinson bill will be tax exempt and will put all these tax-exempt securities on the market to be purchased by multimillionaires who are now escaping taxation?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. That is correct?

Mr. BLANTON. And with \$2,000,000,000 more of tax-exempt bonds in existence, it would reduce very materially the annual revenues of this Government.

Mr. McFARLANE. How about the gentleman's bill?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. The bonds pass into the hands of the veterans.

Mr. BLANTON. I tried to get the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. VINSON] to yield to me so that I could show that it would be ruinous to the Government to issue \$2,000,000,000 more of tax-exempt bonds, as the Vinson bill will necessitate, but he seemed to divine what I had in mind. That is why I am for the Patman bill, because it provides a safe and sound means of payment that will not hurt the Government.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I yield.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Does your bill deduct the interest from now to January 1945?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. To answer your question, if, after making your loan deduction, you were owed the sum of \$500, you would receive a bond or bonds in the amount of, we will say, \$400, and the balance of \$100 would be represented by the 3-percent coupons thereon. The total would be worth \$500 in 1945.

Mr. MARTIN of Colorado. Then you do deduct interest in futuro.

Mr. GEARHART. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Yes.

Mr. GEARHART. If a veteran had a thousand-dollar certificate and converted it into a bond under your bill, and did not cash it until 1945, he would get \$32.50 less than he would get by holding the certificate.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I think he would get the full amount with the interest coupons attached.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. REED].

PRESENT PAYMENT OF THE ADJUSTED-SERVICE CERTIFICATES

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, the claim we are asked to pass upon arose out of the World War. The character of the conflict and the ideals sought to be maintained by engaging in it were clearly defined by President Wilson when the United States declared war. He said:

It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world at last free.

The answer of the American people to this appeal was instantaneous. Over 4,000,000 of our young men were called to the colors to defend the doctrine enunciated by President Wilson. The war, although of short duration, was not, as some would have us believe, an excursion nor a holiday for our armed forces. I was an eye witness to much of the suffering our men endured and of the sacrifices they were called upon to make.

It is a thrilling spectacle to see divisions of young men marching to the front, but it is a harrowing sight to see many of the same fine, fit young men mangled and maimed, carried back. Those who flippantly refer to war as a holiday, as a free excursion, have never witnessed an attack under cover of a barrage.

I mention this one phase of war only to remove, if possible, from the minds of thoughtless men the idea that war is a round of pleasure for those who participate in it. What is a barrage? How is it thrown down? What is it like? Let me describe it. Thousands of mortars are placed a short distance apart, extending sometimes for miles along the battle front. Each mortar, which has the appearance of a large metal pipe, is set at an angle to heave high in the air shells dropped into it. Prior to the time the troops are to advance, thousands of mortars go into action. The shells fall thick and fast along a given line. As the men tending the mortars drop the shells into them, the air is filled with projectiles; they fall like rain. They explode as they hit. The earth literally boils. Gradually the angle of the mortars is changed, and the wave of boiling earth, shrubs, trees, and rocks moves forward. The troops follow.

The time comes when the barrage is lifted. Then comes the final dash of the men. They face hand grenades and cold steel. They engage in a hand-to-hand death struggle to win and to hold the final objective.

No; the World War in which our men so gallantly and so nobly acquitted themselves was not a holiday. No man who ever visited a receiving station and saw the mutilated, the blind and the maimed, or witnessed the agony of those who were gassed, will ever characterize the services of our men as comparable to a holiday.

Every person here knows that money cannot compensate for such a service. Every soldier knows it. Every loyal American should know it. What was the motivating force that moved Congress to pass the Adjusted Service Act? It was this: The disparity between the compensation paid to civilian workers during the period of the war, and the compensation paid to soldiers during the same period could not be reconciled with the American spirit of fair play. It was the troubled conscience of a nation because of this disparity that gave birth to the adjusted-service certificates.

The Congress recognized that some readjustment of pay should be made and it endeavored in 1924 to do this. The Adjusted Service Compensation Act was passed, transforming a moral obligation into a legal obligation of the United States Government.

At this time it is terms of payment and the time of payment of the adjusted-service certificates that are before us for adjudication. The issues presented by the Vinson bill and the Patman bill invite our attention to the basis of the settlement as originally made under the terms of the Adjusted Compensation Act. Under that act each honorably dis-

charged veteran of the World War who served longer than 110 days was allowed \$1 a day extra compensation for each day he served in the United States, and \$1.25 a day extra compensation for each day he served overseas, with a limitation of \$500 for home service and \$625 for service overseas. There was deducted from the amount allowed each veteran on his adjusted-service certificate the sum of \$60 previously paid to him by act of Congress.

There was added to the amount so computed, after deducting the \$60, 25 percent as compensation for deferred payment.

On the basis of this adjustment each veteran was allowed 4-percent interest compounded annually, for 20 years.

Therefore, the adjusted-service certificates pursuant to their terms are not due and payable until January 1, 1945. That is, they have 10 years yet to run before they are due.

I am informed that in December 1934 there were 3,531,800 adjusted-service certificates in force, of the maturity value of \$3,485,650,000.

Congress is now asked to readjust the terms of the service certificates as to the time of payment, and to pay the maturity value of them now. We are asked to change the time of payment of an obligation not due under its terms until 1945, and to pay the whole amount, including unearned interest, in cash. Furthermore, the Government, which includes all the people, is urged to pay the value of these certificates as of 1945, which includes \$1,150,000,000 of unaccrued interest.

There are two prominent proposals now presented to Congress to achieve this purpose. One is the so-called "Vinson bill"; the other is the so-called "Patman bill." Under the Vinson bill the Government will borrow the money to pay the adjusted-service certificates. It will require the Government to issue and sell interest-bearing bonds to meet the payment. The interest-bearing bonds so issued may run for 20 years, which means that the ultimate cost to the Government under the Vinson plan will be approximately \$5,000,000,000, even if settled in cash at this time.

The Patman bill provides that the Government shall print money to pay the adjusted-service certificates. We are asked to change the monetary system of the United States Government to meet this payment. To be more specific, the Patman bill asks Congress to embark on the turbulent sea of inflation. I shall return to this subject later.

The decision we are urged to make with reference to the case before us is one of profound gravity—not to one group alone but to all the people. It raises the question of our responsibility as legislators not to one class but to all the people whom we have the honor to represent. Do we sit as interested parties, as legislators, or do we sit as impartial judges? Regardless of the capacity in which we serve here today, I know that it is the desire of each Member to do that which he believes to be fair, honest, and just between the parties to the controversy. It is on this point that I wish to quote Hon. James Wilson, a distinguished jurist, one of the most brilliant men who sat in the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Later he was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court by President George Washington. Here is what he had to say on the rights and duties of citizens:

The citizen has rights as well as duties; the latter he is obliged to perform; the former he is entitled to enjoy or recover.

To the original contract of association, to which * * * an appeal must so often be made, he is a party; nay, in point of right, a party, voluntary, independent, equal.

On one side, indeed, there stands a single individual; on the other side, perhaps, there stand millions; but right is weighed by principle; it is not estimated by numbers.

From the necessity of the case, * * * if a controversy arises between the parties to the social agreement, the numbers, or a selection from the numbers, must be the judges as well as one of the parties.

But, because those of one party must, from the necessity of the peculiar case, be the judges likewise, does it follow that they are absolved from that strict obligation by which every judge is bound to administer impartial justice? Does it follow that they may, with avidity, listen to all the interested suggestions, the advice of which a party would pursue?

When the same person is and must be both judge and party, the character of the judge ought not to be sunk in that of the party; the character of the party should be exalted to that of the judge.

When questions—especially pecuniary questions—arise between a state and a citizen, more especially still, when those questions are, as they generally must be, submitted to the decision of those, who are not only parties and judges, but legislators also; the sacred impartiality of the second character, it must be owned, is too frequently lost in the sordid interestedness of the first, and in the arrogant power of the third.

This is tyranny; and tyranny though it may be more formidable and more oppressive, is neither less odious nor less unjust—is neither less dishonorable to the character of one party, nor less hostile to the rights of the other, because it is proudly prefaced by the epithet—legislative.

He who refuses the payment of an honest demand upon the public, because it is in his power to refuse it, would refuse the payment of his private debt, if he were equally protected in the refusal. He who robs as a legislator, because he dares, would rob as a highwayman if he dared.

And are the public gainers by this? Even if they were, it would be no consideration. The paltry gain would be as dust in the balance, when weighed against the loss of character—for as the world becomes more enlightened and as the principles of justice become better understood, states as well as individuals have a character to lose—the paltry gain, I say, would be but as dust in the balance, when weighed against the loss of character, and against the many other pernicious effects which must flow from the example of public injustice.

But the truth is that the public must be losers instead of being gainers by a conduct of this kind. The mouth which will not utter the sentiments of truth in favor of an honest demand may be taught to repeat the lessons of falsehoods in favor of an unjust one. To refuse fair claims is to encourage fraudulent ones upon the commonwealth.

Little logic is required to show that the same vicious principles and dispositions which oppose the former will exert their selfish, or worse than selfish, influence to support the latter.

I do not believe that any fair-minded person will dispute the sound wisdom and the logic so clearly expressed by this brilliant and distinguished jurist with reference to the responsibility of a legislator in adjudicating the claim of a citizen against the Government.

This is not all that Judge Wilson has to say on this subject that is pertinent to the issue before us. Judge Wilson goes further than this. He discusses the duty a citizen owes to his country in its hour of peril and distress. Furthermore, he discusses the right of a citizen to recompense for services so rendered when the danger and distress disappear and his country again becomes flourishing and opulent. I respectfully ask that you bear with me while I again quote from this eminent jurist:

There may be times, says Judge Wilson, when, to the interest, perhaps to the liberty of the state, every private interest and regard ought to be devoted. At these times, such may be the situation and the peril of the commonwealth—for it is in perilous and distracted times, that, by the citizens extraordinary exertions of duty ought to be made—at those times, a citizen obeys his duty's and his country's sacred call; he makes the necessary sacrifices, without stipulating for a recompense: of demanding such a stipulation, the impropriety and the indelicacy may be equally evident.

Great sacrifices and great exertions are made with faithfulness and zeal; perhaps, with considerable success. The perils disappear; to distraction and danger, peace and serenity succeed; the commonwealth becomes flourishing and opulent. Ought the sacrifice, which, in the hour of her distress and danger, was made at her call, to be continually enforced and demanded by her, after the distress and danger are over?

But this sacrifice is demanded and enforced continually, if this citizen has neither received, nor had it in his power to receive, that recompense which is just. This case—if such a case ever happened—may go without redress; but it can never go without well grounded complaint.

The United States Government during the years 1917 and 1918 did face perilous and distracted times. As I stated at the beginning of my remarks, President Wilson characterized the war as the "most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance." Over 4,000,000 young men were called to the colors to meet the crisis. They made great sacrifices, and they made them "with faithfulness, with zeal, and with success."

Whether the amount of compensation fixed by Congress and made payable in 1945 was just no man can accurately determine, for no amount of money can adequately pay for such a service and for so great a sacrifice.

We do know this: That at the time the amount was fixed and written into law as an obligation of the United States Government the Nation had spent \$36,000,000,000 in prosecuting the war; that during a period of 17 months the national debt had been increased from less than \$2,000,000,000 to over \$26,000,000,000.

If we are to sit as impartial judges in this case, we cannot ignore the present condition of our country. What is its present condition? Have "perils and distractions disappeared"? I wish to God they had! Is our Nation "flourishing and opulent"? Does "peace and serenity prevail" throughout our land? If even-handed justice is to be rendered by this legislative body, then the decision should be made in the light of all the facts.

What are the indisputable facts? I do not need to call the attention of the Members of this House to the present condition of the country. You know the fact. Official figures reveal that there are over 10,000,000 men out of work, and they have been without employment these many, many months. There are over 20,000,000 persons victims of poverty and distress, caused from unemployment, who are now on public relief. Think of it: One-sixth of our entire population on the relief rolls.

Every Member of this House knows that with all the assistance now being furnished by this Government to protect the city homes and the farms from tax sales and foreclosures, thousands upon thousands of families are being evicted every week because of their inability to find work at which they can earn enough to keep body and soul together and save enough to make the necessary payments to preserve their homes. Existing conditions have almost stifled the hopes and aspirations of millions of young men and women, who in despair wander aimlessly from place to place seeking work. Millions of good men and women feel themselves slipping further and further into the remorseless quicksand of misery and destitution.

Our national debt is now far in excess of \$28,500,000,000. When all the commitments of the Government now made and those that are pending are made, the amount that must eventually be paid will exceed \$50,000,000,000.

I know that those who are committed to a program of unlimited spending will challenge the statements I have made as to the present plight of our country. To those who see fit to do so, I invite their attention to the statements made by Franklin D. Roosevelt as long ago as April 22, 1932, when interviewed at Albany, N. Y. He said:

I do not see how, as a matter of practical sense, a Government running behind \$2,000,000,000 annually can consider the anticipation of bonus payments until it has a balanced Budget, not only on paper, but with a surplus of cash in the Treasury.

Later, on October 19, 1932, in an address at Pittsburgh, Pa., he said:

Last April my views on the subject (bonus) were widely published and have been subsequently quoted. I said:

"I do not see how, as a matter of practical business sense, a Government running behind \$2,000,000,000 annually can consider the anticipation of bonus payment until it has a balanced Budget, not only on paper, but with a surplus of cash in the Treasury."

No one, for political purposes or otherwise, has the right, in the absence of explicit statement from me, to assume that my views have changed. They have not.

Since these statements were made by Franklin D. Roosevelt the national debt has been increased by billions of dollars. Since then unemployment has increased. Since then millions of men and women have been placed on the relief rolls. We are now in the fifth year of Treasury deficits. The aggregate deficit of the 6 fiscal years from 1931 to 1936, inclusive, will be in excess of \$20,500,000,000. This figure falls far short of showing the whole deficit. The total would be considerably greater except for the use of the revolving funds, such as of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to meet new emergency outlays.

It must be apparent to any reasonable person that if the conditions were such in 1932 as to preclude the payment of the bonus, as then stated by Franklin D. Roosevelt, surely he would not recommend payment now.

With the mounting national debt, with the increasing unemployment, and the constantly increasing number on relief, it cannot be successfully claimed that our country is "opulent and flourishing."

It is not difficult to picture the devastating effect of the Federal tax burden which must naturally and logically result from the unrestrained spending of the taxpayers' money. It is a burden that will rest with crushing effect upon the shoulders of this and succeeding generations.

Add to this, if you will, the State, county, municipal, school, and other taxes amounting to over \$10,000,000,000 annually, and even then the burden is not complete. It is far from it. There still remains the gross debts of the States and their political subdivisions, which in 1933, after deducting the sinking-fund assets, aggregated over \$17,500,000,000, and this burden is daily on the increase. No, my fellow Members, the country is not "flourishing and opulent."

Again let me say to those of you who regard this appraisal of present conditions as overdrawn that the statement recently made by Hon. Lewis W. Douglas, a former Member of this House and former Director of the Bureau of the Budget under this administration, ought to challenge the attention of the thoughtful Members of this Congress. Within the last few days Mr. Douglas has gone much further than I have in stressing the dangers that will result from the present spending program if continued. The Associated Press, in a dispatch dated March 14, 1935, quoted Mr. Douglas as follows:

At all times in all places, under all circumstances, governments that have continuously expended more than they have taken in, their people eventually have been plunged into the destructive effects of a partially or wholly destroyed currency.

The same dispatch quotes Mr. Douglas as follows:

Only a dictator, whether it be a dictator of socialism or a dictator of fascism is unimportant, will be adequate to cope with the situation.

And further quoting Mr. Douglas from this same dispatch:

Thus there will be wiped out all the liberties for which the Anglo-Saxon race has struggled for more than a thousand years, and thus there will be destroyed the "forgotten man", the America which created the highest standard of living the world has ever known.

Therefore, my colleagues, in view of what the President has said, and in the light of what Hon. Lewis Douglas now says, I believe the country is still "in peril and distress" and that the people are haunted not by an imaginary but by a very realistic fear.

I wish now to direct your attention to another aspect of the case presented by one of the proposals before us for decision. I shall address myself to the new monetary provisions contained in the Patman bill. It is proposed under the terms of this bill to authorize the Government to print money to pay the adjusted-service certificates.

The history of inflation throughout the centuries demonstrates that to adopt such a scheme is to deliberately invite a ghastly national disaster.

Inflation is approaching all too rapidly as it is; why hasten the evil day?

In this connection a prominent economist has said:

One of the outstanding facts in the world's economic history is the way that history repeats itself in matters relating to paper currency, whether one is studying the experience of ancient China, Colonial America, France in the days of John Law, or of the notorious assignats, or Europe during the World War, and immediately thereafter.

I have not the time, neither have you the patience to listen to a long discussion on the evils of inflation. Were it not for the fact that it is proposed in one of the bills before us to operate the Government printing presses to meet the cash payment of the adjusted certificates, I would not discuss the subject.

The experience of the American colonies with inflation should have taught subsequent generations to avoid it as they would a pestilence. I shall present only one or two examples of inflation that occurred during our early history.

Rhode Island, at the close of the Revolutionary War, tried inflation. Her people were in extreme poverty and heavily burdened with their share of the national debt.

The war had seriously crippled their trade, upon which they were mainly dependent, and in their distress turned to paper money for relief. They clamored for a paper bank. The assembly turned them down. A new party was formed, with paper money as its chief principle. The issue was carried to the people and the new party won.

When the new legislature met in May 1786 the first act passed was to establish a bank with power to issue paper money. The act was primarily passed to aid the farmers, and they expected great relief from it. Under the provisions of the act every farmer or merchant who came to borrow money was required to pledge real estate for double the amount desired. The money was loaned to the people upon such pledges, and they were to pay the loans into the treasury at the end of 14 years.

Almost instantaneously with the issue of this paper money depreciation set in. Merchants and tradesmen refused to take the money at its face value, and the holders refused to take any discount. The general assembly came to the rescue and passed a forcing act, subjecting any person who should refuse to take the bills in payment of goods on the same terms as specie to a fine of £100 and to loss of his rights as a free man. Merchants closed their doors. Money almost ceased to circulate.

Business was transacted by barter. Again the assembly came to the rescue and passed a more stringent act. This act provided that offenders should be tried before a court without a jury, three judges to constitute a quorum, whose decision should be final, and whose judgment must be complied with on penalty of imprisonment. The court declared the law unconstitutional. The assembly removed the judges from office. The assembly then proposed a test act. This required citizens to take a solemn oath to take the paper money at par. All persons refusing to take the oath were to be disfranchised. Ship captains were forbidden to enter or go out of the State. Lawyers were not permitted to practice and men could not run for public office. The money remained worthless. Finally sanity returned and the whole plan was abandoned.

Virginia tried inflation. I need only mention that a pair of shoes cost \$5,000 at that time.

France tried inflation in 1790. The revolutionary government confiscated all the church property, which then constituted one-fifth of all the land of the kingdom. Crown and church property was put upon the market to the value of 450,000,000 francs and paper money was issued to the same amount.

It was stated at the time that the issue would not be increased. What happened? So rapid was the issue of this paper currency that the record is lost. The formality of passing laws was omitted and the executive authorities increased the issues by decrees. By the year 1793 the circulation had reached 4,000,000,000 francs. Futile efforts were made to sustain the value of the notes. A decree imposing the death sentence on those who refused to take the money at par failed to maintain the value of this worthless money. On May 21, 1796, all outstanding assignats were declared worthless.

The stock argument made in favor of inflation has been the same in all times and in all places by its proponents.

When the greenback issue was before Congress in 1862 one of the chief advocates declared on the floor of the United States Senate:

There is no probability that a currency based upon the resources of a great nation * * * will depreciate 50 percent or even 5 percent. No such paper ever did depreciate, and none such, I venture to predict, ever will.

The first issue of \$150,000,000 of greenbacks was authorized in February 1862. It is interesting to note in connection with the prediction of the distinguished Senator that on July 11, 1864, the greenback dollar had a gold value of a fraction over 35 cents.

If the examples given are not sufficient to put this House on notice as to the dangers of inflation, we have the more recent experience of Germany.

When the World War broke out the German people had 19,000,000,000 marks on deposit in German savings banks. On November 27, 1923, that sum of money had the purchasing power of one-fourth of 1 cent, American money. The inflation in Germany had pauperized the middle thrifty class. It destroyed the endowments of universities, schools, and hospitals. It drove thousands to choose between starvation and suicide. It retarded the mental and physical development of a generation of children. Finally, it established a ruthless dictatorship.

I am not surprised that the veterans should feel that the Government is in a position at this time to pay the maturity value of the adjusted-service certificates. They see an administration solemnly pledged to practice "rigid economy" disregarding that pledge, spending lavishly, not millions, but billions of dollars. They know, too, that these billions of dollars will not be used to pay obligations of the country now due or to become due, but used to create new debts. It is perfectly natural that the veterans should reason that if the Government has unlimited sums to create new debts, why not pay an existing obligation, even though it is one that is not due until 1945.

The so-called "public-works bill" now pending, which carries an authorization to the President to spend \$5,000,000,000, lends plausibility to the position taken by many veterans.

We all know that two wrongs do not make a right. I did not support the \$4,000,000,000 raid upon the Treasury for public works of doubtful value. Again I say, we must judge the controversy before us in the light of the present condition of the country and in the interests of all the people.

We know that the attempt to create prosperity by means of public-works projects financed by Government borrowing was tried in France and in Great Britain, and without success in either country. More than this, as was pointed out some time ago by a prominent French writer, the post-war inflation in France had its origin in such a scheme. This writer points out:

The origins of the post-war French inflation are to be found in the need for government expenditures for the sake of reconstruction and in the resulting budget difficulties. The concrete form in which this difficulty presented itself was the overwhelming burden of Government indebtedness that mounted each year as deficits and borrowings increased.

There is no sound reason why this Government should run the whole gamut of mistakes made by other nations, the ultimate results of which may be as disastrous to our people as similar mistakes were to the people abroad.

Time, I believe, will fully demonstrate, if already it has not done so, that the policy of plunging this Government further and further into debt will not restore prosperity to our people, but that on the contrary, if the experience of other nations is any criterion, it will retard permanent recovery.

In approaching this subject it has been my endeavor to divest myself of every consideration other than to do exact and impartial justice toward both parties in the case—namely, the holders of these immatured compensation certificates, on the one hand, and the general public on the other hand. To the latter class, the great majority of the people, I belong. But for the time being I am a legislator; and if the principle laid down by Judge Wilson is sound, I must therefore sit as a judge, and in no other capacity; and as a judge I must try the case as one in equity and be governed by indubitable conditions as they exist, and not as we should like to have them.

I cannot overstress the importance of our positions here as impartial judges, and I cannot conceive of a better illustration than the case before us in exemplification of the sound philosophy of Judge Wilson.

I must not, and cannot, forget that you and I are legislating for all the people, are sitting as judges in a cause in equity, and that every factor ought to be eliminated except

one. In the light of all conditions, what shall be our just and righteous decision?

Other proposals have been made to Congress, such as are embraced in the Tydings bill, the Andrews bill, and the Lea bill, which in substance provide for payment, not of the maturity value of the certificates as of 1945 but the present value of the certificates. I cannot support either the Vinson or the Patman bill for the reasons I have stated, but I am in sympathy with the plan of payment embodied in either the Andrews bill or the Tydings bill; and if given the opportunity to vote for one or the other of these two proposals, I shall do so.

My colleagues, I hesitate to leave this subject. I am intensely interested in it. I was across the seas and I saw the suffering the boys endured. I know that they are entitled to compensation. But I want you men to see the issue in its true light.

I am proud of the unselfish service of the soldiers. You and I know that we cannot do them exact justice in terms of money. No man can measure it. It has been said:

Justice is a fine word, but it is not the last word between man and man. To so order the world that every man receives his just wage will not bring the millenium. Who pays the mother for her long night vigils, the father for his toil, the soldier for his wounds, the hero for giving up his life to rescue another. Who paid Jesus for his agony, Regulus for his patriotism, and Walt Whitman for his poetry? And who paid William Morris and William Booth for their labors toward social betterment? Above all work done for fair pay towers the work done for no pay at all—just for love.

My friends, Congress cannot measure the sacrifice and the service rendered by the soldiers in terms of money, and I know that the veterans know this. The soldiers know the present plight and condition of the country. They know that any legislation that pays the present value of the service certificates at least approximate justice. So far as possible you and I want to be just; we are anxious to do right. I am anxious to act as an impartial judge in this delicate controversy between the veterans on the one hand and all of the people on the other hand.

So far as fallible judgment permits me to do so, I shall vote for legislation presented on this floor that is just and fair to the veterans and to the public at large. I cannot do more, and I hope that fallible human judgment will not permit me to do less. [Applause.]

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN].

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, it has never been my privilege to listen to a clearer nor to a sounder statement than that just delivered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. REED]. His words would carry conviction to every unbiased mind, were we dealing with an administration which was following sane and sound principles of action.

The difficulty, however, grows out of the fact that we are confronted with a situation, rather than with a theory, with stubborn facts irresistibly tending to create a certain result, rather than with the usual orderly procedure of government.

The gentleman quoted a part of what the President said in 1932. He forgot to tell us that in October of that year the President informed us—and it is a self-evident truth—that unless we balanced the Budget, we were on the way, as a nation, to bankruptcy. That is as true today as when uttered.

If the administration had made an effort, or was making an effort, to keep the promise then made by its candidate, if it intended to balance the Budget, I am quite sure that the soldiers would be perfectly willing to wait for the payment of their adjusted-service certificates. But what have we?

The administration had no sooner taken over the reins of government than it began a series of experiments, practically all of which it now admits ended in failure, and one of which, the Triple A, Secretary Wallace tells us was "a necessary political expediency."

The situation being what it is, what are we to do? We know that the Townsend people are asking for money; we know that the farmers are asking for money, and they have

had seed loans, wheat, corn, hog, and cotton money. The banks have had theirs; the railroads have had their share.

Is there a Member of the House who does not realize that, sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, following the road which we are traveling, we are going to end either in bankruptcy as a nation or we are going to have inflation? One or the other is coming. And why? Because the party's promises were not kept; because the Budget was not balanced; because no effort has been or is being made to balance it.

That being true, is there any reason why any Member should not now, as would an attorney in a case of bankruptcy, seek to save something for the deserving? If we are going into bankruptcy or inflation, as we are, if these wild schemes are adopted—and we had one of them here yesterday and a quarrel among the Members on the majority side over whether two or three bales of cotton should be exempt—if we are going down, is there any reason why we should not reach out and, for the veterans, save something from the wreck?

The certificates constitute a debt. The amount is fixed. The time of payment only is uncertain. They deserve the bonus, do they not? They are entitled, are they not, to Government money, to the payment of the debt owing them? Have they not a greater right to claim the payment of that debt at this time than have others to demand a pension of \$200 a month? As great a claim upon us as those who received the production loans, the processing taxes, those to whom you yesterday voted to give 35 cents on each bale of cotton, for services rendered in supplying information which would enable the Government to administer a portion of the Bankhead Act?

All those fellows are getting their money. These boys earned what they ask. It is a debt we owe them. They should have it now, before we become bankrupt, before we have inflation, and they should have it in sound money.

The veterans want the bonus. The passage of the Patman bill will afford the Senate an excuse for rejecting, the President a reason for vetoing bonus legislation. If 4 or 5 billion is to go into a relief work bill, to be expended at the discretion of the President, if other uncounted sums are to be disbursed by executive departments, if the end of the journey is to be national bankruptcy or inflation, let us, as members of the legislative department, upon whom rests the duty, the responsibility of the expenditure of public funds, at least so far assert ourselves as to determine to whom a part of the money shall go. Let us say that so much, at least, shall be used to pay an honest debt.

There is one other reason why Republicans should vote for this payment. As a rule, their participation in governmental activities so far has been largely in the role of taxpayers and this is the only plan which has been brought forward that I know of that apparently assures to the Republicans their share of the money that you are distributing.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GIFFORD].

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I wish to express myself very briefly. I do not want it to seem to appear that I am one whit less patriotic than other Members of the House. Indeed, I am led to wonder whether, with the feeling that seems to be shown here, if it is not really displaying both more courage and more patriotism to vote against the bonus measure than to vote for it. I do not yield to any Member of this House in a belief that the veterans should be treated with even more than mere "justice." I shall be glad to vote for a bill giving them at this time a negotiable bond, which they could use as they might see fit, and make the terms thereof even more liberal than the so-called "Tydings bill." I would also be glad to vote for the Andrew bill. But I do not believe that we should at this time enact a measure which would further burden the Nation to the extent of two and three-tenths billion dollars.

Once before, this year, I spoke on this floor to point out that we are already committed to an indebtedness of thirty-one and one-half billion dollars for expenditures already authorized. There is also a large contingent debt and for

various purposes. The bank must absorb one and seven-tenths billion dollars for the H. O. L. C., and one billion for the Farm Credit and Farm Mortgages. And soon we shall also have to absorb four and eight-tenths billion for the public-works bill. If we now add these two and three-tenths billion for the prepayment of the bonus, a billion or two billion for social legislation, that will bring the public debt up to about forty-two and three-tenths billion. The words which your President uttered as late as March 1933 keep ringing in my ears—

To require the banks to absorb any more deficit would be a highly dangerous proceeding, more dangerous than the threat of more taxation.

It does seem to me that some of us are standing with the President in this respect, much more than those of you who came here pledged to support him 100 percent. Do you accuse your President of being unpatriotic? Do you not think he wants to do something for the soldier? Why place this entire burden on him? How can you pretend to be 100 percent with him in his problems, trying to bring the country out of its present difficulties, and at the same time be 100 percent with the ex-service men who are demanding the full prepayment of the bonus, although many of you must have made those two promises before election? One hundred percent here; 100 percent there; diametrically opposed, because everyone knows, and knew last fall, that the President was against this proposition.

I do not enjoy the thought of appearing less patriotic than other Members. Without wishing to be sentimental, I would say that I was brought up in an atmosphere of patriotism. My father was a soldier of the Civil War, a very enthusiastic Grand Army man. Naturally, I cannot help wondering, if he knew now my stand on this question, whether he would really regard me as patriotic if I were to vote in favor of a million and a half veterans, even though many are needy, when there are 20,000,000 Americans on relief and 130,000,000 people in the entire country.

I dislike to designate the veterans as a particular class of our citizens, but there is no escaping the fact that this really is class legislation.

How we are importuned here today to use for this purpose the free gold in the Treasury. They say, "Let us not obligate the Government any more, but let us take that free gold which is akin to money in a savings bank." What difference does it make? They say the country is not adding to its burden of indebtedness if we take this "savings bank money", yet that is the very last reserve most of us, as individuals, would dip into. We will live on credit a long time before we will take our savings-bank money; but that is what the Patman bill advocates. Yet, when you ask the gentleman, "Why not do the same in order to provide the \$4,880,000,000 for public works?" the gentleman says that is not in the same thing. This is a special, and also an older proposition. I can see but very little difference, myself.

Mr. Chairman, when we know that today the banks have fourteen billion of our Government securities, and must absorb fourteen billion more, thinking people are seriously disturbed. Down in your hearts most of you are frightened about it. As a result of two or three remarks I have made about the matter, a number of Members on the Democratic side have expressed a great deal of concern. I want to tell the House a little incident, which would seem to me to indicate that the President has been unfortunately surrounded by many poor advisers.

We heard the Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, before the Committee on Banking and Currency, saying, "I am not greatly concerned about a \$40,000,000,000 debt in this country." If he is not greatly concerned, business men in the Nation most assuredly are. Business is becoming more frightened all the time, and there never will be any recovery under such conditions. When he was asked about balancing the Budget, he replied, after a great deal of hesitation, that he thought we ought to balance the Budget about once in 5 years. I asked him if he would not send a letter to my creditors and recommend to them that they let me off for 5 years, if I were losing a lot of money every

year. Why should they be worried if I did not balance my personal budget for 5 years if the Nation does not? That is the kind of advice we are getting these days, Mr. Chairman. We are getting nowhere, and everybody knows it. I am trying to face facts. I would say to the gentleman, "Take that savings-bank money that we have lying in the Treasury; that is all right if you think that will help business recovery." But I do not see any reason why it should be earmarked for this or any other particular purpose. It all amounts to the same thing. The gentleman answered me that this was an older, a different proposition. It is not. It all falls within the same expenditure.

Mr. HOUSTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield.

Mr. HOUSTON. Was the Budget balanced when the present administration went into office?

Mr. GIFFORD. When the present administration came in there was that blast of criticism that the banks had already tried to support a deficit of the outgoing administration, but three-quarters of it was Reconstruction Finance Corporation money, which your party now boasts will all come back again.

Mr. HOUSTON. But, was the Budget balanced when the present administration came in?

Mr. GIFFORD. Not in any one year. Of course it was not.

Mr. HOUSTON. Does the gentleman believe the paying of the bonus will create a new debt?

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I have tried to tell the gentleman as forcibly as possible that I would be willing to vote a veterans' bonus bill, providing the payment by bonds, or a proportionate amount in Federal money, but, under present conditions, when we cannot balance the Budget, and are already spending \$14,000,000,000 we cannot increase it by this huge additional sum. I hope that answers the gentleman's question.

Mr. HOUSTON. It does not.

Mr. GIFFORD. We want business to get better; we want to stop operating on the patient and let the patient get back his strength. Do something besides frighten business. Think of what has been presented to this Congress and then try to believe, if you can, that business will have the courage to go ahead. Oh, Mr. Chairman, I plead for a little recovery before this already huge indebtedness is increased; and I sincerely believe I am patriotic in assuming this position under the conditions which now exist.

Mr. HOUSTON. Does not the gentleman admit that conditions are a little better today than they were 2 years ago? [Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. GREENWOOD].

Mr. GREENWOOD. Mr. Chairman, in discussing the question of paying the adjusted-service certificates in cash, I never have conceived that patriotism entered into it. We have always believed that the soldier boys of the World War who placed their lives on the altar of sacrifice for their country were as patriotic as any other group that has fought in any war under our flag. This is a question of justice, of adjusting the question of compensation between the soldier who fought the battles and the civilian who stayed at home and made money while the soldier was doing the fighting. I know many a young man who was taken out of this opportunity to make money during the war and put into the service. In an adjustment of that compensation the Congress had already declared that they were willing to pay \$1 a day additional compensation to the soldier while he served on this side of the water and \$1.25 a day for every day he served on the other side of the water, but they never made this acknowledgement until 7 years after the soldiers had finished the job. Every brick mason, every man employed, every corporation which made munitions and sold supplies during the war made his or its money during the period of the war, and this adjustment should represent wages during that same period.

The laborer is worthy of his hire. When the soldier finished the job he should have been paid, and if you will

acknowledge the debt as of the time he rendered the service and pay him interest accordingly, then he is entitled to have the cash payment in full for his adjusted-service certificate at this time; and upon this basis we are acknowledging the debt and doing now what we should have done many years ago, paying him for the services he rendered. This adjustment is an equalization between the soldier and the civilian.

Now, the country has a right to know how we are going to pay this \$2,000,000,000. To pass an authorization does not complete the transaction for this Congress. One of the first things the Chief Executive will want to know when any bill is presented to him is how are we going to meet the appropriation in this hour of emergency? Three ways are offered in the various bills under this rule which gives us a choice. We can accept the issuing of bonds and thereby pile a burden upon the Treasury of the United States to pay probably an additional \$2,000,000,000 by the time the complete debt is paid. We can levy taxes and pay it within the next year or two—but so far as I am concerned, I am willing to vote for either one of these bills. First I believe the soldier should be paid because he is entitled to it; I am also interested in the other side of the proposition, that there is a way to pay it without borrowing the money and paying the additional interest burden, or without levying a dollar of additional taxes which, at this particular time, is a matter for grave consideration. It can be done just as a business man would pay a debt of \$1,000 if he had money in the bank. Instead of going to the bank and saying that he believed he would sign a note, borrow the money and put off the day of payment for a year, the business man would write a check and liquidate the debt without paying the interest charges. There is in the Treasury of the United States a profit on gold, and an accumulation of silver that has never been earmarked or used for any issue or payment of money; and without in any way violating the traditions of the Government or doing anything unorthodox according to all the rules we have followed from the beginning of our history we can exercise our right of issuing currency on that portion of the metallic base that has never been appropriated or earmarked. There is nothing irregular in this. Why not pay it out of the gold profit instead of increasing the public debt, increasing taxes? Even the person who wants to consider it from an experimental standpoint ought to be willing to use this metal that is not earmarked for the issuance of \$2,000,000,000 additional money to pay these certificates.

If we find that we have not unduly expanded the currency, then any of this bonded indebtedness we are creating for the emergency can be treated in a similar manner. The Treasury of the United States and the Chief Executive in the last 2 weeks have put their stamp of approval on using this metallic base that has not been appropriated for currency by retiring bonds that have a future maturity. The Panama bonds that were outstanding were called in and they could use this unearned profit. I say that the Treasury has put its stamp of approval on this very system of financing as proposed in this particular bill which the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] has offered.

Mr. BIERMANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREENWOOD. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. BIERMANN. In redeeming these bonds which the gentleman spoke of, it is very notable that there is quite a difference. The accumulated interest to 1945 is not being paid, which the gentleman proposes to do in connection with this bill.

Mr. GREENWOOD. Of course, I approve the position of the Treasury in anticipating those bonds and saving that interest to the Nation.

Mr. BIERMANN. In this particular case the gentleman expects to pay in advance and not save anything.

Mr. GREENWOOD. Yes. I propose to save, because we owed the soldiers this money in 1924, more than 7 years after they rendered the service, and the soldiers are entitled to this money. We expect to save future interest and avoid taxes.

Mr. BIERMANN. It was 6 years after the war that we made the adjustment, and to provide for the period of time

that elapsed we added 25 percent to the base. The proposal now before us is not to pay them that amount, but \$1,600,000,000 in addition. That is the issue.

Mr. GREENWOOD. I do not agree with the gentleman.

Mr. BIERMANN. The issue is whether we are going to pay \$1,600,000,000 more.

Mr. GREENWOOD. I do not agree with the position the gentleman takes. If we had paid this debt for the service rendered in the adjustment of wages at the time the service was rendered and if we figured interest from that date to this date, we would owe the soldier the full amount of his certificate. Everyone else that had a debt against the Government, including the munitions manufacturers, the railroads, and other people, had their claims allowed plus 6-percent interest. This also applied in the case of tax refunds.

Mr. PATMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREENWOOD. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PATMAN. Is the gentleman familiar with the hearings in the Senate in February 1931, when Mr. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Mills, the Under Secretary of the Treasury, testified? Both of those gentlemen agreed that the 7 years' interest was entirely ignored, and when a Senator asked why they ignored this interest item the Senator was told, "I do not know." They had ignored the 7 years' interest, and in the same hearing they explained that the 25-percent increase was for waiting from 1925 until 1945, and it was not intended to cover the interest charge from 1918 to 1925.

Mr. GREENWOOD. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREENWOOD. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. VINSON of Kentucky. In the bill that was introduced in 1922 the due date was 1942, 20 years from that date; consequently it shows that they were dating it from the date of service.

Mr. GREENWOOD. I agree with both gentlemen, and I thank them for their contribution.

The debt was due when he rendered the service, and if you give him 6 percent, as was allowed on every claim growing out of the war, the full amount of his certificate is due today. I believe in paying the debt, and I believe that we should pay the debt we owe those boys who fought prior to the claims of anybody else whose claim grew out of the war.

Furthermore, I believe in spreading this money out all over the United States where it will help to turn the wheels of industry and bring us out of the valley of the depression. I believe it will complete the task of recovery. You may sell Government bonds to a bank. They can take those bonds back to the Treasury and receive bank currency, but the money never will go into the channels of trade, because it lies there frozen. If you will issue this \$2,000,000,000, additional currency based on the metallic reserve that is in the Treasury, this money will go out among the people and help them pay their debts. It will help those who are now on the relief rolls. We are giving them now money for nothing. In many instances we owe the money to these unfortunate people. This new money will go to every nook and corner of this country, and help people pay their debts rather than force the soldiers to repudiate their debts, and force them into bankruptcy. It is always better to advance currency for the debtor class than to go on with a period of deflation which brings about bankruptcy or repudiation of debts.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. DOUGHTON. 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. CANNON of Missouri, 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. 3896), to provide for the immediate

payment of World War adjusted-service certificates, to extend the time for filing applications for benefits under the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. KLEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, following the reading of the Journal and the disposition of matters on the Speaker's table, I may address the House for 3 minutes.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 6644), making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments, disagree to the Senate amendments and ask for a conference.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. BUCHANAN, TAYLOR of Colorado, ARNOLD, and TABER.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was organized February 2, 1932. Capital stock, \$500,000,000 paid by the Treasurer of the United States. Limit of indebtedness, \$3,750,000,000 plus the following:

A. One hundred and twenty-five million dollars available for stock in Home Owners' Loan Corporation.

B. Such amounts necessary for:

(a) To purchase preferred stock in banks or to make loans on such stock.

(b) To make loans to Secretary of Agriculture on cotton.

(c) To provide funds for Federal housing.

C. Amount not to exceed \$50,000,000 to purchase preferred stock and notes of insurance companies.

D. The sum of \$500,000,000 to enable the Federal Relief Administration to make grants to States and Territories for relief work.

E. For \$300,000,000 to be allocated to the Federal Land Bank Commissioner for loans to joint-stock land banks and to farmers.

F. Not to exceed \$200,000,000 to allocate funds to Secretary of the Treasury to make payments for subscriptions to capital stock of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation.

G. Not exceeding \$250,000,000 to purchase at par value of debentures and other obligations of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

H. Not exceeding \$250,000,000 to purchase marketable securities acquired by the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works.

It will thus be seen that the purposes and provisions of this act were far-reaching and extended into every phase of relief, and therefore should have always remained nonpartisan and in the hands of the people. No one could possibly conceive that this great institution was to be prostituted to the private banking and business interests of the Northwest to be used and operated by their agents and representatives for their own interests, and not for the people. No one dreamed that the two bank organizations of the Twin Cities, namely, the Northwest Bank Corporation and its twin sister, the First Bank Stock Corporation, were soon to fasten their tentacles around the throat of this great public enterprise. Yet in the Northwest such was the fate of this Government corporation.

When the office was set up in the city of Minneapolis we find in control, and with minor changes they still control the destinies of this great public benefactor in the Northwest:

Joseph Chapman, of the Northwest National Bank of Minneapolis and the Northwest Bank Corporation. Was the first manager and served to September 30, 1934. Republican.

Ben Maynard, acting manager. Formerly with the First National Bank of Minneapolis, the originator of the bogus

holding co., known as the "First Bank Stock Corporation." Republican.

T. F. Wallace, advisory committee; director, First National Bank of Minneapolis, and member, First Bank Stock Corporation. Republican.

Elmer E. Adams, president First National Bank of Fergus Falls, member of First Bank Stock Corporation. Republican.

E. S. Bice, banker, Michigan. Republican.

E. W. Decker, president of the Northwest Bank Corporation. Republican.

C. T. Jaffray, advisory committee, former chairman board of directors of First National Bank, Minneapolis; president of Soo Line Railroad Co.; one of the organizers of the First Bank Stock Corporation. President of the Minneapolis Trust Joint Stock Land Bank. Republican.

John Oace, vice president of the First National of St. Paul; director of the First Bank Stock Corporation. Republican.

Here we have the direct proof of the fact that representatives of these two bank holding companies gained and still have control of the Government's Finance Corporation.

Through the control of this organization, they could serve the following institutions:

First. Buy bank stock and obligations.

Second. Direct grants for relief.

Third. Grant loans to Land Bank Commissioner.

Fourth. Allocate funds for purchase of stock in Home Owners' Loan banks.

Fifth. Allocate fund for Federal Deposit Insurance.

Sixth. Purchase securities acquired by the Public Works Administration.

No greater power over the people could have ever been usurped by this designing band of financial racketeers.

There have been a few appointments made to offices in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which are an improvement over the Hoover regime. Such men as Otto Bremer, St. Paul, Pierre Clemens, Fargo, Blanding Fisher, Devils Lake, are a credit to the Government, but bear in mind that these men are merely members of the advisory committee, and that the officers who daily direct the affairs of the Corporation are reactionary and out of sympathy with the people whom they serve. Those at the top and representatives of the Twin City Bank gang, namely, the Northwest Bank Corporation and the First Bank Stock Corporation, and apparently they have power enough to stay in the positions they occupied before the Roosevelt administration assumed office.

I ask the people of the Northwest to take a look at the depositors' liquidating committee. If you want Twin City Bank gang control of Government finance institutions, here you have it.

Not satisfied with this control, let us see what happened when the depositors' liquidating committee was set up in Minneapolis. The following names tell the complete story:

C. T. Jaffray, manager. The same Jaffray whose name appears in the control and management of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

John W. Barton, secretary; former employee of the Northwest National Bank of Minneapolis, former director of the Northwest Bank Corporation.

W. A. Smith, chief examiner, former examiner in charge of liquidation, Minnesota State banking department. Republican and always friendly to both bank-stock holding companies.

It was a handy thing for Jaffray to be in control of the liquidation of deposits in closed banks. It was an easy matter to liquidate to the advantage of the institutions with which he was directly connected and interested, and if the same practice was followed as was followed when the same gang operated the War Finance Corporation, this was a key position in the general plan to collect debts owing to Jaffray's institutions, while the Government held the sack.

By referring to my speech in Congress on March 14, and my extension of remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, every day since, it can be seen that such names as Jaffray, Decker, Leeman, Grangaard, Barton, Oace, and McGregor, running

through all of these institutions, were all either officers or exponents of the bank holding companies referred to. Some of these names appear as many as four times. This means that they held a position on at least four Government institutions engaged in handling financial relief in the Northwest. No more convincing proof of the fact that this coterie of men planned to get, and did get, and kept control of these institutions, and most of them are still there. What keeps them there? Will the Roosevelt administration keep them there against the protest of the people of Minnesota, Wisconsin, North and South Dakota?

Nothing a State can do will ever oust them. Governor Olson, of Minnesota, and his able State officers have been calling this matter to the attention of the country and have showed up much of the positively dishonest methods pursued by the bank holding companies, particularly the Northwest Bank Corporation, but the men who have been connected with this holding company still remain in the Government set-ups.

It seems strange that there are no men in this country, outside of reactionary Republicans, capable of running a Government finance institution. That is what the Democrats admit when they make no changes. What will the people say when they know who is responsible for this situation?

Are there no business men of the Northwest capable of running one of these institutions? Are there not any independent bankers in the Northwest capable of this task? There are hundreds of independent bankers in the State of Minnesota who have stood out against this corrupt bank holding company, and in spite of the pressure have maintained their banks. These bankers have made a great fight for the people. Are they not competent to fill these positions? Must we be forced to admit that in all the Northwest there are no men capable to handle this business except those who have had their training with the Northwest Bank Corporation and the First Bank Stock Corporation?

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

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

To Mr. WILSON of Pennsylvania (at the request of Mr. DARROW) indefinitely, on account of illness in family.

To Mrs. NORTON (at the request of Mr. KENNEY), for 10 days, on account of illness.

To Mr. ASHBROOK, for 3 days, on account of important business.

To Mr. STARNES, for 2 days, on account of death of his mother.

CALENDAR WEDNESDAY

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that business in order tomorrow, Calendar Wednesday, be dispensed with.

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

There was no objection.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bill and joint resolution of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 5322. An act authorizing the President of the United States to present, in the name of Congress, a Medal of Honor to Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely; and

H. J. Res. 134. Joint resolution to continue the commission for determining the boundary line between the District of Columbia and the State of Virginia for not to exceed 9 additional months, and to authorize not to exceed \$10,000 additional funds for its expenses.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 1 minute p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, March 20, 1935, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

271. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the legislative establishment, House of Representatives, for the fiscal year 1936, in the sum of \$3,480 (H. Doc. No. 140), was taken from the Speaker's table, referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. KELLER: Committee on the Library. House Joint Resolution 208. Joint resolution to provide for the observance and celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 and the settlement of the Northwest Territory; with amendment (Rept. No. 440). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 4297. A bill to provide funds for cooperation with White Swan School District No. 88, Yakima County, Wash., for extension of public-school buildings to be available for Indian children of the Yakima Reservation; without amendment (Rept. No. 441). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 5207. A bill for expenditure of funds for cooperation with the public-school board at Poplar, Mont., in the construction or improvement of public-school building to be available to Indian children of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont.; without amendment (Rept. No. 442). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 5209. A bill to provide funds for cooperation with the school board at Brockton, Mont., in the extension of the public-school building at that place to be available to Indian children of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation; without amendment (Rept. No. 443). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 5210. A bill to provide funds for cooperation with school district no. 17-H, Big Horn County, Mont., for extension of public-school buildings, to be available to Indian children; without amendment (Rept. No. 444). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 5212. A bill to authorize appropriations for the completion of the public high school at Frazer, Mont.; without amendment (Rept. No. 445). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 5213. A bill to provide funds for cooperation with school district no. 27, Big Horn County, Mont., for extension of public-school buildings to be available to Indian children; without amendment (Rept. No. 446). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 5214. A bill to provide funds for cooperation with the public-school board at Wolf Point, Mont., in the construction or improvement of a public-school building to be available to Indian children of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont.; without amendment (Rept. No. 447). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 5216. A bill to provide funds for cooperation with Harlem School District No. 12, Blaine County, Mont., for extension of public-school buildings and equipment to be available for Indian children; without amendment (Rept. No. 448). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 5500. A bill to provide funds for cooperation with joint school district no. 28, Lake and Missoula Counties, Mont., for extension of public-school buildings to be available to Indian children of the Flathead Indian Reservation; without amend-

ment (Rept. No. 449). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 6315. A bill to provide funds for cooperation with the school board at Medicine Lake, Mont., in construction of a public-school building to be available to Indian children of the village of Medicine Lake, Sheridan County, Mont.; without amendment (Rept. No. 450). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 3811. A bill to add certain public-domain land in Montana to the Rocky Boy Indian Reservation; without amendment (Rept. No. 451). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 3999. A bill to provide funds for cooperation with Marysville School District No. 325, Snohomish County, Wash., for extension of public-school buildings to be available for Indian children; with amendment (Rept. No. 452). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 5499. A bill to provide funds for cooperation with school district no. 23, Polson, Mont., in the improvement and extension of school buildings to be available to both Indian and white children; with amendment (Rept. No. 453). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AYERS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 5215. A bill to provide funds for cooperation with public-school districts in Glacier County, Mont., in the improvement and extension of school buildings to be available to both Indian and white children; with amendment (Rept. No. 454). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. HARTER: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 6788. A bill for the relief of Stephen Sowinski; without amendment (Rept. No. 429). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. NICHOLS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 616. A bill for the relief of Homer J. Williamson; with amendment (Rept. No. 430). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. LUCAS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2978. A bill for the relief of Eustace Parks; with amendment (Rept. No. 431). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. PITTENGER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3155. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States to refund to the Bankers Reserve Life Co. of Omaha, Nebr., and the Wisconsin National Life Insurance Co. of Oshkosh, Wis., income taxes illegally paid to the United States Treasury; with amendment (Rept. No. 432). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DALY: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3866. A bill for the relief of Emanuel Bratses; with amendment (Rept. No. 433). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. EKWALL: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3934. A bill for the relief of Art Metal Construction Co. with respect to the maintenance of suit against the United States for the recovery of any income or profits taxes paid to the United States for the calendar year 1918 in excess of the amount of taxes lawfully due for such period; without amendment (Rept. No. 434). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4060. A bill for the relief of Jessie T. Lafferty; without amendment (Rept. No. 435). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. LUCAS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4079. A bill for the relief of Garfield Arthur Ross; with amendment (Rept. No. 436). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SMITH of Washington: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4853. A bill for the relief of Charles H. Holtzman, former collector of customs, Baltimore, Md.; George D. Hubbard,

former collector of customs, Seattle, Wash.; and William L. Thibadeau, former customs agent; without amendment (Rept. No. 437). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. EKWALL: Committee on Claims. S. 1110. An act for the relief of A. Randolph Holladay; with amendment (Rept. No. 438). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SMITH of Washington: Committee on Claims. S. 1386. An act to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim, or claims, of Duke E. Stubbs and Elizabeth S. Stubbs, both of McKinley Park, Alaska; with amendment (Rept. No. 439). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

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. 6417) granting a pension to Vada Cross; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 6664) granting a pension to Genevieve Roy Shetterly; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BACHARACH: A bill (H. R. 6830) to provide relief to depositors in closed national banks; to promote resumption of industrial activity, increase employment, and restore confidence by fulfillment of the implied guaranty by the United States Government of deposit safety in national banks; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. DIRKSEN: A bill (H. R. 6831) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act with respect to the processing tax on hogs; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6832) to provide emergency relief with respect to commercial mortgage indebtedness, to provide commercial mortgage credit, to stabilize the financial structure of the country, to protect investors and property owners, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WILSON of Louisiana: A bill (H. R. 6833) to modify and extend the project for the flood control and improvement of the Mississippi River authorized by the Flood Control Act of 1928; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. BUCKLER of Minnesota: A bill (H. R. 6834) to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act authorizing Vernon W. O'Connor, of St. Paul, Minn., his heirs, legal representatives, and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Rainy River at or near Baudette, Minn.;" to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HOOK: A bill (H. R. 6835) to prohibit the importation of copper; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KELLER: A bill (H. R. 6836) to provide for the printing and distribution of Government publications to the National Archives Establishment; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. WHITE: A bill (H. R. 6837) to refund the compensatory processing tax on jute bags; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6838) to authorize the sale of small home sites in national forest lands to persons permanently employed in the vicinity; and to promote the improvement of home sites and construction of permanent homes in national-forest areas; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DIES: A bill (H. R. 6839) to aid agriculture and relieve the existing national economic emergency; to the Committee on Agriculture.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, regarding the appropriation for destitute school districts in the State of Minnesota; to the Committee on Education.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BYRNS: A bill (H. R. 6840) granting a pension to Elizabeth W. Steele; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CHANDLER: A bill (H. R. 6841) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Albert T. Lipford; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COLMER: A bill (H. R. 6842) for the relief of M. D. Solomon; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DIRKSEN: A bill (H. R. 6843) granting a pension to Sophia Finley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6844) for the relief of John A. Burke; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DRISCOLL: A bill (H. R. 6845) for the relief of Nellie Barnard; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FIESINGER: A bill (H. R. 6846) for the relief of Harry Nagel; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. GASSAWAY: A bill (H. R. 6847) for the relief of William F. Trice; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6848) for the relief of the First Federal Savings & Loan Association of Shawnee, Okla.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GREEN: A bill (H. R. 6849) granting a pension to Julia Reynolds; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6850) granting a pension to John F. Fisher; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6851) for the relief of George Preston Thomas; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GREENWOOD: A bill (H. R. 6852) for the relief of James W. Emison; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KELLY: A bill (H. R. 6853) for the relief of Meyer Joseph Lapine, deceased; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. LEHLBACH: A bill (H. R. 6854) granting a pension to Annie E. Lull; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McLEOD: A bill (H. R. 6855) authorizing the Secretary of War to award a Distinguished Service Cross to Vincent J. Toole; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOTT: A bill (H. R. 6856) for the relief of William E. Williams; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PARSONS: A bill (H. R. 6857) granting a pension to Albert C. Bonnell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PLUMLEY: A bill (H. R. 6858) granting an increase of pension to Phoebe S. Decker; to the Committee on Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

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

4338. By Mr. BLAND: Petition of 22 citizens of Westmoreland County, requesting the passage of a uniform Federal old-age pension law that must be adopted by the States before any Federal aid or relief is available; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4339. By Mr. BUCKLER of Minnesota: Petition of Norma Arnold, unit adjutant of the Dilworth (Minn.) Unit of the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Green Hill Legion Post, No. 397, Department of Minnesota, in behalf of the members, praying for the passage of the Vinson bill (H. R. 3896) to make the immediate cash payment of the soldiers' adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4340. Also, petition of Flora Hallaway, Pelican Rapids, Minn., in behalf of the members of the American Legion Auxiliary Unit, Department of Minnesota, asking for passage of the Vinson bill (H. R. 3896), to make the immediate cash payment of the soldiers' adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4341. Also, petition of Mrs. A. E. Helland, of Gonvick, Minn., legislative chairman of the Ninth Congressional District units of the American Legion Auxiliary, in behalf of the members, praying for the passage of the Vinson bill

(H. R. 3896), to make the immediate cash payment of the soldiers' adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4342. Also, petition of Mrs. J. M. Kulstad, of Halstad, legislative committee chairman, in behalf of the members of the Halstad (Minn.) Auxiliary Unit of the American Legion Post, Department of Minnesota, praying for the passage of the Vinson bill (H. R. 3896), to make the immediate cash payment of the soldiers' adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4343. Also, petition of Mrs. O. G. Gunderson, of Roseau, unit legislative committee chairman, in behalf of the members of the Roseau (Minn.) Auxiliary Unit of the American Legion, Department of Minnesota, praying for the passage of the Vinson bill (H. R. 3896), to make the immediate cash payment of the soldiers' adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4344. Also, petition of Mrs. Nobel Stortroen, of Fergus Falls, legislative committee chairman, in behalf of the members of the Fergus Falls (Minn.) Auxiliary Unit of the American Legion Post, No. 30, Department of Minnesota, praying for the passage of the Vinson bill (H. R. 3896), to make the immediate cash payment of the soldiers' adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4345. Also, petition of Mrs. G. N. Bergh, secretary of the Hallock (Minn.) Unit of the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Hallock Legion Post, Department of Minnesota, in behalf of the members, praying for the passage of the Vinson bill (H. R. 3896), to make the immediate cash payment of the soldiers' adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4346. Also, petition of Mrs. Albert Christenson, of Moorhead, unit secretary, in behalf of the members of the Moorhead (Minn.) Ladies' Auxiliary Unit of the American Legion Post of Moorhead, Department of Minnesota, praying for the passage of the Vinson bill (H. R. 3896) to make the immediate cash payment of the soldiers' adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4347. Also, petition of Mrs. T. H. Dahl, secretary of the Ulen (Minn.) Unit of the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Ulen Legion Post, No. 412, Department of Minnesota, in behalf of the members, praying for the passage of the Vinson bill (H. R. 3896) to make the immediate cash payment of the soldiers' adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4348. Also, petition of Mrs. E. F. Wright, of Crookston, unit president, in behalf of the members of the Crookston (Minn.) Ladies' Auxiliary Unit of Nels T. Wold American Legion Post, of Crookston, Department of Minnesota, praying for the passage of the Vinson bill (H. R. 3896), to make immediate cash payment of the soldiers' adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4349. Also, petition of Mrs. S. G. Birkeland, president of the Gonvick (Minn.) Unit of the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Gonvick Legion Post, No. 304, Department of Minnesota, in behalf of the members, praying for the passage of the Vinson bill (H. R. 3896), to make immediate cash payment of the soldiers' adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4350. Also, petition of Mrs. Emma Stenerson, of route no. 1, Fergus Falls, representative in behalf of the members of the Dalton (Minn.) Auxiliary Unit of the American Legion Post, No. 508, Department of Minnesota, praying for the passage of the Vinson bill (H. R. 3896), to make immediate cash payment of the soldiers' adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4351. Also, petition of Mrs. W. B. Sherwood, of Baudette, unit legislative committee chairman, in behalf of the members of the Baudette (Minn.) Auxiliary Unit of the American Legion, Department of Minnesota, praying for the passage of the Vinson bill (H. R. 3896), to make immediate cash payment of the soldiers' adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4352. By Mr. COLDEN: Resolution adopted by the Council of the City of Los Angeles, Calif., petitioning the Congress of the United States to give favorable consideration to a bill

recently introduced providing for the immediate establishment of a national civil academy for the training of young men and women for all branches of public service, through a school of public administration maintained by the Federal Government, appointments to which would be on a plan similar to that governing appointments to the Military and Naval Academies; to the Committee on Education.

4353. By Mr. DRISCOLL: Petition of citizens of Mercer, Pa., protesting against the passage of bills to establish a national lottery, to repeal the law prohibiting sale to soldiers in uniform of alcoholic beverages, to allow the delivery of liquor through the mails; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4354. Also, petition of citizens of Grove City and Jackson Center, Pa., opposing organizations and individuals who have beliefs contrary to the traditions of the United States, and in opposition to freedom of speech or press for such individuals or organizations; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4355. By Mr. GINGERY: Petition of Group 1320 of the Polish National Alliance of the United States of North America, Altoona, Pa., requesting Congress to enact legislation for the observing of October 11 as Pulaski Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4356. By Mr. GWYNNE: Petition of citizens of Waterloo, Iowa, urging the enactment of legislation to pay a monthly pension of \$200 per month to every citizen who has reached the age of 60 years; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4357. Also, petition of sundry citizens of Waterloo, Iowa, urging enactment of the so-called "Townsend bill"; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4358. Also, petition of citizens of Eldora, Iowa, urging the enactment of House bill 2856, introduced by Representative WILL ROGERS, of Oklahoma; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4359. Also, petition of citizens of Waterloo, Iowa, urging the enactment of House bill 2856, introduced by Representative WILL ROGERS, of Oklahoma; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4360. Also, petition of citizens of Hampton, Iowa, urging the enactment of House bill 2856, introduced by Representative WILL ROGERS, of Oklahoma; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4361. Also, petition of citizens of Marshalltown, Iowa, urging the enactment of legislation to pay a monthly pension of \$200 per month to every citizen who has reached the age of 60 years; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4362. Also, petition of citizens of Waterloo, Iowa, urging the enactment of House bill 2856, introduced by Representative WILL ROGERS, of Oklahoma; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4363. By Mr. HART: Memorial of the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, memorializing the Congress of the United States now in session to as speedily as possible adopt and pass some remedial measure, and to take such other action as may be necessary, fit, and proper to curtail as far as possible under Federal laws this growing national evil of mob violence and lynching, to the end that everyone in the United States of America may be accorded and guaranteed full protection of life, liberty, and property under our Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4364. Also, petition of the board of directors of the Jersey Chick Association, favoring the enactment of House bill 5802, introduced in the House of Representatives February 25, 1935, by Congressman LEA of California to amend and provide for an excise tax on eggs and egg products; further resolving that resolution be brought to the attention of the President of the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of State, and the New Jersey Representatives in Congress for their consideration; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4365. Also, petition of Institute of Rural Economics, supporting the President in maintaining wage scales on relief projects slightly less than those prevailing in the community; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4366. Also, petition of Institute of Rural Economics, beseeching the National Government to adopt a more consist-

ent policy directed toward the establishment of a prosperous agriculture in this country; to the Committee on Agriculture.

4367. Also, petition of Institute of Rural Economics, urging the President to use every effort to execute tariff and trade agreements which will maintain and increase foreign outlets for apples; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4368. By Mr. HOOK: Resolution passed by the Common Council of the City of Iron Mountain, Mich., asking that the President of the United States proclaim October 11 of each year as General Pulaski's Memorial Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4369. By Mr. KENNEY: Joint resolution of the One Hundred and Fifty-ninth Legislature of the State of New Jersey memorializing the Congress of the United States to adopt measures directed against mob violence and lynching; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4370. By Mr. KIMBALL: Petition of the Common Council of the City of Detroit, Mich., requesting the authorization and appropriation of sufficient moneys to build a Veterans' Administration hospital of 500-bed capacity in the Detroit area; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

4371. By Mr. KRAMER: Resolution of the American Women, Inc., of Los Angeles, relative to the advancement of Americanism, etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

4372. Also, resolution of the Lumber and Allied Products Institute, of Los Angeles, relative to the 30-hour-week legislation, etc.; to the Committee on Labor.

4373. By Mr. LAMBERTSON: Petition of Raymond R. Frager and other citizens of Washington County, Kans., urging passage of House bill 2066, known as the "Farmers Farm Relief Act"; to the Committee on Agriculture.

4374. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of the Metropolitan District Council, United Textile Workers of America, New York City, concerning the Wagner industrial dispute bill and the Lundeen unemployment insurance bill; to the Committee on Labor.

4375. By Mr. RICH: Petition of citizens of Port Allegany, Pa., favoring House bill 2999; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4376. By Mr. ROGERS of Oklahoma: Petition of Nancy Hashaw, 51 Stanley Street, Houston, Tex., numerous signed, urging immediate action of Congress on House bill 2856, embracing a Federal system of old-age pensions to citizens of the United States above the age of 55 years not engaged in the field of competitive earning; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4377. Also, petition of Ben More and numerous other citizens of Prairie Point, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4378. Also, petition of T. F. White and numerous other citizens of Donalsonville, Ga., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4379. Also, petition of Cliff Jackson and numerous other citizens of Bainbridge, Ga., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4380. Also, petition of Alto Cox and numerous other citizens of Donalsonville, Ga., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4381. Also, petition of A. J. Mitchell and numerous other citizens of Chicago, Ill., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4382. Also, petition of Jess Burnett and numerous other citizens of Hardinsburg, Ky., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4383. Also, petition of Sam Haycroft and numerous other citizens of Glen Dean, Ky., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4384. Also, petition of Richard Mattingly and numerous other citizens of McQuady, Ky., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4385. Also, petition of John Marsh and numerous other citizens of Troy, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4386. Also, petition of P. W. Wilson and numerous other citizens of Bowling Green, Ky., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4387. Also, petition of C. H. Franklin and numerous other citizens of Shamrock, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4388. Also, petition of James Parker and numerous other citizens of Atlanta, Ga., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4389. Also, petition of Frank Lucan and numerous other citizens of Mora, N. Mex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4390. Also, petition of G. Murphy and other citizens of Buford, Ga., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4391. Also, petition of J. S. Skalton and numerous other citizens of Hoschton, Ga., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4392. Also, petition of Lewis Rush and other citizens of Brownstown, Ill., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4393. Also, petition of Clement C. Cook and numerous other citizens of Vandalia, Ill., favoring House bill 2856, by WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4394. Also, petition of Thomas Baker and numerous other citizens of Maplewood, Mo., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4395. Also, petition of P. J. McGuire and numerous other citizens of Kirkwood, Mo., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4396. Also, petition of W. E. Gunter and numerous other citizens of Webster Groves, Mo., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4397. Also, petition of Wyle Matthew and numerous other citizens of McLeod, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4398. Also, petition of Johnie More and numerous other citizens of Macon, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Con-

gressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4399. Also, petition of P. H. Robertson and numerous other citizens of Smith Mills, Ky., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4400. Also, petition of E. H. Burton and numerous other citizens of Enondale, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4401. Also, petition of John Holder and numerous other citizens of Pendleton, S. C., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4402. Also, petition of J. A. Herstine and numerous other citizens of Beaver, Pa., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4403. Also, petition of S. Hughes and numerous other citizens of Greenville, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4404. Also, petition of W. P. Hankins and numerous other citizens of Cedar Bluff, Va., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4405. Also, petition of R. Moses and numerous other citizens of Winchester, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4406. Also, petition of William Lucas and numerous other citizens of Omar, W. Va., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4407. Also, petition of George Jones and numerous other citizens of Sharpsburg, Ky., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4408. Also, petition of R. Logan and numerous other citizens of Fulton, Mo., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4409. Also, petition of John W. Coleman and numerous other citizens of Columbus, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4410. Also, petition of Gilbert Lindsey and numerous other citizens of Pachuta, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4411. Also, petition of John Thomas and numerous other citizens of Headland, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4412. Also, petition of Jerry Thompson and numerous other citizens of Battle, La., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4413. Also, petition of E. Newson and numerous other citizens of St. Louis, Mo., favoring House bill 2856, by Con-

gressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4414. Also, petition of William Anderson and numerous other citizens of Murphysboro, Ill., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4415. Also, petition of A. Norton and numerous other citizens of Amarillo, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4416. Also, petition of William Benjamin and numerous other citizens of Cloutierville, La., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4417. Also, petition of S. Polmar and numerous other citizens of Glenwood, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4418. Also, petition of Thomas McClanahan and numerous other citizens of Truman Ark., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4419. Also, petition of John Denham and numerous other citizens of Paulding, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4420. Also, petition of Julius Williams and numerous other citizens of Sherman, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4421. Also, petition of York Flakes and numerous other citizens of Newton, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4422. Also, petition of M. E. Brown and numerous other citizens of Schoolfield, W. Va., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4423. Also, petition of J. Hemingway and numerous other citizens of Whiteville, N. C., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4424. Also, petition of Nelson Caraway and numerous other citizens of Manning, S. C., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4425. Also, petition of H. E. Tillotson and numerous other citizens of Hot Springs, S. C., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4426. Also, petition of H. Jordan and numerous other citizens of Bayou Goula, La., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4427. Also, petition of P. M. McNair and numerous other citizens of Shivers, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4428. Also, petition of F. Washington and numerous other citizens of Browns, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Con-

gressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4429. Also, petition of Will Sadler and numerous other citizens of Buchanan, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4430. Also, petition of Dan Abnatha and numerous other citizens of Proctor, Ark., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4431. Also, petition of S. Ellsworth and numerous other citizens of Batchelor, La., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4432. Also, petition of A. Chambers and numerous other citizens of Halifax, Va., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4433. Also, petition of A. Jackson and numerous other citizens of Clarksdale, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4434. Also, petition of H. W. Goodrich and numerous other citizens of Vinton, La., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4435. Also, petition of John Adams and numerous other citizens of DeKalb, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4436. Also, petition of J. H. Gregg and numerous other citizens of Orr, Okla., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4437. Also, petition of S. Neal and numerous other citizens of Shores, Va., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4438. Also, petition of E. Redmond and numerous other citizens of Red Lick, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4439. Also, petition of E. Blair and numerous other citizens of Columbia, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4440. Also, petition of C. C. Williams and numerous other citizens of Ingomar, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4441. Also, petition of J. L. Handy and numerous other citizens of Winston-Salem, N. C., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4442. Also, petition of C. W. Reed and numerous other citizens of Vine Grove, Ky., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4443. Also, petition of J. W. Christian and numerous other citizens of Danville, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal

old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4444. Also, petition of C. H. A. Bell and numerous other citizens of Jacksonville, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4445. Also, petition of M. C. Maze and numerous other citizens of Arab, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4446. Also, petition of E. W. McWilliams and numerous other citizens of Athens, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4447. Also, petition of S. J. Gailliard and numerous other citizens of New York City, N. Y., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4448. Also, petition of R. W. Weeks and numerous other citizens of Marietta, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4449. Also, petition of A. L. Cowart and numerous other citizens of Troy, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4450. Also, petition of D. Abshire and numerous other citizens of Gueydan, La., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4451. Also, petition of Jacob Zagar and numerous other citizens of Hartford, Ill., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4452. Also, petition of A. David and numerous other citizens of Welsh, La., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4453. Also, petition of P. V. Richardson and numerous other citizens of Evans, La., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4454. Also, petition of William A. Thomas and numerous other citizens of New Orleans, La., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4455. Also, petition of J. Barnett and numerous other citizens of Dawson Springs, Ky., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4456. Also, petition of J. H. Reynolds and numerous other citizens of Beloit, Wis., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4457. Also, petition of Robert Rucker and numerous other citizens of Gary, Ind., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4458. Also, petition of A. Gleghan and numerous other citizens of Gonzales, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal

old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4459. Also, petition of C. Phillips and numerous other citizens of Talladega, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4460. Also, petition of E. Ash and numerous other citizens of Fortson, Ga., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4461. Also, petition of S. Thompson and numerous other citizens of Monroe, Ga., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4462. Also, petition of M. Shook and numerous other citizens of Cassville, Ga., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4463. Also, petition of D. Starns and numerous other citizens of Keytesville, Mo., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4464. Also, petition of M. Brueggemann and numerous other citizens of Alton, Ill., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4465. Also, petition of L. Cartwright and numerous other citizens of Alamo, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4466. Also, petition of Woodard Steward and numerous other citizens of Chicago, Ill., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4467. Also, petition of John Heard and numerous other citizens of Watertown, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4468. Also, petition of L. Robinson and numerous other citizens of Savage, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4469. Also, petition of E. V. Bainster and numerous other citizens of Decatur, Ill., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4470. Also, petition of A. L. Saunders and numerous other citizens of Beaumont, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4471. Also, petition of Gus Banks and numerous other citizens of Senatobia, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4472. Also, petition of M. Taylor and numerous other citizens of Moberly, Mo., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4473. Also, petition of Louis W. Cook and numerous other citizens of Hungerford, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal

old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4474. Also, petition of John P. Cundiff and numerous other citizens of Mount Vernon, Ill., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4475. Also, petition of E. Scrutchfield and numerous other citizens of Louisville, Ill., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4476. Also, petition of A. Daron and numerous other citizens of Lake Charles, La., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4477. Also, petition of George Bland and numerous other citizens of Esmont, Va., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4478. Also, petition of M. F. Chambers and numerous other citizens of Red Springs, N. C., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4479. Also, petition of Jerry Windham and numerous other citizens of Enterprise, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4480. Also, petition of M. Gordon and numerous other citizens of Seymour, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4481. Also, petition of N. Rhodes and numerous other citizens of Hannibal, Mo., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4482. Also, petition of G. D. Stamps and numerous other citizens of Utica, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4483. Also, petition of W. H. White and numerous other citizens of Crutchfield, N. C., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4484. Also, petition of G. Johnson and numerous other citizens of Buckner, Ark., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4485. Also, petition of E. Goff and numerous other citizens of Dille, W. Va., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4486. Also, petition of J. Polite and numerous other citizens of Green Cove Springs, Fla., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4487. Also, petition of O. K. Ashley and numerous other citizens of Jeffersonville, Ga., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4488. Also, petition of J. McCain and numerous other citizens of Broken Bow, Okla., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal

old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4489. Also, petition of E. K. Powell and numerous other citizens of Rose, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4490. Also, petition of J. Chambers and numerous other citizens of Somerville, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4491. Also, petition of C. Stubbs and numerous other citizens of Sunny South, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4492. Also, petition of S. Mills and numerous other citizens of Wadley, Ga., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4493. Also, petition of John E. Smith and numerous other citizens of Como, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4494. Also, petition of M. J. White and numerous other citizens of Huntington, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4495. Also, petition of J. A. Boak and numerous other citizens of Charleston, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4496. Also, petition of R. M. Sanders and numerous other citizens of Delaware, Okla., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4497. Also, petition of L. Mathews and numerous other citizens of Chattanooga, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4498. Also, petition of L. Hurst and numerous other citizens of Maywood, Mo., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4499. Also, petition of David Alston and numerous other citizens of Darnell, La., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4500. Also, petition of L. Penlton and numerous other citizens of Diboll, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4501. Also, petition of S. Dixon and numerous other citizens of Wilmington, N. C., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4502. Also, petition of O. J. Howk and numerous other citizens of Kansas City, Mo., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4503. Also, petition of G. W. Crutchfield and numerous other citizens of Chilhowie, Va., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Fed-

eral old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4504. Also, petition of L. Yivens and numerous other citizens of Omaha, Nebr., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4505. Also, petition of M. Copeland and numerous other citizens of Mill Spring, N. C., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressmen WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4506. Also, petition of F. Lyon and numerous other citizens of Elizabethton, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4507. Also, petition of George Williams and numerous other citizens of White Castle, La., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4508. Also, petition of S. Dodson and numerous other citizens of Williamson, W. Va., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4509. Also, petition of W. Borders and numerous other citizens of Newton, Ala., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4510. Also, petition of Ollie Litton and numerous other citizens of Chattaroy, W. Va., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4511. Also, petition of W. C. Martin and other citizens of Wade, N. C., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4512. Also, petition of John Yarbrough and numerous other citizens of Jackson, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4513. Also, petition of Hught Smith and numerous other citizens of Hubbard, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4514. Also, petition of George Reed and numerous other citizens of Groesbeck, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4515. Also, petition of Grant Dunn and numerous other citizens of Chicago, Ill., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4516. Also, petition of E. P. Vaughn and numerous other citizens of Rome, Ga., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4517. Also, petition of Ed McLadden and numerous other citizens of Marianna, Ark., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4518. Also, petition of F. Duncan and numerous other citizens of Falcon, N. C., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age

pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4519. Also, petition of Charles L. Taylor and numerous other citizens of Selma, N. C., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4520. Also, petition of C. R. Cooper and numerous other citizens of Dunn, N. C., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4521. Also, petition of Earnest Childress and numerous other citizens of Lenox, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4522. Also, petition of Grandville Childress and numerous other citizens of Dyersburg, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4523. Also, petition of Joe C. Adams and numerous other citizens of Groesbeck, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4524. Also, petition of Thomas Morris and numerous other citizens of Pine Bluff, Ark., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4525. Also, petition of Jack Vaughn and numerous other citizens of Dublin, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4526. Also, petition of George Jackson and numerous other citizens of Mattson, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4527. Also, petition of N. C. Jorgensen and numerous other citizens of Fort Pierce, Fla., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4528. Also, petition of Austin Jordan and numerous other citizens of Laurel, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4529. Also, petition of Charles Little and numerous other citizens of Paulette, Miss., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4530. Also, petition of Paul W. Hickman and numerous other citizens of Mound City, Ill., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4531. Also, petition of Steave Williams and numerous other citizens of Chapel Hill, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4532. Also, petition of Sam Jackson and numerous other citizens of Brenham, Tex., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4533. Also, petition of John Washington and numerous other citizens of Capleville, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct

Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4534. Also, petition of Henderson Moore and numerous other citizens of Oakville, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4535. Also, petition of Tom Ford and other citizens of Memphis, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4536. Also, petition of Marvin McKinney and numerous other citizens of Germantown, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4537. Also, petition of George Sharron and numerous other citizens of Bells, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4538. Also, petition of S. I. Koonce and other citizens of Alamo, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4539. Also, petition of Levi Watkins and numerous other citizens of Clarksville, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4540. Also, petition of R. B. Macklin and numerous other citizens of Cumberland City, Tenn., favoring House bill 2856, by Congressman WILL ROGERS, the Pope plan for direct Federal old-age pensions of \$30 to \$50 a month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4541. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of the East Brooklyn Savings and Loan Association, 1012 Gates Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., concerning subsection (h) of section 5 of the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

4542. Also, petition of the Howard Friends League, Inc., Brooklyn, N. Y., concerning the Sirovich bill (H. R. 4550) and the Dickstein bill (H. R. 5494); to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

4543. Also, petition of Louis and Charlotte Wilcox, 8717 One Hundred and Second Street, Richmond Hill, Long Island, N. Y., concerning the Rayburn-Wheeler public-utility holding companies bill (H. R. 5423); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4544. Also, petition of the Chamber of Commerce of the Borough of Queens, city of New York, concerning Senate bill 1725, public holding companies; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4545. Also, petition of the Chamber of Commerce of the Borough of Queens, city of New York, regarding Senate bill 1417, concerning a Bituminous Coal Commission to regulate and tax the bituminous coal industry; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4546. Also, petition of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees of America, Brooklyn Edison Local, No. 102, Brooklyn, N. Y., favoring the passage of House bill 5445; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

4547. By Mr. SMITH of Connecticut: resolution adopted by the Common Council of Naugatuck, Conn., memorializing Congress to establish October 11 of each year as General Pulaski's Memorial Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4548. By Mr. SUTPHIN: Joint resolution 3 of the New Jersey Assembly, urging passage of antilynching legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4549. By Mr. THURSTON: Petition of citizens of Russell, Lucas County, Iowa, requesting that constitutional powers of the Congress be reestablished; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

4550. By Mr. TRUAX: Petition of Cleveland Newspaper Guild, representing 334 organized editorial department workers of daily newspapers and press services and syndicates of Cleveland, Ohio, urging favorable action on the Wagner labor-disputes bill; to the Committee on Labor.

4551. Also, petition of Parent-Teacher Association of Vernon Junior High School, Marion, Ohio, by their secretary, Mrs. Edward Robson, opposing block booking and blind selling of motion pictures and urging passage of House bill 142; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4552. Also, petition of Charles E. Ausman Camp, No. 98, United Spanish War Veterans, of Paulding, Ohio, by their commander, John Dewit, urging passage of House bill 100 to restore benefits to Spanish War veterans as taken away from them by the Economy Act; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

4553. Also, petition of J. E. Overbeck and other citizens of Columbus, Ohio, believing that the Rayburn-Wheeler bill introduced in Congress February 6, 1935, is unfair, unnecessary, and unwise and, if passed, will be detrimental to the best interests of the country; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4554. Also, petition of the Ohio Association of Retail Lumber Dealers, by their secretary, Findley M. Torrenle, Xenia, Ohio, urging an investigation for the purpose of ascertaining what defects exist in the National Housing Act or in its method of administration which have delayed the revival of construction promised when the act was enacted, and to revise the personnel of the National Housing Administration so that this body will be composed of representatives of the building industry familiar with its problems and in sympathy with every effort to revive it; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

4555. By Mr. WHITE: Memorial of the Idaho State Legislature, urging upon the Congress of the United States the favorable consideration of legislation and necessary appropriation to carry to completion a project that will divert the natural flow from the Yellowstone Lake into the Snake River; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

4556. By Mr. WOLCOTT: Petition of Ralph McCoy, of Romeo, Mich., and 47 other residents of Macomb County, Mich., urging the prompt enactment of the Frazier-Lemke refinancing bill; to the Committee on Agriculture.

4557. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the city of Iron Mountain, Mich.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4558. Also, petition of the Board of Chosen Freeholders, Camden County, N. J.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4559. Also, petition of the National Veterans' Association, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4560. Also, petition of the Barnum Branch, Unemployment Council, Denver, Colo.; to the Committee on Labor.

4561. Also, petition of the city of New York; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4562. Also, petition of the Lions Club of Murfreesborough, Tenn.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4563. Also, petition of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, Springfield, Ill.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

4564. Also, petition of the Duncan Valley Booster's Club, Duncan, Ariz.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4565. Also, petition of the city of Chicago; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4566. Also, petition of the Amex Post, No. 532, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4567. Also, petition of the University Labor Federation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4568. Also, petition of the city of New Kensington, Pa.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4569. Also, petition of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Nolichucky chapter, Greeneville, Tenn.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

4570. Also, petition of Ignatius K. Werwinski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4571. By Mr. MERRITT of New York: Petition of Miss Helena Cronauer, of 84 Horatio Street, and sundry other

residents of New York City, the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Mount Vernon, N. Y., protesting against the passage of the Rayburn public-utility bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4572. Also, petition of Lulu Rogers, of 126 St. Marks Avenue, and three other residents of that neighborhood, protesting against the passage of the Rayburn utility bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4573. Also, petition of Hannah J. Reiner, of 840 West End Avenue, and eight other voters of New York City, protesting against the passage of the Rayburn bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4574. By Mr. WERNER: Petition of citizens of the Second Congressional District of South Dakota, urging the passage by Congress of the Dies bill, or similar legislation, providing for the expulsion from the United States of alien Communists and agitators against our present form of government; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

4575. By Mr. BEAM: Petition containing over 14,000 signatures, voluntarily mailed to the Chicago Times, expressing the wish that Congress pass a bill providing for the immediate payment in cash of the adjusted-service compensation certificates presented by Mervyn Molloy, representing the Chicago Times; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1935

(Legislative day of Wednesday, Mar. 13, 1935)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. ROBINSON, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Tuesday, March 19, 1935, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Haltigan, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 6424) to exempt a limited quantity of cotton from the tax under the Cotton Control Act, to provide for the better administration of such act, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bill and joint resolution, and they were signed by the Vice President:

H. R. 5322. An act authorizing the President of the United States to present in the name of Congress a medal of honor to Maj. Gen. Adolphus Washington Greely; and

H. J. Res. 134. Joint resolution to continue the commission for determining the boundary line between the District of Columbia and the State of Virginia for not to exceed 9 additional months, and to authorize not to exceed \$10,000 additional funds for its expenses.

CALL OF THE ROLL

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

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

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

Adams	Byrd	Frazier	Logan
Ashurst	Byrnes	George	Lonergan
Austin	Capper	Gerry	McAdoo
Bachman	Carey	Gibson	McCarran
Bailey	Clark	Glass	McGill
Bankhead	Connally	Guffey	McKellar
Barbour	Coolidge	Hale	McNary
Barkley	Copeland	Harrison	Maloney
Bilbo	Costigan	Hastings	Metcalf
Black	Couzens	Hatch	Minton
Bone	Cutting	Hayden	Moore
Borah	Dickinson	Johnson	Murphy
Brown	Dieterich	Keyes	Murray
Bulkley	Donahay	King	Neely
Bulow	Duffy	La Follette	Norbeck
Burke	Fletcher	Lewis	Norris