

By Mr. HILLIARD: Resolutions adopted by the Rocky Mountain district of the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, urging prohibition for Hawaii; to the Committee on the Territories.

Also, resolutions adopted by the Amboy Woman's Club, of Amboy, Ill., protesting against increased postage rates on periodicals; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Gertrude Staats, Mary Hughes, Blanche Smith, Francis Kirby, Anna C. Harrod, Mrs. S. W. Albone, Bertha Selleck, and Maggie Sawdey, all of Denver, Colo., praying for immediate war prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'SHAUNESSY: Memorial of the Woonsocket District Medical Society, favoring the Owen bill (S. 3748) and the Dyer bill (H. R. 9563); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: Petition of Mrs. C. E. Mogg and 43 other citizens of Colorado Springs, Colo., protesting against the passage of Senate bill 3746, permitting the running of railroad tracks near the Sibley Hospital; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. VARE: Petition of Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce in favor of bill authorizing prison labor on war work; to the Committee on Labor.

Also, petition of the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange, asking the retention of the pneumatic mail tubes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. WOODYARD: Petition of Dr. James R. Bloss, of Huntington, W. Va., editor of the West Virginia Medical Journal, published by the West Virginia State Medical Association, favoring the passage of the Dyer and Owen bills, fixing the grades of the commissioned officers of the Medical Corps, etc.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, April 2, 1918.

The Right Honorable and Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of York (Cosmo Gordon Lang), Primate of England and Metropolitan, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray. O Almighty and Eternal Lord God, Thou strong tower to all them that put their trust in Thee, to whom all things in heaven and earth do bow and obey, we beseech Thee to hear the prayers of Thy people which rise to Thee at this time of trial with reverence and godly fear. We see Thy hand laid upon this Nation at a supreme moment in history and upon the nations who are joined with it in the defense of the peace and freedom of the world. We devoutly believe that Thou wilt show Thy favor if they will rise to the heights of Thy justice and mercy. Uplift them, we beseech Thee, by Thy strong and holy spirit, that they may find in Thee their refuge and their strength.

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as Thou givest us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in. Strengthen our hearts and our hands and confirm our purpose that contending valiantly for truth and freedom we may conquer by Thy might.

Imbue with wisdom Thy servant the President of the United States of America and the assembly of Congress, and with them the rulers and the assemblies of the people allied with them in the cause intrusted to their care.

Hear the prayers which we offer before Thee for all who bear command of our forces both by sea and by land. Stretch forth Thy almighty hand to succor and defend the men who are now defending the cause of truth and freedom in the awful battle being waged across the sea. Strengthen them that they may stay the hand and hold their place. To those who this day will be wounded give Thy soothing and healing touch; to those who are called to die give Thy peace; and for all who have laid down their lives for their country we beseech Thy mercy. God accept them; Christ receive them.

If it be Thy gracious will, grant success to our arms and overrule, we beseech Thee, the issues of this war so that through Christ we may be brought to a lasting and righteous peace, and that the nations of this world may be united in a closer fellowship for the promotion of Thy glory and the good of all mankind.

These, our prayers, we offer and present to Thee in the name of Him who hast taught us to pray: Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. GALLINGER and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Boy Scouts of America, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATIONS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 9054) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

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

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. GORE, Mr. SMITH of South Carolina, Mr. SMITH of Georgia, Mr. GRONNA, and Mr. NORRIS conferees on the part of the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the House disagrees to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 9504) to amend section 4067 of the Revised Statutes by extending its scope to include women, asks a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. WEBB, Mr. CARLIN, and Mr. VOLSTEAD managers at the conference on the part of the House.

The message also announced that the House disagrees to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 8696) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, asks a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma, Mr. HAYDEN, and Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas managers at the conference on the part of the House.

The message further announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3714) to provide further for the national security and defense, and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to provide credits for industries and enterprises in the United States necessary or contributory to the prosecution of the war, and to supervise the issuance of securities, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had passed the concurrent resolution of the Senate, requesting the President of the United States to recommend a day of public humiliation, prayer, and fasting.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. BECKHAM. I present a communication from the president of the Rotary Club, of Louisville, Ky., inclosing a resolution adopted by that club on the 28th ultimo. I ask that the communication and accompanying resolution be printed in the RECORD.

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

ROTARY CLUB OF LOUISVILLE,
Louisville, Ky., March 30, 1918.

Hon. J. C. W. BECKHAM,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The inclosed resolution, adopted March 28 by the Rotary Club of Louisville, is earnestly recommended for your careful and immediate consideration.

The Rotary Club does not doubt that our Government, through its Secret Service agencies, is doing a great many things that we know nothing of; but we do know that in Louisville, and in every other section of America, traitors flaunt their treason boldly and arrogantly, and we feel that treasonable words should be dealt with as resolutely as treasonable acts.

Unless more stringent laws are enacted, or those that we have are more vigorously enforced, the people will be compelled to take this matter into their own hands, and thereby lay themselves liable to the unjustifiable charge of mob violence.

Respectfully,

J. H. RICHMOND, President.

Whereas the newspapers of this country are daily reporting the activities and expressions of enemy aliens and pro-German sympathizers in the United States; and

Whereas such actions and expressions are calculated and intended to give comfort and aid to the enemies of this Government and its allies; and

Whereas such activities and expressions are the gravest forms of offense at this time and should be dealt with in the most summary manner possible; and

Whereas the punishment for such offenses has been ineffective either because of inadequate laws to provide proper punishment or because of failure of those charged with the duty to diligently enforce the laws with reference thereto or both: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Rotary Club of Louisville calls upon the President and the Congress of the United States to take action immediately to provide such laws as may be necessary to meet and remedy this indefensible situation, and also to take action to compel the proper enforcement of all laws dealing with such offenses to the end that our enemies and their sympathizers in this country shall be made to understand that they must cease their disloyal activities; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the Senators and Congressmen from Kentucky, and to the Louisville press.

Mr. FRANCE. I present a resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Maryland, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

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

STATE OF MARYLAND,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I, Thomas W. Simmons, secretary of state of the State of Maryland, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 59 of article 35 of the Annotated Code of Maryland, do hereby certify that the following is a full, true, and correct copy of a joint resolution of the General Assembly of Maryland passed at its January session, 1918, as the same is taken from and compared with the original.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and have caused to be affixed the official seal of the secretary of state, at Annapolis, Md., this 12th day of March, in the year 1918.

[SEAL.]

THOS. W. SIMMONS,
Secretary of State.

Joint resolution 12.

Joint resolution and memorial of the General Assembly of the State of Maryland to the Representatives of the State of Maryland in the United States Senate and in the House of Representatives of the United States requesting that each of them endeavor to have the United States Government acquire, maintain, and operate during the period of the present war or longer the line of railroad commonly called and known as the Washington, Potomac & Chesapeake Railroad, now or formerly belonging to the Washington, Potomac & Chesapeake Railroad Co., and extending from Brandywine, in Prince Georges County, to Mechanicsville, in St. Marys County, in the State of Maryland.

Whereas the line of the Washington, Potomac & Chesapeake Railroad Co., extending from Brandywine, in Prince Georges County, Md., traverses portions of said counties and also portions of Charles County in said State, which are susceptible of great agricultural production, and which are entirely without railroad facilities other than such as have been heretofore furnished by said railroad company; and

Whereas by a decree of the circuit court for Prince Georges County, Md., the said railroad company has been dissolved, and has recently ceased to operate or exercise its franchises as a common carrier; and

Whereas, without adequate shipping facilities, the production of food products within the territory heretofore served by said railroad company will be greatly curtailed at a period when it is imperative that every possible impetus to food production be maintained: Therefore be it

Resolved by the General Assembly of Maryland, That the Representatives from the State of Maryland in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States, respectively, be, and they are hereby, respectively requested to promptly bring to the attention of the Director General of Railroads of the United States the importance of acquiring or controlling and maintaining and operating the line of railroad heretofore owned and operated by the aforesaid Washington, Potomac & Chesapeake Railroad Co. during the period of the present war or longer, and to that end cause to be passed such legislation through the Senate and Congress of the United States as may be necessary in the premises.

Resolved, That the secretary of the State of Maryland be, and he is hereby, requested to immediately transmit, under the great seal of this State, a copy of the foregoing resolution and memorial to each of the Senators and Representatives now in the Congress of the United States from the State of Maryland, with the earnest request that they lay the same before their respective Houses in support of the measure hereinbefore set forth.

[SEAL.]

PETER J. CAMPBELL,
President of the Senate.
HERBERT R. WOODEN,
Speaker of the House of Delegates.

Approved March 12, 1918.

Mr. TILLMAN presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture of Union, S. C., praying for Government control of dogs and for the encouragement of sheep raising, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. THOMPSON presented a petition of sundry post-office employees of Hutchinson, Kans., praying for an increase in the salaries of postal employees, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented a petition of John A. Dix Post, No. 59, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Kansas, of Columbus, Kans., praying for an increase of pension of soldiers of the Civil War, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. NELSON presented a petition of sundry citizens of Hastings, Minn., praying for the repeal of the present zone system

of postage on second-class mail matter, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PHELAN presented a petition of the Imperial Valley Typographical Union, of California, praying for an increase in the salaries of compositors and pressmen employed in the Government Printing Office, which was referred to the Committee on Printing.

POST OFFICE APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. BANKHEAD. From the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads I report back favorably, with amendments, the bill (H. R. 7237) making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and for other purposes, and I submit a report (No. 350) thereon.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be placed on the calendar.

PUNISHMENT OF SEDITIONARY ACTS AND UTTERANCES.

Mr. OVERMAN. I ask unanimous consent to report from the Committee on the Judiciary, with amendments, the bill (H. R. 8753) to amend section 3, title 1, of the act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARDING in the chair). The Senator from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to report the bill named by him. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, this is a very far-reaching and very important bill under the conditions now existing, and I trust every Senator will read it. I shall ask the Senate tomorrow to allow me to call the bill up in the morning hour, and, because of its importance, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The bill reported this day by Mr. OVERMAN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, with amendments, is as follows:

An act (H. R. 8753) to amend section 3, title 1, of the act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 3 of title 1 of the act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917, be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to read as follows:

"Sec. 3. Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States, or to promote the success of its enemies, or shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements, or say or do anything except by way of bona fide and not disloyal advice to an investor or investors, with intent to obstruct the sale by the United States of bonds or other securities of the United States or the making of loans by or to the United States, and whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully cause or attempt to cause, or incite or attempt to incite insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct or discourage or willfully attempt to obstruct or discourage the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, and whoever, when the United States is at war, shall utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, contemptuous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the soldiers or sailors of the United States, or the flag of the United States, or the uniform of the Army or Navy of the United States, or any language calculated to bring the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the soldiers or sailors of the United States, or the flag of the United States, or the uniform of the Army or Navy of the United States into contempt, scorn, contumely, or disrepute, or shall utter, print, write, or publish any language calculated to incite or inflame resistance to any duly constituted Federal or State authority in connection with the prosecution of the war, or shall display the flag of any foreign enemy, or shall by utterance, writing, printing, publication, or language spoken, urge, incite, or advocate any curtailment of production in this country of anything or things, product or products, necessary or essential to the prosecution of the war in which the United States may be engaged, with intent by such curtailment to cripple or hinder the United States in the prosecution of the war, and whoever shall advocate, favor, teach, defend, or suggest the doing of any of the acts or things in this section enumerated, and whoever shall by word or act support or favor the cause of the German Empire or its allies in the present war or by word or act oppose the cause of the United States therein, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than 20 years, or both."

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. FRANCE:

A bill (S. 4239) granting an increase of pension to John Cooper; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 4240) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved August 10, 1917; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 4241) making provisions of section 5, Post Office appropriation act for fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, applicable to District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. WATSON:

A bill (S. 4242) granting an increase of pension to W. L. Helskell; and

A bill (S. 4243) granting an increase of pension to W. T. Ferguson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KING:

A bill (S. 4244) for the relief of entrymen within the Castle Peak irrigation project in Utah; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. STONE:

A bill (S. 4245) granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Lacey (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LODGE:

A bill (S. 4246) granting an increase of pension to Clarence S. Hall (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KING:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 145) declaring a state of war exists between the United States of America and the Governments of Bulgaria and of Turkey; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

AMENDMENT TO LEGISLATIVE, ETC., BILL.

Mr. SIMMONS submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$4,500 for salary for Statistician for the Senate Joseph S. McCoy, intended to be proposed by him to the legislative, etc., appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

Mr. KING submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 3529) to repeal the act entitled "An act to incorporate the National German-American Alliance," approved February 25, 1907, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed.

DISMISSAL OF UNPATRIOTIC GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I introduce a joint resolution and ask that it be read and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 144) to provide for the dismissal of unpatriotic Government employees was read the first time by its title, the second time at length, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

Resolved, etc. That any employee or official of the United States Government who commits any disloyal act or utters any unpatriotic, disloyal, or seditious language, or who, in an abusive and violent manner criticizes the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy or the flag of the United States, be at once dismissed from the service.

PROMOTION OF EXPORT TRADE—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. POMERENE. I present a report of the conference committee on House bill 2316, known as the export-trade bill. The report must, I understand, under the rule governing conferences, be acted upon by the House first. I therefore ask that it lie on the table for the present.

The report was received and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2316) to promote export trade, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendment numbered 8.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4, and agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 5 and 6, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out and the matter inserted by said amendments strike out, in lines 1, 2, and 3, page 3, all of section 2 after the word "or," in line 1, page 3, the matter stricken out being "intentionally and unduly enhances prices within the United States of commodities of the class exported by such association," and insert

in lieu thereof the following: "intentionally enhances or depresses prices within the United States of commodities of the class exported by such association, or which substantially lessens competition within the United States or otherwise restrains trade therein"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 18, page 5, strike out the words "or intentionally and unduly," and in line 20, page 5, after the word "association," insert the words "or substantially lessens competition within the United States or otherwise restrains trade therein"; and the Senate agree to the same.

ATLEE POMERENE,
JOE T. ROBINSON,
ALBERT B. CUMMINS,

Managers on the part of the Senate.

E. Y. WEBB,
C. C. CARLIN,
A. J. VOLSTEAD.

Managers on the part of the House.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on this day approved and signed the following acts:

S. 3401. An act to authorize the President to reduce temporarily the course of instruction at the United States Naval Academy; and

S. 3404. An act to authorize the President to drop from the rolls any naval or Marine Corps officer absent without leave for three months, or who has been convicted of any offense punishable by confinement in the penitentiary by the civil authorities, and prohibiting such officer's reappointment.

EDUCATION OF ADULT ILLITERATES.

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

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

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I think we ought to have a quorum. The Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] is not present. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

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

| | | | |
|---------------|----------------|--------------|------------|
| Ashurst | Hardwick | Myers | Smoot |
| Baird | Henderson | Nelson | Sterling |
| Bankhead | Hitchcock | New | Sutherland |
| Beckham | Hollis | Norris | Swanson |
| Calder | James | Nugent | Thomas |
| Chamberlain | Johnson, Cal. | Overman | Thompson |
| Culberson | Jones, N. Mex. | Page | Tillman |
| Curtis | Jones, Wash. | Penrose | Townsend |
| Dillingham | Kellogg | Phelan | Trammell |
| Fall | Kendrick | Pittman | Underwood |
| Fernald | Kenyon | Poincxeter | Vardaman |
| Fletcher | King | Pomerene | Wadsworth |
| France | Kirby | Reed | Walsh |
| Frelinghuysen | Knox | Robinson | Warren |
| Gallinger | Lodge | Saulsbury | Watson |
| Gerry | McCumber | Sheppard | Williams |
| Gore | McKellar | Sherman | Wolcott |
| Gronna | McLean | Shields | |
| Hale | McNary | Smith, Ga. | |
| Harding | Martin | Smith, S. C. | |

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I announce that my colleague [Mr. Goff] is detained by illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Seventy-seven Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I move that the bill under consideration be recommitted to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, in behalf of the committee, I desire to express the hope that the bill will not be recommitted. It would be useless to recommit it. The bill is now in as good shape as we know how to make it. With the assistance of the Senate it has been amended, and I think it is a better bill now than it was when it first came from the committee.

I hope the Senate will pass the bill, and pass it at once. If the use of this fund is to be valuable to men in cantonments, then the Commissioner of Education must immediately take steps to cooperate with the forces of the Secretary of War to help plan better work in the cantonments toward teaching those who can not speak English to speak English and toward teaching those who can not read to read.

It is also desired that the Commissioner of Education shall stimulate at once a system in the States of active effort to teach all within the draft age how to speak English and how to read. This work must be done at once if its greatest value is to be obtained.

It is useless to recommit the bill. If the Senate is not in favor of this work, then defeat the bill. We would report the bill to you at once just as it is now if it was recommitted. I am aware of no member of the committee who desires to change it from its present state.

I urge that the motion to recommit be defeated and that the bill be voted upon on its merits.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, just a word in reply to the Senator from Georgia.

As I understood the Senator yesterday, the committee reporting this bill has before it now measures of a broad and comprehensive nature providing for the vocational training and for the education of the maimed and wounded soldiers who may return from the war, and for the training in a preliminary way of the illiterates seeking citizenship in this Republic. Of course the sensible thing now is to devote ourselves to the vigorous prosecution of the war. We dissipate our energies in all sorts of fads and experiments. It needs practical utilitarians now to conduct a war, and while engaged in this life and death struggle it is absurd and exceedingly unwise to attempt the part of a Don Quixote and seek to remedy and cure all the ills of the world. We should spend every energy to organize to beat Germany. It is ludicrous to me to waste our time debating over the illiteracy in States, and providing positions for a few men to inquire about the educational systems of the various States. It would be wiser to appropriate money to teach us how to fight, how to marshal our resources, how to defeat our powerful enemy and save our country and our liberties. There are too many cranks trying to secure legislation and determine governmental policies. There is only one supreme duty now, and that is to win this war. Not one dollar will be spent by my vote for unnecessary things until we triumph and civilization is saved. I would like to drive the foolish sentimentalists and visionary fanatics out of our midst until this dark storm is over. How incomplete and ineffective must be any plan now to educate illiterates in the United States and to educate those fighting in the Army. We need fighters and cannon and powder and bullets and aircraft. The schools and educational systems will follow our victory. My point is that we are now fighting for our lives; let us bend every energy to this stupendous task.

Necessarily our educational work will be interrupted during the war. With the advent of peace there will be many readjustments. The old world will never come back to us. New conditions—industrially, sociologically, politically—will be before us. No one can foretell what the days of the future will bring forth. Mighty revolutions in our social order may occur, which will shake the foundations of our Government. Educational systems will be modified; the relation between the States and the Federal Government may undergo great mutations. We pray that out of the war there may come peace and order and a new spirit of justice that will bind humanity in the bonds of enduring affection.

But now we want men to fight and money and more money to meet the staggering demands of the war.

This bill provides for such a pitiful and weak work, and it provides for so imperfect and uncorrelated effort, that it can not be treated with seriousness and ought not to meet with approval. I repeat what I said yesterday in discussing this measure: "It is a waste of money and is designed as a beginning to extend the activities of the Federal Government over the States in matters purely local and domestic." I make the prediction now that legislation of this character will be seized upon to make further demands upon Congress for aid in the educational work within the States. Soon the appetite will be developed for subsidies and bounties from the General Government for State education.

The promise of money from Congress to be distributed among the States, or to be expended in the States, particularly for so worthy an objective as education, will find welcome auditors everywhere. How delightful the climax will be, when we are called upon to collect millions of dollars from the people of the States through the costly instrumentalities employed by the General Government to execute its revenue laws, only to distribute it back to the States, less the large part that will be eaten up by officials and bureaus and employees and the unnumbered agencies of the Government! We seem not to have learned the fact that before money can be spent it must be obtained by the Government.

The thoughtless seem to think that if an appropriation is made by Congress for a State is to be spent in the State, that

no one has to bear any burden, and that the people of the State pay no portion of the amount.

I want the Federal Government to keep its hands off from the States, except where the Constitution vests it with authority to lay its hands upon them, and to permit the people to control their own domestic and local affairs. It is unpopular to oppose appropriations, particularly appropriations to be spent within the States.

It is so easy to defend to the people of a State the expenditure of money within the State, which came from the National Treasury, and it is oftentimes an ungracious task to explain opposition to a scheme the success of which would mean the lightening of burdens resting upon the State.

Mr. President, I shall continue to oppose legislation which is calculated to enervate the people, diminish their love for their own States, and develop a spirit of pauperism and dependency, so that they feel that only by the grace and power of the General Government can they live or survive.

Strong and virile States, filled with a thinking, courageous people who have independence and local self-government, will make a puissant and glorious Republic.

The States can and will be weakened by the gifts from the National Government.

The language of this bill indicates what its purpose is, viz, to aid in educational work within the States.

Listen to these words of the bill:

To promote plans for the elimination of illiteracy, and the extension of education among the adult population, and cooperate with State, county, district, and municipal education officers and others in putting these plans into operation.

The Federal bureau or agency is to cooperate with the States and the political subdivisions of the States, to promote education and to eliminate illiteracy.

It is obvious that the plan is to intrude the Federal Government into a purely domestic matter. We are asked by this bill to aid the States to overcome illiteracy and improve their educational systems. Of course, if we appropriate money wrong from the people by taxation to be used in educational work within the States it will accomplish some good. But that is not the only question here presented.

This bill, if enacted into law, will be regarded as an entering wedge by the Federal Government into the school activities of the States, and will be resented by States having the proper spirit or with the desire for larger appropriations in the future. It is manifestly insufficient to care for maimed soldiers, and it would be foolish to make appropriations for such purpose until a proper scheme has been devised.

This bill will enable a number of men to get jobs and collate a few statistics in regard to illiteracy, knowledge of which we all possess; or, if we do not, we can obtain it within a few moments by consulting the books in the Library. It is an ill-conceived plan and will be wholly impotent to accomplish any satisfactory results. In view of the fact that the committee is considering the question of caring for the maimed and wounded, and providing for their education, and is also considering the question as to the duty devolving upon the Federal Government to prepare aliens for the responsibilities of citizenship, I believe it unwise to pass this measure. To touch this matter in a piecemeal way is folly.

It seems to me, Mr. President, in view of the discussion of yesterday, and the facts that were then elucidated, that the wise and proper thing would be to recommit this bill and permit the committee that has consideration of these other important measures to consider this question, so that a safe, rational, and scientific plan may be proposed to meet conditions deemed so important as to require congressional consideration.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, as many Senators are here this morning who were not present on yesterday, I wish to say that I think the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] misunderstands the measures which are being worked upon to which he refers. A number of bills have been prepared looking toward an organized effort by the Government vocationally to reeducate wounded soldiers, to teach them how to use their remaining physical powers in some line of endeavor by which they may find occupation and earn a livelihood; but this measure has no connection whatever with those measures. Those measures have reference to returned soldiers who are wounded.

I wish to say that great progress has been made in that line of work in Great Britain and France and Canada and Germany since this war has been going on. A number of those bills are now before experts, who are studying them with a view of suggesting the best plan for such a measure. It will not help us at all in this bill to bring up that measure at the same time. This bill has reference to an entirely different subject. This bill is

Immediately brought forward as the result of information gathered as to the number of our drafted men who can not speak English and our drafted men who can not read and write. A number of the States are beginning an effort to eliminate such illiteracy and to teach English.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The Secretary of War is seeking in the cantonments to do work upon this line. Senators will find the whole subject discussed in the letter, which I put in the Record a few days ago from the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Education being connected with that department. The desire is that the direction of the Bureau of Education may be given to stimulate and to unify this work in the cantonments, which the Secretary of War is seeking to conduct with a separate fund, but which needs the stimulating and advising help of trained educators. They are found connected with the Bureau of Education.

It is said that the sum proposed to be appropriated by the bill is very small. We only ask for \$100,000 from now until the 1st of July, continuing, however, to be used thereafter, if not before, consuming \$50,000 annually after the 1st of July.

I wish to impress the fact that this is not for the teaching work itself. There are other forces to do that; the States and the cities have the force to do that; but here is a particular line of work to be directed to illiterate adults, a line upon which the States even have not heretofore exerted themselves; a line of work to teach English especially to all within the drafted age. The Secretary of War desires the help of the Bureau of Education in conducting this work; the States desire it; the cities desire it. This small sum of money will be used to help direct and stimulate this most valuable service.

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

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I will.

Mr. KING. What does the Senator from Georgia think this language means:

Provided further, That the Commissioner of Education shall not undertake to promote the teaching of adult illiterates and men and women of meager education in any State or Territory of the United States or in the District of Columbia, by cooperation or otherwise, without the written invitation or consent of the board of education or the chief school officer of such State, Territory, or District of Columbia.

Permit me to state this: Does not the Senator from Georgia concede that this bill is for the purpose of enabling the Bureau of Education to go into the States and to cooperate in a measure with the activities of the States in regard to education, and to supervise, so far as it may, the educational methods of the States? In other words, is it not a plan to intrude the Federal Government into the educational systems of the States, and will it not be made the pretext by the States for abandoning the duty resting upon them to provide an educational system under the police power of the State for those living within their borders? Will it not lead the States to appeal to the Federal Government to take up the question of education and bear the burden which education imposes? Will it not lead more and more to the atrophy of the powers of the State and more and more to the assumption by the Federal Government of powers and duties which belong to the States themselves?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not claim, Mr. President, to be a prophet, but I dissent entirely from the conclusions of the Senator from Utah with reference to the effect of this bill. We have inaugurated a system of extension work from the colleges of agriculture; we have inaugurated our vocational educational work; we have done much to stimulate and aid the States in educational work. This does not mean that the Commissioner of Education will interfere with the work of the States. It is expressly declared that even his plans, his suggestions, shall be given to those alone who desire them.

We know that the Secretary of War desires them; we know he needs the help; we know that the moving force came first from that source; but we also find that the opportunity exists to at once arouse and to organize forces in the States that will make a strenuous effort to remove illiteracy from the drafted men even before they reach the cantonments. It is simply along the line of work which the Government has been doing for years. Where an especial need of stimulus is required of national value in the State, whether in agriculture or in education or in other lines, we have sought to give it.

What is the Bureau of Education for? According to the view of the Senator from Utah, it should never have been organized, and it ought now to be abolished, and yet the Bureau of Education has done much to stimulate great and proficient work in the public schools of many States, and I have never heard the suggestion that there was an unfortunate interference with that

work. It has done much to advance the standard of teaching and the standard of teachers. I think the Senate understands it, and I will not consume further time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Before the Senator from Georgia takes his seat the Chair desires to state that he is going to enforce the rule of two speeches on the motion to recommit, unless unanimous consent of the Senate is given to the contrary.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, if the purpose of this bill is to bring about the result which has been announced by the Senator from Georgia, it is not expressed in the bill. It seems to authorize the Commissioner of Education to investigate the methods of training illiterate men and women that obtain in the United States and the methods that obtain in foreign countries.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, if the Senator will allow me to interrupt him, that feature has been stricken from the bill. Let me send the Senator a copy of the bill as it has been amended by the Senate.

Mr. KIRBY. I would be glad to have one; I was discussing the old bill.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. We have amended it substantially.

Mr. KIRBY. I am almost moved to ask with the Senator from Georgia what is the existing Bureau of Education for if it is not now familiar with these methods that obtain in the United States and in foreign countries? It certainly ought to be fully advised of those methods. It is not proposed to use any of this money or any of the plans to instruct men within the draft age or men who have been drafted and brought into camp; at least the bill that I have here does not indicate that such is the purpose.

It seems to me it is time that the money of this country at this critical period should be expended for the purpose of training men within the draft age and all other soldiers in their calling, and how to destroy the enemy, rather than in an undertaking to revamp the educational systems of the country; and unless there is some more definite purpose expressed in this bill to bring about the results indicated by the Senator from Georgia I shall vote against it. I do not believe it ought to be enacted into law in its present form.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Education and Labor. [Putting the question.] The Chair is unable to decide.

Mr. GALLINGER. I ask for a division.

On a division the Senate refused to recommit the bill.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senator from Georgia to line 5, where, after the word "several States," I think the words "and the District of Columbia" ought to be inserted.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I accept the suggestion.

Mr. GALLINGER. I move that amendment. Also, in line 8, before the word "States," the word "several" should be inserted; and after the word "States," the words "and the District of Columbia."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The difficulty is that the Senator from New Hampshire is not using the print of the bill used at the desk, but is using the reprinted bill.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am using the bill in its amended form, as it was ordered reprinted last evening.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary has difficulty in finding the place in the original bill.

Mr. GALLINGER. The amendment is in the reprinted bill in line 5, after the word "States," to insert the words "and the District of Columbia."

The SECRETARY. On page 1 of the reprinted bill, line 5, after the words "the several States," it is proposed to insert the words "and the District of Columbia."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GALLINGER. Now, in line 8, page 1, before the word "States," I move to insert the word "several"; and after the word "States," to insert the words "and the District of Columbia."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 1 of the reprint, line 8, before the word "States," where it appears the second time, it is proposed to insert the word "several"; and after the word "States," to insert the words "and the District of Columbia."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senator from Georgia to the phraseology in line 10, page 2. Perhaps it is right as it is, but it reads:

That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act there is hereby authorized to be appropriated.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The word "authorized" should be stricken out.

Mr. GALLINGER. I move to strike out the words "authorized to be," so that it will read "there is hereby appropriated." The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 2 of the reprint, line 10, it is proposed to strike out the words "authorized to be," so that it will read "there is hereby appropriated."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I presume the words "authorized to be" were employed in order that the appropriation might be carried in a general appropriation bill, but still I would rather they be left out.

Mr. GALLINGER. I should hardly think that would be necessary. I will call the attention of the Senator from Georgia to the fact that, after the bill has been passed, in amending the title the words "and the District of Columbia" should be inserted.

Mr. KING. I move to amend the bill by striking out, beginning in line 14, page 2, after the word "expended," the following words found on that line, also line 15 and line 16, to wit:

And \$50,000 for each succeeding fiscal year until June 30, 1928.

I do not think that the Senate of the United States wants to obligate itself to make an appropriation for this purely experimental and absurd proposition up to and including the year 1928.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The language sought to be stricken out by the Senator from Utah was put in yesterday as an amendment, so that the motion of the Senator from Utah must be first to reconsider the vote whereby the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KING. I was not aware of that action. I therefore move to reconsider the action of the Senate yesterday by which the amendment just referred to was inserted in the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Utah to reconsider. [Putting the question.] By the sound the Chair is unable to determine. Those in favor of the motion will rise. [A pause.] Those opposed will rise. [A pause.] The vote whereby the amendment was adopted is reconsidered. The question now is on the amendment of the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, the real purpose of putting in the words "authorized to be" was that the question of an immediate appropriation might still be considered by the Senate and provided for in a general appropriation bill, without being subject to the point of order as being general legislation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is not what is before the Senate.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I understand that is not entirely what is before the Senate, but it is partly what is before the Senate. I think it will be a great mistake to limit this appropriation to one year. I think we ought to carry it for a longer time than that. I would not insist upon the appropriation for the full limit of time up to 1928, but I think it would be well worth while to make this appropriation \$100,000 for the next three years—for the present year, for the next year, and the next year. Certainly for two years we ought to carry an appropriation that would plan going on with the work after July 1 next. If the bill were changed so as to carry the appropriation of \$100,000 to July 1, and \$100,000 for the following year, I would not object to seeing the good effect of this work in determining whether we should carry it further.

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

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. KING. I desire to inquire of the Senator from Georgia whether the Bureau of Education may not now, under its general powers and under the law, discharge all of the duties and obligations required to be performed under this act?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No; I do not think there is any authority that carries this line of work, and there is certainly no appropriation, and I think this bill is necessary to do so.

Mr. KING. If the Senator will pardon me, I understood the Senator a few moments ago, in dilating upon the effective work of the Bureau of Education, to state that it had had a stimulating effect upon education, and that it had done something toward coordinating the educational systems of the States. Obviously, if it has done anything along those lines, it has made some inquiry into the question of illiteracy. Therefore it is—

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, if the Senator does not desire to ask me a question, I think we will get along better if he will do so and then let me proceed.

Mr. KING. Then I will pretermit what I was about to observe, and ask the Senator if the Bureau of Education may not now devise efficient and economic methods for teaching adult illiterates and men and women of meager education in the United States?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The Bureau of Education has no appropriation with which to make an organization in that direction. The question of the education of adults, the question of training those who can not speak English to speak English, is a subject which has been brought forcefully to the attention of the country only within the past 12 months, or certainly more forcefully to the attention of the country within the past 12 months than ever before. There is no provision connected with the Bureau of Education and there is no fund of money the use of which is contemplated in such a direction.

I regard this as one of the most valuable services that can be rendered—a service that probably can be accomplished with less expenditure than any other service where so much good would come from so small an expenditure. Now, why should we refuse? Why should we be technical about it? The Senator from Utah does not really object to this work. He desires it; but his imagination has conjured up a dread lest this is the opening wedge for some great appropriation looking toward national aid to education in the States.

I am not afraid of anything of the kind. I am not afraid of national cooperation with the States for the improvement of the citizenry of the United States. I believe in national contribution along lines of stimulation for educational work. I think it is a splendid work. I think we get much return for few dollars spent; and I am simply astonished that this effort—so meritorious, so valuable—should have met with opposition.

I am opposed to striking out those words. If the Senate desired to amend them, and lessen the number of years, I would not object; but to strike them out entirely would be undoubtedly a blunder. I would be willing to see it amended, if the Senate desired, so as to provide that it should only be continued for a less length of time, that we might see the good results that come from the work, and then extend it still further. But the Senator from Utah asks that the Senate limit the appropriation to July 1 next. I would be perfectly willing to accept an amendment of \$100,000, and \$100,000 annually during the continuance of the war.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I shall be glad to answer it.

Mr. KIRBY. Does not the Senator think that the Bureau of Education can perfect these plans within one year with \$100,000 and continue to exist and perform its functions as heretofore?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I think the Senator does not comprehend the work of the Bureau of Education. It is not simply to perfect the plans. Leaders along these lines will go out and work. They will work with teachers' conventions; they will work with teachers in cities; they will work with gatherings of patriotic people, and they will continue so to work. It is astonishing that our Nation has permitted so large a number of inhabitants to live in it so long who can not speak English.

I, for one, am opposed to printing a newspaper in the United States in anything but English. I, for one, am in favor of making the English language the language spoken by every citizen of the United States; and to that end I am in favor of aggressive leadership by the Government itself to teach English to every citizen of the United States.

I am opposed to the motion to strike out. I would not object to a reduction of the number of years.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, before the Senator sits down, I should like to ask him a question.

In connection with the expenses to be incurred by the Bureau of Education, I simply want to cite, for the information of the Senator, an experience we had in our State in making a census of the subnormal children. That census took nearly three years, and it was alarming and astounding in its results. We found that there were over 2 per cent of the children of the State—2 per cent of 600,000 that we educated—who were subnormal. Now, that information was not available for the Federal Government; and in support of this bill I simply wish to say that it would be of great assistance to the States in the Union to have these statistics, so that they may reform their own school systems and take care of the illiterates in their own educational systems. It takes time and it takes money to make this investigation.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, before the motion to strike out is voted upon, I move that the provision be limited to 1924, cutting off the last four years. I move to amend the portion sought to be stricken out by changing the word "eight" to "four" first.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, before the vote is taken upon that amendment I want to express my hearty concurrence in the views just stated by the Senator from Georgia regarding the

necessity for making the English language what it purports to be—the language of the United States of America. The time has come when no man who is unable to speak that language should be accorded political rights, and I believe that we should do any and every thing necessary to be done in order to make that tongue universal.

I say that without the slightest prejudice against the natural sentiments of the immigrant to this country for the language of his own country. Indeed, a knowledge of modern languages is becoming more and more a part of the necessary equipment of every citizen. But when we consider that we have communities in the United States, and a great many of them, where the English tongue is not heard at all, and where the policy of those communities is to make them as foreign as themselves, which is done through their control of boards of education, through the influence which their power to vote gives them; when we consider further that we are now suffering from such conditions, and suffering far more extensively than the public knows, we would be failing in our duty if we did not make every possible effort at this time toward the beginning of a system that will make such conditions after the war practically and politically impossible.

Mr. President, I have had occasion to say upon this floor once or twice during this session, and others have voiced the same thing, that there is an absence of unity of purpose and of a spirit in the United States which must manifest itself before we can even begin the prosecution of this war as an American war; and the lack of it can be traced largely to the insularity of our foreign populations, perpetuated by an ignorance of the English tongue and their constant use of the language of their native land.

I know that our secret-service system is hampered at present because of the prevalence of so many languages in this country, and that plots of all sorts are hatched in these nests of foreigners with practical impunity in many instances because the language which there flourishes is not the English language and because it is extremely difficult to secure the right agencies to discover and afterwards to develop and punish them.

Mr. President, I am well satisfied, and as the days pass by and information is accumulated my convictions are strengthened, that in nearly every avenue of the governmental activities essential to the successful prosecution of this war our enemies are at work, and at work actively. I do not mean to say that they are all composed of foreigners, because they are not. Indeed, the subtlest and most dangerous of all our secret enemies in this country are the men and women of Anglo-Saxon descent who speak the English language and who are selling their birthright, their patriotism, and possibly the fate of the race to which they belong for the considerations which German agencies are able and eager to pay; they are producing results and very serious ones. To illustrate:

Mr. President, I received a letter this morning and another on yesterday morning, from the same factory, calling my attention to the fact that out of the manufacture of 5,000 rubber gas masks 2,900 were found defective, and after they had been discarded some of them were found packed among those that had passed inspection.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, what was the matter with them?

Mr. THOMAS. The matter with them was that small perforations, invisible to the eye, but through which all kinds of gases may penetrate, were discovered in them by stretching, by testing.

Mr. OVERMAN. Was that done by somebody in the factory?

Mr. THOMAS. It must have been done by men and women in the factory; and that, Mr. President, is only a sample of what is going on.

Mr. President, I think we may now be confronted with the supreme crisis of this war. The German drive has not ended. It is merely waiting long enough to get its second wind. American troops, with those of the allies, are in the newly improvised trenches. They are fighting for the allies, fighting for us, and fighting for the future. If there ever was a time during this war when all the energies we possess should be unified in the support of that gallant army we have sent across the sea, this is the hour. Yet, what are the dispatches this morning? Five thousand men on strike in the Norfolk yards; sixty-odd thousand in New York threatening to go out to-morrow; seven or eight thousand strikers in Kansas City—a sympathetic strike, prompted by some paltry difference between a lot of laundrymen and their employers; and these do not comprise them all.

Mr. President, is there any significance in the fact that these labor difficulties occur at this crisis, or is it a mere coincidence? To my mind, it is a part of the German propaganda which easily operates through processes of their own, one of which is to

avail itself of those to whom the English language is not known.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator if it is not the result of a propaganda that was made here before we declared war?

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, Mr. President, it is the result of a propaganda that began on the day when peace was declared between Prussia and France. It is the result of a propaganda which has formed a part of the organized preparation of the Empire of Germany through which it proposes to secure dominion over the world. It is a propaganda, Mr. President, that exists in every country upon the globe. In a house in Downing Street, in the city of London, is a vast mass of material, documentary in character, collated since the war by the British Government from the four corners of the earth. This material is expressed in every language and every dialect under the sun. Through the agency of associations of every character, civic, political, economic, and religious, it is mute evidence of a vast propaganda the advocates and converts of which are far more dangerous to liberty than the legions of the Kaiser upon the battle fields of Europe. The debacle in Russia never could have been accomplished by the armed forces of the Kaiser. It was the result of that secret undermining force which for want of a better name we call pan-Germanism, the same force which is producing these terrible labor conditions at this time.

Mr. President, if we are to utilize our entire energies toward the proper prosecution of this war, and we must use them if we are to win it, it is high time these strikes and suspensions be properly characterized. I contend that the man who incites a strike at this time, I do not care what his motives are, is an enemy of the United States and should be treated as such. I declare, Mr. President, deliberately that the fomenters of strikes in our labor ranks are traitors to the country whose protection they invoke.

I do not confine my statement, Mr. President, to these people. It is equally true of many of our profiteers. And certainly true of any man who at any time anywhere is impeding the program of this Government, whether he be in command or whether he be a subaltern.

Mr. OVERMAN. I wish to say that there is a propaganda going on in this country against the sale of our bonds.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, there are none so blind as those who will not see. The propaganda to which the Senator from North Carolina refers is not confined to our bond sales. It exists everywhere. Unfortunately some people in high places are unwittingly aiding that propaganda through interferences with natural production, through the fixing of arbitrary prices and the multiplication of uncertainty in our economic life, the consequences of which, I fear, will be more painfully evident next fall and next winter than they are now. It requires all our energies to prosecute this war. By dividing them between its prosecution and the attempt to direct the business of the country at this time it can not be done. I do not believe in profiteering; no man does. But, Mr. President, the business interests of the country must not be too greatly interfered with if we are to continue to receive the supplies which we must have and to make the money which is necessary for the prosecution of the war.

Hence I say that policies which produce an atmosphere of discontent, which introduce grave uncertainties in the ordinary affairs of life, which bewilder if it does not more seriously affect production—these things naturally make the sale of bonds difficult. Mr. Garfield, by his coal-price orders, closes the mines of some struggling individual or company barely able to keep alive under former conditions, in consequence of which his business is suspended, if not permanently ended. When he reflects that this action is done in the name of his Government, he is not apt to be inspired with those motives of patriotism which every individual should entertain and express. He is dependent upon his business for a livelihood and for the support of his family. When through Government agencies that business is suspended and that support gone, he may rise when he hears the inspiring strains of the Star-Spangled Banner, but his thoughts are in other directions when he thinks of the future and what it means to his wife and to his family.

These things, Mr. President, make it the more essential that our present industrial conditions and the widespread propaganda to which the Senator has referred should be not only recognized, not only denounced but counteracted by every means within our power. I do not know whether we are doing it or not.

Inasmuch as this bill proposes to teach the English language to illiterates, or at least to lay the foundation for that good work, inasmuch as it is designed to give the foreign soldier in our ranks an opportunity to understand the orders of his officer—and there are 700,000 men of the draft age who can not speak or

write the English language—then it would seem that we should get behind it, even though defective in expression, and put it upon the statute books as soon as possible and let the machinery of its operation begin.

Mr. REED obtained the floor.

Mr. PAGE. I should like to ask the Senator from Colorado a question before he sits down. Does the Senator believe that an American who can neither read nor write, a native-born son, is as good a man, as good a citizen, or as good a soldier as the man who is educated?

Mr. THOMAS. The question answers itself, Mr. President. Of course he is not.

Mr. PAGE. Does not the Senator know, and I say to our burning shame it can be said, we have at this time, or had at the time of the last census, 1,500,000 native-born whites who could neither read nor write?

Mr. THOMAS. The fact is a reflection upon American intelligence and American progress.

Mr. PAGE. The point I wish to make is this: That while we are discussing this matter from the standpoint of the foreigner I do not think we ought altogether to lose sight of the fact that we have native-born citizens, so many as 1,500,000, or we might go further and say that in some States there are from 30 to 35 per cent of the entire population who are illiterate.

Mr. THOMAS. I will yield the floor in just a moment to the Senator from Missouri.

With regard to the purpose of this bill there is this difference between that class of illiterates and those designed to be reached by it. They can speak and understand the English tongue; it is their native tongue. They are therefore in language and race as much a part and parcel of the homogeneous mass of America as any other. But the man who can neither read nor write nor understand the English language is a source of far more serious danger, and particularly at this time when they are being drafted as American citizens and expected to do their duty in the field.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will the Senator from Missouri yield to me one moment? I wish to ask the Senator from Georgia whether, after the discussion continues a little longer, the bill may not go over until to-morrow morning? I have several amendments that I feel sure the Senator will agree to that I wish to offer, but I have an engagement which will take me from the Senate and keep me from the Senate for a couple of hours.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I am very anxious to finish the bill.

Mr. GALLINGER. Its passage to-day is not imperative. I would gladly remain if I could.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I dislike ever to object to anything the Senator from New Hampshire asks, and I will not object. Then let us go on, and when we get through with what is to be said I will agree to let the bill go over until to-morrow. I intend to ask the Senate to amend the figures as to the time to 1922 instead of 1928, so that it will give only three years, and at the end of that time we can see what good it is doing; and if we want to continue it we can do so, and if we do not it will not continue itself.

Mr. GALLINGER. I venture to suggest to the Senator that we make appropriations for the three years. I was going to appeal to the Senator to do that. However, that can come up to-morrow, if the bill is to go over.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If that is the only amendment the Senator has to offer, to get the bill through—

Mr. GALLINGER. I have several others of a minor nature. If I was prepared to offer them I would do it now and not ask this courtesy.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I shall not object.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I desire to supplement by a word of explanation the statement of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS]. He spoke of the strike in Kansas City. That strike can not be charged to foreigners. It so happens that Kansas City has the smallest percentage of foreign-born population of any one of the large cities in the United States. Of course, there are people in Kansas City, and a good many people, who are of foreign birth, but the city is distinctively an American city.

With the details of the strike in Kansas City I am not familiar, but in a general way I understand that some controversy grew up between laundry employees and their employers, which resulted in a strike in the laundries. That was followed by a sympathetic strike that has grown to large proportions and which at one time it was feared would result in calling out nearly 20,000 men. The street car system is involved; many large industries of the city are tied up. All this seems to have grown out of what was originally a controversy between a laundry proprietor and his help.

Mr. President, that, as I have stated, can not be laid at the door of the foreign-born people in the case of Kansas City. It must be laid at the door, I am sorry to say, of union labor. I

have defended union labor every time the opportunity has come to me since I have attained my majority.

Long before coming to the Senate, in public speech and in public acts, as well as in private acts, I have endeavored to further the cause of organized labor. In the Senate I have voted, I think, for every measure calculated to strengthen and encourage organized labor. I shall not now, because of the conditions in Kansas City, denounce organized labor. I shall not indulge in any general criticism of organized labor. But as its sincere friend I say this, and say it with all the solemnity of my soul, that the day organized labor creates disturbances that arrest those industries which are essential to the carrying on of this war it will be a very dark one for organized labor and for our beloved country. Organized labor will lose the best friends it has ever had. It will disintegrate and go down before the loyal protests of its own loyal members, men who put country above every other consideration in life. Union labor counts such men by the tens of millions.

This is no time for strikes upon the one hand, or for lockouts on the other hand. The business of employee and employer to-day is to compose their difficulties, and so far as I am concerned I am ready to vote at this moment for a law which will punish the men, either employers or employees, who by conspiracy undertake to stop the building of American ships of war or American merchant ships essential to the life of the Republic. I am as willing to vote to punish men who engage in a conspiracy to stop that kind of work as I am to vote to punish any conspirator who may undertake to stop the draft or to stop the successful march of the American Army, because these great industries that are now threatened, and which if the threat is carried out will be stopped, are absolutely vital to the prosecution of the war. They are necessary to the safety of our soldiers across the seas. The man who to-day conspires to stop the work in American shipyards conspires to starve and to defeat the American Army in Europe. The fact may as well now as later be stated plainly and regardless of consequences, that the American people will hold responsible whoever shall be guilty of any act tending to weaken the American Army now abroad or in preparation for that fateful enterprise which involves perhaps the safety of civilization.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, this bill presents one phase of a very serious problem that confronts the American people, and the Congress of the United States sooner or later must deal with it in a comprehensive way. On yesterday it was my privilege to meet the governor of Idaho, in whose State they have had serious trouble with the I. W. W.'s. The Senator from Washington dwelt somewhat on this question the other day, as it relates to his own State. The governor of Idaho made the statement, as a result of an investigation he had set on foot, that 70 per cent of the I. W. W.'s in his State could neither read nor write the English language, and that only 10 per cent of them were native born. If 70 per cent of the I. W. W.'s can neither read nor write, how are they going to be able to comprehend the genius of our institutions? What a fertile field they make for the agitators and the anarchists of this country.

I refer to this because I feel very keenly the need of doing something which will aid all foreigners who come to this land to enjoy our institutions to understand what we are doing in this country and why we are doing it. My belief is that whether the Senator from Georgia has the right plan embraced in his bill or not, it touches a problem worthy of the best attention of the American Congress.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND TRAINING.

Mr. FRANCE. Mr. President, what I have to say has a somewhat direct bearing upon the bill which is now pending. I hesitate to trespass upon the time of the Senate. Perhaps no one here realizes better than do I the necessity for immediate and masterful action when human life hangs in the balance, and we all realize that time here is very precious, because upon our prompt and vigorous action depend the lives of many men as well as the fate of nations. But I feel that much of the pending legislation will be futile or even vicious in its effect without a more comprehensive war policy of which I hope by these observations to stimulate a further discussion.

I can not expect, in the course of these remarks, to discuss with any degree of completeness the problem to which I invite the attention of the Senate. I wish that I might indulge the hope that since my words must prove inadequate, the very greatness of the cause for which I speak may enable it to plead with a persuasiveness which no voice can possibly possess. I am adverting to the cause of securing that higher degree of organization in our national life which has for so long been necessary, but which since our entrance into the war has become immediately imperative. The problem of the proper degree

and form of national organization, and I am now speaking of organization not in the legal but in the social sense, is a most complex and comprehensive one in which are involved all of the various component questions which have since history's beginning perplexed the student of human government. It presses now upon us as the central and essential problem of this war. If not sooner solved it will appear as the paramount and menacing problem in the days of reconstruction after the establishment of peace. It is the problem from which will arise the issues of our political contests in the near and far-distant future. As old as history it is ever new, ever changing, ever increasing in magnitude, and upon its correct solution depend the happiness of every citizen and the efficiency and perpetuity of every State.

Early in last May I urged the necessity for taking the preliminary steps toward a more rational organization of the Nation, and while I addressed the Senate only after much hesitation, I yet spoke with an absolute assurance of the soundness of the principles for which I then contended, such assurance being based upon my personal observations of the remarkable industrial, social, and military organization of the German Empire.

On the 11th day of January the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING] in an address which shall long remain in my memory, said:

When the German Kaiser decided to make war for the world's domination he cast a solvent into our present-day civilization which has put us in a very fluid state.

His words on that occasion and this figure of speech, revealing a most able and thoughtful statesman contemplating with clear apprehensions this mighty process of mutation in the affairs of men and nations, were so apt and so significant that they have remained in my thoughts, and if time were not so pressing I should be tempted to run out the symbol of the Senator into the wider reaches of its application. The Senator well knows that there are various solvents; those physical, by which without essential change, but by transformations truly wonderful in all their intimate processes, the solid passes from our view, temporarily diffused in fluidity but readily recoverable; and solvents chemical, by which now by transmutations far more marvelous than any dreamed of by the ancient alchemists there come, through all those strange mysterious intermediate states of nascency, changes elemental, final, down to the indivisible by which the old passes away and there is born another substance, compounded of the original elements, but with properties wholly new; changes by which what was may sometimes be seen melting within the glowing retort to a solution of such concealed but concentrated potency as may amaze, stupify, or even destroy the beholder.

For myself, I have a faith immovable that within the huge and fateful alembic of this war, with its choking, poisonous gases, its disemboweling bayonets dripping hot blood, its reeking monster mortars tearing limb from joint and head from torso, with all its human agony mingled with a heroism and devotion which again attest the eternal kinship of man with divinity, there are taking place elemental alterations in the structure of our civilization which mark the everlasting finality of many things which must no longer be in the established social orders of the world—a faith that lets me see the new nascency of that true and efficient cooperative democracy which was both undreamed of and undesired by those whose inordinate hatred, greed, and ambition furnished the fuel and lighted the flames beneath this vast experiment. To my mind the great question now to be answered by this Republic is whether these inevitable social and governmental changes can be effected by a reasonable solution and transformation of what is into what must be, or whether they can only be secured after a dissolution of all existing governmental forms. Which of the great national structures shall prove to have the highest melting point? How long will the high towers of carefully partitioned class and privilege and stage upon mounting stage of cold and hardened caste withstand the softening blasts now bursting forth from these roaring furnaces of war? In Russia government is already molten, formless, and seething chaos there awaits the statesmen with the molds and patterns of free but ordered institutions. Upon what philosophy of government do our heroic French brothers ponder in their trenches, and what is to be the policy of the United Socialists of France, at whose word, not long since, a reactionary ministry fell because merely suspected of having materialistic aims? What is presaged by the quiet, determined voices of English workmen, somewhat suppressed but yet audible across every sea, as they prepare officially to say:

We need to beware of patchwork. The view of the labor party is that what has to be reconstructed after the war is not this or that governmental department, or this or that piece of social machinery, but, so far as Britain is concerned, society itself. At such times it is easier

to slip into ruin than to progress into higher forms of organization. That is the problem which presents itself to the labor party. What this war is consuming is not merely the security, the homes, the livelihood, and the lives of millions of innocent families and an enormous proportion of all the accumulated wealth of the world, but also the very basis of the peculiar social order in which it has arisen. The individualist system of capitalist production, based on the private ownership and competitive administration of land and capital, with its reckless "profiteering" and wage slavery, with its glorification of the unhampered struggle for the means of life, and its hypocritical pretense of the "survival of the fittest," with the monstrous inequality of circumstances which it produces, and the degradation and brutalization, both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom may, we hope, have received a death blow.

If you prefer the views of a most thoughtful German, Mr. Walther Rathenau, one of the leading business men of Germany, the head of the great General Electric Co. of Berlin, the man who is generally credited with having organized Germany's industries for the war, I read you a few paragraphs from some advanced pages of his book entitled "The New Domestic Economy," as quoted in the New York Times of March 11, 1918:

What is this event, the waves of which are breaking around us? We call it war because it has the form of international war, because the convulsed nations are openly and apparently struggling in earth, water, air, and fire. Coming generations will recognize it. What we are experiencing is the revolution of the world, the volcanic upheaval of the mighty, burning lower strata of the abode of mankind. It is not taking place in the disorderly form of a mass uprising with pikes and scythes, as its early prophets thought. That would have been of small account and would not have thrown the world from its axis.

Made deaf and mad by their inner tension, intoxicated by the last and highest distillations of the old order of things, trembling with nationalism and imperialism, nations must hurl themselves upon nations, in the splendor and discipline of their State and military orders, completely equipped by their industries and their sciences, with the fury and the grief of their souls and hearts.

In reality, however, the old economic order is burning down and the time is drawing near when the old foundation of the social order will catch fire.

Two pillars of the old order will project from the ruins—the monopoly of the great landed estates and of the mineral treasures. But they will gradually lose, no matter how much their property power may grow at first, the legal basis to which they are indebted for their footing. For this flood has not overtaken the world so that the treasures of the earth may be washed up as flotsam upon some blessed Mount Ararat.

I do not fear for the permanence of our own national structure, for it rests upon principles in harmony with universal law, and the adequate application of these principles must give to the world the first complete expression of eternal truth in governmental form. But those great rational fundamental principles have not as yet become wholly incorporate and vital in all the departments and functions of our national life, nor have they yet been scientifically applied to all the changing and ever-increasing complexities of modern conditions and of current social needs. I am willing to grant you, sir, that this is truly "a war of democracy against autocracy," but I must insist that there may be different interpretations placed upon the deeper meanings of the phrase. It seems to me that we are in grave danger of failing to learn the lessons of this war, of being blind to the huge handwriting upon every horizon of the world, if we do not search for the war's more remote causes, which, to my mind, lie far deeper than the ephemeral ambitions, personalities, prejudices, and follies of Kaiser, parliaments, ministers, and kings. This mighty upheaval of the world is in truth but a surface manifestation of a conflict between vast submerged, antagonistic, elemental forces, the resultants of which are to be the determinants which shall move and shape the destiny of men and nations for centuries to come.

It is indeed a war of democracy against aristocracy and the autocracy of expiring monarchy, but it is far more than this, for it is above all a war of democracy against the cruel and grinding autocracy of that inefficiency which inevitably attends all government which is incoordinated and incomplete. It is a war of democracy against the antisocial disintegrating forces of selfish rampant individualism and all the outworn, discredited theories of the laissez faire, which are in unyielding opposition to the higher forms of social organization, without which, under modern conditions, there can be no approximation to the realization of democracy's purposes and ideals.

Nations are to be judged not by their constitutions but by their institutions. As the unwritten law outlasts the enacted statute, so has the spirit of aristocracy and of monarchy survived their obsolescent forms and crumbling castles. In Europe the hard refractory crusts of an ancient feudalism have for centuries resisted the high solvent power of nascent democracy, while in America the perpetuated doctrines and traditions which we have inherited from the older governmental systems have impeded the progress and the more rapid and rational evolution of such new and democratic institutions as would conform to and embody the great principles which were so clearly enunciated by the fathers.

We can not at present foresee all the succession of stages through which will come those governmental alterations which

must be the inevitable result of this war, but there can be no doubt that the final product will be a higher form of democratic social organization, and it is imperative that we strive to so clarify our vision that we may comprehend the vast mutations now in progress and give direction to the processes by such strong, intelligent, masterful action as will leave no doubt of our determination to dominate the whole situation, in the hope that, by a rational transformation of what is, this new democracy may come, instead of through those utmost radical revolutions which, if they occur, must involve years of delay, and slow and painful reconstruction, de novo, from the completely disintegrated social elements. In order that we may do this we need at once, not merely a new military policy but a whole new national policy, formulated in recognition of the fact that historic evolution, of which this war is but one of the violent stages, has been steadily toward the establishment of a government which should be stable, because a true resultant of individual forces, permanent because broad based upon a popular will freely and intelligently expressed, preserving liberty by a constitution properly defining, limiting, and distributing its various powers, yet so integrated in all its parts and so coordinated in all of its functions as to eliminate chance as it extends with absolute certainty and scientific precision to every citizen the very maximum of opportunity for healthful life, free expansion, self-development, achievement, and happiness.

This great Republic is clogged with human driftwood. There could be no human driftwood in a democratic State formed as ours is, and administered as ours should be, with an intelligent and unwearied determination to translate our ideals into living realities. We have the ideal governmental system, but we have ignored the fact that the extension of governmental administrative function must keep pace with the growth in number and in density of population. We have not in our statesmanship given enough attention to that fundamental law of organic and social evolution which makes clear the absolute necessity for an increase in structure with the enlargement of mass, and the undeniable fact that if the mass increases without a proportionate differentiation, integration, and organization there must certainly develop in the mass areas of malnutrition, proceeding to mortification and corruption, from which areas there must spread the elaborated poisons which will inevitably result in the destruction of the whole.

If a State is to grow in power as it grows in population, if it is to intensify its vitality and move steadily up and on to higher stages of development, it must obey this law of natural, national evolution. In the social body as in the organic there is the constant interplay of centripetal, integrating, and centrifugal disintegrating forces. The progressive state rapidly integrates while the reactionary gradually disintegrates, and it is no doubt true, as stated by one of the greatest of modern philosophers, that in history we may see the incessant struggle between such progressive, forward-looking States and such reactionary, backward-looking States, that in the end the State with the most "viable idea must gain the mastery," and that "history may thus be interpreted as a series of divine reprisals against the just, the partial, the incomplete in government.

Our Republic is a vigorous, progressive, and integrating State. The process of national integration here, however, is but in its incipency, for we are in the early embryonic, formative stages of our national development and the process has, as I have intimated, been to an abnormal degree retarded by a widespread and unreasoning repugnance toward those more advanced forms of scientific social organization, the value of which have been so fully demonstrated, which repugnance is founded upon an undue reverence for the doctrines of unregulated individualism, freedom of contract, and of the *laissez faire* which have been handed down from the aristocratic systems with a large body of our common law.

It would lead me far afield to enter upon a full exposition of my conception of an adequate national organization but such an organization must, of course, be predicated upon the assumption that each child born, or citizen added to our country, becomes at once a national asset and a national liability, an individual to serve, doing his part for his country, and to be with every care conserved; and, being such, his name and the record of his progress and achievement must be most systematically recorded upon the books of his country and, further, that, not by a system of paternalism and socialism, but by a system of properly and justly regulated individualism by the adequate, complete, rational, and effectual functioning of a vigorous and vital national organism, each such individual must be guaranteed an opportunity exactly equal to that of every other for fitting himself for useful and contented citizenship, and, further, guaranteed that irreducible minimum of the necessities for such a citizenship which every normal and properly trained

man can, under proper conditions, earn and has a right to demand. I advocate legislation looking toward the development of such a national organism because I am opposed to socialism. There is grave danger of our now falling into the folly of adopting that panacea for the intolerable ills which follow governmental inefficiency, which consists in calling upon the Government to attempt more, to own more things, and perform more functions. I would not have the Government do more things, but I would have it do things much more effectively. I would not expand the powers of Government but perfect its performance. I would improve social conditions, not by further socializing the State and thus limiting individual opportunity, but by having the Government do its present work so well that every citizen would be truly liberated, given the greatest possible freedom and the largest possible opportunity for growth and achievement.

But whatever may have been our individual political philosophy, we now face one hard, inexorable fact, that, since the most highly cooperative, integrated, socialized, and militarized nation of all time has created modern warfare, such warfare is of necessity the most cooperative and collectivistic of all governmental functions; indeed, of all human undertakings. It is only the most hopeless amateur who disparages and despises a dangerous adversary, for it is imperative to exhaustively investigate and estimate the whole system which makes an enemy powerful in offensive and defensive action, if one is to indulge a reasonable hope of victory over such an antagonist. It is most unfortunate that so few of our English or American statesmen and so relatively few of the military leaders of England and of America have, during the past decades, made any serious investigation of or given any careful consideration to the science of modern warfare as it has been developing in Prussia since the close of the Napoleonic era, and particularly in the German Empire since the Franco-Prussian War. Self-satisfied, absolutely convinced of the superiority of their own systems, these statesmen have, to a large degree, refused to examine the German plan of organization; and, indeed, they have seemed to have deliberately closed their ears to the repeated warnings of those who had with painstaking care studied the German institutions. Our own country, even yet self-deceived, blinding herself to the fearful experiences of England as she has been forced to learn the hard truth by frightful and tragic lessons, is still clinging to the ancient Napoleonic formulae of war. A prominent English authority, writing some time since of Germany and of modern warfare, said:

Military organization has become a science, studied both by statesmen and soldiers. The lessons of history have not been neglected. Previous to 1870 in one Kingdom only was it recognized that intellect and education play a more important part in war than stamina and courage. Taught by the disasters of 1806, Prussia set herself to discover the surest means of escaping humiliation in the future. The nature of war was analyzed until the secrets of success and failure were laid bare, and on these investigations a system of organization and of training was built up which not only from a military but from a political and even an economical point of view is the most striking product of the nineteenth century. The popular idea that war is a mere matter of brute force, redeemed only by valor and discipline, is responsible for greater evil than the complacency of the amateur.

I read the following from the Washington Times of April 1, 1918:

There is as much professionalism in the fighting of war as in prize-fighting. The following statements by an American general, West Point graduate, help us to understand the task that Germany puts before this country and the allies.

The Germans alone know about this kind of war and have prepared for it.

West Point neither taught nor knew anything like it except for observation and recent study. It is as new to the veteran American or English officer as to the 19-year-old recruits.

However great may have been our past devotion to rampant individualism and the system of the "*laissez faire*," we must now arouse the Nation to the realization that we can successfully combat system only with system and organization only with better organization, and that against a socialized and militarized monarchy we must place such a militarized and unified democracy as will be the unconquerable, invincible incarnation of the cooperative spirit in governmental form.

I repeat that I am not a socialist, for I stand squarely in opposition to Government ownership, not because a system of Government ownership is in itself vicious but because such a system would prove in practice to be not only vicious but, I believe, absolutely destructive to our institutions in the absence of that highly developed social sense which in America has, most notably during recent years, been so insufficiently developed. It is but little short of madness for a government to undertake to carry on vast productive enterprises which require a high degree of cooperative effort before there has been developed the true cooperative spirit, and so it is also perilous for this Nation to continue in this war unless we are prepared now to formulate a

national policy the tendency of which will be to subdue the individualistic and to awaken and employ the collectivistic motives.

The Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER], in a most able, informing address, and one well worthy of the distinguished abilities which have made him so useful a Member of this body, has most clearly and comprehensively presented many of the phases of this problem. He has demonstrated by a startling array of facts the most serious conditions which now exist in this country as a result, I contend, of our obstinate refusal to adopt those methods of organization which are in harmony with the principles of the modern science of war. It is my personal judgment that the most severe indictment which he drew should have been directed against the legislative department of our Government upon which rests the responsibility for the creation of these conditions.

The masses of the American people were not desirous of having our country drawn into this war, but when on the 2d day of April, 1917, the President of the United States, presumably in possession of facts unknown to the American people and to their Representatives in Congress, advised the declaration of war, the Representatives of the people in both branches of the Congress acquiesced in the judgment of the President, then so recently chosen by the people to direct our national policies in a great world crisis, and gradually there began to be evidenced in all parts of the Republic a spirit of patriotism, of devotion, and of a desire for helpful cooperation, exalting the souls of our people with a high and holy sense of service. It was as though Divinity, while the multitudes were reverently waiting, had profoundly moved and troubled the deep pools of our better natures for a rebaptism of the Republic to a new wholeness, for a healing of whatever infirmities may have insidiously developed within the Nation during the long years of softening, weakening, luxury, prosperity, and peace. Then by a series of most grievous mistakes, which I shall not attempt here to recapitulate, an appeal was permitted to be made to the baser motives of our people and a greed and lust for profit began on every hand to check the rising tides of patriotism.

To-day our condition, as it must appear to any man who will study it critically and impartially, is most alarming. Our capital and labor are not yet scientifically adjusted and applied to the multitudinous parts of this stupendous task of waging war, while, persisting in our determination to ignore the essentially social nature of war, we are attempting to bring about such proper adjustment by frantic appeals to the individualistic motive, by the competitive rather than by the cooperative method. War being so highly socialized an undertaking, a provision, based upon readily available information, should have warned us of what a most unfortunate experience has now informed us, that, since the system of competitive bidding must of necessity make an appeal to the antisocial and profiteering rather than to the social, patriotic motives, it must, therefore, sooner or later make for disintegration and inefficiency instead of for that integration and cooperation so indispensable for effective and masterful national action. In the labor market the method of competitive bidding has enormously increased the nominal wage, and the result of this has been to subject the Nation's resources, even at this early stage of the war, to a most severe and serious strain, while, like all irrational measures, it tends to defeat its own ends, because the real wage can be increased but little ultimately, owing to the fact that certain essential industries which produce the necessities of life, particularly agriculture, transportation, and mining, are not able to successfully compete in the bidding in the open labor market, either because of reasons inherent in the natures of these industries or because of price-fixing regulations under enacted statutes, and hence production in these lines of endeavor is relatively curtailed.

The excessive cost of the governmental undertakings, with the consequent currency inflation, together with an underproduction of the necessities of life, tends to decrease the real wage of all workers, in spite of abnormally increasing nominal wages; and this process, which has now become so critically accelerated by the recent war conditions, is beginning to take on the aspects of an insurmountable obstacle to the successful prosecution of our plans, and it may well develop into a menace to the very stability of our governmental institutions. I need not burden you by marshaling the facts which furnish the fast accumulating evidences of profound industrial unrest. Discontent is increasing and must continue to increase, because men do not desire more money but more of the necessities and commodities of life. This ceaseless shifting of workingmen, this restless moving from place to place, involving a loss of efficiency beyond computation and a serious dilution of skilled labor in every field, must result in the aggravation of that underproduction of necessities which are their ultimate cause.

When American labor learns that not by hard collective bargaining, which results in the increase of the nominal wage without necessarily increasing the real wage, but through true social cooperation stimulating all the processes of production must come the solution of the living problem, then we shall have an industrial peace which will enable us to apply the full power of the Nation to our colossal task. Too much of money and too little of commodities constituted the prime immediate cause of the Russian revolution, for there the workingman could not secure bread, because the farmers at the last refused to sell their wheat in exchange for a depreciated currency. An immediate substitution of the cooperative system for the competitive and the proper application of a rational cooperative plan would very greatly increase production, as a result of which prices would fall, the process of currency inflation would be checked, nominal wages would decline, real wages would advance, and the strain upon our financial resources would be relieved because of the increased national income from this added production of wealth.

The measure which I have proposed to popularize or socialize our war efforts by placing them upon a cooperative basis has been drawn in recognition of those principles which have been so successfully applied in Europe and so incessantly talked of here, for we praise cooperation when we preach but repudiate it when we practice. By the adoption of the principles embodied in this bill we at once discard all the obsolete Napoleonic formulæ which deal with war as a problem, the sole factors of which are the armed forces, ammunition, artillery, good generalship, and a rapid series of brilliant military maneuvers by which decisive victories are to be obtained. We reject the now absolutely absurd and impossible distinctions between military and nonmilitary activities and we deal with war as a large problem in social mechanics and dynamics. We approach it with a proper conception of it as a battle between social mechanisms, a contest of industrial endurance, a prolonged remorseless conflict between national elaborative and productive capacities. We treat every necessary process of production and transportation as an essential factor in the military operation. We squarely face the fact that the result will not be determined by the relative strength of armies but by the relative number of units of mechanical destructive power which can be applied. We change the Nation into a mighty rapid-fire machine or engine of war, in which mechanism each man has his respective place, a mechanism the barrel and release of which are to be made up of our troops in the field, while the huge magazine is to be made up of our great reserve of human power constantly transmuted itself through incessant and prodigious labor into destructive mechanical agencies. To be certain of a victory in this war—and we must be certain of victory—we must have a more scientifically constructed, a more economically operated, and a higher-powered machine of war than have the Germans, and we must run it at a more furious speed. When we adopt the principles of this bill we substitute for chance, caprice, and uncertainty a system, a science, which will enable us to meet every emergency in a masterful manner and face every adversity with the calm assurance of our ultimate victory. Can we justify ourselves when the fate of all future civilization hangs in the balance if we neglect to take every precaution? Can we longer ignore the accumulating evidence which indicates a possible breakdown in the near future of all of our national machinery of production? Can we longer close our eyes to the fact that a lack of the proper adjustment and application of labor has already to a dangerous degree curtailed food, ship, munition, and war-plane construction? Shall the safety of our armed forces be jeopardized by a failure to provide here at home against every possible contingency? Shall we continue to send our boys to Europe without that organization which will assure them that a united Nation will supply them with every possible protection? Shall we commit the ages-old folly of placing troops on the position while not controlling all of the factors necessary for the keeping open of the lines of communication?

It is not necessary for me, in view of the startling facts presented by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER], and other facts, with which you are all familiar, to detain you with an extended analysis of the most serious labor situation which has developed, I contend, not because of any lack of patriotism among our workers, but because these men have not been properly informed as to the great dangers and perils which now confront our Nation; this lamentable lack of information being due to a most unwise censorship of the press and the shortsighted policy of branding as a friend of the Kaiser any man who, because of his deep love for his own country, raises his voice in warning.

I introduce into the RECORD a portion of an editorial upon the labor situation which appeared in the Washington Post of Thursday, March 14, 1918, which gives an excellent summary of the conditions:

[From the Washington Post, Thursday, Mar. 14, 1918.]

LABOR'S CAUSE.

Amazing revelations respecting the labor situation in this country are contained in a report issued by the National Industrial Conference Board. It shows that during the six months' period from April 6 to October 6, 1917, there were strikes in 2,521 establishments, that a total of 283,402 men were idle, and that 6,285,519 days of production were lost thereby.

What influence this great waste had upon war preparations is, of course, problematical; but it is apparent that it must have been considerable. The delays caused in the production of munitions, arms, clothing, food, and all the variety of necessities of war must, in the aggregate, be responsible for weeks and perhaps months of postponement of the full participation by the United States in the war. And since each day's delay to America in reaching its full strength and exerting it against the enemy means the loss of lives, the suffering of millions who are bearing the direct burdens of the war, and the expenditure of additional millions of treasure, it is not difficult to trace the baneful effect of these labor disputes.

Perhaps the most instructive lessons to be learned from these startling figures will come by studying the causes of the strikes, as given by this board after investigating practically all of the cases and soliciting the opinions of labor commissioners and mediators. Here are the principal causes alleged:

"Increased cost of living and failure of employers in many cases to anticipate this influence.

"Widespread discontent, due to a belief that undue profits had been made by employers out of war business.

"Increased independence of the workers, due in part to a labor shortage and in part to a feeling that the situation constituted labor's opportunity for forcing union recognition or closed-shop conditions.

"Inequality between wages paid in plants engaged on private work and Government or private plants engaged on war work.

"The unsettling influence of the 'cost-plus-profit' feature of many war contracts.

"The Federal administration's virtual indorsement of the eight-hour workday."

Assuming that these are the real causes back of the labor disturbances, it is apparent that both employers and employees are to blame for the disputes which resulted in the loss of 6,285,519 days of production in six months. Both obviously have failed to measure up to their full responsibilities in this emergency.

Industry has profited tremendously through the war; that can not be denied. In this financial prosperity labor is fairly entitled to share, and where employers refuse to pay wages commensurate with their earnings they are dealing unjustly. Not only justice but the ever-increasing cost of living furnishes the basis for the workman's claim to more pay.

But it must be a serious situation, indeed, that justifies a strike involving a cessation of production in this emergency. In nearly every case, if not all, labor can consistently submit its claims to arbitration with the assurance that they will be properly considered. The pressing interests of the Nation should not be injured by an attempt to enforce demands by either employees or employers.

The Labor Planning Board, now meeting to arrange a labor program, has a great work before it.

The measure which I have offered is really a universal-service bill. It is Senate bill 3440, introduced by me on January 9, 1918, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. It embodies the same principles which I first urged upon the consideration of the Senate as an amendment to the selective-service bill, and which were later embodied in a resolution which was presented on the 10th of May last. This is a bill "to authorize the President to further mobilize the Federal forces and to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States." I shall attempt as briefly as I may to give you the substance of the bill.

This bill authorizes the President—

First. To enroll according to residence, age, physical ability, national-ity, training, status, occupation, profession, and condition of employment all male citizens of the United States or male persons, not alien enemies, who have declared their intention to become citizens, whether they be at the time of such enrollment in or out of the service of the United States, between the ages of 18 and 45 years, inclusive, in the following classes according to the ages of those so to be enrolled, and for the following purposes, to wit:

(a) Those between the ages of 18 and 20 years, inclusive, and to denominate those so enrolled the "Federal Cadet Corps," and he is authorized to call members of this Federal Cadet Corps for training, military or nonmilitary, or both, or for other forms of noncombatant national service.

(b) Those between the ages of 21 and 31 years, inclusive, and to denominate those so enrolled the "Federal First Line of Defense Corps," and he is authorized to call members of this Federal First Line of Defense Corps for training, military or nonmilitary, or both, for non-combatant military service or for military service in accordance with the provision of "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, or for noncombatant national service as hereinafter provided.

(c) Those between the ages of 32 and 36 years, inclusive, and to denominate those so enrolled the "Federal Second Line of Defense Corps," and he is authorized to call members of this Second Line of Defense Corps for training, military or nonmilitary, or both, or for other forms of noncombatant national service as hereinafter provided; and

(d) The President is authorized to enroll all such citizens or male persons, not alien enemies, between the ages of 37 and 45 years, inclusive, and to denominate those so enrolled the "Federal Reserve Corps," and he is authorized to call members from this Federal Reserve Corps for training, military or nonmilitary, or both, or for other forms of noncombatant national service, as hereinafter provided: *Provided, however,* That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to establish a continuing enrollment in the Federal Cadet Corps, to include those who may from time to time attain the age of 18 years: *Provided further,* That all persons who may be enrolled as heretofore provided in any of such corps shall, at and by the attainment of a higher age, be automatically transferred to the appropriate corps for that particular age.

Third. And in addition to the classification as heretofore provided in accordance with the ages of those to be enrolled, the President is authorized to establish a further classification, based upon the qualifica-

tion, training, or occupation, or previous occupation, of men from the ages of 18 to 45, inclusive, for the purpose of determination of the man power of the Nation, for the more effective mobilization of the men of the Nation for service of the United States, and in particular for those operations which are directly and immediately necessary for the successful prosecution of the war, such as: (a) Combatant military service, (b) noncombatant military service, (c) agricultural and food-production service, (d) manufacturing of iron and steel service, (e) Army and munition transportation-shipbuilding service, (f) Army and munition transportation-navigation service, (g) transportation-railway and railway-equipment building service, (h) railway-operation service, (i) fuel-production service, (j) metal-working and mining service, (k) medical service, and such other activities and services as may be deemed essential or desirable for the successful prosecution of the war, and that the President be, and he is hereby, further authorized to assign those so classified to corps to be formed, mobilized, and designated for the performance of these respective services.

Fourth. That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to call, for military or combatant or noncombatant national service, as heretofore provided, any or all of those so enrolled in classes or corps in the manner and for the purposes heretofore specified: *Provided,* That the individuals, classes, or corps may be called at such times and in such numbers and may be designated for such of the aforesaid purposes or services as may be deemed necessary or expedient for the prosecution of the war: *Provided further,* That every male person shall, after being designated for a particular corps or service, and after taking the oath of allegiance, be deemed to be in the service of the United States and to be entitled to wear the insignia of his corps, class, service, or rank until dismissed or discharged: *And provided further,* That those thus designated for national service may receive their pay or emoluments in whole or in part either (a) from the United States, (b) from the employer, (c) or from personal earnings as may be determined.

Fifth. The President is also authorized to place in a special classification all those out of employment, with a view to the assistance of such, by means of the Federal Employment Bureau or otherwise, to some suitable form of national service.

The President is further authorized to appoint to commissions for offices of command over or in any of such corps to be thus formed for national service expert men technically trained and preeminently fitted for and actively engaged in the particular line of activity to which the particular corps shall be assigned and to name certain of such commissioned officers of the highest rank in or over such national corps to serve upon the national service staff, which, together with the military staff, shall, under the President, constitute the war staff or council of the United States for the formulation and execution of plans for the most energetic and systematic conduct of the war: *Provided,* That nothing in this act shall be construed, without special designation or special direction by the President by proclamation or otherwise, as affecting the status of any member of the present forces of the United States: *Provided further,* That nothing in this act shall prevent the utilization for Federal service of those who may offer voluntary service as privates or as commissioned officers who may be of ages greater than 45 years.

The President is further authorized to make recommendations to Congress for the establishment of orders of merit or recognition of unusual, special fidelity, capacity, or valor in national service on the part of privates or officers in the Federal corps thus to be created.

Of course, the plan of registration and classification which I have in this measure proposed is not in any sense complete, for under the ideal system, which must in time be adopted as a permanent national policy, those of all ages and both sexes will be enrolled and proper records of every inhabitant will be made and preserved. I say with perfect confidence that such a complete enrollment, with the keeping of continuous individual records in a systematic manner, must become a permanent national policy for the reason that progressive and rationally organized government in so large a Nation as ours can not in the absence of such a system, by any possibility, be secured. We have already recognized this fact in that we have costly but on the whole unsatisfactory, unscientific methods of registration at the present time. We record the name of the immigrant coming into the country, and he is subjected to certain examinations, of which, I believe, some sort of a record is preserved. Births are now almost universally recorded. The name of the individual is registered, generally, when he takes a contagious disease; when he enters school, at every advancing grade of school; when he marries, enters the public service, or dies; for election and taxation purposes, and now, also, within certain limitations, for his liability for Federal military service. We have also a vast complicated and ineffective periodic registration and one not suitable for securing results in the way of scientific social organization, in the form of our national census. No extended discussion is necessary to convince any thoughtful man that such a periodic census is far less satisfactory in every way, and perhaps not less costly, if we consider how it must be constantly supplemented by the other forms of registration to which I have alluded, than the continuing census or enrollment by which it must sooner or later be superseded.

The various methods of organization for war which have been proposed for our consideration deal largely with the organization and reorganization of the various administrative departments here in Washington, and they all, therefore, must fail to meet the critical situation. This is not a Washington war, for it must be won by our Nation's man power. No matter how perfect the organization of the administrative departments may be, we must remember that they will remain merely directory departments. They can not become power departments, and it makes little difference how perfect such directory departments may be if the power plant is not organized or if the

mechanism for throwing the great machine into gear is disordered.

I can not even enumerate the most salient advantages which I believe would be secured by such legislation. Such a law would (1) reveal to the whole country the real gravity of the situation by bringing the war home to every citizen; (2) arouse the spirit of patriotism and cooperation; (3) reduce unemployment; (4) check the labor turnover; (5) limit the dilution of labor; (6) give the information and the authority for the training of reserves; (7) provide a general staff with real capacity for consultation and power for prompt and comprehensive action; (8) ameliorate most trying conditions and avert grave impending perils by increasing all lines of production. I assume that these powers would be used with discretion and in moderation to bring about gradually by scientific methods the proper adjustment of labor, without in any way causing dissatisfaction or doing violence to existing organizations.

This plan is not more radical and is designed to accomplish the same results as that adopted by England under stress in her munitions act, a convenient summary of which I ask leave to insert:

[From Bulletin of the Patriotic Education Society.]

1. The minister of munitions received power to control factories engaged principally on the manufacture of munitions.

2. It was agreed that neither capital nor labor should make a profit out of the nation's needs. The Government, having fixed wages, appreciated that it became its duty to see that the labor so dealt with should not suffer from the increased cost of living.

3. Strikes and lockouts became illegal, and arbitration became compulsory. It was agreed that any trade disputes in war industries should, for the period of the war, be submitted compulsorily to arbitration, which the Government should arrange.

4. The trade-unions agreed to waive all their practices and customs which tended to restrict either employment or output, such as the employment of only union labor and the use of only skilled persons on skilled jobs; and they promised to do their utmost to see that the agreement was carried through. They agreed also that any person, man or woman, would be allowed to do any kind of work.

In return for these important concessions the Government pledged itself to restore prewar conditions in shops after the war. The trade-unions, their leaders, and the rank and file, have abided very loyally by that agreement and act. * * * One of the lessons which has been learned in England is that the war is a war of the civil organizations—of mechanism and mechanics, of the machine shop and the factory—just as much as it is a war of the army. Organization of industry at home must be as complete and thorough as at the front. If one leaves organization at home to chance, he imperils the army. Industrial peace at home, continuity of supplies, and ever-increasing output—these things are vital if this war is to be carried through to a successful conclusion. * * * The shifting of labor from establishment to establishment, from work of great importance to work of less importance, from war work to civil work, has been checked by a system of licenses.

I can not take the time to elaborate upon this subject, although illustrations will suggest themselves to your minds. For example, the only limiting factor in the production of steel ships is the constructing labor factor, and under the present system we have no efficient, widely operating employment agencies for placing men in this work, while one yard bids against another, and the labor turnover aggravates the labor shortage. Moreover, many workers do not work over three, four, or five days each week, while they themselves would be more content if they were, as members of the forces of the United States, with all that that would imply, making full time. I need not tell you that our transportation systems have been seriously crippled by this same process of labor dilution, and it has been stated by the Eastern Department of the Railroad War Board that under war conditions labor efficiency has declined 50 per cent through the loss of experienced employees by the railroads. I ask leave to introduce into the Record a statement by Vice President G. L. Peck, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, bearing upon this subject:

[From the Chronicle, Oct. 27, 1917.]

LABOR DIFFICULTIES OF THE RAILROADS.

(By G. L. Peck, of the Pennsylvania Lines West, chairman of the Lake coal and ore committee of the Railroads War Board.)

There is rather an anomalous labor situation existing, for the pay rolls of the railroads show that they have about as many men at work in all departments as they had a year ago, or as many as they have ever had in busy times. It is not exactly correct, therefore, to attribute the difficulty to a "shortage" of labor, but it can better be described as a "dilution" of labor—a term with which we have become familiar through the British labor reports, and which represents the very vital problem with which they have been confronted during the past three years. It means that, while the railroads have the same number of men as before, they have lost a very large proportion of their most efficient men, the substitutes having been drawn from the only remaining available supply, which of course means the substitution of inexperienced, "green" hands for men who had become skilled by years of experience in the detailed work of the very intricate machine.

It is not easy to produce statistics to show just what this means in reduced efficiency, but I should say roughly that it amounted to 50 per cent. We are preparing figures to show the periodical "turnover," or exchange of employees, and preliminary reports indicate that in many departments the entire force has been changed since the beginning of the year 1917. In one instance, with a normal force of 9,511 men, there were 6,602 men left the service during the first six months of 1917, and during that period 6,287 new men were employed, leaving a total force on July 1 of 7,701, against the normally required force of 9,511.

The problem of the preparation of our reserves of men for war by the eradication, so far as may be, of illiteracy, by special training courses to provide experts, such as laboratory and other technicians, and by general military training without disturbing the processes of production, presses upon us. The problem of the reconstruction of men returning from the war and of finding for them suitable employment is also here. This reconstruction work by vocational training should be started at once in the base hospitals. As soon as a man is sufficiently convalescent manual, physical, and mental training should be inaugurated under the direction of skilled surgeons, neurologists, and pedagogical experts, and no man should be discharged from the Army until we have, by the utilization of systematic registration, established such employment agencies as will be effective in placing him in suitable and agreeable work. Recently I visited a base hospital where I saw many soldiers returned from France in need of such reconstructive training. I saw men who had been wounded, scalded, frozen, men tubercular, and men paralytic, now in need of further treatment along this line of reconstruction. In this hospital the work has already been commenced through the splendid generosity of a patriotic Maryland man, who is devoting his time and his fortune to the cause of this war, but such a vast undertaking as this will be when thousands are returning can not and should not be carried on by private charity.

I have attempted to present this subject of the necessity for a better national organization in such a way as to lead you from the conception of the bill which I proposed as a measure merely for the conscription of labor. This is not at all a conscription measure if the word "conscription" is employed in its ordinary sense, for it provides for universal service and that form of organization which has now almost entirely supplanted the earlier methods of conscription.

In a democracy, moreover, where sovereignty is vested in the people the term "conscription" takes on a totally new meaning. It is no longer, as in the olden days, a compulsory service by a citizen to the autocratic ruler waging war to promote personal ambitions or to further imperialistic aims. It becomes rather a self-enrollment, an organization of the people by the people for the benefit of each, for mutual protection, and for the common weal.

This bill was drawn upon the theory that in this hour of national trial, or peril, of rare opportunity, each man must be animated by a worthy ambition to play nobly a man's part; that each must share in the responsibility which this Republic has assumed for the welfare of the world; that each, as he participates, would serve his country better if enrolled as one of her defenders, and that, no matter how humble his labors, they would take on new dignity and worth because of his country's recognition of the service. I would bespeak your support for no measure which by whip and leaded thong would scourge an American citizen like an unwilling quarry slave to an unwelcome or a hated task. I would rather, by proper legislation, open a golden door of priceless privilege through which each and every citizen of this Republic might enter into the courts of that new temple of a more fully realized, more highly organized, cooperative democracy, where, in a new communion of service all the men of the Nation, in army and in industry, would do valiant battle side by side to usher in a great new epoch in the affairs of men.

Conscription implies compulsion, but compulsion may promote true freedom. Liberty is limited by license and rampant individualism, which resents all restrictions, of necessity enslaves. Thus an absolute freedom of choice may place a man in everlasting bonds of ignorance while compulsion to education liberates the mind, and through a universal liberation of minds there become incorporate in governmental form democracy and highest liberty. This bill is drawn upon the assumption that who in time of war best serves his country serves himself best.

The more advanced forms of national organization involve a higher sense of duty on the part of the citizen to the State and on the part of the State to the citizen. It has been said that "federation is the condition which precedes unity." We have challenged a mighty adversary and, for our own preservation we must now quickly pass from the loose and cartilaginous stage of careless youth into the well-knit and tougher unity of maturity, with all its augmented feelings of mutual responsibility. Citizens must be loyal, but the State dare not be either forgetful or neglectful. The dutiful service now required of the citizen demands the immediate fulfillment, so far as may be, of those imperative duties which our Nation has for so long been lamentably failing to perform.

The added speed and load of war has put tremendous strain upon the machinery of our Government and grave administrative defects, long since observed by the more expert, now stand

forth revealed in startling clarity to all. But, you may say, these are, of course, only minor administrative failures. I reply that no governmental failure is ever trivial, for each seems to be inevitably followed by a long grizzly train of human ill and agony and destruction beyond all computation. Our failure to properly apply the principles of our democracy to all the complexities of modern social conditions, to attain the higher degree of administrative efficiency, now so indispensable, has filled unspeakable almshouses and prisons, partially pauperized nearly three millions of our people, and consigned millions more to hopeless illiteracy, while it has placed in countless potter's fields and unknown cemeteries the graves of those who have been mercilessly slaughtered through the neglect of Government.

In this most imperfect attempt to discuss so vast a subject I fear that I may have presented what may seem to you a mere collection of trite and useless generalities, and I would, therefore, if time permitted, take up in fuller detail a consideration of some of the almost inconceivably frightful consequences of past administrative neglect. I would in doing this desire to discuss the subjects of public education; unnecessary unemployment; the problem of public health; of poverty and high living costs in this land capable of supporting in ease and luxury a half a billion people; the untold hardships which have been inflicted by our failure to grasp the absolute need for accident, unemployment, ill health, and other forms of insurance; and also the great cooperative movements now in progress within the various countries of the world.

My good friends who are so eager for the Government ownership and operation of all the instrumentalities of production, who praise the vastly superior administrative powers of political appointees, would do well to carefully consider and investigate the failure of Government in these fields, more particularly in that of public education in this Republic. I venture to make the suggestion that public education must precede public ownership, and until we secure the benefits and blessings of the first, I, for one, shall pray for the deliverance of our country from the last.

Free government is the highest social product of liberated minds. True democracy can not exist without an absolute equality of educational opportunity. Except in a few States our system of education is obsolete, incomplete, and, in its higher departments, almost wholly undemocratic. Where we should have a universal, compulsory, scientific system of democratic education and training, extending from the kindergarten to the highest professional school and all departments available to every individual according to his intellectual powers, we really have at present no system worthy of the name.

I need not discuss those aristocratic schools to which rich men send their sons to be trained, if you please, in the gentle art of being gentlemen, but, without burdening you with statistics I shall advert to the subject of our public schools.

Our system of public education as supported by the States rests upon the assumption that in a democracy every citizen should be informed, enlightened, physically and mentally developed, cultivated in civic virtue, and fitted for some specific service in the community, and upon this assumption sums unparalleled in any age, or in any nation, have been devoted to the education of our youth.

We have as States an investment in our school plants of nearly one billion of dollars and we expend for their support approximately a half a billion dollars each year. Yet to the shame of this Republic it must be said that out of the 25,000,000 of children of school age in this country, according to the last census, only 20,000,000 are enrolled, and of these only 14,000,000, 56 per cent, actually attend school, and these only average 160 days' attendance in the year for the whole country, while in 42 States the average school year is less than 100 days. Is it strange that, under these circumstances, we should have this shocking illiteracy, to which attention has but recently been called by the Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, which is hampering our military preparations and is the subject of our debate to-day in this Chamber? While it is true, as has been said, that we had in 1910 only five and one-half millions of persons above 10 years of age who could neither read nor write their names, these figures do not represent the true condition, for many times this number are not properly fitted for useful citizenship or service in this hour of national necessity because of the lack of the proper kind of physical and mental training. We need greater thoroughness in all our methods. There should be more of the technical, industrial, and vocational training of our youth as a means for the upbuilding of a sounder and larger structure of national prosperity. Our public schoolhouses should be democratic centers for the illumination of the minds of youth and adult, social as well as intellectual centers. Our public schools should be good enough for any

youth of our land and none too good for all. Classification and separation should be made when advisable without that discrimination against any class which works injustice, breeds illiteracy and incompetence, and is incompatible with our democratic ideals. Attendance should be universally compulsory, and all the various State systems should be standardized.

I can not at this time enter upon a more extended discussion of the problem of unemployment which, even now, in the face of an apparent shortage of labor, is a most serious one. War by its marked disturbance of the industrial equilibrium creates at its beginning, and, of course, more particularly at its close, a vast amount of unnecessary unemployment which can be met only by scientifically organized and efficiently conducted State and Federal employment agencies.

I wish that I might dwell upon the problems of the proper forms of social insurance which, in my judgment, have a direct relation to this large problem of applying our labor cooperatively to this task of war. We have recognized this in our war-risk insurance legislation which, while not commending itself in some of its provisions to my judgment, was nevertheless the first step toward some consideration of this question.

The mining of coal, the building of ships, the transportation of military supplies must all be considered military operations according to the new formulae of war. The question at once arises whether those who may be killed or maimed in these industries during the war shall be assured, under some adequate system, some compensation for the sacrifices which they shall thus make in the defense of their country. I have always contended, sometimes in the face of strong opposition, that these problems of public education, of unemployment, of social insurance, and of the public health must ultimately be dealt with as large national problems, and that a neglect of them would sooner or later bring us face to face with a grave national emergency, an emergency which is now upon us as we confront enemies, who are most dangerous because, as I have before noted, they have long realized that "intellect and education" play a larger part in war than "stamina and courage."

It may be that there are left some men in public life who will continue to maintain that the problem of public health and vitality is a purely local one, even in view of the fact that at a time of national peril so many of our youth have been found to be diseased, underdeveloped, or otherwise physically unfit. It is perhaps an unfortunate fact that disease germs have not generally profited by courses in constitutional law, and hence do not recognize the boundaries of States and all the nice distinctions of State and Federal sovereignty.

We can not as a Nation continue longer inactive in the face of the unfitness of so many of our youth, of the further fact that purely preventable diseases are taking an annual toll of much more than a billion and a half of dollars in money loss alone, and, what is more and worse, unnumbered lives and an immeasurable sum of human suffering and bereavement. Typhoid fever alone, a horrible disease, protean in form, insidiously destructive, resourceful to both kill and maim, a water-borne disease, entirely preventable, caused largely by the fact that we force the people of one community to imbibe the filth and excretions poured into our interstate streams by communities above, collects an annual toll of more than \$350,000,000 and takes the lives of many victims. This pollution of our streams, with our increasing population, becomes a constantly growing menace. Tuberculosis, likewise preventable, a disease which flourishes under the insanitary conditions where population presses, probably costs us alone a billion dollars a year. One-half a million of men are maimed each year in our industries and one-half of these accidents might easily be avoided. Three million people are sick in bed all the time in the United States, and about one-half of them are ill with preventable diseases. At least 2,000,000 of our citizens are suffering from a terrible disease which is now spreading with frightful rapidity because of war conditions. Facts and figures might be multiplied. We can not calculate the enormous reduction in incompetency, criminality, vice, disability, and poverty which would result from properly organized and conducted departments of public health, education, employment, and insurance.

I have detained you far too long, but I have desired to mention these subjects to indicate that I conceive this problem of a better national organization to be an intensely practical one.

I would not have you think that the plan which I have proposed in this bill is novel, untried, theoretical, or revolutionary. History proves conclusively that national integration and social consolidation constitute the normal reaction and the proper protective response to the compressive forces of war.

I wish that I might also impress upon you my deep conviction that should we adopt some such plan of national organization we would at once demonstrate both to our allies and to our enemies that we also know the game of modern war. We would

serve notice by such action upon the German Empire that we have a clear comprehension of the "nation in arms" and that we, a free people, propose to be prepared to meet and to conquer it. To do this would, in my judgment, mean the conservation of the lives of many thousands of our soldiers and the winning of an easier and an earlier victory.

It is now for us to make and keep the American democracy worthy of all this sacrifice for its preservation, a democracy whose transcendent excellence must arouse the admiration and the emulation of all other peoples.

We must think greatly and greatly act. We must think not longer in terms local, but nationally, looking ever to our more complete national unification and development, to the turning of all of our vast potentialities into actual power. We must moreover learn to think in terms international, looking to the effective and extended use of that power for world advancement.

I wish that I might feel that I have made clear my views as to what this war should mean to our country. We must not fail at any point, and we shall fail in a large part, if not in all, if through the trials of war our democracy does not become so ordained and integrated that each last citizen shall through all the future be given opportunity to be truly and in the highest sense liberated.

The measure which I have proposed is designed to furnish the machinery of organization by which America shall learn for the first time the full meaning of the joy which springs from vast cooperative effort in a great and righteous cause, by which each man may be extended the privilege of doing his part in this the mightiest enterprise of time. I believe that when we adopt the principles embodied in this bill and offer to each man his opportunity there will be a response which will reveal this Republic in all her magnificence, rising to the full measure of her responsibilities.

In words spoken by Vice President MARSHALL:

In the hour of war there can be only one shrine for all men who are really patriotic, and that shrine embraces a vision of the God of the Republic. Let men divest themselves of their political garb and personal trappings. Let them, as Moses at the burning bush, come unshodden. Let them cry out to the Republic, "What wilt thou have me to do?"

Mr. President, the Germans are neither materialists nor atheists. They are idealists and deists. They worship the world god of Hegel and of history, the mighty god of blood and battle, but they have become forgetful of the God of the beatitudes and of the second golden commandment. Him, whose almighty arm has swept into the rubbish heaps of time the empires of the past which refused obedience to these laws, we must hear first.

Let us so order our Government that not mere legal but social justice, not the cold word but the veritable and vital spirit of our institutions may be fulfilled; and let us make our country an invincible avenger of these great wrongs, forgetting not the God of battles who was with our fathers, and mindful ever that it can not be His will that any nation shall with impunity stretch forth a profane and unclean hand to defile or despoil the Ark of that Sacred Covenant made with the fathers, when upon a bleak, a barren, and an inhospitable shore they knelt down and dedicated this new land to liberty, to justice, and to Him.

REORGANIZATION OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

During Mr. FRANCE's speech.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WATSON in the chair). The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which is Senate bill 3771.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (S. 3771) authorizing the President to coordinate or consolidate executive bureaus, agencies, and offices, and for other purposes, in the interest of economy and the more efficient concentration of the Government, which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with amendments.

Mr. OVERMAN. I will inquire of the Senator from Maryland how long he expects to occupy the floor.

Mr. FRANCE. I will say to the Senator that I dislike to detain the Senate, but on last Friday I gave notice that to-day at the close of the morning business I would address the Senate on this subject. I fear that it is going to take me until nearly 3 o'clock.

Mr. NELSON. I suggest to the Senator from Maryland that he has the floor and he can continue his speech on the bill before the Senate.

Mr. LEWIS. There is no disposition to cut off the Senator.

Mr. OVERMAN. Certainly not. There is no disposition to cut off the Senator in his speech. I merely wished to know how long he expected to take.

Mr. FRANCE. I hope to finish before 3 o'clock, because I dislike to delay the Senate unnecessarily, and I wish to say that the observations which I have made bear quite directly upon the bill which the Senator has in charge.

Mr. OVERMAN. I appreciate all that, and I did not intend to cut off the Senator, but merely wished to know how long he would take, as I desire to follow him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland will proceed.

After the conclusion of Mr. FRANCE's speech,

Mr. OVERMAN obtained the floor.

Mr. KIRBY. Will the Senator from North Carolina yield to me?

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I do.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum is suggested. The Secretary will call the roll.

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

| | | | |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| Baird | Jones, Wash. | Owen | Smith, Md. |
| Bankhead | Kellogg | Page | Smoot |
| Calder | Kenyon | Penrose | Sterling |
| Chamberlain | King | Phelan | Stone |
| Culberson | Kirby | Pittman | Sutherland |
| Cummins | Knox | Ransdell | Thomas |
| Fall | McCumber | Reed | Thompson |
| Fletcher | McKellar | Robinson | Tillman |
| France | McLean | Saulsbury | Townsend |
| Frelinghuysen | Martin | Shafroth | Trammell |
| Hale | Myers | Sheppard | Wadsworth |
| Harding | Nelson | Sherman | Warren |
| Hardwick | New | Simmons | Watson |
| Henderson | Norris | Smith, Ariz. | Williams |
| Johnson, Cal. | Overman | Smith, Ga. | Wolcott |

Mr. PITTMAN. I wish to announce the absence of the following Senators, who are in attendance upon a hearing in the Committee on Indian Affairs: The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. NUGENT], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. GRONNA], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY], and the Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST].

Mr. TRAMMELL. I desire to announce the necessary absence from the Chamber of the junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Sixty Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, the bill which is now before the Senate has not yet been read in this body, and I ask that it now be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read as requested.

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

Be it enacted, etc., That for the national security and defense, for the successful prosecution of the war, for the support and maintenance of the Army and Navy, for the better utilization of resources and industries, and for the more effective exercise and more efficient administration by the President of his powers as Commander in Chief of the land and naval forces the President is hereby authorized and empowered to make such redistribution of functions among executive agencies as he may deem necessary, including any functions, duties, and powers hitherto by law conferred upon any executive department, commission, bureau, agency, office, or officer, in such manner as in his judgment shall seem best fitted to carry out the purposes of this act, and to this end is authorized to make such regulations and to issue such orders as he may deem necessary: *Provided,* That this act shall remain in force during the continuance of the present war and for one year after the termination of the war by the proclamation of the treaty of peace, or at such earlier time during the said year as the President may designate: *Provided further,* That the termination of this act shall not affect any act done or any right or obligation accruing or accrued pursuant to this act and during the time that this act is in force.

SEC. 2. That in carrying out the purposes of this act the President is authorized, in such manner as he may deem most appropriate, to coordinate or consolidate any executive commissions, bureaus, agencies, offices, or officers, to transfer any duties or powers from one existing department, commission, bureau, agency, office, or officer to another, to transfer the personnel thereof or any part of it either by detail or assignment, together with the whole or any part of the records and public property belonging thereto, and to employ by Executive order any additional agency or agencies and to vest therein the performance of such functions as he may deem appropriate.

SEC. 3. That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, any moneys heretofore and hereafter appropriated for the use of any executive department, commission, bureau, agency, office, or officer shall be available for the purposes for which it was appropriated under the direction of such other agency as may be directed by the President hereunder to perform and execute said function.

SEC. 4. That during the time this act is in force all restrictions in any existing law creating any executive department, commission, bureau, agency, office, or officer, or defining the duties thereof, shall be deemed to be suspended to the extent that they may be inconsistent with the exercise of the authority herein conferred.

Mr. OVERMAN addressed the Senate. After having spoken, with interruptions, for about two hours, he yielded the floor for the day.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. REED. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. OVERMAN. I do.

Mr. REED. I understood from the Senator's remarks that he would not be able to conclude this evening. I apprehend that he would not be averse to taking an adjournment at this time. He has spoken now at some length, and I wanted to ask the Senator if it would be against his desire if I should make a motion to adjourn?

Mr. OVERMAN. I shall be glad if the Senator will do so, because I am a little fatigued and I can conclude in the morning in about 20 minutes.

Mr. REED. I move that the Senate adjourn until 1 o'clock to-morrow. There are some important committee meetings, and I think we ought to have the time to attend to our committee work, if that is not objectionable.

Mr. OVERMAN. I should like, if the Senator pleases, to get consideration for our bill which was reported this morning. If we can meet at 12 o'clock—

Mr. REED. Meeting at 1 o'clock will not shorten the morning hour.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri moves—

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, before the motion is put, I wish to say to the Senator from North Carolina that the bill that we had up during the morning hour to-day went over to accommodate the Senator from New Hampshire. I think it is now practically in shape where there will be no further opposition to it. One or two amendments will be accepted, and I am very anxious that the consideration of that bill be finished.

Mr. REED. This motion will not shorten the morning hour.

Mr. GALLINGER. It will make the morning hour last until 3 o'clock.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. There is another bill that the Senator from North Carolina wishes to get up during the morning hour also. I think we can finish ours in 10 minutes.

Mr. OVERMAN. I always dislike to displace a bill that has already had an argument, and I am perfectly willing to let the Senator take a vote on it, although when the hour of 3 o'clock arrives I shall want to proceed with this bill.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Oh, I do not mean to hold on when the unfinished business is reached. I was referring to the bill the Senator reported to-day, that he said he wanted to get up in the morning hour.

Mr. OVERMAN. I do want to get it up in the morning hour.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I said that we wanted to finish the bill we had partly heard during the morning hour before this other bill is taken up in the morning hour. Of course, if we have not finished its consideration by the time the morning hour is concluded, I should desire to have the bill laid aside, because I think we ought to go right on with this bill.

Mr. OVERMAN. I want to say to the Senator from Georgia that I fully agree with him; but I am going to make a motion, if the Chair will recognize me, to take up the bill to which I refer the first thing in the morning hour, because the Senator realizes that that bill, of all bills, must be passed at once.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not think so, Mr. President. I think the Senator ought to allow the bill upon which we have spent two mornings, and which is practically finished, to be finished before we take up another bill in the morning hour.

Mr. OVERMAN. I can not consent that the bill I reported this morning shall not be taken up until some other one is disposed of. That bill must be passed within the next day or two. The department has urged it, and therefore it ought to come before anything else. I am satisfied that there will be no time wasted. I do not think there will be any argument about it. The bill has been unanimously reported from the committee. The Senator was not there.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] that the Senate adjourn until 1 o'clock to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, April 3, 1918, at 1 o'clock p. m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, April 2, 1918.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

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

Our Father in Heaven, Source of every high and noble impulse, quicken our minds and hearts with Thy Spirit, that we may go forward in the new day to larger conquests and greater victories for ourselves as individuals and for our Republic; that the world may be better that we have thought and acted; and all praise be Thine, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith a conference report upon the bill (H. R. 9352) to amend an act entitled "An act providing for an Assistant Secretary of War," approved March 5, 1890, and for other purposes, for printing under the rule.

The conference report (No. 451) is as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 9352) to amend an act entitled "An act providing for an Assistant Secretary of War," approved March 5, 1890, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

Amendment numbered 1: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed, strike out all after the word "Senate" in line 10 of the engrossed bill down to and including "year" in line 11 of said bill, and insert a period and the following: "The Assistant Secretary shall be entitled to a salary of \$5,000 per annum, payable monthly, and the Second Assistant Secretary and Third Assistant Secretary shall each be entitled to a salary of \$4,500 per annum."

And the Senate agree to the same.

S. H. DENT, Jr.,

W. J. FIELDS,

D. R. ANTHONY, Jr.,

Managers on the part of the House.

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN,

F. E. WARREN,

Managers on the part of the Senate.

MILITARY ACADEMY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. DENT, by direction of the Committee on Military Affairs, submitted the bill (H. R. 11185) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and for other purposes, which was read a first and second time, and, with the accompanying report (No. 452), referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered printed.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] may have the right to reserve all points of order on the bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama submits the Military Academy appropriation bill, and asks unanimous consent that all points of order be considered as reserved by the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN]. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

BIRD RESERVATION.

Mr. STAFFORD. -Mr. Speaker, I wish now to enter a reservation of all points of order to the bill (H. R. 10612) to restore to the public domain certain lands heretofore reserved for a bird reservation in Siskiyou and Modoc Counties, Cal., and Klamath County, Oreg., and for other purposes, which was introduced as a privileged bill on Saturday last by the gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER].

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. McLEMORE for 15 days, on account of important business.

ALIEN WOMEN.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill H. R. 9504 be taken from the Speaker's table, that the Senate amendments be disagreed to, and that a conference be asked. That is the bill known as the bill to include alien women in Revised Statutes, section 4067.