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Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I am not arguing the point of contraband at all. The gentleman is merely taking my time. I am trying to make a plain statement to the House as to the truth and the facts. The gentleman may be stampeded because certain things appear in the newspapers, but—

Mr. GORDON. Oh, don't you worry about my being stampeded. [Laughter.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I am making the statement that we see alarming headlines to-day indicating that we are on the verge of war because some "overt act" has been committed, and the next day the whole thing is denied.

Mr. GORDON. I agree with the gentleman about that.

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

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Will the gentleman tell me what he thinks the duty of this Government ought to be if the German Government has taken charge of and forcibly restrained by order our ambassador in that country?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman is carried away with the headlines.

Mr. RAGSDALE. No; he is not.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman will listen, I will demonstrate what fools some men are—not like the gentleman from South Carolina, of course—who believe everything they read. I was coming to that very point. For three days we have heard that our American ambassador, who was on excellent terms with everyone in high life in Germany, has "been in captivity" and held for exchange. The gentleman believes that statement.

Mr. RAGSDALE. No; the gentleman does not.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is absurd upon its face. Though we have had it for three days, this morning's newspapers announce that Berlin is in conference with the American ambassador, that conferences have been going on in Berlin, and that the ambassador will be safeguarded out of Germany just as we are going to safeguard the German ambassador out of the United States. 'Oh, how easy it is for you to rush into war upon the say so of somebody who is interested in having war.

Mr. DYER. His passports have been issued to him.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The ambassador is going to get out safely. Somebody wanted to inflame the American people by declaring that the American ambassador had been held in captivity. Absurd! We have given safe conduct to the German ambassador and are sending him home, and the Germans have been decent with the American ambassador. But at least 2 college professors and about 150 editors, more or less, yesterday declared—not that they were willing to enlist, for the barracks down here are waiting for men like them to come forward and enlist—but they declared in effect that they were willing to involve their country in war because "the American ambassador was held in bondage in Berlin." This morning the newspapers show that those editors and those college professors did not know what they were talking about, and that is what I am trying to say to the gentleman from South Carolina. The plain people should not be fooled. Mr. Chairman, how much time have I left?

The CHAIRMAN. One minute.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. In that one minute let me say, and I hope not to be interrupted again, that the *Housatonic* alarm has gone glimmering. The State Department seems to concede that the Germans were within their rights and that the *Housatonic* presents no *casus belli*. The next day we had the *California* sensation. Because this ship bore a good old American name everybody was made to suspect that it was an American ship, and that the Germans had perpetrated such an outrage as would force us to go to war. After the sensation had thrilled the country we were quietly informed that the *California* was a British ship, sailing under the British flag, and that she had been given the warning required by international law. But a great deal is made of the fact that one American was aboard that ship. He may have been planted there to protect the cargo and to involve this country in an international warfare; I do not know, but the next day after the newspapers had worked the story of the American passenger to the limit, it developed that he was taken off the ship to a place of safety. It matters not that he was a colored man.

Mr. BRITTEN. And the ship was armed.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Then, again, Mr. Chairman, the report went last over the United States on the day after the President addressed Congress, that this Government had seized all the interned German ships. These reports were tempered here and there with the suggestion that the German sailors were endeavoring to destroy the property of their own country, but nevertheless it was broadly announced that our

naval officers had seized this German property. I will not stop to discuss the moral aspect of this seizure except to say that there had been no declaration of war and that it was not clear why we should deliberately take this German property and appropriate it to the United States. Within a day or two the answer came from both the State Department and the White House that these German ships had not been seized, and that while this Government was taking certain precautions with respect to possible impediments to navigation, every courtesy was being shown the officers and men in charge of these German vessels. It was evident that some tall lying was done in this instance for the purpose of irritating Germany under very aggravating circumstances. Somebody evidently wanted Germany to commit an "overt act" that would bring on a war. We ought to be on our guard against this dangerous "rumor" business, whether it originates in London or the United States.

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

The Clerk read as follows:

Maintenance, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts: For fuel; the removal and transportation of ashes and garbage from ships of war; books, blanks, and stationery, including stationery for commanding and navigating officers of ships, chaplains on shore and afloat, and for the use of courts-martial on board ships; purchase, repair, and exchange of typewriters for ships; packing boxes and materials; interior fittings for general storehouses, pay offices, and accounting offices in navy yards; expenses of disbursing officers; coffee mills and repairs thereto; expenses of naval clothing factory and machinery for the same; laboratory equipment; purchase of articles of equipment at home and abroad under the cognizance of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, and for the payment of labor in equipping vessels therewith, and the manufacture of such articles in the several navy yards; musical instruments and music; mess outfits; soap on board naval vessels; athletic outfits; tools, ferriages, yeemen's stores, safes, and other incidental expenses; labor in general storehouses, paymasters' offices, and accounting offices in navy yards and naval stations, including naval stations maintained in island possessions under the control of the United States, and expenses in handling stores purchased and manufactured under "General account of advances"; and reimbursement to appropriations of the Department of Agriculture of cost of inspection of meats and meat food products for the Navy Department: *Provided*, That the sum to be paid out of this appropriation, under the direction of the Secretary of the Navy, for chemists and for clerical, inspection, storeman, store laborer, and messenger service in the supply and accounting departments of the navy yards and naval stations and disbursing offices for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, shall not exceed \$1,400,000; in all, \$2,750,000.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania, Mr. RAGSDALE, and Mr. CALLAWAY rose.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Texas, a member of the committee.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record a statement that I have of how the newspapers of this country have been handled by the munition manufacturers.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record by inserting a certain statement. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, may I ask whether it is the gentleman's purpose to insert a long list of extracts from newspapers?

Mr. CALLAWAY. No; it will be a little, short statement, not over 2½ inches in length in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Record at this point a statement showing the newspaper combination, which explains their activity in this war matter, just discussed by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Moore]:

"In March, 1915, the J. P. Morgan interests, the steel, ship-building, and powder interests, and their subsidiary organizations, got together 12 men high up in the newspaper world and employed them to select the most influential newspapers in the United States and sufficient number of them to control generally the policy of the daily press of the United States.

"These 12 men worked the problem out by selecting 179 newspapers, and then began, by an elimination process, to retain only those necessary for the purpose of controlling the general policy of the daily press throughout the country. They found it was only necessary to purchase the control of 25 of the greatest papers. The 25 papers were agreed upon; emissaries were sent to purchase the policy, national and international, of these papers; an agreement was reached; the policy of the papers was bought, to be paid for by the month; an editor was furnished for each paper to properly supervise and edit information regarding the questions of preparedness, militarism, financial policies, and other things of national and international nature considered vital to the interests of the purchasers.

"This contract is in existence at the present time, and it accounts for the news columns of the daily press of the country

being filled with all sorts of preparedness arguments and misrepresentations as to the present condition of the United States Army and Navy, and the possibility and probability of the United States being attacked by foreign foes.

"This policy also included the suppression of everything in opposition to the wishes of the interests served. The effectiveness of this scheme has been conclusively demonstrated by the character of stuff carried in the daily press throughout the country since March, 1915. They have resorted to anything necessary to commercialize public sentiment and sandbag the National Congress into making extravagant and wasteful appropriations for the Army and Navy under the false pretense that it was necessary. Their stock argument is that it is 'patriotism.' They are playing on every prejudice and passion of the American people."

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I am in favor of this paragraph in the Navy appropriation bill, because I think the country ought to be fully prepared for any possible invasion; but I think the Congress ought to be careful about encouraging "rumors of war" when war has not actually been declared. Perhaps it would be safe to leave this matter to the President of the United States and to those who have direct knowledge upon the subject. I call attention, however, not only to these false reports of the *Housatonic* and about the *California*, but the steamship *Philadelphia* was reported sunk since the President was here, and yet the next day, after these reports had gone over the country like wildfire and everybody got excited about the *Philadelphia*, which naturally attracted interest in that great city and in the State of Pennsylvania, we found the *Philadelphia* had safely arrived in port, so that report was also in error. Now, whether by design or not I do not know, but it seems that most of these false reports come from London. There seems to be an intense desire there to tell us about German outrages and about American blood shed on foreign ships or to find that some American ship has been shot up. This colored man, George Washington—

Mr. BARKLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BARKLEY. But was not there a statement in the morning paper that the colored man on that ship was a British subject?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I am coming to that. The dispatches have made it appear that because of the loss of George Washington, an alleged American citizen, we are now in position to declare war against Germany. This morning's papers have headlines something like this: "Death of American on wrecked *Turino* reported to London. An American negro fireman, George Washington was killed, according to a report received to-day when the British steamship *Turino* was sunk by a German U boat in the war zone."

Now, that is enough to inflame every American—

Mr. FOSS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will yield.

Mr. FOSS. I am very much interested in what the gentleman says, but how will the gentleman provide a remedy to stop these international thrills which we are receiving, which the publishers of these newspapers place in their headlines? Would he provide for a censorship of the press?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Not at this time. I simply urge that the true facts and only the true facts be reported at this time when we are at the verge of an outbreak with a foreign country. [Applause.] I think it would be better for some of the editors to "shut up" when they do not know what they are talking about. [Applause.] I think it would be better for some of these professional patriots who have determined our international relations in advance, and who insist upon adjusting our diplomatic affairs in this crisis, to not only "shut up," but go tie a rope around their necks, attach an anchor to it, and jump into the sea. We could better afford to dispense with their meddlesome services than to plunge the people of this country into a foreign war. I think it would be far better for this country. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I regret to say it, but we are gradually turning over the business of Congress, turning over all our constitutional rights, turning over our powers delegated by the people, to a lot of editors, theorists, and college professors who are not capable of conducting our affairs and to whom we should not abdicate.

Mr. GARDNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts after I have disposed of George Washington. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. All I can say then is that the papers report this afternoon that George Washington, the so-

called American, is a British subject; that is all. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, under leave to extend I wish to say that so many rumors and reports of an exaggerated character have appeared during the last few days that even the President, who certainly is as much concerned as any other citizen over the situation that confronts us, should take notice. We are dealing with a serious problem that invites the greatest deliberation. We ought not to be made the pawns of designing men in our own country or of any foreign power that would drag us into a war for selfish purposes. When our President has made up his mind that American honor is at stake and that we must enter upon a war to uphold it, I have no doubt he will find cordial support in the Congress of the United States, but the President has not yet indicated to Congress that the point has been reached where a declaration of war has become necessary. Until the President does come to this body with such information and facts as may warrant further action by Congress, it may not be well to aggravate the situation by giving too much credence to the untruthful rumors that have been bandied about with the evident purpose of finding some reason for provoking a declaration of war. At another time I shall extend in the RECORD, under permission granted to me, certain observations of Mr. Lincoln when he was a Member of the House, with respect to our Mexican complications in 1848. At present I shall content myself by quoting a single sentence from the speech made by Mr. Lincoln January 12 of that year, when he said:

When the war began it was my opinion that all those who, because of knowing too little, or because of knowing too much, could not conscientiously approve the conduct of the President (in the beginning of it) should, nevertheless, as good citizens and patriots remain silent on that point, at least till the war should be ended.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Mr. Chairman, I quite agree with the gentleman that there is too much noise and that the editors of this country may make too much noise. Fortunately the sound of their voices does not penetrate this Hall, while some of the noises which get in here might be suddenly ceased with a great deal of pleasure to some of us who have to stay here.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAGSDALE. Certainly.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman from Illinois said he, the gentleman from Illinois, had sense enough to keep still.

Mr. RAGSDALE. I know what he said, but he did not disclose the fact that he had politeness enough, while keeping still, to abide by the rules of the House in undertaking to chide me. That is for the gentleman's information, the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. MANN. I am abiding by the rules of the House.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Now, the gentleman from Pennsylvania is undertaking to lecture me.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Oh, no. I have been lecturing the great editors and the political college professors. I did not have the gentleman in mind at all. [Applause.]

Mr. RAGSDALE. The gentleman's mind is rather limited in its memory.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Surely my mind is not limited when I refer to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RAGSDALE. The gentleman says so little on the floor of this House that he ought to be given an opportunity in everybody's time to be recognized. May I yield further to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE]?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I merely wish to say that when I speak to the gentleman from South Carolina my mind is unlimited.

Mr. RAGSDALE. I am quite sure that is true. There are a great many things the gentleman possesses that are unlimited. His nerve is one of them. [Laughter.] The gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Chairman, undertakes here to tell us about getting excited over the newspapers, and he undertakes to read from the newspapers, then proving that the conditions in Germany are not what they are reported to be in other newspapers. Now, why should we accept the statement from the newspapers selected by the gentleman any more than he would accept the statements made by other newspapers which he has not selected? I say to the gentleman that I quite agree with him that the people of our country ought not to be excited or hurried into war, but I say to the gentleman, sympathetic as I am with the people who want to preserve peace here, that if Germany has placed a restraining hand upon our ambassador, who went there in good faith to represent this Government, as a Representative of my people I wish to exhaust every power within our command to bring him back here without regard to cost.

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAGSDALE. Certainly.