was quickly seen that he was aflame with a burning cause.

"Whether my colleagues or the country," he went on, "will take the evidence by its four corners and reach the same conclusion that I have reached is an entirely different proposition. They may not see it from the same angle that I see it. Two men may read the same article and draw different conclusions from it. Two men may hear one witness testify and draw different inferences from what he said. Those are the inherent differences in human nature.

"But occupying the position that I do as chairman of the great committee, associated as I have been with Democrats and Republicans whose single aim and effort has been to develop conditions as they exist, without fear or favor or the hope of reward, I felt as an American citizen and I feel as a member of this distinguished body that it was my duty to say the thing that was in me. If I succeeded in making a rift in the clouds and letting the sunlight into the dark places where the American people were entitled to go and to see, I felt that my efforts and the efforts of my colleagues, for whom I entertain the highest regard and respect, would not have been in vain in our endeavor to save our country in the pending crisis."

Mr. Chamberlain was scrupulous to avoid giving the impression that he believed the President cognizant of the deplorable conditions which prevail. His references to the Chief Executive were couched in terms of honest respect and even of affection. He insisted that the President was not informed on the big points of America's deficiency.

"I rather think," said Senator Chamberlain, "that it is not that I have distorted the truth, but I have sometimes feared that in the multitude of cares and responsibilities that have devolved upon the President of the United States he has not been able to ascertain the truth. If he has relied upon some of those who have come before our committee and my fellow Senators he does not know the truth; and from the lips of some of those who have testified and who are closest to him he cannot find the truth, not because there has been a disposition to deceive or mislead our distinguished Executive, but simply because they too are so situated in the multitudinous affairs of the great crisis that they cannot ascertain the truth; and even if they could ascertain the truth through the labyrinth of things that pass over their desks and through their offices each day it would be impossible for them to remember it for any purpose."

Unprepared in Ordnance.

Dealing at first with the question of ordnance and the shortcomings of the ordnance bureau in evidence before the committee, Mr. Chamberlain said:

"The Secretary of War in a general statement to the country—which was carefully written and ably prepared—tells us that $3,200,000,000 has been appropriated for the Ordnance Department and contracts have been let for $1,677,000,000; all of which is true. But the Secretary fails to tell us in his statement to the country, and it only comes out in the course of a cross-examination, that America stands to-day unprepared so far as ordnance is concerned. I challenge anybody to read the testimony and come to any other conclusion.

"Poor, bleeding France, my friends—bled white, not only for her own life and for the liberty of her own citizens, but for America as well—is to-day furnishing our troops as they go abroad with the heavy ordnance and machine guns for aircraft and for ground service. Why, if we relied upon the Ordnance Department in this emergency to furnish our troops with the heavy ordnance—and this is a war of artillery to-day—the war would be over before we ever got to the front.

"I am not blaming anybody in particular," Mr. Chamberlain told the Senate, expressing his regard for Major-Gen. Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, as later in his speech he paid an equivalent tribute to Quartermaster-Gen. Sharpe.

Coming to the Lewis gun controversy he said: "There are several kinds of machine guns. America was manufacturing the Lewis gun for export to the Allies in large numbers and on large contracts and was prepared to turn them out in large quantities. And yet, my friends, while we stood along the edge of a seething volcano we were trifling along through the Ordnance Department trying to find a machine gun. With this war on and America in it we did not even adopt a machine gun until along in May some time, and it was not finally adopted, I believe, until some time in June.

"Then they adopted another gun—not the Lewis gun that was being used on the battlefront in Europe, but a gun that was still a gun on paper, and it is a gun on paper to-day—I do not care what anybody says about it—because it has never been given a field test."

Delay in Army Rifles.

The delays and the waste of time incident to changes in the standard army rifle Senator Chamberlain reviewed at great length. He pointed out that the changes to meet War Department views held back rifle production for weeks and of this he said:

"Those things only come out in this investigation. You do not find it elsewhere. Why should not the American people find out about this? My friends, there are a lot of people out in the 'wild and woolly West' where I come from who are lying back in their cabins and in their homes perfectly contented that America has everything she wants and they are not worrying themselves, fathers of boys at the front. If they only knew, these mothers and these fathers and these patriotic men of the West, the actual conditions, every mother's son of them and every woman and man would give their lives and their all for the purpose of protecting America."

Then Senator Chamberlain turned to the Quartermaster-General's Department for further evidences of deficiency. It was the President who did not know, he alleged, not because he had not asked or was indifferent, but because he had relied upon his Secretary of War, who in turn knew less. Said he:

"Now I am going to show by Mr. Baker's testimony that he did not know it and that is the reason why I am saying that our distinguished friend the President, the premier of all the great statesmen of the world, if you please—recognized as the leader of thought in this great international cataclysm, and I say amen to it—did not know the truth and I did.

Some One Withheld Truth.

"He must have got his facts from his distinguished Secretary of War, and he in turn got them from somebody else, and if those who furnished the evidence knew the facts they lied. If the Secretary represented conditions to the President on their statement he must not have given the President the whole truth or he did not know it."

This was the sensational moment of the Chamberlain defence. He had stood accused of distortions of the truth. His reply to the accusation was the flat statement above that his accusers were insufficiently acquainted with the facts to be competent judges of truth, and a shocked murmur swept through the Senate.

Mr. Chamberlain urged it as the duty of Congress to search out the facts in all things.

"Congress ought to do its duty," he said, "without fear of anybody." He related instances in connection with the supply of overcoats to the army in camps and cantonments to show that even up to the beginning of the current year there were camps where the soldiers were without this indispensable winter garment.

Then he proceeded to convict Secretary Baker out of his own mouth in a manner that stirred the galleries. First he read a letter from Mr. Baker denying the shortages of overcoats at Camp Sherman, Ohio, reported by the commander to be 7,000 among 31,000 troops. This letter, written on January 14, after denying the charge, made the following suggestion: "This telegram, I think, should be called to the attention of the members of the committee, as it is of the highest importance to have them know both that this provision has been made and that the information upon which I have been relying in my testimony to the committee is not inaccurate."

"That convinced me that the Secretary of War knew what he was talking about," said Mr. Chamberlain, "and I was glad to have it confirmed because there were some things I thought he was misinformed about. On the very next day, January 15, he sent me this letter:

"WASHINGTON, January 15, 1918.

"MY DEAR SENATOR CHAMBERLAIN: I send you a telegram which has just been received from Camp Sherman. The information in it differs from that contained in the earlier telegrams which I sent you yesterday and which arrived on Saturday. Apparently the information given to you by Gen. Glenn as to the blouses was accurate. This telegram, however, shows that an adequate supply is in shipment though not received by the time the telegram was sent.

"Cordially yours,
"NEWTON D. BAKER,
"Secretary of War."

"That is the way it has been ever since he commenced. It is inchoate, but does not get there."

Shortage in Blouses.

Next Senator Chamberlain produced a tabulation of shortages in wearing apparel which he had read into the *Record*. Of it he said, shaking his head and hammering the desk in front of him: "Now we will take—well there will not be any difference on this; they will either flax me out of existence or else we shall win this war; but I shall have done my duty whether we win or not. I call attention to this condition. Take Camp Wheeler, which had a shortage of woollen coats of 39 per cent.; Camp McArthur, which had a shortage of 21 per cent.; Camp Logan, Texas, which had a shortage of 50 per cent.; Camp Cody, New Mexico, 50 per cent.; Camp Doniphan, Oklahoma, 53 per cent.; Camp Bowie, Texas, 40 per cent.; Camp Sheridan, Alabama, 59 per cent., and so on down the list. I think the highest shortage in woollen coats was 78 per cent."

"Did the Senator state the shortage of such coats at Camp Custer?" asked Senator Smith (Mich.).

"They are all here," replied Mr. Chamberlain. "The shortage at Camp Custer was 75 per cent."

Appeals From Camp Bowie.

Finishing with the question of wearing apparel the Oregon Senator next turned to army hygiene.

"Gen. Greble came up here," said Mr. Chamberlain. "He is one of the men we took away from his post. Gen. Greble is stationed at Camp Bowie. I want to read his testimony because he shows the shortage of everything. In September last Gen. Greble began to see what was coming to his body of fine young fellows and he began to reach out to try to get the things that were necessary to protect them from disease and to try to have those things done that would save them if disease came.

"He did not appeal only to one man; he did not appeal only through the regular channels, but he appealed through all channels. They had this body of splendid young men in pyramidal tents, twelve in a tent, packed together like sardines when they ought not to have had at any time more than five or six or at the outside not over eight.

"Gen. Greble telegraphed to the Quartermaster-General and stated 'If you do not give us more space for these soldiers we shall have measles and pneumonia and all the diseases which soldiers take.' He also appealed to Gen. Gorgas and kept on appealing. Then he was sent to Europe on a mission. When he came back he found the same conditions practically existing. Not until some time in December did he get that for which he asked. Then the epidemic had broken out. As many as 8,000 young men went through the base hospitals and hospitals down there at Camp Bowie. Think of that."

Wants Parents to Know Truth.

"All of these cantonments," went on Senator Chamberlain, "are radiating spots from which there goes out to the American people everything that is taking place, and God grant that every young man will write to his mother and his father and tell of the conditions not in order to slay the patriotism of Americans but to stimulate those in authority to do their duty to protect their lives if they are to fight the battles of the country."

With these cold facts before the Senate the Oregon Senator entered on one of the most telling points of his defence, judged by the effect on his hearers. He read to the Senate two letters descriptive of the neglect of sick men in camp hospitals. One of the letters was addressed to himself and was from the brother of a youth who had died of cerebro-spinal meningitis at a Kansas camp. It recited how days passed during which the young man's family strove to obtain even a word of their kinsman's condition. Finally the boy had died alone and when the body was sent home for burial it was nude, wrapped only in cotton and so ill preserved that the women of the family could not be permitted to view it.

Senator Chamberlain marked the sturdy patriotism of the bereaved brother who concludes his letter as follows:

"My brother is dead and in his grave and I cannot expect to heal the wound in my broken heart by filing this complaint, but I am doing it all in a true American spirit and trust it will result in some good to those who may be so unfortunate as to lose their dear ones under similar circumstances. Would you be satisfied if this case applied to your brother?"

Letter to Wadsworth.

But it was a second letter written by a bereaved father which swept the house off its feet in a veritable paroxysm of horror. The letter was addressed to Senator Wadsworth (N. Y.). In advance of reading it Senator Chamberlain said:

"It does not make any difference that my own party is in power, my friends. If any party on earth were in power and I occupied this position I would show the truth just the same. If this thing be not corrected and these agencies of the Government made more efficient the men of the Senate and the men of the House who neglect to do it are responsible to a higher tribunal, if you please, for the deaths of young men whose lives might have been saved if they had but given this job the attention that it is receiving at the hands of the members of the Military Affairs Committee at this time."

Then Mr. Chamberlain began reading the letter. It said: "Dear Sir and Friend: As you know I have recently lost a son with spinal meningitis at ——. I am writing to you as one that I know to be greatly interested in the welfare of our soldier boys and ready to do anything in your power for their wellbeing, and because you know me and will know whether to give credit to what I say.

"Please know in the very beginning that I do not write to criticise the Government in any sense nor to lay complaint against any one in authority. I realize that in the stupendous task before us as a Government and with the great diversity of interests involved it is impossible that there should not occur some things that should be corrected. It is with the hope that I may help somewhat with the task before us that I lay bare the facts as I found them in connection with my son's sickness at ——.

"Through friends entirely independent of the army officers and the medical staff I learned of my son's sickness after he had been in the hospital for six days. With my wife I went immediately to the camp, arriving there the morning of ——. I found my son in the meningitis ward of the base hospital. It was the eighth day of his sickness, as I was informed by the attending physician. His mother and I and —— were permitted to see him through a window at the head of his bed. The small room in which he was lying contained one other bed, on which was a patient; a stove, in which there appeared to be no fire.

"The room was not simply unsanitary; it was filthy beggaring description. The bed on which my son was lying was even more filthy than the room. I cannot describe to you the condition of my son's body, except to say that neither his hands nor face had been washed in eight days (the attendant admitted this to me). The reason given for his being in this condition was that he—the attendant—had but one helper in the ward and there were eighteen cases there at that time.

Offer of Nurse Refused.

"I asked if I might put a nurse in there to take care of him, and the physician said that could not be allowed. I offered to put in a trained nurse and pay all expenses. I then asked if I myself might be allowed to go in and clean him up and take care of him. The physician, very kindly in manner all of the time, said that it could not be. I then asked if I would bring clean clothes for him if they would clean him up and put them on him, so that his mother might see him again and not have to remember him in the plight she had just seen him.

"They said they would gladly do so. I went to Lawton and got clean clothes, and when I returned they had made some effort to wash his face and hands, although they were still grimy and black. His clothes were changed, his bed straightened out and his mother was called to see him again. There was no change made in the condition of the room. Before leaving I again made a plea to be permitted to care for him, gladly taking all risk, but the rules were inflexible. I could not be admitted in any way.

"The attending physician was kind to us, and I do not wish to imply that he was in any way to blame. He told us, however, as we were about to leave that we should not return for three or four days. To this order I had no intention of giving heed, neither did I. His mother did not see him again.

Almost Nude in Zero Weather.

"The next morning early his father-in-law, W. N. Harris of Arkansas City, Kan., went to the ward, and while the mercury was down about zero there was no fire in the room, the bedding was on the floor, the boy lay on the bed naked with the exception of a thin night shirt that was up around his neck.

"About 3 o'clock that afternoon I found him in the same condition and the room without fire. The next morning at about 8 o'clock we found him in practically the same condition. No one knew of our visits to the hospital except two workmen who were working on the sewer ditch in front of the hospital. To them I made myself known and the purpose of my going to the hospital. I refer now, of course, to the visits we made after we were instructed not to visit the hospital. On neither of these visits was there an attendant in the room or a fire in the stove.

"A perfectly well man would have become sick in that room. The mercury was around zero all of the time.

"This time I went direct to the chief of the medical staff and told him the situation and asked to be permitted to go and attend my boy. He immediately gave orders that I be admitted and be given every facility for caring for my son. I went at once, but I was too late, as he died about fifteen minutes after I got into the ward and before I was permitted to do anything for him.

"That you may know something of the fearful handicap that the Government works under in the matter of competent help I give you this one instance."

Senator Chamberlain paused in his reading. "Now, I want you to note this," he said as his voice shook: "I requested the attendant to give my son a drink of water. He went out and brought in a small bowl of water and tried to get son to drink from it but he could not. He said, I guess that I had better get a funnel.

Water Through a Funnel.

"The boy was lying on his back with his mouth open. He came back in a moment with a funnel made of a piece of newspaper and, putting it in my son's mouth, was in the act of pouring the bowl of water into my son's throat when I stopped him. He said, 'What shall I do?' I said, 'Get a spoon.' The poor fellow had not thought of that. My son died in a few moments.

"I hastened to the office of the Adjutant and asked for the body and was very courteously treated and assured that I could have the body that evening. I then hastened back to the ward where my son died to see how the body was prepared for burial, and as I had my pass into the building I did not stop and knock, but opened the door to enter when it struck something that would not let it open further. I looked and saw that it was my son's body lying on the floor of the hall and it was his head that I struck with the door."

A deep shuddering sob passed over the Senate. The hundreds of women in the galleries were weeping audibly. On the Senate floor members of that body were seen to reach boldly, not furtively, for their handkerchiefs. Venerable Ben Tillman did not even attempt to conceal his emotion, but let the big tears trickle down his cheeks. Senator Wadsworth bent over his desk, his face in his hands.

President Was Surprised.

President Wilson's assertion that he had not been made acquainted with the movement for changes in the system of handling the war problem by the Committee on Military Affairs was answered toward the close of Senator Chamberlain's speech. He said he had gone to the White House with Senator Hitchcock and "told the President the way things had been developing before the committee and that he ought to know it.

"We went into it pretty fully; I think we stayed there an hour. I think the President was surprised at some of the things we told him; in fact, he expressed surprise. The remedy was the thing that was in our minds. I said that the proposition for a director of munitions had been in my mind a long while; that I had been studying the British system, and that something like that or some strong intermediary between the President and the army ought to be a pretty good thing. The conversation was not confidential, as I understood. We were simply talking about conditions.

He Knew of the Proposal.

"I would not even refer to it but for the fact that it is charged as to our committee—a splendid body of men—that none of them had discussed this legislation with the President. The President did not approve or disapprove, but he had the information just the same."

Several days afterward the President wrote a letter in reference to that bill which Senator Chamberlain read. In it the President said he had given the munitions bill serious thought. He concluded:

"My judgment is decidedly that we would not only be disappointed in the results, but that to attempt such a thing would greatly embarrass the processes of coordination and of action upon which I have spent a great deal of thought and pains and which I believe are more and more rapidly yielding the results we desire. I felt that I ought not to keep you in ignorance of what had been going on in my mind with regard to this important matter."

"Was it quite fair for him to charge that he had not been consulted?" demanded Senator Chamberlain.

When Senator Chamberlain was speaking Senator James (Kentucky), a Democrat, interrupted to explain that the President had referred to the war cabinet bill, complaining that legislation was being introduced in Congress without his consent. Mr. Chamberlain said he was of the impression that the President referred to the munition director bill, but he hoped he was mistaken.

Senator James said he had a letter from President Wilson saying that Senator Chamberlain had been to see him regarding a bill for a minister of munitions, but gave no details and that he had learned from others of the "surprising proposal" for a war cabinet.

"The President's statement that he was not consulted concerning the war cabinet proposal is true," said Senator James.

Senator Chamberlain then stated that last Friday the Military Affairs Committee had delegated Senator Hitchcock to lay the war cabinet plan before Secretary Baker, and he believed that had been done.

"But probably the Cabinet had not met up to the time the President made the statement," persisted Senator James. "He is absolutely right in his statement."

Turning to the President's criticism that the Oregon Senator appeared to be against the entire Administration policy, Mr. Chamberlain stepped far up the centre aisle, raised his hands and smiling said:

"Et tu, Brutus—the most unkindest cut of all."

Letter of the President.

The President's letter of yesterday to Senator James follows:

"You have been kind enough to tell me that you had heard that I had written a letter to the chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee concerning the idea of a munitions minister, and you asked me whether I did write such a letter. I did, and am glad to send you herewith a copy of it.

"The consultation referred to with Senator Chamberlain, to whom the letter is addressed, was upon the subject of the various difficulties and delays that had been encountered by the War Department, as shown by the testimony before the Senate committee, and the Senator merely mentioned to me that he had a bill in mind to create a munitions ministry. He gave me no details of the bill he had in mind, and it was only when I learned afterward from others of the real character of the proposals that I felt it my duty to write to the Senator and apprise him of my attitude.

"I assumed from what I heard later that that particular proposal had been abandoned, and I was referring in my statement of the other day to the very surprising proposal to create a superior war cabinet of a type unknown to our practice or institutions.

"I give you these details merely to reply to your kind inquiry and let you know all the facts of the case as you desire."

Kirby Makes Reply.

When Senator Chamberlain had finished Senator Kirby (Ark.), a Democrat, made a reply in behalf of the Administration. Mr. Kirby admitted that there was a shortage of military equipment such as trench mortars and machine guns, but added that preparations were being made to deliver in quantity next month. "Every man who has been sent to France is properly equipped," he said.

Senator Kirby called Senator Chamberlain's speech, the "condemnation of his judgment," and challenged his procedure in saying what he did in the New York speech.

Mr. Kirby maintained that the chairman of the Military Committee should have reported to the Commander in Chief if he believed the examination had disclosed a dangerous situation rather than to carry it to the Senate floor first in a speech.

"The Senator says," said Mr. Kirby, "that in 1914, when it was apparent that war was going to come on, the Ordnance Department was absolutely quiescent, and that no move was made to manufacture heavy ordnance. He cites that as an instance of why the military establishment is inefficient. In 1914 the United States had not gone into the war, and since 1914 we fought out a Presidential campaign on the proposition that we should not go into war. Then why in 1914 should the military establishment have insisted that we ought to manufacture heavy ordnance at that time?

Gerard's Secret Report.

"Another proposition that the Senator cites is this: In 1914 he said our Ambassador, Gerard, over in Germany, said that the German people were unfriendly and that some day we are going to have trouble. Do you suppose that the Ordnance Department or the Secretary of War is going on what the Ambassador to Germany might have reported here in a secret way? Would we have expected anything of that kind? No. No man would have expected it, and no man would have excused it if money had been expended along that line.

"The Senator said we are not able now to put our men in the trenches in France and supply them with heavy guns. We have them. They are there. They are in the hands of our soldiers to-day and can be used effectively when we see fit to put our men in the fighting front.

"Yes, but the Senator said we have to buy them from France. We have to buy them from France instead of trying to manufacture them, which would have taken a longer time. It seems to me that this is conclusive evidence of high efficiency—to get the thing that you need when you need it, and it makes no difference where so you can supply it. That was done. I do not see any inefficiency there."

All Abroad Well Equipped.

Senator Kirby said the uniform to-day is the same weight it always has been in the United States Army.

"Every man," he added, "on the other side has been supplied with clothing, with ammunition, with rifles, with machine guns and everything else to best equip him for effective fighting.

"I want to assume entire responsibility for what I have said, and I say it to you as a man who has heard of this investigation, as a man who is accustomed to reading testimony, as a man who is accustomed to rendering judgment, that my opinion of the condition as its exists to-day is that the military department has not fallen down."

The Chamberlain reorganization bill, on motion of Senator Hitchcock, was referred to the Military Committee without objection when Senator Kirby had concluded.

BRYAN AIDS WILSON.

Munitions Ministry Absolutely Unnecessary, He Says in Statement.

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Jan. 24.—William Jennings Bryan, former Secretary of State, came to the support of President Wilson here to-day when he gave out a formal statement declaring he believes a ministry of munitions is absolutely unnecessary.

"I think the creation of a ministry of munitions is unnecessary," he said. "Mr. Baker has done all a human being could do to collect and put into shape the resources of the country in the prosecution of the war, and I can see no reason why it should be taken out of his hands. I share with the President the appreciation of Mr. Baker's ability, fitness and accomplishments."

COLONEL DEMANDS NOTHING BE HIDDEN

Continued from First Page

act and upon which I hope every upright and faithful servant of the people in Congress will act.

"In the two houses of Congress during the year that is just closing—the year that opened with the sending of Germany's note of January 31, last, which was in effect a declaration of war against the United States, there has been a fine disregard of partisanship among the members of all parties taken as a whole in Congress. There has been almost no attempt to hamper the prosecution of the war by injecting partisanship, or making party harangue. This has been the rule.

Stone a Conspicuous Exception.

"The most conspicuous exception was furnished the other day by Senator Stone of Missouri when he made a strong partisan speech. But the partisanship was the least offensive portion of his speech. It was also a mendacious speech, but the mendacity was not the most offensive portion of the speech, which was perhaps not wholly uncharacteristic.

"The really offensive portion of the speech was that it was an attack on the interests of the United States, and therefore an insidious effort on behalf of Germany. This is the same Senator Stone who a year from last fall was engaged in defending himself from the revelations of Bernard Ridder as to his, Senator Stone's, negotiations for the German vote and his effort to persuade the Germans that he, Senator Stone, was speaking with authority when he said the Government would only make believe to be against them, but would really be for them. This is the same Senator Stone who voted against the declaration of war last year. He is the same Senator Stone who engaged in filibustering operations against our taking action to defend ourselves, filibustering operations of the kind which drew public rebuke to those engaged in them from the President of the United States.

"Senator Stone did all he could to serve Germany against the United States by preventing the entry of the United States into the war against Germany; and he now does all he can to serve Germany against the United States by endeavoring to prevent the United States from becoming efficient in the war against Germany.

Worst Offence to Be Committed.

"The worst offence that can be committed is untruthfully to assail an efficient public servant. Next in evil doing comes the offence of the man who untruthfully defends an inefficient public servant from having his inefficiency exposed.

"I care not a snap of my finger for the politics of the man who is doing good work at this time. It is for that reason I have supported and shall continue to support to the very best of my ability Senator Chamberlain and his associates in the committee who have been conducting the investigation into the management, the administration and the military administration of the War Department.

"I have followed pretty carefully the actions of that Senatorial committee. I do not believe any of its members on any side have been influenced in the smallest degree by partisanship. Hitherto there has been no division in the committee along party lines and every possible proof has been given by the individuals composing that committee that they are actuated by a sincere and single minded purpose to serve the country in this war by finding out and telling the truth, not with the object of hurting any man, even any man responsible for grave abuses, save to the extent that was necessary in order to correct these abuses for the future.

"As for the worth of those investigations I want to read an extract from the official minutes of the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, at the hearing before the committee, in reference to an investigation proposed into the operations of the Shipping Board. Mr. Hurley, the chairman of the Shipping Board, asked to have the investigation deferred for the moment. Then he used this language: 'Of course I think the Senate investigation has been very helpful. I think they have brought out a number of things that have not only helped to satisfy the public state of mind, but have helped me and helped the staff. If the House committee should hold a hearing and we should profit as much by the House hearing as we have by the Senate hearing, it might be a good thing.'

Glad for Investigation.

"There speaks the public servant who is glad to have the work of his branch of the Government investigated and who frankly says the Senate Investigating Committee has not only helped from the public standpoint but has helped him and his fellows in doing their work.

"I believe—no, I am going to alter that statement; I am going to put it as it should be put. I know that the Senate Investigating Committee, under Senator Chamberlain, has rendered the highest service to this country. I do not believe it, I know it.

"And you have a right to ask that any man who speaks to you about a duty in the present should have, by his actions in the past, shown he believes himself in performing that duty. There are very few of the older members here who may recollect the things I said about the Cuban campaign and the failures in the Administration of the War Department of which I was a part. I spoke when I was Assistant Secretary of the Navy. I spoke when I was Colonel in the army, when I was asked to report, and I reported with the frankness of an open nature. As Governor of the State of New York, Republican Governor, I spoke.

"Having been a part of the national Administration the year before and being, although I did not then know it, about to become more intimately connected with it as Vice-President I spoke of the Cuban campaign. That was in November, 1899, a year after the campaign.

"I stated that the artillery had been for thirty-five years unpractised and was worthless. I stated that, during that campaign, the bureaus of the War Department at Washington had been held by elderly men of fine records in the past, absolutely enmeshed in red tape and unable to show initiative or accept responsibility. I stated the campaign itself was a welter of confusion and that we were saved from disaster only by the incompetency of our foes. I stated that to send our army under such conditions against a well led, well handled, well prepared foe would inevitably invite disaster. I should like any man to point any difference in frankness between what I then said of the Administration of which I was a part and of the party to which I belonged and what I said during the last six months, except that I have been more moderate and guarded in the past six months.

Worthless Trousers for Soldiers.

"I said in my reports at the time when I was under the War Department that the trousers given the soldiers were worthless. I said that because it was true, not to harm anybody, but because it was the truth. When I point out that our men abroad and at home have, to a large extent, been shoeless now, I say it because it is true. I speak of the shortage of shoes now just as I spoke at that time of the shortage of clothing for the men, because it is true and because if any unpleasant truth is not told it will not be remedied. That is the only reason I spoke in 1898, and it is the reason I speak now.

"I spoke of the utter disorganization of the field hospitals, of their complete breakdown. I spoke of it at the time, in an official report, in connection with the army in Cuba. I said it not to hurt any one, but because it was true, and in the same way I speak of the conditions that have led to the outbreaks of spinal meningitis and outbreaks of pneumonia, of which the most distinguished victim has been former Congressman Gus Gardner. I speak of that now because it is true.

"I spoke the truth then in order to remedy the conditions. I speak the truth now in order to remedy the conditions, and for no other purpose and with no fear of what might happen to me personally or politically. Because telling the truth about my own Administration influenced me then, in the same way Senator Stone's hints as to the awful things that may be done to me, if I go on, will have less than no effect in making me refrain from speaking that minimum of truth now, which I think it absolutely necessary to speak, in order to obtain a betterment in conditions in our army at home and abroad.

Our Duty to Tell the Truth.

"It is our duty to tell the truth. If conditions are good, tell the truth. If they are bad, tell the truth. If they have been bad and become good, tell the truth.

"Take the Navy Department. In the first six months after this war opened the Navy Department showed poor work, very poor work, owing to indecision and delay; work so poor that, if we had been pitted against any formidable enemy, able to keep the seas, we would have paid in disaster for it. Dating from about October 1 there has come a remarkable change in the Navy Department. From that date to this, on the whole, the Navy Department's work has been well done. I say it has been well done since then for exactly the same reason I say it was badly done before then—because it is the truth and because it is important that our people should know the truth.

"Having said the Navy Department is now doing well, I want to make one small reservation. I wish the Secretary of the Navy would no longer punish the men in the navy by refusing to allow hundreds of thousands of good women to give them sweaters and knitted mufflers and everything like that, except by indirection, because he has had a quarrel with some man. Let him punish that man in any way he chooses, but do not punish the sailors and do not make it unpleasant for the hundreds of thousands, certainly the scores of thousands, of women who are patriotically endeavoring to be of service.

"In standing by the Chamberlain committee I, of course, mean I most earnestly hope we will adopt legislation they have demanded, and enact into law the propositions for a war board and a head for the Munitions Department. I am well aware no change in the scheme of government can accomplish anything unless the right men are put in, and if after having a war board incompetent men are put in, or their powers are narrowly or loosely defined, and there is conflict among them trouble will come in the future, just as trouble has come in the past. But the proposal means that, at least, a proper scheme of administration will be adopted by the Government. At least we will get this proper scheme of administration. At least we will recognize certain vital facts.

Need of Hurry Call Vital.

"One is the need of hurry. Nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time. Nine-tenths of efficiency is being efficient so quickly that the time for efficiency will not have passed before it becomes evident. It is a cruel thing, it is a wrong to us, and a bitter wrong to our allies, to delay needlessly one day, let alone six months or a year, when the war worn, war weary Allies are with the blood of their best and their bravest fighting the battle to which by every consideration of honor we should now be sending our fighting men by the million. The prime need is the need of haste.

"Second only in importance to it is the need of organization here. In Washington you have had a good many star players, but mighty little team work. Take, for instance, a matter that was authoritatively called to my attention just recently. You all know the coal shortage. You know it has been due largely to an insufficient number of locomotives, and you know that ships needed to carry food to our troops in France have been at the docks for some weeks because they could not load on account of the failure in locomotives. There are in this country 200 locomotives built for Russia—I should say the Russian Government, three removes back—and now there is no way of getting them to Russia and no assurance the Russian Government will receive them. With the assent of the Russian Minister here, as I am informed—and if the question is queried, I will give my informants' names—the Russian Minister assented to our having them two months ago. For eight weeks we have been leisurely discussing as to whether we could under the circumstances take these 200 locomotives and use them.

"I understand the discussion is inching along to a favorable conclusion and that in a few days or a week or two we will have the 200 locomotives. But it will be two months after we ought to have had them. What I think, of course, in my views of the proper governmental policy should have been done was to take the 200 locomotives and then discuss.

Tells of the Course He Followed.

"That was the course that I followed and to which I have ever since looked back with impenitent satisfaction in reference to the Panama Canal. If you remember Panama declared itself independent and wanted to complete the Panama Canal and opened negotiations with us. I had two courses open. I might have taken the question under advisement and put it before the Senate, in which case we should have had a number of most able speeches on the subject. We would have had a number of very profound arguments and they would have been going on now and the Panama Canal would be in the dim future yet.

"We would have had half a century of discussion. I preferred we should have the Panama Canal first and the half century of discussion afterward. And now, instead of discussing the canal before it was built, which would have been harmful, they merely discuss me; a discussion which I regard with benign interest.

"Every man of us in this country needs to understand the first requisite is to get the ships. There is no use whatever in preparing everything on this side of the water if we cannot get it across. There is no use of filling up the bottle unless you take the obstruction out of its neck. The failure to build sufficient ships means we leave the neck of the bottle clogged, and we are therefore unable to do anything until the obstruction has been removed.

Takes Up Submarine Question.

"The submarines during the past few months have destroyed a greater quantity of tonnage than is being built. If that situation is not reversed sooner or later we shall be in the direst straits to feed our allies, to feed our own army, to send over men or munitions. Certain things should be done at once. One of the great needs in establishing the War Board is that we should establish some men who should have complete control of the shipping operations.

"We have excellent men now engaged in the work of ship construction, but we have no shipping expert, no man who is a trained expert, engaged in directing the shipping operations. They are conducted under three or four conflicting organizations or bureaus. Here I speak not only of what I know and of what you know but of things that have been told me in the last forty-eight hours, of ships sent abroad without manifests because the excellent army officers, who were suddenly plunked down in the business of sending them, did not know about manifests; a ship sent over with steel rails and returning with the same steel rails for ballast; of cargoes sent over and not unloaded; of ships needed by one department and seized by another.

"I could give you a concrete instance of that which they were trying to remedy just yesterday, in order to keep a ship that was needed to send over food to our soldiers. Instead of having three or four organizations, each fighting the other, to get ships away from it, and each doing the work more or less inefficiently, get an organization with one strong, trained expert to handle all the shipping operations and coordinate all the work. If that were done it would mean an increase in efficiency, which, I verily believe, would be the equivalent of the addition of a million tons to our shipping facilities at the present time.

Speed Up Ship Industry.

"I cannot overstate the importance and the vital need of speeding up the ship industry at the present moment. The big steel manufacturers should be appealed to to drop all less important work and to devote their whole attention to building frames, plates and angles, the essential components of the ships. Their mills should be turned purely to war purposes, and this is the most important war purpose.

"Our house is afire, and we are not to be excused if we fail to try to put it out with every means at hand. No man is to be excused, neither public servant nor private individual, if he fails to do his best with an eye single to getting uppermost efficiency in the national work at this time. This applies above all others to the men engaged in public work. Let the Government supervise the work of the ship construction men, let it see no improper profit is allowed to the big man. Shame and disgrace be the portion of any man who makes a fortune out of this war. Allow no profiteering. Allow simply the profit necessary in order to run the business to advantage.

"So much for the employer. Now for the employee. Let the Government have it understood that in work such as the shipbuilding works, the munition works and all the work done for the Government for the purpose of aiding in the war the employer and the employee alike are to be held to the responsibility of the soldiers in uniform.

Praise for Doing Work Well.

"Give them the highest honor if they do the work well, give them medals, such as were given for work on the Panama Canal; do everything for them if they do the work well, and do not permit for a moment any practice on the part of the big man or the small man that interferes with doing the work well.

"I have told you what I think the Government should do as regards the employer. As regards the employee the Government should see the working man gets the amplest wage that is compatible with continuing an industry; that his housing and working conditions are excellent in every respect. The Government should see that he gets a first class wage and that he does a first class job for the first class wage.

"I do not know the technical term, but if a man can fix 300 rivets and is fixing 140 he is a shirk. Tolerate no practice that means a limitation of productiveness or a reducing of the work of the best men to the level of the lowest man. Protect the laboring man in every way. See that he has full representation and is allowed to organize; that he has his share in the control in the industry and of the profit from the industry.

"But in return see, by governmental action, that he gives the amplest return for the protection that he receives, for the wages which he gets. Tolerate, neither from employer nor from workingman, neither from the man of big fortune nor from the strongest labor union in the country, neither from the biggest corporation nor from the wealthiest private individual any practice during this war that interferes in the smallest degree with the speed and efficiency which it is necessary for us to show in making ready to enter the war.

"And now, you men, you newspaper men, here, tell the truth. No man is to be excused, in peace or in war, if he does not tell the truth. Punish the untruthful man. Punish him a little quicker if he belongs to the newspaper profession than to any other, because he has greater power for mischief. But remember, his telling the truth represents the greatest power for good that there is in this community.

"Where the work of the censor is necessary for the world efficiency of the Government it should be continued. But it is a mere perversion of the censorship to interfere with the telling of the truth when the truth is a necessity for the people to know. Have it clearly understood the telling of the full truth is to be the rule; that, though it may be, and will be, necessary, from the standpoint of expediency, for the censor to stop certain truths from being told the burden of proof must always be on him to show that it is for the public interest that such truths should not be told.

"Let full truth telling be the rule. Let the expression of the truth, when it is from the national standpoint, inexpedient to tell it, be the exception to the rule, and you men, who probably represent, not even excepting the Senators and Representatives, that body of public servants, for that is what you are, whose function is more important than the function of any other men in public life, remember that you fall short of your duty if you fail to tell the truth. If you tell an untruth, shame to you. If maliciously or wantonly you tell a truth that is harmful, shame also. But nine-tenths of the time the need is that the truth shall be told our people.

"The American people is a strong people. We are told now and then the truth would frighten our people so they would not go on with the war. If they are such a set of weaklings and cowards, then nothing can save us. On the contrary, I believe the full telling of the truth will wake the American people up to a sterner realization of the task that is before them and, therefore, to a sterner resolve that, cost what it may, every deficiency shall be remedied, every wrong undone, every failure by Government official turned into an achievement and a success, so that, so speedily as possible, we may harden our soft and lazy strength, and exert it to the fullest degree necessary to bring the peace of Liberty in this mighty conflict for civilization and the welfare of mankind."

PLEA MADE FOR "TAGEBLATT."

Reichstag Committee Asks That Suspension Be Rescinded.

LONDON, Jan. 24.—The *Rheinische Westfälische Zeitung*, according to a Reuter despatch, says that the main committee of the Reichstag has adopted a resolution, to which all parties subscribed, requesting the Imperial Chancellor speedily to rescind the suspension of the *Berliner Tageblatt*.

An Associated Press despatch from Stockholm explains that the suspension of this paper was undoubtedly the work of the military authorities, because the *Tageblatt's* Vienna correspondent declared that the bread ration was not the real reason for the strikes, which constituted the expression of an urgent demand for peace and were evidence that the masses were dissatisfied with the manner in which the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk were conducted.

This correspondent further warned the people not to underestimate the gravity of the situation and that the supreme German command would be wise not to neglect the warning that Austria was not prepared to continue the war for mere annexationist aims.

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