

Bills Prohibit Passenger Traffic on Belligerent Vessels

Senator Gore of Oklahoma introduced the following two bills in the United States senate, January 5, 1916:

"A bill (S. 3033) to prohibit the issuance of passports for use on the vessels of a belligerent country.

"Be it enacted, etc., That any American citizen or other person entitled to receive a passport under the laws of the United States, at the time of making and verifying an application for passport shall also make oath, under such rules and regulations as the secretary of state may prescribe, to the effect that he will not during the time for which such passport is issued or renewed travel or accept transportation as a passenger on the vessel of any foreign country or power which shall be at the time in a state of war.

"Sec. 2. That when a state of war exists between any two or more foreign powers or countries, no passport shall be authorized or issued by the secretary of state, or by any person acting for or under him, to any citizen of the United States, or to any person owing allegiance to the United States, until such citizen shall have made oath, as prescribed in the preceding section, that he will not during the time for which such passport is issued or renewed travel or accept transportation as a passenger on any vessel of any foreign power or country which is at the time in a state of war.

"Sec. 3. That any such citizen or person falsely making the oath provided for in the first section hereof, or who having taken such oath shall travel or accept transportation as a passenger on any vessel of any such belligerent power or country during the time for which such passport was issued or renewed, except in case of shipwreck or other distress at sea, shall be guilty of a felony and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$1,000 nor more than \$5,000, or by imprisonment for not less than one year nor more than five years, or both.

"Sec. 4. That no person owing allegiance to the United States who shall travel or accept transportation as a passenger with or without a passport on the vessel of any country or power which is at the time in a state of war shall be entitled to the protection of this government.

"Sec. 5. That any employee or officer of the United States whose term of office is not fixed by the constitution thereof who shall be convicted of violating the provisions of this act shall, in addition to the penalties above described, be removed from office or from the public service.

"Sec. 6. That the President shall have the power by proclamation, whenever in his judgment the public peace, interest, or safety will not be jeopardized thereby, to suspend the operation of this act as to the vessels of British Honduras plying exclusively between that country and the United States, and the vessels of the Dominion of Canada plying exclusively between ports and places in the Dominion of Canada and ports and places in the United States, and he shall have power to revoke such proclamation whenever the public peace, interest, or safety require it.

Sec. 7. That all acts or parts of acts in conflict herewith are hereby repealed, and this act shall take effect 15 days after the date of its approval by the President.

"A bill (S. 3034) to prohibit belligerent vessels from transporting American citizens as passengers to or from ports in the United States, and to prohibit American and neutral vessels from transporting American citizens as passengers and contraband of war at one and the same time.

"Be it enacted, etc., That it shall not be lawful for the master of any vessels of any foreign country which is in a state of war to bring or transport from any port or place in a foreign country to any port or place in the United States any passenger who is a citizen of the United States, or to receive, accept, or transport from any place or port in the United States to any port or place in any foreign country any passenger who is a citizen of the United States, except when such passenger or person has been rescued from shipwreck or distress at sea. No vessel the master of which has violated the provisions of this section shall be entitled to enter or to clear in any port or place in the United States during the con-

tinuance of such war, and the master of any vessel violating the provisions of this section shall be guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$2,000 nor more than \$5,000, or by imprisonment for not less than one year nor more than five years, or both.

"Sec. 2. It shall not be lawful for the master of any vessel of the United States or for the master of the vessel of any neutral country, while carrying or transporting as a part of such vessel's cargo, any article defined as contraband of war by this act consigned or destined to any country which is in a state of war, to take, receive, or transport any passenger who is a citizen of the United States from any port or place in the United States to any place or port in any foreign country, or vice versa, and the master of any vessel violating the provisions of this section shall be guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$2,000 nor more than \$5,000, or by imprisonment for not less than one year nor more than five years, or both.

"Sec. 3. Any citizen of the United States who comes into any port or place of the United States as a passenger on the vessel of any foreign country which is in a state of war, except in case of shipwreck or distress at sea, or who shall embark in any port or place of the United States on any such vessel bound for a port or place in any foreign country, shall be guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$1,000 nor more than \$5,000, or by imprisonment for not less than one year nor more than five years, or both.

"Sec. 4. It shall not be lawful for any citizen of the United States to embark in any vessel of the United States or in any vessel of a neutral country in any port or place of the United States bound for any port or place in any foreign country with knowledge that any part of such vessel's cargo consists of contraband of war consigned or destined, directly or indirectly, to any port or place in any country which is in a state of war. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$500 nor more than \$2,500, or by imprisonment for not less than six months nor more than two years, or both.

"Sec. 5. The amount of the several fines and penalties imposed by any section of this act upon the master of any vessel carrying or bringing any of said passengers, citizens of the United States, for any violation of the provisions of this act shall be liens upon such vessel, and said vessel may be libeled therefor in any district court of the United States where such vessel shall arrive or depart.

"Sec. 6. For the purposes of this act contraband of war shall comprise and consist of the following articles, to wit: Arms of all kinds, including arms for sporting purposes, and their distinctive component parts; projectiles, charges, and cartridges of all kinds, and their distinctive component parts; powder and explosives specially prepared for use in war, gun mountings, limber boxes, limbers, military wagons, field forges, and their distinctive component parts; clothing and equipment of a distinctively military character; saddle, draft, and pack animals suitable for use in war; articles of camp equipment and their distinctive component parts; armor plates; warships, including boats and their distinctive component parts of such a nature that they can only be used on a vessel of war; implements and apparatus designed exclusively for the manufacture of munitions of war, for the manufacture or repair of arms, or war material for use on land or sea.

"Sec. 7. The secretary of commerce shall have power to prescribe and enforce suitable rules and regulations as to the entry, clearance, and manifests of said vessels, or other matters necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this act.

"Sec. 8. All acts or parts of acts in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

THE BILLS EXPLAINED

Senator Gore made the following explanatory remarks after the introduction of the above bills: Mr. President, the two bills just introduced

seek to accomplish the following objects: First, to prevent the issuance of passports for use on belligerent ships; second, to withdraw protection from American citizens who persist in traveling on the vessels of belligerents; third, to prevent belligerent ships from entering or clearing in ports of the United States if they transport American citizens as passengers to or from such ports; fourth, to prevent American vessels and neutral vessels from transporting American citizens as passengers and contraband of war at one and the same time upon one and the same voyage.

Under existing laws, both national and international, every American citizen has the legal right to travel upon any passenger vessel that sails the sea. He has the legal right, not the moral right, to run the risk of involving this nation in war and entailing the sacrifice of millions of lives and billions of treasure. So long as this legal right exists it must be defended by our government at whatever cost. We can not suffer the rights of our citizens to be invaded or violated with impunity. Only the government of the United States can withdraw or suspend this right without the forfeiture of our prestige and self-respect. I believe the government should suspend this right. No single citizen should be allowed to run the risk of drenching this nation in blood merely in order that he may travel upon a belligerent rather than upon a neutral vessel. We have a statute now which provides that under certain circumstances an American citizen expatriates himself and under other circumstances he forfeits the right to the protection of the government. These precedents justify the proposed legislation. During the Russo-Japanese war Great Britain ordered her subjects not to travel on belligerent ships.

We ordered American citizens to leave Mexico, to leave their homes, their business, and their property. If any American citizen, without regard to his own safety and the safety of his country, persists in traveling upon belligerent instead of neutral vessels, the government should order him to stop or else oblige him to go at his peril. This action voluntarily taken by our government would not be incompatible with national honor. To this extent at least pride and patriotism should take counsel of prudence.

The other bill suspends the right of belligerent vessels to enter or clear if they persist in transporting as passengers citizens of the United States and denies clearance alike to American and neutral vessels if they seek to transport American citizens as passengers and contraband of war as defined by the declaration of London at one and the same time.

Reasoning Without Logic

The Washington Post, quoting an argument made in favor of preparedness, says that the following sentences sum up "The whole moral argument for preparedness."

Here are the two sentences so highly recommended: "So long as right and wrong exist in the world, there will be an inevitable conflict between them. The rightdoers must be prepared to protect and defend the right as against the wrong." The conclusion which the Post draws from the language is not a necessary conclusion. It is simply an opinion; and it does not prove that the contest between right and wrong must be fought out by physical force. There was a time when differences between individuals were fought out, but now they are settled by courts; it is not now necessary that each individual shall go about armed and prepared to protect and defend the right as against the wrong. Every step in human progress is a step away from contests fought on the brute level. Why, then, should anyone believe that war and preparations for war must go on forever?

It is true, as the Post says, that the claims to Universal Brotherhood are not everywhere recognized; that all racial prejudices are not abolished; that self-control can not be regarded as absolute. But the world has made progress toward peaceful settlements, and our country has led in the peace propaganda. There is every reason, therefore, why this nation should not abandon its ideals and turn back to slaughterhouse methods.

W. J. BRYAN.