

Guide to a Microfilm Edition of
The Frank B. Kellogg Papers

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Foreword

THE PAPERS of Frank Billings Kellogg are the seventh of its manuscripts collections to be selected by the Minnesota Historical Society for microfilming under a grant of funds from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. Kellogg, as United States senator, ambassador to Great Britain, secretary of state, and judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice, represented America's cautious attitude toward foreign affairs and international relations during the period between the world wars. His role in negotiating the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 and his subsequent receipt of the 1929 Nobel Peace Prize made him one of the best known American public figures of the twentieth century. The recognition of his status and his participation in foreign affairs have made the Kellogg Papers one of the most heavily-used collections in the Minnesota Historical Society since their acquisition in the early 1950s. It was this interest that influenced the decision to microfilm them.

This pamphlet guide to the Kellogg Papers reflects an evolution in the Minnesota Historical Society's approach to the preparation of inventories and guides to its major collections of manuscripts. Creation of an extensive narrative that interweaves an analysis of the subject's career or history with explanations of how the papers reflect a course of events or a subject focus has been a tradition of several decades' standing. The escalating volume of paper documentation, and a demonstrated research and reference need for more specific guidance to the location of particular materials, have led to the adoption of more austere, functional finding aids that attempt to present a maximum of useable information in a compact, efficient format.

The nature of Kellogg's papers, as well as patterns of previous research use, also influenced the preparation of this guide. A large percentage of the papers are quite uniform in

subject content, changing only gradually in character from year to year, and major topics within each year are relatively easy to define. Researchers have found the collection to be most valuable when seeking Kellogg's correspondence with a given individual or in searching for supplementary information on a particular subject or the events within a certain time period.

The guide capitalizes upon these factors. Roll content notes, succinctly listing the topics for which substantive information may be found on each roll of microfilm, form the major part of the guide. Narrative exposition is kept to a minimum, and repetitive information is summarized in introductions to each segment of the papers.

The efforts of a number of people have contributed to the production of this microfilm edition. Deborah K. Neubeck, as project director, edited the microfilm, wrote the guide, and supervised other aspects of the project. Kay L. Rydeen assisted her in organizing the papers and preparing them for filming. They were filmed and developed by Lawrence E. Bloom and printed by Fred Donahue in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts' Microrecording Laboratory. Tracey I. Baker typed targets, checked the film, and assisted in other tasks. Marion Matters edited the guide and arranged for its publication, and Jean Kirby typed the drafts and final copy. Minnesota state archivist Lucile M. Kane contributed her considerable knowledge of the collection's provenance and research use, and offered perspectives on Kellogg himself. Officials of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission--chairman James B. Rhoads, former executive director E. Berkeley Tompkins, former deputy executive director Fred Shelley, and Roger Bruns, present director of its publications program--provided welcome cooperation and encouragement. Thanks are due also to Minnesota Historical Society director Russell W. Fridley and deputy director John J. Wood for their support during all phases of the project.

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The Frank B. Kellogg Papers



Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg in 1925.
Photo by Underwood and Underwood in the col-
lections of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Introduction

THE PERSONAL PAPERS of Frank Billings Kellogg in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society measure thirty-five linear feet and are divided into two groups: correspondence and miscellaneous papers (1890-1942) and twenty-six volumes (1907-1938). The bulk of the collection was generated during Kellogg's years of public service as United States senator from Minnesota (1917-1923), United States ambassador to Great Britain (1923-1925), secretary of state in the cabinet of President Calvin Coolidge (1925-1929), and judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice--the World Court (1930-1935). Besides reflecting the issues and activities associated with these positions, the papers also contain information about Kellogg's participation in Republican party politics on both the national and state levels and, to a lesser extent, about his organizational memberships and activities, business affairs, legal career, and family matters. They consist primarily of correspondence but also include memoranda, drafts and printed versions of speeches and articles, official documents and publications, booklets and leaflets, diplomas and other certificates, loose newspaper and magazine clippings, and clippings scrapbooks.

This microfilm edition of the Kellogg Papers reproduces thirty-four linear feet of records on fifty-four rolls of film. Correspondence and miscellaneous papers are filmed on Rolls 1-51; the volumes, primarily clippings scrapbooks, appear on Rolls 52-54. This represents the entire collection in the possession of the Society with the following exceptions measuring one linear foot: a floor plan of the chauffeur's house at the country estate of Kellogg's law partner, Cordenio A. Severance; two guest books which apparently did not belong to Kellogg; chapter drafts of David Bryn-Jones' authorized biography (see selected bibliography, page 52); a 1940 series of newspaper

articles about the Duke and Duchess of Windsor by Adela Rogers St. John; typed copies of legible, handwritten correspondence; and numerous duplicates. In addition, during preparation of the collection for microfilming, a letterpress book containing copies of letters written in 1898 by Kellogg and Severance to their senior law partner, Senator Cushman Kellogg Davis, was transferred from the Kellogg Papers to the Society's collection of Davis, Kellogg, and Severance law firm records.

The correspondence and miscellaneous papers are arranged and microfilmed in a single chronological sequence, with some exceptions. Undated items are filmed at the beginning of Roll 1. Partially dated items appear before those with specific dates: for example, an item dated [April, 1916] would precede one dated April 1, 1916, and one dated [1916] would precede the rest of the papers for that year. Although an effort was made to date undated items and to check the dates of those questionably or provisionally dated, a thorough study of these items was not possible during the preparation of this microfilm edition. Therefore, the reader is advised to be cautious in using undated items and items whose dates are bracketed. Certain groups of papers, such as those relating to legislation, conferences, or particular events, have sometimes been filed together under a single appropriate date. Typewritten targets identify these groups of papers. Enclosures, no matter what their date(s), have been filed whenever possible immediately after the item(s) with which they were enclosed. Occasionally, as a research aid, a photocopy of an enclosure with a much earlier date than its covering letter is filmed under the earlier date when it contains significant information about, or fills gaps in the documentation of, the earlier period. When this technique is used, the photocopy is accompanied by a statement that identifies it as such and indicates the date under which the original is filmed. When photocopies of documents other than enclosures are filmed under dates different from the originals, they are similarly identified.

The 2-B format has been used in microfilming the manuscripts. A running title beneath each film frame gives the title and publisher of the microfilm edition and the roll and frame numbers. Targets usually identify enclosures, incomplete or defective documents, and the reduction ratio when other than the standard 14 to 1 is used. Although most of the manuscripts are legible, two techniques have been used in an effort to increase the legibility of certain items. Sometimes a manuscript is filmed more than once at different camera settings, with a target indicating an intentional duplicate exposure on the duplicate frame. Also, photocopies of faded carbon copies typed on blue and green paper have been filmed in place of the carbons, because the photocopies produced better film images. When an

item was incorrectly filmed out of sequence within several frames, it was not refilmed. Other items found out of place and inserted into the proper film sequence are identified by a letter following the frame number (as 163A).

This guide to the microfilm edition of the Kellogg Papers provides information about the Society's acquisition of the collection, biographical data on Kellogg, and a description of the content of the papers. It also contains a selected list of authors, a selected bibliography of primary and secondary sources of information on Kellogg, and a list of the contents of the microfilm rolls.

Origin of the Collection

THE COLLECTION of Frank B. Kellogg's personal papers at the Minnesota Historical Society was built up gradually over the years between 1937 and 1974. The papers were secured in some fifteen different accessions, through gift and purchase, from a variety of sources.

The first manuscript to formally become part of the Kellogg Papers reached the Society shortly after Kellogg's death in December, 1937, when Herbert (Lefkowitz) Lewis, editorial director for Northwest Publications (publisher of the *St. Paul Dispatch* and *St. Paul Pioneer Press* newspapers), presented a memorandum he had written describing events and circumstances at the Kellogg home on the evening of Kellogg's death. In 1938 Ira C. Oehler, a St. Paul attorney and a vice-president of the Society, donated several items, including a copy of the Kelloggs' will and a clipping of a memorial article from the *American Bar Association Journal*. In acknowledging this gift, curator of manuscripts Grace Lee Nute wrote Oehler that the manuscripts would be added to the "tiny nucleus" of Kellogg Papers already in the possession of the Society. That same year Mrs. Kellogg added a group of clippings relating to Kellogg's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1929. In accordance with their will, she also arranged to have placed in the Society's care all of Kellogg's diplomas, certificates, awards, commissions, memorials, testimonials, and other ceremonial items. Most of them remained a part of the Society's museum collections until 1962, when they were transferred to the Division of Archives and Manuscripts and placed with the Kellogg Papers; several final items were transferred in 1977. In 1939 a representative of the Ramsey County Bar Association gave materials from the association's files which he felt more properly belonged with the Society's growing collection of Kellogg Papers.

This pattern of small deposits by different individuals continued during the 1940s. In 1942 George W. Morgan, one of Kellogg's law partners, contributed scrapbooks of newspaper and magazine clippings; the following year, on two separate occasions, Kellogg's sister-in-law, Mrs. Francis J. Ottis, deposited Kellogg papers in her possession; and in 1948 Charles J. Moos, Kellogg's campaign manager and long-time political confidant, turned over a summary of Kellogg's senatorial activities which had been compiled from the *Congressional Record* under his direction.

Throughout this period the heart of the present collection--the papers generated, collected, and retained by Kellogg--remained in the offices of Kellogg's law firm and its successors. Nute was aware of the existence of these manuscripts and someday hoped to acquire them, along with the records of the original firm of Davis, Kellogg, and Severance. When she wrote Morgan in 1942 to thank him for the Kellogg scrapbooks, she stated, "You will keep in mind, I know, how much interested we are to secure the whole collection of Kellogg papers when the time comes." That time came in 1950 through the initiative of the law firm, whose members were deeply imbued with the sense of tradition surrounding it and keenly aware of the historical importance of the records in their possession. A partner in the firm contacted Lucile M. Kane, Nute's successor as curator of manuscripts, with the news that the storeroom housing Kellogg's personal papers and the files of the original law firm was soon to be cleared out. He expressed concern for the survival of the records and asked if the Society wished to acquire them. Kane's response was immediate. During the next few days she examined the materials in the storeroom, identified and separated Kellogg's personal papers from the records of the law firm, and arranged for the transfer of both groups of papers to the Society. Additional papers donated by the law firm in 1954 substantially completed the collection.

In the ensuing twenty years three items were purchased by the Society (in 1959 and 1960) and several more were donated (in 1960, 1970, and 1974). The acquisition of individual items will undoubtedly continue as people discover Kellogg materials in their files and, recognizing their potential significance, offer to add them to the Society's still-growing Kellogg collection.

Biographical Sketch

THE BIOGRAPHY of Frank B. Kellogg, as reflected in the chronology below, reads like a classic Horatio Alger story. A poor farm boy who received little formal education, he taught himself the law and became not only one of the nation's foremost corporate lawyers but also one of its leading trust-busters. At the age of sixty, he embarked on a new career of public service which took him to the United States Senate, the Court of St. James, the cabinet of the president of the United States, and the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. He is remembered most often, perhaps, as the statesman who co-authored the Pact of Paris (often referred to as the Kellogg-Briand Pact), whose signatories agreed to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. For this effort in behalf of world peace he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1929.

CHRONOLOGY

A selected list of events in the life of Frank B. Kellogg

- 1856 December 22. Born in Potsdam, St. Lawrence County, New York, the eldest of three children of Asa Farnsworth Kellogg and Abigail Billings Kellogg. Asa Kellogg also had a son by a first marriage.
- 1857 Family moved to Long Lake, Hamilton County, New York.
- 1865 Family moved to a small farm near Viola, Olmsted County, Minnesota.
- 1870 Assumed primary responsibility for working the family farm because of his father's poor health. Could no longer attend school; received no additional formal education.
- 1872 Family moved to a larger farm in Olmsted County near Elgin, Wabasha County, Minnesota.
- 1875 Left the family farm. Moved to Rochester, Olmsted County, Minnesota, to read law in the office of Halftan A. Eckholdt, in exchange for doing chores and errands. Supported himself by working on nearby farms, either for room and board or for a small salary.
- 1877 Admitted to the Minnesota bar. Began to practice law in Rochester.

- 1878 Formed law partnership with Burt W. Eaton, also a self-taught lawyer.
Appointed Rochester city attorney by the city council. A Republican, served until 1881, when defeated for re-election by his Democratic opponent.
- 1881 Elected Olmsted County attorney on the Republican ticket. Served until 1887.
- 1884 In first important legal case, agreed to represent two Wabasha County townships, Plainview and Elgin, in a lawsuit against the Winona and St. Peter Railroad Company. Prior to accepting the case and during the course of the litigation sought the advice of his cousin, Cushman K. Davis, former governor of Minnesota and prominent St. Paul attorney.
- 1886 June 16. Married Clara M. Cook of Rochester. They had no children.
Unsuccessfully sought the Republican nomination for Minnesota attorney general.
Accepted invitation to join the St. Paul law firm of Davis, newly elected U.S. senator from Minnesota, and Cordenio A. Severance.
- 1887 Law firm of Davis, Kellogg, and Severance established with Kellogg as acting head. During the next thirty years the firm became one of the most prominent and successful corporate law firms in the Upper Midwest, representing many powerful companies and individuals. Formed lasting relationships with some of the country's most influential businessmen and politicians.
- 1901 Became senior partner in the law firm after the death of Davis in 1900.
- 1904 Minnesota delegate to the Republican National Convention. Elected Republican national committeeman from Minnesota. Served 1904-1912, [post-1916?]-1920.
U.S. delegate to the Universal Congress of Lawyers and Jurists, held in St. Louis, Missouri.
- 1905 Appointed special assistant attorney general to prosecute the federal government's case against the General Paper Company of Wisconsin and Minnesota (the so-called Western Paper Trust) for alleged violations of the Sherman Antitrust Act. Served until 1906, when the company was

declared illegal and dissolved as a combination in restraint of trade. Received widespread attention in the press as a trust-buster.

- 1906 With Severance, appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt as special counsel to the Interstate Commerce Commission for its investigation of Edward H. Harriman's financial manipulations and railroad consolidations, particularly of the Union Pacific, Southern Pacific, and subsidiary railroads. Served until 1908.

Appointed special assistant attorney general to lead the federal government's prosecution of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey under the Sherman Antitrust Act. Served until 1911.

- 1908 With Severance, appointed special assistant attorney general to prosecute the federal government's suit against the Union Pacific Railroad under the Sherman Antitrust Act. Served until 1912.

Minnesota delegate to the Republican National Convention.

- 1911 U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the government in the Standard Oil case. The so-called Standard Oil Trust ordered dissolved; Kellogg hailed as the nation's number one trust-buster.

- 1912 U.S. Supreme Court decided the Union Pacific case in favor of the government.

Elected president of the American Bar Association for 1912-1913.

Minnesota delegate to the Republican National Convention. Walked out of the convention with the rest of the Minnesota delegation in support of Theodore Roosevelt. Did not join the Progressive party; instead, worked to restore unity in the Republican party.

- 1916 After initially declining to become a candidate, elected to the U.S. Senate on the Republican ticket, the first senator from Minnesota to be elected by popular vote. Served 1917-1923 (65th-67th Congresses). Campaigned on a platform of war preparedness, economy in government, prosecution of the trusts, and tariff reduction. As senator, primarily concerned with issues relating to his committee assignments (Judiciary, Interstate Commerce, National Banks, Public Lands, Joint Committee for Revision of the Federal Statutes, Foreign Relations) and with agriculture.

- 1920 Minnesota delegate to the Republican National Convention.
- 1922 Defeated for re-election to the Senate by Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota Farmer-Labor party candidate.
- 1923 U.S. delegate to the Fifth International Conference of American States, held in Santiago, Chile (appointed in 1922 by President Warren G. Harding).
Briefly rejoined law firm in St. Paul.
Appointed U.S. ambassador to Great Britain by President Coolidge. Served until 1925.
- 1924 While ambassador, served as one of two American delegates to the London Reparation Conference, which negotiated the Dawes Plan to revise the schedule of World War I reparations payments by Germany to the Allies.
- 1925 While ambassador, represented the United States at the Conference of Finance Ministers, held in Paris, which agreed on the distribution of reparations payments by Germany to the Allies.
Assumed the office of secretary of state in Coolidge's cabinet. Served until 1929. Primarily concerned with Latin American problems, including U.S. relations with Mexico and Nicaragua and the Tacna-Arica boundary dispute between Chile and Peru; revision of American policies toward China, particularly with respect to tariffs and extraterritoriality privileges; American relations with Canada and the St. Lawrence waterway project; settlement of World War I debts; disarmament; negotiation of international arbitration and conciliation agreements; U.S. participation in the World Court; and negotiation of the Pact of Paris.
- 1928 August 27. Signed the Pact of Paris in Paris.
- 1929 Rejoined law firm in St. Paul.
- 1930 Elected to a nine-year term as judge of the World Court. Served until 1935, resigning because of ill health.
Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1929 for his work in negotiating the Pact of Paris.
- 1937 December 21. Died in St. Paul.

Description of the Papers - Roll Notes

THE CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS (1890-1942) are filmed on Rolls 1-51. They are described below in five sections, each of which corresponds roughly to a major phase of Kellogg's career:

1890 - 1916. Rolls 1-6(part).

1917 - November, 1923. Rolls 6(part)-10.

December, 1923 - January 5, 1925. Rolls 11-14.

January 6, 1925 - December 10, 1929. Rolls 15-38.

December 11, 1929 - 1942. Rolls 39-51.

The twenty-six volumes (1907-1938) appear on Rolls 52-54 and are described on page 45.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

Each of the five sections of the correspondence and miscellaneous papers is introduced by a brief narrative that summarizes and characterizes the manuscripts for that period, points out any peculiarities, and identifies certain topics and record types occurring throughout which are not specifically noted by microfilm roll. The narrative is followed by roll notes that list in alphabetical order the major subjects documented by the manuscripts filmed on each roll. Descriptive phrases or subheadings beneath the main headings are often used to highlight subtopics of particular interest or to suggest the scope of the main headings; *they should not necessarily be interpreted as either restrictive or all-inclusive.*

Printed and typescript copies of the major speeches by Kellogg that appear in the papers are listed in chronological order following the subject headings for each roll. When a speech constitutes the only significant documentation of a topic, that topic is not reflected in the preceding subject headings. Therefore, researchers should scan the lists of speeches as well as the subject headings for citations to topics in which they are interested.

Personal names seldom appear as subject headings in the roll notes. Researchers wishing to locate information about individuals and organizations should look for related subject headings in the roll notes, examine the narrative descriptions for references to topics and record types not covered in the roll notes, and consult the selected list of authors on pages 46-51.

Because the description of the papers and the author list are necessarily selective, it is possible that a topic is documented in the papers even though it is not referred to--directly or indirectly--in this guide.

1890 - 1916
Rolls 1-6(part)

The manuscripts for the years 1890-1916 are dominated by correspondence and other papers relating to Kellogg's avid interest and involvement in Republican party politics on both the national and state levels, as Minnesota's representative on the Republican National Committee from 1908 to 1912, as a delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1904, 1908, and 1912, and as a candidate for the United States Senate in 1916. They reflect his relationships with such prominent national political figures as Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft.

Most of the papers are for 1916. They focus on the circumstances surrounding Kellogg's agreement to seek the Republican nomination for United States senator and on the primary and general election campaigns.

Scattered throughout the papers for this period and not specifically referred to in the roll notes are items pertaining to Kellogg's law practice, business affairs, professional and other organizational memberships and activities, personal and family matters, and requests for favors, assistance, recommendation, and support.

ROLL 1. Undated and 1890 - April, 1912.

Courts - U.S.

Judges' tenure; reform of procedures.

Elections and Election Campaigns, 1908, 1910, 1912 - Minnesota, U.S.
Kellogg.

Possible U.S. Supreme Court nominee and U.S. senatorial candidate; witness before House of Representatives' Stanley Committee investigating the Steel Trust.

Legislation.

Antitrust; interstate commerce; tariff revision.

National Conservation Congress, St. Paul, 1910.

Impact of Republican party politics.

Political Conditions - Minnesota, U.S.

Presidential Messages to Congress.

Kellogg's suggestions.

Republican National Committee.

Republican National Conventions, 1908, 1912.

Republican Party - U.S.

Party finances; Taft's pursuit of the 1908 presidential nomination; Taft-Roosevelt split; Progressive and Robert M. LaFollette movements; issues such as presidential primaries and campaign contributions from the trusts; Taft's and Roosevelt's visits to Minnesota.

Sherman Antitrust Act.

Application and enforcement; Standard Oil and Union Pacific cases, including Kellogg's role.

Speeches:

"Napoleon and His Times." Undated. Typescript.

[Government Regulation of the Transportation Industry, with Special Emphasis on Railroads]. Undated notes. Typescript.

"Wealth and Its Influence on Civilization." People's Church, St. Paul. Undated. Printed.

[Evolutionary Development of Governments and the Role of Lawyers in the Process]. North Dakota Bar Association, September 18, 1906. Printed.

[Enforcement of the Sherman Antitrust Act]. National Civic Federation Conference, Chicago, October 23, 1907. Printed.

"The Law's Delay." Minnesota Bar Association, Minneapolis, July 14, 1909. Printed.

"Minneapolis Transportation and Its Relation to the Public Welfare." Minneapolis Transportation Club, Minneapolis, February 28, 1910. Typescript.

[Campaign Speech]. Fairmont, Minnesota, November 5, 1910. Typescript.

[Practical Remedies to be Applied to Trusts, Combinations, and Monopolies]. Palimpsest Club, Omaha, September 23, 1911. Printed.

ROLL 2. May, 1912 - 1915.

Courts - U.S.

Judges' tenure; reform of procedures.

Elections and Election Campaigns, 1912, 1914, 1916 - Minnesota, U.S.

Roosevelt's role in congressional elections, 1914; potential presidential candidates and Kellogg as possible senatorial candidate, 1916; Minnesota presidential primary, 1916.

Political Conditions - Minnesota, U.S.

Presidential Primaries.

Republican National Committee.

Campaign contributions from the trusts.

Republican National Convention, 1912, 1916.

Taft-Roosevelt delegate contests and Kellogg as Roosevelt supporter, 1912.

Sherman Antitrust Act.
Standard Oil case.

Speeches:

- "The Judicial Recall." Maryland Bar Association, Cape May, July 3, 1912. Printed.
- "New Nationalism." American Bar Association, Milwaukee, August 28, 1912. Printed.
- [Graduation Address]. Shattuck School, Faribault, Minnesota, June 11, 1913. Printed.
- "Treaty-Making Power." Presidential Address, American Bar Association, Montreal, September [1-3], 1913. Printed.

ROLL 3. January - May 15, 1916.

Elections and Election Campaigns, 1916 - Minnesota.

Kellogg as possible senatorial candidate: his refusal to seek the nomination; support for his candidacy; his eventual consent to become a candidate.

Kellogg's primary election campaign: planning, strategy, arrangements, developments; appearances and speeches; issues such as government expenditures, tariffs, war preparedness, presidential primaries, trusts, agriculture, Kellogg's corporate and legal ties; efforts to obtain public support of prominent politicians; Roosevelt's role; campaign strategy for ethnic and occupational groups; other candidates.

Minnesota presidential primary.

Political Conditions - Minnesota.

Republican National Convention, 1916.

ROLLS 4-5. May 16 - November 20, 1916.

Elections and Election Campaigns, 1916 - Minnesota, U.S.

Kellogg's primary and general election campaigns: planning, preparation, strategy, organization; finances; appearances and speeches; roles of opponents, nationally prominent Republicans, Republican National Committee, Minnesota Republican State Central Committee, Democratic National Committee, National Nonpartisan League; ethnic vote; issues such as war preparedness, railroad rates for grain shipments, prohibition, woman suffrage, Standard Oil case, record of the Woodrow Wilson administration; Kellogg's victory.

Political Conditions - Minnesota, U.S.

Republican National Convention, 1916.

Republican Party - U.S.

Roosevelt's future role.

ROLL 6(part). November 21 - December, 1916.

Materials for 1917 filmed on Roll 6 are described on page 14.

Elections and Election Campaigns, 1916 - Minnesota.

Kellogg's general election campaign; election results; campaign review and analysis.

Kellogg.

As possible member of Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

1917 - November, 1923

Rolls 6(part)-10

Manuscripts documenting Kellogg's term in the United States Senate constitute the bulk of the materials for this period. Unfortunately, they are very fragmentary; when Kellogg left the Senate in 1923 he had most of his senatorial papers destroyed. Apparently, he saved only those items relating to treaties and legislation which he introduced, held hearings on, made speeches about, took a particular interest in, or thought would be useful to his law firm. They consist of correspondence with interested and potentially affected parties, including bill sponsors, organizational and business representatives, and constituents; speech memoranda, drafts, and printed texts; pamphlets and leaflets; congressional publications, including bills and resolutions, transcripts of hearings, and committee prints; and newspaper and magazine articles.

There are documents pertaining to (1) the Colombian Treaty (signed in 1914, ratified in 1921), by which Colombia agreed to recognize the independence of Panama and the United States paid Colombia an indemnity of \$25 million for its loss of Panama during the Panamanian Revolution of 1903 (Kellogg vehemently opposed the treaty on the grounds that it constituted an unwarranted admission of guilt by the United States); (2) the Treaty of Versailles (1919), which Kellogg supported with "reasonable" reservations and amendments; (3) United States participation in the League of Nations; (4) revision of judicial procedures and provisions for additional federal district judges; (5) railroads; (6) the ownership, regulation, and development of domestic and international radio, telephone, and telegraph communications systems, the latter via submarine cables; (7) the protection of aliens residing in the United States and the enforcement of their treaty rights; (8) free passage for American ships through the Panama Canal.

Some correspondence relating to contemporary social, economic, and political issues has also survived, as well as materials concerning Kellogg's campaign for re-election to the United States Senate.

Appearing throughout the papers for this period but not specifically referred to in the roll notes is correspondence pertaining to Kellogg's organizational, professional, civic and business activities; his law firm; his health; vacations; and family matters.

ROLL 6(part). 1917.

Materials for November 21 - December, 1916, filmed on Roll 6 are described on page 13.

"Notes on the Congressional Record of Frank B. Kellogg." Compiled (1936-1937) under the direction of Charles J. Moos. Based on the *Congressional Record* for the 65th-67th Congresses, March 4, 1917 - March 3, 1923.

Colombian Treaty.

Interstate Commerce.

Taxation.

On excess profits during wartime; income.

World War I.

Speeches:

"Amendment of Interstate Commerce Act." U.S. Senate, June 12 and 13, 1917. Printed.

"In Response to Senator LaFollette's Address before That Body upon the Subject of His Speech at the Nonpartisan League Convention in St. Paul on the 20th Day of September, 1917." U.S. Senate, October 6, 1917. Printed.

ROLL 7. 1918 - May 15, 1921.

Agriculture - U.S.

Post-war economic depression.

Colombian Treaty.

Isolationism.

In U.S. foreign policy.

League of Nations.

Legislation.

Radio communications; submarine cables; alien protection and treaty rights; railroads; judicial procedures; additional federal judges; agriculture; presidential primaries; Philippine Islands independence.

Politics - U.S.

1920 elections; Harding's cabinet choices.

Post-War Conditions - Europe, Russia.

Treaty of Versailles.

Speeches:

- "Railroad Control." U.S. Senate, February 13, 1918. Printed.
- "Remarks...on Amendment to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill Providing a Guaranteed Price of \$2.50 Per Bushel for the 1918 Wheat Crop." U.S. Senate, March 18, 1918. Printed.
- "Telegraph and Telephone Control." U.S. Senate, July 11, 1918. Printed.
- "Federal Taxation of State Governmental Instrumentalities." U.S. Senate, October 10, 1918. Printed.
- "League of Nations." U.S. Senate, December 4, 1918. Printed.
- "Price Guarantees of Wheat." U.S. Senate, February 27, 1919. Printed.
- "League of Nations." State-wide Republican Conference, St. Paul, March 7, 1919. Printed, typescript.
- "Treaty-making Power of the League of Nations." U.S. Senate, August 7, 1919. Printed.
- "Combined Remarks...Respecting the So-called Shantung, Fall, and Johnson Amendments to the Covenant for a League of Nations." U.S. Senate, October 16, 17, and 22, 1919. Printed.
- "Railroad Control." U.S. Senate, December 5-6, 1919. Printed.
- "Discussion of League of Nations and Treaty of Peace, Accomplishment of Republican Congress in Reducing Appropriations, Budget System, Repeal of War Legislation, Legislative Enactments by Republican Congress, Constitution of the United States." [Constitution Day Speech], St. Cloud, Minnesota, September 17, 1920. Printed.
- "Association of Producers of Agricultural Products." U.S. Senate, December 15, 1920. Printed.
- "Treaty with Colombia." U.S. Senate, April 13, 1921. Printed; also typescript filed April 5, 1921.
- "Submarine Cables." U.S. Senate, April 26, 1921. Printed.
- "Emergency Tariff." U.S. Senate, May 11, 1921. Printed.

ROLL 8. May 16, 1921 - March, 1922.

Conference on Radio Telephony (sponsored by Department of Commerce).
Elections and Election Campaigns, 1922 - Minnesota.

Kellogg's decision to seek re-election; campaign planning and financing.

Legislation.

Radio communications; submarine cables; alien protection and treaty rights; Panama Canal tolls; income tax; railroads; judicial procedures; additional federal judges; agriculture.
Post-War Conditions - Europe, Russia.

Speeches:

"Treaty of Peace with Germany." U.S. Senate, September 28, 1921. Printed.

"The Four-Power Treaty." U.S. Senate, March 7, 1922. Printed.

ROLL 9. April - July, 1922.

Colombian Treaty.

Conference on Radio Telephony.

Economic Conditions - Minnesota, U.S.

Elections and Election Campaigns, 1922 - Minnesota.

Kellogg's renomination and primary campaign.

Legislation.

Radio communications; submarine cables; additional federal judges.

Political Conditions - Minnesota, U.S.

Radicalism - Minnesota, U.S.

LaFollette; National Nonpartisan League; socialists.

Reparation and War Claims Commissions.

U.S. representation.

Submarine Cable Landing Licenses.

Western Union Telegraph Company's and Commercial Cable Company's efforts to obtain, including Kellogg's role.

ROLL 10. August, 1922 - November, 1923.

Economic Conditions - U.S.

Agriculture; railroad strike.

Elections and Election Campaigns, 1922 - Minnesota.

Kellogg's defeat.

Kellogg.

Representative to Fifth International Conference of American States; appointment as U.S. ambassador to Great Britain.

Legislation.

Radio communications; alien protection and treaty rights; judicial procedures.

Political Conditions - U.S.

Radicalism - U.S.

Reparation and War Claims Commissions.

U.S. representation.

Submarine Cable Landing Licenses.

Western Union Telegraph Company's and Commercial Cable Company's efforts to obtain, including Kellogg's role.

Speech:

"Agriculture and Problems of Today." Walnut Grove, Minnesota, August 11, 1922. Printed.

December, 1923 - January 5, 1925

Rolls 11-14

Kellogg felt that his post as ambassador to Great Britain afforded him "exceptional opportunities to get all the inside information" about the social, economic, political, military, and diplomatic aspects of the European scene. He passed on the information he gathered to the State Department and to United States embassies in both official and unofficial dispatches. Although the Kellogg Papers contain no official dispatches, there are letters--marked "personal" and/or "confidential"--to and from Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes and American diplomats stationed in Europe. They record the writers' impressions, analyses, and opinions of public events and private conversations relating to contemporary issues, conditions, and developments in Great Britain and continental Europe.

Kellogg's letters to his friends and political confidants in the United States contain the same types of information, as well as descriptions of official functions and social events, references to his duties and responsibilities, and reflections on being an ambassador and a public servant. They also express his intense interest in the American elections of 1924 and his concern about the dangers of socialism, communism, and other radical movements. His American correspondents kept him abreast of national and local political developments in the United States.

The one diplomatic issue that commanded much of Kellogg's attention while he was in Great Britain was the revision of the schedule of World War I reparations payments by Germany to the Allies as proposed by the Dawes Plan. The terms of the plan were negotiated during July and August, 1924, at the London Reparation Conference which was held in London (the Inter-Allied Conference) and in Paris (the International Conference). Distribution of the reparations payments among the Allies was agreed upon at the Conference of Finance Ministers held in Paris in January, 1925. Kellogg attended the conferences as one of two American delegates, and he discusses them and the reparations question in general frequently in his letters. Official documents of the London Reparation Conference are filed together under the date of July 16, 1924.

Much of the correspondence for this period deals with the semi-official and social aspects of Kellogg's ambassadorial responsibilities which, in fact, occupied much of his time. It concerns invitations to social events, letters of introduction, and requests for presentation at court and other favors. These materials are not specifically referred to in the roll notes nor is the correspondence pertaining to Kellogg's personal, financial, and legal affairs, which were handled by his St. Paul

law office, and to the activities of the organizations in which he retained membership.

ROLL 11. December, 1923 - June 10, 1924.

Economic Conditions - Minnesota, U.S.

Europe.

Conditions in, especially France, Germany, Italy, Eastern Europe.

Great Britain.

Political conditions and developments; foreign policy; reparations question; relations with Russia (recognition, trade relations, World War I debt settlement, Anglo-Soviet Conference meeting in London).

Kellogg.

Ambassadorial appointment.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

Teapot-Dome scandal and Senate investigations of other scandals; Republican party; 1924 elections.

Radicalism - Europe, U.S.

Reparations.

Dawes Plan, including reports of the Reparation Commission Committee of Experts.

World Court.

U.S. participation.

ROLL 12. June 11 - July 16, 1924; London Reparation Conference Documents, July - August, 1924.

London Reparation Conference.

Correspondence; official documents (lists of delegations, notices and agendas, official proceedings, final protocol, minutes of plenary sessions).

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

Reparations.

Dawes Plan; Reparation Commission, including role of U.S.; German loan, including role of J. P. Morgan and Company.

World Court.

U.S. participation.

ROLL 13. London Reparation Conference Documents, July - August, 1924 (continued); July 17 - August 25, 1924.

London Reparation Conference.

Official documents (minutes of heads of delegations' meetings, documents of plenary sessions and heads of delegations' meetings, committee records); memoranda; speeches; correspondence.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

Republican National Convention; 1924 elections.

Reparations.

Dawes Plan; German loan, including role of J. P. Morgan and Company and appointment of agents.

ROLL 14. August 26, 1924 - January 5, 1925.

Allied War Debts.

Proposed cancellation.

Conference of Finance Ministers.

Economic Conditions - U.S.

Europe.

Conditions in.

Great Britain.

Conditions in; World War I debts.

Kellogg.

Selection as secretary of state.

League of Nations.

Geneva Protocol of 1924.

London Reparation Conference.

Mandate Treaties - Middle East Nations.

Middle East and Far East.

Conditions in.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

1924 elections; role of "radicals," such as LaFollette and the National Nonpartisan League, and ethnic and other interest groups in Minnesota campaign.

Radicalism - Europe, U.S.

Reparations.

Dawes Plan; Reparation Commission; German loan.

Russia.

Conditions in.

January 6, 1925 - December 10, 1929

Rolls 15-38

The papers in this collection that were generated during Kellogg's tenure as secretary of state consist almost exclusively of his personal correspondence files. They are particularly valuable for the unofficial discussions they offer about the dominant concerns of American foreign policy during the period, for the insights they provide into the formulation, development, and execution of that policy, and for the light they shed on international relations and the conduct of foreign affairs. This is especially true when they are used in conjunction with the official records in the files of the Department of State (see selected bibliography, page 52). They also provide commentary

on contemporary domestic social, economic, and political conditions, issues, and events. In addition to correspondence, there are memoranda and working papers, drafts and printed texts of speeches, diplomas and other certificates, and printed materials of various kinds. There are also some official documents. It should be noted that Kellogg did not write all of the letters and other documents that carry his signature; many were apparently written by his secretary and by other State Department personnel.

The papers reveal that as secretary of state Kellogg was often concerned with Latin American problems, including United States relations with Mexico in the face of the Mexican government's determination to reduce foreign ownership of its land and natural resources and to curtail the power of the Catholic church; the mediation of the Tacna-Arica boundary dispute between Chile and Peru and the Chaco boundary dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay; and the civil war in Nicaragua. They also document his involvement in the revision and reform of American policies toward China, particularly with respect to tariffs and extraterritoriality privileges; in the establishment of formal diplomatic relations with Canada; and in negotiations regarding the St. Lawrence waterway project. His other major concerns, as revealed in the papers, included the settlement of Allied war debts and German reparations payments; negotiation of, and United States participation in, international agreements and conferences dealing with arbitration, conciliation, and disarmament (arms limitation and reduction); United States participation in the World Court; and negotiation of the Pact of Paris.

"Routine" correspondence--the bulk of the papers for this period--is not specifically referred to in the roll notes. It includes numerous requests: for personal favors and assistance, for endorsement of organizations and causes, for statements of opinion, for interviews, and for biographical information, autographs, and photographs. There are many invitations to appear as a speaker or honored guest, as well as congratulatory notes and other greetings. There are also letters written in behalf of candidates for appointive office, and letters enclosing literature of various kinds.

In addition, certain topics appear frequently but are seldom specifically noted: the organization and operation of the State Department; departmental and diplomatic appointments, promotions, and personnel; Kellogg's feelings about his work and career; his receipt of academic degrees and other honors; the activities of the organizations in which he held membership or retained an interest; his health; and financial, business, legal, and family matters.

Three groups of documents dating from this period appear as enclosures to letters filmed on Rolls 47 and 48 under the dates of May 8, 1933, May 9, 1933, and February 7, 1934. They relate, respectively, to the negotiation of the Pact of Paris (1928-1929); to United States efforts to secure ratification of the 1922 Colombian-Peruvian boundary treaty (1925-1927); and to Mexican affairs (1926-1929).

ROLL 15. January 6 - March 5, 1925.

Communism.

Communist propaganda activities in U.S.

Far East.

Conditions in; relations between China, Japan, and Russia.

Isolationism.

Versus internationalism in U.S. foreign policy.

Kellogg.

Appointment as secretary of state.

Latin America.

U.S. relations with.

League of Nations.

U.S. participation.

Reparations.

Conference of Finance Ministers; London Reparation Conference; Dawes Plan.

Russia.

Russo-American relations; U.S. recognition; relations with China and Japan; internal affairs.

Tacna-Arica Boundary Dispute.

Arbitration; plebiscite.

ROLL 16. March 6 - September 10, 1925.

Allied War Debts.

World War Foreign Debt Commission.

Arbitration.

Geneva Protocol of 1924.

China.

Civil war; Shanghai incident; U.S. policy toward; tariff treaties; extraterritoriality privileges; Special Conference on the Chinese Customs Tariff; Commission on Extraterritoriality.

Disarmament.

Conference for the Supervision of International Traffic in Arms.

Japan.

Conditions in.

Mexico.

Conditions in; U.S. policy toward; rights of American property owners; role of U.S. ambassador.

Politics - Minnesota.

Radicalism.

Russia.

U.S. policy toward; U.S. recognition; Russo-American trade relations.

Tacna-Arica Boundary Dispute.

Plebiscite; Plebiscitary Commission and Special Boundary Commission appointments.

World Court.

ROLL 17. September 11, 1925 - January 10, 1926.

Allied War Debts.

China.

U.S. policy toward; tariff treaties; extraterritoriality privileges; Special Conference on the Chinese Customs Tariff; Commission on Extraterritoriality.

Communism.

Communist propaganda activities in U.S. and elsewhere; U.S. denial of entry visas to Communists and other revolutionaries and radicals.

Disarmament.

Land; naval; Preparatory Commission for the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

Isolationism.

Versus internationalism in U.S. foreign policy.

Latin America.

U.S. relations with; role of League of Nations.

Locarno Conference and Treaties of 1925.

Mexico.

Alien land and petroleum laws; U.S. policy toward.

Russia.

U.S. policy toward; U.S. recognition; Russo-American trade relations.

State of the Union Message.

Kellogg's suggestions for foreign relations section.

Tacna-Arica Boundary Dispute.

Plebiscite; Plebiscitary Commission deliberations; diplomatic negotiations.

World Court.

Senate consideration of U.S. adherence.

Speeches:

"Some Foreign Policies of the United States." Council on Foreign Relations, New York City, December 14, 1925. Printed.
"Notes for a Speech." [1926?]. Typescript.

ROLL 18. January 11 - February, 1926.

Allied War Debts.

China.

Conditions in; tariff treaties; extraterritoriality privileges; Special Conference on the Chinese Customs Tariff.

Disarmament.

Preparatory Commission for the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

Hague Tribunal (Permanent Court of Arbitration).

U.S. representation.

Italy.

Political conditions; government policy toward certain Protestant churches.

Lausanne Treaty of 1923.

Mexico.

Alien land and petroleum laws; negotiations concerning protection of rights of American property owners; publication of government notes exchanged during negotiations.

St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

Tacna-Arica Boundary Dispute.

Plebiscite; Plebiscitary Commission deliberations; diplomatic negotiations; U.S. mediation offer.

World Court.

Senate consideration of U.S. adherence.

ROLL 19. March - April 25, 1926.

China.

Senate investigation of Special Conference on the Chinese Customs Tariff.

Disarmament.

Preparatory Commission for the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

Mexico.

Alien land and petroleum laws; negotiations concerning rights of American property owners; publication of government notes exchanged during negotiations; expulsion of American Catholic nuns.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

1926 elections.

Russia.

Flotation of loans for in U.S.

Tacna-Arica Boundary Dispute.

Plebiscite; Plebiscitary Commission deliberations; diplomatic negotiations; State Department mediation efforts.

World Court.

Senate passage of U.S. adherence, with reservations.

Speech:

"Some Objectives of American Foreign Policy." Associated Press, New York City, April 20, 1926. Printed.

ROLL 20. April 26 - June, 1926.

Allied War Debts.

Senate consideration of French and Belgian settlements.
Great Britain.

Americans' World War I claims against government.

Lausanne Treaty of 1923.

Senate consideration.

Mexico.

Alien land and petroleum laws; U.S. position on rights of American property owners; publication of government notes exchanged during negotiations.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

Republican party; 1926 elections.

Sesquicentennial Celebrations - U.S.

Tacna-Arica Boundary Dispute.

Termination of the plebiscite; Plebiscitary Commission deliberations; State Department mediation efforts.

ROLL 21. July - September 15, 1926.

Allied War Debts.

French settlement, including Senate consideration.

Disarmament.

Naval.

Europe.

Conditions in, especially France, Italy.

Hague Tribunal.

U.S. vacancies.

Mexico.

Anti-clerical legislation and actions; expulsion of apostolic delegate; role of U.S. government and ambassador; General Claims Commission and Special (Revolutionary) Claims Commission; convention to prevent smuggling between the U.S. and Mexico.

Nicaragua.

Conditions in.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

1926 elections.

Tacna-Arica Boundary Dispute.

ROLL 22. September 16 - November 10, 1926.

Allied War Debts.

China.

Conditions in; U.S. policy toward; Special Conference on the Chinese Customs Tariff; Commission on Extraterritoriality.

Disarmament.

Proposed conference for the limitation of naval armament.

Europe.
 Anti-American feelings.
Hague Tribunal.
 U.S. vacancies.
Italy.
 Political conditions.
Mexico.
 Conditions in; Mexican-American relations.
Nicaragua.
 Conditions in.
Politics - Minnesota, U.S.
 1926 elections; Kellogg's campaign activities, positions,
 opinions.
Russia.
 U.S. policy toward; U.S. recognition.
Sixth International Conference of American States, 1928.
Tacna-Arica Boundary Dispute.
World Court.
 U.S. adherence.

ROLL 23. November 11 - December, 1926.

Canada.
 Establishment of Canadian-American diplomatic relations.
Lausanne Treaty of 1923.
Mexico.
 Involvement in Nicaraguan conflict.
Nicaragua.
 Conditions in; Mexico's role in civil war; U.S. policy toward.
Politics - Minnesota.
 1926 elections; role of National Nonpartisan League and
 Minnesota Farmer-Labor party.
Politics - U.S.
 1928 presidential candidates, including Coolidge's
 re-election intentions.
State of the Union Message.
 Kellogg's summary of State Department activities and U.S.
 foreign relations.
Tacna-Arica Boundary Dispute.

ROLL 24. January - February 25, 1927.

Agriculture - Minnesota, U.S.
 McNary-Haugen bill.
Canada.
 Establishment of Canadian-American diplomatic relations;
 U.S. ambassadorial appointment.

China.

Conditions in; Hankow incident; Russia's intervention in civil war; U.S. policy toward; tariff autonomy; extraterritoriality privileges.

Communism.

U.S. denial of entry visas to Communists.

Disarmament.

Proposed conference for the limitation of naval armament; Preparatory Commission for the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

Japan.

Conditions in.

Kellogg.

Resignation rumors.

Latin America.

Communist aims and activities.

Lausanne Treaty of 1923.

Mexico.

Role in Nicaraguan civil war; U.S. policy toward; arbitration of land and petroleum laws dispute; Communist aims and activities.

Nicaragua.

Conditions in; Mexico's role in civil war; U.S. policy toward, including arms embargo, protection of American interests; Kellogg's Senate Foreign Relations Committee testimony.

Pact of Paris.

Politics - U.S.

Coolidge's re-election intentions.

St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

Turkey.

Conditions in.

ROLL 25. February 26 - May 10, 1927.

Agriculture - Minnesota, U.S.

Canada.

Membership in Pan American Union.

China.

Conditions in; Russia's intervention in civil war; Nanking incident; U.S. policy toward; tariff and extraterritoriality negotiations.

Communism.

Disarmament.

Preparatory Commission for the Geneva Disarmament Conference; Three-Power Conference at Geneva for the Limitation of Naval Armament.

Europe.

Conditions in.

France.

Conditions in; Franco-German relations.

Germany.

Reparations payments under Dawes Plan; relations with France and Russia.

Great Britain.

Americans' World War I claims against government; relations with U.S. and Russia.

Kellogg.

Resignation rumors.

Latin America.

Communist aims and activities.

Mexico.

Conditions in; U.S. policy toward; Mexican-American relations.

Nicaragua.

Conditions in; U.S. policy toward; Nicaraguan-American relations.

Pact of Paris.

Aristide Briand's proposal.

Sixth International Conference of American States.

Third Pan American Commercial Conference.

ROLL 26. May 11 - July 5, 1927.

China.

Civil war; Nanking incident; U.S. policy toward.

Communism.

U.S. denial of entry visas to Communists.

Disarmament.

Three-Power Conference at Geneva for the Limitation of Naval Armament.

France.

Conditions in; Franco-American relations.

Germany.

Reparations payments.

Lindbergh, Charles A.

Trans-Atlantic flight.

Mexico.

Nicaragua.

Henry L. Stimson's diplomatic mission.

Pact of Paris.

State Department reaction to Briand's proposal; negotiations; U.S. peace groups' campaign for.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Politics - Minnesota.

Russia.

U.S. policy toward; U.S. recognition.

Sacco-Vanzetti Case.

St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

Sixth International Conference of American States.

ROLL 27. July 6 - August 20, 1927.

Agriculture - Minnesota, U.S.

McNary-Haugen bill.

Canada.

Kellogg's attendance at Peace Bridge dedication.

China.

Civil war; U.S. policy toward.

Disarmament.

Three-Power Conference at Geneva for the Limitation of Naval Armament.

Eastern Europe.

Conditions in.

Great Britain.

Anglo-American relations.

Hague Tribunal.

U.S. vacancy.

Immigration Restriction - U.S.

Mexico.

Mexican-American relations; General Claims Commission treaty; U.S. ambassadorial appointment.

Pact of Paris.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

Coolidge's withdrawal as 1928 presidential candidate.

Russia.

Sacco-Vanzetti Case.

St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

Sixth International Conference of American States.

ROLL 28. August 21 - October, 1927.

Agriculture - Minnesota.

Canada.

Canadian-American relations.

Chaco Boundary Dispute.

China.

France.

Franco-American tariff treaty.

Mexico.

U.S. ambassadorial appointment; Dwight W. Morrow's diplomatic mission.

Nicaragua.

Pact of Paris.

Public support for in U.S.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association; Coolidge's withdrawal as 1928 presidential candidate.

Radicalism - U.S.

Russia.

Russo-American relations.

Sacco-Vanzetti Case.

St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

Sixth International Conference of American States.

State of the Union Message.

Kellogg's summary of State Department activities and U.S. foreign relations.

Tacna-Arica Boundary Dispute.

ROLL 29. November - December 20, 1927.

Arbitration.

Expiration and renewal of Root arbitration treaties, including Franco-American treaty.

Canada.

Canadian-American relations; diplomatic visits.

Mexico.

Mexican-American relations; U.S. policy toward; land, petroleum, and religious issues.

St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

Sixth International Conference of American States.

Tacna-Arica Boundary Dispute.

ROLL 30. December 21, 1927 - February 20, 1928.

Arbitration and Conciliation.

Root arbitration treaties, including Franco-American treaty; International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration.

Canada.

Membership in Pan American Union; Canadian-American relations; Kellogg's visit.

Chile.

Chilean-American relations.

Disarmament.

Naval.

Immigration Restriction - U.S.

Mexico.

Nicaragua.

Senate investigation of Nicaraguan affairs.

Pact of Paris.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

1928 elections.

St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

Sixth International Conference of American States.

Kellogg's and Coolidge's attendance.

ROLL 31. February 21 - April 25, 1928.

Agriculture - U.S.

McNary-Haugen bill.

Arbitration and Conciliation.

Root arbitration treaties; International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration.

Canada.

Canadian-American relations.

China.

Civil war; Nanking incident of 1927.

Disarmament.

Naval.

Great Britain.

Anglo-American relations.

Immigration Restriction - U.S.

Ireland.

Proposed Kellogg visit.

Latin America.

U.S. policy toward, relations with; Communist activities.

Mexico.

Morrow's diplomatic mission.

Neutrality - U.S.

Nicaragua.

U.S. policy toward; presence of U.S. Marines.

Pact of Paris.

Negotiations; U.S. position; analysis and interpretation; in relation to Locarno Treaties and League of Nations; support for in U.S.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

1928 elections; Republican party.

St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

Sixth International Conference of American States.

Speech:

"The War Prevention Policy of the United States." Council on Foreign Relations, New York City, March 15, 1928. Printed.

ROLL 32. April 26 - June 20, 1928.

Arbitration and Conciliation.

Root arbitration treaties; International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration.

China.

Conditions in; U.S. policy toward; Sino-Japanese relations.

Hague Tribunal.

U.S. vacancy.

Ireland.
Proposed Kellogg visit.
Kellogg.
Possible Nobel Peace Prize nominee.
Pact of Paris.
Negotiations; U.S. acceptance; support for in U.S. and Europe;
analysis and interpretation; in relation to Locarno Treaties.
Politics - Minnesota.
1928 primary elections; Kellogg's role in campaign.
Politics - U.S.
1928 elections; Republican presidential nomination; Republi-
can party platform development, including Kellogg's role.
St. Lawrence Waterway Project.
World Court.
U.S. vacancy.

Speech:

"The French Draft of the Multilateral Treaty for the Renun-
ciation of War: Excerpt from an Address." American Society
of International Law, Washington, D.C., April 28, 1928. Printed.

ROLL 33. June 21 - August 10, 1928.

China.
Civil war; U.S. policy toward; Sino-American relations;
Sino-American tariff treaty; extraterritoriality privileges.
Disarmament.
Naval, including U.S. response to Franco-British plan.
Great Britain.
Ireland.
Proposed Kellogg visit.
Mexico.
Conditions in; Morrow's diplomatic mission; Mexican-
American relations.
Nicaragua.
Conditions in.
Pact of Paris.
Negotiations; U.S. acceptance; other nations' ratification
intentions; campaigns for and against in U.S.; analysis,
interpretation, criticism, defense; in relation to Monroe
Doctrine.
Peace Movement - U.S.
Peace groups' campaign for Pact of Paris.
Politics - Minnesota, U.S.
1928 elections; Republican presidential candidates; Kellogg's
campaign activities; agricultural issues.
St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

Tacna-Arica Boundary Dispute.
Renewal of diplomatic negotiations.
World Court.
U.S. vacancy.

ROLL 34. August 11 - September 25, 1928.

China.
U.S. policy toward; Senate consideration of Sino-American tariff treaty.

Disarmament.
Naval, including U.S. response to Franco-British plan.

Ireland.
Kellogg's visit.

Mexico.
Conditions in; U.S. policy toward.

Pact of Paris.
Signing; ratification intentions; commemorative activities in U.S.; inquiries and requests for information; analysis and interpretation; in relation to Monroe Doctrine; as a political campaign issue in U.S.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.
1928 elections; Kellogg's campaign activities.

St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

Women's Rights.
Proposed international treaty.

ROLL 35. September 26 - November 15, 1928.

Arbitration and Conciliation.
International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration.

Canada.
Possible presidential visit.

Disarmament.
Naval, including U.S. response to Franco-British plan.

Pact of Paris.
Inquiries and requests for information; support for U.S. ratification; explanation, analysis, interpretation.

Peace Movement - U.S.
Peace groups' activities relating to Pact of Paris.

Politics - U.S.
1928 elections; Kellogg's and others' campaign activities; agricultural and religious issues in presidential campaign.

St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

State Department.
Kellogg's review of matters pending in relation to China, Mexico, Nicaragua, Tacna-Arica boundary dispute, arbitration treaties, disarmament, Pact of Paris.

State of the Union Message and Presidential [Armistice Day?] Address.
Kellogg's suggestions.

Speeches:

[Campaign Speech on Behalf of the Republican Administration].
Ramsey County Women's Republican Club, St. Paul, October 17,
1928. Typescript.

"The Settlement of International Controversies by Pacific
Means." World Alliance for International Friendship, New
York City, November 11, 1928. Printed.

ROLL 36. November 16, 1928 - January 10, 1929.

Arbitration and Conciliation.

Root arbitration treaties; International Conference of
American States on Conciliation and Arbitration.

Canada.

Canadian-American relations; possible presidential visit.

Chaco Boundary Dispute.

U.S. mediation role.

Disarmament.

Naval, including U.S. position.

Kellogg.

Possible Nobel Peace Prize nominee.

Mexico.

Senate investigation of Mexican affairs.

Pact of Paris.

Explanation, analysis, interpretation; in relation to Monroe
Doctrine and military appropriations; Senate consideration;
Kellogg's Senate testimony; campaigns for and against U.S.
ratification.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Peace groups' activities relating to Pact of Paris.

Reparation Commission.

St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

State of the Union Message.

Kellogg's suggestions.

World Court.

Renewal of efforts for U.S. adherence.

ROLL 37. January 11 - February, 1929.

Kellogg.

Retirement preparations.

Mexico.

Senate investigation of Mexican affairs.

Monroe Doctrine.

Clark Memorandum; Kellogg's diplomatic note.

Pact of Paris.

Opposition to U.S. ratification; Senate debate and ratification; in relation to Monroe Doctrine; ratifications by other nations.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Activities honoring Kellogg and Pact of Paris.

World Court.

Renewal of efforts for U.S. adherence.

Speech:

"Remarks of the Honorable Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State, at the Tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the Foreign Service School of George Washington University, Washington, D.C." February 18, 1929. Typescript.

ROLL 38. March - December 10, 1929.

Allied War Debts.

U.S. position.

Arbitration and Conciliation.

Treaties and conventions; General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration of 1929.

Chaco Boundary Dispute.

Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation.

Disarmament.

Naval; Preparatory Commission for the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

Great Britain.

Anglo-American relations.

Kellogg.

Conclusion of term as secretary of state; Nobel Peace Prize nominee.

Latin America.

Pan-Americanism.

Mexico.

Conditions in; U.S. policy toward.

Pact of Paris.

Ratifications.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Reparations.

U.S. position; Reparation Commission.

State Department.

Kellogg's summary of matters pending in relation to Mexico, Tacna-Arica and Chaco boundary disputes, Allied war debts and reparations payments, disarmament, tariff legislation, Pact of Paris, treaties.

World Court.

Elihu Root's formula for U.S. adherence.

Speeches:

[Radio Address Delivered on Flag Day under the Auspices of the American Legion and the American Peace Society].

June 14, 1929. Typescript.

[Address to Harvard University Alumni]. Boston, June 20, 1929. Typescript.

[Radio Address on the Anniversary of the Signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact]. August 27, 1929. Typescript.

"Speech of the Honorable Frank B. Kellogg before the Pilgrims." London, November 22, 1929. Typescript.

December 11, 1929 - 1942

Rolls 39-51

The manuscripts documenting Kellogg's years as judge of the World Court and elder statesman reflect his enduring interest and involvement in foreign affairs, politics, and civic activities. Although some new topics are introduced in this section of the papers, many of the themes established in the earlier sections are further articulated and developed. Between 1930 and 1935 there are many items, including some official papers, relating to Kellogg's work on the World Court. Papers for the period following his death in 1937 contain memorials, tributes, and sympathy letters and correspondence relating to his estate, to the installation of a memorial window in the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C., and to Mrs. Kellogg.

The topics and record types appearing throughout this period that in general are not specifically referred to in the roll notes are also similar to those of the earlier sections. They include congratulatory and other greetings, as well as numerous requests for favors and assistance, endorsements, interviews, articles, speeches, appearances, views and opinions, autographs, and biographical information. There are materials that reveal Kellogg's feelings about his work on the World Court and his public service career and that relate to the writing of his biography and the painting of his portrait. Also documented are his receipt of honorary degrees; his organizational and fund-raising activities; his financial, business, legal, and family matters; and his health.

ROLL 39. December 11, 1929 - March, 1930.

Arbitration and Conciliation.

Agreements; General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration of 1929.

Chaco Boundary Dispute.

Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation.

China.

Conditions in.

Depression, 1929 - Europe, U.S.

Economic conditions; taxation.

Disarmament.

Land; naval; London Five-Power Naval Conference.

Europe.

Conditions in.

Immigration Restriction - U.S.

Japan.

Conditions in.

Kellogg.

Campaign on behalf of for Nobel Peace Prize.

League of Nations.

Pact of Paris.

Negotiation; analysis and interpretation.

Peace.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Activities honoring Kellogg.

Radicalism.

Russia.

U.S. policy toward.

War.

Possibility of.

World Court.

U.S. adherence, representation.

Speeches:

[Address to the Peace Meeting Held under the Auspices of the Zurah Temple]. Minneapolis, December 27, 1929. Typescript.
"The United States and the Outlook for World Peace." League for Political Education, New York City, March 28, 1930.
Printed, typescript.

ROLL 40. April - August, 1930.

Arbitration and Conciliation.

General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration of 1929.

China.

Depression, 1929 - Europe, U.S.

Economic conditions.

Disarmament.

Naval; Treaty for the Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament of 1930.

Foreign Service - U.S.

Latin America.

U.S. relations with.

League of Nations.

Monroe Doctrine.

Clark Memorandum of 1928; Kellogg's diplomatic note of 1929.

Pact of Paris.

Ratifications; analysis and interpretation.

Peace.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Activities honoring Kellogg.

Politics - U.S.

Tariffs - U.S.

Congressional legislation.

World Court.

U.S. adherence; nomination of Kellogg as judge; functions.

Speeches:

"World Peace and the World Court." Chicago Bar Association, April 4, 1930. Typescript filed as an enclosure to April 21, 1930.

"The World Court." University of Minnesota Law School, Minneapolis, April 30, 1930. Printed.

[Address to Be Delivered to the Alumni Association of Brown University on June 16, 1930]. Providence, Rhode Island. Typescripts filed May 26 and June 10, 1930.

ROLL 41. September - December 15, 1930.

Depression, 1929 - U.S.

Economic conditions; bank failures; stock market.

Disarmament.

Foreign Service - U.S.

Kellogg.

Recipient of Nobel Peace Prize for 1929.

Pact of Paris.

Negotiation; ratifications; analysis and interpretation; role of League of Nations.

Peace.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

1930 elections.

Tacna-Arica Boundary Dispute.

Tariffs - U.S.

Congressional legislation.

World Court.

Nomination of Kellogg as judge; U.S. adherence, including campaign for; Root formula; cases; functions.

Speech:

"Speech of Mr. Kellogg Made at Oslo, Norway, on Receiving the Nobel Peace Prize." December 10, 1930. Typescript.

ROLL 42. December 16, 1930 - March, 1931.

Depression, 1929 - Europe, U.S.

Economic conditions; government spending policy.

Disarmament.

Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments (Geneva Disarmament Conference).

Drought - U.S.

Red Cross relief campaign, including Kellogg's role.

Europe.

Political conditions.

Germany.

Political conditions.

Immigration - U.S.

Canadian.

Pact of Paris.

Negotiation; ratifications; analysis and interpretation.

Peace Movement - U.S.

St. Lawrence Waterway Project.

World Court.

U.S. adherence, including campaign for and Senate consideration of; Root formula; cases; rules; functions.

Speeches:

"The Briand-Kellogg Pact - Its Origin and Its Nature." [1931?]. Typescript.

"Address by Honorable Frank B. Kellogg, Minnesota's World Citizen, at the Minnesota Editorial Association Banquet." January 23, 1931. Typescript.

ROLL 43. April - October 5, 1931.

Allied War Debts.

Proposed cancellation.

Communism.

Depression, 1929 - Europe, U.S.

Economic conditions; taxation.

Disarmament.

Naval; Preparatory Commission for the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

Europe.

Political conditions.

Isolationism.

In U.S. foreign policy.

Manchuria.

Japanese invasion.

Military Appropriations - U.S.

Naval.

Pact of Paris.

Negotiation; ratifications, including Kellogg's role.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Reparations.

Proposed moratorium.

Russia.

U.S. recognition; conditions in; Five-Year Plan.

State Department.

Appointments.

World Court.

Campaign for U.S. adherence; cases; rules; functions.

ROLL 44. October 6 - December, 1931.

Depression, 1929 - Europe, U.S.

Economic conditions; causes; remedies; relief efforts; government spending and taxation policies.

Disarmament.

Land; naval; Geneva Disarmament Conference.

Hague Tribunal.

U.S. vacancy.

Manchuria.

Sino-Japanese conflict, including negotiations, role of U.S. and League of Nations.

Military Appropriations - U.S.

Naval.

Pact of Paris.

Negotiation; ratifications; analysis and interpretation; in relation to Manchurian crisis.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Politics - U.S.

Russia.

Five-Year Plan.

War.

Possibility of; results.

World Court.

Campaigns for and against U.S. adherence; cases; rules; functions.

ROLL 45. January - June 15, 1932.

Allied War Debts.

Depression, 1929 - Europe, U.S.

Economic conditions; unemployment; remedies; relief efforts; government spending and taxation policies.

Disarmament.

Geneva Disarmament Conference, including Kellogg's refusal to serve as head of U.S. delegation.

Germany.

American bank loans made during Coolidge administration.

Manchuria.

Sino-Japanese conflict.

Monroe Doctrine.

Clark Memorandum of 1928; Kellogg's diplomatic note of 1929.

Pact of Paris.

Ratifications; analysis and interpretation; in relation to Manchurian and Shanghai crises.

Peace.

Prospects for.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

Republican party, including role of women and national and state conventions; 1932 elections.

Railroads - U.S.

Financial condition of.

Shanghai.

Japanese attack.

State Department.

Appointments.

War.

Possibility of; causes; results.

World Court.

Senate consideration of U.S. adherence; cases.

ROLL 46. June 16 - November 20, 1932.

Chaco Boundary Dispute.

Depression, 1929 - Europe, U.S.

Economic conditions; taxation.

Disarmament.

Naval; Geneva Disarmament Conference.

Europe.

Political conditions.

Germany.

American bank loans made during Coolidge administration.

Manchuria.

Sino-Japanese conflict, including role of League of Nations.

Pact of Paris.

Analysis and interpretation; in relation to Manchurian crisis and League of Nations.

Peace.
Peace Movement - U.S.
Politics - Minnesota, U.S.
1932 elections.
Prohibition - U.S.
Russia.
Conditions in; U.S. recognition.
St. Lawrence Waterway Project.
War.
World Court.
Cases; Kellogg's attendance, possible resignation; role of
judges in political campaigns.

Speeches:

[Address]. American Chamber of Commerce, Paris, July 4,
1932. Typescript.
[Address of Frank B. Kellogg on the Presentation of the
Cardinal Newman Memorial Award for 1932 by the Newman
Foundation of the University of Illinois]. Champaign,
November 13, 1932. Typescript.

ROLL 47. November 21, 1932 - June, 1933.

Banks - U.S.
Condition of; congressional legislation.
Chaco Boundary Dispute, Chaco War.
U.S. policy toward.
Colombian-Peruvian Boundary Treaty of 1922.
U.S. policy during Coolidge administration.
Depression, 1929 - U.S.
Economic conditions; inflation; taxation; causes; remedies;
congressional legislation, especially regarding banks.
Disarmament.
Germany.
Jews in.
Isolationism.
In U.S. foreign policy.
Manchuria.
Sino-Japanese conflict.
New Deal.
Nicaragua.
Civil war of 1927.
Pact of Paris.
Negotiation; analysis and interpretation; enforcement; in
relation to Chaco War.
Peace.
Peace Movement - U.S.
Politics - U.S.
1932 elections; Franklin D. Roosevelt administration.

Prohibition - U.S.
Railroads - U.S.
 Financial condition of.
Russia.
 U.S. recognition.
Socialism - U.S.
State Department.
 Appointments.
War.
World Court.
 Cases; rules; Kellogg's attendance, possible resignation.
Speech:

[Notes For a Speech About War and Peace]. [1933]. Typescript.

ROLL 48. July, 1933 - May 15, 1934.

Agriculture - U.S.
 Farmers' strike.
Banks - U.S.
 Congressional legislation; condition of.
Depression, 1929 - Europe, U.S.
 Economic conditions; inflation; causes; relief efforts,
 including Kellogg's role; congressional legislation.
Disarmament.
 Naval; Geneva Disarmament Conference.
Europe.
 Conditions in.
Germany.
 Withdrawal from League of Nations, World Court, Geneva
 Disarmament Conference.
Kellogg.
 Reminiscences.
League of Nations.
 Campaigns for and against U.S. participation.
Mexico.
 U.S. policy toward and Mexican-American relations during
 Coolidge administration.
Monroe Doctrine.
 Clark Memorandum of 1928; Kellogg's diplomatic note of
 1929; in relation to U.S. foreign policy during Coolidge
 administration.
New Deal.
Pact of Paris.
 Negotiation; ratifications; analysis and interpretation.
Peace.
Peace Movement - U.S.

Russia.

U.S. recognition.

War.

Possibility of; causes; results.

World Court.

U.S. adherence, including campaigns for and against and Senate consideration of; cases; rules; functions; Kellogg's attendance, possible resignation.

Speeches:

[Address to the Conference on the Mobilization for Human Needs]. Washington, D.C., September 8, 1933. Typescript.
[Address at a Banquet Honoring Nobel Prize Winners]. New York City, December 18, 1933. Typescript.

ROLL 49. May 16, 1934 - April, 1935.

Chaco War.

Depression, 1929 - Europe, U.S.

Economic conditions; relief efforts, including Kellogg's role; government policies.

Disarmament.

London Naval Conference of 1935.

Drought - U.S.

Relief efforts.

Europe.

Political conditions.

Foreign Service - U.S.

Kellogg.

Reminiscences.

League of Nations.

Campaign for U.S. participation.

Munitions Industry - U.S.

Senate investigation of.

New Deal.

Pact of Paris.

Negotiation; ratifications; analysis and interpretation.

Peace.

Prospects for.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Congressional anti-war resolutions and legislation.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

1934 elections; Roosevelt administration.

War.

Possibility of in Europe; causes.

World Court.

Senate consideration of U.S. adherence; cases; rules; procedures; functions; vacancies.

Speeches:

- [Address at Testimonial Dinner for the Mayo Brothers].
Rochester, Minnesota, August 7, 1934. Typescript.
- [Address of Welcome on the Arrival of the Burlington
Zephyr]. St. Paul, April 15, 1935. Typescript.

ROLL 50. May, 1935 - 1936.

Disarmament.

Far East.

Conditions in; Sino-Japanese relations.

Italo-Ethiopian War.

U.S. policy toward; role of League of Nations.

Kellogg.

Reminiscences.

Munitions Industry - U.S.

Pact of Paris.

Analysis and interpretation; in relation to Ethiopian crisis.

Peace.

Prospects for; threats to.

Peace Movement - U.S.

Congressional anti-war resolutions and legislation.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

1936 elections; campaign issues and Kellogg's role; Roosevelt administration; Republican party.

War.

Possibility of in Europe.

World Court.

Senate defeat of Protocol of Accession; cases; rules;
Kellogg's resignation.

Speech:

"The Pact of Paris and the Relationship of the United States
to the World Community." Radio address, October 30,
1935. Printed.

ROLL 51. 1937 - 1942.

Far East.

Conditions in; Sino-Japanese relations.

Kellogg.

Death; memorial window in National Cathedral.

Pact of Paris.

In relation to situation in Far East.

Politics - Minnesota, U.S.

Roosevelt administration; Republican National Committee.

VOLUMES

ROLL 52. Volumes 1-8.

Clippings Scrapbooks, 1907 and 1924 - December 2, 1926.

ROLL 53. Volumes 9-14.

Clippings Scrapbooks, December 2, 1926 - August 27, 1928.

ROLL 54. Volumes 15-26.

Clippings Scrapbooks, August 27, 1928 - 1929 and 1937-1938;
[Visitors' Book?], 1924; Testimonials, 1929; Memorials,
1937-1938.

Volumes 1-21 in the Kellogg Papers are scrapbooks of newspaper and magazine clippings. Volumes 1 and 2 (January-March, 1907) relate to the Interstate Commerce Commission's investigation of alleged violations of the Sherman Antitrust Act by Edward H. Harriman's Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railroads. The articles, columns, and editorials in volumes 3-20 (1924-1929) date from Kellogg's term as secretary of state and are arranged chronologically. They contain news and commentary about the Coolidge administration's conduct of American foreign relations and about international and domestic issues and events in general. The publications in which they originally appeared represent a variety of viewpoints and geographical locations. Volume 21 (1937-1938) consists of news reports of Kellogg's death and funeral, obituaries, and tributes; some include lengthy biographical sketches. This volume also contains a few photographs of Kellogg and his wife.

Volume 22 dates from 1924, when Kellogg was United States ambassador to Great Britain. Although the cover is inscribed "Visitors' Book," it appears to be a correspondence register.

The remaining four volumes are testimonials and memorials to Kellogg. Volume 23 is a testimonial (February, 1929) presented by the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee at a banquet honoring Kellogg and the Pact of Paris. Volume 24 is a resolution of appreciation and gratitude adopted in March, 1929, by the members of the governing board of the Pan American Union. Volumes 25 and 26 are memorials by the directors of the First National Bank of St. Paul (December, 1937) and of the First Trust Company of St. Paul (January, 1938).

Selected List of Authors

MOST of the persons and organizations whose names appear in this highly selective list of authors are of regional, national, or international historical significance. Each name is accompanied by the microfilm roll number(s) on which items by that author occur. Although the majority of the materials referred to in this list are of substantive research value, some are of a merely routine or perfunctory nature. The latter have been included occasionally to indicate the full range of Kellogg's correspondents and/or to suggest the general location of letters from Kellogg to a particular author. However, since many routine items are not included, the list of microfilm rolls for any given author may not be complete.

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