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The appendix to the Congressional Record; an analysis of its scope and content.

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THE APPENDIX TO THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD;
AN ANALYSIS OF ITS SCOPE AND CONTENT.

by

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CHAPTER ONE

Introductory
The practice of printing government documents and records of governmental activity, in order to put them in a form where their preservation might be assured with some hope of permanence, was fairly well advanced in England and elsewhere at the time the American Republic was founded, in 1789. Naturally, therefore, almost from its inception the new United States government commenced to issue printed documentary material of an official character, although it was not until after the War of 1812 that such material began to flow forth in a stream comparable to what more recent times have known. Such documentary material falls readily into three rough classes, corresponding with the three great co-equal branches of the federal government under the Constitution; i.e., Legislative, Executive, and Judicial. Among judicial documents the best known and most important are doubtless the reports of the United States Supreme Court, which first began to appear (published at that time by private firms) soon after the Court began to function. They have been published by the government for many years. The documents issued by or for and dealing with the Executive branch were for some fifty or sixty years after 1789 printed as an integral part of the series of documents issued by the Legislative branch. Indeed, it is interesting to note that the Congress has always kept
government printing closely under its control; in the early
days, contracts for public printing were let directly by
the Congress; and today, the Government Printing Office
is a part of the Legislative branch, and not of the Execu-
tive, and is under the general supervision of the Joint
Congressional Committee on Printing.¹

The documents of the Legislative branch have from the
earliest days consisted of the Journals of the House and of
the Senate, and of two main series for each chamber, name-
ly, the Reports of Committees of the House, and Senate, and
the Documents of the House, and of the Senate. (Citations
for these are usually given as: House Reports, Senate Re-
ports, House Documents, and Senate Documents, as the case
may be.)²

The Printing and Binding Act of 1895³ systematized gov-
ernment printing, provided for the continuation of the se-
ries of documents mentioned above, and conferred certain
powers on the Joint Committee on Printing, and on the Gov-
ernment Printing Office. This legislation had been long
needed, and brought order out of a rather chaotic state of
affairs; for governmental printing had been allowed to dev-
lop haphazardly for nearly a century.

As will be noted hereafter, the Printing Act also made
important provisions for the continuance and supervision
of the Congressional Record. The Record and its predeces-
sors had been instituted to provide a means of preserving congressional debates; what was said in Congress, as well as what was done there. The two chambers had published their journals since 1789; but legislative journals do not contain the record of debates in a legislative body, but are rather the "minutes", or a record of the proceedings, providing a history of the actions taken on legislation and other matters before the legislature. The Record, providing similarly a history of legislation, thus serves in addition a much broader function.

The origins and development of the Congressional Record constitute an interesting chapter in the history of government printing. To understand what the Record is today, and what its function is (and we are particularly interested in that portion of the Record known as the Appendix), it is necessary to know what the beginnings of the Record were, and how it has developed to its present state. Therefore, we shall survey briefly the Record's past, and its evolutionary growth, and then deal with the contemporary Record and its Appendix.

As before indicated, the writer is concerned specifically with the Appendix to the Record as it has existed in recent years and as it exists today. By an analysis of the contents of the Appendix for a particular session of the Congress, he attempts to show that its existence is jus-
ified, as a forum for the expression of popular opinion through the agency of the people's representatives, both directly and indirectly; and as a repository of opinion, informed and otherwise, on the issues currently agitating the nation at any given time; a collection of valuable historical and statistical information that will be of great value to researchers in future time.

Precisely what is the Appendix to the Congressional Record? It should be pointed out, in answer to this question, that the Appendix is not something apart, a separate publication. It must indeed be considered an integral part of the Record, that portion of the publication that is set aside to contain certain material germane to proceedings of Congress, introduced for printing therein by Senators or Representatives, not actually a part of the proceedings of the two houses, but in general bearing on some issue that is, has been, or will be under discussion in Congress during the session then current. Request is generally made by a Senator or Representative, not for permission to insert some item into the Appendix as such, but into the Record; the matter, however, is printed in the Appendix, which thus is obviously considered by all concerned an integral part of the whole Record.

The character of the materials of Congress's work at any given period of time, the issues under debate, the
legislation that is being considered for passage or rejection - it is these things that determine the character of the contents of the Appendix, as we shall try to show hereinafter.

The American Constitution requires both houses of Congress to keep a journal and to publish it from time to time. The journals are in the nature of a history of legislation. It is possible by careful reading of the journal to follow the course of a bill through Congress from the time of its introduction, through reference to a committee, report by the committee, further readings and final passage, presentation to the President, and approval by him, with the date of such approval. When the President approves and signs a bill, it becomes law. If the President vetoes a bill, his veto message is printed in full, as are all other presidential messages, in the journal. Votes taken by yeas and nays, and otherwise, are recorded in the journals, as are messages from the other house as to passage of bills, etc. The journals, however, remain minutes of official actions of Congress, not records of debates.

Prior to 1833, debates in the Senate and House were not reported contemporaneously with their occurrence, except in a haphazard way in certain newspapers. There are in existence collections of the debates from the beginning of the
government under the Constitution in 1789. These are: Debates and Proceedings in Congress, 1789-1824 (42 volumes, published 1834-56) commonly called the Annals of Congress; and Register of Debates in Congress (14 volumes, 1825-1837). These collections, taken together, cover the period from 1789 down to 1833. They bring together reports of the debates from various sources - newspaper, pamphlets, etc. These are not official reports, and are not by any means complete. But occasional speeches are given substantially in full, and we get a general account of what took place in each branch, with important issues treated often in some detail. The debate on the Jay Treaty can be followed in the Annals, for example, and the famous speech by Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, one of the gems of American oratory, is to be found therein.

The speeches of the members are generally reported in the third person, in both the Annals and the Register. The form used is as follows: "Mr. SMITH said that he thought the bill ought not to pass, etc." Modern usage would have: "Mr. SMITH: Mr. Speaker, I think that the bill ought not to pass..." 5

In 1833, the Congressional Globe, presenting the debates verbatim, was started as a private venture. It continued publication down to 1873, when its place was taken by the present Congressional Record. The latter is pre-
pared by officials of Congress appointed especially for the purpose, including clerks and reporters of debates, and printed by the government. It is published daily during sessions of Congress, and purports to give an exact stenographic reproduction of everything said on the floor of the two houses, except during closed sessions of the Senate. (The latter have become infrequent in recent times.) This it does not actually do, in part because members have the privilege of editing their remarks before they are printed in the permanent bound edition of the Record which is issued after the close of each session of Congress to cover the entire period of that session, and also because, in the case of the House, speeches are frequently printed, under official leave, which were never delivered by word of mouth at all.

Both houses also permit their members to put into the Record correspondence, editorials, public documents, speeches of members on public occasions including political party gatherings, magazine and newspaper articles and editorials, and selections from books, which have not been read on the floor. 6

The bulk of this material does not go into the main body of the Record, where the daily proceedings and debates are recorded, but into the Appendix, which follows the proceedings of the two houses in each daily issue and to which
one or more volumes of the annual bound set are devoted.

The practice of inserting so much seemingly extraneous material goes far towards explaining why the Record has grown so voluminous. Anywhere from twenty to twenty-five thousand triple-columned pages are filled every biennium (the life of a Congress is two years). It may be noted that the Record pages were double-columned down to about 1940, when to save space the columns were increased to three per page, and the size of the print was reduced. This had no appreciable effect in the number of bound volumes per annum, however. Ten or a dozen of these are common, whereas in the 1830's and for years thereafter the Globe got along nicely on two volumes per annum, and these included an Index and an Appendix, as well as the daily proceedings and debates. It is fair to add that the pages then were triple-columned, and the print used was small.

A proposal from the floor of the House to restrict the pages of the Record to actual proceedings (at an estimated saving of $173,000 a year) met in 1937 with a chilly reception. 7

Of 5400 pages devoted to House proceedings in the 78th Congress, second session, 1944, three thousand and eighty-nine pages recorded actual debates on bills and resolutions; in the case of the Senate, 2,284 pages out of 4500. These proportions are fairly typical. It must be remembered that
a very large portion of the bills and resolutions considered are not controversial and are not debated at all. In the session mentioned, only 86 out of 953 passed by the House stirred any real debate, and only 47 out of the 931 passed by the Senate did so.  

In the spring of 1947, a "Daily Digest", containing for each house a summary of all action in the House and Senate for that day, was added to the daily Record, and published after the Appendix. This new feature is worthwhile, for it aids in finding quickly the page of the Record on which action on a certain bill, for example, is mentioned, such indexing of action taken on the floor being an integral part of the Digest. The makeup of the daily edition of the Record at the present time is as follows:

Senate proceedings and debates.

House proceedings and debates.

Appendix.

Daily Digest:

Senate.

House.

In connection with the above listing, it should be remarked that Senate proceedings and debates are printed first in the Record except for days when there is no sitting of the Senate, or when due to an overlong sitting or some other contingency the Senate debates are not ready for
printing on time, in which case the House proceedings are printed first in that day's Record.

As has been seen, a vast amount of material finds its way into the Record, much of it seemingly quite superfluous, even trivial, and representing a considerable waste of the money it costs to print such matter. The writer feels that while this criticism of the contents of the Record, and especially of the Appendix is to some extent justified, the wholesale ridicule that is often heaped on the Appendix is largely not justified.

It is beyond question that the size of the Record has grown tremendously over the years, and a speed-up in this growth can be noted during the last twenty-five years or so. As the Record has grown, so has the Appendix kept pace with it. And yet we feel that an examination of the contents of the Appendix will show that the bulk of the material contained therein is quite germane to the questions of the day with which Congressmen have to deal, and to the representation which is the duty every Congressman owes to his constituents. Trivial and sometimes silly matter may sometimes be found there, and doubtless, some paper and money are wasted. But then, time is wasted, too, on the floor of Congress. Windy speeches are made by bombastic legislators, often merely for "home consumption" or "for the record"; these are not necessarily typical of Congress as a whole.
Such things are a part of our representative government in a democratic republic.

In dealing with the subject of the scope and content of the Appendix to the Congressional Record in the present paper, the writer feels it desirable to treat the matter in general as though he were dealing with the Appendix to one publication only, rather than with the appendices to the Record and to three predecessor publications. In other words, the history of the appendices to the several compilations of Congressional debates and proceedings, under whatever name, is treated as a continuous story. For such is in fact the story of the character of these appendices. They passed from one stage of development to another by gradual, almost imperceptible transition, without sharp breaks. The Appendix to the Globe is like that of the Register; that to the Record, like that of the Globe. The process of evolution of the Appendix is a continuous one, and shall be treated as such.
2. 28 Stat. 601 (Act of Jan. 12, 1895); sec. 81.
3. Ibid., passim.
5. Congressional Record, 81st Congress, 1st session, no. 1 (daily edition), pp. 1 f.
8. Ibid., loc. cit.
9. Congressional Record (see any copy of daily edition, 1947 to date.)
10. Ibid.
CHAPTER TWO

Predecessors of the Record.
I. The Annals of Congress.
II. The Register of Debates.
III. The Congressional Globe.
IV. The Record of Yesterday.
I.

The Annals of Congress, to use the usual citation for the set, were compiled from "authentic materials"\(^1\) by the publishing firm of Gales and Seaton, of Washington, D. C., and issued over a period of years, from 1834 to 1856. The Annals cover the years 1789 through 1824, the First through the Eighteenth Congresses.

The inclusion of an Appendix is to be noted from the very beginning. The contents of some of the early appendices are extremely interesting from the historian's point of view, for they contain some of the most famous documents in the history of the American government. Most of these documents appear elsewhere in print, but are not to be found in compiled form except in the Appendix to the Annals.

The Appendix to the Annals for the first session of the First Congress, that met in New York in 1789, offers a striking illustration of the historical interest of these materials.

We find here the texts of the acts of ratification of the then newly-adopted American Constitution by the legislatures or assemblies of the following states: New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Delaware, South Carolina, North Carolina, and New Jersey. Then we find the three famous reports to Congress by the first Secretary of the Treasury,
Alexander Hamilton: Report on the Public Credit; Report on a National Bank; Report on a Mint. These reports had much to do with getting the new government off on a firm financial footing, and were influential in the preparation of the important legislation bearing on the nation's finances passed by the First Congress. Next we find the report to Congress by Secretary of War Henry Knox on the subject of a Militia Plan. This is an important document in the military history of the nation. There follows the first report to Congress by Samuel Osgood, Postmaster-General of the United States. Then comes a special message to the Congress from President George Washington on the subject of French affairs, accompanied by certain communications from the French government. Finally there are printed in full the Laws and Resolutions enacted by Congress during the session.

An Appendix containing material of this sort is obviously of much value to the historian and researcher. The pattern set in this first volume was followed throughout the period covered by the Annals, and the materials contained in the first volume remain typical throughout the set.

The debates and Appendix taken together, for any given session of Congress, generally occupy either one or two volumes during this period, 1789-1824. If the session was
a short one, a single volume is generally found to have been sufficient. It might be noted here that down to and including the Seventy-second Congress, the regular meeting time for the first session of a Congress was the first week in December next following the March in which the term of the Congress began. This was the so-called long session, lasting commonly until the middle of the following calendar year. Then would come the so-called short session, meeting in December and ending the following March 3, the last day of the term for which the Congress had been elected. Such was the practise until the Constitution was amended, so that the term of Congress, still two years, starts and ends in January rather than in March, and a new Congress takes office in January, a few weeks after it has been elected in the biennial November elections, instead of having to wait until the March next following the election to assume office. 3

The Appendix to the Annals, then, appears to have been a distinctly worth-while compilation of important government documents. Extraneous and miscellaneous material of dubious value is still in the future; these volumes do not contain it. The pattern is consistent throughout the course of the Annals. A perusal of the Appendix for the Ninth Congress, first session, shows us first the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances, a report which had now become an annual affair
and has remained so down to the present day, although it is available only in bound or pamphlet form today and is not to be found in the Record Appendix. There comes next a message to Congress from President Thomas Jefferson on the subject of foreign affairs, with accompanying documents and correspondence submitted by the Department of State. This is a forerunner of the kind of material that appears today in the annual publication of the State Department called "Papers Relating to the Foreign Affairs of the United States", a series that was started in 1861, and has appeared annually in one or more volumes ever since. The Secretary of State, alone among the cabinet officers, has never been required by law to submit an "annual report" to the Congress.

Following the material bearing on the foreign relations of the nation come the Acts and Resolutions passed by Congress at the first session of the Ninth Congress, and these bring the Appendix to a close. Be it noted here that in the early years of the republic, the volume of legislation was not nearly as large as it is now. A hundred acts and resolutions would have been a large number for a session, in those days; whereas now, seven or eight hundred acts per session are not out of the ordinary and seem not an excessive number. The Acts are not published in the Appendix today; if they were, probably at least an addition-
al yearly volume would be the result. But as far as the Ninth Congress, first session, was concerned, a single volume sufficed for the debates, the index, and the Appendix, including the acts of the session.

II.

The Register of Debates in Congress takes up where the Annals, which end with the Eighteenth Congress, leave off. The Register, like the Annals, was published by Bales and Seaton, a well-known firm in the history of governmental publications in the United States. The Register covers the period 1825-1837, the Nineteenth through the Twenty-fifth Congresses. There is thus some overlapping with the Congressional Globe, which commenced publication with the Twenty-third Congress in 1833.

In format and organization of material, the Register is quite similar to the Annals. The latter had gradually grown slightly bulkier over the years as the reports of debates and proceedings grew more complete. The Register again appears to be slightly bulkier than the Annals.

Pages are three-columned, the print is small; the reports are somewhat more complete in recounting floor proceedings than was the case with the Annals. Likewise, the page size in the Register is larger.

The Appendix in the Register is quite similar to the
one in the earlier set. That is to say, the same type of material is to be found therein, and the standard of historical worth set by the Annals is maintained. There is no significant change in the makeup of the appendices throughout the period of the Register's publication. A typical example will show that the contents had carried over from the earlier publication unchanged; and of course this is not to be wondered at, for Gales and Seaton's Annals, being a latter-day reprint of earlier material and issued contemporaneously with the same publisher's Register, would naturally tend to resemble the latter in form.

There is one important change in the Appendix, however. It is enlarged, as will appear below, by the addition of sundry important committee reports, covering subjects of national importance.

The Register for the first session of the Twenty-second Congress consists of three volumes. The pages are double-columned, the print is small. The Appendix occupies part of volume three. The first item here is the President's annual message to Congress on the state of the Union. This "State of the Union Message" is customarily found in the Appendix at this period, although later on, in the Globe and in the Record it came to be printed in the body of the proceedings. Accompanying the President's message, at the time of the Twenty-second Congress and indeed down
to very recent times, there were customarily submitted to Congress the annual reports of the several Executive Departments. So, following the message of the President, we find here the annual reports of the Secretary of War, including the reports of certain bureaus then under his jurisdiction, including the Indian Affairs Office and the Pensions Bureau; the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances, the annual reports of the Secretary of the Navy, and of the Postmaster-General; and certain diplomatic correspondence submitted by the Secretary of State. Included in the Treasury Department report we find the reports of the Mint, and of the General Land Office.

Thus we have in the Appendix, in the President's message and accompanying documents and reports, a comprehensive review of the whole operations of the Executive branch of the federal government for the preceding year. It is perhaps a commentary on the relative small size and simplicity of the government in those days that it was possible to compress this material into what, after all, is a very small space. Certainly today it is not possible to find in any one volume, however large, a comprehensive survey of the activities of the Executive branch for any recent year. Possibly such a volume could be arranged; possibly not, so vast has the machinery of government grown.
Following these reports of the Executive branch in the Appendix, we find a number of reports of committees of Congress on a variety of subjects, subjects of major importance at the time. For example, we have a report of Senator Henry Clay, from the Senate Committee on Manufactures, on the subject of the distribution of the Public Lands. The latter were a vast territory at this time, and were the subject of a controversy as to how their distribution might most equitably be provided for. Then again we have a report by Senator Daniel Webster, from the Senate Select Committee appointed to investigate the subject of apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the several states, on that important subject. Numerous other reports appear, which need not be listed here. Their tendency is to enhance the value of the Register, presumably to readers at that time, and certainly to the researcher today. Finally, there are printed the Acts and Resolutions of the session.

The arrangement of contents of the Appendix here indicated is typical of the Register throughout its relatively brief existence. The Congressional Globe was started in 1833, overlapping the Register by a few years. The Globe from its beginning has resembled the Record we are familiar with today. We may say that the Globe set a pattern that has been followed down to the present.
III.

Examining the Globe for the decade of the 1840's, which was highlighted by the annexation of Texas, the vigorous administration of James K. Polk as President, and the war with Mexico, we find that it is rapidly assuming a form familiar to us, for it resembles that of today's Record. Its pages have three columns, and the print used is quite small, so that one or more volumes continue to be quite enough to hold the proceedings of a session of Congress. The Appendix combines the best features of the Appendix to the Annals and that of the Register, with the best features of the Record Appendix as we know it today. One might perhaps say that at this period the Appendix reached an all-time peak of usefulness and value.

Let us look at the Appendix to the Globe for the second session of the Twenty-ninth Congress, for example. This was a short session, extending from Dec. 7, 1846 to March 3, 1847. Being short, the session occupies only one volume of the Globe - debates, index, and Appendix.

The Appendix opens with the President's annual message to Congress on the State of the Union, with the usual accompanying documents: the annual reports of the several Executive departments, etc. It must be said that the inclusion of the President's message and accompanying documents was an excellent feature of the Appendix so long as such inclusion was
the practise. It is perhaps regrettable that such docu-
ments are not included in the Appendix today, for they
would greatly enhance its interest and usefulness to scho-

lars.

Following the message and documents, there come speeches
by members of the two houses prepared for floor delivery
but not included in the body of the Globe. This is the
familiar feature of the Appendix which persists down to the
present day, and which has perhaps been, through the years,
its principal raison d'être. We find for the period under
present consideration speeches dealing with the most vital
issues of the time. These were the Mexican War, the annex-
ation of Texas, and the controversy over the extension of
slave territory into newly-acquired territory of the Union,
controversy that was one of the principal facets of the dis-
pute that led up, through the next decade, growing ever
more serious, until a culmination was reached in the great
tragedy of a civil war.

We might cite as examples of the speeches on these im-
portant issues that of Congressman James Dixon, of Connec-
ticut, on Feb. 9, 1847, on the subject of extension of slave
territory,9 and that of Congressman Solomon Foot of Vermont,
on Feb. 10, 1847, on the Mexican War.10 Other speeches by
statesmen of the first rank, Senators Webster, Lewis Cass,
Berrien and others on the subject of the war and projected
legislation for raising troops and funds to support them and carry on a struggle that was very unpopular in many parts of the country and with the opposition party, the Whigs, in particular—such is the material to be found in the Appendix.¹¹

A feature of the Globe of this period, although not printed in the Appendix, but appearing prefatory to the body of the sessional debates itself, is the statement of the Clerk of the House of Representatives of appropriations legislated by the Congress during the preceding year, which is this case was 1846.¹² This amounts to a detailed reprinting of most of the text of all appropriation bills of the year, and provides an interesting and adequately detailed listing of appropriations for the service of all branches of the government.

The war and its attendant problems occupied the attention of the Thirtieth Congress, which came into being on March 4, 1847. Two volumes of the Globe cover the first session; volume two is given over entirely to the Appendix. The latter is replete with speeches on the war, on Texas, controversial proposals regarding setting up territorial governments in as yet unorganized territory, and so forth, by many famous statesmen. It is notable that Abraham Lincoln served his single term as Congressman from Illinois during this Thirtieth Congress, which coincided with the
last two years of Polk's presidential term. Lincoln ran for reelection to Congress in 1848, but was defeated.

No significant change in the format of the Globe occurred during the 1850's. The issues of the time are reflected in its pages; the Kansas-Nebraska question, the Dred Scott case, the thickening war clouds at the decade's end that culminated in 1861 in the outbreak of civil war. The men and measures of the era that preceded the war, and of the war years too, may be studied in the pages of the Globe.

The period following the War Between the States was one of the most troubled and agitated in American history. On the national political scene, it was marked by the bitter controversy over reconstruction policies to be carried out in the defeated Southern states. President Johnson sought to carry out the mild and reasonable measures advocated and envisaged by his great predecessor, Abraham Lincoln, before the latter's assassination. Johnson was opposed, however; the majority in Congress consisted of so-called Radical Republicans, led by men like Congressman Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, and the President pro tempore of the Senate, Ben Wade. These men advocated a policy of ruthless repression towards the South, and especially to those Southerners who had supported the rebellion actively or passively, a group that constituted the majority of people in
the Southern states. Emancipation of the negro having been accomplished, these legislators now wanted to give the negro full and equal suffrage with the white man, without any delay. Such a program was in fact carried out, while most white Southerners, branded as ex-rebels, were denied the vote. This turned the state governments of the South over to the negroes, who, being densely ignorant, totally uneducated with few exceptions, and quite unfitted to manage the affairs of state with which they were now entrusted, permitted chaotic conditions to develop. An orgy of looting of the public treasury took place, and the South groaned under the burden of fantastic corruption, and abysmal ignorance catapulted into places of power and influence. States would be "readmitted" to the Union only if their new state governments were pleasing to the Radicals in Congress. The test for such governments was, however, almost solely one of "loyalty", and freedom from taint of the recent rebellion.

The Globe and its Appendix for this post-Civil War period accurately reflect the trends and issues of the times, as they had done during the trying days leading up to the outbreak of the war, and during the actual period of fighting, 1861-1865. Considering the post-war era, let us look at some of the items in the Appendix for the second session of the Forty-first Congress. In the following list, the
letter H indicates that the individual responsible for the item in the Appendix was a Member of the House; the letter S indicates that he was a Senator.

H. C. C. Washburn, Wisconsin: A proposed postal telegraph.
H. G. W. Morgan, Ohio: Recognition of Georgia.
H. M. C. Kerr, Indiana: Ditto.
H. Thomas Swann, Maryland: Ditto.
H. Aaron A. Sargent, California: Ditto.
H. W. Loughridge, Iowa: Ditto.
H. W. Lawrence, Ohio: Ditto.
H. S. L. Mayham, New York: Admission of Virginia.
H. W. N. Sweeney, Kentucky: Ditto.
H. H. L. Dawes, Massachusetts: Public Expenditures.
H. C. C. Bowen, South Carolina: Contested Election, 4th dist., South Carolina.
S. Joseph S. Fowler, Tennessee: Admission of Mississippi.
S. Allen G. Thurman, Ohio: Railroad Land Grants.
H. Samuel S. Cox, New York: Naval Expenditures.
S. J. R. McCormick, Missouri: The Democratic Party (a defense).

Such were the issues interesting members of the Congress during this session, which lasted from Dec. 6, 1869 to July 15, 1870. We notice that foreign affairs came in for relatively little attention. Though not mentioned in the above
list, the question of Cuba, which many then thought should be annexed to the United States, was discussed, as it had been for some years past; there were mentions of the treatment of Ireland by the British, and of the disputed water boundary-line between the United States and British territory in Puget Sound, in the faraway Pacific Northwest, at that time a not well-known part of the country. There was some discussion of public expenditures, and Pennsylvania Congressmen were evidently interested in a navy-yard at League Island. But the question of the readmission of the defeated Confederate states into the Union, and the conditions to be imposed for such readmission, and the many arguments pro and con on this subject, were apparently the principal concern of Congress at this session.

It is interesting to note that the entries in the Appendix consist largely of speeches or remarks by the members making the insertion, ostensibly prepared for delivery on the floor, and not given there because of lack of time or some other reason. These are, that is to say, truly "extensions of remarks".

It is of such extensions of remarks that the Appendix to the Globe largely consisted, in fact, from the 1840's down to the inception of the Globe's successor, the Congressional Record. The latter succeeded the Globe in 1873.

The transition was made without any break and without
any remarkable change in the makeup of printed debates and proceedings. The most noticeable feature of the change-over, indeed, is the change of title. The Globe had presented the debates verbatim, as did the new publication. In scope and content, the Appendix to the Record was very much like that of the Globe, consisting mostly of extensions of remarks, so-called. To be sure, a new policy was in operation; Congress was now for the first time issuing its own publication containing its debates and proceedings. The Record, at first getting along with one or two volumes a session as had the Globe, gradually grew into the voluminous work we have today, a dozen volumes or more nowadays being issued for every annual session of Congress.

Samples can be picked at random from any volume of the Appendix to the Record, from the 1870's down to the present, and they will show that although the content of the Appendix has tended to grow broader with the inclusion through leave to print of much matter of relative unimportance, it gives nevertheless a fair reflection of the problems facing Congress and the country at a given time in our history.

For example, the issues involved in the War with Spain will be found discussed on all sides of the questions raised, in the Appendices for the sessions of Congress concurrent with the war and the months following; the nature of the peace treaty, the problem of imperialism vs.
anti-imperialism for the United States in relation to the colonies seized from Spain during the war - all such questions are fully dealt with, in the informed congressional opinion of the time.

Whatever of trivia the Appendix may contain down through the years, it also provides a reflection of the issues and opinions on those issues of the changing American scene as the decades passed. After the turn of the century came the era of "Teddy" Roosevelt, with its strong foreign policy, its big stick, its trust busting; then came the Taft Administration, followed by a split in the Republican party, the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1913, the latter's "New Freedom", and then the Armageddon of World War I, with the United States at first maintaining a position of rather precarious neutrality.

IV.

The first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress (Dec. 6, 1915 to Sept. 8, 1916) was held in the atmosphere of a world at war, a war however that still was, in a sense, afar from America. Of course, America had been affected by the conflict; she maintained her neutrality, not without numerous rude shocks suffered by the latter; Mr. Wilson was yet to win a second term as President on the slogans "Too Proud to Fight" and "He Kept Us Out of War", only to junk them and lead America into the struggle almost as soon as he
was safely installed in the White House for a second term. In spite of the war in Europe, the Sixty-fourth Congress, if one judges from the Appendix, was largely preoccupied with domestic problems of a varied nature, not unlike those which had busied Congressmen ten years earlier, or twenty.

William Gordon of Ohio inserted into the Appendix the first inaugural address of Thomas Jefferson. Rep. Richard Olney 2nd of Massachusetts inserted a discussion of his own concerning the Jones Act and the Clark Amendment (proposed legislation dealing with the Philippines). Mr. Olney here explained why he had voted in the House with the majority, to strike out the aforementioned amendment.

Rep. Chandler of New York spoke of discrimination against Jews at the Military Academy at West Point. Congressman Davis of Texas spoke on the question of national defense, expressing his opinion of military and naval imperialism, to which he was opposed. Mr. Austin of Tennessee discussed general conditions affecting Hawaii. Mr. Sherwood of Texas inserted comments on old-age pensions; Mr. Borland of Missouri, on the Parcel Post; Mr. Hawley of Oregon, on Oregon and California land grants; Mr. Mays of Utah discussed the War-revenue Tax Act. Here, at any rate, the war clouds were discernible. Rep. Davis, in his speech mentioned above, was so little concerned by
the prospect of war that he demanded that the money proposed to be spent on enlarging the army and navy be spent instead on internal improvements.26

Mr. Schall of Minnesota called on Congress to do something about child labor, in order to correct long-standing abuses.27 On Saturday, February 12, 1916, Lincoln's Birthday, the occasion was observed by Mr. Taggart of Kansas, who inserted a tribute to the Great Emancipator.28

Perhaps the most interesting item in the entire Appendix for this session of Congress is the one inserted by Rep. Henry T. Helgesen, of North Dakota. This consists of an analysis of the evidence presented by Robert E. Peary to the House Committee on Naval Affairs at hearings held during 1910 and 1911. A controversy had raged for some time as to who was entitled to credit for first reaching the North Pole, and in this connection some doubts had been expressed as to whether Peary had ever actually reached the Pole at all. The Naval Affairs Committee held hearings, therefore, to inquire into the whole subject. The full text of the transcript of these hearings are found inserted in the Appendix by Mr. Helgesen, together, as has been said, with an analysis of the evidence. The conclusion here reached, it is interesting to note, is that Peary never actually reached the Pole.29

Such are the subjects to be found in the Appendix for
the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress. War was still a little time away from America. But within a few months after the session closed, America was in the conflict, and in the following session of Congress members were to have new topics for discussion, of quite a different nature than the Parcel Post, Oregon Land Grants, or Peary's dash to the Pole.
1. Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States, Gales and Seaton, Washington, 1834-1856; title page, volume for 9th Congress, 1st session. (This publication is usually cited as Annals of Congress.)


5. Register of Debates in Congress, 22d Congress, 1st session, Appendix, passim.


8. Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d session (1847), Appendix, passim.

9. Ibid., p. 332.

10. Ibid., p. 375.

11. Ibid., passim.

12. Ibid., preface to debates.


17. Congressional Record, 64th Cong., 1st sess., Appendix, passim.

18 through 29 inclusive. Ibid., passim.

30. Swisher, America's Constitutional Development, ch. 26 and 27.
CHAPTER THREE.

The Contents of the Appendix to the
Record: 81st Congress,
1st session.
The writer has made an analysis of the contents of the Appendix to the Congressional Record for the Eighty-first Congress, first session, which convened on January 3, 1949, and adjourned finally on October 19 of that year.¹ The purpose of the analysis has been to determine precisely the character of the material commonly printed in the Appendix, classifying it by specific categories. For the purpose of this survey, the writer has used the following main categories or classifications for the material inserted into the Appendix:

1. Extensions of Remarks.

Under this heading have been included all bona fide speeches or extended remarks of members, prepared for floor delivery, but not given there for lack of time, and printed in the Appendix in lieu of actual delivery in the House or Senate chambers.

2. Reprints.

Under this heading have been included all editorials, newspaper and magazine articles, excerpts from books, pamphlets or other publications, reprints of mimeographed material in the nature of "statements" on various measures before Congress prepared by such organizations as the American Legion, etc.

3. Letters and Petitions from Constituents.
Under this heading there have also been included petitions and memorials from state legislatures, city councils, county boards, and state and local chapters of labor, agricultural, veterans, and business organizations, such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion, local chambers of commerce, etc.

4. Addresses by Other Persons.

Members often have printed in the Appendix speeches delivered on various occasions by Senators and Representatives other than themselves; by the President of the United States; by cabinet members, military and naval officers, or other people in the Executive or Judicial branches of government; or by prominent persons outside of government. All such insertions are included under this heading.

5. Addresses Delivered in Other Places (than Congress).

Members frequently insert speeches made by themselves on various occasions outside of Congress, as at public gatherings, or over the radio.

All material in the above classifications has been considered as serious material, and pertinent to the business of Congress. The subject matter involved in almost every case would seem to indicate that such a viewpoint on this material is the correct one. Not included in these classifications have been the few insertions of a really trivial
nature, such as poems of a humorous type, or jingles, which are sometimes put into the Appendix. Such insertions are often pointed to as examples to prove that the Appendix is full of extraneous and worthless material, but the fact is that they are not the rule but emphatically the rare exception, and occur infrequently indeed.

Occasionally an insertion of uncommon bibliographical or historical value is made, and special note has been made of examples of this sort of thing.

Some notice of the statistics of the work done by the first session of the Eighty-first Congress may be pertinent here. The Senate was in session for 186 days, the House for 165 days. There were a total of 10,627 measures introduced: 3160 into the Senate, and 7467 into the House. 440 Public Bills were enacted into law; 353 Private Bills became law. The Senate passed a total of 1201 measures, including laws, concurrent and simple resolutions; the House total of measures passed was 1362. The Appendix in the bound edition of the Record totalled 6800 pages for the session.²

There were 6117 insertions made in the Appendix by House Members, and 2293 by Senators, of from one or two paragraphs to two or two and a half triple-columned pages in length. By far the largest category of insertions, as shown by the analysis made by the writer, was that of Reprints. The next largest category was that of Extensions of Remarks,
and these two categories constituted the major part of the Appendix material.

The totals in each category were as follows. For the House: Extensions, 1800. Reprints, 2931. Addresses by Members in other places, 207. Addresses by other persons, 622. Letters and petitions from constituents, memorials, etc., 541.

For the Senate: Extensions, 196. Reprints, 1423. Addresses by Senators in other places, 188. Addresses by other persons, 424. Letters and petitions, etc., 64.

The totals here given are meaningful only in indicating the preponderance of the one category over the others and in giving some idea of the breakdown of material that goes into the Appendix. Obviously, considerable variation might be expected from one session to another, but the size of the totals in the two largest categories indicates that the major part of the material is the Appendix nowadays is made up of: (a.) Reprinted material, magazine articles, editorials, etc. (b.) Bone fide extensions of remarks, the latter category being the traditional one, so to speak, the one serving the original purpose of the Appendix as it developed back in the days of the Congressional Globe.

It will be noticed that there are far more insertions by House Members than by Senators. This may be explained by the fact that while there are 96 Senators, two for each
of the forty-eight states, as provided for under the Constitution of the United States, there are far more House Members, 435 to be exact. Thus there are more members in the lower house to make insertions than there are Senators to do so.

It will further be noticed that on the House side, there are many more Extensions of Remarks than is the case with Senators. This may be explained by the fact that in the Senate, the rules provide for virtually unlimited debate. Generally speaking, a Senator has no trouble in obtaining the floor many times during a session, and speaking at length, as he pleases. Due to the large membership in the House, such freedom of debate is not practical; and the House Rules long ago restricted debate in that chamber very severely, so that House Members do not have the opportunities available to Senators for extended floor speeches. Thus, if a Member prepares a long speech on some important topic of debate, he may find it impossible to secure more time than it takes to deliver a small part of it, or indeed any time at all. In such event, he requests and is granted leave to print the speech in the Appendix, where it duly appears. It thus would seem that the Appendix performs a very necessary function for House Members, and where Senators perhaps could get along without the Appendix so far as getting their speeches into the Record is concerned, House Members hardly
could do so, for without the Appendix many speeches of
the latter on important matters before the Congress would
never get into the Record at all.

A fairly minor, but not unimportant category, is that
of Letters and Petitions from Constituents, Memorials, etc.
Members appear to select for insertion the more thoughtful
and worthwhile letters from their constituents on major
issues of the day. While some of these letters are very
pointed, sharp in criticism of some governmental policy or
other, perhaps, and sometimes show strong and obvious bias,
"crank letters" are conspicuous by their absence.

Petitions and Memorials in the early days of the Cong-
ress were printed individually in the series of House or
Senate Documents. Nowadays, they appear either in the
main body of the Record, as they are introduced in one or
the other chamber, or they are inserted into the Appendix
by a Senator or Representative from the state whence the
petition or memorial originates.

All but a very few insertions of the thousands con-
tained in the Appendix for the session under consideration
must be considered serious in nature, and in general related
to matters under consideration by Congress, or apt to be
considered by it in the future. There are a few examples
of what might be called "trivia", such as pieces of light
poetry, but even these are mostly of serious character, if
not outstanding examples of the lyric art; they are often obviously the products of amateurs. Examples are a poem on the naval hero John Paul Jones; the lyrics of a marching song; and a poem in celebration of St. Patrick's Day entitled "The Valor of the Celt", by J. P. McGovern, which has more literary value than most such Appendix items.

Other insertions worthy of special notice may be mentioned. An occasional scholarly essay is reprinted; the legislative programs of important groups such as the National Grange, or the opinions of the Veterans of Foreign Wars on pension plans are printed in full. Excerpts from books occasionally appear; magazine articles and editorials by well-known persons such as Arthur Krock, Merwin K. Hart, Alfred Kohlberg, Walter Lippman, and many others, representing many shades of political opinion, are reprinted.

Now and then an item is found in the Appendix of real historical or bibliographical value. An example of this is the "Bibliographical List of Material on the Isthmian Canal Policy of the United States", inserted by Rep. Clark Thompson of Texas, on August 25, 1949. A further example is "A list of Virginians who have served in the Navy with distinction" compiled by the Office of Naval Records and History, Navy Department, and inserted by Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia on September 15, 1949.

It has been stated that the Congressional Record is un-
matched in interesting and valuable statistics; and it is true that numerous tables bearing on matters of current importance find their way into the Appendix. There might be mentioned the Statistics on Industrial Production in Europe, 1949, as printed in the London "Economist", inserted by Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota on September 7, 1949; 15 and statistics of Minnesota's rank in production among the states, 1948, inserted by the same gentleman on September 13, 1949. 16

Each insertion in the Appendix bears a short and pithy topic heading, in the nature of a title. The character and subject-matter of the material to follow may generally be gleaned from each of these. For example, we have "Free Journalism", a speech by Senator A. H. Vandenberg; 17 "National Science Foundation Legislation", remarks by Senator Warren Magnuson; 18 Congressman Wright Patman discusses "The Basing-Point System"; 19 or we have an oddity, a "joint extension of remarks" by two Congressmen, MESSRs. Huber of Ohio and Rich of Pennsylvania in this case, on the subject of "Increased Salaries for Government Officials." 20

Particularly lengthy insertions require a statement of the member asking permission to print, of the cost of printing such insertions in the Appendix; leave to print is then requested "notwithstanding the cost", and this is usually granted. For example, Senator Milton Young requested leave
to insert an article from the Saturday Evening Post of
August 27, 1949, in the nature of a tribute to John E. Peurifoy, then Assistant Secretary of State. Sen. Young stated that the cost of printing would be $184.50, and that the article would take 2 1/2 pages in the Record (Appendix). Leave to print was granted.21

Hereinafter will be found a more detailed description of some of the topics discussed and the subject matter of insertions in the Appendix for the Eighty-first Congress. Our categorical analysis serves to show, we think, that the Appendix is predominantly composed of reprinted material, and of extended remarks of members. The reprinted material varies in character, but much of it is newspaper editorial writing, and the greatest papers of the nation are represented; the New York Times, the Christian Science Monitor, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and many others. Also to be found are editorials from small town papers and country weeklies. Articles from all sorts of magazines - popular, denomination-al, house organs of business firms - these are included. The Appendix provides a veritable cross-section of American editorial opinion on important national and world issues.

The bound edition of the Record for the first session of the Eighty-first Congress bears the overall volume number 95, and consists of eighteen parts, or bound volumes. Parts 1 through 11 contain the debates and proceedings;
parts 11 through 16 comprise the Appendix, the latter totaling 6800 pages. Part 17 contains an Index to the debates and proceedings and to the Appendix; a History of Bills and Resolutions of the session, with references to pages in the Record; and lists of members of both houses for the session. Part 18 contains the Daily Digest for each day of the session.

Page numbers in the Appendix are prefaced by the letter A, as for example, page Al. In the Daily Digest, page numbers are prefaced by the letter D, as for example, page Dl. The Daily Digest in Part 18 also contains a history of legislation of the session arranged in tabular form, including the dates of passage of bills by each house, and the dates of signing of bills into law by the President of the United States.


3. These figures are by the author's own count.


8. Ibid., p. A152.


10. Ibid., p. A1145.


12. Ibid., p. A213 (article by Hart); p. A293 (article by Kohlberg.)

13. Ibid., pp. A5580 f.


15. Ibid., p. A5691.


17. Ibid., p. A5754.


20. Ibid., p. A201. See also p. A983.

CHAPTER FOUR.

The Modern Record - the Appendix: the character of its contents.
On the opening of the first session of the Eighty-first Congress, January 3, 1949, an important change was made in the Rules of the House of Representatives. The Committee on Rules was stripped of its long-held power to serve, in effect, as final authority on all issues before the House. The rules had permitted this powerful standing committee to arbitrarily veto the forwarding of pending legislation to the House floor, thus preventing the House membership as a whole from ever getting a chance to vote on many measures of greater or lesser importance. The change in the Rules that altered this long-standing and much-criticised situation was the subject of much comment in the Appendix.

Congressman Eberharter, of Pennsylvania, in eight separate entries on January 3, 1949, inserted editorials from various newspapers commenting on the rules change. Rep. Case of South Dakota, on the same date, inserted a speech of his own on this subject. Mr. Eberharter inserted another editorial on January 4; and on that date Mr. Wolverton of New Jersey put in his remarks on the subject. Mr. Keating of New York inserted a speech in which he criticised the majority for their apparent intention, as he saw it, to utilise the House Rules to throttle discussion and floor revision of controversial legislation. He accused the majority of practising, under a false veneer of liberalism, reaction of the rankest type. Messrs. Cox and Herter also had
insertions on the 4th dealing with the rules change. 7

During the presidential campaign of 1948, there was more discussion than for many years past of the possibility of the final choice of a President of the United States being made by the House of Representatives, as provided for by the Constitution under certain circumstances. The fact that in addition to the two major party candidates (Mr. Truman and Mr. Dewey), there were also in the field two candidates of minor parties (Mr. Thurmond and Mr. Wallace), who were considered to have unusual strength for minor-party candidates undoubtedly was a factor in leading many to speculate seriously on the possibility of the House having to choose a President. Much was written on this subject, with numerous expressions of opinion to the effect that a change in the Constitution was desirable to remove in future any possibility of such a situation arising, since it was felt by many that the relevant Constitutional provision was outmoded and that no longer should the House have the power under any circumstances to choose a President. This controversy (for there were numerous points of view on the subject) carried over into the new year and after Congress opened there appeared in the Appendix material bearing on the question. On January 3, for example, Rep. Lane of Massachusetts included under leave to extend his remarks an editorial from a Lawrence, Massachusetts paper advocating a
In this session of Congress a pressing question was the proposed repeal of the so-called Taft-Hartley Act. Organized labor, and its adherents in Congress, were most anxious to effect this repeal, and a liberal group in both houses pressed for legislation to this end. Numerous remarks, speeches, editorials, and so forth appeared in the Appendix, starting with the first issue of the session, advocating repeal. On the other side of the argument, many members of the two houses inserted material in support of the legislation under attack; Mr. LeFevre of New York, for example, inserted remarks and a New York *Herald-Tribune* editorial, in favor of the Taft-Hartley Law, on January 7.

At this particular time in American History, as has usually been the case, there was a full quota of controversial issues before the Congress. There was more or less floor discussion of some of these, but of course the available time for such discussion is not sufficient for the full expression of views by the several members on all these subjects. And so the Appendix is crowded, in this Eighty-first Congress, with extensions of remarks bearing on these many issues. Some of the latter are listed below, with an indication for each of an Appendix item on the subject:


Oleomargarine Controversy -- Mrs. St. George, N.Y., Jan. 10
Need for Housing Legislation -- Mr. O'Brien, Mich., Jan. 10
Farm Commodity Prices -- Mr. H. C. Anderson, Minn., Jan. 10
River Valley Development -- Mr. Lane, Mass., Jan. 5.
Social Security -- Mr. F. C. Smith, Ohio, Jan. 17.
Marshall Plan -- Mr. Multer, N.Y., Jan. 18.
Socialized Medicine -- Mr. Harrison, Va., Jan. 18.
Free Enterprise -- Mr. Huber, Ohio, Jan. 24.
Federal School Aid -- Mr. John D. Lodge, Conn., Jan. 24.
St. Lawrence Seaway -- Mr. Compton White, Idaho, Jan. 17.
The Federal Budget -- Mr. Murray, Wis., Jan. 24.
The Situation in China -- Mr. Judd, Minn., Jan. 24.
The Wool Market -- Mr. Lane, Mass., Jan. 3.
Statehood for Hawaii -- Mr. Farrington, Hawaii, Jan. 27.
The Tidelands Question -- Mr. Larcade, La., Jan. 3.
The Council of Europe -- Mr. Boggs, La., Jan. 31.
High Prices -- Mr. Jensen, Iowa, Jan. 31.
Such is a generous sampling of the items appearing in the Appendix during January 1949, the first month of the Eighty-first Congress's first session. As can be seen from the listed topics, a great variety of issues were dealt with. Most of those in the above list were or national or international importance, or both, matters that were or should have been of considerable interest to very many Americans. Some of the issues were highly controversial. Some were of transcendent importance at the moment; others, of relatively less importance, and yet of long-run interest or important to a sizable minority group. The Zionist question, for example, the struggle of the Jews in Palestine to set up and keep an independent state against strong military opposition from the nations of the Arab bloc; the resulting situation in the Near East was of great interest to many Americans, and especially to the important Jewish minority in the United States. The struggle to repeal the long-standing tax on oleomargarine, which was finally successful in this Congress, was very much in the picture; it was highly controversial, and of great interest to consumers and to the people in the dairy regions of the country. The large Italian minority of the American population was interested in the issue of what disposition the United Nations would make of Italy's former colonies.

The workings and ramifications of the Marshall Plan were
important to the whole free world. America's foreign policy, as it related to Asia on one hand and as it related to Europe on the other was a subject of constant thinking and debate by many Americans, as well as by their representatives in Congress. Other international questions, old and new, came in for their share of attention. The Yalta Agreement, and its far-reaching effects; the situations in China and Manchuria; the continued unrest in Greece—all these were discussed. The Russian blockade of Berlin, and the aggression by the Netherlands against the new Indonesian state; the Communist persecution of Cardinal Mindszenty—these came in for their share of attention.

On the domestic scene were many vexed questions that demanded and received consideration. In January 1949, a very severe blizzard occurred in the trans-Mississippi Middle West and the Rocky Mountain region, and the problems occasioned by this emergency, the need for relief of suffering people and livestock, the need to restore disrupted communications, for federal aid in funds, materials, foodstuffs, and so forth, are, we find, treated at length in the Appendix for this period. Federal aid to education, proposals for so-called "Socialized Medicine", the question of ownership of the "tidelands" along the American coast, especially in connection with the valuable oil deposits off the shores of Texas and California, long under dispute,
came in for their full share of attention in the Appendix.15

In this Congress legislation was passed repealing the federal tax on oleomargarine, but not before much discussion of the issue, pro and con, had been spread upon the pages of the Appendix.16

America still suffered from a housing shortage in 1949, and a number of bills were introduced in Congress whose object was to relieve this situation. Arguments in favor of these bills naturally found their way into print in the Appendix.17

The victory of Mr. Truman in the 1948 presidential election, which had come as a stunning surprise to many political observers, and was to be a subject of discussion for months to come, was not neglected in the Appendix. Attempts at analysis of the Truman victory and what its meaning might be for the future, with particular reference to projected legislation in the Eighty-first Congress, are to be found in numerous items inserted during the period under discussion. Mr. Truman's inaugural address likewise came in for comment and discussion, containing as it did among other important points the striking "Point Four" proposals.18

Such diverse subjects as the future of the Republican Party; the alleged drift toward Socialism in America; the controversy over the Hoover Commission proposals to strip
the Army's Corps of Engineers of its civil functions; the recent death of an outstanding civil servant, Mr. William A. Jump; these and other subjects of interest on the domestic scene came in for their share of attention in the Appendix. 19

How were these many topics, issues foreign and domestic, treated? Sometimes a Congressmen would insert in extenso a speech prepared by himself as suitable for delivery on the floor of the Chamber. More often, however, an editorial from a newspaper, or perhaps several editorials on the same subject, generally expressing similar points of view, would be inserted. 20

There are frequently printed exchanges of letters between a member and some official of the Executive branch, or perhaps correspondence with a constituent. Such correspondence is often effective in graphically portraying a point of view. Constituents, be it noted, often express themselves in thoroughly articulate fashion.

The printing of speeches made by Congressmen and Senators at places other than within the Congress itself is frequently encountered, and often there will be inserted speeches by other prominent individuals, delivered on various occasions. For example, Mr. Kilburn of New York, under date of January 6, 1949, had inserted into the Appendix excerpts from the annual message to the New York Legis-
lature by Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York. These excerpts were worthy of national attention, for they dealt with a long-time controversial issue often before the Congress, the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power project.

We have mentioned many issues of real importance that found a place in the Appendix in the period under immediate examination; January of 1949. There is another side of the coin. There are some trivial items in the Appendix for this period, items of limited interest to any large segment of the population. An example is a humorous jingle sent in to a Louisiana Congressman by a constituent, bearing felicitations for Mr. Truman on his inauguration for a new term, but requesting "Harry to send, WAA style, his civil-rights plank to me."22

On a far different plane, though possibly not of wide interest, are the tributes paid to public office-holders who retire or who have died, by their former colleagues. Such tributes frequently appear in the Appendix, and they are, we feel, worth the printing. Also in serious and worth-while vein is the reprinting of prayers delivered in Congress by the Chaplains of the two houses. These are often printed in compiled form as Congressional documents, and, frequently, examples of these prayers are to be found inserted in the Appendix. Under date of January 6, 1949, Sen. Robertson of Virginia placed there a statement regard-
ing the prayers of the Senate Chaplain, Dr. Peter Marshall, together with an editorial from the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch on the subject.23

An item of much interest to historians appeared under date of January 5, put in by Mr. Wolverton of New Jersey. This is an editorial from a New Jersey paper, and parts of it are worth quoting here:

"Six men have served 8 years as Speaker of the House of Representatives, either consecutively or with intervals between terms. The first five were Henry Clay, of Kentucky; Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia; Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana; Joseph H. Cannon, of Illinois; and Champ Clark, of Missouri....

All these will be eclipsed in length of service by Sam Rayburn, of Texas, who now takes office again.

Rayburn also held the speakership for four terms, prior to losing it to Republican Joseph Martin, of Massachusetts, in the Eightieth Congress.

The popular Texan has achieved a truly unique distinction...the Speakers' office remains one of the most important in Washington..." 24
1. Congressional Record, 81st Congress, 1st session (daily edition) pp. 9-10. It is interesting to note that in the succeeding Congress (the 82d Congress), the old rule was restored, rescinding the action taken by the 81st Congress.

2. Ibid., p. A3 and f., passim.

3. Ibid., p. A17.

4. Ibid., p. A35.

5. Ibid., p. A23.


10. Ibid., daily issues for January 1949, passim.

11. Ibid., loc. cit.

12. Ibid., p. A117.

13. Ibid., p. A221.


15. Ibid., p. A17.


17. Ibid., p. A178.


19. Ibid., daily issues for January 1949, passim.


CHAPTER FIVE.

The Modern Record -
the Appendix:
the character of its contents
(concluded)
The year 1950 was perhaps the most troubled one for the United States since the end of World War II in 1945. June of 1950 saw the nation embark again on armed conflict, with United States armed intervention in Korea in a struggle that was rapidly to develop into an undeclared war between Communist China on the one hand and the United States, aided by small contingents of troops from other nations and the South Korean army as well, on the other. The result of the entry into the Korean conflict was that the United States returned to a semi-wartime economy and a state of partial mobilization. The work of Congress sharply reflected the new state of affairs. Attempts at economy in government expenditures, especially in the military sphere, were jettisoned at once. The lid was taken off, as it were. Production, the size of the armed forces, the cost of living, prices, wages—all of these skyrocketed. New draft powers granted the military were invoked to fill the ever expanding quotas of inductees into the armed forces. The budget grew ever greater; threats of unheard-of taxes were ominously voiced abroad. The anti-Communist feeling in the United States, that had been sharpening in recent years, was now intensified. Senator McCarran of Nevada finally saw his long efforts bear fruit when the Congress passed over the President's veto the Internal Security Act of 1950.
This law frankly was designed to "control" the Communist Party in the United States. In the Appendix for October 20, 1950, Senator McCarran inserted a resume of the law, written by himself. Other material appearing in this issue of the Record, the final one for the first part of the second session of the Eighty-first Congress, is hereinafter outlined. This material may be taken as typical for the period after the entry of the nation into the Korean conflict at the end of June, 1950.


How to Deter Russian Aggression -- Sen. Long, La., Sept. 23.


These are some of the items appearing in the Appendix for October 20, 1950. The dates given in each case refer to the day on which permission was requested and received, on the floor for leave to print. The list indicates the preoccupation at this time with the Korean question and the whole problem posed by World Communism, both abroad and at home.

Also discussed at this time we find several Reorganization Plans of the President, submitted to Congress in line with recommendations of the famous Hoover Commission report in the hope of bringing about desirable changes in the organization of the Executive branch of the United States government. Congressional opposition developed to certain of these Plans, which, it was charged, went far beyond the recommendations of the Hoover Commission. This opposition was successful in bringing about Congressional veto of several of the Plans. A discussion of the merits of some of the controversial plans is found in the Appendix.

The issue of National Health Insurance has continued to be hotly debated for several years. So it was in the Eighty-first Congress, and views for and against were presented in the Appendix by interested legislators.

As usual, a favorite device used to express opinion on an issue was to reprint editorials, magazine articles, or the writings of newspaper columnists, as well as speeches
delivered in various places and on various occasions by members of the Congress and other public men.

A resume of Congressional activity during the first part of the second session of the Eighty-first Congress shows that the Senate was in session 180 days, the House 158 days. There were 9,287 pages of proceedings of the Senate in the Record, and 6631 pages of House proceedings. There were 7734 pages of the Appendix. 435 Public Laws were enacted, and 699 Private Laws. A total of 1402 measures of various kinds (including bills, resolutions, etc.,) passed the Senate; 1600 measures passed the House. 43 bills were vetoed by the President. The Senate confirmed a total of 25,590 nominations of the President to office, mostly in the armed services. The Daily Digest had a total of 1067 pages.
1. Public Law 831, Eighty-first Congress.


3. Ibid., passim.

4. Ibid., passim.

5. Ibid., passim.

CHAPTER SIX.

The Record, the Appendix, and Congressional Reorganization.
For some years, proposals had been advanced from time to time looking to the reorganization of the legislative branch of the federal government, with the object of "streamlining" that branch, rendering it more efficient, and doing away with some congressional practices and procedures that had come into continued use through the years but which were sadly antiquated and out of keeping with modern governmental needs. Little was done about such proposals until 1946, when there was passed into law an act to reorganize the legislative branch of the government, accomplishing a considerable reform in that branch. This act not only overhauled the committee system of Congress, provided for increased pay and more secretarial assistance for members, and established a Legislative Reference Service in the Library of Congress, to aid Congressmen in certain of their duties, but it also provided for regulation of lobbying activities, and did away to a considerable extent with the long-standing nuisance of having to pay tort claims against the government by means of individual Private Acts of Congress.

During 1945, a Joint Committee of the Congress, set up to consider ways and means of accomplishing the ends finally achieved in the Act of 1946 above-mentioned, held hearings (from March 13 to June 29, 1945) on the subject of the organization of Congress. This committee had as its chair-
man the distinguished and able Senator from Wisconsin, Robert LaFollette Jr. The Vice-chairman was Rep. A. S. Mike Monroney, of Oklahoma. During these hearings, at which many members of both houses, as well as numerous experts in the field of government, both office-holders and private citizens, testified, the subject of the Congressional Record was brought up. Proposals were made which resulted in provision in the Act of 1946 for what is known as the Daily Digest, mentioned elsewhere in this paper. Rep. Karl Mundt, of North Dakota, testified in favor of this type of feature in the Record. He favored a daily index, placed on the front page, including the names of members who spoke during the sitting covered by the particular issue. He pointed out that the daily *Hansard* of the British Parliament, which he described as the Records chief rival or opposite number, carries such a daily index. Mr. Mundt also suggested that larger and more readable print be used in the Record, that the names of persons speaking be printed in bold-face type, and that purchasing the Record be made easier for visitors to Washington and others. Informed that the Record was on sale daily in the Capitol building, he pointed out that it was easy to go through that building and never notice the obscure stand where the publication could be bought. He wanted it, in any case, made more readily available, wishing that its potential
value as the individual citizen's contact with what Congress was doing might be brought to realization. In short, he thought the Record should be made more readable, more available, and with better indexing more valuable to people interested in finding specific items or information in it.

The subject of the inclusion of the vast bulk of more or less extraneous material that is printed in the Appendix was raised, though it is noticeable that the Appendix was considered not as a separate part but as an integral part of the Record by the participants in this committee discussion. That is to say, here as often happens the word "Record" was used when the Appendix specifically was meant.

Senator Wallace White, of Maine, a member of the joint committee, asked Mr. Mundt what he thought about a possible tightening-up of the allowing to be printed in the Record "speeches and newspaper matter, editorials, and that manner of material that gets included every day in the Record and makes a volume sometimes of very substantial size." Mundt replied:

"I have heard that matter discussed several times. As for me, I strongly oppose the idea. I would like for us to leave in America one place, one splendid example of a completely free press, unfettered in any way, and that is what we have now in the Congressional Record. I believe in the
long run the conscience of each Member and his good judgment will determine how much we abuse that privilege. 6

Rep. Cox, a committee member, interposed: "A lot of trashy matter that has no value whatever finds its way into the Record." 7

The vice-chairman inquired whether it was not a fact that the member is held liable for such material, when he presents himself to the voters for reelection. Rep. Mundt agreed that this was so. Vice-chairman Monroney continued: "We do have a sort of self-censorship on our own good judgment." Mundt agreed, saying that it was better to let some members clutter up the Record with "inane material" than to have any kind of censoring committee determine what should or should not go in the Record. He said, "I would not like anyone to pass on what I put into the Record, unless I could do the passing on it myself. What looks like trash to one fellow looks like a literary gem to another."

Senator White continued the colloquy thus: "Theoretically at least, and originally anyway, the Record was a record of what was said and done on the floor of the two bodies of Congress. We have gotten pretty far away from that." The Senator went on to raise the question of possibly excluding some of the extraneous matter.

Rep. Michener, of Michigan, remarked, "All of this ex-
traneous material goes in by unanimous consent. If an article contains more than two pages of printed matter, the member must get an estimate from the Printing Committee as to the additional cost, and this fact must be stated to the House and unanimous consent obtained, cost notwithstanding." He added that the average cost of printing was $45 to $55 a page. Mr. George Galloway, the staff director for the joint committee, remarked that there was a ceiling on the length of insertions, namely, two thousand words. 8

Sen. White declared it as his opinion that no one individual should be able to determine the suitability of material to be inserted in the Record. Here he was criticizing directly the present practice, which permits each member to be his own judge, in effect, of the worth of the material he is having put into the Record, in the exercise of which judgment he is, as a practical matter, virtually unhindered. Rep. Mundt strongly disagreed with the view thus expressed by the Senator from Maine. 9

Mr. Mundt stated that he wanted the Record to remain what it was and had been, "one place in America where everybody can make his contribution without any bias, without any prejudice or screening at all, because it is difficult to set up any criteria which can be applied by human individuals.... with equity to every Member of the House and Senate." 10
Vice-chairman Monroney asked, "Would it not be advisable, Mr. Mundt, for two senior Members, when a Member is constantly misusing the Record by putting in a lot of dumb poetry from constituents, which happens all too frequently, to have a kind word of suggestion that it is not politically expedient and it is not dignifying to the body to include that tripe in the Record?"¹¹

Mr. Mundt assented that this suggestion was a good one. It may be noted here, however, that it was not put into practice. The Act of 1946 did nothing to disturb the status quo so far as the contents of the Record and the Appendix thereto were concerned, although, as we have seen, the new feature, a Daily Digest, was provided for.¹²

Mr. Mundt, in urging, and he did so strongly, larger print and a front-page index, took occasion to quote from a letter to him by Clarence Streit, the well-known writer on government. Mr. Streit had written: "Why on earth should the people's own paper apparently aim in every conceivable way to discourage people from reading it?"¹³

Mr. Monroney took occasion to make an interesting point in the Record's behalf, as he stated that the publication contains more useful and highly technical tables of statistics than any other publication in the world.¹⁴

During the hearings, another suggestion was made concerning the contents of the Appendix. This was contained
in a letter to the committee written by Mr. C. A. Loeffler, secretary to the minority in the United States Senate. Mr. Loeffler, a veteran employee of Congress, suggested that the Appendix be restricted to matter directly in point with pending legislation. This suggestion was not followed, however. As has been said, the Reorganization Act let the Record alone so far as its contents were concerned.

The discussion on the subject of the Record in the committee, as we have described it here, brings out rather well the two contrasting points of view that are apt to be taken on the subject. Mr. White expressed himself as not satisfied with conditions as they existed, regarding the Record and its contents, and felt that some sort of criterion should be set up to guard against the insertion of trivial material, or at the least, something should be done to lessen the great bulk of the Record. Mr. Mundt, on the other hand, rather eloquently expressed the point of view of those who feel that the Record is a democratic forum, the people's paper. While admitting that inane material finds its way into the pages of the Appendix, he felt that it was better to let this continue without hindrance than to try and set up any barriers. He implied that members of Congress would not be satisfied to let some person or persons pass on the suitability of material that members proposed to insert in the Record.
1. Public Law 601, 79th Congress.


3. Ibid., p. 481-4.


6. Ibid., p. 482, 483.

7. Ibid., loc. cit.

8. Ibid., p. 482.

9. Ibid., p. 484.

10. Ibid., p. 484 f.

11. Ibid., p. 485.

12. Ibid., p. 485.

13. Ibid., p. 486.


15. Ibid., p. 487.
CHAPTER SEVEN.

Final Observations and Conclusions.
"The practice of inserting in the Congressional Record speeches not actually delivered on the floor has grown up by consent of the House as the membership has increased and it has become difficult at times for every Member to express at length on the floor his reasons for his attitude on public questions."  

This statement is found in a footnote to the Rules of the House of Representatives, as edited by Lewis Deschler, the House Parliamentarian. It constitutes an excellent brief statement of the reasons for the existence of the practice of "leave to print" or "extension of remarks" as it is variously called. House precedents take care that this privilege be not grossly abused. For instance, it is not permissible to print material that would not be deliverable on the floor, as for example, charges made by a Member against another Member.  

The legal authority under which the Congressional Record, and in general all printing for the Congress is produced in contained in the Printing and Binding Act of January 12, 1895, with subsequent amendments. This act gives general control of congressional printing to the Joint Committee on Printing, which consists of three Senators and three Members of the House. The joint committee is given control of the arrangement and style of the Record, and must
see to it that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings in the two houses, while taking any necessary action to reduce "unnecessary bulk". Daily, and also permanent bound (sessional) editions are provided for, as is the distribution of the Record by the Public Printer, who is entrusted with the duty of printing it in the Government Printing Office, of which he is the head. The Official Reporters of Debates supply the reports of proceedings. Each house has general control of material to be inserted by its members.

Neither the Printing Act, nor the Senate or House Rules, seem to consider the Appendix as other than an integral part of the Record. The reason why this should be so is, one may suppose, contained in the above-quoted paragraph from Deschler's House Rules. The leave to extend and revise remarks, granted by unanimous consent to Members upon their request, has naturally grown and evolved over the years, in good part due to increased size of membership in the Congress and the consequent impossibility, due to limitations of time, for Members to express themselves fully on public matters on the House or Senate floor.

Back in the 1840's, in the era of the Congressional Globe, it became the practice to place speeches not actually delivered on the floor not in the body of the pub-
lished proceedings, but in an Appendix. Since that time, the Appendix has enjoyed an evolutionary development, where the nature of the material inserted has in good measure changed, though not so technically. To be perfectly specific, we may cite this example: where once a member, under leave to extend his remarks, would insert a speech on some question before the Congress, he nowadays has become accustomed to limit his "speech" to something like the following.

"Mr. Speaker, I desire to insert, for the information of my fellow-members, a very interesting editorial on the subject of the United Nations that appeared in the New York Times on January 30." This is all there is to the "speech", the bulk of the insertion being a reprint of the editorial concerned.

Now it has sometimes been said that this sort of thing is an unjustifiable abuse of the right to print. It would appear, however, that such an opinion involves a subjective judgment of the material printed, and the writer is not sure that such judgments ought to be relied on in deciding what is or is not worthy of printing in the Record.

It can be argued that the Appendix, containing as it does a compilation of newspaper and magazine articles and editorials and columns on the leading public questions of the day, a compilation that by the end of a session has
reached sizable proportions, with thousands of pages of such reprinted material, constitutes a valuable means of a Congressman's informing himself on a wide variety of opinion, expert and otherwise, on great questions which he himself must make a decision on before casting votes intelligently on bills as they come up for passage. A Congressman may or may not use this tool provided for him by the Appendix. But that is up to him. It is there for him if he cares to utilize it. Possibly he has not the time to read all of it. Possibly he could, with some effort, read much of it, especially where major questions of national policy are under discussion. The point here is that the Appendix constitutes a unique compilation, of at least potential value to Congress.

The Appendix may also be considered as a great public forum, Nowadays, with the average Congressman's constituency numbered by the hundreds of thousands of persons, direct personal contact between the Congressman and any large number of the voters who have sent him to Washington as their representative is an obvious impossibility. The folks back home must generally content themselves with making their opinions and wishes felt by writing to their Congressman. Letters from constituents not infrequently appear in the Appendix. For the Congressman's part, reprints of speeches he has made on the floor, or of material that he has had
inserted in the Appendix, printed for him by the Government Printing Office at cost and mailed under his frank to his constituents, provide him with a means of keeping those he represents informed as to the stand he is taking on important measures. This practise seems eminently justifiable. It has been criticised as a waste of the government's money, but the cost of printing such material is relatively not large, and in any event is not a public expense; the additional burden on the mail service caused by sending out thousands of pieces of franked material is also relatively speaking not great, and constitutes only a very minor portion of the immense amount of franked mail sent out by the several branches of the United States government.

As for the question of setting up and operating any sort of authority to pass on the suitability of members' insertions in the Record, the writer feels that there is an inherent danger in so doing. The cry of politics would surely be raised by a member, particularly if he happened to belong to the minority party, if one of his insertions should be refused space in the Record, be it for whatever reason. This undoubtedly would lead to much party bickering on the floor of Congress, and a consequent waste of time, with the engendering of hard feelings, over issues really too trivial to take up the time of Congress. There
is already enough opportunity for "playing politics", speaking for the gallery and for home consumption, generally with a concurrent neglect of real issues and pressing national and international problems, without creating further opportunity for this sort of thing by setting up some criterion, which would have to involve subjective judgments of fallible human beings and might indeed be misused for partisan political purposes in controlling what should or should not be published in the Record. The precedent of a century, that of freely given leave to print, could not be overthrown without acrimonious debate and heated struggle, and this over a matter that is basically not important enough to make such a struggle worth while.

The amount of paper that is wasted, if any, and the amount of unnecessary monetary expense to the government, if any, involved in continuing the present practise of virtually unrestricted leave to print, is relatively so small when compared with the total amount of printing done by the federal government that it would appear to be needless to worry over the allegedly vast amount of extraneous material finding its way into the Record. Perhaps preferable is the view of Congressman Karl Mundt, that the Record should be left as a free and open forum for the people, their means of expression if they wish to use it, in the scheme of things of our great democracy.
The cost of printing the Congressional Record for the fiscal year 1950 was $1,957,180.04, which is an average charge of $82.00 per page. The charge includes the cost of producing the Daily Record, the permanent bound volumes, the Biweekly edition, and the Biweekly Index. 

For the last six-month period of fiscal 1950 the pages of the Appendix slightly exceeded the number of pages of Proceedings. There is a considerable variation in the ratio of Proceedings to Appendix, and it is estimated that the average cost of the Appendix would equal a third of the total. (The italics are the writer's.)

In summary, the writer would state his conclusions as follows. An examination of the modern Appendix to the Record shows that the former is truly an extension of the latter, a repository for material germane to the work of the Congress which properly does not belong in the body of proceedings, as it would not belong in the journals, and yet is of a nature that makes it desirable for the Congress to print it. The Appendix contains much materials, petitions and memorials, for instance, that were formerly printed as Senate or House Documents. Extensions of Remarks, more numerously originating with House Members than with Senators, due to the restrictions on floor debate in the House, provide a means for members to get on record...
statements which for any reason they are unable to make on the floor.

The Appendix provides an oft-used forum for expression of opinion by articulate members of the body politic, as well as by Senators and Representatives. It provides a compilation of varying shades of opinion, of varying degrees of expertness, on issues of the day. It contains relatively little material that is utterly trivial or "trashy", and unfitted for publication in a serious government document. It is an integral part of the Congressional Record, and along with the rest of the Record it might be improved, in line perhaps with suggestions made before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, in 1945, which have hereinbefore been mentioned.

As it stands, the Appendix provides an opportunity for expression of opinion by the people's representatives and also by the people themselves. We feel it could be dispensed with only to the detriment of the people. We believe that Congress considers it a necessity, recognizes its value, and that it will remain an integral part of the people's "government newspaper", the Congressional Record.

2. Ibid., p. 483.

3. 28 Statutes at Large 601. (Act of Jan. 12, 1895.)

4. Ibid., sec. 13.


7. Ibid., loc. cit.
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An Abstract.
The origins and development of the Congressional Record make up an interesting chapter in the history of government printing. The Record and its predecessors had been instituted to provide a means of preserving congressional debates; to preserve what was said in Congress, as well as what was done there. The two chambers had published their journals since 1789; but legislative journals do not contain the record of debates in a legislative body; they are rather the "minutes", or a record of proceedings, providing a history of actions taken, on legislation and other matters concerning the legislature. The Record, providing similarly a history of legislation, thus serves in addition a much broader function.

Prior to 1833, debates in the Senate and House were not reported contemporaneously with their occurrence, except in a haphazard way in certain newspapers. However, there exist collections of the debates of Congress from the beginning of the government under the Constitution in 1789. These are: Debates and Proceedings in Congress, 1789-1824, (42 volumes, published 1834-56), commonly called the Annals of Congress; and Register of Debates in Congress (14 volumes, published 1825-37). These collections, taken together, cover the period from 1789 down to 1833. In the latter year the Congressional Globe, presenting the debates
verbatim, was started as a private venture. It continued publication down to 1873, when its place was taken by the present Congressional Record, an official publication. The latter is prepared by official reporters, who are officials of the Congress appointed for just this task, and it is printed by the government.

The Record is published daily during sessions of Congress, and purports to give an exact stenographic reproduction of everything said on the floor of the two houses, except during closed sessions of the Senate. (The latter have become infrequent.) This it does not actually do, in part because members have the privilege of editing their remarks before they are printed in the permanent bound edition of the Record, which is issued after the close of each session of Congress to cover the entire period of that session, and also because, in the case of the House, speeches are frequently printed under official leave which were never delivered by word of mouth at all.

The writer is concerned specifically with the Appendix to the Record, as it has existed in recent years and as it exists today.

Precisely what is the Appendix? Both houses permit their members to put into the Record correspondence, editorials, public documents, speeches of members on public occasions, magazine and newspaper articles and editorials, writings
of "columnists", selections from books, and occasionally verses, which have not been read in debate.

It should be pointed out that the Appendix is not something apart from the Record, a separate publication; it must indeed be considered an integral part of the Record, that portion of the publication set aside to contain material in general germane to the proceedings of Congress, introduced for printing therein by Senators or Representatives, material of a character as described above, not actually a part of the proceedings of either house of Congress, but in general bearing on some issue that is, has been, or will be under discussion in Congress during the session then current. Such material, printed in the Appendix, must be considered an integral part of the Record as a whole. The author contends that the Appendix does not deserve the charge of triviality often levelled at it; but rather that the character of the work of Congress at a given time, the issues under debate - these determine the character of the contents of the Appendix.

It appears to the writer that an examination of the Appendix as it has been made up over the years shows the following facts quite clearly.

As the Record has grown, so has the Appendix. The Record has grown on something of a parallel with the growth of the nation in size, wealth, population, expen-
ditures of government, and the growing importance of the place occupied by the United States of America in world affairs.

Secondly, although there has been an increase in the amount of extraneous material included in the Appendix, this does not constitute a significant part of the Appendix.

Thirdly, the Appendix largely consists of expressions of views, through speeches, editorials, letters, and so forth, on the major problems agitating the country and concerning the Congress at a particular time. The Appendix can thus be said to be in a very real sense an extension of the body of the Record itself.

It must be borne in mind that while the Appendix of the Annals, the Register, or the Globe was in each case much smaller in volume than that of the Record, although wider in scope and content perhaps (with the inclusion of presidential messages to Congress, departmental reports, and other state papers), yet this relatively small volume could in part be accounted for by the fact that there in 1800, or 1825, or indeed in 1850 fewer Senators and Congressmen than there are now, for America had fewer people and fewer states in those times. Logically, fewer members in Congress would lead to fewer insertions in the Appendix, since there would be not so many persons desirous of making insertions. As Congress has grown, so has the Record and
its Appendix.

Perhaps the Appendix as we have it today could be dis-
pensed with, and no great loss would result. But as it
stands, it provides a chance for expression of opinion
on issues that concern the people, the nation, and the
world, by the people's representatives and by the people
themselves. It is a kind of forum, where both the wise
and the foolish may be heard. Who will say that such a
forum is not worth while?