

MINUTES OF THE SENATE DEMOCRATIC  
CONFERENCE

**1903-1964**



**MINUTES OF THE SENATE DEMOCRATIC  
CONFERENCE**

**Fifty-eighth Congress through Eighty-eighth Congress**

**1903-1964**

**Edited by**

**Donald A. Ritchie  
U.S. Senate Historical Office**

**Prepared under the direction of the Secretary of the Senate**

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## **FOREWORD**

In 1991 the Advisory Committee on the Records of Congress unanimously recommended that these minutes, and their Republican counterparts, be edited for publication. The discussions they contain tell a great deal about the development of our party's organization during these formative decades from before World War I to the mid-1960s.

I am delighted to have played a role in making these minutes available and hope they will prove a source of illumination to my colleagues, to scholars, and to the American people.

Thomas A. Daschle  
Senate Democratic Leader and  
Chairman, Democratic Conference



## **PREFACE**

These conference minutes add significantly to our knowledge of the Senate's institutional development during the first two-thirds of the twentieth century. Their publication, on the unanimous recommendation of the Advisory Committee on the Records of Congress, serves as a further demonstration of the Senate's desire to open its historical records in a timely and useful manner. As the Senate officer responsible for preserving and making publicly available this body's noncurrent records, I take particular pleasure in this volume's release. Over the past five years, the Senate Historical Office, operating under the Secretary of the Senate's supervision, has carefully transcribed, annotated, edited, and indexed the minutes of both party conferences. Special thanks go to my predecessors Walter J. Stewart and Kelly D. Johnston for coordinating this project with the Senate's party leaders, and to party secretaries Elizabeth B. Greene and Martin P. Paone for their generous cooperation. Within the Senate Historical Office, I wish to acknowledge Senate Historian Richard A. Baker, who has resolutely advocated this enterprise almost since his appointment in 1975, and to Associate Historian Donald A. Ritchie and Historical Editor Wendy Wolff, the two professional staff members who did the hard work of transcribing, editing, and annotating. Wendy Wolff also prepared the detailed index that greatly enhances this work's reference value.

Gary Sisco  
Secretary of the Senate





## INTRODUCTION

### The Development of Senate Party Caucuses

The authors of the United States Constitution did not anticipate political parties and therefore made no provisions for political organizations within Congress. Yet party caucuses—meetings open only to members of the same party—emerged early in the histories of both the Senate and the House of Representatives and over time became the “fountainhead” of political power in Congress. Caucuses, later called conferences, took responsibility for choosing party candidates for such officers of the Senate as the president pro tempore, the chaplain, the secretary of the Senate, and the sergeant at arms. They also selected the majority and minority leaders and whips, the policy committees, steering committees, and members of all the standing and special committees. Depending upon the particular time, the issues, the incumbent president, the inclinations of the leadership, and the party’s numerical strength, caucuses have attempted to maintain party unity and promote the party’s program.<sup>1</sup>

“Caucus” derived from an Algonquian Indian word for counselors. Before the American Revolution, secret caucuses within the colonial legislatures plotted opposition to British-appointed governors. By the time the First Congress met in 1789, the term “caucusing” had become a commonplace expression for any private conference of likeminded legislators. Between 1796 and 1836, formal congressional caucuses nominated candidates for president of the United States—until protests against “King Caucus” led to the convening of national party conventions. Less regularly during these early congresses, party caucuses met to plan strategy dealing with legislation, nominations, and treaties. When the Jeffersonian Republicans won control of Congress in 1800, the Federalist minority accused the majority of trying to reconcile their differences in caucuses before debating anything in public, thereby treating the minority as “nullities.” When legislation dealing with the purchase of Louisiana reached the Senate, a Federalist senator complained that “the democratic senators held a Caucus last evening in which they settled the principles of the bill—and agreed to the same in the Senate without any debate.”<sup>2</sup>

Caucus innovations generally emerged from the majority party and were later adopted by the minority. Prior to the Civil War, when

Democrats more often held the majority, the Democratic caucus originated the practice of submitting slates of names of its members for committee assignments (rather than have the Senate as a whole elect committee members as was the practice before 1846). Republicans gained the majority during the Civil War and held it for most of the remainder of the nineteenth century. During this era, Republican senators made their party caucus a vehicle for scheduling legislation on the floor, a function that they eventually assigned to a steering committee within the caucus. Republicans also established a committee on committees to make party assignments to the standing committees. Senate Democrats adopted similar committees during the two congresses in which they held the majority between the Civil War and the end of the century. By contrast, in the twentieth century Democrats held the majority more frequently than Republicans. During this time, the Democratic Conference invented such offices as the majority leader and whip, which in turn were adopted by the Republicans.<sup>3</sup>

Senators have also attempted to exert party discipline through their caucuses. In December 1858, the Democratic caucus voted to remove Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas as chairman of the Committee on Territories, because of his opposition to President James Buchanan's plans for the organization of the Kansas territory. Similarly, in 1871, the Senate Republican caucus deposed Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner as chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, after he opposed President U.S. Grant's plans to annex Santo Domingo. Senator Sumner had also refused to acknowledge that his party caucus could limit the topics for consideration on the floor or tie senators' hands in advance. Nevertheless, by 1900 the two party caucuses controlled both committee assignments and calendars and imposed what one scholar has called "unprecedented discipline" on roll-call votes.<sup>4</sup>

The progressive reform movement at the opening of the twentieth century had a significant impact on the congressional caucuses. Suspicious of any exercise of power in secret meetings, the progressives discredited the term "caucus," which increasingly came to be replaced by "conference." Republicans officially designated their meetings as conferences in January 1913, while the Democrats switched from caucus to conference more informally. Although the two terms continue to be used interchangeably, "caucus" came to refer to those attempts at binding the party's vote, while "conference" referred to the election of officers and the general discussions of legislative business.<sup>5</sup> For instance, on April 19, 1916, while debating a tariff on sugar, Nevada Senator Francis G. Newlands asked whether the meeting was a conference or a caucus—that is, whether those par-

ticipating in the meeting were to be bound by its actions. The chairman declared the meeting to be a conference and explained that it would not “assume the character of a caucus” unless two-thirds of the Democratic senators first voted to make the question “a party question.” At that point, Georgia Senator Thomas W. Hardwick rose to state that unless the caucus coerced him he would “use every means in his power” to prevent the Senate from adopting the House version of the bill. But Hardwick added that if bound by the caucus he would “submit to such vote as a good party man.”

A keen observer of the caucus’ potential was the political scientist Woodrow Wilson. In his book, *Congressional Government*, published in 1885, Wilson had argued that “No one is the Senator. No one may speak for his party as well as for himself; no one exercises the special trust of acknowledged leadership.” However, by 1908, in his study *Constitutional Government in the United States*, Wilson had identified the chairman of the majority caucus as the leader of the Senate: “Each party in the Senate finds its real, its permanent, its effective organization in its caucus, and follows the leadership, in all important political battles, of the chairman of that caucus, its organization and leadership alike resting upon arrangements quite outside the Constitution, for which there is no better and no other sanction than human nature.”<sup>6</sup>

### **The Democratic Conference, 1903–1964**

Democrats held the majority from 1879 to 1881, and again from 1893 to 1895. In 1894, Maryland Senator Arthur Pue Gorman, as chair of the Democratic caucus, concluded that without an effective caucus “we should have passed through the session with divisions as wide upon this side as it is possible to conceive of within a party.” Perhaps because of their long years in the minority, Democrats had concentrated their party leadership more than did the Republicans, allowing their caucus chairman to head both the Steering Committee and Committee on Committees (during their years in the minority these committees were merged). In 1898, Gorman was defeated for reelection, but he returned to the Senate in March 1903, and once again was elected caucus chairman. Seeking further stability in their party organization, Democrats at that time adopted a “binding” rule by which members agreed to support any issue that received a two-thirds vote in the caucus. At the same time, Gorman began keeping regular minutes of the caucus proceedings. During the years that the Democrats remained in the minority, prior to 1913, Senate committee assignments and patronage issues initially predominated on the conference agenda.<sup>7</sup>

In 1912, Wilson won election as the Democratic candidate for president of the United States, and Democrats won the majority in both the Senate and House. Putting his theories into practice, Wilson was determined to make his party “a disciplined instrument” to enact his New Freedom program. He worked closely with the Democratic caucus to forge his legislative agenda within his party, rather than seek coalitions with progressive Republicans. The Senate Democratic caucus elected the progressive-minded freshman Senator John Worth Kern as its chairman and its de facto majority leader—although he never held that title officially. Kern called regular meetings of the caucus, particularly to debate the tariff, long a defining issue for the Democratic party. The caucus played a similar role in shaping legislation creating the Federal Reserve System and the Federal Trade Commission, the pillars of Wilson’s “New Freedom” program.<sup>8</sup>

Kern was defeated for reelection in 1916, and Senate Democratic leadership reverted to the senior party member, Thomas S. Martin, a conservative Virginia Democrat, and caucus meetings were held less frequently. The “binding” rule was revived in 1917, to promote party unity in enacting the Senate’s first cloture rule to limit debate during filibusters. Wilson had been angered when a band of antiwar senators, whom he dubbed a “little group of willful men,” filibustered legislation to permit the arming of American merchant ships prior to U.S. entry into the First World War. The new rule permitted debate to be cut off by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. In subsequent decades, filibusters were most frequently employed to block the passage of civil rights legislation, and the Democratic caucuses would confront the difficult issue of further liberalizing the cloture rule.<sup>9</sup>

After the frequent meetings called under Senator Kern’s leadership, the Democratic Conference was convened far less often during the long and dynamic tenure of Arkansas Senator Joseph T. Robinson. Minority leader from 1923 to 1933, and majority leader from 1933 to his death in 1937, Robinson called conferences only at the beginning of sessions to elect officers and conduct routine business. In 1928, however, he used a vote of the Conference to support his leadership against attack from Alabama’s fiery Senator Thomas Heflin.

On March 6, 1933, when the Democrats retook the majority after fourteen years in the minority, and with the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt ready to tackle the crisis of the Great Depression, Majority Leader Robinson attempted to restore the binding caucus rule that the Wilson administration had used so effectively a generation earlier:

RESOLVED, That until further ordered the Chairman is authorized to convene Democratic Senators in caucus for the purpose of considering any measure recommended by the President; and that all Democratic Senators shall be bound by the vote of the majority of the caucus; Provided that any Senator may be excused from voting for any such measure upon his express statement to the caucus that said measure is contrary to his conscientious judgment or that said measure is in violation of pledges made to his constituents as a candidate.

However, Louisiana's independent-minded Senator Huey Long immediately insisted that he would not be bound by any caucus. Other senators also asserted that they would vote their own consciences regardless of caucus rulings. Robinson retreated and thereafter used the Conference sparingly. Increasingly larger Democratic majorities in the Senate also relieved Robinson of the burden of maintaining party unity through the Conference. Robinson's successor as majority leader, Alben Barkley of Kentucky, similarly refrained from calling many party meetings. Although Barkley ostensibly led the largest majority in modern history, Senate Democratic ranks had divided sharply in response to President Roosevelt's plan to "pack" the Supreme Court in 1937, a division that took years to heal. Under those circumstances, Conference meetings offered Barkley anything but harmony. Ultimately, however, Barkley did draw strength from the caucus, which unanimously reelected him in 1944, following his resignation as majority leader over President Roosevelt's veto of a revenue bill that Barkley had endorsed.<sup>10</sup>

When Barkley became vice president in 1949, Senate Democratic leadership passed to his whip, Illinois Senator Scott Lucas, who sought to revive the Conference with regular meetings on President Harry S. Truman's legislative program. Defeated for reelection in 1950, Lucas was succeeded by Arizona Senator Ernest McFarland, who similarly looked to the party conferences to strengthen his leadership. McFarland was defeated for reelection in 1952, and the following year Senate Democrats elected Texas Senator Lyndon B. Johnson as Conference chairman and floor leader. In the mode of Joe Robinson and Alben Barkley before him, Johnson rarely called conferences, except at the beginning of each session.

Johnson's concentration of power in the leadership rather than the Democratic Conference worked best when the two parties were narrowly divided in the Senate. However, in 1959, shortly after Democrats won a landslide majority in the Senate, freshman Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin took the floor to lament that "the Democratic conference or caucus is dead." Noting that only two

conferences had been called during his two years in the Senate, Proxmire offered as an epitaph:

Here lies the Democratic caucus  
Conceived by senatorial responsibility  
And born with the Democratic Party—1800  
Assassinated at the hand of senatorial indifference—1953.  
“She labored faithfully and well to make Senatorial leadership  
responsible to all the people.”

Senator Proxmire pointed out that “there is one body and only one body to which all Democratic Senators and only Democratic Senators belong. That is the Democratic conference—in the past years called the Democratic caucus.” He argued that “During much of the history of the Senate the party conference or caucus has given all Democratic Senators their opportunity to exercise their right and fulfill their duty in determining our party’s program and policies.” By the late 1950s, Proxmire argued that due to the diminution of the party conferences, “the typical Democratic Senator has literally nothing to do with determining the legislative program and policies of this party in the Senate.” Proxmire called for “a greater degree of democracy in our party in the Senate,” by calling regular meetings of the Conference “to permit all Senators to know where the leadership intends to take us, and to permit the membership, if it cares to do so, to indicate whether or not it wants to go there.”<sup>11</sup>

Majority Leader Johnson publicly doubted that the Democratic Conference could be a productive tool, and privately worried that frequent party conferences might prove more divisive than unifying for the party. “There may be some who attribute to me power and influence which I do not possess,” Johnson argued, “but I can say in good conscience, and give my word for whatever it may be worth, that if I had caucused all day and night, I doubt whether anything I might have said would have changed the viewpoint” of other Democratic senators. However, Johnson responded to his critics by convening conferences to discuss specific issues.<sup>12</sup>

Johnson’s election as vice president in 1960 brought a vastly different style of party leadership under Montana Senator Mike Mansfield, who chaired the Democratic Conference and served as majority leader from 1961 to 1977. Believing that responsibility for moving the legislative agenda should be shared by all senators and not simply the leadership, Mansfield saw the Conference as a means of building consensus within the party. The Democratic Conference determined that regional and philosophical balance should be established on all party committees, and that no senator, except the Conference chairman, should sit on both the Steering and the Policy committees.<sup>13</sup>

### **Editorial Method**

The minutes of the Democratic Conference from 1903 to 1964 cover sixty years and the activities of 316 Democratic senators. They span an era that opened with concern over the treatment of Civil War veterans still serving on the Senate staff, and conclude with a reference to the enactment of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. They offer insights into the senators who sponsored such monumental legislation as the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, the Social Security Act of 1935, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Rarely verbatim, the minutes are formal in nature. But they contain occasional flashes of levity, as on June 24, 1913, when Conference Secretary Willard Saulsbury noted why he had missed some of the debate over the tariff: "Chairman here interfered with the duties of the Secretary by telling his laughing hyena story." On November 27, 1913, when the chair ruled against Senator Saulsbury's motion to adjourn for Thanksgiving, the Secretary took revenge by referring to the action in the minutes he was keeping as: "the steamroller having been oiled up and brought in." One notes also that on January 25, 1917, the conference passed a resolution of appreciation to the Manitou Spring Water Company of Colorado for having furnished the Conference with a complimentary case of its ginger ale.

The Democratic Conference minutes were reproduced from those held in custody by the party secretary for the use of the Conference. In 1993 microform copies were deposited in the National Archives, where they will be opened for research. These minutes begin in 1903, when Senator Arthur Pue Gorman resumed the Conference chairmanship, and when the conference first established a "binding" rule, making record keeping more essential. Minutes of a few early meetings were not included in the official minutes but were found in Senator Gorman's personal papers. Over the years a succession of Conference secretaries recorded the minutes, adopting different styles and varying the amount of material included. The earliest minutes were handwritten; later minutes were typed with occasional handwritten addenda.

The transcripts have sought to remain faithful to the original texts, with the exception of silently correcting small typographical errors, maintaining some consistency in capitalization and punctuation, and providing full words in place of abbreviations. Occasionally, an obvious typographical error (such as describing a Senate committee room as Ways and Means instead of Finance) has been corrected by inserting the correct word in brackets. In general, spelling has not been altered, so that a word like "subcommittee" may be spelled in a variety of ways over the sixty-year period of these

minutes. To provide historical context for the documents, the editor has added introductory notes for each Congress, explanatory information in brackets (including identification for House members, Republican senators, and other noncaucus members mentioned only by last name), and occasional footnotes. Appendix B lists the full names, states, and dates of service of all Democratic senators during this period, including those who served only briefly and thus are not mentioned within the minutes.

Donald A. Ritchie  
Senate Historical Office



## Notes

1. Remarks by Senator William Proxmire, *Congressional Record*, 23 February 1959, 86th Congress, 1st sess., p. 2814.
2. Robert Luce, *Legislative Procedure: Parliamentary Practices and the Course of Business in the Framing of Statutes* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972 [1922]), pp. 506–10; Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., *The Process of Government Under Jefferson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 280–82.
3. U.S., Congress, Senate, *The Senate, 1789–1989: Addresses on the History of the United States Senate*, by Robert C. Byrd, S. Doc. 100–20, 100th Congress, 1st sess., vol. 2, 1991, p. 219.
4. David J. Rothman, *Politics and Power: The United States Senate, 1868–1901* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 4, 18–25.
5. George H. Haynes, *The Senate of the United States: Its History and Practice* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1938), vol. 1, pp. 474–89.
6. Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1956 [1885]), p. 147; Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), p. 133.
7. Rothman, pp. 61–63, 68; see also John R. Lambert, *Arthur Pue Gorman* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953).
8. Dewey W. Grantham, *The Life & Death of the Solid South: A Political History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988), p. 66; Byrd, *The Senate, 1789–1989*, vol. 1, 1989, pp. 407–29.
9. See Thomas W. Ryley, *A Little Group of Willful Men: A Study of Congressional-Presidential Authority* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1975).
10. Donald A. Ritchie, “Alben W. Barkley; The President’s Man,” in Richard A. Baker and Roger H. Davidson, eds., *First Among Equals: Outstanding Senate Leaders of the Twentieth Century* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, 1991), pp. 144–50.
11. *Congressional Record*, 86th Congress, 1st sess., pp. 2814–20.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 9262.
13. Ross K. Baker, “Mike Mansfield and the Birth of the Modern Senate,” Baker and Davidson, eds., *First Among Equals*, pp. 264–94.

## Fifty-eighth Congress (1903–1905)

[Editor's Note: President Theodore Roosevelt called the Senate into special session on March 5, 1903 to consider the ratification of the Hay-Herran Treaty with the Republic of Colombia to construct an interoceanic canal across the Isthmus of Panama. On March 17, the Senate approved the treaty by a vote of 73 to 5, but Colombia refused to accept the treaty.

During the Fifty-eighth Congress, Senate Democrats were in the minority by a margin of 33 to 57. On March 6, the Democratic Conference (alternately identified as the Democratic caucus) elected Senator Arthur Pue Gorman of Maryland as chairman. No minutes exist of that meeting, which was reported in the following day's *Washington Post*. Senator Gorman had previously chaired the caucus from 1889 to 1893, and again from 1893 until his defeat for reelection in 1899; he won another term in the Senate in 1902. Also on March 6, 1903, Senator Edward W. Carmack of Tennessee was elected Democratic Conference secretary; the Conference increased the Democratic Steering Committee from seven to nine members; and the Steering Committee was instructed to recommend Democratic appointments to Senate committees, subject to ratification by the Conference.]

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[March 16, 1903]

Minority Conference Room, U.S. Senate.<sup>1</sup>  
March 16, 1903.

The Conference was called to order at 10:30 A.M., Senator Gorman presiding, with the following Senators present: Messrs. Bacon, Bailey, Bate, Berry, Blackburn, Carmack, Clark of Montana, Clay, Cockrell, Daniel, Foster of Louisiana, Gorman, Latimer, McCreary, McEnery, Mallory, Martin, Money, Newlands, Overman, Patterson, Pettus, Simmons, Stone, Taliaferro, Teller, and Tillman, 27 in all.

Senator Gorman stated the object of the meeting to be the discussion of the proposed amendments to the pending Panama Canal Treaty.

Mr. Money offered the following amendment, by way of a substitute for the Second Paragraph of Article 4:

The United States, following their uniform established policy in regard to their sister Republics in America, freely acknowledge and recognize the sovereignty of the Republic of Colombia, and disavow any intention to impair it in any way whatever, or to

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<sup>1</sup> From 1903 to 1911, the Minority Conference met in room 24 on the gallery floor of the Senate wing of the Capitol. This room was subsequently renumbered S-311 and renamed the "Senate Wives' Lounge."

MARCH 16, 1903

increase their territory at the expense of Colombia, but most earnestly desire her peace and prosperity.

which was adopted.

Mr. Bacon offered the following amendment as a substitute for Article 23 of the Treaty:

The Government of the United States shall have and exercise the exclusive right to provide and enforce such means and measures as it may deem advisable and necessary for the regulation and management of the canal and for the protection and safety thereof, and of the ships that make use of the same, and the railways and other works within said Zone, including all persons and cargos and freights and other property connected with the construction, maintenance and operation of said canal and the use thereof, and for the accomplishment of these ends, as well as for the protection of the lives and persons of those employed upon the Canal, railways or other works, or engaged in the use thereof. The Government of the United States shall employ such force as may by it be deemed necessary, and to this end shall have the right at all times and in its discretion to use its police and its land and naval forces for these purposes,

which was adopted.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned.

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[Editor's Note: The Senate reconvened for the first session of the Fifty-eighth Congress on November 9, six days after a revolution broke out in Panama to secure its independence from Colombia. A U.S. warship prevented the Colombians from landing troops in Panama, and the United States quickly recognized the new government. On November 18, the United States and Panama signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, permitting the United States to build and operate, and protect a canal across Panama. Although he insisted that the United States had neither encouraged or assisted the rebellion, in later years, President Roosevelt asserted: "I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate." Democratic Senators opposed to the new treaty sought to unite their party by proposing a rule that would bind all members of the Conference to any decision approved by a two-thirds vote of the Conference. This marked the first time that either party caucus sought to bind its members to the decision of the caucus. The Senate approved the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty on February 23, 1904, by a vote of 66 to 14.

No minutes were taken for the Democratic Conference meetings held on December 12 and 14, 1903, however Conference Chairman Gorman left the following account of these meetings in his own journal:

Saturday  
Dec. 12, 1903

The Democratic Conference was held at 10:30 A.M. to consider a resolution offered by Senator Berry, to amend the Cuban bill; it was strongly

urged [by] this Senator and Senator Teller but was opposed by Bailey, Clay, Blackburn and Gorman, who stated the only effect would be to divide the party and accomplish no other result. He appealed to his associates to unite [and] pass a resolution where  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the Caucus so voted it should be binding on all matters of party interest. Blackburn offered such a resolution [and] a spirited debate followed. Strong in favor of Blackburn's proposition. The Conference declined to authorize any amend[ment] to the Cuban bill; Senator Teller announced he would not allow another Caucus and would not be bound. We adjourned until Mond[ay] 14 to Consider Blackburn's resolution.

December 14th, 1903

Caucus of Senators at 10, on Blackburn's resolution to bind all Senators on  $\frac{2}{3}$  vote in Congress. Long debate. Daniel, Tillman, Blackburn, Carmack, Stone, Morgan, Foster advocating resolution. Bacon, Cockrell, Berry, Mallory opposing it; finally vote was taken on postponing until tomorrow. Carried by vote of 16, 25 in Caucus. Senator Newlands offered resolution to reorganize Steering Committee: 5 South including Maryland, 4 North. There are 6 Senators from the North—not considered but will be tomorrow.<sup>2]</sup>

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[December 15, 1903]

Minority Conference Room, U.S. Senate  
December 15, 1903

The Caucus met at 10 o'clock A.M. with the following Senators present:

Messrs. Bacon, Bailey, Bate, Berry, Blackburn, Carmack, Clay, Cockrell, Daniel, Dubois, Foster of La., Gibson, Gorman, Latimer, McCreary, McEnery, McLaurin, Mallory, Martin, Morgan, Newlands, Overman, Pettus, Simmons, Stone, Taliaferro, and Tillman. Total 27.

The following resolution offered by Mr. Blackburn was taken up for consideration:

RESOLVED, That hereafter all members of the Senate Democratic Caucus shall be bound to vote in accordance with its decisions made by a two-thirds vote of all its members, on all questions except those involving a construction of the Constitution, or upon which a Senator has made pledges to his constituents, or received instructions from the Legislature of a State which he represents.

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<sup>2</sup>John R. Lambert, Jr., "The Autobiographical Writings of Senator Arthur Pue Gorman," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 58 (June 1963), pp. 105–6.

DECEMBER 15, 1903

Full discussion was had, and Senator Mallory offered the following amendment:

Provided, this rule shall not apply to the action of Senators on the pending Cuban Reciprocity Bill or the pending Panama Canal Treaty,

which, after discussion was rejected by the following vote:

Yeas: Messrs. Bacon, Bate, Berry, Clay, Cockrell, Foster of La., McCreary, McEnery, Mallory, Simmons, Taliaferro, Total 11.

Nays: Messrs. Bailey, Blackburn, Carmack, Daniel, Dubois, Gibson, Gorman, Latimer, McLaurin, Martin, Morgan, Overman, Pettus, Stone, and Tillman, Total 15.

The question recurring on the original resolution offered by Mr. Blackburn, same was adopted by the following vote:

Yeas: Messrs. Bacon, Bailey, Bate, Berry, Blackburn, Carmack, Clay, Daniel, Dubois, Foster of La., Gibson, Gorman, Latimer, McCreary, McLaurin, Martin, Morgan, Overman, Patterson, Pettus, Simmons, Stone, Tillman, Total 23.

Nays: Messrs. Mallory and Taliaferro, Total 2.

Mr. Newlands offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Steering Committee be reconstituted by providing that it shall consist of nine members, five to be selected by the Senators from the Southern States, including Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, and four to be selected by the Senators from the remaining States.

After consideration, the Caucus, upon motion of Mr. Pettus, adjourned until 10 A.M. Wednesday, December 16.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Chairman Gorman's journal recorded: "The Democratic Caucus met at 10. The Resolution of Senator Blackburn for  $\frac{2}{3}$  rule was debated until 12. M [noon]. The opposition resolved the case on an Amendment to exclude the Cuban Treaty and Panama Treaty; it was voted down 11 to 16. And the Blackburn resolution passed 23 to 2; Senator Cockrell not voting. The debate was spirited, Bailey, Morgan, Stone for it; Cockrell, Foster, Mallory, and his colleague [James P. Taliaferro], and others in opposition. A great deal of feeling was exhibited as it is the first time such a rule has been adopted. I hope it will be allayed and good feeling will prevail. Senator Newlands then offered his resolution to reorganize the Caucus Committee, which goes over until tomorrow, Wednesday, at that meeting a resolution will be offered to oppose [the] Cuban Treaty." Lambert, "Autobiographical Writings of Senator Arthur Pue Gorman," p. 107.

[December 16, 1903]

Minority Conference Room, U.S. Senate  
December 16, 1903

The Caucus convened at 10 o'clock A.M., with the following Senators present:

Messrs. Bacon, Bailey, Bate, Berry, Blackburn, Carmack, Clay, Cockrell, Culberson, Daniel, Dubois, Gibson, Gorman, Latimer, McCreary, McLaurin, Mallory, Morgan, Newlands, Overman, Patterson, Pettus, Stone, Taliaferro and Tillman, 25 in all.

Mr. Bailey offered the following resolution:

Whereas, this Caucus has heretofore expressly left each member of it to determine for himself his vote upon the treaty with Cuba; and

Whereas, Senators have, in accordance with such Caucus action, committed themselves by votes and speeches in favor of said treaty,

Therefore, Be it Resolved, That it would be inexpedient and unwise to adopt a rule requiring such Senators to vote against the bill now pending in the Senate to approve said treaty,

which was adopted.

Mr. Bailey offered the following resolution:

That it is the sense of this Caucus that Democratic Senators shall insist in Executive Session on making public [the] Treaty with Panama and all documents,

which was adopted.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Senator Gorman recorded in his journal: "The Democratic Conference met at 10 a.m. The resolution of Senator Newlands was considered for reorganization of Steering Committee, and sundry propositions were made to amend by increasing the committee to 11. I finally stated that the Caucus could do as they desired but I considered the whole move a reflection on my action and it would be so regarded generally that the motion must be modified as I would not select the new members the Caucus must do that, that I would gladly surrender the place as chairman but I could not submit to continue with any Senators thinking I had been unfair to any section. The Caucus declined to take any action after which several Senators, Stone, Blackburn, Carmack & others appealed to me to adjust it. I told them frankly, I could not recede. I would be glad to vacate, so the matter ended. The Caucus decided to permit the Cuban bill to go through without Amendment being offered and each Senator to vote as he desired. And then to unite on demand for Panamanian Treaty to be made public and to insist on Post Office Investigation." Lambert, "Autobiographical Writings of Senator Arthur Pue Gorman," p. 108.

DECEMBER 16, 1903

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[January 23, 1904]

Minority Conference Room, U.S. Senate  
January 23, 1904

At a meeting of the Caucus held this day, the following resolution was discussed:

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Foreign Relations is hereby instructed to investigate and ascertain whether Bunau-Varilla, and other persons residing in the United States and subject to our laws, did aid or promote an insurrection in Panama against the Republic of Colombia, and did give assurance to citizens of Panama that they should have the aid and assistance of our Navy in behalf of such insurrection, and whether any official of any Department of the Government did disclose or make known to said Bunau-Varilla or to any other person, the action which the Government of the United States designed or proposed to take in the event of an insurrection. Said committee shall have authority to send for persons and papers, compel attendance of witnesses, and shall make report at the earliest practicable date.

and the matter referred to the following Sub Committee:

Messrs. Bacon, Patterson, Martin, Newlands, and Bailey.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Senator Gorman recorded in his journal on January 22, 1904: "The Caucus Committee—Culberson, Cockrell, and [my]self being present agreed to a resolution of inquiry and one for investigation as to aid given by [the U.S.] government [to the] revolution in Panama. Called Caucus for tomorrow." On January 23, Gorman wrote: "The U.S. Senate [Democratic] Caucus met at 11 A.M. After a long discussion we agreed to two resolutions named in memoranda of yesterday and appoint[ed] committee of 5 to take any other action." Lambert, "The Autobiographical Writings of Senator Arthur Pue Gorman," p. 234.

## Fifty-ninth Congress (1905–1907)

[Editor's Note: Senate Democrats remained in the minority, 32 to 58<sup>1</sup>, during the Fifty-ninth Congress. A major issue facing the Senate in 1905 was a treaty with Santo Domingo (the Dominican Republic), designed to solve Santo Domingo's debt crisis and forestall European intervention. The treaty permitted the United States to operate Santo Domingo's custom-houses and manage its debt payment. The Senate first took up the treaty in December 1905, recommitting it to the Foreign Relations Committee on December 13. A revised treaty was eventually approved by a vote of 43 to 19, on February 25, 1907.

Senator Thomas M. Patterson of Colorado broke ranks with his party to support President Roosevelt's Dominican policies. Appearing before the Democratic Caucus on February 3, 1906, Patterson defended his views, but the caucus adopted a resolution requiring all members to vote against the treaty. In the Senate on February 5, Patterson assailed the attempt to enforce party discipline as being "in plain violation of the spirit and intent of the constitution of the United States." Senator Joseph W. Bailey of Texas responded that the caucus had adopted a rule "defining a Senator's duty as a Democrat. The Senator is at perfect liberty, whenever the importance of the question or the force of his convictions, or both, shall render it impossible to obey the Caucus, to defy it, and to vote precisely as he would had no Caucus action had been taken. If he does defy it, he then settles with the Democratic people of his own State."<sup>2</sup>]

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[December 8, 1905]

Minority Conference Room, U.S. Senate.  
December 8, 1905.

The Caucus was called to order by Mr. Blackburn, Vice-Chairman, in the absence of Mr. Gorman, and Mr. Martin was requested to act as Secretary in the absence of Mr. Carmack. There were present:

Messrs. Blackburn, Teller, Bacon, Stone, Daniel, Mallory, McLaurin, Overman, Latimer, Culberson, Rayner, McCreary, Bacon, Dubois, Simmons, Foster, Bailey, Tillman, Clay, Money, Newlands, Frazier, and McEnery, Total 23—A quorum.

On motion of Mr. Martin, Mr. Gorman was unanimously elected Chairman of the Caucus.

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<sup>1</sup> Source for party divisions in Senate and House of Representatives is Kenneth C. Mardis, *The Historical Atlas of Political Parties in the United States Congress, 1789–1989* (New York, 1989), pp. 157–241.

<sup>2</sup> Clarence A. Berdahl, "Some Notes on Party Membership in Congress," *American Political Science Review* 43 (August 1949): 721–23; U.S., Congress, Senate, *Congressional Record*, 59th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 2053–54.



DECEMBER 8, 1905

On motion of Mr. McLaurin, Mr. Blackburn was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman.

On motion of Mr. Dubois, Mr. Carmack was unanimously elected Secretary. Mr. Teller was unanimously elected to fill the vacancy on the Steering Committee caused by the retirement of Senator Cockrell.

Upon motion adjournment was had.

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[February 3, 1906]

Minority Conference Room, U.S. Senate.

February 3, 1906.

The Caucus convened at 10 o'clock A.M., Senator Blackburn presiding, with the following Senators present:

Messrs. Bacon, Bailey, Clarke (Ark.), Clay, Culberson, Daniel, Dubois, Foster, Frazier, Latimer, McCreary, Mallory, Martin, Money, Morgan, Newlands, Overman, Patterson, Pettus, Rayner, Simmons, Teller, Tillman, and Gearin (by telegram).

Mr. Bailey offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Senate ought not to advise and consent to the Treaty between the United States and the Republic of Santo Domingo now pending before the Senate, and be it further resolved, that if two-thirds of this Caucus shall vote in favor of the foregoing resolution, it shall be the duty of every Democratic Senator to vote against the ratification of said Treaty.

The question was divided, and the vote taken upon the first and second sections thereof separately, resulting in 24 yeas and 1 nay (Mr. Clarke of Arkansas) upon the first section, which was therefore adopted, and 20 yeas and 4 nays (Messrs. Clarke of Arkansas, Daniel, Foster and Mallory) upon the second section, which was accordingly adopted.

Upon motion the Chairman and Secretary were requested to give notice of the result of the meeting.

[June 9, 1906]

Minority Conference Room, U.S. Senate.  
June 9, 1906.

The Caucus convened, Mr. Blackburn, Vice-Chairman, presiding, with the following Senators present:

Messrs: Bacon, Bailey, Blackburn, Clark (Mont.) Clay, Culberson, Daniel, Dubois, Frazier, Gearin, McCreary, Mallory, Money, Morgan, Overman, Patterson, Pettus, Rayner, Simmons, Taliaferro, Teller and Tillman, Total 22—a quorum.

Mr. Bacon offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

The Democratic Senators at their first meeting in Conference subsequent to the death of their former honored and loved Chairman, the late Senator Gorman, obey their unaffected impulse in the expression of their profound sorrow for his loss to them as their personal friend, and their sagacious, faithful political guide in their official relations.

A faithful friend, zealous and wise party leader, considerate and conciliatory and careful of the interests of all, he greatly endeared himself to his party associates, by whom his memory will ever be most fondly cherished<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Blackburn was unanimously chosen as Chairman of the Caucus as the successor of the late Mr. Gorman.

Mr. Bacon offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

The Democratic Senators in electing as their Chairman of the Conference Senator Blackburn of Kentucky, congratulate themselves and their several constituencies upon the fact that they have among their number one so well fitted by his marked capacity, his great acquirements, and his large experience in Congressional work, and especially by his power as an orator and as a debater, to render to his party associates the most signal and valuable services as their chosen official leader in the great forum of the Senate of the United States.

Senator Overman of North Carolina was appointed by the Chairman to fill the vacancy on the Steering Committee, occasioned by the death of Senator Gorman.

The Steering Committee was authorized to consider vacancies on Committees, and to make recommendations to a subsequent Caucus.

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<sup>3</sup>Senator Arthur Pue Gorman, chairman of the Democratic Conference, died on June 4, 1906.

JUNE 9, 1906

Upon motion, this Caucus adjourned.

Democratic Steering Committee  
June 9, 1906.

Mr. Blackburn.

Martin.

Bacon.

Money.

Dubois.

Bailey.

Tillman.

Teller.

Overman.

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[June 21, 1906]

Minority Conference Room, U.S. Senate.  
June 21, 1906.

The Caucus convened, Mr. Blackburn presiding, with the following Senators either present or represented by proxies:

Messrs. Blackburn, Bailey, Berry, Carmack, Clark (Mont.), Clay, Culberson, Daniel, Foster, Frazier, McLaurin, Mallory, Martin, Money, Overman, Rayner, Simmons, Stone, Taliaferro and Whyte.

The Steering Committee reported the following recommendations relative to appointments to Senate Committees:

That Mr. Clay be excused from further service on the Committee on Commerce.

That the following appointments be made to fill vacancies:

Mr. Clay on Appropriations;

Taliaferro on Finance;

Simmons on Commerce.

The recommendations of the Steering Committee were agreed to.

## Sixtieth Congress (1907–1909)

[Editor's Note: During the Sixtieth Congress, Senate Democrats remained in the minority by a margin of 31 to 61. The number of standing and select committees of the Senate had reached sixty-six, including a number of committees that had no legislative business but existed solely to provide their chairmen with a committee room and a clerk. Nine chairmanships of these sinecure committees were reserved for senior members of the minority party.]

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[December 3, 1907]

Minority Conference Room, U.S. Senate,  
December 3, 1907

Upon motion of Mr. Newlands, Mr. Money was made Temporary Chairman, and Mr. Owen Temporary Secretary.

Mr. Culberson was by Mr. Stone nominated for Chairman of the Conference, and upon motion of Mr. Whyte unanimously elected.

Mr. McCreary was by Mr. Clarke nominated for Vice-Chairman, and upon motion unanimously elected.

Mr. Owen was by Mr. Clay nominated for Secretary, and upon motion of Mr. McLaurin, seconded by Mr. Bailey, unanimously elected.

Mr. Culberson invited the co-operation of the members of the Conference in united and aggressive action.

The vote of Mr. Bankhead, who was absent, was by request recorded for Mr. Culberson as Chairman.

Mr. Whyte suggested that in old times a Committee on Committees was appointed, and requested information as to the method of procedure. The Chairman replied that the custom was for the Chairman of the Conference to appoint a Steering Committee to assign members to Committees. After discussion, in which Mr. Bailey suggested that the Conference should select the Committee on Committees, it was decided that the Chairman should name the Committee, the motion to this effect, passing by the affirmative vote of all present, except Mr. Bailey, who requested that he be recorded as voting against it.

Mr. Tillman emphasized the importance of organization; suggested that the Chairman of the Conference should be the leader of the Steering Committee; and that Co-operation was needed.

DECEMBER 3, 1907

Upon suggestion that rules should be prepared for the future procedure of the Conference. Upon motion of Mr. Clarke the Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee of three to prepare such rules.

The Chairman announced that the Steering Committee to be named would be for the Sixtieth Congress.

The Conference thereupon adjourned.

Chairman  
[signed] Robert L. Owen  
Secretary

On December 9, 1907, in conformity to resolutions adopted at the Conference meeting of December 3, '07, the Chairman announced the appointment of the following Committees:

Committee on Committees: Messrs. Money, Stone, Bacon, Simmons, Martin, Newlands, Tillman, Clarke, Culberson.

Committee on Preparation of Rules of Procedure for Minority Conference: Messrs. Clarke, Daniel, Taliaferro.

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[December 16, 1907]

Minority Conference Room, U.S. Senate.  
December 16, 1907.

Conference convened, with the following Senators present and answering the roll call:

Messrs. Bacon, Bailey, Culberson, Foster, Frazier, Johnston, McCreary, Martin, Money, Newlands, Overman, Paynter, Simmons, Stone, Taylor, Teller, Tillman, Gore, and Owen.

The Committee on Committees submitted the following Report:

**Agriculture and Forestry**

Hernando D. Money of Mississippi  
F.M. Simmons of North Carolina  
Asbury C. Latimer of South  
Carolina  
John H. Bankhead of Alabama

**Appropriations**

Henry M. Teller of Colorado  
Benjamin R. Tillman of South  
Carolina  
John W. Daniel of Virginia  
Alexander S. Clay of Georgia  
Murphy J. Foster of Louisiana

**Audit and Control of the Contin-  
gent Expenses of the Senate**

Hernando D. Money of Mississippi  
James P. Clarke of Arkansas

**Canadian Relations**

Benjamin R. Tillman of South  
Carolina  
William P. Whyte of Maryland  
Murphy J. Foster of Louisiana  
Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma

**Census**

Samuel D. McEnery of Louisiana  
James P. Taliaferro of Florida  
Joseph W. Bailey of Texas  
Asbury C. Latimer of South  
Carolina

**Civil Service and Retrenchment**

Anselm J. McLaurin of Mississippi  
James P. Clarke of Arkansas  
Isidor Rayner of Maryland  
Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma

**Claims**

Thomas S. Martin of Virginia  
Lee S. Overman of North Carolina  
James B. Frazier of Tennessee  
Jeff Davis of Arkansas  
Thomas H. Paynter of Kentucky

**Coast and Insular Survey**

Alexander S. Clay of Georgia  
Charles A. Culberson of Texas  
Jeff Davis of Arkansas  
John H. Bankhead of Alabama

**Coast Defenses**

Charles A. Culberson of Texas  
James P. Taliaferro of Florida  
Alexander S. Clay of Georgia  
F.M. Simmons of North Carolina  
Murphy J. Foster of Louisiana

**Commerce**

Thomas S. Martin of Virginia  
Stephen R. Mallory of Florida  
William J. Stone of Missouri  
F.M. Simmons of North Carolina  
Anselm J. McLaurin of Mississippi  
James P. Clarke of Arkansas

**Corporations Organized in the  
District of Columbia**

Stephen R. Mallory of Florida,  
Chairman  
Asbury C. Latimer of South  
Carolina

**Cuban Relations**

James P. Taliaferro of Florida  
F.M. Simmons of North Carolina  
Francis G. Newlands of Nevada  
William J. Stone of Missouri

**District of Columbia**

Thomas S. Martin of Virginia  
William P. Whyte of Maryland  
Francis G. Newlands of Nevada  
Thomas H. Paynter of Kentucky  
Joseph F. Johnston of Alabama

**Education and Labor**

John W. Daniel of Virginia  
Isidor Rayner of Maryland  
Thomas H. Paynter of Kentucky  
John H. Bankhead of Alabama

**Engrossed Bills**

Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia,  
Chairman

**Enrolled Bills**

Murphy J. Foster of Louisiana

**Examine the Several Branches  
of the Civil Service**

Charles A. Culberson of Texas  
F.M. Simmons of North Carolina  
James B. McCreary of Kentucky

**Finance**

John W. Daniel of Virginia  
Henry M. Teller of Colorado  
Hernando D. Money of Mississippi  
Joseph W. Bailey of Texas  
James P. Taliaferro of Florida

**Fisheries**

Stephen R. Mallory of Florida  
Samuel D. McEnery of Louisiana  
Joseph W. Bailey of Texas  
Lee S. Overman of North Carolina

**Foreign Relations**

Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia  
Hernando D. Money of Mississippi  
James B. McCreary of Kentucky  
James B. Frazier of Tennessee  
William P. Whyte of Maryland

DECEMBER 16, 1907

**Forest Reservations and the  
Protection of Game**

Benjamin R. Tillman of South  
Carolina  
Lee S. Overman of North Carolina  
Robert L. Taylor of Tennessee

**Geological Survey**

Hernando D. Money of Mississippi  
Isidor Rayner of Maryland  
Henry M. Teller of Colorado

**Immigration**

Anselm J. McLaurin of Mississippi  
Asbury C. Latimer of South  
Carolina  
Jeff Davis of Arkansas  
Thomas H. Paynter of Kentucky  
Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma

**Indian Affairs**

William J. Stone of Missouri  
Jeff Davis of Arkansas  
Thomas H. Paynter of Kentucky  
Robert L. Taylor of Tennessee  
Joseph F. Johnston of Alabama  
Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma

**Indian Depredations**

Thomas S. Martin of Virginia  
Anselm J. McLaurin of Mississippi  
Jeff Davis of Arkansas  
Joseph F. Johnston of Alabama  
Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma

**Interoceanic Canals**

James P. Taliaferro of Florida  
F.M. Simmons of North Carolina  
Charles A. Culberson of Texas  
Robert L. Taylor of Tennessee  
Joseph F. Johnston of Alabama

**Interstate Commerce**

Benjamin R. Tillman of South  
Carolina  
Anselm J. McLaurin of Mississippi  
Murphy J. Foster of Louisiana  
Francis J. Newlands of Nevada  
Robert L. Taylor of Tennessee

**Irrigation**

Joseph W. Bailey of Texas  
Francis J. Newlands of Nevada  
William P. Whyte of Maryland  
Benjamin R. Tillman of South  
Carolina  
Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma

**Judiciary**

Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia  
Charles A. Culberson of Texas  
James P. Clarke of Arkansas  
Lee S. Overman of North Carolina  
Isidor Rayner of Maryland

**Library**

John W. Daniel of Virginia  
Francis G. Newlands of Nevada

**Manufactures**

Alexander S. Clay of Georgia  
Asbury C. Latimer of South  
Carolina  
James B. Frazier of Tennessee

**Military Affairs**

James P. Taliaferro of Florida  
Murphy J. Foster of Louisiana  
Lee S. Overman of North Carolina  
James B. Frazier of Tennessee  
James B. McCreary of Kentucky

**Mines and Mining**

Benjamin R. Tillman of South  
Carolina  
Henry M. Teller of Colorado  
Joseph F. Johnston of Alabama  
Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma

**Mississippi River and its  
Tributaries**

Samuel D. McEnery of Louisiana  
Anselm J. McLaurin of Mississippi  
Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma

**Naval Affairs**

Benjamin R. Tillman of South  
Carolina  
Thomas S. Martin of Virginia  
Samuel D. McEnery of Louisiana  
Stephen B. Mallory of Florida

**Organization, Conduct and Expenditures of the Executive Departments**

Anselm J. McLaurin of Mississippi  
William J. Stone of Missouri  
James B. Frazier of Tennessee  
Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia

**Pacific Islands and Porto Rico**

Stephen R. Mallory of Florida  
Isidor Rayner of Maryland  
James P. Clarke of Arkansas  
Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma

**Pacific Railroads**

James P. Taliaferro of Florida  
James B. McCreary of Kentucky  
Asbury C. Latimer of South Carolina  
Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma

**Patents**

Stephen R. Mallory of Florida  
Murphy J. Foster of Louisiana  
Asbury C. Latimer of South Carolina

**Pensions**

James P. Taliaferro of Florida  
Henry M. Teller of Colorado  
James P. McCreary of Kentucky  
Robert L. Taylor of Tennessee  
Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma

**Philippines**

Charles A. Culberson of Texas  
William J. Stone of Missouri  
Henry M. Teller of Colorado  
Francis G. Newlands of Nevada  
Joseph F. Johnston of Alabama

**Post Offices and Post Roads**

Alexander S. Clay of Georgia  
James P. Taliaferro of Florida  
F.M. Simmons of North Carolina  
John H. Bankhead of Alabama  
Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma

**Printing**

William P. Whyte of Maryland

**Private Land Claims**

Henry M. Teller of Colorado,  
Chairman  
Samuel D. McEnery of Louisiana

**Privileges and Elections**

Joseph W. Bailey of Texas  
James B. Frazier of Tennessee  
Thomas H. Paynter of Kentucky  
John H. Bankhead of Alabama  
Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma

**Public Buildings and Grounds**

Charles A. Culberson of Texas  
Alexander S. Clay of Georgia  
William J. Stone of Missouri  
Asbury C. Latimer of South Carolina  
Lee S. Overman of North Carolina

**Public Health and National Quarantine**

John W. Daniel of Virginia,  
Chairman  
Samuel D. McEnery of Louisiana  
Stephen R. Mallory of Florida  
Charles A. Culberson of Texas

**Public Lands**

Samuel D. McEnery of Louisiana  
Anselm J. McLaurin of Mississippi  
Francis G. Newlands of Nevada  
Jeff Davis of Arkansas  
John H. Bankhead of Alabama  
Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma

**Railroads**

Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia  
Hernando Money of Mississippi  
Robert L. Taylor of Tennessee  
John H. Bankhead of Alabama

**Revision of the Laws**

John W. Daniel of Virginia  
Stephen R. Mallory of Florida  
Joseph W. Bailey of Texas  
Thomas H. Paynter of Kentucky

**Revolutionary Claims**

James P. Taliaferro of Florida,  
Chairman  
James B. Frazier of Tennessee



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**Rules**

Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia  
Joseph W. Bailey of Texas  
William P. Whyte of Maryland

**Territories**

James P. Clarke of Arkansas  
Francis G. Newlands of Nevada  
James B. Frazier of Tennessee  
Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma

**Transportation Routes to the  
Seaboard**

John W. Daniel of Virginia  
Isidor Rayner of Maryland  
John H. Bankhead of Alabama  
Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma

**University of the United States**

Alexander S. Clay of Georgia  
Murphy J. Foster of Louisiana  
Lee S. Overman of North Carolina  
Robert L. Taylor of Tennessee

**Additional Accommodations for  
the Library of Congress**

Thomas S. Martin of Virginia,  
Chairman  
William J. Stone of Missouri

**Disposition of Useless Papers in  
the Executive Departments**

Hernando D. Money of Mississippi,  
Chairman  
James B. Taylor of Tennessee

**Expenditures in the Treasury  
Department**

William P. Whyte of Maryland  
James P. Clarke of Arkansas

**Five Civilized Tribes of Indians**

Benjamin R. Tillman of South  
Carolina, Chairman  
Henry M. Teller of Colorado

**Industrial Expositions**

John W. Daniel of Virginia  
James B. McCreary of Kentucky  
Isidor Rayner of Maryland  
Lee S. Overman of North Carolina  
Robert L. Taylor of Tennessee  
John H. Bankhead of Alabama

**Investigate the Condition of the  
Potomac River Front at Wash-  
ington**

Thomas S. Martin of Virginia  
Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia  
William P. Whyte of Maryland

**Investigate Trespassers on  
Indian Lands**

Thomas H. Paynter of Kentucky

**National Banks**

Samuel D. McEnery of Louisiana  
Joseph F. Johnston of Alabama

**Standards, Weights and  
Measures**

James B. McCreary of Kentucky  
Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia

**Transportation and Sale of Meat  
Products**

Samuel D. McEnery of Louisiana,  
Chairman  
William J. Stone of Missouri

**Expenditures in the War  
Department**

Hernando D. Money of Mississippi  
Murphy J. Foster of Louisiana

**Woman Suffrage**

Alexander S. Clay of Georgia,  
Chairman  
Joseph F. Johnston of Alabama

**Expenditures in the Department  
of Justice**

Joseph W. Bailey of Texas  
Isidor Rayner of Maryland

**Expenditures in the Navy  
Department**

Thomas S. Martin of Virginia  
Benjamin R. Tillman of South  
Carolina

**Expenditures in the Interior  
Department**

James B. McCreary of Kentucky  
Jeff Davis of Arkansas

**Expenditures in the Department  
of Agriculture**

F.M. Simmons of North Carolina  
Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma

Upon motion of Mr. Teller, the report of the Committee was adopted by the Conference. The assignments of Mr. Bankhead left vacant, a special report to be submitted when he is sworn in, the Chairman stating that he would nominate Mr. Bankhead to the vacancies then.

On motion of Mr. Bailey, the Chairman was authorized to fill the four vacancies on the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, which was done, the members of the Committee for 1908 being:

Messrs:

James P. Taliaferro of Florida  
William J. Stone of Missouri  
Alexander S. Clay of Georgia  
Francis G. Newlands of Nevada  
Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma  
Robert L. Taylor of Tennessee  
Asbury C. Latimer of South Carolina  
C.A. Culberson of Texas  
Thomas S. Martin of Virginia

Mr. Johnston suggested that a resolution, defining the duty of Democratic Senators as to legislation on the financial situation, and declaring that they would acquiesce in and not obstruct any just remedial legislation proposed should be adopted.

Mr. Newlands moved that the Steering Committee be authorized to receive suggestions as to such legislation and to call meetings of the Conference to consider them, but accepted an amendment to the effect that the Committee on Rules be substituted.

The Chairman read a proposed resolution, directing the Committee on Finance to forthwith investigate the financial situation, and make early report, with recommendations as to relief, suggesting that the Democratic members of the Finance Committee should take the initiative in developing the facts and formulating a proper plan for Democratic action.

Messrs. Money and Teller suggested that they did not feel that they could be bound to the Conference on questions relating to finance.

DECEMBER 16, 1907

With Mr. Newlands' motion pending, the Conference adjourned.

Chairman  
[signed] Robert L. Owen  
Secretary

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[January 25, 1908]

Minority Conference Room, U.S. Senate  
January 25, 1908.

Conference convened at 10:30 A.M., with the following Senators present:

Messrs. Bailey, Bankhead, Bryan, Clarke, Clay, Culberson, Daniel, Davis, Frazier, Gore, Johns[t]on, Latimer, McCreary, McLaurin, Newlands, Overman, Owen, Paynter, Rayner, Simmons, Stone, Taliaferro, Taylor, Teller, Tillman and Whyte.

The minutes were read to date. Mr. Bailey suggested that he would prefer to have his reasons for voting to have the Conference name its own Committee on Committees inserted in the minutes, which was agreed to, and the minutes are to be corrected in this respect.

The Chairman read a letter from the Oklahoma Delegation, expressing its thanks at the selection of Mr. Owen as Secretary of the Conference. Upon motion of Senator Daniel, it was ordered that the letter be spread upon the minutes, and it reads as follows:

Dec. 5th, 1907

Senator Chas. A. Culberson  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Sir:

I beg to hand you a copy of resolutions unanimously adopted by the Oklahoma Democratic delegation. We are all duly sensible of the high honor conferred upon our State by the selection of my distinguished and deserving colleague as Secretary of the Democratic Caucus. You will kindly convey expressions of our gratitude and gratification to the Democratic minority in caucus assembled.

Believe me,  
Very truly  
[Signed] T.P. Gore

Resolution

RESOLVED, by the Democratic delegation of the State of Oklahoma in caucus assembled, that we heartily endorse the selec-

tion of Senator Robert L. Owen, as Secretary of the Democratic Senate Caucus, not only as a fitting recognition of his high character and intrinsic worth, but as a significant and gracious compliment to the State of Oklahoma, the youngest daughter of the Republic.

[signed] T.P. Gore, Chairman  
J.S. Davenport, Secy.

An extended discussion of the financial question, participated in by various members, ensued, lasting until recess at 1 o'clock.

The Conference reconvened at 2 P.M., and discussion continued until 4:30. The sense of the Conference appeared to be that the question should be discussed as thoroughly as possible, with a view to as great a degree of co-operation as possible among the members. It was further suggested that the members of the Minority on the Finance Committee should prepare a measure, and that suggestions should be made by the various members of the Minority in regard to the subject, with a view of securing such coherence of action as was possible, but no definite action was taken in regard to the matter.

The discussion was participated in by Senators McLaurin, Owen, Bailey, Culberson, Newlands, Clarke, Teller, Taylor, Daniel, and others.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Chairman

Secretary

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Conference Room, April 15, 08.

Senator J. H. Bankhead of Alabama was selected as a member of the Congressional Campaign Committee, vice Senator A.[C.] Lattimer, deceased.



## **Sixty-first Congress (1909–1911)**

[Editor's Note: After the election of 1908, Senate Democrats remained in the minority with 32 Democrats to 60 Republicans. President William Howard Taft called the Senate into special session, from March 4 to 6, to confirm his cabinet nominees. Taft called both houses of Congress back into session, from March 15 to August 5, 1909, to enact new tariff legislation. Although the president and reformers in both parties aimed to lower tariff rates, the resulting Payne-Aldrich Tariff considerably raised tariff duties.]

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[March 5, 1909]

Conference Room, U.S. Senate,  
March 5, 1909.

Conference met at 10 A.M. The following Senators were present. Messrs: Bankhead, Chamberlain, Clarke, Clay, Culberson, Frazier, Gore, Hughes, Johnston, McLaurin, Money, Newlands, Overman, Owen, Shively, Simmons, Smith (Md.), Smith (S.C.), Stone and Tillman. Absent: Messrs. Bacon, Bailey, Daniel, Davis, Fletcher, Foster, McEnery, Martin, Paynter, Rayner, Taliaferro and Taylor.

Upon the convening of the Conference, the Chairman stated that the usual practice had been that no Senator was taken off a Committee without his consent, and that seniority governed in nominating for Committee vacancies, except that when such senior Senator was already upon an important committee or committees, this seniority privilege of nomination was not necessarily accorded, unless the senior Senator desiring the nomination agreed as a condition to such nomination to vacate a committee place already held by him. This suggestion of the Chairman was not questioned.

Upon the nomination of Senator Stone, Senator Culberson was unanimously elected Chairman of the Conference for the 61st Congress.

Upon nomination of Senator Clarke, Senator Money was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman of the Conference for the 61st Congress.

Upon nomination of Senator Frazier, Senator Owen was unanimously elected Secretary of the Conference for the 61st Congress.

Upon motion of Senator Clarke the Chairman was authorized to appoint a Committee on Committees of nine members, including the Chairman of the Conference as ex-officio Chairman of the Committee.

MARCH 5, 1909

Senator Clarke reported reasons why the Committee to formulate rules for the government of the Conference had not prepared such rules, and moved that the Chairman appoint a new Committee of three for this purpose, which was adopted.

Thereupon, the Chairman announced the appointment on this Committee of Senators: Clarke, Daniel, Taliaferro.

The Chairman announced the appointment of the following Senators on the Committee on Committees: Money, Bacon, Martin, Tillman, Stone, Simmons, Newlands, Clarke, Culberson (Ex-officio Chairman).

Upon motion, Conference adjourned, subject to call of Chairman.

Chairman

Secretary

[typescript]

Meeting of the Democratic Conference, March 5th, 1909. 10 A.M.  
Quorum present.

Chairman Culberson called the meeting to order and made a short explanation of the purpose of the Conference, explaining the necessity for the reorganization of the Conference and the establishment of a Committee on Committees, and he stated that the usual practice of the Democratic Conference in the past was that no Senator was ever taken off a Committee without his consent, and that when vacancies occurred, the rule of seniority prevails in regard to application for preferment to such vacancies with the exception, that where a Senator is elected to act on a Committee, he may be required to relinquish something, before being advanced to the more important vacancy.

Upon motion of Senator Stone, Senator Culberson was re-elected unanimously as Chairman of the Conference for the Sixty-first Congress.

Senator Money, on the nomination of Senator Clarke, was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman of the Democratic Conference. Senator Owen, on the nomination of Senator Frazier, was unanimously re-elected Secretary of the Conference.

Senator Clarke moved the Chairman appoint a Committee of nine, as a Steering Committee, of which the Chairman of the Conference should be ex officio Chairman. Senator Clarke named Senators Money, Bacon, Martin, Tillman, Stone, Simmons, Newlands, and Clarke as members of the Committee on Committees or Steering Committee.

Senator Clarke reported for the Committee on Rules, that his Committee, consisting of Senators Daniel and Taliaferro had not had op-

portunity to prepare rules, and that he moved a new Committee of three be appointed to draw up permanent rules of procedure. Chairman Culberson appointed Senators Clarke, Daniel, and Taliaferro to perform this duty.

General discussion ensued, with regard to the policy of the Minority, in which Senators Tillman, Money, Newlands, Clay, Simmons, Clarke and others participated.

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[March 22, 1909]

Conference Room, U.S. Senate.  
March 22, 1909.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman at 10:20 A.M. In the absence of Senator Owen, Senator Martin acted as Secretary. The following Senators were present: Messrs. Bankhead, Chamberlain, Clay, Culberson, Fletcher, Frazier, Gore, Hughes, Johnston, Martin, Money, Newlands, Paynter, Rayner, Shively, Simmons, Smith of Maryland, Stone and Taylor. Senator Foster, though detained, was by request counted as present.

The Committee on Committees submitted the following report of Senators selected for the several committees:

<p><b>On Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress</b></p> <p>Money (Chairman) Stone</p>	<p><b>Canadian Relations</b></p> <p>Tillman Foster Gore Smith (Md.)</p>
<p><b>Agriculture and Forestry</b></p> <p>Money Bankhead Gore Chamberlain Smith (S.C.)</p>	<p><b>Census</b></p> <p>McEnery Taliaferro Bailey Shively</p>
<p><b>Appropriations</b></p> <p>Tillman Daniel Clay Foster Culberson</p>	<p><b>Civil Service and Retrenchment</b></p> <p>McLaurin Clarke of Ark. Rayner Owen</p>
<p><b>Audit and Control Contingent Expenses of the Senate</b></p> <p>Money Clarke of Ark.</p>	<p><b>Claims</b></p> <p>Martin Overman Frazier Davis Paynter</p>



MARCH 22, 1909

**Coast and Insular Survey**

Clay  
Culberson  
Davis  
Bankhead

**Coast Defenses**

Taliaferro  
Clay  
Simmons  
Foster  
Smith (Md.)

**Commerce**

Martin  
Stone  
Simmons  
McLaurin  
Clarke (Ark.)  
Newlands

**Conservation of National  
Resources**

Newlands  
Overman  
Davis  
Bankhead  
Smith (S.C.)

**Corporations Organized in the  
District of Columbia**

Taliaferro (Chairman)  
Shively

**Cuban Relations**

Taliaferro  
Simmons  
Newlands  
Stone

**Disposition of Useless Papers in  
the Executive Departments**

Simmons (Chairman)  
Frazier

**District of Columbia**

Martin  
Paynter  
Johnston (Ala.)  
Smith (Md.)  
Fletcher

**Education and Labor**

Daniel  
Rayner  
Bankhead  
Shively

**Engrossed Bills**

Bacon (Chairman)

**Enrolled Bills**

Foster

**To Examine the Several  
Branches of the Civil Service**

Culberson  
Simmons  
Smith (S.C.)

**Expenditures in Department of  
Agriculture**

Simmons  
Gore

**Expenditures in the Interior  
Department**

Davis  
Chamberlain

**Expenditures in the Department  
of Justice**

Bailey  
Rayner

**Expenditures in the Navy  
Department**

Martin  
Tillman

**Expenditures in the Post Office  
Department**

Bacon  
Frazier

**Expenditures in the Department  
of State**

McLaurin  
Stone

**Expenditures in the Treasury  
Department**

Clarke (Ark.)  
Smith (Md.)

**Expenditures in the War  
Department**

Money  
Foster

**Finance**

Daniel  
Money  
Taliaferro  
Simmons

**Fisheries**

McEnery  
Bailey  
Overman  
Fletcher

**The Five Civilized Tribes of  
Indians**

Tillman (Chairman)  
Fletcher

**Foreign Relations**

Bacon  
Money  
Frazier  
Stone  
Shively

**Forest Reservations and the  
Protection of Game**

Tillman  
Overman  
Taylor

**Geological Survey**

Money  
Rayner  
Smith (S.C.)

**Immigration**

McLaurin  
Davis  
Gore  
Hughes  
Smith (S.C.)

**Indian Affairs**

Stone  
Davis  
Paynter  
Owen  
Bankhead  
Hughes

**Indian Depredations**

Martin  
McLaurin  
Davis  
Johnston  
Owen

**Industrial Expositions**

Daniel  
Rayner  
Overman  
Taylor  
Bankhead  
Paynter

**Interoceanic Canals**

Taliaferro  
Simmons  
Johnston (Ala.)  
Smith (Md.)  
Hughes

**Interstate Commerce**

Tillman  
McLaurin  
Foster  
Newlands  
Taylor

**To Investigate Trespassers upon  
Indian Lands**

Paynter

**Irrigation and Reclamation of  
Arid Lands**

Bailey  
Newlands  
Gore  
Smith (Md.)  
Chamberlain

MARCH 22, 1909

**Joint Committee on the Revision of the Laws of the United States**

McLaurin  
Clarke (Ark.)

**Judiciary**

Bacon  
Culberson  
Clarke (Ark.)  
Overman  
Rayner  
Paynter

**The Library**

Daniel  
Newlands  
Shively

**Manufactures**

Clay  
Frazier  
Smith (S.C.)

**Military Affairs**

Taliaferro  
Foster  
Overman  
Frazier  
Johnston (Ala.)

**Mines and Mining**

Tillman  
Johnston (Ala.)  
Gore  
Hughes

**The Mississippi River and its Tributaries**

McEnery  
McLaurin  
Owen

**Naval Affairs**

Tillman  
Martin  
McEnery  
Smith (Md.)

**Pacific Islands and Porto Rico**

Rayner  
Clarke (Ark.)  
Owen  
Fletcher

**Pacific Railroads**

Taliaferro  
Gore  
Chamberlain  
Shively

**Patents**

Foster  
Shively  
Smith (S.C.)

**Pensions**

Taliaferro  
Taylor  
Gore  
Hughes  
Shively

**The Philippines**

Johnston (Ala.)  
Paynter  
Chamberlain  
Fletcher  
Hughes

**Post-Offices and Post-Roads**

Clay  
Taliaferro  
Owen  
Bankhead  
Taylor

**Printing**

Smith (Md.)  
Chamberlain  
Fletcher

**Private Land Claims**

Daniel (Chairman)  
McEnery  
Davis

**Privileges and Elections**

Bailey  
Frazier  
Paynter  
Johnston (Ala.)  
Fletcher

**Public Buildings and Grounds**

Culberson  
Clay  
Stone  
Overman  
Taylor  
Gore

**Public Expenditures**

McLaurin  
Newlands  
Owen  
Fletcher  
Hughes

**Public Health and National  
Quarantine**

Martin (Chairman)  
McEnery  
Culberson  
Fletcher

**Public Lands**

McEnery  
Newlands  
Davis  
Owen  
Bankhead  
Chamberlain

**Railroads**

Bacon  
Money  
Taylor  
Bankhead

**Revolutionary Claims**

Bailey (Chairman)

**Rules**

Bacon  
Bailey  
Clarke (Ark.)

**Standards, Weights and  
Measures**

Bacon  
Hughes

**Territories**

Clarke (Ark.)  
Frazier  
Owen  
Hughes

**Transportation Routes to the  
Seaboard**

Daniel  
Rayner  
Gore  
Bankhead

**Transportation and Sale of Meat  
Products**

McEnery (Chairman)  
Stone

**The University of the United  
States**

Clay  
Foster  
Overman  
Taylor

**Woman Suffrage**

Clay (Chairman)  
Johnston (Ala.)

The recommendations of the Committee on Committees were agreed to.

Thereupon the Conference adjourned.

MARCH 22, 1909

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[April 14, 1909]

Conference Room, U.S. Senate,  
April 14, 1909.

Conference met at 2 P.M. The following Senators were present: Messrs. Bacon, Bailey, Chamberlain, Clay, Culberson, Daniel, Fletcher, Foster, Frazier, Gore, Hughes, Johnston, McEnery, McLaurin, Martin, Money, Overman, Owen, Rayner, Shively, Simmons, Smith of Md., Smith of S.C., Stone, Taliaferro, Taylor. Senator Davis was announced absent because of the death of his wife.

Chairman Culberson explained that the Conference was called to consider the will of the Conference on the Tariff Bill.

Senator Daniel urged a tax on the gross income of corporations. Senator Money advocated putting the entire responsibility on the Republicans, because the Minority were denied all rights in Committee, not being consulted on this Tariff Bill, or permitted to protest.

General discussion followed and an agreement favorable to the Income Tax seemed to prevail. Senator Culberson suggested a graduated income tax, and to gradually reduce the protected articles.

Senators Bailey, Taliaferro, Daniel, Culberson, Bacon, Johnston, McLaurin, Chamberlain, Simmons, Foster, Smith and others participated in the discussion.

Senator Bacon submitted the following motion:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Conference that an income tax provision should be engrafted upon the Tariff Bill now pending in the Senate for the purpose of supplying revenue for the support of the Government, and that the Tariff Schedules in the said pending bill should be reduced in proportion to the revenue to be derived from said income tax, and that in said reductions, so far as practicable, the burden of taxation should be removed from the necessities of life.

Senator Culberson was authorized to explain to the Press so far as he thought judicious the action of the Conference.

Upon motion of Senator Johnston, adjournment was had.

Chairman

Secretary

[April 16, 1909]

Conference Room, U.S. Senate.  
April 16, 1909.

Conference met, pursuant to call at 2 P.M. The following Senators were present:

Messrs. Bankhead, Chamberlain, Clay, Culberson, Daniel, Fletcher, Foster, Frazier, Gore, Hughes, Johnston, McLaurin, Money, Newlands, Overman, Owen, Paynter, Shively, Simmons, Smith (Md.), Stone and Taylor.

Mr. Daniel suggested dividing the work and giving each member a special subject. Mr. Simmons suggested being ready to proceed with the debate and to have a record made of those ready to take the floor. Senators Daniel, Stone and Money expressed themselves ready to speak.

Mr. Culberson explained to the Conference that he had asked no favors of Senator Aldrich<sup>4</sup> in the way of delays.

The Income Tax was discussed. Reference was made to Senator George's<sup>5</sup> Report of 1892–93, when Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, and the decisions of the Supreme Court in *Knowlton v. Moore*, 178 U.S. 52, and *Pollock v. Farmers Loan and Trust Co.*, 157 U.S. 601, and the fact that in the *Pollock Case*, Sections 27–37 of the Act of 1894 had been held void. Senator Bankhead suggested that the decision be printed as a public document. Senator Rayner explained that the Court's decision recognized as valid taxes on offices, privileges, employments and vocation, but as to income on real estate and personal property the Court held that it was a direct tax, and was not apportioned as required.

Senator Daniel urged the taxing of franchises and corporations. Senator Gore suggested the income tax passed during the War by the Republicans, and sustained by the Supreme Court, as having tactical advantage. Senator Clay moved the appointment of a Committee of three to investigate the New York Tax Law on future contracts and report to the Conference. The motion was carried.

The Chairman appointed upon the Committee Messrs. Clay, Paynter, and Hughes.

Senator Paynter suggested a rebate of 6 cents a pound on twisted loose-leaf tobacco, so far as the farmers' personal sales were concerned (the item has passed the House three times). Senator

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<sup>4</sup>Nelson W. Aldrich (Republican of Rhode Island), chaired the Senate Finance Committee and was the principal Senate sponsor of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff.

<sup>5</sup>James Z. George (Democrat of Mississippi), 1881–1897.

APRIL 16, 1909

Newlands suggested a special conference on the Philippines. Adjourned.

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[December 6, 1909]

Conference Room, U.S. Senate,  
December 6, 1909.

Conference called to order at 2 P.M. by Hon. H. D. Money, Vice Chairman. On motion of Senator Clay, Senator Shively was elected Temporary Secretary.

A communication from Senator Culberson to Senator Money, expressing his desire and proposal to retire from the Chairmanship of the Caucus, on account of the condition of his health, was made. After remarks by Senators, the Conference decided to postpone consideration.

Upon motion the Conference decided to proceed to election of Assistant Sergeant at Arms.

Senator Tillman nominated Mr. Thomas W. Keller, Senator Davis seconding the nomination.

Senator Bailey nominated C.W. Journey.

Senator Overman nominated Mr. T. J. Peirce.

On the first ballot the vote was: For Mr. Keller 14, for Mr. Journey 4, for Mr. Peirce 7; and Mr. Keller was accordingly declared elected.

On motion of Senator Tillman, the Caucus adjourned, subject to call of the Chairman. Adjourned.

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[December 9, 1909]

Conference Room, U.S. Senate

Meeting of Democratic Conference on Thursday, December 9th at 10 o'clock A.M.

Senator Money directed roll call, which was as follows:

Present: Bacon, Bankhead, Chamberlain, Clarke, Clay, Daniel, Davis, Fletcher, Foster, Frazier, Hughes, Johnston, Money, Newlands, Overman, Owen, Paynter, Rayner, Shively, Simmons, Smith of S.C., Stone, Taliaferro, Taylor, Thompson of N.D., Tillman. Absent: Bailey, Culberson, Gore, McEnery, McLaurin, Martin, Smith of Md.

Senator Stone moved that Chas. A. Culberson's resignation be adopted and his letter spread on minutes.

Motion carried nem con.

The letter follows:

**Atlantic City, N.J.  
Dec. 5 1909.**

To the Democratic Caucus:

I hereby tender my resignation as Chairman of our Caucus to take effect at once.

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Senator Money giving my reasons for this course which I ask may be spread on the minutes of the proceedings. With renewed assurances of my profound appreciation of the honor done me by election to this high party station,

Very truly yours,  
[Signed] C.A. Culberson

**Atlantic City, N.J., Dec. 3, 1909.**

Hon. H.D. Money  
Vice Chairman, Democratic Caucus  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator:

As you and all my Democratic associates know, I have not been at all well for nearly a year. Last March I had a severe attack of the grippe. Without taking the necessary rest from such an attack, I remained in Washington in attendance upon the Senate throughout the recent extra session. The result was that I continued all during all the session, and at its close, I was much reduced in strength and vitality. From this I have not recovered in the comparatively short vacation which I have been able to take.

The approaching session of the Congress promises to be a long, exacting and arduous one, and, in my present condition, I do not feel that I should undertake the extra duties which will devolve upon the Chairman of our Caucus. It would probably retard or prevent my early and full restoration to health.

While I am deeply sensible to the high honor done me by my colleagues in my unanimous election to this chairmanship for the last two Congresses, especially as it came wholly without my seeking, and while under different circumstances, I would, of course, fulfill as best I might the requirements of the position, yet for the reasons stated, I am compelled to ask to be relieved of its duties. Accordingly at the first Conference to be held by the Minority in the coming session, I will submit my resignation as chairman.

It remains only for me to repeat that the esteem and confidence and partiality of my party associates in the Senate are ever more keenly appreciated than I can express, and that I will ever bear them in grateful recollection.

Your friend,  
[signed] C.A. Culberson



DECEMBER 9, 1909

Senator Daniel moved that the Secretary advise Senator Culberson of the profound appreciation of the Conference of his uniform courtesy, fairness and fidelity.

Motion unanimously carried.

**Washington, D.C.**

**Dec. 10th 1909.**

Hon. Charles A. Culberson  
Washington, D.C.

My very dear friend:

On behalf of the Democratic Conference of the United States Senate over which you have so kindly and graciously presided, I am instructed by a formal resolution of the Conference to express to you the profound appreciation of your Democratic Colleagues for the faithful, able, impartial and very honorable manner in which you have discharged the duties of the trust reposed in you by them.

Nothing but an earnest desire to promote the restoration of your health would have induced your associates to accept your resignation.

Had you been able to overhear the sentiments expressed at the Conference when your determination to withdraw was discussed you would more fully realize the very cordial admiration and affection felt for you by all of your colleagues on whose behalf and in whose name I am directed to thank you for the fidelity and distinguished ability with which you have so satisfactorily served them as chairman.

Faithfully your friend,  
[Signed] Robert L. Owen  
Secretary of the  
Conference of Democratic Senators

Senator Daniel moved Senator Money be elected Chairman of the Conference for this Congress. He was elected by acclamation.

Senator Money made an address to the Conference, pledging his best efforts to preserve concord, promote unity and serve the Country.

Senator Newlands nominated for Vice-Chairman by Senator Chamberlain. Senator Stone suggested Senator Shively on account of the importance of Indiana.

Senator Newlands withdrew his name and Senator Shively was elected nem con.

Senator Tillman nominated Captain R. S. Anderson as door-keeper. Carried.

Adjourned.

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Washington, D.C.  
Dec. 16, 1909.

Committee service.

Mr. Money asked to be excused from Committee on Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress, also Committee on Railroads.

Mr. Paynter ask[ed] to be excused from further service on Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. Rayner ask[ed] to be excused from further service on Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico.

Mr. Stone ask[ed] to be excused from further service on Committee on Transportation and Sale of Meat Products.

Mr. Davis ask[ed] to be excused from further service on Committee on Conservation of Natural Resources.

On motion Mr. Money.

Mr. McLaurin was excused from further service on Committee on the Mississippi River and its Tributaries.

On motion Mr. Money.

Mr. Bankhead was excused from further service as a member of Committee [on] Industrial Expositions.

Mr. Newlands at his own request was excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Cuban Relations.

Mr. Culberson, of Tex., appointed to fill the chairmanship of the Committee on Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress.

Mr. Thompson—North Dakota, appointed on the following vacancies of committees:

The Mississippi River and its Tributaries  
Conservation of Natural Resources  
Industrial Expositions  
Railroads  
Transportation and Sale of Meat Products  
Cuban Relations  
Indian Affairs  
Pacific Islands & Porto Rico.

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Dec. 20, 1909.

Mr. Simmons appointed by the Vice President as part of the Senate Select Committee on Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments.

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Washington, D.C., Jan. 19, 1910.

DECEMBER 9, 1909

Mr. Gordon of Miss. be assigned to following Committees:

- Civil Service & Retrenchment
- Expenditures in Department of State
- Immigration
- Indian Depredations
- Joint Committee on Revisions of the Laws of the United States.
- Public Expenditures

Mr. Bankhead of Ala. assigned to Committee on Commerce.

Mr. Hughes of Colo. be assigned to the following committee: Committee on Interstate Commerce.

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Washington, D.C., Jan. 28, 1910

Mr. Hughes of Colo. be appointed to fill a vacancy on the Committee on Public Lands.

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Feby. 2, 1910.

Mr. Purcell of N.D. to fill the following vacancies of each of the following committees:

- Conservation of National Resources
- Cuban Relations
- Indian Affairs
- Industrial Expositions
- Mississippi River and its Tributaries
- Pacific Islands and Porto Rico
- Railroads
- Transportation and Sale of Meat Products

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Wash[ington], D.C., M[ar]ch 16, 1910.

Mr. Percy of Miss. be assigned to the following committees:

- Expenditures in Department of State
- Immigration
- Indian Affairs
- Joint Committee on Revision of the Laws of the United States
- Public Expenditures

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Washington, D.C., March 31, 1910

Mr. Hughes of Colo. at his own request was excused as a member of the Committee on Interoceanic Canals.

SIXTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1909–1911)

Mr. Percy, of Miss., be assigned as a member on the Committee on Inter-oceanic Canals.

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Washington, D.C., Dec. 8, 1910.

Mr. Money submitted the following Resolution which was agreed to.

Resolved, That Mr. Terrell be appointed to fill the following vacancies on Committees:

- Coast and Insular Survey
- Coast Defenses
- Manufactures
- Post Office[s] & Post Roads
- University of the United States

That Mr. Swanson be appointed to fill the vacancy on each of the following Committees:

- Education and Labor
- Industrial Expositions
- Library
- Public Buildings and Grounds
- Transportation Routes to the Seaboard

That Mr. Martin be appointed to fill the vacancy on the Committee on Appropriations.

That Mr. Stone be appointed to fill the vacancy on the Committee on Finance.

That Mr. Overman be appointed to fill the vacancy on the Committee on Appropriations.

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Washington, D.C.  
Dec. 12, 1910.

By Mr. Money Resolved:

That Mr. Thornton of La. be appointed to fill the vacancies on each of the following Committees:

- The Census
- Fisheries
- Mississippi River and its Tributaries
- Naval Affairs
- Private Land Claims
- Public Health and National Quarantine
- Public Lands

Mr. Money. Resolved that the following Senators to be respectively relieved from further service as a member and chairman of the following Committees:

- Mr. Bacon as chairman and member of the Committee on Engrossed Bills.

DECEMBER 9, 1909

Mr. Bailey as chairman and member of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims.

Mr. Simmons as chairman and member of the Committee on Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments.

Resolved further: That existing vacancies in the committees of the Senate be, and the same are hereby, filled by the appointment of the following named Senators to the respective vacancies as follows:

Mr. Bacon as a member of the Committee on Private Land Claims and to be chairman thereof.

Mr. Bailey as a member of the Committee on Woman Suffrage and to be chairman thereof.

Mr. Simmons as a member of the Committee on Transportation and Sale of Meat Products and to be chairman thereof.

Mr. Overman as a member of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims and to be chairman thereof.

Mr. Clarke as a member of the Committee on Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments and to be chairman thereof.

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Wash[ington], D.C., Feby. 3 [1911]

Mr. Money Resolved: Mr. Watson be assigned to service as a member of the following Committees:

Conservation of National Resources  
Cuban Relations  
Indian Affairs  
Mississippi River and its Tributaries  
Pacific Islands and Porto Rico  
Railroads  
Transportation and Sale of Meat Products

Mr. Clarke of Arkansas be assigned to service as a member of the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

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[February 10, 1911]  
Washington, D.C., Feb. 10, 1911.

Democratic Conference

On roll call following members present:

Mr. Bailey, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Culberson, Mr. Foster, Mr. Frazier, Mr. Gore, Mr. Martin, Mr. Money (Chairman), Mr. Newlands, Mr. Overman, Mr. Owen (Secretary), Mr. Percy, Mr. Rayner, Mr. Shively, Mr. Simmons, Mr. Smith of Md., Mr. Smith of S.C., Mr. Stone, Mr. Swanson, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Thornton, Mr. Tillman and Mr. Watson.

Questions of policy on Reciprocity and Tariff Board discussed.

SIXTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1909–1911)

Speeches confined to 5 minutes on motion of Sen[ator] Newlands. Sen[ator]s Newlands, Stone, Money, Bacon, Rayner, Bailey, and Stone spoke.

On motion of Sen[ator] Martin, Democratic members of Committee on Rules instructed to obtain a suitable committee room in the Senate Office Building.<sup>6</sup> Adjourned to meet 10 A.M. Tuesday next.

[signed] R.L. Owen, Sect.

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<sup>6</sup>The first Senate Office Building, now designated as the Richard B. Russell Building, was opened for occupancy in March 1909.



## Sixty-second Congress (1911–1913)

[Editor's Note: The election of 1910 saw significant gains for Congressional Democrats, who took the majority of the House of Representatives, by a margin of 230 to 162, and narrowed the margin in the Senate to 44 to 52. However, the expanded Conference also showed signs of division between the newly elected progressives and the more conservative senior members. Three-time Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan came to the Capitol to oppose the election of the conservative Senator Thomas S. Martin of Virginia as Conference chairman. Bryan argued that Martin had voted far too often with the Republicans in favor of higher tariff rates set by the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. However, Martin easily defeated his progressive challenger, Senator Benjamin Shively of Indiana, for chairman. Senator Augustus Bacon noted that this marked the first roll-call vote taken for chairman in sixteen years.<sup>1]</sup>

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[April 7, 1911]

Conference Room, U.S. Senate,  
April 7th, 1911

A meeting of the Democratic members of the United States Senate was held in the Conference room of the Minority in the Capitol on Friday, April 7th, 1911, at 2:30 P.M.

Senator Shively, the Vice Chairman, not being present, the meeting was called to order by Senator Owen, and upon his suggestion a temporary chairman was selected.

Senator Culberson was elected temporary chairman by acclamation. The first business was the selection of a Chairman of the Conference Committee.

Nominations being in order, Senator Clarke nominated Senator Martin, and Senator Kern nominated Senator Shively.

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<sup>1</sup> Wythe W. Holt, Jr. "The Senator from Virginia and the Democratic Floor Leadership: Thomas S. Martin and Conservatism in the Progressive Era," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 83 (January 1975): 5–7; Walter J. Oleszek, "John Worth Kern: Portrait of a Floor Leader," in Richard A. Baker and Roger O. Davidson, eds., *First Among Equals: Outstanding Senate Leaders of the Twentieth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1991), p. 15.



APRIL 7, 1911

The roll was called and the following senators voted for Senator Martin:

Messrs. Bacon, Bailey, Bankhead, Bryan, Chilton, Clarke, Culberson, Fletcher, Foster, Johnston, Overman, Paynter, Percy, Rayner, Simmons, Smith of Maryland, Swanson, Taylor, Watson and Williams (21).

The following Senators voted for Senator Shively:

Messrs. Chamberlain, Davis, Gore, Hitchcock, Johnson of Maine, Kern, Lea, Martin, Myers, Newlands, O'Gorman, Owen, Pomerene, Reed, Smith of South Carolina, and Stone (16).

Thereupon, Senator Martin was declared duly elected and took the chair and thereupon Senator Shively was unanimously reelected Vice-Chairman of the Caucus.

The next business in order was the election of a Secretary. Senator Owen, not desiring reelection and stating to the Caucus that he would decline if elected, Senator Chilton was, upon motion of Senator Bailey, unanimously elected Secretary.

Senator Clarke moved that the Committee on Committees shall consist of nine members of which the Chairman shall be one, and that the other eight of the said committee shall be appointed by the Chairman.

Senator Owen moved as a substitute for the motion of Senator Clarke the following:

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Committees shall be selected by vote of the Conference, at a stated meeting called for that purpose, on the basis of three members from the first fourteen senior Democrats; three members from the second fourteen senior Democrats; and three members from the third fourteen senior Democrats.

Be it further RESOLVED, That we heartily approve of the Democratic House program and pledge our earnest support thereto.

The original motion and resolution were discussed by Senators Owen, Williams, Stone, Bailey, Thornton, Newlands, Bankhead, Percy, Hitchcock, Johnston, Clarke, Culberson, Bacon, Kern, Fletcher and Gore.

Thereupon, Senator Owen withdrew his said substitute, and the original motion made by Senator Clarke was adopted unanimously.

Thereupon, Senator Newlands gave notice that at a subsequent meeting of the Caucus he would move the adoption of resolutions in writing which he presented to the Caucus, which said resolution is as follows:

RESOLVED, That a committee selected to prepare a plan of legislation looking to the preparation of bills complying with the Democratic National Platform as to interstate trade or the trusts, interstate transportation or the railroads, interstate exchange or banking, conservation of natural resources or the waterways, and the naturalization of the Philippines, for consideration at the commencement of the regular session.

Senator Bacon as the senior Democratic member of the Committee on Rules, reported that the Democratic members of that Committee had secured as the new Caucus room, the large room on the third floor of the Senate Office Building, near the southwest corner.<sup>2</sup>

Senator Gore moved that the report of the Rules Committee be received and that the Caucus return thanks to the Committee on Rules for the successful work in this behalf, which motion was unanimously adopted.

Senator Gore further moved that the Democratic members of the Committee on Rules be instructed to use their best efforts to secure for the use of the Democratic members the present quarters occupied by the Democratic Conference Committee in the Capitol, so that the Democratic members can have a conference room near the Senate Chamber for emergency conference.

Upon motion the Caucus adjourned.

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[June 1, 1912]

June first, 1912.

The Democratic Conference met in the Conference Room on this first day of June, 1912, in pursuance of the call of the chairman.

There were present the following named Senators: Ashurst, Bacon, Bankhead, Bryan, Chamberlain, Chilton, Fletcher, Foster, Gardner, Gore, Hitchcock, Johnson, Johnston, Kern, Lea, Martin, Martine, Myers, Newlands, Overman, Pomerene, Reed, Shively, Simmons, Smith of Ariz., Smith of Ga., Stone, Swanson, Thornton and Williams.

Senator Overman moved that the Chemical Schedule Bill be temporarily laid aside, and in the meantime we take up the appropriation bills and the Lorimer case.<sup>3</sup> After some discussion the motion was withdrawn.

Senator Newlands moved that the conference proceed to the consideration of the Sugar Schedule. Thereupon Senator Stone moved as

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<sup>2</sup> Known as the "Senate Caucus Room."

<sup>3</sup> On July 13, 1912, the Senate declared the election of William Lorimer (Republican of Illinois) to be invalid.

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a substitute that it is the sense of this Caucus that upon the conclusion of the vote upon the Chemical Schedule Bill the Democrats unite to secure consideration of the Wool Schedule Bill and to make it the unfinished business and press it to a final conclusion.

After some discussion Senator Williams moved the adoption of the following resolution:

RESOLVED that the Democrats of the Senate hereby agree to abide by the results of the votes taken in Caucus, and that they request the minority members of the Finance Committee to take up the various tariff bills which have been or may be passed by the House of Representatives, and before adjournment secure action by the Senate upon all of the said bills.

At this point it was announced by the Chairman that so many Senators had left that a quorum was not present, and thereupon the Conference adjourned to meet again at a time and place to be fixed by the Chairman.

## Sixty-third Congress (1913–1915)

[Editor's Note: Democrats gained the majority in the Senate during the Sixty-third Congress, for the first time in twenty years. Fifty-one Democrats faced 44 Republicans and one independent. The House similarly had a Democratic majority, and a Democrat, Woodrow Wilson, occupied the White House. In the Senate, progressive Democrats were determined to exert leadership and enact President Wilson's "New Freedom" legislative program. In February 1913, progressive Democrats met at the Washington home of Senator Luke Lea and agreed to support Senator John Worth Kern for chairman of the caucus. With thirty votes committed to Kern, assuring him the election, the incumbent chairman, Senator Thomas Martin, withdrew from the race. The caucus retained Martin on the Steering Committee and rewarded him with the chairmanship of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

The Senate met in special session from March 4 to March 17, 1913, to advise and consent on the president's nominations. Wilson then called Congress into session on April 7, 1913, and both the Senate and House remained in session without recess until December 1. The second session of the Sixty-third Congress extended from December 1, 1913 to October 24, 1914, with only a twenty-day recess over the Christmas holidays. A third session ran from December 7, 1914 to March 3, 1915. During these unusually long sessions, Congress enacted major legislation for tariff revision, banking and currency reform, and trade and antitrust regulation. Wilson's program owed its success in large part to the willingness of Democratic senators to bind themselves to the caucus decision on key issues.<sup>1]</sup>

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[March 5, 1913]

The Democratic Members of the Senate assembled in Caucus Wednesday, March 5, 1913, at 10:30 o'clock, A.M., pursuant to call.

Senator Martin called the Caucus to order and stated the object of the meeting and as he was not a candidate for Chairman, asked for nomination for that office.

The calling of the roll showed 47 Senators present. Senators Reed and Robinson only being absent.

Senator Shively nominated Senator Kern, of Indiana, for Chairman of the Caucus, which was seconded by Senator Clarke, and Senator

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<sup>1</sup>Wythe W. Holt, Jr., "The Senator from Virginia and the Democratic Floor Leadership," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 83 (January 1975): 8–18; Walter J. Oleszek, "John Worth Kern: Portrait of a Floor Leader," in *First Among Equals: Outstanding Senate Leaders of the Twentieth Century*, eds. Richard A. Baker and Roger H. Davidson (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1991), pp. 28–30.

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Kern, receiving the unanimous vote of the Caucus, accepted and assumed his duties.

Senator O’Gorman presented the following resolution, and moved its adoption.

RESOLVED, That the Democratic Caucus expresses its high appreciation of the great ability, the untiring efforts and efficient service of Senator Martin as Democratic leader during the 62nd Congress. His influence was a large factor in the harmony and effectiveness of the Democratic minority in the session which has just closed. He retires from the Caucus leadership with the respect and best wishes of all his colleagues.

Senators Martine, Owen and Bacon seconded the above resolution and it was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

Senator Martin expressed appreciation of the terms of the resolution.

Senator Newlands was elected Vice Chairman on motion of Senator Pittman.

Senator O’Gorman then nominated Senator Saulsbury, of Delaware, for Secretary of the Caucus, which was duly seconded and Mr. Saulsbury elected, and assumed his duties as Secretary of the Caucus.

Senator Bryan moved the Chairman appoint a Committee of Five to report to the Caucus on order of business, and this being seconded by Senator Smith of Georgia, was declared carried, and Senators Bryan, Stone, Culberson, O’Gorman, and Walsh were named as such Committee.

Senator Clarke moved that the Chairman appoint a Committee of Nine members, as a Steering Committee, the Chairman to be one, and report the Caucus for its approval. This motion was carried after Senator Ashurst had moved that such Committee be elected by the Caucus, which amendment was lost by a vote of 13 ayes to 26 noes.

Senator Stone moved that a Committee of Five be appointed by the Chair in re the Illinois matter, which was duly carried, and Senators Stone, Williams, Fletcher, Smith (Ga.) and Pomerene were thereupon appointed by the Chairman as such Committee.

On motion of Senator Swanson, the Caucus adjourned to meet at eleven o'clock A.M., March sixth, A.D. 1913.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[March 6, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus of the Senate met at 11 o'clock A.M., Thursday, March 6th, 1913.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Kern.

The calling of the roll disclosed all Senators present with the exception of Senator Robinson.

Senator Chamberlain moved that speeches be limited to five minutes. Carried.

The Chairman announced the appointment of the following Steering Committee:

Senators Kern, Martin, Clarke, Chamberlain, Owen, O'Gorman, Smith (Ga.), Lea and Thomas, which was approved by the Caucus after motion to add Vice-Chairman and Secretary to the Committee was laid on the table.

The report of the Committee on Order of Business was then presented, as follows:

To the Caucus of the Democratic Members of the  
United States Senate

Your Committee on Order of Business, appointed at the session held on Wednesday, the fifth day of March, 1913, submits the following report:

Your Committee recommends the following order of business, viz.:

1. Selection of the following officers of the Senate
  - (a) A President pro tempore
  - (b) Chaplain
  - (c) Secretary
  - (d) Sergeant at Arms
2. Consideration of appointment of minor officers under the Secretary of the Senate and the Sergeant at Arms.
3. Selection of a Committee on Committees.
4. Consideration of the continuance, creation and abolition of committees, the number of members on each and the apportionment of members under the political parties.
5. Consideration of rank on committees and appointment of conferees.

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6. Consideration of the question of whether the choice of a senator for president pro tempore or for chairman of the Caucus shall be deemed the equivalent of appointment to a chairmanship of a first-class committee.<sup>2</sup>

7. Any other business that may properly come before the Caucus.

Respectfully,  
[signed] T.J. Walsh  
[signed] N.P. Bryan

Senator O’Gorman moved the adoption of the report, subject to the action of the Caucus in modification, after Paragraph 3, (Committee on Committees) had, on motion, been struck out by unanimous consent.

It was then moved by Senator Smith (S.C.) that Paragraph 6 of Order be now considered, which motion prevailed.

Senator Stone moved that the selection of Senators as President pro tem. and as Chairman of the Caucus shall not be held equivalent to Chairmanship of 1st Class Committee, be referred to the Steering Committee. Seconded and carried.

Senator Lea moved that Paragraph 1 (Selection of Officers of the Senate) be deferred to Saturday next, March 8th at ten o’clock, A.M.

Substitute offered by Senator Myers, fixing time for selection of officers at ten A.M., Friday, March 7th, 1913, was carried.

The Report by Senator Clarke on Conference with Republican Committee was referred to the Steering Committee.

Senator Chamberlain offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That ranking members of Committees entitled to Chairmanships under the present practice of the Senate be permitted to announce their choice for Chairmanships and that after such choice they shall not be entitled to place on other Committees until all the other members of the Senate have a chance to express their choice for committee place.

Senator Swanson moved that the above resolution and Paragraph 5 be referred to the Steering Committee, which shall report back as to Place on Committees to Conferees. Carried.

The following resolution was offered by Senator Bryan:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Caucus that the inactive committees be abolished and that the minority party be allowed the extra clerical help that the continuance of said committees would provide for.

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<sup>2</sup>This consideration was prompted by the expressed desire of Senator Augustus Bacon to become both president pro tempore and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Senator Newlands presented the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That all obsolete committees maintained simply in order to give Senators additional employees be abolished and that all Senators without Chairmanships shall have three employees: A Secretary at \$2500. per annum; a Stenographer at \$1500. per annum; and a Messenger at \$1200. per annum.

Senator O’Gorman moved that the resolutions of Senators Bryan and Newlands above recited be referred to the Steering Committee, which motion prevailed.

On motion of Senator O’Gorman, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, Unless otherwise ordered, That information respecting proceedings in Conference shall not be disclosed by any Senator, except the Chairman of the Caucus.

Senator Overman offered the following resolution.

RESOLVED, That the patronage shall be divided equally in value among the Democratic Senators and the minority shall be accorded the same patronage which they have heretofore extended to the Democratic Minority. Also,

RESOLVED, That a Committee of Five (5) be appointed by the Chair to consider the question of how many offices, if any, may be dispensed with without injury to the efficiency of the work of the Senate, and the amount to which each Senator is entitled, and report fully to the Caucus their recommendations as to whether the permanent roll should be continued and who shall be kept on this list. Adoption seconded and carried.

In accordance with Senator Overman’s resolution, the Chair appointed the following Committee:

Senators Overman, Williams, Shively, Hitchcock and Johnson.

Senator Reed moved that the Steering Committee shall report a plan of equalization of Salaries of Senate Clerks, &c., which motion was duly seconded and carried.

Senator Hitchcock moved the adoption of the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That a Committee on Banking and Currency be created and that subject be withdrawn from the Finance Committee.

Senator Stone presented the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Merchant Marine shall be withdrawn from the Committee on Commerce and a Committee to be known as Merchant Marine and Fisheries be created.

The resolutions of Senators Hitchcock and Stone, just presented, were referred to the Steering Committee.



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Senator Bacon moved that the question, "Shall the Committee on Cuban Relations be Continued?" be referred to the Committee on Committees. Seconded and carried.

Senator Newlands moved the adoption of the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the subject of the Regulation and Development of Rivers and Inland Waterways be transferred from the Committee on Commerce to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

The motion was referred to the Steering Committee.

Senator Williams moved, as the sense of the Caucus, that each Senator have not more than 3 rooms.

Senator O'Gorman moved to refer resolution of Senator Williams to the Democratic members of the Committee on Rules, which was declared carried.

Senator Newlands then presented the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That hereafter, rooms and seats be assigned according to seniority and where two or more are of the same period of service, by lot.

Senator Swanson moved that this Resolution be laid on the table, and this motion prevailed.

On motion, the meeting then adjourned to meet at ten o'clock A.M., Friday, March 7th, 1913.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[March 7, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus of the Senate met at 10 o'clock A.M., Friday, March 7th, 1913.

Meeting called to order by the Chairman.

The calling of the roll disclosed 46 Senators present. Senators Lane, Robinson and Shields being absent.

The Committee on Patronage reported partially through Senator Overman, and was continued.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of President pro tem.

Senator O'Gorman nominated Senator Clarke of Arkansas.

Senator Smith of Georgia nominated Senator Bacon.

Senator Clarke receiving 27 votes to 14 for Mr. Bacon, was declared elected President pro tem.

The election of a Chaplain to the Senate was then proceeded with: Senator Smith (Maryland) nominated Rev. F. J. Prettyman and nomination seconded by Senators Overman, Smith (South Carolina), Swanson and Owen.

Senator Martine nominated Rev. A.W. Spooner. Mr. Spooner's nomination seconded by Senator Myers.

Senator Pomerene nominated Rev. Thomas Gordon and nomination seconded by Senator Shafroth.

Senator Ransdell nominated Rev. Hugh T. Stephens, and this nomination seconded by Senators Johnston and O'Gorman.

Senator Williams nominated Rev. James H. Taylor, and seconded by Senator James.

Senator Fletcher nominated Rev. U.G. B. Pierce.

After two ballots, without election, Senator O'Gorman moved to postpone the election of a Chaplain until a day in May to be designated by Chairman.

This motion laid on table.

On the 3rd ballot for Chaplain, Rev. F. J. Prettyman, receiving 25 votes, sufficient to elect, was declared elected and his election was, on motion, made unanimous.

It was then moved that the meeting proceed to the election of a Secretary of the Senate.

Senator Hughes moved that nominating speeches be limited to three minutes. Carried.

Senator Williams nominated Robert M. Gates.

Senator Tillman nominated James M. Baker. Mr. Baker's nomination seconded by Senators Pomerene, Clarke, Swanson and Johnston.

Senator Martine nominated Joseph C. Spriggs.

Senator Johnston nominated Thomas B. Stallings.

Senator Lea nominated Joseph R. Wilson and nomination seconded by Senator Pittman.

Senator O'Gorman nominated Thomas W. Keller.

It was moved by Senator Lea that the election of a Secretary of the Senate be postponed until Saturday morning, March 8th, 1913, at ten o'clock, and that a committee of five be appointed to examine evidence in the Baker matter.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>James M. Baker of South Carolina had served in the Senate since 1893, when he was appointed assistant librarian of the Senate Library, and "Democratic caucus representative." Before his election as secretary of the Senate, a special committee examined his financial relationship with Sully & Company. He held the office of secretary until 1919.

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On motion the Caucus took a recess until four o'clock, P.M., March 7th, at which time it was agreed that the election of a Sergeant-at-Arms should be taken up.

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The Democratic Senatorial Caucus re-assembled at four o'clock, Friday afternoon, March 7th, 1913.

The meeting proceeded to the election of a Sergeant-at-Arms.

Senator Ashurst nominated Lee Crandall; nomination seconded by Senator Smith of Arizona.

Senator Stone nominated Charles P. Higgins and this nomination seconded by Senator Reed. Senator Swanson placed the name of Mr. Willis of Virginia in nomination.

Senator Gore nominated John M. Young.

On the third ballot, receiving the vote of 27 against 19 for Young, Charles P. Higgins was declared elected Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate.

Senator Thomas [moved] that the Caucus take a recess until Saturday morning, March 8th, 1913, at 11 o'clock, which motion prevailed.

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[March 8, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus of the Senate met at 11 o'clock A.M., Saturday, March 8th, 1913.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman.

The calling of the roll disclosed 47 Senators present, Senators Lane and Robinson being absent.

The first business to come before the Caucus was the election of a Secretary of the Senate.

By consent, James M. Baker, one of the nominees for that office, was admitted to explain the Sully & Company matter, and made his statement, reading letters, affidavits, &c., after debate.

At 12:30 o'clock, P.M., by order of the Caucus, the five-minute rule was applied.

At 1:20 o'clock, P.M., debate ordered closed at 1:25 P.M. and a vote to be ordered.

On the 2nd ballot, James M. Baker was nominated, receiving 25 votes therefor, and his nomination was then made unanimous by acclamation.

The Caucus authorized the Chairman to deny the report as to Senator Vardaman.

Senator Chilton then nominated Thomas Keller for the post of Assistant Door Keeper, who was elected by acclamation.

The Caucus then adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[March 15, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus of the Senate met at 10:30 A.M., Saturday, March 15th, 1913.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman.

The calling of the roll disclosed 47 Senators present.

On motion, the reading of minutes of last preceding meeting was dispensed with.

The Report of the Committee on Patronage was presented by Senator Overman.

Senator Stone moved that the Chairman of the Committee on Patronage be directed to have copies of the report of that Committee made and distributed among all the Democratic Senators and that consideration of said report be postponed until Monday, March 17th, 1913, at 10 o'clock, A.M., which motion prevailed. [printed report follows:]

*Confidential*  
REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PATRONAGE TO THE  
DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS

Your committee, after three prolonged sessions, extending over many hours each, have carefully considered your instructions to as the division of patronage equally among the Democratic Senators and the allowance to be made to the Republican minority, and have endeavored to conform strictly to them.

In response to the second division of your instructions an exhaustive examination in detail of the personnel of the employees of the Senate has been made, and the questions of "how many offices may be dispensed with without injury to the efficiency of the work of the Senate, and the amount to which each Senator is entitled. . . and whether the permanent roll shall be continued and who shall be kept on the list" have been met as fully as time would allow.

The committee have come to the following conclusions and present the following recommendations to the Caucus in obedience to its instructions:

In the first place, they find that there is wisdom in the custom which has grown up of retaining in the service of the Senate those employees who by efficient experience, capacity, and diligence, expedite business to the

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credit of the Senate and the comfort and advantage of the individual Senators. They, therefore, recommend that the following offices, 20 in number, in the office of the Secretary of the Senate, aggregating total annual salary list of \$39,960, be filled by their present occupants during good behavior, subject to removal only for good cause and by direction of the appointing officers and the committee on patronage:

<i>Officers retained, Secretary's Office</i>	
Position:	Salary
Chief Clerk .....	\$3,250
Financial Clerk .....	4,250
Enrolling Clerk .....	3,000
Principal Clerk (O.S.) <sup>4</sup> .....	3,000
Assistant financial clerk .....	2,750
Chief bookkeeper .....	2,500
Printing clerk .....	2,500
Clerk compiling history of revenue bills (O.S.) .....	2,500
Clerk .....	2,220
Assistant in document room .....	2,250
Clerk in document room (O.S.) .....	1,440
Librarian .....	2,500
Keeper of stationery (O.S.) .....	2,400
Laborer in stationery room (colored) .....	720
3 laborers (colored) at \$840 .....	2,520
3 laborers (colored) at \$720 .....	2,160
<hr/>	
Total .....	39,960
Deducting 4 positions held by old soldiers (indicated above by "O.S.") .....	9,340
<hr/>	
Leaves a total of .....	30,620

By this arrangement the following offices in the office of the Secretary of the Senate would be filled by Republicans retained:

Financial clerk .....	\$4,250
Enrolling clerk .....	3,000
Chief bookkeeper .....	2,500
Printing clerk .....	2,500
Clerk .....	2,220
Librarian .....	2,500
Compiler history of revenue bills (O.S.) .....	2,500
Clerk in document room (O.S.) .....	1,440
Keeper of stationery (O.S.) .....	2,400
<hr/>	

<sup>4</sup>"O.S." was the abbreviation for "Old Soldier." During the late nineteenth century, many patronage posts on Capitol Hill went to Civil War veterans, often one-armed, or one-legged men. They were predominantly Union Army veterans appointed by Republican members. In 1911, after the Democrats won the majority in the House of Representatives and narrowed the Republican margin in the Senate, Idaho Republican Senator Weldon B. Heyburn introduced a resolution permitting all Union veterans still on the Senate payroll to hold their positions until they voluntarily retired. One of the last senators to "wave the bloody shirt," Senator Heyburn had won national notoriety for opposing the placing of a statue of General Robert E. Lee in the Capitol, or the spending of federal funds for Confederate monuments. Heyburn died in 1912, the same year that Democrats captured the majority in the Senate. Nevertheless, the Democrats honored the Heyburn Resolution and retained the Union veterans on the Senate patronage.

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

Total .....	23,310
Deducting 3 positions held by old soldiers .....	6,340
	<hr/>
Leaves a total of .....	16,970

The following offices in the office of the Secretary of the Senate are now filled by Democrats retained by the Republicans:

Chief clerk .....	\$3,250
Principal clerk (O.S.) .....	3,000
Assistant financial clerk .....	2,750
Assistant in document room .....	2,250
Clerk .....	2,220
Assistant librarian .....	2,400
	<hr/>
Total .....	15,870
Deducting the one position held by an old soldier .....	3,000
	<hr/>
Leaves a total of .....	12,870

Thus it is seen that the Republicans are conceded \$4,100 more in patronage than they have heretofore allowed the Democrats.

The committee from their inquiry into the several positions named and provided for in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act, in the office of the Secretary of the Senate, find that the following positions need not be occupied because they are supernumerary:

Compiler of the Navy Yearbook, etc. ....	\$2,220
Indexer Senate public documents .....	2,220
A clerk .....	2,100
A messenger .....	1,400
A clerk in stationery room .....	1,440
Assistant librarian .....	1,600
Assistant in stationery room .....	2,000
	<hr/>
Total .....	13,020

It is believed that this may be done without lessening the efficiency of the clerical and other forces, and it is of opinion that this course ought to be followed.

There can be had by this means a saving of a good deal of money, and while it lessens the amount of patronage which each Senator might have allotted to him, the difference would not be very great and the policy of it would be in true line with the declared promises of the party to administer the affairs of every branch of the Government with as much efficiency and with a greater regard to economy than has been done in the past.

Eliminating these two classes of exemptions from patronage, the following positions are subject to the appointment of the Secretary of the Senate on the nomination of Senators:

Minute and journal clerk .....	\$3,000
Reading clerk .....	3,000
Executive clerk .....	2,750

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File clerk .....	2,500
Assistant journal clerk .....	2,500
Clerks, two at \$2,500 .....	5,000
Clerk .....	2,220
Clerk .....	2,100
Clerk .....	1,800
Clerk .....	1,600
Assistant messenger .....	1,200
Assistant in document room .....	2,250
Assistant in document room .....	1,440
First assistant librarian .....	2,400
Assistant librarian .....	1,800
Skilled laborers, 2 at \$1,200 .....	2,400
Assistant in stationery room .....	1,200
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>39,160</b>

RECAPITULATION, SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

In the office of the Secretary of the Senate there are 49 positions, the salaries of which amount to \$107,060.

Secretary, elected by Senate (including horse hire) .....	\$6,920
Assistant Secretary (H.M. Rose), \$5,000 and superintendent of document room (G.H. Boyd), \$3,000, both offices in appropriation act by name .....	8,000
9 officers and 7 colored laborers retained on account of efficient experience .....	30,520
4 officers, old soldiers, retained on account of Senate resolution 72, of July 14, 1911 .....	9,340
7 supernumerary positions proposed to be abolished .....	13,020
19 positions subject to the appointment of the Secretary on nominations by Senators .....	39,180
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>107,060</b>

OFFICE OF THE SERGEANT AT ARMS

The committee recommend that the following employees on account of efficient experience be retained during good behavior, subject to removal only for good cause and by direction of the appointing officer and the committee on patronage:

Doherty, E.W., messenger acting as assistant doorkeeper .....	\$1,800
Edwards, J.F., messenger acting as assistant doorkeeper .....	1,800
Anderson, R.S., messenger .....	1,440
McGrain, J.J., storekeeper .....	2,220
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>7,260</b>

The committee recommend that the following positions, 66 in number, the salaries which aggregate \$47,660, on account of the character of service rendered, be exempted from patronage:

Clerk on Journal work for Congressional Record .....	\$2,000
Superintendent of Press Gallery .....	1,800
Assistant superintendent of Press Gallery .....	1,400
Messenger for service to press correspondents .....	900

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

Upholsterer and locksmith .....	1,440
Cabinetmaker .....	1,200
3 carpenters at \$1,080 .....	3,240
Chief telephone operator .....	1,200
Telephone operator .....	900
Telephone page .....	720
4 skilled laborers at \$1000 .....	4,000
Skilled laborer .....	900
Laborer in charge of private passage .....	840
3 attendants in ladies' room, Capitol, at \$720 .....	2,160
2 attendants in ladies' room, Senate Office Building, at \$720 .....	1,440
21 laborers at \$720 (janitor force) .....	15,120
Elevator conductor .....	1,200
16 pages at \$300 (\$2.50 per day) .....	4,800
5 hostlers, Senate stable, at \$480 .....	2,400
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>47,660</b>

According to the custom of the Senate heretofore, it is recommended that 10 messengers, at \$1,440 each, be detailed from the Sergeant at Arms' office for service to the minority, \$14,400.

Respecting Senate resolution of July 14, 1911, creating an old soldiers' roll, it is found that 26 employees of the Sergeant at Arms, whose salaries aggregate now \$34,512.50, come under its protection. The committee have considered each case and recommend that these employees be given positions whose salaries aggregate \$27,975, a total reduction of \$6,537.50.

Proposed salaries for employees on soldiers' roll, total \$27,975.

Under the arrangement proposed by your committee the following offices in the office of the Sergeant at Arms would be filled by Republicans retained:

Messenger acting as assistant doorkeeper .....	\$1,800
10 messengers detailed to minority Senators, at \$1,440 ..	14,400
5 messengers, old soldiers, at \$1,440 .....	7,200
Foreman, folding room, old soldier .....	1,400
Mail carrier, old soldier .....	1,200
Elevator conductor, old soldier .....	1,200
3 folders, old soldiers, at \$1,000 .....	3,000
2 riding pages, old soldiers, at \$912.50 .....	1,825
5 laborers, old soldiers, at \$720 .....	3,600
Laborer .....	720
7 privates, Capitol police, old soldiers, at \$1,050 .....	7,350
<b>37 positions, total salaries .....</b>	<b>43,695</b>

The following offices in the office of the Sergeant at Arms are now filled by Democrats retained by Republicans:

Messenger acting as Assistant Doorkeeper .....	\$1,800
10 messengers detailed to minority Senators, at \$1,440 each .....	14,400
Messenger .....	1,440



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Storekeeper .....	2,220
3 elevator conductors, at \$1,200 each .....	3,600
Elevator conductor, old soldier .....	1,200
Stenographer in charge furniture accounts, Senate Office Building .....	1,200
Private, Capitol police .....	1,050
Laborers (2) at \$720 .....	1,440
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21 positions, total salaries .....	28,350

The committee, from their inquiry into the several positions named and provided for in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriations act, in the office of the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, find that the following positions need not be occupied, because they are supernumerary:

Assistant Sergeant at Arms .....	\$2,500
Messenger .....	1,440
Messenger, Senate Office Building .....	1,440
Folder .....	1,000
Attendant in charge bathroom, Senate Office Building ...	1,800
Two attendants in bathroom, Senate Office Building, at \$720 each .....	1,440
Janitor, bathroom, Senate Office Building .....	720
Attendant, women's toilet room, Senate Office Building .....	720
17 employees carried on "Maltby Building roll" <sup>5</sup> .....	17,200
17 privates, Capitol police—reduction made by legislative appropriation act— at \$1,050 .....	17,850
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Total .....	46,190

Subtracting the above classes of exceptions and the positions recommended to be abolished, the following positions are subject to the appointment of the Sergeant at Arms on the nomination of Senators:

2 messengers on the floor of the Senate, at \$2,000 .....	\$4,000
2 messengers, acting assistant doorkeepers, at \$1,800 ....	3,600
21 messengers, at \$1,440 .....	30,240
Messenger at card door .....	1,600
Postmaster .....	2,250
Chief clerk, post office .....	1,800
6 mail carriers, at \$1,200 .....	7,200
2 messengers, acting as mail carriers, at \$1,200 .....	2,400
Riding page .....	912.50
Assistant in folding room .....	1,400
Clerk, folding room .....	1,200
2 folders, at \$1,000 .....	2,000
8 folders, at \$840 .....	6,720
Stenographer in charge of furniture accounts, Senate Office Building .....	1,200
Janitor .....	1,200
Laborer .....	840

<sup>5</sup>In 1891 the Senate purchased an apartment house on Capitol Hill, known as the Maltby Building, to provide extra office space, primarily for members of the minority party and junior members of the majority party. In 1909 when the first Senate Office Building opened, the Maltby Building was vacated. It stood empty until demolished in 1930.

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Laborer .....	720
Telephone operator .....	900
Night telephone operator .....	720
8 conductors of elevators, Capitol, at \$1,200 each .....	9,600
13 conductors of elevators, Senate Office Building, at \$1,200 each .....	15,600
Captain of police .....	1,800
Lieutenant of police .....	1,200
Special police officer, Capitol .....	1,200
9 privates, Capitol police, at \$1,050 .....	9,450
Special police officer, Senate Office Building .....	1,200
16 privates, police, Senate Office Building, at \$1,050 .....	16,800
Foreman, Senate stable .....	900
	<hr/>
106 positions, total salaries .....	128,652.50

RECAPITULATION, SERGEANT AT ARMS' OFFICE.

In the office of the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate there are 258 positions, the salaries of which amount to \$284,241.50

Sergeant at Arms, elected by Senate, salary and horse hire .....	\$6,920
Assistant Doorkeeper and Acting Assistant Doorkeeper, elected by Senate, at \$2,592 .....	5,104
4 employees, retained on account of efficient experience .....	7,260
24 employees, 16 pages, 21 laborers, and 5 hostlers, exempted from patronage on account of character of service rendered .....	47,660
10 messengers, detailed to minority Senators .....	14,400
25 employees, old soldiers, retained on account of Senate resolution of July 14, 1911 .....	27,975
45 supernumerary positions, proposed to be abolished ....	46,190
106 positions, subject to the appointment of the Sergeant at Arms on nomination by Senators .....	128,852.50
	<hr/>
Total .....	284,241.50

OLD SOLDIERS' ROLL OF THE SENATE

The committee find themselves confronted by the following resolution (S. Res. 72), which was introduced by the late Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, and adopted on July 14, 1911:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate and the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate are hereby directed to retain in the employ of the Senate those persons who served in the Union Army during the late Civil War and whose service in the Senate is necessary and satisfactory and who are not otherwise provided for, and to continue such persons in their positions until cause of their removal shall have been reported to and approved of by the Senate and their removal directed.

The names and positions of those entitled at that date to the protection of this provision and who have qualified by exhibiting honorable discharges

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from the service or pension certificates are given below, together with the salaries and the total amount thereof:

*Old soldier's roll of the Senate*

[Under (Heyburn) Senate resolution 72, July 14, 1911.]

Office of the Secretary of the Senate:	
A.C. Parkinson, principal clerk (D.) .....	\$3,000
J.C. Donaldson, assistant librarian .....	1,800
C.N. Richards, keeper of stationery .....	2,400
R.R. Dutton, clerk .....	1,440
Total .....	8,640
Office of the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate:	
J.A. Abbott, messenger, acting as assistant doorkeeper ..	1,800
Wm. M. Palmer, messenger .....	1,440
Geo. H. Bond, messenger .....	1,440
James McArthur, messenger .....	1,440
A.D. Gaston, messenger .....	1,440
A.J. Maxham, messenger .....	1,440
O.M. Osbon, messenger .....	1,440
E.P. Getchell, messenger .....	1,440
D.S. Corser, messenger .....	1,440
W.G. Gallager, messenger .....	1,440
D.M. Earle, messenger .....	1,440
Senate Post Office:	
J.A. Crystal, postmaster .....	2,250
G.M. Turner, mail carrier .....	1,200
E.W. Foster, riding page .....	912.50
Senate folding room:	
H.H. Brewer, foreman .....	1,500
M.T. Coates, folder .....	1,000
J.W. Curran, folder .....	1,000
Senate Office Building:	
J. Russell Williams (D.), elevator conductor .....	1,200
Peter Reily, elevator conductor .....	1,200
H. Baer, special officer .....	1,200
Maltby:	
C.C. Burr, elevator conductor .....	800
Total .....	28,362.50
Capitol police:	
J.P. Megrew, captain .....	\$1,800
John Hammond, lieutenant .....	1,200
George Butler, private .....	1,050
J.A. Burrows, private .....	1,050
H.A. Kasson, private .....	1,050
Total .....	6,150
Grand total .....	43,152.50

To attempt to repeal this class legislation (few Senators were acquainted with the true import of the resolution) might, it is apprehended, lead to

a long debate and through misconception of the true intent of the party arouse a hostile excitement which would not be justified by the results. It has therefore been thought a safer plan to suggest to the appointing officers the method of gradually putting these men when found inefficient and incompetent into places carrying less salary and of less weighty and important duties, and to fill the vacancies thus created with men adapted to the work, capable of doing it well, and worth the money. If the service were not handicapped by this necessity, it can be seen without demonstration that a considerable saving in positions could be had, and consequently of salaries.

The committee find in many instances that positions are filled by men whose duties are entirely apart from the places they occupy. It is suggested that this is one of those causes of offense which invites criticism and should cease to exist. The manner and method of doing this, it is believed, can be safely intrusted to the appointing officers of the Senate, if this suggestion meets with the approval of the Caucus.

#### MALTBY.

The committee recommend that what is known as the Maltby roll (miscellaneous items on account of Maltby Building in the contingent allowance of the Senate), carrying \$17,280, be immediately abolished. The last appropriation act does this after July 1, 1913, and transfers some of the employees to the regular roll of the Senate, where they will be placed if their services are found to be necessary.

#### BATHROOMS, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING.

It is recommended that the bathrooms<sup>6</sup> of the Senate Office Building be abolished. In doing this it would dispense with the services of a masseur at \$1,800 and three assistants at \$720 each.

On June 13, 1911, it is understood from accurate sources, the net amount of patronage to be divided among the 51 Republican Senators amounted to \$206,835, which gave each about \$4,200.

By deducting the amount of the old soldiers' roll of the Senate, \$43,152.50, which was subject to patronage in June, 1911, before the passage of the Heyburn resolution in July, it will be seen that the total residue of patronage was \$163,682.50, or about \$3,273 to each Republican Senator.

Assuming that the recommendations of this committee will be accepted by the Caucus, each Democratic Senator will be entitled to recommend appointments to positions the salaries of which will amount in the aggregate to \$3,360.

The committee recommend that the Secretary of the Senate, the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, and the Superintendent of the Capitol, by and with the approval of the committee on patronage, readjust the distribution of

<sup>6</sup>"Bathrooms" referred to the area set aside when the Senate Office Building opened in 1909 for a swimming pool, showers and steam rooms, attended by masseurs. This was an extension of the marble bath tubs that had been set up in the Capitol basement during the nineteenth century, when members of Congress lived in Washington boardinghouses that lacked bathing facilities.

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those offices to which appointments are to be made on recommendation, so that each Democratic Senator shall receive as nearly as practicable the amount of patronage due him under this plan.

The Republicans allowed the Democrats in the Secretary's office 6 positions with salaries totaling \$15,870, and in the Sergeant at Arms' office 21 positions totaling \$28,350, a grand total of \$44,220. The Democrats under this proposed arrangement allow the Republicans 9 positions in the Secretary's office, \$23,310, and 37 in the Sergeant at Arms' office, \$43,695, a grand total of \$67,005. This makes a difference in favor of Republicans of \$22,785, which is largely accounted for by the old soldiers' roll now exempted from patronage.

*Patronage to be available*

Sergeant at Arms' office		
Total appropriation for salaries .....	\$284,241.50	
Total amount of exemptions for all causes .....	155,399.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance .....	128,842.50	
Secretary's office:		
Total appropriation for salaries .....	\$107,060.00	
Total amount of exemptions for all causes .....	67,900.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance .....	39,160.00	
Total amount of patronage, both offices .....	168,002.50	
Divided by 50 Democratic Senators .....	3,360.00	

The Chairman of the Steering Committee, Senator Kern, then presented the Report of that Committee, as follows:

Gentlemen of the Conference:

As chairman of your Steering Committee, I have the honor to present to you a report of the action of that Committee, indulging in the hope that it may meet your approval.

Your Committee addressed itself to the work assigned to it, with a full sense of the responsibility attaching to such work—responsibility to this majority, to the Senate and to the country. It was the earnest desire of every member of that Committee, in the formation of Senate Committees, to respect the desires of their fellow Democrats as to assignments.

In many instances, where many Senators preferred requests for the same places, it was of course impossible to accommodate all, and in such case we have done the best we could, keeping in mind all the time the welfare of party and country, and the necessity for party harmony.

If there are Senators here who are disappointed in their assignments, I feel sure that, recognizing the difficulties under which the committee labored, they will not hesitate to accept the places to which they have been assigned and proceed to the discharge of their duties in a spirit of concession and forbearance

which will aid in bringing about that unity of action so necessary to the success of the measures for the enactment of which we hold a commission from the American people.

Your committee proposes certain reforms, not only the processes of procedure in the Senate, but in the political methods of our party in its organization.

We propose that this great body shall be democratic, not only in name, but in practical reality, and that the charge so often made that it is controlled by a few men through committee organization and otherwise, shall no longer have any basis in fact.

We therefore submit to the Conference two resolutions for its consideration, which if adopted will as we believe, enable the Senate to become a more powerful agency for the registration of the public will and more quickly respond to the desires and demands of the people as expressed at the polls.

The first of these resolutions addressed to the subject of Committee work, is as follows:

Resolved, That a majority of the Democratic members of any committee may call a meeting of such committee, and shall select, by a recorded vote of such members, all Democratic members of conference committees and of all subcommittees representing the committee.

The second, which undertakes to regulate and govern in the future, the procedure of our party in the work of Senate organization, is as follows:

- Resolved: 1. That hereafter the members of the steering committee shall be elected by the Conference.
2. That hereafter the majority members of committees shall elect their own chairmen.
3. That all vacancies on committees in the future shall be nominated by the Steering Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference.

Speaking for the entire committee, I hope these resolutions may be adopted, to the end that the country may know in advance that the Senate of the United States, under Democratic control, is an active, efficient, and sympathetic branch of this great popular government, which, freed from some of the shackles of custom and precedent and able to respond quickly to the will of the people, will without surrendering any of its constitutional prerogatives, or losing sight of the position which the fathers of the Republic intended it to occupy, take its proper place, and do its full share of work in the great progressive movement of the twentieth century, in which are centered the hopes and aspirations of a hundred million free people.

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COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS

Sixty-Third Congress

March 15, 1913.

Mr. ASHURST .....	Industrial Expositions, chairman Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game Indian Affairs Judiciary Mines and Mining Pensions Public Buildings and Grounds Woman Suffrage
Mr. BACON .....	Foreign Relations, chairman Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia Expenditures in the Post Office Depart- ment Judiciary Private Land Claims Railroads Rules Standards, Weights, and Measures
Mr. BANKHEAD .....	Post Offices and Post Roads, chairman Coast and Insular Survey Commerce Conservation of National Resources Education and Labor Standards, Weights, and Measures Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
Mr. BRYAN .....	Claims, chairman Appropriations Coast and Insular Survey Industrial Expositions Investigate Trespassers on Indian Lands Naval Affairs Pensions Post Offices and Post Roads
Mr. CHAMBERLAIN .....	Public Lands, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations Commerce Military Affairs National Banks Territories
Mr. CHILTON .....	Census, chairman Expenditures in the Departments of Com- merce and Labor

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS—Continued

	Expenditures in the Post Office Department
	Interoceanic Canals
	Judiciary
	Naval Affairs
	Post Offices and Post Roads
	Printing
	Revolutionary Claims
Mr. CLARKE of Arkansas ...	Commerce, chairman
	Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture
	Five Civilized Tribes of Indians
	Foreign Relations
	Indian Depredations
	Military Affairs
	Railroads
	Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
Mr. CULBERSON .....	Judiciary, chairman
	Appropriations
	Coast and Insular Survey
	Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service
	Public Buildings and Grounds
	Public Health and National Quarantine
Mr. FLETCHER .....	Printing, chairman
	Commerce
	Fisheries
	Judiciary
	Military Affairs
	Pacific Islands and Porto Rico
	Philippines
	Public Health and National Quarantine
Mr. GORE .....	Agriculture and Forestry, chairman
	Canadian Relations
	Finance
	Immigration
	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands
	Patents
	Pensions
Mr. HITCHCOCK .....	Philippines, chairman
	Banking and Currency
	Foreign Relations
	Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game
	Military Affairs
	Private Land Claims



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COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS—Continued

	Printing
	Territories
Mr. HOLLIS .....	Enrolled Bills, chairman
	Banking and Currency
	Civil Service and Retrenchment
	District of Columbia
	Expenditures in the Interior Department
	Immigration
	Military Affairs
	Transportation and Sale of Meat Products
	University of the United States
	Woman Suffrage
Mr. HUGHES .....	Expenditures in the Navy Department, chairman
	Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress
	Finance
	Pensions
	Privileges and Elections
	Public Health and National Quarantine
	Public Lands
	Standards, Weights, and Measures
	Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
Mr. JAMES .....	Patents, chairman
	Civil Service and Retrenchment
	Conservation of National Resources
	District of Columbia
	Enrolled Bills
	Finance
	Geological Survey
	Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands
	Pacific Islands and Porto Rico
Mr. JOHNSON .....	National Banks, chairman
	Claims
	Coast Defense
	Education and Labor
	Finance
	Naval Affairs
	Pensions
	Privileges and Elections
	Territories
Mr. JOHNSTON .....	Military Affairs, chairman
	Civil Service and Retrenchment
	Expenditures in the War Department
	Indian Depredations
	Mines and Mining

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS—Continued

	Public Buildings and Grounds Revision of the Laws of the United States University of the United States
Mr. KERN .....	Privileges and Elections, chairman District of Columbia Geological Survey Immigration Interstate Commerce Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Printing Public Buildings and Grounds Rules
Mr. LANE .....	Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game, chairman Claims Coast Defenses Expenditures in the War Department Fisheries Indian Affairs Irrigation Philippines Public Buildings and Grounds
Mr. LEA .....	Library, chairman Appropriations Disposition of Useless Papers in the Execu- tive Departments Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service Expenditures in the Treasury Department Military Affairs Post Offices and Post Roads Privileges and Elections
Mr. MARTIN .....	Appropriations, chairman Claims Commerce District of Columbia Expenditures in the Departments of Com- merce and Labor Expenditures in the Navy Department Fisheries
Mr. MARTINE .....	Coast Defenses, chairman Census Education and Labor Industrial Expositions National Banks

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COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS—Continued

	Philippines Post Offices and Post Roads Public Buildings and Grounds
Mr. MYERS .....	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, chairman Civil Service and Retrenchment Indian Affairs Indian Depredations Industrial Expositions Interstate Commerce Military Affairs Public Lands Revolutionary Claims
Mr. NEWLANDS .....	Interstate Commerce, chairman Conservation of National Resources Disposition of Useless Papers in Executive Departments Five Civilized Tribes of Indians Indian Depredations Library Revolutionary Claims
Mr. O'GORMAN .....	Interoceanic Canals, chairman Banking and Currency Foreign Relations Immigration Judiciary Manufactures Naval Affairs Rules
Mr. OVERMAN .....	Rules, chairman Appropriations Claims Forest Reservations and Protection of Game Industrial Expositions Judiciary University of the United States
Mr. OWEN .....	Banking and Currency, chairman Appropriations Indian Affairs Interoceanic Canals Library Public Health and National Quarantine Territories Woman Suffrage

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS—Continued

Mr. PITTMAN .....	Territories, chairman Claims Coast and Insular Survey Expenditures in the Department of Justice Indian Affairs Industrial Expositions Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Pacific Railroads
Mr. POMERENE .....	Civil Service and Retrenchment, chairman Banking and Currency Census District of Columbia Foreign Relations Indian Depredations Interstate Commerce Manufactures Privileges and Elections
Mr. RANSELL .....	Public Health and National Quarantine, chairman Agriculture Canadian Relations Civil Service and Retrenchment Commerce Expenditures in the State Department Philippines Public Lands Woman Suffrage
Mr. REED .....	Manufactures, chairman Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate Banking and Currency Judiciary Pacific Railroads Philippines Privileges and Elections Public Buildings and Grounds Railroads
Mr. ROBINSON .....	Expenditures in the Treasury Department, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Claims Expenditures in the Department of Justice Immigration Indian Affairs Interstate Commerce

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COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS—Continued

	Revision of the Laws of the United States (joint) Public Lands
Mr. SAULSBURY .....	Coast and Insular Survey, chairman District of Columbia Engrossed Bills Interstate Commerce Manufactures Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Pacific Railroads Public Buildings and Grounds University of the United States
Mr. SHAFROTH .....	Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Appropriations Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate Banking and Currency Conservation of National Resources Mines and Mining Philippines Transportation and Sale of Meat Products
Mr. SHEPPARD .....	Expenditures in the Department of Agri- culture, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Census Coast Defenses Commerce Immigration Irrigation Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
Mr. SHIELDS .....	Canadian Relations, chairman Commerce Education and Labor Expenditures in the War Department Industrial Expositions Interoceanic Canals Judiciary Mississippi River and its Tributaries
Mr. SHIVELY .....	Pensions, chairman Census Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia Education and Labor Finance

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS—Continued

	Foreign Relations Library Pacific Railroads Patents Territories
Mr. SIMMONS .....	Finance, chairman Coast Defenses Commerce Engrossed Bills Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture Interoceanic Canals Transportation and Sale of Meat Products
Mr. SMITH of Arizona .....	Conservation of National Resources, chairman District of Columbia Foreign Relations Geological Survey Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands Printing Public Lands Railroads
Mr. SMITH of Georgia .....	Education and Labor, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Finance Library Post Offices and Post Roads
Mr. SMITH of Maryland .....	District of Columbia, chairman Appropriations Canadian Relations Coast Defenses Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service Expenditures in the Treasury Department Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands Naval Affairs
Mr. SMITH of South Carolina.	Immigration, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Conservation of National Resources Geological Survey Interstate Commerce Manufactures Patents

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COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS—Continued

	Post Offices and Post Roads Railroads
Mr. STONE .....	Indian Affairs, chairman Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress Expenditures in the Department of State Finance Foreign Relations Mississippi River and Tributaries Pacific Railroads
Mr. SWANSON .....	Public Buildings and Grounds, chairman Education and Labor Expenditures in the Interior Department Foreign Relations Indian Depredations Naval Affairs Post Offices and Post Roads
Mr. THOMAS .....	Woman Suffrage, chairman Finance Interoceanic Canals Library Military Affairs Private Land Claims Public Lands
Mr. THOMPSON .....	Expenditures in the Departments of Com- merce and Labor, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Census Conservation of National Resources Indian Affairs Interstate Commerce Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands Privileges and Elections Public Lands
Mr. THORNTON .....	Fisheries, chairman Census Indian Affairs Interoceanic Canals Manufactures Mines and Mining Mississippi River and its Tributaries Naval Affairs

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS—Continued

Mr. TILLMAN .....	Naval Affairs, chairman Appropriations Expenditures in the Navy Department Five Civilized Tribes of Indians Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game Mines and Mining Private Land Claims
Mr. VARDAMAN .....	Expenditures in the Post Office Depart- ment, chairman Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress Commerce Conservation of National Resources Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Post Offices and Post Roads Privileges and Elections Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
Mr. WALSH .....	Mines and Mining, chairman Canadian Relations Interoceanic Canals Judiciary Pensions Philippines Privileges and Elections Territories
Mr. WILLIAMS .....	Audit and Control of the Contingent Ex- penses of the Senate, chairman Finance Foreign Relations Mississippi River and its Tributaries Public Health and National Quarantine Railroads Rules University of the United States

On motion, action of the Resolutions proposed in the Report of the Steering Committee, was deferred.

Senator Tillman moved the adoption of the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the report of the Steering Committee just presented be disapproved; that the Report be referred back to



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said Committee with instructions to substitute Tillman's name for Martin's as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations.<sup>7</sup>

At the request of Senator Tillman, a roll call on said resolution resulted as follows:

Yeas 4

Nays 33

The motion was therefore lost.

Senator Sheppard then moved the adoption of the report of the Steering Committee on assignment of the Committees of the Senate, and this motion prevailed.

Senator Bankhead moved to postpone the adoption of the resolutions contained in the Report of the Steering Committee until the first Conference of the Extra Session. Carried.

On motion, the Caucus then adjourned to meet Monday morning, March 17th, 1913, at ten o'clock, A.M.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[March 17, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus of the Senate met on Monday morning, March 17th, 1913, at ten o'clock.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman.

The calling of the roll disclosed 30 Senators present and 20 absent.

By a vote of the Caucus, the speech of Senator Tillman at the last meeting of the Caucus was released for the newspapers.

Senator Sheppard moved that a resolution be adopted by the Caucus providing an additional employe[e] for each Democratic Chairman having only two employe[e]s of his Committee, and that a resolution be prepared to that effect and presented to the Senate, such employe[e] to be paid out of the contingent fund. Unanimously adopted.

The Chairman appointed as a Committee to draft such a resolution Senators Sheppard, Thompson and Saulsbury.

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<sup>7</sup>In 1908 and 1910 Senator Tillman suffered a paralytic stroke and a cerebral hemorrhage, which left him a permanent invalid and caused his frequent absences from the Senate. Under the caucus's seniority practice, Tillman was entitled to choose between chairing the committees on Appropriations, Interstate Commerce, and Naval Affairs. Tillman informed the caucus that he preferred the Appropriations Committee. However, the caucus determined that Tillman's ill health would prevent him from functioning effectively as chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee, and assigned him—over his protests—the less arduous task of chairing the Naval Affairs Committee. See Francis Butler Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944), pp. 508–10.

Senator James moved that the matter of assignment of rooms be referred to the Committee on Rules. Declared carried, after amendment offered by Senator Gore that [the] Committee on Rules report back their action to the Caucus was lost.

The Caucus then adjourned until three o'clock Monday afternoon.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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The Democratic Caucus of the Senate reconvened at 3:20 o'clock, Monday afternoon, March 17, 1913.

The motion to give and provide for assignment to each Democratic Chairman of a Committee two Clerks and one Messenger was unanimously adopted and the Committees of the Senate were directed to carry out the true intent of this motion.

Senator Swanson offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, That the Report of the Committee on Patronage be received and that the Committee be directed to proceed to arrange with Democratic Senators for a distribution of patronage, including all employe[e]s, as nearly as possible equally among Democratic Senators. That in doing so the substance of the Committee's Report be approved except as the Committee may find it possible to enlarge the quota of each Senator on further consideration by modifying the exemptions and abolition of offices. That as to the permanent roll, the Committee on Division of Patronage, hereinafter provided for, shall substitute a Democrat for a Republican where the same may be done without substantial detriment to the efficient service of the Senate and their obligation to the Republican minority.

On motion of Senator Martine, the following resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Democratic Members of the United States Senate, in Caucus assembled, that the Supervisor of the Senate Building is hereby authorized and instructed to remove all Bath Rooms and appliances thereto, as now existing in the Senate Office Building and Further that all attendants in said Bath Rooms are herewith discharged.

The request of Senator [Joseph L.] Bristow [Republican, Kansas] was referred to the Steering Committee.

The Caucus then adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

[Editor's Note: On April 8, 1913, President Wilson broke with tradition to address a joint session of Congress about the need to lower tariff duties,

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which he declared had become “a set of privileges and exemptions from competition behind which it was easy by any, even the crudest, forms of competition to organize monopoly.” The following day, Wilson went to the President’s Room, outside the Senate chamber, to meet personally with members of the Senate Finance Committee. The Democratic majority in the House acted swiftly. Led by House Ways and Means Committee chairman Oscar W. Underwood (Democrat, Alabama), the House enacted the tariff bill on May 8, by a vote of 281 to 139. However, the Wilson administration was aware that previous efforts to reduce the tariff had passed the House only to be reversed in the Senate.

In the Senate the tariff bill was managed by Finance Committee chairman Furnifold Simmons (Democrat, North Carolina), who had previously supported the high-rate Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909, in return for protectionist rates for cotton textiles, lumber and other interests in his state. Although Simmons pledged his support for Wilson’s tariff proposals, Democrats chose to debate the tariff rates more in the caucus rather than the Finance Committee. This strategy risked alienating progressive Republicans, who were excluded from the caucus proceedings. Given that the two Louisiana Democratic senators opposed the tariff because it lowered rates for sugar imports, any additional defections would have denied the Democrats enough votes to pass the tariff without significant compromise. In addition to his personal lobbying, Wilson pressured the Senate through public opinion. At his press conference on May 26, President Wilson denounced the “extraordinary lobbying” efforts against the tariff bill. “This town is swarming with lobbyists,” the president asserted, calling it “as concerted an effort, I dare say, as has ever been made to influence governmental legislation by the pressure of public interests.”<sup>8</sup> A subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, chaired by Lee S. Overman (Democrat, North Carolina) investigated Wilson’s charges, uncovering evidence of extensive lobbying and of senators who had personal financial interest in businesses that were affected by tariff duties.

These revelations helped the Democratic Conference maintain a united position on tariff reductions. On July 7, the caucus voted to make the tariff bill “a party measure,” and to call for the Democratic senators to unite in support of the bill as amended in the caucus. The Underwood-Simmons bill went to the Senate on July 11, and was approved by a vote of 44 to 37 on August 9, with all Democrats voting for or paired in favor of the bill, except for the two senators from Louisiana.<sup>9</sup>

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[April 8, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus of the Senate met at 1:30 P.M., Tuesday afternoon, April 8th, 1913.

The roll call disclosed 39 Senators present.

<sup>8</sup>Arthur S. Link, et al., eds., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 27: 471–72.

<sup>9</sup>See Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: the New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), pp. 177–97. A compendium of the votes on the tariff, showing the extraordinary unity among Democratic senators, was published as Senate Document 556, 63rd Congress, 2nd Session, *Underwood-Simmons Tariff Bill; Yea and Nay Votes in the United States Senate* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914).

The Chairman stated to the meeting unfinished business to be the reason for the call of the caucus.

Senator Tillman submitted to the caucus the matter of Door Keeper Anderson taken from the permanent roll and assigned to him as patronage, and this was referred to the Committee on Patronage.

The following resolution, heretofore submitted to the caucus in the report of the Steering Committee, was then read to the meeting:

RESOLVED, That a majority of the Democratic members of any committee may call a meeting of such committee, and shall select, by a recorded vote of such members, all Democratic members of conference committees and of all sub-committees representing the Committee.

Senator O’Gorman moved that the word “may” be substituted for the word “shall” where it appears in said resolution, and this amendment was adopted by unanimous consent.

Senator Williams then offered the following as a substitute:

RESOLVED, That hereafter the Chairman in selecting conferees and subcommittees shall not be guided solely by the rule of the committee rank but by such consideration of efficiency as may seem good to them and their respective committee, which was lost, and the Resolution, as amended and adopted by the caucus, now reads as follows:

RESOLVED, That a majority of the Democratic Members of any Committee may call a meeting of such committee, and may select, by a recorded vote of such members, all Democratic members of conference committee and of all subcommittees representing the committee.

The consideration of the following resolutions, heretofore submitted, was then taken up:

RESOLVED:

1. That hereafter the members of the Steering Committee shall be elected by the conference.
2. That hereafter the majority members of committees shall elect their own Chairman.
3. That all vacancies on Committees in the future shall be nominated by the Steering Committee subject to the approval of the conference.

The consideration of said resolutions was postponed until a later caucus.

Senator Newlands moved that it is the sense of the caucus that the duty on sugar and wool be reduced forty per cent.

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The Caucus then adjourned (with this motion not acted on) subject to the Call of the Chairman.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[May 5, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus of the Senate met at 11 o'clock, A.M., Monday, May 5th, A.D. 1913.

The calling of the roll disclosed 38 Senators present.

The Chairman stated the reason of the call for the meeting to be the humiliation caused by the failure of Democrats to muster a majority in the session of the Senate on Thursday last (May 1st) and asked that this condition be remedied.

Senator Swanson then offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Caucus that no member shall absent himself from any session of the Senate without first reporting to and getting the consent of the Chairman of the Caucus for his absence.

The above resolution was unanimously adopted.

On motion of Senator Williams, the caucus adjourned to meet at 11 o'clock, A.M., Tuesday, May 6th, 1913.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[May 6, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus of the Senate met on Tuesday morning, May 6th, 1913, at eleven o'clock, 37 Senators being present.

Senator Williams introduced the matter of the Report of the Committee [to] Audit and [Control the] Contingent Expenses of the Senate against giving Republicans three employees, calling attention to the previous action of the Caucus, deciding to give Republicans only what the Republicans had given to the Democrats, and moving that the previous action of the Caucus, (giving to the Republicans only what they had allowed the Democrats) be strictly adhered to and that participants in the Caucus be bound thereby.

This motion of Senator Williams was unanimously adopted after Senator Newlands had offered the following substitute:

RESOLVED, That each Senator of the Minority other than Chairmen of Committees be allowed an additional stenographer

at a salary of twelve hundred dollars per annum,—which motion as offered by Senator Newlands was subsequently withdrawn and the motion of Senator Williams adopted unanimously by the Caucus, as stated.

Senator Newlands then offered the following Resolution:

RESOLVED, That the duties fixed by the pending Bill shall take full effect on the first day of January, A.D. 1916, and that the difference between the existing duties and those fixed by such bill shall be gradually reduced between the first day of January, A.D. 1914, and the first day of January, A.D. 1916, as follows: One-third thereof on the first day of January, A.D. 1914; one-third thereof on the first day of January, A.D. 1915; and one-third thereof on the first day of January, A.D. 1916.

Pending discussion of the Resolution offered by Senator Newlands, the Caucus adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[May 19, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus of the Senate met on Monday morning, May 19th, 1913, at eleven o'clock, the calling of the roll showing 36 Senators present.

The Chairman stated that the matter of "Senators Pairs" was the reason for the calling of the Caucus.

Senator Owen moved that all pairs be canceled, after reasonable notice, so far as they apply to Executive Sessions. That notice be given of the cancellation of all pairs, to take effect with regard to Republican Senators now present in Washington on Wednesday at the meeting of the Senate, and as to Republican Senators absent from the City, to take effect six days from this date. That there be no cancellation with regard to Republicans who are sick and physically unable to attend the Senate.

Senator Owen then offered the following Resolution:

RESOLVED, That each Democratic Senator shall advise his Republican Pair that he will reserve the right to vote in Executive Session, to take effect as to Senators in Washington immediately after actual notice, and giving time to any absent Senator sufficient to be present but not to include a Senator now sick and confined to the house.

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Senator Swanson then moved the adoption of the following Resolution as a substitute for the Resolution offered by Senator Owen:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Caucus that Democratic Senators shall as soon as possible arrange their pairs so as to reserve the privilege of voting in Executive Session, when necessary to make a quorum, or for the entire Executive Session.

On motion, the resolution of Senator Swanson was adopted unanimously by the Caucus.

The following resolution was then proposed by Senator Hollis:

RESOLVED, That the Chair appoint a Committee of Five, to confer with the Democratic Congressional Committee from the House of Representatives and a similar Committee from the National Committee, to formulate and report upon a permanent plan for the conduct of Senatorial and Congressional elections.

The Caucus adjourned during discussion of this resolution.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

Chair appointed the following Senators on the committee authorized by above resolution adopted on [May 28, 1913].

Chamberlain  
Shively  
Newlands  
Smith of Ariz.  
Thomas

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[May 28, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus of the Senate met on Wednesday morning, May 28th, 1913, at 10:30 o'clock, the calling of the roll disclosing thirty-three Senators present.

The object of this meeting of the Caucus, as stated by the Chairman, was to consider the proposed absence of several Democratic Senators.

Senator Simmons offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Conference that in view of important matters likely to come before the Senate at any time, and of complications likely to arise both in legislative and executive sessions, Senators are requested to be in attendance throughout the present session, unless absent for important reasons. Adopted unanimously.

Senator Stone advocated the selection of a Democratic “whip” so-called and moved that Senator Lewis<sup>10</sup> be appointed to assist the Chairman in securing the attendance of Senators on all necessary occasions.

The resolution of Senator Hollis, at last meeting, proposing to appoint Senators to co-operate with the Democratic Congressional Committee and the Democratic National Committee, was then unanimously adopted.<sup>11</sup>

Senator James moved that the Committee on Naval Affairs be increased by one member, which was adopted.

Senator Vardaman moved that the Chairmen of the Senate Committees be requested to adjourn their committee meetings in sufficient time to meet in Caucus at the time for which Caucus may be called.

Certain committee changes were then agreed to by the Caucus by the surrender of places by certain senators and the appointment of Senator Lewis in their stead.<sup>12</sup>

The meeting thereupon adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[June 20, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus was called to order by the Chairman, Friday, June 20th, 1913, at ten o'clock, A.M.

34 Senators were present.

Senator Simmons, Chairman of the Finance Committee, made statement to the Caucus concerning the action of the Caucus comparing changes in the proposed bill with the House Bill, during which there was considerable discussion and at one o'clock, Senator Swanson moved that the Finance Committee be authorized to give out to the representatives of the Press desiring it the draft of H.[R.] 3321 submitted by the Finance Committee with proposed amendments, together with a statement by the Chairman of the Finance Committee, showing the actual conditions as to the reductions proposed by the

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<sup>10</sup> James Hamilton Lewis, Illinois, 1913–1919, 1931–1939, served as Democratic whip throughout his service in the Senate. He was the first senator of either party to hold that title.

<sup>11</sup> On May 29, 1913, the *Washington Post* identified the senators named to meet with the Democratic National Committee as Senators Gore, Chamberlain, Shively, Newlands, and Thomas.

<sup>12</sup> To provide Senator Lewis with committee assignments, Senator Kern relinquished his seat on Interstate Commerce, Senator Hitchcock the Printing Committee, Senator Thornton the Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Committee, Senator Saulsbury the Committee on Manufactures, Senator Clarke the Railroads Committee, and Senator Chamberlain the National Banks Committee. Lewis was also made chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the State Department. See *Washington Post*, May 29, 1913.



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Senate Committee and that all of the members of the Caucus shall refrain from making statements to the press.

This motion unanimously prevailed and the Caucus then adjourned to meet on Saturday, June 21st, 1913, at ten o'clock, A.M.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[June 21, 1913]

Democratic Caucus of the Senate met on Saturday, June 21st, 1913, at 10:30 o'clock A.M. 39 Senators present.

Senator Simmons continued his statements regarding the tariff bill. On motion it was agreed that the amendments made by the Committee be read and afterwards the advisability of changes should be taken up.

Schedule A (Chemicals) was then taken up and the Caucus at 11:55 took a recess until thirty minutes after the Senate adjourns this day.

Caucus re-convened at 2:30 P.M., June 21st.

Schedule A was finished and approved by the Caucus without change.

Schedule B (Earths, &c.) was taken up for consideration. When paragraphs 95-96, page 27, were reached, they were referred back to the Committee, it being understood that Stained Glass, paragraph 97, be considered by the Committee, also the provision "or without," paragraph 97, in connection with paragraph 86.

Subject to this reference and understanding, Schedule B was approved without change.

Schedule C (Metals) was then taken up. Paragraph 121 was referred back to the Committee with instructions to reduce duty on low priced machines.

Paragraphs 127 [and] 128 were referred back to the Committee.

The Caucus then adjourned to 10 o'clock A.M., June 23rd.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[June 23, 1913]

Democratic Caucus met Monday, June 23rd, 1913, 26 Members appeared at 10:30 A.M.

38 Members altogether attended the Caucus during its session.

Consideration of the metal schedule was continued.

Senator Thomas moved that Paragraphs 123–144 be referred back to the Committee, which motion was adopted.

Senator Reed moved referring back to the committee of paragraph 133, relating to files. Carried.

Senator Simmons moved to refer back to the committee paragraphs 141–144. Carried.

Recess until 2 o'clock, P.M.

Afternoon session. Monday, June 23rd, 1913.

Senator Overman moved that Paragraph 145 be referred back to the Committee, which motion was laid on the table.

Senator O'Gorman moved to put articles in Paragraph 145 on the Free List.

Substitute moved by Senator Williams to approve the action of the Finance Committee as to Paragraph 145 was adopted.

Paragraphs 149–116 referred on motion of Senator Clarke back to the Finance Committee.

Senator Swanson moved to retain House rate of  $\frac{1}{2}\text{¢}$  instead of  $\frac{3}{4}\text{¢}$  in paragraph 154. Motion lost by vote of Ayes 8, Noes 27.

Schedule C, with the exception of the paragraphs above mentioned, was then approved.

Schedule D (Wood &c.) then taken up.

Senator Martine moved to put articles in paragraph 172 on the free list. Lost. Ayes, 14; Noes, 22.

The schedule was then adopted without change.

Schedule E (Sugar) was then taken up. Senator Shafroth moved to amend paragraph 179 by striking out the words "Free of duty" at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof, the words "at a rate equal to one-half the above duties," and addressed the Caucus in favor of his motion.

Senator Walsh followed and before concluding his speech, by consent, Senator Chamberlain reported from the Committee appointed to confer with the House Committee and Democratic Congressional Committee and National Democratic Committee that the Committee of Senators had met with the members of the House and said Committees, and resolved as follows:

RESOLVED, That the Democrats of the Senate shall be represented on the Democratic Congressional Committee by one member of such Committee from each state having Democratic representation in the Senate, and in which a Senatorial term expires in 1915; that in the case where both Senators are Demo-

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crats, the Senator whose term expires in 1915 shall be the member of the Committee from his State, and that in the case where the term of the Republican Senator expires in 1915, the Democratic Senator from such State shall be the member of the Committee.

On his motion the action of the Democratic Senators' Committee was approved.

The Caucus then adjourned until ten o'clock, A.M., Tuesday, June 24th, 1913.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[June 24, 1913]

Senate [Democratic] Caucus reconvened Tuesday, June 24th, 1913, at 10:30 o'clock, A.M.

26 Members present.

Number afterwards increased to 40.

No roll call, as Caucus had directed consideration of the tariff bill to proceed at time for assembling of the Caucus without regard to quorum being present, therefore consideration of the tariff bill proceeded.

Schedule F was taken up and on motion of Senator Simmons was approved without change.

Schedule G was then taken up, Senator Williams reading.

Chairman here interfered with the duties of the Secretary by telling his laughing hyena story.

After discussion of paragraph 196, it was allowed to remain as written.

Paragraph 142 on motion of Senator Thomas was referred back to the Committee.

At this point Senator Walsh resumed and concluded his argument on the Sugar Schedule.

At the conclusion of his remarks, Caucus recessed until 2:30 P.M.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

Caucus reassembled at 2:40 o'clock, P.M., June 24, 1913.

Senator Myers addressed the Caucus.

Senator Thornton of Louisiana moved as a substitute of Senator Shafroth's that all in lines 15 to 17, beginning with the word "Pro-

vided” and ending with the words “Free of Duty” be stricken out on page 52.

Senator Thornton addressed the Caucus.

Senator Ransdell addressed the Caucus.

Unanimous consent was then given to take a vote on free sugar and free wool not later than four o'clock P.M. on Wednesday, June 25th.

At the conclusion of Senator Ransdell's remarks, the Caucus adjourned to ten o'clock, A.M., June 25th, 1913.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[June 25, 1913]

Caucus met June 25th, 1913, at 10:30 A.M., pursuant to adjournment.

The following gentlemen addressed the Caucus:

Senators Ransdell, Thomas, Williams, James, Newlands, Shafroth, Pomerene, Thornton, Walsh, Simmons, Johnson, Clarke, Lane, Martine, Smith (S.C.) and Thompson.

The vote agreed to be taken by unanimous consent on free wool and free sugar was taken at the close of the discussion at 4:06 P.M., as follows:

Senator Thornton's amendment was lost: Ayes 2; Noes 43.<sup>13</sup>  
[See tally sheet A]

Senator Shafroth's motion was lost: Ayes 10; Noes 35. [See tally sheet B]

Senator Thompson moved to amend as follows:

Amend the paragraph in question, by striking out the words “free of duty” in line 17 and by adding the following words: “at one-half of the above duty; and that such duty as so reduced shall thereafter be reduced twenty-five per cent each year until said articles shall be admitted free of duty”

Making the section read as follows:

Provided, That on and after the first day of May, nineteen hundred and sixteen, the articles hereinbefore enumerated in this paragraph shall be admitted at one-half of the above

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<sup>13</sup>The numbers given for each vote, and the tally sheets with their totals, are reproduced here as they appear in the minutes. No attempt has been made to reconcile the discrepancies that exist in some cases between the vote as reported in the minutes, the number of marks on the tally sheet, and the total written at the bottom of a sheet. The minutes books also do not necessarily contain a tally sheet for every roll-call vote.

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duty; and that such duty as so reduced shall thereafter be reduced 25% each year until said articles shall be admitted free of duty.

Which amendment was lost: Ayes 8; Noes 38. [See tally sheet C]

Senator Ransdell moved that the existing schedule remain in effect until February first, so that the present crop of cane may be harvested and then the law apply as provided in the bill. This motion after discussion showing the Committee had the matter under discussion as to when the Act should take effect, was withdrawn.

Senator Simmons then moved to approve the action of the Committee respecting Schedule E, which motion prevailed: Ayes 38; Noes 6. [See tally sheet E]

Senator Walsh then offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That Schedule K be reported back to the Committee on Finance, with instructions to remodel the same so as that Classes 1 and 2 of wool, as defined in the existing tariff act, shall bear a duty of 15% and Class 3 as so defined shall be admitted free.

Which motion was lost: Ayes 7; Noes 36. [See tally sheet F]

Senator Simmons moved that the Caucus approve paragraphs 652–653. Declared Carried.

The vote for Free Wool stood: Ayes 40; Noes 6. [See tally sheet D]

Senator Smith (Ariz.) moved to amend so that Angora Wool be left at the House rate, which motion was lost.

Senator Simmons moved that the balance of the paragraph be adopted, which motion prevailed by a vive voce vote.

Senator Johnston of Alabama moved to adjourn; which motion was lost.

The Caucus resumed consideration.

Schedule G, at paragraph 197—discussion proceeded in connection with paragraph 646.

Senator O’Gorman moved to strike out all the provisions in paragraph 646.

During the discussion on this motion, and without voting, the caucus on motion adjourned until ten o’clock A.M., Thursday, June 26, 1913.

The roll calls on the various amendments affecting sugar and wool will be found to follow these minutes.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

1. For Thornton Amendment  
[Free Sugar]  
[Tally sheet A]

YEAS	NAYS
	Ashurst ✓
	Bacon ✓
	Bankhead ✓
	Bryan ✓
	Chamberlain ✓
	Chilton ✓
	Clarke ✓
	Culberson
	Fletcher ✓
	Gore ✓
	Hitchcock ✓
	Hollis ✓
	Hughes ✓
	James ✓
	Johnson ✓
	Johnston ✓
	Kern ✓
	Lane ✓
	Lea ✓
	Lewis
	Martin ✓
	Martine ✓
	Myers ✓
	Newlands ✓
	O'Gorman ✓
	Overman ✓
	Owen
	Pittman ✓
✓	Pomerene
✓	Ransdell
	Reed ✓
	Robinson ✓
	Saulsbury ✓
	Shafroth ✓
	Sheppard ✓
	Shields ✓
	Shively ✓
	Simmons
	Smith of Ariz. ✓
	Smith of Ga. ✓
	Smith of Md. ✓
	Smith of S.C. ✓
	Stone ✓
	Swanson ✓
	Thomas ✓
✓	Thornton
	Tillman ✓
	Vardaman ✓
	Walsh ✓
	Williams ✓
2	45

2. For Shafroth Amendment  
[Sugar paragraph]  
[Tally sheet B]

YEAS	NAYS
	Ashurst ✓
	Bacon ✓
	Bankhead ✓
	Bryan ✓
✓	Chamberlain
	Chilton ✓
	Clarke ✓
	Culberson
	Fletcher ✓
	Gore ✓
✓	Hitchcock
	Hollis ✓
	Hughes ✓
	James ✓
	Johnson ✓
	Johnston ✓
	Kern ✓
✓	Lane
	Lea ✓
	Lewis
	Martin ✓
	Martine ✓
	Myers ✓
✓	Newlands
	O'Gorman ✓
	Overman ✓
	Owen
	Pittman ✓
	Pomerene ✓
✓	Ransdell
	Reed ✓
	Robinson ✓
✓	Saulsbury
✓	Shafroth
	Sheppard ✓
	Shields ✓
	Shively ✓
	Simmons ✓
	Smith of Ariz. ✓
	Smith of Ga. ✓
	Smith of Md. ✓
	Smith of S.C. ✓
	Stone ✓
	Swanson ✓
	Thomas ✓
✓	Thompson
✓	Thornton
✓	Tillman
	Vardaman ✓
✓	Walsh
	Williams ✓
10	36

JUNE 25, 1913

3. For Thompson Amendment  
[Sugar paragraph]  
[Tally sheet C]

YEAS		NAYS
	Ashurst	✓
	Bacon	✓
	Bankhead	✓
	Bryan	✓
✓	Chamberlain	
	Chilton	✓
	Clarke	✓
	Culberson	
✓	Fletcher	
	Gore	✓
✓	Hitchcock	
	Hollis	✓
	Hughes	✓
	James	✓
	Johnson	✓
	Johnston	✓
	Kern	✓
	Lane	✓
	Lea	✓
	Lewis	
	Martin	✓
	Martine	✓
	Myers	✓
✓	Newlands	
	O'Gorman	✓
	Overman	✓
	Owen	
	Pittman	✓
	Pomerene	✓
	Ransdell	✓
	Reed	✓
	Robinson	✓
	Saulsbury	✓
✓	Shafroth	
	Sheppard	✓
	Shields	✓
	Shively	✓
	Simmons	✓
	Smith of Ariz.	✓
	Smith of Ga.	✓
	Smith of Md.	
	Smith of S.C.	✓
	Stone	✓
	Swanson	✓
	Thomas	✓
✓	Thompson	
	Thornton	✓
✓	Tillman	
	Vardaman	✓
✓	Walsh	
	Williams	✓
8		29

4. Free Wool  
[For 652-32.155]  
[Tally sheet D]

YEAS		NAYS
✓	Ashurst	
✓	Bacon	
	Bankhead	
✓	Bryan	
	Chamberlain	✓
✓	Chilton	
✓	Clarke	
	Culberson	
✓	Fletcher	
✓	Gore	
✓	Hitchcock	
✓	Hollis	
✓	Hughes	
✓	James	
✓	Johnson	
✓	Johnston	
✓	Kern	
✓	Lane	
✓	Lea	
	Lewis	
✓	Martin	
✓	Martine	
✓	Myers	
	Newlands	✓
✓	O'Gorman	
✓	Overman	
	Owen	
✓	Pittman	
✓	Pomerene	
	Ransdell	✓
✓	Reed	
✓	Robinson	
✓	Saulsbury	
	Shafroth	✓
✓	Sheppard	
✓	Shields	
✓	Shively	
✓	Simmons	
✓	Simmons	
✓	Smith of Ariz.	
✓	Smith of Ga.	
✓	Smith of Md.	
✓	Smith of S.C.	
✓	Stone	
✓	Swanson	
✓	Thomas	
✓	Thompson	
	Thornton	✓
	Tillman	
✓	Vardaman	
	Walsh	✓
✓	Williams	
40		6

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

5. Adoption of Schedule K as reported by  
Committee  
[Tally sheet E]

YEAS		NAYS
✓	Ashurst	
✓	Bacon	
✓	Bankhead	
✓	Bryan	
✓	Chamberlain	
✓	Chilton	
✓	Clarke	
	Culberson	
✓	Fletcher	
✓	Gore	
	Hitchcock	✓
✓	Hollis	
✓	Hughes	
✓	James	
✓	Johnson	
✓	Johnston	
✓	Kern	
✓	Lane	
✓	Lea	
	Lewis	
✓	Martin	
✓	Martine	
✓	Myers	
	Newlands	✓
✓	O'Gorman	
✓	Overman	
	Owen	
	Pittman	
✓	Pomerene	
	Ransdell	✓
✓	Reed	
✓	Robinson	
✓	Saulsbury	
	Shafroth	✓
✓	Sheppard	
✓	Shields	
✓	Shively	
✓	Simmons	
✓	Smith of Ariz.	
✓	Smith of Ga.	
✓	Smith of Md.	
✓	Smith of S.C.	
✓	Stone	
✓	Swanson	
✓	Thomas	
	Thompson	
	Thornton	✓
✓	Tillman	
✓	Vardaman	
	Walsh	✓
✓	Williams	
38		6

6. For Walsh as to classes 1 & 2 & 3 of  
wools  
[Tally sheet F]

YEAS		NAYS
	Ashurst	✓
	Bacon	✓
	Bankhead	
	Bryan	✓
✓	Chamberlain	
	Chilton	✓
	Clarke	
	Culberson	
	Fletcher	✓
	Gore	✓
	Hitchcock	✓
	Hollis	✓
	Hughes	✓
	James	✓
	Johnson	✓
	Johnston	✓
	Kern	✓
	Lane	✓
	Lea	✓
	Lewis	
	Martin	✓
	Martine	✓
	Myers	✓
✓	Newlands	
	O'Gorman	✓
	Overman	✓
	Owen	
	Pittman	✓
	Pomerene	✓
✓	Ransdell	
	Reed	✓
	Robinson	✓
	Saulsbury	✓
✓	Shafroth	
	Sheppard	✓
	Shields	✓
	Shively	✓
	Simmons	✓
	Smith of Ariz.	
✓	Smith of Ga.	
	Smith of Md.	
	Smith of S.C.	
	Stone	✓
	Swanson	✓
	Thomas	✓
	Thompson	✓
✓	Thornton	
	Tillman	
	Vardaman	✓
✓	Walsh	
	Williams	✓
7		38



JUNE 26, 1913

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[June 26, 1913]

Democratic Caucus convened June 26th, 1913, at ten o'clock A.M., pursuant to adjournment.

Senator Reed asked unanimous consent that the consideration of the wheat item be temporarily postponed until 11:30 o'clock. So ordered.

Senator Clarke moved that no more meeting of Senate Committees except Committee to Audit and Control Contingent Expenses be held unless with the approval of the Caucus.

Senator Martine moved to put butter and butter substitutes paragraph 200, on free list.

Senator Martine's motion lost: 10 Ayes; 16 Noes.

Senator Reed moved that Paragraph 200, butter section, be referred back to the Committee.

During discussion of this motion, recess was taken until 15 minutes after adjournment of the Senate.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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Caucus reconvened at 5:50 P.M., June 26th, 1913.

Senator Simmons moved that debate on each amendment hereafter be limited to thirty minutes and each Senator be limited to five minutes and no Senator be allowed to speak more than once.

Carried unanimously.

Senator Simmons also moved that Caucus hold morning, afternoon and night sessions when not interfered with by Senate sessions, namely, from 10 o'clock, A.M. to one o'clock P.M., from two o'clock, P.M. to six o'clock, P.M., and from eight o'clock P.M., until adjournment.

Carried.

On motion Caucus adjourned until ten o'clock, Friday morning, June 27th, 1913.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[June 27, 1913]

Caucus reconvened Friday, June 27th, 1913, at 10:20 A.M.

In the absence of Senator Kern, Senator Chilton was made Chairman pro tempore.

Senator Reed's motion to refer paragraph 200 back to the Committee was carried viva voce.

Senator Martine moved to put articles in Paragraph 201 on the Free List.

Senator Thomas moved as amendment that Paragraphs 201 to 209, inclusive, be put on the Free List. Point of order by Senator Vardaman that separate vote[s] should be taken.

Separate vote[s] ordered.

Senator Martine's motion lost by viva voce vote, so paragraph 201 was approved as reported by Committee.

Senator Martine moved paragraph 202 be put on the Free List. Lost.

Senator O'Gorman moved to change 25%, in line 11, paragraph 221, back to 20%. 5 Ayes, 14 Noes.

Paragraph 225 passed until Senator Bryan returned to Caucus.

Paragraphs 227–233 referred back to the Committee.

Senator Bryan appeared and Paragraph 225, Citrus Fruits, was taken up.

Senator Newlands moved to reduce the duty on Lemons only 50% from present rate of 1½¢ per pound, or from 1½¢ per pound to ¾¢ per pound. This motion was subsequently withdrawn.

On motion of Senator Bryan, paragraph 225 was referred back to the Committee.

Senator O'Gorman moved to strike out proviso for countervailing duty in paragraph 646, which motion was lost, Ayes 8, Noes 26. Vote is shown by roll call. [See tally sheet G]

Senator O'Gorman moved that President may direct by Executive Order in substance as provided by countervailing duty, as provided for in lines 7 to 14. Subsequently withdrawn.

Senator Reed moved to insert after the word "that" in line 7, paragraph 646, the words "after January 1st, 1914." Lost by viva voce vote.

Senator Simmons moved adoption of Schedule G, as amended by the Committee, except as to paragraphs referred back to the Committee, which motion prevailed.

Senator Newlands moved that the Committee on Finance be instructed to reduce the duties on all food products contained in Schedule G by a sliding scale of ten per cent. per annum, extending over a period of ten years, to the free list. This motion was lost.

Schedule H, paragraph 254, with Committee amendments, approved on motion of Senator Simmons.

JUNE 27, 1913

On his motion also paragraph 254½ referred back to Committee on Finance.

At 1:05 P.M. recessed until 15 minutes after the adjournment of the Senate.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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Democratic Caucus reconvened June 27th, 1913, at 5:35 P.M., after adjournment of the Senate.

Senator Ransdell was elected temporary Chairman.

On motion, Caucus adjourned until eight o'clock, P.M.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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Caucus reconvened Friday, June 27th, 1913, at 8 o'clock, P.M.

Senator Vardaman moved to increase all rates under Schedule H 30%. Laid on the table by a viva voce vote.

Schedule G taken up.

Paragraphs 255 and 256, page 70, approved.

Senator Saulsbury moved to recommit paragraph 256 to the Committee, with instructions to put sewing cotton on the Free List. Carried 15 Ayes, 14 Noes.

After Committee had leave to strike out in Paragraph 257 all of lines 25, page 73, line 4, page 74, and the words "plain woven," in line 21, page 72, Paragraph 257 was approved.

Paragraph 258 was adopted with lines 16 and 17 out.

Paragraph 259 and Paragraphs 260 and 261 were approved, permission being given to slightly change verbiage.

Paragraph 262 was approved.

Senator Hollis moved to amend Paragraph 263, page 76, line 15, by adding after the word "goods," the words "and woven-figures bed spreads." Lost by viva voce vote, after which Paragraph 263 was approved.

Paragraph 265, Senator Sheppard moved to reduce "50%" in line 5, page 77, to 40%. Lost.

Senator Reed moved to restore House Rate of 35% in line 7, page 77. Lost.

Motion to adjourn. Lost.

Paragraph 266 approved.

Paragraph 267 referred back to the Committee.

Senator Hollis offered two amendments and moved to refer same back to the Committee.

These amendments are as follows:

In paragraph 255, page 70, lines 15, 16 and 17, strike out the words “Not combed, bleached, dyed, mercerized, or colored, except spool thread of cotton, crochet, darning and embroidery cottons, hereinafter provided for,” and insert in place thereof the words “not hereinafter specially provided for.”

In line 8, page 71, of same paragraph, insert after the word “colored” the words “or if specially manufactured for crochet, knitting, darning or embroidery purposes.”

In paragraph 256, page 72, strike out the words “crochet, darning and embroidery cottons.”

Tariff Bill as reported to the Caucus be amended by adding the following paragraph to the Cloth Schedule:

Cotton cloth woven with colored yarns shall pay a duty of  $1\frac{6}{10}$  times the duty on cloth of the same construction woven from grey yarns.

On motion adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

[Free Wheat]		YEAS	NAYS
[Tally sheet G]			
YEAS	NAYS		
			Lewis
			Martin
		✓	Martine
			Myers
			Newlands
		✓	O’Gorman
			Overman
			Owen
			Pittman
			Pomerene
✓			Ransdell
		✓	Reed
			Robinson
		✓	Saulsbury
			Shafroth
		✓	Sheppard
			Shields
			Shively
			Simmons
			Smith of Ariz.
✓			Smith of Ga.

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YEAS	NAYS	YEAS	NAYS
Smith of Md.	✓	Thornton	✓
Smith of S.C.	✓	Tillman	
Stone	✓	✓ Vardaman	
Swanson		Walsh	✓
Thomas	✓	Williams	✓
Thompson		8	26

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[June 28, 1913]

Senate Caucus reconvened 10:25 A.M., Saturday, June 28th, 1913.

At the request of Senator Williams, who was absent, Schedule I was passed for a time.

Schedule K was taken up.

Senator Walsh moved to recommit Paragraph 295, with instructions to consider whether tops, &c., should not go on the Free List. Agreed to.

Paragraph 297 was amended by striking out lines 6 to 11, beginning with the word "plushes" and ending with the word "ad valorem."

Senator Ashurst moved that all articles in lines 1, 2, 3 and 4, in paragraph 297, and in the same paragraph beginning with the word "Stockings" and paragraphs 298, 299 and 300, be put on the Free List, which motion was lost.

Senator Johnston moved that the time for the discussion of this motion be extended 30 minutes. Carried by a vote of 17 to 4.

The matter of Press Cloth, page 85, lines 22, referred to committee at request of committee.

At one o'clock, P.M., on motion of Senator Simmons, time extended for session until 1:15, when Caucus adjourned to meet 15 minutes after adjournment of the Senate.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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Caucus reconvened Saturday afternoon, June 28th, 1913, at 2:35 o'clock.

Senator Reed moved to put blankets on the Free List—paragraph 298. Lost, Ayes 11, Noes 19. [See tally sheet H]

Senator Johnston moved to free list blankets valued under 40¢ per pound. Amendment accepted, and then on motion referred to the committee: Also flannels, and all in paragraph 298.

Paragraph 315 referred to Committee, after which Schedule K was approved, except as amended, and as to paragraphs referred to the Committee.

Schedule J was then taken up, Senator Williams having returned.

Senator Saulsbury then moved to place on the free list articles named in paragraph 280—gill nets, seines, &c. Motion was lost, after which paragraph was approved.

Paragraph 290 was referred back to the Committee on Senator Walsh's suggestion that articles therein go to the free list.

Schedule J and Paragraph 416 then approved, except as to the matters referred to the Committee.

Senator Thomas moved, at paragraph 89, line 3, to insert after "surface" the words "and woven figured upholstery goods."

Schedule L, paragraph 319, approved.

All to paragraph 323 approved, "per number" line 24, page 89, first struck out.

Schedule L approved, after "35%," line 6, page 94, changed to 30%.

Schedule M, page 99, line 24, permission given to insert certain specifications.

Senator Vardaman moved to admit free, all books under three dollars in value. Lost.

At line 18, page 102, permission given to insert after "cards" the words "not including American Views."

Schedule M, and paragraph 572, were approved.

Recess was then taken until 8 o'clock, P.M.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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Caucus called to order 8:17 P.M., Saturday, June 28, 1913.

In absence of Senator Saulsbury, Senator Sheppard was chosen Secretary pro tem.

Senator Smith (S.C.) moved to put blasting caps on the free list. Senator Hughes moved to table the motion. Withdrawn.

On motion of Senator Smith, 6 ayes, 13 noes. Lost.

Senator Pomerene moved to strike out Senate Finance Committee amendment in lines 10, 11, and 12. Senator Reed moved to amend by striking out all of paragraph 357 after word "valorem" in line 4, page 108. 11 ayes, 12 noes.

JUNE 28, 1913

Senator Reed moved to amend by striking out all of paragraph 357 after word "Provided" in line 4, page 108.

Senator Simmons asked unanimous consent that paragraph 357 be referred back to Finance Committee. So ordered.

Paragraph 358 referred back to committee.

Senator Martine moved to make duty on finished diamond 15 instead of 20 per cent. Motion withdrawn.

Committee's substitute for paragraph 368 adopted.

Senators Overman and Smith (S.C.) moved that raw ivory be placed on the free list. Motion lost.

Senator Reed moved to substitute 25 for 15 per centum, line 11, page 117, paragraph 386 (increasing duty on paintings and sculpture for private use). Carried: 14 ayes, 11 noes, on roll called. [See tally sheet I]

Articles in paragraph 354, on motion of Senator Pittman, and in 353, on motion of Senator Thomas, put on free list.

Motion by Senator Sheppard to reduce duty of 35% on dolls, toys, &c., in paragraph 350, to 30 per cent. Lost: ayes 8, noes 11.

Paragraph 169 on motion of Senator Reed referred back to the committee.

Senator Sheppard moved that free list be adopted, provided any senator at next meeting might direct attention to any particular item. Withdrawn, to be offered at next meeting.

Senator Johnson, of Maine, moved to amend paragraph 452 by striking out after word "catgut," line 18, the words "whip gut or worm gut" and by adding after words "for surgical use," line 19, the words "and whip gut or catgut unmanufactured." Carried.

Senator Chilton moved as follows and said he would call motion up later: Page 131, line 9, Paragraph 459, after the word "form" insert the following:

Provided, that bituminous coal shall be subject to a duty of 30 cents per ton, and shale and slack 15 cents per ton, and coke shall be subject to a duty of 20 per centum ad valorem, when imported directly or indirectly from a country, dependency, or other subdivision of government which imposes a duty upon such articles when imported from the United States.

Senator Williams moved to strike out the language of paragraph 438. Carried.

Senator Vardaman moved to authorize the Finance Committee to correct any clerical or verbal inaccuracies. Carried.

Senator Thomas moved to adjourn until ten o'clock, Monday morning, June 30th, 1913. Carried.

Caucus adjourned.

[signed] Morris Sheppard  
secy. pro tem.

Free List Blankets		YEAS		NAYS
Reed's Motion			Tillman	
[Tally sheet H]		✓	Vardaman	
YEAS	NAYS	✓	Walsh	
✓ Ashurst		11	Williams	✓
Bacon				19
Bankhead	✓			
Bryan	✓			
✓ Chamberlain				
Chilton	✓			
✓ Clarke				
Culberson				
Fletcher		YEAS		NAYS
Gore	✓		Ashurst	
Hitchcock			Bacon	
Hollis	✓		Bankhead	
Hughes	✓		Bryan	
James			Chamberlain	
Johnson	✓		Chilton	
Johnston	✓		Clarke	
Kern	✓		Culberson	
✓ Lane			Fletcher	
Lea		✓	Gore	✓
Lewis			Hitchcock	
Martin			Hollis	✓
Martine			Hughes	✓
Myers			James	
Newlands			Johnson	✓
✓ O'Gorman		✓	Johnston	
Overman	✓	✓	Kern	
Owen		✓	Lane	
Pittman	✓		Lea	
Pomerene			Lewis	
Ransdell	✓		Martin	
✓ Reed		✓	Martine	
Robinson			Myers	
✓ Saulsbury			Newlands	
Shafroth	✓	✓	O'Gorman	
✓ Sheppard		✓	Overman	
Shields		✓	Owen	
Shively		✓	Pittman	
Simmons	✓	✓	Pomerene	
Smith of Ariz.	✓	✓	Ransdell	✓
Smith of Ga.	✓		Reed	
Smith of Md.			Robinson	
✓ Smith of S.C.			Saulsbury	
Stone	✓	✓	Shafroth	✓
Swanson	✓		Sheppard	
Thomas			Shields	
Thompson			Shively	✓
Thornton	✓		Simmons	✓
			Smith of Ariz.	



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YEAS		NAYS		YEAS		NAYS
	Smith of Ga.	✓		Thornton		
	Smith of Md.			Tillman		
✓	Smith of S.C.		✓	Vardaman		
	Stone	✓	✓	Walsh		
	Swanson			Williams		✓
✓	Thomas		14			11
	Thompson					

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[June 30, 1913]

Senate Caucus reconvened Monday morning, June 30th, 1913, at 10:20 A.M.

Senator Smith (S.C.) introduced a resolution and then withdrew same temporarily.

Senator Sheppard renewed his motion to approve free list. Motion withdrawn.

Senator Pomerene offered the following amendment to paragraph 401:

Provided that any of the foregoing specified articles shall be subject to a duty of eight per centum ad valorem when imported directly or indirectly from a country, dependency or other subdivision of Government which imposes a duty in excess of eight per cent. on such articles imported from the United States.

Lost, by viva voce vote.

Paragraph 403, at the request of Senator Bryan, was passed.

In paragraph 404, Senator Walsh moved to insert "Per chlorate of" after words "sulphate of," line 3, page 122. Accepted.

Paragraph 403<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> approved.

Paragraph 434 referred to Committee for possible insertion for printing machines for books, &c. for blind.

Paragraph 450, referred back to committee, without objection.

Amendment to paragraph 459, by Senator Chilton, referred to committee for consideration.

Paragraph 475, passed, by request of Senator Thornton.

Paragraph 534, page 137, line 24, amended by Committee, by consent, to read: "Skins for morocco, rough leather tanned but not finished."

Paragraph 548, amendment offered by Committee: Add at end:

Provided, That meat and meat products brought to the United States shall be subject to the same inspection by the Bureau

of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture as prescribed by the Act of June 30th, 1906, for domestic cattle and meats, unless the Secretary of Agriculture shall be satisfied that the government of the country whence the meat or meat products are exported maintains and enforces a system of inspection equal to our own, or satisfactory to him, as being competent to protect the public health, in which case the certificates of such government that such inspection has been made shall be sufficient.

Adopted.

Paragraph 532 amended by adding “and Lard Substitutes.”

Paragraph 580½ amended by adding “and moving pictures.”

Paragraph 650 amended by inserting the words “Spanish Cedar.”

Paragraph 654 was referred to the Committee, with instruction to harmonize with other section, by vote of 11 ayes to 10 noes.

Paragraph 626, by consent, referred to committee for consideration.

On motion of Senator Pomerene, it was moved to refer paragraph 657 back to the Committee. Lost.

Caucus then took a recess until 2:15 P.M.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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Caucus reconvened, Monday afternoon, June 30th, 1913, at 2:30 o'clock.

Senator Thornton moved to amend paragraph 475, page 132, by striking out the paragraph, and insert in proper place: “All cotton not further advanced than by being ginned, 25% ad valorem.”

Senator Newlands moved that Tahiti (Vanilla) Beans be put on the Free List. Lost.

Senator Bryan's motion to refer alcohol paragraphs back to committee for consideration, carried.

Senator Bryan's motion was to add (after 403) “Provided that importations of all kinds of alcohol shall be freed from bond upon the terms and conditions pertaining to domestic alcohol.”

The proposal of Senator Hughes that the words “not cut” in paragraph 481½, line 18, page 132, be changed to “uncut” was referred to the committee with the consent of Caucus that same be made.

Senator Newlands offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED: That it is the sense of the Democratic Caucus:

JUNE 30, 1913

First. That the reductions in tariff duties called for by the pending bill should be distributed over a period of three years;

Second. That at the end of three years further reductions should be made upon all articles the imports of which have not equalled five per cent. of similar articles produced in the United States at the rate of five per cent. per annum, until such importations shall equal five per cent. of similar articles produced in the United States;

That all articles now on the free list, not including the necessaries of life, shall be placed on the dutiable list at the rate of one per cent. on the value thereof for the first year, and increasing thereafter annually at the rate of one per cent. per annum, until the duty thereon shall equal five per cent.

Ordered to lie on the table, subject to being called up at some future time.

Senator Chamberlain moved that a countervailing duty be placed on logs, &c., paragraph 649. Lost, by a viva voce vote.

Senator Simmons moved that the Free List, except as referred to the Committee, or reserved, be adopted. Carried.

Section II was taken up, on motion of Senator Simmons.

Senator Clarke started discussion on Sub Division A.

Senator Williams continued discussion, time limit being removed by unanimous consent.

Subdivision 1 adopted without objection.

Subdivision 2 referred back to Committee to phrase lines 20 and 21, page 162.

In Line 4, page 166, the word "from" changed to "for."

Senator Walsh moved that the words "and dependent upon him," in line 21, "and dependent upon her" in line 24, be struck out. Carried.

Senator Johnston moved to insert "grandchild" at end of line 4, on page 168. Lost.

Senator Pomerene then moved as a substitute to strike out all in Subdivision C relative to exemption. Lost.

On motion, the Caucus then adjourned, to reconvene at eight o'clock, Monday evening, June 30th, 1913.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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Caucus reconvened at 8:30 P.M., Monday evening, June 30, 1913.

The Secretary stated Senator Newlands' request that his resolution be given to the Press representatives.

Ordered, that Secretary give out the resolution of Senator Newlands, as requested.

Senator Pomerene's substitute for Senator Johnston's motion taken up.

Unanimous consent was given to have Senator Williams' report to Caucus correct draft of Committee's amendment.

Senator Pomerene's motion is to the effect that all exemptions as to children be stricken out. Lost.

Senator Johnston's motion as to grandchildren. Lost.

Senator Chilton moved to disagree with Senate amendments and return to House Bill as to Children. Ayes 7, Noes 13.

Sub-division D.

Senate reports amendment in lieu of printed Bill (Caucus print).

Senator Clarke moved to put the income tax into effect as of July the first (to-morrow) and not be retroactive. Lost.

Senator Saulsbury moved that the Committee provide that obligors under provisions in bonds, referred to on Page 176, lines 6 to 17, shall pay tax, and that same shall not be charged to holders thereof. Lost.

Senator Pomerene moved to strike out Senate amendment as to Mutual Life Insurance Companies. Carried, 13 Ayes, 11 Noes.

Senator O'Gorman moved to strike out Senate amendment as to Mutual Marine Insurance Companies. Lost.

Motion to adjourn. Lost, 10 Ayes, 13 Noes.

It was moved that Committee strike out lines 11 to 14, on Page 187, and insert amendments, March 1 to December 31,  $\frac{5}{6}$ ths of its income.

It was then proposed that a new Section O be inserted at the bottom of page 202, as follows:

O. That for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of Section II of this Act, and to pay the expenses of assessing and collecting the income tax therein imposed, there is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and fourteen (June 30, 1914) the sum of one million two hundred thousand dollars (\$1,200,000.00), and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, is authorized to appoint and pay from this appropriation all necessary officers, agents, inspectors, deputy col-

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lectors, clerks, messengers and janitors, and to rent such quarters, purchase such supplies, equipment, mechanical devices and other articles as may be necessary for employment or use in the District of Columbia or any collection district in the United States, or any of the territories thereof, provided that no agent paid from this appropriation will receive compensation at a rate higher than that now received by traveling agents on accounts in the Internal Revenue Service, and no inspector shall receive a compensation higher than \$5.00 a day and \$3.00 additional in lieu of subsistence, and no deputy collector, clerk, messenger or other employee shall be paid at a rate of compensation higher than the rate now being paid for the same or similar work in the Internal Revenue Service.

For the administration in the Internal Revenue Bureau at Washington, D.C., of this act in the collection of tax aforesaid, there shall be appointed one additional Deputy Commissioner at a salary of \$4,000. per annum, two Heads of Divisions whose compensation shall not exceed two thousand five hundred dollars (\$2,500.00) per annum, and such other clerks, messengers, and employees, and to rent such quarters and to purchase such supplies as may be necessary; Provided, That for a period of two years from and after the passage of this act, the force of agents, deputy collectors and inspectors authorized by this section of this act shall be appointed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and without compliance with the conditions prescribed by the Act entitled "An Act to regulate and improve the Civil Service," approved January sixteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-three, and amendments thereto, and with such compensation as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may fix, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, within the limitations therein prescribed; Provided further, That no person now in the classified service who shall be appointed an agent or inspector shall lose his civil service status because of such appointment.

Senator Chilton moved to strike out the last four lines, beginning with the word "Provided." Motion lost.

The following is the amendment proposed by Mr. Clarke: Add as new sections after the end of line 6, on Page 168, at end of Sec. 2 the following:

That upon each sale, agreement of sale, or agreement to sell, or upon each purchase, agreement of purchase, or agreement to purchase, of any cotton for future delivery, at or on any cotton exchange or board of trade, or other similar place, or by any person acting in substantial conformity to the rules and regulations for market quotations of any such cotton exchange, board of trade, or other similar place, there is hereby levied a tax

equal to one-tenth of 1 cent per pound on the quantity of cotton mentioned and described in any such contract: Provided, That in all cases where the quantity and kind of cotton mentioned and described in such contract is actually delivered, in compliance in good faith therewith, by the seller to the buyer therein respectively named, the tax levied by this section shall be refunded to the party paying the same in such manner and under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe. Any sale, agreement of sale, or agreement to sell, any cotton for future delivery, at or on any cotton exchange, Board of Trade, or other similar place, or by any person acting in conformity to the rules and regulations of any such cotton exchange, Board of Trade, or other similar place, in any foreign country, where the order for such sale or purchase has been transmitted from the United States to such foreign countries and either the buyer or the seller described in such contract of sale or purchase is at the time of the execution thereof a resident of the United States, shall be deemed and considered in all respects a sale, agreement of sale, or agreement to sell, for future delivery, of the cotton described therein within the meaning of this section. A corporation organized under the laws of any State or Country shall be deemed for all purposes a person within the meaning of this section. All contracts for the sale or purchase as aforesaid of cotton for future delivery at the places and by the persons hereinafter mentioned shall be in writing, plainly stating the terms of such contract and indicating the parties thereto and signed by the party to be charged, by himself or his agent. The said tax shall be paid by means of stamps affixed to such written contract.

That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and empowered to make, prescribe, and publish all rules and regulations necessary to the enforcement of the foregoing section and to the collection of the tax thereby imposed. To further effect this purpose, he is hereby authorized to require all persons coming within its provisions to keep such record and system of accounting as will fully and correctly disclose the transaction in connection with which the said tax is authorized; and he may appoint such agent as he may deem necessary to conduct the inspection necessary to collect the tax herein authorized and otherwise to enforce this statute and all rules and regulations lawfully made in pursuance thereof, as in his judgment may be required, and to fix the compensation of such agents.

That any cotton exchange, board of trade, or other similar place, or person acting in conformity with the rules and regulations of any such cotton exchange, Board of Trade, or other similar place where contracts for the sale of cotton for future delivery are made, and every person who shall be a party to such con-

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tracts of sale, as mentioned and described in section—, who shall fail to pay, or shall evade, or attempt to evade the payment of the tax levied in section—, or shall otherwise violate this statute, or any rule or regulation lawfully made in pursuance thereof, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall pay a fine in any sum not less than \$100 nor more than \$20,000; and in case of natural persons or unincorporated associations of persons violating this Act an additional punishment by imprisonment for not less than one year nor more than three years may be imposed, at the discretion of the Court.

That no person whose evidence is deemed material by the officer prosecuting on behalf of the United States shall withhold his testimony because of guilty participation by him in any violation of this statute, but any such persons so required to give evidence as a witness shall be exempt from prosecution in any Court of the United States for the particular offense in the prosecution whereof such testimony was given. In addition to the foregoing punishment, there is hereby imposed a penalty of \$2,000 on each separate sale made in violation of this statute to be recovered in an action founded on this statute in the name of the United States as plaintiff, and when so recovered one-half of said amount shall be paid over to the person giving the information upon which such recovery is based.

That the payment of the tax levied under authority of Sec. . . . shall not exempt any person from any penalty or punishment now or hereafter provided by the laws of any State for entering into contracts for the future delivery of cotton; nor shall the payment of taxes imposed by said section—be held to prohibit any State or municipality from imposing a tax on the same transaction.

Senator Hitchcock offered the following amendment: Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. Hitchcock to the Bill (H.R. 3321), viz: After the first paragraph in sub-section C, Section 2, insert the following:

Provided also, that whenever a corporation, joint-stock company, or association, having a capital stock of not less than \$100,000,000 shall produce or control annually over one-quarter of the annual production in any line of manufacture or production in the United States, the rate of tax to be levied, assessed, and paid annually upon the entire net income arising or accruing from all sources during the previous calendar year shall be five per centum; and whenever such corporation, joint-stock company, or association shall produce or control annually over one-third of the annual production in any line of manufacture or production in the United States, the rate of tax to be levied, assessed, and paid annually upon the entire net income arising

or accruing from all sources during the previous calendar year shall be fifteen per centum; and whenever such corporation, joint-stock company, or association shall produce or control annually over one-half of the annual production in any line of manufacture or production in the United States, the rate of tax to be levied, assessed, and paid annually upon the entire net income arising or accruing from all sources during the previous calendar year shall be twenty-five per centum.

Adjourned, 11:20 P.M.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[July 1, 1913]

Caucus reconvened on Tuesday, July 1st, 1913, at 10:23 o'clock, A.M.  
Senator Swanson moved to proceed to consideration of Section III—  
Administrative Clauses. Agreed to.

Page 203, Sec. III.

Section III adopted without change.

Section IV.

Subdivision A approved.

“T” passed at the request of Senator Simmons, pending the return of Senator Ransdell.

Paragraph J, Subsection 6, amended by the Committee by inserting at the end of line 5, page 252, “or other vessels used by.”

Senator Ashurst moved amendment as to J. Subsection 7, practically as in House Bill—5% differential in American bottoms. Vote on this: Ayes 9; Noes 20. (See Roll Call.) [See tally sheet J]

Senator Simmons, for the Committee, proposed an amendment at page 264, line 1, before the word “but” as follows:

And provided further, that an excise tax upon the doing of business, equivalent to one per centum upon their entire net income, shall be levied, assessed and collected upon corporations, joint stock companies or associations, and insurance companies, of the character described in Section 38 of the Act of August 5th, 1909, for the period from January 1st to February 28th, 1913, both dates inclusive, which said tax shall be computed upon one-sixth of the entire net income of said corporations, joint stock companies or associations, and ins[urance] companies, for said year, said net income to be ascertained in accordance with the provisions of subsection G of Section 2 of this Act: Provided, further, that the provisions of said Section 38 of the Act of Au-



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gust 5th, 1909, relative to the collection of the tax therein imposed, shall remain in force for the collection of the excise tax herein provided, but for the year nineteen hundred and thirteen it shall not be necessary to make more than one return and assessment for all the taxes imposed herein upon said corporations, joint stock companies or associations, and insurance companies, either by way of income or excise, which return and assessment shall be made at the times and in the manner provided in this Act.

Page 248, Section I.

Senator O’Gorman moved to strike out all reference to child labor in the Section.

Senator Pittman offered a substitute, to make Section read as follows: “Principally by children under 14 years of age in countries where there are no laws regulating child labor,” to be inserted at Line 15, page 248. Also, after word “convicts,” in line 22, “is not prohibited by law, or of children is not regulated by law,” line 23, striking out “under 14 years of age.”

Senator O’Gorman moved that provision as to convict labor in House Bill be adopted.

The whole subject, paragraph and amendments, was on motion of Senator Pittman, recommitted to the Committee, with the proposed amendment as follows:

I. That no goods, wares, articles, and merchandise—except immediate products of agriculture, forests, and fisheries—manufactured wholly or in part in any foreign country by convict labor, or principally by children under fourteen years of age, in countries where there are no laws regulating child labor, shall be entitled to entry at any of the ports of the United States, and the importation thereof is hereby prohibited. Any shipment consigned for entry at any of the ports of the United States of goods, wares, articles, and merchandise—except immediate products of agriculture, forests, and fisheries—manufactured in any foreign country, province or dependency, where the industrial employment of convicts is not restricted by law, or of children is not regulated by law, shall be accompanied by an affidavit of the shipper of such merchandise, or his legal agent, to the effect that the merchandise covered by the invoice has not been manufactured wholly or in part by convict labor or principally by children under fourteen years of age, the form of the affidavit to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, who is also authorized and directed to issue such further regulations and to collect all information pertinent thereto through cooperation with the Consular Service of the United States, as may be necessary for the enforcement of this provision.

Senator Clarke moved that the amendment as to tax on cotton sales be taken up at three P.M.

Senator Lewis moved to reconsider the vote by which Mutual Life Insurance Companies were excluded from exemption from tax.

Recess.

Roll Call on Sen. Ashurst Amendment		YEAS	NAYS
[Tally sheet J]			
YEAS	NAYS		
			Overman ✓
			Owen
			Pittman ✓
✓		✓	Pomerene
			Ransdell ✓
			Reed
	✓		Robinson
✓		✓	Saulsbury
			Shafroth
	✓	✓	Sheppard
	✓		Shields ✓
			Shively
			Simmons ✓
	✓		Smith of Ariz.
	✓		Smith of Ga. ✓
			Smith of Md.
			Smith of S.C.
	✓		Stone ✓
✓			Swanson
	✓		Thomas ✓
			Thompson ✓
✓			Thornton ✓
	✓		Tillman
✓			Vardaman
			Walsh ✓
	✓		Williams ✓
✓		9	20

Caucus reconvened at 2:20 P.M., Tuesday, July 1st, 1913.

Vote on reconsideration of Mutual Insurance Companies exemption set for 2:45.

The vote by which Senator Pomerene's motion was adopted was reconsidered—carried by a vote of 16 ayes to 8 noes.

Senator Pomerene's motion to strike out all of Senate amendment exempting Mutual Life Insurance Companies from Income Tax was then put, and lost, 10 ayes; 18 noes.

Senator Hitchcock then spoke and submitted his resolution as follows:

RESOLVED, That the Democratic Caucus is in sympathy with any effective legislation to cure the flagrant evils of the Tobacco

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Trust, and without passing upon the plan of graduated taxation proposed by Mr. Hitchcock, approves his purpose to submit it as a tariff bill amendment in the Senate and leaves each Democratic Senator entirely free to vote upon it in accordance with his individual judgment.

The consideration of Senator Hitchcock's resolution was suspended until amendment of Senator Clarke, fixed for three o'clock this day, shall be disposed of.

Senator Clarke's Amendment read as reported from the Committee:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Clarke of Arkansas to the bill (H.R. 3321) to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes, viz: Add as new section after the end of line 6, on page 168, at end of section 2, the following:

Sec.—. That upon each sale, agreement of sale, or agreement to sell, any cotton for future delivery at or on any cotton exchange, or board of trade, or other similar place, or by any person acting in substantial conformity to the rules and regulations or market quotations of any such cotton exchange, board of trade, or other similar place, there is hereby levied a tax equal to one-tenth of 1 cent per pound on the quantity of cotton mentioned and described in any such contract: *Provided*, That in all cases where the quantity and kind of cotton mentioned and described in such contract is actually delivered, in compliance in good faith therewith, by the seller to the buyer therein respectively named, the tax levied by this section shall be refunded to the party paying the same in such manner and under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe. Any sale, agreement of sale, or agreement to sell, any cotton for future delivery, at or on any cotton exchange, board of trade, or other similar place, or by any person acting in conformity to the rules and regulations of any such cotton exchange, board of trade, or other similar place, in any foreign country, where the order for such sale has been transmitted from the United States to such foreign country and either the buyer or the seller described in such contract of sale is at the time of the execution thereof a resident of the United States, shall be deemed and considered in all respects a sale, agreement of sale, or agreement to sell, for future delivery, of the cotton described therein within the meaning of this section. A corporation organized under the laws of any State or country shall be deemed for all purposes a person within the meaning of this section. All contracts for the sale as aforesaid of cotton for future delivery at the places and by the persons herein mentioned shall be in writing, plainly stating the terms of such contract and indicating the parties thereto and signed by the party to be charged, by himself or his agent. The said tax shall be paid by means of stamps affixed to such written contract and shall be paid by the party named as buyer therein.

That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and empowered to make, prescribe, and publish all rules and regulations necessary

to the enforcement of the foregoing section and to the collection of the tax thereby imposed. To further effect this purpose, he is hereby authorized to require all persons coming within its provisions to keep such records and systems of accounting as will fully and correctly disclose the transactions in connection with which the said tax is authorized; and he may appoint such agents as he may deem necessary to conduct the inspection necessary to collect the tax herein authorized and otherwise to enforce this statute and all rules and regulations lawfully made in pursuance thereof, as in his judgment may be required, and to fix the compensation of such agents.

That any cotton exchange, board of trade, or other similar place, or person acting in conformity with the rules and regulations or market quotations of any such cotton exchange, board of trade, or other similar place where contracts for the sale of cotton for future delivery are made in violation of this statute, and every person who is made liable for the tax thereby imposed, who shall fail to pay, or shall evade, or attempt to evade, the payment of the tax levied in this section, or shall otherwise violate this statute, or any rule or regulation lawfully made by the Secretary of the Treasury in pursuance thereof, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall pay a fine in any sum not less than \$100 nor more than \$20,000; and in case of natural persons or unincorporated associations of persons violating this Act an additional punishment by imprisonment for not less than one year nor more than three years may be imposed, at the discretion of the court.

In addition to the foregoing punishment, there is hereby imposed a penalty of \$2,000 on each separate sale made in violation of this statute, to be recovered in an action founded on this statute in the name of the United States as plaintiff, and when so recovered one-half of said amount shall be paid over to the person giving the information upon which said recovery is based.

That no person whose evidence is deemed material by the officer prosecuting on behalf of the United States shall withhold his testimony because of complicity by him in any violation of this statute, but any such person so required to give evidence as a witness shall be exempt from prosecution in any court of the United States for the particular offense in connection with the prosecution whereof such testimony was given.

That the payment of the tax levied under authority of this section shall not exempt any person from any penalty or punishment now or hereafter provided by the laws of any State for entering into contracts for the future delivery of cotton; nor shall the payment of taxes imposed by this section be held to prohibit any State or municipality from imposing a tax on the same transaction.

Senator Overman moved to amend by making the tax 25 cents per bale. Lost.

Senator Clarke's amendment was then adopted.

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Senator Ashurst moved as substitute the adoption of Senator Hitchcock's amendment to the Tariff Bill:

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Hitchcock to the bill (H.R. 3321) to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes, viz: After section 4 add an additional section, to be known as section 5, as follows:

Sec. 5. That manufacturers of tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, and snuff shall, after the thirty-first day of December, nineteen hundred and thirteen, be subject to pay a special quarterly excise tax in addition to all other taxes provided by law, which special additional excise tax shall be payable quarterly and be graduated and levied as follows:

A. On all tobacco, whether smoking tobacco, plug tobacco, twist, or fine cut, manufactured during the quarter over and in excess of twenty million pounds, 1 cent a pound for the first million pounds excess or part thereof, 2 cents a pound for the second million pounds excess or part thereof, 3 cents a pound for the third million pounds excess or part thereof, 4 cents a pound for the fourth million pound excess or part thereof, 5 cents a pound for the fifth million pounds excess or part thereof, 6 cents a pound for all above the fifth million pounds excess.

B. On all cigarettes weighing not more than three pounds per thousand manufactured during the quarter over and in excess of four hundred million cigarettes, 25 cents per thousand on the first fifty million cigarettes excess or part thereof, 60 cents per thousand on the second fifty million cigarettes excess or part thereof, \$1 per thousand on the third fifty million cigarettes excess or part thereof, \$1.50 per thousand on the fourth fifty million cigarettes excess or part thereof, \$2 per thousand on the fifth fifty million cigarettes excess or part thereof, \$2.60 per thousand on the sixth fifty million cigarettes excess or part thereof, \$3.25 per thousand on all above the sixty fifth million cigarettes excess.

C. On all cigarettes weighing more than three pounds per thousand manufactured during the quarter over and in excess of one million cigarettes, \$1 per thousand on the first half million excess per quarter or part thereof, \$2 per thousand on the second half million cigarettes excess per quarter or part thereof, \$3 per thousand on all above the second half million cigarettes excess.

D. On all cigars weighing more than three pounds per thousand manufactured during the quarter over and in excess of four hundred million cigars, \$1 per thousand on the first one hundred million cigars excess or part thereof, \$2 per thousand on the second one hundred million cigars excess or part thereof, \$3 per thousand on all above the second one hundred million cigars excess.

E. On all cigars weighing not more than three pounds per thousand manufactured during the quarter over and in excess of fifty million cigars, 20 cents per thousand on the first ten million cigars excess or part thereof, 45 cents per thousand on the second ten million

cigars excess or part thereof, 70 cents per thousand on the third ten million cigars excess or part thereof, \$1 on all above the third ten million cigars excess.

F. On all snuff manufactured during the quarter over and in excess of one million pounds, 1 cent a pound for the first million pounds or part thereof in excess, 3 cents a pound for the second million pounds or part thereof in excess, 5 cents a pound for the third million pounds or part thereof in excess, 10 cents a pound for all above the third million pounds excess.

G. In computing the product of any manufacturer there shall be included the products, as above specified, made directly by said manufacturer and by any company controlled by said manufacturer in whole or in part through stock ownership, contract, lease, or otherwise; and any company having directors or stockholders in common to the extent of twenty-five per centum of the stock, or one-third of the directors, shall be considered and held to be a part of the same manufacturing organization, and the rate of tax shall be based on their combined output, each company to pay upon its proper proportion thereof.

H. It shall be the duty of every manufacturer of tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, or snuff, on demand of any officer of internal revenue, to render such officer a true and correct statement under oath of the quantity and amount of all tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, or snuff manufactured by him during the quarter, and this statement shall be made on or before the tenth day of the month following the close of the quarter. It shall also be the duty of every manufacturer on demand of any officer of internal revenue to render to such officer a true and correct statement under oath, showing in detail the ownership, management, and organization of the business; who the officers and directors or trustees of the same are; what, if any, contract, lease, or other arrangement exists with another manufacturer of tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, or snuff.

I. In case of refusal or neglect to render any such statement as herein provided, or if there is cause to believe such statement to be incorrect or fraudulent, the collector shall make an examination of persons, books, and papers in manner provided by law in relation to frauds and evasions of internal-revenue taxes.

J. The special additional quarterly excise tax on tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, and snuff shall be paid on or before the tenth of April, July, October, and January for the previous calendar quarter, and in enforcing this Act and in the collection of this tax all existing provisions of law relating to the collection of internal revenue are hereby made applicable, and the commissioner is hereby authorized to make and enforce proper regulations to carry these provisions into effect.

Senator Walsh then offered the following amendment to Senator Ashurst's motion:

That the amendment to the Bill under consideration be referred to the Committee, with directions to report a substitute embody-

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ing the principle of the amendment and making it applicable to any corporation or combination which having been adjudged unlawful as in restraint of trade, controls, or any constituent of which controls more than 25% of the total output of produce in which it deals.

Senator Walsh's amendment subsequently withdrawn.

Senator O'Gorman offered the following:

RESOLVED, That we favor the insertion in the Tariff Bill of a graduated production tax on oil and tobacco, along the lines proposed by Senator Hitchcock.

Roll Call demanded on Senator O'Gorman's motion and it was lost by a vote of 16 to 16. See Roll Call. [See tally sheet K]

The question of the adoption of Senator Ashurst's motion to adopt the Hitchcock amendment was then taken up and a roll call demanded, which was suspended, [see tally sheet L] and the Caucus thereupon determined to vote upon Senator Ashurst's motion at 11 o'clock, Wednesday morning, July 2nd, after which

The Caucus then adjourned until ten o'clock, A.M., Wednesday, July 2nd, A.D. 1913.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

Vote on Senator O'Gorman's Motion [Tally sheet K]		YEAS	NAYS	
✓	Ashurst	✓	Newlands	
✓	Bacon	✓	O'Gorman	
	Bankhead		Overman	✓
	Bryan	✓	Owen	
	Chamberlain	✓	Pittman	
	Chilton	✓	Pomerene	
✓	Clarke		Ransdell	
	Culberson	✓	Reed	
✓	Fletcher		Robinson	
	Gore	✓	Saulsbury	
✓	Hitchcock		Shafroth	
✓	Hollis		Sheppard	
	Hughes	✓	Shields	
	James	✓	Shively	✓
	Johnson	✓	Simmons	✓
	Johnston	✓	Smith of Ariz.	
✓	Kern		Smith of Ga.	✓
	Lane		Smith of Md.	
	Lea		Smith of S.C.	
	Lewis		Stone	✓
	Martin	✓	Swanson	
✓	Martine		Thomas	✓
✓	Myers		Thompson	
			Thornton	✓
			Tillman	

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

YEAS		NAYS	YEAS		NAYS
✓	Vardaman		✓	Martine	
	Walsh		✓	Myers	
	Williams	✓	✓	Newlands	
16		16	✓	O’Gorman	
				Overman	✓
				Owen	
				Pittman	
			✓	Pomerene	
			✓	Ransdell	
				Reed	
			✓	Robinson	
			✓	Saulsbury	
				Shafroth	
			✓	Sheppard	
				Shields	
				Shively	
				Simmons	
				Smith of Ariz.	
				Smith of Ga.	
				Smith of Md.	
				Smith of S.C.	
				Stone	
				Swanson	
				Thomas	
				Thompson	
				Thornton	
				Tillman	
				Vardaman	
				Walsh	
				Williams	

Vote on Hitchcock Tobacco Amendment  
 Roll Call Suspended  
 [Tally sheet L]

YEAS		NAYS
✓	Ashurst	
✓	Bacon	
	Bankhead	
	Bryan	✓
	Chamberlain	
	Chilton	✓
✓	Clarke	
	Culbertson	
✓	Fletcher	
	Gore	✓
✓	Hitchcock	
✓	Hollis	
	Hughes	✓
	James	✓
	Johnson	✓
	Johnston	✓
✓	Kern	
	Lane	
	Lea	
	Lewis	
	Martin	✓

[July 2, 1913]

Caucus convened at 10:35 A.M., Wednesday, July 2nd, 1913.

Senator O’Gorman brought up the matter of Mutual Life Insurance Companies exemption and after some discussion, the matter was suspended until disposition of the Hitchcock amendment.

Discussion of the Hitchcock amendment began in anticipation of a vote thereon at 11 o’clock, and proceeded.

Senator Ashurst’s motion to adopt Hitchcock amendment lost by a vote of 18 ayes, 23 noes. See Roll Call. [See tally sheet M]

Senator Hitchcock here read a statement, of which he left a copy with the Secretary.



JULY 2, 1913

July 2, 1913

Hon. John W. Kern,  
Chairman, Democratic Caucus.

Dear Sir:

I desire hereby to announce my retirement from the Democratic Caucus. I find that I can no longer participate in its deliberations without permitting myself to be deprived of the privilege of offering certain amendments to the bill upon the floor of the Senate.

The amendments I propose to offer impose a graduated tax on trusts. I was denied the opportunity to present these amendments to the Finance Committee. One of them was presented to the Caucus yesterday by Senator Ashurst. A roll call was ordered and had it been finished the vote would have stood as follows:

<i>For the Amendment</i>	<i>Against</i>
Bacon	Martin
Clarke	Simmons
Newlands	Overman
Fletcher	Stone
Thornton	Gore
Kern	Shively
Martine	Bryan
Myers	Chilton
Pomerene	Johnson
O'Gorman	Williams
Ashurst	Smith (Hoke)
Sheppard	Thomas
Ransdell	Hughes
Robinson	James
Walsh	Johnston
Hollis	
Hitchcock	
Saulsbury	

The roll call was not finished but contrary to all proprieties was interrupted in its midst and an adjournment taken until today. I did not offer my amendment in the Caucus. I purposely refrained from doing so because I do not seek to bind any member of the Caucus to vote for my amendment in the Senate against his judgment. I do, however, maintain my own right to offer my amendment for the taxation of trusts and I had hoped to secure the consent of the Caucus for any of its members to vote in the open Senate upon my amendment upon its merits. I therefore introduced the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Democratic Caucus, [indistinct] with any effective legislation to cure the flagrant evils of the Tobacco Trust, and without passing upon the plan of graduated taxation proposed by Mr. Hitchcock, approves his purpose to submit it as a tariff bill amendment in the Senate and leaves each Democratic Senator entirely free to vote upon it in accordance with his individual judgment.

From what has transpired, I foresee the probability that if I remain in the Caucus I may be deprived of this privilege and I therefore withdraw from its further deliberations as above stated.

Yours truly,  
G.M. HITCHCOCK<sup>14</sup>

Senator Myers offered an amendment to the bill, as follows: [handwritten notation] Senator Myers took away only copy. Motion will be inserted here.

Recess until 15 minutes after Senate adjourns.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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Caucus reconvened at 4:10 o'clock, Wednesday afternoon, July 2nd, 1913.

The Secretary stated to the meeting that the Reporters were asking for the "tobacco" vote. During the course of the discussion provoked thereby, Senator O'Gorman offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That in giving out the vote on the proposal to tax oil and tobacco production, the Secretary is authorized to state to the Press that the Senators voting in the negative based their opposition on the grounds that the incorporation of anti-trust legislation in a tariff bill was not proper and that such a course might impede the passage and impair the efficiency of the tariff bill.

Some objection being made thereto, Senator O'Gorman withdrew his motion to adopt the resolution.

Chairman Kern and Vice-Chairman Newlands stated that they would be absent to-morrow (Thursday) and with the consent of the

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<sup>14</sup> When the Caucus adjourned, Senator Simmons, chairman of the Finance Committee, issued this statement, as reported in the *Washington Post*, July 3, 1913:

The caucus declined to adopt the so-called Hitchcock amendment to the tariff bill principally because it did not consider it wise to attempt in a tariff measure to deal with the trust evil. It was felt that the trust question should be dealt with as a separate one, as soon as it could be reached, and only after such thorough and mature consideration as the great importance of the subject required. Moreover, such consideration could not now be given to it by the finance committee, the caucus and the Congress without unduly delaying final action on the tariff bill and disappointing the public desire for its early settlement.

JULY 2, 1913

Caucus, the chairman designated Senator O’Gorman to preside over the Caucus on Thursday, July 3rd, 1913.

Senator Myers resumed discussion of his amendment without limit of time.

Senator Myers’ motion was lost.

Senator O’Gorman called the attention of the Caucus and the Finance Committee to the exemption of Mutual Life Insurance Companies and handed his amendments to the Finance Committee.

Senator Hollis offered some amendments, for consideration of the Committee on Finance, as follows:

Amend Paragraph 263, Section 1, by inserting after the word “goods,” in line 15, page 76, the words: “and woven-figured table damask and bed spreads containing yarns number 60 or finer.”

Also by Senator Hollis: “That manufactures of which wool is the component of chief value shall be exempt from the provisions of this Act until January 1st, 1914.”

Senator Smith (Ga.) moved the adoption of the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That in view of the importance to the entire country that the Tariff Bill should be passed at the earliest time possible, the Democratic Members of the Finance Committee of the Senate are requested to interpose objection to the consumption of the time of the Senate by speeches or in any other way not absolutely necessary in connection with the Tariff Bill until the same is disposed of.

Adopted.

Chairman ordered Secretary to give press note on Hitchcock amendment.

Adjourned until 15 minutes after Senate adjourns to-morrow, Thursday, July 3rd, 1913.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

Vote to Adopt Hitchcock Amendment [Tally sheet M]		YEAS	NAYS
YEAS	NAYS	✓	
✓ Ashurst		✓	Culberson
✓ Bacon		✓	Fletcher
Bankhead		✓	Gore
Bryan	✓		Hitchcock
Chamberlain	✓		Hollis
Chilton	✓		Hughes
✓ Clarke		✓	James
			Johnson
			Johnston
		✓	Kern

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

YEAS		NAYS	YEAS		NAYS
✓	Lane	✓	✓	Shields	
	Lea			Shively	✓
	Lewis	✓		Simmons	✓
	Martin	✓		Smith of Ariz.	
✓	Martine			Smith of Ga.	✓
✓	Myers			Smith of Md.	
✓	Newlands			Smith of S.C.	✓
✓	O’Gorman			Stone	✓
	Overman			Swanson	
	Owen	✓		Thomas	✓
	Pittman	✓		Thompson	
✓	Pomerene			Thornton	✓
	Ransdell	✓		Tillman	✓
	Reed			Vardaman	
✓	Robinson		✓	Walsh	
✓	Saulsbury			Williams	✓
✓	Shafroth				
✓	Sheppard		18		23

[July 3, 1913]

The Senate Caucus met at 2:45 P.M., Thursday, July 3rd, 1913.

Senator O’Gorman was made Chairman of the meeting in the absence of Chairman Kern.

Par. 86 and 97, House provisions restored.

See typewritten report of Committee—following pages.

Action of the Committee on matters referred to it by the Caucus.

Page 24, paragraph 86, line 1. Referred back to consider whether or not the words “and all blown glass ware” covers “Incandescent electric light bulbs and lamps without filaments” on line 17, paragraph 97, page 27. The Committee is of the opinion that the facts do not warrant any change in these paragraphs.

Page 27, paragraph 95, line 9, paragraph 96, line 11. These paragraphs were referred back to consider rearrangements so as to include “surveying instruments” in paragraph 96. The Committee has amended these paragraphs by inserting after the word “same” in line 9 the words “all the foregoing not specially provided for in this section” and by reducing the rate from 45% to 35%. Paragraph 96 was amended by inserting at the beginning of line 1 the words “surveying instruments.”

Page 33, paragraph 116. Referred back in connection with paragraph 149, page 44 to consider placing copper wire on the free list. The Committee decided that it is not desirable to make any change in those paragraphs.

Page 36, paragraph 121. Referred back to consider reducing the duty on automobiles valued at less than \$1,000. The Committee amended this paragraph as follows; after “\$1,500” on line 3 insert “and more than 1,000”; before the word “automobile” on line 4 insert “finished automobile valued at

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\$1,000 or less 15 per centum ad valorem.” [handwritten note: Motion lost to reduce to 10% instead of 15%]

Page 36, paragraph 123. Referred back to consider harmonizing “axles” with wheels with axles “fitted in them.”

Page 42, paragraph 144, lines 10-14. The Committee finds that axles and wheels except those for railway purposes are taxed in paragraph 123 at 10% and that wheels for railway purposes only are taxed at 25% in paragraph 144. The Committee recommends a reduction of the duty in paragraph 144, from 25% to 15%.

Page 37, paragraph 127, line 9. Referred back to consider lowering the duty on cast iron pipe and probably transfer it to the free list. The Committee transfers iron pipe to the free list.

Page 37, paragraph 128. Referred back to specifically place trace chains on the free list and to consider placing some other chains on the free list. The Committee finds that under the ruling of the Treasury Department trace chains are on the free list, page 138, paragraph 334, lines 2-3. Log chains can not be separate from other chains. It is not deemed advisable to make any change.

Page 39, paragraph 133. Referred back to consider reducing duty on “machine out” files. The Committee recommends a reduction of the duty from 25% to 20%.

Page 41, paragraph 141. Referred back to consider placing “saws used by carpenters” on the free list. It is the judgment of the Committee that the rate on saws should not be changed.

Page 41, paragraph 142. Referred back for readjustment. The Committee recommends the restoration of the House provision.

Page 49, paragraph 169. Referred back to consider reducing duty on carding machines. The Committee recommends that the rate on line 13 be reduced from 25% to 20%. This clause included carding machines and other textile machinery.

Page 52, paragraph 179. Referred back to consider date when this paragraph shall become effective. The Committee recommends that this paragraph be amended by inserting at the end of line 14 the following: “provided further, that the duties imposed in this paragraph shall be effective on and after the first day of March, 1914.”

Page 60, paragraph 205. Referred back to Committee to consider restoring language of the House Bill. The Committee recommends that the language of the House Bill stand.

Page 61, paragraph 227, line 3. Referred back by request of the [Caucus] to perfect. The Committee recommends that on line 3 insert “count” before the word “bunch” and after the bunch insert “of nine hands.”

Page 61, paragraph 233. Referred back to consider reducing or removing duties. The Committee recommends that the duty on “extract of meat n.s.p.f.” be reduced from 15 cts to 10 cts., and that on “fluid extract of meat” be reduced from 7 cents to 5 cents.

Page 72, paragraph 256. Referred back to consider such a revision of language as will place spool thread or spools containing not more than 200 yards on the free list. The Committee reports that they do not clearly understand what the Caucus desires.

Page 69, paragraph 254½. Referred back by request to consider the date when the paragraph shall become effective. The Committee recommends that at the end of the paragraph there be added the words "Provided, however, That this paragraph shall not go into effect until the first day of January nineteen hundred and fourteen."

Page 83, paragraph 290. Referred back to consider reducing the duty on bags. The Committee recommends that the duty be reduced from 15% to 10%.

Page 84, paragraph 295. Referred back to consider reducing duty on wool tops or placing them on the free list or of placing nails on the dutiable list. The Committee recommends that the duty on tops be reduced from 15% to 5%, and in harmony with this the duty on yarns be reduced from 20% to 15%.

Page 85, paragraph 297, line 23. Referred back to consider reducing the duty on press cloth. The Committee recommends that the duty be reduced from 15% to 10%.

Page 85, paragraph 298. Referred back to consider reducing the duty on blankets valued at less than 40 cents per pound. The Committee does not consider it advisable to make any change.

Page 88, paragraph 315. Referred back to consider reducing the duty on tops made from the hair of the angora goat. The Committee recommends that the duty be reduced from 15% to 5%. [T]o preserve harmony the Committee recommends that the duty on yarns be reduced from 20% to 15%.

Page 106, paragraph 353. Referred back to consider transferring fulminates to the free list. The Committee recommends that the articles in this paragraph go to the free list.

Page 106, paragraph 354. Referred back to consider placing gun powder and all explosives on the free list. The Committee recommends that gun powder, and all explosive substances not specially provided for, be transferred to the free list, and that gun powder used for sporting purposes remain in paragraph 354 with the duty therein provided.

Page 107, paragraph 357. Referred back to revise the provisoes beginning on line 4, page 108. The Committee recommends that all the words beginning with the word "and" on line 5, page 108, beginning and including line 12, be stricken out.

Page 108, paragraph 358. Referred back to consider placing undressed skins on the free list and reduce duties on dressed skins. The Committee recommends that the furs and fur skins mentioned on lines 13-15 be transferred to the free list, and that the following language then be substituted for the paragraph.

Page 128, paragraph 434. Referred back to consider placing printing and other apparatus serving to teach the blind on the free list. The Committee recommends the insertion of the following words at the end of paragraph

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434: Braille tablets, cubarithmes, special apparatus and objects serving to teach the blind, including printing apparatus, machines, presses, and types for the use and benefit of the blind exclusively.

Page 135, paragraph 504. Referred back. The Committee is uncertain as to why this paragraph was referred and asks for information.

Page 149, paragraph 626. Referred back to consider placing extract of sumac on the free list if it is a tanning material. The Committee finds that extract of sumac is not used as a tanning material except perhaps in tanning glove leather.

Page 156, paragraph 654. Referred back to consider striking out "50 years etc." in lines 14-15. The Committee recommends that no change be made in this paragraph.

Page 158, paragraph 657. Referred back to consider including pictorial paintings on glass for presentation to institutions and religious societies on the free list. The Committee recommends the following substitute for this paragraph: [text of report ends here]

Par. 236. Chocolate and cocoa. At 20 cents instead of 15.

Senator Pomerene submitted two amendments to Caucus.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

At 4:45 P.M. Senator Sheppard took charge as temporary Secretary.

4:45 P.M.—Thursday, July 3d, 1913.

Senator Bryan moved as follows:

403 $\frac{1}{4}$ —Alcohol, ethel of a proof strength of not less than one hundred and eighty degrees and containing denaturing materials of such character and quantity as to render it unfit as a beverage of for liquid medicinal purposes. Provided, that the proper denaturation of such alcohol (including denatured alcohol brought to the United States from Porto Rico) shall be determined in such manner as the Secretary of the Treasury may by regulations prescribe; and all such alcohol admitted free of duty or tax shall not be subject to any internal revenue tax.

Carried.

Senator Williams moved that paragraph 504 be adopted as recommended by the Committee, the Committee to be authorized to act differently if Senator Walsh should prevail on them to make change.

Senator Fletcher moved to take skins of hares, rabbits, goats and dogs from the free list and put a tax of ten per cent. on them. Motion lost.

Senator Smith (Ga.) moved that Section one be approved. Carried.

Senator Williams moved to adopt Section Two. Carried.

Senator Bryan moved to adopt Section Three. Carried.

Senator Williams moved to adopt the Pittman amendment regarding child labor. Carried, Senator Stone reserving the right to submit certain changes to the Caucus.

Pittman amendment follows:

I. That no goods, wares, articles, and merchandise—except immediate products of agriculture, forests, and fisheries—manufactured wholly or in part in any foreign country by convict labor, or principally by children under fourteen years of age in countries where there are no laws regulating child labor, shall not be entitled to entry at any of the ports of the United States, and the importation thereof is hereby prohibited. Any shipment consigned for entry at any of the ports of the United States of goods, wares, articles, and merchandise—except immediate products of agriculture, forests, and fisheries—manufactured in any foreign country, province, or dependency, where the industrial employment of convicts is not restricted by law, or of children not regulated by law, shall be accompanied by an affidavit of the shipper of such merchandise, or his legal agent, to the effect that the merchandise covered by the invoice has not been manufactured wholly or in part by convict labor or principally by children under fourteen years of age, the form of the affidavit to be presented by the Secretary of the Treasury, who is also authorized and directed to issue such further regulations and to collect all information pertinent thereto through co-operation with the Consular Service of the United States, as may be necessary for the enforcement of the provision.

Senator Sheppard moved that Section Four be adopted, except as to reservation by Senator Stone regarding Pittman child labor amendment.

Senator Stone gave notice that at the next meeting of the Caucus, he would offer the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the tariff bill agreed to by this Conference in its amended form is declared to be a party measure, and it is declared to be the duty of each Democratic Senator to support it in the Senate and to vote against all amendments or motions to recommit; Provided, however, that the Conference or the Finance Committee are authorized after reference or otherwise to propose amendments to the bill that shall not be considered as included in the foregoing inhibition.

Assistant Doorkeeper Keller was then instructed to state in the notice of the next meeting that a resolution binding the members to the action of the Caucus would be presented for discussion.

Senator Hollis moved to place bed spreads woven-figured carrying yarn No. 60 or finer, in paragraph 263. Lost.



JULY 3, 1913

Moved that the Caucus adjourn until 11 o'clock, Saturday morning, July 5th. Carried.

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[July 5, 1913]

Senate Caucus called to order 11:25 o'clock, Saturday morning, July 5th, 1913. Senator O'Gorman presiding in absence of Senator Kern and Senator Sheppard acting as a temporary secretary.

The Finance Committee's amendment regarding method of computing income tax deductions for depletion in value of ores adopted on motion of Senator Williams.

Senator Ashurst moved that it is the sense of the Caucus that immediately after the passage of the Tariff Bill through the Senate that the pure fabric bill of Senator Myers be passed through the Senate.

Senator Ashurst then withdrew this motion and moved that it be the sense of the Caucus that the Myers Pure Fabric Bill receive the consideration of the Senate before this session closed, if practicable. This motion also withdrawn.

Senator Newlands suggested:

- (1) Reductions in tariff bill to be distributed equally over three years.
- (2) That at the end of three years further reductions should be made upon all articles the imports of which have not equalled ten per cent. of similar articles produced in the United States at the rate of five per cent. per annum, until such importations shall equal ten per cent. of similar articles produced in the United States;
- (3) Commission, Secy. of War, Interior and Agriculture to report before end of tariff debate on effect of free listing of sugar on our dependencies, on arid and semi-arid states, and to report effect of free listing wool,

and addressed the Caucus on these suggestions, but made no motion.

Senator Simmons moved that with the exception of the wool schedule, sugar schedule, the income tax and revenue tax on brandies for fortifying wines, the Tariff Bill become effective on its passage. Carried.

Senator Thornton desired to register his protest against Caucus action on paragraph dealing with importation of feathers for millinery trade and against action of Caucus on bananas.

The following telegram was read from Senator Lewis:

CHICAGO, JULY 4TH 13

HON. JNO W KERN, U.S. SENATE CHAMBERS, WASHINGTON,  
D.C.

AM DETAINED DELIVERING FOURTH JULY DEMOCRATIC  
SPEECHES AND OTHER THINGS TO THE MULTITUDES  
ASSEMBLED ON SHORES LAKE MICHIGAN AS DID THAT  
OTHER DEMOCRAT DISTRIBUTE LOAVES AND FISHES  
ON SHORES OF GALILEE. VOTE ME IN CAUCUS SAME  
WAY YOU CAST YOUR VOTE. BACK IN A FEW DAYS TO  
TAKE SOME TOIL OFF YOUR HANDS TWENTY FOUR  
HOURS A DAY UNTIL END OF SESSION.

J. HAMILTON LEWIS.

Senator Hughes stated that Senator James has received a telegram from Senator Chilton, asking that he be counted for resolution binding Caucus, and Senator Hughes asked unanimous consent that Senator Chilton's vote be so recorded.

Objection by Senator Walsh.

The following letter was read from Senator Saulsbury

July 4, 1913

Hon. John W. Kern  
Chairman, Democratic Senatorial Caucus

Dear Senator:

As I may not be able to return to Washington to-morrow, Saturday, July 5th for final binding Caucus action I request that my vote be recorded in favor of such resolution as may be offered, if offered, and on all motions or resolutions to that effect, intended to produce absolute unity among Democrats on all votes on the Tariff bill & amendments thereto and on all other votes calculated to advance final action on the bill.

I consider it a test of party loyalty to support in every way the action of the Caucus on this measure in all particulars as well as generally.

Yours very truly,  
Willard Saulsbury

Please insert this letter or spread it on the minutes.

Senator Simmons asked unanimous consent that Senator James, who was absent in New York, be allowed to have his vote recorded for motion binding Caucus. Objection by Senator Walsh.

JULY 5, 1913

A Roll Call to determine the number of those present showed 31 Senators present. Roll call as follows:

ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	PRESENT
	Ashurst ✓	✓	Owen
	Bacon ✓		Pittman ✓
✓	Bankhead		Pomerene ✓
	Bryan ✓		Ransdell ✓
	Chamberlain ✓		Reed ✓
✓	Chilton		Robinson ✓
	Clarke ✓	✓	Saulsbury
✓	Culberson		Shafroth ✓
	Fletcher ✓		Sheppard ✓
	Gore ✓		Shields ✓
✓	Hitchcock		Shively ✓
✓	Hollis		Simmons ✓
	Hughes ✓	✓	Smith of Ariz.
✓	James	✓	Smith of Ga.
	Johnson ✓	✓	Smith of Md.
	Johnston ✓	✓	Smith of S.C.
✓	Kern		Stone ✓
	Lane ✓		Swanson ✓
✓	Lea		Thomas ✓
✓	Lewis	✓	Thompson
	Martin ✓		Thornton ✓
	Martine ✓		Tillman ✓
	Myers ✓	✓	Vardaman
	Newlands ✓		Walsh ✓
	O'Gorman ✓		Williams ✓
✓	Overman	33 present	

Senator Swanson moved that two-thirds of the members present, a quorum being present, should bind the Democratic members of the Senate.

Senator Simmons moved that the Caucus adjourn until four o'clock, Monday afternoon, July 7th, 1913. Carried.

Secretary

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[July 7, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus of the United States Senate convened on Monday afternoon, July 7th, 1913, at 4:10 o'clock.

The calling of the roll showed that 43 Senators were present and subsequently others appeared, bringing the total number of Senators present up to 49.

The following Senators addressed the Caucus: Senators O'Gorman, Chamberlain, Lane, Myers, Williams, Thomas and Lewis.

Senator Thornton explained his intended vote, and

Senator Ransdell explained his intended vote.

Senator O’Gorman moved that the pending tariff bill be declared to be a party measure.

Senator Reed offered a motion as a substitute, which was accepted by Senator O’Gorman.

Senator Reed’s motion was as follows:

RESOLVED, That House Bill No. 3321 as agreed upon in the Democratic Conference is, subject to such further formal changes as may be hereafter recommended by the Finance Committee, or such changes as may be agreed to by the Conference, hereby declared to be a party measure.

RESOLVED, That the Tariff Bill agreed to by this Conference in its amended form is declared to be a party measure and we urge its undivided support as a duty by Democratic Senators without amendment.

Provided, however, that the Conference or the Finance Committee may after reference or otherwise propose amendments to the Bill.

ADOPTED—only one vote against it. 47 Senators declared their intention to vote for the Bill. Senators Culberson and Hitchcock only being absent. [See tally sheet N]

Senator Thornton, by consent of the Caucus, filed with the Secretary, the following:

Washington, D.C., 2nd [July] 1913.

Hon. J.E. Ransdell  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator:

As I am leaving for Gettysburg in the morning and the Senate Democratic Conference may adjourn finally before my return, I wish to acquaint you with my position in the matter of the pending tariff bill.

If future developments will permit me to vote for the bill without personal dishonor through violation of pledges made to the Legislature of Louisiana before and after my election on the sugar question, I will of course vote for it on final passage.

I, however, reserve the right to offer any amendments on the floor of the Senate imposing duties on agricultural products where none are now imposed by the bill, or to increase duties already imposed by the bill, or to support amendments on this line offered by others.

I also reserve the right to speak against the sugar section of the bill and against the Clarke amendment, as I wish my position on that subject understood by the public.

But I would not refuse to vote for the bill after all amendments favored by me, except sugar, had been defeated, as I consider myself only bound to vote against the free sugar provision, while on all other ques-

JULY 7, 1913

tions I would defer to the wish of the party after having made my protests on the floor of the Senate.

Very truly yours,  
[signed] J.R. Thornton

Extract from Speech of J. R. Thornton before the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana on his Candidacy, before his Election, to the United States Senate:

“The statement published in a New Orleans paper that on last Thursday night, at a conference of my friends, I had recanted my statement of Wednesday and said I would yield in my tariff views on sugar, rice, and lumber, if necessary, to be in line with the action of a Democratic Caucus, is false. Those gentlemen from every part of the State who attended that large conference, know how false is the statement that I had recanted. They know that my answer to the question as to whether I was a Democrat and would abide by the action of a Democratic Caucus on these matters, was, that while I was a Democrat, I would never abide by the action of any caucus that might force me to strike a blow at any of the great industries of my State. That has been my unwavering position from the beginning.

“I do not think this is or ought to be made a test of fealty to the national Democratic Party. I hope and I believe that I will never be placed in the position where my duty to my National Party will come in conflict with my duty to my people. But, if ever the time does come, those who have placed their faith in my plighted word will find that their faith was not misplaced.

“If my mother must be stabbed, some other hand than mine must be found to wield the knife.”

Extract from Address of Senator Thornton before the General Assembly of Louisiana, December 7, 1910, accepting his election to the United States Senate:

“But tariff duties must be levied. Agriculture is the great basic foundation of the prosperity of Louisiana, and it will continue to be so. Because the agriculturalists of the United States generally raise more than our own people consume, we are exporters of such products and thus they do not receive the benefit of a protective tariff, while bearing so many of its unjust burdens. So, if a tariff can be levied that will help, or protect, if you please, those who follow agriculture as a livelihood, I think it should be done. In Louisiana, at least two of our great soil productions can be helped or protected by a tariff duty; those two are sugar and rice.

“And so I can certainly justify myself in doing what I can in the Congress of the United States to help these great agricultural products of Louisiana. This accords with my sense of right to those producers, with my sense of duty to my State, and with my individual sentiments as well, for I am descended from a long line of agriculturalists, am a son of the soil and racy of it.

“I don't see why party fealty should prevent me from standing by these great industries of Louisiana, but, as I have said, if it does, national fealty must yield to State fealty, as it did in the time of the Civil War.”

July 7—

Senator Lewis addressed the Caucus.

Senator Smith (Ga.) [addressed the Caucus.]

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913–1915)

Senator Simmons stated—as to tariff bill—Raw wool to take effect October 1st; manufactured wool December 1st.

Senator Walsh, Senator Hollis, addressed.

Senator Simmons moved that wool duties go into effect December 1st, 1913.

Senator Gore moved as a substitute that wool duties go into effect on the passage of the Act. Subsequently Senator Gore withdrew his motion.

Senator Hollis moved that the duty on Raw Wool go into effect on December 1st, 1913, and on Manufactures of Wool to go into effect on January 1st, 1914. Carried, by vote of 11 Yeas, 4 Noes.

Senator Newlands and Senator Johnson addressed the Caucus.

On motion, the thanks of the Caucus was extended to the Finance Committee.

ADJOURNED.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

Informal expression		YEAS	NAYS
Will vote for bill		✓ Owen	
[Tally sheet N]		✓ Pittman	
YEAS	NAYS	✓ Pomerene	
✓ Ashurst		✓ Ransdell	✓
✓ Bacon		✓ Reed	
✓ Bankhead		✓ Robinson	
✓ Bryan		✓ Saulsbury	
✓ Chamberlain		✓ Shafroth	
✓ Chilton		✓ Sheppard	
✓ Clarke		✓ Shields	
✓ Culberson		✓ Shively	
✓ Fletcher		✓ Simmons	
✓ Gore		✓ Smith of Ariz.	
✓ Hitchcock		✓ Smith of Ga.	
✓ Hollis		✓ Smith of Md.	
✓ Hughes		✓ Smith of S.C.	
✓ James		✓ Stone	
✓ Johnson		✓ Swanson	
✓ Johnston		✓ Thomas	
✓ Kern		✓ Thompson	
✓ Lane		✓ Thornton	✓
✓ Lea		✓ Tillman	
✓ Lewis		✓ Vardaman	
✓ Martin		✓ Walsh	
✓ Martine		✓ Williams	
✓ Myers			
✓ Newlands			
✓ O'Gorman			
✓ Overman			

JULY 7, 1913

Roll Call  
Monday, July 7, 1913

[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
✓ Ashurst	
✓ Bacon	
✓ Bankhead	
✓ Bryan	
✓ Chamberlain	
✓ Chilton	
✓ Clarke	
✓ Culberson (sick)	✓
✓ Fletcher	
✓ Gore	
✓ Hitchcock	✓
✓ Hollis	
✓ Hughes	
✓ James	
✓ Johnson	
✓ Johnston	
✓ Kern	
✓ Lane	
✓ Lea	
✓ Lewis	
✓ Martin	
✓ Martine	
✓ Myers	
✓ Newlands	
✓ O'Gorman	
✓ Overman	
✓ Owen	
✓ Pittman	
✓ Pomerene	
✓ Ransdell	
✓ Reed	
✓ Robinson	
✓ Saulsbury	
✓ Shafroth	
✓ Sheppard	
✓ Shields	
✓ Shively	
✓ Simmons	
✓ Smith of Ariz.	
✓ Smith of Ga.	
✓ Smith of Md.	
✓ Smith of S.C.	
✓ Stone	
✓ Swanson	
✓ Thomas	
✓ Thompson	
✓ Thornton	
✓ Tillman	
✓ Vardaman	
✓ Walsh	
✓ Williams	

Roll Call on Williams' Resolution  
[Tally sheet O] <sup>15</sup>

YEAS	NAYS
✓ Ashurst	
✓ Bacon	
✓ Bankhead	
✓ Bryan	
✓ Chamberlain	
✓ Chilton	
✓ Clarke	
✓ Culberson	
✓ Fletcher	
✓ Gore	
✓ Hitchcock	
✓ Hollis	
✓ Hughes	
✓ James	
✓ Johnson	
✓ Johnston	
✓ Kern	
✓ Lane	
✓ Lea	
✓ Lewis	
✓ Martin	
✓ Martine	
✓ Myers	
✓ Newlands	✓
✓ O'Gorman	
✓ Overman	
✓ Owen	
✓ Pittman	
✓ Pomerene	
✓ Ransdell	
✓ Reed	
✓ Robinson	
✓ Saulsbury	
Shafroth (declared himself bound)	
✓ Sheppard	
✓ Shields	
✓ Shively	
✓ Simmons	
✓ Smith of Ariz.	
✓ Smith of Ga.	
✓ Smith of Md.	
✓ Smith of S.C.	
✓ Stone	
✓ Swanson	
✓ Thomas	
✓ Thompson	
✓ Thornton	
✓ Tillman	
✓ Vardaman	
✓ Walsh	
✓ Williams	

1 No  
3 not voting

<sup>15</sup>This tally sheet has not been matched to a vote in the minutes.

[August 14, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus of the Senate convened on Thursday morning, August 14th, 1913, at ten o'clock.

The roll call disclosed 31 Senators present.

The reading of the minutes of the previous meeting was on motion dispensed with.

Senator Vardaman moved that the Caucus meetings be open and that the press and public be admitted so far as possible to hear discussions.

This on motion was laid aside temporarily.

The Chairman of the Steering Committee reported: Senator Chamberlain to become Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, vice Senator Johnston, deceased. Senator Myers to become Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands. Senator Smith (Arizona) to become Chairman of the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands. Senator Vardaman to become Chairman of the Committee on Conservation of National Resources.

The Report of the Chairman as above approved.

It was then proposed that the vacancies caused by the death of Senator Johnston remain open.

Senator Martine stated his desire to withdraw from the Philippines Committee, in favor of Senator Shafroth, and this was likewise approved.

Senator James then moved to lay the motion of Senator Vardaman, which had been laid aside temporarily, on the table, and the motion of Senator James was carried by a vote of 31 Yeas to 8 Nays. See Roll Call. [See tally sheet P]

A communication was received from the Republican Caucus through Senator Overman for additional employee of Sergeant at Arms, which was on motion referred to the Committee on Patronage, with power to act.

Senator Swanson moved that the Steering Committee be authorized to fix the hours of Sessions.

On motion, the Caucus adjourned until eight o'clock, Thursday evening, August 14th, 1913.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary



AUGUST 14, 1913

Caucus August 14, 1913

Roll Call

To lay Vardaman motion on table

[Tally sheet P]

[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	YEAS	NAYS
✓ Ashurst			✓
✓ Bacon			
✓ Bankhead			
✓ Bryan		✓	
✓ Chamberlain		✓	
✓ Chilton			
✓ Clarke		✓	
✓ Culberson			
✓ Fletcher			
✓ Gore			
✓ Hitchcock			✓
✓ Hollis			✓
✓ Hughes			
✓ James		✓	
✓ Johnson			
✓ Kern		✓	
✓ Lane			✓
✓ Lea		✓	
✓ Lewis			✓
✓ Martin		✓	
✓ Martine		✓	
✓ Myers		✓	
✓ Newlands			
✓ O'Gorman		✓	
✓ Overman		✓	
✓ Owen			✓
✓ Pittman		✓	
✓ Pomerene		✓	
✓ Ransdell		✓	
✓ Reed		✓	
✓ Robinson		✓	
✓ Saulsbury		✓	
✓ Shafroth			
✓ Sheppard			✓
✓ Shields			
✓ Shively		✓	
✓ Simmons		✓	
✓ Smith of Ariz.		✓	
✓ Smith of Ga.		✓	
✓ Smith of Md.		✓	
✓ Smith of S.C.		✓	
✓ Stone		✓	
✓ Swanson		✓	
✓ Thomas			
✓ Thompson			
✓ Thornton		✓	
✓ Tillman			✓
✓ Vardaman		✓	
✓ Walsh		✓	
✓ Williams		31	8

[August 15, 1913]

Pursuant to morning adjournment, the Democratic Caucus of the Senate met on Thursday evening, August 15th, 1913, at eight o'clock, and fifteen minutes.

In the absence of the Secretary, Senator Sheppard was appointed temporary Secretary.

The roll call showed 26 Senators present.

A resolution was then proposed by Senator Owen.

At this point (8:20 P.M.) Senator Saulsbury arrived and assumed his duties as Secretary of the Caucus.

The resolution offered by Senator Owen is as follows:

RESOLVED, That it is the judgment of this Conference that a Banking and Currency Bill shall be considered and passed at this session before recess or adjournment.<sup>16</sup>

Senator Lewis then offered the following amendment to the motion of Senator Owen:

That the Banking and Currency Bill be taken up immediately after a recess.

Senator Hitchcock offered an amendment, which was lost.

Senator Robinson moved as a substitution for Senator Owen's resolution (accepted by Senator Owen) a resolution as follows:

RESOLVED by the Conference that the Congress should proceed to consider and determine legislation concerning Currency and Banking immediately following the passage of the pending Tariff Bill.

Senator O'Gorman then offered an amendment, which was lost.

Senator Hitchcock moved that the press be informed that any member of the Caucus has not endorsed any particular bill.

Senator Hughes moved to lay on table Senator Hitchcock's motion. Carried.

The Caucus then adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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<sup>16</sup>With the first session of the Sixty-third Congress having continued through a hot summer in Washington, senators talked of an adjournment that would postpone debate on the administration's banking legislation until November. President Wilson dispatched his personal secretary Joseph Tumulty to Capitol Hill on August 13 and 14, to advise senators of the president's desire that the Senate remain in session. See *Washington Post*, August 15, 1913.

AUGUST 15, 1913

Roll Call, Thursday Evening, 8:15 P.M.		[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	✓ Owen	
✓ Ashurst		✓ Pittman	
✓ Bacon		✓ Pomerene	
✓ Bankhead		✓ Ransdell	
✓ Bryan		✓ Reed	
✓ Chamberlain		✓ Robinson	
✓ Chilton		✓ Saulsbury	
✓ Clarke		✓ Shafroth	
✓ Culberson		✓ Sheppard	
✓ Fletcher		✓ Shields	
✓ Gore		✓ Shively	
✓ Hitchcock		✓ Simmons	
✓ Hollis		✓ Smith of Ariz.	
✓ Hughes		✓ Smith of Ga.	
✓ James		✓ Smith of Md.	
✓ Johnson		✓ Smith of S.C.	
✓ Kern		✓ Stone	
✓ Lane		✓ Swanson	
✓ Lea		✓ Thomas	
✓ Lewis		✓ Thompson	
✓ Martin		✓ Thornton	
✓ Martine		✓ Tillman	
✓ Myers		✓ Vardaman	
✓ Newlands		✓ Walsh	
✓ O'Gorman		✓ Williams	
✓ Overman		26 present	

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[September 2, 1913]

Senate Democratic Caucus was called to order by the Chairman at 7:25 P.M., September 2, 1913. Forty-two Senators were present.

It was moved by Senator Sheppard that all speeches be limited to ten minutes, and no Senator speak more than once. An amendment offered by Senator Clarke that each Senator should have ten minutes for his opening speech and five minutes for closing, if desired, was unanimously adopted.

The Finance Committee reported a change in Paragraph 67, relating to soaps, reducing the duty from 40% to 30% and from 30% to 20%, which change was approved after much discussion.

Paragraph 106 taken up. Committee reported in favor of striking out "sashes" and "frames," line 5, page 30. Senator Fletcher's motion to approve the amendment was lost.

Senator Reed's motion to reduce the duty to 5% on common soap was lost.

Senator Smith of Arizona, moved to readopt the paragraph as it stands in the Bill, which motion prevailed.

Committee proposed amendment to Paragraph 116, which was adopted.

Paragraph 163 was settled without any motion by general consent. Discussion arose as to Aluminum. Without formal motion, the matter was laid aside.

Amendment proposed by Committee to Paragraph 258 was adopted.

With respect to paragraphs 263 and 268 and all suggestions in regard to the Cotton Schedule, referred back to Committee with full power to act.

Paragraph 322 summarized as Zipp on Plushes was referred back with full power to act.

Senator Martin of Virginia moved that all matters of detail in Schedules be referred back to the Finance Committee with full power to act, except only where a vote is asked by a Caucus Member, unanimously adopted.

Paragraph 357, where Finance Committee had a tie vote, was taken up. Senator O’Gorman moved to restore the House provision in the Bill. Senator Reed moved to approve the previous action of the Caucus. Senator Reed’s motion approved, ayes 22, noes 18.

Paragraph 657. Senator O’Gorman moved that painted and stain-glass windows for religious houses and Churches be restored to the Free List, which was adopted, after Senator Hughes’ motion was lost to allow it to stand as printed.

Senator Myers moved to reconsider vote on Bird Plumage (Paragraph 357), but afterward withdrew his motion, which was renewed by Senator Ashurst and carried.

Senator Williams moved that former Caucus action be considered as binding regarding this provision (par. 357), but afterward withdrew his motion. Senator Hughes moved to concur in House action as to paragraph 357, which after a long discussion was adopted.

Caucus adjourned to meet at 8:00 P.M., Wednesday, September 3.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[Editor’s Note: In 1913 the states ratified the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, permitting Congress to levy an income tax. Having reduced federal revenues produced by the tariff, the Underwood-Simmons bill proposed to raise revenue through the first income tax. Originally, the bill called for a rate of three percent for incomes over \$100,000 . On August 27, a group of progressive Republican senators advocated increasing the top rate to 10 percent. Although Democrats voted against this proposal, Democratic progressives called for a caucus meeting to raise the tax rates on higher incomes. Newspaper accounts indicate that the Democratic caucus met

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on August 29—but no minutes for any such meeting were recorded. President Wilson urged a compromise of a 7-percent rate, which the caucus adopted on September 5. On September 9 the Senate passed the Underwood-Simmons Tariff by a vote of 44 to 37. Among Democrats, only the two senators from Louisiana, protesting cuts in the sugar rates, voted against the tariff.]

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[September 3, 1913]

Caucus met September 3, 1913, at 8:15 P.M., with forty-two Senators present, with the Vice President.<sup>17</sup>

Senator Bryan brought up the matter of denatured alcohol. Senator Lane moved to reconsider former action of Caucus placing denatured alcohol on Free List. Senator Vardaman moved to lay motion on table, which motion was declared carried.

Senator Myers moved that action of Caucus be reconsidered regarding Paragraph 337, which motion was declared lost.

Senator Myers moved to reconsider Caucus action as to Paragraph 311.

Senator O’Gorman proposed and moved adoption of following amendment to clause at page 182, beginning with line 3, which was ordered to go over until Friday night:

On page 182 of “Caucus Print,” after line 3, add a new paragraph to read as follows:

That whenever and as often as the imposition and collection of any tax upon incomes under the provisions of this act result in a financial loss to or the imposition of a financial burden upon any State or Territory, political subdivision thereof, or municipal corporation therein, by reason of any provision or provisions in any agreement, contract, right, or franchise, granted or executed by or for such State, Territory, political subdivision, or municipality and which financial loss or burden would not have been suffered or borne if the income tax herein provided for were not imposed and collected, there shall be paid from the Treasury of the United States to such State, Territory, political subdivision, or municipality, as the case may be, after such tax so affecting such State, Territory, political subdivision, or municipality, shall have been collected as in this act provided, a sum equivalent to the financial loss so suffered or burden so sustained by such State, Territory, political subdivision, or municipality. Provided, however, that such agreement, contract, right, or franchise was entered into or granted by or in behalf of such State, Territory, political subdivision, or municipality,

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<sup>17</sup>Thomas R. Marshall (Democrat, Indiana), vice president, 1913–1921.

in the exercise or in the furtherance of a State, Territorial, municipal or other public function or purpose. Provided, further, that this provision shall not be construed to exempt any person, copartnership, or corporation with whom such agreement or contract shall have been made or to whom such right or franchise shall have been granted, from the payment of the tax upon income herein provided for, nor shall the payment from the treasury of the United States herein provided for, to any State, Territory, political subdivision, or municipality be deemed a refund to or a credit in favor of the person, copartnership, or corporation paying the tax, because of which the payment is made to such State, Territory, political subdivision, or municipality.

The Income Tax section was then taken up.

Senator Williams made the following report. Finance Committee to make surtax as follows: (See page 165, line 13.)

	Total
1 on excess over \$20,000 up to \$50,000 .....	2
2 on excess over \$50,000 up to \$100,000 .....	3
3 on excess over \$100,000 up to \$250,000 .....	4
4 on excess of \$250,000 up to not exceeding \$500,000	5%
5 on excess of \$500,000 up to not exceeding \$1,000,000 .....	6%
6 on amount by which same exceeds \$1,000,000 .....	7

Senator Williams moved that the Committee amendment as above be adopted. His amendment is as follows: "Strike out line 3, page 166, after \$100,000, and amend balance of that sentence so as to read as follows:

and does not exceed \$250,000; four per cent per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$250,000, and does not exceed \$500,000, and five per cent per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$500,000, and does not exceed \$1,000,000, and six per cent per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$1,000,000.

Senator Reed then offered the following amendment:

Strike out all after the word "exceeds" in line 19, page 165, all of lines 20 and 21, page 165, and down to and including "\$100,000" in line 3, page 166, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "\$4,000 and does not exceed \$10,000; and 1 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$10,000 and does not exceed \$20,000; and 1½ per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$20,000 but does not exceed \$30,000; and 2 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$30,000 but does not exceed \$40,000; and 2½ per centum

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per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$40,000 but does not exceed \$50,000; and 3 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$50,000 but does not exceed \$60,000; and 4 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$60,000 but does not exceed \$70,000; and 5 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$70,000 but does not exceed \$80,000; and 6 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$80,000 but does not exceed \$90,000; and 7 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$90,000 but does not exceed \$100,000; and 8 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$100,000.”

Senator O’Gorman offered amendment that tax begin at \$1,000, and proceed as in the bill as reported.

Senator Vardaman introduced the following amendment:

Strike out all after the word “exceeds” in line 19, page 165, down to and including “\$100,000” in line 3, page 166, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

“\$10,000 and does not exceed \$20,000, and 1¼ per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total income exceeds \$20,000 and does not exceed \$30,000, and 1½ per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total income exceeds \$30,000 and does not exceed \$40,000, and 1¾ per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total income exceeds \$40,000 and does not exceed \$50,000, and 2 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total income exceeds \$50,000 and does not exceed \$60,000, and 2½ per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total income exceeds \$60,000 and does not exceed \$70,000, and 3 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total income exceeds \$80,000 but does not exceed \$90,000, and 4 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total income exceeds \$90,000 but does not exceed \$100,000, and 5 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total income exceeds \$100,000 but does not exceed \$125,000, and 6 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total income exceeds \$125,000 but does not exceed \$150,000, and 7 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total income exceeds \$150,000 but does not exceed \$175,000, and 8 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total income exceeds \$175,000 but does not exceed \$200,000, and 9 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total income exceeds \$200,000.”

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The Caucus then adjourned to meet again Friday evening, September 5th, at 8:00 o'clock.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

Roll Call, September 3, 1913, 8 P.M.		[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	✓	Owen
✓	Ashurst	✓	Pittman
✓	Bacon	✓	Pomerene
✓	Bankhead	✓	Ransdell
✓	Bryan	✓	Reed
✓	Chamberlain	✓	Robinson
✓	Chilton	✓	Saulsbury
✓	Clarke	✓	Shafroth
✓	Culberson	✓	Sheppard
✓	Fletcher	✓	Shields
✓	Gore	✓	Shively
✓	Hitchcock	✓	Simmons
✓	Hollis	✓	Smith of Ariz.
✓	Hughes	✓	Smith of Ga.
✓	James	✓	Smith of Md.
✓	Johnson	✓	Smith of S.C.
✓	Kern	✓	Stone
✓	Lane	✓	Swanson
✓	Lea	✓	Thomas
✓	Lewis	✓	Thompson
✓	Martin	✓	Thornton
✓	Martine	✓	Tillman
✓	Myers	✓	Vardaman
✓	Newlands	✓	Walsh
✓	O'Gorman	✓	Williams
✓	Overman		

42 present +the Vice President

[September 5, 1913]

Democratic Caucus called to order by the Chairman, Friday morning, September 5th, 1913, at 9:40 o'clock. 27 Senators present. 40 Senators appeared later.

Caucus ordered that all speeches be limited to five minutes and rule be strictly enforced. No Senator to be recognized more than twice.

On motion of Senator Clarke, one hour was allowed for debate on income tax, to be equally divided and the time of speakers to be stated by Senators Simmons and Reed.

Senator Reed moved that low limit of income taxation be fixed at \$4,000, which motion was declared lost by a vote of 12 ayes and 23 noes. (See attached Roll.) [See tally sheet Q]



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Senator O’Gorman moved to make the minimum amount of income taxation \$1,000, which motion was declared lost.

Senator Pomerene moved to strike out exemption as to families, which motion was declared lost.

Senator Thompson offered amendment applicable to Senator Reed’s amendment. Lost.

Senator Hoke Smith offered amendment as follows, which amendment was accepted by Senator Reed and declared adopted, by a vote of 29 yeas to 11 noes. (See attached Roll.) [See tally sheet R]

On page 116, line 1, after the word “exceed,” strike out \$100,000 and insert \$75,000; after the comma in the same line strike out the word “and”; on line 3, after the word “exceed” insert “\$75,000 and does not exceed;” and also on line 3, after \$100,000” insert “4 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$100,000 and does not exceed \$250,000, 5 per centum per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$250,000 and does not exceed \$500,000, and 6 per cent per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds \$500,000.”

Senator O’Gorman’s amendment was taken up, discussed and postponed until the Evening Caucus by general consent.

Proposed amendment as to Meat Inspection was referred to the Subcommittee of the Committee on Finance, with full power to act.

On motion, debate on Cotton option will close at 1:30 P.M. One-half by Senator Clarke and one-half by Senator Hoke Smith of Ga.

Senator Hoke Smith offered an amendment to the amendment of Senator Clarke.

Senator Hoke Smith took the floor at 12:15 P.M. and consumed 23 minutes.

Senator Simmons took the floor at 12:38 P.M. and consumed five minutes.

Senator Smith of S.C. took the floor at 12:43 P.M.

Senator Ransdell took the floor at 12:55 P.M. Time extended by general consent to 1:03 P.M., and time for voting extended to 1:35 P.M.

Senator from North Carolina (Mr. ) consumed three minutes by grant of time from Senator Clarke of Arkansas.

Senator Hoke Smith’s amendment declared lost.

Caucus took recess until 8 P.M.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

Reed's Motion to increase minimum to \$4,000

[Tally sheet Q]

YEAS		NAYS
✓	Ashurst	
	Bacon	✓
	Bankhead	✓
	Bryan	
	Chamberlain	
	Chilton	
✓	Clarke	
	Culberson	
	Fletcher	
	Gore	
	Hitchcock	
	Hollis	✓
	Hughes	
	James	
	Johnson	✓
	Kern	✓
	Lane	✓
	Lea	✓
	Lewis	✓
✓	Martin	
✓	Martine	
	Myers	
	Newlands	
	O'Gorman	✓
✓	Overman	
	Owen	✓
	Pittman	✓
	Pomerene	✓
	Ransdell	✓
✓	Reed	
✓	Robinson	
	Saulsbury	✓
	Shafroth	✓
	Sheppard	✓
✓	Shields	
	Shively	
	Simmons	✓
✓	Smith of Ariz.	
✓	Smith of Ga.	
	Smith of Md.	✓
	Smith of S.C.	
	Stone	
✓	Swanson	
	Thomas	✓
	Thompson	✓
	Thornton	✓
	Tillman	
✓	Vardaman	
	Walsh	✓
	Williams	✓
12		23

Vote on Reed's Amendment as amended by Sen. Hoke Smith and accepted.

[Tally sheet R]

YEAS		NAYS
✓	Ashurst	
✓	Bacon	
✓	Bankhead	
✓	Bryan	
	Chamberlain	
	Chilton	
✓	Clarke	
	Culberson	
✓	Fletcher	
	Gore	✓
	Hitchcock	
✓	Hollis	
	Hughes	
	James	✓
	Johnson	✓
✓	Kern	
✓	Lane	
✓	Lea	
✓	Lewis	
✓	Martin	
✓	Martine	
	Myers	
	Newlands	
	O'Gorman	✓
✓	Overman	
	Owen	
✓	Pittman	
✓	Pomerene	
	Ransdell	✓
✓	Reed	
✓	Robinson	
✓	Saulsbury	
	Shafroth	✓
✓	Sheppard	
✓	Shields	
	Shively	✓
	Simmons	✓
✓	Smith of Ariz.	
✓	Smith of Ga.	
✓	Smith of Md.	
✓	Smith of S.C.	
	Stone	
✓	Swanson	
	Thomas	✓
✓	Thompson	
	Thornton	✓
✓	Tillman	
✓	Vardaman	
✓	Walsh	
	Williams	✓
29		11

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Roll Call, 9:40 A.M. Friday, September 5		[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	✓ Owen	
✓ Ashurst		✓ Pittman	
✓ Bacon		✓ Pomerene	
✓ Bankhead		✓ Ransdell	
✓ Bryan		✓ Reed	
✓ Chamberlain		✓ Robinson	
✓ Chilton		✓ Saulsbury	
✓ Clarke		✓ Shafroth	
✓ Culberson		✓ Sheppard	
✓ Fletcher		✓ Shields	
✓ Gore		✓ Shively	
✓ Hitchcock		✓ Simmons	
✓ Hollis		✓ Smith of Ariz.	
✓ Hughes		✓ Smith of Ga.	
✓ James		✓ Smith of Md.	
✓ Johnson		✓ Smith of S.C.	
✓ Kern		✓ Stone	
✓ Lane		✓ Swanson	
✓ Lea		✓ Thomas	
✓ Lewis		✓ Thompson	
✓ Martin		✓ Thornton	
✓ Martine		✓ Tillman	
✓ Myers		✓ Vardaman	
✓ Newlands		✓ Walsh	
✓ O’Gorman		✓ Williams	
✓ Overman		40	

Caucus reconvened at 8:13 P.M., Friday, September 5, 1913, with twenty-five Senators present, which number was later increased to thirty-nine.

Senator Reed (P. 208) moved to amend section of Administration clause to provide that all employees be appointed outside the Civil Service. Senator Kern offered an amendment to Senator Reed’s amendment, accepted by Senator Reed, and declared adopted, which amendment is as follows:

On page 208, line 25, before the word “inspectors,” strike out the word “and,” and after the word “inspectors” in the same line, insert a comma and the words “and other employees”; on page 209, line 2, beginning with the word “and” strike out all of the language down to and including the word “thereto,” on line 6, and insert the words “under such rules and regulations as may be fixed by the Secretary to insure faithful and competent service.”

Senator O’Gorman submitted new proposed amendment as follows: (Insert on p. 186 at end of line 9.)

Provided, that whenever any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, or a political subdivision of a State or Territory shall have entered in good faith into a contract with any person or corporation, the object and purpose of which is to acquire, con-

struct, operate or maintain a public utility, no tax shall be levied under the provisions of this act upon the income derived from the operation of such public utility, so far as the payment thereof will impose a loss or burden upon such State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, or a political subdivision of a State or Territory; but this provision is not intended to confer upon such person or corporation any financial gain or exemption or to relieve such person or corporation from the payment of a tax as provided for in this section upon the part or portion of said income to which such person or corporation shall be entitled under such contract.

Senator O’Gorman’s amendment adopted, yeas 24, noes 17 (See Roll attached.—No. 2) [See tally sheet S]

Senator Newlands addressed the Caucus and declared he had “never for one moment contemplated an alliance with the opposition Party.”

Senator Walsh offered amendment to Bill providing for Customs Board. This amendment is as follows:

A commission is hereby created and established in the Treasury Department, to be known as the “customs commission,” to be composed of five commissioners to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The commissioners first appointed under this act shall continue in office two, three, four, five and six years, respectively, from the date of their respective appointments, the term of each to be designated by the president, but their successors shall be appointed for terms of six years, except that any person chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the commissioner whom he shall succeed. Any commissioner may be removed by the president for inefficiency, neglect of duty, malfeasance in office, or other sufficient cause. No more than three of the commissioners shall be appointed from the same political party. No person engaged in importing merchandise into the United States and no person engaged in manufactures, or who is in any manner peculiarly interested therein, shall hold such office. No vacancy in the commission shall impair the right of the remaining commissioners to exercise all the powers of the commission. The salary of such commissioners shall be at the rate of \$7,500 per annum. They shall be entitled, in addition, to compensation for actual traveling and other necessary expenses in the discharge of their duties. They shall choose one of their own number to be president of the commission. They shall have power to employ a clerk, a stenographer, and a messenger, and, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, such other clerical assistants as shall be necessary to the performance of their duties, and at such rates of compensation as they may establish, with the approval of the Sec-

SEPTEMBER 5, 1913

retary of the Treasury. Their salaries, expenses, and the compensation of the clerk, stenographer, messenger, and such additional clerical force as may be thus employed, shall be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated upon the auditing of the same, according to the usual course in the Treasury Department.

That the commission shall establish its permanent office at the city of Washington, where it shall be at all times, in the usual course of business, ready to hear or receive oral or written testimony upon all the specific subjects mentioned in the preceding sections of this act, and generally upon everything relating directly or indirectly to custom duties and revenues.

That it shall be the duty of the said commission to examine into and ascertain the average price of commodities imported into the United States, both at wholesale and retail in the United States, and both in the United States and in the foreign places of production, sale, or shipment for the period of six months preceding and six months following any change in the rate of customs duties imposed upon such commodities, and this inquiry shall be carried back for a period of twenty-five years, and more, if deemed advisable by such commission, and shall extend to all facts relating to demand and supply, domestic and foreign, which tend to influence prices of such commodities, foreign and domestic, and to aid in determining the true effect of the import duty or of the change therein in the several cases, upon domestic and foreign prices, and upon productions of the same or of other commodities, upon revenue, upon immigration, upon profits of capital, rates of wages, and the general welfare. Second, to ascertain the amounts in quantity and value of the importation of the principal commodities during each of said periods of six months preceding and succeeding any such change in customs duties. Third, to ascertain, as far as practicable, the quantity and value of the same or similar commodities produced in the United States during the same respective periods. Fourth, to ascertain whether in any and in what instances the particular rates of customs duties have operated to increase or diminish production in the United States. Fifth, to ascertain in what particulars rates of customs duties, existing from time to time, operate injuriously or favorably to the development and increase of American manufactures and productions, or operate injuriously or favorably to the consumers of such manufactured articles and productions in respect of causing or contributing to the payment of unreasonable prices by consumers, or the removal or reduction of the same. Sixth, to ascertain the effect of the customs duties upon the price of agricultural productions of the country and their sale in the United States markets and their consumption in the United States. Seventh, to ascertain

the effect of such customs duties, both actual and relative, in respect of the employment and the payment of remunerative wages, both actual and relative, to labor in the United States, and a comparison of the same with the labor and wages in other countries. Eighth, to consider the effect of customs duties, or the absence of them, upon the agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, mining, and other industrial interests, of the people of the United States. Ninth, to ascertain and compare the actual cost of the selling price, both at wholesale and retail, of similar manufactured commodities reduced to American weights, measures, and money in the United States and elsewhere. Tenth, to ascertain the growth and the development of the principal manufacturing industries affected by the tariff schedules in England, France, Germany, Belgium, Japan, and the United States for the last twenty-five years; and to ascertain the relative cost of transportation in those countries and the United States.

That for the purpose of such inquiry and investigation the commission may visit any part of the United States, and by public notice or otherwise, invite testimony and information from all persons interested. They may from time to time also delegate one of their number to visit foreign countries to make investigation respecting the labor and industries of those countries whenever such investigation may be necessary to promote the objects of the commission, and they may require information concerning labor and industries of foreign countries from consular or other agents of the United States, in those countries, and such agents shall furnish the information as required promptly and without charge.

That the commission shall report its proceedings in respect of the matters hereinbefore in this act mentioned, with the statistics and evidence upon which its report is based together with recommendations for changes in customs dues which they may deem advisable and necessary, and the ground upon which its conclusions concerning such changes have been reached, to Congress in the month of December in each year. It shall cause the testimony and statistics taken and obtained in respect of the matters in this act mentioned to be printed from time to time and distributed to Members of Congress by the Public Printer, and also shall cause to be printed for the use of Congress 2000 copies of its annual report, together with statistics and testimony hereinbefore mentioned. It is hereby made the duty of the Public Printer to execute the printing provided for in this act.

Senator Walsh withdrew his amendment.

The resolutions proposed by Senator Newlands were lost on a viva voce vote.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1913

The Caucus then adjourned sine die.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

Caucus reassembled at 8:13 P.M.  
September 5, 1913

[PRESENT] [ABSENT]

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bacon  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Bryan  
✓ Chamberlain  
✓ Chilton  
✓ Clarke  
Culberson  
✓ Fletcher  
Gore  
Hitchcock  
✓ Hollis  
Hughes  
James  
✓ Johnson  
✓ Kern  
✓ Lane  
✓ Lea  
✓ Lewis  
✓ Martin  
✓ Martine  
✓ Myers  
✓ Newlands  
✓ O'Gorman  
✓ Overman  
✓ Owen  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Pomerene  
Ransdell  
✓ Reed  
✓ Robinson  
✓ Saulsbury  
✓ Shafroth  
✓ Sheppard  
Shields  
✓ Shively  
✓ Simmons  
Smith of Ariz.  
✓ Smith of Ga.  
✓ Smith of Md.  
Smith of S.C.  
✓ Stone  
✓ Swanson  
✓ Thomas  
✓ Thompson  
Thornton  
Tillman  
✓ Vardaman

[PRESENT]

✓ Walsh  
✓ Williams  
25

[ABSENT]

Vote on O'Gorman's Amendment  
[Tally sheet S]

YEAS

NAYS

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bacon  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Bryan  
✓ Chamberlain  
✓ Chilton  
✓ Clarke  
Culberson  
Fletcher  
Gore  
Hitchcock  
✓ Hollis  
Hughes  
James  
Johnson  
Kern  
Lane  
Lea  
✓ Lewis  
✓ Martin  
✓ Martine  
✓ Myers  
✓ Newlands  
✓ O'Gorman  
Overman  
Owen  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Pomerene  
✓ Ransdell  
✓ Reed  
Robinson  
Saulsbury  
Shafroth  
✓ Sheppard  
Shields  
✓ Shively  
Simmons  
Smith of Ariz.  
Shafroth  
✓ Sheppard  
Shields  
Shively  
✓ Simmons  
Smith of Ariz.  
✓ Smith of Ga.  
Smith of Md.  
Smith of S.C.  
Stone

✓

✓

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✓

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

YEAS	NAYS	YEAS	NAYS
Swanson	✓	✓	Vardaman
Thomas	✓	✓	Walsh
Thompson	✓		Williams
Thornton		24	17
Tillman			

---

September 30, 1913

Honorable John W. Kern:

The undersigned members of the Senate respectfully request that a Conference be called in the Marble Room at Ten-thirty o'clock A.M., October 1st, 1913, to consider Tariff Bill as reported from Conference.

J.A. Reed  
 Robert L. Owen  
 J. A. O'Gorman  
 H.F. Hollis  
 G.M. Hitchcock  
 John F. Shafroth  
 H. L. Myers  
 Atlee Pomerene  
 James E. Martine  
 Willard Saulsbury

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[October 1, 1913]

Pursuant to the foregoing request, the Democratic Caucus met on Wednesday, October 1st, 1913, at 11:20 o'clock, A.M.

Senator Reed addressed the Caucus, saying he was largely instrumental in securing the meeting and explained why—referred to cast iron pipe, electric cables, &c.

Senator Pomerene moved that the Chairman of the Finance Committee be asked to move to postpone action on Conference Report until Thursday, October 2nd, 1913, at twelve o'clock noon and that the Caucus recess until three o'clock this afternoon to meet at the Finance Committee Room in the Senate Office Building. Carried.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
 Secretary



OCTOBER 1, 1913

Roll Call, October 1, 1913

[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
✓ Ashurst		✓ Owen	
✓ Bacon		✓ Pittman	
✓ Bankhead		✓ Pomerene	
✓ Bryan		✓ Ransdell	
✓ Chamberlain		✓ Reed	
✓ Chilton		✓ Robinson	
✓ Clarke		✓ Saulsbury	
✓ Culberson		✓ Shafroth	
✓ Fletcher		✓ Sheppard	
✓ Gore		✓ Shields	
✓ Hitchcock		✓ Shively	
✓ Hollis		✓ Simmons	
✓ Hughes		✓ Smith of Ariz.	
✓ James		✓ Smith of Ga.	
✓ Johnson		✓ Smith of Md.	
✓ Kern		✓ Smith of S.C.	
✓ Lane		✓ Stone	
✓ Lea		✓ Swanson	
✓ Lewis		✓ Thomas	
✓ Martin		✓ Thompson	
✓ Martine		✓ Thornton	
✓ Myers		✓ Tillman	
✓ Newlands		✓ Vardaman	
✓ O'Gorman		✓ Walsh	
✓ Overman		✓ Williams	
		39	

The Democratic Caucus reassembled at three o'clock, Wednesday afternoon, October 1st, 1913.

As shown by the roll call, thirty-seven Senators were present. Senator Reed moved that it is the sense of the Caucus that the Senate do not concur in confirming report on paragraph 116 of bill, being Senate Amendment 87, and that the intent of this motion be carried out on the floor of the Senate.

Senators Lane and Martine spoke.

Unanimous request was granted that Senator Shively's vote be recorded in favor of Committee's report.

It was stated that Senator Tillman had left authority with Senator Thornton to cast his vote.

Senator Martin addressed the Caucus; also Senator Hughes and Senator James.

Senator Pomerene addressed the Caucus on wine spirits, &c.

It was stated by Senator Bacon that he would leave the right to cast his vote with Senator Hoke Smith in favor of the Conference Report and with Senator Smith on cotton futures. Unanimous consent granted to this.

Senator Hollis earnestly urged that rates on woolen hose be replaced at 50% instead of 40%, to which it was reduced. A discussion as to the possibility of doing this in the state of the bill seemed to show the impossibility of doing this, in view of the parliamentary position of the bill.

Senators Reed, Smith (Arizona), Pittman and Shafroth then addressed the Caucus.

Senator Reed withdrew his original motion and moved that the Conferees be instructed to further insist on the Senate Amendments.

Senator Pomerene moved to amend by instructing Conferees to insist on Senate amendment, page 76, lines 5 to 24 inclusive, and on page 77.

Senator Simmons moved to sustain the Conference Report and this was duly adopted as shown by the roll call by a vote of 33 yeas, 6 nays. [See tally sheet T]

It was then agreed that the Senate recede from the Clarke amendment and disagree to House substitute thereto or therefor, so that no such provision be placed in the Tariff Bill.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

Roll Call, 3:10 P.M., afternoon of October 1, 1913		[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	✓ Overman	
		✓ Owen	
✓ Ashurst		✓ Pittman	
✓ Bacon		✓ Pomerene	
✓ Bankhead		✓ Ransdell	
✓ Bryan		✓ Reed	
✓ Chamberlain		Robinson	
Chilton		✓ Saulsbury	
✓ Clarke		✓ Shafroth	
Culberson		✓ Sheppard	
Fletcher		✓ Shields	
✓ Gore		✓ Shively	
✓ Hitchcock		✓ Simmons	
✓ Hollis		Smith of Ariz.	
✓ Hughes		✓ Smith of Ga.	
✓ James		Smith of Md.	
✓ Johnson		✓ Smith of S.C.	
✓ Kern		Stone	
✓ Lane		✓ Swanson	
✓ Lea		✓ Thomas	
Lewis		✓ Thompson	
✓ Martin		✓ Thornton	
✓ Martine		Tillman	
✓ Myers		✓ Vardaman	
✓ Newlands		✓ Walsh	
✓ O'Gorman		✓ Williams	
		37	

OCTOBER 1, 1913

Simmons motion to approve action of Conference Committee [Tally sheet T]		YEAS	NAYS
YEAS	NAYS	✓ Overman	
✓ Ashurst		Owen	
✓ Bacon		✓ Pittman	
✓ Bankhead		Pomerene	✓
✓ Bryan		Ransdell ex	
Chamberlain		Reed	✓
Chilton		Robinson	
✓ Clarke		✓ Saulsbury	
Culberson		✓ Shafroth	
✓ Fletcher		✓ Sheppard	
✓ Gore		✓ Shields	
Hitchcock		✓ Shively	
Hollis	✓	✓ Simmons	
Hughes	✓	✓ Smith of Ariz.	
✓ James		✓ Smith of Ga.	
✓ Johnson		✓ Smith of Md.	
✓ Kern		✓ Smith of S.C.	
✓ Lane		Stone	
✓ Lea		✓ Swanson	
✓ Lewis		✓ Thomas	
✓ Martin		✓ Thompson	
✓ Martine		Thornton	ex
Myers		Tillman	
✓ Newlands		Vardaman	✓
O'Gorman	✓	Walsh	
		✓ Williams	
		33	6

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[Editor's Note: On June 23, 1913, President Wilson made his second address to a joint session of Congress, calling for government control of the banking system. On June 26, Virginia Representative Carter Glass and Oklahoma Senator Robert L. Owen, respective chairmen of the House and Senate Banking and Currency committees, introduced the Wilson administration's bill to establish a government-controlled Federal Reserve Board, to issue federal reserve notes, and to facilitate national monetary policy. On September 18, the House voted 287 to 85 in favor of the bill, with only three Democratic representatives in opposition. Banking and business interests lobbied against the bill, favoring a decentralized and privately controlled reserve banking system. After holding lengthy hearings, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee found itself evenly divided on the issue—with six Democratic senators voting in opposition to Democratic Senator Gilbert Hitchcock and five Republicans. In November the committee reported to the Senate two contradictory bills for public and private control. On December 19, 1913, the Senate defeated the banker-sponsored bill by a vote of 44 to 41, and adopted the Glass-Owen bill by 54 to 34, with all Senate Democrats voting for it.]

[November 26, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus of the United States Senate assembled on Wednesday morning, November 26th, 1913.

27 Senators answered the roll call and subsequently six others appeared, making 33 present.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman at 11:15.

The following resolution, proposed by Mr. O’Gorman and as amended by Mr. Williams, was unanimously carried:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Conference that beginning on the 1st day of December, 1913, the Senate should meet at 10 o’clock, A.M., and should sit until 6 P.M.; recess until 8 P.M. and sit until 11 P.M., each day until the Currency Bill be voted upon. And that no Christmas recess be taken except for Christmas Day, unless the Currency bill be passed prior thereto. The adjournment being from the 24th until the 26th day of December.

The following resolution was then offered by Senator Lewis and was on his motion referred to the Steering Committee for consideration:

Whereas, the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency have for three months given full hearing to such sources as were interested in the matter of banking and currency legislation; and

Whereas, there is now no necessity for debate on the measure beyond such times as shall only be necessary to put forth views on the contested portions of the bill:

Now, therefore, to the end that immediate action may be had as assurance to the people of certainty and quickness of conduct:

RESOLVED, By the Democratic Caucus, that debate on the measure shall not exceed twenty days in open session, the time to be divided as shall be arranged by the leaders of each side of the Senate.

Senator O’Gorman offered this resolution:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Conference that the Alaska bill when reached be laid aside until the currency bill is passed.

Said resolution duly adopted.

Senator O’Gorman offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the program of speeches be arranged by the Chairman of the Caucus and the Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee.

NOVEMBER 26, 1913

Which motion was subsequently withdrawn.

Senator Stone then moved that when the Senate adjourns to-day, this Caucus reassemble.

Senator Reed offered a substitute, which Senator Stone accepted, and which was duly passed.

The resolution of Senator Reed is as follows:

RESOLVED, That the Conference reconvene immediately after the adjournment of the Senate to-day and continue during the rest of this week, unless its consideration of the Banking and Currency Bill is sooner terminated.

Duly adopted.

Senator Lewis requested that he be directed to proceed in accordance with his duty in securing the attendance of Senators, and this was accordingly adopted.

The following resolution was then offered by Senator Williams:

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee shall report to the Conference a list of the questions in dispute and submit them to the Conference for consideration and action, in their order as appearing in the bill. This shall not preclude any Senator from offering any amendment to any part of the Bill.

The above motion was subsequently withdrawn by Senator Williams. Senator Reed offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Conference be requested to endeavor to secure a unanimous consent agreement to vote on the Banking and Currency Bill at the earliest possible date.

? [Question mark suggests that the secretary was unsure of what action was taken on this resolution.]

Senator Pomerene moved to recess until after the close of the session of the Senate this afternoon. Carried. Adjournment.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

Roll Call, November 26, 1913

[PRESENT]

[ABSENT]

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bacon  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Bryan  
✓ Chamberlain  
✓ Chilton

[PRESENT]

[ABSENT]

Clarke  
Culberson  
Fletcher  
Gore  
Hitchcock  
✓ Hollis  
✓ Hughes  
✓ James

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
✓ Johnson		✓ Sheppard	
✓ Kern		✓ Shields	
✓ Lane		✓ Shively	
✓ Lea		✓ Simmons	
✓ Lewis		✓ Smith of Ariz.	
✓ Martin		✓ Smith of Ga.	
✓ Martine		✓ Smith of Md.	
✓ Myers		✓ Smith of S.C.	
✓ Newlands		✓ Stone	
✓ O'Gorman		✓ Swanson	
✓ Overman		✓ Thomas	
✓ Owen		✓ Thompson	
✓ Pittman		✓ Thornton	
✓ Pomerene		✓ Tillman	
✓ Ransdell		✓ Vardaman	
✓ Reed		✓ Walsh	
✓ Robinson		✓ Williams	
✓ Saulsbury			
✓ Shafroth			

36

Caucus reassembled at 5 o'clock, P.M., Wednesday, November 26th, 1913.

Senator Williams moved to adjourn at 6 P.M. to 8 P.M. and then adjourn to 10 A.M. tomorrow, Thursday, November 27th.

The following resolution was proposed by Senator Reed:

RESOLVED, That the Owen Bill shall be read section by section and that when any section has been read, it shall be taken as approved, unless amendment is offered. But this shall not preclude the offering of amendments to any part of the bill at any time in the Conference.

Adopted.

Senator Owen began reading H.R. 7837.

Hitchcock proposal was accepted by Conference in lieu of Owen proposal, lines 5 to 11, page 1, and lines 1 and 2, page 3, inserting words "Bank or."

Insert in line 20, page 4, after word "Board" the words "hereinafter provided for to be assigned by the President." Agreed to.

Strike out lines 9 and 10, page 5, and in lines 13 and 14 the words "the" and "thus constituted" and change "the" to "such."

Discussion of many subjects followed and the hour of six P.M. having arrived, the Caucus recessed until 8 o'clock, P.M.

Caucus reassembled at 8 o'clock, Wednesday evening, November 26th, 1913, 22 Senators present.

NOVEMBER 26, 1913

Senator Hoke Smith moved to postpone Section 2 for the present, so far as it relates to the number of regional banks. Carried.

Moved by Senator Shafroth that the Chairman be instructed to call Senators to order. Adopted.

Three words "and so forth," line 11, page 7, struck out. Word "A" substituted for "such," 25th line, page 8. Word "the" substituted for "such," 5th line, page 8.

Senator Sheppard moved to amend lines 11 and 12, page 9, to make payments "one-half in gold or gold certificates and one-half in other lawful money" at the option of the members bank. Lost.

Senator Sheppard moved to strike out "said payments to be in gold or gold certificates." ?

On motion word "circuit" struck out in line 9, page 10.

Senator Reed moved lines 8 to 18 on page 10 with suggested amendments be referred back to the Committee. Carried.

Also suggestion of Senator Walsh as to lines 24, page 43 to and including line 22, page 44, referred back to committee. Adopted.

Senator Newlands moved to strike out everything in the bill providing for raising capital for regional reserve bank.

The hour of 11 o'clock having arrived, the Chairman declared the Caucus adjourned until 10 o'clock, A.M., Thursday.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

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November 27, 1913

The Democratic Caucus of the United States was called to order Thursday, November 27th, 1913, at 9:20 o'clock, A.M., pursuant to adjournment. 9 Senators were present and subsequently this was at 9:30 increased to 15.

Senator Sheppard moved that the Caucus and all future meetings be held with open doors. This motion was subsequently withdrawn due to the absence of many Senators.

Senator Saulsbury rose to a question of privilege and stating same, read from the Thanksgiving Proclamation of the President, as follows:

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Thursday, the 27th of November, next, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, and invite the people throughout the land to cease from their wonted occupations and in their several homes and places of worship render thanks to Almighty God.

And suggested that in accordance therewith, the Democratic Caucus should adjourn until Friday, November 28th, and its members go home and to places of worship and generally to comply with the direction of the President—Senator O’Gorman interrupting was compelled by Chairman to be seated.

The question of privilege was overruled. An appeal from the decision of the Chair was promptly overruled by the Chair, the steamroller having been oiled up and brought in.

Amendments on pages 21 and 22 were agreed to as to verbiage.

Senator Sheppard moved to strike out paragraph “Eighth” on page 23. This motion subsequently withdrawn.

Discussion then proceeded, during which Senator Overman, who had been called to the Chair, confided to the Secretary the charming story told by Senator Stone, &c.

Senator O’Gorman moved that Paragraph Eighth be postponed.

Senator Sheppard moved to postpone the consideration of Paragraph Eighth until Section 19 is reached. Carried.

Senator Thomas then read certain amendments he will offer when Section 19 and Paragraph Eighth are considered.

At 11:40 o’clock, 25 Senators had appeared and were present.

Senator O’Gorman moved to strike out “amendments,” line 14 on page 24.

Senator Sheppard moved to amend lines 14 and 15, page 24, to read “discounts, advancements and accommodations.”

Senator O’Gorman moved to insert the words “or employee” after the word “director” in line 4, on page 25.

Senator Williams moved to amend lines 3 and 4, page 25: “No director of Class B shall be an officer, employee, or director of any member bank, or of Class C shall be an officer, employee, director or stockholder of a member bank.”

Senator Thomas then moved to adjourn until 2 o’clock.

The Caucus then took a recess to 3 o’clock, P.M.

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3 P.M.

Senator Williams moved to strike out lines 1 and 2 on page 25 and insert: “No director of Class B shall be an officer, director or employee of any bank and no director of Class C shall be an officer, director, employee or stockholder of any bank.” Lost.

Senator Reed moved to amend line 2 to read: “No director of Class B or Class C shall be an officer, director, employee or stockholder of any bank.” Carried.



NOVEMBER 27, 1913

Senator Swanson proposed the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That no Senator shall speak over ten minutes or more than once upon any motion pending before the Conference. Carried.

Senator Williams proposed the following amendment: Beginning on page 36, line 25, restore the language in the House amendment with amendments so that it shall read as follows:

One-half of the net earnings, after the aforesaid divided claims have been fully met, shall be paid into a surplus fund until such fund shall amount to forty per centum of the paid-in capital stock of such bank, and of the remaining one-half thirty-three and one-third per centum shall be paid to the United States as a franchise tax and thirty-three and one-third per centum to the member banks in the ratio of their average balances with the Federal reserve bank for the proceeding year, and thirty-three and one-third per centum shall be paid to the United States as a trustee for the benefit of depositors in failed national banks, the money to be kept in and losses from failures to be paid from it as a Depositor's Insurance Fund under a division of the Treasury to be constituted and managed under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The following amendment was then proposed by Senator Williams:

At page 24, line 24, following the word "district" in line 24, insert the following: "And who shall be actively engaged at the time of their appointment in commerce, industrial pursuits, or agriculture respectively."

As a substitute therefor, Senator Thomas submitted the following:

Strike out all after "of," line 24, page 27, and insert "and actively engaged in the commercial, agricultural or industrial interests of their respective districts."

A further substitute therefor offered by Senator Walsh, and which was accepted is as follows: [no text provided]

On motion of Senator Williams, lines 5 and 6, at page 27, were referred back to the Committee.

Lines 24, 25 and 26 were on motion (at page 27) referred back to the Committee.

Senator Williams then made the following motion: At page 29, line 3, after the letter "C," insert the following: "Who shall be a person of tested banking experience." Carried.

Senator Reed moved that recess be had at 5:30, till 10 A.M., Friday.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

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[November 28, 1913]

The Senate Caucus met Friday, November 28th, 1913, at 11:40 o'clock.

On motion the following amendments were adopted:

In line 15, page 47, substitute "its" for "the."

In lines 16 and 17, beginning with the word "of," strike out to and including the word "board."

In line 17, page 47, substitute the word "its" for the word "the" where it appears before the word "active."

Senator Walsh was requested to hand his proposed amendment to Chairman Owen. Senator Bacon was likewise requested to hand his proposed amendment to Senator Owen. Both of said amendments to be inserted at page 49.

On motion the words "or oftener" were inserted after the word "week" in line 4, page 52.

Senator Swanson's motion to give the banks power to arrange reserve cities, was lost.

Senator Williams moved to strike out "or remove." Senator Saulsbury moved to insert after the word "suspend," line 12, page 53, the words "until hearing and after hearing to" and to strike out the word "or" in line 12, page 53. This was accepted by Senator Williams but was subsequently lost.

Senator Shafroth moved to insert "under such regulations as the board may prescribe" after the word "reserve," line 13, page 53.

Senator Williams moved to strike out "federal reserve notes or" at line 6, page 54.

Senator Thomas moved to adjourn at one o'clock to 2:30 P.M. Carried. Senator Saulsbury moved to substitute for line 5, page 54, the following: "To authorize, for fixed periods and from time to time, the use, as reserves of member banks." Lost.

NOVEMBER 28, 1913

Recess until 2:30 P.M.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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Caucus reassembled at 2:40 P.M., Friday afternoon, November 28th, 1913. Saulsbury motion lost, yeas 5, noes about 12.

Williams motion lost, about same vote.

Senator Newlands moved to insert the word "state" in line 5, page 54, between the words "member" and "bank." Lost, yeas 5, noes 12.

Senator Saulsbury moved to insert after the word "executor" in line 9, page 54, the words "administrator or registrar of bonds." Carried.

Senator Newlands moved to strike out paragraph (1), page 54. Yeas 6, noes 12.

Senator Overman moved to insert after the word "powers" in line 10, page 54, "when authorized by the states or any county or the District of Columbia so to act."

Senator Thomas proposed amendment to strike out all in paragraph (1) after the words "registrar of bonds."

Senator Swanson moved to refer the section to Committee for phraseology of section (1).

Amendment of Committee for insert between lines 1 and 2 "with a waiver of demand, notice and protest," page 56. Agreed to.

Senator Swanson's amendment to change "three" to "six," line 17, page 57, lost.

Senator Williams moved to amend line 5, page 58, by striking out period, insert comma, and add: "Growing out of commercial, mercantile, or agricultural transactions." Referred to Committee.

On motion the words "pay up" in line 20, page 57, inserted. Senator Reed moved to strike out "of such member banks" in lines 14 and 15, page 57.

This on motion of Senator Smith of Georgia was referred back to the Committee.

On motion the Caucus took a recess until 8 P.M., Friday evening.  
Secretary

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The Democratic Caucus of the Senate reassembled at 8:12 o'clock, Friday evening, November 28, 1913.

On motion of Senator Williams, the House provision at pages 58 and 59 were restored down to lines 6 and 7, page 59, which shall read: "Fifth, Liabilities incurred under the provisions of this Act."

Senator Sheppard offered the following amendment: On page 56, after the word "act" in line 10, strike out the remainder of line 10, all of line 12, 13, and the words "eligible for such discount" in line 14, and insert in lieu thereof:

Nothing in this act shall be construed to prohibit notes having a maturity of not more than six months, secured by a lien upon agricultural products or by warehouse or elevator receipts representing agricultural products owned by the producer thereof or by the landlord receiving the same in payment of rent or for advances made in connection with the production thereof.

Lost.

Senator Williams moved to insert the word "market" after the word "actual" at line 12, page 59. Withdrawn.

On motion the words "whether or not indorsed by a member bank" inserted line 14, page 60.

Line 6, page 61, amended by inserting the words "political subdivision" and after "municipality" insert "in the Continental," striking out the words "of the." Adopted.

Senator Saulsbury offered the following amendment to be added at the end of Section 16, which on his motion was referred to the Committee for consideration:

No receipts or funds of common carriers engaged in interstate commerce shall be deposited in any bank or Trust Company not belonging to the system established by this Act.

Senator Thomas moved to restore House provision of Section 17, page 64. The vote on this was ayes 8, noes 15.

Senator Shively moved to strike out the words "except customs" in lines 8 and 9, page 64, and restore the word "customs" in line 8. Ayes 13, noes 12.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

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[November 29, 1913]

Caucus reassembled at 10:30 A.M., Saturday morning, November 29th, 1913.

Senator Williams moved an amendment which was lost.

Senator Saulsbury questioned the correctness of the provisions of lines 10 to 14, page 67, and an extended discussion followed.

Senator Saulsbury moved to strike out "if fit for circulation," lines 12 and 13, page 67. Referred to Committee.

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Senator Reed moved as a substitute for lines 3, 4 and 5 at page 69: "A Federal Reserve Bank shall as said collateral matures pay or cause to be paid to the Federal Reserve Agent Federal Reserve Notes or lawful money."

Recess.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

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Caucus reassembled at 4:30 P.M.

Several motions were made and withdrawn.

Matters on page 68, recently discussed, were referred back to the Committee.

Several slight verbal changes were made at page 69, in lines 5, 6, 8, 15, 20, 21. It was then agreed that the Committee should perfect page 69, lines 3 to 21.

Senator Swanson then moved that all on page 70 (line 5) to line 6, page 72, be approved.

Senator Thomas moved to strike out "\$1, \$2," in line 11, page 70.

The substitute for Sec. 19 (prepared by Treasury Department) was read by Chairman Owen.

It was then moved to refer same with Sec. 19 reported by the Committee to the Committee to perfect. Carried.

Recess until 8 P.M.<sup>18</sup>

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

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[November 30, 1913]

Caucus met at 3:20 o'clock, Sunday afternoon, November 30, 1913.

Senator Williams moved an amendment, as follows:

Beginning at page 36, line 25, down to and including the word "Treasury" in line 1, page 38, restore the language of the House amendment with amendment so that it shall read as follows:

"One half of the net earnings, after the aforesaid dividend claims have been fully met, shall be paid into a surplus fund until such fund shall amount to forty per centum of the paid-in capital stock of such bank\*, and of the remaining one-half 50% shall be paid to the United States as a franchise tax, and

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<sup>18</sup> Apparently, no minutes were made for any reassembly of the caucus at 8 P.M.

50% shall be paid to the United States as a trustee for the benefit of depositors in failed national banks, the money to be kept in and losses from failures to be paid from it as a depositors' insurance fund under a division of the Treasury to be constituted and managed under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury."

\*If adopted, Committee to rearrange balance of the bill to accord herewith

Adopted 18 to 17.

The following was proposed by Senator Thomas, as a substitute for the Senator Williams amendment, but was lost:

Beginning on page 36, line 25, down to and including the word "Treasury" on line 1, page 38, restore the language in the House amendment with amendment so that it shall read as follows:

"One-half of the net earnings, after the aforesaid dividend claims have been fully met, shall be paid into a surplus fund until such fund shall amount to forty per centum of the paid-in capital stock of such bank; and of the remaining one-half, thirty-three and one-third per centum shall be paid to the United States as a franchise tax, and thirty-three and one-third per centum to the member banks in the ratio of their average balances with the Federal reserve bank for the preceding year, and thirty-three and one-third per centum shall be paid to the United States as a trustee for the benefit of depositors in failed national banks, the money to be known as a depositors' insurance fund, and shall be used for the payment of depositors of insolvent member banks under rules and regulations made by the board. The reserve banks shall have a lien upon the assets of every insolvent member bank for the reimbursement of such insurance fund to the extent to which such fund may be depleted by payments therefrom, to the depositors of such insolvent member banks. When in the judgment of the board there has been accumulated in such depositors' insurance fund a sufficient sum fully to insure the payment of the depositors of insolvent member banks, the board shall have power to suspend the accumulation thereof; and thereafter the percentage of said earnings so herein provided for, shall be paid to the United States; Provided, nevertheless, That in the event said depositors' insurance fund should become depleted by the payment of depositors of insolvent member banks, and shall not have been reimbursed from the assets of such banks as herein provided, then such fund shall be replenished by again setting aside such thirty-three and one-third per centum of the earnings or so much thereof as in the judgment of the board may be necessary. The remaining net earnings shall be paid to the United States, and shall be applied to the purchase at par, with accrued inter-

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est of the two per centum bonds of the United States, said bonds then to be retired; or if such bonds can not be so purchased, said amount shall be applied to the purchase of other interest-bearing obligations of the United States, which obligations shall thereupon be retired.”

The Chairman reported agreement that not less than 8 or more than 12 reserve banks be provided for. Corresponding changes have been made throughout the bill.

Language reported by the Chairman as to Class B directors: Mr. Williams moved amendment to make representation in and one of them shall be actually engaged in Commerce. One of them shall be actually engaged in Agriculture. One of them shall be actually engaged in some other industrial pursuit.

Senator Walsh’s amendment adopted and handed to Chairman as to Class B directors.

Senator Saulsbury suggested method of guarantee of deposits provided for by Williams amendment and same was referred to the Committee.

The suggestion was as follows: “(k) To authorize, for fixed periods and from time to time, member banks to use as reserve Federal reserve notes, or notes based on United States Bonds, to the extent that said board may find necessary.”

Now Senator Bacon’s amendment using constitutional language.

The motion of Senator Reed to reconsider vote by which Saulsbury motion to make line 1, paragraph (k) to read as follows: “To authorize for fixed periods and from time to time,” &c. was laid on the table by a vote of 17 yeas against 11 noes. See roll call. [See tally sheet U]

Sundry verbal changes made on several pages by the committee approved and passed.

The Committee reported language to stand as in italics on page 65 and lines from 3 to 9, page 84, be struck out.

On page 67, lines 12 and 13, “if fit for circulation” struck out.

Insert made on page 69, line 9: “Federal reserve notes so deposited shall not be reissued except upon compliance with the conditions of an original issue.” Carried.

Senator Williams moved an amendment to the above, which Senator Shafroth moved to lay on table. Lost 18 to 6. [See tally sheet V]

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

Roll Call on Saulsbury Amendment to  
Paragraph K, Line 54  
[Tally sheet U]

YEAS		NAYS
✓	Ashurst	
	Bacon	
	Bankhead	
	Bryan	✓
	Chamberlain	
✓	Chilton	
	Clarke	
	Culberson	
	Fletcher	
	Gore	✓
	Hitchcock	
	Hollis	
	Hughes	✓
✓	James	
✓	Johnson	
✓	Kern	
	Lane	
	Lea	
	Lewis	
✓	Martin	
✓	Martine	
	Myers	
	Newlands	✓
	O'Gorman	
	Overman	✓
	Owen	✓
	Pittman	
✓	Pomerene	
	Ransdell	
	Reed	✓
	Robinson	
	Saulsbury	✓
✓	Shafroth	
	Sheppard	✓
✓	Shields	
✓	Shively	
✓	Simmons	
✓	Smith of Ariz.	
	Smith of Ga.	
	Smith of Md.	
	Smith of S.C.	
	Stone	✓
✓	Swanson	
✓	Thomas	
	Thompson	
	Thornton	
	Tillman	
✓	Vardaman	
✓	Walsh	
	Williams	✓
17		11

Williams Amendment to Amend  
[Tally sheet V]

YEAS		NAYS
✓	Ashurst	
	Bacon	
	Bankhead	
✓	Bryan	
	Chamberlain	
✓	Chilton	
	Clarke	
	Culberson	
	Fletcher	
✓	Gore	
	Hitchcock	
✓	Hollis	
✓	Hughes	
	James	
✓	Johnson	
✓	Kern	
	Lane	
	Lea	
	Lewis	
✓	Martin	
✓	Martine	
	Myers	
	Newlands	
	O'Gorman	
	Overman	
✓	Owen	
✓	Pittman	
✓	Pomerene	
	Ransdell	
	Reed	✓
	Robinson	
	Saulsbury	✓
✓	Shafroth	
	Sheppard	✓
	Shields	
✓	Shively	
✓	Simmons	
✓	Smith of Ariz.	
	Smith of Ga.	
	Smith of Md.	
	Smith of S.C.	
	Stone	
✓	Swanson	
	Thomas	✓
	Thompson	
	Thornton	
	Tillman	
✓	Vardaman	
	Walsh	✓
	Williams	✓
18		6



NOVEMBER 30, 1913

The Democratic Caucus of the United States Senate reassembled at 8:15 o'clock, Sunday evening, November 30, 1913.

The words "in blank" on page 70, line 11, were on motion struck out.

Sec. 19, page 75, amended by accepting the Treasury proposal as substitute as amended by Senator Owen, Chairman, and further amended by Senator Williams to strike out limit of \$25,000,000 per annum and the 3% bond substitute. Carried.

(Senator Sheppard requested that his vote be recorded against the Treasury proposal and for eliminating all reference to three per cent. bonds in the bill.)

The portion as to the three per cent. bond substitute of last motion reconsidered.

The motion of Senator Williams to strike out the 3% bond substitute from Treasury proposal as amended by Senator Owen, Chairman, was then adopted.

Senator Owen moved to amend as follows:

Line 1, page 70, strike out "approved by" and insert "with the approval of." Carried.

Senator Reed moved to insert after the word "of" in line 18, page 64, the following: "The bank's written agreement to return a like amount of said notes or lawful money to the Federal Reserve Agent within 90 days and"

Senator Hollis raised point of order that Sec. had been passed and matter was closed, sustained acrimonious discussion followed. Point of order withdrawn with general consent. Senator Reed's motion was renewed by Senator Walsh, but motion was lost.

The Committee recommended the Hitchcock language of the amendment at page 80, lines 15 to 19, in lieu of the Owen amendment, lines 15 to 18.

Some changes of phraseology on page 81 were made by substituting Hitchcock for Owen amendment.

Also at page 83, line 16, an amendment (relating outside Continental U.S.) offered by Senator Reed through Chairman Owen and amended by Senator Williams. Accepted.

Senator Lewis offered amendment, page 4, offering subscriptions to bank stock to all the public. Lost.

Also to change title of bill to read as he stated. Lost.

Senator Martine then offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee be instructed to press in every reasonable and prop-

er way to final passage through the Senate, the Bill H.R. 7837 with the amendments as approved by the action of this Conference.

On motion unanimously adopted.

Senator Gore moved to insert "banks having a capital of \$35,000 or less" at page 8, line 23;

And further, after word "hereof"—"banks having a capital of \$35,000 or less may become members of the system with the consent of the Federal Reserve Board." Both lost.

Senator Clarke given permission was permitted to submit his proposed amendment to the Conference.

The Caucus then adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

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[December 17, 1913]

The Democratic Caucus met at 6 o'clock, P.M., Wednesday, December 17th, 1913. Quorum present.

The Treasury suggestion as to organization adopted in such form as Committee may report.

The amendment of Senator Smith of Georgia as to temporary currency referred to committee with power to act.

At page 16, line 20, after word situated (insert suggestion) adopted in such form as Committee report. Referred to Committee with power to act.

Page 26, line 8, same action by Caucus.

Page 27, line 18, same action by Caucus.

Page 32, line 23 (Sec. 10) \$12,000 salary in lieu of \$10,000. Adopted.

Page 39, line 24 (Sec. 10) referred to Committee with power to act.

Page 40, line 13, Advisory Board to meet anywhere. Same action.

Page 49, line 1, proposal that amount of panic notes be limited to five hundred millions. Moved that Chairman's suggestion of automatic check of 1½% on each 2½% reduction of gold reserve decreased below legal requirements.

Automatic tax in lieu of fixed limit adopted and referred to committee with power to act.

Senator O'Gorman moved to fix limit at 40% instead of 33⅓% where gold reserve automatic tax takes effect.

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Moved to lay on table. Yeas 14, noes 20. Lost. [See tally sheet Y]

Senator Swanson moved substitute that gold reserve be 35%.

Senator O’Gorman moved to lay on table. Carried.

Senator O’Gorman then moved that the gold reserve for notes be 40% instead of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ %.

Senator Owen moved that the tax on reduced reserve be not more than 1% until reduced to 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ % then not less than 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ % on each 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ % below. Carried.

The 40% reserve fixed by vote of 21 yeas, 17 noes. (A) [See tally sheet W]

Sub Sec. K (Sec. 11–12 as reprinted) amendment offered by Mr. Williams as follows: Striking out the words “Federal notes” in (K) Section 10 and insert after word “bonds” in subheading (K) Section 10, line 18, page 30, of bill of Nov. 22—insert the words: “or for the period of 3 years after the passage of this Act Federal Reserve notes.” (See vote) [See tally sheet X]

Senator Newlands moved as a substitution for Senator Williams’ motion the following: Strike out K and substitute: “To fix and extend the time within which any member state bank which at the time of obtaining membership is below the reserve requirements of this Act to comply with such requirements.” Lost.

Senator Smith of South Carolina offered verbal amendment respecting agricultural notes as collateral for reserve notes increasing from 90 days to 6 months.

Adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

Williams Motion Lost [Tally sheet X]		YEAS	NAYS
YEAS	NAYS	✓ Johnson	✓
		✓ Kern	
		✓ Lane	
		✓ Lea	
✓		✓ Lewis	✓
		✓ Martin	
	✓	✓ Martine	✓
		✓ Myers	✓
		✓ Newlands	
		✓ O’Gorman	
✓		✓ Overman	
		✓ Owen	✓
		✓ Pittman	
	✓	✓ Pomerene	✓
		✓ Ransdell	
		✓ Reed	

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

YEAS		NAYS	YEAS		NAYS
	Robinson	✓		Shafroth	✓
✓	Saulsbury		✓	Sheppard	
	Shafroth	✓		Shields	
✓	Sheppard			Shively	✓
	Shields			Simmons	✓
	Shively	✓		Smith of Ariz.	✓
	Simmons	✓	✓	Smith of Ga.	
✓	Smith of Ariz.	✓	✓	Smith of Md.	
	Smith of Ga.			Smith of S.C.	✓
	Smith of Md.			Stone	
	Smith of S.C.	✓		Swanson	✓
	Stone			Thomas	
	Swanson			Thompson	✓
	Thomas			Thornton	
	Thompson	✓		Tillman	✓
	Thornton		✓	Vardaman	✓
	Tillman			Walsh	✓
	Vardaman	✓	21	Williams	✓
	Walsh	✓			17
✓	Williams	✓			
13		18			

Lay on Table Motion to Amend  
[Tally sheet Y]

Vote on 40% Gold Reserve  
[Tally sheet W]

YEAS		NAYS	YEAS		NAYS
	Ashurst	✓		Ashurst	✓
	Bacon			Bacon	
✓	Bankhead		✓	Bankhead	
✓	Bryan			Bryan	
✓	Chamberlain			Chamberlain	✓
✓	Chilton			Chilton	
✓	Clarke			Clarke	✓
	Culberson		✓	Culberson	
✓	Fletcher			Fletcher	
	Gore			Gore	
	Hitchcock			Hitchcock	✓
	Hollis	✓		Hollis	✓
	Hughes		✓	Hughes	
	James			James	
✓	Johnson		✓	Johnson	✓
	Kern	✓		Kern	
	Lane		✓	Lane	
✓	Lea		✓	Lea	✓
✓	Lewis			Lewis	
✓	Martin		✓	Martin	✓
	Martine	✓	✓	Martine	✓
	Myers		✓	Myers	✓
✓	Newlands			Newlands	
✓	O'Gorman			O'Gorman	✓
✓	Overman			Overman	✓
	Owen	✓		Owen	✓
	Pittman	✓	✓	Pittman	
✓	Pomerene		✓	Pomerene	
✓	Ransdell		✓	Ransdell	
✓	Reed		✓	Reed	
✓	Robinson		✓	Robinson	✓
	Saulsbury	✓	✓	Saulsbury	
				Shafroth	✓
				Sheppard	

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YEAS		NAYS	YEAS		NAYS
	Shields			Thomas	✓
	Shively	✓		Thompson	✓
	Simmons	✓		Thornton	
✓	Smith of Ariz.	✓		Tillman	✓
✓	Smith of Ga.			Vardaman	✓
	Smith of Md.			Walsh	
	Smith of S.C.	✓	✓	Williams	
	Stone		15		22
	Swanson	✓			

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[December 18, 1913]

Democratic Caucus met Monday evening, December 18, 1913, at 6 o'clock, the roll call showing a quorum—38 present.

Chairman Owen offered an amendment to Natl. Bank Act regarding reduction of capital of member banks. Adopted.

A further amendment as to information to be given out by Examiner. Adopted.

Further amendment, prohibiting non-member bank from getting discounts from reserve bank. Adopted.

It was stated that Senator Kern's votes on all questions in his absence [would be cast] by Senator Owen.

Page 48, line 22, 18th struck out and substituted. Page 5, lines 6 and 7, Forfeiture Clause, struck out words "within the discretion of reserve board."

Amendment giving "Permissive authority for D.C. Banks to come in." Adopted.

Page 47, line 17, matter of time deposits defined.

Page 47, bank notes issued by Federal Banks "and redeemed" inserted.

Subject agricultural notes 6 months. Amendment adopted.

Page 29, paragraph c, 40% gold reserve discussed.

Senator Thomas desired that he be recorded.

Senator Chamberlain moved to reconsider motion fixing 40% gold reserve at last meeting.

Motion to lay on table lost; 15 ayes, 22 noes. [See tally sheet Z]

Senator Newlands made a motion which was withheld.

Senator Owen asked for vote on member banks or national banks—member banks included.

It was moved to support the Owen amendment as offered. Carried.

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Senator Newlands moved same as yesterday—ruled out on point of order.

All matters then referred to the Committee with power to act. Adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

Roll Call, December 18, 1913, 6 P.M.		[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]		
✓ Ashurst		✓ Thornton	
✓ Bacon		✓ Tillman	
✓ Bankhead		✓ Vardaman	
✓ Bryan		✓ Walsh	
✓ Chamberlain		✓ Williams	
Chilton			
✓ Clarke			
Culberson			
Fletcher			
✓ Gore			
Hitchcock			
✓ Hollis			
✓ Hughes			
James			
✓ Johnson			
✓ Kern			
Lane			
✓ Lea			
✓ Lewis			
✓ Martin			
Martine			
✓ Myers			
✓ Newlands			
✓ O'Gorman			
✓ Overman			
✓ Owen			
Pittman			
✓ Pomerene			
✓ Ransdell			
✓ Reed			
✓ Robinson			
✓ Saulsbury			
✓ Shafroth			
✓ Sheppard			
Shields			
✓ Shively			
Simmons			
✓ Smith of Ariz.			
✓ Smith of Ga.			
✓ Smith of Md.			
✓ Smith of S.C.			
Stone			
✓ Swanson			
✓ Thomas			
✓ Thompson			

  

	[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
	✓ Ashurst	
	Bacon	
	Bankhead	✓
	Bryan	✓
	✓ Chamberlain	
	Chilton	
	Clarke	✓
	Culberson	✓
	Fletcher	✓
	Gore	
	Hitchcock	
	✓ Hollis	
	Hughes	✓
	James	
	Johnson	✓
	✓ Kern	
	Lane	
	Lea	✓
	Lewis	✓
	Martin	✓
	✓ Martine	
	✓ Myers	
	Newlands	✓
	O'Gorman	✓
	Overman	✓
	✓ Owen	
	Pittman	
	Pomerene	✓
	Ransdell	✓
	Reed	✓
	Robinson	
	Saulsbury	✓
	✓ Shafroth	
	Sheppard	✓
	Shields	
	✓ Shively	

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YEAS		NAYS	YEAS		NAYS
	Simmons	✓		Smith of Md.	
	Smith of Ariz.	✓		Smith of S.C.	✓
	Smith of Ga.	✓		Stone	
✓	Smith of Md.	✓	✓	Swanson	
	Stone			Thomas	
✓	Swanson			Thompson	✓
✓	Thomas			Thornton	
✓	Thompson		✓	Tillman	
✓	Thornton		✓	Vardaman	
✓	Tillman		8	Walsh	
✓	Vardaman			Williams	✓
	Walsh				23
	Williams	✓			
15		22			

[This tally sheet appears with the others from Dec. 18 but bears no indication of the subject of vote.]

Lay on Table			YEAS		NAYS
YEAS		NAYS	✓		
	Ashurst	✓		Ashurst	
	Bacon			Bacon	
✓	Bankhead			Bankhead	
	Bryan		✓	Bryan	✓
	Chamberlain			Chamberlain	
	Chilton		✓	Chilton	
	Clarke	✓		Clarke	
	Culberson			Culberson	
	Fletcher	✓		Fletcher	✓
	Gore			Gore	
	Hitchcock			Hitchcock	
✓	Hollis	✓	✓	Hollis	✓
	Hughes			Hughes	
	James	✓	✓	James	
	Johnson	✓	✓	Johnson	
	Kern	✓	✓	Kern	
	Lane			Lane	
	Lea	✓	✓	Lea	
	Lewis	✓	✓	Lewis	
	Martine	✓		Martine	✓
	Myers			Myers	
	Newlands	✓		Newlands	✓
	O'Gorman	✓	✓	O'Gorman	
	Overman		✓	Overman	
	Owen	✓		Owen	
✓	Pittman	✓	✓	Pittman	✓
	Pomerene		✓	Pomerene	
✓	Ransdell	✓	✓	Ransdell	
	Reed	✓		Reed	✓
	Robinson	✓		Robinson	
✓	Saulsbury	✓	✓	Saulsbury	
✓	Shafroth		✓	Shafroth	
✓	Sheppard			Sheppard	
	Shields			Shields	
	Shively	✓	✓	Shively	✓
	Simmons	✓		Simmons	
	Smith of Ariz.	✓	✓	Smith of Ariz.	✓
	Smith of Ga.	✓		Smith of Ga.	
	Smith of Md.			Smith of Md.	

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

YEAS		NAYS		YEAS		NAYS
✓	Smith of S.C.			✓	Tillman	
	Stone			✓	Vardaman	
	Swanson				Walsh	
	Thomas	✓			Williams	✓
✓	Thompson			22		11
	Thornton					

[July 1, 1914]

The Democratic Majority of the Senate of the United States met in Caucus duly called on Wednesday afternoon, July 1st, 1914, at four o'clock.

The calling of the roll (see roll-call herewith) disclosed forty Senators present.

Senator Stone offered the following resolutions:

1. RESOLVED, That this Conference of Democratic Senators, after due consideration, hereby declares that the present session of Congress should not adjourn until at least the following bills now pending in the Senate have been finally disposed of, to wit:
  1. H.R. 15613, known as the Interstate Trade Commission Bill.
  2. H.R. 15657, known as the Clayton Anti-Trust Bill, and now before the Senate Judiciary Committee.
  3. H.R. 16586, to amend Section 20 of an Act to regulate Commerce, to prevent over issues of securities by carriers, etc.
2. RESOLVED, That in adopting the foregoing resolution, it is not thereby intended to make any of the bills mentioned a party measure, or to interfere with the freedom of any Senator with respect to amending or voting on the passage of any of said bills; but said resolution is intended merely to express the judgment and purpose of those representing the Majority Party with respect to adjournment.
3. RESOLVED, That as the duty rests primarily on Democratic Senators to maintain a quorum, it is hereby declared that hereafter Democratic Senators should remain in attendance on the Senate, and that Senators who hereafter absent themselves and thereby make it difficult to dispatch the business of the Senate are guilty of such conduct as to merit condemnation, unless such absence is on the business of the Senate, or is otherwise necessary and unavoidable; and the Chairman of this Conference is hereby directed to have a copy of these Resolutions mailed forthwith to each Democratic Senator and to invoke the constant aid of the Senate Whip and other assistants.



JULY 1, 1914

The following Senators spoke on the resolutions: Stone, Newlands, Thomas, Williams, Culberson, Clarke, Simmons, Martine, Swanson, Sheppard and Reed.

Senator Reed moved to strike out "finally disposed of" and in lieu thereof substitute "passed or defeated," which motion was lost.

The 1st resolution was then declared carried.

The 2nd resolution was carried by a vote of 17 yeas to 15 nays.

Senator Hughes then moved to lay the 3rd resolution on the table, which was accordingly done.

Senator Simmons moved that the Senate Whip be instructed to have Senators present at sessions of the Senate, and this motion was carried.

Senator Smith (Georgia) then moved that the motion of Senator Simmons be reconsidered, whereupon Senator Simmons withdrew his motion.

After sundry other motions had been made and withdrawn, the Caucus adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

Roll Call		[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	✓	
✓	Ashurst	✓	Pittman
✓	Bankhead	✓	Pomerene
✓	Bryan	✓	Ransdell
✓	Camden	✓	Reed
✓	Chamberlain	✓	Robinson
✓	Chilton	✓	Saulsbury
✓	Clarke	✓	Shafroth
✓	Culberson	✓	Sheppard
✓	Fletcher	✓	Shields
	Gore	✓	Shively
✓	Hitchcock	✓	Simmons
✓	Hollis		Smith of Ariz
✓	Hughes		Smith of Ga
	James	✓	Smith of Md
	Johnson	✓	Smith of S.C.
✓	Kern	✓	Stone
	Lane	✓	Swanson
✓	Lea of Tenn.	✓	Thomas
✓	Lee of Md.	✓	Thompson
✓	Lewis	✓	Thornton
	Martin		Tillman
✓	Martine		Vardaman
✓	Myers	✓	Walsh
✓	Newlands		West
✓	O'Gorman	✓	White
✓	Overman	✓	Williams
	Owen	42	11

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United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

July 21, 1914.

There will be a meeting of the Democratic Senators in the Finance Committee Room—No. 312 Senate Office Building—on Wednesday, July 22, 1914, at 8:00 P.M., to take steps for maintaining a quorum, speeding trust legislation and general consultation.

[signed] Thomas W. Keller  
Assistant Doorkeeper  
U.S.S.

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[July 22, 1914]

A meeting of the Democratic members of the United States Senate was held on Wednesday evening, July 22nd, at 8 o'clock.

The roll call (herewith attached) showed that 27 Senators were present but additional members arriving during the meeting made the total attendance at the Caucus 37 Senators.

Chairman Kern addressed the Caucus.

Senator Ashurst made the motion that in debate, each Senator should speak but once, and then only for a period of five minutes. This motion was declared carried.

Senator Lewis then addressed the Caucus on matters pertaining to the Jones nomination (Federal Reserve Board).<sup>19</sup>

Senator Chamberlain then moved as follows:

1. That appropriations bills have the right of way, whenever they are ready to be presented to the Senate.
2. That the Rivers and Harbors Bill be made the unfinished business.
3. That after the Rivers and Harbors Bill has been disposed of, the Trade Commission bill be made the unfinished business.
4. That trust legislation be taken up and disposed of.

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<sup>19</sup> President Woodrow Wilson had nominated Thomas D. Jones, a former trustee of Princeton University and a director of the International Harvester Company, to be one of the first members of the Federal Reserve Board. While supported in general by the banking and business community, Jones' nomination came under attack from progressive senators. President Wilson assured the Senate Banking Committee that Jones had gone on the board of the International Harvester Company only to reform it. But in testimony before the Committee, Jones denied any such intention, and admitted that he had approved of all the company's actions. When the Banking Committee refused to confirm Jones, Wilson withdrew the nomination. See Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910–1917* (New York: Harper & Row, 1954), pp. 76–77.

JULY 22, 1914

5. That from and after the 23rd inst., the Senate convene at ten o'clock, A.M., and continue in session until ten o'clock, P.M., daily.

The following Senators then addressed the Caucus: Senators Vardaman, Martine, Ransdell, and a number of others.

Senator James moved to amend:

That the Trust legislation be made the unfinished business in the Senate and so continued until passed.

Points of order then made and a general discussion ensued.

Senator Shafroth then moved that it is the sense of the Democratic Conference: That no Democratic Senator speak more than one hour, except members of the committee, who may speak 2 hours.

This motion was lost: 14 ayes; 18 noes.

Senator Sheppard moved that no Committees except the Coal Investigation Committee and Conference Committees shall sit during the session of the Senate. Declared carried.

Senator Chamberlain then withdrew his resolution and moved the adoption of the following:

1. That appropriation bills and conference reports shall have the right of way whenever presented. This No. 1 was on motion duly carried.

2. That the trade commission bill shall continue the unfinished business of the Senate, and shall be pressed continuously until disposed of. No. 2 was likewise on motion declared carried.

3. That the Trust and Securities bills now pending be next made the unfinished business, in that order, and pressed continuously until disposed of. No. 3 was likewise carried.

4. That the Rivers and Harbors Bill be thereupon made the unfinished business and disposed of before the adjournment of Congress. This No. 4 was also declared carried.

5. That the Senate convene at 10 A.M. and remain in session each day until 6 o'clock, P.M., after the 23rd inst., recessing each day until the next. And further,

That the Chairman of the Caucus only is authorized to move for Executive Sessions; also calls for quorums by the Chairman only; but the Senator in charge of the bill under discussion, or some designated by the Chairman, may also so act.

Senator Myers moved to amend that the hour of meeting in the morning be made 12 o'clock, noon, instead of ten o'clock, A.M.

As a substitute, Senator Lewis moved that the Trade Commission bill be pressed as unfinished business for one week and at the expiration of that period, another Caucus be held. This was lost.

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913–1915)

Senator Overman moved as a new No. 5, That the Immigration bill be made the unfinished business and pressed for passage. This was subsequently withdrawn.

Senator Lee moved that all matters not enumerated in the resolution of Senator Chamberlain be remitted for consideration to further Caucus.

Senator Swanson then moved that the Senate meet at eleven o'clock, A.M., daily. This motion was carried.

Senator Pomerene moved that the Chairman only be authorized to state to reporters the proceedings of and what had occurred at the Caucus meeting, which motion was duly adopted.

The meeting thereupon adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

Roll call, July 22, 1914		[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]		
✓ Ashurst		36 Owen	
31 Bankhead		✓ Pittman	
✓ Bryan		✓ Pomerene	
Camden		✓ Ransdell	
✓ Chamberlain		✓ Reed	
28 Chilton		Robinson	
Clarke		✓ Saulsbury	
✓ Culberson		✓ Shafroth	
Fletcher		✓ Sheppard	
Gore		29 Shields	
✓ Hitchcock		Shively	
✓ Hollis		✓ Simmons	
33 Hughes		Smith of Ariz	
34 James		✓ Smith of Ga	
Johnson		Smith of Md	
✓ Kern		Smith of S.C.	
Lane		✓ Stone	
✓ Lea, of Tenn.		✓ Swanson	
✓ Lee, of Md.		✓ Thomas	
30 Lewis		✓ Thompson	
Martin		✓ Thornton	
✓ Martine		Tillman	
✓ Myers		35 Vardaman	
✓ Newlands		37 Walsh	
O'Gorman		✓ West	
32 Overman		✓ White	
		Williams	

OCTOBER 6, 1914

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[October 6, 1914]

The Democratic Conference of the United States Senate convened on Tuesday, October 6, 1914.

The Conference was called to order at 12:00 o'clock noon by Senator Kern who stated the Conference had been called at the request of the Finance Committee to consider the War Revenue Bill.

Senator Sheppard was designated Acting Secretary of the Caucus in the absence of Senator Saulsbury, who was detained on account of illness.

Thirty-four senators answered present on roll-calls as follows: Bankhead, Bryan, Camden, Chamberlain, Chilton, Culberson, Gore, Hollis, Hughes, James, Kern, Lea of Tenn., Lee of Md., Lewis, Martin, Martine, Myers, O'Gorman, Overman, Owen, Pomerene, Reed, Sheppard, Simmons, Smith of Ariz., Stone, Swanson, Thompson, Thornton, Vardaman, Walsh, West, White and Williams.

Senator Bankhead on motion was excused from attending the Caucus; he authorized Senator Simmons to cast his vote.

Senator Simmons made a general explanation of the Revenue Bill. Senator Williams made the following motion:

On page 1, line 4, strike out \$1.50 and insert in lieu thereof \$1.75. On page 2, line 1, after the semi-colon succeeding the word "accordingly," insert the following: "Provided that a discount of five per centum shall be allowed upon all sales by collectors to brewers of the stamps provided for the payment of said tax."

Senator Hollis moved to substitute for \$1.75 in the Williams amendment \$2.00 and for five per centum, seven and a half per centum.

Senator Swanson then moved for a recess until 2:30 o'clock. Lost.

Senator Martin asked that his colleague, Senator Swanson, be allowed to cast his vote during his absence for 2 hours. Granted.

Recess taken until 3:30 o'clock.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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October 6, 1914. The Democratic Caucus reconvened at 3:30 o'clock, P.M.

Senator Simmons moved to limit speeches on each subject to ten minutes. This motion was carried.

The roll-call on the Hollis substitute disclosed: ayes 16, noes 20.

Senator Thomas moved to adjourn at 6:30 o'clock until 8:00 P.M. Carried.

The roll-call on the Williams amendment showed 21 ayes, 14 noes.

Senator Williams moved the following amendment: On page 1, line 11, strike out the period following the word "law," and insert a comma and the following: And there be levied, collected and paid in addition to the tax now imposed by law a tax of five cents per gallon upon each gallon of rectified whiskey or other similar rectified distilled liquor, distilled or manufactured and sold or stored, or rectified in warehouse, or removed for consumption or sale within the United States. Adopted.

Senator Williams moved to strike out paragraph in section 4 relating to bankers. Withheld temporarily.

Senator Williams moved to strike out section 3a.

Senator White moved as a substitute to strike out section 3.

Recesses at 6:30.

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October 6, 1914. The Democratic Caucus reassembled at 8:00 P.M. and was called to order at 8:20 P.M. 28 Senators answered present on roll-call as follows: Ashurst, Bankhead, Bryan, Chilton, Fletcher, Gore, Hollis, Hughes, Johnson, Kern, Lea of Tenn., Lee of Md., Martin, Overman, Pomerene, Sheppard, Shively, Simmons, Smith of Ariz., Stone, Swanson, Thomas, Thompson, Thornton, Vardaman, West, White and Williams.

Senator Bryan moved to amend Sec. 3 by providing that producers of not more than 300 barrels of gasoline per day,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of 1¢ per gallon of 300 to 600 barrels,  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 1¢ per gallon; 600 to 1000 barrels,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1¢ per gallon; 1000 to 2000 barrels,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of 1¢ per gallon; over 2000 barrels, 1¢ per gallon. Lost.

Roll call on the White substitute disclosed ayes 20, noes 17.

Senator Williams moved to strike out that part of Sec. 3a, from lines 12 to 21 inclusive, and to substitute the following: "On each passenger automobile a yearly license tax of 25¢ per horse-power."

Senator Williams withdrew this motion and moved to strike out Sec. 3a.

Senator Lea of Tenn. objected and the Chair sustained the objection. Senator Lea of Tenn. then withdrew objection.

Senator Williams moved to strike out Sec. 3a. Carried.

Senator West moved to reduce the tax on bankers from \$2.00 to \$1.00. Senator Williams moved to amend by striking out entire tax on bankers and Senator West accepted the amendment.

OCTOBER 6, 1914

The amendment to strike out the tax defeated. Senator West then renewed his motion to reduce the tax from \$2.00 to \$1.00 and the roll-call on the West motion was ayes 26, noes 11.

Senator Lewis moved to substitute 1¢ for 2¢ in line 11, page 36, in paragraph taxing seats and berths in palace or parlor cars.

Senator Williams moved as a substitute that 5¢ be substituted for 2¢ where ticket carries the passenger longer than 24 hours, where less than 24 hours, tax of 2¢ to remain. Substitute defeated.

The roll-call on Senator Lewis' motion was ayes 16, noes, 18. Senator Pomerene moved to add the following provision to Sec. 2:

254½. Every producer of pure sweet wines, other than those actually exported, is hereby required to pay to the Government as a revenue tax the sum of \$1.10 per proof gallon for the wine spirits or grape brandy or pure neutral spirits used by him in the fortification of said wine, the same to be paid upon the removal thereof from the distillery or from any special bonded warehouse; Provided, however, That the time of the payment of said tax upon such wine spirits or grape brandy or pure neutral spirits used in fortifying pure sweet wines may be extended not exceeding two years upon the producer of such pure sweet wine giving bond in a penal sum of not less than double the amount of said tax with sureties to the satisfaction of the collector of internal revenue of the district and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue conditioned upon the payment of said tax within said two years.

That so much of the act entitled "An act to reduce the revenue and equalize duties on imports, and for other purposes," approved October 1, 1890, as relates to the use, free of tax, of wine spirits or grape brandy in the fortifying of pure sweet wine, and all acts amendatory thereof, so far as they relate to the fortification of such wines and the charge thereof, which may be inconsistent with this paragraph are hereby to that extent repealed.

A motion to adjourn by Senator Swanson until 10 o'clock Wednesday morning was defeated.

The roll-call on the Pomerene amendment was 14 ayes and 15 noes.

On motion of Senator Williams, the Conference adjourned until 10 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 7.

Acting Secretary.

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[October 7, 1914]

The Democratic Caucus of the U.S. Senate met on Wednesday morning, October 7, at 10:40 o'clock.

On motion the roll-call was dispensed with.

Senator Simmons moved that the Bill as reported be approved, except as to those provisions to which objections are made or amendments offered.

Senator Pomerene objected to the wine provision of the measure and made a statement relating thereto.

Senator O’Gorman moved to refer the wine tax provision to the Chairman of the Finance Committee, and Senator Pomerene.

Senator O’Gorman suggested the insertion of “store, shop or other” after word “each,” line 2, page 11. This was accepted unanimously.

Also on page 31, lines 13 to 22, insert after the word “value,” line 18, “of the interest conveyed.”

Also at page 12, line 12, amount of cigarettes to regulate amount of license. Not determined.

Senator Williams moved to insert as Sec. 4a, the following:

Sec. 4a. That from and after November 1, 1914, the following special tax on liquor dealers shall be and are imposed annually, the amount of such special annual taxes to be computed in all cases on the basis of the annual sales for the preceding fiscal years, and shall be levied as follows: Any retail dealer in liquor whose sales for the year preceding did not exceed \$5000, shall pay \$25; any such dealer whose sales for the preceding year exceeded \$5000, and did not exceed \$10,000, shall pay \$50; any such dealer whose sales for the preceding year exceeded \$10,000 and did not exceed \$25,000 shall pay \$100; any whose sales for the preceding year exceeded \$25,000 and did not exceed \$50,000 shall pay \$200; and any whose sales for the preceding year exceeded \$50,000 shall pay \$300.

So much of section eighteen of the Act entitled “An Act to amend existing customs and internal-revenue laws, and for other purposes,” approved February eight, eighteen hundred and seventy-five, as amended by section four of the Act of March first, eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, as is in conflict herewith is hereby repealed or modified.

It was then ordered that the Chairman of the Caucus be directed to adjourn until 11:00 A.M. tomorrow, and that Caucus recess now until 1:00 P.M. today.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

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The Democratic Caucus, Wednesday, 2:00 P.M., October 7, 1914.

After recess Caucus reassembled.



OCTOBER 7, 1914

Senator Williams withdrew his proposed amendment.

Senator White proposed an amendment as to dealers in tobacco, page 11, which was withdrawn after discussion.

Senator West inquired as to manufacturers of cigarettes.

Senator Thompson offered amendment taxing liquor dealers \$100 per annum. Lost. No roll-call.

Senator Williams offered amendment, page 10, to be inserted between lines 9 and 10, to tax the salaries of U.S. employees and officers receiving salaries over \$1200. Lost.

Senator Thomas offered to amend making the amount \$6,000. Lost.

Senator Williams offered amendment for bank check stamp tax, &c. at 2¢ (including bills of exchange, &c.).

Senator Stone offered an amendment to Senator Williams' amendment—1¢ instead of 2¢—i.e. 50% all through.

Both amendments laid on table on motion of Senator Stone.

Senator Thomas moved to strike out brokers tax, page 7, lines 5 to 11. Ayes 19, noes 10.

On motion, Senator Chamberlain was excused and Senator Kern authorized to cast his vote.

Senator Chilton addressed the Caucus on sleeping-car ticket tax.

Senator Lee of Md. moved to reconsider the vote fixing the tax on sleeping-car tickets.

Senator Lewis moved to amend line 11, page 36, by changing 2¢ on Pullman tickets to 1¢. Yeas 26, noes 8.

Senator Overman moved to refer to Finance Committee the matter of a graduated tax on dealers in tobacco.

Senator Lee of Maryland offered substitute by moving to strike out lines 1 to 3 inclusive, page 11, and insert as follows: [no language follows]

Senator Stone on motion excused and Senator Swanson authorized to cast his vote.

Senators Hughes and Lea of Tenn. were likewise excused and Chairman authorized to cast their votes.

Senator Thomas moved to lay motion of Senator Lea on table. Carried. Ayes 20, noes 9.

Senator Overman offered amendment taxing only dealers who sell over \$100 worth.

Insert after tobacco, line 1, page 11, the words "whose annual sales exceed \$100."

Senator Williams moved to lay on the table, ayes 13, noes 16, therefore lost. Senator Overman's motion yeas 9, noes 20, lost.

Senator Lee of Md. moved to amend.

Senator Bankhead moved to lay on table—carried, yeas 18, noes 11.

Senator James— Senator Lee of Md.

Insert Sec. 4, page 6, at end of line.

All manufacturers and operators of pipe-lines, whether corporate or individual, having a capital stock of \$4,000,000, and not more than \$10,000,000, shall pay a tax of 25¢ for each \$1,000 of capital stock used or employed, and in estimating the capital the surplus and undivided profits shall be included: Those having a capital of more than \$10,000,000 and not more than \$20,000,000 shall pay a tax of 40¢ for each \$1,000 of capital used and employed, estimated as aforesaid: those having more than \$20,000,000 of capital stock and not more than \$100,000,000 of capital stock shall pay sixty cents for each \$1,000 of capital used or employed, estimated as aforesaid; those having a capital of more than \$100,000,000 and not more than \$200,000,000 shall pay a tax of 80¢ for each \$1,000 used or employed, estimated as aforesaid; those having a capital of more than \$200,000,000 and upwards shall pay a tax of \$1.00 for each \$1,000 of capital used or employed, estimated as aforesaid; and where one or more corporations or concerns are under the same control or management, their capital shall be added together and taxed as of the class of the sum total of such addition.

Senator Williams moved to amend on page 36 to require stamps on claims against U.S. Pensioners, et al.

Senator Overman moved to lay on table. Carried.

Senator Kern moved to strike out word "carbonated" line 19, page 36, and to insert after the word "waters" the words "carbonated or fortified." Lost. Yeas 10, noes 12.

Senator Pomerene moved to insert "within 30 days after the expiration of," after line 3, page 29. Carried.

Senator Lee of Md. moved to insert "Armories" after Halls line 19, page 8.

Senator Simmons offered the following amendment to section 18, p. 241 line 15, after word "appropriated" (proposed by Treasury Dept.) carried:

OCTOBER 7, 1914

Amendment suggested by Secretary McAdoo<sup>20</sup>

Sec. 19—Add on line 12, page 31, after the word “appropriated” the following:

\$492,000 or so much thereof as may be required, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be immediately available; \$412,000 thereof to be added to and made a part of the appropriation: “Salaries and Expenses of Collectors of Internal Revenue, 1915”; \$30,000 to the appropriation: “Paper for Internal Revenue Stamps, 1915”; \$40,000 to be available to pay for personal services in the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, to be designated as additional to the appropriation: “Salaries Office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, 1915”; and \$10,000 to the appropriation: “Contingent Expenses, Treasury Department Stationery, 1915”. Provided, that the appropriation: “Salaries and Expenses of Agents and Subordinate Officers of Internal Revenue, 1915”, be and hereby is made available to pay the salaries of stamp agents and counters, whose employment may be necessary on account of the imprinting of stamps, the same to be reimbursed by the stamp contractors and added to the appropriation from which originally paid.

RESOLVED, That the Committee be requested to prepare a suitable amendment providing for a tax on Coca Cola and beverages of like character.

Senator Thomas moved to lay the motion on the table. Yeas 15, noes 14.

Senator Overman moved to reconsider “fortified” waters vote—adopted.

Kern amendment, page 36, lines 19 and 20, carried. Ayes 15, noes 9.

Senator Johnson moved to insert on page 24, between secs. 17 and 18: Committee to insert Administration features.

Senator Sheppard moved to strike out in Schedule B medicinal and proprietary articles. Withdrawn.

Senator Martine moved to tax Coca Cola.

Senator Chilton moved to lay Senator Martine’s motion on table. Carried, yeas 14, noes 8.

Senator O’Gorman offered resolution.

Senator Williams moved Chairman be instructed to report Bill to the Senate as amended.

<sup>20</sup> William G. McAdoo, secretary of the treasury, 1913–1919.

Senator Pomerene reported that sub-committee to whom was referred fortified wines would be likely able to reach agreement.

Senator Simmons moved that the Committee on Finance be instructed to report Bill to Senate. Yeas 27.

Senator Kern moved that Bill as reported to Senate be regarded as Party measure. Unanimous.

Adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

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[December 12, 1914]

The Democratic Caucus met on December 12, 1914, at 3:00 o'clock, P.M. Twenty-nine Senators present. See Roll.

Chairman asked Senator Hoke Smith to state objects of the meeting.

Senators Thomas, Shields, Lee of Md., Gore, Robinson and Bankhead subsequently appeared.

Senators Chilton and Tillman desired to be counted as quorum and voted by Chairman Kern.

Senator Hoke Smith read the following program proposed by Steering Committee:

Having in view the purpose of avoiding if possible the necessity for an extra session of Congress, we recommend:

1. That the Christmas recess be limited and that Congress adjourn Tuesday night, December 22nd, and meet again on Monday, December 28th.

2. That appropriation bills be given preferences when ready for consideration.

3. That night sessions be held when the Chairman of the Conference deems it advisable for the consideration of any pending measure, and not less than once each week to consider the general calendar of business.

4. That the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business upon the close of the morning business until the Safety at Sea Convention be disposed of.

Senator Vardaman moved to amend and make recess one day.

Senator Owen moved to adopt suggestion No. 1. Adopted.

Also No. 3.—Adopted unanimously.

Also No. 2.—Adopted unanimously.

DECEMBER 12, 1914

Senator Newlands addressed the Conference concerning the Securities Bill. No action.

Senator Walsh addressed Conference on conservation of public lands and power site measures.

Senator Newlands addressed Conference on general coordination of conservation, water power, Rivers & Harbors and swamp drainage bills.

Senator Stone again addressed Caucus.

Senator O’Gorman offered the following:

RESOLVED, That the Safety at Sea Convention be pressed to a vote not later however than December 31, 1914. It is not intended to commit the Conference to the support of the Convention. Adopted unanimously.

Chairman of Conference was authorized to stop unnecessary waste of time during morning hour.

Chairman authorized to give out newspaper information.

Adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary

Roll Call, Dec. 12, 1914		[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	✓	O’Gorman
✓	Ashurst	✓	Overman
	Bankhead	✓	Owen
✓	Bryan		Pittman
	Camden	✓	Pomerene
	Chamberlain	✓	Ransdell
	Chilton	✓	Reed
	Clarke		Robinson
✓	Culberson	✓	Saulsbury
	Fletcher	✓	Shafroth
	Gore	✓	Sheppard
✓	Hardwick		Shields
	Hitchcock		Shively
✓	Hollis	✓	Simmons
✓	Hughes	✓	Smith of Ariz
	James	✓	Smith of Ga
✓	Johnson		Smith of Md
✓	Kern	✓	Smith of S.C.
	Lane	✓	Stone
	Lea of Tenn.	✓	Swanson
	Lee o Md.		Thomas
	Lewis		Thompson
	Martin	✓	Thornton
✓	Martine		Tillman
	Myers	✓	Vardaman
✓	Newlands	✓	Walsh

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
✓ White		Williams	
		29	

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United States Senate Chamber  
Washington, D.C.  
January 15, 1915

To Senator Kern:

You are requested to call a Conference of Democratic Senators for Saturday afternoon next.

[signed] Claude A. Swanson  
John Walter Smith  
Duncan U. Fletcher  
Morris Sheppard  
H.L. Myers  
Henry F. Ashurst  
W.E. Chilton  
Ollie M. James  
Wm. Hughes  
Henry F. Hollis  
J.R. Thornton  
C.A. Culberson  
Atlee Pomerene  
Charles F. Johnson  
B.R. Tillman

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United States Senate Chamber  
Washington, D.C.

Friday, January 15, 1915

There will be a meeting of the Democratic Senators in the Finance Committee Room, Senate Office Building, Room No. 312, on Saturday, January 16, 1915, at 2:30 o'clock, P.M.

[signed] Thomas W. Keller  
Assistant Doorkeeper

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[January 16, 1915]

Pursuant to written request for a call of meeting of the Democratic Caucus, signed by Senators Swanson, Smith (Md.), Fletcher, Sheppard, Myers, Ashurst, Chilton, James, Hughes, Hollis, Thornton, Culberson, Pomerene, Johnson and Tillman, the copy of which is filed with these Minutes. Call being duly made, the Democratic

JANUARY 16, 1915

Caucus of the United States Senate met at 4:00 o'clock, Saturday afternoon, January 16, 1915.

As shown by the roll-call, 30 Senators appeared by 4:15 P.M.

Senator Fletcher addressed the Caucus and offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Conference that S. 6856, known as the Shipping Bill, be made the unfinished business, and that it be kept before the Senate without interference by other measures until its final disposition is reached in the Senate.

The Chairman of the Caucus was authorized to cast the vote of Senator Smith of Md. during his necessary absence. Senator Smith desiring to vote with Senator Fletcher for the resolution.

On motion of Senator Bryan of Florida, the time limit within which each member should speak, was made 5 minutes.

Many other Members then spoke.

Various suggestions as to the Resolution were accepted by Senator Fletcher.

Among others, one providing for revision of the shipping regulations which Senator Saulsbury at his request explained to the Caucus.

On motion the Caucus then recessed until Monday, January 18, 1915, at 8:00 o'clock, P.M.

Secretary.

Roll Call, Jan. 16, 1915		[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]		Lewis
✓	Ashurst		Martin
✓	Bankhead	✓	Martine (30)
✓	Bryan	✓	Myers
	Camden		Newlands
	Chamberlain		O'Gorman
✓	Chilton	✓	Overman
	Clarke		Owen
	Culberson	✓	Pittman
✓	Fletcher	✓	Pomerene
	Gore	✓	Ransdell
✓	Hardwick	✓	Reed
✓	Hitchcock	✓	Robinson
✓	Hollis	✓	Saulsbury
✓	Hughes	✓	Shafroth
✓	James	✓	Sheppard
	Johnson		Shields
✓	Kern	✓	Shively
	Lane	✓	Simmons
✓	Lea of Tenn.	✓	Smith of Ariz
✓	Lee of Md.	✓	Smith of Ga
		✓	Smith of Md

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
✓ Smith of S.C.			Tillman
✓ Stone			Vardaman
✓ Swanson		✓ Walsh	
✓ Thomas			White
Thompson			Williams
✓ Thornton		32	

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[January 18, 1915]

At the expiration of the recess, the Democratic Caucus reassembled Monday evening, January 18, 1915.

On roll-call at 8:30 o'clock, 28 Senators appeared and answered to their names.

The following resolution was offered by Senator Robinson:

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Banking and Currency is requested to report a bill providing for a system of rural credits, and that it is the sense of the Caucus that said bill be considered by the Senate at the earliest practicable date.

Said resolution was unanimously adopted.

Senator Gore moved that it be the sense of the Caucus that no Senator should speak on the Shipping Bill in the Senate more than 15 minutes.

This was laid on the table on motion of Senator Swanson by a vote of yeas 27, noes 3.

Senator Fletcher proposed several amendments to Sec. 1, which were adopted.

On motion it was ordered that the Bill be read by the acting Chairman and that the Committee amendments and all amendments offered by Senators be referred to the Committee for consideration.

Various amendments were offered.

Senator Bankhead offered a substitute for Section 6, which was referred to the Committee.

Senator Williams proposed an amendment to Section 7, which was referred to the Committee.

On motion the Caucus adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.



JANUARY 18, 1915

Roll Call, Jan. 18, 1915

[PRESENT]

[ABSENT]

On Gore's Motion to limit speeches  
to 15 minutes in Senate

		YEAS		NAYS
✓	Ashurst			
✓	Bankhead	1	Ashurst	
✓	Bryan	2	Bankhead	
	Camden	3	Bryan	
	Chamberlain		Camden	
	Chilton		Chamberlain	
	Clarke		Chilton	
	Culberson		Clarke	
✓	Fletcher		Culberson	
✓	Gore	4	Fletcher	
✓	Hardwick		Gore	1
	Hitchcock	5	Hardwick	
✓	Hollis		Hitchcock	
	Hughes	6	Hollis	
	James		Hughes	
✓	Johnson		James	
✓	Kern	7	Johnson	
	Lane	8	Kern	
✓	Lea of Tenn.		Lane	
✓	Lee of Md.	9	Lea of Tenn.	
	Lewis		Lee of Md.	2
	Martin		Lewis	
✓	Martine		Martin	
	Myers	10	Martine	
	Newlands		Myers	
	O'Gorman		Newlands	
✓	Overman		O'Gorman	
✓	Owen	11	Overman	
✓	Pittman		Owen	
✓	Pomerene	12	Pittman	
	Ransdell	13	Pomerene	
✓	Reed		Ransdell	
✓	Robinson	28	Reed	
✓	Saulsbury	14	Robinson	
✓	Shafroth	15	Saulsbury	
✓	Sheppard	16	Shafroth	
	Shields		Sheppard	3
	Shively		Shields	
✓	Simmons		Shively	
✓	Smith of Ariz	17	Simmons	
✓	Smith of Ga	18	Smith of Ariz	
	Smith of Md	19	Smith of Ga	
	Smith of S.C.		Smith of Md	
✓	Stone		Smith of S.C.	
✓	Swanson	20	Stone	
✓	Thomas	21	Swanson	
✓	Thompson	22	Thomas	
✓	Thornton	23	Thompson	
	Tillman	24	Thornton	
	Vardaman		Tillman	
✓	Walsh		Vardaman	
✓	White	25	Walsh	
✓	Williams	26	White	
32		27	Williams	

[January 20, 1915]

An adjourned meeting of the Democratic Caucus, held Wednesday evening, January 20, 1915, at 8:00 o'clock, with Senator Kern in the Chair and Senator Pittman as Acting Secretary.

Upon the calling of the roll, 27 Senators were found to be present, whereupon the Chair announced a quorum was present.

By unanimous consent, the Chair was permitted to cast the vote of Senator Thornton, Senator Smith (Ariz.) the vote of Senator Ashurst, and Senator Hardwick the vote of Senator O'Gorman.

Senator Fletcher presented and read a proposed amendment, providing for the incorporation of the corporation under the laws of the United States.

Senator Williams moved that Senators Reed, Thomas and Walsh revise the amendment providing for the organization of the corporation referred to in the Bill and such revised amendment be reported for adoption by the Conference. This motion was carried unanimously.

Senator Hoke Smith moved that lessee under the Bill shall be citizens of the United States, and if corporation, a majority of the stockholders of such corporation shall be citizens of the United States: That the Committee shall prepare such amendments, and as so prepared, shall be considered adopted. This was likewise carried unanimously.

Senator Hoke Smith moved that it is the sense of the Conference that an amendment be made to the Bill requiring the leasing of vessels in certain cases and under certain conditions. Senator Pomerene moved that Senator Hoke Smith's amendment be referred back to the Committee, and this motion was carried.

Senator Williams then offered an amendment that the stock of the United States may be sold by the Shipping Board at or above par, but only to citizens of the United States.

After further discussion, on motion the meeting adjourned to meet Thursday evening, January 21, at 8:00 o'clock.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

Roll Call, Jan. 20, 1915

Ashurst	a
Bankhead	p
Bryan	p
Camden	p

Chamberlain	p
Chilton	a
Clarke	a
Culberson	a
Fletcher	p

JANUARY 20, 1915

Gore	p	Robinson	p
Hardwick	p	Saulsbury	a
Hitchcock	a	Shafroth	a
Hollis	a	Sheppard	p
Hughes	p	Shields	a
James	a	Shively	p
Johnson	a	Simmons	p
Kern	p	Smith of Ariz	p
Lane	p	Smith of Ga	p
Lea of Tenn.	a	Smith of Md	a
Lee of Md.	p	Smith of S.C.	a
Lewis	p	Stone	p
Martin	a	Swanson	p
Martine	p	Thomas	p
Myers	a	Thompson	p
Newlands	a	Thornton	a
O'Gorman	a	Tillman	a
Overman	a	Vardaman	a
Owen	p	Walsh	p
Pittman	p	White	p
Pomerene	p	Williams	a
Ransdell	p		
Reed	p		

30

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[January 21, 1915]

The Democratic Caucus reconvened, Thursday evening, January 21, 1915, at 8:00 o'clock.

The roll-call shows the Senators present at 8:30 P.M.

Senator Williams withdrew his amendment amid applause.

The Caucus then took up Senator Bankhead's amendment and Senator Fletcher addressed the Caucus.

Senator Pittman then moved to make the Secretary of the Interior a member of the Shipping Board, which motion was subsequently withdrawn.

Senator Lewis offered an amendment regarding the satisfying of the Shipping Board as to title of Ship.

Senator Fletcher moved that Shipping Board have a membership of five in number, the three Cabinet Officers named in the Bill, and two others to be nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

Senator Pittman moved to add the Secretary of the Interior to the Board and this motion was lost.

Senator Smith (Ariz.) moved that the Shipping Board consist of five members, to be the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce and three others skilled and experienced, to be named by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

Senator Walsh moved to add the Secretary of the Navy to the Board and this motion was carried by a vote of 16 to 12.

The motion was then made by Senator Smith (Ariz.) to make the Shipping Board five members instead of as at present, but this motion was lost by a vote of 12 ayes to 15 noes.

Senator Fletcher moved that the Caucus reconsider this vote.

Senator James then moved to lay this motion on the table—11 ayes, 15 noes.

The motion to reconsider was then carried by a vote of 19 ayes to 7 noes and the Caucus then adopted the motion of Senator Smith (Ariz.) by a decisive viva voce vote.

An amendment was then proposed limiting the increase of stock by ten millions of dollars, the United States always to hold 51% of the [w]hole, and this was adopted.

Senator Saulsbury then moved that no salaries be paid to the members of the Shipping Board as such.

Senator Lewis offered an amendment that the members of the Shipping Board be paid only their expenses while performing their duties. This was lost.

Senator Fletcher moved that the salaries of the members of the Shipping Board be fixed at \$6,000, and this motion was carried by a vote of 14 ayes to 7 noes.

Senator Williams then moved that the term of non-official members of the Board be fixed not to exceed 2, 3 and 4 years, unless the Board be sooner dissolved by Act of Congress—understanding that the term be four years. Carried.

Senator Reed, the Chairman of the sub-committee on incorporating, reported thereon his complete report being given to Chairman Fletcher for the Committee.

The motion was then made by Senator Fletcher that the Report of the special Committee just presented by Senator Reed be adopted, and this was carried unanimously.

On motion the Caucus recessed until Friday evening at 8:00 P.M.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

Roll Call, Jan. 21, 1915, 8:30 P.M.

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Ashurst
- ✓ Bankhead
- ✓ Bryan

[ABSENT]

[PRESENT]

- Camden
- Chamberlain
- Chilton
- Clarke

[ABSENT]

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[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
✓ Culberson		✓ Reed	
✓ Fletcher		✓ Robinson	
Gore		✓ Saulsbury	
Hardwick		✓ Shafroth	
Hitchcock		✓ Sheppard	
Hollis		Shields	
✓ Hughes		✓ Shively	
✓ James		✓ Simmons	
✓ Johnson		✓ Smith of Ariz	
✓ Kern		✓ Smith of Ga	
Lane		Smith of Md	
Lea of Tenn.		Smith of S.C.	
Lee of Md. (appeared at 10:40)		✓ Stone	
✓ Lewis		✓ Swanson	
Martin		✓ Thomas	
✓ Martine		✓ Thompson	
Myers		✓ Thornton	
Newlands		Tillman	
O'Gorman		Vardaman	
Overman		✓ Walsh	
✓ Owen		White	
✓ Pittman		✓ Williams	
✓ Pomerene			
✓ Ransdell		30	

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[January 22, 1915]

The Democratic Caucus of the United States Senate met on Friday evening, January 22. The roll-call at 8:30 P.M. disclosed 29 Senators present.

The Caucus agreed unanimously that the following Senators be counted present:

Ashurst, voted by his colleague	Smith
Reed, voted by his colleague	Stone
Hollis, voted by his colleague	Saulsbury

On motion, it was unanimously agreed that the Caucus should meet at 11:00 o'clock Saturday morning, January 23rd.

Senator Smith offered his amendment regarding the chartering and selling of vessels after the termination of the European War.

The Caucus authorized Senator Stone to cast the vote of Senator James, who was excused for the evening.

Same order as to Senator Owen, whose vote was to be cast by Senator Swanson.

Senator Ransdell was likewise authorized to cast the vote of Senator Thornton.

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

After various discussion, the Caucus on motion adjourned to meet as agreed upon, 11:00 o'clock Saturday morning.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

Roll Call, Jan. 22, 1915, 8:30 P.M.		[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	✓	Owen
	Ashurst by Smith	✓	Pittman
✓	Bankhead	✓	Pomerene
	Bryan	✓	Ransdell
	Camden		Reed by Stone
✓	Chamberlain	✓	Robinson
	Chilton	✓	Saulsbury
	Clarke	✓	Shafroth
	Culberson	✓	Sheppard
✓	Fletcher		Shields
	Gore	✓	Shively
	Hardwick	✓	Simmons
	Hitchcock	✓	Smith of Ariz
✓	Hollis by Saulsbury	✓	Smith of Ga
	Hughes		Smith of Md
✓	James		Smith of S.C.
✓	Johnson		Stone
✓	Kern	✓	Swanson
	Lane	✓	Thomas
✓	Lea of Tenn.	✓	Thompson
	Lee of Md.		Thornton
	Lewis	✓	Tillman
	Martin		Vardaman
✓	Martine	✓	Walsh
	Myers	✓	White
	Newlands	✓	Williams
	O'Gorman		
	Overman	31	

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[January 23, 1915]

The Democratic Caucus of the United States Senate met at 11:00 o'clock A.M., Saturday, January 23, 1915, pursuant to agreement. 23 Senators as shown by the roll-call answered to their names.

Senator Smith of Ga. continued to address the Caucus on his amendment.

At 11:41 A.M. at the end of the ten minutes period, the Chairman stated that the rule on motion of Senator Martine should be extended 10 minutes.

Senator Chamberlain was excused and Senator Fletcher was authorized to cast his vote.

JANUARY 23, 1915

Senator Smith's amendment was drawn and submitted as follows:

That such corporation, with the approval of the Shipping Board, may make charters or leases of any vessel or vessels owned by such corporation to any other corporation incorporated under the laws of any State of the United States, the majority of the stock of which is owned by citizens of the United States, or to any firm, the members of which are citizens of the United States, or to citizens of the United States; subject to rules and regulations to be prescribed by such shipping board; provided that in no case shall such charters or leases to any one corporation, firm, or individual be of vessels in excess of five millions of dollars in value; and provided further, that each contract of charter or lease shall contain provisions to prevent the corporation, firm or individual obtaining such charters or leases from handling the vessels so chartered or leased in a way to restrict competition or to create monopoly in transportation.

That after normal conditions when peace has been restored and concluded between the nations of Europe now at war, such corporation in which the United States has a majority of stock shall operate only such of its vessels as cannot be chartered or leased, under rules and regulations as to routes and rates, to be fixed by the shipping board, to another corporation, firm or individual in accordance with the provisions of this statute.

Senator Owen was then excused and Senator Reed was authorized to vote for him.

The time limit on speeches, imposed by the Caucus, was modified as not to apply to Senator Fletcher, in charge of the Bill.

Senator Culberson was authorized to cast the vote of Senator Sheppard during the latter's temporary absence.

Senator Smith's amendment was lost by a vote of 7 ayes to 31 noes, as shown by the roll-call. [See tally sheet B]

Senator Bryan moved to strike out page 1, line 7, the word "foreign." This motion was lost by a vote of 16 yeas to 24 nays, as shown by the roll-call. Also to strike out page 5, line 8, beginning with the word "except" including to the end of line 10 and ending with the word "Tutuila," decided by 15 yeas to 24 nays, as shown above. [See tally sheet A]

Senator Reed then moved, at page 3, line 8, after the words "except such vessels" to add the words "as are not built in the United States." This motion was carried by a vote of 24 yeas to 13 noes, and the understanding was that the Committee would perfect this idea. [See tally sheet D]

Senator Fletcher was then authorized to cast the vote of Senator Williams during his absence.

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913–1915)

Senator Fletcher then offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED: That in the judgment of the Democratic Conference, the Bill S. 6856, as amended and agreed upon by this Conference, should be enacted;

And that it is the judgment of the Conference that said Bill should be continued as the unfinished business of the Senate;

And that it should be supported as a party measure.

Senator Fletcher's resolution being divided as above, paragraphs 1 and 2 were adopted viva voce.

A roll-call being asked on number 3, it was carried and adopted by a vote of 35 ayes and 3 noes. Senator Thomas then changed his vote to aye, leaving but 2 noes. All agreed to support the measure. [See tally sheet C]

The Conference then adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

Roll Call, Jan. 23, 1915		[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]		
	Ashurst	✓	Ransdell
	Bankhead	✓	Reed
✓	Bryan	✓	Robinson
	Camden	✓	Saulsbury
✓	Chamberlain	✓	Shafroth
	Chilton		Sheppard
	Clarke		Shields
✓	Culbertson		Shively
✓	Fletcher	✓	Simmons
✓	Gore	✓	Smith of Ariz
	Hardwick	✓	Smith of Ga
✓	Hitchcock		Smith of Md
✓	Hollis		Smith of S.C.
✓	Hughes	✓	Stone
	James	✓	Swanson
✓	Johnson	✓	Thomas
✓	Kern	✓	Thompson
	Lane		Thornton
	Lea of Tenn.		Tillman
✓	Lee of Md.		Vardaman
	Lewis	✓	Walsh
✓	Martin	✓	White
✓	Martine	✓	Williams
	Myers	23	
	Newlands		
	O'Gorman		On Senator Bryan's Motion
✓	Overman		January 23, 1915
	Owen		[Tally sheet A]
	Pittman	YEAS	NAYS
	Pomerene	Ashurst	1



JANUARY 23, 1915

YEAS		NAYS		Roll Call on Senator Smith's motion January 23, 1915 [Tally sheet B]	
				YEAS	NAYS
	Bankhead				23
1	Bryan			1	
	Camden	2			
	Chamberlain				1
	Chilton				(Fletcher)
2	Clarke	3			
	Culberson			2	
	Fletcher				2
3	Gore	4			3
4	Hardwick	5		3	
5	Hitchcock	6			4
	Hollis	7			5
6	Hughes	8			6
	James	9		4	7
	Johnson	10			8
	Kern				
	Lane				
7	Lea of Tenn.			5	
	Lee of Md.	8			9
	Lewis				10
	Martin	9			11
8	Martine				
	Myers				
	Newlands				
	O'Gorman				
9	Overman	10		5	
	Owen				12
10	Pittman	11			13
	Pomerene	12			13
	Ransdell				14
11	Reed				15
12	Robinson	13			16
	Saulsbury	14			17
	Shafroth				18
	Sheppard	15			19
	Shields				(Culberson)
	Shively	16			20
	Simmons	17			
	Smith of Ariz				21
13	Smith of Ga			6	22
	Smith of Md				
	Smith of S.C.				
	Stone	18			24
	Swanson	19			25
	Thomas	20			26
14	Thompson	21			27
	Thornton				28
15	Tillman				29
	Vardaman				
	Walsh	22			30
	White	23			31
	Williams	24		7	

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913-1915)

Fletcher Resolution  
January 23, 1915  
[Tally sheet C]

YEAS		NAYS
1	Ashurst (Smith of Ariz.)	
	Bankhead	
	Bryan	1
	Camden	
2	Chamberlain (Fletcher)	
	Chilton	
	Clarke	
3	Culberson	
4	Fletcher	
5	Gore	
	Hardwick	
	Hitchcock	
6	Hollis	
7	Hughes	
8	James	
9	Johnson	
10	Kern	
	Lane	
11	Lea of Tenn.	
12	Lee of Md.	
13	Lewis	
14	Martin (Fletcher)	
15	Martine	
	Myers	
	Newlands	
	O'Gorman	
16	Overman	
17	Owen (Reed)	
18	Pittman	
19	Pomerene	
20	Ransdell	
21	Reed	
22	Robinson	
23	Saulsbury	
	Shafroth	
24	Sheppard (Culberson)	
25	Shields (Tillman)	
	Shively	
26	Simmons	
27	Smith of Ariz	
	Smith of Ga	2
	Smith of Md	
36	Smith of S.C.(Tillman)	
28	Stone	
29	Swanson	
37	Thomas (Changed) x	
30	Thompson	
31	Thornton	
32	Tillman	
	Vardaman	
33	Walsh	
34	White	
35	Williams (Fletcher)	

Sen. Reed's Motion  
January 23, 1915  
[Tally sheet D]

YEAS		NAYS
	Ashurst	1
	Bankhead	
1	Bryan	
	Camden	
	Chamberlain	
	Chilton	
	Clarke	
2	Culberson	
	Fletcher	2
3	Gore	
	Hardwick	
4	Hitchcock	
5	Hollis	
6	Hughes	
	James	3
	Johnson	4
7	Kern	
	Lane	
8	Lea of Tenn.	
	Lee of Md.	5
	Lewis	
	Martin	6
9	Martine	
	Myers	
	Newlands	
	O'Gorman	
10	Overman	
11	Owen	
12	Pittman	
	Pomerene	7
	Ransdell	8
13	Reed	
14	Robinson	
15	Saulsbury	
	Shafroth	
	Sheppard	9
	Shields	10
	Shively	
16	Simmons	
	Smith of Ariz	11
17	Smith of Ga	
	Smith of Md	
	Smith of S.C.	
18	Stone	
	Swanson	12
19	Thomas	
20	Thompson	
	Thornton	
21	Tillman	
	Vardaman	
22	Walsh	
23	White	
24	Williams	

FEBRUARY 2, 1915

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[February 2, 1915]

Pursuant to call, the Democratic Caucus of the United States Senate met Tuesday morning, February 2, 1915, at 12 o'clock.

Thirty-one Democratic Senators responded to the roll-call.

Chairman Kern proceeded to address the Caucus.

Senator Simmons then spoke of two suggested amendments that were being considered as possible means of obtaining the required votes.

Senator Gore moved that Chairman Kern, Senator Fletcher, Senator Simmons and Senator Martin be made a Special Committee to manage the Shipping Bill differences and to take under consideration means of securing sufficient support for the bill, and to report to the Caucus this evening when it meets at 8:00 o'clock.

This motion was seconded by Senator Stone and carried unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned to meet at 8:00 o'clock this (Tuesday) evening, February 2, 1915.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

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The Democratic Caucus of the United States Senate met on Tuesday evening, February 2, 1915, at 8:00 o'clock, the roll call showing 29 Senators present.

Senator Kern made a report to the Caucus on his effort with Senators Bankhead, Clarke and Hitchcock, but could not report definite progress.

Senator Simmons reported on his efforts with Senators [Robert M.] La Follette [Republican, Wisconsin], [William S.] Kenyon [Republican, Iowa], and [George W.] Norris [Republican, Nebraska] (Senator Kenyon acting for Senator Norris). Senators La Follette and Norris will vote to recommit with instructions.

A discussion was then had as to the parliamentary situation.

Senator Williams moved that the Committee of Four appointed this morning be instructed to prepare and offer an amendment to the motion to recommit to effect a forthwith report from the Committee on Commerce with the Norris-La Follette amendments. This was adopted unanimously.

In case a motion to recommit with instructions fails, the Committee to indicate to the Democratic Senators what their action shall be. Should Senators La Follette, Norris and Kenyon vote with us, the

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1913–1915)

agreed amendments shall be made if it is possible to do so with Democratic votes.

The meeting then adjourned.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

Roll Call, Democratic Caucus  
Tuesday, February 2, 1915, 10 A.M.

[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
	Ashurst
	Bankhead
✓	Bryan
	Camden
✓	Chamberlain
✓	Chilton
	Clarke
✓	Culberson
✓	Fletcher
✓	Gore
	Hardwick
	Hitchcock
✓	Hollis
	Hughes
✓	James
	Johnson
✓	Kern
	Lane
	Lea of Tenn.
✓	Lee of Md.
	Lewis
✓	Martin
✓	Martine
	Myers
	Newlands
	O’Gorman
✓	Overman
✓	Owen
✓	Pittman
✓	Pomerene
✓	Ransdell
✓	Reed
✓	Robinson
✓	Saulsbury
✓	Shafroth
	Sheppard
✓	Shields
	Shively
	Simmons
	Smith of Ariz
✓	Smith of Ga
✓	Smith of Md
	Smith of S.C.
✓	Stone
✓	Swanson

[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
✓	Thomas
	Thompson
✓	Thornton
	Tillman
	Vardaman
	Walsh
✓	White
✓	Williams
31	

34

Roll Call, Democratic Caucus  
Tuesday, February 2, 1915, 8 P.M.

[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
✓	Ashurst (by Smith of Ariz.)
	Bankhead
✓	Bryan
	Camden
✓	Chamberlain (by Kern)
✓	Chilton
	Clarke
✓	Culberson
✓	Fletcher
31	Gore
	Hardwick
	Hitchcock
✓	Hollis
✓	Hughes
✓	James
	Johnson
✓	Kern
	Lane
	Lea of Tenn.
✓	Lee of Md.
	Lewis
	Martin
	Martine
	Myers
	Newlands
	O’Gorman
✓	Overman
✓	Owen
	Pittman
✓	Pomerene
✓	Ransdell
✓	Reed
✓	Robinson

35

32

33

FEBRUARY 2, 1915

[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
✓ Saulsbury		✓ Swanson	
Shafroth		✓ Thomas	
Sheppard		✓ Thompson	
30✓ Shields		✓ Thornton	
✓ Shively		Tillman	
✓ Simmons		Vardaman	
✓ Smith of Ariz		Walsh	
✓ Smith of Ga		White	
✓ Smith of Md		✓ Williams	
✓ Smith of S.C.			
✓ Stone		29	

S. Res. 528  
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
February 2, 1915

Mr. Burton submitted the following resolution: which was ordered to lie over under the rule.

RESOLUTION

Whereas the pending ship purchase bill, being S. 6856, contemplates by certain of its provisions the purchase of shipping tonnage already constructed and therefore suggests the possible acquisition of ships belonging to belligerents, some of which are interned in American and other ports as the result of the war; and

Whereas the purchase of such vessels would raise questions of vital importance to the interests of the United States, a knowledge of which is of supreme importance in order that the Senate may reach an intelligent conclusion as to the advisability of enacting said bill and as to the propriety of incorporating in its provisions certain amendments: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of State be requested and is hereby directed to transmit at his earliest convenience to the Senate of the United States information responsive to the following inquiry: Has the Secretary of State through private or official channels received any information from any responsible foreign source as to the attitude the Governments of the belligerent nations or any of them might be expected to assume in relation to the transfer to the American flag and American register of merchant ships which have heretofore carried the flag of a belligerent State?

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[February 13, 1915]

The Democratic Caucus of the United States Senate, pursuant to call, met on Saturday morning, February 13, 1915, at 10:30 o'clock.

The roll-call disclosed 36 Senators present.

Chairman Kern proceeded to address the Caucus.

Senator Clarke (Ark.) then addressed the Caucus on the subject of cloture generally and also on the Shipping Bill.

On motion of Senator Thomas, all speeches were limited to a period of five minutes, and this was agreed to without discussion.

Senator Owen then addressed the Caucus on cloture and offered his amendment (S. Res. 283, as shown on the following page).

Senator Reed then offered as a substitute his resolution, which is as follows:

Whereas, on yesterday the Ship Purchase Bill was temporarily laid aside for the purpose of passing an amendment to the rules which if adopted makes it possible to pass the said Bill at this Session:

RESOLVED, that said action is hereby approved and ratified.

RESOLVED, that the proposition made by Senator Reed to amend the rules shall be passed.

RESOLVED, further, that the members of the Caucus are at liberty to support the Norris substitute with instructions if adopted that we will support the same as an amendment to the rules.

The Committee appointed to manage the Bill shall have charge of the contest over the amendment to the rules.

Senator Hardwick arose for the purpose of questioning Senator Reed but Senator Vardaman proceeded to address the Caucus.

Senator Newlands obtained the floor and advised the Caucus.

Senator Overman addressed the Caucus.

Senator Pittman addressed the Caucus.

Senator Bankhead likewise addressed the Caucus.

On motion, the Caucus then recessed until 8:00 o'clock this (Saturday) evening.

[signed] Willard Saulsbury  
Secretary.

Roll Call, Feb. 13, 1915, 10:30 A.M.

[PRESENT]

[ABSENT]

Ashurst  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Bryan  
Camden  
✓ Chamberlain  
✓ Chilton (42 at 11:10)  
✓ Clarke  
✓ Culberson (37)  
✓ Fletcher  
✓ Gore (38)

[PRESENT]

[ABSENT]

✓ Hardwick (40 at 11 am)  
✓ Hitchcock  
✓ Hollis  
✓ Hughes (45)  
✓ James  
Johnson  
✓ Kern  
Lane  
✓ Lea of Tenn.  
✓ Lee of Md. (41 at 11 am)  
Lewis

FEBRUARY 13, 1915

[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
✓ Martin		✓ Shively	
✓ Martine		✓ Simmons	
✓ Myers		✓ Smith of Ariz (39)	
✓ Newlands		✓ Smith of Ga	
✓ O'Gorman (43 at 11:25)		✓ Smith of Md	
✓ Overman		✓ Smith of S.C.	
✓ Owen		✓ Stone	
✓ Pittman		✓ Swanson	
✓ Pomerene		✓ Thomas	
✓ Ransdell		✓ Thompson	
✓ Reed		✓ Thornton	
✓ Robinson		✓ Tillman (44 at 11:25)	
✓ Saulsbury		✓ Vardaman	
✓ Shafroth		✓ Walsh	
✓ Sheppard (36)		✓ White	
✓ Shields		✓ Williams (counted for quorum)	

S. RES. 283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 2, 1914

Mr. Owen submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules.

RESOLUTION

*Resolved*, That Rule XIX of the standing rules of the Senate be amended by adding the following:

Sec. 6. That the Senate may at any time upon motion of a Senator fix a day and hour for the final vote upon any matter pending in the Senate: Provided, That upon the motion of a Senator, sustained by one-fourth of the Members of the Senate, debate of not to exceed forty-eight hours shall be allowed within the time fixed for such final vote, one-half of the time for debate to be controlled by the proponents and one-half by the opponents of the pending question.

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[February 13, 1915]

A Conference of the Democratic members of the Senate was duly called by the following request, due notice and adjournment thereunder:

To the Hon. John W. Kern, Chairman,

We, the undersigned, respectfully request you to call a Caucus of the Democrats of the Senate to be held in the room of the Committee on Finance, Senate Office Building, on February 13th, 1915, at 10 o'clock A.M. for the purpose of considering

amendments to the standing rules of the Senate with respect to cloture.

Duncan U. Fletcher  
Wm. J. Stone  
T.J. Walsh  
Luke Lea  
Robt. L. Owen  
Morris Sheppard  
Blair Lee  
Henry F. Hollis  
J.R. Thornton  
Jas. A. Reed  
W.E. Chilton

The Conference, pursuant to adjournment, was called to order Saturday, February 13, 1915, at 8:30 P.M., with Mr. Kern in the Chair and Mr. Lee of Maryland, temporary Secretary.

On roll-call thirty-four senators were recorded present either in person or by proxy. The following named were present in person: Messrs. Chamberlain, Chilton, Fletcher, Gore, Hughes, James, Kern, Lea of Tenn., Lee of Md., Myers, Newlands, Owen, Pittman, Ransdell, Reed, Robinson, Shafroth, Sheppard, Shively, Simmons, Smith of Ariz., Smith of Ga., Stone, Thomas, Walsh, White and Williams; and the following by proxy: Messrs. Martin, Martine, Thompson, Pomerene, Saulsbury and Swanson.

It was ordered that the vote of Messrs. Martin, Martine, Thompson, Pomerene and Swanson be cast by Mr. Fletcher, these gentlemen having so requested.

Mr. Williams requested that Mr. Saulsbury's vote be cast as requested by his letter to Senator Kern, which was agreed to.

Mr. Fletcher moved, as a substitute to Mr. Reed's motion, the following:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Conference that some rule for a modified cloture, permitting fair and reasonable debate, but enabling a majority to end a persistent filibuster intended to prevent a vote, and, for the present, at least, a rule which would terminate the filibuster on the shipping bill, should be adopted, and the committee in charge of the management of the said bill is authorized to give direction to this action.

Mr. Chilton retired and asked permission for Mr. Fletcher to cast his vote, which was agreed to.

After discussion, Mr. Fletcher's motion was put and carried.

Mr. Simmons moved to add to the committee of management Messrs. Hollis and Lea of Tenn., which was agreed to.



FEBRUARY 13, 1915

Mr. Lea of Tenn. moved that an amendment be added to the proper appropriation bill striking out the name of Mr. [Henry M.] Rose [Assistant Secretary of the Senate], which was agreed to.

Mr. Myers moved that when the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Bill is before the Senate he be granted leave to move for one more clerk for the Committee on Public Lands. Mr. Williams objected, stating a point of order, which point of order was sustained.

At 10:25 P.M. the Conference adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,  
[signed] Blair Lee  
Temporary Secretary.

## **Sixty-fourth Congress (1915–1917)**

[Editor's Note: The Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution, which replaced the election of U.S. senators by state legislatures with direct election, was ratified in 1913, and the following year senators campaigned for popular election for the first time. Although Democrats lost 61 seats in the House, voters increased the Democratic majority in the Senate by 5 to a margin of 56 to 40. War in Europe, which had begun in August 1914, increasingly dominated the concerns of Congress and the president, as the nation attempted to remain neutral between the belligerent powers.]

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[November 29, 1915]

Regular call meeting of the Democratic Caucus held on the 29th day of November, 1915, at the hour of 11:30 A.M.

Upon roll call, forty-four Senators responded to their names.

Senator Pomerene moved the nomination of Senator Kern as Chairman of the Caucus.

Upon a rising vote Senator Kern was unanimously elected.

Senator Kern thereupon addressed the Caucus and expressed his appreciation of the honor conferred upon him.

Senator Simmons moved that the Caucus appoint a steering committee to be nominated by the Chairman, to consist of eight members, and that the Chairman be an ex-official member of such committee.

Senator Williams who was nominated as Vice-Chairman begged leave to withdraw in favor of Senator Newlands.

Senator Newlands expressed his appreciation and begged leave to withdraw his name as a candidate; thereupon Senator Hughes moved that the matter of the election of a Vice-Chairman go over until the next meeting.

Senator Clarke of Arkansas was nominated for President pro tempore of the Senate.

Upon the request of Senator Reed, concurred in by Senator Clarke, the election of the President pro tempore of the Senate was passed until the succeeding meeting.

NOVEMBER 29, 1915

Senator Williams offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, that Rule XXII of the standing rules of the Senate be amended as follows: Insert after the words "to lay on the table" in Rule XXII the following:

"Any Senator arising in his place and asserting that in his opinion an attempt is being made on the floor of the Senate to obstruct, hinder, or delay the right of the Senate to proceed to a vote, the Chair shall, without permitting any debate thereon, put the question to the Senate, 'Is it the sense of the Senate that an attempt is being made to obstruct, hinder, or delay a vote?' And if that question shall be decided in the affirmative, then it shall be in order, to the exclusion of the consideration of all other questions, for any Senator to move to fix a time for voting on the pending bill or resolution and all amendments thereto; and the said motion shall be decided without debate: PROVIDED, HOWEVER, That the time fixed in said motion for taking the vote on the pending bill or resolution and all amendments thereto shall be at least two calendar days after the day on which said motion is made."

The names of members of the committee appointed by the Caucus to make suggestions with regard to changes in the Rules were requested; whereupon Senator Owen, Chairman of the Committee, gave the names as follows: Senator Owen, Senator Martin, Senator Walsh.

Senator Owen in the same connection stated that the Committee would probably be ready to report at the adjourn meeting.

Senator James moved that the meeting adjourn until 11 o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, the 1st day of December, 1915.

The motion was carried.

Secretary.

Roll Call Dem. Caucus, Nov. 29, 1915, 11:30 A.M.		[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	✓ Hitchcock	
✓ Ashurst		✓ Hollis	
✓ Bankhead		✓ Hughes	
✓ Beckham		✓ Husting	
Broussard	✓	✓ James	
Bryan	✓	✓ Johnson of Me.	
✓ Chamberlain		✓ Johnson of S. Dak.	
✓ Chilton		✓ Kern	
✓ Clarke		Lane	✓
✓ Culberson	✓	Lea of Tenn.	✓
✓ Fletcher		✓ Lee of Md.	
Gore	✓	Lewis	✓
✓ Hardwick		✓ Martin	
		Martine	✓

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1915-1917)

[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]	[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
✓ Myers		✓ Simmons	
✓ Newlands		✓ Smith of Ariz.	
✓ O’Gorman		✓ Smith of Ga.	
✓ Overman		✓ Smith of Md.	
✓ Owen		✓ Smith of S.C.	✓
✓ Phelan		✓ Stone	
✓ Pittman	✓	✓ Swanson	
✓ Pomerene		✓ Thomas	
✓ Ransdell		✓ Thompson	
✓ Reed		✓ Tillman	
✓ Robinson		✓ Underwood	
✓ Saulsbury		✓ Vardaman	
✓ Shafroth		✓ Walsh	
✓ Sheppard	✓	✓ Williams	
✓ Shields			
✓ Shively	✓	44	12

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[December 1, 1915]

Adjourn meeting of the Democratic Caucus, held in the Rooms of the Financial Committee, on this the 1st day of December 1915.

PRESENT: Senator Kern in the Chair.  
 Senator Pittman, Secretary, acting.

At a roll call the following Senators answered “present.” [See roll call that follows these minutes.]

The Chairman then announced the following Steering Committee: Senator Martin; Senator Chamberlain; Senator Owen; Senator O’Gorman; Senator Smith of Ga.; Senator Thomas; Senator Williams; Senator James.

Upon motion duly made and seconded the appointment of such steering committee was unanimously approved and confirmed.

Senator Hoke Smith nominated Senator Chilton for Vice-Chairman.

The nomination was seconded by Senator O’Gorman.

The election of Senator Chilton was made unanimous by a rising vote.

Senator Chilton was thereupon called upon and expressed his appreciation of the honor conferred upon him.

Senator Hoke Smith requested permission of the Caucus to withdraw his name as a member of the steering committee; and in making such request urged the appointment of Senator Reed of Missouri as his successor.

Senator Reed thanked Senator Smith for his generosity in the matter but stated that he could not accept the sacrifice.

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After further remarks by Senators present, Senator Smith's resignation from the Committee was accepted and Senator Reed was unanimously elected to fill the vacancy.

Senator Stone placed Senator Lewis of Illinois in nomination for the position of whip.

Senator Lewis was unanimously elected to such position.

Upon the suggestion of Senator Owen the matter of the election of the President pro tempore went over until Thursday [lined out and "Friday" inserted] at the hour of 2 o'clock.

Senator Owen as Chairman of the Committee on Special Rules announced that the Committee would report at the following session of the Caucus.

Upon motion of Senator O'Gorman it was agreed that when the caucus adjourned it would adjourn to convene at 2 o'clock P.M. on Thursday, the 2nd of December.

Senator Overman made the informal report concerning patronage. It was thereupon suggested that it was proper that the Assistant Librarian of the Senate should be a Democrat.

Senator Newlands moved that it was the sense of the Caucus that certain Republican employees who have long been retained in their offices by reason of their efficiency and as a justice to the minority party should not be disturbed.

There was considerable discussion as to whether or not the Senate is a continuing body and whether or not the elective officers should be elected at the beginning of each session. No official action was taken upon the matter.

The matter of appointive patronage was called to the attention of the Committee on Patronage with request that they take up the matter and deal with it.

Senator O'Gorman moved to adjourn until 2 P.M., Thursday, December 2nd, 1915.

The motion carried.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary.

Roll Call, Dec. 1, 1915

[PRESENT]

Ashurst  
Bankhead  
Beckham

[PRESENT]

Phelan  
Pittman  
Pomerene

[ABSENT]

Broussard  
Bryan  
Culberson

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1915-1917)

[PRESENT]	[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
Chamberlain	Ransdell	Lea of Tenn.
Chilton	Reed	Martine
Clarke	Robinson	Shively
Fletcher	Saulsbury	
Gore	Shafroth	
Hardwick	Sheppard	
Hitchcock	Shields	
Hollis	Simmons	
Hughes	Smith of Ariz.	
Husting	Smith of Ga.	
James	Smith of Md.	
Johnson of Me.	Smith of S.C.	
Johnson of S.Dak.	Stone	
Kern	Swanson	
Lane	Thomas	
Lee of Md.	Thompson	
Lewis	Tillman	
Martin	Underwood	
Myers	Vardaman	
Newlands	Walsh	
O'Gorman	Williams	
Overman	46 present	
Owen		

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[December 2, 1915]

Adjourn meeting of the Democratic Caucus, held in the Room of the Finance Committee, at the hour of 2 o'clock P.M., on the 2nd day of December, 1915; with Senator Kern in the Chair, and Senator Pittman acting as Secretary.

At the request of the Chairman, the Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators were found to be present: [See roll call at end of minutes.]

The Chairman had called to the attention of the Caucus the necessity for the old Senators having numerous committee appointments to surrender such appointments so that the newly elected Senators might be provided with appropriate committees.

The Senators were requested to communicate with the Chairman, giving a list of such committees as they were willing to withdraw from.

Senator Gore suggested that members of the Steering Committee by reason of the importance of such committee should hold no other committee appointments.

It was suggested by Senator Overman that the majority party might be entitled to larger representations upon some of the committees.

DECEMBER 2, 1915

Senator Simmons stated that he had favored the enlargement of the Finance Committee by two additional members, so that the Committee might have the benefit of the appointment of Mr. Underwood to such committee.

Senator Williams stated that he favored the increasing of the Finance Committee by the appointment of two Democrats, as he felt frequently that the Democratic majority was too small on such committees.

After considerable discussion it was agreed that the Steering Committee should take such steps as were proper to obtain an increase in the number of Democratic Senators upon certain committees, also the decrease of the number of Republican Senators upon such Committees.

Senator Owen as Chairman of the Committee on Special Rules thereupon submitted the report of the committee. The Committee recommended the passage of the following rule:

RESOLVED: That the rules of the Senate of the Sixty-third Congress shall be the rules of the Senate of the Sixty-fourth Congress until otherwise ordered, except that Rule 22 shall be as follows:

Rule 22. Precedence of Motions.

When a question is pending, no motion shall be received, except as hereinafter provided, but—

To adjourn.

To adjourn to a day certain, or that when the Senate adjourn it shall be to a day certain.

To take a recess.

To proceed to the consideration of executive business.

To lay on the table.

To postpone indefinitely.

To Commit.

To amend.

Which several motions shall have precedence as they stand arranged; and the motions relating to adjournment, to take a recess, to proceed to the consideration of executive business, to lay on the table, shall be decided without debate.

PROVIDED, HOWEVER, That any Senator arising in his place and asserting that in his opinion an attempt is being made on the floor of the Senate to obstruct, hinder, or delay the right of the Senate to proceed to a vote, the Chair shall, without permitting any debate thereon, put the question to the Senate—

“Is it the sense of the Senate that an attempt is being made to obstruct, hinder, or delay a vote?”

And if that question shall be decided in the affirmative, then it shall be in order to the exclusion of all other questions and business for any Senator to move to limit debate on the pending bill or resolution and all amendments thereto, and the said motion shall be decided without debate. And thereafter, the motion being carried, each Senator shall be entitled to speak not to exceed one hour in all on the bill, the amendments thereto and any motion affecting the same.

Senator Owen thereupon moved that the report of the Committee be adopted.

Senator Martin stated that he was compelled to leave the Caucus and asked unanimous consent that the Chairman cast his vote in favor of the report.

The same request was made by Senator Stone.

There being no objection to their requests, the same were unani- mously granted.

Senator Smith of S.C. requested to know if the members of the Cau- cus would be bound upon the floor of the Senate by the action of the Caucus. He further stated that under no consideration would he permit himself to be bound to support on the floor of the Senate the report of the Committee or any cloture rule.

Senator Martin replied to Senator Smith, and stated that the rule of the Caucus to be that a Senator is not bound upon the floor of the Senate by Caucus action, unless they had by two-thirds vote de- termined the question to be a party matter. The other exceptions were also stated by Senator Martin.

Senator Myers and Senator Thompson asked unanimous consent that they be excused and that the Chairman cast their vote in favor of the adoption of the report by the Committee.

There being no objection, their requests were granted.

Senator Williams then spoke in favor of the adoption of the report.

Senator Swanson asked consent to be excused, and that the Chair- man cast his vote in favor of the resolution. Senator Bryan objected, and therefore permission was not granted.

Senator Walsh of Montana then took the floor and supported most strongly the report of the Committee in a very exhaustive and able argument. He maintained that the Senate is not a continuing body and that a new Senate is without rules, except the ordinary rules of parliamentary practice.

Senator Smith of Ga. and Senator Smith of S.C. expressed opposi- tion to the motion on the grounds that the adoption of such resolu-



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tion would commit the Senate or those voting for the same to the theory that the Senate is not a continuing body.

Senator Walsh stated that he had no desire to so commit any Senator, but that the preamble to the motion was suggested by the desire to have rules of procedure in the event that the Senate is not a continuing body.

On motion, the Caucus adjourned until 10 o'clock, A.M., on Friday, the 3rd day of December, 1915.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary.

Roll Call, Dec. 2, 1915

[PRESENT]

Ashurst  
Bankhead  
Beckham  
Bryan  
Chilton  
Clarke  
Fletcher  
Gore  
Hardwick  
Hitchcock  
Hollis  
Husting  
Johnson of Me.  
Kern  
Lee of M  
Martin  
Newlands  
O'Gorman  
Overman  
Owen

[PRESENT]

Pittman  
Pomerene  
Reed  
Saulsbury  
Shafroth  
Sheppard  
Shields  
Simmons  
Smith of Ariz.  
Smith of Ga.  
Smith of Md.  
Smith of S.C.  
Stoneof  
Swanson  
Thomasd.  
Thompson  
Underwood  
Vardaman  
Walsh  
Williams

[ABSENT]

Broussard  
Chamberlain  
Culberson  
Hughes  
James  
Johnson of S.Dak.  
Lane  
Lea of Tenn.  
Martine  
Lewis  
Myers  
Phelan  
Shively  
Tillman

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[December 3, 1915]

Adjourn meeting of the Democratic Caucus, December 3, 1915, at 10 A.M., held in the Rooms of the Financial Committee.

Mr. Kern in the Chair.

Mr. Pittman, Secretary acting.

Upon roll call 42 Senators found to be present.

Chairman called Mr. Hughes to the Chair.

Mr. Shafroth was recognized and presented for the consideration of the Caucus an amendment to Rule XIX, as follows:

Amend Paragraph 1 of Rule XIX, so it shall read as follows:

RULE XIX.  
DEBATE

I. When a Senator desires to speak, he shall rise and address the Presiding Officer, and shall not proceed until he is recognized, and the Presiding Officer shall recognize the Senator who shall first address him. No Senator shall interrupt another Senator in debate without his consent, and to obtain such consent he shall first address the Presiding Officer. NO SENATOR SHALL SPEAK FOR MORE THAN TWO HOURS UPON ANY ONE BILL, RESOLUTION OR MATTER IN DEBATE, AND ALL MOTIONS AFFECTING THE SAME, NOR FOR MORE THAN ONE HOUR UPON ALL AMENDMENTS THERETO WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE SENATE, WHICH SHALL BE DETERMINED WITHOUT DEBATE.

No action was taken upon the proposed amendment.

Mr. Overman took the floor and presented an argument sustaining the rule that the Senate is a continuing body.

Mr. Underwood requested that he be excused and that the Chairman cast his vote during his absence. The request was unanimously granted.

Mr. Saulsbury made request that he be excused and that the Chairman cast his vote. Request granted.

Mr. Bankhead presented the following amendment [to] Rule XIX:

RESOLVED, That the Rules of the Senate be amended by adding thereto the following:

1. There shall be a motion for the previous question, which being ordered by two-thirds of Senators voting, if a quorum be present, shall have the effect to cut off all debate and bring the Senate to a direct vote upon the immediate question or questions on which it has been asked or ordered. The previous question may be asked and ordered upon a single motion, a series of motions allowable under the rules, or an amendment or amendments, or may be made to embrace all authorized motions or amendments and include the bill to its passage or rejection. It shall be in order, pending the motion for, or after the previous question shall have been ordered on its passage, for the Presiding Officer to entertain and submit a motion to commit with or without instructions, to a standing or select committee.

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2. All motions for the previous question shall, before being submitted to the Senate, be seconded by a two-thirds vote by tellers, if demanded.

3. When a motion for the previous question has been seconded it shall be in order, before final vote is taken thereon, for each Senator to debate the proposition to be voted upon for two hours.

Mr. Reed took the floor in support of the Committee's report on amendment to Rule XXII. He contended that the Senate is not a continuing body.

Mr. Tillman interrupted the speaker and requested that the Caucus rule binding the members of the Caucus to vote on the floor of the Senate in accordance with the determination of the Caucus be read; whereupon the Secretary read resolutions adopted at a minority Caucus of Democrats on December 15, 1903; it being the only rule of such character apparently in existence.

The Caucus took a recess until 2 o'clock P.M.

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The Caucus re-convened at 2 P.M.

The Chair announced nominations for President pro tempore of the Senate in order.

Mr. Tillman was recognized and read an address. Upon completion of his address he moved that Mr. Clarke be elected by acclamation.

Mr. Newlands then took the floor and strongly supported the nomination of Mr. Clarke.

Mr. Walsh placed in nomination Mr. Pomerene of Ohio.

Mr. Stone seconded the nomination of Mr. Pomerene.

During Mr. Stone's speech he propounded certain questions to each of the candidates, relative to positions held by them on various political questions.

Mr. Gore then obtained the floor and strongly supported the nomination of Mr. Clarke.

Mr. Shafroth seconded the nomination of Mr. Clarke.

Mr. Pittman seconded the nomination of Mr. Pomerene.

There being no further remarks upon the nominations of either candidate, Mr. Bankhead moved that the roll be called and a vote taken. The roll was called and the Chair announced the following vote:

Those voting for Mr. Clarke:

Messrs.

Bankhead

Pomerene

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Beckham	Ransdell
Broussard	Robinson
Bryan	Saulsbury
Chamberlain	Shafroth
Gore	Shields
Hardwick	Simmons
Hitchcock	Smith of Ga.
Hughes	Smith of S.C.
James	Tillman
Johnson of Me.	Underwood
Lane	Vardaman
Newlands	Williams
O'Gorman	
Overman	

Those voting for Mr. Pomerene:

Messrs.

Ashurst	Phelan
Chilton	Pittman
Clarke	Reed
Fletcher	Sheppard
Hollis	Smith of Ariz.
Husting	Smith of Md.
Johnson of S.D.	Swanson
Lee of Md.	Thomas
Martin	Thompson
Myers	Walsh
Owen	

Mr. Stone voted for Mr. Walsh of Montana.

Upon the Chair announcing that Mr. Clarke had received 28 votes and Mr. Pomerene 23, Mr. Pomerene rose and obtained the floor and in a most cordial speech moved that the nomination of Mr. Clarke be made unanimous. The motion was seconded by Mr. Smith of Arizona. The motion was unanimously carried.

Mr. Clarke thereupon took the floor and thanked the Caucus for the honor conferred upon him. He outlined his views of the duties of a President pro tempore and emphatically stated that his course would always be in keeping with such views. He said that he was very hopeful that some means could be discovered whereby the Senate could be protected against filibusters.

Mr. Thompson moved that the Chairman appoint Mr. Pomerene President pro tempore for Monday, the 6th of December, and until the President pro tempore elect was sworn in. On motion of Mr. Clarke such resolution was referred to the Chairman of the Caucus with instructions to do what he might consider proper under the circumstances, and under the rules and precedents of the Senate.

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Mr. Chilton and Mr. Smith of S.C. announced that they would be necessarily absent on Saturday and requested permission to pair. No objection was made.

Mr. Stone requested that a vote be taken on or before 5 o'clock tomorrow on the motion to adopt the report of the Special Committee on Rules, the amendments presented to such Committee and all other amendments and matters connected therewith.

There being no objection the same was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. O'Gorman moved that an adjournment be had until 10:30 o'clock A.M. on Saturday, December 4, 1915; whereupon the motion was carried and the adjournment had.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary.

Roll Call, Dec. 3, 1915

[PRESENT]	[PRESENT]	[ABSENT]
Bankhead	Overman	Ashurst
Beckham	Owen	Chamberlain
Broussard	Pittman	Gore
Bryan	Pomerene	Hitchcock
Chilton	Ransdell	Lea of Tenn.
Clarke	Robinson	Lewis
Culberson	Shafroth	Martine
Fletcher	Sheppard	Myers
Hardwick	Simmons	Phelan
Hollis	Smith of Ga.	Reed
Hughes	Smith of S.C.	Saulsbury
Husting	Stone	Shields
James	Swanson	Shively
Johnson of Me.	Thomas	Smith of Ariz.
Johnson of S. Dak.	Tillman	Smith of Md.
Kern	Underwood	Thompson
Lane	Vardaman	
Lee of Md.	Walsh	
Martin	Williams	
Newlands		
O'Gorman	42 present	

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[December 4, 1915]

Adjourn meeting of Democratic Conference, held at Committee Room, Dec. 4, 1915.

Mr. Kern in Chair.

Mr. Pittman, Secretary, acting.

Roll-call—35 Senators found present.

Mr. Clarke was recognized and spoke in opposition to any form of cloture, giving as his opinion that there could be no half-way measure.

Mr. Vardaman spoke in favor of a limited cloture that would permit ample debate.

Mr. Pomerene spoke in favor of a modified cloture.

Mr. Owen took the floor and suggested that it was apparent that there was a great difference in opinion upon the question of whether the Senate was a continuing body or not, and therefore suggested that the question be considered not as a party matter but that it be presented to the Senate in the regular order.

Mr. Walsh introduced the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That no vote taken on the pending motion or any resolution in relation to cloture shall carry with it any obligation moral or otherwise on any member to vote in the Senate in accordance therewith.

Mr. Stone spoke in favor of the resolution. Mr. Stone expressed his regret that the Conference could not act as a caucus and treat the matter as a party question binding upon those present.

Mr. O’Gorman moved to adjourn. Messrs. Walsh, Fletcher, and others requested the motion be withdrawn. Mr. O’Gorman consented.

Upon the suggestion of Mr. Clarke a standing vote was had upon the question of whether or not the changing of rules should be considered as a party question. Upon a rising vote it was determined that the question should not be considered as a party question.

Upon motion of Mr. Owen the whole matter was referred back to the special committee on rules of which Mr. Owen is Chairman.

Mr. Walsh addressed the Conference upon the subject of the reference of bills affecting mines and mining to the Committee on Mines and Mining rather than the Committee on Public Lands.

No action was taken with regard to this matter.

The Conference adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

[signed] Key Pittman

Roll call, December 4, 1915

[PRESENT]

✓ Ashurst  
31 Bankhead  
✓ Beckham  
0 Broussard

[PRESENT]

0 Bryan  
✓ Chamberlain  
✓ Chilton  
✓ Clarke  
0 Culberson

DECEMBER 4, 1915

[PRESENT]

✓ Fletcher  
✓ Gore  
✓ Hardwick  
✓ Hitchcock  
✓ Hollis  
✓ Hughes  
✓ James  
✓ Johnson of Me  
✓ Johnson of SD  
✓ Kern  
✓ Lane  
0 Lea of Tenn.  
✓ Lee of Md.  
✓ Lewis  
✓ Martin  
0 Martine  
✓ Myers  
✓ Newlands  
✓ O'Gorman  
✓ Overman  
✓ Owen  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Pomerene

[PRESENT]

✓ Ransdell  
✓ Reed  
✓ Robinson  
✓ Saulsbury  
✓ Shafroth  
✓ Sheppard  
✓ Shields  
0 Shively  
✓ Simmons  
✓ Smith of Ariz  
✓ Smith of Ga  
✓ Smith of Md  
✓ Smith of S.C.  
✓ Stone  
✓ Swanson  
✓ Thomas  
✓ Thompson  
✓ Tillman  
✓ Underwood  
✓ Vardaman  
✓ Walsh  
✓ Williams  
46

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[March 16, 1916]

Meeting of Democratic Caucus March 16, 1916, at the hour of 2 o'clock, P.M.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman, Secretary, acting.

The Chair stated that the object of the meeting was to determine by a Caucus action whether the provisions of the House bill with regard to sugar, which provision repeals the act placing sugar upon the free list, or the provision of the Finance Committee of the Senate extending for four years the operation of the bill placing sugar on the free list, should be supported by the Democrats in the Senate.

Senator Simmons moved that the provision as reported by the Committee on Finance of the Senate be approved by the Caucus and that such provision be supported by the Democrats upon the floor of the Senate. After a full and free discussion a Yea and Nay vote was taken upon the motion with the following result:

Senators voting Yea were: Ashurst, Beckham, Chamberlain, Chilton, Gore, Hardwick, Hollis, Hughes, James, Johnson, Kern, Lee, Overman, Pittman, Robinson, Sheppard, Simmons, Smith of Ga., Smith of S.C., Stone, Taggart, Thomas, Williams.

Senators voting Nay were: Broussard, Culberson, Martine, Ransdell, Shafroth, Shields, Thompson.

The Chair declared the motion carried.

Senator Smith of Georgia then presented the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Conference that the standing rules of the Senate should be amended in a way that a determined filibuster may be brought to an end and a vote reached.

RESOLVED, Further that the Committee on Rules be requested to report such amendment.

RESOLVED, Further that the pending resolution and report be referred to the Committee on Rules.

Resolution carried.

There being no further business before the meeting, the same adjourned.

Secretary

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[April 19, 1916]

Meeting of the Democratic Conference, held at the Committee Room of the Finance Committee, in the Senate Office Building, on the 19th day of April, 1916.

Senator Kern in the Chair.

Senator Pittman, Secretary, acting.

Chairman requested Senator Simmons to state the object of the meeting.

Senator Simmons took the floor and stated that the conferees on behalf of the Senate on [the] Senate Bill, commonly known as the "Sugar Bill," were unable to induce the conferees on behalf of the House to agree to the substitute bill of the Senate, which continued in force and effect the present duty upon sugar for the period of four years, as distinguished from the House provision which simply repealed the act placing sugar upon the free list. The Senator stated that the conferees on behalf of the House, and other Democratic leaders in the House, stated that it would be impossible to pass the bill as amended by the Senate; that as the Senate Bill was acted upon in Democratic Conference the conferees on behalf of the Senate did not consider that they were at liberty to recede from the Senate amendment without express authority of the Democratic Conference. For the sake of harmony and to insure the passage of the bill, which he contended was required by existing emergencies, he urged the Conference to authorize the conferees to recede from the Senate amendment and accept the House Bill.



APRIL 19, 1916

Senator Thomas thereupon moved that it was the sense of the Conference that the said Senate conferees insist upon the amendment passed by the Senate and disagree to the House Bill.

Senator Myers moved as a substitute for Senator Thomas' motion that the conferees be instructed to recede from the Senate amendment and to accept the bill as passed by the House.

Senator Newlands asked for information as to whether or not the meeting was in the nature of a Conference or a Caucus; in other words, whether any of those participating in the Conference were to be bound by the action of the Conference.

The Chair held that the meeting was in the nature of a Conference, and that it would not assume the character of a Caucus unless two-thirds of the Democratic members of the Senate should first vote to make the question a party question.

Senator Hardwick addressed the meeting. He stated that unless coerced by Caucus action that he would use every means in his power to prevent the passage of any motion receding from the Senate amendment and adopting the House Bill. That he would, however, if bound by Caucus vote submit to such vote as a good party man.

Senator Thomas addressed the meeting in favor of his motion.

Senator Lewis explained his position; that the principal argument made by him in his campaign for the United States Senate in the State of Illinois was based upon the promise of the Democratic party in its national platform to place sugar upon the free list. That for him now to vote otherwise would be exceedingly humiliating, if not dangerous to the success of the Democratic party in his State. He stated, however, that he would consider himself bound by the majority vote of the Conference.

Senator Swanson favored the Myers' substitute.

Senator Owen spoke in behalf of Senator Thomas' motion.

Senator Kern addressed the Conference on behalf of party harmony and party solidarity.

Senator Stone explained his reasons for having the Conference called, which were similar to the reasons suggested by Senator Simmons. He stated that he would be bound by the instructions of the Conference; that if no instructions were given he would probably ask to be relieved as a member of the conferees.

Senator Smith spoke in favor of Senator Myers' substitute.

Senator Pittman stated that he preferred the House amendment because under the provisions of the House Bill sugar could again be placed upon the free list at any time within four years if the emergency ceased to exist, while under the Senate Bill the Senators

would be morally bound to maintain the present rate of duty for the period of four years.

The question was put to a vote upon Senator Myers' substitute. Upon a roll call 24 voted in favor of the substitute, and 9 against.

On the final vote on the motion as amended, the same was declared carried by the Chair.

Senator Thomas desired to be recorded as voting against the motion.

Conferees were then instructed to take such steps as they might deem advisable to carry out the sense of the Conference.

Upon motion the Conference adjourned.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary

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[July 5, 1916]

Meeting of Democratic Caucus, July 5, 1916, Senator Kern in the Chair and Senator Pittman Secretary acting.

Upon roll call 33 senators answered to their names and a quorum was declared to be present.

The Chairman then stated to the Caucus that Senator [Jacob H.] Gallinger [Republican, New Hampshire], representing the minority, had stated to him that an agreement might be had to set the shipping bill down for consideration upon a day certain in the succeeding short session of Congress; that if such agreement were not entered into a legitimate filibuster might be engaged in by the Republicans. He insisted upon a reply to his suggestion at an early date.

The Chairman further stated that the Steering Committee had voted to have the general leasing bill follow the appropriation bill, and the Child Labor bill to following the Leasing bill, subject, however, to the condition that the Shipping bill, if reported to the Senate, should have [precedence] over all bills except the appropriations.

Senator Chilton moved that speeches be limited to ten minutes.

Senator Clarke stated that he believed the real object of the Conference was to obtain party support for the Shipping bill; that he would not support such a bill as now prepared or any bill that provided for government ownership and operation, nor would he support a bill that provided for purchase of old vessels; that he would take no part in the work of the Committee on Commerce while such bill was being considered by that committee.

JULY 5, 1916

Senator Stone urged that the Shipping bill was the most important measure to be passed at this session of Congress, and recommended that the bill be put up to the Senate as soon as possible.

Senator Hoke Smith insisted upon the passage of his cloture resolution.

Senator Thomas moved that it be the sense of the Caucus that the Senate convene at 10:30 A.M. and stay in session until 9 P.M. Motion tabled.

Senator Reed favored accepting the challenge of the other side and of debating the Shipping bill until the next session of Congress if necessary.

Senator Pomerene spoke in favor of the Shipping bill and the necessity for action [at] this session.

Senator Simmons said the Committee on Commerce had been as expeditious as possible, and that he hoped to have the bill on the calendar in a week. He then explained the changes made in the old bill with the present bill.

Senator Tillman asked to be excused and that Senator Swanson be permitted to cast his vote. The request was granted.

Senator Mark Smith then presented the following motion:

It is the sense of this Conference that what is known as the Shipping bill, when reported to the Senate, shall become the unfinished business of the Senate, subject to be displaced only by appropriation bills and conference reports, and shall so remain the unfinished business of the Senate until a final vote be had thereon.

Motion adopted.

Upon motion the Caucus adjourned until 9 P.M. on Friday night the 7th day of July, 1916.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary

Roll call, July 5, 1916

[PRESENT]

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Beckham  
✓ Broussard  
✓ Bryan  
✓ Chamberlain  
✓ Chilton  
✓ Clarke  
✓ Culberson

[PRESENT]

Fletcher  
Gore  
Hardwick  
Hitchcock  
Hollis  
✓ Hughes  
✓ Husting  
James  
Johnson of Me  
✓ Johnson of SD

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1915-1917)

[PRESENT]

✓ Kern  
Lane  
Lea of Tenn.  
✓ Lee of Md.  
Lewis  
Martin  
✓ Martine  
Myers  
Newlands  
✓ O'Gorman  
✓ Overman  
Owen  
✓ Phelan  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Pomerene  
✓ Ransdell  
✓ Reed  
Robinson  
Saulsbury

[PRESENT]

Shafroth  
✓ Sheppard  
✓ Shields  
✓ Simmons  
✓ Smith of Ariz  
✓ Smith of Ga  
Smith of Md  
✓ Smith of S.C.  
Stone  
✓ Swanson  
✓ Taggart  
✓ Thomas  
Thompson  
✓ Tillman  
✓ Underwood  
Vardaman  
Walsh  
Williams

33

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[July 7, 1916]

Meeting of Democratic Caucus, Friday night, July 7, 1916, at 8 P.M.; meeting adjourned.

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[July 8, 1916]

July 8th, 1916, at the hour of 2 P.M., Senator Chilton, Vice Chairman, in the Chair, Senator Pittman, Secretary acting.

The roll was called and 37 senators answered to their names. The Chair declared a quorum present.

Ten minute rule was agreed to.

Senator Simmons, on behalf of Democratic members of Committee on Commerce, stated that it was impossible for the Democratic members to reach an agreement with the Republican members of the committee; that the Democratic members of the committee had come to an agreement upon the main provisions of the bill, which will later be submitted to the Caucus.

Senator Simmons then read an amendment to Section 5 of the bill, which had been agreed upon by the Democratic members of the committee; and also Section 11 of the bill, which had been agreed upon by the Democratic members of the committee. Such amendments are hereto attached to the minutes.

Senator Reed then construed the amendments and explained their purposes.

JULY 8, 1916

Senator Simmons made some remarks in explanation of the amendments.

Senator Fletcher then moved that the action of the Democratic members of the Committee on Commerce in agreeing upon said amendments to Sections 5 and 11 be approved and that the Caucus agree to support such amendments.

Senator Williams then moved that the Caucus do not approve that portion of such amendments which limits the power of the Shipping Board under the bill to purchase ships of belligerents. The motion was lost.

Senator Williams then moved that the Caucus do not approve that portion of such amendments which provides that ships of citizens engaged in American trade and carrying the commerce of America shall not be purchased. The motion was lost.

The motion of Senator Fletcher was then put to a vote, all the Senators present except Senator Thomas of Colorado voting in the affirmative. Motion was declared carried.

Senator Underwood then moved:

That the committee be requested to so reform and frame the Ship Purchase bill that the vessels built, purchased, leased, chartered or operated under such Act shall be admitted to register and permitted to enter the deep-sea trade, and also that they be granted enrollment and licensed and be admitted to the coast wise trade; that such vessels be admitted to either trade or both trades at the same time.

By a rising vote the motion was unanimously carried.

Senator Thomas moved that the Senate convene at 11 A.M. and continue in session until 8 P.M. every day except Sunday and holidays.

Senator Fletcher offered an amendment to strike out 8 P.M. and substitute 7 P.M.

Senator Smith of Arizona moved a substitute by referring the entire matter to the Steering Committee.

The last motion was agreed to.

The Caucus then adjourned.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary

Add at the end of Section 5:

Provided, however, that no vessel then making American ports and engaged in serving the commerce of the United States, unless about to be taken from such commerce, and no vessel of foreign registry, the country of such registry being then engaged in war, shall be purchased, leased or chartered.

Provided further, that no vessel shall by the board be purchased, leased, or chartered which is not adapted or by reasonable alterations and repairs can be adapted to the purposes defined in Section V.

Provided further, that no vessel of American registry, or owned by citizens of the United States shall be transferred to the registry of any foreign power, or sold to any person not a citizen of the United States, unless such vessel shall first be tendered to the board for the price in good faith offered by others.

No vessel shall be purchased, which, upon expert examination made under the direction of the board, a written report of such examination being filed as a public record, unless it be, without repair or alteration, of less than seventy-five per cent. of its original efficiency at the time of its being originally entered into commission as a seaworthy vessel.

Amend Section 11 by adding:

Provided, that neither the board nor any corporation in which the United States is a stockholder formed under the authority of section 11, shall engage in the operation of any vessels constructed, purchased, leased or chartered under the authority of this act unless the board shall be unable after a bona fide effort to contract with a citizen of the United States for the purchase, lease or charter of such vessel or vessels under such conditions as may be prescribed by the board.

The board shall give public notice of the fact that vessels are offered and the terms upon which a contract will be invited, and may invite competitive offerings. But in every instance the board shall adopt such course as will best promote the purposes of this act. In the event the board shall after full compliance with the terms of this proviso determine that it is unable to enter into a contract with such private parties for the operation of such vessels, it shall make a full report to the president, who shall examine such report, and if he shall approve the same, he shall make an order declaring that the conditions have been found to exist, which justifies the board in undertaking the operation of such vessel or vessels by the agencies of the United States provided for in this act.

Roll call, July 8, 1916

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Ashurst
- Bankhead
- ✓ Beckham
- ✓ Broussard
- ✓ Bryan
- Chamberlain
- ✓ Chilton
- ✓ Clarke
- ✓ Culberson
- ✓ Fletcher
- ✓ Gore
- ✓ Hardwick
- ✓ Hitchcock
- Hollis

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Hughes
- ✓ Husting
- James
- Johnson of Me.
- ✓ Johnson of S. Dak.
- Kern
- Lane
- Lea of Tenn.
- Lee of Md.
- ✓ Lewis
- Martin
- ✓ Martine
- Myers
- ✓ Newlands
- O'Gorman

JULY 8, 1916

[PRESENT]

✓ Overman  
Owen  
✓ Phelan  
✓ Pittman  
Pomerene  
✓ Ransdell  
Reed  
Robinson  
✓ Saulsbury  
✓ Shafroth  
✓ Sheppard  
✓ Shields  
✓ Simmons  
Smith of Ariz.

[PRESENT]

✓ Smith of Ga.  
Smith of Md.  
✓ Smith of S.C.  
✓ Stone  
✓ Swanson  
✓ Taggart  
Thomas  
✓ Thompson  
✓ Tillman  
✓ Underwood  
✓ Vardaman  
✓ Walsh  
✓ Williams

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[July 15, 1916]

Meeting of Democratic Caucus, July 15, 1916, at 8 P.M.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman Secretary acting.

On roll call 33 senators responded to their names.

The Chairman announced that the principal object of the meeting was to agree upon the action to be taken upon the Immigration bill.

Senator Lewis moved that a legislative program be adopted by the Caucus and that the various pending measures be set in their order of emergency and that they be taken up by the Senate in such order. The motion was unanimously carried.

Senator Hitchcock offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Conference that the following bills in addition to the appropriation bills be considered before adjournment:

1. Revenue.
2. Ship Purchase
3. Corrupt Practice
4. Philippine.

That the Steering Committee may change the order of consideration of the foregoing bills.

Senator Pittman offered as a substitute for following resolution:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Democratic Conference that in view of the near approach of the end of the session, that pending measures be considered and disposed of in the order of their emergency.

That the Steering Committee be instructed to attempt to obtain the cooperation of the minority for the expedition of business

to the end that an early adjournment be had and that all pending measures may be acted upon before adjournment.

That bills be taken up and disposed of in the following order:

1. Conference Reports
2. Appropriation bills.
3. Revenue bills.
4. Shipping bill.
5. Child labor bill.
6. Federal Employees.
7. Immigration bill.
8. Corrupt practice act.
9. Pension bill.

Senator Chilton moved as a substitute for the resolutions offered by Senators Hitchcock and Pittman the following:

RESOLVED, That the Steering Committee be instructed to arrange a program under which as much of the important pending legislation as possible may have consideration at the current session. The appropriation bills, the shipping bill, the revenue bill, the workman's compensation bill, the corrupt practices bill, the Philippine bill, the Civil War and Spanish American Soldiers' pension bill, and the bill to enlarge the Interstate Commerce Commission, being the most urgent, demand first consideration.

The Conference favors the adjournment of Congress not later than August 20th, and recommends that the program be arranged so as to permit an adjournment by said date.

In the event that the Child Labor bill and the Immigration bill cannot, in the judgment of the Steering Committee, be disposed of in season to permit an adjournment by August 20th, an agreement should be entered into, if it can be secured, for consideration and a vote on such measures during the month of December, next.

The Steering Committee may change the order of consideration of the bills given precedence in these resolutions when for any reason such change becomes necessary for the expedition of business.

Thereupon Senators Hitchcock and Pittman withdrew their resolutions.

The resolution of Senator Chilton as amended was put to a vote and declared unanimously carried.

Senator Newlands moved to add to the program the bill to increase the Interstate Commerce Commission. The motion was carried.



JULY 15, 1916

The Chairman then stated that the Steering Committee had adopted the following resolution on July 11, 1916, to wit:

That the Leasing bill, H.R. 406, go over until next session and that the same shall be taken up on the 2nd Monday in December of such session and disposed of before the holidays, subject to emergency measures that may be before the Senate.

Upon motion the action of the Steering Committee was approved.

There being no further business before the Caucus, the same adjourned.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary

Roll call, July 15, 1916

[PRESENT]

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Beckham  
✓ Broussard  
✓ Bryan  
Chamberlain  
✓ Chilton  
✓ Clarke  
✓ Culberson  
✓ Fletcher  
Gore  
✓ Hardwick  
✓ Hitchcock  
✓ Hollis  
Hughes  
Husting  
James  
✓ Johnson of Me  
Johnson of SD  
✓ Kern  
Lane  
Lea of Tenn.  
Lee of Md.  
Lewis  
Martin  
Martine  
Myers  
✓ Newlands

[PRESENT]

O'Gorman  
✓ Overman  
✓ Owen  
✓ Phelan  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Pomerene  
✓ Ransdell  
Reed  
Robinson  
Saulsbury  
Shafroth  
✓ Sheppard  
Shields  
Simmons  
✓ Smith of Ariz  
✓ Smith of Ga  
Smith of Md  
✓ Smith of S.C.  
Stone  
Swanson  
✓ Taggart  
✓ Thomas  
✓ Thompson  
Tillman  
✓ Underwood  
✓ Vardaman  
✓ Walsh  
✓ Williams

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[July 25, 1916]

Meeting of Democratic Caucus, July 25, 1916, at 8 P.M.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman, Secretary acting.

The Chairman stated that the object of the meeting was to consider the disposition of the Child Labor bill. He informed the Caucus that the President had called at the Capitol and in discussing such bill with a number of Senators had urged most earnestly that the bill be taken up as soon as possible and passed.

Senator Stone requested a yea and nay vote to determine the senators who would vote in favor and those who would vote against the Child Labor bill when the matter came up for passage in the Senate. [See also tally sheet A.]

Upon a roll call the following senators voted Yea:

Ashurst	Pomerene
Chamberlain	Ransdell
Chilton	Reed
Husting	Robinson
James	Shafroth
Johnson of S. Dak.	Sheppard
Kern	Smith of Ariz.
Martine	Stone
Myers	Taggart
Newlands	Thomas
Owen	Thompson
Pittman	Walsh

The following senators voted Nay:

Bryan  
 Fletcher  
 Hardwick  
 Overman  
 Simmons  
 Smith of S.C.

Senators Broussard and Saulsbury were excused from voting. Senator Hardwick was granted unanimous consent to depart from the Caucus and leave his vote with Senator Smith of S.C.

Senator Stone offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Conference that the Child Labor bill, so-called, (H.R. 8234) should be voted upon and disposed of at the present session of the Congress.

RESOLVED, second, that the Chairman of this Conference shall propose to the Chairman of the Republican Conference that the two sides of the Senate agree to vote on the passage of the pending Immigration bill, with amendments thereto, on a day certain to be named in December next, to be agreed upon between the two Chairmen; and that if such an agreement can not be made, that in that event the said Immigration bill shall, immediately upon the meeting of the second session of the present Congress in December next, be taken up, made the unfinished

JULY 25, 1916

business of the Senate and thereafter proceeded with until the same has been voted upon and finally disposed of.

Senator Owen offered as an amendment to the resolution offered by Senator Stone the following:

After the first resolution add the words: "And immediately after the disposition of the District Appropriation bill, and that the Chairman of the Democratic Conference announce this program tomorrow morning."

The amendment of Senator Owen was adopted.

After the adoption of the amendment of Senator Owen the Chair put the question upon the adoption of Senator Stone's resolution as amended. The resolution was adopted. [See tally sheet B.]

Senator Myers offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the so-called Western Water Power bill be set down for consideration and final action immediately following the Leasing bill.

The resolution was adopted.

Motion was made and carried that at an early date the Senate hold night sessions for the purpose of acting upon bills upon the calendar.

There being no further business, the Caucus adjourned.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary

Roll call, July 25, 1916

[PRESENT]

✓ Ashurst  
Bankhead  
✓ Beckham  
✓ Broussard  
✓ Bryan  
✓ Chamberlain  
✓ Chilton  
Clarke  
Culberson  
Fletcher  
Gore  
✓ Hardwick  
Hitchcock  
Hollis  
Hughes  
✓ Husting  
James  
Johnson of Me  
✓ Johnson of SD  
✓ Kern  
Lane

[PRESENT]

Lea  
Lee  
Lewis  
Martin  
✓ Martine  
✓ Myers  
Newlands  
O'Gorman  
✓ Overman  
✓ Owen  
Phelan  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Pomerene  
✓ Ransdell  
✓ Reed  
✓ Robinson  
Saulsbury  
✓ Shafroth  
✓ Sheppard  
Shields  
✓ Simmons  
✓ Smith of Ariz

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1915-1917)

[PRESENT]

✓ Smith of Ga  
 ✓ Smith of Md  
 ✓ Smith of S.C.  
 ✓ Stone  
 ✓ Swanson  
 ✓ Taggart  
 ✓ Thomas  
 ✓ Thompson  
 ✓ Tillman  
 ✓ Underwood  
 ✓ Vardaman  
 ✓ Walsh  
 ✓ Williams

Who Will Vote for Child Labor Bill  
 July 25, 1916  
 [Tally sheet A]

YEAS NAYS

✓ Ashurst  
 ✓ Bankhead  
 ✓ Beckham  
 ✓ Broussard Ex  
 ✓ Bryan ✓  
 ✓ Chamberlain  
 ✓ Chilton  
 ✓ Clarke  
 ✓ Culberson  
 ✓ Fletcher ✓  
 ✓ Gore  
 ✓ Hardwick ✓  
 ✓ Hitchcock  
 ✓ Hollis  
 ✓ Hughes  
 ✓ Husting  
 ✓ James  
 ✓ Johnson of Me  
 ✓ Johnson of SD  
 ✓ Kern  
 ✓ Lane  
 ✓ Lea of Tenn.  
 ✓ Lee of Md.  
 ✓ Lewis  
 ✓ Martin  
 ✓ Martine  
 ✓ Myers  
 ✓ Newlands wants amend.  
 ✓ O'Gorman  
 ✓ Overman ✓  
 ✓ Owen  
 ✓ Phelan  
 ✓ Pittman  
 ✓ Pomerene  
 ✓ Ransdell  
 ✓ Reed  
 ✓ Robinson  
 ✓ Saulsbury Ex

YEAS

NAYS

✓ Shafroth  
 ✓ Sheppard  
 ✓ Shields  
 ✓ Simmons ✓  
 ✓ Smith of Ariz  
 ✓ Smith of Ga Ex  
 ✓ Smith of Md  
 ✓ Smith of S.C. ✓  
 ✓ Stone  
 ✓ Swanson  
 ✓ Taggart  
 ✓ Thomas wants amend.  
 ✓ Thompson  
 ✓ Tillman  
 ✓ Underwood  
 ✓ Vardaman ?  
 ✓ Walsh  
 ✓ Williams

Roll call on party program  
 July 25, 1916  
 [Tally sheet B]

YEAS NAYS

✓ Ashurst  
 ✓ Bankhead  
 ✓ Beckham  
 ✓ Broussard  
 ✓ Bryan  
 ✓ Chamberlain  
 ✓ Chilton  
 ✓ Clarke  
 ✓ Culberson  
 ✓ Fletcher  
 ✓ Gore  
 ✓ Hardwick  
 ✓ Hitchcock  
 ✓ Hollis  
 ✓ Hughes  
 ✓ Husting  
 ✓ James  
 ✓ Johnson of Me  
 ✓ Johnson of SD  
 ✓ Kern  
 ✓ Lane  
 ✓ Lea of Tenn.  
 ✓ Lee of Md.  
 ✓ Lewis  
 ✓ Martin  
 ✓ Martine  
 ✓ Myers  
 ✓ Newlands  
 ✓ O'Gorman  
 ✓ Overman  
 ✓ Owen  
 ✓ Phelan  
 ✓ Pittman  
 ✓ Pomerene

JULY 25, 1916

YEAS	NAYS	YEAS	NAYS
✓ Ransdell		✓ Stone	
✓ Reed		✓ Swanson	
✓ Robinson		✓ Taggart	
✓ Saulsbury		✓ Thomas	
Shafroth		✓ Thompson	
✓ Sheppard		✓ Tillman	
✓ Shields		✓ Underwood	
✓ Simmons		Vardaman	
✓ Smith of Ariz		✓ Walsh	
✓ Smith of Ga		Williams	
Smith of Md			
Smith of S.C.		38	

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[July 31, 1916]

Meeting of Democratic Caucus, July 31, 1916, 8 P.M.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman secretary acting.

A roll call was had and 38 senators responded to their names, as shown by the attached roll call.

The Chairman announced that the object of the meeting was to consider action to be taken with regard to the Immigration bill. He stated that Senator [William] Borah [Republican, Idaho] had threatened to tack the Immigration bill on the Child Labor bill, and it was important to determine what action the Democrats should take in the matter.

The Caucus adopted the rule that no senator should speak more than once on the same subject and not to exceed ten minutes.

Senator Bankhead offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Democratic Caucus that the Child Labor bill shall be disposed of as hereinbefore determined, that is, immediately following the disposal of the District of Columbia Appropriation bill; that the Immigration bill be taken up and acted upon before the adjournment of this session, and that the time for action upon such bill be fixed by the Steering Committee.

Senator Fletcher thereupon offered a substitute to Senator Bankhead's amendment, which reads as follows:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Conference that every amendment offered to the Child Labor bill introducing a new subject be laid on the table; that in the absence of an agreement fixing a day in December for consideration of the Immigration bill, notice be given that as early in December as practicable motion will be made to proceed to its consideration with the view to its passage at that time.

Senator Reed offered an amendment to Senator Fletcher's amendment.

Senator Fletcher accepted the amendment so that his amendment as amended reads as follows:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Conference that every amendment offered to the Child Labor bill introducing another subject be laid on the table; that in the absence of an agreement fixing a day in December for consideration of the Immigration bill, said bill shall by special order be made the business for the first day of the December session and be kept the unfinished business until final action. If such order cannot be passed, then this Conference pledges itself to take up said bill on the first day of the December session and keep it the unfinished business until final action is had upon it.

The following senators asked to be excused and that their votes be cast by other senators as follows:

Senator Tillman of S.C.	by Senator Kern
Senator Johnson of Maine	by Senator Reed
Senator Saulsbury	by Senator Kern
Senator Lane	by Senator Kern
Senator Martin	by Senator Bankhead
Senator Hardwick	by Senator Hoke Smith

Senator Tillman stated that he favored the Immigration bill but opposed the Child Labor bill.

Senator Underwood stated his position to be the same.

Senator Fletcher's amendment as amended was then put to a vote. A roll call was had with the result that thirty-one senators voted in the affirmative and eight in the negative. The attached roll call indicates how each senator voted. The Chair declared the Fletcher amendment carried. [See tally sheet C.]

Senator Stone then moved that the action taken upon the Fletcher amendment be considered party action and binding upon the Democratic senators in accordance with the rule in such matters. A roll call was demanded upon such motion with the result that thirty-eight senators voted in the affirmative, as shown by the attached roll call. The motion having been carried by a vote of two-thirds of all the Democratic senators, the Chair declared that the Caucus had determined that the Fletcher measure be considered a party measure.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary

JULY 31, 1916

Roll call, July 31, 1916

[PRESENT]

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bankhead  
Beckham  
Broussard  
Bryan  
Chamberlain  
✓ Chilton  
✓ Clarke  
Culberson  
✓ Fletcher  
Gore  
✓ Hardwick  
Hitchcock  
✓ Hollis  
✓ Hughes  
✓ Husting  
✓ James  
Johnson of Me  
✓ Johnson of SD  
✓ Kern  
Lane  
Lea of Tenn.  
✓ Lee of Md.  
✓ Lewis  
✓ Martin  
✓ Martine  
✓ Myers  
✓ Newlands  
✓ O'Gorman  
✓ Overman  
Owen  
✓ Phelan  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Pomerene  
✓ Ransdell  
✓ Reed  
✓ Robinson  
Saulsbury  
Shafroth  
✓ Sheppard  
Shields  
✓ Simmons  
✓ Smith of Ariz  
✓ Smith of Ga  
Smith of Md  
✓ Smith of S.C.  
✓ Stone  
✓ Swanson  
✓ Taggart  
✓ Thomas  
✓ Thompson  
✓ Tillman  
✓ Underwood  
Vardaman  
✓ Walsh  
Williams

Roll Call on Fletcher Amendment  
as Amended by Reed  
July 31, 1916

[Tally sheet C]

YEAS	NAYS
	✓ Ashurst
	✓ Bankhead
	✓ Beckham
	Broussard
	Bryan
	Chamberlain
✓	Chilton
	Clarke
	Culberson
✓	Fletcher
	Gore
✓	Hardwick by Hoke Smith <sup>1</sup>
	Hitchcock
✓	Hollis
✓	Hughes
✓	Husting
✓	James
	Johnson of Me
✓	Johnson of SD by Reed
✓	Kern
✓	Lane by Kern
	Lea of Tenn.
✓	Lee of Md.
✓	Lewis
	Martin by
	Bankhead ✓
✓	Martine
	Myers
✓	Newlands
	O'Gorman
	Overman ✓
✓	Owen
✓	Phelan
	Pittman ✓
✓	Pomerene
✓	Ransdell
✓	Reed
✓	Robinson
✓	Saulsbury by Kern
	Shafroth
✓	Sheppard
✓	Shields
	Simmons ✓
✓	Smith of Ariz
✓	Smith of Ga
	Smith of Md
✓	Smith of S.C.
✓	Stone
	Swanson ✓
✓	Taggart

<sup>1</sup> [Conference granted unanimous consent on August 10, 1916 for Hardwick to change this to a nay vote.]

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1915-1917)

YEAS		NAYS		YEAS		NAYS
✓	Thomas				Vardaman	
✓	Thompson			✓	Walsh	
✓	Tillman				Williams	
	Underwood	✓		31		8

[August 10, 1916]

Meeting of Democratic Caucus, August 10, 1916, 8 P.M.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman, Secretary, acting.

Senator Simmons, Chairman of the Finance Committee, stated that the object of the meeting was to consider a report of the subcommittee having charge of the Income and Inheritance tax schedules.

Senator Smith of Georgia stated that the at last meeting of the Caucus he had cast the vote of Senator Hardwick of Georgia in favor of the Fletcher resolution under the belief that Senator Hardwick would so vote if he were present; that he had since ascertained that he was in error in casting Senator Hardwick's vote in the affirmative and therefore desired such vote changed from the affirmative to the negative. Senator Hardwick concurred in the statement made by Senator Smith and stated that he favored the passage of the immigration bill but was opposed to taking up and passing the Child Labor bill. Unanimous consent was given that Mr. Hardwick's vote be changed as requested.

Mr. Williams, Chairman of the subcommittee, moved that the committee amendment found on page 3 be amended by inserting the word "net" after the word "all" in line 12 of page 3. The motion was carried.

Senator Myers moved that the committee amendment be amended by striking out the word "thirteen" in line 11 and inserting in lieu thereof the word "fifteen."

Senator Pittman offered as a substitute for the committee amendment and the amendment of Senator Myers, the following:

Strike out all after the figures "\$500,000" in line 6, page 3, down to and including line 12 of said page and insert "and does not exceed \$750,000, eleven per centum per annum upon the amount by which such total net income exceeds \$750,000 and does not exceed \$1,000,000, twelve per centum per annum upon the amount by which such total net income exceeds \$1,000,000 and does not exceed \$1,250,000, thirteen per centum per annum upon the amount by which such total net income exceeds \$1,250,000 and does not exceed \$1,500,000, fourteen per centum per annum upon the amount by which such total net income exceeds \$1,500,000 and does not exceed \$1,750,000, fifteen per



AUGUST 10, 1916

centum per annum upon the amount by which such total net income exceeds \$1,750,000 and does not exceed \$2,000,000, sixteen per centum per annum upon the amount by which such total net income exceeds \$2,000,000 and does not exceed \$2,250,000, and seventeen per centum per annum upon all net income in excess of \$2,250,000.

Senator Myers withdrew his amendment in favor of the amendment offered by Senator Pittman.

Senator Reed offered as a substitute for the committee amendment and the amendment presented by Senate Pittman the following:

That commencing with \$300,000 [corrected to \$500,000] the surtax be increased one per centum for each additional increase of \$300,000 [corrected to \$100,000] in net income, and that the sub-committee be instructed by the Caucus to so frame the provision of the bill.

Senators Myers, Pittman and Ashurst, in discussing the increase of the income tax, argued the injustice of the tax upon the copper industry and announced their intention of opposing such tax when the matter came before the Caucus.

Senator Clarke of Arkansas stated that the information that had come to him justified the tax upon copper.

Senator Smith of Georgia suggested that it was impossible to intelligently discuss certain schedules of the bill without having the whole bill before the committee and the information that had been presented to the committee and used by the committee in the consideration of the bill.

Senator Simmons stated that the committee hoped to have the whole bill ready for consideration by the following night.

Senator Martin of Virginia urged expedition in presenting the bill to the Senate.

Senator Williams, Chairman of the sub-committee, stated that the committee had not finally determined to place a special tax upon the copper industry and that the matter was still under consideration.

The Caucus adjourned.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary

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[August 11, 1916]

Meeting of Democratic Caucus, August 11, 1916, 8 P.M.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman, Secretary, acting.

Senator Tillman asked unanimous consent to be excused and that Senator Overman be permitted to cast his vote. Request granted.

Senator Simmons, Chairman of the Committee on Finance, made a general statement concerning the revenue required to be raised and the method of raising such revenue.

Senator Pittman withdrew his amendment with regard to the surtax provision presented on the preceding day in favor of the amendment offered by Senator Reed. Senator Reed's amendment was submitted to a vote and declared lost.

On motion of the committee, amendments on page 3 were adopted.

Senator Underwood moved to insert after the word "profits" in line 14, page 4, the following: "accrued since March 1st, 1913."

Senator Reed asked unanimous consent that he be excused and that his vote be cast by the Chairman. Request was granted.

Senator Underwood offered a substitute for (C), page 5. The substitute was not agreed to, and committee amendments on page 5 were adopted.

Senator Robinson asked to be excused and that Senator Smith of South Carolina be permitted to cast his vote. Request was granted.

Senator O'Gorman moved to strike out in paragraph 5 on page 8 the following: "and to an amount not exceeding the profits arising therefrom." Motion lost.

Recess was taken until two o'clock P.M., Saturday, August 12, 1916.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary

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[August 12, 1916]

Meeting of Democratic Caucus held Aug. 12, 1916, at two o'clock P.M. in pursuance of prior adjournment.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman, Secretary, acting.

Senator Vardaman moved to reconsider Senator Underwood's substitute for (C) page 5. Motion carried. [See tally sheet D.]

The question then recurred upon the substitute offered by Senator Underwood. The substitute was adopted.

Senator Thomas offered a motion limiting time and number of speeches. Motion carried.

Senator Thomas moved to strike out in line 29, page 8, the words "other than coal mines," and on page 9 strike out lines 8, 9 and 10 and the first four words of line 11.

AUGUST 12, 1916

Senator Pittman offered a motion which provided a reasonable allowance for depletion of metalliferous mines as well as coal mines not to exceed the market value of the ore in the mine which has been mined and sold during the year for which said return is made.

Senator Shafroth offered a substitute as follows: On page 9, line 8, strike out the word "coal," page 9, line 9, strike out the word "coal," also in line 9 at the end of the line strike out the word "coal," and insert the word "material." Senator Pittman accepted the amendment and the amendment was carried.

Senator Pomerene and Senator Chilton offered the following amendment in lieu of the committee amendment with regard to oil and gas wells:

In the case of oil and gas wells a reasonable allowance for actual reduction in flow and production to be ascertained not by the flush flow, but by the settled production or regular flow under rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Senator Simmons moved that the Income and Inheritance Tax title be approved with a reservation to Senator Shafroth to make one amendment. Motion carried.

Senator Williams asked unanimous consent to be excused and leave his vote with Senator Simmons. Request was granted.

The Caucus took up "Special Taxes," Senator Smith of Georgia having the title in charge.

The meeting adjourned until 8 P.M.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary

---

Adjourned meeting of Democratic Caucus [reconvened at] 8 P.M., August 12, 1916.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman Secretary, acting.

Senator Bankhead offered the following amendment which was adopted:

Sc. 25. That all internal revenue agents and inspectors be granted leave of absence with pay, which shall not be cumulative, not to exceed thirty days in any calendar year, under such regulations as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may prescribe.

Senator Stone offered the following amendment:

RESOLVED, That the so-called munitions tax provision of the pending bill; the so-called dyestuffs and chemical provisions of

said bill; and that part of the said bill relating to wines, cordials, etc.; the tariff commission provision; be taken up at the meeting tomorrow, the 13th inst., may then determine and that Mr. Keller be directed to proceed immediately to notify Senators of this meeting and its purposes.

After general debate a recess was taken until August 13th at 2 P.M.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary

[handwritten resolution attached:]

RESOLVED, That this Conference of Democratic members of the Senate express its confidence in the leadership of Senator Robinson and his service on the Special Committee named to investigate the alleged secret Mexican documents.

Those present on August 12, [1916]

[PRESENT]

1 Ashurst  
2 Bankhead  
Beckham  
Broussard  
3 Bryan  
4 Chamberlain  
5 Chilton  
Clarke  
6 Culberson  
Fletcher  
Gore  
7 Hardwick  
Hitchcock  
8 Hollis  
9 Hughes  
10 Husting  
James  
Johnson of Me.  
11 Johnson of S. Dak.  
12 Kern  
Lane  
Lea of Tenn.  
13 Lee of Md.  
14 Lewis  
Martin  
15 Martine  
16 Myers  
Newlands  
O'Gorman  
17 Overman  
Owen  
18 Phelan  
19 Pittman  
20 Pomerene  
Ransdell  
Reed

[PRESENT]

22 Robinson  
23 Saulsbury  
24 Shafroth  
25 Sheppard  
Shields  
26 Simmons  
27 Smith of Ariz.  
28 Smith of Ga.  
29 Smith of Md.  
30 Smith of S.C.  
39 Stone  
31 Swanson  
32 Taggart  
33 Thomas  
40 Thompson  
34 Tillman  
35 Underwood  
36 Vardaman  
37 Walsh  
38 Williams

August 12, 1916  
Motion to reconsider action  
on the Underwood substitute  
[Tally sheet D]

YEAS		NAYS
	Ashurst	
✓	Bankhead	
	Beckham	
	Broussard	
✓	Bryan	
✓	Chamberlain	
✓	Chilton	
	Clarke	
✓	Culberson	
✓	Fletcher	

AUGUST 12, 1916

YEAS		NAYS	[PRESENT]
	Gore		Broussard
✓	Hardwick		Bryan
	Hitchcock		Chamberlain
	Hollis	✓	✓ Chilton
	Hughes	✓	Clarke
	Husting	✓	Culberson
	James		Fletcher
	Johnson of Me		Gore
✓	Johnson of SD		✓ Hardwick
	Kern	✓	Hitchcock
	Lane		✓ Hollis
	Lea of Tenn.	✓	✓ Hughes
	Lee of Md.	✓	Husting
	Lewis		James
	Martin	✓	Johnson of Me
	Martine		Johnson of SD
✓	Myers		✓ Kern
	Newlands		Lane
	O'Gorman		Lea of Tenn.
✓	Overman		Lee of Md.
	Owen		✓ Lewis
✓	Phelan		Martin
	Pittman	✓	✓ Martine
✓	Pomerene		✓ Myers
	Ransdell		Newlands
	Reed		O'Gorman
	Robinson		✓ Overman
✓	Saulsbury		Owen
	Shafroth	✓	Phelan
✓	Sheppard		✓ Pittman
	Shields		✓ Pomerene
	Simmons	✓	Ransdell
	Smith of Ariz	✓	Reed
	Smith of Ga (ex)		Robinson
✓	Smith of Md		Saulsbury
✓	Smith of S.C.		Shafroth
	Stone	✓	✓ Sheppard
	Swanson	✓	Shields
	Taggart (ex)		Simmons
	Thomas	✓	✓ Smith of Ariz
✓	Thompson		✓ Smith of Ga
✓	Tillman		Smith of Md
✓	Underwood		✓ Smith of S.C.
✓	Vardaman		Stone
	Walsh	✓	Swanson
	Williams	✓	✓ Taggart
20		16	✓ Thomas
			Thompson
			Tillman
			✓ Underwood
			Vardaman
			✓ Walsh
			Williams

Roll Call, Aug. 12, 8 P.M.

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Ashurst
- ✓ Bankhead
- Beckham

[August 13, 1916]

Adjourned meeting of Democratic Caucus, August 13, 1916, 2 P.M.  
Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman Secretary, acting.

A roll call was had and a quorum found present.

Unanimous consent was given that Senator Martin be excused and that his vote be cast by Senator Swanson, and that Senator Tillman be excused and his vote cast by Senator Overman.

Senator Husting moved to reconsider committee amendment (B), page 48, with regard to publicity of income and corporation taxes. Motion lost. Senator Husting stated he was pledged on the subject and could not be bound by the Caucus.

Senator Thomas in charge of the Munitions title then explained the provisions under such title.

Senator Lewis offered the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Treasury has under existing law the privilege and right to issue bonds from the authorization for issuing and selling Panama Canal bonds; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Panama Canal bonds be sold sufficient to meet any deficiency that may exist between this date and January, 1917, and that further consideration of the pending revenue bill be postponed until the December session of Congress, 1916.

The Chair ruled that such resolution could not be acted upon until all the committee amendments were acted upon and that the resolution would lie upon the table until such time.

Senator Williams asked to be excused and that his vote be cast by Senator Thomas on all questions except Tariff Commission and Dye Stuff, and that on such provisions he be represented by Senator Underwood. Request granted.

Senator Underwood moved to strike out all of subdivision 2, section 201.

Senator Simmons offered the following amendment on behalf of the committee:

Insert on page 97, after line 17, the following:

First, Corporations shall pay 5 cents for each \$1,000 of capital, surplus and undivided profits used in any of the activities or functions of their business, including such sums as may be invested in or loaned upon stocks, bonds, mortgages, real estate or other securities. The amount of such annual tax shall in all cases be computed on the basis of the capital, surplus, and undi-

AUGUST 13, 1916

vided profits for the preceding fiscal year. Every corporation, joint stock company or association as defined and limited in Section 10, Title 1, of this Act, shall be liable to this tax. Provided, That for the purpose of this tax an exemption of \$50,000 shall be allowed from the capital, surplus and undivided profits of each corporation. And Provided further, That corporations actually paying the tax imposed by Section 201 of Title III of this act shall be exempt from this tax. Provided that every corporation taxed under subdivision (1) Sec. 201, of this Act shall be exempt from the provisions of this section.

Senator Kern offered an amendment that the figures "\$50,000" be stricken out and that there be inserted in lieu thereof the figures "\$99,000." Motion carried.

Senator Simmons' amendment as amended was then put to a vote and unanimously carried.

Senator Simmons then by unanimous consent offered an amendment to subdivision (2), section 201, by striking out the word "ten" in line 22 and substituting the word "five." Amendment adopted.

After the adoption of Senator Simmons' amendment, Senator Underwood's amendment to strike out subdivision (2) was submitted to a vote. A yea and nay vote was demanded with the result of 15 yeas and 20 nays. Those voting in the affirmative were as follows: [See also tally sheet E.]

Ashurst	Myers	Smith of S.C.
Bankhead	Overman	Taggart
Chilton	Pittman	Tillman
Culberson	Robinson	Underwood
Fletcher	Sheppard	
Hardwick		

Those voting in the negative were as follows:

Hollis	Phelan	Swanson
Hughes	Pomerene	Thomas
Husting	Shafroth	Thompson
Kern	Simmons	Walsh
Lee of Md.	Smith of Ariz.	Williams
Lewis	Smith of Ga.	
Martin	Stone	
Martine		

Senator Thomas then moved to amend subdivision (2), section 201, by inserting after the word "selling" in line 18 the word "to" and after the word "manufacturer" the words "for any corporation described in subdivision (1)." Amendment adopted.

Meeting adjourned until 8:30 P.M.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary

---

Meeting of the Democratic Caucus August 13, 1916, 8:30 P.M.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman Secretary, acting.

Senator Myers moved to amend subdivision (2), section 201, by inserting after the word "manufacturer" in line 25 the words "in the United States." Motion carried.

On motion of Senator Hollis the stamp tax upon telegraph and telephone messages was stricken out of the bill. [See tally sheet G.]

Senator Simmons offered the following amendment which was adopted:

That section 322, Schedule M of the Tariff Act of October 3, 1913, be amended as follows:

By striking out 2½ between the words "above" and "cents" and inserting in lieu thereof "5," and again by striking out the "2½" between the words "above" and "cents" and inserting in lieu thereof "5," so as to read: "Valued above 5 cents per pound" in both instances.

Senator Hughes offered an amendment for the protection of fishermen on the Pacific Coast from unjust discrimination by the British government. Senator Simmons moved that such amendment be referred to the committee with power to adopt the same. Motion carried. Such amendment reads as follows:

Sec. 403. That from and after ninety days after the passage of this Act no fresh or frozen halibut or salmon from the north Pacific Ocean or its tributary waters shall be admitted into the United States through any foreign country, except when the same shall be in bond from an American port.

Senator Simmons moved that the sweet wine schedule be taken up. Motion carried.

Senator Hughes moved the adoption of the committee amendment. Senator Phelan opposed the same and urged that the committee amendment be not adopted and that the House amendment stand.

Senator Vardaman interrupted to ask unanimous consent that his vote be recorded in favor of Senator Underwood's motion to strike out subdivision (2) of Section 201. Request was granted.

A vote was taken upon Senator Simmons motion. The Chair being in doubt called for a division. Seven senators were counted as voting in the affirmative and seven in the negative, some senators failing to vote.



AUGUST 13, 1916

Senator Simmons demanded a roll call.

Senator Phelan objected upon the grounds that Senator Smith of Arizona had left the Caucus since voting.

The meeting recessed without determination of the question.

[signed] Key Pittman

Roll call, Aug. 13, 1916

[PRESENT]

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bankhead  
Beckham  
Broussard  
Bryan  
Chamberlain  
✓ Chilton  
Clarke  
✓ Culberson  
✓ Fletcher  
Gore  
✓ Hardwick  
Hitchcock  
✓ Hollis  
✓ Hughes  
✓ Husting  
James  
Johnson of Me  
Johnson of SD  
✓ Kern  
Lane  
Lea of Tenn.  
Lee of Md.  
✓ Lewis  
✓ Martin (Swanson)  
✓ Martine  
✓ Myers  
Newlands  
O'Gorman  
✓ Overman  
Owen  
✓ Phelan  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Pomerene  
Ransdell  
Reed  
✓ Robinson  
✓ Saulsbury  
✓ Shafroth  
✓ Sheppard  
Shields  
✓ Simmons  
✓ Smith of Ariz  
Smith of Ga  
Smith of Md  
✓ Smith of S.C.

[PRESENT]

✓ Stone  
✓ Swanson  
✓ Taggart  
✓ Thomas  
Thompson  
✓ Tillman  
Underwood  
✓ Vardaman  
✓ Walsh  
✓ Williams

Vote on taxes on telegrams

[Tally sheet G]

YEAS		NAYS
	Ashurst	✓
✓	Bankhead	
	Beckham	
	Broussard	
	Bryan	
	Chamberlain	
	Chilton	✓
	Clarke	
	Culberson	
	Fletcher	
	Gore	
	Hardwick	✓
	Hitchcock	
✓	Hollis	
✓	Hughes	
	Husting	✓
	James	
	Johnson of Me	
	Johnson of SD	
	Kern (ex)	
	Lane	
	Lea of Tenn.	
	Lee of Md.	✓
	Lewis	✓
	Martin	
	Martine	✓
	Myers	
	Newlands	
	O'Gorman	✓
	Overman	
	Owen	
	Phelan	

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1915-1917)

YEAS		NAYS	YEAS		NAYS
✓	Pittman			Newlands	
✓	Pomerene			O'Gorman	
	Ransdell		✓	Overman	
	Reed			Owen	
	Robinson			Phelan	✓
	Saulsbury		✓	Pittman	
✓	Shafroth			Pomerene	✓
	Sheppard	✓		Ransdell	
	Shields			Reed	
✓	Simmons		✓	Robinson	
✓	Smith of Ariz			Saulsbury (ex)	
✓	Smith of Ga (ex)			Shafroth	✓
	Smith of Md		✓	Sheppard	
	Smith of S.C.	✓		Shields	
✓	Stone			Simmons	✓
	Swanson			Smith of Ariz	✓
	Taggart	✓		Smith of Ga	✓
✓	Thomas			Smith of Md	
	Thompson	✓	✓	Smith of S.C.	
	Tillman	✓		Stone	✓
✓	Underwood			Swanson	✓
	Vardaman		✓	Taggart	
✓	Walsh			Thomas	✓
✓	Williams			Thompson	✓
14		13	✓	Tillman	
			✓	Underwood	
				Vardaman	
				Walsh	✓
				Williams	✓
			15		20

Aug. 13 vote on Underwood amendment  
to Subdivision (2) S-201  
[Tally sheet E]

YEAS		NAYS	YEAS		NAYS
✓	Ashurst			Ashurst	
✓	Bankhead			Bankhead	
	Beckham			Beckham	
	Broussard			Broussard	
	Bryan		✓	Bryan	
	Chamberlain			Chamberlain	
✓	Chilton		✓	Chilton	
	Clarke			Clarke	
✓	Culberson		✓	Culberson	
✓	Fletcher		✓	Fletcher	
	Gore		✓	Gore	
✓	Hardwick		✓	Hardwick	
	Hitchcock			Hitchcock	
	Hollis	✓		Hollis	✓
	Hughes	✓		Hughes	✓
	Husting	✓		Husting	✓
	James			James	
	Johnson of Me			Johnson of Me	
	Johnson of SD		✓	Johnson of SD	
	Kern	✓		Kern	✓
	Lane			Lane	
	Lea			Lea of Tenn.	
	Lee	✓		Lee of Md.	✓
	Lewis	✓			
	Martin	✓			
	Martine	✓			
✓	Myers				

Roll call on Underwood amendment  
[Tally sheet ??]

AUGUST 13, 1916

YEAS	NAYS	YEAS	NAYS
	✓		
			✓
✓	✓		✓
		✓	
✓		✓	
✓			✓
✓	✓		✓
✓			✓
✓		✓	
✓		✓	
✓	✓	✓	
✓	✓		✓
		19	18

---

[August 14, 1916]

Democratic Caucus, August 14, 1916, 8:30 P.M. Recess from August 13, 1916.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman secretary acting.

Senator Simmons moved that senators be limited to one speech on each question and no speech to exceed ten minutes in duration and that the Chair enforce the rule. Motion carried.

On the question of the adoption of the committee amendment on the wine schedule in the revenue bill the roll call disclosed 21 votes in the affirmative and 8 votes in the negative. The Chair declared the amendment adopted.

Senator Phelan offered the following amendment as a substitute to Section 301, page 82 of the bill:

All wines or modified wines hereafter made shall be the product resulting from a single fermentation of ripe grapes or fresh unfermented grape juice, and, under the supervision of a United States gauger, there may be added before fermentation a sugar solution of pure, dry, crystallized cane, or beet, or pure anhydrous sugar containing not less than ninety-seven per centum pure sugar, or of pure grape must, or of pure grape syrup, to said material: Provided, That such addition shall not increase the volume more than twenty-five per centum; so that the resultant product does not contain less than six parts per mill of natural free acid nor more than thirteen per centum of alcohol after complete fermentation; and which resultant product, under the supervision of a gauger or storekeeper in the capacity of gauger, may be sweetened with pure, dry, crystallized cane

or beet sugar, or pure anhydrous sugar containing not less than ninety-seven per centum pure sugar, or with grape syrup, and fortified under the provisions of this Act; Provided, That such sweetening shall not increase the volume more than ten per centum; Provided, however, That the fortification of wines authorized in this section shall be permitted only on premises where said wines were made; And provided further, That the said rates of tax shall also apply to and shall be levied and collected on all fermented beverages made in imitation of or sold as wine.

Senator Phelan's amendment was put to a vote and a roll call was demanded with the result of nine yeas and fifteen nays. The Chair declared the amendment lost.

Senator Pomerene moved an amendment by adding at the end of line 2, page 96, the following: Provided, however, that nothing herein contained shall be construed as prohibiting the fortification of sweet wines by the use of grain or any Ethyl alcohol. Amendment adopted.

Senator Lewis moved that the provision with regard to dye stuff be referred back to the Finance Committee with instructions to refer it to the Tariff Board provided in the Act, with instructions to such Board to report thereon to the Senate in December. Motion lost. Committee provision concerning dye stuff adopted.

Senator Williams moved to strike out all that part of Title V on page 105 concerning dye stuffs. Upon a roll call the result was announced as Yea 6, Nay 25. The Chair declared the motion lost.

Senator Pittman moved that Sec. 201 and Senate amendment on line 17, page 97, providing a tax on corporations, be referred back to Finance Committee with power to amend, change or redraft, and to report the same directly to the Senate. Motion carried.

Senator Shafroth moved to reconsider the salary of the Tariff Commissioner. Motion carried.

Senator Fletcher then moved that the Caucus disregard Senate amendment. Motion carried and House provision reinstated.

Senator Lewis' resolution with regard to the dye stuff provision was referred to the Finance Committee.

On motion of Senator Simmons the Revenue Bill as amended in Caucus was approved.

Secretary

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[December 13, 1916]

Meeting of the Democratic Conference, December 13, 1916.

DECEMBER 13, 1916

In the absence of the Chairman and Vice Chairman, Senator Thomas was nominated to act as Chairman.

Senator Kern, Senator Hollis and Senator Tillman requested that their votes be cast in favor of Senator Saulsbury for President pro tempore. The request was unanimously granted.

Senator Ransdell requested that Senator Kern cast his vote in the same manner that he himself cast his own vote. The request was granted.

Senator Robinson nominated Senator Saulsbury for President pro tempore of the Senate. There being no other nominations, upon motion Senator Saulsbury unanimously elected President pro tempore of the Senate.

Senator Saulsbury then arose and expressed his appreciation of the honor that had been conferred upon him.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned.

Secretary

[Roll Call, December 13, 1916]

[PRESENT]

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bankhead  
Beckham  
Broussard  
Bryan  
✓ Chamberlain  
Chilton  
Culberson  
Fletcher  
Gore  
Hardwick  
✓ Hitchcock  
Hollis  
Hughes  
✓ Husting  
✓ James  
✓ Johnson of Me  
✓ Johnson of SD  
Kern  
✓ Kirby  
Lane  
Lea  
✓ Lee  
Lewis  
✓ Martin  
✓ Martine  
Myers

[PRESENT]

✓ Newlands  
O'Gorman  
✓ Overman  
Owen  
✓ Phelan  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Pomerene  
Ransdell  
Reed  
✓ Robinson  
✓ Saulsbury  
Shafroth  
✓ Sheppard  
Shields  
Simmons  
Smith of Ariz  
✓ Smith of Ga  
✓ Smith of Md  
✓ Smith of S.C.  
Stone  
✓ Swanson  
✓ Thomas  
Thompson  
Tillman  
✓ Underwood  
✓ Vardaman  
✓ Walsh  
Williams

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United States Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

Jan. 6, 1917

Hon. John W. Kern,  
Chairman &c.

Dear Sir:

We, the undersigned, request you to call a Conference of Democratic Senators for the purpose of considering the advisability of preparing a legislative program for this session.

Respectfully,

[signed]	W.J. Bryan	Harry F. Hollis	W.F. Kirby
	Wm. Hughes	T. S. Walsh	O.W. Underwood
	F.M. Simmons	James Reed	
	Key Pittman	W. Saulsbury	
	Thomas S. Martin	G. Hitchcock	

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[January 8, 1917]

Minutes of meeting of Democratic Caucus, Jan. 8, 1917.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman, Secretary, acting.

Senator Bryan of Florida stated that he had urged the call of the Conference for the purpose of having the Democrats determine whether they would control the Senate or whether they would permit the minority to dictate legislation.

Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia then offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Conference that we should support the action of the Appropriation and other committees in their effort to prevent increase of appropriations and to make reductions wherever practicable.

Senator Pittman stated that he would not vote upon the resolution or be bound by it because such act on his part would be in effect delegating legislative authority to the committees named. He stated that he was willing to be bound by Caucus rule with regard to any matter that was definitely submitted to the committee for action.

Senator Lee of Maryland then offered the following amendment to the resolution offered by Senator Smith of Georgia:

That at the end of the resolution there be added "Provided, that the proposed increase or decrease does not [a]ffect any constitutional policy to which the member is attached."

The amendment was lost.

JANUARY 8, 1917

Senator Newlands offered the following amendment to the resolution offered by Senator Smith of Georgia:

That there be added to such resolution the following: "That the Finance and Appropriations Committees be requested to present, when they are prepared so to do, to the Conference for discussion a statement in general terms of the action which they deem desirable in matters relating to revenue and appropriations."

The amendment was carried.

The vote then recurred upon the resolution of Senator Smith of Georgia as amended. The resolution was declared by the Chair to have been adopted by a viva voce vote.

Discussion was then had with regard to a legislative program. It was the consensus of opinion that the action of the Democratic Conference at the last session giving priority consideration to the General Leasing Bill, Western Water Power Bill, and the Corrupt Practices Act, should be respected by the Democrats. A discussion took place with regard to the priority of these measures.

Senator Walsh thereupon moved: "That it is the sense of this Caucus that the Myers Water Power bill should tomorrow be urged for consideration and that the effort to secure such be persisted in until it is disposed of."

The resolution was carried.

The Conference adjourned.

Secretary

Jan. 8, 1917, Roll Call

[PRESENT]

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Beckham (Chairman cast vote)  
Broussard  
✓ Bryan  
✓ Chamberlain  
✓ Chilton  
Culberson  
✓ Fletcher  
Gore  
✓ Hardwick  
✓ Hitchcock  
Hollis  
Hughes  
Husting  
✓ James  
✓ Johnson of Me  
Johnson of SD  
✓ Kern

[PRESENT]

Kirby  
Lane  
Lea of Tenn.  
✓ Lee of Md.  
✓ Lewis  
Martin  
Martine  
✓ Myers  
Newlands  
✓ O'Gorman  
✓ Overman  
✓ Owen  
Phelan  
✓ Pittman  
Pomerene  
Ransdell  
✓ Reed  
✓ Robinson  
Saulsbury  
✓ Shafroth

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1915-1917)

[PRESENT]

✓ Sheppard (Chairman cast vote)  
✓ Shields  
✓ Simmons  
✓ Smith of Ariz  
✓ Smith of Ga  
✓ Smith of Md  
✓ Smith of S.C.  
Stone  
✓ Swanson

[PRESENT]

✓ Thomas  
Thompson  
Tillman  
✓ Underwood  
Vardaman  
✓ Walsh  
Williams

28

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[January 25, 1917]

Meeting of Democratic Caucus, January 25th, 1917.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman, Secretary, Acting.

Upon the roll call the chairman announced a quorum as present.

By unanimous consent the following Senators were excused and permitted to cast their votes through the Senators whose names are set after theirs, namely: Chamberlain by Walsh; Culberson by Sheppard; Kern by Reed; Myers by Walsh; Robinson by Overman; Stone by Reed; Thomas by Shafroth; Williams by Kern.

Senator Williams, on behalf of the Steering Committee, offered the following motion:

That the bills be taken up in the following order: (1) Corrupt Practice Bill. (2) Flood Prevention Bill. (3) Railroad Bills. (4) Webb Bill. (5) Porto Rican Bill. (6) Land Leasing Bill, provided an agreement is reached on the bill by the Cabinet Officers. Provided, that any of the above bills shall be temporarily laid aside for Appropriation Revenue Bills and Conference Reports.

In reply to an inquiry by Senator Walsh, it was agreed that the program should not interfere with the unfinished business which is the Water Power Bill.

Senator Newlands moved that the Railroad Bill be placed first on the program. Other Senators urged that particular measures in which they were in charge of be given precedence on the program. After extended discussion none of the foregoing motions were acted upon and by unanimous consent a motion by Senator Simmons that the whole matter of a program be referred back to the Steering Committee, was adopted.

Senator Shafroth called attention to the fact that the Manitou Spring Water Company of Colorado had furnished the Caucus with a case of its ginger ale with the compliments of the company and moved that the appreciation of the Caucus be expressed to the company. The motion was carried.



JANUARY 25, 1917

There being no further business before the Caucus, on motion, adjournment was had sine die.

Secretary

Jan. 25th, 1917, Roll Call

[PRESENT]

[PRESENT]

✓ Ashurst	✓ Newlands
✓ Bankhead	✓ O'Gorman
✓ Beckham	✓ Overman
✓ Broussard	✓ Owen
✓ Bryan	✓ Phelan
✓ Chamberlain (Walsh)	✓ Pittman
✓ Chilton	✓ Pomerene
✓ Culberson (by Sheppard)	✓ Ransdell
✓ Fletcher	✓ Reed
✓ Gore	✓ Robinson (Vardaman)
✓ Hardwick	✓ Saulsbury
✓ Hitchcock	✓ Shafroth
✓ Hollis	✓ Sheppard
✓ Hughes	✓ Shields
✓ Husting	✓ Simmons
✓ James	✓ Smith of Ariz
✓ Johnson of Me	✓ Smith of Ga
✓ Johnson of SD	✓ Smith of Md
✓ Kern (Reed)	✓ Smith of S.C.
✓ Kirby	✓ Stone (Reed)
✓ Lane	✓ Swanson
✓ Lea of Tenn.	✓ Thomas (by Shafroth)
✓ Lee of Md.	✓ Thompson
✓ Lewis	✓ Tillman
✓ Martin	✓ Underwood
✓ Martine	✓ Vardaman
✓ Myers (Walsh)	✓ Walsh
	✓ Williams (Kern)

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[February 9, 1917]

Democratic Caucus, Friday, February 9th, 8:25 P.M.

Caucus called to order at 8:25 P.M.

Senator Sheppard was chosen to act as Temporary Secretary.

Senators Kern and Robinson were excused, and Senator Simmons was authorized to cast their votes.

Senator Husting was excused and Senator Walsh authorized to cast his vote.

The Chairman (Senator Chilton) ordered the roll to be called. During its progress a motion was made by Senator Martin to dispense with the roll call. Motion adopted.

Senator Simmons submitted and explained proposal of Finance Committee, as embodied in the bill, H.R. 20573, with amendments added by said Committee.

Senator Thomas submitted a substitute providing for an issue of 5 hundred millions of non-interest bearing Treasury notes, payable in 1935. The notes are made legal tender, and are to be paid out by the government in the discharge of its obligations.

Senator Reed was excused and Senator Smith of Georgia authorized to cast his vote.

Senator Pittman was excused and Senator Hollis of New Hampshire authorized to cast his vote.

Senator Thomas asked for the roll call on his substitute.

Roll call on the Thomas substitute resulted as follows:

YEAS—3

Martine  
Thomas  
Vardaman

NAYS—31

Chilton	Fletcher	Hardwick	Hitchcock
Hollis	Hughes	Husting	James
Johnson, Me.	Kern	Lea, Tenn.	Lee, Md.
Lewis	Martin	Myers	Overman
Phelan	Pittman	Pomerene	Reed
Robinson	Saulsbury	Shafroth	Sheppard
Shields	Simmons	Smith, Ga.	Smith, S.C.
Stone	Walsh	Williams	

NOT VOTING—21

Ashurst	Bankhead	Beckham	Broussard
Bryan	Chamberlain	Culberson	Gore
Johnson, S.D.	Kirby	Lane	Newlands
O’Gorman	Owen	Ransdell	Smith, Ariz.
Smith, Md.	Swanson	Thompson	Tillman
Underwood			

The Chairman declared the substitute lost.

Senator Overman moved that the bill, H.R. 20573 be recommitted to the Finance Committee with instructions to report a bill providing a bond issue sufficient to cover all revenues contemplated by Committee in its report of the bill, H.R. 20573, and doing away with all additional taxes provided by said bill.

Senator James was excused and Senator Simmons authorized to cast his vote.

FEBRUARY 9, 1917

Senator Thomas moved that the Caucus adjourn until 8 o'clock Saturday evening, February 10th. Senator Thomas withdrew this motion, and moved that a recess be taken until 8 o'clock Saturday evening, February 10th. This he also withdrew.

Senator Simmons asked unanimous consent that Senator Overman's motion be disposed at not later than 10 P.M., February 10th.

Senator Shafroth moved to substitute 11 P.M., February 10th. Carried and Caucus adjourned until 8 o'clock, Saturday evening, February 10th.

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[February 10, 1917]

Meeting of the Democratic Caucus, Feb. 10th, 1917.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman, Secretary, Acting.

Upon roll call a quorum was declared by the Chair to be present.

Senator Reed asked that Senator Stone cast his vote. Senator Tillman asked that Senator Thomas cast his vote. By unanimous consent such requests were granted.

Senator Overman offered an amendment providing for the raising of the necessary revenues by the issue of bonds as a substitute for the Excess Profit Tax. Upon a roll call on the Overman amendment the yeas were five and the nays thirty-two. The Chair declared the motion lost. Copy of roll call is attached to these minutes. [See tally sheet H.]

Senator Shields asked unanimous consent that the bill be deemed read except as to committee amendments and that such amendments be read and acted upon. The request was agreed to.

Senator Thomas offered the following amendment, in lieu of committee amendment at lines 15-18, page 3, by inserting after the word "organized," the following: "Except income derived from the business of insurance companies issuing policies upon the mutual plan."

Senator James offered as an amendment to the amendment of Senator Thomas by inserting before the word "insurance" the word "life." On a viva voce vote the Chair declared the amendment of Senator James lost. The question then recurred upon Senator Thomas' amendment. Upon a viva voce vote the Chair declared the amendment lost.

Senator Hoke Smith offered the following amendment:

At page 5, line 7, after the word sixteen, insert, "provided that in the case of insurance companies there shall not be included in the income used as a basis, any sums apportioned or accruing to policy holders."

Upon a viva voce vote the Chair declared the amendment lost.

Senator Lea of Tennessee offered the following amendment:

At page 5, line 4, after the title, insert, "provided that in the case of insurance companies there shall not be included in the income used as a basis, any sums apportioned and paid to policy holders."

Upon a viva voce vote the motion was declared lost.

The Chair then announced that the question recurred upon the committee amendment. Upon a viva voce vote the amendment was declared agreed to.

Senator Simmons asked unanimous consent that Section 204 be referred back to the Finance Committee. The request was agreed to.

Senator Smith of South Carolina moved to take a recess until 10:30 o'clock, A.M., Sunday. Motion lost.

Senator Chamberlain reserved the right to offer upon the floor of the Senate an amendment dealing with the fishery question in the North Pacific.

The Caucus agreed to all the committee amendments with the exception of Section 204 which was referred back to the Finance Committee and section 500 of Title 5, known as the Oleomargarine Tax, said Section 500 dealing with such tax was, by unanimous agreement, permitted to remain in the bill, but with the understanding that it was without Caucus action and that no member of the Caucus, including members of the Finance Committee, be bound to support such amendment or be obligated in any way to refrain from taking any action with regard thereto.

Thereupon, the Caucus recessed until 3:00 o'clock, P.M., Sunday, February 11th, 1917.

Roll Call, Dem. Conference,  
Feb. 10, 1917

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Ashurst
- Bankhead
- ✓ Beckham
- Broussard
- ✓ Bryan
- ✓ Chamberlain
- ✓ Chilton
- Culberson
- ✓ Fletcher
- Gore
- ✓ Hardwick (Overman)
- Hitchcock
- ✓ Hollis

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Hughes
- ✓ Husting
- ✓ James (Hughes)
- ✓ Johnson of Me
- ✓ Johnson of SD
- ✓ Kern (Walsh)
- ✓ Kirby
- Lane
- ✓ Lea of Tenn.
- ✓ Lee of Md.
- ✓ Lewis
- Martin
- ✓ Martine
- ✓ Myers
- ✓ Newlands

FEBRUARY 10, 1917

[PRESENT]	YEAS	NAYS
✓ O'Gorman		Hollis ✓
✓ Overman		Hughes ✓
Owen		Husting ✓
✓ Phelan		James ✓
✓ Pittman		Johnson of Me ✓
✓ Pomerene		Johnson of SD ✓
✓ Ransdell		Kern ✓
✓ Reed (Stone)		Kirby ✓
✓ Robinson (Simmons)		Lane
Saulsbury	✓	Lea of Tenn.
Shafroth		Lee of Md. ✓
✓ Sheppard		Lewis ✓
Shields		Martin ✓
✓ Simmons		Martine ✓
Smith of Ariz		Myers
✓ Smith of Ga		Newlands
Smith of Md		O'Gorman
✓ Smith of S.C.	✓	Overman
✓ Stone		Owen
Swanson		Phelan ✓
✓ Thomas		Pittman ✓
Thompson		Pomerene ✓
✓ Tillman (Thomas)		Ransdell ✓
Underwood		Reed (Stone) ✓
Vardaman		Robinson (Simmons) ✓
✓ Walsh		Saulsbury
✓ Williams		Shafroth ✓
		Sheppard ✓
		Shields ✓
Roll Call on Motion		Simmons ✓
[Tally sheet H]		Smith of Ariz
YEAS	NAYS	Smith of Ga ✓
Ashurst	✓	Smith of Md
Bankhead		Smith of S.C.
Beckham		Stone ✓
Broussard		Swanson
Bryan	✓	Thomas ✓
Chamberlain	✓	Thompson
✓ Chilton		Tillman (Thomas) ✓
Culberson		Underwood
Fletcher	✓	Vardaman
Gore		Walsh ✓
✓ Hardwick (Overman)		Williams ✓
Hitchcock		
	5	32

[February 11, 1917]

Postponed meeting of Democratic Caucus, Feb. 11th, 1917, at 3:00 o'clock, P.M.

Senator Kern in the Chair, Senator Pittman, Secretary, Acting.

Senator Simmons, on behalf of the Finance Committee, recommended that the Caucus authorize such committee to add an ad-

ditional section to the bill limiting the operation of the provisions for a tax on excess profits to a period of four years. Upon such motion the recommendation of the Finance Committee was adopted and the committee authorized to prepare and add such additional section to the bill.

Senator Saulsbury urged that in view of the provision for an excess profit tax, the munitions tax of 12½% provided in the last Revenue Bill, should be repealed. That to maintain such tax was discriminatory and unjust to the people of the state of Delaware.

Senator Simmons, on behalf of the Finance Committee, recommended that such committee be authorized and directed to provide in the bill an amendment to the munitions tax, limiting the operation of such tax to a period of six months after peace shall have been declared in Europe. Upon motion such recommendation was adopted and the committee was authorized as suggested.

Senator Lewis offered the following amendment:

RESOLVED, That the Finance Committee be authorized to consider if it be appropriate and practicable to attach to the Revenue Law—now to be submitted to the Senate by the Interstate Commerce Commission—that bill lately passed the House for encouragement of Export Trade—known as the “Webb Bill”—and report their conclusion on this point to the Senate.

Upon a vote being had the amendment was declared by the Chair to be lost.

Senator Shields offered an amendment as a substitute for the tax upon excess profits providing for an increased tax upon liquors, cigars and cigarettes. The following discussion was had upon the amendment:

Senator Shields presented statistics showing that his amendment would raise the necessary revenue and that such form of a tax would not be either as burdensome or as obnoxious to a majority of the people of the country as would be the excess profits tax.

Senator Simmons, on behalf of the Finance Committee, took issue with Senator Shields. Senator Simmons opposed the amendment upon two grounds. First, that the Commissioner of Internal Revenue had given it as his opinion that an increased tax upon such articles would be impracticable and that the amount of revenue actually collected under it would probably be only one-third of the estimate. Second, that the Finance Committee was satisfied that no such provision would be agreed to by the House of Representatives and that time was too short to experiment in the passage of such provision.

A yea and nay vote was demanded. Upon a roll call the yeas were seven and the nays twenty-three, as shown by the attached record

FEBRUARY 11, 1917

of such roll call. The Chair declared the amendment lost. [See tally sheet I.]

Senator Thomas moved that the committee be directed to modify the tax upon excess profits so as to exempt purely holding companies. The motion was lost.

Senator Thomas offered an amendment in the form of an additional section known as Section 601, in words as follows:

Sec. 601. If any clause, sentence, paragraph or part of this Act shall for any reason be adjudged by any Court of competent jurisdiction to be invalid such judgment shall not affect, impair or invalidate the remainder of said Act, but shall be confined in its operation to the clause, sentence, paragraph or part thereof directly involved in the controversy in which such judgment shall have been rendered.

The amendment was adopted.

Senator Simmons, on behalf of the Finance Committee, reported back to the Caucus, Section 204, amended by striking out all of the section after the word "services" in line 2, page 6. The section so amended was adopted.

Senator Underwood requested that the action of the Caucus on the preceding day with reference to the oleomargarine provision be restated, whereupon Senator Williams of the Finance Committee stated the action taken as follows:

By unanimous consent it was agreed that the oleomargarine provision be left in the bill but that there be no Caucus action thereon and that each Senator be at liberty to act as he sees fit with regard to such amendment.

Senator Simmons moved that the Caucus approve and endorse the bill as amended, subject to express reservations agreed to in the Caucus. The motion carried. Thereupon the Caucus adjourned.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary

Roll Call, Feb. 11, 1917 on Shields' amendment [Tally sheet I]		YEAS	NAYS
YEAS	NAYS	Culberson	
		Fletcher	✓
		Gore	
		Hardwick	
		Hitchcock	✓
		Hollis	✓
		Hughes (Simmons)	✓
		Husting	✓
		James	✓
		Johnson of Me	✓

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS (1915-1917)

YEAS		NAYS	YEAS		NAYS
	Johnson of SD	✓	✓	Saulsbury	
	Kern	✓		Shafroth	
✓	Kirby			Sheppard	✓
	Lane		✓	Shields	
	Lea of Tenn.			Simmons	✓
	Lee of Md.	✓		Smith of Ariz	
	Lewis	✓		Smith of Ga	✓
	Martin	✓		Smith of Md	
✓	Martine			Smith of S.C.	
	Myers			Stone	✓
	Newlands			Swanson	
	O'Gorman		✓	Thomas	
	Overman			Thompson	
	Owen			Tillman	
	Phelan		✓	Underwood	
	Pittman	✓	✓	Vardaman	
	Pomerene	✓	✓	Walsh	✓
	Ransdell	✓		Williams	✓
	Reed (Stone)	✓			
	Robinson	✓	7		23





## Sixty-fifth Congress (1917–1919)

[Editor's Note: In 1916, President Woodrow Wilson won a narrow reelection, while Senate Democrats lost two seats in the 1916 election, retaining their majority by a 54 to 42 margin, and House Democrats lost their majority by a single vote of 215 to 214, with six independents. Among those defeated in the election was the Senate Democratic Conference Chairman, John Worth Kern. To replace him, Democratic Senators elected Thomas S. Martin of Virginia, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, who had previously served as Conference chair from 1911 to 1913.

In the closing days of the 64th Congress, in March 1917, a group of anti-war senators conducted a filibuster against a bill to arm the U.S. merchant marine. The Wilson administration sponsored the Armed Ship bill to defend America's neutral rights on the Atlantic while Europe was at war. Isolationist senators, led by such progressive Republicans as Robert La Follette and George Norris, but also including such Democrats as William Stone, James K. Vardaman, and James O'Gorman, saw the bill as a blank check permitting the executive to lead the nation into an undeclared war. When the filibuster prevented the bill from passing, an outraged President Wilson denounced the "little group of wilful men" who had "rendered the great government of the United States helpless and contemptible." Wilson insisted that the only remedy would be for the Senate to adopt its first cloture rule to cut off debate. He also announced that the Senate would have to act on the cloture rule before he called the entire Congress into special session to deal with the war emergency.

The Senate met in special session beginning on March 5, 1917, and a bipartisan committee drafted a new rule. It took just six hours for the Senate to debate the issue on March 8, before voting 76 to 3 for a cloture rule. Wilson then called Congress into session on April 2, 1917, the date on which he appeared before a joint session to urge Congress to declare war against Germany and its allies.]

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[March 6, 1917]

Minutes of the Democratic Caucus held in the office of Senator Simmons ([Finance] Committee) at Washington, D.C., on Tuesday, March 6, 1917, at 10 o'clock, A.M.

Upon motion, Senator Saulsbury was elected chairman pro tem, and Senator Pittman was elected secretary pro tem.

A roll call of the Democratic Senators showed the following present:

Ashurst	Johnson of S.D.	Pittman	Swanson
Bankhead	Jones of N.M.	Pomerene	Thomas
Beckham	Kendrick	Reed of Missouri	Thompson
Broussard	King	Ransdell	Tillman

MARCH 6, 1917

Chamberlain	Kirby	Robinson	Trammell
Culberson	Lewis	[Saulsbury]	Underwood
Fletcher	McKellar	Shafroth	Vardaman
Gore	Martin	Shepherd	Walsh
Hitchcock	Myers	Shields	Williams
Hollis	Newlands	Smith of Ariz.	Wolcott
Hughes	Overman	Smith of Ga.	
Husting	Owen	Smith of Md.	
James	Phelen	Smith of S.C.	

Senator Saulsbury stated that the object of the meeting was to effect an organization of the Democratic senators and to consider such matters as might properly come before the meeting.

Upon motion, the Conference proceeded to the election of a chairman of the Democratic Caucus. The names of Senators Martin and Walsh were presented and various speeches made in behalf of each. Senator Martin was elected as Democratic leader and Chairman of the Democratic Caucus.

Senator Saulsbury surrendered the chair to Senator Martin who expressed his thanks for the honor conferred upon him and promised to discharge the duties of leader and chairman of the Caucus to the best of his ability. He asked the support of all Senators and hoped that the Senators would work harmoniously together for the welfare of the country. He stated that important problems and questions were before the coming Congress and that it would need the greatest wisdom and the highest patriotism upon the part of all in order that the best interests of the country be subserved.

Upon motion of Senator Pittman, Senator King was unanimously chosen as Secretary of the Caucus. Senator King thereupon assumed the duties of Secretary.

[Editor's Note.—The following additional minute for the March 6, 1917 meeting was submitted by the outgoing caucus secretary, Key Pittman.]

Democratic Caucus, March 6, 1917.

Vice Chairman Senator Chilton in the Chair, Senator Pittman, Secretary, acting.

Senator Myers was unanimously elected Temporary Chairman.

Senator Hoke Smith nominated Senator Martin for Permanent Chairman. The nomination was seconded by Senators Tillman, Owen, Smith of South Carolina, and Simmons. There being no other nominations, Senator Martin, upon notice, was unanimously elected by acclamation.

Senator James moved that the Chairman appoint a Steering Committee of nine members. Motion carried.

Senator Pittman was nominated for Secretary but respectfully declined the nomination.

Senator Reed thereupon nominated Senator King of Utah for such office. There being no other nomination, upon motion of Senator Owen, Senator King was unanimously elected by acclamation.

There being no further business before the meeting, the same adjourned.

[signed] Key Pittman  
Secretary

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Continuation of minutes of Democratic Caucus held at the office of Senator Simmons in the Senate Office Building at 10:30 A.M., Senator Martin presiding.

Senator Robinson presented the name of Senator Saulsbury for President pro tempore for the Senate. Senator Walsh's name was presented for the same position by Senator Thomas. Pending action upon the nominations, the Caucus at 11:45 A.M. upon motion of Senator Reed recessed until after the adjournment of the Senate this P.M.

At 3:45 P.M. the Caucus convened, Senator Martin presiding. Senator Reed reported that Senator [Henry Cabot] Lodge [Republican, Massachusetts] had advised him that the Republican Senators had met in Caucus, and would name a committee to confer with a committee to be named by the Democratic Senators, for the purpose of considering the question of revising the rules of the Senate. Thereupon, Senator Reed offered the following resolution which upon motion was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, That a committee of five be appointed on the Senate Rules. Said committee shall confer with a similar committee from the Republican Caucus, if one be by it appointed. In any event the committee shall report to this Conference at the earliest possible day.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

Senators Hardwick, Smith of Georgia, Williams and Shafroth each offered resolutions relating to Senate Rules, and on motion of each tendering Senator, each resolution was referred, without reading or debate, to the committee provided for in the resolution offered by Senator Reed.

The Chairman named Senator Reed to informally advise Senator Lodge and the Republican Senators in Caucus that the Democratic Caucus had authorized the Chairman to name a committee of five Senators to confer with a similar committee to be appointed by the Republican Caucus, to consider the question of revising the Rules of the Senate.

Senator Walsh asked that his name be withdrawn and not considered as a candidate for the position of President pro tempore of the

MARCH 6, 1917

Senate. Upon motion of Senator Shields, Senator Saulsbury was named by acclamation as President pro tempore of the Senate.

Upon motion of Senator Simmons, Senator Lewis was named by acclamation as Democratic Whip of the Senate.

The Chairman announced as the Democratic members of the committee on the revision of the Senate Rules, Senators Reed, Owen, Swanson, Smith of Georgia and James.

The question of naming a Vice Chairman of the Democratic Caucus was considered, and upon motion of Senator Williams the further consideration of the subject was postponed.

Senator Williams nominated Charles P. Higgins for the position of Sergeant at Arms of the Senate. Upon motion, Colonel Higgins was unanimously named. Upon motion of Senator Shafroth, J.M. Baker of S.C. was unanimously selected for the position of Secretary of the Senate. Thomas W. Keller of West Va., upon motion of Senator Smith of Maryland, was named, by acclamation, for the position of Head Doorkeeper. Rev. F.J. Prettyman was, by acclamation, named for the position of Chaplain of the Senate.

Senator Overman moved that a committee be appointed by the Chairman, to consider the question of patronage to be given to the Senators, and to allot the same. Senator Hardwick moved as an amendment to Senator Overman's motion that the members of the present Democratic Committee on patronage be authorized to act in the matter, and to determine the patronage to be given Senators, and to allot to each Senator his proportion of the same. The amendment was agreed to and the motion as amended was adopted.

On motion of Senator Thomas, a recess was taken until 10:30 A.M., March 7, 1917.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary

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Wednesday, March 7, 1917

Minutes of meeting of the Democratic Caucus held at the office of Senator Simmons in the Senate Office Building at 11 A.M., Wed., March 7, 1917, [Chairman] Martin presiding. The Chairman announced the presence of a quorum with a roll-call.

Senator Hardwick moved that nothing concerning the proceedings of the Democratic Caucuses be given out to the Press or otherwise, except by the Chairman or such persons as he might designate, and except that the Secretary may give out any recorded vote, and any Senator may make public his position on any recorded vote. The motion was unanimously agreed to.

The Chairman stated that he had added Senator Walsh to the committee on Revision of the Senate Rules, though the resolution authorized the naming of but five Senators, and asked that the Caucus ratify and approve his act. Upon motion, the act of the Chairman was ratified and the committee thus constituted consisted of the following: Senators Reed, Swanson, Owen, James, Smith of Georgia and Walsh.

It was moved by Senator Overman that a steering committee consisting of nine Senators be appointed by the Chair, and that the Chairman (Senator Martin) be a member of such committee, and ex officio Chairman thereof. The motion was unanimously adopted.

Senator Reed read a letter from Senator Stone giving his views on a cloture rule, and requested that because of being unavoidably detained from the Caucus, that Senator Reed be permitted to cast his vote. Upon motion, the request was granted. Senator Husting was excused from further attendance upon the Caucus.

Senator Sheppard moved that the Steering Committee be authorized and directed to prepare a list of committees at the earliest convenient day and report the same back to the Caucus. The motion was unanimously agreed to.

Senator Reed reported progress by the Committee, appointed by the Democratic and Republican Senators, on Revision of the Rules.

The Chair announced as members of the Steering Committee, Senators Martin, James, Williams, Reed, Swanson, Smith of Georgia, Thomas, Chamberlain, Overman and Robinson. The Chair called attention to the fact that the Steering Committee as announced consisted of ten members, one more than was authorized by the Caucus, and requested that the Steering Committee be increased so as to include the number named by him. Thereupon, Senator Myers moved that the Steering Committee consist of ten members, and that the action of the Chairman in the matter be approved. The motion was unanimously agreed to.

Senator Hardwick moved that the Caucus proceed to the selection of a Vice Chairman of the Democratic Caucus. The motion was agreed to. Thereupon, Senator Hardwick moved that Senator Hitchcock be elected as Vice Chairman of the Democratic Caucus, and that as such Vice Chairman he be ex officio a member of the [Democratic] Steering Committee. The motion was unanimously agreed to.

MARCH 7, 1917

Upon motion of Senator Thomas, the Caucus stood in recess until 3 P.M. this day.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary

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Democratic Conference convened pursuant to former action at 3 P.M. (Wednesday, March 7, 1917), Chairman Martin presiding.

Senator Smith of Georgia reported (orally) that the two committees, appointed by the Democratic and Republican caucuses, had met, and after full discussion had agreed to recommend to their respective caucuses that Senate Rule 22 be amended, by adding at the close of the same the following:

Provided, however, That if at any time a motion, signed by sixteen Senators, to bring to a close the debate upon any pending measure, is presented to the Senate, the presiding officer shall at once state the motion to the Senate, and one hour after the Senate meets on the following calendar day but one, he shall lay the motion before the Senate and direct that the Secretary call the roll, and upon ascertainment that a quorum is present, the presiding officer shall, without debate, submit to the Senate by an aye-and-nay vote the question: "Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate shall be brought to a close?"

And if that question shall be decided in the affirmative by a two-thirds vote of those voting, then said measure shall be the unfinished business to the exclusion of all other business until disposed of. Thereafter no Senator shall be entitled to speak in all more than [one] hour on the pending measure, the amendments thereto, and motions affecting the same, and it shall be the duty of the presiding officer to keep the time of each Senator who speaks. Except by unanimous consent, no amendment shall be in order after the vote to bring the debate to a close, unless the same has been presented and read prior to that time. No dilatory amendment, or amendment not germane, shall be in order. Points of order, including question of relevancy, and appeals from the decision of the presiding officer, shall be decided without debate.

Senator Smith moved the adoption of the report, and that Senate Rule 22 be amended as recommended by the Committee.

Pending debate, Senator Pomerene moved to amend the proposed amendment, submitted by the Committee to Rule 22, by adding thereto the following:

Provided, however, that during the last twelve days of the session, debate may be further limited or concluded as a two-thirds

vote of the Senate may determine, and that a motion for said purpose be voted upon without debate.

The amendment was rejected.

Senator Hughes submitted the following proposed amendment to Rule 22 and moved its reference to the Joint Committee on amendments to the Rule:

After a bill shall have been reported to the Senate from the Committee of the Whole, there shall be permitted a motion for the Previous Question, after which no Senator shall, without unanimous [consent], speak for more than one hour on the bill or more than ten minutes on any amendment, and that all such debate shall be pertinent and relevant to the question under discussion.

The motion was agreed to and the resolution was referred to the Joint Committee.

After further discussion, the motion of Senator Smith of Georgia was unanimously adopted.

During the progress of the meeting Senator Shields was excused, leaving his proxy with Senator McKellar, and Senator Kirby was excused, leaving his proxy with the Chairman.

Upon motion, the Conference was adjourned subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary

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Monday, March 12, 1917

Minutes of a meeting of the Democratic Caucus, held in the office of Senator Simmons in the Senate Office Building, pursuant to the call of the Chairman at 10:30 A.M., March 12, 1917. Chairman Martin called the meeting to order and announced the presence of a quorum without calling a roll.

Chairman Martin reported on behalf of the Steering Committee that the Committee had met and had assigned the Senators to the various committees provided by the rules of the Senate, and that such committee assignments were as follows:

*Tentative Print*  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS  
SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

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March 12, 1917

MR. ASHURST ..... Indian Affairs, chairman



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*Tentative Print—Continued*  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS  
SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

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	Census
	Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia
	Cuban Relations
	Education and Labor
	Expenditures in the Interior Department
	Judiciary
	Mines and Mining
	Public Buildings and Grounds
MR. BANKHEAD .....	Post Offices and Post Roads, chairman
	Civil Service and Retrenchment
	Coast and Insular Survey
	Commerce
	Conservation of National Resources
	Standards, Weights and Measures
	Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
MR. BECKHAM .....	Expenditures in the Department of Labor, chairman
	Claims
	Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands
	Library
	Military Affairs
	Philippines
	Post Offices and Post Roads
	Public Buildings and Grounds
	Public Health and National Quarantine
MR. BROUSSARD .....	National Banks, chairman
	Census
	Claims
	Interoceanic Canals
	Library
	Manufactures
	Naval Affairs
	Post Offices and Post Roads
	Public Buildings and Grounds
	Rules
MR. CHAMBERLAIN .....	Military Affairs, chairman
	Agriculture and Forestry
	Appropriations
	Commerce
	Expenditures in the War Department
	Public Lands
	Revision of the Laws of the United States (Joint)

*Tentative Print—Continued*  
 COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS  
 SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

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MR. CULBERSON .....	Judiciary, chairman Appropriations Coast and Insular Survey Expenditures in the Post Office Department Public Buildings and Grounds Public Health and National Quarantine
MR. FLETCHER .....	Commerce, chairman Banking and Currency Fisheries Indian Depredations Judiciary Military Affairs Philippines Printing Public Health and National Quarantine
MR. GERRY .....	Railroads, chairman Coast Defenses Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service Expenditures in the Department of Commerce Finance Immigration National Banks Naval Affairs
MR. GORE .....	Agriculture and Forestry, chairman Canadian Relations Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture Finance Immigration Interstate Commerce Patents
MR. HARDWICK .....	Industrial Expositions, chairman Appropriations Census Expenditures in the Department of Labor Immigration Post Offices and Post Roads Public Buildings and Grounds
MR. HITCHCOCK .....	Philippines, chairman Banking and Currency Foreign Relations

MARCH 12, 1917

*Tentative Print—Continued*  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS  
SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

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	Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game Military Affairs Private Land Claims Territories
MR. HOLLIS .....	Enrolled Bills, chairman Banking and Currency Civil Service and Retrenchment District of Columbia Education and Labor Final Disposition of Documents Pensions Woman Suffrage
MR. HUGHES .....	Pensions, chairman Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress Finance Post Offices and Post Roads Privileges and Elections Standards, Weights, and Measures Transportation Routes to the Seaboard University of the United States
MR. HUSTING .....	Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands, chairman Banking and Currency Cuban Relations Fisheries Immigration Indian Affairs Industrial Expositions Public Lands Revision of the Laws of the United States
MR. JAMES .....	Patents, chairman Civil Service and Retrenchment Enrolled Bills Expenditures in the War Department Finance Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Privileges and Elections Rules
MR. JOHNSON of South Dakota.	Revolutionary Claims, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Claims Conservation of National Resources

*Tentative Print—Continued*  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS  
SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

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	Immigration Indian Affairs Industrial Expositions Pacific Railroads Pensions
MR. JONES of New Mexico	Woman Suffrage, chairman Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate Education and Labor Finance Geological Survey Indian Affairs Manufactures Mines and Mining Public Lands
MR. KENDRICK .....	Canadian Relations, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Banking and Currency Conservation of National Resources Expenditures in the Post Office Department Indian Affairs Indian Depredations Pacific Railroads Territories
MR. KING .....	Expenditures in the Post Office Department, chairman Census Coast and Insular Survey Conservation of National Resources District of Columbia Expenditures in the Treasury Department Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands Judiciary Pensions Privileges and Elections
MR. KIRBY .....	Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture, chairman Civil Service and Retrenchment Claims Commerce Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia Final Disposition of Documents

MARCH 12, 1917

*Tentative Print—Continued*  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS  
SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

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	Interoceanic Canals
	Military Affairs
	Mississippi River and its Tributaries
	Patents
MR. LANE .....	Fisheries, chairman
	Claims
	Coast Defenses
	Indian Affairs
	Industrial Expositions
	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands
	Philippines
	Public Buildings and Grounds
	Territories
MR. LEWIS .....	Expenditures in the Department of State, chairman
	Interstate Commerce
	Manufactures
	National Banks
	Naval Affairs
	Pacific Islands and Porto Rico
	Printing
	Railroads
MR. McKELLAR .....	Civil Service and Retrenchment, chairman
	Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate
	Census
	Education and Labor
	Library
	Military Affairs
	Post Offices and Post Roads
	University of the United States
MR. MARTIN .....	Appropriations, chairman
	Commerce
	District of Columbia
	Expenditures in the Naval Department
	Final Disposition of Documents
	Fisheries
	Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
MR. MYERS .....	Public Lands, chairman
	Canadian Relations
	Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game
	Indian Depredations
	Industrial Expositions

*Tentative Print—Continued*  
 COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS  
 SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

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	Interstate Commerce Military Affairs
MR. NEWLANDS .....	Interstate Commerce, chairman Conservation of National Resources Expenditures in the Interior Department Five Civilized Tribes of Indians Indian Depredations Library Revolutionary Claims
MR. OVERMAN .....	Rules, chairman Appropriations Expenditures in the Department of Commerce Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game Industrial Expositions Judiciary University of the United States
MR. OWEN .....	Banking and Currency, chairman Appropriations Five Civilized Tribes of Indians Indian Affairs Public Health and National Quarantine Territories Rules Woman Suffrage
MR. PHELAN .....	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, chairman Coast Defenses District of Columbia Industrial Expositions Interoceanic Canals Mines and Mining Naval Affairs Pensions Philippines Public Lands Territories
MR. PITTMAN .....	Territories, chairman Coast and Insular Survey Expenditures in the Department of Justice Foreign Relations Indian Affairs Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands

MARCH 12, 1917

*Tentative Print—Continued*  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS  
SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

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	Mines and Mining Naval Affairs Public Lands
MR. POMERENE .....	Privileges and Elections, chairman Banking and Currency District of Columbia Foreign Relations Indian Depredations Interstate Commerce Manufactures
MR. RANSELL .....	Public Health and National Quarantine, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Canadian Relations Civil Service and Retrenchment Commerce Immigration Philippines Printing Public Lands Woman Suffrage
MR. REED .....	Manufactures, chairman Banking and Currency Commerce Judiciary Military Affairs Pacific Railroads Philippines Privileges and Elections Public Buildings and Grounds Railroads
MR. ROBINSON .....	Claims, chairman Appropriations Census Expenditures in the Department of Justice Interstate Commerce Pacific Railroad Printing Revision of the Laws of the United States (Joint)
MR. SAULSBURY .....	Coast and Insular Survey, chairman District of Columbia Expenditures in the Department of Justice Foreign Relations

*Tentative Print—Continued*  
 COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS  
 SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

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	Interstate Commerce Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Public Buildings and Grounds University of the United States
MR. SHAFROTH .....	Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, chairman Appropriations Banking and Currency Expenditures in the Department of State Mines and Mining Philippines Public Lands Transportation and Sale of Meat Products
MR. SHEPPARD .....	Census, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Commerce Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands Military Affairs Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Revolutionary Claims Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
MR. SHIELDS .....	Interoceanic Canals, chairman Commerce Expenditures in the Department of Labor Foreign Relations Judiciary Mississippi River and its Tributaries Standards, Weights, and Measures University of the United States
MR. SIMMONS .....	Finance, chairman Commerce Engrossed Bills Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture Interoceanic Canals Transportation and Sale of Meat Products
MR. SMITH of Arizona .....	Printing, chairman Appropriations Conservation of National Resources Foreign Relations Geological Survey Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands Public Lands



MARCH 12, 1917

*Tentative Print—Continued*  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS  
SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

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	Railroads
MR. SMITH of Georgia .....	Education and Labor, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Finance Judiciary Rules
MR. SMITH of Maryland .....	District of Columbia, chairman Appropriations Canadian Relations Coast Defenses Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service Expenditures in the Treasury Department Naval Affairs
MR. SMITH of South Caro- lina.	Immigration, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Conservation of National Resources Geological Survey Interstate Commerce Manufactures Patents Post Offices and Post Roads Railroads
MR. STONE .....	Foreign Relations, chairman Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia Expenditures in the Department of State Finance Mississippi River and its Tributaries Pacific Railroads
MR. SWANSON .....	Public Buildings and Grounds, chairman Education and Labor Expenditures in the Interior Department Foreign Relations Indian Depredations Naval Affairs Post Offices and Post Roads
MR. THOMAS .....	Coast Defenses, chairman Expenditures in the War Department Finance Foreign Relations

*Tentative Print—Continued*  
 COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS  
 SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

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	Military Affairs Pacific Railroads Private Land Claims
MR. THOMPSON .....	Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, chairman Agriculture and Forestry Interoceanic Canals Interstate Commerce Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands Pensions Philippines Privileges and Elections
MR. TILLMAN .....	Naval Affairs, chairman Appropriations Expenditures in the Navy Department Five Civilized Tribes of Indians Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game Private Land Claims Transportation and Sale of Meat Products
MR. TRAMMELL .....	Expenditures in the Treasury Department, chairman Claims Engrossed Bills Geological Survey Interoceanic Canals Mississippi River and its Tributaries Naval Affairs Pacific Islands and Porto Rico
MR. UNDERWOOD .....	Cuban Relations, chairman Appropriations Expenditures in the Department of Justice Interstate Commerce Public Health and National Quarantine Rules
MR. VARDAMAN .....	Conservation of National Resources, chair- man Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress District of Columbia Commerce Manufactures Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Post Offices and Post Roads

MARCH 12, 1917

*Tentative Print—Continued*  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF SENATORS  
SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

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	Privileges and Elections
	Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
MR. WALSH .....	Mines and Mining, chairman
	Indian Affairs
	Interoceanic Canals
	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands
	Judiciary
	Naval Affairs
	Pensions
	Private Land Claims
	Privileges and Elections
	Territories
MR. WILLIAMS .....	Library, chairman
	Expenditures in the War Department
	Finance
	Foreign Relations
	Railroads
	Rules
	University of the United States
MR. WOLCOTT .....	Expenditures in the Department of Com-
	merce, chairman
	Civil Service and Retrenchment
	Claims
	Coast Defenses
	Fisheries
	Judiciary
	Privileges and Elections

Senator Saulsbury moved that the report of the committee and the assignments made be approved as submitted to the Caucus. The motion was unanimously carried.

Upon motion of Senator Robinson, the Caucus adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary

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[February 13, 1919]

Minutes of a meeting of the Democratic Senators, held in the Finance Committee Room on February 13, 1919, at 8 o'clock, P.M.

Senator Martin of Virginia (Democratic Leader) presiding.

The following named senators were present: Ashurst, Beckham, Fletcher, Gay, Hardwick, Henderson, Hitchcock, Jones of N. Mex., Kendrick, King, Kirby, Martin of Va., Myers, Nugent, Overman, Pittman, Pollock, Pomerene, Ransdell, Robinson, Saulsbury, Shafroth, Sheppard, Smith of Ga., Smith of S.C., Swanson, Thomas, Vardaman, Wolcott.

The Conference was called to order by Senator Martin who stated that the object of the Conference was to consider what, if any, steps should be taken to expedite the passage of pending appropriation bills and other important legislation. He stated that there were but few legislative days remaining and that unless vigorous action were taken the end of the session would be reached without the passage of all the appropriations bills.

The Chairman urged that every legitimate means be adopted in order to secure the passage of the legislation referred to and suggested that night sessions be held.

Senator Wolcott reported that Senator Bankhead was unable to be present, but desired to be counted for the purpose of making a quorum, and desired that Senator Wolcott be permitted to cast his vote.

Senator Pittman reported that Senators Gerry and Martin of Kentucky were unavoidably detained, and that they requested that they be counted for a quorum and desired that Senator Pittman cast the vote of each.

Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia reported that Senator Lewis of Illinois was unavoidably detained, and desired to be counted for a quorum and that he (Senator Smith) cast his vote.

Senator Robinson of Arkansas reported that Senator Smith of Arizona was absent on account of illness; that he desired to be counted for a quorum and requested Senator Robinson to cast his vote.

Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia supported the views expressed by the Chairman and called attention to the fact that if all of the appropriation bills were not passed, an extra session of Congress would be imperative. He pointed out the desirability of avoiding an extra session, at least until after the Peace Congress at Paris had concluded its labors and the Treaty of Peace was ready for submission to the Senate. He urged that night sessions be held and that every effort possible be made to secure the passage, not only of the appropriation bills, but other pending important legislation.

Senator Henderson moved that, commencing tomorrow, Friday evening, February 14th, night sessions of the Senate be held; that the sessions commence at 11 o'clock A.M., and continue during the day and until such hour at night as might be determined upon. The motion was agreed to; a few votes being in the negative.

FEBRUARY 13, 1919

Upon motion, the requests of the absent senators were granted.

On motion of Senator Robinson the Conference adjourned.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary

## Sixty-sixth Congress (1919–1921)

[Editor's Note: As the election of 1918 took place, the World War in Europe drew to a close. On October 24, 1918, President Wilson issued an appeal to the nation to elect a Democratic Congress to support him as he prepared to negotiate the peace treaty ending the war. "The return of a Republican majority to either House of the Congress would, moreover, certainly be interpreted on the other side of the water as a repudiation of my leadership," Wilson wrote. "It is well understood there as well as here that the Republican leaders desire not so much to support the President as to control him." This miscalculated appeal failed not only to sway voters but contributed to the further estrangement between the president and congressional Republicans. Voters gave the Republicans a slim majority of 49 to 47 in the Senate, and expanded the Republican margin in the House to 240 to 192. After six years in the majority, Senate Democrats returned to the minority.

The Republican majority made Henry Cabot Lodge chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and set up a monumental confrontation between Wilson and Lodge over the Treaty of Versailles with its provisions for American participation in a League of Nations. The Senate divided into several groups: those supporting the treaty as Wilson had negotiated it; those supporting the treaty with mild reservations; those supporting only with strong reservation; and those irreconcilably opposed to the treaty in any form.

Wilson appeared before the Senate on July 10, 1919, to argue the case for the Treaty of Versailles, calling for its ratification without amendments or reservations. The Senate was still debating the treaty in September, when Wilson launched a national speaking tour to stimulate public support for the treaty. The president collapsed after giving a speech in Pueblo, Colorado, and returned to Washington, where he suffered a paralytic stroke on October 2. In November, Senate Democrats were able to defeat all amendments to the treaty, but the Senate adopted Senator Lodge's fourteen reservations. On November 14, 1919, Senate Democratic leader Thomas S. Martin died. He was succeeded by the vice chairman of the Democratic Conference, Gilbert Hitchcock. Although Hitchcock argued that the treaty could pass only with some reservations, the gravely ill Wilson refused to sanction any compromise. On November 19, 1919, the Senate defeated the treaty. A second attempt on March 19, 1920 similarly failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote.]

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[May 17, 1919]

Minutes of the Democratic Conference held in the Finance Committee Room, Senate Office Building, Friday, May 17, 1919, 11 o'clock, A.M.

The Conference was called to order by Senator Martin, the roll-call showing thirty-six present and eleven absent.

MAY 17, 1919

Senator Pittman presented a telegram from Senator Phelan, authorizing the former to cast his vote, and Senator Swanson presented a telegram from Senator Johnson of South Dakota, requesting that the former be permitted to cast his vote.

Upon motion, Senator King was selected Chairman of the meeting, and Senator Walsh of Massachusetts, Secretary. The Chairman stated that the Conference was called for the purposes of effecting an organization of the Democratic Senators and to transact such other business as might properly come before the meeting.

Senator Reed nominated Senator Martin for Chairman of the Democratic Conference, and leader of the Democratic Minority. The motion was carried by acclamation.

Upon motion by Senator Underwood, Senator King was nominated by acclamation, as Secretary of the Democratic Conference. Upon motion of Senator Smith of Georgia, Senator Hitchcock was unanimously selected as vice-Chairman of the Democratic organization. Senator Swanson named Senator Pittman as President, pro tem, of the Senate, and the Chairman of the Caucus was instructed to present his name to the Senate, as the choice of the Democratic Party.

Senator Swanson moved that a Democratic whip be elected.<sup>1</sup> This was opposed by Senator Reed and others, but the motion being put, was carried upon motion of Senator Swanson. Senator Gerry was unanimously selected for the position of Democratic whip.

The Chairman of the Caucus, was, upon motion, instructed to present the names of the following persons to the Senate as the choice of the Democrats for the positions set opposite their names:

Charles T. Higgins .....	Sergeant-at-Arms
James M. Baker .....	Secretary of the Senate
Thomas W. Keller .....	Assistant Sec'y of the Senate

Senator Robinson offered the following:

RESOLVED, That it is the desire of this Conference that Edwin A. Halsey be continued in his present position as Assistant on the floor of the Senate, under the office of the Sergeant-at-Arms.  
Carried unanimously.

Senator Pomerene moved that Thomas Dawson be continued as executive clerk. Carried.

Upon motion, the Democratic Leader, Senator Martin, was authorized to appoint a steering committee consisting of twelve Senators who should constitute the steering committee of the Minority and that he, the chairman, should be ex officio chairman of the same.

<sup>1</sup>The first Senate Democratic whip, J. Hamilton Lewis of Illinois, had been defeated for reelection in 1918.

Senator Jones of New Mexico moved that it be the sense of the Democratic Senators that no further steps be taken towards organization of the Senate until it is ascertained what the position of the Republicans is to be with respect to the number of Democrats to be assigned to the various committees.

Senator Thomas offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Caucus be instructed to notify the Chairman of the Republican Conference that the members of this Caucus will oppose the reorganization of the Senate until questions regarding the composition of Committees and disposition of positions be settled to its satisfaction.

Senator Smith of Georgia moved that, in the organization of the Committees, it was the sense of the Minority that they should have but one less upon the various committees than the Republicans.

After discussion had taken place upon the preceding motions and resolutions, Senator Hitchcock moved that the matter of organization be left with Senator Martin in connection with the Steering Committee, and that he be authorized to secure as large a representation as possible for the Minority, upon the various Committees of the Senate. Carried unanimously.

Upon motion of Senator Reed, the Conference adjourned, subject to the call of the Minority leader.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary

[Roll Call, May 17, 1919]		PRESENT	ABSENT
PRESENT	ABSENT	✓	
	Ashurst ✓	✓	Martin
	Bankhead ✓		Myers ✓
✓	Beckham	✓	Nugent ✓
✓	Chamberlain	✓	Overman
	Culberson ✓	✓	Owen
✓	Dial	✓	Phelan ✓
✓	Fletcher	✓	Pittman
✓	Gay	✓	Pomerene
	Gerry ✓	✓	Ransdell
✓	Gore	✓	Reed
	Harris ✓	✓	Robinson
✓	Harrison	✓	Sheppard
✓	Henderson	✓	Shields
✓	Hitchcock	✓	Simmons
	Johnson of SD ✓	✓	Smith of Ariz ✓
✓	Jones of N.M.	✓	Smith of Ga
✓	Kendrick	✓	Smith of Md
✓	King	✓	Smith of S.C.
✓	Kirby	✓	Stanley ✓
✓	McKellar	✓	Swanson
		✓	Thomas
		✓	Trammell



MAY 17, 1919

PRESENT	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT
✓ Underwood		✓ Williams	
✓ Walsh of Mass		✓ Wolcott	
✓ Walsh of Mont		36	11

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[May 26, 1919]

Minutes of a meeting of the Democratic Senators held in the Finance Committee room of the Senate, Senate Office Building, May 26, 1919, at 5 P.M., pursuant to the call of Chairman Martin.

Senator Martin not being present, vice-Chairman Hitchcock called the meeting to order. Thirty-nine Senators were present.

Senator Hitchcock stated that the object of the meeting was to hear the report of the Steering Committee and Senator Martin, with regard to committee assignments.

The Secretary announced that the Chairman and the Steering Committee had presented a tentative Minority list of committee assignments of Democratic Senators for the Sixty-Sixth Congress, which was as follows:

*Tentative Minority List*  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC SENATORS  
(SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS)

MR. ASHURST .....	Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands, Chairman Indian Affairs Census Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia Judiciary Mines and Mining Public Buildings and Grounds Privileges and Elections
MR. BANKHEAD .....	Expenditures in the Interior Department, Chairman Post Offices and Post Roads Civil Service and Retrenchment Coast and Insular Survey Commerce Conservation of National Resources Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
MR. BECKHAM .....	Expenditures in the Department of Labor Claims Library Military Affairs Philippines

*Tentative Minority List—Continued*  
 COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC SENATORS  
 (SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS)

	Post Offices and Post Roads Public Buildings and Grounds
MR. CHAMBERLAIN .....	Expenditures in the War Department, Chairman Military Affairs Coast Defenses Commerce Public Lands Philippines Territories
MR. CULBERSON .....	Private Land Claims, Chairman Judiciary Appropriations Coast and Insular Survey Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service Expenditures in the Post Office Depart- ment Public Buildings and Grounds
MR. DIAL .....	Cuban Relations Enrolled Bills Expenditures in the Department of State National Banks University of the United States Pacific Railroads District of Columbia Post Offices and Post Roads
MR. FLETCHER .....	Transportation Routes to the Seaboard, Chairman Commerce Banking and Currency Fisheries Military Affairs Philippines Printing Public Health and National Quarantine
MR. GAY .....	Coast and Insular Survey Appropriations Expenditures in the Navy Department Fisheries Pensions Post Offices and Post Roads Public Buildings and Grounds
MR. GERRY .....	Railroads Coast Defenses Finance

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*Tentative Minority List—Continued*  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC SENATORS  
(SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS)

	Immigration National Banks Naval Affairs
MR. GORE .....	Expenditures in the Department of Justice, Chairman Agriculture and Forestry Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture Finance Immigration Industrial Expositions Patents Pacific Islands and Porto Rico
MR. HARRIS .....	Industrial Expositions Public Health and National Quarantine Immigration Transportation Routes to the Seaboard Appropriations Canadian Relations
MR. HARRISON .....	Immigration Coast and Insular Survey Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Revolutionary Claims Agriculture and Forestry Rules Expenditures in the War Department
MR. HENDERSON .....	Mines and Mining Banking and Currency Claims Conservation of National Resources Industrial Expositions Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands Post Offices and Post Roads
MR. HITCHCOCK .....	Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game, Chairman Foreign Relations Banking and Currency Military Affairs Philippines Private Land Claims
MR. JOHNSON of South Dakota.	Agriculture and Forestry Claims Conservation of National Resources Indian Affairs Pacific Railroads Pensions

*Tentative Minority List—Continued*  
 COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC SENATORS  
 (SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS)

	Public Lands Woman Suffrage
MR. JONES of New Mexico	Woman Suffrage Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate Education and Labor Finance Indian Affairs Manufactures Public Lands
MR. KENDRICK .....	Canadian Relations Agriculture and Forestry Banking and Currency Conservation of National Resources Indian Affairs Indian Depredations Pacific Railroads Public Lands Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands
MR. KING .....	Expenditures in the Post Office Depart- ment Census Conservation of National Resources District of Columbia Judiciary Naval Affairs Pensions Privileges and Elections Immigration
MR. KIRBY .....	Patents Civil Service and Retrenchment Commerce Interoceanic Canals Military Affairs Mississippi River and its Tributaries
MR. McKELLAR .....	Civil Service and Retrenchment Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate Census Education and Labor Library Military Affairs Post Offices and Post Roads University of the United States
MR. MARTIN .....	Appropriations Commerce

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*Tentative Minority List—Continued*  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC SENATORS  
(SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS)

	Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments
	Fisheries
	Expenditures in the Interior Department
MR. MYERS .....	Indian Depredations, Chairman
	Public Lands
	Canadian Relations
	Expenditures in the Department of State
	Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game
	Interstate Commerce
	Military Affairs
	Five Civilized Tribes of Indians
MR. NUGENT .....	Finance
	Immigration
	Indian Affairs
	Pacific Islands and Porto Rico
	Territories
	Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands
MR. OVERMAN .....	Engrossed Bills, Chairman
	Rules
	Appropriations
	Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game
	Industrial Expositions
	Judiciary
	University of the United States
MR. OWEN .....	Five Civilized Tribes of Indians, Chairman
	Banking and Currency
	Appropriations
	Indian Affairs
	Public Health and National Quarantine
	Rules
	Territories
	Woman Suffrage
MR. PHELAN .....	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands
	Coast Defenses
	District of Columbia
	Interoceanic Canals
	Mines and Mining
	Naval Affairs
	Pensions
	Philippines
	Public Lands
	Territories
MR. PITTMAN .....	Industrial Expositions, Chairman

*Tentative Minority List—Continued*  
 COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC SENATORS  
 (SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS)

	Territories
	Foreign Relations
	Mines and Mining
	Naval Affairs
	Public Lands
MR. POMERENE .....	Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia, Chairman
	Privileges and Elections
	Banking and Currency
	District of Columbia
	Foreign Relations
	Indian Depredations
	Interstate Commerce
	Manufactures
MR. RANSELL .....	Mississippi River and its Tributaries, Chairman
	Public Health and National Quarantine
	Agriculture and Forestry
	Civil Service and Retrenchment
	Commerce
	Printing
	Woman Suffrage
	Interoceanic Canals
MR. REED .....	Standards, Weights and Measures, Chair- man
	Public Buildings and Grounds
	Commerce
	Judiciary
	Manufactures
	Privileges and Elections
	Railroads
MR. ROBINSON .....	Claims
	Expenditures in the Department of Justice
	Interstate Commerce
	Philippines
	Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service
	Note.—Add Foreign Relations, should additional member be author- ized. Add Census, should Senator Robinson fail to secure member- ship on Foreign Relations, in which event Walsh of Mass., would be eliminated from Census.
MR. SHEPPARD .....	Revolutionary Claims, Chairman
	Census
	Commerce
	District of Columbia
	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands

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*Tentative Minority List—Continued*  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC SENATORS  
(SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS)

	Military Affairs Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Transportation Routes to the Seaboard
MR. SHIELDS .....	Transportation and Sale of Meat Products, Chairman Expenditures in the Department of Labor Foreign Relations Judiciary Mississippi River and its Tributaries University of the United States Philippines
MR. SIMMONS .....	Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress, Chairman Finance Commerce Expenditures in the Department of Agri- culture Interoceanic Canals
MR. SMITH of Arizona .....	Geological Survey, Chairman Printing Appropriations Conservation of National Resources Foreign Relations Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands Public Lands Railroads
MR. SMITH of Georgia .....	Expenditures in the Treasury Department, Chairman Agriculture and Forestry Judiciary Rules Education and Labor [handwritten insert]
MR. SMITH of Maryland .....	Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service, Chairman District of Columbia Appropriations Coast Defenses Naval Affairs Standards, Weights, and Measures
MR. SMITH of South Caro- lina.	Conservation of National Resources, Chair- man Interstate Commerce Agriculture and Forestry Geological Survey Manufactures Patents

*Tentative Minority List—Continued*  
 COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC SENATORS  
 (SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS)

	Railroads
MR. STANLEY .....	Expenditures in the Department of Commerce Industrial Expositions Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress Indian Depredations Interstate Commerce Pacific Railroads
MR. SWANSON .....	Expenditures in the Navy Department, Chairman Naval Affairs Foreign Relations Indian Depredations Public Buildings and Grounds
MR. THOMAS .....	Pacific Railroads, Chairman Finance Military Affairs Private Land Claims Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game
MR. TRAMMELL .....	Expenditures in the Treasury Department Claims Interoceanic Canals Naval Affairs Pacific Islands and Porto Rico Public Buildings and Grounds
MR. UNDERWOOD .....	Cuban Relations Appropriations Interstate Commerce Public Health and National Quarantine Rules
MR. WALSH of Massachusetts.	Canadian Relations Manufactures Pensions Transportation and Sale of Meat Products Banking and Currency Census (Eliminate Census if Robinson should fail to obtain membership on Foreign Relations) Post Offices and Post Roads Education and Labor [handwritten insert]
MR. WALSH of Montana .....	Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments, Chairman Pensions



MAY 26, 1919

*Tentative Minority List—Continued*  
COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC SENATORS  
(SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS)

	Indian Affairs
	Interoceanic Canals
	Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands
	Judiciary
	Mines and Mining
	Naval Affairs
	Privileges and Elections
MR. WILLIAMS .....	University of the United States, Chairman
	Library
	Finance
	Foreign Relations
	Railroads
MR. WOLCOTT .....	Expenditures in the Department of Commerce
	Civil Service and Retrenchment
	Claims
	Coast Defenses
	Fisheries
	Privileges and Elections
	Interstate Commerce
	Education and Labor

Upon motion the Report of the Committee was adopted.

Upon motion, the Conference adjourned.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary.

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[November 6, 1919]

Minutes of a meeting of the Democratic Senators held at the office of the Minority Conference, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., November 6, 1919.

In the absence of Chairman Martin, Vice Chairman Hitchcock called the Conference to order and stated that he felt the necessity of consulting with Senators in view of the situation with respect to the Versailles Treaty, and the approaching final vote upon the same. He stated that all amendments to the Treaty had been defeated, and the question to be determined was what attitude should be taken by the Minority upon the various reservations, before the Senate, and those that might hereafter be offered. He stated that the Conference was for the purpose of getting the views of the Democratic Senators, as they might be developed in a general discussion.

He further stated that in his opinion the Treaty could be ratified with reservations.

Senator Nugent suggested that the Conference adjourn with the understanding that the Chairman be authorized to call a meeting of all Democrats and Republicans who were in favor of having the Treaty ratified, in order that the matter might be fully considered by such joint meeting.

Senator McKellar suggested that Senator Hitchcock be requested to confer with Republican Senators, and those who favor reservations, with a view to determining what would be agreeable to them, and that, upon such information being obtained, a Conference be called, to which such report be submitted.

Senator Ashurst suggested that the Chairman appoint a Committee to prepare such reservations as the Democrats would be willing to support.<sup>2</sup>

The various suggestions, as well as others, were discussed at length by the Conference, but no action was taken upon them.

Senator Underwood offered the following resolution, which was agreed to:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Conference that an unconditional vote on the ratification of the Treaty of Peace with Germany should be had before any resolutions, amendments, or reservations changing the status of the Treaty of Peace are agreed to, and that the amendments, or reservations, looking to the changing of the Treaty of Peace should be rejected until a vote on unconditional ratification is obtained.

Upon motion, the Conference adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary

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[no date]

Upon two or three occasions not herein recorded Conferences of a majority of the Democratic Senators were held in the Minority Room in the Capitol while the Versailles Treaty was before the Senate.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>In his diary entry for November 7, 1919, Senator Ashurst recorded: "Pro-League Democratic senators caucused last night. I was amazed that some of the Democratic senators still believed that the Treaty might be ratified without reservation. The Republican factions in the Senate are united on this issue." George F. Sparks, ed. *A Many-Colored Toga: The Diary of Henry Fountain Ashurst* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), p. 113.

<sup>3</sup>Senator Ashurst's diary noted that Senator Hitchcock called a meeting of the Democratic caucus on the morning of November 19, 1919. Ashurst noted: "Every Democratic senator who favored the Treaty was present at the caucus except Senator Culberson of Texas, who for months has been ill. Senator Underwood moved that the Democratic senators vote against the Lodge Resolu-

Continued

NOVEMBER 6, 1919

The undersigned was not present and no record of the proceedings was furnished him. He was informed, however, by Senators who participated in the Conference that no motions or resolutions were adopted and that no vote was taken upon any matter; that the discussions were general in character and related principally to the reservations offered to the Treaty which was pending in the Senate.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary

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[January 15, 1920]

Minutes of the Conference of the Democratic Senators held January 15, 1920, at 10:30 A.M., at the office of the Minority Leader, Capitol, Washington, D.C.

The meeting was called to order by Senator Hitchcock, who read a letter addressed to Senator Underwood, in which attention was called to the fact that a Conference of the Democratic Senators had been called for a certain date and at the request of Senator Underwood, the meeting had been postponed until a subsequent date, and that the present meeting was called for the purpose of selecting a leader for the Democrats of the Senate. A roll was called showing the following named Senators present: Ashurst, Bankhead, Beckham, Chamberlain, Culberson, Dial, Fletcher, Gay, Gerry, Gore, Harris, Harrison, Henderson, Hitchcock, Jones of N. Mex., Kendrick, King, Kirby, McKellar, Myers, Nugent, Overman, Owen, Phelan, Pittman, Pomerene, Ransdell, Reed, Robinson, Sheppard, Shields, Simmons, Smith of Ga., Smith of Md., Smith of S.C., Stan-

tion of Ratification. Democratic Leader Hitchcock then drew from his breast pocket and read the following letter from President Wilson:

The White House  
Washington, 18 November 1919

My dear Senator:

You were good enough to bring me word that the Democratic Senators supporting the Treaty expected to hold a conference before the final vote on the Lodge Resolution of Ratification and that they would be glad to receive a word of counsel from me.

I should hesitate to offer it in any detail, but I assume that the Senators only desire my judgment upon the all-important question of the final vote on the resolution containing the many reservations by Senator Lodge. On that I can not hesitate, for in my opinion, the resolution in that form does not provide for ratification but, rather, for the nullification of the Treaty. I sincerely hope that the friends and supporters of the Treaty will vote against the Lodge Resolution of Ratification.

I understand that the door will probably then be open for a genuine resolution of ratification.

I trust that all true friends of the Treaty will refuse to support the Lodge Resolution.

Cordially and sincerely yours,  
Woodrow Wilson

To Hon. G.M. Hitchcock  
United States Senate

Examining the letter I perceived that it was not signed by President Wilson but that the words 'Woodrow Wilson' were affixed thereto by a rubber stamp facsimile in purple ink." Sparks, ed., *A Many-Colored Toga*, pp. 114-15.

ley, Thomas, Trammell, Underwood, Walsh of Mass., Walsh of Mont., Williams and Wolcott.

Upon the request of Senator Hitchcock, Senator Robinson of Arkansas was called to the Chair.

Upon motion of Senator Ashurst, it was unanimously agreed that no Senator should speak for more than five minutes upon any one question coming before the Conference.

Senator Pittman asked that unanimous consent be given that Hon. Carter Glass, Senator-Elect from the State of Va., and the present Secretary of the Treasury, be invited to attend and participate in the deliberations and proceedings of the Conference. Several Senators made objection. Thereupon, Senator Pittman offered the following resolution and moved its adoption:

WHEREAS, Hon. Carter Glass has been duly appointed and commissioned a Senator of the United States from the State of Virginia, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the late Senator Martin; and,

WHEREAS, Senator-elect Glass has been restrained from taking his seat in the Senate because of the continuation of the duties of Secretary of the Treasury at the request of the President; and,

WHEREAS, Senator Glass states that he will take his seat in the Senate in a few days and that he will participate in this Conference if invited; and

WHEREAS, it is the policy of Democratic Conferences to permit Senators-elect after being commissioned and before being sworn in to participate in such Conferences;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that Senator-elect Glass be and he is hereby invited to participate in this Conference and in all other Democratic Conferences which may be held, with all the privileges of a Democratic Senator.

Senators Pittman, Walsh of Mont., Reed, Gerry, Overman, Bankhead, Simmons, Williams, and Jones addressed the Conference upon the resolution. The vote being taken upon the resolution, it was declared to be carried—the vote being as follows: AYES—Senators Bankhead, Dial, Fletcher, Gay, Gerry, Gore, Harris, Harrison, Jones of N. Mex., McKellar, Owen, Pittman, Ransdell, Reed, Shields, Smith of Md., Smith of S.C., Stanley, Walsh of Mass., and Williams. Total - 20. NAYS—Ashurst, Chamberlain, Culberson, Henderson, Kendrick, King, Kirby, Myers, Nugent, Overman, Phelan, Pomerene, Robinson, Sheppard, Simmons, Thomas, Trammell, Walsh of Mont., and Wolcott. Total - 19. [See also tally sheet A.]

JANUARY 15, 1920

Senator Beckham was present and announced that he had paired with Senator Swanson of Va., and withheld his vote. Senator Smith of Ga., refrained from voting.

The Chair appointed Senator Pittman to inform Secretary Glass of the adoption by the Conference of the resolution. Senator Ashurst announced that owing to the fact that Mr. Glass was filling an executive position, to wit, Secretary of the Treasury, and that it was indefinite as to when he would become a Senator, he would protest his participating in the Conference.

Senator Ashurst moved that the Conference proceed to the selection of a Democratic leader. Senator Reed raised the point of order that the Conference could not proceed until word had been received from Senator-elect Glass as to what steps he would take concerning the resolution adopted by the Conference. Pending the motion of Senator Ashurst, and the point of order submitted by Senator Reed, Senator Pittman announced that he communicated by telephone with Mr. Glass and read to him over the phone, the resolution adopted by the Conference, including the number of votes for and the number of votes against the resolution; that thereupon, Mr. Glass informed him that he would not participate in the Conference as it appeared that there was material objection to such course.

Senator Gore moved that the election of a Democratic leader be postponed until the first Monday in February, 1920, at 10 o'clock, A.M., and that in the meantime, Senator Hitchcock continue to act as Democratic leader.

Senator Wolcott stated that he would not object to Mr. Glass participating in the Democratic Conference, provided he should appear and request that privilege; and then moved that if Mr. Glass appear and request to take part in the proceedings and to vote upon the question of selecting a Democratic leader, that the privilege be so accorded to him.

Senator Pittman offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the vote of each and every Democratic Senator who may be absent from any Democratic Conference, shall be cast and counted in any election and upon questions that may arise, if in writing or by telegram he designates for what candidate he desires his vote cast, or how he desires his vote cast upon any question.

Senator Reed moved to add to Senator Gore's motion and as an amendment thereto, the resolution submitted by Senator Pittman. Senator Simmons moved to amend the motion of Senator Reed, by adding thereto and after the word "question" before the last sentence, "and who is absent and his position is known and not questioned." Thereupon general discussion followed upon the various motions pending, after which Senator Gore withdrew his motion and

the motion, together with all amendments thereto, was withdrawn and the question then recurred upon the motion of Senator Ashurst that the Conference proceed to the selection of a Democratic leader. The motion carried—no Senator voting in opposition thereto.

Senator Pittman placed in nomination Senator Underwood as Democratic leader. Senator Simmons nominated Senator Hitchcock to the same position. A vote was taken and the following Senators voted for Senator *Underwood*: Bankhead, Dial, Fletcher, Gay, Gerry, Gore, Harris, [Harrison]<sup>4</sup>, Jones of N. Mex., McKellar, Pittman, Ransdell, Reed, Shields, Smith of Md., Smith of S.C., Stanley, Walsh of Mass., and Williams. 19. The following Senators voted for Senator *Hitchcock*: Ashurst, Chamberlain, Culberson, Henderson, Kendrick, King, Kirby, Myers, Nugent, Overman, Phelan, Pomerene, Robinson, Sheppard, Simmons, Thomas, Trammell, Walsh of Mont., and Wolcott. 19. [See also tally sheet B.]

Senator Beckham announced that he was paired with Senator Swanson (absent on account of illness of his wife); that Senator Swanson if present would vote for Senator Hitchcock, and that he (Senator Beckham) would vote for Senator Underwood. Senator Owen announced that he was paired with Senator Smith of Arizona; that if Senator Smith were present, Senator Smith would vote for Senator Underwood, and that he (Senator Owen) would vote for Senator Hitchcock. Senator Smith of Ga., was present, but did not vote. Senators Underwood and Hitchcock were present, but neither voted.

Senator Pittman moved that the Conference be postponed until the first Monday in February and again offered as a part of the motion the resolution set forth, providing for absent senators leaving their vote, etc. Pending the motion, the suggestion was made that another vote be taken. Thereupon, the Conference proceeded to vote with the following result. For Senator *Underwood*: Senators Bankhead, [Dial], Fletcher, Gay, Gerry, Gore, Harris, [Harrison], Jones of N. Mex., McKellar, Pittman, Ransdell, Reed, Shields, Smith of Md., Smith of S.C., Stanley, Walsh of Mass., and Williams. 19. For Senator *Hitchcock*: Senators Ashurst, Chamberlain, Culberson, Henderson, Kendrick, King, Kirby, Myers, Nugent, Overman, Phelan, Pomerene, Robinson, Sheppard, Simmons, Thomas, Trammell, Walsh of Mont., and Wolcott. 19. [See also tally sheet C.]

Senators Beckham and Owen made the same announcements as to pairs heretofore noted. Senator Smith was present, but did not vote.

Senator Ransdell moved that pending the determination of the leadership question, Senator Hitchcock continue to act as leader of the

<sup>4</sup>The name of Senator Harrison was omitted from the list in the minutes of those voting for Senator Underwood on both votes, but his name is checked on the two tally sheets as voting for Underwood. Similarly, Senator Dial's name was omitted from the second vote but checked on the tally sheet as voting for Underwood. The votes of both senators are necessary to achieve the total of 19.

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minority. All pending motions were withdrawn and thereupon, Senator Pittman offered the following motion:

That the Conference adjourn to a time to be agreed upon by Senators Hitchcock and Underwood, and that upon such agreement being reached, a Conference of Democratic Senators be called for the purpose of selecting a Democratic leader, and that at such Conference the vote of each and every Democratic Senator who may be absent from any Democratic Conference called for the selection of a leader, shall be cast and counted in any election and upon questions that may arise, if in writing or by telegraph, he designates the candidate for whom his vote be cast and how he desires his vote cast upon any question. This rule terminates upon the election of a minority leader.

The motion was agreed to and the Conference adjourned.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary

[Roll Call, January 15, 1920]

PRESENT

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Beckham  
✓ Chamberlain  
✓ Culberson  
✓ Dial  
✓ Fletcher  
✓ Gay  
✓ Gerry  
✓ Glass  
✓ Gore  
✓ Harris  
✓ Harrison  
✓ Henderson  
✓ Hitchcock  
✓ Johnson of SD  
✓ Jones of N. Mex  
✓ Kendrick  
✓ King  
✓ Kirby  
✓ McKellar  
✓ Myers  
✓ Nugent  
✓ Overman  
✓ Owen  
✓ Phelan  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Pomerene  
✓ Ransdell  
✓ Reed  
✓ Robinson  
✓ Sheppard

PRESENT

✓ Shields  
✓ Simmons  
✓ Smith of Ariz  
✓ Smith of Ga  
✓ Smith of Md  
✓ Smith of S.C.  
✓ Stanley  
✓ Swanson  
✓ Thomas  
✓ Trammell  
✓ Underwood  
✓ Walsh of Mass  
✓ Walsh of Mont  
✓ Williams  
✓ Wolcott

Vote on Pittman Resolution  
Concerning Carter Glass  
[Tally sheet A]

YEAS		NAYS
	Ashurst	✓
✓	Bankhead	
	Beckham (paired)	
	Chamberlain	✓
	Culberson	✓
✓	Dial	
✓	Fletcher	
✓	Gay	
✓	Gerry	
	Glass	
✓	Gore	
✓	Harris	

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS (1919-1921)

YEAS	NAYS	HITCHCOCK	UNDERWOOD
✓	Harrison	✓	Kendrick
	Henderson	✓	King
	Hitchcock	✓	Kirby
	Johnson of SD		McKellar
✓	Jones of N. Mex	✓	Myers
	Kendrick	✓	Nugent
	King	✓	Overman
	Kirby	✓	Owen (paired)
✓	McKellar	✓	Phelan
	Myers	✓	Pittman
	Nugent	✓	Pomerene
	Overman	✓	Ransdell
✓	Owen		Reed
	Phelan	✓	Robinson
✓	Pittman	✓	Sheppard
	Pomerene	✓	Shields
✓	Ransdell	✓	Simmons
✓	Reed		Smith of Ariz
	Robinson		Smith of Ga
	Sheppard		Smith of Md
✓	Shields		Smith of S.C.
	Simmons		Stanley
	Smith of Ariz		Swanson
	Smith of Ga	✓	Thomas
✓	Smith of Md	✓	Trammell
✓	Smith of S.C.		Underwood
✓	Stanley		Walsh of Mass
	Swanson	✓	Walsh of Mont
	Thomas	✓	Williams
	Trammell	✓	Wolcott
	Underwood		
✓	Walsh of Mass		
✓	Walsh of Mont		
	Williams		
	Wolcott		
		2nd vote [for leader]	
		[Tally sheet C]	
		HITCHCOCK	UNDERWOOD
		✓	Ashurst
			Bankhead
			Beckham (paired)
		✓	Chamberlain
		✓	Culberson
			Dial
			Fletcher
			Gay
			Gerry
			Glass
			Gore
			Harris
			Harrison
		✓	Henderson
			Hitchcock
			Johnson of SD
			Jones of N. Mex
✓		✓	Kendrick
		✓	King
		✓	Kirby
			McKellar
		✓	Myers
1st vote [for leader]			
[Tally sheet B]			
HITCHCOCK	UNDERWOOD		
✓	Ashurst		
	Bankhead		✓
	Beckham (paired)		
✓	Chamberlain		
✓	Culberson		
	Dial		✓
	Fletcher		✓
	Gay		✓
	Gerry		✓
	Glass		
	Gore		✓
	Harris		✓
	Harrison		✓
✓	Henderson		
	Hitchcock		
	Johnson of SD		
	Jones of N. Mex		✓



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HITCHCOCK	UNDERWOOD	HITCHCOCK	UNDERWOOD
✓ Nugent		Smith of Ga	
✓ Overman		Smith of Md	✓
Owen (paired)		Smith of S.C.	✓
✓ Phelan		Stanley	✓
Pittman	✓	abst. Swanson (paired)	
✓ Pomerene		✓ Thomas	
Ransdell	✓	✓ Trammell	
Reed	✓	Underwood	
✓ Robinson		Walsh of Mass	✓
✓ Sheppard		✓ Walsh of Mont	
Shields	✓	Williams	✓
✓ Simmons		✓ Wolcott	
Smith of Ariz			

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[February 7, 1920]

Minutes of a Conference of Democratic Senators held in the Minority Room, Senate Office Bldg., Feb. 7, 1920, 10:30 A.M.

The Conference was called to order by Senator Hitchcock, the following named Senators being present: Ashurst, Beckham, Chamberlain, Gerry, Glass, Harris, Harrison, Henderson, Hitchcock, Johnson of S. Dak., Jones of N. Mex., King, Kirby, McKellar, Nugent, Overman, Phelan, Pittman, Ransdell, Robinson, Sheppard, Simmons, Smith of Ga., Smith of Md., Stanley, Underwood, Walsh of Mont., and Williams.

Senator Hitchcock stated that on Monday Feb. 9, 1920, the leader of the Majority in the Senate, Senator Lodge, would probably take some steps for the further consideration of the Treaty of Peace with Germany now pending in the Senate, and looking to the ratification of the same. In view of this situation, he said that an informal Conference of the Democratic Senators was necessary and for that reason he had called this Conference. Senator Hitchcock read to the Conference the following letter which he had received from the President of the United States:

**My Dear Senator Hitchcock:**<sup>5</sup>

I have greatly appreciated your thoughtful kindness in keeping me informed concerning the Conference you and some of your colleagues have had with spokesmen of the Republican party concerning the possible ratification of the treaty of peace, and send this line in special appreciative acknowledgment of your letter of the 22d. I return the clipping you were kind enough to enclose.

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<sup>5</sup>The letter contains boldface headings because it had been printed (perhaps in a newspaper) and the clipping then pasted into the minutes.

To the substance of it, I of course adhere. I am bound to. Like yourself, I am solemnly sworn to obey and maintain the Constitution of the United States. But I think the form of it very unfortunate. Any reservation or resolution stating that “the United States assumes no obligation under such and such an article unless and except” would, I am sure, chill our relationship with the nations with which we expect to be associated in the great enterprise of maintaining the world’s peace.

That association must in any case, my dear senator, involve very serious and far-reaching implications of honor and duty which I am sure we shall never in fact be desirous of ignoring. It is the more important not to create the impression that we are trying to escape obligations.

#### **Accepts Hitchcock’s Changes**

But I realize that negative criticism is not all that is called for in so serious a matter. I am happy to be able to add, therefore, that I have once more gone over the reservations proposed by yourself, the copy of which I return herewith, and am glad to say I can accept them as they stand.

I have never seen the slightest reason to doubt the good faith of our associates in the war, nor ever had the slightest reason to fear that any nation would seek to enlarge our obligations under the covenant of the league of nations or seek to commit us to lines of action which, under our Constitution, only the Congress of the United States can in the last analysis decide.

May I suggest that with regard to the possible withdrawal of the United States, it would be wise to give the President the right to act upon our resolution of Congress in the matter of withdrawal? In other words, it would seem to be permissible and advisable that any resolution giving notice of withdrawal should be a joint, rather than a concurrent resolution.

#### **View on Joint Resolution**

I doubt whether the President can be deprived of his veto power under the Constitution, even with his own consent. The use of a joint resolution would permit the President who is, of course, charged by the Constitution with the conduct of foreign policy, to merely exercise a voice in saying whether so important a step as withdrawal from the league of nations should be accomplished by a majority or a two-thirds vote.

The Constitution itself providing that the legislative body was to be consulted in treaty making and having prescribed a two-thirds vote in such cases, it seems to me that there should be no unnecessary departure from the method there indicated.

I see no objection to a frank statement that the United States can accept a mandate with regard to any territory under Article XIII, part 1, or any other provision of the treaty of peace, only

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by direct authority and action of the Congress of the United States.

I hope, my dear senator, that you will never hesitate to call upon me for any assistance that I can render in this or any other public matter.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON

Senator Glass reported the views of the President as stated to him yesterday, with respect to the ratification of the Treaty, the so-called Lodge Reservations, and other current questions.<sup>6</sup>

Senator Williams moved that Senator Hitchcock take whatever steps he deemed proper to bring the Treaty before the Senate for consideration and action thereon. Motion was carried.

A general discussion ensued respecting the parliamentary situation of the Treaty and the reservations pending and their nature and effect.

Senator Williams moved and the motion carried, that Senator Hitchcock be authorized to communicate with the President, and that if the President desired his letter of the 26th ult., heretofore referred to, to be given to the press, such action be taken.

Thereupon the Conference adjourned.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary

[Roll Call, February 7, 1920]

[PRESENT]

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Beckham  
✓ Chamberlain  
Culberson  
Dial  
Fletcher  
Gay  
✓ Gerry  
✓ Glass  
Gore  
✓ Harris

[PRESENT]

✓ Harrison  
✓ Henderson  
✓ Hitchcock  
✓ Johnson of SD  
✓ Jones of N. Mex  
Kendrick  
✓ King  
✓ Kirby  
✓ McKellar  
Myers  
✓ Nugent  
✓ Overman  
Owen

<sup>6</sup>Senator Ashurst recorded in his diary the following account of Conference discussions: "Senator Glass, Virginia, who left the Wilson Cabinet one week ago, announced that W.W. would refuse to exchange ratifications with the signatory powers, if the Lodge Reservations were adopted. Senator Glass then went on to say that W.W. charged that Lord Gray while here had conspired with Senator Lodge; and that he, W.W. was going to make the Treaty the issue in the coming campaign. Senator Walsh of Montana inquired how W.W. would make the Treaty an issue. Senator Glass replied that the President possessed sufficient leadership to bring the question before the people. Senator Pomerene spoke next and said he was disappointed at the attitude assumed by W.W. Senator John Sharp Williams then lauded W.W.'s attitude and denounced the suggestion that we should enter the League upon different terms than the other signatories." Sparks, ed. *A Many-Colored Toga*, pp. 122-23.

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS (1919-1921)

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Phelan
- ✓ Pittman
- ✓ Pomerene
- ✓ Ransdell
- Reed
- ✓ Robinson
- ✓ Sheppard
- Shields
- ✓ Simmons
- Smith of Ariz
- ✓ Smith of Ga

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Smith of Md
- Smith of S.C.
- ✓ Stanley
- Swanson
- Thomas
- Trammell
- ✓ Underwood
- Walsh of Mass
- ✓ Walsh of Mont
- ✓ Williams
- Wolcott

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[April 27, 1920]

Minutes of a Conference of the Democratic Senators held April 27, 1920, at 10:30 A.M., in the committee room of the Minority, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

The meeting was called to order by Senator Hitchcock. Upon a roll call the following Senators answered present: Ashurst, Chamberlain, Comer, Dial, Gay, Gerry, Glass, Harris, Harrison, Henderson, Hitchcock, Jones of N. Mex., Kendrick, King, McKellar, Myers, Overman, Owen, Pittman, Ransdell, Reed, Sheppard, Shields, Simmons, Smith of Ariz., Smith of Md., Swanson, Thomas and Underwood.

Senator Pittman announced that he held proxies from the following named Senators: Fletcher, Gore, Smith of Ga., Smith of S.C., Walsh of Mass., and Wolcott of Delaware.

The Chairman submitted a letter from Senator Culberson, asking that his vote be cast for Senator Underwood "for Chairman to succeed Senator Martin."

The Chairman stated that this Conference of the Democratic Senators had been called for the purpose of electing a Democratic leader to succeed the late Senator Martin. He further stated that several days ago, he had withdrawn his name as a candidate for leadership and that the only candidate before the Conference was Senator Underwood of Alabama.

Senator Pittman presented the name of Senator Underwood and moved that he be elected Democratic leader by acclamation, and upon his motion Senator Underwood was so elected.

Upon assuming the Chair, Senator Underwood extended his thanks to the Senators for the honor conferred and expressed his views as to the attitude of the minority leader and general policies of the Party. He further made a number of suggestions as to the course which he regarded as wise for the Democrats in the Senate to follow.

APRIL 27, 1920

A brief discussion ensued concerning the questions of adjournment, the peace treaty, and legislative matters pending in Congress, but no action was taken thereon.

Upon motion of Senator Harris a rising vote of thanks was tendered to Senator Hitchcock for his able, conscientious and faithful services as Democratic leader.

Upon motion of Senator Swanson the Conference adjourned.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary

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[May 21, 1920]

Minutes of the Conference of the Senators of the Democratic party held May 21, 1920, at 10:00 A.M. in the Committee Room of the Minority, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

The meeting was called to order by Senator Underwood, Minority Leader. The following named Senators were present: Chamberlain, Comer, Dial, Gay, Harrison, Henderson, Jones of New Mexico, Kendrick, King, McKellar, Myers, Nugent, Overman, Phelan, Ransdell, Reed, Robinson, Sheppard, Simmons, Smith of Arizona, Stanley, Thomas, Trammell, Underwood, Walsh of Massachusetts, Walsh of Montana, and Williams.

Senator Underwood stated that the Conference had been called for the purpose of considering whether or not a program should be adopted by the Democratic senators for the guidance of the minority during the remainder of the session, and also to consider what the attitude of the minority should be with respect to the time of adjournment. He stated that the Republicans contemplated adjournment of Congress on the 5th of June and purposed pressing such measures as they deemed proper prior to that time. Considerable discussion ensued participated in by Senators Reed, Thomas, Kendrick, Chamberlain, McKellar, Walsh of Massachusetts, Walsh of Montana, Simmons, Williams, Jones of New Mexico, and Overman.

Senator Kendrick and other senators urged that the bill known as the Kendrick-Kenyon bill relating to the regulation of the packing industry should be pressed for passage before adjournment. It was urged by some Senators that no adjournment be had until this measure and certain war legislation should be repealed.

Various motions were submitted, discussed and withdrawn. Senator McKellar moved that in view of pending important legislation, the Democratic Conference declines to take action with respect to adjournment. After a discussion, Senator Williams moved as a substitute for Senator McKellar's motion that the Chairman of the Con-

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS (1919-1921)

ference be requested to inform the leader of the majority that in view of the pendency of important legislation, the Democratic Senators were not willing to enter into an arrangement or agreement as to time of adjournment. The motion of Senator Williams was adopted and the Conference adjourned.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary

[Roll Call, May 21, 1920]

[PRESENT]

Ashurst  
Beckham  
✓ Chamberlain  
✓ Comer  
Culberson  
✓ Dial  
Fletcher  
✓ Gay  
Gerry  
Glass  
Gore  
✓ Harris  
✓ Harrison  
✓ Henderson  
Hitchcock  
Johnson of SD  
✓ Jones of N. Mex  
✓ Kendrick  
✓ King  
Kirby  
✓ McKellar  
✓ Myers  
✓ Nugent

[PRESENT]

✓ Overman  
Owen  
✓ Phelan  
Pittman  
Pomerene  
✓ Ransdell  
✓ Reed  
✓ Robinson  
✓ Sheppard  
Shields  
✓ Simmons  
✓ Smith of Ariz  
Smith of Ga  
Smith of Md  
Smith of S.C.  
✓ Stanley  
Swanson  
✓ Thomas  
✓ Trammell  
✓ Underwood  
✓ Walsh of Mass  
✓ Walsh of Mont  
✓ Williams  
Wolcott



## **Sixty-seventh Congress (1921–1923)**

[Editor's Note: Republicans swept the election of 1920, repudiating the policies of Woodrow Wilson and sending Ohio Senator Warren G. Harding to the White House. In the Senate Republicans increased their majority to 59 to 37, while in the House the Republicans held a 302 to 131 majority.]

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[March 5, 1921]

Minutes of a Democratic Caucus held in Minority Room, Senate Office Building, March 5, 1921.

Upon motion, Senator Hitchcock was elected temporary Chairman, Senator King, temporary Secretary.

The Chairman announced that the purpose of the Conference was to select the usual Democratic officers for the 67th Congress, including the Democratic Leader, and to consider such other matters as might be brought before the Conference.

Senator Underwood was unanimously selected as Minority Leader, and Chairman of the Democratic Caucus. Senator Underwood thereupon took the Chair and made a felicitous speech, expressing his thanks for the action of the Minority and pledging his best efforts to discharge with fidelity the responsibilities of the position to which he had been elected.

Senator Hitchcock was unanimously elected as Vice Chairman. Senator King was unanimously named as Secretary of the Caucus, and Senator Gerry as Democratic Whip. Senator Pittman was unanimously elected as President Pro Tem of the Senate.

George H. Dern of Utah was nominated for the position of Secretary of the Senate; Charles P. Higgins of Missouri, Sergeant at Arms of the Senate and Doorkeeper, and Senator Underwood, as Minority leader, was directed to present these names to the Senate, when the offices for which they were named by the Caucus, were being filled.

Thomas W. Keller of West Virginia was agreed upon by the Conference for the position of Acting Assistant Doorkeeper of the Senate.

Senator Swanson moved that the Vice Chairman of the Caucus, and the Whip, shall be ex officio members of the Steering Committee, and that the Chairman of the Caucus be authorized to appoint, not exceeding ten Senators, who, together with the ex officio members,



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shall constitute the Steering Committee; that said Committee shall have authority to assign representatives on the several committees of the Senate from time [to] time, and make selections to fill vacancies that might occur. The motion was agreed to.

Upon motion, Senator Robinson, as Chairman, was authorized to name a Committee on Patronage, which would be authorized to distribute whatever patronage might be allowed the Minority under the practice of the Senate.

Upon motion, the Caucus adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] William H. King  
United States Senator from Utah  
Secretary

## Sixty-eighth Congress (1923–1925)

[Editor's Note: A business recession, farm depression, and spate of stories about corruption in the Harding administration helped Democrats make gains in the 1922 election, although they remained the minority in the Senate by a 42-to-52 margin, with 2 Farmer-Laborites. In the House, Democrats narrowed the gap more substantially, with a Republican majority of 225 to 207. The narrowing of the Republican majority in the Senate also gave the balance of power to a group of midwestern and western Progressive Republicans, who combined their vote with Democrats to frustrate or defeat the majority.

When Oscar W. Underwood stepped down as minority leader, North Carolina Senator Furnifold Simmons, former chairman of the Finance Committee, sought the post. However, Arkansas Senator Joseph T. Robinson campaigned vigorously for the leadership. Robinson vowed to shape Senate Democrats into a "fighting force" that would not simply oppose the Republican majority but would offer its own programs. He promised to keep Democratic senators fully informed on pending issues, to offer more consultation with them on shaping party policies. Robinson also pledged to hold "frequent conferences" as a means of fostering party unity and harmony. Simmons withdrew from the contest, and Robinson was elected Conference chairman and floor leader, a post he held until his death in 1937.<sup>1</sup>]

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[December 3, 1923]

Minutes of Democratic Caucus, Minority Room, December 3, 1923.

Senator Underwood, Caucus Chairman, called the meeting to order and requested Senator Pittman to act as Secretary of the meeting.

The Chairman then directed the roll to be called. A roll call was had and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	George	Mayfield	Simmons
Bayard	Gerry	Neely	Smith
Broussard	Glass	Overman	Stanley
Bruce	Harris	Owen	Stephens
Copeland	Harrison	Pittman	Swanson
Dial	Heflin	Ralston	Trammell
Dill	Jones of N. Mex.	Reed	Underwood
Edwards	Kendrick	Robinson	Walsh of Mass.
Ferris	King	Sheppard	Walsh of Mont.
Fletcher	McKellar	Shields	Wheeler

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<sup>1</sup> Donald C. Bacon, "Joseph Taylor Robinson: The Good Soldier," in Richard A. Baker and Roger H. Davidson, eds., *First Among Equals: Outstanding Senate Leaders of the Twentieth Century* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, 1991), pp. 69–72.

DECEMBER 3, 1923

A majority of the Democratic Senators being present, the Chair declared the meeting organized for business.

Senator Underwood then arose and expressed his deep appreciation for the unselfish and able support he had received from his fellow Democrats in the performance of his duty as Chairman of the Caucus and minority leader.

The Chair then announced that the election of a Chairman of the Democratic Caucus and minority leader for the ensuing Congress was in order.

Senator Simmons nominated Senator Robinson. There being no other nominations, on motion of Senator Simmons Senator Robinson was unanimously elected by acclamation.

Senator Robinson, upon taking the Chair, made a short address expressing his appreciation of the honor, promising his undivided attention to the duties of the office, and inviting the cooperation of his colleagues.

Senator Gerry nominated Senator T.J. Walsh of Montana as Vice Chairman. There being no other nominations, upon motion of Senator Gerry, Senator Walsh was unanimously elected by acclamation. Senator Walsh addressed the Caucus and expressed his appreciation of the honor conferred upon him.

Senator Harrison nominated Senator King of Utah for Secretary of the Caucus. There being no other nominations, Senator Harrison moved that the nomination be made unanimous. Senator King was unanimously elected.

Senator Underwood nominated Senator Gerry of Rhode Island for the office of Whip. There being no other nominations, upon motion of Senator Underwood, Senator Gerry was unanimously elected by acclamation.

Senator Swanson of Virginia nominated Senator Pittman of Nevada as a candidate of the Democratic Caucus for the office of President pro tempore of the Senate. There being no other nominations, upon motion of Senator Swanson, Senator Pittman was unanimously selected as the candidate of the Party for such office.

Senator Harrison nominated Colonel Halsey as a candidate of the Caucus for the office of Secretary of the Senate. There being no other nominations, on motion of Senator Harrison, Colonel Halsey was unanimously chosen as the candidate of the Caucus for such office.

Senator Underwood nominated Mr. Thomas Keller as the candidate of the Caucus for Assistant Doorkeeper of the Senate. There being no other nominations, upon motion of Senator Underwood, Mr. Keller was unanimously selected as the candidate of the Caucus for such office.

The Chair appointed Senators Swanson, Smith and Walsh of Montana a committee to select a candidate on behalf of the Caucus for Sergeant at Arms and to report the name to the Chairman. Such selection was authorized by the Caucus to be included among the candidates to be presented to the Senate for election.

Senator Stanley of Kentucky presented the following resolution and moved its adoption, namely:

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Caucus, the Vice-Chairman and the Whip shall be ex-officio members of the Steering Committee; that the Chairman of the Caucus may appoint not exceeding nine Senators, who together with the ex-officio members shall constitute the Steering Committee, which said committee shall assign representation on the several committees of the Senate and from time to time make selections to fill vacancies as they arise.

Upon the question being put to a vote, the Chair declared the resolution unanimously adopted.

Upon motion duly seconded and carried the Chair was authorized to appoint a committee of three on Patronage.

At this point the newly elected Secretary of the Caucus, Senator King of Utah, appeared and assumed the office of Secretary.

The Chairman announced that a number of new Senators were present, and upon invitation, Senators Adams, Bayard, Bruce, Copeland, Edwards, Ferris, George, Mayfield, Neely, Ralston, briefly addressed the Conference.

There being no further business for the Caucus, upon motion, the meeting adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.

[signed] William H. King  
United States Senator from Utah  
Secretary

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[April 26, 1924]

Minutes of a Democratic Caucus held in Minority Room of the Senate Office Building, April 26, 1924.

In the absence of Senator Robinson, leader of the Minority Conference, the meeting was called to order by Senator Walsh of Montana, Vice Chairman.

The following Senators were present: Adams, Bayard, Dial, Dill, Edwards, Ferris, George, Gerry, Glass, Harris, Heflin, Jones of New Mexico, Kendrick, King, McKellar, Mayfield, Neely, Pittman, Ralston, Ransdell, Sheppard, Shields, Simmons, Smith of S.C., Underwood, Walsh of Mass., and Walsh of Montana.

APRIL 26, 1924

The Acting Chairman stated that the purpose of the meeting was to consider the pending Revenue Bill and to determine what steps, if any, should be taken with respect to the various schedules and provisions of the same.

It was agreed that each Senator should be limited to five minutes, except that Senator Simmons, in explaining the normal and surtax provisions, and Senator Jones, in explaining the corporate tax provision, and Senator Harris, in explaining his amendments with respect to exemptions, should not be within the rule.

Senator Simmons submitted the Amendment agreed upon by the Minority members of the Finance Committee of the Senate, to be offered in the nature of a substitute to the pending bill, for the provisions dealing with the income and surtax provisions agreed upon by the Majority. He explained the differences between the proposed substitute and the Mellon Plan, and the bill as it passed the House.

Senator Jones explained at length the amendment agreed upon by the Minority Members of the Finance Committee, providing for a graduated tax on corporations.

Senator Harris explained his proposed amendment, providing for larger exemptions.

A general discussion followed, in which Senators Underwood, Glass, Adams, Ralston, Pittman, King, Walsh of Mass., and Heflin participated. Various propositions were submitted with respect to the maximum surtax and a number of motions fixing the maximum at various figures between 35 and 40, were offered and defeated.

Senator McKellar moved that the plan of the Minority Members of the Finance Committee, submitted by Senator Simmons, dealing with the normal and surtax provisions of the bill, be approved. The motion carried.

The Conference then adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] William H. King  
U.S. Senator from Utah  
Secretary

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[April 28, 1924]

Minutes of a Democratic Caucus held in the Minority Room, Senate Office Bldg., April 28, 1924.

Senator Robinson being absent, the Vice Chairman, Senator Walsh of Montana, presided.

The Senators present were as follows: Adams, Ashurst, Bayard, Dial, Fletcher, George, Gerry, Harris, Jones of New Mexico, Kendrick, King, McKellar, Glass, Pittman, Ralston, Ransdell, Reed,

Sheppard, Shields, Simmons, Stanley, Heflin, Walsh of Montana, and Walsh of Massachusetts.

Senator Harris presented an amendment which he intended to offer to the pending Revenue Measure, increasing the exemptions allowed tax payers. Discussion followed and the amendment was not agreed to. Senator Harris stated that if there was no objection, he would offer the amendment in the Senate, notwithstanding the action of the Caucus. The Chair informed him that his view was concurred in by the Senators and that there would be no objection to such course.

Considerable discussion occurred with respect to various provisions of the pending bill. Senator Jones explained in detail the provisions of the Amendment dealing with the plan offered by the Minority, providing for a graduated corporation tax.

Upon motion of Senator McKellar, the Conference agreed to support the Amendment, as explained by Senator Jones.

A number of Senators explained amendments which they intended to offer to the pending revenue measure.

Upon motion, the Conference adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] William H. King  
U.S. Senator from Utah  
Secretary



## Sixty-ninth Congress (1925–1927)

[Editor's Note: As the Senate investigated the leasing of Naval oil reserves at Teapot Dome, and news of other scandals in the Harding administration began to surface, President Warren G. Harding died in August 1923, and was succeeded by his vice president, Calvin Coolidge. In a three-way race in 1924, President Coolidge, the Republican candidate, won a landslide election over Democrat John W. Davis and the Progressive party candidate, Senator Robert M. La Follette, Sr. of Wisconsin. In the Senate Democrats remained in the minority by a 41-to-54 margin, while in the House the Republican majority was 247 to 183.]

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[March 6, 1925]

Minutes of a Conference of Democratic Senators held in the Office of Senator Joseph T. Robinson, at 10 o'clock A.M., March 6, 1925.

The meeting was called to order by Senator Robinson. Upon a call of the roll by the Secretary, Senator King, the following Senators answered present: Ashurst, Bayard, Blease, Bratton, Broussard, Bruce, Caraway, Dill, Edwards, Ferris, Fletcher, George, Gerry, Glass, Harris, Heflin, Jones of New Mexico, Kendrick, King, McKellar, Mayfield, Neely, Overman, Pittman, Ralston, Ransdell, Reed, Robinson, Sheppard, Simmons, Smith, Stephens, Swanson, Trammell, Tyson, Underwood and Walsh. The absentees were Copeland, Harrison and Wheeler.

The Chairman announced that the first matter of business was the election of a Democratic leader to serve for the next two years. Senator Fletcher took the Chair. Senator Ashurst nominated Senator Robinson for the position of Minority Leader and Chairman of the Democratic Conference, and he was unanimously elected.

Senator Walsh of Montana, upon motion of Senator Swanson, was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman.

Senator King was elected Secretary, and Senator Gerry was elected whip.

Senator Pittman was named and unanimously supported for the position of President pro tem of the Senate.

Thomas Keller was selected as [the] choice of the Democrats as acting Assistant Doorkeeper of the Senate.



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Senator Swanson offered the following Resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Caucus, the Vice-Chairman and the Whip shall be ex-officio members of the Steering Committee; that the Chairman of the Caucus may appoint not exceeding ten Senators, who together with the ex-officio members shall constitute the Steering Committee, which said committee shall assign representation on the several committees of the Senate and from time to time make selections to fill vacancies as they arise.

The Chairman presented to the Conference the newly-elected Senators: Bratton of New Mexico, Blease of South Carolina, and Tyson of Tennessee.

The Chairman stated that in the organization of the Committees the Republican Leaders had agreed that the Democrats should have upon the various committees of the Senate the same number as the rules now provided, but in order to properly provide places for the enlarged Republican membership, they proposed to enlarge the following named committees; by adding one to the present number of such Committees: namely, Commerce, Education and Labor, Indian Affairs, Interstate Commerce, Manufactures, and Military Affairs.

Senator Harris moved that the Committee on Rules be directed to make assignments of rooms for offices according to seniority of service and to see that the rights of the Democratic Senators were protected in such assignments. He stated that there seemed to be discrimination in the assignment of offices to the Senators and that he and other Democratic Senators were having difficulty in obtaining suitable rooms and that there was a disposition upon the part of the majority, in the distribution of rooms, to give preference to Republicans, and such preference extended even to those who but recently had been elected to the Senate. The motion of Senator Harris was carried, and the Democratic members of the Rules Committee, upon further motion of Senator Harris, were instructed to present the matter to the Rules Committee and to insist that Democratic Senators receive just and fair treatment in the assignment of rooms.

Senator Robinson addressed the Conference stating what he believed would be the measures that would come before the Senate in the present extra session. He referred particularly to the Isle of Pines Treaty, the Lausanne Treaty and the World Court. He also suggested that the Democratic Senators should, so far as it was proper, and in harmony with their wishes, cooperate together for the good of the country and for the carrying out of Democratic principles and policies.

A number of Senators, Underwood, Swanson and Heflin, briefly spoke upon the work of the special session.

Senator King, Senator Swanson, and Senator Underwood suggested that in view of the opposition to the Lausanne Treaty, and the chaotic condition in Turkey, and the uncertainty of the present Kemalistic government remaining in power, it would be wise to postpone action upon the Lausanne Treaty until the Senate met in December.

Senator Walsh of Montana called attention to the fact that Charles B. Warren had been nominated by the President for Attorney General, and referred to the record showing Mr. Warren's connection with the sugar trust, and its subsidiary companies. Senator Reed also discussed the Warren nomination. Senators Ferris, Broussard and Ransdell briefly referred to the Warren nomination.

Senator Overman stated that he had voted in the Committee to confirm Warren upon the theory that the President should have great latitude in selecting his own official family.<sup>1</sup>

Senator Dill suggested that steps ought to be taken to keep the Democratic organizations in the various states in vigorous condition, because in a little more than year from now, there would be another election for members of the Senate and the House, as well as for state offices. He referred to the meeting held the preceding night in honor of Senator Walsh of Massachusetts and to the evident purpose of his friends to see that all proper steps were taken to present his claims to the people of Massachusetts at the coming election.

Senator Robinson stated that the matter had received attention and that undoubtedly the Chairman of the Senate campaign committee would take all necessary steps to put the party in proper shape for the coming election.

Senator Jones of New Mexico referred to the testimony taken by the sub-Committee to investigate the Internal Revenue Bureau, which showed Mr. Mellon's connection with big business and to the further fact that he was connected with various corporations which, under the law, disqualified him from holding the position of Secretary of the Treasury.

Upon motion Senator Robinson was authorized to name a committee on patronage that would be empowered to distribute the limited patronage allowed the minority under the procedure of the Senate.

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<sup>1</sup>On March 10, 1925, the Senate voted 40 to 40 on the nomination of Charles B. Warren as attorney general. While Vice President Charles G. Dawes raced to the Capitol to break the tie, Senator Overman, the only Democrat to vote for Warren, switched his vote against him. The nomination was defeated, 39 to 41, with several Progressive Republicans voting with the Democrats. A second attempt to confirm Warren was defeated on March 16, 1925, by a vote of 39 to 46.

MARCH 6, 1925

Upon motion, the Conference adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

[signed] William H. King  
Secretary

[Roll Call, March 6, 1925]

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Ashurst
- ✓ Bayard
- ✓ Blease
- ✓ Bratton
- ✓ Broussard
- ✓ Bruce
- ✓ Caraway
- ✓ Copeland
- ✓ Dill
- ✓ Edwards
- ✓ Ferris
- ✓ Fletcher
- ✓ George
- ✓ Gerry
- ✓ Glass
- ✓ Harris
- ✓ Harrison
- ✓ Heflin
- ✓ Jones of N. Mex
- ✓ Kendrick

[PRESENT]

- ✓ King
- ✓ McKellar
- ✓ Mayfield
- ✓ Neely
- ✓ Overman
- ✓ Pittman
- ✓ Ralston
- ✓ Ransdell
- ✓ Reed
- ✓ Robinson
- ✓ Sheppard
- ✓ Simmons
- ✓ Smith
- ✓ Stephens
- ✓ Swanson
- ✓ Trammell
- ✓ Tyson
- ✓ Underwood
- ✓ Walsh
- Wheeler

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[December 9, 1925]

Minutes of a Conference of the Democratic Senators held in the Minority Rooms at the Capitol, December 9, 1925, 10:30 o'clock, A.M.

The Conference was called to order by Senator Joe T. Robinson, Chairman.

The roll-call by the Secretary showed the following Senators present: Ashurst, Bayard, Bratton, Broussard, Bruce, [Caraway], Copeland, Dill, Edwards, Ferris, Fletcher, George, Gerry, Glass, Harris, Harrison, Heflin, Kendrick, McKellar, Mayfield, Neely, Overman, Pittman, Ransdell, Robinson, Simmons, Smith, Stephens, Swanson, Trammell, Tyson, Underwood and Walsh of Montana.

The Chairman announced that during the recess, Thomas W. Keller, who for many years had served as doorkeeper of the Senate, and after the Republicans obtained control of the Senate, as Assistant Doorkeeper, died, and that it was necessary to appoint a successor, and that under the practice, the Minority named the Acting Assistant Doorkeeper.

Senator Swanson nominated Edwin A. Halsey of Virginia to fill the vacancy as Acting Assistant Doorkeeper, caused by the death of Thomas W. Keller.

Upon motion of Senator Simmons, Mr. Halsey was chosen by acclamation.

The Chairman stated that Mr. Halsey held the position of floor Assistant upon the Democratic side, and that his selection to fill Mr. Keller's place, created a vacancy in the position which he had held.

Senator Harrison moved that the Chairman be authorized to name Leslie L. Biffle for the position of Floor Assistant.

Senator Swanson stated that under the practice, the Chairman was given the right to name a person for this position. Senator Underwood said that that was the rule and that he would vote for Senator Harrison's motion for the reason that Mr. Biffle, coming from Arkansas, [the Chairman] might be embarrassed in making the selection, and he suggested as an amendment to Senator Harrison's motion, that the action contemplated by the motion should not be regarded as a precedent. The suggestion was treated as an amendment, and the motion as amended was carried.

The Chairman then announced the selection of Mr. Leslie L. Biffle for the position of Floor Assistant.

The Chair was authorized to present, when the Senate met, a candidate for Secretary of the Senate, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Secretary Sanderson.

Before the meeting adjourned, the Chair announced that he would present the name of John Burns of Monticello, N.Y.

There being no further business for the Caucus, upon motion, the meeting adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.

The Chairman announced that a number of new Sena . . . [rest left blank]

[signed] William H. King  
U.S. Senator from Utah

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[December 7, 1926]

Minutes of a meeting of the Democratic Conference held at the rooms of the Minority, Capitol Building, December 7, 1926, at 10:30 A.M.

The Conference was called to order by the Minority Leader, Senator Joe T. Robinson.

DECEMBER 7, 1926

The Secretary called the roll and the following Senators answered "Present":

Bayard	Edwards	King	Robinson
Bratton	Ferris	McKellar	Stephens
Broussard	George	Mayfield	Swanson
Bruce	Harris	Neely	Trammell
Copeland	Harrison	Overman	Tyson
Dill	Heflin	Pittman	Hawes
	Kendrick	Ransdell	

Senator Robinson stated that the Conference was called for the purpose of meeting and greeting the newly-elected Senators, namely Senator Walsh of Massachusetts and Senator Hawes of Missouri and to take such steps as were necessary to provide Committee assignments for the two new Senators. Senator Walsh was not present, but Senator Hawes was in attendance.

Senator Robinson further stated that there were no Minority vacancies upon any of the Committees and in order to provide assignments for the two Senators, some of the Minority Senators would have to surrender their positions upon Committees, or an increase would have to be made in the membership of some of the Committees.

Senator Swanson suggested that in view of the fact that the number of Democratic Senators had been increased, he regarded it as just that there should be an increase of one in the membership of the Committee on Finance and that the Committee on Interstate Commerce should also be enlarged, the two increases being given to the Minority.

Upon motion of Senator Swanson, the leader of the Minority was authorized to confer with the Majority with a view to increasing the membership of the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Interstate Commerce, with the view to giving to Senator Walsh of Massachusetts membership upon the Finance Committee and to Senator Hawes a place upon the Interstate Commerce Committee, and also that if he was unsuccessful in this matter, that he be authorized to confer with the Democratic Senators, with a view to having more of them relinquish their positions upon Committees in order that places might be found upon Committees for Senators Walsh and Hawes.

The question as to the policy the Minority will pursue on the question of taxation was briefly discussed, but no definite action taken. The Chairman stated that immediately after the holidays another Conference would be held, at which time the program of the Minority, to be adopted for the remainder of the session, would be considered.

Upon motion, the Conference adjourned.

[signed] William H. King  
United States Senator from Utah  
Secretary

Roll Call, Democratic Caucus  
December 7, 1926

[PRESENT]

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bayard  
✓ Blease  
✓ Bratton  
✓ Broussard  
✓ Bruce  
✓ Caraway  
✓ Copeland  
✓ Dill  
✓ Edwards  
✓ Ferris  
✓ Fletcher  
✓ George  
✓ Gerry  
✓ Glass  
✓ Harris  
✓ Harrison  
✓ Hawes  
✓ Heflin  
✓ Jones of N. Mex

[PRESENT]

✓ Kendrick  
✓ King  
✓ McKellar  
✓ Mayfield  
✓ Neely  
✓ Overman  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Ransdell  
✓ Reed  
✓ Robinson  
✓ Sheppard  
✓ Simmons  
✓ Smith  
✓ Steck  
✓ Stephens  
✓ Swanson  
✓ Trammell  
✓ Tyson  
✓ Underwood  
✓ Walsh of Mass  
✓ Walsh of Mont  
✓ Wheeler



## Seventieth Congress (1927–1929)

[Editor's Note: The 1926 election narrowed the Republican majority in the Senate to 48 to 47, with one Farmer-Laborite. In the House, Republicans held a 238-to-194 majority.

On January 8, 1928, Alabama Senator Thomas Heflin delivered a lengthy address in the Senate chamber in which he accused the Catholic Church and the Knights of Columbus of conspiring to defame him with forged documents, and repeatedly assailed New York Governor Al Smith, a Catholic who was the leading contender for the Democratic presidential nomination. Joseph Robinson, a member of the special committee to investigate the forged documents, rose to rebut Heflin by denying that the committee had uncovered any evidence of a Catholic conspiracy. Senator Heflin objected that: "The Senator from Arkansas can not remain leader of the Democrats and fight the Roman Catholics' battle every time the issue is raised in this body without some expression from a constitutional Democrat." Robinson replied: "Mr. President, whenever the Senator from Alabama can determine who shall be the leader of the Democratic Party in the Senate of the United States, that party can get somebody else than myself to lead it here." Senator Robinson then announced that he planned to call a Democratic Conference the following day and challenged the Senator from Alabama to come before the Conference and move the election of a new Democratic leader. The Democratic Conference overwhelmingly voted its confidence in Robinson, who later that year was nominated to run for vice president on the Democratic ticket headed by Governor Smith.<sup>1</sup>]

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[March 5, 1927]

Minutes of Conference of Democratic Minority, March 5, 1927.

The Democratic Conference assembled at ten A.M., Saturday, March 5th, 1927, in the Democratic Minority Conference Room in the Capitol, Washington, D.C.

The assembly was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Robinson.

Senator Sheppard was appointed Temporary Secretary in the absence of Secretary Senator King.

The roll was called and the following were present: Ashurst, Barkley, Bayard, Black, Bratton, Broussard, Bruce, Caraway, Dill, Edwards, Fletcher, George, Gerry, Glass, Hayden, Harris, Harrison, Hawes, Jones of N. Mex., Kendrick, Mayfield, Overman, Pittman, Robinson, Sheppard, Smith, Steck, Stephens, Swanson, Thomas, Tydings, Tyson, Wagner, Walsh of Mass., Walsh of Mont. (35).

<sup>1</sup> *Congressional Record*, 70th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1660–61.



MARCH 5, 1927

Chairman, Senator Robinson, introduced the new members, after which he addressed the Conference, announcing in conclusion that he would call Senator Bayard to the Chair.

Senator Bayard then took the Chair.

Senator Swanson moved that the Conference proceed to the election of officers.

Senator Robinson was elected Chairman unanimously, and resumed the Chair.

Senator Walsh of Montana was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman.

Senator Black was unanimously elected Secretary.

Senator Gerry was unanimously elected Minority Whip.

A vote of thanks was unanimously tendered the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee for its work in the past.

Senator Pittman was nominated unanimously as President of Senate pro tem.

Senator Harrison made a motion, that in addition to the Chairman, Senator Robinson, the Vice-Chairman, Senator Walsh, and the Whip, Senator Gerry, ten others be named by the Chairman, to serve on the Steering Committee, which motion was carried unanimously.

Colonel Halsey was unanimously nominated for the Secretary of the Senate.

Charles L. Hartman of Montana was nominated by Senator Walsh of Montana, for Sergeant at Arms, which nomination was unanimously accepted.

Senator Harrison made a motion that the Chairman name a Committee of three on Patronage, which motion was carried, unanimously.

Upon motion, Conference adjourned.

[signed] Hugo Black  
Secretary

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[January 19, 1928]

Minutes of Conference of Democratic Minority, Jan. 19, 1928.

The Democratic Conference assembled at ten A.M. on January 19, 1928, in the Democratic Minority Conference Room in the Capitol, Washington, D.C.

The assembly was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Robinson.

The roll was then called by the Secretary, and the following were present: Barkley, Bayard, Black, Bratton, Broussard, Bruce, Caraway, Copeland, Ferris, Fletcher, George, Gerry, Glass, Harris, Harrison, Hawes, Kendrick, King, McKellar, Mayfield, Overman, Robinson, Sheppard, Simmons, Steck, Stephens, Swanson, Thomas, Trammell, Tydings, Tyson, Wagner, Walsh of Mass., Walsh of Mont., Wheeler.

The Chairman, Senator Robinson, addressed the Conference, stating that he had called this Conference on account of Senator Heflin's challenge of his leadership of the Democratic Minority. Senator Robinson stated that he had written a letter to Senator Heflin, notifying him of this meeting and notifying him further of the purpose to consider Senator Heflin's challenge to his leadership. Senator Robinson then requested Senator Bayard to preside at the meeting. Senator Robinson then surrendered the chair to Senator Bayard. Senator Glass then offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That this Conference of Democratic members of the Senate express its confidence in the leadership of Senator Robinson and in his service on the Special Committee named to investigate the alleged secret Mexican documents.

The original penciled Resolution is hereto attached, marked Exhibit "A."

Senator Glass then made some remarks, in which he stated that he conceded the right of any Senator to express himself on the floor on any subject within the rules, but he did not consider it the privilege of any Senator to attempt to involve any other Senator in his position.

Senator Trammell addressed the Conference, and stated in substance that he looked upon the matter raised by Senators Heflin and Robinson as a personal controversy between these two Senators, and that he (Senator Trammell) did not care to take sides on the issue between these two Senators. Senator Trammell further stated that he thought both Senators Robinson and Heflin had a right to express themselves on the Senate floor and that he was therefore opposed to Senator Glass' resolution.

Senator Harris addressed the Conference and indicated a reluctance to support the Resolution of Senator Glass, not because of any opposition to Senator Robinson's leadership, but because the passage of the resolution might be injurious to Senator Heflin, if it should be considered as a condemnation of Senator Heflin.

Senator Harrison made some remarks favoring the Resolution.

JANUARY 19, 1928

Senator Simmons addressed the Conference. He said that he was not opposed to the Resolution, and would be very glad to endorse the leadership of Senator Robinson. He stated, however, that he would go no further than this. He was afraid that the country would construe going any further to be a settlement of the disputed question between Senators Robinson and Heflin. He opposed a resolution, which would go that far. He said that if the Conference attempted to pass a resolution that smacked of an endorsement, it would look to the country as though it were passing upon the dispute.

Senator Bratton expressed himself as being favorable to a motion to express confidence in the leadership of the Democrats of Senator Robinson, and as to his impartiality on the Special Committee.

Senator Caraway said that it was absolutely necessary that Senator Robinson should be endorsed after the challenge had been made. He further said that he agreed that Senator Robinson should have said what he did say. He also said that he thought the Party should take the position that a man should belong to any church he saw fit.

Senator Bruce addressed the Conference, and said that if the Conference did not take action, he (Senator Bruce) would take up the question on the Senate floor. He said that if Robinson had not talked, others would. He said that from sixty to seventy-five percent of citizens would approve the course. He stated further that the know-nothings brought in the same kind of ruffians that are now attempting to control the party. He said that most of the people of his state were Catholics, and that there was no difference between Protestants and Catholics. He stated further that if the Democratic Party did not stand out for them, he would not remain in the Party. He said that if Senator Simmons was intolerant, he (Senator Bruce) would not be. He said further that he would say what he wanted to say on the floor.

Senator Copeland approved the Resolution.

Senator Robinson moved that Senator Black not vote on the question, and the motion was carried.

On the roll being called, all the Senators voted for the resolution except Senator Black, who did not vote, and Senator Trammell, who voted against the resolution.

Senators Reed and Hayden, being absent, asked that their votes be counted for the resolution.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned.

Secretary

SEVENTIETH CONGRESS (1927-1929)

Exhibit "A"

*Resolved*, That this Conference of Democratic members of the Senate express its confidence in the leadership of Senator Robinson and in his service on the Special Committee named to investigate the alleged secret Mexican documents.

[Roll Call January 19, 1928]			Jan 19, 1928		
[PRESENT]			[Vote on Senator Glass' Resolution]		
			[Tally sheet D]		
			YEAS	NAYS	
	Ashurst	a		Ashurst	
✓	Barkley		✓	Barkley	
✓	Bayard		✓	Bayard	
✓	Black		✓	Black	
	Blease	a		Blease	a
✓	Bratton			Bratton	
✓	Broussard		✓	Broussard	
✓	Bruce		✓	Bruce	
✓	Caraway		✓	Caraway	
✓	Copeland			Copeland	a
	Dill	a		Dill	a
	Edwards	a		Edwards	a
✓	Ferris		✓	Ferris	
✓	Fletcher		✓	Fletcher	
✓	George		✓	George	
✓	Gerry		✓	Gerry	
✓	Glass		✓	Glass	
✓	Harris		✓	Harris	
✓	Harrison		✓	Harrison	
✓	Hawes		✓	Hawes	
	Hayden	a		Hayden	a
	Heflin	a		Heflin	a
✓	Kendrick		✓	Kendrick	
✓	King		✓	King	
✓	McKellar		✓	McKellar	
✓	Mayfield		✓	Mayfield	
	Neely	a		Neely	a
✓	Overman		✓	Overman	
✓	Pittman			Pittman	[a?]
	Ransdell	a		Ransdell	a
	Reed	a		Reed	a
✓	Robinson		✓	Robinson	
✓	Sheppard		✓	Sheppard	
✓	Simmons		✓	Simmons	
	Smith	a		Smith	a
✓	Steck		✓	Steck	
✓	Stephens		✓	Stephens	
✓	Swanson		✓	Swanson	
✓	Thomas		✓	Thomas	
✓	Trammell			Trammell	✓
✓	Tydings		✓	Tydings	
✓	Tyson		✓	Tyson	
✓	Wagner		✓	Wagner	
✓	Walsh of Mass		✓	Walsh of Mass	
✓	Walsh of Mont		✓	Walsh of Mont	
✓	Wheeler		✓	Wheeler	

JANUARY 21, 1928

[January 21, 1928]

Minutes of Conference of Democratic Minority, Jan. 21, 1928.

The Democratic Conference assembled at ten A.M. on January 21, 1928, in the Democratic Minority Conference Room in the Capitol, Washington, D.C.

The assembly was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Robinson.

The roll was then called by the Secretary, and the following were present: Barkley, Bayard, Black, Bratton, Broussard, Bruce, Caraway, Copeland, Ferris, Fletcher, George, Gerry, Glass, Harris, Harrison, Hawes, Kendrick, King, McKellar, Mayfield, Overman, Robinson, Sheppard, Simmons, Steck, Stephens, Swanson, Thomas, Trammell, Tydings, Tyson, Wagner, Walsh of Mass., Walsh of Mont., Wheeler.

Senator Robinson announced that the meeting was called for considering the Merchant Marine Bill.

Senator Fletcher discussed the Merchant Marine Bill.

Senator Copeland then presented his plan and an amendment he would propose to the Merchant Marine Bill.

Senator Robinson stated that it was not intended that any definite action should be taken, but that a discussion should be presented for the benefit of the Conference. In the discussion it developed that most of those present favored the Jones Bill. After discussion, upon motion the Conference adjourned.

Secretary

January 21 [1928]

[PRESENT]

[PRESENT]

29 Ashurst  
1 Barkley  
2 Bayard  
3 Black  
Blease  
29 Bratton  
4 Broussard  
5 Bruce  
26 Caraway  
6 Copeland  
Dill  
Edwards  
7 Ferris  
8 Fletcher  
9 George  
10 Gerry  
11 Glass  
12 Harris  
13 Harrison

Hawes  
Hayden  
Heflin  
Kendrick  
30 King  
27 McKellar  
Mayfield  
14 Neely  
15 Overman  
Pittman  
Ransdell  
Reed  
16 Robinson  
17 Sheppard  
18 Simmons  
19 Smith  
20 Steck  
31 Stephens  
21 Swanson  
Thomas  
22 Trammell

SEVENTIETH CONGRESS (1927-1929)

[PRESENT]

23 Tydings  
24 Tyson  
Wagner

[PRESENT]

28 Walsh of Mass  
Walsh of Mont  
Wheeler

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[January 9, 1929]

Minutes of Conference of Democratic Minority, Jan. 9, 1929.

The Democratic Conference assembled at ten A.M. on January 9, 1929, in the Democratic Minority Conference Room in the Capitol, Washington, D.C.

The assembly was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Robinson.

The roll was then called by the Secretary, and the following were present: Bayard, Black, Bratton, Broussard, Bruce, Caraway, Copeland, Ferris, Fletcher, George, Gerry, Glass, Harrison, Hawes, Hayden, Heflin, McKellar, Pittman, Ransdell, Robinson, Sheppard, Stephens, Swanson, Thomas, Tyson, Wagner, Walsh of Mass., Walsh of Mont., Wheeler.

Senator Robinson addressed the meeting and stated that it was called for the purpose of discussing Flood Relief. He also informed the Conference that it was [not] intended to attempt to bind the members in connection with any legislation, but simply to give the members a chance to understand the question fully before it came up on the floor. He also stated that he thought Flood Relief legislation should be considered from a non-partisan standpoint.

Senator Ransdell then offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED by the Conference that legislation pertaining to flood control is of primary importance to the nation, is non-partisan in nature, and should be considered without regard to political partisanship.

That the chairman of the Conference be authorized to appoint a select committee of Senators to study the problem and confer with Senators of all parties and other committees or bureaus for the purpose of obtaining the widest possible knowledge with regard to the subject and to advise with regard thereto.

Senators Hawes, Swanson, Caraway, Pittman, Simmons and Walsh of Montana discussed the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Senator Harrison made a motion that the three ranking minority members of all committees be appointed by his resolution to keep the Chairman of the Conference informed of important pending leg-

JANUARY 9, 1929

isolation, and that when such Committee, or Chairman should deem it advisable, a Conference of the Minority be called for the discussion of important legislation.

The motion was seconded by Senator Walsh of Massachusetts, and was unanimously carried. There being no further business, the Conference adjourned.

Secretary

[Roll call, Jan. 9, 1929]

[PRESENT]

	Ashurst	a
	Barkley	a
1	Bayard	
2	Black	
	Blease	a
3	Bratton	
4	Broussard	
5	Bruce	
6	Caraway	
7	Copeland	
32	Dill	
	Edwards	a
8	Ferris	
9	Fletcher	
27	George	
10	Gerry	
11	Glass	
33	Harris	
26	Harrison	
12	Hawes	
13	Hayden	
14	Heflin	
	Kendrick	a

[PRESENT]

	King	a
15	McKellar	
	Mayfield	a
	Neely	a
	Overman	a
16	Pittman	
17	Ransdell	
	Reed	a
18	Robinson	
19	Sheppard	
31	Simmons	
	Smith	a
30	Steck	
20	Stephens	
21	Swanson	
28	Thomas	
	Trammell	a
	Tydings	a
22	Tyson	
29	Wagner	
23	Walsh of Mass.	
24	Walsh of Mont.	
25	Wheeler	

## Seventy-first Congress (1929–1931)

[Editor's Note. In the election of 1928, the Democratic ticket of New York Governor Al Smith and Senate Democratic Minority Leader Joseph T. Robinson lost to the Republican ticket of Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover and Senate Republican Majority Leader Charles Curtis. Democrats also lost 7 seats in the Senate, increasing the Republican majority to 56 to 39, with 1 Farmer-Laborite. In the House, the Republicans enjoyed an expanded majority of 270 to 164. Among the major items of concern to Democratic senators when they returned were passage of a Flood Relief bill, following the disastrous Mississippi River flood of 1927; and the impending Smoot-Hawley Tariff. Completely unanticipated was the Wall Street stock market crash that would occur in October 1929, triggering the Great Depression and reversing the two parties' political fortunes.]

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[March 5, 1929]

Minutes of a Conference of Democratic Senators held in the Minority Rooms of the Capitol, March 5, 1929, at 10 o'clock, A.M.

The Conference was called to order by Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas. Senator King was named as secretary pro tem. The following senators answered to the roll call: Ashurst, Black, Blease, Bratton, Broussard, Caraway, Connally, Copeland, Dill, Fletcher, George, Glass, Harris, Harrison, Hawes, Hayden, Heflin, Kendrick, King, McKellar, Overman, Pittman, Ransdell, Robinson, Sheppard, Simmons, Smith, Steck, Stephens, Swanson, Thomas, Trammell, Tydings, Tyson, Walsh of Massachusetts, Walsh of Montana.

Senator Robinson stated that the object of the Conference was to effect an organization of the Democratic Senators who were to serve in the 71st Congress. Senator Overman was called to the chair and thereupon Senator Ashurst presented the name of Senator Joseph T. Robinson for the position of Minority Leader and chairman of the Democratic Conference. Senator Heflin presented the name of Senator Swanson, who promptly [declined] to permit his name to be considered and seconded the nomination of Senator Robinson. All Senators except Senator Heflin voted for Senator Robinson and he was thereupon elected to the position of Minority Leader and chairman of the Democratic Conference.

Senator King nominated Senator Thomas J. Walsh for the position of vice chairman, Senator Black as secretary, and Senator Sheppard, of Texas, for the position of Whip, and each was chosen by acclamation for the respective positions named. Colonel Edwin A. Halsey was unanimously chosen for the position of acting assistant door-



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keeper and Leslie L. Biffle was chosen for the position of assistant on the floor of the Senate.

Senator Robinson was escorted to the chair by Senators Ashurst, Swanson, and Walsh and thanked the Senators for the confidence expressed and for the support given him as Minority Leader in the past and for the honor conferred in again nominating him for the important position for which he had just been chosen. He briefly referred to the coming special session of Congress and the question of the prospective tariff and farm relief legislation. Considerable discussion ensued as to the position to be taken by the Democrats upon the tariff question and the legislation dealing with farm relief. It was suggested that there should be, as far as practicable, cooperation between the Democratic members of the Finance Committee and Agriculture Committee of the Senate in preparing and considering legislation for the special session to convene in April next. The discussion was participated in by Senators Walsh, King, Thomas, Swanson, Hawes, McKellar, Heflin, Simmons, and Kendrick. The consensus of opinion was that before the Democratic senators could determine upon any policy it was necessary to ascertain what measures were to be proposed by the Republicans and definite action was postponed to a later date.

Senator King called attention to the propaganda in favor of imposing tariff upon sugar imported from the Philippine Islands and from Porto Rico and stated that in his opinion the Democrats should carry out the promises made in the Jones Act and urge legislation granting independence to the Filipinos.

Senator Robinson referred to the statements made to him by Republican leaders that the Democrats should suffer a loss of two members upon the important committees of the Senate. He stated that he had informed the Republican leaders that in his opinion the Democrats would oppose any reduction in Committee memberships. He stated, however, that the Democrats might be compelled to submit to the loss of one member upon the important committees. The matter was left to the chairman and the Steering committee with the suggestion that they do all within their power to secure fair representation for the minority upon all Senate committees.

Senator Swanson offered the following resolution which was unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the chairman of the Caucus, the vice chairman and the Whip shall be ex-officio members of the Steering Committee; that the chairman of the Caucus may appoint not exceeding ten senators who, together with the ex officio members, shall constitute the Steering Committee which said committee shall assign representatives on the several committees of the Senate and, from time to time, make selections to fill vacancies as they arise.

Senator Pittman was unanimously chosen for the position as president pro tem of the Senate. Upon motion of Senator King the Chairman and the Whip were authorized to select and present to the Senate when it was organized, names for the position of sergeant at arms and for other positions created by the Senate and for the filling of which no provision has been made.

There being no further business, upon motion the Conference adjourned.

Secretary pro tem.

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[April 25, 1929]

Minutes of Conference of Democratic Minority, April 25, 1929.

The Democratic Conference assembled at ten A.M. on April 25, 1929, in the Democratic Minority Conference Room in the Capitol, Washington, D.C.

The assembly was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Robinson.

The roll was then called by the Secretary, and the following were present: Barkley, Black, Bratton, Caraway, Connally, Dill, Fletcher, George, Harris, Harrison, Hawes, Hayden, Heflin, Kendrick, King, McKellar, Overman, Pittman, Robinson, Sheppard, Simmons, Smith, Steck, Swanson, Thomas, Trammell, Tydings, Tyson, Wagner, Walsh of Mass., Walsh of Mont.

Senator Robinson suggested that he had called a Conference because he thought it was wise to consider matters coming up in the Senate at that time. He also thought that it was proper to further discuss Flood Relief.

Senator Caraway made some remarks concerning the Farm Bill. He stated that he favored a bill with the Debenture Plan.

There was a general discussion upon the subject of the Debenture, entered into by Senators Simmons, Tyson, Smith, Swanson and Walsh of Montana. Other Senators discussed other questions concerning Farm Relief.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned.

[signed] Hugo L. Black  
Secretary

[Roll call, April 25, 1929]

[PRESENT]

Ashurst

[PRESENT]

✓ Barkley  
✓ Black

APRIL 25, 1929

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Blease
- ✓ Bratton
- Broussard
- ✓ Caraway
- ✓ Connally
- Copeland
- ✓ Dill
- ✓ Fletcher
- ✓ George
- Glass
- ✓ Harris
- ✓ Harrison
- ✓ Hawes
- ✓ Hayden
- ✓ Heflin
- ✓ Kendrick
- ✓ King
- ✓ McKellar

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Overman
- ✓ Pittman
- Ransdell
- ✓ Robinson
- ✓ Sheppard
- ✓ Simmons
- ✓ Smith
- ✓ Steck
- Stephens
- ✓ Swanson
- ✓ Thomas
- ✓ Trammell
- ✓ Tydings
- ✓ Tyson
- ✓ Wagner
- ✓ Walsh of Mass
- ✓ Walsh of Mont
- Wheeler

## Seventy-second Congress (1931–1933)

[Editor's Note: As the Great Depression worsened, Senate Democrats increased their ranks from 39 to 47, creating a tie with the Republicans if they gained the vote of the one Farmer-Laborite independent. The vote of Republican Vice President Charles Curtis, however, guaranteed that the Republicans would retain control of the Senate. In the House, the margin was 217 to 217, also with a single independent; but deaths and special elections swung the House majority to the Democrats, making John Nance Garner Speaker.

As a sign of the sharp divisions within the Senate Republican ranks, a band of progressive Republicans in the Senate refused to support the conservative New Hampshire Republican Senator George Moses for president pro tempore. For a month, a deadlock persisted as the progressive Republicans withheld their votes from both the Republican and Democratic candidates. Finally, Vice President Curtis ruled that Moses would continue to serve as president pro tempore until a successor was elected. Moses held the post for the remainder of the Seventy-second Congress, until he was defeated for reelection to the Senate in 1932.

The 1930 election also saw the return of J. Hamilton Lewis to the Senate. Having created the post of party whip in 1913, Lewis was chosen once again as whip in 1931.]

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[December 4, 1931]

Minutes of the Conference of Democratic Minority, Dec. 4. 1931.

The Democratic Conference assembled at ten A.M. on December 4th, 1931, in the Democratic Conference Room in the Capitol, Washington, D.C.

The assembly was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Robinson.

The roll was then called by the Secretary, Senator Black, and the following were present: Ashurst, Bailey, Bankhead, Barkley, Black, Broussard, Bulkley, Bulow, Byrnes, Connally, Coolidge, Costigan, Dill, Fletcher, George, Glass, Gore, Harris, Harrison, Hawes, Hayden, Hull, Kendrick, King, Logan, McGill, McKellar, Morrison, Neely, Pittman, Robinson, Sheppard, Swanson, Thomas, Trammell, Tydings, Wagner, Walsh of Mass., Walsh of Mont.

A telegram from Senator J. Hamilton Lewis was read, expressing his regret that he could not be present at the Conference.

Senator Harrison announced that Senator Stephens could not be present because of illness, but he would come if his vote should be needed.

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Senator Robinson announced that the first business was the election of officers.

Senator Harrison then took the chair and Senator Ashurst nominated Senator Robinson for Chairman of the Conference, and Senator Robinson was unanimously elected.

Senator Glass nominated Senator Walsh of Montana, as Assistant Chairman, and he was unanimously elected. Senator Swanson nominated Senator Black as Secretary, and he was unanimously elected. Senator Sheppard was unanimously elected the Democratic Whip. Senator Swanson offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Conference and the Vice-chairman and the Whip shall be ex-officio members of the Steering Committee; that the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to appoint not exceeding ten (10) Senators, who, together with the ex-officio members, shall constitute a steering committee, which said committee shall assign representation on the several committees of the Senate and from time to time make selections to fill vacancies as they arise.

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

Senator Swanson nominated Senator Pittman as candidate for President pro tem of the Senate, and Senator Pittman was unanimously chosen.

Considerable discussion arose concerning the question of a President pro tem. Senator Gore suggested that the Democrats should make a motion to declare the Presidency pro tem vacant. Senator Robinson suggested that we should not inject ourselves into the controversy between the insurgents and the regular Republicans, but should proceed in the regular way to support our candidate.

Numerous Senators discussed the proposition. In response to a question from Senator Costigan, the Chairman announced that this Conference never bound its members.

Senator King then offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That it is the desire of this Conference that Edwin A. Halsey be continued in his present position as Secretary for the Minority and that he be elected to that position.

The motion of Senator King was unanimously carried, and Mr. Halsey was named as Secretary to the Minority Conference.

Senator McKellar nominated Edwin A. Halsey as our candidate for Secretary of the Senate, and this motion was unanimously carried.

A message came to the Conference from Mrs. Caraway that she was unavoidably absent, and would be glad to act with the Conference.

Senator Walsh nominated Mr. J.L. Dobell, of Butte, Montana, as the Democratic candidate for Sergeant at Arms. Senator Gore nomi-

nated John M. Young of Florida, formerly of Oklahoma, for the same position. Mr. Dobell was named by the Conference as its candidate.

Senator King then offered the following Resolution:

Moved that the Chairman of the Conference be authorized when the Senate meets for organization to nominate for the various positions herein mentioned the persons heretofore selected by this Conference for such positions.

and this motion was unanimously carried.

Senator King offered a resolution as follows:

Moved that the leader of the Democratic Conference be authorized to name a candidate for the position of floor assistant.

and it was unanimously carried.

Senator King offered the following resolution:

Upon motion of Senator King, Senator Robinson, as Chairman of the Conference is authorized to name the Committee on Patronage which would be authorized to distribute whatever positions were allowed the Minority under the practice of the Senate.

and it was unanimously carried.

Senator Harrison offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED: That a Committee of Senators, of which the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Conference shall be members, be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference to constitute a Committee to cooperate with a similar Committee of the Democrats of the House, in obtaining as nearly as possible, united action between the Democratic membership of the two houses.

and this motion was unanimously carried.

Senator King offered the following resolution:

Moved that the thanks of the Democratic Conference be extended to M.E. Tydings for his faithful and efficient service as Chairman of the Senate Democratic Committee.

and it was unanimously carried.

Senator Robinson announced that if a challenge of Senator Bankhead should be made in an effort to prevent his taking the oath of office, that it was his purpose to make or cause to be made, a substitute motion providing for Senator Bankhead to be seated. A discussion of this proposition then occurred, participated in by Senators George, Walsh and Black.

Senator Robinson then introduced to the Conference Senators Bailey, Bankhead, Costigan, Coolidge, Hull, Bulow, Byrnes and Gore.

DECEMBER 4, 1931

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned.

[signed] Hugo Black  
Secretary

WESTERN UNION

Hon. Joseph T. Robinson  
Minority Leader US Senate

Personal situation make impossible for me to be present at meeting called for Friday. Please take this wire as authority to vote me in anything as to organization and program that would be in your judgment to advantage of the causes you all represent. I was not sure I had the right to be at Caucus not having been previously sworn in for legislative service. Best wishes to all the assemblage.

J. Hamilton Lewis

[Roll Call, December 4, 1931]

[PRESENT]

[PRESENT]

✓	Ashurst	1
✓	Bailey	2
✓	Bankhead	3
✓	Barkley	4
✓	Black	5
	Bratton	
✓	Broussard	6
✓	Bulkley	7
✓	Bulow	8
✓	Byrnes	9
	Caraway	
✓	Connally	10
✓	Coolidge	11
	Copeland	
✓	Costigan	12
✓	Dill	13
✓	Fletcher	14
✓	George	15
✓	Glass	16
✓	Gore	17
✓	Harris	18
✓	Harrison	19
✓	Hawes	20

✓	Hayden	21
✓	Hull	22
✓	Kendrick	23
✓	King	24
	Lewis	
✓	Logan	25
	Long	
✓	McGill	26
✓	McKellar	27
✓	Morrisson	28
✓	Neely	29
✓	Pittman	30
✓	Robinson	31
✓	Sheppard	32
	Smith	
	Stephens	
✓	Swanson	33
✓	Thomas	34
✓	Trammell	35
✓	Tydings	36
✓	Wagner	37
✓	Walsh of Mass	38
✓	Walsh of Mont	39
	Wheeler	

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[July 8, 1932]

Minutes, Conference of Democratic Minority, July 8, 1932.

The Democratic Conference assembled at ten A.M. on the 8th of July 1932, in the Democratic Conference Room of the Capitol, Washington, D.C.

SEVENTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1931-1933)

There was a quorum present, and Senator Robinson stated that the meeting was called for the discussion of a Relief Bill and the question of adjournment. He also stated that while he hoped that the measure concerning relief would be fully discussed, that no binding action was contemplated by the Chairman in this meeting.

Thereafter the following Senators entered into discussion of the Relief Measure: Wagner, Long, Pittman, Bulkley, Glass, Harrison, Connally, George, Hull, Bailey, Gore, McKellar, King, Dill, Trammell, Sheppard, Morrison and Tydings.

The measure under discussion was the Relief Bill, which had been sent to Conference between the House and the Senate. The Conference had agreed upon a measure. The discussion, in the main, was based upon the argument that the Senate should back up the House, and the position of the House, which the Speaker [John Nance Garner] had so strongly favored.

In order to ascertain the sentiment of the Senators present, a vote was taken, and it was found that eighteen (18) favored adopting the Conference Report, and eleven (11) were opposed to adopting the Conference Report.

It appearing that further discussion was desirable, the Conference agreed to recess until July 9th, 1932, at 10 A.M., in the Conference Room of the Capitol.

[signed] Hugo Black  
Secretary

[Roll Call, July 8, 1932]

[PRESENT]

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bailey  
Bankhead  
Barkley  
✓ Black  
✓ Bratton  
✓ Broussard  
✓ Bulkley  
✓ Bulow  
✓ Byrnes  
✓ Caraway  
✓ Cohen  
✓ Connally  
✓ Coolidge  
✓ Copeland  
Costigan  
✓ Dill  
Fletcher  
✓ George  
✓ Glass  
✓ Gore

[PRESENT]

✓ Harrison  
✓ Hawes  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hull  
✓ Kendrick  
King  
Lewis  
Logan  
✓ Long  
✓ McGill  
McKellar  
✓ Morrison  
Neely  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Robinson  
✓ Sheppard  
Smith  
✓ Stephens  
Swanson  
Thomas  
✓ Trammell  
✓ Tydings



JULY 8, 1932

[PRESENT]

✓ Wagner  
✓ Walsh of Mass

[PRESENT]

Walsh of Mont  
Wheeler

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[July 9, 1932]

Minutes of Conference of Democratic Minority, July 9, 1932.

The Democratic Conference assembled at ten A.M. on July 9, 1932, in the Democratic Conference Room of the Capitol, Washington, D.C.

The Conference resumed its session after the recess of yesterday (July 8th, 1932).

Senator Robinson reported to the Conference that no concessions would be made by the House, so that the vote in the Senate must be taken on the Conference Report, as it had been agreed upon. Senators Hayden and Wagner discussed the proposition. Senator Copeland announced that he did not like the plan adopted in the Conference Report, but that he would vote for it.

Senators Fletcher, McKellar and Kendrick discussed the Conference on the War Appropriations Bill, particularly as it related to the proposal to reduce the Army by 2,000 officers. Senators Fletcher and McKellar thought that a reduction should be agreed to. Senator Kendrick opposed the reduction. Senator Hawes and Senator Byrnes both opposed this reduction.

There being no further business the Conference adjourned.

[signed] Hugo Black  
Secretary

[Roll Call, July 9, 1932]

[PRESENT]

Ashurst  
Bailey  
Bankhead  
Barkley  
✓ Black  
✓ Bratton  
✓ Broussard  
✓ Bulkley  
✓ Bulow  
✓ Byrnes  
✓ Caraway  
✓ Cohen  
✓ Connally  
✓ Coolidge  
✓ Copeland

[PRESENT]

Costigan  
✓ Dill  
✓ Fletcher  
✓ George  
Glass  
✓ Gore  
✓ Harrison  
✓ Hawes  
Hayden  
✓ Hull  
✓ Kendrick  
King  
Lewis  
Logan  
Long  
✓ McGill

SEVENTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1931-1933)

[PRESENT]

✓ McKellar  
✓ Morrison  
Neely  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Robinson  
✓ Sheppard  
Smith  
✓ Stephens

[PRESENT]

Swanson  
Thomas  
✓ Trammell  
Tydings  
✓ Wagner  
Walsh of Mass  
Walsh of Mont  
Wheeler

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[December 23, 1932]

Minutes of Senate Democratic Conference, December 23, 1932.

On December 23, 1932, the roll was called and a quorum found present.

The Committee Report on Nominations was confirmed.

Then the Conference agreed to vote the Bingham Resolution be sent to the Judiciary Committee.

Senator Walsh suggested a committee to consider reduction of expenditures.

Senator Byrnes suggested that his committee was doing that now.

Secretary

[A second account of the same session read as follows:]

Minutes of Conference of Democratic Senators held in the Marble Room of the Capitol Building, December 23, 1932 at 10:30 A.M.

All nominations unanimously confirmed by Conference.

Conference agreed to support motion to refer Bingham resolution to the Judiciary Committee.

Senator Walsh (Mass.) suggested that a committee of Senators be appointed to consider the reduction of government expenditures.

Senator Byrnes (S.C.) suggested that his committee was giving the matter of reduction of government expenditures consideration.

December 23, 1932

[PRESENT]

✓ Ashurst  
Bailey  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Barkley  
✓ Black  
Bratton

[PRESENT]

Broussard  
✓ Bulkley  
✓ Bulow  
✓ Byrnes  
✓ Caraway  
✓ Cohen  
✓ Connally  
✓ Coolidge

DECEMBER 23, 1932

[PRESENT]

✓ Copeland  
✓ Costigan  
Dill  
✓ Fletcher  
✓ George  
Glass  
✓ Gore  
✓ Harrison  
✓ Hawes  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hull  
✓ Kendrick  
✓ King  
✓ Lewis  
✓ Logan  
Long  
✓ McGill  
✓ McKellar  
Neely  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Reynolds  
✓ Robinson  
✓ Sheppard  
✓ Smith  
Stephens  
✓ Swanson  
✓ Thomas  
✓ Trammell  
✓ Tydings  
✓ Wagner  
✓ Walsh of Mass  
✓ Walsh of Mont  
✓ Wheeler

December 23, 1932  
[vote on motion to refer Bingham  
resolution?]

YEAS

NAYS

✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bailey  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Barkley

YEAS

NAYS

✓ Black  
Bratton  
Broussard  
✓ Bulkley  
✓ Bulow  
Byrnes ✓  
Caraway ✓  
Cohen ✓  
Connally ✓  
Coolidge ✓  
✓ Copeland  
Costigan  
Dill  
✓ Fletcher  
George ✓  
Glass  
Gore ✓  
Harrison ✓  
Hawes ✓  
Hayden ✓  
Hull ✓  
✓ Kendrick  
King ✓  
✓ Lewis  
✓ Logan  
Long  
✓ McGill  
McKellar ✓  
Neely  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Reynolds  
✓ Robinson  
✓ Sheppard  
✓ Smith  
Stephens  
Swanson  
✓ Thomas  
✓ Trammell  
✓ Tydings  
Wagner ✓  
✓ Walsh of Mass  
✓ Walsh of Mont  
Wheeler ✓

## Seventy-third Congress (1933–1935)

[Editor's Note: With the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt as president in 1932, Democrats took the majority in the Senate by a margin of 59 to 36, with one independent. In the House, Democrats held a 313 to 117 majority, with five independents. The Senate met in special session from March 4 through March 6 to confirm cabinet nominations. President Roosevelt then called Congress into extraordinary session from March 9 to June 15, 1933, a period that became known as the "first hundred days" of the New Deal. A profusion of majority legislative initiatives aimed at recovery, relief, and reform of the economic system rushed through Congress in one of the most productive legislative periods in history.

In the previous period of Democratic majority, during the Wilson administration from 1913 to 1919, Senate Democrats had adopted a binding caucus rule. When Democrats achieved a majority in the House in 1931, Speaker John Nance Garner restored the binding caucus, noting "if they didn't stay bound, I'd put 'em down in my book and they'd never get through paying for it." But Robinson could not persuade the Senate caucus to restore the binding rule, and therefore used the caucus far less frequently to set policy and promote party unity. Instead, in 1933 Democrats created their first policy committee.

Organizing the Senate for the first time in fourteen years, the Democrats elected as secretary of the Senate Edwin A. Halsey, who had worked in many capacities for the Senate since 1897, and as sergeant at arms Chesley Jurney, who had served as secretary to Senators Culberson and Copeland. Senator Henry F. Ashurst described them in his diary as "cultured, courteous men, of elegant deportment."]

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[March 6, 1933]

Minutes of Senate Democratic Conference, March 6, 1933.

The meeting was called and a quorum present.

Election of a Chairman was then taken up. Senator Robinson turned over the chair to Senator Harrison.

Senator Byrnes nominated Senator Joseph T. Robinson.

Senator King seconded the nomination of Senator Robinson, and moved he be nominated by acclamation. Senator McAdoo also seconded, and Senator Robinson was unanimously nominated.

Senator Robinson pledged his support to the incoming administration.

MARCH 6, 1933

The next order of business was the election of a Vice Chairman. Senator Hayden nominated Senator Kendrick,<sup>1</sup> and this was seconded by Senator Wheeler. The motion was unanimously carried.

Senator Sheppard nominated Senator Lewis of Illinois as Party Whip. He was unanimously elected.

Senator King nominated Senator Black as Secretary, and he was unanimously elected.

Senator Tydings nominated Senator Pittman as candidate for President pro tem, and he was unanimously elected.

Senator Glass nominated Edwin Halsey as Democratic Candidate for Secretary of the Senate, and he was unanimously selected as Democratic Candidate for Secretary of the Senate.

Senator Smith nominated as candidate for Sergeant at Arms, Charles E. Jackson, of South Carolina.

Senator Wheeler nominated J.L. Dobell, of Montana, as Democratic Candidate for Sergeant at Arms.

Senator Copeland nominated Chesley W. Journey, of Texas, for Sergeant at Arms.

Senator Reynolds nominated Arthur Simmons, of North Carolina for Sergeant at Arms.

Senator Harrison seconded the nomination of Mr. Dobell.

Senator Sheppard seconded the nomination of Mr. Journey.

Senator King also seconded the nomination of Mr. Dobell.

Senator Black moved that the election be by ballot and a majority be necessary for election, and that if no majority be obtained the low man be dropped on each succeeding ballot.

Senator Ashurst sent word that he was ill, and requested that Senator Hayden be permitted to cast his vote, and this was agreed to.

Senator Pittman's message was received, to the effect that he wanted to vote for Dobell and his request was granted.

Senator Bratton being absent on account of illness, at his request Senator Dill was given the right to cast his vote.

On the fourth ballot Mr. Journey was nominated 29 to 26.

Senator Walsh nominated Leslie Biffle for Secretary of the Majority, and he was unanimously elected.

Senator Robinson nominated Dr. [ZeBarney Thorne] Phillips for Chaplain of the Senate during the pleasure of the Conference, and he was unanimously elected.

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<sup>1</sup>The position of vice chairman of the Conference was recognized as that of assistant leader. Senator Kendrick died on November 3, 1933, and Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky replaced him as vice chairman.

Senator Fletcher nominated Hal P. Phillips, of Florida, as Assistant Secretary to the Majority.

Senator McKellar nominated Walker Totty, of Tennessee, as Assistant Secretary to the Majority.

Senator Hayden suggested and moved that the Assistant Secretary of the Majority be named by the Rules Committee. The motion was carried and the selection of the Assistant Secretary to the Majority was referred to the Committee on Rules.

Senator George offered [the following] resolution (1):

RESOLVED, That a Steering Committee is hereby authorized to be created to consist of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Whip and the Secretary, as ex-officio members, and eleven (11) additional members to be appointed by the Chairman.

The resolution was agreed to.

Senator King offered [the following] resolution (2):

RESOLVED, That a committee of this Conference to be known as the Policy Committee is hereby created to consist of the Chairman and twelve (12) additional members to be appointed by the Chairman.

The resolution was agreed to.

Senator Harrison offered a resolution authorizing the Steering Committee to assign members of the committees (3):

RESOLVED, That the Steering Committee be and the same is hereby authorized to assign members of this Conference to committees and to report said assignments to the Senate.

Senator Robinson introduced [the following] resolution (4):

RESOLVED, That until further ordered the Chairman is authorized to convene Democratic Senators in Caucus for the purpose of considering any measure recommended by the President; and that all Democratic Senators shall be bound by the vote of the majority of the Caucus; Provided that any Senator may be excused from voting for any such measure upon his express statement to the Caucus that said measure is contrary to his conscientious judgment or that said measure is in violation of pledges made to his constituents as a candidate.

Senator Long stated that he would not be bound by any Caucus.

Senator McGill stated that he could not agree to this resolution and said he would not feel that he could conscientiously be bound by it.

Senators Adams and Connally agreed to it.

Senator Dill favored the resolution.

MARCH 6, 1933

Senator Costigan recorded his view that it is necessary for him on any final vote to reserve his right for final expression on that vote.

Senator Bankhead favored the resolution.

Senator George offered an amendment to the resolution, by adding as follows:

RESOLVED FURTHER, That for the purposes of this resolution, two thirds of the whole number of Democratic Senators shall constitute a quorum of the [Caucus].

New members were introduced by the Chairman.

Senator Hayden made a report of the Patronage Committee stating that each Senator would have patronage to the extent of \_\_\_\_\_ under the Rules, as follows: [no further text].

Hugo L. Black, Secretary

[Votes on] Sergeant at Arms

1st Ballot	2nd Ballot	3rd Ballot	4th Ballot
Jackson 18	Jackson 18	Jackson 16	Dobell 26
Dobell 16	Dobell 18	Dobell 20	Jurney 29
Jurney 20	Jurney 20	Jurney 20	
Simmons 2			

56

[Roll Call, March 6, 1933]

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Adams
- ✓ Ashurst
- ✓ Bachman
- ✓ Bailey
- ✓ Bankhead
- ✓ Barkley
- ✓ Black
- ✓ Bone
- ✓ Bratton
- ✓ Brown
- ✓ Bulkley
- ✓ Bulow
- ✓ Byrd
- ✓ Byrnes
- ✓ Caraway
- ✓ Clark
- ✓ Connally
- ✓ Coolidge
- ✓ Copeland
- ✓ Costigan
- ✓ Dieterich
- ✓ Dill
- ✓ Duffy

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Fletcher
- ✓ George
- ✓ Glass
- ✓ Gore
- ✓ Harrison
- ✓ Hayden
- ✓ Kendrick
- ✓ King
- ✓ Lewis
- ✓ Logan
- ✓ Lonergan
- ✓ Long
- ✓ McAdoo
- ✓ McCarran
- ✓ McGill
- ✓ McKellar
- ✓ Murphy
- ✓ Neely
- ✓ Overton
- ✓ Pittman
- ✓ Pope
- ✓ Reynolds
- ✓ Robinson
- ✓ Russell
- ✓ Sheppard

SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS (1933–1935)

[PRESENT]		YEAS	NAYS
✓	Smith	✓	Duffy
✓	Stephens	✓	Fletcher
✓	Thomas, of Okla	✓	George
✓	Thomas, of Utah	✓	Glass
✓	Trammell	✓	Gore
✓	Tydings	✓	Harrison
✓	Van Nuys	✓	Hayden
✓	Wagner	✓	Kendrick
✓	Walsh	✓	King
✓	Wheeler	✓	Lewis
		✓	Logan
		✓	Lonergan
			Long ✓
			McAdoo
		✓	McCarran
			McGill ✓
		✓	McKellar
		✓	Murphy
			Neely
		✓	Overton
		✓	Pittman
		✓	Pope
		✓	Reynolds
		✓	Robinson
		✓	Russell
		✓	Sheppard
			Smith
		✓	Stephens
		✓	Thomas, of Okla
		✓	Thomas, of Utah
		✓	Trammell
		✓	Tydings
		✓	Van Nuys
		✓	Wagner
		✓	Walsh
			Wheeler

  

Vote on Caucus Resolution March 6, 1933	YEAS	NAYS
✓	Adams	
✓	Ashurst	
✓	Bachman	
✓	Bailey	
✓	Bankhead	
✓	Barkley	
✓	Black	
✓	Bone	
✓	Bratton	
✓	Brown	
✓	Bulkley	
✓	Bulow	
✓	Byrd	
✓	Byrnes	
✓	Caraway	
✓	Clark	
✓	Connally	
✓	Coolidge	
✓	Copeland	
✓	Costigan	✓
✓	Dieterich	
✓	Dill	

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[March 14, 1933]

Minutes of Senate Democratic Conference, March 14, 193[3].

At 10:30 A.M. on March 14, 193[3], the roll was called and a quorum was present.

There was a request from the Senators named: Carter Glass, Henry F. Ashurst, John B. Kendrick, Robert F. Wagner, Josiah W. Bailey, William H. King, to be voted though absent.

Senator McCarran moved that no proxy votes be counted. The motion was lost.

The Chair then asked if there was any objection to proxy votes.



MARCH 14, 1933

Senator Harrison offered a resolution as follows:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Caucus that its members support H.R. 2820 to maintain the credit of the United States Government, only as are recommended by the Finance Committee.<sup>2</sup>

Senator Black offered an amendment to authorize suits on insurance policies issued to soldiers.

Senator McCarran asked to be excused because he was going to a Committee meeting.

Senator Walsh discussed the bill and said that he expected to be free to vote for amendments.

Senator Barkley explained insurance contracts.

Senator Connally expressed the hope that the Caucus would not try to bind Senators on amendments to bill. He called attention to the fact that Senators George and Walsh were not called on for conference on the bill and Senator Harrison said he was not called on to express his views.

Senator McKellar said he would vote for the bill. He stated he intended to offer an amendment to authorize the President to cut off subsidies under certain terms.

Senator Copeland agreed with Senator Walsh that we should be free to vote on amendments in the Senate.

Senator Logan expressed himself as favoring Senator Harrison's resolution in its present form.

Senator Robinson agreed with the views expressed.

Senator Dill expressed himself as not favoring the resolution in its present form.

Senator Trammell asked the privilege of being permitted to vote against the bill on objectionable grounds.

Senator McGill reserved the right to offer an amendment and to vote against the bill if he saw fit. His amendment would put Spanish War Veterans on the same basis as Civil War Veterans.

Senator Robinson said that the President had expressed himself against this proposal.

Senator Clark stated that he could not vote for the bill because he was conscientiously against it, and because it was contrary to promises he had made to his constituents.

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<sup>2</sup>The Economy Act of 1933 was proposed by President Roosevelt on March 10 and passed the House on March 11 by a vote of 266 to 138. Seeking to balance the budget, the act reduced government salaries, veterans' pensions, and payments on veterans' nonservice-related disabilities. The Senate approved the act on March 15 by a vote of 62 to 13.

Senator Van Nuys announced that on account of pledges he had made, he would resume his right to vote on amendments, but that to be regular he would vote for the bill.

Senator Russell said that due to commitments, he must reserve the right to vote as he saw fit.

Senator Neely said he would vote against Senator Harrison's resolution; that he reserved the right to vote for or against amendments; but that he would then vote for the bill.

Senator Overton stated he must ask to be relieved from the Caucus unless amendments were passed.

Senator Adams stated that he must be released, unless he had a right to vote on amendments.

Senator Gore will vote for the bill, amended or not amended.

Senator McAdoo says financing will not be effected by the passage or failure of passage of this bill, and he would like to have it put to a vote on amendments.

Senator Reynolds wants the right to vote on amendments in the Senate.

Senator Bulkley moved to amend by striking out the clause —.

Amended by the vote to strike out the clause as to amendments, the bill was carried.

The Resolution, as amended, was adopted.

Senator Hayden ex[illegible] himself.

Secretary

United States Senate  
Committee on Appropriations

March 14, 1933.

Dear Senator Robinson:

Please be good enough to cast my vote in the Caucus for the pending economy bill. I am detained in an important meeting of the Banking and Currency Committee.

Sincerely Yours,  
Carter Glass

[The following names are handwritten on the letter below Glass' signature:]

Ashurst      Kendrick      Wagner      Bailey      King

MARCH 14, 1933

March 14, 1933

[PRESENT]

50	Adams	
1	Ashurst	proxy
2	Bachman	
3	Bailey	p
45	Bankhead	
46	Barkley	
4	Black	
5	Bone	
6	Bratton	
7	Brown	
47	Bulkley	
8	Bulow	
9	Byrd	
	Byrnes	
10	Caraway	
11	Clark	
12	Connally	
	Coolidge	
13	Copeland	
	Costigan	
14	Dieterich	p
	Dill	
15	Duffy	
	Fletcher	
17	George	
18	Glass	
	Gore	
19	Harrison	
20	Hayden	

[PRESENT]

21	Kendrick	p
22	King	p
23	Lewis	p
24	Logan	p
25	Loneragan	p
	Long	
26	McAdoo	p
27	McCarran	p
28	McGill	
29	McKellar	
30	Murphy	
31	Neely	
32	Overton	
	Pittman	
33	Pope	
47	Reynolds	
34	Robinson	
35	Russell	
36	Sheppard	
37	Smith	
38	Stephens	
	Thomas, of Okla	
39	Thomas, of Utah	
40	Trammell	
41	Tydings	
42	Van Nuys	
43	Wagner	p
44	Walsh	
	Wheeler	

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[April 30, 1934]

Minutes of Senate Democratic Conference, April 30, 1934.

Roll was called and a quorum was present, composed of the following Senators: Adams, Ashurst, Bachman, Bankhead, Barkley, Black, Bone, Brown, Bulkley, Bulow, Byrnes, Clark, Connally, Copeland, Costigan, Dieterich, Dill, Duffy, Erickson, Fletcher, George, Gore, Harrison, Hatch, Hayden, King, Logan, Loneragan, Long, McCarran, McGill, McKellar, O'Mahoney, Overton, Pittman, Pope, Robinson, Russell, Sheppard, Smith, Stephens, Thomas, of Oklahoma, Thomas, of Utah, Tydings, Wagner.

Senator Robinson explained that the meeting was called to consider the President's Reciprocal Tariff Measure.<sup>3</sup> He expressed his approval of the measure and hoped that the Senators could support

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<sup>3</sup>Secretary of State Cordell Hull pressed Congress to enact legislation, giving the president power to lower tariff rates for those nations that would reciprocate. On March 29, the House passed the Trade Agreement bill by a vote of 274 to 111, and in June the Senate approved the measure by a 57-to-33 vote.

it, although no effort was made to bind Senators. He called upon Senators to express themselves.

Senator Harrison explained the previous status of the bill and said that it was hoped to report it out on Wednesday. He also explained the measure.

Senator Long stated that he had expected Senator Glass, who agreed with him as to this bill, to be present. He favors reciprocal tariff agreement if the treaty comes back to the Senate for approval or disapproval.

Senator Dieterich strongly favored the bill and opposed reporting agreement to Congress.

Senator George says Congress can constitutionally delegate power to the President to make trade agreements so far as treaty making power is concerned, and believes the Supreme Court will hold it is not delegation [of] legislative power.

Senator Clark favors the bill.

Senator Barkley favors the bill.

Senator Smith favors the bill.

Senator Pittman favors the bill.

Senator King says he will likely vote for the measure on account of his loyalty to the Party.

Senator Dill believes it is a great mistake to bring up the bill at this Session of Congress.

Senator Copeland favors the bill.

Vice-President [John Nance Garner] favors the bill.

[signed] Hugo L. Black  
Secretary



## Seventy-fourth Congress (1935–1937)

[Editor's Note: The popularity of the New Deal helped swell the ranks of Senate Democrats to 69 to 25, with two independents. The House Democratic margin was 322 to 103 Republicans and 10 independents. Although lacking the emergency atmosphere of the first hundred days, this "second New Deal" period produced significant legislation, including the Social Security Act, the Wagner Labor Act, and Rural Electrification. Then on May 27, 1935, the Supreme Court dealt a severe blow to the Roosevelt administration by striking down the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933. The Court accused Congress of unconstitutionally delegating its legislative powers to an executive agency. The ruling jeopardized other New Deal initiatives, which now faced Supreme Court review.]

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[January 2, 1935]

Minutes of Senate Democratic Conference, January 2, 193[5].

Roll was called and the following forty-seven Senators were present: Adams, Bailey, Barkley, Bilbo, Black, Bone, Bulow, Burke, Byrnes, Caraway, Clark, Connally, Coolidge, Copeland, Duffy, Fletcher, George, Gerry, Gore, Guffey, Harrison, Hatch, Hayden, Holt, Lewis, Logan, Lonergan, Maloney, McGill, Minton, Murray, Neely, O'Mahoney, Pittman, Pope, Radcliffe, Robinson, Russell, Schwellenbach, Sheppard, Thomas (Oklahoma), Thomas (Utah), Trammell, Truman, Van Nuys, Wagner, Wheeler.

Senator Robinson addressed the Conference. Among other things he said that while the Senate is a continuing body and election of new officers might not be necessary, he favors election at the beginning of each new Congress.

He said that previous Session was in the midst of appalling condition creating an emergency that made haste more important than deliberation, but such will not be necessary at this Session.

Senator Copeland took the chair and Senator Harrison nominated Senator Robinson and he was unanimously elected.

Senator Robinson nominated Senator Black for Secretary and he was unanimously elected.

Senator Lewis was nominated for Whip by Senator Byrnes and was unanimously elected.

Senator George nominated Senator Pittman for President pro tempore, and Senator Lewis seconded it and he was unanimously elected.

JANUARY 2, 1935

Senator Pittman moved that the Chairman be authorized to appoint a Steering Committee and Policy Committee of such members as he saw fit, and to appoint an assistant from time to time as he saw fit. Motion was unanimously carried.

Senator Harrison moved that Steering Committee be clothed with authority to make the appropriate assignment of committees and report them to the Senate.

Senator Gore moved and motion was unanimously carried to instruct the Chairman to nominate Senate officers to hold over if found necessary.

Hugo L. Black  
Secretary

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[May 10, 1935]

Senate Democratic Conference, May 10, 1935.

Quorum present.

Senator Robinson presiding—Conference called for purpose of consulting together with reference to expediting program. He called attention to NRA Resolution reported by Finance Committee and called on Harrison, Chairman, Finance Committee, to discuss it.

Harrison explained NRA Resolution as reported and method adopted to reach agreement in Committee.

Senator King expressed his approval of Resolution reported by Finance Committee.

Senator Barkley favored a two year extension and explained his amendment to resolution which would permit codes for intra-state business that “substantially and materially affects interstate commerce.” He will offer his amendment on the floor.

Senator Clark favors resolution.

Senator Gore favors extension only as provided in resolution.

Senator Robinson does not believe there is sufficient time to pass general NRA law before June 15, 1935. He would prefer two year extension but would subordinate his own views, if necessary.

Senator Barkley asked if Conference would express views.

Senator Robinson said he would submit two questions to Conference as *advisory* only, not binding.

First: Does Conference believe two year extension advisable?

Second: Should suggestion of Senator Barkley be adopted?

Senator Fletcher moved Conference approve resolution offered by Committee.

General discussion—Barkley and King.

Adams favors two years extension.

Senator Barkley moved it is sense of the Conference that NRA be extended two years.

Gerry discussed it.

Motion lost.

Barkley moved that substance of his amendment be adopted as the one touching intra-state commerce.

Senator Walsh moved that Barkley be permitted to offer his amendment and discuss it on the floor.

Senator King said he would offer amendments if Barkley did, and would discuss them at length.

Barkley's motion—

Senator Pittman moved that it was the sense of the Conference that no amendments be offered. Motion carried by rising vote.

Byrd reserved the right to vote.

[signed] Hugo L. Black  
Secretary

Senate Democratic Conference  
May 10, 1935

[PRESENT]

✓ Adams  
✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bachman  
✓ Bailey  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Barkley  
✓ Bilbo  
✓ Black  
✓ Bone  
✓ Brown  
✓ Bulkley  
✓ Bulow  
✓ Burke  
✓ Byrd  
Byrnes  
Caraway  
✓ Clark  
✓ Connally  
✓ Coolidge  
✓ Copeland  
Costigan

[PRESENT]

Dieterich  
Donahey  
✓ Duffy  
✓ Fletcher  
✓ George  
✓ Gerry  
Glass  
✓ Gore  
✓ Guffey  
✓ Harrison  
Hatch  
✓ Hayden  
✓ King  
✓ Lewis  
✓ Logan  
✓ Lonergan  
Long  
✓ Maloney  
✓ McAdoo  
McCarran  
✓ McGill  
✓ McKellar  
✓ Minton



MAY 10, 1935

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Moore
- ✓ Murphy
- ✓ Murray
- ✓ Neely
- ✓ O'Mahoney
- Overton
- ✓ Pittman
- ✓ Pope
- ✓ Radcliffe
- Reynolds
- ✓ Robinson
- ✓ Russell

[PRESENT]

- Schwellenbach
- ✓ Sheppard
- Smith
- Thomas, of Okla
- ✓ Thomas, of Utah
- ✓ Trammell
- ✓ Truman
- ✓ Tydings
- Van Nuys
- Wagner
- ✓ Walsh
- Wheeler

## Seventy-fifth Congress (1937–1939)

[Editor's Note: The election of 1936 created the largest party majorities in Congress since the one-party "Era of Good Feelings" a century earlier. Senate Democrats enjoyed a 76-to-16 majority, with four independents. House Democrats held 334 seats to 88 Republicans and 13 independents. Shortly after the election, however, President Roosevelt announced his plan to enlarge the Supreme Court, adding one new justice for every member over the age of seventy, to a total of fifteen. This action was widely viewed as an effort to "pack" the Supreme Court with administration supporters, in retaliation for a series of Court rulings declaring key New Deal legislation unconstitutional. The Court fight badly divided congressional Democrats, especially given that the tiny Republican minority decided to keep quiet and allow Democrats who opposed the plan to take the lead in stopping it. Senate Democratic Leader Joseph Robinson personally led the fight for the president's court bill, but on July 14, 1937, Robinson died of a heart attack. When Senators Alben Barkley and Pat Harrison campaigned to succeed Robinson as floor leader, President Roosevelt intervened in Barkley's behalf. Barkley won the leadership by a single vote, but animosities from the incident further divided the party and defeated the administration's legislative initiatives.]

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[July 22, 1937]

Minutes of Senate Democratic Conference, July 22, 1937.

The meeting was called to order by Senator Barkley, a quorum being present.

The Secretary read the call for the meeting.

Senator Barkley announced he was ready to accept all proxies, and that Senators Bankhead and Hayden were away on account of illness; that their votes would be accepted. He also said that it was immaterial as to whether ballot would be secret or open.

Senator Barkley then asked Senator Pittman to preside.

Senator Pittman asked if there was any objection to having the vote by secret ballot. Senator Bulkley objected and said that the ballot should be taken by roll call.

Senator Byrnes moved that secret ballot be taken, and Senator Tydings seconded the motion. The motion was carried.

Senator Byrnes moved that the nomination be made without speeches, and the motion was carried.

JULY 22, 1937

Senator Tydings moved that the Senators named be called, and they come forward and vote.

Senator Barkley and Senator Harrison were nominated for Leader of the Senate. The ballots resulted in Barkley 38 and Harrison 37. Barkley was declared elected *Conference Chairman*. [Two handwritten copies of the ballot tallies were signed [Richard] Russell and Josh Lee.]

Senator Barkley promised his best efforts in serving the Democratic Party and the country.

The meeting was adjourned.

Hugo L. Black—Secretary

*Democratic Conference Chairmen*

Oscar Underwood—Alabama

March 5, 1921.

“unanimously selected as Minority leader and Chairman of the Democratic Caucus.”

succeeding Senator Hitchcock.

Joseph T. Robinson—Arkansas

December 3, 1923.

“on motion of Senator Simmons, Senator Robinson was unanimously elected by acclamation.”

succeeding Senator Underwood.

Alben W. Barkley—Kentucky

July 22, 1937

“Barkley was declared elected *Conference Chairman*.”

succeeding Senator Robinson.

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[December 31, 1938]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Saturday, December 31, 1938, at 10:30 o'clock A.M., in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky) called meeting to order.

Senator Josh Lee (Oklahoma) was chosen temporary secretary but due to illness, he was unable to be present.

Leslie L. Biffle, Secretary for the Majority, was designed acting secretary in Senator Lee's absence.

Roll call developed quorum.

Senator Barkley asked Senator Harrison (Mississippi) to act as temporary Chairman.

Senator Key Pittman (Nevada) nominated Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky) for permanent Chairman of Conference. Senator J. Hamilton Lewis (Illinois) seconded the nomination. Senator Barkley was unanimously elected.

Senator Barkley addressed the Conference.

Senator Sherman Minton (Indiana) nominated Senator Lewis for Whip. Senator Millard E. Tydings (Maryland) seconded the nomination. Senator Lewis was unanimously elected by rising vote.

Senator William H. King (Utah) nominated Senator Josh Lee (Oklahoma) for Secretary of Conference. Senator Lee was unanimously elected.

Senator Barkley announced that it was not necessary to have election of Secretary of the Senate, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Secretary for the Majority, inasmuch as these are hold-over officers.

Senator J. Hamilton Lewis moved the election of Senator Minton as assistant Whip. Senator Minton was unanimously elected.

Senator Barkley introduced newly elected Senators.

Senator James F. Byrnes (South Carolina) introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to assign members of the Conference to vacancies on the Steering and Policy Committees.

Senator Guy M. Gillette (Iowa) presented the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the Steering Committee be and same is hereby authorized to assign members of the Conference to committees, and to report said assignments to the Senate.

Senator Elbert D. Thomas (Utah) offered the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Conference be extended to the Chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Senator Prentiss M. Brown, of Michigan, and his associates, and to the officers and employees for their efforts and activities in behalf of the Democratic Senatorial candidates in the last campaign.

Members of the Committee: Senators Green, Murray, Connally, and Hatch.

Secretary-Treasurer: Edwin A. Halsey.

Director of Speakers' Bureau: Leslie L. Biffle.

There being no further business to be presented to the Conference, Senator William H. King (Utah) made a motion, which was duly sec-

DECEMBER 31, 1938

ended and carried, that the Conference adjourn, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Leslie L. Biffle  
Acting Secretary

Quorum, Conference on  
December 31, 1938

[PRESENT]

✓ Adams  
✓ Andrews  
✓ Ashurst  
✓ Bailey  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Barkley  
✓ Bilbo  
✓ Bone  
✓ Brown  
✓ Bulow  
✓ Burke  
✓ Byrd  
✓ Byrnes  
✓ Caraway  
✓ Chavez  
✓ Clark of Idaho  
✓ Clark of Mo  
✓ Connally  
✓ Donahey  
✓ Downey  
✓ Ellender  
✓ George  
✓ Gerry  
✓ Gillette  
✓ Glass  
✓ Green  
✓ Guffey  
✓ Harrison  
✓ Hatch  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Herring  
✓ Hill  
✓ Holt

[PRESENT]

✓ Hughes  
✓ Johnson  
✓ King  
✓ Lee  
✓ Lewis  
✓ Logan  
✓ Lucas  
✓ Maloney  
✓ McCarran  
✓ McKellar  
✓ Mead  
✓ Miller  
✓ Minton  
✓ Murray  
✓ Neely  
✓ O'Mahoney  
✓ Overton  
✓ Pepper  
✓ Pittman  
✓ Radcliffe  
✓ Reynolds  
✓ Russell  
✓ Schwartz  
✓ Schwellenbach  
✓ Sheppard  
✓ Smith  
✓ Thomas, of Okla  
✓ Thomas, of Utah  
✓ Truman  
✓ Tydings  
✓ Van Nuys  
✓ Wagner  
✓ Walsh  
✓ Wheeler

## Seventy-sixth Congress (1939–1941)

[Editor's Note: During the 1938 elections, President Roosevelt tried to purge from the party those conservative Democrats who increasingly opposed the administration's programs. However, all of the Democratic senators that the president campaigned against won renomination and reelection. In November, Democrats lost 7 seats in the Senate, reducing their majority to 69 to 23, with four independents; in the House of Representatives Democrats lost 72 seats, bringing their majority to 262 to 169, and 4 independents. The outbreak of war in Europe helped shift the national focus from domestic economic issues to foreign policy, restoring some of the unity to congressional Democrats that had been disrupted by the court fight in the previous Congress.]

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[April 19, 1939]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Wednesday afternoon, April 19, 1939, in the Marble Room of the Capitol.

The Conference was called to order by Senator Alben W. Barkley. Senator Josh Lee (Oklahoma) was unavoidably detained from the Conference and Senator Barkley requested that Leslie L. Biffle, Secretary for the Majority, act as temporary secretary.

Senator Barkley memorialized the death of Senator James Hamilton Lewis of Illinois.

Senator James F. Byrnes (South Carolina) nominated Senator Sherman Minton (Indiana) to be Majority Whip. The nomination was seconded by Senators Sheppard, Smathers, King, and others. Senator Minton was unanimously elected.

Senator King (Utah) moved the Conference adjourn.

[signed] Leslie L. Biffle  
Acting Secretary



## Seventy-seventh Congress (1941–1943)

[Editor's Note: In 1940, Franklin D. Roosevelt won an unprecedented third term as president. Senate Democrats lost 3 seats, bringing their majority down to 66 to 28, with 2 independents. In the House, Democrats gained 5 seats to hold a 267-to-162 margin, with 3 independents. Democratic unity in Congress was reforged as the United States moved closer to war. On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, leading the United States into war against Japan, Germany and Italy.]

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[January 4, 1941]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Saturday, January 4, 1941, at 10:30 o'clock A.M., in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky) called meeting to order, and announced that the Secretary of the Conference is a hold-over position unless otherwise designated. Therefore Senator Josh Lee (Oklahoma) continued as Secretary.

Roll call developed quorum—fifty-eight Senators being present.

Senator Barkley requested Senator David I. Walsh (Massachusetts) to act as temporary chairman.

Senator Pat Harrison (Mississippi) nominated Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky) for permanent Chairman of Conference. Senator Albert B. Chandler (Kentucky) seconded the nomination. Senator Barkley was unanimously elected.

Senator Barkley addressed the Conference, urging unity, and expressed appreciation of honor conferred.

Senator Barkley paid high tribute to Senator Carter Glass (Virginia), January fourth being his [83rd] birthday. Conference stood and applauded. Senator Glass acknowledged tribute with thanks.

Senator Barkley memorialized Senator Key Pittman, late President pro tempore of the Senate, who died November 10, 1940.

Senator James F. Byrnes (South Carolina) nominated Senator Pat Harrison (Mississippi) for President pro tempore of the Senate. Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (Mississippi) and Senator Matthew M. Neely (West Virginia) seconded the nomination. Senator Harrison was elected by unanimous standing vote.

Senator Harrison acknowledged honor and spoke briefly.



JANUARY 4, 1941

Senator Carl Hayden (Arizona) nominated Senator Lister Hill (Alabama) for Whip. He was unanimously elected.

Senator Hill spoke briefly, expressing appreciation of the honor conferred.

Senator Barkley presented leather black snake whip to Senator Hill as symbol of office.

Senator Barkley announced the offices of the Secretary of the Senate, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Secretary for the Majority, are hold-over positions, unless otherwise designated.

Senator Barkley presented newly elected Democratic members of the Senate.

Senator Tom Connally (Texas) spoke briefly, urging unity, and suggesting that Party hold conferences before announcing positions on various issues.

Senator James F. Byrnes (South Carolina) paid tribute to Leslie L. Biffle, Secretary for the Majority, and moved that thanks of the Conference be extended to him. Received with prolonged applause and motion was carried by unanimous standing vote.

Senator Scott W. Lucas (Illinois) offered the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to.

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to assign members of the Conference to vacancies on the Steering Committee.

Senator Francis T. Maloney (Connecticut) offered the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the Steering Committee be, and same is hereby authorized, to assign members of the Conference to committees, and to report said assignments to the Senate.

Senator Sheridan Downey (California) offered the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Conference be extended to the Chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Senator Theodore Francis Green, of Rhode Island, and his associates, and to the officers and employees for their efforts and activities in behalf of the Democratic Senatorial candidates in the last campaign.

Members of the Committee: Senator Green, Senator Wagner, Senator Adams, Senator Ellender, Senator Clark, Idaho. Secretary-Treasurer: Edwin A. Halsey. Director of Speakers' Bureau: Leslie L. Biffle.

SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS (1941–1943)

Senator Barkley announced that there being no further business to be considered, the Conference stand adjourned.

[signed] Josh Lee, Secretary

[January 4, 1941]

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Adams
- ✓ Andrews
- ✓ Bailey
- ✓ Bankhead
- ✓ Barkley
- ✓ Bilbo
- ✓ Bone
- ✓ Brown
- ✓ Bulow
- ✓ Bunker
- ✓ Byrd
- ✓ Byrnes
- ✓ Caraway
- ✓ Chandler
- ✓ Chavez
- ✓ Clark of Idaho
- ✓ Clark of Mo.
- ✓ Connally
- ✓ Downey
- ✓ Ellender
- ✓ George
- ✓ Gerry
- ✓ Gillette
- ✓ Glass
- ✓ Green
- ✓ Guffey
- ✓ Harrison
- ✓ Hatch
- ✓ Hayden
- ✓ Herring
- ✓ Hill
- ✓ Hughes
- ✓ Johnson

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Kilgore
- ✓ Lee
- ✓ Lucas
- ✓ Maloney
- ✓ McCarran
- ✓ McFarland
- ✓ McKellar
- ✓ Mead
- ✓ Miller
- ✓ Murdock
- ✓ Murray
- ✓ Neely
- ✓ O'Mahoney
- ✓ Overton
- ✓ Pepper
- ✓ Radcliffe
- ✓ Reynolds
- ✓ Russell
- ✓ Schwartz
- ✓ Sheppard
- ✓ Smathers
- ✓ Smith
- ✓ Stewart
- ✓ Thomas, of Okla
- ✓ Thomas, of Utah
- ✓ Truman
- ✓ Tunnell
- ✓ Tydings
- ✓ Van Nuys
- ✓ Wagner
- ✓ Walsh
- ✓ Wheeler

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[July 10, 1941]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Thursday, July 10, 1941, at eleven o'clock, A.M. in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Chairman, Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky), called the meeting to order and announced that the purpose of the meeting was to nominate a President pro tempore to succeed the late Senator Harrison of Mississippi. Senator Barkley memorialized Senator Harrison and then announced that nominations were in order.

JULY 10, 1941

Senator Kenneth D. McKellar (Tennessee) paid tribute to Senator Harrison and then nominated Senator Carter Glass (Virginia) for President pro tempore.

Senators Adams (Colorado), Connally (Texas), and Byrd (Virginia) made seconding speeches of Senator McKellar's nomination of Senator Glass. All these Senators, including the Chairman of the Conference, paid glowing tribute to Senator Glass.

There being no further nominations, the Senator from Virginia (Mr. Glass) was unanimously nominated.

The Conference adjourned.

[signed] Josh Lee  
Secretary, Democratic Conference

[July 10, 1941]

[PRESENT]

✓ Adams  
✓ Andrews  
Bailey  
Bankhead  
✓ Barkley  
Bilbo  
Bone  
Brown  
Bulow  
✓ Byrd  
✓ Caraway  
Chandler  
✓ Chavez  
✓ Clark of Idaho  
Clark of Mo.  
✓ Connally  
✓ Downey  
Ellender  
✓ George  
Gerry  
Gillette  
Glass  
Green  
✓ Guffey  
✓ Hatch  
Hayden  
Herring  
✓ Hill  
Hughes  
Johnson  
✓ Kilgore

[PRESENT]

✓ Lee  
Lucas  
Maloney  
✓ McCarran  
✓ McFarland  
✓ McKellar  
✓ Mead  
Murdock  
Murray  
✓ O'Mahoney  
✓ Overton  
Pepper  
Radcliffe  
Reynolds  
✓ Rosier  
Russell  
✓ Schwartz  
✓ Smathers  
Smith  
Spencer  
✓ Stewart  
Thomas, of Okla  
✓ Thomas, of Utah  
Truman  
Tunnell  
Tydings  
Van Nuys  
Wagner  
Wallgren  
Walsh  
Wheeler

## Seventy-eighth Congress (1943–1945)

[Editor's Note: The 1942 congressional elections saw Senate Democrats lose 9 seats, reducing their majority to 57 to 38, with one independent. In the House, the Democratic majority was narrowed sharply to 222 to 209, with 4 independents. The narrower margins helped strengthen a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats, who sought to repeal New Deal legislation and opposed the president on domestic legislation.

During a filibuster in 1942 against legislation to abolish poll taxes, Majority Leader Barkley dispatched the Senate sergeant at arms to bring absent senators to the chamber. Senator Kenneth McKellar was outraged to be awakened at his hotel and brought to the Capitol at night to break a filibuster that he supported. Although McKellar sat next to Barkley in the Senate chamber, they did not speak for another year. At the Democratic Conference meeting on January 7, 1943, McKellar sought to defeat Barkley's candidates for party posts, and to strip the majority leader of his ability to fill vacancies on the Steering Committee. Barkley's threat to resign as leader caused the defeat of McKellar's motion.

Barkley did announce his resignation on February 23, 1944, in protest over President Roosevelt's veto of a revenue bill. Objecting to the language of the veto message as a "calculated and deliberate assault upon the legislative integrity of every Member of Congress," Barkley urged the Senate to override the veto, and then submitted his resignation to the Democratic Conference. Both the House and Senate overrode the veto by wide margins, and Barkley was unanimously reelected as Conference chairman. Senator Elbert Thomas noted that "By his one-vote margin in the 1937 contest when he was first elected leader, the impression was given, and it has been the impression ever since, that he spoke to us for the President. Now that he was been unanimously elected, he speaks for us to the President."<sup>1</sup>]

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[January 7, 1943]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Thursday, January 7th, 1943, at three o'clock, P.M., in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky) called meeting to order, and announced that due to the defeat of Senator Josh Lee (Oklahoma) for election, it would be necessary for the Conference to select a new secretary. He designated Senator Mon Wallgren (Washington) as temporary secretary.

Senator Barkley introduced the new Senators as follows: Senators James O. Eastland of Mississippi, John L. McClellan of Arkansas, and James G. Scrugham of Nevada.

<sup>1</sup> Allen Drury, *A Senate Journal, 1943–1945* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), pp. 85–97.

JANUARY 7, 1943

A roll call developed a quorum—fifty Senators being present.

Senator Bennett Champ Clark (Missouri) nominated Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky) for permanent Chairman of the Conference. Several Senators seconded the nomination. Senator Tom Connally (Texas) asked for Senator Barkley's election by acclamation.

Senator Barkley briefly addressed the Conference, urging unity and expressed appreciation of the honor conferred upon him.

Senator Carl Hayden (Arizona) nominated Senator Lister Hill (Alabama) for Whip. He was unanimously elected.

Senator Homer T. Bone (Washington) nominated his colleague, Senator Mon Wallgren (Washington) for permanent secretary. Senator Kenneth D. McKellar (Tennessee) nominated Senator Francis Maloney (Connecticut). A vote was had by secret ballot, Senator Maloney receiving thirty-one (31) votes, and Senator Wallgren, twenty-two (22). The following proxies were voted: Senators Byrd for Glass; McKellar for Smith; and Barkley for Pepper, Mead and Wagner. Senator Maloney expressed his appreciation to the Conference.

The Chairman announced that other officials of the Senate are hold-over positions unless otherwise designated. Senator Kenneth D. McKellar (Tennessee) moved that the Conference vote on each official.

Senator Bennett Clark (Missouri) immediately nominated Leslie L. Biffle (Arkansas) for the office of Secretary for the Majority. He was unanimously elected.

Senator Harry F. Byrd (Virginia) nominated Edwin A. Halsey (Virginia) to be Secretary of the Senate. He was unanimously elected.

Senator Tom Connally (Texas) nominated Chesley W. Journey (Texas) to be Sergeant-at-Arms. Senator Kenneth McKellar (Tennessee) nominated Wall Doxey (Mississippi).

There was lengthy debate on these nominations, in which several Senators participated. Senator Scott W. Lucas (Illinois), chairman of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, made a statement relative to certain official financial transactions by Colonel Journey, and after some debate, Senator Carl A. Hatch (New Mexico) made a motion authorizing the Chairman of the Conference to appoint a committee of five to investigate the matter and report back to the Conference within two weeks. This motion was seconded by Senator Connally, and unanimously agreed to.

The Chairman appointed the following Senators as members of the committee: Senators Elbert D. Thomas (Utah), Homer T. Bone (Washington), Edwin C. Johnson (Colorado), George L. Radcliffe (Maryland), and Allen J. Ellender (Louisiana).

Senator Tom Connally (Texas) nominated Reverend Frederick Brown Harris (Washington, D.C.) to be Chaplain. This nomination was unanimously agreed to.

Senator David I. Walsh (Massachusetts) offered the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the Steering Committee be, and same is hereby authorized, to assign members of the Conference to standing committees, and to report said assignments to the Senate.

Senator Carl A. Hatch (New Mexico) submitted the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Conference be extended to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee for their efforts and activities in behalf of the Democratic Senatorial candidates in the last campaign.

Senator Francis Maloney (Connecticut), newly elected Secretary of the Conference, was called from the meeting, and at his request, the Chairman designed Leslie L. Biffle to act as temporary secretary for the afternoon.

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (Wyoming) offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to assign members of the Conference to vacancies on the Steering Committee.

Senator Kenneth McKellar (Tennessee), as a substitute for the O'Mahoney resolution, made a motion that the Conference elect the members of the Steering Committee, and submitted the following list of names: Senators Barkley (chairman), Glass, McKellar, George, Wheeler, Tydings, Guffey, Bankhead, Green, Wagner, Hayden, Lucas, O'Mahoney, Thomas (Utah), Connally, Bailey, and Overton. Ex officio members: Hill, Whip and Maloney, Secretary.

There was lengthy debate on the motion of Senator McKellar. Senator Barkley, the chairman, advised the Conference that if this motion should be adopted by the Conference, he would submit his resignation immediately as chairman. The McKellar motion was defeated by a vote of thirty-three (33) nays, and twenty (20) yeas. This vote was by secret ballot, Senator McKellar voting the proxy of Senators Maloney and Smith; Senator Byrd voting the proxy of Senator Glass; and Senator Barkley voting the proxies of Senators Pepper, Mead, and Wagner.

Senator O'Mahoney's resolution was then adopted by a viva voce vote.

JANUARY 7, 1943

Senator Walter F. George (Georgia) offered the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Democratic Conference that during the war period, it is desirable that the Steering Committee be called at convenient intervals to counsel together with respect to questions of major policy and legislation.

The Conference adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Leslie L. Biffle  
Acting for Senator Maloney

United States Senate  
Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads

January 6, 1943

Hon. Alben W. Barkley  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Barkley:

Because of my unavoidable absence tomorrow, I am tendering my proxy and respectfully request that you vote for me on all matters coming before the Conference.

Regards.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] James M. Mead

United States Senate  
Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads

January 6, 1943

Hon. Alben W. Barkley  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Barkley:

I am respectfully requesting that you vote me in favor of continuing Chesley W. Journey as Sergeant at Arms of the Senate should there be a vote in this connection at the Conference tomorrow.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] James M. Mead

WESTERN UNION  
Jan. 6, 1943

Hon [Alben W.] Barkley  
Senate Office Bldg.

Some things here make it impossible for me to be back in time for Caucus. Please exercise my proxy at Caucus. I earnestly hope to be a member of

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1943-1945)

the Steering Committee and will appreciate your doing what you can to make this possible. Back Monday morning. Best wishes.

Claude Pepper

United States Senate  
Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

Florence, South Carolina  
January 6, 1943

Hon. Kenneth McKellar  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator McKellar:

I hereby give you my proxy to represent me at the Democratic Conference on January 7, 1943.

Yours very sincerely,  
[signed] E.D. Smith

United States Senate

120 Broadway, New York City  
January 5, 1943

Honorable Alben Barkley  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Alben:

It will not be possible for me to attend the Democratic Caucus scheduled for Thursday, January 7th. You are hereby authorized to exercise my proxy in any matters coming to a vote.

Very sincerely yours,  
[signed] Robert F. Wagner

United States Senate  
Committee on Commerce

January 7, 1943

I hereby give my proxy, for use in the Democratic Caucus of this date, to Senator Kenneth McKellar.

[signed] Francis Maloney

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[January 19, 1943]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Tuesday, January 19th, 1943, at three-thirty o'clock P.M., in Room 201, Senate Office Building.



JANUARY 19, 1943

Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky), Chairman, called the meeting to order, and requested Senator Francis Maloney (Connecticut), the secretary, to call the roll, which developed a quorum.

The Chairman inquired if the Special Committee (Senators Thomas (Utah), Bone, Ellender, Radcliffe, and Johnson (Colorado)) appointed to investigate certain statements made with reference to the official transactions of the present sergeant-at-arms, was ready to make a report.

The chairman, Senator Thomas (Utah), reported on behalf of the special committee, that Chesley W. Jurney, the present sergeant-at-arms, preferred that his name not be presented to the Conference for re-election, and that he would retire as sergeant-at-arms on January 31, 1943.

Senator Kenneth McKellar (Tennessee) nominated Wall Doxey, of Mississippi, to be Sergeant-at-Arms, effective as of February 1, 1943. Several senators discussed the election of a sergeant-at-arms.

Senator Joseph F. Guffey (Pennsylvania) moved that the Conference recess for one week. This motion was defeated by a vote of sixteen (16) yeas and twenty-one (21) nays.

Wall Doxey, of Mississippi, was elected by the Conference to be the Democratic candidate for Sergeant-at-Arms.

The Conference discussed briefly patronage matters.

Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (Mississippi) called to the attention of the Conference the fact that some Senate Chamber chairs were being destroyed. Several Senators entered into the debate of this question.

Senator Barkley (Chairman) was called from the Conference, and requested Senator Maloney (Secretary) to act as chairman.

Senator Carl Hatch (New Mexico) made a motion, which was adopted, that the Conference request the Rules Committee to investigate the destruction of chairs and other furniture.

Conference adjourned subject to call of Chairman.

Francis Maloney, Secretary

United States Senate  
Committee on Military Affairs

January 8, 1943

Honorable Alben W. Barkley  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator:

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1943-1945)

I am respectfully requesting that you vote me in favor of the Honorable Wall Doxey to succeed Colonel Jurney as Sergeant at Arms of the Senate.

With kindest regards, I am,

Most sincerely yours,

[signed] Harley M. Kilgore

United States Senate  
Committee on Finance

Washington, D.C.  
January 18, 1943

Honorable Alben W. Barkley  
Chairman, Democratic Conference

My dear Senator:

I am necessarily absent on account of official business of the Senate. I desire to cast my vote in the Democratic Conference for Wall Doxey of Mississippi for Sergeant at Arms.

Yours very sincerely,  
[signed] Bennett Champ Clark

WESTERN UNION  
Jan. 19, 1943

Leslie Biffle  
Capitol

Have wired Bankhead my proxy for Doxey. Regards.

Lister Hill

United States Senate  
Memorandum  
January 19, 1943

I hereby designate Senator John L. McClellan as my Proxy to cast my vote in the meeting of the Democratic Caucus of this date.

[signed] Hattie W. Caraway

United States Senate

Lynchburg, Virginia  
January 6th, 1943

Honorable Harry F. Byrd  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Harry:

I am handing you herewith authorization to use this as my proxy in the forthcoming party Caucus, should any issue arise requiring a division or vote. I am very much disappointed that I cannot be present but that disappointment is relieved by the knowledge that I shall be ably and well represented.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Carter Glass

JANUARY 19, 1943

Roll Call, Jan. 20 [1943]

[PRESENT

✓ Andrews  
a Bailey  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Barkley  
✓ Bilbo  
✓ Bone  
✓ Byrd  
a Caraway  
✓ Chandler  
✓ Chavez  
✓ Clark of Idaho  
a Clark of Mo.  
✓ Connally  
✓ Downey  
✓ Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ George  
a Gerry  
a Gillette  
a Glass  
✓ Green  
✓ Guffey  
✓ Hatch  
✓ Hayden  
a Hill  
✓ Johnson  
a Kilgore  
✓ Lucas

[PRESENT

✓ Maloney  
✓ Maybank  
✓ McCarran  
✓ McClellan  
✓ McFarland  
✓ McKellar  
✓ Mead  
✓ Murdock  
✓ Murray  
✓ O'Daniel  
✓ O'Mahoney  
✓ Overton  
✓ Pepper  
✓ Radcliffe  
a Reynolds  
a Russell  
✓ Scrugham  
a Smith  
✓ Stewart  
✓ Thomas, of Okla  
✓ Thomas, of Utah  
✓ Truman  
✓ Tunnell  
✓ Tydings  
✓ Van Nuys  
✓ Wagner  
✓ Wallgren  
a Walsh  
✓ Wheeler

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[February 24, 1944]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Thursday, February 24, 1944, at ten-thirty o'clock A.M., in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky), Chairman, called the meeting to order and requested the Secretary, Senator Francis Maloney (Connecticut) to call the roll, which developed a quorum.

Certain proxies were submitted. Proxies attached hereto.

Senator Barkley discussed his speech of February twenty-third and submitted his resignation as Leader. He then asked Senator McKellar (Tennessee) to preside, whereupon he (Senator Barkley) retired to his office. (Barkley's speech was relative to veto of Tax Bill.)

Senator Bennett Clark (Missouri) made a motion to accept the resignation of Senator Barkley, but suggested that he hoped the Conference would immediately re-elect him by unanimous vote. Senator Barkley's resignation was accepted unanimously.

Senator Tom Connally (Texas) moved that the Conference proceed to the election of a Democratic Leader and nominated Senator Barkley. By a roll call vote, in which all proxies were voted, Senator Barkley was unanimously elected.

Senator Connally made a motion to appoint a committee to advise Senator Barkley of his election and to escort him to the Conference Room. The motion was agreed to and the acting-Chairman appointed the following committee: Senators Connally, George, Thomas of Utah, Walsh of Massachusetts, Tydings and Clark of Missouri. The committee escorted Senator Barkley to the Conference Room and Senator Connally spoke for the committee and urged Senator Barkley to accept the election. Several other Senators spoke urging him to immediately accept, which he did, expressing his appreciation to the Conference.

The acting-Chairman appointed Senators Tydings and Bailey to escort Senator Barkley to the Chair.

Senator Bailey (North Carolina) spoke in praise of Senator Barkley and offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

WHEREAS, Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky has served as Majority Leader in the Senate of the United States nearly seven years; and

WHEREAS, throughout this period he has proved his qualities as a legislative leader, in a time of unprecedented difficulty, to such a degree as to command the unqualified confidence of his fellow Democrats and the full respect of the opposition, at all times being capable and courteous, faithful to his trust, diligent and courageous in discharge of his duties, and equal to all the trying demands of his position;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Caucus of the Democratic Senators that we assure Senator Barkley of our confidence in him as our leader, of our affectionate regard and abiding respect as a fellow Senator, and of our desire that he shall continue to serve us, our Party, and our Country, in the great post of power and duty to which we have repeatedly called him, and which he has honored by service not surpassed in the history of the Senate.

The Conference adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Francis Maloney  
Secretary

United States Senate  
Committee on Banking and Currency

February 24, 1944

FEBRUARY 24, 1944

Honorable Francis Maloney  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Maloney:

Circumstances beyond my control prevent me from being at the Caucus meeting today.

I give you my proxy and hope that you will vote it for me. I desire to express confidence in Senator Barkley and to vote for his retention as majority leader.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] George L. Radcliffe

WESTERN UNION

Feb. 24, 1944

Hon Wm Boyle, Secretary  
240 Senate Office Building

Have Mr. Biffle announce my vote at Caucus for Barkley and in the Senate to override veto. Arriving B&O tomorrow morning.

Harry S. Truman

WESTERN UNION

Feb. 24, 1944

Mrs. Martha Sheldon  
Secy Senator Allen Ellender

Pair me override veto tax bill. Refuse to accept Barkley's resignation.

Allen J. Ellender, USS

[Roll Call, February 24, 1944]

[PRESENT]

[PRESENT]

✓ Andrews  
✓ Bailey  
✓ Bankhead  
a Barkley  
✓ Bilbo  
✓ Bone  
✓ Byrd  
✓ Caraway  
a Chandler  
✓ Chavez  
✓ Clark of Idaho  
✓ Clark of Mo.  
✓ Connally  
a Downey  
✓ Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ George  
✓ Gerry  
✓ Gillette  
a Glass

✓ Green  
✓ Guffey  
✓ Hatch  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Jackson  
✓ Johnson  
✓ Kilgore  
✓ Lucas  
✓ Maloney  
✓ Maybank  
✓ McCarran  
✓ McClellan  
✓ McFarland  
✓ McKellar  
✓ Mead  
✓ Murdock  
✓ Murray  
a O'Daniel  
✓ O'Mahoney  
✓ Overton

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1943-1945)

[PRESENT]		YEAS		NAYS
a	Pepper		Glass	✓
✓	Radcliffe	✓	Green	
✓	Reynolds	✓	Guffey	
✓	Russell	✓	Hatch	
✓	Scrugham	✓	Hayden	
✓	Smith	✓	Hill	
✓	Stewart	✓	Jackson	
a	Thomas of Okla	✓	Johnson	
✓	Thomas, of Utah	✓	Kilgore	
✓	Truman	✓	Lucas	
a	Tunnell	✓	Maloney	
✓	Tydings	✓	Maybank	
✓	Wagner	✓	McCarran	
✓	Wallgren	✓	McClellan	
✓	Walsh of Mass.	✓	McFarland	
✓	Walsh of N.J	✓	McKellar	
✓	Wheeler	✓	Mead	
50		✓	Murdock	
[?] <sup>2</sup>		✓	Murray	
YEAS			O'Daniel	✓
	NAYS		O'Mahoney	✓
✓	Andrews	✓	Overton	
✓	Bailey		Pepper	✓
✓	Bankhead		Radcliffe	✓
✓	Barkley	✓	Reynolds	
✓	Bilbo	✓	Russell	
✓	Bone		Scrugham	✓
✓	Byrd	✓	Smith	
✓	Caraway		Stewart	✓
	Chandler	✓	Thomas of Okla	✓
✓	Chavez		Thomas of Utah	
✓	Clark of Idaho	✓	Truman	✓
✓	Clark of Mo.		Tunnell	✓
✓	Connally		Tydings	
	Downey	✓	Wagner	
✓	Eastland	✓	Wallgren	
	Ellender	✓	Walsh of Mass.	
✓	George	✓	Walsh of N.J.	
✓	Gerry	✓	Wheeler	
✓	Gillette	45	(3 proxies)	13

<sup>2</sup>Tally sheet appears with microfilm of February 24, 1944 minutes, but no such vote is found in the text.



## Seventy-ninth Congress (1945–1947)

[Editor's Note: The election of 1944 saw Franklin D. Roosevelt win an unprecedented fourth term and Democrats retain control of the Senate by a 57-to-38 margin, with 1 Progressive; in the House, Democrats held a 242-to-191 majority, with 2 independents. Missouri Senator Harry S. Truman was elected vice president and was presiding over the Senate on April 12, 1945, when President Roosevelt died in Warm Springs, Georgia. The war in Europe ended in May, and Japan surrendered on August 14, after atomic weapons were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Although the war had ended, peace was not easily attainable, as relations between the western allies and the Soviet Union began to chill into a forty-year cold war.]

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[January 5, 1945]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Friday, January 5, 1945, at two-thirty o'clock P.M., in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky), Chairman, called the meeting to order and inasmuch as Senator Francis Maloney (Connecticut) was unable to be present because of illness, designated Leslie L. Biffle as Acting Secretary.

The new Senators (Messrs. Fulbright (Arkansas), Hoey (North Carolina), Johnston (South Carolina), Magnuson (Washington), McMahan (Connecticut), Moses (North Dakota), Myers (Pennsylvania), Taylor (Idaho)) were introduced to the Conference by Senator Barkley.

A roll call developed a quorum.

Senator Barkley requested Senator Scott W. Lucas (Illinois) to act as temporary Chairman.

Senator Walter F. George (Georgia) addressed the Conference and nominated Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky) for chairman of the Conference. He was unanimously elected.

Senator Barkley made a statement advising the Senators that Senator Carter Glass (Virginia), due to illness, would not accept renomination for President pro tempore of the Senate; whereupon Senator Tom Connally (Texas), in an eloquent address, nominated Senator Kenneth McKellar (Tennessee) for this office. Senator Tom Stewart (Tennessee) in a speech seconded the nomination. Senator McKellar was unanimously elected by a rising vote. He addressed the Conference, expressing his appreciation for the election.



JANUARY 5, 1945

Senator Burton K. Wheeler (Montana) made a motion, which was unanimously adopted, authorizing the Chairman of the Conference to draft a resolution expressing the appreciation of the Conference to Senator Glass for his services rendered as President pro tempore of the Senate. The Chairman drafted the following resolution:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE JANUARY MEETING OF  
THE DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE ON THE RETIREMENT  
OF SENATOR GLASS AS PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF  
THE SENATE.

WHEREAS, the Honorable Carter Glass, Senior Senator from Virginia, has for a number of years served as the honored President Pro Tempore of the United States Senate; and,

WHEREAS, in addition to his long and distinguished service to his country as a member of the House of Representatives, as Secretary of the Treasury, and as United States Senator, he has served with distinction in the position of President Pro Tempore of the Senate; and,

WHEREAS, Senator Glass expressed his desire not to be considered for re-election as President Pro Tempore during the Seventy-Ninth Congress.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Democratic Conference of the members of the Senate that we express to Senator Glass our profound appreciation of the loyal and distinguished service he has rendered to his country in all the capacities in which he has served, and that we especially express our deep appreciation of the efficiency and courtesy with which he performed the duties of the high office of President Pro Tempore of the Senate during the years of his service in that capacity, and express our regret at his voluntary retirement from this position.

RESOLVED FURTHER, that the Democratic Conference express to Senator Glass its sincere wish for his speedy and complete recovery to the vigor of health and strength.

This resolution is unanimously adopted by the Conference.

[signed] Alben W. Barkley  
Chairman  
Conference of the Majority

A letter from Senator Charles O. Andrews (Florida) was read, stating that he would like to vote for Senator McKellar. Senator Connally advised that he was authorized to vote Senator W. Lee O'Daniel (Texas) for Senator McKellar.

The Chairman of the Conference spoke glowingly of Senator Harry S. Truman (Missouri), Vice President-elect, and the Senator replied thereto.

Senator Tom Connally (Texas) addressed the Conference on foreign affairs.

Senator Carl Hatch (New Mexico) addressed the Conference in behalf of Senator Lister Hill (Alabama) and nominated him for Whip. Senator John H. Bankhead (Alabama) seconded the nomination, and upon a motion by Senator Carl Hayden (Arizona), Senator Hill was unanimously elected. Senator Hill addressed the Conference briefly.

Senator Barkley announced that other officials of the Senate are hold-over positions unless otherwise designated, whereupon Senator Dennis Chavez (New Mexico) moved that they be elected en bloc, which was unanimously agreed to. The Chairman then praised the officers very generously.

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (Wyoming) submitted the following resolution, which was agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the Steering Committee be, and same is hereby authorized, to assign Democratic Senators to standing committees, and to report said assignments to the Senate.

Senator Elmer Thomas (Oklahoma) offered the following resolution, which was agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Conference be extended to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee for their efforts and activities in behalf of the Democratic Senatorial candidates in the last campaign.

Senator Thomas praised the work of the Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney. Senator Barkley and others also spoke of the good work done by the Campaign Committee. Senator O'Mahoney responded to the various speeches.

Senator Tom Stewart (Tennessee) and Senator Barkley addressed the Conference, urging Senators to remain in the Senate Chamber during sessions of the Senate.

The Conference adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Leslie L. Biffle  
Acting for Senator Maloney

JANUARY 5, 1945

United States Senate  
Committee on Naval Affairs

January 5, 1945

Senator Alben W. Barkley  
Majority Leader of the Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Barkley:

It is with the deepest regret that I find it impossible to be present at the meeting today.

It is particularly distressing because I wanted to be there and vote for the nomination of my beloved friend and colleague, Senator McKellar, to be President pro tempore of the Senate. This is an honor which he richly deserves and in this high office he will reflect not only credit to himself but honor on the Senate and the Country.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Charles O. Andrews

Quorum Call [January 5, 1945]

[PRESENT]

✓ Andrews  
✓ Bailey  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Barkley  
✓ Bilbo  
✓ Byrd  
Chandler  
✓ Chavez  
✓ Connally  
Downey  
Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ Fulbright  
✓ George  
✓ Gerry  
Glass  
✓ Green  
Guffey  
✓ Hatch  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey  
✓ Johnson  
✓ Johnston  
✓ Kilgore  
✓ Lucas  
✓ Magnuson  
Maloney

[PRESENT]

✓ Maybank  
✓ McCarran  
McClellan  
✓ McFarland  
✓ McKellar  
✓ McMahan  
Mead  
✓ Moses  
✓ Murdock  
✓ Murray  
✓ Myers  
O'Daniel  
✓ O'Mahoney  
Overton  
✓ Pepper  
✓ Radcliffe  
✓ Russell  
Scrugham  
✓ Stewart  
✓ Taylor  
✓ Thomas of Okla  
✓ Thomas of Utah  
✓ Truman  
Tunnell  
Tydings  
✓ Wagner  
Wallgren  
Walsh  
✓ Wheeler

[February 1, 1945]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Thursday, February 1, 1945, at ten o'clock A.M., in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky), Chairman, called the meeting to order and directed the acting secretary, Leslie L. Biffle, to call the roll. The roll call developed a quorum.

Senator Barkley addressed the Conference in regard to the procedure in the Senate on the nomination of Henry A. Wallace to be Secretary of Commerce.<sup>1</sup> Many Senators entered into a general discussion on this subject.

The nomination of someone to fill the vacancy in the Office of the Secretary of the Senate, caused by the death of Colonel Edwin A. Halsey, was briefly discussed, and further consideration of the matter was postponed.

The Conference adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Leslie L. Biffle  
Acting Secretary

United States Senate  
Committee on Finance

January 31, 1945

Honorable Alben W. Barkley  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Alben:

It is possible that I will not be able to be at the meeting tomorrow.

I hope that Leslie Biffle will be offered the position of Secretary of the Senate. I know of no man in the United States who is as well fitted for the position as he is.

I sincerely trust that efforts will be made to avoid a floor fight on the nomination of Mr. Wallace. It seems to me that it is particularly desirable that such a fight be avoided in this matter.

With the best of wishes, believe me

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] George L. Radcliffe

United States Senate  
Committee on Public Lands and Surveys

February 1, 1945

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<sup>1</sup>President Roosevelt's nomination of former Vice President Henry A. Wallace as secretary of commerce met with considerable opposition in the Senate. On January 31, 1945 the Commerce Committee adversely reported the nomination to the Senate. After Majority Leader Barkley mollified Wallace's critics by agreeing to remove federal lending agencies from under the Commerce Department's jurisdiction, the Senate confirmed Wallace by a vote of 56 to 32 on March 1.

FEBRUARY 1, 1945

Hon. Alben W. Barkley  
Majority Leader  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Barkley: I have just received a telegram from Senator Hatch in which he asks me to give you his proxy to use as you deem best in the Democratic Caucus being held this morning.

Very truly yours,  
[signed] W.H. McMains  
Secretary to Senator Carl A. Hatch

[Roll Call, February 1, 1945]

[PRESENT]

✓	Andrews	
✓	Bailey	
✓	Bankhead	
✓	Barkley	
✓	Bilbo	
✓	Briggs	
✓	Byrd	
	Chandler	
✓	Chavez	
✓	Connally	
✓	Downey	
	Eastland	
✓	Ellender	
✓	Fulbright	
✓	George	
✓	Gerry	
	Glass	
✓	Green	
✓	Guffey	
	Hatch	Proxy
✓	Hayden	
✓	Hill	
✓	Hoey	
✓	Johnson	
✓	Johnston	
✓	Kilgore	
✓	Lucas	

[PRESENT]

✓	Magnuson	
✓	Maybank	
✓	McCarran	
✓	McClellan	
✓	McFarland	
✓	McKellar	
✓	McMahon	
✓	Mead	
✓	Mitchell	
	Moses	
✓	Murdock	
✓	Murray	
✓	O'Daniel	
✓	O'Mahoney	
✓	Overton	
✓	Pepper	
	Radcliffe	Proxy
✓	Russell	
	Scrugham	
✓	Stewart	
✓	Taylor	
✓	Thomas of Okla	
✓	Thomas of Utah	
✓	Tunnell	
✓	Tydings	
	Wagner	
✓	Walsh	
	Wheeler	

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[April 19, 1945]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Thursday, April 19, 1945, at ten-thirty o'clock A.M., in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky), who directed that the acting secretary, Leslie L. Biffle, call the roll. A quorum was developed.

The Chairman advised the Conference that he had called the meeting for the purpose of tendering to the family of the late President Roosevelt its sympathy, and also to extend to President Truman its confidence and cooperation. Speeches were made by various Senators in this connection and on the attendance of Senators in the Senate.

The Chairman presented the following resolution, and upon a motion by Senator Kenneth McKellar (Tennessee), it was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, That the Conference of the Majority of the United States Senate shares with the people of the nation and the world the profound sorrow caused by the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had for twelve years been the acknowledged leader of this nation, and who through that leadership had become a symbol of democracy and freedom throughout the world;

RESOLVED FURTHER, That this Conference tenders to the family of the late President its deep and abiding sympathy in this hour of their great bereavement;

RESOLVED FURTHER, That this Conference expresses its confidence in the new President, Harry S. Truman, who has assumed the great responsibilities of the office to which he has been called, and pledges to him its genuine and sympathetic cooperation in bringing the present war to a prompt and victorious conclusion, in establishing a just, honorable and permanent peace, and in so readjusting the economic processes incident to the postwar period as to bring to our nation and to the world the greatest possible happiness and prosperity;

RESOLVED FURTHER, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the family of the late President Roosevelt and to President Harry S. Truman.

Senator Scott W. Lucas (Illinois) made a motion that the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to appoint a committee to call upon the President and present the resolution and to advise him of the discussion had in the Conference. This motion was unanimously agreed to.

The Conference adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Leslie L. Biffle  
Acting Secretary

Quorum Call [April 19, 1945]

[PRESENT]

Andrews

[PRESENT]

✓ Bailey  
✓ Bankhead

APRIL 19, 1945

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Barkley
- ✓ Bilbo
- ✓ Briggs
- ✓ Byrd
- ✓ Chandler
- ✓ Chavez
- ✓ Connally
- ✓ Downey
- ✓ Eastland
- ✓ Ellender
- ✓ Fulbright
- ✓ George
- ✓ Gerry
- ✓ Glass
- ✓ Green
- ✓ Guffey
- ✓ Hatch
- ✓ Hayden
- ✓ Hill
- ✓ Hoey
- ✓ Johnson
- ✓ Johnston
- ✓ Kilgore
- ✓ Lucas
- ✓ Magnuson
- ✓ Maybank

[PRESENT]

- ✓ McCarran
- ✓ McClellan
- ✓ McFarland
- ✓ McKellar
- ✓ McMahan
- ✓ Mead
- ✓ Mitchell
- ✓ Murdock
- ✓ Murray
- ✓ Myers
- ✓ O'Daniel
- ✓ O'Mahoney
- ✓ Overton
- ✓ Pepper
- ✓ Radcliffe
- ✓ Russell
- ✓ Scrugham
- ✓ Stewart
- ✓ Taylor
- ✓ Thomas of Okla
- ✓ Thomas of Utah
- ✓ Tunnell
- ✓ Tydings
- ✓ Wagner
- ✓ Walsh
- ✓ Wheeler

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[July 27, 1945]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Friday, July 27, 1945, at ten o'clock A.M., in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky) called the Conference to order and directed a roll call to determine whether a quorum was present. A quorum was present.

Senator Carl Hayden (Arizona) nominated Senator Brien McMahon (Connecticut) to be Secretary of the Conference.<sup>2</sup> He was unanimously elected.

Senator Barkley (Kentucky) advised the Conference that he had informally appointed a Committee of five, Senators Walter F. George (Georgia), Lister Hill (Alabama), Carl Hayden (Arizona), Scott W. Lucas (Illinois), and Brien McMahon (Connecticut) to consider the qualifications of the various candidates for the position of Secretary for the Majority, but the Committee was not ready to make a report at this time.

Senator Barkley was authorized to make committee assignments to Senator E.P. Carville, the new Senator from Nevada.

<sup>2</sup>The previous secretary, Francis Maloney of Connecticut, died on January 16, 1945.

The Conference adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Leslie L. Biffle  
Acting Secretary

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[October 11, 1945]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Thursday, October 11, 1945, at ten-thirty o'clock A.M., in the Marble Room in the Capitol.

Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky), Chairman, called the meeting to order and stated the purpose of the Conference, namely, to select a Secretary for the Majority.

Senator Walter F. George (Georgia), Chairman of a special committee of five (Senators George, Carl Hayden (Arizona), Lister Hill (Alabama), Scott Lucas (Illinois), and Brien McMahon (Connecticut)) appointed by Senator Barkley to consider the various candidates for the secretaryship, reported that the committee unanimously recommended the nomination of Felton M. Johnston (Mississippi), and moved the election of Johnston.

Senator Kenneth D. McKellar (Tennessee) addressed the Conference on behalf of Walker Totty (Tennessee) and moved his election.

Senator Charles O. Andrews (Florida) addressed the Conference and nominated Hal Phillips (Florida).

Senators Dennis Chavez (New Mexico) and Joseph C. O'Mahoney (Wyoming) addressed the Conference in behalf of W.H. McMains (New Mexico) and moved his election.

Senator Pat McCarran (Nevada) spoke in behalf of Mr. Johnston.

Senator James Mead (New York) addressed the Conference urging that someone from the West or North be selected for the position and wished to be recorded in opposition to the election of Johnston.

Senator Glen H. Taylor (Idaho) urged the election of someone from some other section than the South.

Senator Barkley addressed the Conference, explaining his position with reference to the various candidates. A vote was had by raising hands and the following result was announced: Johnston—18; Totty—9; McMains—4; Phillips—2.

Senator Millard E. Tydings (Maryland) and Senator Dennis Chavez (New Mexico) then moved that Johnston be elected by acclamation. Motion adopted.

Senator Barkley again addressed the Conference with reference to the legislative program.

Senator Tydings addressed the Conference with reference to the bill increasing salaries for Senators and Congressmen.



OCTOBER 11, 1945

Senator Barkley introduced the new Senator from Ohio, Mr. James W. Huffman.

The Conference adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

[signed] Brien McMahon  
Secretary

Roll Call [October 11, 1945]

[PRESENT]

✓ Andrews  
✓ Bailey  
✓ Bankhead  
✓ Barkley  
✓ Bilbo  
✓ Briggs  
✓ Byrd  
✓ Carville  
✓ Chandler  
✓ Chavez  
✓ Connally  
✓ Downey  
✓ Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ Fulbright  
✓ George  
✓ Gerry  
✓ Glass  
✓ Green  
✓ Guffey  
✓ Hatch  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey  
✓ Johnson  
✓ Johnston  
✓ Kilgore

[PRESENT]

✓ Lucas  
✓ Magnuson  
✓ Maybank  
✓ McCarran  
✓ McClellan  
✓ McFarland  
✓ McKellar  
✓ McMahan  
✓ Mead  
✓ Mitchell  
✓ Murdock  
✓ Murray  
✓ Myers  
✓ O'Daniel  
✓ O'Mahoney  
✓ Overton  
✓ Pepper  
✓ Radcliffe  
✓ Russell  
✓ Stewart  
✓ Taylor  
✓ Thomas of Okla  
✓ Thomas of Utah  
✓ Tunnell  
✓ Tydings  
✓ Wagner  
✓ Walsh  
✓ Wheeler

SEVENTY-NINTH CONGRESS (1945-1947)

United States Senate  
MEMORANDUM

October 15, 1945

On this date, when the undersigned became Secretary for the Majority, the membership of the Steering Committee is as follows:

Barkley, Ky., Chairman

Glass, Va.

McKellar, Tenn.

George, Ga.

Wheeler, Mont.

Tydings, Md.

Guffey, Pa.

Bankhead, Ala.

Green, R.I.

Wagner, N.Y.

Hayden, Ariz.

Lucas, Ill.

O'Mahoney, Wyo.

Thomas, Utah

Connally, Texas

Ex Officio: Hill, Ala., Whip

McMahon, Conn., Secretary of  
the Conference

[signed] Felton M. Johnston  
Secretary for the Majority



## **Eightieth Congress (1947–1949)**

[Editor's Note: In the 1946 elections Senate Democrats lost 12 seats and fell into the minority for the first time in fourteen years. Republicans enjoyed a 51-to-45 majority in the Senate and a 246-to-188 majority in the House. Senate Democrats regrouped to support the president's programs, to oppose Republican initiatives, and to forge a bipartisan foreign policy. As the Eightieth Congress began, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 reduced the number of Senate and House committees, created new joint committees, established the first professional staffs for committees, and authorized each member to appoint an administrative assistant. Acting independently of the House, the Senate also provided for a paid staff for the party policy committees.]

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[January 2, 1947]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Thursday, January 2, 1947, at 10:30 o'clock, A.M., in Senator Barkley's room in the Capitol.

Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, Chairman, called the Conference to order and requested the Secretary, Senator McMahon of Connecticut, to call the roll to determine the presence of a quorum. Forty-two Senators having answered their names, Senator Barkley announced that a quorum was present. Senator Barkley then introduced the following new Senators to the Conference: Holland of Florida, McGrath of Rhode Island, O'Connor of Maryland, Robertson of Virginia, Sparkman of Alabama, and Umstead of North Carolina. Senator Barkley stated that the first order of business was the election of a Chairman of the Conference. Senator Barkley requested that Senator George of Georgia act as temporary Chairman. Senator Connally of Texas addressed the Conference and nominated Senator Barkley for Chairman of the Conference. The nomination was seconded by Senator Tydings of Maryland and many other members, and Senator Barkley was unanimously elected by standing vote. Senator Barkley then addressed the Conference, expressed his appreciation, and discussed briefly various problems facing members of the Conference as minority members of the Senate.

Senator Barkley announced that the next order of business was the selection of a Minority Whip, stating that Senator Hill of Alabama had tendered his resignation as Whip, and paying tribute to Senator Hill's efforts and accomplishments in that position. Senator Hill addressed the Conference, expressed his appreciation, and stated that his decision to resign was final. Senator Russell of Georgia nominated Senator Lucas of Illinois for Minority Whip. The nomination

JANUARY 2, 1947

was seconded by many Senators, and Senator Lucas was elected unanimously by standing vote. Senator Lucas addressed the Conference, and expressed appreciation for his election.

Senator Barkley announced that the next order of business was the election of a Secretary of the Conference. Senator Tydings of Maryland nominated Senator McMahon of Connecticut. The nomination was seconded by Senator Hill, and Senator McMahon was unanimously elected by voice vote.

Senator Barkley then stated that the Conference should discuss and determine the procedure to be followed in connection with committee assignments and questions relating to the Steering Committee and the Minority Policy Committee, created by Public Law No. 663, 79th Congress (First Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1947). Senator Barkley stressed the importance of the newly-created Policy Committee, stating that while of course it was necessary to work as closely as possible in cooperation with the majority, it would necessarily follow that the Policy Committee as a group would work in close association with the President. Senator Barkley suggested that the Conference first discuss the question of the minority committee assignments. Senator McKellar of Tennessee stated that in his opinion the Minority Policy Committee should be elected by the Conference. Senator Barkley stated that the question of how membership on the Policy Committee should be filled should be taken up later in the meeting.

Senator Hayden of Arizona submitted the following resolution for himself and Senator Overton of Louisiana:

RESOLVED, That in assigning Democratic Senators to the fifteen standing Committees created by the Act of August 2, 1946, 'to provide for increased efficiency in the legislative branch of the Government,' each such Committee shall be considered to be an entirely new Committee and Senators shall be assigned to membership thereon by the Steering Committee in accordance with their seniority of service in the Senate with due regard to the preferences expressed by each Senator and his former Committee service.

Senator Hayden then addressed the Conference, explaining the reasons which prompted him and Senator Overton in drafting the language as it appeared in the resolution. Senator Overton of Louisiana addressed the Conference in behalf of the resolution offered by Senator Hayden. The following Senators addressed the Conference concerning the resolution, and certain Senators asked questions of Senator Hayden and Senator Overton regarding certain provisions of the resolution, as offered: Senators McCarran of Nevada, Ellender of Louisiana and Connally of Texas; and Senators Downey of California, and Byrd of Virginia. Senator Hatch of New Mexico, Senator Tydings of Maryland, Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Senator

Lucas of Illinois, and Senator Thomas of Oklahoma addressed the Conference in support of the resolution offered by Senator Hayden. Senator McKellar of Tennessee asked if any member of the Conference, dissatisfied with his assignments, could bring the matter before the Conference, and Senator Barkley stated that undoubtedly in such a case a member could appeal to the Conference.

Senator McFarland addressed the Conference and stated that he was opposed to the procedure of assigning members in accordance with the admission dates into the Union of the States from which the members came, adding that at some time in the future he intended offering a resolution in opposition to this procedure. The resolution offered by Senator Hayden was adopted unanimously by voice vote.

The Conference then discussed the Minority Policy Committee heretofore referred to, and Senator Barkley repeated his previous statements regarding the committee. Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming recalled the suggestion previously made by Senator McKellar that membership on the Minority Policy Committee be filled by election by the Conference. Senator O'Mahoney addressed the Conference and submitted the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to appoint the membership of the Minority Policy Committee, provided for by Public law No. 663, 79th Congress, and that he is hereby named Chairman of such Committee.

The resolution offered by Senator O'Mahoney was adopted by voice vote (Senator McKellar of Tennessee voting in the negative). Senator Barkley addressed the Conference, and stated that he appreciated the action taken by the Conference with respect to the Minority Policy Committee, and announced that he would appoint the membership at an early date, stating that he would give the membership the most careful consideration, and would give proper consideration to appropriate geographical distribution of the membership.

In response to an inquiry from Senator McClellan of Arkansas, Senator Barkley stated that several years ago when the Democratic membership in the Senate was very large, the Steering Committee consisted of fifteen members, and two additional ex-officio members; the Whip and the Secretary of the Conference, that the present membership consisted of thirteen, including the Whip and Secretary; and that as a result of the action taken by the Conference today, the membership would number twelve, including the Whip and Secretary. In response to an inquiry from Senator Thomas of Oklahoma, Senator Barkley stated that the Whip and Secretary would not serve as members of the newly-created Policy Committee.

Senator Barkley addressed the Conference and stated that with respect to committee ratios and assignments to be allowed the minority, he had conferred with Senator [Wallace] White of Maine, the

JANUARY 2, 1947

Majority Leader, and Senator [Robert] Taft of Ohio, and had been advised that the minority would be permitted six members on eleven of the standing committees, five members on the following committees: Labor and Public Welfare, Rules and Administration, and Public Lands; and nine members on the Appropriations Committee. Senator Barkley stated that he had protested the majority decision regarding committee ratios. Senator Russell and several other Senators suggested that when the resolution regarding committee membership was offered on the Senate floor, there should be some discussion and protest made at that time. Senator Barkley replied that he agreed.

Senator McFarland offered the following resolution, which was seconded by Senator O'Mahoney, and adopted unanimously by voice vote:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Conference be extended to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee for their efforts and activities in behalf of the Democratic Senatorial candidates in the last campaign. The members of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee are as follows: Senator Lucas, Chairman, Senator George, Senator Thomas of Oklahoma, Senator Hoey, Senator Taylor, and Mr. Biffle, Secretary-Treasurer.

Senator Overton of Louisiana offered the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously by voice vote:

RESOLVED, That the Steering Committee be, and the same is hereby authorized, to assign Democratic Senators to standing committees, and to report said assignments to the Senate.

(This resolution should be considered in connection with the resolution offered by Senator Hayden, which had been previously discussed and adopted.)

Senator Barkley then announced that the next order of business would be nomination for elective offices of the Senate.

Senator George of Georgia nominated Senator McKellar of Tennessee for re-election as President Pro Tempore. The nomination was seconded by Senator Tydings of Maryland, and approved unanimously by voice vote. Senator McKellar addressed the Conference and expressed his appreciation for his nomination, stating that when the matter came up on the Senate floor, he intended to ask that Senator [Arthur] Vandenberg of Michigan, who had been previously nominated for the position by the Republican Conference, be elected unanimously by the Senate.

Senator Connally of Texas nominated Leslie L. Biffle of Arkansas for re-election as Secretary of the Senate. The nomination was approved unanimously by voice vote. Wall Doxey of Mississippi was unanimously approved by voice vote as the nominee for the position of Sergeant-at-Arms. Felton M. Johnston of Mississippi was nomi-

nated by Senator Hayden of Arizona and Senator McKellar of Tennessee for the position of Secretary for the Minority, and was elected unanimously by voice vote.

The Secretary of the Conference, Senator McMahon of Connecticut, called the attention of the Conference to the fact that Senator Andrews of Florida, Senator Bailey of North Carolina, Senator Bankhead of Alabama, and Senator Glass of Virginia had passed away, and moved that appropriate resolutions be prepared and forwarded to the families of the deceased members. The motion was agreed to unanimously. (See page 457, temporary Congressional Record, January 20, 1947.)

Senator Russell of Georgia addressed the Conference and quoted from Section 202 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as follows:

Each standing Committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives (other than the Appropriations Committees) is authorized to appoint by a majority vote of the committee not more than four professional staff members in addition to the clerical staffs on a permanent basis without regard to political affiliations and solely on the basis of fitness to perform the duties of the office; and said staff members shall be assigned to the chairman and ranking minority member of such committee as the committee may deem advisable. Each such committee is further authorized to terminate the services by a majority vote of the committee of any such professional staff member as it may see fit. Professional staff members shall not engage in any work other than committee business and no other duties may be assigned to them.

\* \* \* \* \*

(c) The clerical staff of each standing committee, which shall be appointed by a majority vote of the committee, shall consist of not more than six clerks, to be attached to the office of the chairman, to the ranking minority member, and to the professional staff, as the committee may deem advisable; and the position of committee janitor is hereby abolished. The clerical staff shall handle committee correspondence and stenographic work, both for the committee staff and for the chairman and ranking minority member on matters related to committee work.

Senator Russell urged all members of the Conference to familiarize themselves with the provisions of the Act, in order that the rights of the minority be protected in connection with the staffs to be employed by the standing committees.

Senator Hayden of Arizona addressed the Conference with reference to the question of committee staffs for certain committees of the Senate, and urged that the individual members, in calling attention to



JANUARY 2, 1947

the rights of the minority for proper representation, emphasize the permanency of the places called for on the committee staffs. Senator George of Georgia addressed the Conference and gave his views as to minority representation on committee staffs, using the Committee on Finance as an illustration. Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming addressed the Conference concerning the minority committee assignments provided for under the announcement made by the Republican Conference, and questioned the legal right of the majority to decide the ratios in the manner which had been announced.

Senator McFarland of Arizona addressed the Conference with reference to the numerous special committees previously created by the Senate and now in existence, and urged that the members of the Conference oppose the continuance of these special committees. He stated that he did not ask that the Conference go on record at this particular meeting, but felt it advisable that the matter be called to the attention of the members. Senator McFarland suggested further that frequent minority conferences be held, in order that the members might fully discuss legislative matters and other matters of interest to the members as a whole.

Senator Ellender of Louisiana addressed the Conference and gave a resume of his Committee's activities (Senatorial Campaign Investigating Committee), discussing particularly the probable contests of the seating of Senators Bilbo of Mississippi,<sup>1</sup> and O'Connor of Maryland.<sup>2</sup> Senator Ellender outlined the work of the Committee in the Mississippi election particularly, and stated that he felt obliged to bring the whole matter of the intended contesting of Senator Bilbo's seat to the attention of the Conference in order that it might be discussed and a definite procedure determined concerning it. Senator Barkley addressed the Conference, briefly outlining the results of a conference which he had with Senators White of Maine

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<sup>1</sup>In 1946, the Civil Rights Congress protested the primary election campaign of Mississippi Senator Theodore Bilbo as designed to deprive "qualified Negro electors" of their right to register to vote. The Senate Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate sent three investigators to Mississippi, where they heard testimony from more than four hundred witnesses. The committee, chaired by Senator Allen Ellender, defended local restrictions and recommended dismissal of the charges against Bilbo. However, Republican Committee member Bourke Hickenlooper of Iowa dissented from these findings and called for additional hearings. When the Republicans won the majority in the Senate of the Eightieth Congress, they raised further charges against Bilbo's campaign rhetoric and his acceptance of illegal gifts from war contractors. On January 3, 1947, Idaho Senator Glen Taylor led the effort to prevent Bilbo from being seated in the new Congress, until the Committee on Rules and Administration had further investigated the accusations against him. Senator Bilbo's supporters launched a filibuster that prevented the Senate from organizing. On January 4, Democratic Leader Alben Barkley announced that Bilbo had returned to Mississippi for surgery. Bilbo died on August 21, 1947, without having taken his seat.

<sup>2</sup>Maryland Governor Herbert O'Connor was elected to the Senate in 1946 by the narrow margin of 2,232 votes. His Republican challenger, John Markey, demanded a recount of the vote in several counties, which had not been completed by the opening of the Eightieth Congress. O'Connor took the oath of office on January 4, 1947, and the Senate Rules and Administration Committee investigated Markey's petition for a full recount. On May 13, 1948, the committee issued a report finding insufficient evidence of fraud in Maryland, and on May 20 the Senate agreed that O'Connor should retain his seat.

and Taft of Ohio. Senators Overton of Louisiana, Maybank of South Carolina, and Stewart of Tennessee addressed the Conference regarding the questions raised about the election and seating of Senator Bilbo. Senator Bilbo addressed the Conference in his own behalf, urging that members of the Conference read all the testimony and his replies to the accusations in the report and hearings of the Committee on the Investigation of the National Defense Program. (Hearings before the Special Committee, in two parts, dated December 12 to 19, 1946, inclusive, and Report No. 110, Part 8, printed January 2, 1947.) He insisted that he be allowed to take the oath of office, and that he be given "his day in court" on the floor of the Senate. Senator Ellender again addressed the Conference, stressing the Majority Report of the Senatorial Campaign Investigating Committee, in which he stated that nothing had been found which warranted the opposition to Senator Bilbo. Senator Ellender then moved that the Conference go on record as opposing any effort by the Republican membership to ask that Senator Bilbo stand aside when his name was called to receive the oath of office. Senators Taylor of Idaho, Green of Rhode Island, and Wagner of New York addressed the Conference in opposition to the motion offered by Senator Ellender. Senator Connally of Texas addressed the Conference briefly, stating that he was opposed to the theory of requesting a Senator to stand aside in connection with the administering of his oath of office. Senator Hatch of New Mexico stated that if the motion were put, he would ask that he be permitted to withdraw, as he did not feel that he could pass upon such a motion as an individual member of the Conference. Senator Barkley addressed the Conference briefly, stating that a motion of the type offered by Senator Ellender could not result in binding members of the Conference, and that he personally would not be bound by any such motion. He stated that he did not care to commit himself in advance on a matter which he felt should be determined without reference to political affiliation or individual personalities; that he doubted the wisdom of the motion offered by the Senator from Louisiana, because it involved the integrity of the Senate, and that he did not feel Senators should be bound where their conscientious convictions and many constitutional questions were involved. Senator George of Georgia addressed the Conference, stating that he felt Senator Bilbo should be permitted to take the oath of office, and that afterwards the matter of his right to the seat should be determined by the Senate itself. Senator George reviewed certain of the Senate election cases over a long number of years. Senator Stewart of Tennessee discussed the case of Senator [William] Langer of North Dakota, urging that Senator Bilbo be given the same consideration as that given Senator Langer. He added that he doubted the wisdom of the motion offered by the Senator from Louisiana. Senator Lucas of Illinois discussed the case of Senator Langer of North Dakota, and urged that action not be taken on the motion offered by Senator Ellender. Senator

JANUARY 2, 1947

Bilbo of Mississippi requested that the motion offered by Senator Ellender be withdrawn, stating that he desired Senators to be free to vote as they pleased after he had "his day in court," but he added that he desired that he be permitted to take the oath of office on the convening of the Congress. Senator Tydings of Maryland addressed the Conference, stating that he thought it wise that the Chairman of the Conference confer further with majority leaders as to the course to be followed in connection with Senator Bilbo's case, and that the Conference adjourn, subject to call. Senator Ellender then withdrew his motion, and the Conference adjourned, at 1:50 P.M., subject to call.

[signed] Brien McMahon  
Secretary

United States Senate  
MEMORANDUM

January 15, 1947

Pursuant to the resolution adopted at the Conference on January 2, 1947, the Chairman of the Conference, Senator Barkley of Kentucky, named the following members of the Minority Policy Committee:

Barkley, Ky, Chairman  
Tydings, Md.  
Russell, Ga.  
Hatch, N. Mex.  
O'Mahoney, Wyo.  
Green, R.I.  
Hill, Ala.

The following additional members were invited to meet with the Committee whenever necessary and desirable, but without power to vote:

Lucas, Ill., Whip  
McMahon, Conn., Secretary of the Conference

[signed] Felton M. Johnston  
Secretary for the Minority

United States Senate  
MEMORANDUM

January 3, 1947

The membership of the Steering Committee as of this date consists of the following:

Barkley, Ky., Chairman  
McKellar, Tenn.  
George, Ga.  
Tydings, Md.  
Green, R.I.  
Wagner, N.Y.  
Hayden, Ariz.  
O'Mahoney, Wyo.  
Thomas, Utah

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947-1949)

Connally, Texas

Ex Officio: Lucas, Ill., Whip  
McMahon, Conn., Secretary of  
the Conference

The vacancies which occurred were due to the deaths of Senators Glass (Va.) and Bankhead (Ala.) and the retirements of Senators Wheeler (Mont.) and Guffey (Pa.). A further vacancy occurred in the regular membership when Senator Lucas (Ill.) was designated as Whip.

[signed] Felton M. Johnston  
Secretary for the Minority

Roll Call, Jan. 2, 1947

[PRESENT]

✓ Barkley  
✓ Bilbo  
✓ Byrd  
a Chavez  
✓ Connally  
✓ Downey  
✓ Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ Fulbright  
✓ George  
✓ Green  
✓ Hatch  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey  
✓ Holland  
✓ Johnson  
✓ Johnston  
✓ Kilgore  
✓ Lucas  
a Magnuson  
✓ Maybank

[PRESENT]

✓ McCarran  
✓ McClellan  
✓ McFarland  
✓ McGrath  
✓ McKellar  
✓ McMahon  
✓ Murray  
✓ Myers  
✓ O'Connor  
✓ O'Daniel  
✓ O'Mahoney  
✓ Overton  
a Pepper  
✓ Robertson  
✓ Russell  
✓ Sparkman  
✓ Stewart  
✓ Taylor  
✓ Thomas of Okla  
✓ Thomas of Utah  
✓ Tydings  
✓ Umstead  
✓ Wagner

WESTERN UNION

January 1, 1947

Sen. K.D. McKellar  
Wash, D.C.

I may not reach there in time for Ca[ucus]. I have indicated to Sen. Barkley my desire to remain on Agriculture and Interstate Commerce. Please help me out regards.

Tom Stewart

JANUARY 2, 1947

United States Senate  
MEMORANDUM

1. Interstate and Foreign Commerce
2. Foreign Relations
3. Armed Services

WESTERN UNION

Bill Golden  
444 Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Weather canceled flight tonight Leaving 6 in morning In tomorrow evening Have Lucas exercise proxy in Caucus Be sure committee preferences be used Will wire en route

Warren G. Magnuson

United States Senate

January 2, 1947

Honorable Alben W. Barkley, Chairman  
Minority Conference Committee  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Barkley:

In the Democratic Caucus today, please vote me as favoring consideration of committee assignments based on seniority on committees rather than seniority in the Senate.

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Claude Pepper

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[March 6, 1947]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Thursday, March 6, 1947, at 10:00 o'clock, A.M., in Senator Barkley's room in the Capitol.

Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, Chairman, called the Conference to order and requested the Secretary, Senator McMahon of Connecticut, to call the roll to determine the presence of a quorum. Thirty-seven Senators having answered their names, Senator Barkley announced that a quorum was present.

Senator Barkley announced that he had called the Conference for the purpose of having the members discuss pending legislation and any other matters which the members desired to bring up for discussion. He stated that the first order of business would be a general discussion of the Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947 (S. 70 and H.R. 2157). Senator Barkley requested that Senator McGrath of Rhode Island, a member of the sub-committee of the Committee on the Judiciary, which drafted the proposed legislation, make a statement to the Conference, and give the members the benefit of his views regarding

the proposed legislation. Senator McGrath made a detailed explanation of the provisions of both the Senate and House bills, outlining his objections to certain features thereof, and answered questions which were asked by numerous Senators. Following Senator McGrath's statement, Senator Barkley and Senator McCarran of Nevada both made statements concerning the bill. Senator Barkley then stated that he thought it advisable that the Minority members who were opposed to the bill as reported by the full Judiciary Committee, make an effort to draft a substitute bill to accomplish what the Minority would like to see done; and expressed the hope that a Minority report would be written in order that the Senate could have the full benefit of the views of the Minority members. Senator Barkley stated further that no attempt would be made to bind members of the Conference to support the Minority substitute, but that he felt it advisable that this procedure be followed because of the many objections raised to provisions of the Portal-to-Portal legislation.

Senator Barkley then stated that the next order of business would be a discussion of the action of the Majority in refusing to consider and to report the many Postmaster nominations which had been submitted by the President since the convening of this Congress, and all of which are pending in the Committee on Civil Service. Senator Barkley requested that Senator Chavez of New Mexico, the ranking Minority member of the Committee, make a statement to the Conference regarding these nominations. Senator Chavez made a detailed explanation to the Conference, stating that he had made numerous efforts to have the nominations considered and reported by the Committee, but that he had not been able to get action thereon. He called the attention of the Conference to S. Res. 81, authorizing the Committee on Civil Service to investigate the appointment of the first, second, or third class Postmasters, adding that at a recent meeting the Committee had discussed the resolution, and with some changes it had been favorably reported to the Senate. Senator Chavez added that under the rules, this resolution had been referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration. Senator O'Mahoney then made a statement to the Conference regarding the Postmaster nominations, and gave the following information, which had been furnished to him by the Department. The Senator stated that as of today there are 544 nominees pending before the Committee on Civil Service; that of this number 200 are veterans with preference; that 118 are nominations to Postmasterships where offices have been advanced from fourth to third class and are re-appointments (of the 118 mentioned, 12 are veterans); that 35 nominees are Civil Service classified employees who have been promoted from positions within the Service to the position of Postmasters (and of these 35, 12 are veterans). Senator O'Mahoney added that 329 of the 544 nominees are made up of veterans, re-appointments, and promotions. He added that 218 of the nominees do not fall into any

MARCH 6, 1947

of the groups listed heretofore. The Senator added further that of the entire group named, 294 nominees are first on the eligible list; 66 are second on the eligible list; and 31 third on the eligible list. Senator McFarland of Arizona made a statement in which he suggested that motions be made on the floor of the Senate to discharge the Committee from the consideration of the nominations. Senator McFarland did not press his point, but suggested that it was a matter to which members of the Conference should give serious consideration. Senator Hayden of Arizona called attention to the fact that S. Res. 81 was now before the Rules and Administration Committee, of which he is the ranking Minority member, and suggested that a Minority report should be drafted which the Minority members of the Rules Committee could sign and submit to the Senate. After further discussion it was decided that Senators Hayden and Chavez collaborate on the drafting of a minority report.

Senator Barkley then called to the attention of the Conference the pending legislation in the Senate, H.J. Res. 27, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, relating to the term of office of the President. The Senator stated that he was not urging that members of the Conference oppose the legislation, but did desire to stress the history of the question and called the attention of the members of the Conference to S. Res. 128, which passed the Senate on February 10, 1928, reading as follows:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Senate that the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from the Presidential office after their second term has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our republican system of Government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions.

Senator Barkley discussed briefly the reasons why he opposed the passage of H.J. Res. 27, adding that he was giving his personal reasons for opposing the legislation, and was not requesting that members bind themselves one way or another as to their positions on the legislation.

Senator Green of Rhode Island called attention to a resolution which he and Senator [H. Alexander] Smith of New Jersey had introduced, calling for a study of the question of Presidential succession, stating that hearings had been scheduled by the Rules and Administration Committee. The Senator stated that he considered it unwise that action be taken at this time on the joint resolution pending in the Senate.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>The succession of Harry S. Truman to the presidency in 1945 left the office of vice president vacant until after the 1948 elections. Under then-current statutes, the next in line to the presidency were members of the cabinet. In June 1945, President Truman called on Congress to revise the order of succession to place the Speaker of the House and president pro tempore of the Senate, elected officials, ahead of the appointed cabinet members. When Congress did not act during

Senator Barkley then informed the members that he wished to discuss in confidence a conference held with the President on February 27, 1947, where certain leaders of the House and Senate were present, regarding financial assistance to Greece. During the course of his remarks, he also called attention to the matter of assistance to Turkey. Senator Barkley stressed the fact that the discussion was on an informal basis, adding that at that particular meeting, full details of the needs of these two countries were not completely available, and that the details of the program had not been worked out. He stated that the Greek Government had officially requested assistance, and that his purpose in addressing the Conference on this subject was to give them as much information as was available; adding that at a date in the near future, the entire program would be laid before the Congress by the President. During the course of Senator Barkley's remarks, Senators McMahon of Connecticut, Chavez of New Mexico, and Lucas of Illinois all made brief statements, and numerous Senators asked questions of Senator Barkley concerning the program as he had outlined it.<sup>4</sup>

Senator Hatch of New Mexico expressed his personal appreciation to Senator Barkley for having called the Conference and given information regarding the program of assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Senator Lucas of Illinois urged that members of the Conference attend the sessions of the Senate and Committee meetings, adding that he wished personally to congratulate the new members on their attendance and the strength which they had given in supporting the Minority on legislation.

Senator Fulbright of Arkansas urged that weekly Minority Conferences be held, to which Senator Barkley replied that while he did not believe that definite weekly meetings should be held, he did intend calling Conferences frequently.

Senator Barkley then called attention to the question of rent control, and at his request, Senators Robertson of Virginia and Sparkman of Alabama discussed the various proposals that had been submitted to the Banking and Currency Committee. Senator Sparkman made an explanation of his own bill, S. 778, relating to continuation of rent control.

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the Seventy-ninth Congress, Truman renewed his request in February, 1947, after Republicans had assumed the majority in both the House and Senate. The Senate passed S. 564 on June 27 by a vote of 50 to 35, with Republicans voting in favor and Democrats opposed. The House passed the succession bill on July 10, and President Truman signed it into law on June 18.

<sup>4</sup>On March 12, 1947, President Truman addressed a joint session of Congress and called on the United States to support free peoples who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures—a policy that became known as the Truman Doctrine—and requested that Congress provide military aid for Greece and Turkey. On April 27, the Senate by a vote of 67 to 23 passed S. 938, which supplied \$400 million in military and economic aid. The House passed its version of the bill on May 9, and the Conference report was approved on May 15, by voice votes in both houses.



MARCH 6, 1947

The Conference adjourned at 12:35 P.M., subject to call.

[signed] Brien McMahon  
Secretary

Quorum, March 6, 1947

[PRESENT]

✓ Barkley  
✓ Byrd  
✓ Chavez  
a Connally  
a Downey  
a Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ Fulbright  
✓ George  
✓ Green  
✓ Hatch  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey  
✓ Holland  
✓ Johnson  
✓ Johnston  
✓ Kilgore  
✓ Lucas  
✓ Magnuson  
✓ Maybank  
✓ McCarran  
✓ McClellan

[PRESENT]

✓ McFarland  
✓ McGrath  
✓ McKellar  
✓ McMahon  
✓ Murray  
✓ Myers  
✓ O'Connor  
✓ O'Daniel  
✓ O'Mahoney  
a Overton  
✓ Pepper  
✓ Robertson  
✓ Russell  
✓ Sparkman  
a Stewart  
✓ Taylor  
✓ Thomas of Okla  
✓ Thomas of Utah  
a Tydings  
✓ Umstead  
a Wagner  
37  
✓ - present  
a - absent

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[May 16, 1947]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Friday, May 16, 1947, at 10:45 A.M., in Senator Barkley's room in the Capitol.

Senator Barkley of Kentucky, Chairman, called the Conference to order and requested the Secretary, Senator McMahon of Connecticut, to call the roll to determine the presence of a quorum. Thirty Senators having answered their names, Senator Barkley announced that a quorum was present.

Senator Barkley, Chairman of the Conference, stated that the purpose of the Conference was to discuss H.R. 1, the Individual Income Tax Reduction Act of 1947. Senator Barkley outlined the position taken with reference to H.R. 1 by the minority members of the Finance Committee, and in connection therewith, discussed the legislative history of H.Con. Res. 20, the so-called "Budget Resolution." He expressed his opinion that no decision should be reached regarding tax reductions until the status of the various appropriation bills was known. Senator Barkley stated that in the Finance Committee Senator George of Georgia had moved a postponement of the consideration of the tax bill to June 15, and that the motion was rejected

on a straight party vote, 7 yeas, 6 nays. Senator Barkley completed his statement by stressing the importance of the discussion, and stated that he hoped it would be possible for the members of the Conference to reach agreement on the course of action to be followed. Senator Barkley then asked Senator George, the ranking minority member of the Finance Committee, to make a statement to the Conference.

Senator George outlined the history of the consideration of the tax bill in the Finance Committee, stating that he had moved the postponement of the tax bill for a thirty-day period, which motion was rejected, and that Senator Byrd's motion for postponement of ten days was likewise rejected. Senator George then outlined the indicated surplus for the fiscal years 1947 and 1948, and indicated that the following courses of action might be adopted by the Conference: (1) A motion to postpone consideration of the tax bill until June 10 or 15, 1947; (2) A motion to make whatever tax reductions were finally agreed upon in the Senate bill effective January 1, 1948; (3) Opposition to any tax reduction at this time. He stated that in his opinion any Democrat could justify his opposition to the bill, but he doubted the political advantage to be gained by the Conference supporting such a course of action as a political party. Senator George added that, assuming some tax reduction is to be made, he thought the bill reported by the Republican majority as good as could be expected at this time. Senator George then explained the bill as passed by the House, and the changes made by the Senate committee.

Senator Lucas of Illinois suggested that it might be better procedure for a motion first to be made to make the tax reductions effective January 1, 1948, to be followed by a motion to postpone consideration of the bill until June 10, or 15, 1947.

In reply to Senator Lucas's suggestion, Senator Barkley stated that it would probably be necessary to make the postponement motion first, inasmuch as the other motion suggested by Senator Lucas would undoubtedly require much longer debate. Senator Barkley then requested Senator Byrd of Virginia to make any comment he desired regarding the tax bill.

Senator Byrd stated that he was very much in favor of a motion to postpone consideration of the bill until June 10, 1947. He then outlined his own views as to estimate of income for the fiscal year 1948, the probable surplus and amount of reduction in appropriations which might be expected. He made the suggestion that Senator Barkley move to discharge the conferees considering H. Con. Res. 20, the so-called "Budget Resolution," and request the appointment of new conferees. Senator Byrd stated also that he approved not only the postponement motion, but also a motion to make tax cuts effective January 1, 1948, but he expressed doubt as to the wisdom of

MAY 16, 1947

the members of the Conference as a party voting against any tax reduction at all. He stated that he thought each member should vote according to his own individual views.

Senator Lucas then stated that if the motions for postponement and making the tax cut effective January 1, 1948 were rejected, he would then offer a substitute for the Finance Committee recommendations, the first substitute to provide for a 2% reduction in the various surtax brackets, an increase in personal exemptions, and provisions to remedy the existing community property tax situation. He stated that if this substitute were rejected, he would then offer another, first increasing the personal exemptions, and second, providing for a 20% surtax reduction in each bracket, but eliminating any reference to community property.

Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming made a statement explaining his position, stating that he personally was opposed to tax reduction at the present time.

Senator Connally of Texas then outlined his position, stating that he also was opposed to any tax reduction at the present time.

At the suggestion of Senator Tydings of Maryland, the Chairman asked for a show of hands first on the question of supporting a motion to postpone the consideration of the tax bill until June 10, 1947. By a show of hands, the members of the Conference voted unanimously to support such a motion. At the suggestion of Senator Tydings of Maryland, the Chairman asked for a show of hands on a motion to make any tax reductions effective on January 1, 1948. All members of the Conference who were present indicated support of the motion except Senator O'Daniel of Texas, who stated that he did not wish to commit himself at the present time because of the uncertainty of the whole situation.

Senator Barkley informed the Conference that there was no attempt to bind members on these motions, and that he had asked for an indication of the members' views solely to ascertain the position of the Conference members.

Senator Barkley stated that it might be necessary to call another Conference on other aspects of the bill or to consider developments that might occur during debate on the bill.

Senator Hatch of New Mexico briefly stated his position in opposition to any motion that might be made by the Majority to lay on the table the motions discussed by the Conference today.

At 12:10 P.M. the Conference adjourned, subject to call.

[signed] Brien McMahon  
Secretary

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947–1949)

Quorum Call, May 16, 1947

[PRESENT]

✓ Barkley  
 ✓ Byrd  
 ✓ Chavez  
 ✓ Connally  
 Downey  
 Eastland  
 Ellender  
 Fulbright  
 ✓ George  
 ✓ Green  
 ✓ Hatch  
 Hayden  
 Hill  
 ✓ Hoey  
 ✓ Holland  
 ✓ Johnson  
 Johnston  
 ✓ Kilgore  
 ✓ Lucas  
 ✓ Magnuson  
 ✓ Maybank  
 McCarran

[PRESENT]

✓ McClellan  
 ✓ McFarland  
 ✓ McGrath  
 ✓ McKellar  
 ✓ McMahan  
 ✓ Murray  
 ✓ Myers  
 ✓ O'Connor  
 ✓ O'Daniel  
 ✓ O'Mahoney  
 Overton  
 Pepper  
 ✓ Robertson  
 Russell  
 ✓ Sparkman  
 Stewart  
 ✓ Taylor  
 Thomas of Okla  
 ✓ Thomas of Utah  
 ✓ Tydings  
 ✓ Umstead  
 Wagner

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[July 10, 1947]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Thursday, July 10, 1947 at 10:30 A.M., in Senator Barkley's room in the Capitol.

Senator Barkley of Kentucky, Chairman, called the Conference to order, and after the Secretary for the Minority had informed the Chairman that thirty-seven members were present, Senator Barkley stated that he had called the Conference primarily for the purpose of discussing the Tax Reduction Bill, H.R. 3950. He outlined the history of the previous Tax Bill, H.R. 1, and the developments that had caused the Republican Majority to submit a new tax bill. He advised the Conference that he was authorized to state the President would veto the pending bill, H.R. 3[9]50, in its present form. He stated further, that he had never believed politics should be mixed up in tax legislation, but was convinced that the Republican Majority were playing politics in this instance. He stated further that because of the importance of the bill and the fact that the President had not only vetoed the first bill, but had stated definitely he would veto the pending one, he thought members should have a full discussion of the consequences involved in the question of supporting or over-riding the President's veto.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> President Truman vetoed H.R. 1, to reduce individual income tax payments, on June 16, 1947, and the House sustained the veto on June 17. On July 18, the president vetoed H.R. 3950, to reduce individual income tax payments. That same day, the House overrode his veto, but the Senate sustained it.

JULY 10, 1947

Senator Robertson of Virginia made a brief statement in which he called the attention of the members of the Conference to the estimated revenues, expenditures, and national income, and stressed particularly the differences in the estimates of the Treasury and the Joint Committee Staff with regard to the estimated national income.

Senator George of Georgia made a statement in which he informed the Conference that he intended to support the pending bill, and in the event of a veto, he would vote to override the veto. He called attention to the inconsistency that would result if the members opposed the pending bill on the ground that it involved a considerable loss of revenue, and at the same time supported any substitute bills which, while differing in substance, resulted in the same revenue loss. He stated also that he would vote against any amendments that might be offered to the bill. He contended that in the prior veto message the President had made only a slight reference to the real issue involved, and that he, personally, did not wish to say to the American taxpayer that he (the taxpayer) would be the last person to be given relief, inasmuch as in this period of inflation it seemed to be the policy to give considerable relief to foreign nations. With respect to the so-called Marshall Plan and what might result therefrom, he stated that he would not commit himself at the present time to an expenditure of billions for foreign relief.

Senator Overton of Louisiana stated that he intended to sustain the President's position because, first, he thought that the Republican Majority were playing politics; and, second, that in prosperous times he felt that it was preferable that the national debt be reduced.

Senator Johnson of Colorado stated, in connection with questions as to what has happened since consideration of the last tax bill to cause the change in the attitude of some of those who had previously supported the President, that in the first place, the effective date of the legislation had been changed to January 1, 1948, and that he justified his intended vote in favor of the legislation on the ground that the Congress would be paying the terminal leave bonds in cash out of tax savings which resulted by the change in date from July 1, 1947 to January 1, 1948.

Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming addressed the Conference, stating that he intended to support the President in his veto of the pending bill. He outlined the fiscal developments since the convening of the 80th Congress, called attention to the fact that the Legislative Budget Resolution had not passed, stressed the lateness of the regular fiscal year appropriation bills, and expressed the opinion that rather than decreasing Governmental expenditures, it was obvious that the Congress would continue to increase expenditures, most of which resulted from World War II. He stated that in his opinion it was foolish to reduce taxes at a time when the national income was at its

highest, and he urged the members of the Conference to support the President.

Senator Tydings of Maryland stated that he was not committing himself as to his final position on the bill, but that he thought the members of the Conference should consider carefully the position they would be placed in by criticizing the Republicans for playing politics and at the same time supporting a substitute measure, which would result in the same revenue loss.

Senator Hayden of Arizona called the attention of the Conference to S. Res. 25, a resolution amending Rule XXII, relating to cloture, Order No. 85 on the calendar. He stated that he wished the members to know that the Majority intended pressing for the adoption of this resolution prior to adjournment.

Senator Myers of Pennsylvania called the attention of the members to a proposal which had been approved by a subcommittee of the Committee on Rules and Administration (by a 2 to 1 party division), recommending that the limit of expenditures previously authorized for the employment of assistants by the full committee is to be further increased by around \$100,000, for the purpose of making a thorough investigation of the contested West Virginia Senatorial election. The Senator stated that in his opinion, carrying on a thorough investigation of the election contest in that state would require a considerably larger amount of money, and that it would undoubtedly take between a year and eighteen months to make such an investigation.<sup>6</sup>

Prior to adjournment, Chairman Barkley called the attention of the members to H. Con. Res. 51, [a] resolution providing against the adoption of Reorganization Plan No. 3, submitted by the President on May 27, 1947. (This Plan deals with reorganization of housing agencies.) Senator Barkley stated that it was the intention of the Majority to bring the resolution before the Senate prior to adjournment, and that, while the resolution itself had been reported adversely, and the committee had recommended approval of the President's plan, he wanted members to know the importance of the plan itself, and urged that careful consideration and study be given it with a view to supporting it. He stated that a Conference might be called to discuss the plan.

At 12:07 P.M. the Conference adjourned, subject to call.

[signed] Brien McMahon  
Secretary

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<sup>6</sup>Unsuccessful Republican candidate Tom Sweeney charged Democratic Senator Harley M. Kilgore with election irregularities. The Senate Rules and Administration Committee undertook an extensive investigation and in July 1949 ruled that Senator Kilgore had been duly elected and was entitled to retain his seat.

JULY 10, 1947

July 10, 1947

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Barkley
- ✓ Byrd
- ✓ Chavez
- ✓ Connally
- Downey
- Eastland
- ✓ Ellender
- ✓ Fulbright
- ✓ George
- ✓ Green
- ✓ Hatch
- ✓ Hayden
- ✓ Hill
- ✓ Hoey
- ✓ Holland
- ✓ Johnson
- ✓ Johnston
- ✓ Kilgore
- ✓ Lucas
- ✓ Magnuson
- ✓ Maybank
- ✓ McCarran

[PRESENT]

- ✓ McClellan
- ✓ McFarland
- ✓ McGrath
- ✓ McKellar
- ✓ McMahan
- Murray
- ✓ Myers
- ✓ O'Connor
- ✓ O'Daniel
- ✓ O'Mahoney
- ✓ Overton
- ✓ Pepper
- ✓ Robertson
- ✓ Russell
- ✓ Sparkman
- ✓ Stewart
- ✓ Taylor
- ✓ Thomas of Okla
- ✓ Thomas of Utah
- Tydings
- ✓ Umstead
- Wagner

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[March 16, 1948]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Tuesday, March 16, 1948 at 10:30 A.M., in Senator Barkley's room in the Capitol.

Senator Barkley of Kentucky, Chairman, called the Conference to order, and after the Secretary for the Conference, Senator McMahon of Connecticut, had informed the Chairman that thirty-four members were present, Senator Barkley stated that he had called the meeting of the Senators for the purpose of discussing the Revenue Act of 1948, H.R. 4790. He explained the provisions of the bill as reported by the Finance Committee, stating that when the bill was pending in the Committee he offered on behalf of himself and other Minority members a substitute bill, calling for a total reduction of \$4,000,000,000, retroactively to January 1, 1948. He explained that the substitute involved no change in the exemptions, and the so-called "split income principle" contained in the bill, but related to adjustments in the individual income tax rates. Senator Barkley stated that he wished the members of the Conference to consider whether or not it would be advisable to support the same minority proposal on the floor of the Senate, adding that there was no attempt to bind the individual members, and that each would be free to vote as he saw fit on final passage of the bill.

Senator George of Georgia addressed the Conference, explaining in detail the provisions of the bill as amended by the Finance Commit-

tee, and comparing those provisions with the bill as it was passed by the House of Representatives.

Senator Pepper addressed the Conference briefly, urging that if any tax relief were to be given, he believed the reduction should be given to persons in the lower income group.

Senator Robertson of Virginia addressed the Conference briefly, stressing the existing high individual income tax rates, and urging that some income tax relief be given in order to secure incentive capital investment.

Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming addressed the Conference in opposition to any tax reduction at the present time, stating that while he would support a Minority substitute of \$4,000,000,000 he would support the bill on final passage. He added that he intended to offer a proposal to re-apply the excess profits tax.

Senator Connally of Texas addressed the Conference, stating that he was inclined to vote against any tax reduction bill on final passage, but was not definitely committing himself at the present time. He stated, however, that he would support a substitute bill.

Senator McMahon of Connecticut suggested the advisability of a motion being made on the Senate floor to delay a vote on the final passage of the bill until after the Italian elections on April 18.

Senator George of Georgia again addressed the Conference, stating that while he personally favored a reduction of either the amount carried in the Committee bill, \$4,800,000,000, or the \$4,000,000,000 substitute, he could understand why members would oppose the bill on passage because of the recommendations which the President might make in his address to the Congress scheduled for Wednesday, March 17.

Senator Johnson of Colorado addressed the Conference, stating that he intended supporting the Committee bill, and that he saw no virtue or merit in a \$4,000,000,000 reduction bill.

Senator Robertson of Virginia again addressed the Conference, stating that he thought the estimates of national income were too high; that he would support a Minority substitute bill of \$4,000,000,000, adding that he thought it better for the Democrats as a whole to support a reasonable tax reduction bill.

Senator Barkley then stated that he did not wish to bind the members of the Conference, but wanted to secure the reaction of the members regarding their support of a substitute bill if he were to offer it. He added that he did not wish to offer it if he could not secure the substantial support by the members. He raised the question of whether it would be better for the Conference to go on record in this particular meeting, or whether it would be better to wait



MARCH 16, 1948

for the recommendations of the President before any commitment were made.

Senator O'Mahoney moved that a decision regarding the members of the Conference supporting a Minority substitute of the \$4,000,000,000 be postponed until after the president's recommendations had been received. The motion was adopted by voice vote.

At 12:05 P.M. the Conference adjourned, subject to call.

[signed] Brien McMahon  
Secretary

March 16, 1948

[PRESENT]

✓ Barkley  
✓ Byrd  
✓ Chavez  
✓ Connally  
✓ Downey  
✓ Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ Fulbright  
✓ George  
✓ Green  
✓ Hatch  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey  
✓ Holland  
✓ Johnson  
✓ Johnston  
✓ Kilgore  
✓ Lucas  
✓ Magnuson  
✓ Maybank  
✓ McCarran  
✓ McClellan

[PRESENT]

✓ McFarland  
✓ McGrath  
✓ McKellar  
✓ McMahon  
✓ Murray  
✓ Myers  
✓ O'Connor  
✓ O'Daniel  
✓ O'Mahoney  
✓ Overton  
✓ Pepper  
✓ Robertson  
✓ Russell  
✓ Sparkman  
✓ Stennis  
✓ Stewart  
✓ Taylor  
✓ Thomas of Okla  
✓ Thomas of Utah  
✓ Tydings  
✓ Umstead  
✓ Wagner

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[August 7, 1948]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Saturday, August 7, 1948, at 10:00 A.M., in Senator Barkley's room in the Capitol.

Senator Barkley, Chairman, called the Conference to order after the Secretary of the Conference, Senator McMahon of Connecticut, announced that thirty-two members were present. (See attached list.)

Senator Barkley began the meeting by stating that he had called it in order that Senators might discuss the amendment he proposed to offer to S.J. Res. 157 (providing for regulation of consumer install-

ment credit, etc.). Senator Barkley stated that his amendment, known as the Anti-Inflation Act of 1948, proposed to carry out in the main the recommendations submitted by the President to the Congress in his message of July 27, 1948. (See House Document No. 734, 80th Congress, 2d Session). Senator Barkley outlined the President's recommendations, and discussed by titles the amendment he proposed to offer. During the course of his explanation, he answered questions submitted by various members of the Conference. Senator Barkley expressed the hope, not only to make a record for the coming presidential campaign, but in order to assist Democratic Senators running for re-election and Democratic candidates for the Senate, that the amendment receive as large a vote as possible from Democratic Senators. He stated that there would be no attempt to bind the members of the Conference, but asked that the sentiment of the members be expressed by a show of hands. Of the thirty-two members present, all indicated by a show of hands, with the exception of Senators Russell of Georgia and Eastland of Mississippi, that they would support Senator Barkley's amendment when it was offered. Senators Eastland and Russell asked that they not be recorded, adding that they would give the proposal consideration, and hoped to be able to support it. (For the text of Senator Barkley's amendment as presented, see pages 10221 through 10226, Congressional Record, of August 7, 1948. For an explanation of Senator Barkley's amendment, see the debate on August 7, 1947 and pages 9633 through 9634, Congressional Record of July 29, 1948.)

Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming called attention to the Committee amendment to S.J. Res. 157, striking Section 2 from the joint resolution. Section 2 related to the restoration of gold reserve requirements in the Federal Reserve System. Senator O'Mahoney urged that members of the Conference resist any attempt to reject the Committee amendment, calling attention to the fact that Senator Taft had expressed his opposition to the striking of this Section and had stated that he would attempt to restore the provision of the bill as passed by the House.

Senator O'Mahoney then called attention to the fact that the Majority had failed to act favorably on the request of the President relating to amending the Displaced Persons Act. He mentioned that while the Republican presidential nominee, Governor [Thomas E.] Dewey, had urged Republican members of Congress to act favorably, that the Judiciary Sub-committee by a tie vote had failed to do so. He recommended that during the course of the afternoon, prior to adjournment, attention be called to this fact, with particular reference to the failure of the majority to respond to this request, and to stress that out of the issues before Congress (anti-inflation, housing, etc.), this issue was the only one to which any reference had been made by Governor Dewey.

AUGUST 7, 1948

Senator Barkley urged that as many Democratic Senators as possible participate in the debate so that a complete record could be made for the coming campaign.

At 11:00 A.M. the Conference adjourned, subject to call.

[signed] Brien McMahon  
Secretary

August 7, 1948

[PRESENT]

✓ Barkley  
Byrd  
Chavez  
✓ Connally  
Downey  
✓ Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ Feazel  
✓ Fulbright  
George  
✓ Green  
✓ Hatch  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey  
✓ Holland  
✓ Johnson  
Johnston  
✓ Kilgore  
✓ Lucas  
✓ Magnuson  
Maybank

[PRESENT]

McCarran  
✓ McClellan  
✓ McFarland  
McGrath  
✓ McKellar  
✓ McMahan  
✓ Murray  
✓ Myers  
✓ O'Connor  
O'Daniel  
✓ O'Mahoney  
✓ Pepper  
Robertson  
✓ Russell  
✓ Sparkman  
✓ Stennis  
Stewart  
Taylor  
✓ Thomas of Okla  
✓ Thomas of Utah  
✓ Tydings  
✓ Umstead  
Wagner

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[December 31, 1948]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Friday, December 31, 1948 at 10:30 A.M., in Senator Barkley's room in the Capitol.

The Conference met at 10:30 A.M. and was called to order by Senator Lucas of Illinois. Senator Lucas stated that the Chairman of the Conference, Senator Barkley of Kentucky, was unable to be present because of illness, and had requested that he (Senator Lucas) call the meeting to order and preside.

Senator Lucas stated that the first order of business was the election of [a] Conference Chairman, explaining that Senator Barkley would not be sworn in as Vice President until January 20, 1949, and that he thought the Conference should elect Senator Barkley for the interim period.

Senator George of Georgia moved that Senator Barkley be elected as Chairman of the Conference and Majority Leader until such time as he took the oath of office as Vice President (January 20, 1949). Senator McGrath of Rhode Island moved that Senator George's motion be amended so that when Senator Barkley took the oath of office, Senator Lucas of Illinois be elected Chairman of the Conference and Majority Leader. Senator Lucas requested that Senator McMahon of Connecticut put the motion, as amended, to the Conference. The motion was put to the Conference and carried unanimously by voice vote. Senator Lucas addressed the Conference and expressed his appreciation to the members.

Senator Lucas then requested that Senator McMahon of Connecticut, the Secretary of the Conference, call the roll to ascertain the presence of a quorum. The roll having been called, Senator McMahon stated that forty-nine members were present. (See attached roll call.)

Senator Lucas then introduced the following newly-elected Senators, all of whom were requested to stand and all received applause from the members of the Conference: Senator Anderson, New Mexico; Senator Broughton, North Carolina; Senator Chapman, Kentucky; Senator Douglas, Illinois; Senator Frear, Delaware; Senator Gillette, Iowa; Senator Humphrey, Minnesota; Senator Hunt, Wyoming; Senator Johnson, Texas; Senator Kefauver, Tennessee; Senator Kerr, Oklahoma; Senator Long, Louisiana; Senator Miller, Idaho; and Senator Neely, West Virginia.

Senator Johnson of Colorado offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Conference be extended to the officers and members of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee for their efforts and activities in behalf of the Democratic Senatorial candidates in the last campaign.

The officers and members of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee are as follows: Senator Lucas of Illinois, Chairman; Senator McMahon of Connecticut, Vice Chairman; Senator Thomas of Utah; Senator Hill of Alabama; Senator Holland of Florida; and Mr. Leslie L. Biffle, Secretary-Treasurer.

The resolution was adopted unanimously by voice vote.

Senator McMahon of Connecticut offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the Conference be authorized and directed to prepare appropriate resolutions as tributes to the memories of Hon. Theodore G. Bilbo, late a Senator from the State of Mississippi, and Hon. John H. Overton, late a Senator from the State of Louisiana; and that copies of the resolutions be transmitted to the families of the deceased.

The resolution was adopted unanimously by voice vote.

DECEMBER 31, 1948

Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Steering Committee be, and the same is hereby authorized to determine the ratios of standing Committees, to assign Democratic Senators to standing committees and to report said assignments to the Senate.

The resolution was adopted unanimously by voice vote.

Senator Myers of Pennsylvania moved the adoption of the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to appoint a Committee on Patronage.

Senator Russell of Georgia asked how many members would be appointed, and Senator Lucas stated that in 1933 when the Democrats organized the Senate a committee of three was named; that while he was not in a position to state definitely the number, he thought the membership would consist of three and that he had reason to believe Senator Hayden of Arizona would be named Chairman. Senator Russell then stated that Senator Lucas' statement was entirely satisfactory to him.

Senator Lucas stated that the next order of business was the selection of a Whip, effective January 20, 1949. Senator Hill of Alabama nominated Senator Myers of Pennsylvania. Senator Tydings of Maryland moved that the nominations be closed; the motion was seconded by Senator Pepper of Florida; and Senator Myers was elected unanimously by voice vote.

Senator Lucas stated that the next order of business was the selection of a nominee for President Pro Tempore. He stated that in the past votes had been by secret ballot and that proxies were permitted. No member of the Conference objected to voting by secret ballot or the counting of votes by proxy. Senator O'Connor of Maryland nominated Senator Tydings of Maryland. Senator Connally of Texas nominated Senator McKellar of Tennessee. Senator Pepper moved that the nominations be closed, which was seconded by several members of the Conference, and was carried unanimously.

Senator Lucas appointed Senators George of Georgia, Johnson of Colorado, and Pepper of Florida, to act as tellers, and designated Senator George as Chairman.

After a count of the ballots, Senator George stated that Senator McKellar had been selected as the nominee for President Pro Tempore by twenty-seven votes over Senator Tydings, who received twenty-five votes. The following Senators were voted by proxy: (See attached letters and telegrams). Senators Ellender of Louisiana, Magnuson of Washington, and Wagner of New York. Senator Tydings moved that the selection of Senator McKellar be made unanimous. The motion was carried unanimously by voice vote.

Senator McKellar addressed the Conference and expressed his appreciation to Senator Tydings and to the members of the Conference for their confidence.

Senator Lucas stated that the next order of business was the selection of the nominee for Secretary of the Senate. Senator McClellan of Arkansas nominated Leslie L. Biffle, of Arkansas, to be Secretary of the Senate. Senator McFarland, of Arizona, seconded the nomination of Mr. Biffle. Senator Pepper moved that the nominations be closed, which motion was carried unanimously. Mr. Biffle addressed the Conference and expressed his appreciation.

Senator Lucas stated that the next order of business was the selection of a Secretary of the Majority. Senator Stennis of Mississippi nominated Felton M. Johnston of Mississippi. Senator McCarran moved that the nominations be closed, which motion was carried unanimously by voice vote. Felton M. Johnston was selected unanimously by voice vote.

Senator Lucas stated that the next order of business was the selection of a nominee for Sergeant-at-Arms. Senator Hayden nominated Joseph C. Duke of Arizona. Senator McFarland seconded Mr. Duke's nomination. Senator Pepper nominated Derwin W. Darling of Florida. Mr. Darling's nomination was seconded by Senator Holland. Senator McGrath nominated Mr. William Neale Roach of Washington, D.C. The nominations were then closed, without objection.

Senator Lucas appointed Senators George of Georgia, Johnson of Colorado, and Pepper of Florida, to act as tellers, and designated Senator George as Chairman. Senator George announced that the vote was as follows: Duke 27, Darling 9, Roach 15. Senator Lucas announced that Joseph C. Duke of Arizona had been nominated as Sergeant-at-Arms.

Senator Lucas stated that the next order of business was the selection of a Chaplain. Senator McKellar nominated Father Donnelly (Reverend John F.A. Cavanagh Donnelly, Director General of the Catholic Boys Brigade of the United States, Presidential Gardens, Alexandria, Va.) Senator Hill of Alabama addressed the Conference, stating that in his opinion it would be a mistake to replace the present Chaplain, Dr. Peter Marshall, although he had the highest admiration for the former Chaplain, Dr. Harris, and moved that Dr. Marshall be retained. Senator Tydings addressed the Conference and moved that the Conference give the matter of the selection of a Chaplain further consideration and that action thereon be postponed until some future meeting. He moved further that the Chairman be authorized to appoint a committee of three members to assay and examine the situation and make a report to the Conference at some subsequent meeting. Senator Tydings' motion was seconded by Senator Hoey of North Carolina.

DECEMBER 31, 1948

Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming addressed the Conference and stated that he favored Senator Tydings' first motion. After a general discussion Senator Tydings withdrew his first motion. Senator McKellar withdrew his nomination of Father Donnelly. Senator Tydings withdrew his subsequent motion and Senator Hill's motion with respect to Dr. Marshall was adopted by voice vote. Senator McClellan of Arkansas requested that the record show the action of the Conference was not unanimous. Senator Lucas stated that he reserved the right to make a statement on the floor calling attention to the fact that the Democratic members of the Senate were not injecting politics into religion with respect to the position of Chaplain, as had the Republicans when they gained control of the Senate and replaced Dr. Harris in 1947.

Senator Hayden of Arizona offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Conference be authorized, when the Senate meets for organization, to nominate for the various elective positions, the persons heretofore selected by this Conference for such positions.

The resolution was adopted unanimously by voice vote.

Senator Lucas stated that the next order of business was the election of a Secretary of the Conference. Senator McCarran of Nevada nominated Senator McMahan of Connecticut. Senator Russell of Georgia moved that the nominations be closed, which motion was carried unanimously. Senator McMahan was then elected unanimously by voice vote.

Senator Connally of Texas addressed the Chair and asked regarding the appointment of the Steering Committee. Senator Lucas stated that in line with the past precedents of the Conference, the Committee was a continuing body, and that if there were no objections on the part of any member of the Conference, the chairman would be authorized to fill vacancies on the Steering Committee. No objections were raised.

Senator McCarran of Nevada addressed the Conference and suggested that in filling vacancies on the Steering Committee, consideration be given to a fair geographic distribution of members.

Senator McFarland of Arizona addressed the Conference briefly and stated that while he had no desire to reopen the matter of the Chaplain of the Senate, he urged that the members of the Conference consider the advisability of rotation of Chaplains yearly.

Senator Lucas expressed appreciation to the members of the Conference, and urged a full attendance on the following Monday because of the possibility of important votes.

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947-1949)

The Conference adjourned at 11:55 A.M., subject to call.

[signed] Brien McMahon  
Secretary

120 Broadway, New York City  
December 28, 1948

Honorable Alben W. Barkley  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Alben:

Since I shall be unable to attend the Caucus Meeting on December 31, 1948, in Washington, I hereby authorize you to vote my proxy for the distinguished senior Senator from Maryland, Millard E. Tydings, for President pro tempore of the United States Senate.

With my warmest personal regards and every good wish for 1949, I am

Yours very sincerely,  
[signed] Robert F. Wagner

120 Broadway, New York City  
December 28, 1948

Honorable Carl Hayden  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Carl:

Since I shall be unable to attend the Caucus Meeting on December 31, 1948, in Washington, I hereby authorize you to vote my proxy for Joseph C. Duke for the position of Sergeant-at-Arms of the U.S. Senate.

With my kindest personal regards and every good wish for 1949, I am

Yours very sincerely,  
[signed] Robert F. Wagner

WESTERN UNION

Dec. 30, 1948

Hon. Russell B. Long  
U.S. Senator of La.  
Senate Office Bldg.

This will be your authority to vote for me in my stead for the following: Senator McKellar [for] President of the Senate. Leslie Biffle [for] Secretary of the Senate. Senator McMahon as Secretary of Conference. Senators Barkley and Lucas for Majority Leader, the former to serve until January 20th and the latter from January 20. Senators Lucas and Myers for Senate Whip, the former to serve until January 20 and the latter from January 20. Joseph [C.] Duke for Sergeant at Arms of the Senate. Felton Johnston for Secretary of Majority, and Rev. Peter Marshall for Chaplain. Thanking you and with warm regards.

Allen J. Ellender, U.S. Senator



DECEMBER 31, 1948

WESTERN UNION

Dec. 30, 1948

Senator Scott Lucas  
Senate Office

Matters here make it necessary I remain in state if possible few more days. Will fly there if advisable but would like to avoid trip back and forth across continent. Hope Caucus will accept my proxy. Will you ask same. This is your authority to so act on all matters pertaining to organization. I favor Tydings for President Pro Tem.

Warren G. Magnuson

120 Broadway, New York City  
December 29, 1948

Honorable Alben W. Barkley  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator:

I shall be unable to attend the Democratic Caucus meeting preceding the organization of the 81st Congress.

I have already given you my proxy for the election of the President pro tempore and have given Senator Hayden my proxy for the election of the Sergeant at Arms. This will authorize you to vote my proxy on any other matter or issue which may come up during the Caucus meeting.

With all good wishes for success in the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,  
[signed] Robert F. Wagner

WESTERN UNION

Dec. 30, 1948

William Golden  
Care Warren G. Magnuson  
Senate Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C.

Have sent my proxy for tomorrow's Caucus on Sergeant at Arms matter. Contact Biffle and tell him to vote it as he sees fit. Lucas has proxy.

Warren G. Magnuson

UNITED STATES SENATE  
Minority Policy Committee

Dec. 23 [1948]

Dear Senator Barkley,

Will you please vote for me in the Caucus (Dec. 31) in case I'm not there. For Pres. Pro Tem please vote for Sen. McKellar. In other instances please use your judgment.

[signed] Estes Kefauver

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS (1947-1949)

Quorum Call, December 31, 1948

[PRESENT]

✓ Anderson  
a Barkley  
✓ Broughton  
✓ Byrd  
✓ Chapman  
a Chavez  
✓ Connally  
✓ Douglas  
✓ Downey  
✓ Eastland  
a Ellender  
✓ Frear  
✓ Fulbright  
✓ George  
✓ Gillette  
✓ Green  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey  
✓ Holland  
✓ Humphrey  
✓ Hunt  
✓ Johnson, Colo.  
✓ Johnson, Tex.  
✓ Johnston  
✓ Kefauver  
✓ Kerr  
✓ Kilgore

[PRESENT]

✓ Long  
✓ Lucas  
a Magnuson  
✓ Maybank  
✓ McCarran  
✓ McClellan  
✓ McFarland  
✓ McGrath  
✓ McKellar  
✓ McMahan  
✓ Miller  
✓ Murray  
✓ Myers  
✓ Neely  
✓ O'Connor  
✓ O'Mahoney  
✓ Pepper  
✓ Robertson  
✓ Russell  
✓ Sparkman  
✓ Stennis  
✓ Taylor  
✓ Thomas of Okla.  
✓ Thomas of Utah  
✓ Tydings  
a Wagner

49 present

5 absent



## **Eighty-first Congress (1949–1951)**

[Editor's Note: In the greatest political upset in American history, President Harry S. Truman in 1948 defeated the front-running Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey. Democrats regained the majorities in both the Senate (by a margin of 54 to 42) and the House (263 to 171). In the aftermath of victory, President Truman proposed an ambitious domestic agenda, known as the Fair Deal. However, divisions within the Democratic ranks over civil rights stimulated filibusters that disrupted legislative harmony. The increasing anticommunist outcry similarly distracted attention from domestic reforms. In February 1950, Wisconsin Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy made an address in Wheeling, West Virginia, claiming Communist infiltration of the U.S. Department of State. Senate efforts to investigate McCarthy's charges through a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee proved ineffectual, and the subcommittee chairman, Millard Tydings, was defeated in the 1950 election. The fall of China to the Communists in 1949 and the outbreak of war in Korea in June 1950 further frustrated President Truman's legislative initiatives and probably contributed to the election defeats of both Majority Leader Scott Lucas and Majority Whip Francis Myers in 1950.]

### UNITED STATES SENATE MEMORANDUM

January 20, 1949

The membership of the Steering Committee is as follows:

Lucas, Ill., Chairman  
McKellar, Tenn.  
George, Ga.  
Tydings, Md.  
Green, R.I.  
Wagner, N.Y.  
Hayden, Ariz.  
O'Mahoney, Wyo.  
Thomas, Utah  
Connally, Texas

Ex Officio: Myers, Pa., Whip  
McMahon, Conn., Secretary of  
the Conference

[signed] Felton M. Johnston  
Secretary for the Majority

### UNITED STATES SENATE MEMORANDUM

January 20, 1949

The members of the Majority Policy Committee are as follows:

Lucas, Chairman (Ill.)  
Tydings, Md.  
Russell, Ga.  
O'Mahoney, Wyo.  
Green, R.I.  
Hill, Ala.

The following additional members were invited to meet with the Committee whenever necessary and desirable, but without power to vote:

Myers, Pa., Whip  
McMahon, Conn., Secretary of the Conference

The one vacancy on the Policy Committee was created by the retirement of Senator Hatch of New Mexico.

[signed] Felton M. Johnston  
Secretary for the Majority

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[February 1, 1949]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Tuesday, February 1, 1949, at 10:30 A.M., in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Conference met at 10:30 A.M. and was called to order by Senator Lucas of Illinois, Chairman. Senator Lucas requested the Secretary of the Conference, Senator McMahon of Connecticut to call the roll to ascertain the presence of a quorum. The roll having been called, Senator McMahon stated that forty-seven members were present. (See attached roll call.)

Senator Lucas announced that the first order of business was the selection of a nominee for the position of Chaplain of the Senate to succeed the late Dr. Peter Marshall. Senator McClellan of Arkansas nominated Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.C., pastor of the Foundry Methodist Church, Washington, D.C. A motion by Senator Russell of Georgia that the nominations be closed was seconded by Senator Hoey of North Carolina, and adopted unanimously by voice vote. Dr. Harris was then selected unanimously by voice vote. Senator Lucas requested that Senator McClellan notify Dr. Harris of his selection. Senator Connally of Texas made a brief statement in which he eulogized Dr. Marshall and expressed his gratification that Dr. Harris had been the unanimous choice of the Conference. Senator Chavez of New Mexico addressed the Conference and stated that while the selection of Dr. Harris was entirely agreeable to him, he personally had favored Dr. Edward Hughes Pruden, Pastor, First Baptist Church of Washington, D.C. Senator Chavez expressed his personal opinion that the position of Chaplain should not be made permanent, and suggested that in the future the Conference should rotate the position among the various religious faiths.

Senator Lucas then stated that the next order of business related to the question of the Legislative Budget (Section 138 of the Legisla-

tive Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress). He called attention to the fact that under the law the Committees on Ways and Means and Appropriations of the House, and the Committees on Finance and Appropriations of the Senate were required to report to the respective Houses a resolution regarding the legislative budget for the ensuing fiscal year, including the estimated overall receipts and expenditures for such year; that the report shall contain information concerning the amount to be appropriated for expenditures in such year, including an amount to be reserved for deficiencies, etc. He called attention to the fact that by law, the report was required to be filed by February 15. A general discussion followed, in which the following members of the Conference participated: Senators George of Georgia, McKellar of Tennessee, Pepper of Florida, Tydings of Maryland, Anderson of New Mexico, Robertson of Virginia, and Russell of Georgia. The Conference, on motion by Senator Russell, which was carried unanimously by voice vote, authorized Senators George and McKellar to confer with the respective chairmen of the House Committees on Appropriations and Ways and Means with a view to fixing a date to which the report on the Legislative Budget might be postponed. In addition, on motion of Senator Tydings, seconded by Senator Kerr of Oklahoma, which was carried unanimously by voice vote, the Conference went on record as suggesting that a sub-committee of the four Senate and House committees, charged with the responsibility under the law, restudy the entire question of the Legislative Budget, and make a report with its recommendations. During the discussion, several members of the Conference expressed themselves as believing that the section was not workable, and should be eliminated. Others stressed the point that at least an attempt should be made to comply with the law, and various dates of postponement such as April 1, a 60-day period, and May 1 were suggested.

The Chairman then brought up the matter of the Special Committee to study the problem of American Small Business, stating that the Committee which had originally been created by S. Res. 20, 80th Congress, 1st Session, went out of existence as of midnight, January 31, 1949. There followed a full discussion by members of the Conference, both in support of the continuation of the Small Business Committee as a special committee, and in opposition to a Special Committee. Those in opposition urged that a regular standing committee or committees handle small business problems. The following members spoke in favor of the continuation of the Small Business Committee as a special committee: Murray of Montana, Pepper of Florida, McMahan of Connecticut, and Green of Rhode Island. The following members spoke in opposition to the special committee, and urged that the problem be handled by regular standing committees: Senators Maybank of South Carolina; Robertson of Virginia; McFarland of Arizona, Ellender of Louisiana, Holland of Florida, and Ful-

FEBRUARY 1, 1949

bright of Arkansas. No vote was taken on the question of continuing the Small Business Committee as a special committee.

Senator Ellender of Louisiana asked if it would be appropriate for the Conference to take over the Conference room in the Senate Office Building now being used by the Minority. Senator Lucas stated that he would take the matter under advisement.

The Chairman announced to the members that he intended calling frequent Conferences in the future, and stated that if any committee Chairman desired him at any time to call a Conference, he would do so.

The Conference adjourned at 11:35 A.M., subject to call.

[signed] Brien McMahon  
Secretary

February 1, 1949

[PRESENT]

[PRESENT]

✓ Anderson  
✓ Broughton  
✓ Byrd  
✓ Chapman  
✓ Chavez  
✓ Connally  
✓ Douglas  
x Downey  
✓ Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ Frear  
✓ Fulbright  
✓ George  
✓ Gillette  
✓ Green  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey  
✓ Holland  
✓ Humphrey  
✓ Hunt  
x Johnson, Colo.  
✓ Johnson, Tex.  
✓ Johnston  
x Kefauver  
✓ Kerr  
✓ Kilgore  
✓ Long

✓ Lucas  
✓ Magnuson  
✓ Maybank  
x McCarran  
✓ McClellan  
✓ McFarland  
x McGrath  
✓ McKellar  
✓ McMahan  
✓ Miller  
✓ Murray  
✓ Myers  
✓ Neely  
✓ O'Connor  
x O'Mahoney  
✓ Pepper  
✓ Robertson  
✓ Russell  
✓ Sparkman  
✓ Stennis  
✓ Taylor  
✓ Thomas of Okla.  
x Thomas of Utah  
✓ Tydings  
x Wagner  
✓ Withers  
✓ - present  
x - absent

[February 6, 1949]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Saturday, February 6, 1949, at 10:30 A.M., in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Conference met at 10:30 A.M. and was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Lucas of Illinois.

Senator Lucas requested that Senator McMahon of Connecticut, the Secretary of the Conference, call the roll to ascertain the presence of a quorum. The roll having been called, Senator McMahon announced that forty-three members were present. (See attached roll call.)

Senator Lucas opened the Conference by commending the newly-elected Senators for the manner in which they have attended committee meetings and meetings of the Senate. He stressed the importance of the new, as well as the older members, being diligent in attending committee meetings, and urged that members who are familiar with bills reported from their committees attend the sessions of the Senate when the bills were being debated, in order to assist the Chairman during the debate. Senator Hill of Alabama joined Senator Lucas in urging full attendance by Committee Chairmen and committee members. Senator Lucas called attention to the fact that he intended to have the Policy Committee and its staff to be of all possible assistance to Committee Chairmen and individual members. He then stated that the first order of business was a discussion of S. Res. 47, offered by Senator [William] Knowland of California, discharging the Committee on Rules and Administration from the further consideration of S. Res. 15, relating to certain changes in the cloture rule. He stated that on Friday, February 5, the Policy Committee had fully discussed the resolution, and had unanimously agreed that it should be rejected when called up for consideration on Monday, February 8. He discussed the history of the resolution making changes in the cloture rule, which was reported by the Rules and Administration Committee during the 80th Congress. (See S. Res. 25 and S. Report No. 87, April 3, 1947.)

Senator Lucas then asked Senator Hayden, Chairman of the Rules and Administration Committee, to make a statement to the Conference. Senator Hayden did so, making a supplementary historical statement regarding the cloture rule and the suggested changes recommended by the Rules and Administration Committee during the 80th Congress. There followed a general discussion in which the following members participated: Senator Myers of Pennsylvania, Senator Chavez of New Mexico, Senator Gillette of Iowa, Senator Withers of Kentucky, Senator Hunt of Wyoming, Senator Douglas of Illinois, Senator Taylor of Idaho, Senator George of Georgia, Senator Pepper of Florida, Senator Humphrey of Minnesota, and Senator Broughton of North Carolina. Each of these Senators expressed his



FEBRUARY 6, 1949

opposition to the Knowland resolution and urged that the Conference members vote to reject the resolution. Several members stated that while they personally would oppose the Knowland resolution, they would reserve the right to subsequently vote on the floor either for or against changes in the cloture rule when the matter was formally presented for debate. Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming commended the new members for their attendance at committee meetings and further commended Senator Lucas for his policy in calling frequent Conferences where full discussion could take place, and also for his statement regarding his desire to have the Policy Committee and its staff be of all possible assistance to the members.

Senator Chavez of New Mexico moved that it be the sense of the Conference that members vote against the Knowland resolution. The motion was carried unanimously by a show of hands.

The Conference adjourned at 12:00 o'clock meridian, subject to call.

[signed] Brien McMahon  
Secretary

February 6 [1949]

[PRESENT]

✓ Anderson  
✓ Broughton  
✓ Byrd  
✓ Chapman  
x Chavez  
✓ Connally  
✓ Douglas  
x Downey  
x Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ Frear  
✓ Fulbright  
✓ George  
✓ Gillette  
x Green  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey  
✓ Holland  
x Humphrey  
✓ Hunt  
✓ Johnson, Colo.  
✓ Johnson, Tex.  
✓ Johnston  
x Kefauver  
x Kerr  
x Kilgore  
✓ Long

[PRESENT]

✓ Lucas  
✓ Magnuson  
✓ Maybank  
x McCarran  
✓ McClellan  
✓ McFarland  
x McGrath  
✓ McKellar  
✓ McMahan  
✓ Miller  
✓ Murray  
✓ Myers  
✓ Neely  
x O'Connor  
✓ O'Mahoney  
x Pepper  
✓ Robertson  
✓ Russell  
✓ Sparkman  
✓ Stennis  
✓ Taylor  
✓ Thomas of Okla  
x Thomas of Utah  
✓ Tydings  
x Wagner  
✓ Withers

✓ - present

x - absent

[February 23, 1949]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Wednesday, February 23, 1949 at 12:00 noon in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Conference met at 12:00 noon, and was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Lucas of Illinois.

Senator Lucas requested that Senator McMahon of Connecticut, the Secretary of the Conference, call the roll to ascertain the presence of a quorum. The roll having been called, Senator McMahon announced that thirty-seven members were present. (See attached roll call.)

Senator Lucas announced that he had called the Conference for the purpose of discussing the legislative program for the week beginning Monday, February 28. He referred to an agreement which he had entered into with Senators Hayden of Arizona and [Kenneth] Wherry of Nebraska to take up for consideration S. Res. 15, amending the so-called "cloture" rule of the Senate. He called attention to the fact that the Finance Committee had been considering H.R. 1211, extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, and that he hoped the bill could be reported to the Senate by the end of the week. He recalled his previous statement that he would not hesitate at any time to lay aside the consideration of the cloture resolution in order to bring up important legislative measures, and that if the Finance Committee should complete action on the Trade Agreements Bill, and report it, he as an individual was willing to have that measure taken up for debate. He called attention to the fact that the Republicans in the Senate would undoubtedly oppose any move to lay aside consideration of the cloture resolution.

Senator Lucas requested the Chairman of the Finance Committee, Senator George, to make a statement to the Conference. Senator George stated that while he could not make a definite statement as to when action on the bill would be completed, he thought it possible that committee action might be completed by the end of the week, but he called attention to the fact that the Republicans were delaying consideration of the bill in order that debate thereon would continue through March 5. Senator George explained that under the present Trade Agreements Act, the Tariff Commission would by the date of March 5 submit a report indicating minimum rates which, in its opinion, will safeguard domestic industry against serious injury or threat of injury (the so-called "peril point" report). Senator George stated that in the event the Finance Committee should complete its consideration of the bill by Friday, February 25, he would ask the Majority Leader to obtain consent to report the bill during the recess or adjournment of the Senate.

FEBRUARY 23, 1949

Senator George of Georgia stated further that he personally hoped the Trade Agreements legislation would be called up for consideration on Monday, February 28. Senator Lucas then stated that he wanted the members of the Conference to discuss the situation fully in order that he might ascertain the attitude of the members toward taking up the Trade Agreements Bill, or proceeding to debate the Cloture Resolution.

After a general discussion of the issues in which the following members of the Conference participated (Senator McMahon of Connecticut, Hayden of Arizona, McFarland of Arizona, Robertson of Virginia, Myers of Pennsylvania, McCarran of Nevada, O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Green of Rhode Island, Russell of Georgia, Magnuson of Washington, Hunt of Wyoming, Pepper of Florida, and Neely of West Virginia), Senator Lucas stated that in view of the expressions made by members of the Conference, he would move on Monday, February 28 to proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 15, amending the so-called "Cloture" rule of the Senate. He stated further that he would call another Conference during the week of February 28 for the purpose of discussing the question of the Small Business Committee, and possibly to discuss further the future legislative program. Senator Lucas then announced to the Conference that he personally would oppose any attempts to hold continuous sessions of the Senate in connection with consideration and debate on the resolution relating to the change in the Cloture rule, and read to the Conference a letter addressed to him by the official reporters of the Senate debates, Messrs. [James W.] Murphy and [John D.] Rhodes, in which those gentlemen called attention to the difficulties they and their staff would encounter in the event continuous sessions should be held, and requesting that if such a plan were to be put into effect by the leadership, they would like to be advised as early as possible in order that they might try to make arrangements to cope with the work involved.

The Conference adjourned at 2:00 P.M., subject to call.

[signed] Brien McMahon by FMJ [Felton M. Johnston]  
Secretary

February 23, 1949

[PRESENT]

✓ Anderson  
✓ Broughton  
✓ Byrd  
✓ Chapman  
✓ Chavez  
✓ Connally  
✓ Douglas  
✓ Downey

[PRESENT]

✓ Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ Frear  
✓ Fulbright  
✓ George  
✓ Gillette  
✓ Green  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1949-1951)

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Holland
- ✓ Humphrey
- ✓ Hunt
- ✓ Johnson, Colo.
- ✓ Johnson, Tex.
- ✓ Johnston
- ✓ Kefauver
- ✓ Kerr
- ✓ Kilgore
- ✓ Long
- ✓ Lucas
- ✓ Magnuson
- ✓ Maybank
- ✓ McCarran
- ✓ McClellan
- ✓ McFarland
- ✓ McGrath
- ✓ McKellar

[PRESENT]

- ✓ McMahon
- ✓ Miller
- ✓ Murray
- ✓ Myers
- ✓ Neely
- ✓ O'Connor
- ✓ O'Mahoney
- ✓ Pepper
- ✓ Robertson
- ✓ Russell
- ✓ Sparkman
- ✓ Stennis
- ✓ Taylor
- ✓ Thomas of Okla.
- ✓ Thomas of Utah
- ✓ Tydings
- ✓ Wagner
- ✓ Withers

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[April 11, 1949]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Monday, April 11, 1949, in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Lucas of Illinois, at 10:00 A.M. The Chairman designated Felton M. Johnston, Secretary for the Majority, to act as Secretary in the absence of the Secretary of the Conference, Senator McMahon of Connecticut, and requested that the Acting Secretary call the roll and ascertain the presence of a quorum. It was announced that thirty-five members were present.

Senator Lucas stated that he had received a letter from Senator McCarran of Nevada, suggesting that a meeting of the various standing Committee Chairmen be called in an effort to work out a schedule of major standing committee meetings so as to avoid conflicting meetings which now occur. Senator McCarran stated that he thought such a meeting of Committee Chairmen would be helpful. Senator Russell of Georgia suggested that prior to a meeting of committee chairmen that each chairman have the Chief Clerks of the committees meet in an effort to work out the best possible schedule for submission to the Committee Chairmen.

Senator Neely of West Virginia made a statement in which he asked whether it would be possible to repeal the Legislative Reorganization Act. Senator Lucas replied that he thought it would be advisable to give the matter further consideration before any action were taken by the Conference itself.

Senator Lucas then stated that he had called the Conference to consider the future legislative program: (1) Call of the calendar; (2) H.R.

APRIL 11, 1949

4046, Second Deficiency Appropriation Bill; (3) S. 1070, the Housing Bill of 1949; and (4) H.R. 1211, Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1949.

Senator Hill of Alabama asked regarding the status of the District of Columbia Rent Control Bill. Senator McGrath of Rhode Island, Chairman of the District of Columbia Committee, replied that the conference report was ready and that he was willing to have it taken up any day during the week, that he understood Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin would make an address in opposition to the report, but that he did not believe it would require any lengthy debate. Senator Hill of Alabama then made a statement regarding the Deficiency bill, particularly the provisions dealing with appropriations for a steam plant in the Tennessee Valley Authority. He urged that all members support the appropriation and vote against a proposal intended to be offered by Senator [Homer] Ferguson of Michigan, which would have the effect of nullifying the appropriation. Senator McKellar of Tennessee, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, likewise urged the members to support the T.V.A. steam plant appropriation and to oppose the Ferguson proposal.

Senator Connally of Texas, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, inquired as to when the leadership had in mind taking up for consideration of the so-called Atlantic Treaty. Senator Connally stated that the Foreign Relations Committee would take two or three weeks to hold hearings, but that he did want to point out the importance of the treaty and asked that the leadership keep it in mind in connection with the future legislative program.

Senator Maybank of South Carolina briefly discussed the Housing bill, and expressed the opinion that it would not require more than three days of debate.

Senator Chavez of New Mexico called attention to the fact that various appropriation bills were still to be acted upon, including the Labor-Federal Security, Civil Functions, Interior, and Treasury-Post Office, and District of Columbia.

Senator George of Georgia, Chairman of the Finance Committee, called attention of the members to the importance of the bill on the calendar extending the Trade Agreements Act, and mentioned the fact that his committee was now hearing testimony on the so-called "oleomargarine bill," and that later when the House had passed the bill, it would come before his committee. He stated that all these matters were of course controversial, and expressed the hope that it might be possible to begin debate on the Trade Agreements Bill in the Senate by the following Monday. Senator George stated that he expected lengthy debate and solid opposition on the part of the minority, and that undoubtedly the plan will be to make this bill one of the chief issues in future campaigns. He expressed the opinion that many amendments would be offered, some of which, if

adopted, would adversely affect the program. He stated that if the Act were to be extended, it must not be amended in any major degree. Senator George urged that all members so far as possible submerge their differences in the hope that it will be possible to pass the Trade Agreements legislation without major changes.

Senator McGrath of Rhode Island stated that Tuesday, April 12 would be the fourth anniversary of President Truman's having taken the oath of office, and invited all Senators to attend a buffet luncheon at 1:00 P.M. that day in the District of Columbia Committee Room.

Senator Lucas expressed the hope that members submerge their individual differences on major legislative issues recommended by the President.

Senator Ellender of Louisiana made a brief statement regarding the Housing bill, and urged that every effort be made to pass the bill during this week, stating that the bill had considerable Republican support, and that while certain Senators would make an effort to defeat the bill by offering an amendment regarding segregation as they would with respect to the so-called "Aid to Education" bill, he hoped that any such amendment would be opposed solidly by the Democratic members.

Senator Taylor of Idaho expressed the opinion that any amendment on the part of the Republicans with respect to the segregation issue would not fool anyone, but would be an attempt to kill the legislation.

Senator Humphrey of Minnesota expressed a similar opinion, and stated that he certainly hoped any attempt to raise the segregation issue would be unsuccessful, because it would materially jeopardize the housing and education bills. He stated that some of the Senators should certainly answer in no uncertain terms any remarks on the floor by Senators [John] Bricker of Ohio and [Harry] Cain of Washington.

Senator Lucas called attention to S. 900, Commodity Credit Corporation Bill, stating that only one real issue was involved—relating to the personnel of the Board. He stated that an effort was now being made to draft legislation that would satisfy all concerned.

Senator Neely of West Virginia asked if the report were true that eleven Republican Senators had made a decision to oppose any requests for unanimous consent, adding that he thought if this were true, the Conference should retaliate and serve notice that if such a proposal were adopted, it would mean that no unanimous consent request made by the Minority would be agreed to. Senator Connally of Texas suggested that the members wait to see if the group referred to does carry out its threat, and then take appropriate steps to meet the situation.

APRIL 11, 1949

Senator Lucas called attention to several bills to be considered—Federal Aid to Education, School Health, and Labor. He stated that in conferences with House leaders, he had been advised that the Labor bill would come up after the House had completed its Easter holidays, and that he hoped the Senate would in the meantime be debating the Trade Agreements legislation. Senator Lucas also stated that he thought it advisable that the Senate complete debate on the Trade Agreements bill and the Labor bill before taking up the Atlantic Treaty.

Senator Gillette of Iowa stated that following a recent visit to Iowa and Nebraska, he thought the public relations of the Democrats had deteriorated, and that something should be done to counteract the adverse press comments concerning the delay in consideration of bills in Congress. He added that he thought there was complete misunderstanding and expressed the opinion that the Conference should take some action and see what might be worked out to offset the reaction, suggesting further the creation of some publicity unit to get releases to the press. Senator Holland of Florida expressed the opinion that he thought wherever possible the issues to be debated be those where party members could stand together, adding that he thought that would be the best answer to the criticisms referred to by Senator Gillette. Both Senators Stennis of Mississippi and Holland of Florida stated that they knew of no Senators who wanted to carry forward the so-called segregation fight to other legislative issues, adding that they knew of no one entertaining such an attitude.

Senator Chavez of New Mexico urged that the leadership call up those bills where there is little or no controversy.

The Conference adjourned at 11:30 A.M., subject to call.

[signed] Felton M. Johnston  
Acting Secretary

Quorum Call, April 11, 1949

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Anderson
- ✓ Byrd
- ✓ Chapman
- ✓ Chavez
- ✓ Connally
- ✓ Douglas
- ✓ Downey
- ✓ Eastland
- ✓ Ellender
- ✓ Frear
- ✓ Fulbright
- ✓ George
- ✓ Gillette

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Graham
- ✓ Green
- ✓ Hayden
- ✓ Hill
- ✓ Hoey
- ✓ Holland
- ✓ Humphrey
- ✓ Hunt
- ✓ Johnson, Colo.
- ✓ Johnson, Tex.
- ✓ Johnston
- ✓ Kefauver
- ✓ Kerr
- ✓ Kilgore

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1949-1951)

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Long
- ✓ Lucas
- ✓ Magnuson
- ✓ Maybank
- ✓ McCarran
- ✓ McClellan
- ✓ McFarland
- ✓ McGrath
- ✓ McKellar
- ✓ McMahan
- ✓ Miller
- ✓ Murray
- ✓ Myers
- ✓ Neely

[PRESENT]

- ✓ O'Conor
- ✓ O'Mahoney
- ✓ Pepper
- ✓ Robertson
- ✓ Russell
- ✓ Sparkman
- ✓ Stennis
- ✓ Taylor
- ✓ Thomas of Okla
- ✓ Thomas of Utah
- ✓ Tydings
- ✓ Wagner
- ✓ Withers

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[June 3, 1949]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Friday, June 3, 1949, in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Lucas, at 10:15 A.M. The quorum was called by the Secretary, Senator McMahan of Connecticut. It was announced that forty-one members were present.

Senator Lucas stated that at a recent meeting of the Policy Committee, it was decided that S. 249, the so-called "National Labor Relations Act of 1949" be taken up for debate in the Senate, adding that the letter referred to in the press which had been written by Mr. [Philip] Murray, head of the C.I.O. [Congress of Industrial Organizations], urging that the labor bill be taken up, had nothing to do with the decision of the Policy Committee. Senator Lucas expressed the opinion that it would be more helpful to get a unanimous report from the Foreign Relations Committee on the Atlantic Treaty rather than to start debate on it before the Labor bill, because the press would stress the opposition speeches to the treaty. Senator Lucas stated that no attempt was being made to bind members of the Conference, but that he thought a full discussion of all phases of the question would be helpful, and he hoped that it would be possible for the members to reach as full an understanding as possible, and work out the best possible compromise. Senator Lucas stated that he had called the Conference for the purpose of having a full discussion of the labor bill and the amendments to be offered thereto.

Senator Lucas requested that Senator Thomas of Utah, Chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, make a statement explaining the labor bill as reported by the Committee, and the various amendments which he thought would be offered during the debate. Senator Thomas then made a full statement and answered inquiries submitted by various members. The following Senators ac-



JUNE 3, 1949

tively participated in the discussion in addition to Senator Thomas: Senators Hill of Alabama, Robertson of Virginia, Pepper of Florida, Connally of Texas, Tydings of Maryland, McFarland of Arizona, and Holland of Florida. Senators McFarland of Arizona and Holland of Florida both made statements regarding the effect of the bill on those states having laws on labor, calling attention to the fact that seventeen states now have special so-called "right to work" laws. Senator McFarland moved that a committee of three members be appointed to work out an amendment to protect the state laws in existence, suggesting that Senator Holland be designated as a member.

At this point Senator Lucas called attention to the presence of Vice President Barkley, and asked the Vice President to make any statement he wished to the Conference. The Vice President made a brief statement, in which he offered to be of assistance, stressing the importance of the pledge made in the 1948 campaign regarding the Taft-Hartley law. He urged presentation of as united a front as possible on the part of the Democratic members, and particularly mentioned the desirability of strengthening the Labor Department, and the Conciliation Service in the Labor Department.

Senator McFarland then resumed his statement regarding the motion he had made, and Senator Hill of Alabama suggested that Senators McFarland and Holland draft language to submit to the members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare for study and consideration.

Senator Thomas of Utah then resumed his explanation of the bill, and there followed a discussion of various points by Senators Tydings of Maryland, Green of Rhode Island, McMahon of Connecticut, Holland of Florida, Anderson of New Mexico, and Pepper of Florida. Senator McFarland withdrew his motion, but stated that he hoped the leadership and the members of the Labor Committee would give consideration to the suggestion he had made.

At 1:00 P.M. the Conference recessed, until 3:00 P.M., at which time Senator Thomas of Utah continued his explanation, and various sections of the bill were discussed by Senators Tydings of Maryland, Neely of West Virginia, Douglas of Illinois, and Humphrey of Minnesota. Senator Lucas made a statement in support of certain amendments which were to be offered to the bill on the Senate floor, and suggested that the Democratic members of the Labor Committee meet on the following Monday morning or as soon as possible to go over the suggested amendments.

The Conference adjourned at 5:40 P.M., subject to call.

[signed] Brien McMahon  
Secretary

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1949-1951)

Quorum Call, June 3, 1949

[PRESENT]

✓ Anderson  
✓ Byrd  
Chapman  
Chavez  
✓ Connally  
✓ Douglas  
✓ Downey  
✓ Eastland  
Ellender  
✓ Frear  
✓ Fulbright  
George  
✓ Gillette  
✓ Graham  
✓ Green  
Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey  
✓ Holland  
✓ Humphrey  
Hunt  
Johnson, Colo.  
✓ Johnson, Tex.  
✓ Johnston  
✓ Kefauver  
✓ Kerr  
✓ Kilgore

[PRESENT]

✓ Long  
✓ Lucas  
✓ Magnuson  
Maybank  
McCarran  
✓ McClellan  
✓ McFarland  
✓ McGrath  
✓ McKellar  
✓ McMahan  
Miller  
✓ Murray  
✓ Myers  
✓ Neely  
O'Connor  
✓ O'Mahoney  
✓ Pepper  
✓ Robertson  
✓ Russell  
✓ Sparkman  
Stennis  
✓ Taylor  
✓ Thomas of Okla  
✓ Thomas of Utah  
✓ Tydings  
Wagner  
✓ Withers

United States Senate  
MEMORANDUM

July 11, 1949

As of this date, the Chairman, Senator Lucas of Illinois, appointed Senator Thomas of Oklahoma and Senator Pepper of Florida to the Steering Committee.

The complete membership is as follows:

Senator Lucas, Ill., Chairman  
Senator McKellar, Tenn.  
Senator George, Ga.  
Senator Tydings, Md.  
Senator Green, R.I.  
Senator Hayden, Ariz.  
Senator O'Mahoney, Wyo.  
Senator Thomas, Utah  
Senator Connally, Tex.  
Senator Pepper, Florida

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Senator Thomas, Okla.

Ex Officio: Senator McMahon, Conn.  
(Secretary of the Conference)  
Senator Myers, Pa. (Whip)

[signed] Felton M. Johnston  
Secretary for the Majority

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[September 8, 1949]

Minutes of Democratic Conference held Thursday, September 8, 1949 in room 201, Senate Office Building.

Senator Lucas, Chairman, called the Conference to order at 10:00 A.M., and stated that because of the necessity for full discussion, and due to the limitation of time, a quorum call would be waived. He asked that the Secretary of the Conference keep a record of the attendance. (It was recorded that twenty-eight members were present.)

Senator Lucas stated that he had called the Conference for the purpose of having a full discussion of H.R. 1261, Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1949, and called upon Senator George of Georgia, the Chairman of the Committee, to make any statement he wished to the Conference. Senator George stated that the bill was of the utmost importance, adding that undoubtedly the Republican Minority would be solid in its attempt to amend the bill in major respects, and pointed out particularly the importance of and danger of the so-called "peril point" amendment to be offered by Senator [Eugene] Millikin of Colorado. Senator George stated that the amendments to be offered, if adopted, would have the effect of nullifying the act, but the so-called "peril point" amendment was by far the most important. Senator George explained the bill as reported by the Committee, and the various amendments which were to be offered.

Senator Connally of Texas stated that in the main, he intended to support the program, and that he would oppose the peril point amendment. He stated that he might support an amendment to be offered by Senator Thomas of Oklahoma relative to oil importations. Senator Tydings of Maryland stated that he intended to support Senator George's position so far as he could now anticipate. Senator Lucas mentioned that it was the purpose of the administration to oppose the peril point amendment particularly, and urged that Senators present talk to other Senators who were doubtful as to their positions on the amendment. Senator Robertson of Virginia also discussed the peril point amendment, stating that he thought it was of the utmost importance to have it rejected and that he would support Senator George in every way, and he urged that Senators join in the debate on the bill. Senator Green of Rhode Island stated that

he would support Senator George of Georgia's position. Senators Green of Rhode Island, Gillette of Iowa, and Pepper of Florida all stated they would support Senator George.

Senator McFarland of Arizona called the attention of the Conference to the existing excise tax on copper importations, and to a bill on the calendar H.R. 5327, which would continue until June 30, 1950, the suspension of duties and import taxes on metal scrap. He stated that an amendment had been adopted by the Finance Committee to this bill, as reported, which would restore the two cent excise tax suspension. Senator McFarland urged that the leadership confer with the White House and the officials of the State Department, and asked that consideration be given to this matter of the excise tax being restored. He stated that copper importations were increasing, and that he hoped the Administration's attitude in opposition to the restoration would be changed.

Senator Maybank of South Carolina stated that he had not made up his mind as to his attitude on the bill as a whole, and that he wanted to give it further study, particularly with respect to the effect of the bill on textiles. Senator George stated that items such as watches, copper, cotton, textiles, and chinaware were all such that he thought undoubtedly the Department would attempt to renegotiate agreements relating to these products.

Senator Hayden of Arizona discussed the matter of copper importations, stating that it was a matter of considerable importance to his state. He expressed the opinion that the "peril point" amendment would not be of great assistance to those who were not satisfied with the trade agreements program.

Senator McFarland of Arizona stated that if he and those who held similar views went along on the bill, it would be at a sacrifice to their States, and that he felt there should be some indication of sacrifice on the part of the Administration.

Senator George then made an additional statement, in which he stressed the fact that the trade agreements program was a broad one, and that while he did not believe the Administration could improve the program and procedure followed, and that certain precautionary steps should be taken, as well as the renegotiation of certain agreements, he thought that on the whole the program had not moved badly, and that its continuation was important to the country and to the party. He expressed the personal opinion that in large part opposition to the program was based on the fear of what might happen in the future, although he admitted that some particular products had been injured.

Senators Graham of North Carolina and Humphrey of Minnesota stated that they intended to support Senator George and the bill as recommended by the Committee.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1949

Senator Holland of Florida stated that he had every expectation of going along with the President and the Administration in the program, but he expressed the hope that somehow the leadership in cooperation with the Administration could work out a more realistic approach. He questioned particularly the treatment of fresh vegetables (tomatoes and beans), and stated that the party organization should see that industries are not disadvantageously affected. He thought that machinery should be set up which would bring about a quick readjustment where serious trouble begins. He stated that in the treatment of the program more sympathy, flexibility, and a better balance was needed.

Senator Lucas expressed the opinion that something should be done regarding the procedure followed in negotiating agreements, and that he thought whatever might be done could possibly be accomplished through the Finance Committee. Senator Lucas stated that watches and furs were products which were being hurt in his state as a result of the program.

Senator Kerr of Oklahoma made a brief statement with respect to the item of watches and the treatment accorded the watch industry in the trade agreements program. He expressed the opinion that the agreement with Switzerland was questionable, and stated that he wished to associate himself with Senator Holland in his views.

Senator Lucas stated that in his opinion the only way to hold Democratic Senators together would be to work something out to improve the administration of the act. Otherwise, he stated that when the act is next up for renewal, there would be serious trouble. He suggested that Senator George and Representative [Robert L.] Doughton of North Carolina, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, might be able to work some program out, possibly through the machinery of a joint House and Senate Committee. Senator Lucas stated further that he planned to discuss the feeling of individual Senators regarding certain aspects of the program with the President on the following Monday. He urged Senators to discuss the bill with individual doubtful Senators. Senator McKellar of Tennessee urged Senator Lucas to make every effort to work out something in the way of procedure which would be helpful in the administration of the program.

Senator Frear of Delaware stated that while he was not 100% sold against the peril point amendment, he would be glad to discuss the various aspects of the program with Senators George and Lucas, and he added that he did not at this time want to be considered as against the trade agreements program.

The Conference adjourned at 11:25 A.M., subject to call.

[signed] Brien McMahon by FMJ [Felton M. Johnston]  
Secretary

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1949-1951)

Quorum Call, September 8, 1949

[PRESENT]

Anderson  
 Byrd  
 ✓ Chapman  
 Chavez  
 ✓ Connally  
 ✓ Douglas  
 Downey  
 Eastland  
 Ellender  
 ✓ Frear  
 Fulbright  
 ✓ George  
 ✓ Gillette  
 ✓ Graham  
 ✓ Green  
 ✓ Hayden  
 Hill  
 Hoey  
 ✓ Holland  
 ✓ Humphrey  
 Hunt  
 Johnson, Colo.  
 Johnson, Tex.  
 ✓ Johnston  
 Kefauver  
 ✓ Kerr

[PRESENT]

✓ Kilgore  
 ✓ Leahy  
 Long  
 ✓ Lucas  
 Magnuson  
 ✓ Maybank  
 McCarran  
 McClellan  
 ✓ McFarland  
 ✓ McKellar  
 ✓ McMahan  
 ✓ Miller  
 ✓ Murray  
 ✓ Myers  
 Neely  
 O'Connor  
 O'Mahoney  
 ✓ Pepper  
 ✓ Robertson  
 Russell  
 ✓ Sparkman  
 Stennis  
 Taylor  
 Thomas of Okla.  
 ✓ Thomas of Utah  
 ✓ Tydings  
 Withers

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[January 5, 1950]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, Thursday, January 5, 1950, Room 201, Senate Office Building, 10:15 A.M.

The Conference met at 10:15 A.M. and was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Lucas of Illinois.

Senator Lucas requested that Senator McMahan of Connecticut, the Secretary of the Conference, call the roll to ascertain the presence of a quorum. The roll having been called, Senator McMahan announced that forty-seven members were present. (See attached roll call.)

Senator Lucas then introduced the new Senators: Herbert H. Lehman of New York, and William Benton of Connecticut, both of whom were applauded by members of the Conference.

Senator McMahan offered the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the Conference be authorized and directed to prepare appropriate resolutions as tributes to the memories of Hon. J. Melville Broughton, late a Senat[or] from the State of North Carolina, and Hon. Bert H. Miller, late

JANUARY 5, 1950

a Senator from the State of Idaho; and that copies of the resolutions be transmitted to the families of the deceased.

Senator Lucas stated that various photographers had requested that permission be granted them to take pictures of the Senate Chamber while the Senate is in session. He stated that the photographers were desirous of taking pictures in view of the changes which have been made in the Chamber, due to the new roof having been installed. Following a discussion, by a show of hands vote the request was denied.

Senator Hill of Alabama addressed the Conference and raised a question regarding various individuals not entitled to admittance to the Senate floor under the rules, who were making a practice of being on the Senate floor, and remaining there. Senator Hill suggested that something should be done because the situation was becoming increasingly more difficult.

Senator Hayden of Arizona stated that during the last session, he, in his capacity as Chairman of the Rules Committee, had written a letter to all Senators in which he urged that Senators inform the members of their own office staff and members of their Committee staff, urging that they refrain from coming to the Senate floor except where it was absolutely necessary.

Senator Maybank made a motion that no one be allowed in the Democratic cloakroom except Senators.

Senators Frear of Delaware, Stennis of Mississippi, McClellan of Arkansas, and McFarland of Arizona all made brief statements on this subject.

Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming stated that the question was very complex, and suggested that the Conference express its concern regarding the loitering of persons on the Senate floor and in the Democratic cloakroom, and urged that the entire matter be referred to the Rules Committee with a request that it make a study of the matter and report to the Conference within one week.

Senator McCarran of Nevada called attention to the complexity of the problem, stating that it was not a matter of easy solution and suggested that each Senator in his own discretion be allowed to request the individual member of his office staff or Committee staff to come to the Senate floor when it was necessary for official purposes.

Senator O'Mahoney put his suggestion in the form of a motion which was carried unanimously.

Senator Hayden stated that the best way to handle the problem would be for Senators themselves to cooperate by insisting that their own office personnel and Committee staff personnel adhere to the rules.

Senator Magnuson of Washington stressed the importance of keeping unauthorized personnel out of the Democratic cloakroom.

Senator Maybank then made the following motion:

That no person be permitted in the Democratic Cloakroom of the Senate except Senators, members of the House of Representatives, pages, and officers of the Senate.

which was carried unanimously.

Senator Lucas then informed the Committee that the major purpose for calling the Conference was for members to discuss the pending bill to repeal the taxes on oleomargarine. He stated that amendments relating to either repealing or reducing existing excise taxes and amendments regarding the so-called civil rights issue would undoubtedly be offered to the pending bill, and he expressed the hope that members would vote against these amendments, adding that the adoption of any such amendments would confuse the issue and might result in the oleomargarine bill, as well as the excise tax reduction or repeal, being lost. He expressed the personal opinion that the House, which originates revenue legislation, should consider the matter first and send it to the Senate for consideration. Senator Lucas then asked Senator George to make a statement to the Conference in his capacity as Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

Senator George addressed the Conference and expressed the hope that no amendments would be offered to the oleomargarine bill. He stated that the pending oleomargarine bill did not originate in the House Ways and Means Committee, but in the House Committee on Agriculture, and that if excise tax amendments to the bill were adopted, there would be a question of jurisdiction raised in the House of Representatives, and in all likelihood it would result in no action at all being taken on either proposal. Senator George stated that he favored the repeal of certain excise taxes whether the revenue loss is made up or not. He called attention to the bill on the calendar containing certain excise tax features, and said that if a majority of the Senate thinks that it should take the initiative, he thought it would be preferable to take up that bill for consideration (H.R. 3905, to amend sec. 3121 of the Internal Revenue Code). Senator George urged that no excise tax amendments be offered to the bill, adding that he thought it would be much better to allow the House to proceed and consider the matter and send the legislation to the Senate. In response to a question from Senator Lucas, Senator George stated that he had discussed the matter with Representative [Robert L.] Doughton of North Carolina, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, and with Secretary of the Treasury [John W.] Snyder. Senator George stated that he had expressed the hope to Mr. Doughton that the consideration of excise taxes would be handled promptly and separately from general reve-



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nue legislation. Senator George added that Mr. Doughton informed him that in his opinion the members of his Committee would be very resentful if an excise tax amendment should be adopted to the oleomargarine bill. He stated that Mr. Doughton personally preferred one bill on the entire subject of taxation, including treatment of excise taxes. Senator George stated also that if the Ways and means Committee of the House was too slow in its consideration of the matter, then the Senate could proceed to consideration of the bill on the calendar to which reference had previously been made (H.R. 3905). Senator McCarran of Nevada stated that while he personally would not offer amendments on the subject of excise taxes to the pending bill, he expressed the hope that the matter could be taken up with a reasonable degree of speed, because there was great interest in various phases of excise taxes. Senator George stated that if the Senate should take up the bill on the calendar, then Senator McCarran and other Senators who were interested in individual amendments could offer them at that time.

Senator Fulbright of Arkansas called attention to previous efforts which had been made to get a vote on the oleomargarine bill, stating that he thought both sides were entitled to a clear cut decision without having extraneous matters involved.

Senator Hunt of Wyoming expressed the opinion that extraneous amendments should be rejected, adding that he thought it would have a bad effect on the country if the Senate should become involved in a long discussion of extraneous amendments to the bill.

Senator Frear of Delaware asked regarding the offering of germane amendments to the bill, stating that he might be interested in offering one, to which Senator Lucas replied that germane amendments were always in order, and that the discussion now taking place related to only those amendments which were not strictly germane.

Senator Maybank of South Carolina expressed himself as being in accord with the position taken by Senator George.

Senator Gillette of Iowa stated that while he thought it was a mistake that the bill had been referred to the Committee on Finance instead of the Committee on Agriculture, he was opposed to any delay, and would like to keep debate to a minimum, and that he thought the bill should be debated and voted upon on its own merits. He stated further that he would oppose any excise tax amendments which might be offered. Senator Gillette also said that he had no desire to support amendments which do not relate to the subject matter of the bill.

Senator Lucas stated that if the members on the Democratic side of the aisle could unite in rejecting non-germane amendments, it would have a very salutary effect.

Senator Douglas of Illinois called attention to the fact that the question of amendments being offered which were not germane was not entirely one that could be determined by the Democratic side of the aisle, adding that there was a great difference between amendments relating to excise taxes and amendments dealing with civil rights. He stated that the question of civil rights amendments placed the Northern and Western Democrats in a very difficult position, and that it would be difficult to vote against civil rights amendments if offered. He stated that if no assurance could be given that an opportunity would be afforded those interested in civil rights for a vote on the various phases of the subject, then reluctantly he would have to vote for civil rights amendments if offered.

Senator Robertson of Virginia stressed the importance of the attitude of the House of Representatives on matters dealing with excise taxes, stating that so far as the F.E.P.C [Fair Employment Practice Commission] matter were concerned, he would have no great opposition to a vote if full opportunity could be given to discussing the matter thoroughly.<sup>1</sup>

Senator Lucas stated that in due course the civil rights legislation would be called up for debate and action.

Senator Anderson of New Mexico stated that if offered, civil rights amendments would undoubtedly result in a filibuster, and if so, then the oleomargarine matter might as well be withdrawn.

Senator Lucas then stated that if civil rights amendments were offered to the oleomargarine bill and to other important bills coming before the Senate, it would result in delay and would mean the ruining of the entire legislative program. He reiterated his intention of calling up F.E.P.C., debating it for a week or ten days, and then filing a cloture petition, and if cloture could not be invoked, the legislation would then be dropped.

Senator Russell of Georgia addressed the Conference, stating that as a member of the Majority Policy Committee, he wished to point out that if the Senate wished to place itself in a totally disorganized position, the way to do so would be to offer various civil rights amendments to the pending legislation and other important bills. He called attention to the fact that the existing cloture rule would not permit a vote on civil rights amendments to the oleomargarine bill because of the question of germaneness.

<sup>1</sup> Despite President Truman's efforts in 1945 to preserve the wartime Fair Employment Practice Committee (which sought to overcome racial discrimination in defense employment) as a permanent commission, Congress allowed the F.E.P.C. to go out of existence. A filibuster in the Senate killed the bill again in 1946, and it was not reported to the Senate floor during the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress. On February 23, 1950, the House enacted a version of the bill that relied on voluntary rather than compulsory compliance. Senate supporters refused to accept this compromise, and again—on May 19 and July 12—the Senate was unable to vote cloture to cut off filibustering against the bill.

JANUARY 5, 1950

Senator Myers of Pennsylvania addressed the Conference, stating that in his opinion the approach to this matter should be in an orderly fashion. He added that he would vote against excise tax amendments and civil rights amendments offered to the bill because in his opinion the injection of extraneous matters would probably result in no legislation at all. He agreed with Senator Lucas' position.

Senator Humphrey of Minnesota stated that he was opposed to the offering of ungermane amendments to the bill, but that he did want an opportunity to vote on the various civil rights proposals. He expressed the hope that an opportunity would be given for such votes. He pointed out that it would be difficult to vote in opposition to civil rights amendments, and that while he personally could not commit himself regarding his vote at the present time on civil rights amendments, he would make every effort to discourage the offering of such amendments.

Senator McFarland of Arizona addressed the Conference and stressed the fact that the oleomargarine bill in the main was a consumer bill, and that he was supporting it as such. He added that the offering and supporting of non-germane amendments would adversely affect the party and would result in delay, and that in his opinion the people were opposed to a Congress of inaction.

Senator Lehman of New York made a statement in which he agreed with Senator George regarding the matter of excise tax amendments, adding that he thought each bill should stand on its own merits, and that he personally would oppose such amendments which would be offered which would adversely affect the legislation. He added, however, that he was in a difficult position with respect to the civil rights amendments if offered, and that he did not know at the present time what his position would be, adding that he would make his decision later.

Senator Holland of Florida expressed the hope that amendments dealing with excise taxes or any other non-germane subject should be opposed by members of the Conference and that the Conference itself should be united.

Senator O'Connor of Maryland stated that he wished to make a motion that it be the sense of the Conference, while recognizing the right of any individual Senator to offer any amendment of any kind, that no amendments pertaining to the subject of civil rights or excise taxes be offered to the pending bill.

Senator Kilgore of West Virginia suggested that while he felt all members could oppose amendments dealing with excise taxes, the matter of civil rights was somewhat different, and that he thought some effort should be made to work out an arrangement whereby members interested in this subject could be given an opportunity to vote on the question.

Senator Graham of North Carolina stated that he would vote against any amendments which were not germane, and seconded Senator O'Connor's motion.

Senator Pepper of Florida stated that he thought Senator O'Connor's motion should be adopted, but suggested omitting a specific reference to excise taxes and civil rights, and confining it to non-germane amendments.

In response to questions from members of the Conference, Senator George stated that in his opinion excise tax amendments were technically germane in view of the fact that the bill itself dealt with the Internal Revenue Code. Senator O'Connor then modified his motion, as follows:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Conference that during the present session of Congress, amendments which are not germane be not offered to pending legislation.

Senator O'Connor's motion was agreed to unanimously by voice vote.

Senator Lucas stated that he planned to call another Conference at an early date to continue the discussion of the future legislative program.

The Conference adjourned at 12:10 P.M.

[signed] Brien McMahon by Felton Johnston  
Secretary

Quorum Call, January 5, 1950

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Anderson
- ✓ Benton
- ✓ Byrd
- ✓ Chapman
- ✓ Chavez
- ✓ Connally
- ✓ Douglas
- ✓ Downey
- ✓ Eastland
- ✓ Ellender
- ✓ Frear
- ✓ Fulbright
- ✓ George
- ✓ Gillette
- ✓ Graham
- ✓ Green
- ✓ Hayden
- ✓ Hill
- ✓ Hoey
- ✓ Holland
- ✓ Humphrey
- ✓ Hunt
- ✓ Johnson, Colo.

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Johnson, Tex.
- ✓ Johnston
- ✓ Kefauver
- ✓ Kerr
- ✓ Kilgore
- ✓ Leahy
- ✓ Lehman
- ✓ Long
- ✓ Lucas
- ✓ Magnuson
- ✓ Maybank
- ✓ McCarran
- ✓ McClellan
- ✓ McFarland
- ✓ McKellar
- ✓ McMahon
- ✓ Murray
- ✓ Myers
- ✓ Neely
- ✓ O'Connor
- ✓ O'Mahoney
- ✓ Pepper
- ✓ Robertson
- ✓ Russell

JANUARY 5, 1950

[PRESENT]

✓ Sparkman  
✓ Stennis  
✓ Taylor  
Thomas of Okla

[PRESENT]

Thomas of Utah  
Tydings  
Withers

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[January 17, 1950]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, Tuesday, January 17, 1950 at 10:00 A.M., Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Lucas of Illinois. The Chairman stated that without objection, a quorum call would be waived, in view of the fact that the Senate would convene at 11:00 o'clock today. (A record was kept of the attendance. Thirty-five members were present; see attached list.) Mr. Leslie L. Biffle, Secretary of the Senate, and Mr. Joseph C. Duke, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, were also present.

Senator Lucas stated that as the members were aware, a vote was to be taken at 1:00 P.M. today on the [Alexander] Wiley substitute amendment to the oleomargarine bill and all amendments thereto which were germane. He expressed the hope that the members would vote in opposition to any amendments relating to excise taxes or to the so-called civil rights proposals. Senator Lucas stated further that he had received a telegram from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, urging that any amendments relating to civil rights which might be offered to the oleomargarine bill be rejected. He stated that he would discuss with members of the Policy Committee the question of making a motion to table the civil rights amendments when offered.

Senator Lehman of New York made a statement to the Conference stating that he would not support amendments dealing with civil rights, and that he would either vote against them or would vote to table them.

Senator Douglas of Illinois stated that he desired very much to cooperate with the leadership, and that he wanted the greatest degree of harmony. He stated, however, that he thought cooperation should be a two-way street, and that the southern Senators should cooperate and reciprocate. Senator Douglas stated that in the past he and others who feel as he does regarding civil rights proposals had shown their desire to cooperate with the southern Senators in support of legislation beneficial to that area.

Senator Robertson of Virginia stated that he personally thought that the passage of the oleomargarine bill as such was not any favor to him. He stated that the matter of civil rights proposals was not a question of party harmony, but a question of assisting the leadership

to put its program through. He discussed briefly the efforts of the Republicans in playing politics with the foreign policy of the administration in Formosa and in China.

Senator Lucas stated that he hoped it was the unanimous feeling of the Democratic members that they stand back of Senator Connally, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and the majority of the Committee, regarding administration policy with respect to Formosa.

Senator Fulbright of Arkansas stated that he did not consider the oleomargarine bill a measure beneficial to the South only. He stated that there was great interest in the legislation all over the country, and that, as a matter of fact, the initiative behind the legislation started in the large metropolitan centers.

Senator McKellar of Tennessee stated that he had received more mail from the so-called dairy group than he had from persons interested in the repeal of the oleomargarine taxes. He stated that he felt it was not a southern or sectional measure, and that he intended voting with the leadership in support of the oleomargarine bill as reported by the Finance Committee.

Senator Humphrey of Minnesota stated that he did not want the party to make a mistake regarding the oleomargarine bill, stressing the fact that there is a considerable difference of opinion regarding its merits. With respect to the civil rights amendments, he paid tribute to Senator Gillette of Iowa, stating that the Senator had shown remarkable leadership in standing firm against non-germane amendments to the bill. He added that there was great interest in the civil rights proposals, and he personally wanted to stand with the leadership, but that voting to table the civil rights amendments would be very difficult. He stated that those who shared his views felt that they had [made] great concessions in the past, and that he thought Senators should be given an opportunity to vote directly on the question of civil rights.

Senator Holland of Florida stated that he did not agree with Senator Douglas regarding the attitude of southern Senators, adding that excluding the civil rights amendments, there were many issues where the southerners had supported proposals in order to write a good party record. He mentioned particularly housing legislation, extension of the Trade Agreements Act, the [David] Lilienthal confirmation [to head the Atomic Energy Commission], and the [John] Carson confirmation [to the Federal Trade Commission]; and stated further that there was no disposition on his part and the part of the southern Senators not to go along in the great majority of measures coming before the Senate.

Senator Russell of Georgia stated that he personally as well as other Senators had made every effort to work out some kind of com-

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promise regarding the civil rights proposals, and that he is willing to go more than half way in trying to work out a proper compromise.

Senator Lucas stated that he had hoped there would be an opportunity at this Conference to discuss the matter of establishing a Small Business Committee. He called attention to S. Res. 58 now on the Senate calendar, creating a standing Committee on Small Business, and also to S. Res. 29, introduced by Senator Murray, which has been reported adversely by the Committee on Banking and Currency, and which is now before the Committee on Rules and Administration. He stated that S. Res. 29 would authorize the appointment of a special Committee on Small Business. Senator Lucas stated that numerous Senators had asked him to bring S. Res. 58 up for consideration, but that he personally thought another Conference should be called for discussion of this question. He called attention to the fact that the President's annual message to Congress contained recommendations respecting assistance to small business, and added that he thought the matter would be an important issue in the coming campaign.

Senator Lucas then stated that following the disposition of the oleomargarine bill, the Senate would consider H.R. 1243, a bill amending the Hatch Act, and that he assumed the Republicans would make a political issue of it. He stated that he had been informed that former Senator Hatch of New Mexico had written a letter expressing the hope that the bill would pass.

Senator Hayden made a statement in explanation of H.R. 1243, stating that the Rules and Administration Committee had reported the bill unanimously, and he urged Senators to read the Committee report.

Senator Lucas also stated that following the disposition of H.R. 1243, the so-called Equal Rights Amendment, S.J. Res. 25, would be considered, but that on January 20, by order of the Senate, the basing point conference report would be laid down by the Chair, and any business pending at that time would be temporarily laid aside.

Senator Hayden stated that he personally opposed the Equal Rights Amendment as reported by the Committee, and that he was thinking of offering an amendment to clarify the language. He called attention to the fact that many groups representing working women were opposed to the amendment.

Senator Pepper of Florida made a statement in which he said that he certainly did not feel that it was the desire of the amendment to destroy any rights now enjoyed by women, and that it might be a good idea for amendments to be drafted making it clear on that point.

Senator Gillette of Iowa made a statement concerning the Equal Rights Amendment, and remarked that not all groups representing

working women were opposed to it. Senator Gillette then called the attention of the Conference to the matter of the Chief Executive sending communications to the Vice President, which the Vice President laid down and had read to the Senate. Senator Gillette stated that he had opposed this practice in the past, and stated that if it was continued, he would make a point of order against the practice. He said that he considered that it meant the Chief Executive was injecting himself in Senate debate. He stated that he wanted the leadership to be informed of his feeling about the matter and stated that if any further attempt were made, he would raise a point of order. He stated that he wanted his position known to the Conference, so that the leadership would know what to expect. In response to a question from Senator Lucas, Senator Gillette agreed that the President could send a communication to the Majority Leader, and Senator Gillette stated that he did not question the legality of such a practice, although he did question the propriety of doing so.

Senator Lucas again expressed the hope that all Democratic Senators would back up the policy of the administration regarding China and Formosa; and that he personally thought it might be well to have another Conference on this issue alone. He urged that members debate the issue when it was brought up in the future on the floor of the Senate.

Senator Anderson of New Mexico expressed the opinion that it was difficult to discuss issues such as the Formosa policy, the Equal Rights Amendment, the basing point legislation, and urged that conferences be frequently held where the issues could be explained and discussed by the members. He stated that he did not feel qualified to participate actively in the debate regarding Formosa, and urged that the members be given information to assist them in debating and discussing issues on the Senate floor. He urged also that more conferences be held.

Senator Ellender of Louisiana stated that along with Senator Ferguson, he had attended a conference in Tokyo where General [Douglas] MacArthur was present. He stated that there was no doubt that General MacArthur was strongly of the opinion that Formosa should be protected. Senator Ellender stated that he thought the State Department should offer the Congress positive evidence that Formosa belongs to China. He added that he was preparing an address which might result in a different position from that taken by the majority of the Democratic Senators. He stated that he thought the whole question depended on whether Formosa was a part of China, and urged the State Department to make as strong a case as possible along that line.

Senator Pepper of Florida discussed the Formosa question, and urged that Senators read the speech on that subject given by Sec-



JANUARY 17, 1950

retary of State Dean Acheson at a luncheon meeting in the National Press Club a few days ago.

The Conference adjourned at 11:05 A.M.

[signed] Brien McMahon by Felton Johnston  
Secretary

Attendance, January 17, 1950

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Anderson
- ✓ Benton
- Byrd
- Chapman
- Chavez
- Connally
- ✓ Douglas
- Downey
- Eastland
- ✓ Ellender
- ✓ Frear
- ✓ Fulbright
- George
- ✓ Gillette
- ✓ Graham
- Green
- ✓ Hayden
- ✓ Hill
- ✓ Hoey
- ✓ Holland
- ✓ Humphrey
- ✓ Hunt
- Johnson, Colo.
- ✓ Johnson, Tex.
- ✓ Johnston
- Kefauver
- Kerr

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Kilgore
- ✓ Leahy
- ✓ Lehman
- ✓ Long
- ✓ Lucas
- Magnuson
- ✓ Maybank
- ✓ McCarran
- ✓ McClellan
- ✓ McFarland
- ✓ McKellar
- ✓ McMahon
- ✓ Murray
- Myers
- ✓ Neely
- ✓ O'Connor
- O'Mahoney
- ✓ Pepper
- ✓ Robertson
- ✓ Russell
- Sparkman
- Stennis
- ✓ Taylor
- Thomas of Okla
- ✓ Thomas of Utah
- Tydings
- Withers

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[January 26, 1950]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, Tuesday, January 26, 1950, Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Conference was called to order at 10:00 A.M. by Senator McMahon (Conn.), Secretary of the Conference, who stated that the Chairman, Senator Lucas (Ill.) was absent because of illness, and had requested that he, Senator McMahon, preside. Following a quorum call, it was announced that thirty-seven Senators were present.

Senator McMahon stated that Senator Lucas had called the Conference for the purpose of having a general discussion of the various

resolutions relating to the creating of a Small Business Committee: S. Res. 58, S. Res. 29, S. Res. 55, S. Res. 101, and S. Res. 215.

At the request of Senator Johnson (Colo.), the acting Secretary who was designated by Senator McMahon to serve (Felton M. Johnston, Secretary for the Majority) noted that Senator Johnson had to leave the meeting because of an important meeting of the Finance Committee. He requested that his opposition be made completely clear to the creation either of a special Committee on Small Business or a standing Committee on Small Business.

Senator McMahon stated that the subject had been discussed at several Policy Committee meetings, and that a majority of the Committee preferred the creation of a special Committee, rather than a standing Committee on Small Business.

Senator Maybank (S.C.), Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, outlined his own position, stating that while he did not oppose the majority sentiment if it favored a special Committee, he urged that if created, its recommendations be sent to the Banking and Currency Committee. He also stressed the political issues involved. He stated that if the administration wanted to accomplish something for small business it should throw its support behind small business legislation.

Senator Hayden (Ariz.) made a brief statement in explanation of S. Res. 29, stating that when it was reported from the Rules Committee, it had the full support of the Republican membership, and that enough Democrats were present to report it favorably.

Senator Murray (Mont.) spoke briefly in support of the creation of a special Committee, stressing the experience of the previous Committees, and stated that accomplishments in the past justified its creation.

Senator Robertson (Va.) spoke in opposition to the creation of either a standing or a special Committee, calling attention to the fact that nearly every Democratic Senator had voted previously against the creation of a special Committee; he stated that for the Conference to go on record as supporting a special Committee would be a repudiation of the Banking and Currency Committee. He stated that in his opinion small business was more interested in tax relief than anything else.

Senator Holland (Fla.) made a statement in which he raised the question of jurisdiction; he stated that he would prefer a standing Committee rather than a special Committee, but as a compromise he suggested a special Senate resolution recognizing the status of the special sub-committee of the Banking and Currency Committee dedicated solely to Small Business problems.

Senator Sparkman (Ala.) stated that the present sub-committee of the Banking and Currency Committee dealing with small business

JANUARY 26, 1950

has the powers to which Senator Holland referred, and that in addition he thought the sub-committee was functioning well and with good results.

Senator McMahan stated that he agreed with Senator Holland that the present sub-committee of the Banking and Currency Committee had not been fully recognized by small business. He stated again that a majority of the Policy Committee thought the creation of a special Committee on Small Business was preferable, and stressed the political importance of the problem being dealt with quickly.

Senator Fulbright (Ark.) stated that in general he agreed with Senator Robertson and that, if any committee were to be created, it should be a standing Committee, rather than a special Committee. He expressed the opinion that the creation of a special Committee would create confusion, and would result in legislation being delayed.

Senator Frear (Del.) stated that in his opinion Small Business was more interested in tax relief, particularly those businesses up to \$75,000 in size.

Senator McCarran (Nev.) stated that in his opinion the Banking and Currency Committee has ample jurisdiction, and that to create a special Committee would delay action on necessary legislation.

Senator Pepper (Fla.) spoke in support of a special Committee, stated that he thought past experience with a special Committee justified its creation; that the creation of a standing Committee would raise difficult questions of jurisdiction. He called attention to the fact that the House of Representatives had recognized the importance of the problem by the creation of a special Committee.

Senator Magnuson (Wash.) stated that in his opinion it would be difficult to define the jurisdiction of a standing Committee on Small Business, that he thought it would result in an impossible legislative situation, and that the only way to handle the situation for practical and political reasons would be to establish a special Committee.

Senator Benton (Conn.) made a statement discussing the history of small business, and called attention to his own experiences and background in it. He stated there was a great need for legislation, and while he did not know the best procedure, he thought a standing Committee might be preferable. He called particular attention to the recommendations of the Committee for Economic Development regarding necessary tax relief for small business.

Senator Hunt (Wyo.) urged the Conference to give consideration to Senator Benton's suggestions, adding that Senator Benton had a fresh background on the subject, and has been in close touch with the thinking of the people.

Senator Holland (Fla.) reiterated his suggestion, adding that he thought that the only practical course to follow now, but that he would not give up his feeling that it would be necessary to establish a standing Committee in due course of time.

Senator Kefauver (Tenn.) expressed the opinion that the Republicans were making headway politically by setting themselves up as the Senate voice of Small Business. He stated that he thought the problem should be left to individual Senators for their determination when the matter is voted on.

Senator Lehman (N.Y.) stated that if any committee is to be created, he thinks it should be a special Small Business Committee, which is recognized by small business groups. He stated that small business was interested in tax relief, particularly relief from excise taxes.

Senator Taylor (Idaho) stated that while he thought the sub-committee of the Banking and Currency Committee was doing a good job, under the circumstances he thought the creation of a special Committee would result in the proper publicity, credit, and recognition, and he stated that he recommended taking a different stand from the other members of the Banking and Currency Committee.

Senator Johnson (Colo.) stated that as Chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, he was unalterably opposed to the creation of either a standing Committee or a special Committee, stating that its creation would result in the muddying of the waters on legislation, that to take such a step would be a mistake and a reflection on the standing committees, and that whatever legislation is necessary should be considered by standing Committees.

Senator Anderson stated that he was particularly interested in the political aspects of the problem; that he agreed with Senator Lehman that the question of tax relief was the main one; that he thought the Conference should go on record that a conference should be had with the leadership of the House to see what is being accomplished on that side, and that if those Senators up for reelection think it advisable to create a special Committee, it would be satisfactory to him, but that he would not want a letdown to result if such a Committee were created.

There was no definite decision reached by the Conference on the question before it. The Conference adjourned at 12:10 P.M., subject to call.

[signed] Felton M. Johnston  
Secretary for the Majority, Acting Secretary

JANUARY 26, 1950

Attendance, January 26, 1950

[PRESENT]

✓ Anderson  
✓ Benton  
Byrd  
✓ Chapman  
Chavez  
Connally  
✓ Douglas  
✓ Downey  
Eastland  
Ellender  
✓ Frear  
✓ Fulbright  
George  
✓ Gillette  
✓ Graham  
✓ Green  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
Hoey  
✓ Holland  
✓ Humphrey  
✓ Hunt  
✓ Johnson, Colo.  
✓ Johnson, Tex.  
✓ Johnston  
✓ Kefauver  
Kerr

[PRESENT]

Kilgore  
✓ Leahy  
✓ Lehman  
✓ Long  
Lucas  
✓ Magnuson  
✓ Maybank  
✓ McCarran  
McClellan  
✓ McFarland  
✓ McKellar  
✓ McMahan  
✓ Murray  
Myers  
Neely  
O'Connor  
O'Mahoney  
✓ Pepper  
✓ Robertson  
✓ Russell  
✓ Sparkman  
✓ Stennis  
✓ Taylor  
Thomas of Okla  
✓ Thomas of Utah  
✓ Tydings  
Withers

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[February 21, 1950]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, Tuesday, February 21, 1950, Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Lucas (Ill.). The quorum call was waived, but a record was kept of the attendance. Thirty-four members were present; see attached list.

Senator Lucas stated that he had called the Conference for the primary purpose of discussing the order of legislative business in the Senate. He stated that as Senators knew, the Colorado River Bill, S. 75, and amendments thereto, would be voted on not later than 4:00 o'clock today. He stated that the next order of business would be H.J. Res. 398, the Cotton Acreage Allotment Bill. The third bill to be considered would be S. 1498, amending the Natural Gas Act. He stated that he thought H.R. 4567, the Displaced Persons bill, should then follow, and that probably the "F.E.P.C." legislation should be taken up after the disposition of the Displaced Persons bill. Senator Lucas stated that Senator Taft (Ohio) had made certain statements that a motion would be made to take up the F.E.P.C. legislation. He stated that he thought this would be done in order

to embarrass the Democrats on the question of procedure. He added that he thought that the Democrats should control the legislative program, and that at a proper time in the not too far distant future the F.E.P.C. legislation would be called up.

Senator McCarran (Nev.) stated that the Judiciary Committee is holding hearings at the present time on Displaced Persons matters, and that he did not think it would be a good time to consider the bill. He expressed the opinion that it would take at least two weeks to complete the hearings. He added that it was necessary to him to attend certain meetings in Nevada beginning March 5, and that he hoped consideration of the Displaced Persons bill could be postponed until at least April 1.

Senator Lucas then called attention to the charges made by Senator [Joseph R.] McCarthy (Wisc.) in a speech in the Senate on February 20, regarding charges of communism in the Department of State. Senator Lucas stated that requests were being made for an investigation, and that he personally thought the matter should be thoroughly investigated. He stated that Senator Connally (Tex.) Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, thought his Committee was too busy to undertake it. There was a general discussion during which Senator George (Ga.) suggested the creation of a special committee, or that the Committee on Expenditures make the investigation. Senator Fulbright (Ark.) suggested that the sub-committee of the Committee on Expenditures undertake any investigation that might be ordered by the Senate.

Senator Magnuson (Wash.) stated that he did not think the creation of a special Committee would be a good idea, that such a committee would probably continue forever, and become in effect a Senate Un-American Activities Committee.

Senator McClellan (Ark.) called the attention of the members to the Flood Control Bill, and expressed the hope that it could be taken up promptly in the event that consideration of the Displaced Persons bill should be deferred.

Senator O'Mahoney (Wyo.) made a statement explaining the reclamation features of the Flood Control bill upon which the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is now holding hearings. He stated that every effort was being made to expedite those hearings in order that consideration could be given certain reclamation amendments when the bill is called up for debate on the Senate floor.

Senator Robertson (Va.) made a statement regarding the flood control legislation, and also legislation dealing with cooperative housing. He called attention to the deficit facing the Treasury, and the need for additional Air Force appropriations.

Senator McMahon (Conn.) discussed the McCarthy charges referred to by Senator Lucas, and gave a brief history of the prior investiga-

FEBRUARY 21, 1950

tion, and urged that Senator Lucas ask Senator Connally as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee to reconsider the matter of the Foreign Relations Committee making the investigation. He stated that he thought it most important that able lawyers be called to assess the charges made and go over the available files.

Senator Lehman (N.Y.) stated that with respect to the F.E.P.C. legislation, he wished to cooperate with the leadership, but that he did desire to reserve freedom of action on his own part for the future.

Senator Hoey (N.C.) expressed the opinion that the Foreign Relations Committee would be the proper Committee to consider the McCarthy charges. He added, however, that if it was deemed appropriate that the Expenditures Committee should handle the problem, he assured the Conference that it would do the best it could. He expressed the opinion that Senator McCarthy should not serve, and that a new sub-committee should be named if the matter were referred to the Expenditures Committee. Senator McClellan (Ark.) stated that he did not think Senator McCarthy should sit as a member of any sub-committee that might handle the matter, and expressed the opinion that any investigation undertaken by the Committee should be handled by the full Committee.

Senator Stennis (Miss.) discussed the Flood Control bill, stressing its importance and the deep interest in it, and urged all possible speed on the part of the reclamation aspects, so that the bill could be taken up for debate.

Senator Magnuson (Wash.) stated that he could assure the members that every effort was being made to expedite consideration of the reclamation aspects now being studied by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The Conference adjourned at 11:00 A.M.

[signed] Brien McMahon by Felton Johnston  
Secretary

Attendance, February 21, 1950

[PRESENT]

✓ Anderson  
✓ Benton  
Byrd  
✓ Chapman  
Chavez  
✓ Connally  
✓ Douglas  
Downey  
Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ Frear  
✓ Fulbright

[PRESENT]

✓ George  
✓ Gillette  
✓ Graham  
✓ Green  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey  
✓ Holland  
Humphrey  
✓ Hunt  
Johnson, Colo.  
Johnson, Tex.  
Johnston

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1949-1951)

[PRESENT]

✓ Kefauver  
✓ Kerr  
Kilgore  
✓ Leahy  
✓ Lehman  
Long  
✓ Lucas  
✓ Magnuson  
Maybank  
✓ McCarran  
✓ McClellan  
McFarland  
✓ McKellar  
✓ McMahan  
Murray

[PRESENT]

Myers  
Neely  
O'Connor  
✓ O'Mahoney  
Pepper  
✓ Robertson  
✓ Russell  
✓ Sparkman  
✓ Stennis  
✓ Taylor  
Thomas of Okla  
✓ Thomas of Utah  
✓ Tydings  
Withers

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[June 7, 1950]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, Wednesday, June 7, 1950, Room 201, Senate Office Building, 10:20 A.M.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Lucas (Ill.). There being no objection, the quorum call was waived. The Secretary for the Majority reported for the record that thirty-six Senators were present.

Senator Lucas stressed the importance of members remaining as close as possible to the Capitol in view of the heavy legislative program, and urged members to attend meetings of the Committees. He stated with respect to a possible early adjournment, that he had discussed the matter with the President, who indicated that he would like to see Congress move as expeditiously as possible on a few more measures in order that Senators running for reelection could get away for their campaigns.

Senator Lucas stated that the Policy Committee had conferred with various Committee Chairmen and gone over certain measures in order to ascertain the amount of time that might be consumed in debate. He stated that it was his hope, and that of the other members, to secure an adjournment by July 31, and every effort was being made to do so. He stated that he had submitted a list of measures to the Republican Policy Committee, and he thought the Minority would go along with it, with the exception of (1) a tax bill, and (2) the so-called "Peril Point" amendment to the Reciprocal Trade Agreements legislation. He mentioned particularly the bills which should be considered: Selective Service legislation, Military Assistance bill, Displaced Persons bill, Social Security Bill, Rent Control Bill, Rubber Bill, and the Federal Highway Bill.



JUNE 7, 1950

Senator Robertson (Va.) made a statement regarding budget problems facing the Treasury, particularly mentioning the Highway bill. He expressed the opinion that the consideration of a tax bill would delay adjournment.

Senator Stennis (Miss.) stated that the Federal Highway bill was most important, and that he thought the Committee could work out an acceptable measure.

Senator Lucas stated that it would be necessary also to consider a bill dealing with tin, and that with respect to the so-called Civil Rights legislation, sometime in the future, following a motion to take up the F.E.P.C., a cloture motion would be filed. Senator Connally (Tex.) asked if the cloture motion failed, would there be any further attempt to take up the F.E.P.C. legislation. Senator Lucas replied in the negative.

Senator Kilgore (W. Va.) made a statement in which he commended the Majority Leader for keeping the Senate in late sessions, and urged that more sessions of that kind be held. Senator Lucas urged that members agree to unanimous consent agreements to limit debate on various measures to be called up, and also urged that members wherever possible stand with the Committee Chairmen handling various bills.

Senator Russell (Ga.) made a statement regarding the general Omnibus Appropriation bill. He suggested that Senator Lucas and Senator McKellar confer with the Republican leadership in an effort to secure a limitation of debate on various sections of the bill and amendments thereto. He also stressed the importance of members attending the meetings of the various sub-committees of the Appropriations Committee.

Senator McKellar (Tenn.) made a statement regarding the appropriation bill, expressing the opinion that he thought the Omnibus Appropriation bill idea was a mistake, but that he was making every effort to expedite Committee consideration. He thought that the bill would be reported within a reasonably short time, and suggested that unanimous consent agreements be undertaken to limit debate. He thought that the debate might be concluded in three weeks.

Senator Maybank (S.C.) stated that because he and certain members were so busy attending Appropriations sub-committee hearings, he was considering postponing scheduled Small Business legislation hearings, which had previously been set for June 12, adding that he thought the hearings might well be postponed until later in the session.

Senator Long (La.) raised a question about other important bills in which Senators were interested. He called particular attention to the so-called Tidelands bill, and suggested that the Senate might well take an adjournment and return and give consideration to other

legislative matters. Senator Lucas expressed the opinion that the Tidelands bill could not be acted on at this session.

Senator Magnuson (Wash.) stated that he thought that more expeditious consideration might be given if the Committee would follow the practice of appointing examiners to hear testimony, adding that he thought it would partially solve the problems confronting certain committees, and added that Cabinet members and members of the various Government Commissions proceeded in that manner.

Senator Kilgore (W. Va.) asked about a call of the calendar from the beginning, and Senators Lucas and McCarran (Nev.) expressed the opinion that the next call of the calendar should be from where the last call was concluded.

Senator George (Ga.) discussed the importance of the Social Security bill, stating that undoubtedly the main difficulty and work would be in the conference between the two Houses. He urged that members should stand with the Committee as much as possible. He stated also that a motion to recommit it, to be made by Senator [Harry P.] Cain [Republican] of Washington, would be disastrous. He stated that while he intended accepting certain amendments, that he thought at least a week or ten days would be necessary to conclude debate. Senator George also discussed tax legislation, stating that hearings would be necessary, and that there would be a problem of the excise tax on the importation of copper. Senator George added also that there was considerable politics in the consideration of tax legislation, and that he personally did not want a bill sent to the President which would be vetoed. He added that to have or not to have a tax bill raised would be a difficult political question. He added that he thought the hearings would require about two weeks.

Senator McFarland (Ariz.) stated that if any effort were made to further suspend the excise tax on the importation of copper, he could assure the members that it would require considerable debate, and that he did not intend letting the matter come to a vote without thorough debate. Senator McCarran (Nev.) concurred in Senator McFarland's statement. Senator Lucas stated that both he and Senator George had given assurances that if no general Tax bill were sent over from the House, that the measure on the calendar involving excise tax amendments would be taken up, adding that he knew the Republicans would do so if the Majority did not. Senator George agreed that amendments dealing with excise taxes must be dealt with in some manner.

Senator Lucas made a statement regarding extension of rent control, stressing its importance to certain Senators, adding that it was vital to him, and expressed the hope that Senators could see fit to go along with an extension of rent control.

Senator Hoey (N.C.) made inquiry regarding the possibility of limiting rent control to those cities with populations in excess of 250,000.

JUNE 7, 1950

Then followed a general discussion of the Rent Control bill, in which Senators Long (La.), Maybank (S.C.), Kilgore (W. Va.), Myers (Pa.), Frear (Del.), and Lehman (N.Y.) participated.

With respect to legislation extending rent control, Senator George stated that although he could not support its extension, he would do the best he could regarding furnishing a pair. Senator Robertson (Va.) and Senator Ellender (La.) also stated that they would be willing to give live pairs, although they could not support the bill. Senators McKellar (Tenn.), McFarland (Ariz.), and Stennis (Miss.) all stated that under the circumstances they would support the bill.

Senator Magnuson (Wash.) made a statement in which he urged that at least one day be set aside for the consideration of various important bills dealing with Maritime problems.

Senator Lucas made a statement regarding the bills granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii, and stated that in the event the bills were reported by the Committee and placed on the calendar, it would be very difficult to prevent their being considered during the session.

Senator Maybank (S.C.) urged that with respect to the Rent Control legislation, members vote to bring the bill up for debate, and that wherever possible, they stand together in support of it.

The Conference adjourned at 11:40 A.M.

[signed] Felton M. Johnston  
Secretary for the Majority, Acting Secretary

Attendance, June 7, 1950

[PRESENT]

Anderson  
✓ Benton  
✓ Byrd  
✓ Chapman  
✓ Chavez  
✓ Connally  
✓ Douglas  
Downey  
Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ Frear  
✓ Fulbright  
✓ George  
✓ Gillette  
✓ Graham  
✓ Green  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey  
✓ Holland

[PRESENT]

Humphrey  
Hunt  
✓ Johnson, Colo.  
✓ Johnson, Tex.  
Johnston  
✓ Kefauver  
✓ Kerr  
✓ Kilgore  
Leahy  
✓ Lehman  
✓ Long  
✓ Lucas  
✓ Magnuson  
✓ Maybank  
✓ McCarran  
✓ McClellan  
✓ McFarland  
✓ McKellar  
McMahon  
Murray  
✓ Myers  
Neely

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1949–1951)

[PRESENT]

✓ O'Connor  
✓ O'Mahoney  
✓ Pepper  
✓ Robertson  
✓ Russell  
Sparkman

[PRESENT]

✓ Stennis  
Taylor  
Thomas of Okla.  
✓ Thomas of Utah  
✓ Tydings  
Withers

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[July 19, 1950]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, Wednesday, July 19, 1950, Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Lucas (Ill.). Following a quorum call, it was announced that forty Senators were present.

Senator Lucas stated that he had called the Conference for the purpose of discussing the remaining legislative program. He stated that he continued to hope for an early adjournment, and that he had conferred with Speaker of the House [Sam] Rayburn and House Majority Leader [John] McCormack, but that no definite date had as yet been set.

Senator Lucas then made a statement in which he urged that members of the Conference stand by Senators Tydings (Md.), McMahan (Conn.), and Green (R.I.), members of the sub-committee of the Foreign Relations Committee appointed to investigate the charges of communism in the State Department, made by Senator McCarthy (Wisc.). Senator Lucas stated that the sub-committee had done a good job under trying circumstances, criticism, and abuse. Senator Tydings (Md.) then made a detailed statement regarding the work of the sub-committee, and gave details regarding its proposed report. The following Senators asked questions of Senator Tydings and participated in the discussion: Senator Stennis (Miss.), Kerr (Okla.), Robertson (Va.), Myers (Pa.), Hayden (Ariz.), McClellan (Ark.), Anderson (N.Mex.), McFarland (Ariz.), Lehman (N.Y.), and Chavez (N.Mex.).

The Conference adjourned at 11:45 A.M.

[signed] Felton M. Johnston  
Secretary for the Majority, Acting Secretary

Attendance, July 19, 1950

[PRESENT]

✓ Anderson  
✓ Benton

[PRESENT]

✓ Byrd  
✓ Chapman  
✓ Chavez  
✓ Connally

JULY 19, 1950

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Douglas
- Downey
- Eastland
- ✓ Ellender
- ✓ Frear
- ✓ Fulbright
- George
- ✓ Gillette
- ✓ Graham
- ✓ Green
- ✓ Hayden
- ✓ Hill
- ✓ Hoey
- ✓ Holland
- Humphrey
- ✓ Hunt
- ✓ Johnson, Colo.
- ✓ Johnson, Tex.
- Johnston
- Kefauver
- ✓ Kerr
- ✓ Kilgore
- Leahy
- ✓ Lehman

[PRESENT]

- Long
- ✓ Lucas
- ✓ Magnuson
- ✓ Maybank
- ✓ McCarran
- ✓ McClellan
- ✓ McFarland
- ✓ McKellar
- McMahon
- ✓ Murray
- ✓ Myers
- Neely
- ✓ O'Connor
- ✓ O'Mahoney
- ✓ Pepper
- ✓ Robertson
- ✓ Russell
- Sparkman
- ✓ Stennis
- Taylor
- Thomas of Okla
- ✓ Thomas of Utah
- ✓ Tydings
- Withers

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[August 21, 1950]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, Monday, August 21, 1950, Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Lucas (Ill.). A quorum call was waived, but record kept by the Secretary for the Majority showed forty-three Senators present. Also present at the Conference were Stephen E. Rice, Legislative Counsel of the Senate, and Edward L. Springer and Richard J. Balkinger of the staff of the Majority Policy Committee.

Senator Robertson (Va.) stated that he wished to call the attention of the Conference to a matter in which Senator Russell (Ga.) was interested. He stated that Senator Russell would be late in attending the meeting, and called attention to the fact that Senator [William] Langer [Republican] (N. Dak.) had stated that he would offer the F.E.P.C. legislation as an amendment to the so-called Mundt-Ferguson Anti-Communist bill. Senator Robertson stated that Senator Russell wished assurances that members would vote to lay the Langer amendment on the table, if offered.

Senator Lucas stated that some time ago he had given assurances that an Internal Security bill would be called up in the Senate for

debate.<sup>2</sup> He stated that the move of Senators [Karl] Mundt [Republican] (S. Dak.) and [Homer] Ferguson [Republican] (Mich.) to offer their bill as an amendment to the Defense Production bill was purely political. He called attention to the fact that when he submitted a list of certain bills to the Minority Policy Committee, that the Internal Security bill was not included at that time, and that when the list was returned by the Minority leader, Senator [Kenneth] Wherry [Republican] (Nebr.), there was no mention made of the desire of the Minority to have the bill listed. Senator Lucas stated that he had called the Conference in order that the membership could discuss the Defense Production bill. He urged that the bill not be cluttered up with amendments, stressing the importance of leaving it as flexible as possible. He urged that Democratic members stand together in opposition to amendments which would materially change the bill as reported. He particularly urged that every member oppose any amendment offered on the Defense Production bill having to do with Internal Security. He reiterated his intention to call up an Internal Security bill for debate and vote at an early date.

Senator Robertson (Va.) raised again the question of an F.E.P.C. amendment being offered to the Defense Production bill. Senator Lucas answered that the question of an F.E.P.C. amendment had been raised by the Republican members, stating that two efforts had been made regarding the F.E.P.C. bill, and that he knew of no effort by any Democratic Senator to add the F.E.P.C. legislation as an amendment to the Internal Security bill.

Senator O'Mahoney (Wyo.) stated that he was ready to give his assurance that he would vote against any amendment which is not germane, whether it is to the Defense Production bill, or the Internal Security bill.

Senator McFarland of Arizona stated that the Conference being held was a most important one, adding that the Republicans were doing their best to cause discord, that he thought it most important that a proper Internal Security bill be drafted, debated, and passed. He urged that Congress recess or adjourn for a period of time soon because a continuing session afforded the Republicans a sounding board. He urged the selection of a few measures for debate and passage, and then the taking of a recess or adjournment.

Senator Holland (Fla.) stated that he thought the leadership had been too weak with reference to its position regarding an Internal

<sup>2</sup>Over President Truman's veto, Congress passed the Internal Security Act of 1950, otherwise known as the McCarran Act, after its chief sponsor, Nevada Senator Patrick McCarran. The Internal Security Act required Communist and Communist-front organizations and their officers to register with the attorney general, barred Communists from holding federal jobs or applying for passports, prohibited members of totalitarian organizations from entering the United States, established a Subversive Activities Control Board, and provided for emergency detention of potential subversives in case of war or insurrection. The House passed the McCarran Act on August 29, and the Senate followed on September 12, by a 70-to-7 margin. President Truman vetoed the bill on September 22, but by the next day both houses had voted to override the veto.

AUGUST 21, 1950

Security bill in that no definite date for scheduling it had been set. He stated that he thought a definite commitment should be made regarding such a bill and specific assurance should be given as to the date when it would be called up for debate. He stated that he personally preferred the Mundt-Ferguson bill or the McCarran bill to the administration bill dealing with Internal Security. He stated that in his opinion it would be inconceivable for any Senator to support an F.E.P.C. amendment to these bills.

Senator Douglas (Ill.) stated that it was well known that he believes in the passage of an F.E.P.C. bill, but that he knew of no Democratic Senators who had anything to do with the apparent move of Senator Langer to offer the F.E.P.C. bill as an amendment. He urged that southern Democrats oppose the offering of the Mundt-Ferguson Anti-Communist bill to the Defense Production bill, adding that he would oppose the Langer F.E.P.C. amendment if offered to the Internal Security bill.

Senator Johnston (S.C.), one of the co-authors of the Mundt-Ferguson bill, stated that he would vote against the bill if offered as an amendment to the Defense Production bill, adding that it was not being brought up in the proper manner. He said that he would vote for the Internal Security bill on its own merits, but urged that the leadership give definite assurance regarding taking up the bill.

Senator Lehman (N.Y.) stated that he would vote against crippling amendments to the Defense Production bill, including the anti-Communist amendment, and he would also vote against any F.E.P.C. amendment that might be offered to the Internal Security bill. Senator McCarran (Nev.) stated that the amendment regarding the Internal Security bill would be offered by Senators Mundt and Ferguson and should not be added to the Defense Production bill, and that while he knew there was certain opposition to the Mundt-Ferguson bill, it should be called up, and that he intended offering his own bill, S. 4037, as a substitute. Senator McCarran stated that it was his only recourse, adding that he believed in the principle of the Anti-Communist bill, that people all over the country are demanding some kind of legislation of this kind, and adding further that the administration bill was in his opinion "milk and water" and would not satisfy the people. He then made an explanation of S. 4037, explaining that it contained many provisions of bills already passed by the Senate. Senator Lucas stated that he could assure the Conference that if the Mundt-Ferguson bill were to be added to the Defense Production bill, it would be vetoed by the President.

Senator O'Mahoney (Wyo.) suggested that the McCarran Anti-Communist bill be placed on the agenda for consideration, and that (1) the Maybank Defense Production bill, (2) the Tax bill, and (3) the McCarran bill be taken up in that order. He stated that if the Conference would go on record to this effect, it would be united against

riders similar to the F.E.P.C., and that it would satisfy people who are asking for anti-Communist legislation. He urged that the Conference take a positive and definite stand, and then moved that it be the sense of the Conference that immediately following the disposition of the tax bill, the bill reported by Senator McCarran from the Judiciary Committee dealing with Internal Security be called up for consideration.

Senator George (Ga.) stated that he hoped the tax bill would be ready within a few days, and that if there were not too many amendments offered, debate should not take too long. He stated, however, that if certain political amendments were offered and agreed to, he personally would want to take the bill back to Committee.

Senator O'Mahoney (Wyo.) then modified his motion to place the so-called "McCarran Internal Security bill" following the disposition of the Defense Production bill, and the so-called "Federal Highway bill." His motion was seconded by Senator McCarran (Nev.).

Senator Lucas stated that he personally thought the Tax bill should be called up first, in view of the fact that it would be necessary to have the bill go to conference.

Senator Tydings (Md.) called attention to the importance of the so-called "Family Allowance bill," which is being reported today. He urged that it be included in a definite place on the agenda. Senator O'Mahoney (Wyo.) stated that undoubtedly the Majority Leader would announce that the "Family Allowance Bill" would have priority of the first order, in view of the Korean war.

Senator George (Ga.) suggested that the bill dealing with Internal Security be called up after the Highway bill, and that if debate took too long it could be laid aside, and the Tax bill taken up.

Senator Lucas stated that he would announce that an Internal Security bill would be taken up, and that if the Conference wanted to do so, it could agree that such a bill be taken up before the Tax bill. He stated that he personally thought the Tax bill more important.

Senator Maybank (S.C.) suggested that the Anti-Communist or Internal Security bill might follow the conclusion of the debate on the Highway bill.

Senator Humphrey (Minn.) made a statement in which he stated that he personally would oppose any non-germane amendment, F.E.P.C. or otherwise, that might be offered on these bills, that people were far more interested in the family allowance bill and the tax bill. He suggested that the Internal Security bill be brought up after the Tax bill.



AUGUST 21, 1950

Senator O'Mahoney (Wyo.) made a statement in which he strongly urged that the legislation being discussed be referred to as the "Anti-Communist" bill, and not the "Internal Security" bill.

Senator Russell (Ga.) stated that it might be well to take up the Anti-Communist bill and then lay it aside temporarily for the Family Allowance bill and the Tax bill, when it is ready. He stated that he thought Senator Mundt would agree not to press his amendment to the McCarran bill if definite assurances were given as to taking up the so-called "Mundt-Ferguson" bill or some Internal Security bill. Senator McFarland (Ariz.) stated that he thought Senator McCarran's Internal Security bill should be called up, and not the Mundt-Ferguson bill. He urged that an announcement be made that the McCarran Anti-Communist bill would be taken up not later than Monday next. Senator Russell stated that he thought any motion should be modified before being voted on in order to get the sentiment of members respecting non-germane amendments.

Senator O'Connor (Md.) made a statement in which he expressed his belief that appropriate Anti-Communist legislation was needed, adding that he would have to vote for the Mundt-Ferguson amendment if definite assurance is not given that the McCarran bill is to be taken up.

Senator O'Mahoney then offered the following motion, seconded by Senators Kerr (Okla.), and Graham (N.C.), which was agreed to unanimously:

That the Conference go on record as (1) opposed to any non-germane riders or amendments to the Defense Production Bill and to the Anti-Communist bills; (2) that immediately after the disposition of the Federal Highway Bill the next bill to be considered shall be the so-called Family Allowance Bill; (3) that the Tax Bill, if it is reported, shall be the next order of business; (4) that thereafter the McCarran Anti-Communist Bill be taken up for consideration; and if the Tax Bill should not be ready for debate, then the McCarran Anti-Communist Bill shall be called up for consideration and laid aside for consideration of the Tax Bill when it is reported.

Senator Green (R.I.) stated that he did not believe the Conference should rule out certain non-controversial bills, and also added that he thought any reference to legislation being discussed should be to the "Anti-Communist" or "McCarran" bill, and not the "Mundt-Ferguson" bill.

Senator Anderson (N.Mex.) supported Senator Green's position, urging that the term "McCarran Anti-Communist bill" be used.

Senator McKellar stated that every effort was being made to secure a final agreement on the Omnibus Appropriation bill, but that it was difficult to state just when final action would be taken.

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1949-1951)

Senator Robertson (Va.) stated that the President had told him that he was seriously considering a veto of the Omnibus Appropriation bill because of certain restrictive amendments which had been added.

Senator Frear (Del.) asked if it was now the sense of the Conference that members vote against the Mundt-Ferguson bill, if offered as an amendment. Senator Lucas stated that he so interpreted the Conference action.

Senator Lucas stated that he had every intention of calling another Conference to discuss the various Anti-Communist bills, before debate thereon is started in the Senate.

The Conference adjourned at 11:30 A.M.

[signed] Brien McMahon by Felton M. Johnston  
Secretary

Attendance, August 21, 1950

[PRESENT]

✓ Anderson  
✓ Benton  
✓ Byrd  
✓ Chapman  
Chavez  
✓ Connally  
✓ Douglas  
Downey  
Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ Frear  
✓ Fulbright  
✓ George  
✓ Gillette  
✓ Graham  
✓ Green  
Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Hoey  
✓ Holland  
✓ Humphrey  
✓ Hunt  
Johnson, Colo.  
✓ Johnson, Tex.  
✓ Johnston  
Kefauver  
✓ Kerr

[PRESENT]

✓ Kilgore  
✓ Leahy  
✓ Lehman  
✓ Long  
✓ Lucas  
Magnuson  
✓ Maybank  
✓ McCarran  
McClellan  
✓ McFarland  
✓ McKellar  
✓ McMahon  
✓ Murray  
✓ Myers  
Neely  
✓ O'Connor  
✓ O'Mahoney  
Pepper  
✓ Robertson  
✓ Russell  
✓ Sparkman  
✓ Stennis  
✓ Taylor  
✓ Thomas of Okla  
✓ Thomas of Utah  
✓ Tydings  
Withers

DECEMBER 12, 1950

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[December 12, 1950]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, Tuesday, December 12, 1950, Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator Lucas (Ill.). A quorum call was waived; the record of attendance showed thirty-one Senators present. (See attached list).

Senator Lucas stated that he had called the Conference to make a report concerning legislation which had been passed during the session that convened on November 27, and further legislation to be considered before the Congress adjourns. He also stated that the members might wish to set a date for the calling of a Conference early in January of 1951.

Senator Hayden (Ariz.) made a statement concerning the suggestions of Senators Taft (Ohio) and Wherry (Nebr.) that the Senate rules be amended by increasing the size of certain standing committees from thirteen to fifteen members, and the Appropriations Committee from twenty-one members to twenty-three members. Senator Hayden stated that he had thought it advisable to secure the views of former Senator [Robert] La Follette of Wisconsin, and Senator-Elect [A.S. Mike] Monroney of Oklahoma, the coauthors of the Legislative Reorganization Act. In addition, Senator Hayden stated that he had conferred with Dr. George Galloway of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress. He reported to the members that all of these gentlemen were opposed to the suggested changes. He stated that the Republican Senators were pressing him regarding the matter, and he wished to have the views of the members who were present. There followed a general discussion, in which the following Senators participated and expressed opposition to any changes being made in the size of committees: Senators Connally (Tex.), Maybank (S.C.), Lucas (Ill.), Hill (Ala.), McMahon (Conn.), Long (La.), and McFarland (Ariz.).

Senator Robertson (Va.) informed the Conference that he was the only Democratic Senator who would lose an assignment because of the increased Republican membership in the 82nd Congress. He stated that it appeared that he would lose his assignment on the Appropriations Committee, and he asked that the members give some consideration to the suggestion made by Senators Taft and Wherry, particularly that portion having to do with increasing the size of the Appropriations Committee.

Following a discussion, Senator Hayden stated that he would confer with Senators Taft and Wherry and advise them that it was the consensus of opinion of the Democratic Senators who attended the Conference that they were opposed to any change in the membership of committees. Senator Robertson expressed the hope that the

proposal to increase the size of the Appropriations Committee would be kept in mind.

Senator Lucas called attention to H.R. 9313, a bill relating to the Disposal of Surplus Commodities. Senator Thomas (Okla.) explained the bill and informed the Committee that the administration and the Department of Agriculture are very much interested in securing the passage of the legislation. Senator Ellender (La.) stated that when the bill was considered in the Committee on Agriculture, he objected, because he thought that in view of the present international situation and world conditions, any surplus foods should not be disposed of as called for in the bill. He urged that action on the bill be delayed until sometime in January of 1951, when it could be determined what should be done in the light of the situation then existing. Senator Ellender stated that he understood that another meeting on this subject would be held by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Senator Lucas called attention to the fact that the following legislation had been passed: extension of Federal Rent Control; extension of D.C. Rent Control; Freight Forwarders bill; amendments to the Railway Labor Act, Relief Assistance to Yugoslavia; and a bill dealing with Suits in Admiralty. He stated that there remained the following major legislation—Supplemental Appropriations for National Defense and Atomic Energy, and Excess Profits Tax legislation. He reported that Senator George (Ga.), Chairman of the Committee on Finance, was making every effort to have the excess profits tax bill reported to the Senate by the end of the week, and that if this could be accomplished, the bill would be taken up for debate in the Senate early next week.

Senator Lucas also stated that at the present time the Committee on Armed Services was holding hearings on the bill to authorize a Federal Civil Defense program, but that he was unable to state whether there would be time to consider the bill before the adjournment of Congress. He also called attention to S. 4022, amending the so-called “G.I. Bill of Rights” to include military personnel in Korea. In response to an inquiry from Senator Lucas, Senator Thomas (Utah) stated that the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare would report the bill to the Senate calendar during the day, and that it could be passed without difficulty.

Senator Robertson (Va.) called attention to the interest of a number of Senators in S. 3135, relative to peanut marketing quotas. Senator Lucas stated that he had announced on the Senate floor that this bill would be scheduled for debate.

In response to an inquiry from Senator Neely (W. Va.), Senator Lucas stated that adjournment depended mainly on whether the Excess Profits Tax bill and the Supplemental Appropriations bill could be passed without delay. He expressed doubt that the Congress

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could complete action before Christmas on these bills, and that it might be necessary to adjourn or recess from December 22 to either December 26 or December 27. Senator Robertson (Va.) expressed the thought that every effort should be made to secure an adjournment by December 22 or December 23. Senator Lucas stated that if the President should recommend the passage of certain emergency legislation following the conference to be had at the White House on the morning of December 13, undoubtedly it would be necessary for the Congress to remain in session to consider such legislation.

Senator Maybank (S.C.) made a statement in which he paid tribute to Senators Lucas and Myers and two other Senators whose terms are expiring and who will not be in the Senate in the 82nd Congress. At the request of Senator Maybank all of the members present stood in support of the tribute paid to the Senators. Senator Lucas expressed his appreciation to the Conference.

The Conference then discussed the question of having a Conference prior to the convening of the 82nd Congress in January. It was agreed that a Conference should be held before January 3, 1951. Senator Lucas also stated that he would be glad to preside at the Conference until the new Majority Leader is elected. During the discussion, Senator Gillette (Iowa) inquired whether or not the Conference was to be participated in by the newly-elected Senators, and Senator Lucas stated that they would participate. On motion of Senator Hill (Ala.), which was seconded by Senator Maybank (S.C.), it was unanimously agreed that a Conference of all Democratic Senators and Senators-Elect of the 82nd Congress be called for January 2 at 2:00 P.M., in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Conference adjourned at 11:25 A.M.

[signed] Brien McMahon by Felton M. Johnston  
Secretary

Attendance, December 12, 1950

[PRESENT]

Anderson  
Benton  
✓ Byrd  
Chapman  
Chavez  
✓ Clements  
✓ Connally  
✓ Douglas  
Eastland  
✓ Ellender  
✓ Frear  
✓ Fulbright  
George  
✓ Gillette

[PRESENT]

Green  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
Hoey  
✓ Holland  
Humphrey  
✓ Hunt  
Johnson, Colo.  
Johnson, Tex.  
Johnston  
Kefauver  
Kerr  
✓ Kilgore  
✓ Leahy  
✓ Lehman  
✓ Long

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS (1949–1951)

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Lucas
- ✓ Magnuson
- ✓ Maybank
- ✓ McCarran
- ✓ McClellan
- ✓ McFarland
- ✓ McKellar
- ✓ McMahan
- ✓ Murray
- ✓ Myers
- ✓ Neely
- ✓ O'Connor

[PRESENT]

- ✓ O'Mahoney
- ✓ Pepper
- ✓ Robertson
- Russell
- Smith
- Sparkman
- ✓ Stennis
- ✓ Taylor
- ✓ Thomas of Okla
- ✓ Thomas of Utah
- Tydings



## **Eighty-second Congress (1951–1953)**

[Editor's Note: Continued problems in the domestic economy after the Second World War, increasing international tensions during the early cold war, the sending of American naval and military forces into combat in Korea in June 1950, and the increasing anticommunist movement at home all worked to the disadvantage of the incumbent Democratic party in the congressional elections of 1950. Despite the loss of 5 seats, Senate Democrats held onto a slim 49-to-47 majority in the Eighty-second Congress. They similarly held the House by a majority of 235 to 199 with 1 independent. Among the Democratic senators defeated were the majority leader, Scott Lucas of Illinois, and the majority whip, Francis Myers of Pennsylvania. The Democratic Conference elected Ernest McFarland of Arizona as majority leader, and even more significantly chose for whip a freshman senator from Texas, Lyndon B. Johnson.

Also defeated in 1950 was the four-term Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland. As chairman of a subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, Tydings had investigated the charges that Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy had made on February 11, 1950 at Wheeling, West Virginia, when he claimed to hold in his hand a list of subversives employed by the Department of State. After the investigation chaired by Senator Tydings found that McCarthy's charges constituted a "fraud and a hoax" upon the Senate and the American public, McCarthy intervened in the 1950 Maryland election on behalf of Tydings' Republican challenger, John Marshall Butler. Tydings protested that the tactics of Butler and McCarthy—including doctored photographs, false statements, and unlisted out-of-state contributions—had violated federal and state campaign laws. The Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Rules and Administration Committee investigated Tydings' charges and submitted a report in August, 1951 that found insufficient evidence for unseating Senator Butler.]

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[January 2, 1951]

Conference of Democratic Senators, Tuesday, January 2, 1951, 2:00 P.M.

Call to order by Chairman of the Conference (Senator Lucas).

Quorum call by Secretary of the Conference (Senator McMahan).  
(49)

Introduction of new Senators: Clements, Ky; Smith, N.C; Pastore, R.I; Hennings, Mo.; Monroney, Okla.; Smathers, Fla.

Statement by the Chairman before election of Chairman of the Conference (Majority leader)—in the past where there were contests, votes have been secret, by ballot, and proxies have been permitted.



JANUARY 2, 1951

Election of Chairman of the Conference (Majority Leader).

Election of Majority Whip.

Election of Secretary of the Conference.

Resolution expressing thanks of the Conference to Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Possible discussion of Senate elective officers.

\* \* \*

*Steering Committee*

For many years the Democratic Steering Committee (which makes assignments to standing committees) has been a continuing body, the Conference having named the Chairman of the Conference (Majority Leader) the Chairman of that Committee, and authorized him to appoint the membership and to fill vacancies.

Several years ago, when the Democratic membership in the Senate was very large, the Steering Committee consisted of seventeen members, including the Whip and Secretary of the Conference. The present membership, thirteen, is as follows: *Lucas*, Chairman; McKellar; George; *Tydings*; Green; Hayden; O'Mahoney; *Thomas, Utah*; Connally; *Pepper*; *Thomas, Okla.*; *Myers*; McMahan.<sup>1</sup>

For a number of years the Conference has adopted resolutions as follows:

RESOLVED, That the Steering Committee be, and the same is hereby authorized, to assign Democratic Senators to standing committees, and to report said assignment to the Senate.

RESOLVED, That the Steering Committee be, and the same is hereby authorized, to determine the ratios of standing committees, to assign Democratic Senators to standing committees and to report said assignments to the Senate.

At the Democratic conference held on Thursday, January 7, 1943, Senator O'Mahoney offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to assign members of the Conference to vacancies on the Steering Committee.

Senator McKellar of Tennessee, as a substitute for the resolution offered by Senator O'Mahoney, made a motion that the Conference elect the members of the Steering Committee, and submitted a list of nineteen names, including the Whip, and the Secretary of the Conference.

The minutes show that there was lengthy debate on the motion made by Senator McKellar. Senator Barkley advised the Conference that if this motion should be adopted, that he would submit his resignation immediately as Chairman of the Conference. The motion offered by Senator McKellar was defeated by a vote of 33 nays and 20 yeas, the vote being taken by secret ballot. Senator O'Mahoney's resolution was then adopted by voice vote.

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<sup>1</sup> Italics apparently indicate senators who were not returning in the Eighty-second Congress.

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS (1951–1953)

\* \* \*

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Conference be extended to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee for their efforts and activities in behalf of the Democratic Senatorial candidates in the last campaign. The members of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee are as follows: Senator Anderson, Chairman; Senator O'Mahoney, Vice Chairman; Senator Johnson of Colorado, Senator Kilgore, Senator Johnson of Texas, Senator Kefauver, Senator Kerr, and Mr. Biffle, Secretary-Treasurer.

\* \* \*

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to assign members of the Conference to vacancies on the Steering Committee.

\* \* \*

RESOLVED, That the Steering Committee be, and the same is hereby authorized to assign Democratic Senators to standing committees, and to report said assignment to the Senate.

\* \* \*

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Conference be authorized, when the Senate meets for organization, to nominate for the various elective positions the persons heretofore selected by this Conference for such positions.

\* \* \*

RESOLVED, That the Steering Committee be, and the same is hereby authorized, to determine the ratios of standing committees, to assign Democratic Senators to standing committees, and to report said assignment to the Senate.

\* \* \*

RESOLVED, That there be created a Steering Committee (Committee on Committees) to consist of \_\_\_\_\_ members, to be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference (Majority Leader), and

RESOLVED, Further, That the Chairman of the Conference is hereby named Chairman of such Committee.

\* \* \*

*Policy Committee*

At the beginning of the 80th Congress, on January 2, 1947, the Democratic Conference adopted the following resolution, which has been in effect since that time:

JANUARY 2, 1951

\* \* \*

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to appoint the membership of the Minority Policy Committee, provided for by Public Law No. 663, 79th Congress, and that he is hereby named Chairman of such committee.

The Committee consists of seven members, and during the 80th Congress and the 81st Congress the Whip and the Secretary of the Conference attended meetings in an advisory capacity.

The present membership is as follows: *Lucas*, Chairman; *Tydings*; Russell; O'Mahoney; Green; Hill; one vacancy; *Myers*, Whip; McMahan, Secretary of the Conference.

\* \* \*

#### *Election of Senate Officers*

Under the precedents of the Senate all officers hold their offices during the pleasure of the Senate, the Senate being a continuous body. In January of 1943, however, the Secretary of the Senate, the Secretaries for the Majority and the Minority, and the Chaplain were, respectively formally reelected by resolutions. This was done in accordance with an order of the Democratic Conference. At the beginning of the 79th Congress, on January 6, 1945, a new President Pro Tempore (Senator McKellar of Tennessee) was elected, but other officers held over. On that date Senator Barkley made the following statement:

Mr. President, under the precedents of the Senate, all other officers of the Senate hold their offices during the pleasure of the Senate, the Senate being a continuous body. That includes the Secretary, Colonel Halsey; the Sergeant at Arms, Mr. Doxey; the Chaplain, Dr. Harris; the Secretary to the Majority, Mr. Biffle; and the Secretary to the Minority, Mr. Loeffler. So it is not necessary to go through the formality of electing them. They hold their offices until the Senate sees fit to make a change.

\* \* \*

#### MOTION

I move that the oath required by the Constitution and prescribed by law be administered to John Marshall Butler as a Senator from the State of Maryland for the term beginning January 3, 1951; PROVIDED, however, that such action shall be deemed to be without prejudice either to him or to the constitutional right or power of the Senate to take any action, pending the outcome of the investigation now being made by the Committee on Rules and Administration through a subcommittee in the 1950 election in said State, it may subsequently deem proper.

\* \* \*

United States Senate  
Committee on Foreign Relations

FOR RELEASE FOR PUBLICATION AT ANY TIME  
ON OR AFTER DECEMBER 17, 1950

December 15, 1950

Senator Guy Gillette, Chairman  
Senate Campaign Investigating Committee  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Gillette:

I am glad to learn you are considering ways and means of improving the law governing the conduct of candidates for the United States Senate. Following our conversation, I am submitting certain facts and occurrences in the recent Maryland election contest, wherein my opponent wilfully and deliberately printed and used false and deceiving statements, in order to influence the voters of the state.

*CASE NUMBER 1*

In the Sunday Baltimore American of Nov. 5, 1950, on page A 7, my opponent published a full page advertisement which is attached hereto as Exhibit 1. This advertisement dealt with the investigation of alleged disloyalty and Communism in the State Department conducted by a Senate committee of which I was chairman. The body of this advertisement contained the following, in large print:

“1.—REPUBLICAN COUNSEL WAS NEVER ALLOWED TO QUESTION A WITNESS!”

The Republican counsel of our committee, nominated by the Republican Senators thereon, was Mr. Robert Morris of New York. The attached official printed record of the committee hearings (Exhibit 2) shows that Mr. Morris—contrary to the Sunday Baltimore American advertisement referred to above—examined numerous witnesses without restraint. An examination of this official record shows that 87 large-sized and closely printed pages of testimony were consumed by Mr. Morris in the examination of these witnesses.

A brief reference to the printed record shows that this statement published by my opponent in the Sunday Baltimore American is totally untrue and that its publication was a deliberate fraud practiced upon the voters of Maryland.

In the same Sunday Baltimore American advertisement also appears the following in large print:

“2.—REPUBLICAN COUNSEL WAS NEVER ADMITTED TO CLOSED EXECUTIVE SESSIONS!”

The attached printed official record of the hearings of the committee (Exhibit 2) discloses that Mr. Robert Morris, Republican counsel, did attend ten executive sessions of the committee and conducted the cross examination of witnesses hereinbefore referred to in these executive sessions.

JANUARY 2, 1951

Reference to the printed record shows the statement published by my opponent in the Sunday Baltimore American to be totally untrue. Its publication was a deliberate fraud practiced upon the voters of Maryland.

*CASE NUMBER 3*

You have a copy of the last-minute 4-page campaign tabloid entitled "From The Record." This publication was widely circulated both through the mails and by hand among the voters of Maryland. On the front page appear these words:

"AUTHORIZED BY THE YOUNG DEMOCRATS FOR BUTLER  
EDWARD B. FREEMAN, CHAIRMAN  
JOHN B. PURNELL, TREASURER"

Disregarding the fact that Mr. Freeman hardly qualifies as a "Young Democrat," being 46 years of age, an inquiry elicited the information that he and Mr. Purnell were the only officers of this organization and that these two comprise the "voluntary established committee." However, the striking thing is that Mr. Freeman, the so-called Chairman, disclaims any knowledge of the publication "From The Record." Mr. Freeman definitely stated that it was assembled, prepared, printed and distributed *without his knowledge, permission or consent*. Thus, here again was a deliberate fraud practiced upon the voters of Maryland.

*CASE NUMBER 4*

On page 4 of "From The Record" there appears a picture of Earl Browder, the Communist leader, and Millard E. Tydings, seemingly engaged in intimate conversation. This trick photography was accomplished by selecting a photograph of Browder and a separate photograph of Senator Tydings. These two pictures were cut and fitted closely together, then rephotographed as a single picture. The purpose was to make it appear that Browder and Tydings had actually been photographed together in close conference.

There never was any such picture taken of Browder and me. The photograph was a fake, manufactured as I have described.

The four cases outlined above are but a few of the instances where totally false and fraudulent matter was used by or with the knowledge and approval of my opponent in the last election, with the evident intention of influencing the voters of Maryland.

During my tenure of office as a Senator from Maryland, Senators-elect William Vare of Pennsylvania and [Frank L.] Smith of Illinois were denied seats in the Senate because of the money frauds in their campaigns. By the same logic, I believe that a candidate for the Senate should be barred from service there if he has knowingly and deliberately made false statements in his campaign, or used scurrilous and untrue printed matter calculated to deceive the electorate; or if such totally false statements or material were issued by other persons in his behalf, with his knowledge and consent.

It is becoming more and more difficult to obtain competent men for service in the public life because of the smears they may expect—quite often deliberate, calculated and totally untrue. There is an ample field for debate and

discussion of differences of opinion without resorting to deliberate falsehood and scurrility.

The illustrations set forth above will bring before your committee concrete examples which I trust may be helpful in the formulation of a proper law to deal adequately with such practices in the future.

Yours sincerely,  
(signed) Millard E. Tydings

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[February 22, 1951]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, Friday, February 22, 1951, Room 201, Senate Office Building, 10:15 A.M.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McFarland (Ariz.). A quorum call was waived, but a record of the attendance showed thirty-one Senators present. (See attached list.) [no list was attached] Also present was Verne D. Mudge, Staff Assistant, Senate Committee on Armed Services.

Senator McFarland made a brief statement expressing his appreciation to the members for their cooperation. He stated that he hoped it would be possible to work out a schedule whereby Tuesday of each week might be held open and no session of the Senate held on that day in order that the committees might meet, and that the Policy Committee might meet regularly on that day. He stated that while it would be impossible to adhere to this schedule indefinitely, he did hope that such an arrangement could be worked out.

Senator McFarland then stated that he had called the Conference for the purpose of discussing S. 1, the Universal Military Training and Service bill, which has been reported by the Committee on Armed Services.

Senator Connally (Tex.), Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, stated that he would like to bring up for discussion first S. Res. 8, introduced by Senator Wherry, and now pending before the Committee on Armed Services, and the Committee on Foreign Relations, acting jointly, relative to the assignment of ground forces of the United States to duty in the European area. Senator Connally stated that the two committees had been holding hearings daily, and that he hoped the hearings might be concluded early during the week of February 26. He read to the members a draft of a resolution prepared by himself and Senator Russell (Ga.), Chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, which approved the sending of additional troops to Europe by the President, but declared it to be the sense of the Senate that before doing so, the President should consult the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, and the Armed Services Committees of the Sen-

FEBRUARY 22, 1951

ate and the House. Senator Connally urged that Democratic Senators support the joint group in the resolution it planned to report.

Senator Russell (Ga.) made a statement regarding the draft resolution and urged the support of all Senators who could do so without doing violence to their consciences. Both Senators Connally and Russell answered questions submitted by various members of the Conference, and the following Senators participated in the discussion: Senators Stennis (Miss.), McCarran (Nev.), Holland (Fla.), Long (La.), Kilgore (W. Va.), Green (R.I.), Lehman (N.Y.), George (Ga.), O'Mahoney (Wy.), and McFarland (Ariz.).

Senator O'Mahoney (Wy.) suggested that the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and House be included in the group to be consulted by the President regarding the sending of additional troops to Europe. Senator O'Mahoney also suggested that somewhere in the draft resolution there be included a direct reference to the statement of the President contained in his message of January 15, 1951, transmitting the budget for the fiscal year 1952, reading as follows: "It must be clearly understood that the military and economic aid which I am recommending to assist European nations to rearm will be conditioned upon their carrying out their full responsibilities for building and defensive strength of the North Atlantic Treaty community."

Senator Russell (Ga.), Chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, then made a brief preliminary statement concerning S. 1, the Universal Military Training and Service bill.

Senator Johnson (Tex.), Chairman of the Preparedness Sub-committee of the Committee on Armed Services, which held the hearings on S. 1, and drafted the bill, made an explanation of the various provisions of the bill and answered questions submitted by members of the Conference. The following Senators participated in the discussion: McCarran (Nev.), Holland and Smathers (Fla.), Ellender and Long (La.), Hill (Ala.), Kilgore (W. Va.), Frear (Del.), Kerr (Okla.), Smith (N.C.), and Stennis (Miss.).

Senator Lehman (N.Y.) made a statement in which he informed the Conference that he was considering, but had not yet definitely decided on, the offering of an amendment relating to racial discrimination. He stated that he had no particular language in mind, and that he was not at all sure he would offer such an amendment, but that he reserved the right to do so.

Senator Russell stated that if such an amendment were offered, he reserved the right to offer an amendment permitting those called to service under the bill the right to make a free choice of the type of unit with which they wished to serve.

Senator Stennis (Miss.) stated that as a member of the Committee, he had given most careful study and consideration to the bill, had

joined with the group in reporting the bill, and was supporting the bill. He added that in the event amendments dealing with the racial issue were offered, then he would not feel under obligation to continue his support of the bill.

Senator McFarland stated that no effort was being made to bind members to support S. 1, and that he had called the meeting in order that there might be a full discussion. He stated that if there were no objection, S. 1 would be made the unfinished business, to be taken up after the disposition of H.R. 1, the Serviceman's Indemnity Bill of 1951.

The Committee adjourned at 12:40 P.M.

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[June 26, 1951]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, Tuesday, June 26, 1951.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman of the Conference (Majority Leader), Senator McFarland (Ariz.) at 10:00 A.M., in Room 201, Senate Office Building.

The Secretary called the roll and announced that 41 Senators were present. (See the attached list). [No list was attached.]

Also present were: Edward Cooper, Staff Director, Democratic Policy Committee; Leslie L. Biffle, Secretary of the Senate; Joseph C. Duke, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate; Felton M. Johnston, Secretary for the Majority.

The Chairman and Majority Leader stated that he had called the meeting for the purpose of (1) urging better attendance on the floor of the Senate, (2) setting an adjournment goal, and (3) discussing the legislative program.

The Chairman then introduced Senators Moody (Mich.), recently appointed to succeed the late Senator Vandenberg (Mich.); and Underwood (Ky.), appointed to succeed the late Senator Virgil Chapman (Ky.).

Senator McFarland then outlined the following so-called "must" bills for the legislative program: all appropriation bills; foreign aid authorization and appropriation bills; controls bill; and tax bill.

During the Conference the following Senators participated in the discussion: George (Ga.); O'Mahoney (Wyo.); Robertson (Va.); McKellar (Tenn.); Chavez (N.Mex.); Hill (Ala.); McClellan (Ark.); Humphrey (Minn.); Lehman (N.Y.); Benton (Conn.); O'Mahoney (Wyo.); Maybank (S.C.); and Holland (Fla.).



JUNE 26, 1951

The Conference adjourned at 11:52 A.M.

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[August 23, 1951]

Dinner Conference of Democratic Senators, Thursday, August 23, 1951, 7:15 P.M., Senators' Dining Room, Senate Restaurant, Capitol Building.

*Present:* See attached list. [No list was attached.] (There was no quorum call—Felton M. Johnston, Secretary for the Majority, kept a list of those who attended.)

*Also Present:* Vice President Barkley; Edward Cooper, Staff Director, Democratic Policy Committee; Frank Kelly of the Staff of the Democratic Policy Committee; Leslie L. Biffle, Secretary of the Senate; Joseph C. Duke, Sergeant at Arms of the Senate; Felton M. Johnston, Secretary for the Majority.

The Chairman and Majority Leader, Senator McFarland (Ariz.), stated that he had called the dinner conference for the purpose of having the members consider and discuss the legislative program ahead for the remainder of the session, with particular reference to major bills and nominations.

The following Senators participated, in addition to Senator McFarland, in the discussion during the evening: Senators McCarran (Nev.); Benton (Conn.), Neely (W. Va.), McClellan (Ark.), George (Ga.), Connally (Tex.), O'Mahoney (Wyo.), Smith (N.C.), and Green (R.I.).

The Vice President also addressed the conference briefly.

The dinner conference adjourned at 10:00 P.M.

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[October 3, 1951]

Dinner Conference of Democratic Senators, Wednesday, October 3, 1951, 7:00 P.M., Senators' Dining Room, Senate Restaurant, Capitol Building.

*Present:* See attached list. [No list was attached.] (There was no quorum call—Felton M. Johnston, Secretary for the Majority, kept a list of those who attended.)

*Also Present:* Vice President Barkley; Leslie L. Biffle, Secretary of the Senate; Joseph C. Duke, Sergeant at Arms of the Senate; Felton M. Johnston, Secretary for the Majority.

The Chairman and Majority Leader, Senator McFarland (Ariz.), stated that he had called the dinner conference for the purpose of further discussing the legislative program and nominations.

In addition to Senator McFarland, the following Senators participated in the discussion during the evening: Senators George (Ga.); Moody (Mich.); Connally (Tex.); Underwood (Ky.); Hayden (Ariz.); Monroney (Okla.); McCarran (Nev.); Smathers (Fla.); Chavez (N. Mex.); Magnuson (Wash.); Pastore (R.I.); Hoey (N.C.); and Green (R.I.).

The Vice President also addressed the conference briefly.

The dinner conference adjourned at 9:15 P.M.

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[March 21, 1952]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, Friday, March 21, 1952, Room 201, Senate Office Building, 10:15 A.M.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McFarland (Ariz.) A quorum call was waived, without objection. The record of attendance kept by the Acting Secretary showed that the following Senators were present:

William Benton (Conn.)  
Tom Connally (Tex.)  
Walter F. George (Ga.)  
Guy M. Gillette (Iowa)  
Carl Hayden (Ariz.)  
Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. (Mo.)  
Lister Hill (Ala.)  
Spessard L. Holland (Fla.)  
Lester C. Hunt (Wyo.)  
Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.)  
Olin D. Johnston (S.C.)  
Herbert H. Lehman (N.Y.)  
Russell B. Long (La.)  
Pat McCarran (Nev.)  
John L. McClellan (Ark.)  
Ernest W. McFarland (Ariz.)  
Mike Monroney (Okla.)  
Blair Moody (Mich.)  
James E. Murray (Mont.)  
A. Willis Robertson (Va.)  
Richard B. Russell (Ga.)  
Willis Smith (N.C.)  
John Sparkman (Ala.)  
John C. Stennis (Miss.)  
Thomas R. Underwood (Ky.)

Also present: Col. Mark H. Galusha, of the staff of the Senate Committee on Armed Services.

MARCH 21, 1952

Senator McFarland informed the members of the death on Thursday evening of the daughter of Senator Byrd (Va.). A motion by Senator Robertson (Va.) that Senator McFarland, on behalf of the Democratic Conference, send a telegram to Senator Byrd expressing the deep sympathy of the members of the Conference was unanimously adopted. Subsequently, the following telegram was sent to Senator Byrd by Senator McFarland:

At a meeting of the Democratic Conference this morning, it was unanimously voted that I send to you and Mrs. Byrd a message expressing our deep and sincere sympathy in your great loss.

Senator McFarland stated that he had called the conference for the purpose of discussing certain bills on the legislative program, adding that he planned to call another conference in the near future which he expected would be held in the evening, following a dinner.

Senator McFarland then requested Senator Russell (Ga.), Chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, to explain H.R. 5715, the Armed Forces Pay Increase Act. During the course of his explanation, Senator Russell answered questions submitted by various members of the conference.

Senator Long (La.) stated that he planned to offer an amendment to the bill H.R. 5715, granting combat pay increases to Armed Services personnel.

Senator Stennis (Miss.) spoke in support of the bill, and urged members of the conference as far as possible to support the committee bill. He praised the work of Senator Russell and the manner in which he had worked out the provisions of the bill.

Senator Russell informed members that Senator Douglas (Ill.) had prepared certain amendments and would offer them when the bill is being considered. Some of these amendments, he stated, dealt with so-called hazard pay and other aspects of the bill generally.

Senator Monroney (Okla.) asked whether it might be possible to amend the bill by adding a title granting benefits and rights to Korean veterans along the lines of the so-called G.I. bill of rights, which had been given to World War II veterans.

Senator George (Ga.), Chairman of the Committee on Finance, stated that he thought legislation of that nature should be dealt with separately, and not in connection with the pay increase bill. He was supported in this statement by Senator Russell, who stated that while he would support a fair G.I. bill, he did not think action should be taken too hastily, and that the matter should be considered separately.

At the request of various members of the conference, Senator George explained the provisions of two bills which he stated would be reported shortly from the Finance Committee, increasing certain com-

pensation and pensions granted to various categories of veterans of World Wars I and II.

Senator McFarland stated that the Policy Committee had agreed that all appropriations bills, when reported, be given priority for Senate action, and that bills extending the Defense Production Act and the Mutual Security Aid Program, when reported by committees, be considered as early as possible. No objection was raised to this decision on the part of the Policy Committee. Senator McFarland stated that other important legislation, such as the St. Lawrence Seaway bill, and a bill granting benefits to Korean veterans (G.I. bill of rights), should be considered during the session.

Senator McClellan (Ark.) called the attention of the Chairman and the members to S. 913, a bill to amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to provide for the more effective evaluation of the fiscal requirements of the executive agencies of the Government of the United States. Senator McClellan stressed the importance of the bill and stated that he believed it offered a reasonable and rational approach to the objective of a sound fiscal policy. The Senator stated further that he thought the bill could be passed after a day or two of debate, although there would be some amendments offered.

Senator McFarland informed Senator McClellan that S. 913 had been placed by the Policy Committee on the list of bills to be considered during this session. Senator Monroney (Okla.) urged that the Senate consider S. 913 promptly, adding that he thought the bill could undoubtedly be debated and passed under a unanimous consent agreement limiting debate.

Senator Russell asked Senator McFarland when he thought the Military Pay Increase bill might be called up for debate. Senator McFarland stated that in view of the interest in the bill and the fact that it was likely to take several days to complete it, it would probably not be reached until sometime during the week beginning March 31. Senator McFarland stated that undoubtedly, in view of the desire on the part of those Senators interested in the Tidelands legislation to secure early action, someone would certainly object to laying the Tidelands bill aside to take up the Military Pay Increase bill. There followed a discussion in which Senators Long (La.), Holland (Fla.), and Hill (Ala.), participated concerning the possibility of securing a unanimous consent agreement limiting debate on the Tidelands bill. Senators Long and Holland indicated their willingness to enter into such an agreement for Thursday or Friday of the week beginning Monday, March 24, and stressed the urgency of passing the legislation. Senator Russell urged expedited consideration of the Military Pay Increase bill.

Senator Connally (Tex.) stressed the importance of the pending Tidelands bill, and expressed opposition to laying it aside for the consideration of any other legislation.

MARCH 21, 1952

Senator Holland stated that Senator [William F.] Knowland [Republican, California] had informed him that the Minority Policy Committee had agreed that an effort be made to secure a limitation of debate, looking toward having votes on the Tidelands legislation during the week beginning Monday, March 24, or early in the week thereafter.

Senator Hill stated that he would cooperate to the best of his ability in trying to reach such an agreement to expedite the consideration of the Tidelands bill, but that he was not in a position at this time to state definitely that such an agreement could be arranged for Thursday or Friday, March 27 and 28.

The conference adjourned at 11:45 A.M.

Felton M. Johnston  
Secretary for the Majority  
Acting Secretary

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[May 15, 1952]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, Thursday, May 15, 1952, Senate Dining Room, 6:30 P.M.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman, Senator McFarland (Ariz.). A quorum call was waived, without objection. The record of attendance kept by the Acting Secretary showed that the following Senators were present:

J. Allen Frear, Jr. (Del.)  
Carl Hayden (Ariz.)  
Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. (Mo.)  
Clyde R. Hoey (N.C.)  
Spessard L. Holland (Fla.)  
Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.)  
Olin D. Johnston (S.C.)  
Herbert H. Lehman (N.Y.)  
Russell B. Long (La.)  
Ernest W. McFarland (Ariz.)  
Kenneth McKellar (Tenn.)  
Matthew M. Neely (W. Va.)  
Herbert R. O'Connor (Md.)  
Joseph C. O'Mahoney (Wyo.)  
George A. Smathers (Fla.)  
Willis Smith (N.C.)  
John C. Stennis (Miss.)

Also present: Joseph C. Duke, Senate Sergeant at Arms  
Felton M. Johnston, Secretary for the Majority

Senator McFarland stated that he had desired to call conferences on previous occasions, but it had not been possible because of his desire not to interfere with meetings of the various committees considering major legislation. He urged the members to make every effort to attend the sessions of the Senate and be on the Floor as much as possible, particularly to respond to quorum calls, stating that in that way only could an adjournment be had by the time of the convening of the Republican Convention on July 7.

Senator McFarland then called on the following Senators, who made brief statements to the Conference:

Senator McKellar discussed the pending appropriation bills in the Committee on Appropriations, and stated that every effort was being made to expedite Committee action on the various bills.

Senator Smith (N.C.) made a statement in support of the nomination of James P. McGranery of Pennsylvania to be Attorney General.

Senator Hayden (Ariz.) made a statement giving the status of the various appropriation bills.

Senator O'Mahoney (Wyo.) made a statement regarding the status of the National Defense Establishment Appropriation bill.

Senator Johnson (Tex.) made a statement urging better attendance upon the part of the Members, and their support of the Majority Leader, Senator McFarland.

Senator Stennis (Miss.) made a statement regarding National Defense appropriations.

Senator Holland (Fla.) made a statement regarding the Federal Aid to Roads bill, urging its consideration during this session.

Senator Hoey (N.C.) made a statement urging better attendance and expeditious consideration of bills, in order to adjourn at the earliest possible date.

Senator Frear (Del.) made a statement in which he pledged his support of the Majority Leader in securing expeditious consideration of legislation.

The Conference adjourned at 9:00 P.M.

Felton M. Johnston  
Secretary for the Majority  
Acting Secretary



## **Eighty-third Congress (1953–1955)**

[Editor's Note: Dwight D. Eisenhower's election as president in 1952 also brought about narrow Republican majorities in both houses of Congress. In the Senate, Republicans held a 48-to-47 majority, with former Republican Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon declaring himself an independent. In the House, Republicans held a 221-to-213 majority, with 1 independent. The defeat of Senate Democratic leader Ernest McFarland opened the way for the election of Lyndon B. Johnson as minority leader. The deaths of several senators during the Eighty-third Congress, including that of Republican Majority Leader Robert Taft of Ohio, shifted the numbers of both parties, and at times the minority Democrats actually held as many or more seats than did the majority Republicans. Vice President Richard M. Nixon stood ready to break a tie vote to permit the Republicans to organize the Senate. However, Democrats did not challenge the Republicans' right to committee chairmanships. Once, when Republican Majority Leader William Knowland complained on the Senate floor of the problems of being a majority leader without a majority of senators, Senator Johnson rebutted: "If anyone has more problems than a majority leader with a minority, it is a minority leader with a majority."<sup>1</sup>]

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[January 2, 1953]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, Friday, January 2, 1953.

The Conference was called to order at 10:20 A.M. in Room 201, Senate Office Building, by Senator McFarland of Arizona, the Chairman of the Conference (Majority Leader) during the 82nd Congress.

Senator McFarland stated that without objection he would designate Felton M. Johnston, Secretary for the Majority, to act as Secretary of the Conference. The Acting Secretary called the roll and announced that 44 Senators were present. (See the attached list) [No list was attached]. Senator Stennis (Miss.) stated that his colleague, Senator Eastland, was unavoidably detained, and had given him his written proxy. (See attached letter from Senator Eastland to Senator Stennis [No letter was attached].

Senator McFarland then introduced the following newly-elected Senators:

Price Daniel of Texas  
Albert Gore of Tennessee  
Henry M. Jackson of Washington  
John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts

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<sup>1</sup> *Congressional Record*, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., 2218.



JANUARY 2, 1953

Mike Mansfield of Montana  
Stuart Symington of Missouri

Each of the newly-elected Senators stood when his name was called, and received the applause of the Conference.

Senator McFarland addressed the Conference briefly, stating that he considered it an honor to serve as Chairman until the election of a new Chairman and Minority Leader. He expressed his appreciation to the members for their support in the past, stating that it had been an honor and a privilege to serve as Democratic Leader during the 82nd Congress.

Senator McFarland then stated that the first order of business was the election of the Chairman of the Conference and Minority Leader. Senator Russell (Ga.) addressed the Conference, expressing his appreciation of Senator McFarland's services and his deep regret at his retirement, and extended him his best wishes for the future. Senator Russell then nominated Senator Johnson (Tex.) to be Chairman of the Conference and Minority Leader. Senator Green (R.I.) addressed the Conference, paying tribute to Senator McFarland and then seconded the nomination of Senator Lyndon Johnson. Senator Chavez (N.Mex.) also praised Senator McFarland and then seconded the nomination of Senator Johnson. There being no other nominations, Senator Russell moved that the nominations be closed, and that the Acting Secretary be instructed to record in the minutes that by unanimous vote of the Conference Senator Johnson is elected Chairman and Minority Leader.<sup>2</sup> Senator Russell's motion was seconded by several Senators and agreed to unanimously.

Senator McFarland made a brief statement expressing his appreciation for the remarks made concerning him. He received the applause of the members of Conference.

Senator Johnson then assumed the Chairmanship, expressed his appreciation individually and for the members of the Conference to Senator McFarland, and pledged his best efforts, cooperation, energy and ability in the position to which he had been named. He received the applause of members of the Conference.

Senator Johnson then stated that the next order of business was the election of a Minority Whip. Senator Anderson (N.Mex.) nominated Senator Clements (Ky.) to be Minority Whip. Senator Anderson's motion was seconded by Senators Hayden (Ariz.), Smith (N.C.),

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<sup>2</sup>In his memoirs, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota recorded that a group of liberal senators seeking better committee assignments and appointments to the steering and policy committees made a symbolic gesture of nominating Senator James Murray of Montana as their candidate for Democratic minority leader against Senator Lyndon B. Johnson. Humphrey anticipated that from thirteen to seventeen senators would join them, but when the vote was taken, he noted that "Senator Murray had his own vote and mine, plus three or four others. Everyone else had gone over to Johnson. Murray withdrew from the race, and Johnson was elected unanimously." Hubert H. Humphrey, *The Education of a Public Man: My Life and Politics* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1976), pp. 163-64.

Lehman (N.Y.), and Humphrey (Minn.). There being no other nominations, Senator Russell moved that the nominations be closed and that the Acting Secretary be instructed to record in the minutes that by the unanimous vote of the Conference Senator Clements is elected Minority Whip. Senator Clements made a statement expressing his appreciation.

Senator Johnson stated that the next order of business was the election of the Secretary of the Conference, to succeed the late Senator Brien McMahon (Conn.). Senator Kerr (Okla.) addressed the Conference, praising Senators Johnson (Tex.), and Clements, eulogized the late Senator McMahon, and nominated Senator Hennings (Mo.) to be Secretary of the Conference. Senator Johnson (Colo.) made a brief statement regarding the late Senator McMahon, and at his suggestion the Conference members rose for one half minute of silent prayer. Senator Johnson (Colo.) then seconded the nomination of Senator Hennings.

At this point Senator Johnson (Tex.) suggested that an appropriate resolution be drafted by the Acting Secretary, to be transmitted to the widow of the late Senator McMahon, on behalf of all members. This suggestion was agreed to unanimously.

Senator Robertson (Va.) seconded the nomination of Senator Hennings. There being no other nominations, Senator Kefauver (Tenn.) moved that the nominations be closed and that the Acting Secretary be directed to record in the minutes that by unanimous vote of the Conference Senator Hennings is elected Secretary of the Conference. Senator Kefauver's motion was seconded by several Senators and was agreed to unanimously. Senator Hennings addressed the Conference, expressing his appreciation, and pledging his cooperation.

Senator Johnson stated that the next order of business was the selection of persons to be nominated for the elective offices of the Senate, as follows: President Pro Tempore, Secretary, Sergeant at Arms, Chaplain, and Secretary for the Minority. Senator Chavez (N.Mex.) raised the question of whether the Conference members thought it advisable for the Minority to offer the names of the Conference selections, in view of the fact that it was a foregone conclusion that their names would be rejected, and that the Republican Majority selections would be elected. Senator Johnson replied that he had explored the situation, and found that it was customary in the Senate to submit the names of individuals on the part of the Minority for the elective offices.

Senator Hayden (Ariz.) nominated Senator George (Ga.) to be the nominee for the office of President Pro Tempore. Senator George's nomination was seconded by Senator Hoey (N.C.) who also moved that Senator George be elected by acclamation. Senator Hoey's motion was agreed to unanimously.

JANUARY 2, 1953

Senator Humphrey (Minn.) addressed the Conference, praising Leslie L. Biffle (Ark.) for his long and faithful service, and nominated him for the position of Secretary of the Senate. Senator Russell (Ga.) likewise praised Mr. Biffle, and moved that he be elected unanimously. Senator Russell's motion was agreed to unanimously. Senator Maybank (S.C.) moved that the Acting Secretary be instructed to prepare an appropriate resolution, to be given to Mr. Biffle, expressing the appreciation of all members of the Conference. Senator Hill (Ala.) and Senator Anderson (N.Mex.) seconded Senator Maybank's motion, which was agreed to unanimously.

Senator Smathers (Fla.) addressed the Conference, praising the long and faithful service of Joseph C. Duke (Ariz.), and nominated him for the position of Sergeant at Arms. Senator Frear (Del.) seconded the nomination, and moved that he be elected unanimously. Senator Frear's motion was agreed to unanimously. Senator Kilgore (W. Va.) moved that the Acting Secretary be instructed to prepare an appropriate resolution to be given to Mr. Duke, expressing the appreciation of all members of the Conference. Senator Humphrey (Minn.) seconded Senator Kilgore's motion, which was agreed to unanimously.

The Conference then discussed the question of the Chaplain of the Senate, and after a discussion in which Senators Johnson (Tex.), Russell (Ga.), Stennis (Miss.), and Hill (Ala.) participated, Senator Stennis moved that the Conference endorse the incumbent Chaplain, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, and approve his continuation in the office. It was pointed out by Senator Johnson (Tex.) that the Chaplain of the Senate is a continuing office, and that it would not be necessary to offer Dr. Harris' name to the Senate as the Minority nominee for the position unless the Republican Conference should propose the name of some other individual. Senator Stennis' motion was agreed to unanimously.

Senator Johnson (Tex.) requested that Senator Clements (Ky.) assume the chair, and he then nominated Felton M. Johnston (Miss.) to be Secretary for the Minority. Senator Douglas (Ill.) seconded the nomination, and Senator Hill moved that the nominations be closed and that the Acting Secretary of the Conference be directed to record in the minutes that by the unanimous vote of the Conference Mr. Johnston be elected Secretary for the Minority. Senator Hill's motion was agreed to unanimously.

Senator Johnson then stated that without objection, as Chairman of the Conference and Minority Leader, he would nominate for the various elective positions when the Senate meets for organization, the person heretofore selected by the Conference for such positions.

Senator McCarran (Nev.) addressed the Conference with reference to the position of Deputy Sergeant at Arms, which he stated he understood had been allotted to the Minority. Senator McCarran stated

that in his opinion the Conference should elect the individual for this position, and thereupon nominated David D. Jennings (S.C.) for the position. Senator Johnson stated that while the matter was not on the agenda for Conference consideration, in his opinion the Conference could take such steps as the members deemed advisable. Senator McCarran then moved that the Conference select or elect an individual for this position. Senator Hayden (Ariz.) stated that no assurance had yet been given to the Minority that the position of Deputy Sergeant at Arms would be allotted to the Minority, adding that during his numerous conferences he had had no difficulty with Senator [Styles] Bridges (N.H.) regarding the question of Minority patronage, but reiterated his statement that no final agreement had been reached.

Senator Russell (Ga.) at this point called to the attention of the members the question of Minority patronage, with particular reference to committee staffs, both professional and clerical, and urged that the ranking Minority members of the various standing committees be on the alert regarding this matter, and that they resist any effort which might result in the Minority being placed in a less favorable position than that which the Democrats accorded the Republicans in the previous Congresses. He urged that the Democratic members insist on every prerogative to which they feel they are entitled.

Senator McCarran made the following motion: "That in view of the fact that there has been in the past an agreement by the Majority and the Minority out of which the position of Deputy Sergeant at Arms is allotted to the Minority, and in view of the fact that the Minority expects that this procedure will be followed, it be the will of the Conference that David D. Jennings (S.C.) be selected for the position." Senator Kilgore (W.Va.) offered the following motion as a substitute for the motion offered by Senator McCarran (Nev.): "That Senator Hayden, as Chairman of the Minority Patronage Committee, be instructed to continue to meet with the Majority representatives in an effort to get a specific commitment respecting the allotment of the position of Deputy Sergeant at Arms to the Minority, and that at a future conference he report the results of his efforts, at that time the Conference could elect a person for the position." Senator Hayden pointed out that in the past the Conference had never elected or selected individuals for patronage positions; the only actual selections being the nominees for Senate elective offices. He pointed out, however, that it was entirely within the province of the Conference to determine what it wished to do, but he called attention to the fact that some Senators might think it advisable also to go over the entire Minority patronage allotment; as, for example, doorkeepers, etc. Senator McCarran then stated that he would agree to the motion made by Senator Kilgore. After some discussion, Senator Kilgore modified his motion to read as follows:

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“That the Chairman of the Minority Patronage Committee be instructed to complete arrangements with the Chairman of the Majority Patronage Committee, and report that agreement to the Minority Conference at some future meeting to be called by the Chairman of the Conference.” Senator Kilgore’s motion was agreed to unanimously.

Senator Symington (Mo.) offered the following resolution, which was agreed to unanimously:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Conference be extended to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee for their efforts and activities in behalf of the Democratic Senatorial candidates in the last campaign. The members of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee are as follows: Senator Clements, Chairman; Senator Anderson, Vice Chairman; Senator Johnson of Colorado, Senator Maybank, Senator Long, Senator Douglas, Senator Johnson of Texas, Senator Lehman, and Mr. Leslie L. Biffle, Secretary-Treasurer.

Senator Anderson addressed the Conference regarding certain rumors concerning a report of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections to the Committee on Rules and Administration, which he stated he understood was to be submitted and made public very shortly concerning the subcommittee’s investigation of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (Wisc.). There followed a full discussion regarding the procedure to be followed in connection with the report, etc., in which the following Senators participated: Senators Hennings (Mo.), Johnston (S.C.), Hayden (Ariz.), Smith (N.C.), George (Ga.), Robertson (Va.), Ellender (La.), Chavez (N.Mex.), Fulbright (Ark), Hunt (Wyo.), McCarran (Nev.), Green (R.I.), Lehman (N.Y.), McClellan (Ark.), and Hill (Ala.).

Senator Anderson stated that in view of the fact that the report itself was not yet public, and in view of the various rumors that were being circulated, his reason for raising the question was that he wanted to know the sentiment of the Senators and for his own personal information about voting on a possible motion that Senator McCarthy be asked to stand aside when he presented himself to be sworn when the Senate convenes on Saturday, January 3, 1953. Senator Ellender asked whether or not it might be possible that a further conference be called for Saturday morning, January 3. Senator Johnson stated that in view of the [im]minence of the report, that members would have the printed report available for study, and that if Senators wished to have a conference called, he would assure them that one would be called. Senator Fulbright asked if a conference could be called so that the members could hear from Senators Hayden and Hennings, the Democratic members of the subcommittee. Senator Johnson stated that he would immediately call another conference if Senators Hayden or Hennings or any other

Senators considered it necessary. Senator Fulbright (Ark.) moved that the Minority Conference reassemble at 10:00 A.M., Saturday, January 3, 1953 for the purpose of giving consideration to the report to be released by the subcommittee. Senator Hunt (Wyo.) expressed the opinion that this procedure would be a mistake, and suggested that if Senators Johnson, Hayden, and Hennings thought a conference desirable and necessary, a conference could then be called. Senator Hennings agreed with Senator Hunt's statement. Senator Fulbright then withdrew his motion. Senator McCarran made the point that the report being discussed was that of a subcommittee, and did not have the status of a formal or regular Senate Committee report, inasmuch as it was supposed to be a report of a subcommittee to a full committee. Senator Green (R.I.) made the point that the matter was not actually before the Senate, and urged that no action be taken now, adding that the Minority Leader could call a conference later if it were deemed necessary. It was agreed that no statements be given to the press concerning the discussion referred to above.

The conference adjourned at 12:17 P.M.



## **Eighty-fourth Congress (1955–1957)**

[Editor's Note: Not until the independent Senator Wayne Morse joined the Democratic Conference, after being assured that he would retain his seniority, was it clear that Democrats would regain the majority in the Senate by a slim 49-to-47 lead. A tie would have permitted Republican Vice President Richard Nixon to vote in favor of Republicans organizing the Senate and its committees. Democrats also took a 232-to-203 majority in the House. With a popular Republican president in the White House and few votes to spare in the Senate, Democratic Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson began a balancing act, offering bipartisan support to the president on foreign policy, supporting many of the administration's domestic initiatives, and seeking to avoid splitting the party over civil rights issues. Johnson's desire to avoid controversy and to retain tight control of the leadership was reflected in his decision not to convene the conference after its initial organizing meeting. Further complicating matters, both Senator Johnson and President Eisenhower suffered serious heart attacks in 1955.]

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[January 4, 1955]

Minutes of the Senate Democratic Conference, Tuesday, January 4, 1955, Room 201, Senate Office Building.

Chairman Johnson, of Texas, called the meeting to order at 2:42 P.M.

A quorum was called and all members of the Conference responded to their names except Senators Kennedy and Monroney, who are absent because of illness. (See attached list). [No list was attached.]

Chairman Johnson then asked the newly-elected members to stand, and he introduced them to the Conference. They were Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Wyoming (previously sworn in); Senator Kerr Scott, North Carolina (previously sworn in); Senator Alan Bible, Nevada (previously sworn in); Senator J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina; Senator Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky; Senator Patrick V. McNamara, Michigan; Senator Richard L. Neuberger, Oregon.

Senator Clements then assumed the chair and opened the nominations for Chairman of the Conference (Majority Leader). Senator Walter F. George, of Georgia, moved the nomination of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas. He stated that during the last Congress Senator Johnson "demonstrated his capacity for bringing unity to our party." He said that the Democratic Party has always shown "in every crisis that we could be together." He said that Senator Johnson's leadership had pulled the Democratic Party together in



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a difficult period and that he was a leader in the classic tradition “that decries against the spirit of factionalism in our party.”

He said that the kind of unity that Senator Johnson has brought to the Senate Democrats is “what we need for victory in 1956.”

Senator Allen Frear, of Delaware, moved to close further nominations and Senator Johnson, of Texas, was unanimously elected Chairman of the Conference and Majority Leader. He then resumed the chair and expressed his appreciation for the confidence which the Conference had lodged in him.

The floor was then thrown open for nominations for Democratic Whip. Senator Clinton P. Anderson, of New Mexico, nominated Senator Earle C. Clements, of Kentucky, and recalled that it was “my privilege two years ago to place his name in nomination for that position.” He said he thought that Senator Clements and Senator Johnson working together “would make a fine team” and that the results of their work in the last Congress “bore out my most optimistic predictions.”

“They are constantly at work always trying to find unity in our party,” he said. Senator Warren Magnuson, of Washington, moved the nominations be closed and Senator Clements was elected unanimously the Democratic Whip.

Senator Clements expressed his appreciation to the Conference and said he hoped “that individually and collectively we can work together to serve both the Democratic Party and the country we love so well.”

The floor was then thrown open for nominations for Secretary of the Conference. Senator Robert S. Kerr, of Oklahoma, nominated Senator Thomas C. Hennings, of Missouri, and said: “I did not come here today to praise Hennings but to nominate him. But I cannot nominate him without praising him. He has served with distinction and with courage that is exceptional.”

Senator Dennis Chavez, of New Mexico, seconded the nomination and Senator Hennings was elected Secretary of the Conference by a unanimous vote.

Senator Hennings expressed his appreciation for the Conference’s action and for the opportunity to serve the Democratic Conference.

The floor was then thrown open for nominations for President Pro Tempore of the Senate. Senator Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, nominated Walter F. George, of Georgia, to the position and pointed out that it is customary for a party to nominate its senior member to this post.

“We, the Democrats of the Senate, are fortunate that our senior member presents all the attributes of a great presiding officer,” Senator Russell said.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, moved that the nominations be closed, and Senator George was nominated unanimously. He expressed his profound gratitude for the expression of confidence.

The floor was then thrown open for nominations for Secretary of the Senate. Senator John C. Stennis moved the nomination of Felton M. (Skeeter) Johnston, of Mississippi, with the observation: "Majorities may come and majorities may go but Skeeter is always the 97th Senator on the floor on our side."

The nomination was seconded by Senator Allen Frear, of Delaware, who said he thought his State should "have the honor of taking that step." Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, moved to close the nominations and Felton M. Johnston was unanimously nominated to be Secretary of the Senate.

The floor was then thrown open for nominations for Sergeant at Arms of the Senate. Senator Carl Hayden, of Arizona, nominated Joseph C. Duke, of Arizona, as a "man of tact, man of discretion, man who knows the job."

Senator Olin Johnston, of South Carolina, moved that the nomination be carried by acclamation and the motion was adopted unanimously.

The floor was then thrown open for nominations for Secretary to the Majority. Senator Olin Johnston, of South Carolina, nominated Bobby G. Baker.

Senator Matthew M. Neely, of West Virginia, in seconding the nomination of Baker said: "With Lyndon B. Johnson, Earle Clements, Skeeter Johnston and Bobby Baker running the Senate, the Senate and the Government of the United States will continue to stand." He said that recent events had tended to bring the Government of the United States into some disrespect, but "if anything can completely rehabilitate the prestige of the Senate, it will be to have those four men on the job."

Senator Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee, moved the election of Bobby G. Baker by acclamation and his motion was adopted unanimously.

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, then moved a rising vote of thanks to the members of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee for their work during the last election. He asked that their names be entered into the record as follows:

Senator Clements, Chairman  
Senator Long  
Senator Hunt (deceased)  
Senator Monroney  
Senator Smathers  
Senator Gore

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Senator Jackson  
Senator Kennedy  
Senator Symington

Senator O'Mahoney asked that the commendations include the members of the committee staff who "exceed any record I have ever seen in efficiency."

Senator O'Mahoney's motion was adopted by a unanimous and rising vote.

Senator J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, observed that he had no quarrel with members of the committee but "simply to keep the record straight, no credit is due the Steering Committee for my election."

Senator Johnson (Chairman) then proposed that the Secretary of the Majority prepare appropriate resolutions to be forwarded to the families of the late Senators Hoey, North Carolina; Hunt, Wyoming; Maybank, South Carolina; McCarran, Nevada. The motion was adopted unanimously.

Senator George Smathers, of Florida, informed the Conference of the state of health of Senator John Kennedy, of Massachusetts. He said that Senator Kennedy had recovered sufficiently from a serious operation to be moved to Florida for recuperation. At Senator Smathers' motion, the Conference instructed the Secretary of the Majority to prepare a letter to Senator Kennedy expressing the wishes of the Conference for a speedy recovery.

Chairman Johnson, of Texas, then raised the problem of floor seating arrangements for Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon, of the Independent Party, who asked that his seat be moved from the Republican to the Democratic side of the aisle.

Chairman Johnson said that Wayne Morse had actually been granted a seat on the Democratic side of the aisle on November 8, 1954, but that the question of seniority for permanent seating arrangements still remained to be resolved. Senator Carl Hayden, of Arizona, moved that Senator Morse's seniority date from November 8, a move which was adopted unanimously by the Conference. Senator Paul Douglas, of Illinois, then observed that he thought the Conference should be "generous" in its assignments of committee seats to Senator Morse and to Senator Barkley, of Kentucky, and Senator O'Mahoney, of Wyoming.

"I hate to see them go back to the low end of the totem pole," Senator Douglas said, pointing out that Senator Barkley and Senator O'Mahoney had lengthy Senate service. "I would like to see their seniority go back to their first date of entry into the Senate."

Chairman Johnson pointed out that this was not possible under established procedures but that the Conference could adopt a new rule if it saw fit.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, said he was of the opinion “that while the rule should prevail, proper adjustments and proper recognition of previous service can be made.” He expressed the opinion that the members of the Democratic Conference should have and could have sufficient confidence in each other to know that the proper adjustments would be made when the time came.

Senator Joseph C. O’Mahoney, of Wyoming, pointed out that he had previously served as a committee chairman and “I don’t want these responsibilities again, at least not until I have served another six or seven terms.”

Chairman Johnson closed the discussion by observing that he had “high admiration, great esteem and deep affection for Senators Barkley and O’Mahoney.”

“When the Steering Committee meets, I am confident that we will give due and I hope adequate consideration to these great statesmen of our party,” Chairman Johnson said.

Chairman Johnson briefly outlined the procedures for the opening session of the Senate on the following day and for the joint meeting to hear the President on Thursday. He expressed the hope that every member of the Democratic Conference would be present for each meeting.

Senator Russell Long, of Louisiana, then raised the question of pairs and said that it seemed to be increasingly difficult to obtain pairs for Senators who had to be absent on business. Chairman Johnson said he would discuss this question with the Senate Republican Leader.

Senator John C. Stennis, of Mississippi, then raised the question of the number of staff employees who are constantly on the floor of the Senate. He said that one day he counted 83 people “standing around the wall while only 76 Senators were present.” He added that some years ago a study by the Library of Congress produced an estimate of 1,600 people eligible for the Senate floor and that he thinks there are probably around 2,500 people eligible for the floor today.

“We have virtually surrendered the Senate floor to the staff,” Senator Stennis said. “They should be there only to help a Senator.” He added that Senator Styles Bridges, New Hampshire Republican, had once suggested that only one card be issued to each Senator to permit a member of his staff to appear on the Senate floor. Chairman Johnson said that he heartily concurred in Senator Stennis’ observations and that he would discuss the situation with Senator

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William F. Knowland, the Senate Republican Leader, and with Senator Bridges.

Senator Warren Magnuson, of Washington, said he was not as worried about the floor as he was the cloakroom. "I think we ought to have at least one place where we can meet and talk in privacy."

Chairman Johnson said that the difficulty in this instance was with the Senators themselves who would bring staff members into the cloakroom. He said he hoped each Senator would instruct staff personnel that the cloakroom was for the use of Senators only.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 3:54 P.M.

Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.  
Secretary of the Conference

## **Eighty-fifth Congress (1957–1959)**

[Editor's Note: Although Republican Dwight Eisenhower won a landslide reelection in 1956, Democrats retained their majorities in both houses of Congress. Senate Democrats held their margin of 49 to 47, and House Democrats were in the majority by 234 to 201. The Eighty-fifth Congress saw the enactment of the first civil rights legislation since Reconstruction, the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. However, liberal senators protested that in his efforts to avoid a protracted filibuster that could split the party, Majority Leader Johnson had permitted excessive weakening of the bill's enforcement provisions. The United States was also stunned, in October 1957, when the Soviet Union launched the first satellite—Sputnik I—into orbit around the earth. The event, which affected national pride and national security, prompted Congress to enact the National Defense Education Act and to establish the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. It also raised fears of Soviet superiority in intercontinental ballistic missiles, and stimulated talk of a “missile gap.”]

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[January 3, 1957]

Minutes of Meeting, Senate Democratic Conference, Thursday, January 3, 1957, Room 201, Senate Office Building, 9:48 A.M.

Chairman Johnson called the meeting to order at 9:48 A.M. and by unanimous consent Robert G. Baker was designated as Acting Secretary. At Senator Johnson's suggestion, a motion was adopted that the Conference would adjourn no later than 11:30 A.M.

The roll was called and it was determined that all Democratic Senators or Senators-elect were present except Lauche, of Ohio, and Neely, of West Virginia.

Chairman Johnson informed the Conference that he had been told by the Senate Republican Leader that the Republicans planned to organize the Senate any time they had forty-eight Senators present who would vote for Republican organization.

Chairman Johnson then presented to the Conference five Senators-elect—Carroll of Colorado; Church of Idaho; Clark of Pennsylvania; Talmadge of Georgia; Thurmond of South Carolina.

Chairman Johnson said that the minutes of past conferences indicate that holdover officers usually continue in office, but he said that he was sure that every officer would not want to serv[e] “unless we have a substantial sentiment.” He said that after the selection of the Democratic nominee for President pro tempore of the Senate,

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the Chair would be turned over to Senator Hennings to receive other nominations.

Senator Russell then nominated Senator Hayden, of Arizona, as the Democratic candidate for President pro tempore. Senator Chavez, of New Mexico, seconded the nomination, moved that nominations be closed and that Senator Hayden be elected by acclamation. The Conference did so unanimously.

With Senator Hennings in the Chair, Senator Hayden nominated Senator Johnson for re-election as Senate Democratic Leader. Senator Hayden said: "We could not do better."

Senator Green who seconded the nomination said: "I think it extraordinary the record that Lyndon has made in the Senate. He, while always defending his own point of view, prevented a schism in the Democratic Party in the Senate. Under his leadership, the Senate has passed more progressive legislation than in any other year since the beginning of the New Deal. That is the reason why many of us are here today."

Senator Humphrey, of Minnesota, also seconded Senator Johnson's nomination and said that "Senator Johnson has done an outstanding job for us. . . . I, for one, have found Lyndon a source of strength, comfort and real leadership in the Senate." Senator Humphrey moved that the nominations be closed and that Senator Johnson be elected by acclamation.

Senator Kefauver said: "I should like to have the privilege of seconding the motion that we make the election of Lyndon Johnson unanimous."

The motion was adopted by a voice vote to a standing ovation.

Chairman Johnson thanked his colleagues and then reread to them a statement he made in 1953 at the Senate Democratic Conference which elected him Leader for the first time (see attached). [No statement attached.] He said the same principles that were expressed then are still applicable and would guide his future conduct.

Senator O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, arose to remark that the words of Chairman Johnson recalled to his mind many experiences during the forty years he had been connected with the Senate. During those years, he said, the Democrats "always had their minds of their own and were never gagged but the Republicans were always under the whip of 'bossism.'" He predicted that the current "attempt of the Republican publicity specialists to convince the people that the Republican Party will be a liberal, progressive party will not succeed."

"I am happy to have the Majority Leader restate his belief in the unity of the Democratic Party based upon free expression of belief," Senator O'Mahoney said.

Senator Smathers then nominated Senator Mansfield as the Democratic Whip and the nomination was seconded by Senators Kennedy, of Massachusetts; Jackson of Washington; Gore, of Tennessee; and Pastore, of Rhode Island. Senator Symington, of Missouri, moved that the nomination be approved by acclamation, and the motion was adopted.

Senator Mansfield thanked his colleagues and added that he subscribed completely “to the statement made by our distinguished Majority Leader” with only one difference—“I would substitute Montana for Texas.”

Senator Hill, of Alabama, then nominated Senator Hennings, of Missouri, for reelection as Secretary of the Conference and the motion was seconded by Senators Robertson, of Virginia, and Kerr, of Oklahoma. It was agreed to unanimously.

Senator Hennings thanked his colleagues and said: “I think we are exceedingly fortunate in that we have leadership of such high caliber—I am referring to our Leader and our Whip. I will try to fulfill the noble principles and high ideals that have been expressed by our Leader Lyndon Johnson today.”

Senator Hayden then moved that Chairman Johnson have the authority to place “all present officers” of the Senate in nomination at noon today “if necessary.” He explained that it would not be necessary if the Democrats had a majority but would become necessary if they shifted to the minority.

Senator-elect Church, of Idaho, then arose and offered a resolution commending Senator Smathers, of Florida, for his work as Chairman of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee and commending the whole Committee and the Committee staff. The resolution (see attached) [no resolution was attached] was adopted as was a motion by Senator Smathers that the Secretary of the Conference be instructed to write a letter of appreciation to the Campaign Committee staff. Senator Hennings then moved the following resolutions:

A resolution of sorrow and regret concerning the deaths of Senators Kilgore and Barkley. Adopted unanimously (see attached) [no resolution was attached].

A resolution authorizing the Chairman of the Conference to assign members of the Conference to the Senate Democratic Steering Committee. Adopted unanimously (see attached) [no resolution was attached].

A resolution authorizing the Steering Committee to assign members of the Senate Democratic Conference to standing legislative committees. Adopted (see attached) [no resolution was attached].



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Chairman Johnson then informed the Conference that Adlai Stevenson, 1952 and 1956 Democratic Presidential nominee, would be in the Senate Gallery for the opening session later in the day. He expressed the hope that every member would visit with Mr. Stevenson "and make him feel at home." Senator Stennis, of Mississippi, then stood to offer a motion that a letter of appreciation be sent to the former Senator Clements for his contributions to the Senate Democratic Conference. "In my day here, no man has done more in working out the problems of the Senate Democrats," Senator Stennis said.

Senator Mansfield, of Montana, seconded the motion with the remark that "no man can fill the shoes of Earle Clements."

Senator Hennings also seconded the motion with the remark that "Earle Clements has been the friend of every man here."

Senator Douglas said that he was "very happy to join in this resolution to send a letter to former Senator Clements. I would like to add there should be a similar letter to former Senator Lehman of New York."

Senator Magnuson, of Washington, said there should be a similar letter to Senator George, of Georgia, and any other Democratic Senator in the same category.

The resolution was adopted by acclamation and Chairman Johnson explained that he was trying to urge Senator Clements to stay in Washington as Executive Director of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee at a salary equal to that which he earned as a Senator.

Senator Kerr moved that the Conference urge Senator Clements to accept the job and the motion was adopted unanimously.

Senator Mansfield moved a rising vote of thanks to Senator Daniel of Texas, who will soon resign to become Governor of Texas, "for the outstanding service he has given to the Democratic Party and to the country as a Senator of the United States." The motion was adopted by acclamation.

Senator Daniel thanked his colleagues and said: "We will try to send you another Democratic Senator to join your ranks."

Senator Russell moved a recess subject to the call of the Chairman and the Conference adjourned at 10:58 A.M.

January 6, 1958

*MEMORANDUM:*

TO: Senator Lyndon B. Johnson  
FROM: Robert G. Baker  
SUBJECT: Suggested procedure to be followed at the Conference meeting, Tuesday, January 7, 1958.

1. The Conference should be called to order by the Chairman of the Conference.
2. You should ask unanimous consent that the Secretary for the Majority be permitted to call the roll.
3. You should introduce the two new Senators who have never before attended a Democratic Conference.
  - A. Senator Ralph Yarborough, the Junior Senator from Texas, who was elected by a whopping 155,000 margin last April.
  - B. Our baby Senator in the point of seniority, is the Junior Senator from Wisconsin, Bill Proxmire. He was elected last August by a margin of 120,000.
4. You should ask unanimous consent that the staff members of the Preparedness Committee be permitted to sit in this Conference for the purpose of answering questions, if there be any.

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[January 7, 1958]

Minutes of the Senate Democratic Conference, Tuesday, January 7, 1958, Room 201, Senate Office Building.

Chairman Johnson, of Texas, convened the meeting at 10:15 A.M. Unanimous consent was granted to call the roll and it was ascertained that a quorum was present. Unanimous consent was granted for the presence in the conference of the Secretary of the Senate, Felton M. Johnston; the Executive Director of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee, Earle C. Clements; and the staff of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee.

Senator Johnson then introduced to the Conference two members who had not previously been present, the Honorable Ralph W. Yarborough, of Texas, and the Honorable William A. Proxmire, of Wisconsin. Both expressed—to applause—their gratitude to their colleagues for the help they had been given.

Chairman Johnson then opened the briefing of the Conference on the missile and satellite situation. His statement is attached. [No statement was attached]

Senator Kefauver then briefed the members on the status of the intermediate range ballistics missile; Senator Stennis, on the status of the intercontinental ballistics missile; and Senator Symington, on the status of the Strategic Air Command. All statements are attached. [No statements were attached.]

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Senator Chavez then stated that the current situation cannot be attributed to lack of funds voted by Congress. He said that at the beginning of fiscal year 1958 there were unobligated balances of \$.7 billion for procurement of missiles; that new funds already provided for Congress and supplemental funds to be requested in fiscal 1958 totaled \$2.3 billion for missile procurement and \$.3 billion for research and development related to missiles; that utilization of prior year balances and reprogramming provided an additional amount of \$1.1 billion, bringing the total available for obligation in fiscal 1958 to \$4.4 billion.

Chairman Johnson then called upon Senator Russell, of Georgia, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Senator Russell pointed out that in the defense situation Congress can legislate, Congress can appropriate, but Congress cannot act. He said that there is a great deal of need for a man to really take charge of the missile program and see it through.

“Dr. Killian (the President’s scientific advisor) is an ideal man, but I wager it would take him three or four days to even get to the President to advise him,” Senator Russell said.

Senator Russell said that “we need more scientists but we are not using a fraction of what we have now.”

Chairman Russell said that this nation can definitely be saved. “We have the time; we have the means; it is only a question of whether we have the will to assure our survival,” Senator Russell said. (Applause)

Chairman Johnson then introduced Senator Clinton P. Anderson, of New Mexico, who described what he called the failure of this country to produce an atomic airplane. He attributed it to confusion in the Executive agencies.

Senator Joseph C. O’Mahoney, of Wyoming, recalled that after the 1952 election, President Eisenhower set forth a budget for the forthcoming fiscal year which contained “funds for research and development and maintenance of the best air force in the world.” He said that “The first act (of the new Administration) was to cut the Truman budget and the heavy cuts were made in research funds for the Army, Navy and Air Force. The Administration was more concerned with tight money that it was with saving the Union.” (Applause)

Senator Clements then described his recent travels throughout the country. He said, “I don’t believe in this decade that the Democratic Party has been any stronger than it is today.”

He announced to the Conference that a photographer would be available for use of members; there would be a dinner in February in honor of former President Truman, and another Democratic dinner in April or May.

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS (1957–1959)

Chairman Johnson adjourned the Conference at 11:55.



## Eighty-sixth Congress (1959–1961)

[Editor's Note: An economic recession at home and the increasing challenge from the Soviet Union in areas of science and education, as well as in diplomatic and military affairs abroad, triggered a Democratic landslide in the congressional elections of 1958. Democrats scored an increase of 16 members, the largest party gain since the constitutional provision for the direct election of senators in 1913. The party ratio in the Senate changed from 49 to 47 to 65 to 35. Democrats won similarly impressive gains in the House, where their majority increased to 283 to 153, with 1 independent. Moreover, as the nation approached the 1960 elections, President Eisenhower was the first two-term president to be barred by the Twenty-second Amendment from running again. A number of Senate Democrats declared their candidacy for the presidency, among them Senators Lyndon B. Johnson, John F. Kennedy, Hubert H. Humphrey, and Stuart Symington. The vastly expanded majority was a mixed blessing for Majority Leader Johnson, who found party discipline harder to maintain, and who encountered criticism from within his own ranks. Pennsylvania Senator Joseph Clark protested that northeastern senators lacked "proportionate representation" on the Democratic Policy and Steering committees. And on February 23, 1959, Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin stood on the Senate floor and protested the majority leader's concentration of power in determining the legislative program and policies of the party. Proxmire specifically cited Johnson's refusal to call more frequent meetings of the Democratic Conference. "What I am calling for is a greater degree of democracy in our party in the Senate," Proxmire explained. "And the first step toward this democracy is regular meetings of our party membership to permit all Senators to know where the leadership intends to take us, and to permit the membership, if it cares to do so, to indicate whether or not it wants to go there."]

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[January 7, 1959]

REMARKS OF SENATE DEMOCRATIC LEADER LYNDON B.  
JOHNSON TO THE DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE, JANUARY 7, 1959

For Release Upon Delivery.

Members of the Conference:

We start today a new year and a new Congress.

We have met now to transact the necessary business of our party, but I feel it would be inappropriate to proceed without acknowledging the context in which we assemble.

For us, this is the starting of a new era.

We have been given great strength. In all the long history of the Senate, never has one party won so many seats at a single election as we have won. For this, we are grateful—and certainly we are proud. Yet, we realize

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that our strength has never been—and is not now—the strength of numbers.

Our strength is what we are—and what we prove ourselves to be. What we hold we have earned. What we keep will be no more than what we deserve.

That is our special challenge.

Our strength will be deserving in proportion as we use it for the interests of all. By this standard, we have won the public trust; by this means, we shall honor the trust we have won.

#### *A NEW ERA*

New strength has brought us to a new era. Yet, as we note this, we cannot fail to note that this is—in much the same terms—the beginning now of a new era for our nation, for the world, and for all of humankind.

Our nation is at the edge of what can clearly be its greatest age of expansion, growth, and abundance. Among the nations of earth, we see emerging the first beginnings of a new age. Our times are yielding daily new capabilities for man.

#### *GREATER CAPABILITIES FOR GOVERNMENT*

The capabilities of government must keep pace with the capabilities of the people it serves. For this we know with certainty: there is no expense of government more costly or more intolerable than the burden of laggard government.

That is the work to which we come.

It is our purpose to fashion greater capabilities for our government from the growing capabilities of man.

As Americans—not as partisans—we must acknowledge this reality: the capabilities of our nation and its people are, in many vital areas, now outrunning the capabilities of our government.

There is between the people and their government a deficit of vigor, a deficit of confidence, and a deficit of will.

Prudence requires that we bring these books into balance.

To do so, we must seek the cause rather than tilt at the symptom. The faults of men and the failings of the system must not be confused. The one will pass; the other must be removed.

#### *SERVE THE FUTURE*

Government, if it is to serve at all, must serve the future—not the present alone, and most certainly not the past.

Today the future is already the controlling fact of these times—and of the decisions we take here.

The advent of a 200 million population, a 500 billion dollar national income, a trillion dollar economy are all near at hand.

Throughout our system, conservative men are already working with these facts.

Yet where men are responding to this future, their government is not. The past is served—at penalty to the present and at the danger of default to the future.

It is against this danger of default that we must work.

*RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT*

Responsible government is responsive government. Our urgent duty—and our special opportunity—is to undertake the labors necessary to make the government of our land responsive to the potential and the promise of the future.

What we can do now is subject to certain limits.

We have been given great strength, but not overriding strength. The Executive arm of national government remains under control of another party.

We have—by our majority here—an obligation to lead. We do not have authority to command. We have powers to advise and consent. We do not have powers to implement and accomplish.

These facts we appreciate, yet they do not matter for much beyond the confines of the Senate.

Our mandate is a mandate for confident and creative and constructive leadership—beginning now, not two years hence.

We shall honor that mandate.

*OUR OPPORTUNITY*

Our opportunity—the great opportunity of this Senate—is to marshal the considerable resources of inquiry of the Legislative branch to the task of defining for America new goals for the many new capabilities of its people, its economy, its technology and its national will.

We are clearly moving to a new age—an age of new standards, new accomplishments, and new potentials.

Against the promise of this new age, American industry and business is now pouring forth billions in research to discover new capabilities.

Government, though, is moving hardly at all.

Research is underway on instruments of national security, but, beyond that, little is being done. Great minds of the nation are not being mobilized to the challenges of self-government by free men. The intellect of the nation is not being used where it is most needed. This failing imperils us, fully as much, I believe, as would a failure to pursue research in the more obvious realms of national security.

*THE CAMPUS OF THE WEST*

I speak only for myself, of course, but I believe this. I believe that we should, through the resources available to us in the Legislative branch, undertake the rewarding work of turning our land into the campus of the West.

We are working with the future. We are working with a new dimension—the most challenging men have ever faced.

If we are to be competent even for the routine of tomorrow, we shall need vision in our preparations—and we shall need both boldness and freshness.

We do not have it now.

It is the indictment of those who presently hold the responsibility of the action arm of our leadership that in dynamic times they have exalted—and still exalt—the static.

Free men can afford much. They can never afford the price of inertia.

Today we must face this fact: we have led the free world through a time of sickness and convalescence, but we are faced now with a well and vital world. The test of our national character and capacity will be our ability to lead a well world by our vigor and purpose as we have led a sick world by our wealth and compassion.



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*NEW TOOLS OF GOVERNMENT*

We need new ideas in many fields. We need to forge new tools of government.

Our controls over the monetary system are now two World Wars old.

Our budget processes were formed in another day.

Our tax structure is obsolescent.

Our government is dedicated, in many areas, to programs for which the purpose is no longer pertinent.

If we are not to default the integrity of our free enterprise system, we must concentrate vigorous effort on its future—rather than hold to easy concepts of its past.

We must not surrender to inflation.

We must not surrender to poverty.

We must not surrender to educational blight or medical mediocrity or social depression in any field of our society.

We must not abandon regions or cities or classes or ages to despair.

We must not allow the obsolescence of our ideas to foredoom vital segments of our enterprise.

We must not allow ourselves to forfeit the goals of equal standards of freedom, opportunity and equality for want of boldness.

We certainly must not abdicate progress to the rule of tension and strife.

In a world reborn—facing the new youth of a new age and a new dimension of space—we must certainly not default the leadership of vigor to the totalitarians.

Fiscal solvency concerns us all. It is a first concern, for no course is honest without the courage of financial prudence. But we cannot afford to bankrupt the national conscience to serve the ends of political bookkeeping.

Moral integrity, as well as fiscal integrity, require that we acknowledge deficits of will and deficits of effort and undertake a united search for responsible solutions to the problems of our times.

We, here in the Senate, have within the powers open to us under the Constitution a great opportunity to reach out across the land—into the universities and colleges, into private business, into labor, the professions, all walks of our national life—and ask great minds to come here to help us seek and search.

We can reach beyond our shores—to all the Western world and especially to our neighbor Republics of this hemisphere—and ask others to share this labor with us.

We can bring men together to explore tomorrow's horizons for our land, our hemisphere, and the world.

From such explorations, we will find the facts and form the ideas with which we shall work the next decade to make government responsive to the potential of the future.

The world is in a race today that is more likely to be won by minds than missiles. We neglect this at our peril.

There is much that we must do and shall do in this session, yet, for our work, we do not come with a checklist in hand to attend only the pressing problems of the present.

We are—as are the people who sent us here—looking to the future.

We know that we shall win respect by our vision, not by our vendettas; by courage, not by carping.

Our first responsibility is responsibility itself.

The era is new. The promise is new. We work with new and growing capabilities. Yet our purpose remains unchanged. Always our party has been the party of confident men and we have drawn our strength from young and confident regions of a young and confident land.

Today there is a new youth and zest and confidence across all our land and we, in consequence, find ourselves here now as party of all the nation.

New strength is ours. With that new strength, we shall—by responsible service—add strength to our nation, our world, and our times.

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[January 7, 1959]

Minutes of the Senate Democratic Conference, Wednesday, January 7, 1959, Room 301, Senate Office Building.

Chairman Johnson convened the Conference at 10:05 A.M. Robert G. Baker was designated Acting Secretary of the Conference and the roll was called.

All Senators and Senators-elect, with the exception of Senator Neuberger who was ill, responded to their names and a quorum was declared present.

Chairman Johnson then delivered a statement to the Conference, which is attached. He received a standing ovation at the conclusion of the statement.

Chairman Johnson then introduced the newly elected Democratic Senators and those Democratic Senators who had been re-elected. Senator Carl Hayden, the president pro tempore of the Senate, was then designated the Acting Chairman for the purpose of electing officers.

By unanimous vote, the following Senators were declared the officers of the Conference:

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Chairman of the Conference, Democratic Floor Leader, Chairman of the Policy Committee, and Chairman of the Steering Committee.

Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, Democratic Whip.

Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., of Missouri, Secretary to the Conference.

Robert G. Baker, of South Carolina, Secretary to the Majority.

It was unanimously decided that the following Senate officers would continue to receive the endorsement of the Senate Majority:

Felton M. Johnston, Secretary of the Senate

Joseph C. Duke, Sgt. at Arms

Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate

The following resolutions were offered and adopted:

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Resolution by Senator-elect Gale McGee of Wyoming to thank the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee for efforts and activities in behalf of Democratic Senatorial candidates during the 1958 campaign (see attached). [No resolution attached]

Resolution by Senators Sam J. Ervin and B. Everett Jordan of North Carolina, and Senators-elect Jennings Randolph and Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia to express the profound sorrow and deep regret of the Conference at the death of the Honorable W. Kerr Scott, the late Senator from North Carolina, and the Honorable Matthew M. Neely, the late Senator from West Virginia (see attached). [No resolution attached]

Resolution by Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., of Missouri to authorize the Senate Democratic Steering Committee to assign Members of the Democratic Conference to committees and to report the assignments to the Senate (see attached). [No resolution attached]

Resolution by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota to instruct the Secretary of the Conference to write a letter of appreciation to the staff members of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee (see attached). [No resolution attached]

Chairman Johnson then introduced Senator Humphrey for a discussion of Senator Humphrey's recent trip to the Soviet Union and his conference with Soviet Premier [Nikita] Khrushchev.

Senator Humphrey started by saying: "Senator Johnson, we are very gratified, pleased and honored by your sterling leadership. I, for one, am going to consider myself as a member of the team. This is a great party with a great leader."

He then discussed his experiences in the Soviet Union and warned that it is a strong country which does not intend to take a backseat to anyone. He said that the United States is going to either have to live with the Soviet Union or die with it, and he described the work that is being done by the Soviets to influence the people of other countries.

He said that Khrushchev is a very able man.

Upon the basis of a question by Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico, Chairman Johnson said that two courses could be followed to resolve a dispute over Rule XXII in the Senate:

(1) A motion by Senator Anderson to declare that the Senate Rules did not carry over from Congress to Congress and that the Senate would have to proceed to write new rules.

(2) A motion directed specifically at Rule 22.

Chairman Johnson said he would consult interested Senators before the Senate session on which course should be followed.

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming said that he wished to compliment the Senate Democratic Leader and the Senator from Minnesota for "having made two of the most stimulating addresses I have ever heard in a Conference."

He said that many people did not realize the tremendous importance of water in strengthening such nations as the Soviet Union and the United States, and he referred to hearings he had conducted on Soviet water resources. He said that he would make available copies of these hearings to Members of the Senate at the earliest opportunity.

The Conference adjourned at 11:21 A.M.

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[January 7, 1960]

Minutes of the Senate Democratic Conference, Thursday, January 7, 1960, Room 1114, New Senate Office Building.<sup>1</sup>

Chairman Johnson called the meeting to order at 3:30 P.M. and explained that he was soliciting the views of Democratic senators in regard to the legislative program. He announced that the Senate Democratic Policy Committee would meet Tuesday at 12:30 to consider bills not previously scheduled. He said he would have no recommendations to make prior to the Policy Committee meeting.

Senator Clark of Pennsylvania then offered a resolution stating that the Senate Democratic Conference should meet at least once every two weeks or upon the request of fifteen Democratic senators. He said that he offered his resolution on the basis of a conference with Senators Humphrey, McNamara, Proxmire and Douglas.

Senator Clark said that he offered the motion because he thought frequent Conferences would help to find "common ground" for many of the problems upon which Democrats were divided. He cited as examples of the sort of thing that should be considered by such Conferences the President's State of the Union Message, the lifting of ceilings on Government bonds, the President's economic message, wage-hour legislation, and the school construction bill.

Chairman Johnson said that as far as he was concerned it had been the policy of the Leadership to ask any member of the Senate who desired to do so to appear before the Policy Committee to discuss legislation. He said furthermore, that he had always expressed a willingness to call a Conference at any time an individual requested such a Conference. But he pointed out that frequently it is difficult to bring members to a meeting. "I can't assure anybody that we would be able to get a majority of the majority to a Conference once

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<sup>1</sup> Opened in 1958, this office building was officially named for Everett M. Dirksen in 1972.

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the session gets underway and we are hard pressed for time," Chairman Johnson said.

Senator Mansfield said he could not see the point of Senator Clark's motion because it had been stated in the course of debate on the Senate Floor last year that any time one Senator wanted a Caucus he could have it. Senator Clark replied that the difference in his resolution was that such caucuses would be automatic.

Senator McNamara of Michigan said that he favored Senator Clark's proposal. "As a candidate for re-election I feel that I would benefit from such discussions," Senator McNamara said.

Senator Humphrey said that his support of the Clark motion referred to the section which would authorize the calling of a Conference on the basis of the request of fifteen members. He said that he would like to see Senator Clark's resolution amended so that the two weeks period "would be just a guideline and that the important thing would be the periodic meetings."

"If one senator wants a Conference, there is no reason that every colleague should jump to and attend it." "There should be some limitations so it would not get out of hand. . . . one senator can ask for it (a Conference) but I don't think he necessarily should have it."

Senator Humphrey said that he himself "have no lack of consultation with the Majority Leader." Senator Humphrey also said that he thought there were some measures on which the Democrats were so divided that Conferences would not accomplish anything.

Senator Smathers asked Senator Clark how many senators would have to be present for a Conference to be official. Senator Clark replied that there was no proposal to make Conferences binding.

"Then it would be just a little coke meeting," Senator Smathers said. "Nobody would come to it and the press would report that nobody came to a Democratic Conference."

Senator Ellender asked what would be accomplished by a Conference. Senator Humphrey replied that he felt there should be some "ground rules" and that he thought Conferences might result in giving the Leader some more support.

Senator Smathers suggested that the part of the Clark proposal referring to fifteen senators be adopted and that the other part be dropped. Senator Humphrey said that he thought it might be preferable just to have the Secretary of the Conference poll the members every two weeks to determine whether they desired a Conference.

Senator Jackson said there is an existing procedure whereby the chairman of the Conference can entertain a request for a Conference. He said that he thought "it would look better if we didn't

have a motion and if the chairman would assure the members that we meet once a month.”

Senator Clark said that if the chairman would agree to Senator Jackson’s suggestion he would be glad to withdraw his motion. Senator Johnson replied that “I would rather have you fellows settle it.”

Senator Young of Ohio said it seemed to him that “it would be unfortunate if we adopted this motion today and if there were to be Conferences every two weeks. It would be a genuine hardship on fellows like Jennings Randolph and Pat McNamara or others who are running for re-election.” He said that it would be better if the Conference had an understanding “that the Majority Leader call us into session once a month.” Senator Gore said that Senator Young “has expressed my feelings.”

Senator Jackson said he thought it would look bad to have a procedure whereby fifteen senators “would sign a petition.” Senator Young said he thought a better procedure might be to have a Conference “on the first Tuesday or Thursday of each month.”

Senator Russell said he certainly hoped it wouldn’t be on a Thursday because that was the meeting day of the Senate Armed Services Committee “and I have enough trouble getting members to attend now.”

“I am of the opinion that the resolution offered by the Senator from Pennsylvania is completely impractical,” Senator Russell said. “It would destroy the Conference system after the second week. Unless senators are much more loyal to the Democratic Party organization than they are to the organization of the Senate, you wouldn’t have any attendance at all. If you have a Conference every two weeks, the whole matter will collapse before you even start.”

He said he had “never yet seen a member of the Democratic Party who really wanted a Conference who didn’t get it from the Leadership.” He renewed his request that no one consider having a Conference on a Thursday.

“I hope you will proceed slowly,” Senator Russell said. “I don’t think you will have any trouble getting a Conference any time you want it, but I do think that if you have fixed meetings you will destroy the Conference system.”

Senator Pastore announced that he was opposed to Senator Clark’s motion because he didn’t think it was necessary.

“The motion itself, if it comes to a vote, will prove division in our Party,” Senator Pastore said. “Let’s do away with this nonsense of taking a vote.”

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Senator Pastore asked whether any member present had ever asked for a Caucus and failed to get one. No senator indicated that such a thing had happened.

Senator Clark protested that "there is no criticism of the Leadership in my heart and mind."

Senator Pastore said he was not saying that. But he said that the press interpretation would be that the motion was criticism of the Leadership. He said that if caucuses were to mean anything they would have to be binding. "And you can't do that in the Senate of the United States." He said the motion "won't prove solidarity; it would only prove disunity."

Senator Holland stated that he agreed with Senator Pastore. He pointed out that there had been considerable discussion of the Caucus on the Floor of the Senate last year.

"Any action we take would be interpreted in every section of this country as a rebuff to the Majority Leader," Senator Holland said. "I am opposed to any form the motion would take."

Senator Holland said that the session would be short and "we are going to have a parade of candidates such as has never been seen before."

He said that any action on Senator Clark's motion "would be regarded as having political implications."

"I don't want to see a leadership disrupted that has worked out more unity than anybody ever even dreamed of," Senator Holland said. He pointed out that when the Caucus question was discussed last year on the Senate Floor it got "more headlines than all the work that we did."

"This is the best way to advertise that the Party has been disrupted before we even get a chance to get in a lick," Senator Holland said.

Senator Douglas observed that there are one or two subjects "where a Conference would increase divisiveness." But he said there were others where he thought a Conference could resolve differences. He said this is a critical year for the Democratic Party and that Conferences could be helpful.

Senator Johnson said that he was willing "to do anything that this Conference wants to do with itself." He said that his policy was now, always had been, and had been stated on the Senate Floor that: (1) he would call a Conference whenever he or any member of the Leadership thought that anything could be gained, or (2) he would call a Conference "when any Senator wants his colleagues to hear him on any subject."

"If a majority wants to have periodic Conferences, let them so indicate and I will go along," Senator Johnson said.

Senator Douglas replied that “a Senator feels very presumptuous to have sixty-five members called into Conference at his sole request.” Douglas said that “our Republican friends have caucuses every week. I think it would be helpful to have conferences inside our party.” Senator Douglas disclaimed any intention of “using a Conference to disrupt.” He added that he himself had some doubts about having a Conference every two weeks and thought that perhaps once a month would be sufficient.

Senator Chavez took the floor and said, “The Republicans have a Conference once a week and look where they are. We Democrats can disagree. If we agreed all the time we would be Republicans. We can lick the Republicans but not by having a Conference every other day. Let’s go out and get some votes. I will vote as I damn please no matter what you do here and that is what each one of you is going to do.”

Senator Gore said he didn’t think the Conference should be deterred by “what the press is going to say.” He said he hoped that there was some way of acting in unanimity in accordance with Senator Young’s suggestion. He said he regretted the fact that the Majority Leader had stated that he would call a Conference whenever any senator “wants his colleagues to hear him on any subject.” He said he thought Conferences should be called in order to try to get an over-all approach to legislation. “Some of us not in the inner circle feel left out,” Senator Gore said in what seemed to be a reference to the Policy Committee.

Senator Johnson said that the Conference elected three members of the Policy Committee—the leader, the assistant leader and the secretary of the Conference. He asked whether there was any objection to the members now serving on the Policy Committee, and Senator Gore moved that the present members of the Policy Committee be approved.

Senator Humphrey protested that if the method of selection of the Policy Committee members was to be changed, he thought there should be another Conference with due notice and sufficient time to consider the matter in advance. Senator Johnson replied that he was not electing them. He was just asking whether there was any objection to those now serving.

Senator Gore said that he had understood that “the Majority Leader was willing to put the names up for election now.”

Senator Humphrey took the floor and said he wanted it clearly understood that “the Leader has had no criticism from me either privately or publicly, but he has had criticism on the subject of conferences.”

He said he thought it would be better to have conferences than to have different groups of senators holding caucuses on their own.



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“If we can’t sit down and talk about school construction and fair labor standards I know what’s going to happen,” Senator Humphrey said. “We are going over to the Congressional Hotel and have supper and get in an expert and get it in the newspapers.”

Senator Proxmire said he had spoken on the Floor on this subject and everybody knew that he was in favor of having more caucuses. He said that it was clear to him that the success or lack of success of a Caucus “would depend upon whether we have an orderly agenda or not.”

“I want a Caucus in which the Leader explains what is our program and why,” Senator Proxmire said. “I want a Caucus where we can get frank partisan argument. In a presidential year we can make a much better record if we can get the kind of intelligence assembled here focused on our problems.”

Senator Proxmire said that it would be good to have a Caucus in which the Leader would explain the program; it would be better to have a Caucus in which the Policy Committee members explained the program and it would be even better to have a Caucus in which all the members discussed the program.

Senator Morse said that he was speaking only because his silence might indicate his approval of the present membership of the Policy Committee.

“I am opposed to the present membership of the Policy Committee not as individuals but because I think they were put in their post by a procedure not in consonance with the principles of the Democratic Party,” Senator Morse said.

Senator Church stated that he would like to join those who sought to avoid a vote. He said that if the vote did not carry it would be interpreted as a defeat for the “liberals” and the Democratic Party would thereby be hurt. If the vote carried, he said, it would be construed “as a slap at the Leadership.”

He said he did not think there was any point to a Conference unless the Conference was justified by the practical circumstances of the legislative program. He suggested that the resolution be withdrawn and that instead the Conference adopt a “sense” resolution expressing the sense of the Conference; that the Leader call Conferences at such times as in his judgment the legislative situation justified such action.

Senator Jackson protested that he didn’t want to see “anything passed.”

Senator Johnson said that it had been suggested that some people wanted to talk about the school construction bill. He reiterated that he was willing to call a Conference on that or any other subject if a Conference was suggested.

“I want to say that the assurance of the Leader, which he has given before, is enough for me,” Senator Humphrey said.

Senator Clark said that in view of “what I think has been a very helpful discussion today” he was willing to withdraw his motion.

Senator Douglas asked whether it wouldn’t be well to ask for a meeting at the end of January or early in February.

“I would rather adjourn with the understanding that the Majority Leader will receive a request from some of us shortly,” Senator Clark said.

Senator Gore then moved that vacancies on the Policy Committee hereafter be filled by the Conference.

Senator Johnson pointed out that in the past vacancies have been filled by the Leader and that hold-over members have carried over from Congress to Congress. He said that he himself had only made two appointments among the present membership of the Policy Committee. “The Policy Committee,” he said, “has been regarded as an arm of the Leadership.”

Senator Ervin said that he certainly would not want to vote on Senator Gore’s motion without study.

Senator Gore said in response to Senator Johnson that he thought the Policy Committee “was a committee of the Democratic Conference.”

“If it is an arm of the Leadership, it is wrong to have it that way,” Senator Gore said. He announced that he would withdraw his motion until the next meeting.

Senator Symington said he agreed with Senator Church that there should not be any votes. He said he was going to move to adjourn because “I have to leave anyway.” There was considerable laughter at this remark.

Senator Morse said he thought that Senator Gore “put his finger on a procedural problem that has bothered many of us.” He said that “I have always assumed that the Policy Committee was the check of the Conference on Leader X,Y, or Z.”

Senator Gruening took the floor and said he wanted to discuss another subject. He said that 1960 is a presidential year and some senators feel “we lack issues.” He said he thought there was a very serious issue in President Eisenhower’s insistence that no money could be cut from the foreign aid budget but that the domestic budget should be cut to the bone.

As one example he pointed out that Alaska’s salmon fisheries are under Federal control. He said that the foreign aid program is helping eighteen foreign countries to rehabilitate their fisheries. “Yet I am convinced that if I went before Congress and asked for funds

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to rehabilitate the fishing industry in my state, it would be termed unnecessary and wasteful," Senator Gruening said. He cited other examples.

"I submit that this is a subject for a Conference," Senator Gruening said. "We should apply to foreign aid the same budgetary procedure that applies to domestic items." There was loud applause as Senator Gruening concluded his remarks.

Senator Hayden (who is Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee) then announced that he had been called by Chairman [Clarence] Cannon of the House Appropriations Committee.

"Cannon said that Speaker [Sam] Rayburn wanted to adjourn Congress on the 2nd day of July," Senator Hayden said. There was considerable applause. "I told him that if he would get his appropriation bills over here early, we would pass them," Senator Hayden said. He then went over the schedule of appropriation bills.

Senator Hayden then discussed the timing of the publication of the report on Senate staffs and salaries. Senator Hayden concluded his remarks by stating that it was necessary to pass a resolution for the benefit of three page boys who have reached the age of seventeen, and who under the Senate rules, cannot remain as page boys. He said the resolution would permit them to remain as pages until they have finished the page school.

Senator Johnson reiterated his announcement of a Policy Committee meeting the following Tuesday at 12:30 and requested senators to communicate their views on bills. He asked, "Do any other members have any other suggestions?" When no one responded, Senator Sparkman moved to adjourn.

The motion was adopted and the Conference adjourned at 5:12 P.M.

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[Memorandum]

*Agriculture* (Mouser) [Cotys M. Mouser, Chief Clerk of the Agriculture and Forestry Committee]

Extend soil conservation reserve section of the soil bank program. The Wheat Act (was vetoed last year). Possible compromise would be to take land out of production so as to either (1) maintain present supports or (2) to even increase the supports.

Amend grain payments program relating to 15-acre farmer.

*Armed Services* (Wingate) [Harry L. Wingate, Jr., Chief Clerk of the Armed Services Committee]

Military construction.

Reserve officers incentive act.

*Banking and Currency* (Hale and Cash) [Matthew Hale, Chief Counsel, and James B. Cash, Jr., staff member of the Banking and Currency Committee]  
Defense Production Act—expires June 30.

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Export Control Extension—expires June 30.  
Small Business Act—increase in monies for revolving fund.  
Housing—FHA Title 1, needs to be extended (this is the Home Improvement Program).  
College housing loan funds will need an increase.  
There will be a demand for an increase in urban renewal funds so as to increase the Public Housing Unit Authorization.  
Also for Federal assistance to middle income housing (Javits, Clark).

*Interior* (Stewart French) [Chief Counsel of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee]

Mineral Policy bill—to aid domestic mining.  
Hawaiian Omnibus bill—clear up loose ends left over by transition from Territory to Statehood.  
Puerto Rican bill—relationships between Puerto Rico and the United States.  
The Wilderness bill—sets up 90 million acres to be designated as wilderness areas.  
Mineral Leasing Act—liberalized leasing.

*Foreign Relations*

Mutual Security  
Convention on the Antarctic  
Japanese Security Treaty  
Three Conventions on the Law of the Sea  
Passport legislation (already passed House)  
Repeal of the Connally Amendment  
North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement

*Interstate*

Labeling of hazardous household substance.  
T.V.-radio spectrum.  
Alaska-Hawaii transportation problem.  
Air safety dual rates (ocean freight rates)

*Judiciary* (Davis) [Joseph A. Davis, Chief Clerk of the Judiciary Committee]  
Same as last year.

*Labor and Public Welfare*

Loyalty oath.  
Minimum wage.  
School construction.  
Mine safety.  
Juvenile delinquency.  
If the steel strike resumes it will be necessary for us to enact emergency legislation.

*Public Works*

Water Pollution—bill will go [to] conference early in January.  
Highway bill—A.B.C. bill \$1 billion.  
Rivers and Harbors—\$1 billion.

*District of Columbia*

Mass transit.  
D.C. tax and budget legislation.  
D.C. civil defense.

JANUARY 12, 1960

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[January 12, 1960]

[Editor's Note: The minutes for the Conference of January 12, 1960, were missing from the Minutes books, but the following copy of the minutes of that Conference was obtained from "Senate Papers," at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library in Austin, Texas.]

Minutes of the Senate Democratic Conference  
Tuesday, January 12, 1960  
Room 1114, New Senate Office Building

Chairman Johnson called the conference to order at 3:45 P.M. Secretary Robert G. Baker called the roll and 57 Senators responded (see attached roll call).

The following Senators announced that they had the proxies of their colleagues in accordance with the precedent of previous caucuses:

Senator O'Mahoney - Senator McGee's proxy.  
Senator Russell - Senator Talmadge's proxy.  
Senator McCarthy - Senator Humphrey's proxy.  
Senator Monroney - Senator Kerr's proxy.  
Senator Fulbright - Senator Dodd's proxy.  
Senator Stennis - Senator Robertson's proxy.

Chairman Johnson opened the meeting by restating his standing policy that he calls conferences under two conditions:

1. Any time the Leadership feels that a conference would serve a good purpose.
2. Any time any Democratic member of the Senate desires a conference.

In regard to this policy he explained he was calling the conference today on the Policy Committee, the school construction, and the elections bill.

Chairman Johnson then read the attached statement to the conference.

At the conclusion of Chairman Johnson's statement, Senator Gore sought recognition and presented the following motion:

I move, Mr. Chairman, that all vacancies occurring hereafter on the Democratic Policy Committee be filled by election by a conference of Democratic Senators, that the membership of the Policy Committee be increased so as to be more truly representative of the Democratic Senators, the major geographic areas of the United States and of the national character and interest of the Democratic Party, that the Democratic Policy Committee undertake the development and formulation of legislative poli-

cies of the Democratic Party in the Senate to be submitted to the conference of Democratic Senators for its consideration and action.

Senator Gore, explaining his motion, said: “Every man here loves the Senate—the legislative branch of the Government. Most of us have devoted or expect to devote the most fruitful years of our lives to the legislative branch of our government. Every man here believes in the efficacy of the two-party system. Every man here desires to preserve the co-equal status of our branch of the Government. It is in that light that this motion is offered.”

Senator Gore said that Chairman Johnson had reviewed the genesis of the Democratic and Republican policy committees and had “stated the facts accurately.” The Democratic Policy Committee, he continued, had not conformed to the functions envisaged for it by the report of the La Follette-Monroney Committee. He said that the La Follette-Monroney Committee had set forth the need for the formation of a small group to formulate Senate Democratic Policy because the caucus was unwieldy.

Senator Gore said: “The distinguished Democratic Leader says he would not undertake to state what the policies of the Democratic Party are. That is the crux of it. Who does?”

“At the present time,” Senator Gore said, “no one states Democratic Party policy because the Democratic Party does not control the White House.” He said he was suggesting that the Policy Committee do some real work on exploring issues and developing policy recommendations to present to the Democratic Conference. Senator Gore said that it is from the Democratic conference “that the Majority Leader draws his power—and I would gladly vote for him again—but it is the conference that must declare Democratic Party policy for the country.”

Senator Gore said he was willing to cooperate in attempting to develop Democratic policy. He said, however, that he would not consider these policies binding upon the votes of individual Senators and “I will take my responsibility on how I vote.”

He said that we are in an age of mass media in which the executive branch can dramatize and propagandize an issue and we are left without an issue. He said that proper use of the Democratic Policy Committee would “dramatize the issues before the American people.”

Senator Gore said that the question of the Policy Committee had long disturbed students of government.

He said that he himself had been disturbed as to its role, but had not intended to bring up the matter until the Majority Leader said in the preceding conference that the Policy Committee was “an arm of the Leadership.” Senator Gore said he personally felt that the

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Policy Committee was an adjunct of the Senate Democratic conference.

Senator Ellender asked Senator Gore how he would expect "to bind the House to any policies that would be enunciated by the Senate Democrats."

"It would not be my fault if even the Democrats in the Senate would not be bound by such policies," Senator Gore said. "But it would be my hope that the House would also have such a body as the Policy Committee."

Senator Chavez asked: "Isn't it a fact that so long as we are in a majority the policies will be determined by the legislation and not by what anybody says?"

Senator Gore replied that he thought that there should be some committee to agree on an over-all policy instead of having a dozen different committees or sub-committees dealing with different phases of a problem. He said that the legislative committee would not be "bound" by such over-all policy, but it would be influential.

Senator Chavez said: "If Congress gets a housing bill, a water pollution bill, civil rights legislation and other measures, wouldn't that be making policy?"

Senator Gore said that such action would be "making a record" but that he believed that record could be better dramatized by an over-all policy.

Senator Hayden said that there was no such committee in existence now as envisaged by Senator Gore. Senator Hayden said that the Democratic Policy Committee is not a policy committee and was never intended to be.

"It is a misnomer," Senator Hayden said. "The Policy Committee should be renamed the Steering Committee and the Steering Committee should be renamed the Committee on Committees. Isn't it a fact that the Senator is proposing a new committee?"

Senator Gore replied that the Policy Committee had been established by a legislative rider to an appropriations bill in 1946. He said that this rider specifically stated that the purpose of the committee was "for the formulation of over-all legislative policy."

Senator Magnuson identified himself as the man who offered the language to the appropriations bill in 1946.

"The purpose of that language was to establish not a committee for Party Policy, but for policy to determine a calendar, so to speak," Senator Magnuson said. "Certainly we never intended that this be a committee to lay down Party policy."

Senator Gore pointed out that there was no debate when the legislative rider was adopted.

“As the record stands, the La Follette-Monroney Committee made a recommendation which the Senate accepted,” Senator Gore said. “But when the House turned it down, the Senate promptly adopted a rider to the legislative appropriations bill which followed closely the language of the original bill.”

Senator Gore said it would not be necessary to establish another committee to carry out the purpose of his resolution. He said such a committee already existed and that the only problem was to make it function in the same form as contemplated by the La Follette-Monroney bill.

Senator Hayden pointed out that regardless of the language, the fact remains that the Democratic Policy Committee never sought to determine Party policy. He said it merely determined the order in which bills would be considered.

Senator Gore replied that at the time the Policy Committee was set up there was a Democratic President who could state Democratic Party policy. Now, he said, there is a Republican President.

Chairman Johnson observed that he had been a member of the Democratic Policy Committee for ten years and that some of the members of the Committee had been with it since its inception, “They tell me that it was intended to be a policy committee only on procedure—not on legislative policy in conflict with standing committees.”

Senator Gore said that if the members of the conference did not approve “of the way I am suggesting we get a few general policies, then ask Senator Johnson, ask Senator Hayden, ask somebody for a few general policies upon which we stand.”

Senator Ervin asked whether Senator Gore was proposing that there be policy stands taken “before or after a legislative committee has acted on a piece of legislation?”

Senator Gore replied that he thought the Policy Committee “should have been working last fall so it could have brought to this specific conference a few general principles upon which we could stand.”

Senator Ervin asked again whether Senator Gore meant “a stand on legislation before it has been considered by the legislative committee?”

“I am not referring to a stand on specific legislation, but with respect to general principles, the answer is yes,” Senator Gore said.

Senator Ervin asked whether it would not be possible under Senator Gore’s resolution for “a bare majority of one member of this conference to declare Democratic policy so far as the Senate is concerned?” Senator Gore replied that such a situation could arise.



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Then any Senator who didn't go along with this set-up could be accused of not going along with the Party of which he is a member?" Senator Ervin said.

Senator Gore replied that all that would happen to that Senator is that his performance would be measured against the policy stands and against other records.

"It seems to me that this procedure would open up a Pandora's box of conflicts in the Senate, with the House, with the Democratic National Committee, and with the Democratic Party in every state of the union," Senator Ervin said.

Senator Gore replied: "I am free to say that if I disagreed with any of the enunciated policies, I would feel free to vote my convictions."

Senator Pastore said that Senator Gore's proposition "sounds good to the naked ear." He said that the resolution was "high-sounding, but when you think about it, you run into a labyrinth of confusion."

Senator Pastore cited as an example the possibility that the Senate Democratic conference would repudiate "part 3" of the civil rights bill.

"Would you explain to me how John Pastore could live as a Democrat in Rhode Island if the conference repudiated part 3?" Senator Pastore asked. "I don't want to spend the rest of my life in Rhode Island explaining why I can't live with my own colleagues in the Senate."

He said that if policy could be stated with which everyone could agree, he would be willing to support the resolution. But he said this is obviously impossible. Senator Pastore said that as Governor of Rhode Island he had stated things which were appropriate under the circumstances, but the Senate, he pointed out, was a legislative—not an executive—body. Senator Pastore said that he agreed with Senator Magnuson that it is a function of the Policy Committee to steer legislation through the Senate. If it attempted to state "policy" he continued, it would have to meet the critical appraisal of "65 individual minds." "I am afraid that if we adopt this procedure we will have to spend too much time explaining why we can't get along with our colleagues," he concluded.

Senator Jackson said he thought some way should be found to do "a better job in unifying the Democratic Party."

"I don't think we are going to get ahead in 1960 or any year by resolutions we pass in a Party conference," Senator Jackson said. "If the Policy Committee should come back to us with a recommendation and we were to debate it and be unable to get unanimity we would appear incompetent," Senator Jackson said. "What we are all groping for is a way so all can be heard and express their

viewpoints, and I don't see how we get this by passing recommendations in a conference that will result in splits."

Senator Jackson said that Senator Gore was presenting "a very logical proposal, but what disturbs me is the results that would flow from it."

Senator Gore said that he wanted to summarize his position on the three points in his resolution as follows:

1. In regard to appointments to the Policy Committee: "If the Majority Leader wants to nominate someone, 99 to 1 I would vote for him. But it must be clear that this is the parent body."

2. Concerning the proposal to increase the membership of the Policy Committee: He cited the statement by the Majority Leader that other people had been brought into the Policy Committee deliberations. Senator Gore said that perhaps this was a good policy but "it should be approved by this parent body."

3. In regard to the Committee acting as a committee to state Democratic Party policy: "Maybe my way is not the best way, but what other way do you have?"

Senator Frear asked Senator Gore whether "you are willing to be bound by a majority vote of your Party in the Senate?"

"No!" Senator Gore replied.

Senator O'Mahoney took the floor and recalled the fact that he had offered the motion in 1947 under which the Majority Leader had the authority to appoint the members of the Policy Committee. He said he was opposed to Senator Gore's resolution.

"It is a reversal of the precedent of thirteen years and a declaration of intention to establish a platform committee in the Senate," Senator O'Mahoney said. "It is bad to reverse precedent. It is useless to set up a platform committee."

"I think I made a mistake in the 1947 resolution when I called this a Policy Committee. It is not. It would be revolutionary to have a Policy Committee that would interfere with the standing committees."

Senator O'Mahoney said that the proper name for the committee would be "Legislative Program Committee."

"This was to be a policy committee to help the Leader arrange the legislative schedule in the Senate," Senator O'Mahoney said, in explaining the intention of the 1947 conference. "To do anything else would be revolutionary and there would be no reason to do it." Senator O'Mahoney said that it is always difficult to get members together for pure discussion.

He recalled an occasion in 1942 when he was Chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee composed of 18 members. At

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one session, he said, only 5 members were present. But when the members of the subcommittee learned that a Life photographer wanted a picture of the group, all 18 promptly showed up.

“If you have photographers you might rally Senators to a meeting,” Senator O’Mahoney said. “But if you are going to have a studious discussion of Democratic policy you will be wasting your efforts.”

He said that the 1947 decision was to give the late Senator Alben W. Barkley—then the Democratic Leader—“a committee entirely in harmony with him. It would make it easier for the Democratic Leader and better for the Democrats to have the program laid down by a group in harmony with the Leader.”

Senator O’Mahoney stated that at the 1947 conference, the late Senator Kenneth McKellar moved to have the conference elect members of the Policy Committee. He said that Senator McKellar “was voted down overwhelmingly.”

Senator O’Mahoney stated that “if we broke precedent now in the face of the 1960 elections, we would be laying pitfalls for the Democratic Party. Under the Democratic leadership we have built up the strength of the Democrats in the Senate. If we pass this resolution we will tear that strength down.”

Senator Long of Louisiana stated that it seemed to him that the very debate itself “illustrates the futility of what we are trying to do here—find somebody to tell us what our policy is.”

He said that in the event an effort were made to try to state Democratic Party policy through the system proposed by Senator Gore, the following situation would ensue.”

“First, we would debate the policy in the Policy Committee, which in turn would be second guessing the legislative committee,” Senator Long said. “Then we would have to debate it here. It is hard enough to compel attendance on the Floor of the Senate. We don’t even have a Sergeant-at-Arms to compel attendance here.”

Senator Long recalled that former Senator McFarland used to send Democratic members little thumbnail sketches of the issues involved in legislation, “and I thought even that was an outrage.” He said that controversy could be aroused by such a simple act as that performed by Senator McFarland. The controversy would be far greater over an effort to state Party policy. Referring to that part of Senator Gore’s resolution which would supposedly make the Policy Committee more representative, Senator Long said:

“The only way you can make it representative of my point of view is to put me on it.” He went on to say that even if the Senate did state policy, the House probably wouldn’t agree to it and neither would the Democratic National Committee or the Democratic Advisory Committee.

Senator Long pointed out that Chairman Johnson had stated many times that he would call a meeting of the conference any time an individual Democratic Senator desired such a meeting.

“I think we would be a lot better off if when somebody wants to consult this group, he becomes his own policy committee and calls it into session through a request of the Leader,” Senator Long said.

Senator Holland at that point requested that the yeas and nays be ordered. There was a sufficient show of hands and Chairman Johnson announced that the yeas and nays were ordered. Senator Long said he wanted to move to table the resolution. He was told that the ordering of the yeas and nays did not preclude his right to offer such a motion. Senator Clark protested that a motion to lay on the table would be premature as a number of Senators had spoken against the Gore resolution but only one in favor. Senator Long replied that he would be willing to withhold his motion to lay on the table.

Senator Monroney reviewed the legislative history of the Policy Committee. He said the Legislative Reorganization Act passed the Senate late in the session and that when it came to the House both Speaker Rayburn and House Republican Leader Martin flatly opposed the Policy Committees. Senator Monroney said that the sponsors of the measure “bowed to the Speaker’s decision” because they recognized that there was no chance of working the matter out in conference so late in the session and the policy committees were eliminated.

Chairman Johnson interrupted Senator Monroney to state that he had been told by Speaker Rayburn that the Speaker considered the policy committee to be in conflict with the standing committees of the House and had therefore opposed the concept.

Senator Monroney continued that the concept of the authors was to have a policy committee which would “knock off the rough spots and try to find areas where the Democratic Party could get together.” He said he thought the staff of such a committee should assist in the performance of a real policy developing function. He also said that the authors had thought the Policy Committee members should be elected by the Party conference so the Committee “would be representative of the most recent elections.”

Senator Monroney said that he had supported the Leadership “in the policy of not having so many conferences, but I believe we are not getting as much mileage out of the Policy Committee as we could.”

Senator Monroney said “it is not accurate to say that nobody declares Democratic Party policy. We read it every day. It is declared by Jack Bell of the Associated Press, Warren Duffee of the United Press, Roscoe Drummond, and other newspapermen.”

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He said he agreed that if it was not to be made into a policy committee, the name should be changed to Steering Committee.

"I don't know if you can get \$30,000 for a steering committee, but if you can, well and good," Senator Monroney said in a reference to the original \$30,000 appropriation made for the Policy Committee.

Senator Clark said that Senator Gore had offered "an eminently sensible resolution." He said there was nothing new to it and that it merely represented the recommendations of the La Follette-Monroney Committee which had been approved by the Senate in 1946. He said he did not think it was "wise" of the 1947 Democratic Conference to reverse the Senate decision to have Policy Committee members elected by the Conference.

Referring to the representation of the Policy Committee, Senator Clark said it was difficult to determine just what the size was. In one sense, he said, the Policy Committee had 7 members; in another sense 9; and in another sense 12. He said that there are 21 states east of the Mississippi River and north of the Alabama line and that 67% of the American population is in that area. Yet, he said, if the Policy Committee is composed of 7 members, these 21 states, having 297 electoral votes and 19 Democratic Senators, have one representative on the Policy Committee under the seven and nine-membership concept, and two representatives on the Policy Committee under the twelve-member concept.

"Gentlemen, I say that is unfair," Senator Clark said.

Senator Clark said he hoped this issue would be decided "upon the basis of what is right and not upon extraneous matters."

"This is not an attack upon the Leadership," Senator Clark said. "I think if the Leadership were up today I would vote for it as would every other Senator here, which doesn't mean that I won't disagree with it from time to time."

Senator Clark concluded by stating that in the "turbulent and fast-moving America of today, we cannot stand this method of the majority making its policy in the Senate."

Senator Chavez said that he would dislike seeing the Policy Committee over-riding the standing committees. He said that in his twenty-five years in the Senate he had never seen a Leader who had been fairer with new Senators than Senator Johnson. He said that when he first came to Washington the new Senators were placed on minor committees, but that under Senator Johnson's leadership, new Senators had opportunity to go on major committees. Senator Chavez said that the Democrats should work as a team.

Senator Carroll asked whether the Steering Committee was elected by the Democratic Conference. Senator Johnson replied that the

minutes of a conference in January, 1943, showed that the late Senator McKellar had moved that members of the Steering Committee be elected by the Conference. Senator Barkley, Senator Johnson continued, stated to the Conference that he would resign if the McKellar motion were adopted. The McKellar motion was defeated overwhelmingly and since that time the Leader had selected members of the Steering Committee.

Senator Carroll stated that the purpose of Senator Gore's motion was not to interfere with the scheduling functions of the Policy Committee. He stated it was merely intended to broaden the base of the Policy Committee. Senator Carroll said there was no intention of binding caucuses and he stated that he himself would not be bound by a caucus.

"But what is wrong with coming in and talking about policy?" Senator Carroll asked. Senator Carroll asked whether the opposition to Senator Gore's motion meant that Democratic Senators were to "have no voice in policy."

Senator Pastore replied that "the Policy Committee does not make policy."

"There has been no denial of anyone's voice," Senator Pastore said. "Everyone has a chance to be heard. The issue is whether we should have a new committee with new functions."

Senator Carroll said that some of this reminded him of a fight in the House to change the rules so the Rules Committee could be bypassed when it sought to hold up legislation. He said that fight was one designed to help the Speaker and not to hurt him. In this instance the situation is the same. He stated that this was not directed against the Leadership and he asked "why don't we have areas like that referred to by the Senator from Pennsylvania represented on the Policy Committee?"

"As a matter of common sense, nobody is going to come in here and formulate a policy that i[s] contrary to a standing committee or to the Leader," Senator Carroll said.

Senator Lausche asked whether it was not a fact that "if you take action by a majority, wouldn't you be imposing the action of the majority on the minority?"

Senator Carroll replied: "I wouldn't be bound by a caucus."

Senator Carroll continued that he considered the crux of this issue to be in the Steering Committee because of its power to appoint members to standing committees.

Senator Byrd of West Virginia said that he was opposed to Senator Gore's motion for a number of reasons but would only state three. They were:

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1. "I think things have worked out pretty well under present arrangements. We have won the last three Congressional elections, and the last by the greatest majority of all. My colleagues and I won in West Virginia on the Democratic Congressional record and I am content to continue to run on it. I am content to continue to run on the basis formulated by this Policy Committee, this Steering Committee or whatever you want to call it. I am willing to trust the continued formulation of policy to whatever group has been formulating it."

2. "One year ago we selected Lyndon Johnson as the Leader without one single dissenting voice being raised. I trusted him then and I trust him now, and those he selects."

3. "Regardless of the polished words and the honeyed phrases which have been uttered here today—and I am sure they have been stated sincerely—the adoption of this motion would be interpreted as a slap at the Democratic Leadership of this Senate. I personally would interpret it that way. I am not implying that all those who support this resolution would have such motives—but adoption would be so interpreted."

"I think it would be hurtful to our Party to get abroad the idea that there is a move underway to overthrow the Leadership." He cited a story that appeared in the *Washington Post* claiming that the preceding conference was a "defeat for the Democratic Leader." Senator Byrd said that he himself saw nothing in the conference that day which could rightly be so interpreted, but nevertheless it happened.

Senator Muskie said that he considered the core of Senator Gore's resolution to be the third paragraph calling for the Democratic Policy Committee to undertake the development and formulation of legislative policy. He said that he could not support that paragraph "for reasons already stated."

Senator Muskie stated that he appreciated that the Majority Leader was sensitive to the necessity of exposing himself to the currents of thinking in the Democratic Conference and was willing to hold such conferences as were requested. He said that he believed it was of particular value to freshman Senators in such conferences to be able also to obtain the expression of views from the Leadership and the other members of the Conference. On that basis, Senator Muskie said he would like to ask the Leader to call a Conference sometime before February 10 where there could be a review of the legislative situation at that time. Senator Muskie said he made that request for himself and others because he thought such a Conference "would serve a useful purpose."

He also expressed the hope that similar conferences would be called at convenient periods thereafter.

Chairman Johnson replied that if Senator Muskie would give him his ideas for such a conference in writing, "I will consider them and issue the call."

Senator Lausche said he hoped that his colleagues would not report any statements by the Chairman that falsely would be construed by the press in the light that the Chairman had "yielded." He pointed out that a number of the Senators who supported the idea of having more conferences did so on the basis that "in privacy we will change our views."

Senator Clark protested that the press impression could not have been drawn from the press conference with Senator Johnson at the conclusion of the preceding conference "at which I was present." Senator Clark said that he was at the press conference at Senator Johnson's invitation or request and that there was no "understanding of confidentiality."

Chairman Johnson said that not all of the stories were written from that press conference and that private press conferences apparently were held.

Senator Lausche continued that all he asked is "not to bind me and not to tie me impliedly to your point of view."

In response to Senator Lausche's statement, Senator Frear said that he believed that in calling the conference requested by Senator Muskie, Chairman Johnson was merely restating his policy of seven years' standing and that there was nothing new and no concession was represented.

Senator Frear then asked whether a motion to table was in order. Chairman Johnson replied in the affirmative but expressed the hope that Senator Frear would not make such a motion.

Senator Williams of New Jersey said that he would like the minutes to reflect that he associated himself with the "tone and content of the statement made by Senator Muskie."

The roll was then called on the resolution of Senator Gore and the Senators present or voting by proxy registered 12 yeas and 51 nays (see attached roll call). [no roll call attached]

Chairman Johnson asked whether the conference desired to take action on Senator Carroll's suggestion that members of the Steering Committee be elected by the conference rather than appointed by the Leader.

Senator Mansfield moved that the conference approve the policy which had been followed since 1943 of authorizing the Leader to appoint members of the Steering Committee.

The roll was called and the Senators present or voting by proxy registered 51 affirmative and 11 negative on Senator Mansfield's motion (see attached roll call) [no roll call attached].



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Senator Monroney then asked whether it was in order to suggest a change of name of the Policy Committee. Chairman Johnson replied that the subject had been discussed earlier in the day at a Policy Committee meeting. He said he would discuss the question with the Republican Leader, Senator Dirksen, and submit a recommendation back to the conference.

Senator Magnuson offered a motion that it was "the sense of the caucus that the names of the two committees (Policy and Steering) be changed to designate their functions."

Senator Frear moved to amend Senator Magnuson's motion to make it clear that the Conference recommendation would have to be submitted "to the proper legislative body." Senator Magnuson's motion as amended by Senator Frear was adopted unanimously.

Senator Hennings was then recognized for a brief discussion of the terms of the elections bill.

At the conclusion of his discussion, Senator Clark moved that the third item on the Conference agenda—the school construction bill—be postponed to a later conference where it could be discussed "in more orderly fashion." Senator Lausche moved a simple adjournment.

Chairman Johnson said he believed it would be best to act on the motion of Senator Lausche and stated that he would work out "a more convenient time" for discussion of the school construction bill at a later conference.

Senator Clark indicated his approval.

There being no further business, the Conference adjourned at 6:01 P.M.

[The following remarks were delivered by Chairman Lyndon B. Johnson at the Democratic Conference meeting on January 12, 1960. The text was attached to minutes of the Democratic Policy Committee meeting of January 12, 1960, obtained from "Senate Papers," Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, Texas.]

I called this meeting today because the situation indicated a necessity for a discussion of three subjects—the composition and function of the Policy Committee, the School Construction bill and the Clean Elections bill.

These items were selected because the Policy Committee matter was raised at the last conference and the two bills were on the Calendar already.

The discussion of the legislation will be led by Senators who have participated in drafting the measures. It is my intention only to make a brief—and I hope factual—statement on the background of the Policy Committee.

The only issue raised in the conference last Thursday was the method of selection of members of the Policy Committee. Since then, however, it has become apparent from public expressions that two other issues have been raised.

They are the size of the Policy Committee and the functions which it is intended to perform.

The Policy Committee, of course, was an outgrowth of the Legislative Reorganization Act which was passed in 1946 and which became effective in 1947. That act, in turn, was the outgrowth of the work performed by the Joint Committee headed by the late Senator La Follette and our colleague, Senator Monroney.

That committee, one of the ablest ever assembled in Congress, heard many distinguished witnesses. It made many recommendations—including the establishment of a Policy Committee. We operate the Senate today largely under the principles laid down in the Legislative Reorganization Act.

But we cannot, in my judgment, look to the La Follette-Monroney Committee for guidance on the problem before us today. The Committee itself did NOT follow the recommendations that were made in this respect by most of the witnesses who testified. And the Congress did NOT follow the recommendations of the Committee.

In looking for clear guidelines, I can find only four. They are:

1. The first supplemental appropriation act of 1947 which provides the only legislative authority for the Policy Committee.
2. The minutes of the Democratic Conference held on January 2, 1947, at which the Senate Democratic Leader was granted the right to appoint members of the Policy Committee.
3. A brief colloquy between Senators Barkley and White on the floor of the Senate January 17, 1947, in which they announced their Policy Committee appointments.
4. The customs and usage of the 13 years in which the Policy Committee has operated under the terms of the 1947 Conference.

I have had the staff review the hearings before the La Follette-Monroney Committee. A number of distinguished witnesses appeared, including former Representative Voorhis; our colleague, Senator Kefauver; former Representative Sherman Adams; Dr. George Galloway, now with the Library of Congress; Robert Heller, an efficiency expert; and Mr. Kornblum of the Union for Democratic Action. It was the consensus of these witnesses that the policy committees be composed of the standing committee chairmen.

Six of the present members of the Policy Committee are also standing committee chairmen. If this recommendation of the distinguished political scientists were carried into effect, we would lose the membership of the Senator from Montana, Mr. Mansfield; the Senator from Rhode Island, Mr. Green; and the Senator from Oklahoma, Mr. Kerr.

We would gain the membership of the Senator from Louisiana, Mr. Ellender; the Senator from Virginia, Mr. Robertson; the Senator from Virginia, Mr. Byrd; the Senator from Arkansas, Mr. Fulbright; the Senator from Arkansas, Mr. McClellan; the Senator from Mississippi, Mr. Eastland; the Senator from South Carolina, Mr. Johnston; the Senator from Nevada, Mr. Bible; the Senator from Washington, Mr. Magnuson; and the Senator from New Mexico, Mr. Chavez.

However, the La Follette-Monroney Committee rejected this recommendation. Instead, it recommended policy committees of seven members each to be selected by the majority and minority conferences. This recommendation was approved by the Senate, but was not included in the bill passed by the House. The Senate adopted the House version of the bill.

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Subsequently, the Senate placed in the first supplemental appropriation act of 1947, a paragraph which stated in part:

For maintenance of a staff for a majority policy committee and a minority policy committee in the Senate, consisting of seven members each, for the formulation of over-all legislative policies of the respective parties, the members of such staff to assist in study, analysis, and research on problems involved in policy determinations, and to be appointed, and their compensation fixed, by the policy committee concerned, at rates not to exceed \$8,000 per annum in any case, \$15,000 for each such committee in all, fiscal year 1947, \$30,000 to be available at the beginning of the 80th Congress.

This provision, unlike the provisions of the La Follette-Monroney bill, did not determine the method in which the members of the committee were to be selected. That issue was decided at a Democratic Conference which was held on January 2, 1947. At that Conference, Senator McKellar of Tennessee proposed that the Democratic Conference select the members of the Democratic Policy Committee.

This suggestion was rejected in favor of a suggestion put forth by the Senator from Wyoming, Mr. O'Mahoney. His proposal called for the selection of the members by the Leader.

The adoption of Senator O'Mahoney's proposal represents the only formal action that has ever been taken on the question, and for thirteen years it has not been challenged. Certain traditions have arisen during that period, however, which have gained all the force of statute.

For one thing, members serving on the Policy Committee have carried over from Congress to Congress. I myself have appointed only two of the present members of the Committee—the Senator from Montana, Mr. Murray, and the Senator from Arizona, Mr. Hayden.

Furthermore, the Committee has been expanded. The late Senator Barkley almost immediately added to the seven members named in the appropriation rider the Senate Democratic Whip and the Secretary to the Senate Democratic Conference.

In effect, this made it a nine-member committee.

I myself have invited into the Committee deliberations the three members of the Calendar Review Committee—the Senator from California, Mr. Engle; the Senator from Michigan, Mr. Hart; and the Senator from Alaska, Mr. Bartlett. Since they participate in all the Committee deliberations, the Committee, in effect, is now composed of twelve members. This is a policy which I would intend to continue unless there is objection by the Democratic Conference.

I do not think there is any magic to numbers. I do believe that the present composition of the Committee is as representative as it is possible to achieve unless we are to turn the Committee into a Democratic caucus.

My statement the other day that the Committee is considered an arm of the Leadership is based upon the fact that for thirteen years the Leader has been granted the unquestioned right to fill vacancies.

I feel that if we now, in the middle of a Congress, change this 13-year precedent, we will be making a rather fundamental change which should require some careful exploration.

The more fundamental point involved may be the question of the function of the Policy Committee. It has been proposed that this be a committee

which states Democratic Party policy, and that the performance of individual Democrats be measured against the statement of the Policy Committee.

Personally, I would not attempt to state the policy of my colleagues, and I do not think that I would want to be a member of a committee which did so. The Policy Committee, to my knowledge, has never attempted to do so and certainly will not attempt to do so under my leadership. I do not think that 7 members, 9 members, 12 members, or even 15 members can state Party policy for 65.

And I would be very much surprised if many Senators would be willing to have their performances measured against the standards set by a small committee. I can still recall a colloquy on the floor of the Senate between myself and the Senator from New Mexico, on February 4, 1953, following an occasion on which I had read a statement adopted by the Policy Committee. Senator Chavez said:

The point I am trying to make at this time is that, so far as the minority is concerned, certainly so far as I as a member of the minority am concerned—I do not want nine members of the Senate, out of 47 members of the Senate, to decide what should be done and expect me to go along with them, if in conscience and in duty I feel differently.

I replied:

I can assure the Senator from New Mexico—at least so far as I am concerned, and I believe I can say so far as every member of the Policy Committee is concerned—that neither I nor any of the members of the Committee would be so presumptuous.

I believe that the attitude expressed by the Senator from New Mexico would be the attitude of the great majority of the members of this Conference. I doubt whether very many people would accept the dictates of the Policy Committee as to their votes or would be willing to put up with a situation in which a vote contrary to the wishes of the Policy Committee be construed as reading them out of the Democratic Party.

The Policy Committee is an effective instrument for bringing together the views of different Democrats. It is an effective instrument for determining the passing of legislation.

But I do not think it is an effective instrument—or can be an effective instrument—for determining Democratic Party policy. And I could well see a situation in which not only individual Democratic Senators might object, but in which Democrats throughout the country who are not members of the Senate might consider this an arbitrary usurpation of power.

If Senate Democrats desire a policy expression of their views, which is not readily apparent from their votes on the Senate floor, the Democratic caucus is now and always has been available to them. I doubt whether a body any smaller could properly be construed as expressing Democratic policy.

I also doubt whether the caucus will be very successful in forming such policy. But at least it is a body of the proper size.

I have tried to be as brief and factual in this statement as I possibly could. In my judgment, under the legislative history, only the Senate Democratic Conference itself has jurisdiction over the method of selection of members of the Democratic Policy Committee and the functions it will perform. There is no legislation otherwise to guide our judgments.

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If, after thirteen years, it is now desired to make a change, the Conference is entirely free to do so.

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[Editor's Note: Although the minutes for the Democratic Conference of January 12, 1960, were not preserved in the Minute books, the following memoranda, motion, and roll call were included in those books.]

SENATE DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE  
STAFF MEMORANDUM

January 8, 1960

Subject: Legislative History and Composition of the Democratic Policy Committee

The Joint Committee on the Reorganization of the Congress, in its final report in 1946, recommended the establishment of Majority and Minority Policy Committees in both Houses of Congress. Provision for such committees was included in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 as it passed the Senate. Section 244 of the Senate version of the Bill read as follows:

Sec. 244. (a) It is the sense of the Senate and the House of Representatives that the majority party and the principal minority party in the respective Houses should each at the beginning of each Congress appoint a policy committee, consisting of seven members, for the formulation of over-all legislative policy of the respective parties.

(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated annually for each policy committee the sum of \$30,000, for the maintenance of a staff to assist in study, analysis, and research on problems involved in policy determinations. The members of each such staff shall be appointed, and their compensation fixed, by the policy committee concerned; but no such compensation shall be fixed at a rate in excess of \$8,000 per annum.

Thus the Reorganization Act, as it reached the House, included provision for Policy Committees in both the House and the Senate. However, the House would not agree to this provision and the Bill as it passed the House deleted Section 244.

The Senate agreed to accept the House version, and there was no conference on the bill. However, the House objection was directed only at the establishment of Policy Committees in the House, and it was understood that action would be taken at an early date after the passage of the Reorganization Act to otherwise provide for Senate Policy Committees.

A few days after the Senate agreed to the House changes to the Legislative Reorganization Act, the Senate passed the Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1947. That Bill included the following provision for Majority and Minority Policy Committees in the Senate:

For maintenance of a staff for a majority policy committee and a minority policy committee in the Senate, consisting of seven members each, for the formulation of over-all legislative policy of the respective parties, the members of such staffs to assist in study, analysis, and research on problems involved in policy determinations, and to be appointed, and their compensation fixed, by the policy committee concerned, at rates

not to exceed \$8,000 per annum in any case, \$15,000 for each such committee, in all, fiscal year 1947, \$30,000, to be available at the beginning of the Eightieth Congress.

This provision was accepted by the House and the Bill was signed by the President a few days after he approved the Reorganization Act. This 1947 Appropriation Bill provision is the basic legislative authority under which the Majority and Minority Policy Committees in the Senate operate today. Since that time funds have been appropriated for the Policy Committees in the Legislative Appropriation Bills. Typical of the language used is the following from the 1960 Bill:

For salaries and expenses of the Majority Policy Committee and the Minority Policy Committee, \$123,830 for each such Committee; in all \$247,660.

The formation of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee first came up at the Democratic Conference on January 2, 1947, when the authorizing legislation was first implemented. At that Conference Senator McKellar of Tennessee stated that in his opinion the Members of the Democratic Policy Committee should be elected by the Conference. Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming disagreed and submitted the following Resolution, which was adopted by voice vote with only Senator McKellar casting a negative vote:

Resolved, that the Chairman of the Conference be authorized to appoint the membership of the Minority Policy Committee provided for by P.L. 663, 79th Congress, and that he is hereby named Chairman of such Committee.

This resolution has governed the selection of Members of the Democratic Policy Committee since it was first adopted in 1947.

When this Resolution was first adopted by the Conference, Senator Barkley, the Democratic Leader, stated that he would give the Membership of the Policy Committee his most careful consideration and that he would give proper consideration to appropriate geographical distribution of the Membership. On January 15 Senator Barkley appointed the following Members to the Democratic Policy Committee:

Barkley of Kentucky, Chairman  
 Tydings of Maryland  
 Russell of Georgia  
 Hatch of New Mexico  
 O'Mahoney of Wyoming  
 Green of Rhode Island  
 Hill of Alabama

In addition, Senator Lucas of Illinois, the Democratic Whip, and Senator McMahon of Connecticut, the Secretary of the Conference, were named as ex-officio Members by Senator Barkley.

Since these initial appointments were made in 1947, the same practice has prevailed in naming the Democratic Policy Committee. At the beginning of each Congress, the Democratic Leader has named 6 Members in addition to himself as Chairman, and the Whip and Secretary of the Conference have served as ex-officio Members. In practice, however, the Membership of the Policy Committee has remained virtually the same, with the Democratic Leader only making appointments to fill vacancies occasioned by the death, retirement, or defeat of Members.

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In 1949, Senator Lucas was Majority Leader and Chairman of the Policy Committee and Senator Myers of Pennsylvania became ex-officio Member as Whip. Otherwise, the Membership remained the same except that one place was vacated by the retirement of Senator Hatch. Senator Lucas did not fill this vacancy while he was Majority Leader.

In 1951, Senator McFarland of Arizona was Majority Leader and Senators Kerr and Chapman were named to the Policy Committee in the places vacated by the retirement of Senator Hatch and the defeat of Senator Tydings. Senator Johnson of Texas became an ex-officio Member as Democratic Whip. On July 24, 1951, Senator McFarland appointed Senator Clements of Kentucky to the Policy Committee to fill the vacancy created by the death of Senator Chapman.

In 1953, Senator Johnson became Chairman of the Policy Committee when he became Democratic Leader, and Senator Clements and Senator Hennings became ex-officio Members as Whip and Secretary of the Conference respectively. Senators Murray of Montana and Johnson of Colorado were appointed to fill the seats on the Policy Committee vacated by Senator O'Mahoney, who had been defeated, and Senator Clements, who had become Whip.

In 1955, the Membership remained the same except that Senator Hayden of Arizona replaced Senator Johnson of Colorado, who retired. In 1957, Senator Mansfield became Whip and an ex-officio Policy Committee Member in place of Senator Clements, but otherwise the membership of the Democratic Policy Committee has remained the same since that time.

In 1959, at Senator Johnson's suggestion, the Policy Committee initiated the practice of having the members of the Legislative Review or Calendar Committee meet with the Policy Committee and take part in its deliberations. The Legislative Review Committee is an arm of the Policy Committee composed of three freshmen Democratic Senators. It handles calls of the Senate Calendar on behalf of the Democratic Majority. For the 86th Congress this Committee consists of Senator Engle of California, Senator Hart of Michigan, and Senator Bartlett of Alaska.

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January 12, 1960

4:05 P.M.

Gore Motion

Motion

To be offered by Senator Gore  
at the Conference of Democratic Senators

I move, Mr. Chairman,

That all vacancies occurring hereafter on the Democratic Policy Committee be filled by election by a Conference of Democratic Senators.

That the membership of the Policy Committee be increased so as to be more truly representative of the Democratic Senators, the major geographic areas of the United States and of the national character and interest of the Democratic Party.

That the Democratic Policy Committee undertake the development and formulation of legislative policies of the Democratic Party in the Senate to

be submitted to the Conference of Democratic Senators for its consideration and action.

Robert G. Baker  
 United States Senate  
 Secretary for the Majority  
 MEMORANDUM

<i>Gore Resolution</i>	<i>Leadership</i>
Carroll	Douglas
Douglas	Carroll
Clark	Clark
Hart	Hart
Humphrey	Gore
Gore	Kennedy
McCarthy	McCarthy
McNamara	McNamara
Monroney	Morse
Morse	Proxmire
Proxmire	Yarborough
Yarborough	

[Roll Call]  
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 [PRESENT]

1 Anderson  
 2 Bartlett  
 3 Bible  
 4 Byrd, Va.  
 5 Cannon  
 6 Carroll  
 7 Chavez  
 8 Church  
 9 Clark  
 10 Dodd  
 11 Douglas  
 12 Eastland  
 13 Ellender  
 14 Engle  
 15 Ervin  
 16 Frear  
 17 Fulbright  
 18 Gore  
 19 Green  
 20 Gruening  
 21 Hart  
 22 Hartke  
 23 Hayden  
 24 Hennings  
 25 Hill  
 26 Holland  
 Humphrey

[PRESENT]  
 27 Jackson  
 28 Johnson, Tex.  
 29 Johnston, S.C.  
 30 Jordan  
 Kefauver  
 31 Kennedy  
 Kerr  
 32 Lauche  
 33 Long, Hawaii  
 34 Long, La.  
 35 Magnuson  
 36 Mansfield  
 37 McCarthy  
 38 McClellan  
 McGee  
 39 McNamara  
 40 Monroney  
 41 Morse  
 42 Moss  
 43 Murray  
 44 Muskie  
 45 Neuberger  
 46 O'Mahoney  
 47 Pastore  
 48 Proxmire  
 49 Randolph  
 50 Robertson  
 51 Russell  
 52 Smathers  
 53 Sparkman  
 54 Stennis



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[PRESENT]

55 Symington  
Talmadge  
56 Thurmond  
57 Williams, N.J.

[PRESENT]

58 Yarborough  
59 Young, Ohio  
6 absent  
65 total

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[January 20, 1960]

Minutes of the Senate Democratic Conference to Discuss S. 8, the Emergency Federal Aid to Education Bill. Wednesday, January 20, 1960, Room 1114, New Senate Office Building.

The Conference was called to order by Chairman Johnson at 10:40 A.M. The clerk called the roll and 38 Senators responded. (See attached roll call.)

The Chairman made the following statement:

I have called this Conference to today to consider one of the most important measures which will come before us in this session.

There is nothing more vital to America than the education of our people. And it is an unhappy fact that by any reasonable tests we are slipping badly in this area.

We live in a rapidly changing society. It is not only changing but growing more complex each day. The ability of our citizens to cope with their problems as citizens demands increasing higher levels in the educational process.

If for no other reason, the remarkable achievements of the Soviet Union in recent years should cause us to look to the strength of our educational system. In many fields, we are being outstripped—and these are fields upon which our security will rest.

As Chairman of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, I conducted lengthy hearings on the status of our defenses and on the race for outer space. Sworn testimony demonstrated conclusively that in many of these fields the Communists had gone way ahead of us—and one of those fields was the training of their young people in certain types of pursuits.

For example, in 1957 they graduated 6,000 metallurgists while we graduated 600. There are 12 million citizens of the Soviet Union who speak, read and write the English language. They have 200,000 translators who translate scientific, military and technological papers from all over the world.

We do not wish to emulate the Soviet system nor would we, as people who believe in a democracy, wish to dedicate our young minds solely to the pursuits of weaponry. But the fact remains

that if a democracy does not educate its people, it will be overwhelmed by the regimented minds of Communism.

Above and beyond the necessity for the struggle with Communism, however, is our own dedication to the people that in a free society men and women should have the fullest opportunity to advance themselves. This opportunity is not available unless education is available. And it becomes increasingly apparent that our facilities are not keeping pace with our needs. I hope that this session we will be able to give thorough consideration to the problems of education and the proper role that should be played by the Federal Government.

Our country is dedicated to the proposition that control of education should rest in that level of government which is closest to the people. But that does not mean that we should avoid exercising our ingenuity and our creative imagination in order to assist the education process.

Like most of you here, I am present to listen to the Senators who have worked directly on the legislation which the Senate will consider. It is my intention to call first on the Chairman of the Committee that reported the bill, and second upon its principal author.

Senator Gore asked whether the education bill was likely to be scheduled this week. Chairman Johnson stated that while it has been cleared by the Policy Committee, because of other legislation scheduled in advance, it was not likely to be reached this week.

Chairman Johnson recognized Senator Hill, Chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Senator Hill stated that he understood that Senator McNamara would be at the Conference to make a statement and to ask questions; that the bill was his and Senator Hart's; and that Senator McNamara had attended all the hearings, as Senator Hill, as Chairman of the Committee, had not been able to do. Senator Hill described the bill. (See attached statement supplied by the staff of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee.)

Attention was called to the fact that the staff of the Democratic leadership had prepared, for the use of each Senator at the Conference, a package of materials on the education bill, prepared by various committees, individual Senators and interested organizations.

Senator Hill stated that the Committee felt that, in reporting this legislation, it was following a pattern recommended by the President, in the hope that finally some legislation on Federal aid to primary and secondary schools could be enacted. He quoted some statements made by President Eisenhower in favor of Federal legislation providing classroom construction aid to the states, made in 1954, 1956 and 1957. He also quoted a statement made in 1957 by former Under Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of Health, Education

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and Welfare, Marion B. Folsom, in favor of such legislation, in which Folsom stated, "In any age, to economize at the expense of education of our children is false economy. . ."

Senator Gore interrupted to refer to President Eisenhower's State of the Union message where he said, "We can't afford to be complacent about the education of our children."

Senator Randolph interrupted Senator Hill to ask what Senator Hill's position was on teachers' salaries. Senator Hill stated that the Administration was opposed to teachers' salary provisions, and that there would be strong opposition to the bill if we included an amount for such purposes.

"I suppose I can talk freely and frankly in this Conference," Senator Hill said. Adding that he did not like to quote others, Senator Hill referred to a Conference that he and Senator McNamara had had with Congressman [Cleveland M.] Bailey and other members of the House, who had indicated that they had talked with the Speaker and the Speaker had said he was not in favor of legislation dealing with teachers' salaries. In addition, Congressman [John W.] McCormack [House Majority Leader] did not favor a teachers' salary provision, but would help on school construction legislation.

Senator Hill stated that we must face the facts. A combination of groups, including the Catholic Bishops, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and others were strongly opposed to the inclusion of teachers' salary provisions. For forty years, members of the Senate have tried to pass legislation to provide Federal aid to education. On two occasions, the Senate has passed significant bills providing funds for both construction and teachers' salaries, but these have died in the House Committees.

Senator Hill observed that it was his judgment that only a school construction bill could get through the House, and that it would be a mistake for the Senate to send the House stronger legislation because this would lessen, if not eliminate, the possibility of House action.

Senator Ervin asked if the McNamara-Hart bill had tried to eliminate all controversial provisions, except with respect to such people as are opposed to any Federal aid to education bill.

Senator Hill replied that this was the case and that the Committee felt that this bill was the only one having any chance to be passed by the House.

Senator Ervin stated that he believed that he and his colleagues could vote for a bill that provided for school construction assistance to the States.

Senator Pastore asked Senator Hill how many States made contributions to teachers' salaries, in addition to the State of Rhode Island.

Senator Hill replied that Alabama did, but he was not informed with respect to others.

Senator Magnuson told of a meeting on last Saturday on school problems with several House members, including Congressmen [Lee] Metcalf and [Carl] Elliott. The Congressmen indicated they believed it to have been a mistake to have included in their bill specific provisions for teachers' salaries. They thought the best approach was legislation which left it wide open for the States to determine what the monies should be spent for. Congressman Metcalf confirmed what Senator Hill said was the case—that the House was adamant against teachers' salary provisions. It was his view, however, that the Senate should add teachers' salary provisions and, if they could not succeed in getting the House to accept them, they might have to go back to a straight construction bill.

Senator Magnuson said that he would offer an amendment to include teachers' salaries, if the States elected to use the monies in such fashion, and believes that a Democratic Senate should try to include it. He said that if we should pass it and if the President vetoes it, we should let it go. He said he was tired of compromising and this was the one big issue of next year.

Senators Randolph and Monroney interrupted to indicate that they favored stronger and broader uses for Federal funds in an education bill.

Senator Pastore said that he did not have to prove in 1960 how he feels about teachers' salaries. As Governor of Rhode Island, he said he had instituted a sales tax for the specific purpose of increasing teachers' salaries by \$600 per year.

Referring to the fact that the bill used a "need" formula which he did not object to for school construction purposes, Senator Pastore said that he did oppose including teachers' salary provisions on such a formula because it would penalize such states as Rhode Island, which had made special and painful efforts to increase teachers' salaries out of State funds, while disproportionately benefitting those States which had not met their responsibilities in the past.

Senator Hill observed that the bill provided that each State must meet the national average of expenditures for education if it was not to have its allotment reduced proportionately in the second year of the aid program. Senator Pastore said that the bill, however, had nothing to do with teachers' salaries, and Senator Hill agreed that this was so.

Senator Magnuson observed that the formula was as appropriate for teachers' salaries as for construction, since it was based upon

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the principle of the richer states helping the poorer ones. Senator Hill agreed with Senator Magnuson and noted that this is what is done within the counties and school districts of each State.

Senator Randolph stated that West Virginia did not need school construction aid as much as it needed assistance on teachers' salaries. Senator Pastore asked whether West Virginia contributed to teachers' salaries as such, and Senator Randolph replied that it did make a small contribution to school districts for such purposes.

Senator McNamara was then recognized and made an explanatory statement about the provisions of the bill. He said that this bill gave the Democrats an opportunity to make a meaningful start on the principle of Federal assistance to meet our pressing and growing education problems. He said the bill had been reported by a vote of 11 to 2, the two being Republicans and one Republican member voting "present."

The bill as reported, with matching State funds bringing the total expenditures to \$2 billion, would provide 50-to-70,000 classrooms. The current shortage is 132,000.

The bill insures against Federal interference in school districts by providing only for Federal Agency contact with State Agencies.

Senator Humphrey asked how the national average education expenditure was defined. Senator McNamara replied that it was developed and published by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and universally accepted by all people in education.

Senator Humphrey asked whether the bill would be in addition to, or would eliminate, aid to Federally impacted areas. Senator McNamara answered that it would be in addition to and would not eliminate the impacted areas laws which President Eisenhower recommended, in his budget message, be repealed.

Senator Clark followed Senator McNamara and spoke on the two amendments which he intends to offer on the floor to the bill. He observed that both of his amendments raise serious policy questions and that he was grateful to the Majority Leader for calling this Conference and to his colleagues for attending so that he could explain his position, on which he might be wrong, and on which he invited his colleagues to correct him if they so thought.

Senator Clark stated that he had hoped it would be possible to get a bill out and passed last year, but that five members of the Committee had agreed not to push for such action last year because they felt the bill did not go far enough, and had agreed to support it, in reporting it from the Committee, with the understanding that they would be at liberty to offer amendments from the floor.

Senator Clark stated that the policy question was well stated by Senator Hill:

Should we pass a bill and get it to the President's desk, even though he will probably veto it, or should we pass a better bill, even though it may not get through the House and even though it may be even more likely to be vetoed?

Senator Clark said that he felt we should pass the best possible bill and that we should not compromise with the other House in advance of a legislative conference.

Senator Hill interrupted and pointed out that unless both Houses pass a bill you never get to Conference. He said that if we pass a bill that is opposed by the leadership of the other House and other Congressmen, it may never get to conference and nothing will happen in the House.

Senator Clark said he recognized the strength of what Senator Hill said. He noted that Senator Hill was a master of legislative tactics who had been in the Senate longer, and to whose wisdom he usually yielded, but on this question he disagreed.

Senator Anderson spoke at some length in support of Senator Clark's position and amendments. He said that we have an educational situation which needs to be taken care of, that we must start taking care of it. Referring to the growing percentages of eligible students who are now in high school, Senator Anderson asked, "Who will teach them? Where will they find laboratories?"

Senator Anderson said he was sick and tired of hearing that the House can't take something because the United States Chamber of Commerce is opposed to it. He observed that the Chamber and many others had opposed Hells Canyon too, but that it had been passed by the Senate and had been helpful in campaigns.<sup>1</sup> He said it was better to pass a good bill, not one that will meet with the approval of the Chamber of Commerce. He said he also doesn't care if the House doesn't get a bill out of the Rules Committee. He observed that the President had opened the door when he recommended terminating the impacted area law.

Senator Anderson said he believed that the House would act. He spoke of the experiences with the labor bill last year to support this belief. He said it was better for the country and the Democratic Party to meet the educational issue head-on, and stated that he intended to vote for the Clark amendments.

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<sup>1</sup> In June 1957 the Senate passed legislation authorizing federal construction of a Hells Canyon Dam on the Snake River that flowed between Idaho and Oregon. Strongly opposed by the Eisenhower administration, the dam was rejected by a subcommittee of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee a year later. Failure of the legislation permitted a private power company to develop three smaller dams on the river, and raised charges that the administration was giving away public resources.

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Senator Fulbright stated that he was of the same view as Senator Anderson. He said, "No matter what we pass it will be vetoed—so let's pass the best bill."

Chairman Johnson interrupted to call attention to the fact that both Senators Anderson and Fulbright had voted in 1949 in favor of a strong federal aid bill.

Senator Hill stated that he had been here when the Senate held those votes, and that no bill in the House ever saw daylight, but died in House committees.

Senator Magnuson noted that that was ten years ago, and Senator Hill commented that he could not observe any change in the House from that time.

Senator Monroney said that an education bill was now being held in the House Rules Committee and that the House bill is broader than the Senate bill.

Senator Hill said he was talking about getting a bill passed by a Democratic Congress. He noted that he had voted against the Chamber of Commerce many times, probably more often than had the Senator from New Mexico, Mr. Anderson. He repeated, however, that this was not the issue. The question was how to get a federal education bill for primary and secondary schools passed by a Democratic Congress, not simply by the Senate.

Senator Gore said that before Senator Fulbright left he wanted to concur in what he had said. He noted that Senator Fulbright sees the education issue from the university background. Senator Gore said that he had come up through the public school system, first as a teacher in a one-room school and then serving four years as school superintendent for a county. He said that he wanted to talk from that background.

He noted first that the population growth of school children was occurring not in the cities but in the suburbs. It was here that the strain on facilities and available teachers was being felt.

Noting that Tennessee has established a sales tax, he commented that we still don't find the best minds going into the teaching profession and that truck drivers in Tennessee still made more than high school teachers. He pointed out that Tennessee, however, could not levy more taxes and that its greatest export was young people leaving the state.

He realizes, he said, as Senator Hill observed, that politics is the art of the possible, but that if we strain, maybe we can do all that is possible. He said that he would support the bill if it was not possible to strengthen it, but that he thought it should be stronger.

Senator Clark observed that no Senator should be more concerned about the opposition of the Catholic Church because, in Pennsyl-

vania, Catholic population growth was greater than any other group. He said that he had taken readings, however, in Pennsylvania, and believed that sponsoring these amendments would not hurt him with his Catholic friends.

He noted that one of his amendments, to add additional funds for college classroom and other facility construction, was sponsored by 23 Senators. He noted that, in vetoing the housing bill, the President had stated that this provision should be in an education bill and not in a housing bill. Noting that the provision had been supported by the Senate before, he expressed the hope that it would receive the Senate's support now.

The second amendment to be proposed by Senator Clark would include teachers' salaries as one of the discretionary purposes for which states could use the funds granted. The annual authorization for appropriations under the Clark amendment would be approximately \$1,100,000,000 the first year, based upon a \$25 per pupil formula, in contrast to the \$500 million figure, for each of two years, in the Committee bill for school construction. The formula would be the same for teachers' salaries as for school construction. Senator Clark stated that he believed this policy question was clearly resolved by the Committee by selecting the need standard. He said that the poorer states' need for teachers was the same as their need for construction. While he recognized and commended the special efforts of states like Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, to raise teachers' salaries with their own revenue measures, he believed it was better for the federal government to pick up the tab for such programs, since the federal tax system was progressive, not—like Pennsylvania's and other states'—regressive.

Senator Clark expressed the opinion that this had been a very helpful meeting and that he did not desire to move for any votes in the Conference.

Senator Pastore stated that he was for teachers' salaries and college aid provisions, but he did not see anything in the Clark amendments which dealt with the problems referred to by Senator Anderson. He asked: "How about scholarship amendments?"

Senator Clark replied that he had been much impressed by Senator Magnuson's comments, stating that such an approach had not occurred to him and that it would have great merit if states were given authority to spend money for any educational purposes, including scholarships. He noted, however, that the N.E.A. [National Education Association] would not want to take such provisions into this bill and that he and his colleagues supporting his amendments might not now be able gracefully to change course.

Senator Morse stated that he agreed with Senator Magnuson and would support an amendment to make the language clearly broad enough to include scholarships. He said that in committee he had



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taken a position for a broader bill and had served notice that he would offer amendments on the floor and file a supplemental report. Senator Morse said that, while he had great respect for the Catholic Bishops, on this issue they were wrong and there was no reason to follow their judgment.

Senator Morse said that on the floor he would offer an amendment to provide some \$75 million for federal loans to private and parochial schools for classroom construction.

Senator Monroney suggested that the Clark amendment should be offered as is and the broader, Pastore-Magnuson type amendment be offered as an amendment to the Clark amendment.

Senator Clark, interrupting, said that he would like to express a thought with respect to tactics. He recommended that it would be well to let the Republican amendment come up first and vote it down. He believed that then it would be possible to get some Republican support for his amendment.

Senator Gore, noting that Senator Monroney had referred to the quality of teaching, quoted from the philosopher John Dewey, who said when he was asked "What is a good school?": "A good student on one end of a log and an inspiring teacher on the other." He said that public schools were not good; that of 21 nominees to the military academy, made by him since he had been in Congress, only two had passed the qualifying examinations.

Senator Monroney observed that the National Defense Education Act has scholarship provisions in it and he preferred not to include the scholarship provisions in this bill. He said that he might vote for this proposal as an amendment to the teachers' salary amendment, but that they should not be joined.

Senator McNamara stated that the committee had tried to confine the legislation to primary and secondary schools, and now members were suggesting getting into the college area. He said that scholarships do not belong in this bill, even though he would support such a proposal. He urged his colleagues to make a start on a federal aid to education program in order to pave the way for later improvements.

Senator Holland stated that he had counted only 26 members present at the Conference, out of 65 Democratic senators, and that he thought this indicated not much interest. He observed that he considered Senator Hill and Senator McNamara to be on sound ground in trying to get something that a maximum number of Democratic senators could support, which could be gotten through the House and sent to the President. He expressed the hope that the Senate would not go into fields that would eliminate large numbers of Democrats. Senator Holland stated that he was opposed to the bill and the amendments, even though in the past he had twice

voted for federal school aid bills. He would not favor the present formula because it does not differentiate enough between the states. He said that the states can deal with the problem if they will remove some of the arbitrary restrictions that now exist on revenue and bond-issuing measures. He noted that Florida does not do as good a job as it should.

Senator Holland again expressed the hope that the Senate action would be confined to the committee bill and that his colleagues would understand why he could not support it.

Senator Neuberger stated that he believes in the widest latitude of discretion over the expenditure of funds in the hands of each state. At the same time, however, he observed that there was great wisdom in Senator McNamara's advice not to put colleges into this bill. He believes the greatest need is in the primary and secondary school area.

Senator Neuberger stated that it would be a fatal mistake to underestimate the ability of the President and his staff to write a veto message which would successfully put the blame on Congress if the bill was loaded with school aid provisions.

Senator Yarborough apologized for holding his colleagues after the hour of noon, but indicated that he wanted a few minutes to speak on the college-need question, which he considered the major issue. He said that he had a considerable amount of information that he wanted to give to Congress, that he had presided many times alone over the hearings on the bill.

Senator Yarborough said that education was deficient in the first grades through college, but that the opportunity to go to college was the area lagging most. Senator Yarborough observed that he had been a teacher and that as a student he had only gone to school 6 months of the year. He observed that the quality of teachers today was not worse than it had been in the past. "Our greatest failure today," Senator Yarborough said, "is that too few high school graduates have the opportunity to go to college."

Senator Clark interrupted at this point to comment that he agreed with Senator Yarborough on this and respectfully disagreed with Senator Neuberger.

Senator Yarborough continued that there were critical shortages of both facilities and teachers in our colleges, partly because we are not sending enough people to college.

Senator Neuberger commented that all the educational needs were undoubtedly urgent, but there were others that had not even yet been mentioned, and why should we not add all of them. He repeated his view that there was great danger in giving the President a valid excuse for saying in a veto message that we had loaded it down with too many proposals.

JANUARY 20, 1960

Senator Yarborough said that he was not debating with Senator Neuberger, but that Doctor [James B.] Conant's book [*The American High School Today: A First Report to Interested Citizens* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959)] had pointed out that while our high schools were deficient, 90% of our high school students are in top quality schools, and therefore our greatest need was in the college area. He said that while some states, such as Utah, have 80% of their eligible students in college, others had only 18%, and that the range followed the income curve.

Senator Yarborough stated that the estimate of 6 million college students for some years in the future was unrealistic because it did not take into account an increasing percentage of eligible students going to college if scholarship programs made it possible for them to do so.

Senator Magnuson again urged that the approach taken in the legislation and in the amendments be to give the states the widest authority to use the granted funds for any school purposes they determined to be desirable. He observed that he agreed with Senator Neuberger that it would be wise to confine such uses, however, to primary and secondary schools.

Senator Yarborough said this would kill the college aid program, "where the Russians are so far ahead of us."

Senator Magnuson said no matter what we pass, or in what amounts, and we should get as much as we can, let's let the states decide how to use it. He observed that Congressmen Metcalf and Elliott thought they could get that type of bill out of their committee.

Senator Yarborough asked Senator Magnuson if the Congressmen had not said that nothing could pass the House but a construction bill.

Senator Magnuson replied that they had indicated they would try to pass a stronger bill.

Senator Clark then spoke briefly on the juvenile delinquency bill, which is scheduled to be taken up in the Senate after completion of the Election bill, in order to announce that he and Senator Hill were preparing and would offer an amendment to provide for training of personnel within the specified fund limits now in the bill.

Chairman Johnson again spoke to the Conference, after ascertaining that no other senator desired to speak. He repeated that, in his judgment, there was nothing more vital than an adequate education program. He observed that he had spoken on this subject many times during the fall and that he had received a tremendous indication of interest and support. He recommended that all members of the Conference—those who consider themselves liberals, moderates or conservatives, or by any other description—read in the *Congres-*

*sional Record* of May 5, 1949, on page 5686, a statement by Senator Taft in support of the education bill then before the Senate.

He observed that if the Senate could vote for a strong bill in 1949, we surely can pass a constructive bill this session. He noted that there has been a lot of talk about moderation and accommodation, but he did not believe any apologies were necessary for the record of legislation passed by the Senate.

Chairman Johnson stated that we can make a real record this year and pass bills that reflect our views. The Chairman briefly referred to some of the strong measures that had been passed last year by the Senate and the Congress. He noted that last year we had been able to raise the appropriation for health expenditures \$200-to-\$300 million, while reducing the overall appropriations requested by the President by almost \$2 billion.

Chairman Johnson said we are dealing with a subject more important to our existence as free people than any other subject. He observed that this had been a good Conference and he congratulated Senator Hill and Senator McNamara, as chairmen of the full committee and subcommittee respectively, for their contributions.

At 12:25 P.M. the Conference adjourned.

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Attachment, Minutes of Conference, January 20, 1960  
LABOR & PUBLIC WELFARE COMMITTEE STAFF BILL  
DESCRIPTION

*Emergency Federal Assistance for School Construction*

S. 8, as reported by the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, provides matching federal grants for elementary and secondary school construction.

\$500 million of federal grants, for each of the next two years, would be matched by an almost equal amount at the state level. The grant for each state is contained in the table on page 10 of the attached report.

S. 8 is intended to assist in meeting the shortage of classrooms which exists in almost all states. But in addition, it is drafted to accomplish the following objectives:

1. A prohibition on any semblance of federal control (see Sec. 3, page 1, of report).
2. A program that insures a maintenance of school effort at the state and local level (see Sec. 6, page 2, of report).
3. A formula that allots federal funds according to needs in the individual states—needs measured by the state's wealth and the number of children it educates.

The attached report contains a detailed analysis of each section of the bill—plus the reasons given by the Labor and Public Welfare Committee for their approval of the bill.

JANUARY 20, 1960

*Anticipated Amendments*

Many amendments to S. 8 have been discussed, either in committee or in the press. Undoubtedly, several of these will be offered in the course of Senate debate. Among those which will be of major concern are:

1. *Substitution of a Murray-Metcalf type bill*: Such an amendment would include the following revisions:

- a. An increase in the dollar amount from \$500 million to a billion dollars.
- b. Expansion to include teachers' salaries, as well as construction.
- c. Elimination of state or local matching funds.
- d. Replacement of the S. 8 "equalization" formula with one closer to "per capita" distribution.

2. *Teachers' salary amendment*: Such an amendment would simply open S. 8 to the inclusion of teachers' salaries, retaining the rest of the bill's provisions. This amendment would leave it up to the states to determine whether they would use the federal funds for construction or salaries.

3. *Loans for Private Schools*: This amendment would provide loans, not grants, for private schools. In the form now discussed, it would provide a total of an additional \$75 million, to be loaned at prevailing government rates, for private school construction. This total, 15% of the grant total of S. 8, mirrors the percentage of children now being educated in the country's private schools, about 15%.

It should be noted that the precedent for such a loan program is firmly established in the College Housing program. And the grant provisions of the National Defense Education Act, as well as the GI bill, have provided substantial assistance for private education.

4. *Administration debt service amendment*: This amendment will probably be offered as modified by Senators [John Sherman] Cooper [Republican, Kentucky] and [Jacob] Javits [Republican, New York]. A discussion of their amendment begins at the bottom of page 12 of the attached report.

Under this amendment, the federal government would guarantee one-half of the debt service on 20 to 30 year construction bonds.

Such a program would commit the federal government to a long-range annual appropriation for federal assistance to schools. The interest charges would be high, and the amount of construction would be no more than under the grant type of program.

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Attachment, Minutes of Conference, January 20, 1960

Attendance Roll Call

The following senators answered Yea:

Anderson, Bartlett, Bible, Clark, Douglas, Ervin, Frear, Fulbright, Gore, Green, Gruening, Hart, Hartke, Hill, Holland, Humphrey, Johnson, Tex., Kennedy, Kerr, Long, Hawaii, Magnuson, McCarthy, McGee, McNamara, Monroney, Morse, Moss, Muskie, Neuberger, Pastore, Proxmire, Randolph, Robertson, Sparkman, Talmadge, Williams, N.J., Yarborough, Young, Ohio

EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS (1959–1961)

Dem. Conference on Education  
January 20, 1960

[PRESENT]

✓ Anderson  
✓ Bartlett  
✓ Bible  
Byrd, Va.  
Byrd, W.Va.  
Cannon  
Carroll  
Chavez  
Church  
✓ Clark  
Dodd  
✓ Douglas  
Eastland  
Ellender  
Engle  
✓ Ervin  
✓ Frear  
✓ Fulbright  
✓ Gore  
✓ Green  
✓ Gruening  
✓ Hart  
✓ Hartke  
Hayden  
Hennings  
✓ Hill  
✓ Holland  
✓ Humphrey  
Jackson  
✓ Johnson, Tex.  
Johnston, S.C.  
Jordan

[PRESENT]

Kefauver  
✓ Kennedy  
✓ Kerr  
Lauche  
✓ Long, Hawaii  
Long., La.  
✓ Magnuson  
Mansfield  
✓ McCarthy  
McClellan  
✓ McGee  
✓ McNamara  
✓ Monroney  
✓ Morse  
✓ Moss  
Murray  
✓ Muskie  
✓ Neuberger  
O'Mahoney  
✓ Pastore  
✓ Proxmire  
✓ Randolph  
✓ Robertson  
Russell  
Smathers  
✓ Sparkman  
Stennis  
Symington  
✓ Talmadge  
Thurmond  
✓ Williams, N.J.  
✓ Yarborough  
✓ Young, Ohio

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[February 15, 1960]

Minutes of the Senate Democratic Conference, Monday, February 15, 1960, Room 1114, New Senate Office Building.

Chairman Johnson called the meeting to order and material which had been prepared by the staff of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee was distributed, and the roll was called (see attached).

Chairman Johnson then read to the Conference a statement outlining the problems before the session as he saw them (see attached).

At the conclusion of Chairman Johnson's statement, Senator Gore remarked that "it is a very fine statement and a very able summation of the problems that we face. It is a tribute to the unity of our party."

Senator Muskie said that he had requested the Conference because he and other freshmen colleagues "would like to benefit from an ana-

FEBRUARY 15, 1960

lytical discussion of the various issues that are before us." He said "we want this discussion to get some idea from our leaders and our seniors as to the political benefits we can derive from a particular course of action." Senator Muskie said that he and the others who requested the Conference were "here to listen, learn, and ask questions."

Chairman Johnson announced that he had requested Senator Douglas of Illinois, as Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, to lead the discussion on the Committee's report. He described Senator Douglas as a man "of outstanding qualifications in the field of economics."

Senator Douglas, in the course of his discussion, made the following points:

1. From 1947 to 1953, the rate of growth of the nation's economy was between 4.6% and 4.7%. From 1953 through 1959, the rate of growth was 2.3%. The experts of his committee estimate that the future rate of growth should be about 4½% on a long-term basis.

2. The present rate of unemployment is now 4%, but if this were adjusted to take account of people working only two or three days a week, the figure would be over 6%. He said he believed that the nation should never accept an unemployment figure of more than 4% and should work consistently to reduce it to 3%.

3. The last Democratic administration had to face the inflationary pressures of the Korean War, but nevertheless, had succeeded in restoring price stability by March, 1951, and had succeeded in keeping prices stable during the remaining months of President Truman's term. Since then, however, inflationary pressures had set in again.

4. Since 1952, interest payments on a \$10,000 twenty-year FHA mortgage have risen from 4¼% to 5¾%. This has meant an increase of \$2,000 in interest payments on that mortgage. On a \$15,000, thirty-year mortgage (the national average) this has meant additional payments of \$20 a month for the mortgagee.

(At this point, Chairman Johnson had to leave the meeting to go to the floor of the Senate and Senator Kefauver was designated to preside.)

Various members then expressed their views on some of the facts that had been presented by Senator Douglas.

Senator Church remarked that when private business faces a period of high interest rates, it seeks short-term credit because it does not want to write high interest rates into its permanent business structure. He said this was just the reverse of what the Treasury is trying to do now in terms of seeking long-term credit for the government during a period of high interest rates.

Senator Monroney remarked that if Congress were to take the 4¼% interest rate ceiling off of long-term government bonds as requested by the Treasury, it “would be a neon light to send the money market up just like taking off price controls after the war was a signal to send prices up.”

Senator Clark remarked that the United States had financed two world wars and the Korean War under the 4¼% ceiling. “Now, in a time of peace and prosperity, we are asked to take it off,” he said.

Senator Douglas returned to the question of Treasury financing and the Advisory Committee set up by the Treasury from the American Bankers Association. In 1952, the last year of a Democratic administration, the recommendations of the American Bankers Association were turned down 37% of the time, he noted. Since then, under Republican administration, the recommendations have been turned down only 15% of the time.

Senator Kefauver asked how he should reply to people who say that interest rates have to be put up in order to prevent gold from leaving America. Senator Douglas replied that this is a problem that has to be faced in the next few years, but not through raising interest rates. He said the best way to face it is to have some of our allies share the burden of financing under-developed countries and of the mutual security program.

Senator Douglas went on to say that there is no immediate necessity for authorizing the Treasury to lift the 4¼% ceiling because there is no issue of long-term bonds coming due for many months. Meanwhile, he said, the Treasury can meet its financial requirements through short-term financing.

Senator Douglas continued that this country needs a long-term increase in the money supply to match the increase in the growth rate. Otherwise, he said, the country will be driven to higher interest rates and higher prices. He said there were two ways in which the Federal Reserve Board can increase the money supply:

1. Lower bank reserve requirements.
2. Open market operations.

Senator Douglas said that if Congress were to eliminate the 4¼% ceiling it would amount to “unilateral disarmament.” He said that the interest rate ceiling now represented the only way in which Congress could force the Administration to institute certain reforms in its financial operations.

“I am willing to say to them that if they introduce these reforms, then I will be willing to consider lifting the interest rate ceiling,” Senator Douglas said. “But I am not willing to give up the only weapon we have to achieve those reforms.”



FEBRUARY 15, 1960

He said that the reforms were outlined in the report of the Joint Economic Committee on employment growth and price levels.

Senator Long of Louisiana said that the Administration is "throwing dust in our eyes with minutia." He said that the twenty-year average on new bond issues under Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman worked out at 1.7%. He said they are running now about 5%. The difference, he said, was that Presidents Roosevelt and Truman "had an understanding with the Federal Reserve Board that would hold interest rates down during a war period." The present Administration, on the other hand, set as one of its purposes "to at least double interest rates."

"If you tell the Federal Reserve Board at the Presidential level that you are not going to interfere, they will let the market determine it and the bond market is just about twenty people," Senator Long said.

He continued that the Republicans "are afraid they are going to lose an election some one of these days so they want to saddle us with high interest rates for the next twenty years."

He said that high interest rates are "operating on our economy as a \$20 billion a year tax for the benefit of the few." He said that he believed Congress should pass a simple resolution telling the Administration that its "tight money, high interest rate policy is an error and they should use their powers to put interest rates down."

Senator Anderson said that the Treasury should be required to engage in advance refunding to determine whether it would work before any consideration was given to changing the 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ % interest rate ceiling. If some fiscal reforms were made, he would be willing to consider raising the interest rate ceiling for a limited period, but he would be opposed, under any circumstances, to just eliminating the ceiling altogether.

Senator Church moved to adjourn, but before the motion was acted upon, Senator Clark said that he felt the meeting had been very successful and he hoped that the Secretary of the Majority (Mr. Baker) would pass on to Chairman Johnson the desire of the members for another early meeting to discuss the budget and the state of the union.

There was a rising vote of thanks to Senator Douglas for leading the discussion, and the Conference then adjourned at 12:11 P.M., subject to the call of the chair.

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STATEMENT BY SENATE DEMOCRATIC LEADER LYNDON B. JOHNSON AT SENATE DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1960

*For Immediate Release*

My Fellow Democrats:

*Issues Before Us*

A few weeks ago, Senator Muskie wrote to me requesting a conference on the broad issues we will face during this session. Since that time, Senator Gore and others have requested a Conference on the report of the Joint Economic Committee.

The Joint Economic Committee report is one of the basic documents of our times. The fields upon which it touches relate either directly or indirectly to every problem faced by our country.

*Measure of Strength*

A nation's strength is not measured solely in terms of guns, ships, aircraft, bombs, and missiles. A more adequate measurement is its economic vitality, its capacity for growth, and its determination to use that capacity wisely.

From an economic standpoint, these are generally considered to be "good times."

There are still pockets of unemployment and economic misery. Our farm economy is in a bad way—and there are no signs of improvement. High prices push heavily on the incomes of our senior citizens.

But the official position of the Administration is that things are pretty good—and probably most Americans would agree. It is claimed that pockets of unemployment, agriculture, and the plight of our elderly people are exceptions to the rule.

Personally, I have never felt that *any* part of the economy is safe if *one* part is depressed. Misery tends to breed misery. Recession tends to breed further recession.

So-called general prosperity is no excuse for failure to act against specific—though localized—depression.

*Disturbing Trends*

At the present time, however, we are faced with certain disturbing trends which affect the concept of generalized prosperity itself. [section missing]

As Senators, we are being called upon to face many issues in this session. All of us are conscious that the year will end with a basic election that will determine our future.

But we are equally conscious of the fact that national needs cannot be suspended for political considerations.

*Our Government's Effort*

Many of the issues are summed up in the budget. But a budget is not just a financial statement. It is also a statement of the amount of effort that the government will make to solve the problems of our country.

FEBRUARY 15, 1960

In this sense, it is important that a budget be adequate to the national needs of defense, economic well-being, and maintaining our world position.

There are a number of areas in which I have strong reservations as to the adequacy of the budget. I believe that it is possible to comb through it for waste and apply the savings to vital fields of defense and national growth.

These questions, I know, will be discussed thoroughly and at length as the committees sift the facts. This Congress does not want to commit the country to a path that will bring it to a second-rate status.

#### *Four Behind Us*

The Senate this year has acted already on four major issues—a remarkable record for which I congratulate my colleagues. We have:

1. Passed a major education bill.
2. Passed a Constitutional amendment to ban the poll tax.
3. Passed a Constitutional amendment to grant voting rights to the citizens of the District of Columbia.
4. Passed a clean elections bill.

#### *Others Ahead*

This, however, is only the beginning. It is possible now to foresee some of the other issues which we are virtually certain to face this session. They include:

1. Civil rights—which will start today on the floor.  
[section missing]
6. The need of our people for housing.
7. College classroom loans.
8. College student loan guarantees.
9. Health benefits for retired and elderly people.
10. Development of our natural resources.
11. Health research.
12. Exploration of Outer Space.
13. Economic problems—including the issue of interest rates.
14. Revenue and budget problems.

I am not seeking to exhaust the list. Those items which I have mentioned are merely those which it is apparent now—from conversations with members—will come before us.

Unquestionably, there will be others.

#### *To Live in Freedom*

All of the issues we face, however, are tied together by a common bond. They represent efforts to strengthen our nation; to safeguard the rights of its citizens; to increase their economic well-being; to insure that we and our children will live in freedom.

This Conference has been called today for an exchange of views on these matters.

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UNITED STATES SENATE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
February 4, 1960

The Honorable Lyndon Johnson  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Johnson:

We respectfully request a Conference of Democratic Senators for the consideration of the report and recommendations of the Joint Economic Committee on Employment, Growth, and Price Levels, and possible Conference action.

This report of the Joint Economic Committee, as you know, was made pursuant to Senate Concurrent Resolution 13, 86th Congress, which resolution authorized an expenditure of \$200,000 by the Joint Economic Committee to conduct a full and complete study of our national economic problems.

We request that this Conference be called at the earliest convenient time but, if at all possible, before legislative committee action on a bill to authorize higher interest rates on bonds of the United States Government.

Respectfully,

(signed:)

Albert Gore  
Mike Monroney (A.G.)  
Jennings Randolph (A.G.)  
Ernest Gruening (A.G.)  
Harrison Williams (A.G.)  
Ralph W. Yarborough  
Bob Bartlett  
William Proxmire  
P.A. Hart

Hubert Humphrey  
John A. Carroll  
Frank Church  
Frank E. Moss  
Howard W. Cannon  
Oren E. Long  
Pat McNamara  
Joseph S. Clark  
Estes Kefauver  
Wayne Morse

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COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS  
January 22, 1960

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson  
United States Senate  
Washington, 25, D.C.

Dear Lyndon:

This is to confirm our conversation relative to the proposal for a Democratic Conference during the first ten days of February to discuss the legislative situation as it may exist at that time. As I stated at the Conference, when I made this request, it was so phrased as an expression of the desires of a number of Senators of the Class of 1959.

FEBRUARY 15, 1960

As I indicated at the time, our reasoning was, and is, that it would be constructive if we and the leadership could be exposed, on a reasonably regular basis, to the currents of thinking among Democratic Senators relative to particular issues as well as to over-all legislative strategy and programming. We have been encouraged in this belief by the discussions in our last Conference of the education bills. We think that such discussions, even though they do not and, indeed, should not lead to binding votes by the Conference, can create a climate favorable to the development of broader areas of agreement and understanding.

I have appreciated your receptiveness to this proposal and your cooperation in discussing the details. As a result of our talks, and others I have had with my colleagues, it would appear to be desirable if the proposed Conference were devoted to a "State of the Union" discussion. Recognizing the unavoidable time limitations, it might be wise if discussion leaders could be selected to pinpoint one or more of such subjects as the budget, the missile and space programs, resource development, debt management, or others which might occur to you. Obviously, we could not and should not try to cover the whole range of subjects with which this session of the Congress should deal in the interests of the country. It is possible that the discussion might develop some informal consensus as to the priorities which should be assigned to the legislative matters to be considered at this session. At the very least, we should all have a clearer idea as to the value of such discussions.

It is the hope of the new Senators that the proposed Conference would justify the holding of similar Conferences once each month during the remainder of the session.

Thanking you again for your consideration, and with all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,  
(signed) Ed  
Edmund S. Muskie

Democratic Conference  
February 15, 1960

[PRESENT]

✓ Anderson  
Bartlett  
Bible  
Byrd, Va.  
Byrd, W.Va.  
Cannon  
Carroll  
Chavez  
✓ Church  
✓ Clark  
Dodd  
✓ Douglas  
Eastland  
Ellender  
Engle  
Ervin  
✓ Frear

[PRESENT]

Fulbright  
✓ Gore  
✓ Green  
✓ Gruening  
✓ Hart  
✓ Hartke  
✓ Hayden  
Hennings  
Hill  
Holland  
Humphrey  
Jackson  
✓ Johnson, Tex.  
Johnston, S.C.  
✓ Jordan  
Kefauver  
Kennedy  
Kerr  
Lauche

EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS (1959–1961)

[PRESENT]

Long, Hawaii  
Long, La.  
✓ Magnuson  
✓ Mansfield  
McCarthy  
McClellan  
McGee  
✓ McNamara  
✓ Monroney  
✓ Morse  
✓ Moss  
Murray  
✓ Muskie  
Neuberger  
✓ O'Mahoney

[PRESENT]

Pastore  
✓ Proxmire  
✓ Randolph  
Robertson  
Russell  
Smathers  
Sparkman  
Stennis  
Symington  
✓ Talmadge  
✓ Thurmond  
Williams, N.J.  
Yarborough  
✓ Young, Ohio

86th CONGRESS  
2d Session

**S. 2813**

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
January 14 (legislative day, January 13), 1960

Mr. Byrd of Virginia (for himself and Mr. Williams of Delaware) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Finance.

**A BILL**

To provide for more effective management of the public debt by removing the remaining interest rate restrictions on public issues of Government securities, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the first section of the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended (31 U.S.C. 752), is amended by striking out “, not exceeding four and one-quarter per centum per annum,”.*

Sec. 2. Paragraph (1) of section 22 (b) of the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended (31 U.S.C. 757c (b) (1)), is amended by striking out “: Provided, That the interest rate on, and the issue price of, savings bonds and savings certificates and the terms upon which they may be redeemed shall be such as to afford an investment yield not in excess of 3.26 per centum per annum, compounded semiannually”.

Sec. 3. Paragraph (2) of section 22 (b) of the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended (31 U.S.C. 757c (b) (2)), is amended by striking out in subparagraph (A) “at rates which (subject to section 25) are consistent with the provisions of paragraph (1)”, and by striking out in subparagraph (B) “which (subject to section 25) are consistent with the provisions of paragraph (1)”.

FEBRUARY 15, 1960

Sec. 4. Section 25 of the Second Liberty Bond Act, as added by the Act of September 22, 1959 (sec. 101(a), Public Law 86-346; 73 Stat. 621), is repealed.

86th Congress  
2d Session

House of Representatives

Document  
No. 294

DEBT MANAGEMENT

MESSAGE

from

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Relative to

Debt Management Relating to Treasury Medium-Term  
and Long-Term Issues

January 12, 1960.—Referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed.

*To the Congress of the United States:*

As I said in my state of the Union message, the Treasury is being prevented from taking debt-management actions that are fully consistent with the public interest because of the artificial interest rate ceiling on new Treasury medium-term and long-term issues.

In a special message to the Congress on June 8, 1959, I urged the removal of this archaic restriction on flexible debt management. Congressional inaction on that request has resulted in a much more rapid increase in short-term debt than would otherwise have occurred. As a result, short-term Treasury borrowing costs have risen to the highest levels in several decades and the ability of debt management to operate in a manner consistent with sound principles of sustained economic growth has been seriously undermined.

I deem it imperative, therefore, that this restrictive ceiling be removed. I am asking the Secretary of the Treasury to transmit to the Congress proposed legislation designed to attain this objective.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

The White House, January 12, 1960

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE JOINT ECONOMIC  
COMMITTEE WITH RESPECT TO THE STATUTORY INTEREST  
RATE CEILING

The Joint Economic Committee Report recommends that in the absence of major reforms in fiscal, monetary, and debt management policies, the 4- $\frac{1}{4}$ % ceiling not be removed.

Among the reforms which the report recommends are these:

- (1) Use of advance refunding to enable holders of long-term securities to exchange them for new long-term securities prior to maturity, as a means of lengthening the debt.

(2) Limited quantity issues of savings bonds which are adjusted to changes in the price level to enable small investors to put their savings into relatively risk-free and inflation-protected investments.

(3) Abandonment of the “bills-only” policy.

(4) Restoration of the long-term portfolio position of the Federal Reserve by means of the simultaneous selling of short-term securities as long-term securities are purchased.

(5) Keeping present reserve requirement levels and using the open market mechanism for both cyclical expansion or contractions and secular growth.

(6) Improving the Treasury knowledge of market conditions when pricing new offerings by utilizing more diverse and disinterested sources of advice.

(7) Instituting the auction method in the sale of long-term securities.

(8) Broadening and deepening the market for long-term bonds through Treasury facilities which will, it is believed, make the interest rate more competitive and hence, lower.

(9) More extensive use of fiscal policy to provide surpluses in times of recovery and prosperity.

(10) Making necessary tax and expenditure reforms to provide such surpluses.

(11) Greater sale of long-term bonds when interest rates are low.

(12) Instituting the use of callable bonds.

The minority views in the report dissented from the recommendations of the majority on the interest rate ceiling question, and in effect, recommended that the ceiling be removed because “it provides no interest ceiling at all;” “simply places a ceiling on maturities (5 years), thus forcing the Treasury to compete with the multitude of short-term borrowers, sending these rates higher and higher.”

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*LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE PRESIDENT'S  
ECONOMIC MESSAGE*

1. Increase tax on aviation gas to 4-½¢ a gallon, and levy the same tax on jet fuels.
2. Defer taxation of income derived from less developed areas abroad.
3. Provide additional highway trust fund revenues:
  - (a) increase highway fuel tax to 4-½¢ until 6–30–64, and
  - (b) repeal diversion of excise taxes enacted last year.
4. Increase postal rates.
5. Provide flexible interest rates on (a) veterans and (b) military housing loans (remove ceilings).
6. Liberalize authority of small business investment companies.
7. Broaden exemption of small security issues from registration.
8. Authorize loans and grants to assist areas with chronic unemployment.
9. Improve anti-trust legislation.
  - (a) Extend Federal regulation to bank mergers accomplished through acquisition of assets.
  - (b) Require notification to the anti-trust agencies of proposed mergers by businesses of significant size.



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- (c) Authorize FTC to seek preliminary injunctions in merger cases where a violation is likely.
  - (d) Empower the Attorney General to issue civil investigative demands in anti-trust cases when civil procedures are contemplated.
10. *FHA Insurance Program*
- Extend authority for insurance of loans on home improvements—expires October 1, 1960.
- 11. Revise further agricultural price-support programs, and extend for 3 years with revisions in the conservation reserve program.
  - 12. Strengthen “food for peace” program.
  - 13. Revise interest rates for rural electric and telephone loans.
  - 14. Extend Sugar Act—expires 12-31-60.
  - 15. Require non-federal interests to bear at least 30% of the cost of flood protection projects.
  - 16. Promote greater conservation of helium.
  - 17. [missing]

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*LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE PRESIDENT'S  
STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE*

- 1. Repeal reservations relative to jurisdiction of World Court.
- 2. Strengthen organization and management of outer space programs.
- 3. Revise agricultural price-support programs.
- 4. Extend for 3 years, with revisions, the conservation reserve program.
- 5. Authorize financial help for local school construction.
- 6. Authorize financial assistance for construction of college facilities.
- 7. Remove interest ceiling on Treasury bonds.
- 8. Enact civil rights legislation:
  - (a) Amend law relative to obstruction of certain court orders;
  - (b) Punish flight to avoid prosecution for unlawful destruction of educational or religious structures;
  - (c) Provide for retention and preservation of federal election records and authorize Attorney General to compel production of these records;
  - (d) Assist state and local agencies in meeting costs of special professional services needed in carrying out public school desegregation programs;
  - (e) Amend PL 81-874, 81st Congress to provide for education of children of members of armed forces in communities in which public schools are closed.

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*A SUMMARY OF RECENT ACTIVITIES OF THE JOINT ECONOMIC  
COMMITTEE*

*Study of Employment, Growth, and Price Levels*

- 1. March 23, 1959. Unanimous passage by the Senate of S. Con. Res. 13, authorizing the Joint Economic Committee to conduct a “full and complete study of . . . the problems of providing maximum employment and

an adequate rate of economic growth, as well as maintaining price stability and preventing inflation. . . “

2. The Joint Committee immediately set about its task, and in the following nine months:
  - Held 9 sets of hearings
  - Held hearings during 40 days
  - Heard over 100 witnesses
  - Took 3,700 pages of testimony.
3. In addition, the Joint Committee commissioned 23 study papers by recognized experts on every major aspect of its study, which have now been printed.
4. In December, 1959, the Joint Committee issued a 500-page staff report, prepared under the direction of Dr. Otto Eckstein, which contained both analysis and recommendations.
5. On January 26, 1960, the Joint Committee’s report on its study, entitled, *Employment, Growth, and Price Levels* (S. Rept. 1043–86th Congress), was ordered to be printed.
6. On January 27, 1960, this report was analyzed on the floor of the Senate by Senator Paul Douglas, Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee (pages 1247 ff. of the Congressional Record).

*Report on the 1960 Economic Report of the President*

7. On February 1 through 5, 1960, the Joint Committee held hearings on the 1960 Economic Report of the President.
8. A draft report of the Joint Committee on the President’s Economic Report has now been prepared and is expected to be submitted to the Senate on March 1, 1960.

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*LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE PRESIDENT’S  
BUDGET MESSAGE*

1. Eliminate restrictions on foreign bidding on military supply items.
2. Authorize sale of Alaska Communications System.
3. Facilitate sale of surplus military real property.
4. Equalize military retirement pay.
5. Discontinue statutory minimum strength for Army National Guard.
6. Defer taxation of income derived from less developed areas abroad.
7. Revise eligibility requirements for countries to receive economic assistance.
8. Repeal reservations relative to jurisdiction of World Court.
9. Authorize payment of certain Philippine war damage claims.
10. Authorize compensation to displaced residents of the Bonin Islands.
11. Extend the Mutual Security Program.
12. Strengthen organization and management of outer space programs.
13. Increase tax on aviation gas from 2¢ to 4-½¢ a gallon, and levy the same tax on jet fuels (which is now untaxed).
14. Retain receipts from all aviation fuel taxes in general fund.
15. Provide additional highway trust fund revenues.
  - (a) increase highway fuel tax to 4-½¢ until 6–30–64, and

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- (b) repeal diversion of excise taxes enacted last year.
- 16. Finance forest and public lands highway programs from highway trust fund.
- 17. Authorize appropriations for: federal-aid highways; forest highways; and public lands highways.
- 18. Increase postal rates.
- 19. Increase savings and loan insurance premiums; reduce statutory goal of reserves in Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation; and authorize FSLIC to borrow from private sources.
- 20. Provide flexible interest rates on veterans and military housing loans.
- 21. Liberalize authority of small business investment companies.
- 22. Broaden exemption of small security issues from registration.
- 23. Authorize loans and grants to assist areas with chronic unemployment.
- 24. Improve antitrust legislation:
  - (a) Extend federal regulation to bank mergers accomplished through acquisition of assets.
  - (b) Require notification to the antitrust agencies of proposed mergers by businesses of significant size.
  - (c) Authorize FTC to seek preliminary injunctions in merger cases where a violation is likely.
  - (d) Empower the Attorney General to issue civil investigative demands in antitrust cases when civil procedures are contemplated.
- 25. Authorize NASA appropriations for 1961, and provide permanent authorizations for later years.
- 26. Authorize the provision in annual appropriation acts for borrowing additional amounts for public facilities loan program.
- 27. Authorize the provision in annual appropriation acts for borrowing additional amounts for FNMA special assistance program.
- 28. Extend authority for FHA insurance of loans on home improvements, which expires October 1, 1960.
- 29. Remove interest ceiling on government ship mortgage loans.
- 30. Increase patent fees.
- 31. Revise further the agricultural price-support programs, and extend for 3 years, with revisions, the conservation reserve program.
- 32. Strengthen "food for peace" program.
- 33. Revise interest rates for rural electric and telephone loans.
- 34. Simplify and consolidate loan authority of Secretary of Agriculture for farm ownership and operation.
- 35. Require greater sharing by states in costs of farm disaster relief.
- 36. Reduce advance authorization for agricultural conservation program.
- 37. Extend Sugar Act—expires 12-31-60.
- 38. Recover administrative costs of Federal Crop Insurance Corporation.
- 39. Authorize Fryingpan-Arkansas project.
- 40. Authorize negotiation with Mexico for joint construction of Amistad (Diablo) Dam.
- 41. Require non-federal interests to bear at least 30% of the cost of flood protection projects.
- 42. Promote greater conservation of helium.
- 43. Authorize coal research on a contract basis.
- 44. Increase fees for noncompetitive oil and gas leases on the public domain.

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45. Transfer from the Secretary of the Interior to the Secretary of Agriculture certain authority relative to land and timber exchanges (contained in Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1959, disapproved by Congress).
46. Preserve three undeveloped shore areas for public use.
47. Authorize financial help for local school construction.
48. Authorize financial assistance for construction of college facilities.
49. Revise programs for aid to schools in federally affected areas.
50. Remove affidavit requirement from National Defense Education Act.
51. Finance grants for administration of employment security system from trust fund.
52. Widen coverage of unemployment compensation system.
53. Strengthen Welfare and Benefit Plan Disclosure Act.
54. Extend protection of Fair Labor Standards Act to additional workers.
55. Assure equal pay for equal work.
56. Improve laws governing hours of work and overtime pay on federal construction projects.
57. Strengthen authority for aid and water pollution control.
58. Revise military service reimbursement to Railroad Retirement trust fund.
59. Provide vocational rehabilitation for peacetime ex-servicemen with service-connected disabilities.
60. Remove interest ceiling on Treasury bonds.
61. Extend temporary debt limit.
62. Extend corporate and excise taxes, and postpone scheduled reductions in the excise tax rate on transportation of persons and on local telephone service.
63. Make specific changes in tax laws:
  - (a) Provide equitable taxation of cooperatives.
  - (b) Prevent excessive depletion allowances on mineral products.
  - (c) Revise tax on gains from sales of depreciable personal property.
  - (d) Adopt clarifying technical amendments to income tax laws.
  - (e) Defer taxation of income derived from less developed areas abroad.
64. Establish adequate fees and charges for special services or benefits.
65. Establish policy for financing civil service retirement.
66. Charge civil service benefits for certain widows and retired employees to trust fund after 1961.
67. Make permanent the 1958 salary increase for Post Office field personnel.
68. Revise laws to reflect admission of state of Hawaii.
69. Provide home rule for District of Columbia.
70. Create transportation corporation for National Capital area.
71. Authorize nonvoting resident commissioners for Guam and the Virgin Islands.
72. Revise immigration and nationality laws, including modification of the quota system.
73. Include goal of price stability in Employment Act.
74. Enact remaining six points of the civil rights program recommended last year.
75. Create additional federal judgeships.
76. Increase authorization for Commission on International Rules of Judicial Procedure.
77. Strengthen laws against organized crime.

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78. Reimburse citizens for certain World War II property damage.
79. Authorize civilian achievement awards.
80. Simplify congressional appropriation procedures for continuing programs.
81. Authorize item veto for appropriation bills.
82. Extend appropriation control over use of foreign currencies by government agencies.
83. Establish revolving fund for certain business-type activities: REA; Farmers Home Administration; Bonneville Power Administration; Southeastern Power Administration; Southwestern Power Administration; Bureau of Reclamation; and Veterans Administration loan guaranty program.
84. Revise and extend coverage of Government Control Act.
85. Remove time limitation from Reorganization Act.

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[February 18, 1960]

Minutes of the Senate Democratic Conference, Thursday, February 18, 1960, Room 1114, New Senate Office Building.

Chairman Johnson opened the meeting and a check disclosed the presence of the Senators on the attached roll call.

Senator Clark was recognized and said that he wanted to present a point of view on the budget. He said that he was somewhat skeptical as to whether the \$4.2 billion budget surplus forecast by President Eisenhower "is real or not." "But under the circumstances," he continued, "I have a feeling that we Democrats must be fiscally responsible. We cannot be the party of irresponsible spenders."

Senator Clark said that he thought there were two steps that might be taken to insure ample revenue. They were:

1. Enact legislation to increase the number of revenue agents because each agent managed to bring in much more tax money than he cost the government.
2. Require tax deduction at the source of income on dividends.

He asked whether Chairman Johnson would be willing to discuss these matters with Chairman [Wilbur] Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Chairman Johnson replied that he rarely dealt directly with Chairman Mills. Senate members of the Finance Committee, he said, "would think I am trying to go around them and the House leadership might resent my going directly to the Committee Chairman." He said he would raise the question with the leadership of the House and he recommended that members of the Senate who were interested in these matters should discuss them before the appropriate subcommittees.

Senator Monroney said that he thought one step toward fiscal responsibility would be to “lower the boom on high level bureaucracy” during the consideration of appropriation bills during this session.

Chairman Johnson replied that he thought this “extremely desirable and a must.” He said that he had asked members of the Senate Appropriations Committee “when considering the appropriation bills, to squeeze all the water out—particularly jobs.” He recommended that each Senator serving on a legislative committee make recommendations to the appropriate appropriations subcommittee as to how appropriation bills could be reduced.

Chairman Johnson then described a recent unpublicized meeting that the Congressional leadership had had at the White House with the President. The President had asked for support of his \$4.175 billion request for foreign aid.

Chairman Johnson said that Speaker Rayburn told the President that members of Congress had traveled through various countries and watched the operations of the foreign aid program at first hand. These members, the Speaker said, were concerned over poor administration of the foreign aid program. Chairman Johnson said the President became highly upset and said that this was frequently used as an excuse to vote against foreign aid. At that point, Chairman Johnson continued, Representative [John] Taber of New York, ranking Republican member of the House Appropriations Committee, broke in to say that the whole foreign aid program was a “boondoggle” anyway.

At that point Senator Symington, who had to leave the meeting, observed that the President “is acting like a spoiled child on defense.” Senator Symington said he would make a speech on the floor of the Senate the following day giving the facts on defense.

Senator Gore observed that “there is no way we can devise to outdo the Republicans in economy.” He said that there are economies that could be made and that he planned to vote for them.

“But there are also some expenditures for which we have got to fight to maintain the expanding economy we all believe in,” Senator Gore said. He said that if the Administration-directed cutbacks in the highway program continue, that this country will complete a highway program in 1972 or 1975 “that is equal to the problems of 1960.”

Senator McGee said that he does not think the Democrats “are getting across to the people in terms of the economic issues.” he said that he thinks that the Republicans have managed to portray themselves as economizers and that Americans will continue to believe that Democrats are spenders. Consequently, he said, he thinks that the Democrats in handling appropriations should “cut where we can but go ahead and write a program the people need.”

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Senators Proxmire and Douglas observed that one of the difficulties is that the Democrats always make their cuts in the Appropriations Committee. Then when the bill comes out on the floor, the Republicans offer “phony” cuts and thus manage to make an undeserved record for economy.

Senator Douglas said he thought it would be well to have the Appropriations Committee pass out the bills “in the form the Administration asks and then raise hell with them on the floor.”

Chairman Johnson said that it would not be possible to get Appropriations Committee members to agree to such a procedure. He referred to an article in Congressional Quarterly describing the Republicans as economizers and said that he thought that Senators should try to get the facts to the publication. Senators McGee and Gore said that the Democrats cannot win by trying to make themselves the economy party. Chairman Johnson replied that that was not the point—that the point was the necessity for handling each appropriations bill on its merits and cut wherever it could be done while increasing those items which should be increased. He said that this could be done, just as it has been done for every one of President Eisenhower’s budgets and still wind up with a net decrease.

Senator Pastore said he thought that some Democrats were “getting too despondent.” He pointed out that Congress has been won by the Democrats in the last three elections. He said that he thought Congress was won because Democrats got out and gave the people the facts and he thought that was still a winning formula.

Senator Clark asked whether an effort would be made to try to override an anticipated veto of the water pollution bill. Chairman Johnson replied that he thought that should be evaluated by individual Democrats and that “I will do whatever the Democrats want done.”

Senator Clark expressed the hope that there will be an effort to override the anticipated veto.

There was some further discussion of the Congressional Quarterly article and Chairman Johnson said he thought that Senators Douglas and Proxmire should sit down with Nelson Poynter, publisher of the magazine, and explain the facts.

Senator Engle interjected that the Democrats won the fight on economy last year “and we can win it again if we just talk about it enough.”

Senator Douglas reviewed the appearance of Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson before the Joint Economic Committee on the preceding day. He said he had asked Secretary Anderson for “letters of intent” that the Treasury would make reforms in some of its financial operations and the Secretary had declined.

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“Your conclusion then is that we should stand firm on the 4¼% ceiling,” Chairman Johnson asked, with reference to the Administration’s request to repeal the 4¼% ceiling on interest rates on long-term government bonds.

“Yes,” Senator Douglas replied.

Chairman Johnson asked whether there was any further business to come before the Conference, and upon receiving a negative response, the Conference was adjourned at 10:54 A.M., subject to the call of the chair.

Conference  
February 18, 1960

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Anderson
- ✓ Bartlett
- Bible
- Byrd, Va.
- Byrd, W.Va.
- Cannon
- Carroll
- Chavez
- ✓ Church
- ✓ Clark
- Dodd
- ✓ Douglas
- Eastland
- Ellender
- ✓ Engle
- Ervin
- ✓ Frear
- Fulbright
- ✓ Gore
- ✓ Green
- ✓ Gruening
- ✓ Hart
- Hartke
- ✓ Hayden
- Hennings
- Hill
- Holland
- Humphrey
- Jackson
- ✓ Johnson, Tex.
- Johnston, S.C.
- Jordan

[PRESENT]

- Kefauver
- Kennedy
- Kerr
- Lauche
- ✓ Long, Hawaii
- Long, La.
- Magnuson
- ✓ Mansfield
- McCarthy
- McClellan
- ✓ McGee
- ✓ McNamara
- ✓ Monroney
- Morse
- ✓ Moss
- Murray
- ✓ Muskie
- Neuberger
- O’Mahoney
- ✓ Pastore
- ✓ Proxmire
- Randolph
- Robertson
- Russell
- Smathers
- Sparkman
- Stennis
- ✓ Symington
- Talmadge
- Thurmond
- ✓ Williams, N.J.
- Yarborough
- ✓ Young, Ohio





## **Eighty-seventh Congress (1961–1963)**

[Editor's Note: At the same time that two members of the Democratic Conference, Senators John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, were elected president and vice president of the United States in November 1960, Democrats retained a majority of 64 to 36 in the Senate. After eight years of a Republican presidency, the Kennedy administration came to Washington with an ambitious legislative program. However, the chairs of the congressional committees were generally more conservative than the administration and skeptical of many of the president's proposals. Among the first issues before the Democratic Conference was the role of the former majority leader, Lyndon B. Johnson. His successor, Mike Mansfield, proposed that Johnson as vice president preside over Conference meetings, causing several members to object on the grounds that it would violate the separation of powers.]

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[January 3, 1961]

Minutes of the Democratic Conference, Tuesday, January 3, 1961.<sup>1</sup>

The meeting was convened in the New Senate Office Building, Room 1114, at 9:45 A.M., with Senator Johnson in the chair. The roll was called and it was ascertained that a quorum was present.

The first order of business was the question of nominations for the position of Majority Leader. Mr. Mansfield was nominated by Mr. Hayden and the nomination was seconded by Messrs. Pastore, Russell, and Metcalf. After Mr. Chavez moved the close of nominations, Mr. Mansfield was elected Majority Leader by acclamation.

Mr. McNamara placed in nomination the name of Mr. Humphrey for the position of Majority Whip. The nomination was seconded by Messrs. Kerr, Dodd, and Gore. Mr. Humphrey was elected by acclamation.

Mr. Holland nominated Mr. Smathers as Secretary of the Conference. The nomination was seconded by Symington and Magnuson. Mr. Smathers was elected by acclamation.

Messrs. Felton Johnston, Duke, Baker, and Dr. Harris were selected without objection for continuance in their present posts in the Sen-

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<sup>1</sup> These minutes of the January 3, 1961 meeting were included with the set obtained from the National Archives. Another version of these minutes (perhaps an earlier draft) was obtained from the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. The differences between the two versions are minor (e.g., referring to each individual as "Senator," rather than "Mr." as it appears here).

JANUARY 3, 1961

ate. Messrs. Mansfield, Humphrey, and Smathers made speeches of acceptance.

Mr. Mansfield proposed that the Vice President-elect preside over future Conferences in the tradition of Barkley and others—such Conferences to be called at the direction of the Majority Leader by the Secretary for the Majority. Questions as to this procedure were raised initially by Mr. Clark, and Mr. Gore on several points as follows:

1. That the Majority Leader should not yield or be permitted to yield his prerogatives and responsibilities.
2. That the Vice President should not place the Majority Leader in this position partially because of a probable unfavorable press reaction.
3. That the suggestion raised questions as to the principle of separation of powers.
4. That a precedent might be established which would haunt future Conferences.

Mr. Mansfield stated that the proposal was in no way intended to suggest that he was sharing either the responsibility or the authority under the proposal but rather recognition. Mr. Hayden contended that the proposal did not differ from the procedure which was followed when Mr. Barkley was Vice President. Messrs. Anderson and Chavez disagreed with Mr. Hayden. Various Senators entered into the debate, including Messrs. Morse, Kerr, Lausche, Dodd, Humphrey, Douglas, Hart, Monroney, and Russell. Mr. Carroll suggested that a possible compromise would be to extend the Vice President an open invitation to attend the meetings of the Conference rather than designate him as Chairman of the Conference.

Mr. Holland propounded an inquiry as to whether or not there were written rules governing the Conference. The Secretary for the Majority reported that there were none, each Conference determining its own rule.

Mr. Mansfield emphasized that the proposal was his alone, not that of the Vice President-elect, and he regretted any embarrassment which may have been caused him. He noted that he had discussed the matter with the new Majority Whip and the new Secretary of the Conference and had their concurrence in making the proposal. Mr. Holland suggested a substitute resolution for that offered by the Majority Leader which read (as amended) as follows:

That the Majority Leader be authorized to invite the Vice President to attend all Conferences and Caucuses of the Party and that the Majority Leader is further authorized to request the Vice President, as presiding officer of the Senate, the President

Pro-Tempore, or any other Democratic Senator to preside in the Conference.

A vote was first taken on Mr. Kefauver's motion to postpone the question for a week. On this vote there were 18 yeas and 45 nays and the motion was not carried. The Holland motion was then put to a vote. On this vote there were 46 yeas and 17 nays and so the motion was agreed to.

In response to a question by Mr. Gore, Mr. Mansfield made clear that the Vice President would be consulted and his participation, without a vote, in meetings of the Policy and Steering Committees, might be sought, but that he would not preside over either of these Committees.

A resolution was then introduced by Mr. Gore:

It is hereby resolved that future vacancies on the Policy Committee and the Steering Committee be filled through election by the Conference of Democratic Senators.

Opposition to this resolution was offered by Messrs. Kerr, Symington, and Mr. McClellan.

Inasmuch as the hour for the opening of the Senate was approaching the Conference decided to postpone discussion of the Gore resolution until the following day. It then elected Senator Hayden as President Pro-Tempore whereupon the Conference recessed until 10:00 Wednesday, January 4.

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[The following text of remarks delivered by Vice President-elect Johnson at the January 3, 1961 Conference was obtained from the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.]

My friends and fellow Democrats:

We have reached the end of a long road and within a few short days will embark on new, and I believe challenging, paths.

For six years, this country has lived under divided government. Our Party has exercised control over the Legislative Branch of the government and the Republican Party has exercised control over the Executive.

It is not my intention to indulge in any lengthy post mortem. That era was ended by the voters in November and we have returned to the more normal historic way of conducting the affairs of the United States.

The Federal Government in its two political branches has now become the basic responsibility of one political party.

In passing, I want to note only my belief that this is due to the fact that the men who are in this room faced this period of divided government with a high sense of responsibility. We went through those years determined to subordinate partisan feelings to the national interest in making our government work. The voters concluded that the same sense of responsibility which characterized the Democrats in Congress would serve them well on the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue.

JANUARY 3, 1961

Eight years ago you accorded me the honor of the Senate Democratic Leadership. In all my life, I do not believe there has been any position which has led me to more rewarding friendships.

Throughout those eight years, you have accorded me understanding and a sympathetic consideration of my problems. Without that understanding and consideration, it would not have been possible for the Democratic Senators to have accomplished what has been accomplished. I am very proud of my colleagues. Through a very trying period in American history, you conducted yourselves in such a way that the American people were proud of us and registered that pride in four separate elections.

I would like to quote something that I said on the day that you first elected me Leader—January 2, 1953:

Working together, I think we can do more than merely preserve the gains of the past 20 years. I think we can go forward with a positive program—a program that is pro-American and not just anti-Republican. And if we go forward as positive Americans—and not as negative oppositionists—I am convinced that the time is not too far distant when the Democratic Party will again be in the majority.

We are now in the majority at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. The period of divided government has ended. We are about to step off into a new age. It gives every evidence of being an exciting age—one in which problems are great and achievements will be equally great.

The conditions which prevailed and which governed our deliberations during the past eight years have ended. We now have a President of our own Party—a man who is dedicated to the proposition of cooperation between the Legislative and the Executive Branches of the government.

The Senate, of course, will retain its traditional status of independence in our government. It is a body which will not subordinate itself to the desires of another agency.

But it is also a body which can cooperate on an equal footing. We will have a President who truly represents the great mass of the Democratic Party and I believe we will go forward shoulder to shoulder.

I am not going to seek to lay down any legislative program. Very shortly, I will no longer be a member of this Senate. I will be in a new relationship—one in which I firmly intend to continue all of my friendships.

Because of technical requirements in the Texas law, it is my intention to take the oath of office for my new term and then to resign immediately after taking that oath. I have to clear the way for my successor as rapidly as possible.

Under any circumstances, I would not be sitting in this Senate for the greater portion of this Congress.

Therefore, I do not want to be placed in an ambiguous position by participating in two weeks of deliberations and then leaving the Floor to become the presiding officer.

I believe that the Senate should resolve any issues that are before it during those two weeks without my intervention.

It is not altogether enjoyable to step down from a Senate seat, but I will be with you physically and I am looking forward in the years that lie ahead to maintaining the most important friendships that I have made in my entire life.

The man who will succeed me as the Leader will confront a totally new set of problems. I know you will give him the same cooperation that you

gave me and I will always watch the activities of this body with a deep sense of pride that I was once one of its members.

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[January 4, 1961]

Minutes of the Democratic Conference, Wednesday, January 4, 1961.

The Conference was called to order at 10:10 A.M. in Room 1114, New Senate Office Building. The Majority Leader, Mr. Mansfield, was in the chair.

The pending question was the motion of Mr. Gore pertaining to the election of the Policy and Steering Committees. Mr. Gore continued his explanation of the previous day. His principal contention was that the election of the two committees was essential to Democratic concepts. He pointed out that the committees were not effectively representative in terms of population. He argued further that the committees were not the prerogative of the leadership and that the comparable Ways and Means Committee in the House was an elected body. Mr. Carroll generally concurred in these views.

Mr. Pastore questioned the efficacy of an elective system for the two committees arguing that if there were difficulties in the present system, they lay in the way appointments had been made, not in the system itself. To go to an elective system, he said, involved the dangers of cliquism and politicking. Mr. Chavez generally concurred with this view and also pointed out that Mr. Gore misinterpreted the Senate when he spoke of it in terms of a representative body on the basis of population. He pointed out that this representation occurred in the House but that the Senate rested on a different premise of representation.

In defense of previous appointments, the Majority Leader noted that Mr. Johnson had inherited the make-up the of the Policy Committee and had appointed only one Member, Mr. Murray, at the suggestion of Mr. Douglas, Mr. Humphrey, & others. He expressed his own view that geographic and philosophic viewpoints should be expressed in the committees' make-ups but that the Leader had to have time to deal with this problem. If he did not produce results, he said, then what would be needed would be a new Leader.

Mr. Holland said that the Steering Committee had been fair and equitable in its distribution of seats regardless of the composition and that the approval of the Gore resolution would be tantamount to [a] vote of no-confidence in the newly-elected Leader or, in any event, would be so interpreted. He expressed his full confidence in the Leader and said he would be opposed to doing anything which would appear to strike at his prerogatives.

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Mr. Gore, nevertheless, insisted that the prerogative belonged to the Conference and not to the Leader and that his resolution should not be interpreted as a criticism of Mr. Mansfield for whom he had voted. The problem he brought up, he pointed out, was not a new one, but it had been presented in previous Conferences because it represented an intolerable situation. Mr. Anderson generally endorsed this view.

Mr. Robertson noted that any geographic unbalance in the Steering Committee was due to the fact that only in recent years have Democratic Senators in any numbers been added from the Midwest and Eastern regions. He did not interpret the motion so much as a repudiation of the Leadership as an effort to take away power from it and to attack the seniority system.

Mr. Lausche noted that Mr. Johnson's appointments had been fair in the sense of geographic and philosophic representation.

Whereupon Mr. Muskie suggested a formula in behalf of himself and Mr. McClellan which would express the sense of the Conference that the Majority Leader make appointments on the basis of a fair geographic and philosophic representation subject to Conference confirmation.

Mr. Mansfield hoped that the sense of the resolution would be taken for granted as far as he was concerned and that the formula would be acceptable.

In the light of the Leader's response, Mr. Muskie said that a formal vote on the formula was not essential and that he was prepared to accept the assurances of the Majority Leader on this point.

Mr. Gore was in agreement with the formula with the understanding that it did not prevent any Senator from making nominations from the floor, a right which Mr. Mansfield said was inherent in any Senator.

Mr. Kerr suggested that it would be desirable to avoid an actual vote because of possible press misinterpretation.

At this point, Mr. Symington interjected a different subject, listing two major points:

1. The need for a better system of informing members of what was the business of the day on the floor.
2. The question of the equity of committee assignments which he felt would become so acute by 1963 that virtually a majority of the members would be strong for the election of both chairman and members of committees by the Conference.

Mr. Clark urged that members of the Calendar Committee should not be added to the Policy Committee but rather that the latter Committee should be expanded and the membership drawn from the general body of senators. He urged further that the membership of

the Steering Committee should be expanded in order to make it more representative.

Returning to the original Gore resolution, it and the formula suggested by Mr. Muskie were superseded by a resolution introduced by the Majority Leader himself which reads as follows:

RESOLVED, That the Majority Leader, after consultation with the President Pro Tempore, the Majority Whip, and the Secretary of the Democratic Conferences, shall make appointments to fill present and future vacancies in the Policy and Steering Committees in such fashion as to make both committees as representative as possible of the geographic and philosophic composition of the Democratic Conference and that they should be subject to confirmation by the Conference.

The resolution submitted by the Majority Leader was adopted by a voice vote.

Senator Gore asked the Majority Leader to restate the understanding that any Member of the Conference could propose nominations from the floor. The Leader so stated, noting that again this was in accord with precedents and a right inherent in every Member.

Mr. Proxmire then introduced a resolution calling for periodic Caucuses in view of the new Administration and hence the new responsibilities of the party. He asked for direct reports to the members of the leadership on their meetings with President Kennedy. Mr. Proxmire offered to accept the assurances of the leadership on this point in lieu of an actual vote on his resolution and such assurances were given to him by the Leader.

Mr. Pastore introduced a resolution which was passed by a voice vote which reads as follows:

That the Steering Committee be and the same is authorized to assign Democratic senators to standing committees and to report said assignments to the Senate.

Whereupon the Conference recessed at 12:58 until 10:00 A.M., Thursday, January 5, 1961.

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[January 5, 1961]

Minutes of the Democratic Conference, Thursday, January 5, 1961.

The Conference was called to order at 10:10 A.M. in Room 1114, New Senate Office Building. The Majority Leader, Mr. Mansfield, was in the chair.

Mr. Long offered a resolution which he said was directed not at the seniority system, but rather at its abuse in connection with House-Senate Conferences. He related in this connection several instances



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of personal experiences which he felt illustrated the abuse. The position of Mr. Long was endorsed by Mr. Pastore.

In response to a comment by the Majority Leader, Mr. Long noted that he was not advocating that appointments of conferees should not normally come from members of the committees. Mr. Clark offered the observation that many conferees in the past had been appointed although not members of the pertinent committees. Mr. Yarborough strongly endorsed the position of Mr. Long.

Mr. Mansfield, in general, expressed his view that there was merit in the proposal of Mr. Long and asked, however, that he be permitted to consult with the committee chairmen to see what could be developed along the lines of Mr. Long's suggestion.

The text of Mr. Long's resolution was as follows:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Caucus that the author of any major controversial amendment in conference between the Senate and the House of Representatives is entitled to be considered in the appointment [and] election of conferees by the Senate, and that, if there is only one significant amendment in conference, then the author of the Senate amendment is entitled to expect the support of the Leadership and other Democratic Senators in the election of conferees on behalf of the Senate.

Furthermore, the majority of the conferees should be Senators who voted for the Senate position on the matters in controversy, both in the committee considering the legislation and on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. Magnuson pointed out that it would be most difficult to apply Mr. Long's concepts in Appropriations Committee conferences, a difficulty which Mr. Long readily acknowledged.

Mr. Gore felt that there were only a very few instances in which senators on conferences did not represent the position of the Senate. He suggested that the resolution might merely reassert the proposal that conferees should represent the Senate.

Mr. Mansfield gave his assurances to Mr. Long that he would take up the proposal with the Chairmen of the several committees and report back to the Senator about the Conferences. Mr. Long accepted these assurances and the resolution was not voted upon.

Mr. Kerr suggested the absence of a quorum and it was ascertained that a quorum was present.

Mr. Clark indicated that he desired to bring up a series of proposals on Rules changes but that he would defer these proposals until 10:00 A.M., Tuesday, January 10, with the understanding that if a quorum was not present by 10:15 A.M. on that day, the Conference would not convene.

Whereupon the Conference recessed at 10:50 A.M., until 10:00 A.M., Tuesday, January 10, 1961.

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[January 10, 1961]

Minutes of the Democratic Conference, Tuesday, January 10, 1961.

The Conference was called to order at 10:05 A.M. A quorum responded to the call of the roll.

The Leader announced his nominations for appointment to the Steering Committee as Senators Dodd, Williams, and Clark. The Conference confirmed these nominations.

The Chairman announced his appointment of Mr. Muskie to the Calendar Committee to supplement the three senators remaining in that group (Bartlett, Engle, and Hart). At the request of Mr. Clark the Chairman asserted that it was his wish that members of the Calendar Committee should participate fully in the work of the Policy Committee and vote with the latter group. A discussion ensued as to whether or not by law members of the Calendar Committee could, in fact, vote in the Policy Committee.

Mr. Kerr noted that the number of members of the Policy Committee was fixed by law at 7. Mr. Clark said that he had studied the problem fully and was persuaded that since the Policy Committee had been provided through an Appropriations Act, there was no legal question as to the right of the Democratic Conference to alter its voting membership.

The Chairman called to the attention of the Conference his experience as a member of the Policy Committee, pointing out that there had never been, insofar as he had been aware, any formal voting in that group; that there had been discussion, opposition to the position taken by the Leadership on the part of individual members, reservations on the part of such members but never an actual vote.

The specific provision in the law was read by the Chairman and it was his interpretation that if matters were actually put to a vote in the Policy Committee, then, indeed, legally only 7 members could vote.

Mr. Lausche at this point introduced another subject, that of geographic and philosophic representation on the Steering Committee. Mr. Mansfield noted that efforts had been made to correct the imbalance but that the Midwest still was not sufficiently represented and he assured the Conference that the next vacancies would go to the senators from that region. In this connection Mr. Mansfield noted for the record that 3 members of the Steering Committee from the South had offered to resign in order to permit them to re[d]ress any geographical imbalance but that he had refused the offer.

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Returning to the subject of the Policy Committee, discussion continued on the legality of increasing the voting representation. Mr. Anderson suggested that the law limiting the membership of the Policy Committee to 7 should be changed.

Mr. Holland expressed agreement with the position of Senator Clark that the Conference did have the authority to designate additional Senators to formulate policy without legislation. He suggested a resolution empowering the Leadership to designate new members.

Mr. Kerr said he had no objection to bringing in Calendar Committee members except in connection with the assertion of their right to vote in the Policy Committee. Mr. Mansfield said he was inclined to agree with Mr. Kerr's understanding of the law. He noted, however, that the historic experience had been to add additional members and expressed the view that he wanted to abide by the law and, therefore, would bring in additional members, but if there were a vote, which there had not been in the past, the members of the Calendar Committee, as well as the Secretary of the Conference and the Whip—*ex officio* members—would not be permitted to vote.

Mr. Ellender and Mr. Pastore asserted that consideration should be given to changes in the law. Mr. Russell agreed with the position of Mr. Ellender and described the historical evolution of the committee since 1947. At that time it had 7 members. Subsequently the Whip and the Secretary of the Conference were added *ex officio* and subsequently the members of the Calendar Committee alternated two at a time in attending meetings of the Policy Committee.

Mr. Mansfield expressed the view that the invocation introduced had been in the right direction and requested Senator Clark not to press the motion to formalize any increase in the membership. Mr. Clark then withdrew his motion to that effect.

At this point, Mr. Kerr moved the designation of Mr. Muskie as a member of the Calendar Committee to be added to the hold-over members, which motion was approved.

Mr. Anderson then raised the question of the absence of rules or guides under which the Calendar Committee operates. Mr. Mansfield agreed that such was the case but that the committee had been most scrupulous in observing measures on the consent calendar.

Mr. Anderson made clear that what he wanted was an agreement on what ought to and ought not to go on the Calendar. He noted that there was \$1 million limitation on consent-calendar bills in the House but not a comparable limitation in the Senate.

Mr. Lausche then served notice that he would advise the Calendar Committee that *ipso facto* he would object to any item over \$1 million.

Mr. Clark asked for a statement from the Leader on his view on what the Policy Committee should be. Mr. Mansfield expressed his intention of carrying on as in the past few years with the Policy Committee serving primarily to guide the traffic of legislation. He reminded the senators of the change in administration, which he interpreted as meaning that the President would be laying down the policy for all Democrats to try to further a situation quite different than it had been in the past.

A communication from the President-Elect on his cabinet designations was read by the secretary. The President expressed the hope that hearings on his nominations would be expedited. Mr. Mansfield asked all chairmen of committees involved if they would begin hearings. He expressed the hope that the reports on the nominations would be available for action at inauguration time and that he had discussed the matters with Mr. Morse, bearing in mind the latter's opposition to a similar effort to expedite Mr. Eisenhower's appointment at an earlier time.

Mr. Morse said that if the nominations were offered on inauguration day and then taken up the next day or thereafter, it would be quite agreeable with him.

Mr. Mansfield said that if necessary, the Senate would go back into session immediately after the swearing-in of the new President if it were necessary in order to receive the nominations and hold them over until the day following, at which point he hoped they would be voted upon.

Mr. Clark then brought up certain proposed changes in the rules. The first dealt with the appointment of conferees and the discussion followed similar lines as on the suggestion offered by Senator Long several days prior. Mr. Clark said the time to bring up this and other rules changes was at the present time because of the "absolute impossibility of getting changes later."

Mr. Fulbright, Mr. Anderson and others discussed the difficulties in any rule seeking to insure that the Senate's position on any measure would be fully and adequately represented in any conference.

Mr. Russell noted that a majority of the Senate can always control the conferees and that the majority of the Senate can elect the conferees. Mr. Russell designated the role of conferees as representing the Senate's position regardless of the conferees' own feelings. He said that he, himself, had tried his best to perform this function even when not in sympathy with a particular position of the Senate and that on occasions he had refused to serve as a conferee if his conviction was such that he could not represent the Senate's position.

Mr. Clark's second proposal was aimed at eliminating the unanimous consent requirement to dispense with the reading of the jour-

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nal. His proposal was that the rule should provide that the journal should not be read unless the majority of the Senate required it. Mr. Anderson agreed fully with this position and said that this and a number of other archaic clauses in the rules should be the subject of consideration by the Rules Committee with a view to their elimination or modification.

None of Mr. Clark's proposals were put to a vote.

The Secretary of the Conference, being in the Chair at the time, informed the Conference of a scheduled meeting of the Steering Committee at 3:00 P.M., whereupon the Conference adjourned at 11:35 A.M.

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[February 27, 1961]

Meeting of the Senate Democratic Conference, Monday, February 27, 1961, 10:00 A.M., Room 1114, New Senate Office Building.

Those present were Senators: Blakley, Burdick, Byrd (W.Va.), Carroll, Chavez, Douglas, Eastland, Ellender, Hart, Hayden, Hill, Johnston, Kefauver, Kerr, Long (Mo.), Long (Ha.), Long (La.), Mansfield, McClellan, McGee, McNamara, Monroney, Neuberger, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Robertson, Russell, Smathers, Smith (Mass.), Sparkman, Stennis, Symington, Talmadge, Thurmond, Young (Ohio).

The meeting was convened in the New Senate Office Building, Room 1114, at 10:10 A.M., with Vice President Johnson in the Chair.

The Vice President recognized the Majority leader who advised the Conference that the Leadership had attended four or five meetings at the White House to discuss legislative matters. The Majority Leader stated that "these meetings have been most cordial and most helpful." He said, "the President has made suggestions but he wanted the Conference to know that the President and Vice President know the line of demarcation between the Legislative and Executive branches of the Government."

Senator Mansfield advised the Conference that the President is very hopeful that the Depressed Areas Bill will be passed expeditiously. He said he thought it would be possible for the Senate to consider this legislation next week.

The Majority Leader then read to the Conference the sixteen "Must Bills" which the President has indicated to the legislative leaders that he is most desirous of quick passage.

Senator Mansfield, in his statement to the Conference, advised members that some members of the press will try to make a scapegoat out of the Congress for its slow pace in passing the President's program. The Majority Leader informed the Conference that the

President had only been in office five weeks, and thus far the Senate had confirmed 14,000 Executive appointments, and passed 65 bills. He stated that this is twice as much as the Republican administration had accomplished when President Eisenhower took office. He stated that he hoped this Congress would judge bills on quality and not quantity.

The Majority Leader advised the Conference of the luncheon with the respective committee chairmen. He declared that it was a very fruitful meeting. He was pleased to announce the Chairmen's desire of reporting the President's program.

The Majority Leader asked all members of the Conference to be diligent in their attendance in their respective Committees. Senator Mansfield stated that Senator Long's (La.) suggestion on the selection of conferees was discussed at the meeting of the committee chairmen. He expressed the hope that all Senators will be treated alike; he informed the Conference that the committee chairmen would consider Senator Long's recommendations.

When Chairman Mansfield finished his statement, he asked Senator George Smathers to report his observations on the White House conferences. Senator Smathers reported that the meetings were informal and pleasant but extremely stimulating. He stated that the President was keenly aware of the wishes and whims of the Senate. Senator Smathers stated that we are fortunate to have a President and Vice President who understand our problems. He said that the President has vigorously defended the Congress, but he would like to have his proposals voted upon. He concluded by saying that the President was satisfied with the Congress.

Senator Mansfield interrupted to state that the President is and will be a great President, and he needs the support of all members of the Conference.

Senator Mansfield announced that when major legislation is reported he will have a Policy Meeting to schedule legislation as quickly as possible.

Senator Kerr was recognized by the Vice President. He made references to Senator Mansfield's previous statement to the press that a July 31st adjournment is hoped for. Senator Mansfield interrupted Senator Kerr and said that the matter would be up to the Congress.

Senator McGee expressed his hope that the Congress would adjourn during July or August so that the members could be with their families. Senator Robertson also joined the discussion.

Senator Mansfield asked Senator Eastland when the Judgeship Bill would be reported. Senator Eastland expressed his hope that the Bill would be reported sometime this week. Senator Pastore asked if additional judges would be considered. Senator Eastland stated that the bill would be reported with amendments.

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Senator Mansfield reported that Senator McNamara and Senator Morse would work diligently on the Minimum Wage and Education Bills in the next two weeks.

At this point Senator Mansfield asked Senator Robertson if the Depressed Areas Bill could be finished this week. Senator Robertson reported that it should be reported by the middle of next week.

Senator Long of Hawaii asked Senator Mansfield if the Congress would have an Easter recess. Senator Mansfield stated: "We will recess from Thursday until Monday."

Senator McNamara advised the Conference that his Minimum Wage Subcommittee would only call witnesses covered by the bill.

Senator Ellender reminded the Majority Leader that he did not mention the Feed-Grain Bill. Senator Ellender advised the Conference that it is his hope that this Bill will be drafted by the Agriculture Committee by Wednesday of this week. He stated that there was considerable opposition to the bill, and expressed his hope that the committee would report a bill.

Vice President Johnson asked if there were further statements or questions. Inasmuch as there were none forthcoming, the meeting was adjourned at 10:35 A.M.

[Attachment]

The President's program:

- 1) *Federal Unemployment Insurance Extension*: ordered reported in House and set for debate on Wednesday; Senate Finance Committee will consider it as soon as it is received from the House.
- 2) *Aid to dependent children*: House has held hearings and is meeting today (committee) in executive session on the bill.
- 3) OASDI Improvements: House bill introduced. House must act first. Nothing scheduled yet.
- 4) *Area Redevelopment*: hearings may be concluded on Tuesday by Senator Douglas' subcommittee.
- 5) Feed Grain program: ordered reported in House; Senate hearings concluded but final committee action delayed, pending developments in House.
- 6) *Minimum Wage*: hearings set for Feb. 28 through March 3 on Senate side; House committee executive session set for today after sessions on Feb. 23 and 24. Repub. have 53 witnesses!
- 7) Federal aid to education: hearings set for March 6 in Senate. Morse.
- 8) Health care for the aged: Bills introduced in both House and Senate. Hearings not yet scheduled.
- 9) *College aid bill*: \$300 million, 5-year program for classroom construction. S. 1021, Senate Labor hearings scheduled for March 6.
- 10) Aid to medical education and research: S. 1072 introduced—nothing scheduled at present.
- 11) Community health facilities bill: S. 1071 introduced—hearings to be scheduled.

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- 12) Reorganization Act extension: Passed Senate February 6. House hearings 2–28.
- 13) OECD Treaty: Hearings concluded—executive consideration this week.
- 14) Federal judgeships: Legislation introduced S. 912, Senate Judiciary meeting tomorrow to decide action. Bring up today at Caucus.
- 15) Office of International Travel: passed Senate February 20.
- 16) Amendment of Battle Act: Draft in Senate Foreign Relations. Nothing scheduled at present.
- 17) Natural Resources: Message received February 23. No action scheduled at present in either Public Works or Interior Committees. Columbia River Treaty: to be considered by Foreign Relations March 8. Seashore parks: hearings in Senate Interior March 8 and 9.

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[Senator Mansfield's handwritten notes:]

4 or 5 meetings attended by \_\_\_\_\_  
Discuss legislative matters informally.  
Pres. makes suggestions; never demands but always understands.  
Pres. understands line between President and Congress.  
Vice Pres. understands line between President and Congress also.  
Interested in all proposals.

Depressed areas  
Minimum wage  
Medicare, etc.

I am *there* representing the Senate.  
I am *here* reporting to you as your liaison.  
The Press will endeavor to make a scapegoat of Congress.

The Calendar is clean.  
All chairmen are eager to start hearings.  
The Republicans will try to stall them.

Russell Long's proposal brought to attention of chairmen.  
We will do our best.

All Senators will be treated alike.  
We expect opposition from the Republicans; we want support from you—all of you.

There will be attempts to build up differences between some of you, between the V.Pres. and me, between the V.P. and the Pres.

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[February 7, 1962]

Minutes of the Democratic Conference, Wednesday, February 7, 1962.

At the meeting (informal Democratic Conference) today, the Chairman reported on the discussions at the Presidential breakfast with the Leaders on February 6, 1962, mentioning that among the matters discussed were the following:



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1. Urban Affairs.
2. Easter Recess.
3. House and Senate programs for the week.
4. The Education bill.

Subsequent to the Chairman's report, Senator Randolph raised the question of the inadequacy of clerical funds for some of the offices in view of the failure of the House to act on this prior to adjournment of the last session. The Chairman suggested that members who had this problem should take it up with Senator Stennis.

Senator Morse suggested two ways in which members up for reelection might be helped by their colleagues. One was lend-lease of help; the other was a more intense use of live pairs in order to permit campaigning members to spend more time in their states. Senator Sparkman underscored the desirability of the live pair technique and deplored the fact that it had fallen into relative disuse in recent years.

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Larry O'Brien said the following would be appropriate for discussion at the Conference.

At this particular Presidential breakfast the following matters were discussed:

1. Urban Affairs—The President expressed his great interest in this matter and he was most anxious to have it resolved promptly so that we could go forward from there. The President felt it was extremely important that this Department be set up because of its great meaning to more than 70% of the population of the country which is urbanized. He made clear that the manner in which the issue had developed certainly did not constitute a political plot on his part—it was just that the measure having been stymied in the Rules Committee in the House, he felt that he had to take the only course open to him. He made the point that the Civil Rights aspect of the question had not occurred to him but that he was more influenced by the pressure he had been feeling from urban officials and the great interest which mayors and other local officials had expressed to him in this matter. He felt that it was most desirable to have the matter disposed of forthwith.

2. The Conference discussed the Easter recess in general terms and there was a check-out on this insofar as both the House and Senate are involved.

3. The House Speaker reviewed matters coming up during the week in the House and among the items listed were: the Welfare and Pension Fund; certain legislation pertaining to manpower and Philippine War Claims. There was no discussion of these issues, simply a general listing.

4. There was a discussion of the Education Bill. The President advised the leaders that he was submitting a message on the question, emphasizing again and most forcefully his great concern for the passage of the general education bill. He dwelled on this at great length, making it clear that, despite the frustrations with this bill during the last session, he had not lost interest in the passage of this measure (the general education bill) and he was most certainly not giving up on it because it was essential for the nation's welfare and future.

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[March 13, 1962]

Minutes of the Democratic Conference Regarding Medical Care for the Aged, Tuesday, March 13, 1962, 2:30 P.M.

Senator Mansfield introduced Senator Anderson who then carried the principal discussion.

The substance of the meeting concerned party strategy in an effort to prevent a Javits-led Republican attempt to seize the initiative on Medical assistance for the aged. What was discussed was not how members were going to vote on this issue, but rather what might be the best procedural approach. Anderson noted that [Jacob K.] Javits intended at some point to tack his own Medical Care proposal on a tax bill of one kind or another coming over from the House.

The Javits proposal would have taxes collected through Social Security as under the President's proposal, but it would return them to the states which had set up some private insurance scheme within the state.

Anderson's question was should the Democrats generally offer the President's proposal (the Anderson-King Bill) as a substitute for the Javits measure or should they move to table the Javits proposal in expectation that at a later date the House Ways and Means Committee would have acted on the Anderson-King proposal.

Senator Anderson indicated that this would be the preferred procedural approach because of House sensitivity and rules, assuming, of course, that the House would act in due time on the Anderson-King Bill. He pointed out, however, that even if the House did not act, the Anderson-King Bill could still be brought up at a later date.

Discussion centered on which of these two approaches would be better. There was general agreement that the issue was immensely important in a political sense and that it was most important that whichever strategy was adopted, the Republicans should not be permitted to take over the issue. Anderson pointed out that the indicated time of action by the House Committee fit in well with the president's planned offensive to arouse popular interest in the issue. Senator Mansfield said that he would be prepared to table the Javits

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proposal if the general sentiment of the Senators was to wait for the House action or to act later on the King-Anderson Bill in the event the House did not act.

Discussion followed between Kerr and Anderson on the relative merits of the Javits and Anderson proposals, but then reverted to the principal issue of the meeting, which was the procedural question.

There was some feeling that the Anderson-King bill should be offered immediately as a substitute for the Javits proposal whenever that might be offered (Douglas, Magnuson, and others).

There was some talk about the possibility of holding up tax bills for several weeks to prevent the Javits proposal from being offered until the picture was clearer on the House side but this was generally felt to be impractical.

Senator Engle and Senator McGee and others stressed the need to give the Leadership procedural flexibility on the issue in order to adjust the approach to developments. Senator Mansfield summarized the results of the meeting by saying that it was his impression that by and large the membership would follow the Leadership on procedural [matters]. He was not contradicted. Senator Russell indicated that that would be his personal approach.

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[March 13, 1962]

Minutes of the Democratic Conference and Meeting with [Commerce] Secretary Luther Hodges, Tuesday, March 13, 1962, 3:30 P.M.

The first of the Cabinet officers meetings brought Secretary Hodges, Assistant Secretary Hickman Price, Jr. and Mr. Peter Jones of the Commerce Department to discuss the Trade Expansion Act.

Secretary Hodges, speaking for the Administration, said that he considered this act to be one of the most important in the current history of United States. He said that the United States had pretty much used up the trade negotiating authority granted it under the 1958 Reciprocal Trade Act during the recent Geneva negotiations. Rather than asking for a simple extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act, the Administration was, because of the recent economic developments in Europe, asking for an across the board tariff cutting power.

In response to a question by Senator Kerr, the Secretary said that France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, with a combined population of 170 million were now associated in the Common Market. The U.K. has applied for membership; Sweden, Switzerland, and Austria want association on an economic basis but not on a full political basis. Ireland, Norway, and Greece are also preparing for involvement in the Common Market. The na-

ture of the British Commonwealth Association is yet to be determined. All-told the gross national production of an economic unit containing all these nations would be \$840 billion, with a population of up to one billion. The President, in effect, is asking for the authority to face up to this immense challenge and opportunity. The pace of European economic integration is astonishingly rapid. Beginning with the Treaty of Rome in 1957, they have effected a 40% reduction in their internal tariffs. Their eventual goal, to be achieved within the next decade, is zero tariffs. On the other hand, their tariff wall raised against exports outside of the Common Market would be substantially increased. This compels the United States to take quick action in order to negotiate lower tariffs for American exports. Should this fail, for example, there would be zero tariff on automobiles produced within one European country for sale within another member country, while a 22% tariff would rest on United States automobiles. The President is asking for authority to reduce tariffs to zero in certain areas—particularly on the so-called “dominant supplier” list. This involves heavy machinery and automated equipment, such as computers. In this area it is felt that the United States’ position will be so superior to that of any other country that we could afford to eliminate our tariffs on such goods in order to gain corresponding concessions on other classes of goods. On most other exports, the President’s authority would be limited to a reduction of 50% of the tariff now levied against such goods. The President could not exempt anything on the escape-clause list.

Senator Long (La.) and Senator Kerr initiated a considerable discussion of the most favored nation categories. It appears that concessions granted to Common Market countries would also be granted to those nations with whom we have most-favored Common Market agreements. However, the protections written into our treaties with the Common Market would also carry over to our trade relations with most-favored nation countries. The Secretary expressed the belief that the Common Market countries would come to accept the same favored-nations areas we have. He discounted any immediate threat from the Japanese in the “dominant supplier” categories, because the Japanese do not now produce these goods in quantity. Senator Pastore asked what kind of safeguards we had in the event the Japanese did begin to produce these goods. The Secretary replied that the national security provision, the escape-clause provision, and the peril point provision would apply. He pointed out that the Japanese have in the last few years entered into 30 voluntary agreements to restrict their own exports. In addition, he called attention to the recent Geneva negotiations, where the United States was successful in obtaining agreements from the Common Market countries to step up their imports of Japanese textiles considerably. This, he thought, would reduce the pressure on us to take surplus Japanese textiles.

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A discussion of the American balance of payments problem ensued. The Secretary said that, while the Trade Expansion Act would not wipe out our balance of payments deficits, it would reduce it substantially by increasing our exports.

Senator Long (La.), Senator Russell, and Senator Kerr expressed misgivings about the effect of most-favored nations agreements.

The Secretary said that the Commerce Department would supply statistics to each Senator on the benefits his state derives from exports. Senator Muskie said he thought these statistics were pretty inaccurate. Senator Anderson agreed.

Senator Douglas complimented Assistant Secretary Price on striking a good bargain at Geneva on manufactured goods and textiles, but expressed concern over the resistance Europe is showing to imports of American wheat, feed grains, chickens, and coal. Secretary Hodges admitted that the Europeans were being very "sticky" about this and were extremely protective of their farm and mineral producers. Senator Douglas asked the Secretary whether we should not give the President power to increase tariffs, as well as to decrease them, so that he would have a stick, as well as a carrot, in dealing with the Europeans—that is, so that he could increase tariffs on certain goods in order to bargain more effectively on others. The Secretary replied that the President can, under the bill, raise tariffs 50% above the 1954 level on national security and escape-clause actions.

Replying to a question by Senator Kerr, the Secretary said that there had been 129 petitions for relief under the escape-clause provision in the last 10 years; that 35 had been approved by the Tariff Commission and that 13 had been finally approved by the President. Senator Kerr made the point that none or few of those finally approved carried the amount of relief recommended by the Tariff Commission. Senator Kerr said that he realized this bill would be of "tremendous significance to the United States" and would give it his most earnest attention in committee. He said that it would be imperative for the Administration to produce extensive and accurate data on the effect of the bill before the Finance Committee.

Secretary Hodges then discussed the trade assistance portion of the act, whereby government loans are made available to industries adversely affected by unemployment caused by foreign competition. He said that under the act an individual firm, hurt by foreign competition, could get assistance even if the industry of which it is a part had been denied tariff relief by the Tariff Commission. Senator Pell asked if assistance could not be provided to communities whose major industries have been hurt by foreign competition. The Secretary said that this had been considered but had been discarded as being too broad and too costly.

Senator Long (La.) said that he had certainly hoped to support this act, and would do so if he could satisfy various questions in his mind. He challenged the so-called “favorable balance of trade” because he said it was made up in part of soft currency sales from which we do not derive any economic benefit. The Secretary said that, considering exports as against imports, we do have a \$3 billion yearly favorable balance of trade; but that foreign aid and other operations give us an over-all deficit.

Senator McGee raised the question of social progress in other countries. He said that our trade policy may result merely in putting more money into the hands of the wealthy, without spreading of the economic benefit to the poor.

Secretary Hodges admitted that this might be a by-product of the bill.

Senator Magnuson asked to whom a hurt industry goes if this bill is enacted—to the Tariff Commission, to the White House, or to the Commerce Department? Secretary Hodges said the industry would go to the White House and that the White House would then ask the Commerce Department to handle this matter. In response to a further question, he said that he hoped the Commerce Department would play a significant role in negotiating tariff agreements and in assisting American industry to meet the challenges of the Common Market.

Secretary Hickman Price was then introduced, and he discussed several aspects of the successful Geneva meetings on textiles. He said that we had (1) compelled the EEC countries to increase their imports of oriental textiles, and (2) provided the United States with machinery whereby the level of imports of textiles in 1967 would actually be less than it was in 1960.

Senator Hickey asked Mr. Price about the wool situation—which he said was beyond question the “sickest” industry in the country. Mr. Price said that he believed a favorable report on this industry’s problem would be forthcoming by April 1.

Senator Gore asked Mr. Price if the Geneva textile agreements were official or merely advisory. Secretary Hodges said that oil was the one industry that had obtained relief under the national security clause.

Other Senators who expressed concern over various aspects of the program were Senator Ervin, who felt that a serious Constitutional question was raised by the bill in giving the President powers ordinarily reserved by the Congress; and Senator Muskie, who wondered whether the tariff free provision for certain “agricultural products and products thereof” would permit shoes to be brought to the United States duty free.

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The meeting then concluded.

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[May 2, 1962]

Minutes of the Democratic Conference, Wednesday, May 2, 1962.

Senator Mansfield opened the discussion with a brief report on the morning meeting between the Leadership and the President. This primarily concerned aspects of the Tax Bill and the remainder of the discussion centered on this matter.

*Withholding:*

The consensus was that this provision of the Tax Bill served as inspiration for the great bulk of current mail.

It was stated by a lot of members that the people were being told and often were under the impression that this constituted a new tax or was a tax on the savings capital itself and not just a tax on interest. There was a general feeling that since the refunding and exemption provisions prevented most hardship arising from the withholding, these features should be explained to the people.

Senator Muskie stated that the bill was easily misunderstood and through such misunderstanding was being opposed by the Democrats in his state. He felt that any chance for Democratic political victories in Maine would be destroyed by passage of the withholding feature. Many Senators agreed that this and other provisions of the bill had tremendous political implications.

Senator Fulbright indicated that the banks in his state would not vigorously oppose the measure.

Senator Young and Senator Humphrey also mentioned that many people in their respective states did oppose the withholding provisions.

Senator Kerr pointed out that if withholding could be applied to the Farmers Cooperative dividends it certainly should be applied to corporate dividends and interest.

Senator Douglas suggested that most of his mail had been inspired by the savings and loan institutions and that since these institutions were receiving preferred treatment under the bill he had asked them to stop their campaign. Most of the Senators felt that the mail campaign was largely the work of the savings and loan companies.

There was a discussion concerning the mechanics of the withholding provisions with various opinions expressed that the procedures were none too clear, and not well understood by the Senators themselves. The Senators generally felt that the program must be explained and sold to the public by the President. Senator Mansfield indicated that

the matter would be suggested to the President and possibly could be handled in a nationwide address.

*Regulated Investment Companies:*

Senator Kerr pointed out that there is presently great abuse of the tax laws practiced by certain Regulated Investment Companies who go through a sham paper transaction rather than distributing their earnings. This leads, the Senator believes, to substantial under-reporting by the stockholders. The possibility of a provision to correct this practice was mentioned.

*Investment Credit:*

Senator Kerr explained that the investment credit was tied into and constituted an essential part of the President's trade program under which the President hoped to assist American industry to modernize so as to be able to effectively compete against foreign competition at home and abroad. Senator Hickey stated that "out his way" the investment credit was vital if the Trade Bill was going to pass. Senator Kerr felt that if he voted for the Trade Bill he had to vote for investment credit. This opinion was echoed by others.

Senator Douglas stated that he was against the investment credit and preferred a 3-way tax cut including lower corporate rates generally, lower rates for small corporations, and the removal of certain excise taxes. Senator Douglas felt that the traditional Democratic philosophy was to build up consumer buying power from the bottom, not "down from the top."

Senator McNamara took the position that he could not vote for the credit because it was a "subsidy for automation," and was violently opposed by labor.

When asked by Senator Mansfield whether or not the tax bill would be reported out this year, no definite answer was given. Senator Douglas and Senator Kerr said that despite personal objections to various provisions, they felt the Senate was entitled to vote on the bill and, consequently, promised to make every effort to report the bill out of committee. Senator Fulbright also indicated he was in favor of the bill in its present form. Senator Hartke, however, stated that he had not made up his mind on the measure as yet. After further discussion, Senator Kerr said "if the four Democratic Senators on the Finance Committee, present in this room, will support it, we will report the bill out this year."

The meeting adjourned shortly thereafter.

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[June 6, 1962]

Minutes of the Democratic Conference, Wednesday, June 6, 1962,  
3:00 P.M.



JUNE 6, 1962

The Majority Leader opened the meeting with a report on his weekly conferences with the president, and described the President as being pleased that the Senate had adopted the Farm Program and his Public Works program. He expressed high hopes that the Foreign Aid Bill would get through in good shape.

The Majority Leader then spoke at some length about a fundamental leadership problem: the continued large-scale absences of Democratic Senators. He gave it as his opinion that the Senate, particularly the Democratic side of the Senate, was "looking ridiculous" because of these absences. He described today as a "good" day because there were only eleven Democrats absent; in the past weeks there have been as many as twenty-six. He recalled that he had sent out telegrams, talked to members personally, and done everything in his power to assure full attendance in the Senate when the President's major proposals were due to come up.

He recalled that on the Farm Bill, every Republican was present and voting, almost unanimously against the President's proposals; and that many provisions were almost lost because of Democratic absenteeism. The same situation prevailed on the Public Works Bill. "Had it not been for Senators Russell, Byrd, and other Southerners, we would certainly have lost a number of these votes." The Majority Leader said, "We in the leadership cannot force you to be here; but if you don't pay attention to your job, it will certainly reflect against you. Whether or not you consider yourselves tied to the President, you are; and if you fail in your responsibility to pass his program, both you and the Administration will suffer accordingly." The Majority Leader said that he understood the problems of those Senators up for reelection, who must get out to their home states to campaign. But he also said that he considered the first responsibility of even these Senators to be in attendance upon the Senate.

Senator Ellender asked for an estimate of adjournment. The Majority Leader said that if we were lucky we would be out by October 1; if we were very lucky by September 15.

Senator Anderson asked why the Senate could not go on and vote despite the absence of some of its members. The Majority Leader replied that our absentees are frequently pro-Administration men who would vote with the President, and whose votes are needed on many close questions.

Senator Church said that "those of us up for reelection this year simply cannot afford to be here on October 1. If we are forced to be here on that date we would do well to concede the election." The Majority Leader agreed with Senator Church but said that neither could we fail to take action upon the Administration's program. Senator Church replied that his state had never reelected a Democrat and that he must get out to Idaho far in advance of October 1.

Senator Ellender asked whether the Administration might not consider postponing some of the measures on its "must list," such as the Tax Bill. Senator Mansfield said that he did not think such major parts of the program could be postponed without shirking the Senate's responsibility.

The ensuing conversation was devoted almost entirely to the merits of the tax situation.

Senator Holland wondered whether [Treasury] Secretary [Douglas] Dillon's "tax cut" speech may have been a prelude to a major Tax Bill next year. Senator Muskie said that the Administration must surely know that the tax bill is in trouble. Senator Mansfield called attention to the recent proposals being advanced by the Administration, which will be the subject of new hearings in the Finance Committee, and which may relieve some of the difficulties now being experienced with the bill.

Chairman Byrd declared that this was the most contentious bill he had ever considered in his 29 years on the Finance Committee. He said that 50 more witnesses would be heard by the Committee on the most recent proposals. He said that the Committee's attention ought to be directed now to bills which must be enacted by June 30: corporate and excise tax renewal, the debt limit increase, and the Sugar Act. In addition, he said the committee would have to consider the Trade Bill very shortly. Senator Anderson said that there was no need for the Administration to complicate the Finance Committee's problems by introducing new and complicated tax proposals at this date. He said the foreign investment credit proposals cannot be understood without extensive new hearings which will delay the bill extraordinarily. Twenty-nine pages of new text have been offered in recent days by the Administration. Senator Anderson expressed the hope that the Administration would not insist on any new and very difficult proposals this year.

Senator Gore said there was of course much contention about the new tax bill, as there would be every time a move is made to close loopholes in the tax law. He said that he understood the Administration would make a new proposal on withholding that would remove some of the problems in that area. He indicated his opposition to some features of the trade bill. As for Secretary Dillon's suggestion of a tax cut by which the 20% bracket would be reduced to 18% and the 91% bracket to 62%, Senator Gore said that he could not conceive of a Republican Administration submitting such a proposal, as it would be immediately attacked as a "rich man's tax bill." He said the effect of the proposal would mean a 100% increase in take-home pay for a person making \$100,000 a year, and \$40 increase in take-home pay for the man making \$2,000 a year.

Senator Church questioned the wisdom of bringing the tax bill up this year. He said the tax credit would, in his understanding, benefit

JUNE 6, 1962

only a few companies; and he said his mail was unanimous in its opposition to the withholding proposal. He suggested that these proposals should be incorporated in a major bill next year with other tax equity proposals.

Senator Kerr replied that any [one] could get the tax credit benefit who invested in depreciable property, except plants and buildings. As to the budgetary cost of the Treasury \$1.25 billion, this would be offset, at least in part, by the withholding proposal which would bring in an estimated \$900 million in 1963 (he gave his own estimate of withholding revenue at \$1.5 billion). Senator Kerr said this money was owed to the Government and ought to be paid. He said that one of the members of the Finance Committee would offer an amendment providing that persons earning less than \$5,000 a year could file a certificate to that effect, in which case there would be no withholding against their dividends or interest. With that amendment there would be no penalty against small taxpayers, who have been foremost in complaining about this provision.

Senator Carroll said he thought this was a good amendment.

Chairman Byrd expressed disagreement with Senator Kerr. He said the Treasury admits that it collects on 92% of dividends now and he believes the Treasury's estimated loss in this area to be greatly exaggerated. He said there ought to be a revision of the information and reporting system for interest. In addition, he said the numbering system ought to be given a chance to work. He said the tax credit was to his mind no more than a subsidy, and a discriminatory one; he considers it a forerunner of a credit for plants and buildings.

Senator Hartke, the Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee, said that the Senate must get out reasonably soon. "Senators up for reelection face an almost impossible task in campaigning during a heavy session, and their task is made all the more difficult when the session runs late." Senator Mansfield agreed, but reiterated that the Senate Democrats are tied to the President and his program, and that the completion of that program is "essential to Democratic victory at the polls in November."

Senator Magnuson said that despite this, "come August 15 or September 1, men like Frank Church, Ernest Gruening and myself are going to be out of here and campaigning. I don't see any reason why we can't finish all the parts of the President's program except the tax proposal, and go after that next year."

Senator Gruening said that he could not support the tax bill in its present form, because he opposes dividend withholding; but he said he would support what he called "compulsory interest collection."

Senator Young said he thought this group should meet again soon to discuss the tax bill at greater length. Senator Mansfield called another meeting for 3 P.M. tomorrow, Thursday, June 7.

Senator Monroney suggested that we finish as much of the program as we can prior to the election, quit in a reasonable time for campaigning, and come back to the tax bill after the elections. Then, he said, we can vote the bill up or down whether we are lame ducks or have a new six-year lease.

Senator Pell said he would not want the meeting to be closed without expressing his full support of the tax bill as it is. He questioned the wisdom of the \$5,000 amendment, as a proposal to let the small chiselers go and catch only the large ones; but he indicated his full agreement with Senator Kerr on the matter. Senator Ellender said that in view of Secretary Dillon's speech yesterday, he believed the course of wisdom would be to postpone the consideration of any tax proposals until next year.

There being a roll call vote on the floor, the meeting was then adjourned.

Thirty-four Senators attended.

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[June 7, 1962]

Minutes of the Democratic Conference, Thursday, June 7, 1962.

#### SYNOPSIS OF DEMOCRATIC MEETING WITH THE LEADERSHIP

Another Democratic meeting was held at 3:30 P.M. on Thursday, June 7, in the Majority Leader's office. Again the discussion centered around problems with the tax bill. At different points in the meeting, Senators Robertson, Young, Gruening and Long (La.) made statements against the bill and suggested its postponement until the end of the session or until next year. Senators Kerr and Clark both indicated their support. Senator Douglas again stated he was for the withholding provision and against the investment credit. Many of the Senators present appeared to be convinced that the people still did not understand the bill thoroughly and felt, therefore, that the bill remained very dangerous politically.

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Senator Mansfield opened the meeting with a brief report on yesterday's meeting for the benefit of those Senators who had been absent. He again raised the question of absenteeism and pointed out that on one vote, 26 Democrats were absent. He reiterated how closely the Senators were tied individually and collectively to the Administration's program and he therefore hoped absenteeism would be kept to a minimum. He again stated that the President was pleased with certain aspects of the program's progress to date, and he lauded the

JUNE 7, 1962

support of the Southerners in getting the vital farm bill and public works bill passed.

The discussion then turned to the tax bill when Senator Gruening asked if there was any chance of bypassing it this session.

Senator Mansfield said all he could do was present the President's point of view to them. The final decision on the matter would be up to the President, he said, but he would certainly bring the views of all the Senators to the attention of the Chief Executive.

Senator Robertson said he thought the extension of the 52 per cent corporate tax bill and the excise tax bill should be acted upon immediately. He also thought the trade bill should be considered before the 1962 revenue bill is taken up. In his opinion, this measure should be delayed until the end of the session or until next year.

Senator Clark said the withholding provision was important and that he didn't think the loud opposition to it was a true expression of the feelings of the people. He said he would vote for it even though he was up for reelection.

Senator Kerr said he didn't believe there were enough votes in the committee to report the bill with the withholding provision left in. He also expressed doubts that it could be retained in a floor fight. However, he thought most of the committee felt the bill should be reported in some form. He added that he believed the committee would handle the corporate tax bill expeditiously.

Senator Kerr went on to point out that the public is still not well informed on the bill, citing several examples of misstatements and misrepresentations being circulated by large concerns interested in defeating it. He also said that savings and loan firms, which had bitterly opposed it, were having second thoughts and that many would now prefer to see the bill passed than to take a chance on what might happen next session.

Senator Kerr went on to say that many of the small taxpayers' fears could be eliminated by allowing persons under 65 who receive less than \$5,000 per year, and those who are over 65 with incomes of less than \$7,500, to file yearly exemption certificates. He indicated he would offer such amendment.

Senator Young disagreed with the thesis that all the mail against the withholding provision was pressure mail. He suggested that the provision be dropped and substituted with one requiring savings institutions to report the names of person receiving \$200, or even \$100, in interest or dividends.

Senator Kerr interjected that in the case of people having to wait too long before receiving a refund, the banks might handle these certificates as a service to their customers. He said the Franklin Bank of New York had already made plans to adopt this procedure

and he felt that others would follow suit. This, he said, would eliminate many of the worries which little people are having about the bill.

Senator Lausche again reminded the Senators that people still regard this as a new tax. “The public has not been truly acquainted with it,” he said.

Senator McGee said it was too late to make a decision not to report the bill—that too many Senators had already committed themselves to at least a floor vote.

Senator Long said the Republicans would have several good arguments against this measure. He said people will say that the big corporations were helped by depreciation allowances, etc., but that these losses had to be made up by taxing the little people. He claimed that a “firm 22 Democrats will vote against it and no more than 3 Republicans will support it.”

Senator Douglas opened his remarks by saying that he would call off his fight against the depletion allowance if some other inequities were reduced. The biggest inequity, he said, would result if the withholding provision were not enacted. If you knock out withholding, he stated, you won’t have anything to distribute as tax cuts. He reaffirmed his opposition to investment credit and suggested reducing the corporate tax and the small business tax and cutting out excise taxes.

Senator Russell asked what the revenue loss would be as a result of the revised Bulletin F. depreciation schedule.

Senator Douglas replied that without Bulletin F., the tax bill was in rough balance. With Bulletin F., he said, around \$1.2 billion would be lost but since this was depreciation, most of it would be recovered eventually. Senator Gore seconded this point by saying that the depreciation revenue was not totally lost, but rather deferred.

The meeting ended with the Majority Leader’s announcement that the vote on the Cotton Amendment would soon take place on the floor.

Thirty-seven Senators attended.



## **Eighty-eighth Congress (1963–1965)**

[Editor's Note: Contrary to historical patterns by which the majority party lost seats in nonpresidential election years, the 1962 elections gave Senate Democrats an additional 2 seats, increasing their margin to 66 to 34. Despite an ambitious legislative program and the passage of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the first session of the Eighty-eighth Congress was overshadowed by the resignation of Robert G. (Bobby) Baker, secretary to the majority, on October 7, 1963, on charges of financial misconduct, and by the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963 in Dallas, Texas. Elevated to the presidency, Lyndon B. Johnson pledged to carry out Kennedy's program, particularly the enactment of the most significant civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. During the second session, the House passed the Civil Rights bill on February 10, 1964, but the Senate became stalled in the longest filibuster of its history. Not until June 10 were enough votes found to invoke cloture, by a vote of 71 to 29. On June 19 the Senate passed the Civil Rights bill, 73 to 27.]

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[January 9, 1963]

Minutes of the Democratic Conference, Wednesday, January 9, 1963.

The meeting was convened in the New Senate Reception Room in the Capitol<sup>1</sup> by Vice President Johnson at 9:35 A.M.

The Vice President appointed Robert G. Baker as Acting Secretary for the Conference.

Mr. Baker called the roll, and it was ascertained that a quorum was present.

The Vice President then introduced Senator Mansfield who, in turn, introduced the new members of the Democratic Conference. They are as follows: Senators—Birch Bayh, Daniel Brewster, J. Howard Edmondson, Daniel Inouye, Edward Kennedy, George McGovern, Thomas McIntyre, Gaylord Nelson, Abraham Ribicoff.

Senator Mansfield then called for nominations for President Pro Tempore. Senator Russell thereupon nominated Senator Hayden who was elected by acclamation.

Senator Hayden then took over the duties of presiding officer for the purpose of electing officers of the Democratic Conference. He recognized Senator Metcalf who nominated Senator Mansfield for the office of Majority Leader. Senator Hill seconded the nomination.

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<sup>1</sup> S-207, later named the "Mike Mansfield Room."



[JANUARY 9, 1963]

Senator Hartke moved that nominations be closed, and Senator Mansfield was elected by acclamation.

The nominations were then open for the office of Majority Whip. Senator McCarthy was recognized, who, in turn, nominated Senator Humphrey. The nomination was seconded by Senator Clark, after which the move for nominations to close was made by Senator Hart. Senator Humphrey was elected by acclamation.

The nominations were then opened for the office of Secretary of the Conference, and Senator Holland was recognized. Senator Holland nominated Senator Smathers; Senator Symington seconded the motion; Senator Williams (N.J.) moved that nominations be closed, and Senator Smathers was elected by acclamation.

The Chair then moved that the Secretary of the Senate, Felton M. Johnston; the Sergeant at Arms, Joseph C. Duke; Secretary for the Majority, Robert G. Baker; and the Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris be reelected to their present positions. They were reelected without objection.

Senator Bayh was then recognized and offered two resolutions of appreciation to Senator Hartke and other members of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and staff. Senator Bayh's resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Senator Anderson offered a resolution of sorrow concerning the deaths of Senators Chavez and Kerr, and asked that copies of the resolution be sent to the families of the deceased. Senator Johnston made the point that a separate resolution concerning each of the two Senators should be drawn up and sent to their individual families. Senator Johnston's motion was agreed to.

Senator Smathers then offered a resolution authorizing the Steering Committee to assign members to committees. This brought forth a great deal of discussion by some of the members. Senator Clark spoke on the importance of the Steering Committee and of conflicting views among members of the Conference concerning it. He stated that the membership of the Steering Committee was not representative of the Conference either geographically or ideologically. He thereupon put the question to Senator Mansfield as to whether he (Mansfield) wanted a slate suggested for the membership of the Steering Committee or whether he preferred to proceed in accordance to the terms of the resolution passed in the 1961 Caucus which called for the election of members to the Steering Committee. Senator Mansfield stated he would not accept the resignation of members of the Steering Committee and that he preferred to see the present membership continue. He stated that it would be the Steering Committee members, not he, who would make decisions on committee assignments by secret ballot. He recommended that all members interested in committee assignments contact each member of the Steering Committee concerning his desire, as he himself in-

tended to do in seeking membership on the Appropriations Committee.

Senator Clark rose and stated that on the basis of Senator Mansfield's answer, he would be happy to move for the adoption of Senator Smathers' resolution, but at the same time he hoped the Steering Committee members would bear in mind the thinking incorporated in the 1961 Conference resolution.

Senator Russell then rose to state that he felt the South had been singled out in Senator Clark's comments. He pointed out that President Kennedy got his largest plurality, outside his home state of Massachusetts, in the 1960 presidential election in the state of Georgia. He further pointed out that the White House could not have been won on several occasions without the support of the members of the Democratic Party in the South. He said he hoped that the Senators could hold their Conferences in the future without the Democracy of the South being impugned.

Senator Morse then moved that the Steering Committee report back to the Conference on the tentative committee assignments before such assignments became final.

Senator Robertson was then recognized and stated his opposition to Senator Morse's motion. He stated that such a motion was a complete change in procedure, and he felt that the Conference should stand by time-tested precedents.

An exchange of views then followed in which Senator Holland, Morse, Russell, and Anderson expressed varying points of view. Senator Morse then asked for a roll call on his motion, whereupon the roll was called in accordance with the attached tabulation. The motion was defeated by a vote of 50-8. [see attached tally]

Thereupon, the motion of Senator Smathers was adopted by a voice vote.

Senator Mansfield then stated that in accordance with Senator Proxmire's suggestion in the Caucus of 1962, he would continue holding informal conferences among the members of the majority.

Senator Mansfield then requested that any debate on Rule 22 be deferred until after the State of the Union Message by President Kennedy on Monday, January 14th. He pointed out that the rights of all Senators would be protected.

A brief discussion composed of clarifying comments and questions was then held involving Senators Russell, Anderson, Morse, Humphrey, Johnston, and Clark. After the discussion, the Conference agreed to the original request of Senator Mansfield concerning Rule 22.

Senator Mansfield then stated that he had been disappointed when members of the Conference had failed to respond to his telegrams

[JANUARY 9, 1963]

requesting that they return to Washington to vote on important legislation during the previous year. He said that he realized many of the Senators were involved in campaigns, nevertheless, he hoped that his telegrams would evoke a more favorable response when such future requests were made.

Senator Mansfield then made certain suggestions concerning holidays and summer recesses. [see attachment] This evoked a protracted discussion involving a great many of the members present. Senator Mansfield pointed out that he simply put propositions before the Conference, and he intended to appoint an ad hoc committee to look into the matter.

Senator Morse moved that any proposals from such a committee be referred to members of the Conference prior to their adoption. This motion was agreed to by a voice vote, whereupon Senator Mansfield appointed an ad hoc committee for the purpose stated composed of Senators Monroney, McGee, Church, Holland, Pastore, and Anderson.

The Conference was then adjourned by Vice President Johnson at 11:30 A.M.

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[Attachment]

Mike Mansfield  
Montana

United States Senate  
Office of the Majority Leader  
Washington, D.C.  
January 9, 1963

SUGGESTED RECESSES FOR THE FIRST SESSION OF THE  
88th CONGRESS

LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY

The Republicans traditionally celebrate Lincoln's Birthday during the week of February 12th. Since February 12th is on a Tuesday, I suggest that we recess from Friday, February 8th, until Tuesday, February 12th, and recess from Tuesday, February 12th until Friday, February 15th. If this approach is followed, we would resume normal business on Monday, February 18th.

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY

Washington's Birthday comes on Friday, February 22nd. I would suggest that at the completion of the reading of Washington's Address, you recess until Tuesday, February 26th.

ST. PATRICK'S DAY

As you know, many members have St. Patrick's Day engagements. Since St. Patrick's Day falls on Sunday, March 17th, most speaking engagements will be either Saturday or Monday. Therefore, I would recommend recessing from Friday, March 15th, until Tuesday, March 19th.

EASTER

When I met with you in your office last week, you stated that you did not anticipate an Easter vacation this year. If there is work to be done by the Senate, I would respectfully suggest that the Senate stand in recess from Thursday, April 11th, until Monday, April 15th, since Easter is Sunday, April 14th.

MEMORIAL DAY

Memorial Day comes on Thursday, May 30th. In 1964 there will be 24 incumbent Democrats seeking reelection. It appears to me that only 4 of the 24 are absolutely safe. Therefore, it is most essential that those 20 Democrats who come from two party states be given the opportunity to campaign extensively in 1963. As you know, many Senators have requests for graduation speeches from May 15th until the third week in June. It is impossible to be away this entire period. I hope you will consider, however, three day recesses and a minimum of business beginning Wednesday, May 29th, until Monday, June 17th. Our candidates can probably help themselves more during this period than any other period between now and their reelection.

JULY 4TH

July 4th comes on a Thursday. Therefore, I suggest that you recess from Wednesday, July 3rd, until Friday, July 5th, and then recess from Friday, July 5th, until Tuesday, July 9th.

SUMMER VACATIONS

Last year I noticed that many members were complaining of the impossibility of having a vacation with their children in the summer. You might consider asking the Conference to demonstrate their desire by a roll call vote on whether it would be feasible to recess or adjourn from Saturday, August 3rd, until either Wednesday, September 4th, or Tuesday, October 5th.

SESSIONS EACH DAY

You might also like to discuss with the Conference the feasibility of beginning the sessions at 9:30 A.M., each day, with a luncheon break from 12:30 until 2:00 each day. After observing the Senate for twenty years, it appears that a considerable amount of time is wasted by convening at 12:00, and almost immediately thereafter, members go to lunch. The attendance on the Floor is most shocking on many occasions because of the number of absentees. If this new approach is followed, I would try to have Senate Sessions on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and permit committees to meet on Monday and Friday for the entire day.

Robert G. Baker

[Roll Call]

Jan. 9, 1963

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Anderson
- ✓ Bartlett
- ✓ Bayh
- ✓ Bible

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Brewster
- ✓ Burdick
- Byrd, Va. illness
- ✓ Byrd, W.Va.
- ✓ Cannon
- ✓ Church
- ✓ Clark

[JANUARY 9, 1963]

[PRESENT]

✓ Dodd  
✓ Douglas  
✓ Eastland  
Edmondson  
Ellender  
Engle  
✓ Ervin  
Fulbright  
Gore  
✓ Gruening  
✓ Hart  
✓ Hartke  
✓ Hayden  
✓ Hill  
✓ Holland  
✓ Humphrey  
✓ Inouye  
✓ Jackson  
✓ Johnston  
✓ Jordan  
Kefauver  
✓ Kennedy  
Lauche  
✓ Long, Mo.  
✓ Long, La.  
Magnuson  
Mansfield  
✓ McCarthy  
✓ McClellan  
✓ McGee  
✓ McGovern  
✓ McIntyre  
✓ McNamara  
✓ Metcalf  
✓ Monroney  
✓ Morse  
✓ Moss  
✓ Muskie  
✓ Nelson  
✓ Neuberger  
✓ Pastore  
✓ Pell  
✓ Proxmire  
✓ Randolph  
✓ Ribicoff  
✓ Robertson  
✓ Russell  
✓ Smathers  
✓ Sparkman  
✓ Stennis  
✓ Symington  
✓ Talmadge  
✓ Thurmond  
✓ Williams, N.J.  
✓ Yarborough  
✓ Young, Ohio

[Senator Morse's Motion]  
Jan. 9, 1963

YEAS		NAYS
	Anderson	1
	Bartlett	2
	Bayh	3
	Bible	4
	Brewster	5
	Burdick	6
	Byrd, Va.	
	Byrd, W.Va.	7
	Cannon	8
	Church	9
1	Clark	
	Dodd	10
2	Douglas	
	Eastland	11
	Edmondson	
	Ellender	
	Engle	
	Ervin	12
	Fulbright	
	Gore	
3	Gruening	
	Hart	13
	Hartke	14
	Hayden	15
	Hill	16
	Holland	17
	Humphrey	18
	Inouye	19
	Jackson	20
	Johnston	21
	Jordan	22
	Kefauver	
	Kennedy	23
	Lauche	
	Long, Mo.	24
	Long, La.	25
	Magnuson	
	Mansfield	26
	McCarthy	27
	McClellan	28
	McGee	29
	McGovern	30
	McIntyre	31
4	McNamara	
	Metcalf	32
	Monroney	33
5	Morse	
	Moss	34
	Muskie	35
6	Nelson	
7	Neuberger	
	Pastore	36
	Pell	37
8	Proxmire	
	Randolph	38

EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1963–1965)

YEAS	NAYS	YEAS	NAYS
Ribicoff	39	Symington	45
Robertson	40	Talmadge	46
Russell	41	Thurmond	47
Smathers	42	Williams, N.J.	48
Sparkman	43	Yarborough	49
Stennis	44	Young, Ohio	50

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[February 7, 1963]

Minutes of the Democratic Conference Meeting, February 7, 1963, 3:00 P.M.

The Conference was called to order at 3:05 P.M. by Vice President Johnson in the Conference Room of the Capitol.

Robert Baker, Secretary for the Majority, called the roll. The list of Senators attending the Conference is attached.

The Vice President then recognized the Majority Leader, Senator Mansfield, who announced the selection of the new members to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. They are as follows:

Senator Warren Magnuson—Chairman  
 Senator Hubert Humphrey—Vice Chairman  
 Senator John Sparkman  
 Senator Russell Long  
 Senator Frank Church  
 Senator Jennings Randolph  
 Senator Edward Long  
 Senator Daniel Inouye  
 Senator Abraham Ribicoff

Senator Mansfield then stated that there was a pending proposal by Senator Clark of Pennsylvania concerning the enlargement of the Steering Committee which it would be necessary to act upon.

Senator Mansfield informed those present that he had held a meeting with Senator Hayden, President Pro Tempore, Senator Humphrey, Assistant Majority Leader, and Senator Smathers, Democratic Conference Secretary, on the Policy and Steering Committees, and that it was their unanimous opinion that the Steering Committee membership should be held at the present number of members, which is fifteen.

Senator Clark then pointed out to the Conference that the membership of the Steering Committee was comprised of three members from the Western and Mountain States; three members from the East; one member from the Mid-West; and seven members from the South. He contended that this membership represented a geographic and ideological imbalance in the committee. He pointed out that the

FEBRUARY 7, 1963

committee once had seventeen members, and that there was no strict precedent governing the membership of the Steering Committee.

Senator Clark then moved that the Conference vote on the question of increasing the Steering Committee from fifteen members to nineteen members.

Senator Russell was then recognized and made a brief statement to the effect that he hoped that there would be no change voted in the present number of members on the Steering Committee. He also pointed out that the number of members of the Steering Committee had been as low as thirteen since he had been in the Senate.

In accordance with the previous request by Senator Mansfield, a secret ballot vote was then held on the Clark motion. The motion was defeated by a vote of 39-21.

Senator Holland entered a stern objection to the holding of a secret ballot vote and asked that he be recorded as voting "No" on the issue.

Senator Anderson then moved that the membership of the Steering Committee be increased from fifteen members to seventeen members and asked for a division vote. On the division vote the Anderson motion was defeated.

Senator Mansfield then announced that Senator Douglas and Senator Symington had been selected for the Steering and Policy Committee membership, respectively.

After a series of inquiries by Senator Clark and an intervening colloquy between several other Senators, the election of Senator Douglas and Senator Symington was agreed to unanimously.

Senator Morse was then recognized and raised the matter of a speech made by Senator [John J.] Williams of Delaware on the Senate floor recently concerning Representative Adam Clayton Powell of New York. He pointed out that he had spoken with Senator Williams and requested that he expunge the more serious portions of his speech from the Record. It was after his refusal, Senator Morse informed the members present, that he introduced his resolution to expunge on February 6 on the Senate floor. At the same time, Senator Morse went on to say, he offered an amendment to Rule 19 which would make this rule applicable also to members of the House of Representatives. He asked that the members of the Democratic Conference give his resolution and amendment most serious consideration.

Senator Mansfield then stated that Senator Morse had made an excellent presentation and added his support to the request that the Democratic Senators give Senator Morse's proposal their most serious thought.

Senator Monroney was then recognized and offered an interim report on his ad hoc committee for the expeditious handling of Senate business. The copy of this report is attached.

Upon a motion by Senator Smathers it was ordered without objection that a copy of Senator Monroney's committee report be sent to the office of each Democratic Senator.

There being no further business, the Vice President adjourned the meeting at 4:00 P.M.

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Robert G. Baker

United States Senate  
Secretary for the Majority  
SUGGESTED AGENDA FOR DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE  
February 7, 1963

Gentlemen:

The purpose of this Conference is to comply with my resolution which was agreed to on January 4, 1961 as follows:

Resolved: That the Majority Leader, after consultation with the President Pro Tempore, the Majority Whip, and the Secretary of the Democratic Conference, shall make appointments to fill present and future vacancies in the Policy and Steering Committees in such a fashion as to make both Committees as representative as possible of the geographic and philosophic composition of the Democratic Conference and that they should be subject to confirmation by the Conference.

Immediately after the vote to adjourn today, I held a meeting with Senators Hayden, Humphrey, and Smathers to discuss the pending vacancy on the Policy Committee and the Steering Committee created by the death of Senator Kerr on the Policy Committee, and Senator Chavez on the Steering Committee.

Senator Clark sent me a letter on January 14 in which he indicated by an attached memorandum that the Steering Committee should be expanded.

Therefore, this Conference must decide what its position will be on the suggestion of the Senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. Clark.

After the Conference has determined the size of the committee, the Leadership will immediately make its recommendations, if the committee make-up remains at fifteen members.

If the committee is increased, I shall recognize Senator Morse to discuss his amendment of Rule 19, and I shall ask Senators Hayden, Humphrey, and Smathers to meet with me in my office for the purpose of making recommendations for your approval for the additional seats.

It is my intention to have a meeting with the Minority Leader as quickly as possible to discuss ratios for the legislative committees.

If we can reach an agreement, I shall call a meeting of the Steering Committee at 10:00 A.M. on Thursday next in the office of the Secretary of the Senate.



FEBRUARY 7, 1963

Receive motion to adjourn.

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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR EXPEDITIOUS HANDLING OF  
SENATE BUSINESS

(Statement of Senator Mike Monroney before the Democratic  
Conference)

*Thursday, February 7, 1963*

The Majority Leader, Senator Mansfield, appointed as a six-man committee to look into proposals to facilitate scheduling of Congressional work the following: Senators Monroney, Pastore, Holland, Anderson, Church and McGee. This group met at noon January 18. Senator Monroney was elected chairman. The group agreed upon an identification entitled "The Committee for Expeditious Handling of Senate Business."

After discussion of the various dates associated with forthcoming holidays, the group representing the Democratic Conference proposed a schedule of recesses and also by unanimous vote recommended a change of Senate rules which it felt would expedite Senate business to the greatest possible extent.

It recommended adoption of a rule that would provide that at the close of the Morning Hour—2 hours maximum—all Senate debate for the following period of four hours be required to be germane to the unfinished business of the Senate. The Chair would have authority to rule on questions of germaneness. After this period germane debate would not be required. Thus, members would have two hours in the Morning Hour if required and as much time as they would require following the four-hour period limited to germane discussion only.

The Majority Leader could ask or by majority vote the Senate could suspend the germane requirement if circumstances made suspension desirable.

The committee further unanimously recommended that Senate committees can meet at any time during Senate sessions by majority vote on such motion without debate.

It was further agreed that all of these suggestions are made in the effort that the Senate, complying with them, adjourn if possible by July 31.

At 3 P.M., January 18, representatives of the Democratic Conference convened in the office of the Majority Leader with the representatives of the Republican Conference. Senator Pastore was absent and left his proxy with Senator Monroney. Representing the Minority Conference at this meeting were Senators [Everett] Dirksen [Republican, Illinois], [Norris] Cotton [Republican, New Hampshire], [John Sherman] Cooper, and [Roman] Hruska [Republican, Nebraska].

1. LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY:

Recess Monday, February 11, until Thursday, February 14.

2. WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY:

Recess following Washington's Farewell Address, Friday, February 22.

3. EASTER:

Recess Thursday, April 11, through Friday, April 19.

4. MEMORIAL DAY:

Recess Monday, May 27, through Friday, May 31.

5. JULY 4:

Recess Wednesday, July 3, through Friday, July 5.

The committee considered a majority recommendation that the House of Representatives be consulted concerning a proposed summer recess starting at the close of business, Friday, August 16, through Monday, September 2. The committee agreed to withhold action on this proposal pending discussions between leaders of the Senate and the House.

It was the consensus of those attending the joint Majority-Minority meeting that they did not approve the aforementioned rule relating to a specified daily period of germaneness nor the proposal that Senate committees be allowed to meet during Senate sessions by majority vote on such motion without debate.

Following the joint meeting of the Majority and Minority members on these matters, Senator Monroney designated Senator Church to report to the Democratic Conference regarding the proposed rule of germaneness for a specified daily period following the Morning Hour.

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The following is Mr. Baker's version of Senator Mike Monroney's statement before the Democratic Conference on Thursday, February 7, 1963. (Meeting was in Leader's Office, S-208.)

SUBJECT: Senate Committee for Improved Procedures

January 18, 1963—Those present were Senators Monroney, Dirksen, Anderson, Cooper, Cotton, Church, McGee, Mr. [Mark] Trice, Mr. [Carter W.] Bradley (Assistant to Senator Monroney), and Robert G. Baker.

Senator Mansfield opened the meeting at 3:10 P.M., and urged those present to select a Chairman. Senator Monroney was chosen to be chairman.

Senator Monroney provided the membership with a worksheet of suggested recesses which had been considered by the Democratic members at a luncheon today. The worksheet is attached.

Senator Dirksen suggested that the Lincoln recess be from Monday, February 11 to Thursday, February 14th. His suggestion was agreed to.

It was agreed that the Senate would convene on Washington's Birthday to hear his Farewell Address and recess until Monday, February 25th.

The Committee agreed to recess during Easter from Thursday, April 11 to Friday, April 19th.

The Memorial Day recess would be from May 27th to May 31st.

The July 4th Recess would be from July 3rd to July 5th.

There was a general discussion by the Senators present about the proposed Summer recess.

Senator Cooper strongly opposed any adjournment before August 1. Senator Church expressed the hope that the work could be finished by August 15. It was Senator Church's hope that a short vacation during the last two weeks in August would expedite adjournment.

It was agreed to postpone a summer recess agreement until the Leadership could talk with the House Leadership.

Senator Monroney asked the Leadership to consider a recommendation for a rule of germaneness. Senator Dirksen strongly opposed such a restriction.

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Senator Cotton opposed Senator Monroney's suggestion also. Senator Cooper and Senator Church thought it was a good idea to have a rule of germaneness.

Senator Cotton and Senator Cooper expressed strong opposition to the committee's suggestion made by Senator Monroney, namely, that any committee could meet whenever authority was given by the majority of the Senate without debate.

It was Senator Cotton's opinion that the matter of revising the rules was not a proper subject for this committee.

Mr. Baker and Mr. Trice strongly recommended that a definite luncheon recess be agreed to.

The committee recessed subject to the call of Senator Monroney.

#### COMMITTEE FOR EXPEDITIOUS HANDLING OF SENATE BUSINESS

1. LINCOLN'S BIRTH RECESS:  
Recess Monday, February 11, to Thursday, February 14.
2. WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY:  
Recess following Washington's Farewell Address, Friday, February 22.
3. EASTER:  
Recess Thursday, April 11, until Friday, April 19.
4. MEMORIAL DAY:  
Recess beginning May 27 through May 31.
5. JULY 4:  
Recess Wednesday, July 3, through Friday, July 5.
6. SUMMER RECESS:  
August 19, Monday, through September 2, Monday.  
Recess from Friday, August 16, through Monday, September 2.  
Reconvene Tuesday, September 3.

The committee was unanimous in recommending a change of Senate rules which it feels would expedite Senate business to the greatest possible extent.

It recommended adoption of a rule that would provide that at the close of the Morning Hour—2 hours maximum—all Senate debate for the following period of four hours be required to be germane to the unfinished business of the Senate. The chair would have authority to rule on questions of germaneness. After this period germane debate would not be required. Thus, members would have two hours in the Morning Hour if required and as much time as they would require following the four hour period limited to germane discussion only.

The Majority Leader could ask or by majority vote the Senate could suspend the germane requirement if circumstances made suspension desirable.

The committee further unanimously recommended that Senate committees can meet at any time during Senate sessions by majority vote on such motion without debate.

It was further agreed that all of these suggestions are made in the effort that the Senate, complying with them, adjourn if possible by July 31.

EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1963-1965)

Feb. 7, Quorum

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Anderson
- ✓ Bartlett
- ✓ Bayh
- ✓ Bible
- ✓ Brewster
- ✓ Burdick
- ✓ Byrd, Va.
- ✓ Byrd, W.Va.
- ✓ Cannon
- ✓ Church
- ✓ Clark
- ✓ Dodd
- ✓ Douglas
- ✓ Eastland
- ✓ Edmondson
- ✓ Ellender
- ✓ Engle
- ✓ Ervin
- ✓ Fulbright
- ✓ Gore
- ✓ Gruening
- ✓ Hart
- ✓ Hartke
- ✓ Hayden
- ✓ Hill
- ✓ Holland
- ✓ Humphrey
- ✓ Inouye
- ✓ Jackson
- ✓ Johnston
- ✓ Jordan
- ✓ Kefauver
- ✓ Kennedy

[PRESENT]

- ✓ Lauche
- ✓ Long, Mo.
- ✓ Long, La.
- ✓ Magnuson
- ✓ Mansfield
- ✓ McCarthy
- ✓ McClellan
- ✓ McGee
- ✓ McGovern
- ✓ McIntyre
- ✓ McNamara
- ✓ Metcalf
- ✓ Monroney
- ✓ Morse
- ✓ Moss
- ✓ Muskie
- ✓ Nelson
- ✓ Neuberger
- ✓ Pastore
- ✓ Pell
- ✓ Proxmire
- ✓ Randolph
- ✓ Ribicoff
- ✓ Robertson
- ✓ Russell
- ✓ Smathers
- ✓ Sparkman
- ✓ Stennis
- ✓ Symington
- ✓ Talmadge
- ✓ Thurmond
- ✓ Williams, N.J.
- ✓ Yarborough
- ✓ Young, Ohio

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[March 28, 1963]

Democratic Conference, March 28, 1963, S-208 The Capitol.

SUBJECT: MASS TRANSIT BILL

The meeting was called to order by the Majority Leader, Senator Mansfield, at 10:10 A.M. in his office.

The Senators were present as checked on the attached list.

Senator Mansfield explained the purpose of the meeting, namely, to enlist support for the so-called Mass Transit Bill (S 6), and to plead for help from the Democratic membership.

Senator Williams from New Jersey was then recognized, and he explained the version of the bill which he is sponsoring as reported by the Banking and Currency Committee.

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Senator Sparkman then added his comments in support of Senator Williams' bill. He further discussed the history of the bill in the Banking and Currency Committee and stated the reasons it was handled by that committee.

Senator Clark then explained that he felt the passage of S 6 is vital to the success of the Democratic Party in the urban areas in 1964. He pointed out that the great area of weakness for the Democratic Party is in suburbia, and that this bill will do much to alleviate this weakness.

Senator Gruening then asked about certain labor opposition to the bill.

His questions were responded to by both Senator Clark and Senator Williams.

Senator Magnuson then explained why the Commerce Committee had allowed the Mass Transit bill to go to the Banking and Currency Committee in 1962, and why his committee had again decided to consider the measure.

Senator Magnuson then explained the general nature of the bill as reported on March 27 by the Commerce Committee, and called on Senator Cannon to elaborate on the five amendments to S 6, which were made by the Commerce Committee.

Senator Magnuson pointed out that Senator Thurmond actually was chairman of the Subcommittee on Surface Transportation, but that he had deferred to Senator Cannon because of his opposition to the bill.

Senator Cannon explained the five amendments as follows:

1. Backdoor spending eliminated.
2. Must consult ICC when Interstate Commerce is involved.
3. Requires local bodies to stand by their rate schedules as proposed in their plans.
4. Localities would be required to provide adequate tax and franchise relief to their transit authorities before coming to the federal government for assistance.
5. Guaranteed loan provision—with the federal government guaranteeing local bonds, they will not be tax exempt.

Senator Morse then stated that this bill affected all Americans, and not just certain regions. However, he said he could not vote for the bill in its present form. Further, he feels the bill would defeat some Democrats in Congress. He stated that labor union attitudes toward the bill were hostile, and that the Labor Committee should be permitted to give some advisory opinions concerning the matter.

EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS (1963–1965)

Senator Robertson then pointed out that he had kept his word to the Majority Leader in having the Mass Transit bill rapidly reported by the Banking and Currency Committee despite his personal opposition to the measure.

A general discussion and an exchange of questions and answers concerning the technical aspects of the bill then followed.

Finally Senator Mansfield asked for a show of hands from those present as to their support or lack of support for the Mass Transit bill. This expression was duly reported by the Secretary for the Majority, Robert Baker.

The Majority Leader then adjourned the meeting at 11:15 A.M.

March 28, Democratic Conference

[PRESENT]

[PRESENT]

✓ Anderson	✓ Lauche
✓ Bartlett	✓ Long, Mo.
✓ Bayh	Long, La.
Bible	✓ Magnuson
Brewster	✓ Mansfield
Burdick	✓ McCarthy
✓ Byrd, Va.	McClellan
✓ Byrd, W.Va.	✓ McGee
✓ Cannon	✓ McGovern
✓ Church	McIntyre
✓ Clark	McNamara
Dodd	Metcalf
Douglas	✓ Monroney
Eastland	✓ Morse
✓ Edmondson	✓ Moss
Ellender	Muskie
Engle	✓ Nelson
Ervin	Neuberger
Fulbright	✓ Pastore
Gore	Pell
✓ Gruening	✓ Proxmire
Hart	✓ Randolph
✓ Hartke	✓ Ribicoff
Hayden	✓ Robertson
✓ Hill	Russell
Holland	Smathers
Humphrey	✓ Sparkman
✓ Inouye	Stennis
Jackson	✓ Symington
✓ Johnston	✓ Talmadge
Jordan	✓ Thurmond
✓ Kefauver	✓ Williams, N.J.
✓ Kennedy	✓ Yarborough
	✓ Young, Ohio

[November 4, 1963]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, November 4, 1963, S-207 Capitol, 12:30 P.M.

Majority Leader Mansfield called the Conference to order at 12:35 P.M. in the Senate Conference Room, Room S-207 of the Capitol. Acting Secretary to the Majority Francis R. Valeo called the roll and a quorum was present. The following Senators responded to their names: Anderson, Bartlett, Bayh, Bible, Brewster, Burdick, Byrd (W.Va.), Cannon, Clark, Dodd, Ellender, Ervin, Fulbright, Gore, Gruening, Hart, Hartke, Hill, Holland, Humphrey, Inouye, Johnston, Jordan, Lauche, Long (La), Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McClellan, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Monroney, Morse, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Robertson, Russell, Smathers, Sparkman, Talmadge, Thurmond, Walters, Williams (N.J), Young (Ohio). *Others Present:* Frank Valeo, Rein Vander Zee, Teddy Roe, Ken Teasdale, Charles Ferris, Felton Johnston.

Majority Leader Mansfield then called for nominations for Secretary to the Majority. Senator Russell moved that the Majority Leader be authorized by the Conference to select the Secretary to the Majority, whereupon Senator Mansfield announced the selection of Francis R. Valeo.

Senator Mansfield then read a statement to the Conference related to Senate financial matters, Senate automobiles, and attendance in the Senate and at international conferences. The statement follows:

When I arrived in my office this morning, there was a letter on my desk from Frank Valeo. It consists of a statement of his personal financial assets. The statement was not requested but in present circumstances it was appreciated.

The Rules Committee is presently engaged in studying the question of outside financial interests of staff employees of the Senate. I do not wish to prejudge its findings and such recommendations as it may make with regard to the practice of the Senate as a whole. However, I do feel that I have a personal responsibility with regard to all staff employees who are responsive to those Majority agencies for whose performance the Majority Conference is in the last analysis responsible. These would include the office of the Majority Conference, the Majority Policy Committee, the Majority Steering Committee and the Majority Leader's office; the office of the Secretary of the Senate and the office of the Sergeant at Arms, in short all officers of the Senate whose positions are derived either directly or indirectly from election by this Conference. In the circumstances, unless there is objection from this Conference, I am hereby asking all duly elected officers of the Senate, whose election stems

in the first instance from the decisions of the Majority Conference, to submit to me a statement of their personal assets which will be held by me in strict confidence. In addition, I ask these officers that, as their judgment suggests, they require, from all Senate employees under their responsibility a similar statement of personal financial assets and call to my attention at once any instance in which there may be significant suggestion of conflict between their Senate duties and outside interests. I ask these reports on an interim basis, pending such procedures as may be proposed by the Rules Committee. May I say again I do not wish to prejudge the work of that committee, but it is my personal view, as one Senator, that each member is responsible for the employees in his own immediate office and is fully competent to decide how best to handle this matter in his own office. Further, I wish to express my personal endorsement of the so-called Morse bill and similar bills which would provide for a public accounting on the part of each member of the Senate as to his outside financial interests. Whether or not the Senate generally would agree with that is of course a matter for the Senate itself to decide. But I personally fear for the reputation of this institution unless this matter is faced honestly and sensibly.

Speaking on another matter which has been of some concern in recent weeks I would refer to the question of Senate-owned automobiles which are assigned in an indirect manner for the use of staff personnel at their discretion. It is my understanding that these automobiles are assigned to the Secretary of the Senate, to the Secretaries for the Majority and Minority, the Sergeant at Arms, the Assistant Sergeant at Arms, and the Disbursing Officer without any condition attaching to their use. I must say the members who have requested their use have always been given every consideration in this respect. I have requested of Frank Valeo that he not use the automobile which is assigned to the Majority Secretary for any purposes pending a clarification of this matter.

It would seem to me that the Senate has a bona fide reason to have a limited pool of automobiles under staff supervision and does not have to conceal or camouflage their use, *provided* that they are used in connection with official business. I would suggest to the Rules Committee members, therefore, that they might wish to face this issue squarely and recommend to the Senate that there be a pool of official automobiles but that they be placed under appropriate officials of the Senate solely and strictly for official usage.

On still another matter I must make reference to the extent of absenteeism among Majority members. There are 12 Democratic members absent today; there were more than 20 absent



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on Friday. I realize fully the difficulties which members have, the number of engagements which seem inescapable. But I must say that the continuance of this record of absenteeism can only serve to reflect most adversely on the Senate and particularly on the Majority party in the Senate. In this connection, members will recall that I announced last week that the Leadership strongly urged members not to participate in international conferences until there is some clarification with regard to important legislation for the balance of this session. Since that time the leadership has indicated the days in which the Senate would stand officially or unofficially in recess. I would again urge all members not to participate in any international conferences whose schedule cannot be reconciled with the time-schedule which has been announced for the balance of the year. I have discussed these matters with no one and they represent my personal views.

That is all I have to say at this time. If there are any comments on these or any other matters, the Chair would be pleased to have them.

Senator Gore was recognized and he complimented the Majority Leader on his positions with respect to the use of the Senate automobiles.

Senator Anderson was then recognized and made a similar statement concerning the use of Senate automobiles. He also discussed at some length the question of financial disclosure by members of the Senate. This prompted several other Senators to comment on the matter of financial disclosure by members of the Senate. Senators Russell, Ervin, Jordan, Clark and Ellender all spoke, stating various positions with regard to the matter.

Senator Anderson recommended against such disclosure because he feels that it gives rise to many misunderstandings on the part of constituents and that the members of the press would be prone to interpret the voting records of the members of the Senate in the light of holdings rather than on the merits or demerits of the legislation. He also said that he once made a disclosure of his personal financial holdings, listing assets of approximately one million dollars and that his daughter ever since has lived in constant fear of kidnapers. He made this statement as an example of what he feels are the manifold unforeseen problems that would be presented by complete financial disclosure on the part of the Senate membership.

Senators Russell, Ervin, Jordan and Ellender all joined Senator Anderson in stating their opposition to a detailed disclosure of holdings by the Senate membership. Senator Ellender generally approved the Leader's observation with respect to staff automobiles and generally urged that the Senate practice in the matter of staff the kind of frugality which it urges on the Executive Branch.

Senator Clark spoke in behalf of disclosing each member's financial holdings. He said that he had done this himself since he had been in the Senate, that he had never received criticism as a result of his voting record and that he thought that it gave his constituents more confidence in him as well as the opportunity to evaluate any possible conflicts of interests concerning his votes. Senator Mansfield stressed that as distinct from his remarks on staff, he had advanced the view on disclosure as his personal view and his alone. He concluded by noting again that this was a matter which the Senate as a whole would have to determine.

There being no further business, Senator Mansfield adjourned the Conference at 1:00 P.M.

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[January 8, 1964]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, January 8, 1964, S-207 Capitol, 4:00 P.M.

The first meeting of the Democratic Conference of the 88th Congress, second session, was called to order by the Chairman, Mr. Mansfield, at 4:15 P.M. The roll was called by the Assistant Secretary for the Majority, Mr. Vander Zee. Forty members were present: Bayh, Bible, Brewster, Church, Clark, Dodd, Douglas, Edmondson, Ellender, Ervin, Gore, Gruening, Hart, Hartke, Hill, Holland, Humphrey, Johnston, Jordan, Kennedy, Long (Mo), Long (La), Mansfield, McClellan, McNamara, Metcalf, Morse, Moss, Muskie, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Ribicoff, Robertson, Russell, Smathers, Sparkman, Talmadge, Yarborough, Young (Ohio). *Others Present:* Rein Vander Zee, Joe Stewart, John Graves, Ken Teasdale, Charles Ferris, Teddy Roe.

The Chairman reported on his recent conferences with the President and underscored the President's view that the legislative and executive branches of our government are distinct and separate.

The Chairman also brought out the President's particular views on the major legislative items for this session.

1. *Appropriations Measures*—He stated that it is both the Chairman's and the President's hope that the various subcommittees could complete their preliminary work before the House bills arrive in the Senate. On the basis of a meeting which he had held this morning with the various appropriations subcommittee chairmen it was the Chairman's opinion that this could be accomplished.

2. *Civil Rights*—The Chairman expressed the hope that some solution could be reached to facilitate consideration of this measure.

3. *Tax Bill*—The Chairman was hopeful that this measure could be ready for floor action by February 1st of this year. The President,

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he noted, had made available to the Finance Committee a preview of his budget and had taken steps to cut the budget as much as possible.

4. *Health Care for the Aged*—The Chairman pointed out the difference between this and Medical Care, in that health care provided for hospital fees, not doctors' fees.

The Chairman then brought up the subject of recesses during the session. He recognized that many members including himself had election year problems and he emphasized that he did not want to tell any member how to campaign. But, he pointed out, the best way to hurt Democrats everywhere is to let the impression get abroad that we are putting election-interests ahead of legislative business.

The Chairman then proceeded to outline the following schedule of holiday recesses:

1. *Lincoln's Birthday* (February 12)—From the conclusion of business, Tuesday, February 11th until noon, Monday, February 17th.
2. *Easter* (March 29)—From the conclusion of business, Thursday, March 26th until noon, Monday, March 30th.
3. *Kennedy Birthday Salute* (Tuesday, May 26)—No important business will be scheduled on Monday, May 25th or Tuesday, May 26th.
4. *Memorial Day* (May 30)—From the conclusion of business, Thursday, May 28th until noon, Monday, June 1st.
5. *July 4th*—From the conclusion of business, Thursday, July 2nd until noon, Monday, July 6th.

The Chairman then made the following statement in relation to the civil rights question:

I wish to take this opportunity to ask all members to give some thought to what an acrid and excessively prolonged debate on the civil rights question will do to the President, to the Senate, and to the party. I recognize how much this issue means to members individually. But I would urge members to search their consciences, to discuss the question with one another regardless of divergent positions and see if there is not some way in which a course of responsible and restrained action may be reconciled with their convictions. May I say that I am always prepared to listen to any advice and counsel on this matter from any member and I will do whatever I can to bring about the most satisfactory resolution of the matter. We are all Senators with our individual responsibilities. But we are also all Democrats under the leadership of a Democratic President and I would deeply appreciate a determined effort on the part of all

members to sustain his leadership and the stature of the Senate in this matter.

Senator Holland inquired if the leadership, in scheduling votes, would take into consideration the participation of Senators in the forthcoming Canadian-U.S. Parliamentary Group. Senator Mansfield stated that those participating in such groups would have to take their chances.

Senator Mansfield then brought up a proposal which had been suggested by Senator Fulbright that the Senate meet three days a week, leaving the other two days open for committees to meet. Senators Clark and Proxmire voiced their approval of the suggestion.

Senator Smathers said this would not help the Finance Committee since they were going to meet every day, morning and evening, in order to complete action on the tax bill.

Senator Talmadge raised objection to following the three-day a week meeting schedule on a rigid basis. He said that this should be decided by the leadership on an individual basis after consultation with the committee chairmen.

Senator Mansfield expressed agreement that "it would not be feasible to meet three days a week when we have important legislation before the Senate."

Senator Robertson recommended postponement of action on this proposal.

Senator Long (La.) favored a five day week.

Senator Humphrey said: "I am sure that this proposal would apply only when there is no 'hot' legislation before the Senate."

Senator Pastore said: "Well, if we do adopt this proposal, I hope that the Leadership will let everyone know that these two days we don't meet would be in committee work day and not a day off."

Senator Johnston expressed himself in favor of not meeting on Friday as often as possible during the coming session.

Senator Russell said: "This is not a new idea; it has been put forth in the past. In most cases, on the days the Senate didn't meet, we would not be able to get a quorum in the committee."

Senator McNamara concurred in the view expressed by Senator Johnston "in order that the members who are from neighboring states may get home on the weekend to campaign."

Senator Dodd noted that he served on three committees and often the committees schedule meetings on the same day at the same hour.

Senator Mansfield said: "That is a problem which has been with us for a long time. The members will just have to use their best judgment."

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Senator Jordan announced that the Rules Committee would be meeting full time.

Senator Humphrey emphasized the Leader's suggestion that the Secretary for the Majority be notified in advance when Senators expected to be absent from the Senate. He pointed out that too often in the past legislation has been scheduled for the floor only to find that some interested member was not present.

Chairman Mansfield adjourned the meeting at 4:48 P.M.

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DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE  
January 8, 1964  
*AGENDA*

I. *Call to Order*

Assistant Secretary will call the roll.

II. *Report to the Conference on recent meetings with the President:*

1. President's attitude toward Congress (his recognition that he has his functions and we have ours.)
2. President's particular views on legislation during the present session.
  - (a) Appropriations
  - (b) Civil Rights
  - (c) Tax bill
  - (d) Health Care for the Aged

III. *The question of recesses during the session:*

1. Recognize that many members have election year problems including the Senator from Montana.
2. Don't want to tell any member how to campaign, but the best way to hurt Democrats everywhere is to let the impression get abroad that we are putting election-interests ahead of legislative business.
3. May I request that all members who cannot avoid being absent when the Senate is in session notify the Secretary, Frank Valeo, as far in advance as possible and indicate the length of absence. This would be of help in scheduling floor legislation with a minimum of disruption.
4. I am proposing the following recesses in order to permit members, as far as possible, to schedule engagements accordingly. This schedule will be maintained, barring some exceptional crisis or requirements which might be produced by a filibuster.

1. *Lincoln's Birthday* (February 12)

From the conclusion of business, Tuesday, Feb. 11 to Monday, noon, Feb. 17.

2. *Easter* (March 29)

From the conclusion of business, Thursday, March 26 until noon, Monday, March 30.

3. *Kennedy Birthday anniversary dinner*, Tuesday, May 26

No important business will be scheduled on Monday, May 25 or Tuesday, May 26.

4. *Memorial Day*

From the conclusion of business, Thursday, May 28 until noon, Monday, June 1.

5. *July 4th*

From the conclusion of business, Thursday, July 2 until noon, Monday, July 6.

IV. *Civil Rights Question:*

I wish to take this opportunity to ask all members to give some thought to what an acrid and excessively prolonged debate on the civil rights question will do to the President, to the Senate, and to the party. I recognize how much this issue means to members individually. But I would urge members to search their conscience, to discuss the question with one another regardless of divergent positions and see if there is not some way in which a course of responsible and restrained action may be reconciled with their convictions. May I say that I am always prepared to listen to any advice and counsel on this matter from any member and I will do whatever I can to bring about the most satisfactory resolution of the matter. We are all Senators with our individual responsibilities. But we are also all Democrats under the leadership of a Democratic President and I would deeply appreciate a determined effort on the part of all members to sustain his leadership and the stature of the Senate in all matters.

V. *Any other matters members may wish to bring up.*

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[January 28, 1964]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, January 28, 1964, 2:30 P.M., Room S-207 of the Capitol.

The meeting was called to order at 2:45 by the Chairman, Mr. Mansfield, and the roll was called by the Secretary for the Majority, Mr. Valeo. A quorum was present: Anderson, Bartlett, Bible, Brewster, Burdick, Cannon, Church, Clark, Douglas, Fulbright, Gore, Hart, Hartke, Hayden, Hill, Holland, Humphrey, Inouye, Johnston, Long (Mo), Long (La), Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, McNamara, Metcalf, Nelson, Neuberger, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Robertson, Russell, Smathers, Sparkman, Symington, Thurmond, Walters, Williams (NJ), Yarborough, Young (Ohio). *Others Present:* Frank Valeo, Rein Vander Zee, Felton Johnston, Joseph Duke, Ken Teasdale, Charles Ferris, Mattie Matthews, Fred Lordan, John Graves.

The Chairman reported briefly on recent Leadership meetings with the President. He said that the President had underscored the tax bill as the most important matter before the Congress at this time.

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Senator Mansfield then discussed the approaching 1964 campaign. He made the following statement:

1. On the basis of discussions with Democratic National Headquarters, it has been agreed that there will be no independent fund-raising functions in the New York or Washington, D.C. areas for individual candidates. These two cities will be reserved for the main national fund-raising functions.

The National Committee, as I understand it, hopes to have funds beyond the \$350,000 which it has already committed to the Senate Campaign Committee to meet especially difficult financial problems of Senators up for reelection. Therefore, it regards it as neither necessary nor desirable for individual Senators to seek funds through functions in the two cities since they would be disruptive of the main fund drives. The National Committee would be most disturbed if this agreed arrangement were ignored by individual members.

2. The Congressional Campaign Committee Dinner which is scheduled for March 19 is a vital part of the Committee's financial plans for this year's campaign. It is not yet, by any means, an assured success and the Committee feels very strongly the need for cooperation from every Democratic member of the Senate.

3. The final point which I should like to stress concerns out-of-town election-speaking schedules. Insofar as the leading Executive Branch officials are concerned their itineraries will be entirely controlled and directed by the National Committee.

On the part of the Senate, Senator Inouye has been designated to fill a similar role, as among Senators, and for purposes of coordination with the National Committee. I would urge all members to work through him on all questions of scheduling political speaking itineraries, on advance work, on speeches and so forth, for the rest of this year.

I will now ask Senator Magnuson to take the floor, to elaborate on the points which I have made and any others of importance and to answer any questions which you may have.

Senator Magnuson, Chairman of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee, was recognized. Senator Magnuson stated that arrangements had been made with the Democratic National Committee and the House Campaign Committee and that through a joint effort they hoped to have at least \$15,000 available to meet campaign expenses for each Democratic candidate for the Senate. Additional assistance would be given candidates in arranging for newspaper "mats" service, television time and transportation.

Senator Magnuson then pointed out that the assassination of President Kennedy had affected campaign fund-raising plans. It had

originally been planned to have a gala birthday salute. Instead they would now hold a dinner on March 19th at the Armory and the event would honor the chairmen of all the standing committees of the Senate and the House. The President and the Speaker would be the only speakers for the evening.

Senator Magnuson then apologized for waiting so long to inform members of this event. "I started to send letters but with the atmosphere around here I decided against that." He asked that members designate someone on their staff to handle this matter and noted that the treasurer for this event was Jim Farley.

In response to a question from Senator Church, Senator Magnuson said the old National Committee quota system for ticket-sales was out this year.

Senator Magnuson said he hoped that the members would follow Senator Mansfield's request and not hold any fund-raising dinners in Washington or in New York for individual members. For raising funds individually, he noted that there are the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinners and the Kennedy Birthday Dinners. He also pointed out that fifty percent of the proceeds of these state affairs in the past had to be turned over to the National Committee but that now all the state committees had to do was clear the expenditure of that fifty percent with the National Committee.

In response to a question from Senator Anderson, Senator Magnuson said that the committee wished to take care of the needs of incumbent Senators but that they would, of course, also help the party Senate nominees in the states now represented by Republicans.

Senator Smathers noted that the problem posed for the chairman of the Campaign Committee was to find out who needs financial help and to get it to them. Needs were not identical and there was a need for some discretion in dispensing funds. He pointed out that when he was chairman, the Southern candidates did not get any assistance because they did not need it.

Senator Hartke said that when he was chairman last year Southerners did get assistance. Senator Long (La) noted that he had received assistance but then dispensed the help to other candidates who needed it.

Senator Brewster regretted the date but noted that the Maryland [Democratic] Party was having its important dinner in Baltimore on March 18th. He was fearful that it would conflict with the Washington function.

Senator Mansfield said that that could not be helped inasmuch as the Maryland date had already been established.



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Senator Humphrey, who was Vice Chairman under Senator Smathers, said that the Campaign Committee job was a thankless one.

Senator Magnuson stated that the Campaign Committee has spent \$89,000 to date and expected to raise \$395,000. In closing Senator Magnuson said anyone could examine the committee's financial record if he would just ask Mattie Matthews or Fred Lordan. He also repeated his request for members to designate someone in their office to handle the dinner.

Senator Mansfield thanked Senator Magnuson and then turned the discussion to the tax bill. He thanked the Finance Committee for its good work on the bill. He also said he hoped the debate on the floor would be as brief as is consistent with thoroughness and as non-divisive among Democrats as is consistent with integrity.

Senator Mansfield said he would try to call up the tax bill on Thursday at 11:00 A.M. and the Senate would meet at 10:00 A.M. on Friday, not meet this Saturday but would meet on Saturday, February 8th if necessary. The Senator stated:

May I say that it is not my intention to bring up every matter of substance in Caucus before it gets to the floor. As a general practice, I believe the Senate should do its business on the floor. But in this instance, where we do have a very complex piece of legislation, where a great deal of committee effort has brought the measure to a point of substantial accord, it seems to me that it will be useful to bring it up here. It may help to save some time. It may help us to get some advance clarification of the technicalities before we take up the matter on the floor.

Senator Mansfield then recognized Senator Long (La) as floor manager of the bill and also called on Senators Anderson, Gore and Douglas to explain their positions.

Senator Long (La) said the bill was very long and complex, that it had 153 committee amendments and represented the best that the committee could come up with. He stated that the committee had considered all the amendments brought up and had heard every possible expert witness. He reiterated that it was the best bill possible and announced that as floor manager he would fight off all amendments, regardless of his personal inclination on any particular amendment.

Senator Douglas said he liked some provisions, but expressed the hope that the capital gains provision in the House version would be added on the floor. It was his opinion that the bill on balance was weighted in favor of the upper income brackets. He said he was in favor of increasing the minimum standard deduction to aid the low income groups. He stated he was in favor of repealing the investment credit provision on federally regulated utilities because the

regulating units would be forbidden to allow any savings to be passed on to the consumer. He thought that an effort should be made to plug existing loopholes such as the oil depletion allowance. He also reminded the Conference that it represented the lower income groups while our Republican friends represented the upper income groups.

Senator Anderson said while he had voted against many parts of the bill in committee he thought the Senate should let the finished product stand and not try to rewrite on the floor what experts have spent months writing in committee.

Senator Gore said the bill is contrary to all traditions of the Party. We don't need this kind of a bill now because our prosperity does not warrant it. We are at an all time peak of prosperity.

Senator Gore made the following points:

1. The needs of our society now are not a tax cut for big business but aid to the poor.
2. We need to fight unemployment not stimulate industry to automate.
3. This is a rich man's bill. The average increase in the low brackets' take-home pay is 5 to 6%. In upper brackets, it could go as high as 84%.
4. This bill is full of special interest provisions.

Senator Gore said he would offer two main amendments:

1. To raise exemptions of dependents.
2. To strike from the law corporate restrictive stock options, similar to the one Chrysler just gave its executives, where no tax is paid.

Senator Gore expressed the hope that the bill could be finished Saturday week (February 8th).

Senator Thurmond raised the question of the revenue cost of the bill. Various estimates were suggested and Senator Smathers noted that by 1967 the budget should be balanced.

Senator Long (La) said this bill should not be regarded as just an increase in take-home pay. Rather it should be considered as a preventive against a slump that is eight months overdue. Almost every witness mentioned this. Insofar as the utilities were concerned, he asked members to note that they are competing industries.

Senator Fulbright said as newest member on the committee he had followed the Administration's position, because he was not yet very knowledgeable on the subject.

Senator Ribicoff said he would vote for the bill because he thought it would help the Party in 1964. But he felt it was not an adequate

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bill, and we will have to face the consequences in 1965. Senator Ribicoff said he would offer an amendment on tax credit for education and clear air and water provisions and ask for votes on them.

Senator Mansfield then outlined the meeting times for the next several days:

Thursday, January 30—11:00 A.M. to 7 or 8:00 P.M.

Friday, January 31—10:00 A.M. to 8 or 9:00 P.M.

Monday, February 3 through Saturday, February 8—9:00 A.M. to 9:00 P.M.

Senator McNamara indicated he would support the committee bill and that the meeting had been very helpful.

Senator Symington wanted to know if the Senate would operate on controlled time in considering the bill. He stated that he did not understand the bill and wanted it explained.

Senator Mansfield answered that there would not be controlled time for the first three or four days. And in any event, that he would consult Senators Douglas and Gore prior to requesting controlled time.

Senator Smathers moved for adjournment at 4:15 P.M.

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[May 19, 1964]

Minutes of Democratic Conference, May 19, 1964, 10 A.M., Old Supreme Court Chamber, the Capitol.<sup>2</sup>

The Conference was called to order at 10:10 A.M. by the Chairman, Senator Mansfield, and the roll was called by the Secretary for the Majority, Mr. Valeo. A quorum was present: Anderson, Bartlett, Bayh, Bible, Burdick, Byrd (W.Va.), Cannon, Clark, Dodd, Douglas, Ellender, Ervin, Fulbright, Gore, Gruening, Hart, Hayden, Holland, Humphrey, Inouye, Jackson, Jordan, Kennedy, Lausche, Long (Mo), Long (La), Mansfield, McCarthy, McClellan, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, McNamara, Metcalf, Monroney, Moss, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Ribicoff, Sparkman, Symington, Walters, Williams (NJ), Yarborough, Young (Ohio). *Also Present:* Frank Valeo, John Graves, Kenneth Teasdale, Charles Ferris, Teddy Roe, John Stewart, Ray Wolfinger, Gerald Grinstein.

Senator Mansfield made reference to a letter from Senator Moss asking why the Senate had not attempted to vote cloture. Senator Mansfield then stated that the Leadership simply had not had the

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<sup>2</sup>The "old Supreme Court chamber" refers to the room on the second floor of the Capitol that had been used by the Supreme Court between 1860 and 1935. Previously, the Senate had met in that chamber from 1810 to 1859. In 1976 the room was restored to look as it did when the Senate occupied it, and has since been known as the "old Senate chamber."

votes to pass a cloture petition. The Chairman said that he hoped the proposed package plan would enable the Senate to get cloture.

Senator Mansfield then made the following opening statement:

Today is the 60th day of debate on the Civil Rights bill. That is a long time, too long. It has been a wearing experience for all of us, but especially for those who have been most faithful in answering quorums day in and day out, in floor duty and in presiding over the Senate.

No one has taken on a greater share of these burdens than Hubert Humphrey. As manager of the bill, he has been on the floor day in and day out and long into the night and he has had most of the burden of the off-the-floor negotiations with the Justice Department and the Republicans. He has had to be everywhere and talk to everyone for almost 24 hours a day. Whenever your patience begins to wear thin, just think of his.

We are going to need patience for a while longer because we are by no means home yet on this bill. In my judgment, it is not enough to say that we are prepared to vote for a civil rights bill unless we are also willing to vote for cloture. I think that the experience of the past two months, and particularly of the past two weeks has made it abundantly clear that the key question is not the Civil Rights bill in any particular form but the question of cloture.

I should think that all Senators—Democratic members in particular—whether they approve the bill in its original House form, in the proposed amended form, or in some other, would want to think a long time before closing the door on the cloture exit from the present situation. At stake is not only the issue of Civil Rights but the reputation of the Senate. And for Democrats, there is the additional factor of the effect of a failure to face up to the issue on the President who has committed himself fully to this bill. In my judgment, the longer we dally with this measure, the worse it is going to be for the nation and for all incumbents. Whatever the exigencies in our particular states, the outcome of the Congressional elections will rest in substantial measure on the judgment which the nation forms as to the ability of Congress to work with the President to accomplish the nation's necessary business. As of this moment, we are not accomplishing anything to speak of.

Cloture was written into the rules to allow the Senate to move ahead with its work in a situation such as now confronts us. It is a vital and integral part of the rules, and, at this point, it would appear to be about the only recourse open to the Senate to get around the impasse. I believe the amendments which you have before you will be most helpful in bringing the Senate closer to an acceptance of that recourse. I ask those of you who may

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have mixed feelings about these amendments or other parts of this bill or even most of the bill not to close your minds to cloture. I ask those of you who have been steadfast and patient for so long to remain steadfast and patient a while longer. For the ardent supporters of civil rights, I would urge you not to allow your feelings to blind you to the realities which confront us.

Senator Humphrey has done a magnificent job in the management of this bill to date and in very difficult negotiations with the Republicans. Those of you who participated so ably in some of these meetings—Senator Clark, Senator Magnuson, Senator Hart and others—know what he was up against. I personally believe the resultant compromises are not only acceptable but essential for the passage of any civil rights legislation and I underscore the words *any* and *essential*.

At the conclusion of the statement, the Majority Leader recognized Senator Humphrey.

Senator Humphrey proceeded to give a detailed explanation of the “package” of amendments to H.R. 7152. He pointed out that the major changes occur in Titles II (Public Accommodations), V (Civil Rights Commission), and VII (Fair Employment Practices). He contended that in general the bill was not weakened by the changes although they did have the effect of giving greater stress to voluntary compliance and delaying enforcement. In Titles II and VII, for example, the conferees specifically provided for a delay in federal enforcement to permit state and local authorities to work out a solution.

Questions pertaining to the changes were directed to Senator Humphrey by Senators Lausche, Symington, Byrd (W.Va.), Nelson, Douglas, Pastore, Holland, Ervin, and Gore. These questions dealt with Titles II, III, VI, VII and IX. Senator Clark assisted Senator Humphrey in the responses.

Senator Clark stated that he was not satisfied with Title VII as it now existed but that it was a matter of practical politics that a compromise be reached so that the Senate could pass a bill.

Senator Hart said that this was a far better bill than we had last year at this time and with these amendments we can look on it as our own.

Senator Clark interrupted to state that Senator Dirksen had been quite unyielding in his position and that the meetings had been called on his terms and his terms alone. But that once the meetings had started, Senator Humphrey had stood his ground on the Democratic changes and a spirit of compromise had finally prevailed without the loss of either ground or face.

Senator Anderson wanted to know how he could answer for this back home.

Senator Humphrey replied, “Don’t get too upset with what we are trying to do. What we have tried to do is perfect a bill and [there is] no doubt now that it is a clear piece of law.”

Senator Holland: “No doubt about that.”

Senator Ervin said he would like to study the bill, and that it would take a minimum of a week to study the bill.

Senator Humphrey assured Senator Ervin that there would be no hasty action on the bill and that there would be ample time to study the latest proposals.

Senator Byrd (W.Va.) feared that Section 602 of Title VI would make racial balance in schools a criterion for continued federal aid. Senator Humphrey replied that such fears are unfounded.

Senator Lauche asked if the staff of the Democratic Policy Committee would prepare a memo on:

1. When, if ever, the Attorney General may initiate a lawsuit under the bill; and
2. When, if ever, the Attorney General may intervene in a lawsuit.

Senator Holland asked when the jury trial amendments would be finished, and Senator Humphrey replied, “When the Senate works its will.”

Senator Humphrey went on to state that the Senate would work out the jury trial question first and then proceed to the package plan, and that the jury trial question might eventually have to become a part of the package plan.

A general discussion of cloture followed and it was generally understood that there might have to be a cloture vote within a three-week period. But if possible, it would be avoided altogether.

The Conference was adjourned at 11:54 A.M.

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DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE  
OLD SUPREME COURT CHAMBER  
TUESDAY, MAY 19, 1964, 10:00 A.M.  
*AGENDA*

1. Call of the roll.
2. Opening Remarks—Majority Leader.
3. Explanation of Dirksen-sponsored amendments to H.R. 7152, concurred in by floor manager of the bill—Senator Humphrey.

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4. Open discussion.

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[July 20, 1964]

Minutes of Senate Democratic Conference, Monday, July 20, 1964, 10:00 A.M., Room S-207, the Capitol.

The Conference was called to order at 10:10 A.M. by the Chairman. A quorum was present: Bartlett, Brewster, Burdick, Church, Dodd, Douglas, Eastland, Ellender, Fulbright, Gore, Hartke, Hayden, Hill, Holland, Humphrey, Inouye, Johnston, Lausche, Long (La), Mansfield, McClellan, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, McNamara, Monroney, Morse, Moss, Neuberger, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Ribicoff, Russell, Sparkman, Stennis, Symington, Talmadge, Thurmond, Walters, Yarborough, Young (Ohio). *Also Present:* Charles Ferris, John Graves, Patrick Hynes, Teddy Roe, Ken Teasdale, Frank Valeo.

The Chairman then made the following statement:

This Democratic Conference has been called for the express purpose of considering the items on the Senate program which must be disposed of as a prerequisite to adjournment this session.<sup>3</sup> It would be my intention to meet later with the Minority Leader (Mr. Dirksen) for the same purpose.

The requirements of the political campaigns notwithstanding, there are certain legislative items of business which must take precedence. Congress must dispose of the remaining appropriations bills. We must clear a number of items on the President's program which are already in conference such as the Food Stamp Plan, the Highway Authorization, Military Construction, the Pay bill and the Public Defenders bill.

We have certain internal housekeeping resolutions. We have the foreign aid bill. And in all good sense and conscience the Congress should also consider the items which the President considers of great national importance and which are already well along in the legislative mill. On the part of the Senate, I have in mind such measures as the Commission on Automation, Nurses Training, Hill-Burton Extension, Housing, Tax Equalization, Poverty and a number of others.

It is not inconceivable that the Congressional work for the session can be completed in the month prior to the Democratic Convention. It all depends on the diligence and application of members of the Democratic party in committee and on the floor.

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<sup>3</sup>In 1964 the Senate recessed from August 21 to 31 for the Democratic National Convention. Although many senators had hoped to adjourn to give them time to campaign for reelection, the press of business forced Congress back into session after the convention. The second session of the Eighty-eighth Congress finally adjourned on October 3, 1964.

It depends on the willingness to get down to the legislative business at hand and to leave the political take-offs and campaign oratorical flights until later.

We can finish the work of this Congress by late August but if we do not we will be here after the Democratic Convention. We will be here in September and on into December if necessary.

In order for the Senate to finish its business as I have outlined it may be necessary to meet on Saturdays. But if we meet on Saturdays we must have a quorum and we must conduct business. I therefore ask that all Senators try to schedule their affairs so as to be on hand at all times.

For today the Senate will turn to consideration of the Dual Compensation bill, the Leroy Collins nomination and the military pay raise. We had hoped to work on the stockpiling bill but the Chairman of the Finance Committee, Mr. Robertson, has expressed a desire to look at it so we will consider that as soon as possible. We had also hoped to deal with the Potato futures bill but Senator Muskie is unavoidably out of town today so we will turn to that tomorrow.

The Chairman then asked for comments and suggestions with respect to the program for the remainder of the session.

Senator Ellender suggested that if the Leadership intended to shoot for adjournment by the time of the Democratic Convention the list of measures to be acted on should be set and there should not be additions to it. The Leader replied that there were certain items beyond those which he had mentioned such as the International Coffee Agreement and Social Security pension increases and others which would probably be scheduled but that he was not aware of any other new requests that were still to come from the White House.

Senator Dodd said that he had two bills in which he was deeply interested—a dangerous drugs bill, that was being held up by the Budget Bureau, and the gun bill. The Senator stated that he thought the Republicans would make much of the issue of crime in the streets and that these measures were of particular relevance to this issue.

The Leader said that he knew the Senator had fought long and hard for both of these bills. He thought that the drug bill had a chance of passage and was being looked into. He suggested that the gun bill which was quite controversial would probably have to wait until the next session.

Senator Lausche noted that there were two bills in which he was interested, one on passports and the other involving the regaining of citizenship after it had been renounced abroad. He would want these bills considered even though they might not be of great imme-



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diacy if others were going to press for similar secondary matters. He felt that the Leadership should differentiate between primary measures requiring action this session and those of a secondary nature which, even though desirable, could be put off until next session.

The Leader stated that in Senator Dodd's case he has worked for four years on his drug bill.

Senator Church said that there is a great deal of opposition in Idaho to the potato acreage allotment bill. He also stated that if the bill were taken up he would be obliged to fight it to the fullest possible extent.

Senator Pastore raised the question of Medicare or health care and a prolonged and intermittent discussion of the measure ensued. Senator Holland thought that the Democrats had had enough disunity for one session and should stand together and avoid further measures of deep controversy. His view was that we should concentrate on the remaining appropriations bills.

Senator Holland expressed his opposition to Medicare and his hope that it would not come up this session because of its great controversial nature. Kerr-Mills, he felt, is still in a trial period in some thirty states and should be given a chance.

The Leader agreed that the appropriations bills should be disposed of as soon as possible. In response to his query as to the status of the Legislative Appropriations, Senator Monroney stated it would be marked up shortly. Senator Mansfield mentioned that, in addition, D.C. Appropriations was about ready and that Independent Offices would be out soon.

Senator Russell stated that the Armed Services appropriations would require a week to ten days.

He also said that the military pay raise was ready for consideration today and he hoped the Senate would agree with the committee which was unanimous on the need for the small increase involved.

Referring back to the discussion of Health Care, Senator Russell said his main concern was that the House bill increasing Social Security payments would probably fail if Health Care were attached to it.

Senator Hartke made a plea for aid for college students. The Leader replied that the Senate could be in session indefinitely if this and other measures which had merit were all taken up before adjournment. Senator Morse said he would have the Hartke college aid bill out of his subcommittee this week and hoped that the full committee would consider it shortly thereafter. The Senator said he was surprised at the support for the bill and that he would push hard for it.

Senator Symington made a plea for the stockpiling bill. He stated that Senator Robertson had written to him, raising certain questions and that Senator Metcalf had an amendment. He said that he and Senator Thurmond would talk to these members and was hopeful that the matter could be worked out because it was a good business-like bill and should be passed. The Leader expressed the view that Senators Robertson, Russell and Symington would work closely together and come up with a solution.

Discussion reverted once more to Health Care, Senator Ribicoff stated that he thought that acceptance of the Mills bill for an increase in Social Security allotments would mean death for the Administration Health Care plan. Because of its cost it would preclude inclusion of Health Care under Social Security for the foreseeable future. The country, he thought, would not support a higher level of Social Security taxation or a further raise in the base of taxable pay.

Senator Russell's view was that both Health Care and the Social Security increases could not be passed this session and that if the intention of the Leadership was to push for Health Care then it might well consider offering it not in addition to but as a substitute for the increases.

Senator Ribicoff's view was that clarification of the President's wishes on this subject should be awaited before a final decision on procedure. He said that he was sending the President a memorandum on Health Care and would suggest that something be done this session.

Senator McNamara said that he favored Health Care but felt that the decision on how to proceed should be held in abeyance for a week or so, pending consideration by the President and the Senate Leadership. The President, he felt, was firmly committed on the issue.

Senator Young said that even though he is a strong supporter of Health Care he agreed with Senator Russell that the Senate should not pass the Social Security increases with Health Care in it. He also thought the Senate should wait on Presidential clarification of this matter.

Senator Long (La.) contended that Congressman Mills and the House would not accept Health Care. If the Senate wants to kill the Social Security increases the best way would be to include Health Care and insist on it.

Senator Gore's view was that the Senate should take its stand on what it and the President wanted not what the House wanted. He felt that there should be a strong stand on the issue of Health Care because the problem is growing more acute rather than lessening.

Senator Mansfield said that he was sure that his position in favor of Health Care was generally known. But in timing and procedure,

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he felt the Senate should take into consideration the President's wishes.

Senator Ellender referred to the need to extend P.L. 480. The Leader replied that it would have to be taken care of as well as the Sugar Act.

Senator Long said that the Domestic Sugar Quota did not expire until June 30, 1965 but that something might have to be done on the Foreign Quota.

Senator Brewster inquired as to the Leadership proposals for Saturday sessions. The Majority Leader reiterated that Saturday sessions would probably be necessary and would be held provided there was work to be done and a quorum was available.

Senator Pastore inquired as to the possibility of longer daily sessions, perhaps in lieu of Saturday sessions. The Leader replied that he would have to be guided in this connection by the flow of work from the committees.

Senator Neuberger stated that the Conference had been very helpful and suggested another meeting next Monday, July 27, to evaluate the situation as that time.

The Majority [Leader] agreed and announced that another Conference would be convened on Monday, July 27, at 11:00 A.M.

The Conference adjourned at 11:02 A.M.

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[July 27, 1964]

Minutes of the Senate Democratic Conference, July 27, 1964, 11:00 A.M., S-207.

*Members present:* Bayh, Bible, Brewster, Burdick, Byrd (W.Va.), Cannon, Church, Clark, Dodd, Douglas, Edmondson, Ellender, Ervin, Fulbright, Gore, Gruening, Hayden, Hill, Holland, Humphrey, Inouye, Johnston, Jordan, Long (Mo.), Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McClellan, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, McNamara, Metcalf, Monroney, Morse, Moss, Neuberger, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Robertson, Russell, Smathers, Sparkman, Stennis, Symington, Thurmond, Yarborough. *Others Present:* Frank Valeo, John Graves, Patrick Hynes, Ken Teasdale, Charles Ferris, Teddy Roe.

The Conference was called to order at 11:10 A.M. by the Chairman, Senator Mansfield. The Chairman reported that Senator Anderson had a successful operation this past Saturday and is doing very well.

Senator Mansfield then made the following statement:

We have two items of scheduled business for this meeting:

(1) Maurine Neuberger suggested at the last Conference that we check back in a week to see how we might be progressing on the adjournment schedule. I believe it is self-evident we have made good progress during the past seven days. On the floor, we cleared two pieces of essential business plus a number of other items. The committees have ready for us or, I am informed, will have ready for floor action in the next day or two, several appropriations bills plus five items on the President's program. There will be, in short, ample work to keep us very busy on the floor every day and into the evening during this week.

I would request, therefore, that you remain close at hand for votes at any time, that you avoid asking the Leadership to put off or re-schedule votes and that you be generous in your response to unanimous consent requests. If we can continue to operate in that pattern on the floor and if the committees—especially Appropriations which has been doing an extraordinary job of late—continue to move necessary business to the floor, our chances of completing the schedule before the Party Convention will be looking up.

The second point of business concerns the Rules Committee resolution on disclosure, S. Res. 337. After the adoption of the Cooper substitute on Friday to the other measure, S. Res. 338, I asked the lawyers on the Policy Committee to examine the legal implications of the change for S. Res. 337. I also had in mind, in reevaluating the situation, the suggestion of the Minority Leader that the Senate ought not to be singled out in a matter of this kind—that if one institution of the government were to be required to disclose then all should be similarly required. After all, in the Senate, we may be no better than anyone else in this government but I am not prepared to endorse the premise that we are worse, that we are less to be trusted than people in the Executive Branch or the Judiciary.

I should like for the Senate to act in this matter, if it decides it must act, not in a manner which suggests a guilty conscience but, rather, as a leader in seeking to perfect the legal instruments for safeguarding of the integrity of the entire government.

With that as background, I should like, now, to outline the intentions of the Leadership with respect to the disclosure resolution, S. Res. 337.

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(1) When the morning hour is completed, today, the Leadership will ask that the disclosure resolution, S. Res. 337, be laid down as the pending business.

(2) With respect to any amendments which members may wish to offer to the resolution, the Leadership will not be pre-disposed as to their desirability or lack of it. They will stand or fall on their merit in the judgment of the Senate as a whole. The Leadership will see to it that they are all given consideration. That is all. I would only express the hope, however, that members will be restrained in their requests for roll-calls on amendments in the hope that we may dispose of the matter today.

(3) When the amendments have all been considered, the Leadership will then move to recommit the simple Senate resolution as amended—if amended—to the [Rules] committee with the following instructions:

1. To report back forthwith the simple Senate resolution, S. Res. 337, as amended on the floor.
2. To report back, in addition, a Senate joint resolution for the creation of a Commission on Ethics along the lines proposed by the Minority Leader with a view to recommending legislation on disclosure and whatever else may be necessary which will be applicable not only to the Senate but to the House, to the Executive Branch and to the Federal Judiciary on as nearly uniform basis as possible. I should add that in the Leadership motion to recommit, it will be stipulated that S. Res. 337 will apply immediately to the Senate, in effect, as an interim provision until such time as the Commission has an opportunity to report.

In this fashion, it seems to me, it will be made clear that the Senate is preparing to take the leadership in this matter of disclosure by adding S. Res. 337 as amended to its rules and thereby binding itself. At the same time, it will be made clear by the joint resolution that what applies to the Senate ought to apply equally and impartially to the rest of the government.

As soon as the simple resolution and the joint resolution are reported back—it will be immediately after recommitment and I expect it will be today if we can get through the amendments without delay—the Leadership will attempt to get a vote on both without further amendment. The chance to amend will come before the motion to recommit. After the measures are reported back, in the absence of overriding reasons to the contrary, the Leadership will move to table further amendments.

That, in brief, is the approach which, it is expected, will be taken to this difficult and onerous business. It seems to me to be the only way in which we can avoid the charge of evasion, the only way that we can face up to the issue and dispose of it one way or the other without, at the same time, pointing a finger at the Senate as the sole source of potential chicanery and malfeasance in the government, a premise which I reiterate, I cannot and will not accept.

We are saying, in effect, by this approach, that if a disclosure provision is necessary for maintaining integrity in government—and the votes today will tell us what the sentiment on that point may be—the Senate will be the first to adopt it as regards itself. But we will also suggest, in effect, by the joint resolution, that if it is necessary in the Senate, it is also necessary in the Executive Departments and agencies and in the Federal Judiciary.

Speaking for myself, personally, I think it is about time that Senators stopped tearing the Senate down. I think it is about time that we recognized that if we do not have a monopoly on virtue neither do we have a monopoly on sin. I am prepared to match the integrity of the Senate and its staff against the integrity of any other group in the government.

I can understand it when the press and others seek to inflate the wickedness of the Senate to make its name synonymous with evil but I am appalled by tendencies to do that ourselves to ourselves by thoughtless words and panic responses.

If there is a need for action in this matter, therefore, let us at least have the self-respect and the decency and the regard for one another and for the institution in which we serve to say that disclosure should apply throughout the government and not just in the Senate. We have had our scandal and other branches and departments of this government have had theirs.

It is demeaning and humiliating and irresponsible in the extreme to invite the public to heap scorn on the Senate by suggesting that it alone of all the branches and agencies of the government must be held suspect of corruption, impropriety, conflict of interest or whatever. That, in effect, is what we do when we permit ourselves to become obsessed with this concept of disclosure as applicable to the Senate alone.

What of Federal judges who sit on the bench and also sit on the boards of corporations, banks and insurance companies? Jerry Landauer of the Wall Street Journal flagged this situation in May, 1963. Where was the clamor then for a disclosure law with respect to the Judiciary?

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What of the Billie Sol Estes matter? Where was the clamor for a disclosure measure with respect to the Department of Agriculture when it became apparent that several employees there were intimately involved with Mr. Estes?

What of the billions of dollars of contracts put out by the departments of this government every year and the great influence which bureaucrats down the line exercise in these awards. Who has suggested that they be subject to some sort of disclosure provision?

I could go on with the list. I have in my hand a pile of references to questionable practices in the Executive Branch and the Federal Judiciary which anyone may read if they desire. I think they make it amply clear that if disclosure is needed in the Senate it is certainly needed everywhere else in the government and not just for the highest officials either.

None of us is 100% pure; all of us are a little impure. And that applies to every other segment of the government. So let us get our perspective straight before we go into this business today.

The Chairman's statement was followed by a general discussion of the Rules Committee's resolutions.

Senator Pastore raised the matter of duplication of responsibility and enforcement as between the Rules Committee and the new Select Committee on Standards and Conduct. Senator Clark replied that he was prepared to offer an amendment on the floor to put the enforcement responsibility in the new Select Committee.

Senator Pastore then questioned the Leadership's intention of following a two prong (Senate resolution and Senate joint resolution) procedural approach on the disclosure resolution. He suggested that a single comprehensive bill that would affect the entire government might be preferable. Senator Mansfield replied that he did not think there would be time for the House to consider such a bill and even if there was he doubted that they would pass it. He repeated his insistence that the Senate had before it a committee resolution that it should face up to the issue and either vote it up or down but not postpone it.

Senator Pastore stated that he did not like the idea of singling out the Senate. Senator Gruening agreed and said the Senate should not put itself on record only to have the House refuse to do so.

Senator Holland urged defeat of the measure on the grounds that the Senate action so far had only served to magnify the public sentiment that something is wrong with the Senate when there is nothing wrong at all.

The Leader challenged the ease with which Senator Holland dismissed the issue saying the Senate would be “in the soup” if it didn’t resolve the issue.

Senator Russell supported the single comprehensive approach of a bill covering all branches of government on disclosure.

Senator Ervin stated that he thought the Senate was suffering from hysteria. He went on to point out that Congress had passed a government-wide conflict of interest law in 1962 and that it is in effect now. He contended that the Senate was demeaning itself.

Senator McNamara rose to point out that it was not the Senate as such but rather the Democrats who were being punished by the issue. It was his view that the matter had been allowed to snowball and the sooner it was disposed of the better.

Senator Mansfield said he wanted the Conference to know that his own views had not been prompted by the press, although the press had been unusually “hard” on the matter.

Senator Jordan charged that there had been a lot of “loose talk” on the floor. He said that the Rules Committee had been faced with a thankless job but had done its best to bring out the resolution. He said that as far as he was concerned, he did not care how the Senate disposed of it. He felt that the Democrats in the Senate were being made the victims of a first rate smear job by the opposition. He was especially critical of the Cooper Amendment, stating that the creation of the new Select Committee was tantamount to establishing a committee of snoops. He called it one of the worst things that has happened since he had come to the Senate. He stated that the Senate is not an evil place and that people like Bobby Baker and the late Senator [Joseph R.] McCarthy [Republican, Wisconsin] occasionally pop up in all walks of life.

Senator Smathers inquired if the disclosure resolution applied to candidates for the Senate. Senator Jordan replied that it did not. Senator Clark noted, however, that the committee resolution did permit non-member candidates for the Senate to file if they so desired. He then commended Senator Jordan for his chairmanship during the investigation, but he strongly defended the principle of disclosure. He denied that S. Res. 337 cast any aspersions on the Senate, calling the resolution limited.

Senator Humphrey suggested that the Select Committee be allowed to decide what should be done about disclosure, thereby making consideration of S. Res. 337 unnecessary. Senator Clark disagreed, saying that there was a need now and always would be a need for a disclosure procedure.

Senator Cannon said it would be a mistake to recommit the resolution and have two items come back from committee. He suggested that only one measure come back and that should be a joint resolu-



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tion applying to the Senate and other branches. He, too, felt that the finger of guilt was being pointed at the Senate. The Senator stated that he was prepared to ask unanimous consent to change S. Res. 337 to S.J. Res. 337 and if an objection was heard he would go along with the Leadership. Senator Mansfield said he probably would hear an objection and even if he did not there would be a long wait for the House to act.

In sum, the Leadership position was that the unique circumstances indicated that it was desirable for the Senate to face up to the issue of disclosure now insofar as the Senate was concerned and try at the same time to start the ball rolling in this connection for all other parts of the government. The principal objections to this course centered on the view that the Senate, for a variety of reasons, should not put itself out in front, if, indeed, it ought to do anything at all about disclosure.

Senator Mansfield adjourned the Conference at 11:55 A.M., to meet at 11:00 A.M. on Monday, August 3, 1964.

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[August 3, 1964]

Minutes of the Senate Democratic Conference, Monday, August 3, 1964, 11:00 A.M., Room S-208, the Capitol.

Present: Burdick, Church, Clark, Dodd, Douglas, Ervin, Fulbright, Gore, Johnston, Jordan, Lausche, Long (Mo), Magnuson, Mansfield, McClellan, McGovern, McIntyre, Monroney, Morse, Nelson, Neuberger, Randolph, Ribicoff, Smathers, Symington, Thurmond. *Also Present:* [Francis] Valeo, [John] Graves, [Patrick] Hynes, [Charles] Ferris, [Ken] Teasdale.

The Conference was called to order at 11:13 A.M. by the Chairman, Senator Mansfield.

Senator Mansfield then made the following statement:

As you are well aware, we have just completed an exceptional week in which a number of bills involving the President's program have been disposed of in the Senate. (See list) I want to thank you again for the cooperation which you are extending to the Leadership.

For the current week, the principal item of business will be the foreign aid bill. Some difficulties on this measure are to be anticipated from the other side of the aisle. And I know that some of our own members have misgivings about the bill in whole or part. It is not expected nor is it asked that these misgivings be put aside. But I do request that, in the interests of time, the misgivings as they are expressed in amendments be consolidated insofar as possible. And I would request, further,

that as many as feasible be tested by voice vote rather than by roll call. Finally, I would request that any very extended remarks on foreign aid or any other subject be withheld until the later hours of the day.

It is the intention of the Leadership to seek to lay aside foreign aid from time to time during the week in the hope of clearing up other essential items of business and moving them on to conference or to the White House as the case may be. Today, for example, it is hoped that we can clear the interest equalization bill, which is of great importance to the balance of payments situation. We also have ready for action the Independent Offices Appropriations and later in the week other appropriations bills should become available. The Land Conservation measure, I understand, may also reach the floor this week.

At the end of the week we should have a good idea of what the prospects may be for adjournment before the Democratic Convention opens. In the meantime, I want to thank you again for your cooperation and help.

(List of bills mentioned in preceding statement)

Beef Imports (cleared to House)  
 Treasury Post Office Appropriation (cleared to the President)  
 Legislative Appropriation (cleared to Conference)  
 Defense Appropriation (cleared to Conference)  
 5 Tax Treaties Ratified  
 Extensive Housing Bill (cleared to House)  
 Commission on Automation (cleared to House)  
 Coffee Agreement (cleared to House)  
 D.C. Appropriation (cleared to Conference)  
 Highway Authorization (cleared to President)  
 Hill-Burton Extension (cleared to President)  
 NDEA Extension for 3 Years and a 2-Year Extension of Impacted Areas (cleared to House)

Senator Morse stated that he was opposed to the Foreign Aid bill but he would like very much to see it finished this week. He would cooperate to that end as the Leadership had suggested except that he felt there was a need for roll call votes on a considerable number of amendments in order to give members a chance to go on record. Senator Mansfield said that he had not intended to leave the impression that there ought to be no roll calls on the measure. There would be and they would be supported as requested.

Senator Fulbright asked about the chances of obtaining a time-limitation on the Foreign Aid bill. Senator Mansfield replied that it would not be possible, at least not right away. Senator Morse said he had made clear previously that a unanimous consent agreement

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would have to be opposed. He felt, in any event, that just as good time could be made on the Foreign Aid bill without one.

The Conference then turned to the subject of adjournment. The Majority Leader thought that as of now there was a possibility that the Senate could go out by the 24th of August. He felt the situation could be estimated more accurately by the end of the week.

Senator Morse stated that he thought it would be a great mistake to reconvene Congress immediately after the Democratic Convention. He said President Truman was able to do it in 1948 because he was the underdog and was also dealing with a Republican Congress. But in present circumstances, he felt, a special session would give the Republicans a political sounding board and create a risk of dangerous divisiveness among the Democrats. His view was that if a reconvening were necessary it ought to take place after the November election.

Senator Clark expressed particular concern about the week between the end of the Democratic Convention and Labor Day. He felt that the Leadership should let the members know the soonest possible if, in the event Congress had to come back at all, it would come back for this week or not until after Labor Day.

The Leader noted that he could not be precise on this point because it involved consultations with others. In the meantime, he expressed the hope that the situation would clarify by the end of the week as to the possibilities of sine die adjournment before the Convention.

Senator Symington said that scheduling problems in his campaign made it necessary for him to know as soon as possible about coming back after the Convention. Senator Mansfield replied that he too was running this year and had his full share of problems but that it is impossible to say definitely about sine die adjournment. At the next Conference, he believed, the situation would have clarified.

Senator Clark brought up Medicare and the condition of Senator Anderson in connection therewith. Senator Mansfield replied that he had talked with Senator Anderson and he probably would be back within the next week or so. As to Medicare, he stated that the Leadership did not intend, at this time, to bring it up but if it was offered as an amendment to the Social Security legislation by any member it would get full consideration.

Senator Gore pointed out that the Finance Committee would be meeting Tuesday and might possibly come up with something at that time. Senator Ribicoff stated that he personally felt that he had to offer Medicare as a substitute because it would be most serious if the House Social Security amendment were to pass. He also said he had tried to keep Senator Anderson informed as to the latest developments.

Senator Magnuson said that since Senator [Jacob] Javits would definitely offer a Medicare amendment he wished that the Democrats would be ready with their own amendment. He noted that he was tired of voting on Republican usurpations of Democratic programs and that Medicare would be an important issue in the campaign.

Senator Gore felt that Medicare needed the Administration's support. He thought it desirable to arrive at a Democratic-Leadership position on this measure and get the President to announce it and then to pursue it. Senator Symington stated that Medicare was a very popular issue in Missouri and the Democrats needed it.

Senator Lausche expressed the hope that the Finance Committee would go into the matter of the cost of Social Security amendments. He felt that the fiscal integrity of the fund was most important. Senator Gore said the fund was sound and that the proposal had been geared to the present fund structure.

Senator Lausche asked about the chance of passing the Interest Equalization bill. Senator Gore replied that only two Republicans supported it in committee and the Democrats were unanimous in support of it. He did not anticipate too much difficulty with it.

Senator Fulbright asked if it was the intention of holding night sessions. He felt them desirable so long as all members were on notice that they would be held. The difficulty, he thought, was not in having night sessions but in the uncertainty in not having a firm understanding that they would be held and in adhering to it. Senator Mansfield replied that as long as there was business the Senate would meet. Senator Lausche then pointed out the merits of meeting early and going out at a reasonable hour rather than coming in at noon and staying until midnight. Senator Johnston said it would have to be up to the Leader to determine the hours of the Senate on the basis of the over-all situation.

Senator Mansfield adjourned the Conference at 11:35 A.M. until Monday, August 10, at 11:00 A.M.

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[August 10, 1964]

Minutes of the Senate Democratic Conference, Monday, August 10, 1964, 11:00 A.M., Room S-207, the Capitol.

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*Present:* Senators Bartlett, Bible, Brewster, Church, Dodd, Ellender, Fulbright, Gruening, Hart, Hayden, Holland, Inouye, Johnston, Long (Mo.), Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McClellan, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Monroney, Morse, Nelson, Neuberger, Proxmire, Robertson, Russell, Salinger, Smathers, Symington, Walters, Yarborough. Messrs: Frank Valeo, John Graves, Felton Johnston, Patrick Hynes, Ken Teasdale, Charlie Ferris, Teddy Roe.

The meeting was called to order at 11:05 by the Chairman, Senator Mansfield. The Chairman then made the following statement:

The Steering Committee met this morning at 10:30 A.M. It made the following Committee designations:

McIntyre ..... Armed Services.  
Brewster ..... Commerce.  
Salinger ..... Government Operations, Public Works.  
Young ..... Special Committee on Aging.  
Neuberger ..... Select Committee on Small Business.

In addition, after consultation with other members of the Leadership, I should like to announce my appointment of Senator Inouye to the Legislative Review Group of the Policy Committee. Is there objection from the Conference? (Hearing none, the appointment will be regarded as confirmed.)

With respect to the schedule, I would note the following progress during the past week:

Pay Bill—cleared to President  
Defense Department Appropriation—cleared to President  
Southeast Asia Resolution—cleared to President  
Public Defenders—cleared to President

Also, the following bills on the President's list were sent to Conference:

Wilderness  
Interest Equalization  
Independent Offices Appropriations  
Public Works Appropriation  
Military Construction Appropriation  
Agriculture Appropriation

For the coming week, I am hopeful that we will be able to clear to the President, today, the Poverty bill by accepting the House amendment.

In addition, we will return to Foreign Aid and try to complete it as rapidly as possible.

It is anticipated that we shall also have available for floor consideration this week:

- Appalachia
- Land Conservation
- Labor-HEW Appropriation
- Nurses Training

When these are out of the way, the items on which significant floor work remains will be:

- State-Justice-Commerce Appropriations
- Foreign Aid Appropriation
- Food for Peace
- Immigration
- Social Security (Health Care)
- Sugar

And that is about it. In the light of this week's progress, I am hopeful that we may be able to adjourn by the 22nd of August, but that is by no means a certainty. A good deal depends on the progress we make today and tonight on foreign aid and on the rapidity of the Committee progress on the remaining measures. It would be my best judgment at this time that if we do not finish by August 22nd, we will return on Monday, August 31 and work through the week preceding Labor Day in an effort to finish up.

Senator Neuberger rose to take issue with the fact that she had not been chosen for the vacancy on the Commerce Committee. Mrs. Neuberger pointed out that she had seniority and had expressed her interest in this assignment for some time.

Senator Mansfield replied that all committee assignments made by the Steering Committee were arrived at on a basis of election by secret ballot. Senator Holland felt that it should be noted that Senator Brewster had given up his seat on the Commerce Committee two years previously so that Senator Hart, who was having trouble in Michigan at that time, could take the seat.

Senator Magnuson stated that it used to be the practice for the Steering Committee to consult with committee chairmen before making any assignments. But the practice for the past four or five sessions had been for the Steering Committee to operate independently and with a secret ballot. He pointed out that he had said to Senator Brewster last week that he hoped the Steering Committee would appoint a Westerner because Commerce was a little short on Westerners. The Steering Committee members had not consulted with him but had chosen to operate independently and he, personally, thought it was a wise procedure.

Senator Monroney asked if the so-called "Johnson rule," whereby freshmen members were given their first choice of a major commit-

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tee, were still applicable. Senator Mansfield replied that if it were possible it would be applied but that in the case of Senator Salinger it had not been possible.

Senator Long (Mo.) then rose to register a complaint. He said he had expressed great interest in being in attendance when the Agriculture appropriations bill was brought up and had been advised (by the Leader) that there was only a bare possibility that it would be considered on Saturday, August 8. Yet it had been disposed of on that day. Senator Long said that consideration always seemed to be given to those members who raised the most difficulties. He thought that he had cooperated with the Leadership and the Administration but that consideration had not been shown to him. The Senator felt that on that basis he was going to have to review his general support of the Administration and the Leadership.

Senator Symington supported Senator Long's statement and pointed out that his campaign kick-off had been set up since last April. He also stated that his opponent and the Kansas City Star had really given him a hard time because of his absence during consideration of a bill so vital to Missouri.

Senator Mansfield replied that no favorites were played, no one was given special consideration, but the simple fact was that it was necessary to get the appropriations measures into conference so that if possible the Senate may be able to adjourn by August 22.

Senator Fulbright inquired whether the Senate were going to continue to lay aside the Foreign Aid authorization or to forget it entirely. The Leader replied that it was not the intention to forget it but that when the foreign aid bill was taken up it had been stated it would be necessary from time to time to lay it aside to consider other matters. It is the Leadership's intention to move as quickly as possible to final consideration of the matter.

Senator Fulbright asked if it would be in order to lay the aid authorization aside and move directly to the aid appropriations measure, as he heard might be done. The Leader replied that although it might be done he did not believe it would be wise.

Senator Morse stated that there was nothing stopping consideration of the aid bill. He was ready to vote amendments but he would not permit a gag rule to be imposed on the measure.

Senator Fulbright wanted to know if a decision had been reached as to how to handle Senator Dirksen's reapportionment amendment to the aid bill. Senator Mansfield replied that the Majority and Minority lawyers had been working on the problem over the weekend but that he had not had a chance to talk with them. Senator Church asked if a Senate Joint Resolution on the same subject would be in order to get the reapportionment amendment off the aid bill. The Leader replied that a number of alternatives were being considered.

The Conference was adjourned at 11:25 A.M. to meet on Monday, August 17 at 11:00 A.M.

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[August 17, 1964]

Minutes of the Senate Democratic Conference, Monday, August 17, 1964, 11:00 A.M., Room S-207 of the Capitol.

*Senators Present:* Bartlett, Bible, Burdick, Church, Ervin, Fulbright, Gore, Gruening, Hayden, Inouye, Long (Mo.), Mansfield, McIntyre, Metcalf, Monroney, Neuberger, Pastore, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Salinger, Smathers, Sparkman, Stennis, Walters, Young (Ohio). *Others Present:* Frank Valeo, John Graves, Patrick Hynes, Ken Teasdale, Charlie Ferris.

The Conference was called to order at 11:12 A.M. by the Chairman, Senator Mansfield. The Chairman made the following statement:

This will probably be our last meeting this session under the Neuberger proposal.

Our hopes for a sine die adjournment before the convention, I am afraid, have been reappointed. Barring the unexpected, it is anticipated that the Senate will continue in session until Friday evening, August 21 and return to session 12:00 noon, Monday, August 31. As far as it is possible, plans should be made accordingly.

Let me say that insofar as I am concerned personally, I have a campaign in Montana with a difficult opponent. I have no more desire to come back here after the convention than anyone else. But I cannot see any alternatives.

I had no wish for the reapportionment question to be tacked onto foreign aid, which is difficult enough by itself. But there it is and it is not going to go away.

I tried the best I know how to resolve the matter, to forestall what has happened. The staff lawyers worked on it. The Leadership worked on it. And at our request the Deputy Attorney General worked on it. We came up with a compromise in the hope of trying to push ahead to adjournment. We thought it was a reasonable compromise. But, apparently, some members do not think so. So there it is. The President needs the foreign aid legislation; reapportionment is riding on it. I see no alternatives now but to stay with it until it is disposed of one way or the other.

It is most unfortunate that circumstances have developed this way. Until they did, we were in a good position to have reached sine die adjournment by Friday. But I regret to say that such is no longer the case.



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The intention, therefore, is to continue in the general pattern of the past several weeks. As other bills of importance reach the floor, we will try to lay aside the foreign aid bill and clear the others so as to get as much of the President's program as possible through by this Friday night. What is left after then will be facing us when we return from the convention. As of now, it appears that the principal items involved will be Food for Peace, Labor-HEW appropriations, supplemental appropriations, the foreign aid bill and the appropriations bill for it, probably Appalachia, and the Social Security amendment.

In response to several questions by Senators Gore, Pastore and Gruening, the Leader stated that Food for Peace would probably be ready tomorrow, Labor-HEW later this week, and supplemental appropriations would probably come up after the convention. Appalachia would probably come up on either Thursday or Friday. Social Security after the convention.

Senator Pastore then inquired why the Senate was not going to recess earlier than Friday for the convention. He said he for one would like to leave for the convention from his home state. Senator Pastore felt it would be better to stop the reapportionment debate before the convention so that the Democrats could go in a spirit of harmony.

In reply Senator Mansfield said that the Senate needed to finish as much of the President's program as was possible before the convention. He also stated that there was a certain spirit of harmony in spite of the present difficulty and in any event if the Democrats weren't fighting about something they wouldn't be Democrats.

In response to Senator Fulbright's question as to when the Senate would vote on foreign aid and if the appropriations bill would be brought up with the authorization, the Leader replied that the appropriations bill would not be brought up until after the authorization was disposed of.

The Conference was adjourned at 11:25 A.M. by the Chairman.

## **Appendix A**

### **DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE OFFICERS, 1903–1964**

#### **Democratic Conference Chairmen and Floor Leaders (with their states and dates of service as Conference officers)**

Arthur Pue Gorman, Maryland, 1903–1906  
Joseph C.S. Blackburn, Kentucky, 1906–1907  
Charles A. Culberson, Texas, 1907–1909  
Hernando D. Money, Mississippi, 1909–1911  
Thomas S. Martin, Virginia, 1911–1913  
John Worth Kern, Indiana, 1913–1917  
Thomas S. Martin, Virginia, 1917–1919  
Gilbert Hitchcock, Nebraska, 1919–1920 (Acting)<sup>1</sup>  
Oscar W. Underwood, Alabama, 1920–1923  
Joseph T. Robinson, Arkansas, 1923–1937  
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky, 1937–1949  
Scott W. Lucas, Illinois, 1949–1951  
Ernest W. MacFarland, Arizona, 1951–1953  
Lyndon B. Johnson, Texas, 1953–1961  
Mike Mansfield, Montana, 1961–1977

#### **Democratic Whips**

J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois, 1913–1919  
Peter G. Gerry, Rhode Island, 1919–1929  
Morris Sheppard, Texas, 1929–1933  
J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois, 1933–1939  
Sherman Minton, Indiana, 1939–1941  
J. Lister Hill, Alabama, 1941–1947  
Scott W. Lucas, Illinois, 1947–1949  
Francis J. Myers, Pennsylvania, 1949–1951  
Lyndon B. Johnson, Texas, 1951–1953  
Earle C. Clements, Kentucky, 1953–1957  
Mike Mansfield, Montana, 1957–1961  
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota, 1961–1965

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<sup>1</sup> Vice Chairman Gilbert Hitchcock presided over the Conference and served as acting floor leader for Senate Democrats during the illness and after the death of Conference Chairman Thomas S. Martin in 1919. Hitchcock and Oscar Underwood initially tied in balloting for election as chairman, and Hitchcock continued to serve as minority leader until April 27, 1920, when he withdrew his name from consideration in favor of Underwood.

### **Democratic Conference Secretaries**

Edward L. Carmack, Tennessee, 1903–1907  
Robert L. Owen, Oklahoma, 1907–1911  
William W. Chilton, West Virginia, 1911–1913  
Willard Saulsbury, Delaware, 1913–1915  
Key Pittman, Nevada, 1915–1917 (Acting)<sup>2</sup>  
William H. King, Utah, 1917–1927  
Hugo L. Black, Alabama, 1927–1937  
Joshua B. Lee, Oklahoma, 1937–1942  
Francis T. Maloney, Connecticut, 1943–1945  
Brien McMahon, Connecticut, 1945–1952  
Thomas C. Hennings, Missouri, 1953–1960  
George Smathers, Florida, 1961–1966

### **Democratic Majority and Minority Secretaries<sup>3</sup>**

B. W. Layton, 1894–1909  
Thomas W. Keller, 1909–1925  
Edwin A. Halsey, 1925–1933  
Leslie Biffle, 1933–1945  
Felton M. Johnston, 1945–1955  
Robert G. Baker, 1955–1963  
Francis R. Valeo, 1963–1966

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<sup>2</sup>During the protracted absence of Senator Willard Saulsbury, Senator Key Pittman served as acting secretary, although he was never elected to the post. In 1916, the Democratic Conference elected Senator Saulsbury president pro tempore. In March 1917, Senator Pittman was nominated for secretary, but he declined the post.

<sup>3</sup>Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the chief staff support for the political parties in the Senate came from the assistant sergeant at arms, who served as the majority party secretary, and the acting assistant sergeant at arms, who served as minority party secretary. The assistant sergeant at arms and acting assistant sergeant at arms were nominated by the party conferences and elected by the Senate. By statute in 1929, the posts were officially designated as secretary for the majority and secretary for the minority. Technically, however the posts remained under the jurisdiction of the sergeant at arms until 1947, when they became fully independent.

**Appendix B**  
**MEMBERS OF THE SENATE DEMOCRATIC**  
**CONFERENCE, 1903–1964**

Adams, Alva B., Colorado, 1923–1924, 1933–1941.  
Anderson, Clinton P., New Mexico, 1949–1973.  
Andrews, Charles O., Florida, 1946–1946.  
Ashurst, Henry F., Arizona, 1912–1941.  
Bachman, Nathan L., Tennessee, 1933–1937.  
Bacon, Augustus O., Bacon, Georgia, 1895–1914.  
Bailey, Joseph W., Bailey, Texas, 1901–1913.  
Bailey, Josiah W., North Carolina, 1931–1946.  
Bankhead, John H., Sr., Alabama, 1907–1920.  
Bankhead, John H., 2d, Alabama, 1931–1946.  
Barkley, Alben W., Kentucky, 1927–1949, 1955–1956.  
Bartlett, Edward L., Alaska, 1959–1968.  
Bate, William B., Tennessee, 1887–1905.  
Bayard, Thomas F., Jr., Delaware, 1922–1929.  
Bayh, Birch E., Indiana, 1963–1981.  
Beckham, John C.W., Kentucky, 1915–1921.  
Benet, Christie, South Carolina, 1918–1918.  
Benton, William, Connecticut, 1949–1953.  
Berry, George L., Tennessee, 1937–1938.  
Berry, James H., Arkansas, 1885–1907.  
Bible, Alan, Nevada, 1954–1974.  
Bilbo, Theodore G., Mississippi, 1935–1947.  
Black, Hugo L., Alabama, 1927–1937.  
Blackburn, Joseph C. S., Kentucky, 1885–1897, 1901–1907.  
Blakley, William A., Texas, 1957, 1961.  
Blease, Coleman L. (Cole), South Carolina, 1925–1931.  
Bone, Homer T., Washington, 1933–1944.  
Bratton, Sam G., New Mexico, 1925–1933.  
Brewster, Daniel B., Maryland, 1963–1969.  
Briggs, Frank P., Missouri, 1945–1947.  
Brock, William E., Tennessee, 1929–1931.  
Broughton, J. Melville, North Carolina, 1948–1949.  
Broussard, Edwin S., Louisiana, 1921–1933.  
Broussard, Robert F., Louisiana, 1915–1918.  
Brown, Fred H., New Hampshire, 1933–1939.  
Brown, Prentiss M., Michigan, 1936–1943.  
Bruce, William Cabell, Maryland, 1921–1929.

Bryan, Nathan P., Florida, 1911–1917.  
 Bryan, William J., Florida, 1907–1908.  
 Bulkley, Robert J., Ohio, 1930–1939.  
 Bulow, William J., South Dakota, 1931–1943.  
 Bunker, Berkeley L., Nevada, 1940–1942.  
 Burdick, Quentin N., North Dakota, 1960–1992.  
 Burch, Thomas G., Virginia, 1946–1946.  
 Burke, Edward R., Nebraska, 1935–1941.  
 Burke, Thomas A., Ohio, 1953–1954.  
 Byrd, Harry F., Sr., Virginia, 1933–1965.  
 Byrd, Robert C., West Virginia, 1959–.  
 Byrnes, James F., South Carolina, 1931–1941.  
 Camden, Johnson N., Jr., Kentucky, 1914–1915.  
 Cannon, Howard W., Nevada, 1959–1983.  
 Caraway, Hattie W., Arkansas, 1931–1945.  
 Caraway, Thaddeus H., Arkansas, 1921–1931.  
 Carmack, Edward W., Tennessee, 1901–1907.  
 Carroll, John A., Colorado, 1957–1963.  
 Carville, Edward P., Nevada, 1946–1947.  
 Chamberlain, George E., Oregon, 1909–1921.  
 Chandler, Albert B. (Happy), Kentucky, 1939–1945.  
 Chapman, Virgil M., Kentucky, 1949–1951.  
 Chavez, Dennis, New Mexico, 1935–1962.  
 Chilton, William E., West Virginia, 1911–1917.  
 Church, Frank F., Idaho, 1957–1981.  
 Clark, Joel Bennett, Missouri, 1933–1945.  
 Clark, D. Worth, Idaho, 1939–1945.  
 Clark, Joseph S., Pennsylvania, 1957–1969.  
 Clark, William A., Montana, 1899–1900, 1901–1907.  
 Clarke, James P., Arkansas, 1903–1916.  
 Clay, Alexander S., Georgia, 1897–1910.  
 Clements, Earle C., Kentucky, 1950–1957.  
 Cockrell, Francis M., Missouri, 1875–1905.  
 Cohen, John S., Georgia, 1932–1933.  
 Comer, Braxton Bragg, Alabama, 1920.  
 Connally, Thomas T. (Tom), Texas, 1929–1953.  
 Coolidge, Marcus A., Massachusetts, 1931–1937.  
 Copeland, Royal S., New York, 1923–1938.  
 Costigan, Edward P., Colorado, 1931–1937.  
 Culberson, Charles A., Texas, 1899–1923.  
 Daniel, Charles E., South Carolina, 1954–1954.  
 Daniel, John W., Virginia, 1887–1910.  
 Daniel, M. Price, Texas, 1953–1957.  
 Davis, Jeff, Arkansas, 1907–1913.  
 Dial, Nathaniel B., South Carolina, 1919–1925.  
 Dieterich, William H., Illinois, 1933–1939.  
 Dill, Clarence C., Washington, 1923–1935.  
 Dodd, Thomas J., Connecticut, 1959–1971.

Donahey, Alvin V., Ohio, 1935–1941.  
 Douglas, Paul H., Illinois, 1949–1967.  
 Downey, Sheridan, California, 1939–1950.  
 Doxey, Wall, Mississippi, 1941–1943.  
 Dubois, Fred T., Idaho, 1891–1897, 1901–1907.  
 Duffy, Francis R., Wisconsin, 1933–1939.  
 Eastland, James O., Mississippi, 1941, 1943–1978.  
 Edmondson, J. Howard, Oklahoma, 1963–1964.  
 Edwards, Edward I., New Jersey, 1923–1929.  
 Ellender, Allen J., Louisiana, 1937–1972.  
 Engle, Clair, California, 1959–1964.  
 Erickson, John E., Montana, 1933–1934.  
 Ervin, Samuel J., Jr., North Carolina, 1954–1974.  
 Feazel, William C., Louisiana, 1948.  
 Felton, Rebecca Latimer, Georgia, 1922.  
 Ferris, Woodbridge N., Michigan, 1923–1928.  
 Fletcher, Duncan U., Florida, 1909–1936.  
 Foster, Murphy J., Louisiana, 1901–1913.  
 Frazier, James B., Tennessee, 1905–1911.  
 Frear, J. Allen, Jr., Delaware, 1949–1961.  
 Fulbright, J. William, Arkansas, 1945–1974.  
 Gardner, Obadiah, Maine, 1911–1913.  
 Gary, Frank B., South Carolina, 1908–1909.  
 Gay, Edward J., Louisiana, 1918–1921.  
 Gearin, John M., Oregon, 1905–1907.  
 George, Walter F., Georgia, 1922–1957.  
 Gerry, Peter G., Rhode Island, 1917–1929, 1935–1947.  
 Gibson, Paris, Montana, 1901–1905.  
 Gillette, Guy M., Iowa, 1936–1945, 1949–1955.  
 Glass, Carter, Virginia, 1920–1946.  
 Gordon, James, Mississippi, 1909–1910.  
 Gore, Albert A., Sr., Tennessee, 1953–1971.  
 Gore, Thomas P., Oklahoma, 1907–1921, 1931–1937.  
 Gordon, James, Mississippi, 1909–1910.  
 Gorman, Arthur Pue, Maryland, 1881–1899, 1903–1906.  
 Gossett, Charles D., Idaho, 1945–1947.  
 Graham, Frank Porter, North Carolina, 1949–1950.  
 Graves, Dixie Bibb, Alabama, 1937–1938.  
 Green, Theodore Francis, Rhode Island, 1937–1961.  
 Gruening, Ernest, Alaska, 1959–1969.  
 Guffey, Joseph F., Pennsylvania, 1935–1947.  
 Guion, Walter, Louisiana, 1918–1918.  
 Hall, Wilton E., South Carolina, 1944–1945.  
 Hardwick, Thomas W., Georgia, 1914–1919.  
 Harris, William J., Georgia, 1919–1932.  
 Harrison, Byron Patton (Pat), Mississippi, 1919–1941.  
 Hart, Philip A., Michigan, 1959–1976.  
 Hartke, R. Vance, Indiana, 1959–1977.

Hatch, Carl A., New Mexico, 1933–1949.  
 Hawes, Harry B., Missouri, 1926–1933.  
 Hayden, Carl T., Arizona, 1927–1969.  
 Heflin, James Thomas, Alabama, 1920–1931.  
 Heiskell, John N., Arizona, 1913–1913.  
 Henderson, Charles B., Nevada, 1918–1921.  
 Hennings, Thomas C., Jr., Missouri, 1951–1960.  
 Herring, Clyde L., Iowa, 1937–1943.  
 Hickey, J.J., Wyoming, 1961–1962.  
 Hill, J. Lister, Alabama, 1938–1969.  
 Hill, William L., Florida, 1936–1936.  
 Hitchcock, Gilbert M., Nebraska, 1911–1923.  
 Hitchcock, Herbert E., South Dakota, 1936–1938.  
 Hoey, Clyde R., North Carolina, 1945–1954.  
 Holland, Spessard L., Florida, 1946–1871.  
 Hollis, Henry F., New Hampshire, 1913–1919.  
 Holt, Rush Dew, West Virginia, 1935–1941.  
 Houston, Andrew J., Texas, 1941–1941.  
 Huffman, James W., Ohio, 1945–1946.  
 Hughes, Charles J., Jr., Colorado, 1909–1911.  
 Hughes, James H., Delaware, 1937–1943.  
 Hughes, William, New Jersey, 1913–1918.  
 Hull, Cordell, Tennessee, 1931–1933.  
 Humphrey, Hubert H., Jr. Minnesota, 1949–1964, 1971–1978.  
 Humphreys, Robert, Kentucky, 1956–1956.  
 Hunt, Lester C., Wyoming, 1949–1954.  
 Hunter, Richard C., Nebraska, 1934–1935.  
 Husting, Paul O., Wisconsin, 1915–1917.  
 Inouye, Daniel K., Hawaii, 1963– .  
 Jackson, Henry M., Washington, 1953–1983.  
 Jackson, Samuel D., Indiana, 1944.  
 James, Ollie M., Kentucky, 1913–1918.  
 Johnson, Charles F., Maine, 1911–1917.  
 Johnson, Edwin C., Colorado, 1937–1955.  
 Johnson, Edwin S., South Dakota, 1915–1921.  
 Johnson, Lyndon B., Texas, 1949–1961.  
 Johnston, Joseph F., Alabama, 1907–1913.  
 Johnston, Olin D.T., South Carolina, 1945–1965.  
 Johnston, Rienzi M., Texas, 1913–1913.  
 Jones, Andrieus A., New Mexico, 1917–1927.  
 Jordan, B. Everett, North Carolina, 1958–1973.  
 Kavanaugh, William M., Arkansas, 1913–1913.  
 Kefauver, C. Estes, Tennessee, 1949–1963.  
 Kendrick, John B., Wyoming, 1917–1933.  
 Kennedy, Edward M., Massachusetts, 1962–.  
 Kennedy, John F., Massachusetts, 1953–1960.  
 Kern, John Worth, Indiana, 1911–1917.  
 Kerr, Robert S., Oklahoma, 1949–1963.

Kilgore, Harley M., West Virginia, 1941–1956.  
King, William H., Utah, 1917–1941.  
Kirby, William F., Arkansas, 1916–1921.  
Laird, William R., III, West Virginia, 1956–1956.  
Lane, Harry, Oregon, 1913–1917.  
Latimer, Asbury C., South Carolina, 1903–1908.  
Lausche, Frank J., Ohio, 1957–1969.  
Lea, Luke, Tennessee, 1911–1917.  
Leahy, Edward L., Rhode Island, 1949–1950.  
Lee, Blair, Maryland, 1914–1917.  
Lee, Joshua B., Oklahoma, 1937–1943.  
Lehman, Herbert H., New York, 1949–1957.  
Lennon, Alton A., North Carolina, 1953–1954.  
Lewis, James Hamilton, Illinois, 1913–1919, 1931–1939.  
Lusk, Hall S., Oregon, 1960.  
Locher, Cyrus, Ohio, 1928–1928.  
Loftin, Scott, Florida, 1936–1936.  
Logan, Marvel M., Kentucky, 1931–1939.  
Loneragan, Augustine, Connecticut, 1933–1939.  
Long, Edward V., Missouri, 1960–1968.  
Long, Huey P., Louisiana, 1932–1935.  
Long, Oren E., Hawaii, 1959–1963.  
Long, Rose McConnell, Louisiana, 1936–1937.  
Long, Russell B., Louisiana, 1948–1987.  
Lucas, Scott W., Illinois, 1939–1951.  
Lumpkin, Alva M., South Carolina, 1941–1941.  
Lusk, Hall S., Oregon, 1960–1960.  
Magnuson, Warren G., Washington, 1944–1981.  
Maloney, Francis T., Connecticut, 1935–1945.  
Mallory, Stephen R., II, Florida, 1897–1907.  
Mansfield, Michael J. (Mike), Montana, 1953–1977.  
Martin, George B., Kentucky, 1918–1919.  
Martin, Thomas S., Virginia, 1895–1919.  
Martine, James E., New Jersey, 1911–1917.  
Maybank, Burnet R., South Carolina, 1941–1954.  
Mayfield, Earle B., Texas, 1923–1929.  
McAdoo, William Gibbs, California, 1933–1938.  
McCarran, Patrick A. (Pat), Nevada, 1933–1954.  
McCarthy, Eugene J., Minnesota, 1959–1971.  
McClellan, John L., Arkansas, 1943–1977.  
McCreary, James B., Kentucky, 1903–1909.  
McEnery, Samuel D., Louisiana, 1897–1910.  
McFarland, Ernest W., Arizona, 1941–1953.  
McGee, Gale W., Wyoming, 1959–1977.  
McGill, George, Kansas, 1930–1939.  
McGovern, George S., South Dakota, 1963–1981.  
McGrath, J. Howard, Rhode Island, 1947–1949.  
McIntyre, Thomas J., New Hampshire, 1962–1979.



McKellar, Kenneth D., Tennessee, 1917–1953.  
 McLaurin, Anselm J., Mississippi, 1894–1895, 1901–1909.  
 McMahan, Brien, Connecticut, 1945–1952.  
 McNamara, Patrick V., Michigan, 1954–1966.  
 Mead, James M., New York, 1938–1947.  
 Metcalf, Lee W., Montana, 1961–1978.  
 Miller, Bert H., Idaho, 1949.  
 Miller, John E., Arkansas, 1937–1941.  
 Milton, John G., New Jersey, 1938–1938.  
 Milton, William H., Florida, 1908–1909.  
 Minton, Sherman, Indiana, 1935–1941.  
 Mitchell, Hugh B., Washington, 1945–1946.  
 Money, Hernando D. S., Mississippi, 1897–1911.  
 Monroney, A.S. Mike, Oklahoma, 1951–1969.  
 Moody, A.E. Blair, Michigan, 1951–1952.  
 Moore, Arthur H., New Jersey, 1935–1938.  
 Morgan, John T., Alabama, 1877–1907.  
 Morrison, Cameron A., North Carolina, 1930–1932.  
 Morse, Wayne L., Oregon, 1945–1969.<sup>1</sup>  
 Moses, John, North Dakota, 1945.  
 Moss, Frank E., Utah, 1959–1977.  
 Murdock, Orrice Abram (Abe), Jr., Utah, 1941–1947.  
 Murphy, Richard L., Iowa, 1933–1936.  
 Murray, James E., Montana, 1934–1961.  
 Muskie, Edmund S., Maine, 1959–1980.  
 Myers, Francis J., Pennsylvania, 1945–1951.  
 Myers, Henry L., Montana, 1911–1923.  
 Neely, Matthew M., West Virginia, 1923–1929, 1931–1941, 1949–1958.  
 Nelson, Gaylord A., Wisconsin, 1963–1981.  
 Neuberger, Maurine B., Oregon, 1960–1967.  
 Neuberger, Richard L., Oregon, 1955–1960.  
 Newlands, Francis G., Nevada, 1903–1917.  
 Nugent, John F., Idaho, 1918–1921.  
 O’Conor, Herbert R., Maryland, 1947–1953.  
 O’Daniel, Wilbert Lee (“Pappy”), Texas, 1941–1949.  
 O’Gorman, James A., New York, 1911–1917.  
 O’Mahoney, Joseph C., Wyoming, 1935–1953, 1954–1961.  
 Overman, Lee S., North Carolina, 1903–1930.  
 Overton, John H., Louisiana, 1933–1948.  
 Owen, Robert L., Oklahoma, 1907–1925.  
 Pastore, John O., Rhode Island, 1950–1976.  
 Patterson, Thomas M., Colorado, 1901–1907.  
 Paynter, Thomas H., Kentucky, 1907–1913.  
 Peace, Roger C., South Carolina, 1941–1941.  
 Pell, Claiborne, Rhode Island, 1961–.  
 Pepper, Claude D., 1936–1951.

<sup>1</sup> Senator Morse was a Republican until 1953, when he became an Independent. In 1955 he joined the Democratic Conference.

Percy, Le Roy, Mississippi, 1910–1913.  
Perky, Kirtland I., Idaho, 1912–1913.  
Pettus, Edmund W., Alabama, 1897–1907.  
Phelan, James D., California, 1915–1921.  
Pittman, Key, Nevada, 1913–1940.  
Pollock, William P., South Carolina, 1918–1919.  
Pomerene, Atlee, Ohio, 1911–1923.  
Pope, James P., Idaho, 1933–1939.  
Proxmire, William, Wisconsin, 1957–1989.  
Purcell, William E., North Dakota, 1910–1911.  
Radcliffe, George L.P., Maryland, 1935–1947.  
Ralston, Samuel M., Indiana, 1923–1925.  
Randolph, Jennings, West Virginia, 1958–1985.  
Ransdell, Joseph E., Louisiana, 1913–1931.  
Rayner, Isidor, Maryland, 1905–1912.  
Reames, Alfred E., Oregon, 1938–1938.  
Reed, James A., Missouri, 1911–1929.  
Reynolds, Robert R., North Carolina, 1932–1945.  
Ribicoff, Abraham A., Connecticut, 1963–1981.  
Robertson, A. Willis, Virginia, 1946–1966.  
Robinson, Joseph T., Arkansas, 1913–1937.  
Rosier, Joseph, West Virginia, 1941–1942.  
Russell, Richard B., Jr., Georgia, 1933–1971.  
Salinger, Pierre E.G., California, 1964  
Saulsbury, Willard, Jr., Delaware, 1913–1919.  
Schwartz, Henry H. (Harry), Wyoming, 1937–1943  
Schwellenbach, Lewis B., Washington, 1935–1945.  
Scott, W. Kerr, North Carolina, 1954–1958.  
Scrugham, James G., Nevada, 1942–1945.  
Shafroth, John F., Colorado, 1913–1919.  
Sheppard, Morris, Texas, 1913–1941.  
Shields, John K., Tennessee, 1913–1925.  
Shively, Benjamin F., Indiana, 1909–1916.  
Simmons, Furnifold M., North Carolina, 1901–1931.  
Slattery, James M., Illinois, 1939–1940.  
Smathers, George A., Florida, 1951–1969.  
Smathers, William H., New Jersey, 1937–1943.  
Smith, Benjamin A., II, Massachusetts, 1960–1962.  
Smith, Ellison D., South Carolina, 1909–1944.  
Smith, Hoke, Georgia, 1911–1921.  
Smith, John Walter, Maryland, 1908–1921.  
Smith, Marcus A., Arizona, 1912–1921.  
Smith, Willis, North Carolina, 1950–1953.  
Sparkman, John J., Alabama, 1946–1979.  
Spencer, George L., Arkansas, 1941–1943.  
Stanley, Augustus O., Kentucky, 1919–1925.  
Steck, Daniel F., Iowa, 1926–1931.  
Stennis, John C., Mississippi, 1947–1989.

Stephens, Hubert D., Mississippi, 1923–1935.  
 Stewart, Arthur Thomas (Tom), Tennessee, 1939–1949.  
 Stone, William J., Missouri, 1903–1918.  
 Storke, Thomas M., California, 1938–1939.  
 Swanson, Claude A., Virginia, 1910–1933.  
 Swift, George R., Alabama, 1946–1946.  
 Symington, W. Stuart, Missouri, 1953–1976.  
 Taggart, Thomas, Indiana, 1916.  
 Taliaferro, James P., Florida, 1899–1911.  
 Talmadge, Herman E., Georgia, 1957–1981.  
 Taylor, Glen H., Idaho, 1945–1951.  
 Taylor, Robert L., Tennessee, 1907–1912.  
 Teller, Henry M., Colorado, 1876–1882, 1885–1909.  
 Terrell, Joseph M., Georgia, 1910–1911.  
 Thomas, Charles S., Colorado, 1913–1921.  
 Thomas, Elbert D., Utah, 1933–1951.  
 Thomas, J.W. Elmer, Oklahoma, 1927–1951.  
 Thompson, Fountain L., North Dakota, 1909–1910.  
 Thompson, William Henry, Nebraska, 1933–1934.  
 Thompson, William Howard, Kansas, 1913–1919.  
 Thornton, John R., Louisiana, 1910–1915.  
 Thurmond, J. Strom, South Carolina, 1954–1955, 1956–<sup>2</sup>  
 Tillman, Benjamin R., South Carolina, 1895–1918.  
 Trammell, Park, Florida, 1917–1936.  
 Truman, Harry S., Missouri, 1935–1945.  
 Tunnell, James M., Delaware, 1941–1947.  
 Tydings, Millard E., Maryland, 1927–1951.  
 Tyson, Lawrence D., Tennessee, 1925–1929.  
 Umstead, William B., North Carolina, 1946–1948.  
 Underwood, Oscar W., Alabama, 1915–1927.  
 Underwood, Thomas R., Kentucky, 1951–1952.  
 Van Nuys, Frederick, Indiana, 1933–1944.  
 Vardaman, James K., Mississippi, 1913–1919.  
 Wagner, Robert F., New York, 1927–1949.  
 Walker, Walter, Colorado, 1932–1932.  
 Wallgren, Monrad C., Washington, 1940–1945.  
 Walsh, Arthur, New Jersey, 1943–1944.  
 Walsh, David I., Massachusetts, 1919–1925, 1926–1947  
 Walsh, Thomas J., Montana, 1913–1933.  
 Walters, Herbert S., Tennessee, 1963–1964.  
 Watson, Clarence W., West Virginia, 1911–1913.  
 Watson, Thomas E., Georgia, 1921–1922.  
 Webb, William R., Tennessee, 1913–1913.  
 West, William S., Georgia, 1914.  
 Wheeler, Burton K., Montana, 1923–1947.  
 White, Francis (Frank) S., Alabama, 1914–1915.  
 Whyte, William Pinkney, Maryland, 1868–1869, 1875–1881, 1906–1908.

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<sup>2</sup> Senator Thurmond resigned as a Democrat in 1964 and joined the Republican Conference.

Wilfley, Xenophon P., Missouri, 1918–1918.  
Williams, John Sharp, Mississippi, 1911–1923.  
Williams, Harrison A, Jr., New Jersey, 1959–1982.  
Williamson, Ben M., Kentucky, 1930–1931.  
Withers, Garrett L., Kentucky, 1949–1950.  
Wofford, Thomas A., South Carolina, 1956–1956.  
Wolcott, Josiah O., Delaware, 1917–1921.  
Yarborough, Ralph W., Texas, 1957–1971.  
Young, Stephen M., Ohio, 1959–1971.



## INDEX

[Note: Because the purpose of this publication is chiefly to serve as a resource on the institutional history of the Democratic Conference, the indexing of individual Conference members is limited. Democratic Conference members are only indexed when they are the subject of an action or discussion, such as election to a Senate or Conference office, or when they participate in a discussion (although the few *Republican* senators mentioned during discussions are indexed). Passing references, such as making nominations, seconding motions, or membership on committees, are not included—except that new members of the Conference are indexed when they are introduced to their colleagues by the chairman. Those researching a particular senator will find in Appendix B a list of all members of the Conference and the dates of their Senate service—the full period during which their participation in the Conference might be mentioned in the minutes. An index entry is included for the roll-call votes in the minutes, making it possible to check an individual's votes in the Conference during his or her period of service. When two or more senators have the same last name (or if a nonsenator has the same last name), the state abbreviations are added for senators.

[Substantive discussions of topics and legislation are indexed, but passing references to a subject or a bill are not. Senate staff members listed as attending a Conference meeting are also indexed, as are individuals nominated for Senate offices.]

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