Notes

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION


3 Smith and Deering, Committees in Congress, pp. 1-6.


5 The term “semi-standing” was coined by Thomas W. Skladony to refer to those early committees that were select in name, but standing in practice. See Thomas W. Skladony, “The House Goes to Work: Select and Standing Committees in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789-1828,” Congress and the Presidency, 12 (Autumn 1985): 170.

NOTES TO 1641-1789, ANTECEDENTS: LEGISLATIVE FINANCE COMMITTEES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA


6 Cited in May, Treatise on Parliament, p. 575. See also Ilbert, Parliament, p. 76.

7 Cited in Bradshaw and Pring, Parliament and Congress, p. 307. The formal title was “An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown.”


9 Bernard Bailyn and Jack P. Greene have examined the similarities and differences between the two political systems and come to different conclusions. See Bernard Bailyn, The Origins of American Politics (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968); Jack P. Greene, The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies,


The terminology used to denote legislative committees has changed since the 18th century. In modern usage, a select committee is one created to perform a special function; the committee expires once that function has been completed. A standing committee is a permanent group whose size and jurisdiction are determined by the standing rules of the House. Eighteenth-century British usage, on the other hand, referred to Committees of the Whole as “grand” committees, which were differentiated from “select” committees, so-named not because they were appointed for a specific purpose or for a given time period, but because their membership was composed of only a select part of the House’s membership. Likewise, “standing” committees referred to those committees appointed to consider certain subject areas for the duration of the legislative session, rather than only those committees included in the rules of the legislative body. An 18th-century committee could thus have been both a select and a standing committee, something which is today a contradiction in terms. These definitions are based upon the usage of Parliament and American colonial legislatures. See Ralph Volney Harlow, The History of Legislative Methods in the Period Before 1825 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), especially pp. 4–5, note 6; and George B. Galloway, History of the United States House of Representatives, 2d ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1976), p. 320.


Virginia House of Burgesses Journal, 26 September 1758, p. 20; and North Carolina Lower House of Assembly Journal, 26 February 1754, p. 11.


Harlow, History of Legislative Methods, p. 69.

Ibid., pp. 66–69.

Ibid., pp. 70–72.

Ibid., pp. 73–74.

Ibid., pp. 74–75.


22 House Committee on Energy and Commerce, “Analysis of Standing Committees,” p. 10; Sanders, Executive Departments, pp. 54-64; Burnett, Continental Congress, pp. 221-23. The five members of the committee were James Duane (NY), Thomas Nelson (VA), Elbridge Gerry (MA), Richard Smith (NJ), and Thomas Willing (PA).

23 Cited in Sanders, Executive Departments, p. 56. William Whipple (NH), James Wilson (PA), Elbridge Gerry (MA), Thomas Nelson (VA), and Robert Morris (PA) were elected to this committee. The British army’s advance upon Philadelphia delayed the committee’s deliberations.

24 Ibid., pp. 69-74.

25 Ibid., pp. 145-52; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Robert Morris: Revolutionary Financier (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954). The first three men elected to the board were unable to serve; after some delay Arthur Lee (VA), Samuel Osgood (MA), and Walter Livingston (NJ) were selected.


28 Ibid., 2: 274.

29 Ibid., 1: 233.

30 Ibid., 2: 276-77.

NOTES TO 1789-1801, ORIGINS: THE HOUSE COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS

1 Cited in Letters and Other Writings of James Madison (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1865), 2: 75-76.


5 The term “discharged” creates some uncertainty as to whether the committee was actually dissolved by this action. Presumably, the House signified that there was no further need for the committee by discharging it from the responsibilities that had led to its appointment. There is no evidence that the committee continued to function, if it ever had. Annals of Congress, 1st Cong., 1st Sess., 17 September 1789, pp. 894-95; House Journal, 1st Cong., 1st Sess., 17 September 1789, p. 113.

6 Patrick J. Furlong, “The Origins of the House Committee of Ways and Means,” William and Mary Quarterly, 25 (October 1968): 587-604. Furlong was the first scholar to systematically examine the committee’s origins. All subsequent students of Ways and Means are deeply indebted to him.


A strong word of caution is in order concerning the meaning of political party in this period. Scholars commonly refer to the Federalist Party and the Jeffersonian Republican Party, yet parties had not taken on the meaning, organization, or apparatus that they would later in the 19th and 20th centuries. The party affiliations of members of Congress, for example, were not officially recorded until 1843. The numerical party breakdown of Congress as well as the individual party affiliation of members cannot be known with certainty. Historians and political scientists have only begun to examine the biographies and voting records of the early Congresses. James Sterling Young, *The Washington Community, 1800-1828* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), pp. 110–12; John F. Hoadley, “The Emergence of Political Parties in Congress, 1789-1803,” *American Political Science Review*, 74 (September 1980): 757–79; and Hoadley, *Origins of American Political Parties, 1789-1803* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986), pp. 192–219.


David Cobb to William Eustis, 29 March 1794, David Cobb Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Cobb went on to speculate upon the need for revenue, which “must be supplied from sources that have not yet been touch’d,” including a tax on land.


Theodore Sedgwick to Ephraim Williams, 16 January 1795, Sedgwick Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Sedgwick credited Elbridge Gerry with the observation that Smith had no policy.


24 Madison to Jefferson, 11 May, 14 April 1794, in Madison Letters, 2: 10-11, 14.

25 Theodore Sedgwick to Ephraim Williams, 5 June 1794, Sedgwick Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Senator James Monroe defended his Virginia colleague, arguing that if it was anyone’s duty to propose a system of revenue, “it is particularly that of those who have made taxes necessary,” that is, the Federalists. Monroe to Jefferson, 2 April 1794, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division.


29 Ibid., 10 December 1795, p. 131; 17 December 1795, p. 152.

30 Ibid., 18 December 1795, p. 159.


36 Cited in ibid., p. 601, footnote 47.

37 Ibid., pp. 600-601.


41 Ames to Hamilton, 26 January 1797, in Works of Fisher Ames (Indianapolis: Literary Classics, 1969), 2: 1216. Ames complained that “Our whole system is little removed from simple democracy . . . . The heads of departments are head clerks. Instead of being the ministry the organs of the executive power and imparting a kind of momentum to the operation of the laws, they are precluded of late even from communicating with the house by reports.” Ames, ed., Works of Fisher Ames, p. 1,215.

42 Madison to Jefferson, 31 January 1796, in Madison Letters, 2: 75-76.


44 Madison to James Monroe, 26 February 1796, in Madison Letters, 2: 82-84.
"Would you have supposed," Madison wrote, "that a land tax and House tax, as indirect taxes, had also a patronage?"

45 Madison to Jefferson, 31 January 1796, in ibid., 2: 76.

46 Walters, Gallatin, pp. 83-84.


48 Rogers, Evolution of a Federalist, pp. 300-301.


50 Ibid., 17 June 1797, pp. 331-35; the debate on the stamp tax can be followed on pages 393-433passim.

51 Ibid., 4 December 1797, p. 672.

52 Sedgwick to Peter Van Schaack, 4 February 1800, Sedgwick Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Sedgwick considered Harper "one of the laziest men I have ever known except in the business of talking." The Speaker and the Secretary may well have felt blackmailed to appoint the South Carolinian. In a February 4th letter to Van Schaack, Sedgwick wrote that "Wolcott thought that if Harper was not appointed, he would embarrass us much as was in his power." Gallatin thought Harper "very good hearted," but "as great a bungler as I ever knew... his vanity destroys him."


NOTES TO 1801-1829, THE JEFFERSONIAN REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE


4 Ibid., p. 59.

8 Ibid., p. 54, note 55, p. 61, note 85.


12 Ibid., pp. 94, 147.


17 Cunningham, *Jeffersonian Republicans in Power,* p. 77.


26 Cited in Bruce, *Randolph,* 1: 221.


32 Bruce, Randolph, 1: 308; Harlow, Legislative Methods, p. 171.


36 Ibid., p. 227.

37 Ibid., pp. 230-31. The analysis of committee appointments is based upon a computerized listing of committee assignments compiled by Polimetric Associates of Burlington, Vermont, reproduced in 1981 and updated in 1989 by the Government Division of the Congressional Research Service. (See appendix.)


39 Walters, Gallatin, pp. 203-207.

40 Cunningham, Jeffersonian Republicans in Power, p. 98.


43 Ibid., pp. 61-62; Walters, Gallatin, pp. 246-47.

44 Huff, Cheves, p. 65; Walters, Gallatin, p. 249.

45 Huff, Cheves, pp. 74, 65-66; Walters, Gallatin, p. 254.

46 Walters, Gallatin, pp. 255-56.


48 Cited in Walters, Gallatin, pp. 255-56.


50 Ibid., pp. 75-76.

51 Risjord, Old Republicans, pp. 152-57.


56 Walters, Dallas, p. 193.
58 Walters, Dallas, p. 193.
62 Stanwood, Tariff Controversies, 1: 137.
63 Ibid., 1: 139.
65 Forsythe, Taxation and Political Change, p. 71; Stanwood, Tariff Controversies, 1: 159; Ibid., p. 217.
66 Stanwood, Tariff Controversies, 1: 175-81.
67 Ibid., 1: 114-15; Cassell, Samuel Smith, pp. 113-14; Harlow, Legislative Methods, pp. 231-32.
68 Cassell, Samuel Smith, p. 113; Harlow, Legislative Methods, pp. 231-32.
69 Harlow, Legislative Methods, pp. 232-34.
70 Ibid., pp. 233-34; Cassell, Samuel Smith, p. 113.
72 Forsythe, Taxation and Political Change, pp. 88-94.
73 Munroe, McLane, p. 113.
75 Ibid., pp. 254-55; Cassell, Samuel Smith, pp. 219, 228.
77 This analysis is based upon the 1989 updated version of Polimetric Associates, Congressional Committee List (Ways and Means).
NOTES TO 1829-1861, APPROPRIATIONS, BANKING, AND THE TARIFF


4 George McDuffie of South Carolina chaired the Committee of Ways and Means for three Congresses (the Twentieth through the Twenty-second). However, his first term as chairman preceded the time period covered in this chapter. In addition, McDuffie only served as chairman for one session of the Twenty-second Congress. Polimetric Associates, Congressional Committee Project List (Ways and Means).

5 For a brief discussion of the early congressional provisions for permanent clerks to standing committees, see Lindsay Rogers’ article, “Staffing of Congress” Political Science Quarterly, 56 (March 1941), p. 3.


13 See Ways and Means Records, 27th Cong., Record Group 233. Copy of letterbook kept by Fillmore as chairman contains correspondence to various officials concerning their estimates and expenditures (HR 27A-D24.5). National Archives, Washington, DC.

14 For an overview of the complexities connected with the appropriations process during this period, see White Jacksonians, pp. 125-142.

15 See Ways and Means Records, 25th Cong., Record Group 233. Several pieces
of correspondence in the committee record files, dated during the summer of 1837, relate to the Smithson legacy (HR25A-D26.6). National Archives, Washington, DC.


18 Dobson, Two Centuries, pp. 50-51.


21 Stanwood, Tariff Controversies, 1: 360-62.

22 Ibid., 1: 369-70.

23 Ibid., 1: 374-75.


27 Sellers, Polk, 1: 159-61; July, Verplanck, pp. 161-63.

28 The economic impact of the Tariff of 1833 is discussed in Stanwood, Tariff Controversies, 2: 1-10; and Dobson, Two Centuries, pp. 54-55.


30 Green, George McDuffie, pp. 128-29; Dewey, Financial History, pp. 202-203.

31 July, Verplanck, pp. 170-76; Dewey, Financial History, p. 204. Verplanck’s majority report of March 1, 1833, concerning the Second Bank of the United States is reprinted in Register of Debates in Congress, 22d Cong., 2d Sess., Appendix, pp. 64-66, while Polk’s minority report, issued on the same date, is reprinted on pp. 66-82.


33 Sellers, Polk, 1: 213-14.


36 Sellers, Polk, 1: 214-21. Polk’s majority report of March 4, 1834, on removal is reprinted in Register of Debates in Congress, 23d Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, pp. 161-76, while the minority report of Binney, Wilde, and Gorham issued on the same date, is reprinted on pp. 176-187.
The first resolution passed by a vote of 134–82; the second by 118–103; the third by an almost identical margin, while only 32 members opposed the fourth resolution. Sellers, Polk, 1: 221–22.

Ibid., 1: 223–25.


The economic impact of the Bank War is considered in Peter Temin, The Jacksonian Economy (New York: W.W. Norton, 1969), and Hammond, Banks and Politics.


Ibid., pp. 111–41.

Ibid., pp. 138–51.

Fletcher’s remarks of December 13, 1837, concerning the Ways and Means Committee’s relationship with the Van Buren Administration are reprinted in Congressional Globe, 25th Cong., 1st Sess., 13 December 1837, pp. 21–24. See also Curtis, Van Buren, p. 95.


Daniel Webster, quoted in Seager, Tyler, p. 164.

Rayback, Fillmore, pp. 116–22; Seager, Tyler, p. 164.


Ibid., p. 136.


See Ways and Means Records, 27th Cong., Record Group 233. Millard Fillmore to Abel Upshur, 15 January 1841 (HR27A-D24.5). The committee’s letterbook located in this file contains several other examples of correspondence concerning appropriations and oversight. National Archives, Washington, DC.


Sellers, Polk, 2: 43–45.

Bergeron, Polk Presidency, pp. 185–88; McCormac, Polk, pp. 672–78; Sellers, Polk, 2: 451–58.


For request from the Pennsylvania Colonization Society concerning a coloniza-
tion site in Liberia, see Ways and Means Records, 32d Cong., Record Group 233. W. Parker Foulke to George S. Houston, undated (HR32A-D22.2). National Archives, Washington, DC.


Holman Hamilton, Prologue to Conflict: The Crisis and Compromise of 1850 (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), p. 121. Green was the son of Duff Green, a Jacksonian partisan who had edited the United States Telegraph. Benjamin Green may therefore have been politically motivated to bring charges against Bayly. The Virginia congress-
man had also insinuated in some earlier remarks to the House that Green misused the funds in question for his own speculation scheme.


Campbell’s remarks on the Army Appropriations bill are reprinted in Congressional Globe, 34th Cong., 2d Sess., 29 July 1856, pp. 1,811-12.

priations can be explained by procedural differences between the two bodies. In the 1840s, the Senate had no bar against riders to appropriations bills, nor did it have a general germaneness rule as did the House. This meant that the Senate could freely tack on unrelated riders to House appropriations bills. See Allen Schick, “Legislation, Appropriations, and Budgets: The Development of Spending Decision-Making in Congress,” unpublished CRS report prepared under contract. 84-106GOV (Library of Congress, May 1984), p. 17.

White, Jacksonians, p. 135.

Sherman, Recollections, 1: 155.

Sherman, Recollections, 1: 168. In the Thirty-sixth Congress, first session, there were 114 Republicans, 92 Democrats and 31 congressmen from the American Party.

Sherman, Recollections, 1: 167-80.

Ibid., 1: 180.

Ibid., 1: 155. See also Ways and Means Records, Record Group 233, Minute-
book (1858-1861). 55th Cong., 2d Sess., to 37th Cong., 1st Sess. (HR 30). Entry for 13 June 1860 mentions 53 Senate amendments to the Army appropriations bill. The committee recommended that only two of these amendments be adopted. The minutebook contains several other examples of extensive Senate amendments to Ways and Means appropriations bills from 1858 to 1861. National Archives, Wash-
ington, DC.
NOTES TO 1861–1865, FINANCING THE CIVIL WAR

1 *Congressional Globe*. 38th Cong., 2d Sess., 2 March 1865, p. 1,312. The quote is taken from Cox’s speech recommending the division of the committee’s jurisdiction among three committees on the ground that it had been overworked during the war.


4 Cited in Miller, *Thaddeus Stevens*, pp. 133–34.


13 McCall, Thaddeus Stevens, p. 142.


16 Ibid., p. 431.


18 Seligman, Income Tax, p. 454.

19 Ratner, Federal Taxation, p. 68.


22 Sherman, Recollections, 1: 271.

23 Ibid., pp. 271-72.

24 Current, Old Thad Stevens, p. 156.

25 Spaulding, Legal Tender Paper Money, pp. 18-21, 96.

26 Cited in Current, Old Thad Stevens, p. 155; see also Sherman, Recollections, 1: 274.

27 Miller, Thaddeus Stevens, p. 160.

28 Ibid., p. 164.

29 Spaulding, Legal Tender Paper Money, pp. 18-21, 96.

30 Miller, Thaddeus Stevens, p. 160.


32 Cited in Randolph E. Paul, Taxation in the United States (Boston: Little, Brown, 1954), p. 9. See also a letter addressed to the Hon. Schuyler Colfax from M. S. Black of the New York Sun. In this letter Black accused Congress of indecision regarding taxes (“You legislators are befogging yourselves and the country with debates about ways and means for revenues”), and ordered its members to “Drop the talk” and implement his “practical proposition,” namely a one-half percent sales tax on all property sales. M. S. Black to Schuyler Colfax, 15 January 1864, in Ways and Means Records, 38th Cong., Record Group 233 (HR38A-E22.19). National Archives, Washington, DC.

33 Ratner, Federal Taxation, pp. 74-75; Paul, Taxation in the U.S., pp. 9-10.


35 Ratner, Federal Taxation, pp. 82-83; Seligman, The Income Tax, pp. 440-41.


38 Current, Old Thad Stevens, p. 192.

39 Miller, Thaddeus Stevens, pp., 140-41; ibid., pp. 192-93.

NOTES TO 1865–1890, THE GILDED AGE COMMITTEE


8 John William DeForest, quoted in Margaret S. Thompson, “Corruption—or Confusion? Lobbying and Congressional Government in the Early Gilded Age,” *Congress and the Presidency*, 10 (Autumn 1983): 182. DeForest was the author of several novels, including *Honest John Kane* (1875), and *Playing the Mischief* (1875), which portrayed lobbyists in an extremely unfavorable manner.


11 Thompson, “Corruption—or Confusion?” pp. 185-86. The committee’s recommendations were the result of a hearing it held during the Forty-third Congress concerning the improper management of a federal subsidy granted to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. This hearing is reprinted in its entirety as H.R. Rep. No. 268, 43d Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. 7 (1874).


13 This general overview of the committee’s chambers is based largely upon unpublished information provided to the authors by the Office of the Curator, The Architect of the Capitol, Washington, DC. See also William A. Robinson, *Thomas B. Reed: Parliamentarian* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1931), pp. 383-84.


17 *Congressional Record*, 46th Cong., 2d Sess., 6 January 1880, p. 205.

18 This analysis is based on the computerized listing of committee members cited in previous chapters. This list was compiled in 1981 by Polimetric Associates of Burlington, Vermont, and an updated copy was provided for the authors’ use by the Government Division of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress in Washington, DC.


See *Ways and Means Records*, 40th Cong., Record Group 233. Undated newspaper clipping (HR 40A–F27.1). National Archives and Records Administration.


See *Ways and Means Records*, 41st Cong., Record Group 233. George Bassett to E. W. Barber, 18 March 1869 (HR41A–F27.9). National Archives, Washington, DC.

See *Ways and Means Records*, 41st Cong., Record Group 233, Robert C. Schenck to Joseph S. Courtney, 24 February 1869 (HR41A–F27.9). National Archives, Washington, DC.


See *Ways and Means Records*, 41st Cong., Record Group 233. William Marks to Samuel Hooper, 11 April 1870 (HR41A–F27.19). National Archives, Washington, DC.

See *Ways and Means Records*, 41st Cong., Record Group 233, Emor E. Smith to Robert C. Schenck, 8 June 1870 (HR41–F27.19). National Archives, Washington, DC.


Ibid., p. 113.

Ibid., p. 115.
NOTES TO 1890–1933, REFORM AND REVENUE


3 This overview of the Committee’s membership is based on a computerized listing of Ways and Means members compiled by Polimetric Associates of Burlington, Vermont, reproduced in 1981 and updated in 1989 by the Government Division of the Congressional Research Service.

4 The percentages of members carried over from one Congress to the next were computed by comparing the numbers of members reappointed with the possible number of slots available to the majority or minority party. Figures were computed
for each Congress and averaged on a decade-by-decade basis. For the 1870s the
car-
ryover percentage of committee members was 49.6 percent; the 1880s, 55.5 percent;
1890s, 65.3 percent; 1900s, 76.1 percent, 1910s, 71.7 percent; and 1920s, 87.6 per-
cent. The percentages were compiled from the computerized members’ listing cited
in the previous footnote.

8 See Ways and Means Records, 53d Cong., Record Group 233. Minutebook, 53d
and 29 August 1893 mention the appointment of subcommittees by the Committee
on Ways and Means. Entries for 29 and 30 August and 27 November 1893 give de-
tails on committee hearings and other procedures connected with the tariff in the 53d
Congress. These procedures were also followed in the preparation of the Smoot-
Hawley Tariff in 1929. See also E. E. Schattschneider, Politics, Pressures and the Tariff: A
Study of Free Private Enterprise in Pressure Politics, as Shown in the 1929–1930 Revision of the

7 Ibid., p. 38.
8 Ibid., p. 50.
10 Dr. Hamilton Wright, cited in H. Wayne Morgan, Drugs in America: A Social
11 Johnson, Oscar W. Underwood, pp. 211–12.
12 See Ways and Means Committee Records, 67th Cong., Record Group 233.
J. V. A. Smith to the Hon. James A. Mead, 3 March 1922 (HR67A-H23.6). National
Archives, Washington, DC.
13 See Ways and Means Committee Records, 67th Cong., Record Group 233. Res-
olutions of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, adopted 3 and 8 March 1922
(HR67A-H23.6). National Archives, Washington, DC.
14 Morgan, Drugs in America, pp. 18–19.
15 David M. Kennedy, Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger (New
16 See Ways and Means Committee Records, 72d Cong., Record Group 233. Mrs.
Sara Jones and Mrs. Effie Davis to the Hon. Henry W. Watson, 4 May 1932 (HR72A-F29.2). See also Will Durant to Acting Chairman Crisp, 12 May 1932, and Adele A. S.
Brown to Acting Chairman Crisp, 11 May 1932 (HR72A-F29.2). National Archives,
Washington, DC.
17 Kennedy, Birth Control, pp. 270–71.
18 See Ways and Means Committee Records, 53d Cong., Record Group 233. Min-
utebook, 53d Cong., 1st Sess. (HR53A-F46.4). Entry for 23 August 1893 contains the
clerk’s report in its entirety. National Archives, Washington, DC.
Green 1912), p. 495.
20 Ibid., p. 497.
21 John M. Dobson, Two Centuries of Tariffs: The Background and Emergence of the U.S.
49–56.
22 William Carl Spielman, William McKinley: Stalwart Republican (New York: Exposi-

24 Ibid., 2: 261.

25 Ibid., 2: 263.

26 Ibid., 2: 268.


32 Ibid., pp. 160-61.

33 Ibid., p. 167.


42 Ibid., pp. 334-35.


51 Ibid., p. 268; Merrill, *Republican Command*, pp. 122; 194-204.
66 Ibid., pp. 270-75.
68 Ibid., pp. 82-84.
77 Witte, Federal Income Tax, p. 89.


80 Murray, Harding Era, p. 206.

81 Ibid., pp. 271–80. See also Paul, Taxation in the U.S., p. 130; Russell, Joseph Warren Fordney, p. 197.


83 Ibid., p. 278.

84 President Warren G. Harding, cited in ibid., p. 277.


89 LaFollette quoted in Pastor, Congress and Foreign Economic Policy, p. 78.


91 Schwartz, Interregnum of Despair, p. 113.


NOTES TO 1933–1959, FROM THE NEW DEAL TO THE COLD WAR


4 Chairmen were also required to report promptly to the House any measure approved by the committee. Ibid., p. 51.
8 Judy Schneider and Carol Hardy, “Congressional Committee Staff and Funding,” continuously updated issue brief (1989).


10 Manley, Politics of Finance, p. 163.

11 Ibid., pp. 163–64.


13 Hull, Memoirs, 1: 359.

14 Ibid., 1: 359.

15 Ibid., p. 169.


19 Cited in ibid., p. 19.


21 Ibid., pp. 85–86.


24 Ibid., p. 203.


26 Achenbaum, Social Security, p. 27.

27 Ibid., p. 29.

28 Ibid., p. 31.


31 Ibid., pp. 64–91.


33 Ibid., p. 36.

34 Ibid., pp. 43–44.

36 Myers, Financial History, p. 349.
38 Paul, Taxation in the U.S., p. 265.
39 Ibid., pp. 258-59.
40 Ibid., p. 262.
41 Ibid., p. 264.
42 Ibid., pp. 265, 271; Witte, Federal Income Tax, p. 112.
44 Ibid., p. 273.
48 Ibid., p. 297.
50 See Ways and Means Records, 78th Cong., Record Group 233. Postcards received by Congress in October 1943, regarding the sales tax. (HR78A-F38.10). National Archives, Washington, DC.
54 Ibid., p. 371.
56 Paul, Taxation in the U.S., p. 373.
60 Manley, Politics of Finance, p. 183.
61 Ibid., p. 186.
63 Holmans, U.S. Fiscal Policy, p. 79; ibid., p. 133.
64 Manley, Politics of Finance, p. 187.
66 Pastor, Congress and Foreign Economic Policy, p. 96.
67 Ibid., p. 100.
NOTES TO 1959–1975, THE MILLS COMMITTEE


4 Ibid., p. 7.

5 Ibid., pp. 8–9.

6 Ibid., p. 10.


14 Ibid., p. 108.

15 Ibid., p. 108.

16 Ibid., p. 220.

17 Ibid., p. 115.

18 Ibid., p. 142.

19 Ibid., pp. 21-56.

20 Ibid., p. 251.

21 Ibid., pp. 253-54.

22 Ibid., pp. 217, 269-70.


28 Ibid., 18: 263-64.

29 Ibid., 18: 266-68.


32 *C Q Almanac* (1960), 16: 153.

33 Ibid., 16: 153-54.

34 Ibid., 16: 157.

35 *C Q Almanac* (1961), 17: 75.

36 Ibid., 17: 257-61.


38 *C Q Almanac* (1965), 21: 252.
NOTES TO 1975–1989, THE POST-REFORM COMMITTEE


it had fallen to .431. Appropriations had become the top-ranked committee for the latter period, with a score of .438.


6 Cited in Juan D. Cameron, "And They Call It the Most Important Committee in Congress," Fortune, 93 (March 1976): 148.


13 Cited in ibid., p. 40.


18 Ibid., pp. 207-12.


25 Ibid., p. 223.


29 Ibid., 42: 518.

30 Ibid., 42: 10.


32 Cited in *The Dirksen Congressional Center Report* (March 1989), 9. Rostenkowski's observation, “I guess I don’t read lips too well,” referred to Bush's campaign slogan asking voters to read his lips as he promised no new taxes.