

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Libr



GIPE-PUNE-00256!

Columbia University Lectures

**THE COST OF OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT
A STUDY IN POLITICAL PATHOLOGY**

GEORGE BLUMENTHAL FOUNDATION

1909

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LECTURES

**THE COST OF
OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT**

A STUDY IN POLITICAL PATHOLOGY

BY

HENRY JONES FORD

PROFESSOR OF POLITICS IN PRINCETON UNIVERSITY



New York

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1910

All rights reserved

COPYRIGHT, 1910,

By THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Set up and electrotyped. Published September, 1910.

X791.73.N

40

2565

Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

To
MY LIFE-LONG FRIEND
JOHN BLACK
OF BALTIMORE, MD.

PREFACE

THIS volume contains the substance of lectures delivered on the George Blumenthal Foundation at Columbia University in the fall and winter of 1909. The lectures were delivered from briefs, and in preparing them for publication, some documentary material cited during the argument has been transferred to foot-notes and appendices, while in other cases matter referred to but not fully quoted in the course of oral exposition, has been incorporated in the text. Oral use of statistical data is cumbersome and inconvenient, and in delivering the lectures, I referred my hearers to the forthcoming publication of them for the detailed evidence of some of my statements. The result is an inequality in the length of the lectures in their published form, but it is believed that the convenience of the reader is promoted.

I had to do with a situation that was changing while it was under consideration, and in revising the lectures I have incorporated references to pertinent events that have taken place since, when they seemed to be illustrative of the tendencies examined in the course of the lectures. The issues considered are now so acute in our politics as to make the work timely, and I hope that it will be useful in clarifying public opinion.

HENRY J. FORD.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY,
Princeton, N.J., 1910.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| Rapid increase of federal expenditure | 1 |
| Admissions by chiefs of financial administration | 1 |
| Secretary Cortelyou's comparative statement | 2 |
| Statements by Chairman Tawney and Senator Aldrich | 2 |
| Annual waste estimated at \$50,000,000 | 3 |
| Appropriations exceed the public needs | 4 |
| Our waste greater than some national incomes | 5 |
| Senator Hale anticipates national bankruptcy | 5 |
| Our peculiar risks from treasury embarrassments | 6 |
| Chairman Tawney's review of appropriations | 7 |
| Analysis prepared by the Census Bureau | 7 |
| Expenditure increasing faster than population | 8 |
| Our former condition of national isolation | 9 |
| Problem of budget control now acute | 9 |
| Pressure of our responsibilities as a world power | 10 |

CHAPTER II

MAKING THE NATIONAL BUDGET

| | |
|---|----|
| A function of the House of Representatives | 11 |
| Secretary of the Treasury transmits estimates | 11 |
| Compared with the British estimates | 11 |
| Function of the Secretary of the Treasury | 12 |
| A funnel for department demands | 12 |
| Chairman Tawney describes the practice | 13 |
| Congressional action on the estimates | 14 |
| Jurisdiction over the appropriations | 15 |

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| Eight different committees report appropriation bills | 15 |
| No provision for any unified control | 15 |
| Influences promoting lavish expenditure | 16 |
| The supplemental estimates | 16 |
| The engineering estimates | 17 |
| Their character raises a constitutional question | 17 |
| Nature of the concurrent resolution | 17 |
| River and Harbor estimates | 18 |
| Omnibus bills reported every session | 18 |
| The "Pork-Barrel" bills | 18 |
| Classification of demands for expenditure | 19 |
| How appropriation bills are framed | 19 |
| House action on appropriation bills | 20 |
| Senate action on appropriation bills | 20 |
| Heavy increase of appropriations by Senate | 21 |

CHAPTER III

CONSTITUTIONAL AGENCIES OF BUDGET CONTROL

| | |
|--|----|
| Budget control a prerogative of the House | 22 |
| Vigilant jealousy of the English Commons | 22 |
| Similar disposition of Colonial assemblies | 22 |
| The situation as viewed in the Federalist | 23 |
| Impairment of the House prerogative | 23 |
| Ability of the Senate to override the House | 24 |
| Proposed consolidation of pension agencies | 24 |
| Regularly defeated by the Senate | 25 |
| Submissive attitude of the House | 25 |
| Mr. Cannon on behavior of the Senate | 26 |
| An item characterized as "blackmail" | 27 |
| Senatorial strategy in proposing amendments | 28 |
| Senator Sherman exposes legislative insincerity | 29 |
| The House a weak and ineffectual body | 29 |
| Compared with other National assemblies | 30 |
| Debility of American representative institutions | 30 |
| Mr. Burton on the situation | 31 |
| His analysis of River and Harbor bill | 32 |

CONTENTS

xi

CHAPTER IV

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE UNITED STATES

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| Mr. Randolph on the Senate | 33 |
| Meant to represent wealth and social position | 33 |
| Fathers expected House to be masterful | 34 |
| Their expectations have not been realized | 34 |
| The failure due to legislative conditions | 35 |
| Edmund Burke's law of political phenomena | 35 |
| Muck-raking literature of the eighteenth century | 36 |
| The historian Lecky's analysis | 36 |
| Bagehot's comment on the changed situation | 37 |
| No golden age of American politics | 37 |
| Anecdote of Judge Holman | 38 |
| The dilemma of every congressman | 38 |
| The flood of legislative proposals | 39 |
| Impossibility of considering them | 40 |
| A complex system of rules | 40 |
| Powers of the Committee on Rules | 41 |
| The Calendar of Unanimous Consent | 41 |
| "Log-rolling" enlarges senatorial opportunity | 42 |
| Mr. Burton points out its cause | 42 |
| Legislative control through "pork" distribution | 43 |
| Statement by Chairman Bartholdt | 43 |
| Individual demands of senators conceded | 44 |
| Legislative control of House destroyed | 44 |
| Committee of Conference the real legislative chamber | 45 |
| John Sherman's account of the situation | 45 |
| Alexander Hamilton's prophecy fulfilled | 45 |

CHAPTER V

SOME COMPARISONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

| | |
|--|----|
| Chairman Tawney's review of appropriations | 46 |
| Statement from Senator Hemenway | 47 |
| Congressional avoidance of responsibility | 47 |
| Senator Tillman on appropriation methods | 48 |
| All parties cooperate in treasury raids | 48 |

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| Mr. Fitzgerald on the attitude of the minority | 49 |
| Encumbrances upon the postal service | 50 |
| Improvement resisted by Congress | 50 |
| The case of the parcels post | 51 |
| Navy yards controlled by local interests | 52 |
| Senator Hale's views of naval management | 52 |
| Methods of Congress and Parliament compared | 53 |
| The English system of budget control | 54 |
| A rule that precludes "log-rolling" | 54 |
| Budget procedure in Switzerland | 55 |
| In France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal | 56 |
| Comparative cost of government | 57 |
| Statistical statement of principal nations | 57 |
| Lack of data for exact comparison | 58 |
| The case of New Zealand | 58 |
| Strains upon modern nations | 59 |

CHAPTER VI

EVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM

| | |
|---|----|
| The system breeds corruption | 60 |
| Peculiarity of the American system | 61 |
| President Roosevelt's controversy with the House | 62 |
| The separation of the powers | 62 |
| That doctrine survives only in America | 63 |
| Its origin and spread | 63 |
| Introduced into our state constitutions | 64 |
| Kept out of the Federal Constitution | 64 |
| Madison's examination of the doctrine | 65 |
| The English connection of the powers | 65 |
| American experimentation in this field | 67 |
| Jefferson's manual of parliamentary law | 68 |
| Vice-President Breckinridge's address | 68 |
| The decline of the House of Representatives | 69 |
| Development of the convention system | 70 |
| Repudiation of party platforms | 70 |
| Senator Bailey on the Democratic platform of 1908 | 71 |
| The President as an exponent of public opinion | 72 |

CONTENTS

xiii

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| Speaker Reed on irresponsible government | 72 |
| The constitutional experience of France | 78 |
| The states of Spanish America | 78 |
| Economy of administration in Switzerland | 74 |

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL CONDITIONS AND TENDENCIES

| | |
|--|----|
| Results of constitutional derangement | 75 |
| Franklin's doubts of republican government | 75 |
| Precarious beginnings of federal authority | 76 |
| Decay of state authority | 77 |
| The constitution of Maryland | 77 |
| Fundamental unity of federal authority | 78 |
| The field cleared for nation-making | 78 |
| Progressive atrophy of state sovereignty | 79 |
| Professor W. W. Willoughby on the situation | 79 |
| Administrative centralization in other countries | 80 |
| The corporation stronger than the American state | 81 |
| Increase in the number of federal office-holders | 82 |
| Elihu Root on state delinquency | 83 |
| Increased State demands on the Federal Treasury | 84 |
| Chairman Tawney on state mendicancy | 84 |
| Increased district demands through nomination conditions | 85 |
| Effects of the direct primary system | 86 |
| Increased personal demands through nomination conditions | 87 |
| The experience of Wisconsin | 89 |
| Pay of legislators in other countries | 90 |
| Pay and perquisites of congressmen | 91 |
| A car-load of franked mail matter | 92 |
| The Congressional office buildings | 93 |
| Patronage distributed among members | 93 |
| Gratuities voted by Congress | 94 |
| Spirit in which members use their opportunities | 95 |
| Statement by Representative Bennet | 95 |
| Expenses of Parliament and Congress compared | 95 |
| Cost of the public printing | 96 |
| Tons of useless publications in storage | 97 |

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| Low comparative cost of executive department | 98 |
| Congressional resistance to economy | 98 |
| Report of the Keep Commission ignored | 98 |
| Executive commissions now prohibited | 99 |
| Investigations that come to nothing | 99 |
| Manipulating appropriations in aid of patronage | 100 |
| A statement from Representative Gillett | 100 |
| Congressional encroachment upon presidential authority | 101 |

CHAPTER VIII

POSSIBILITIES OF IMPROVEMENT

| | |
|--|-----|
| Reforms instituted by Congress | 102 |
| Methods at the time our government was founded | 103 |
| Jefferson favored a lump appropriation | 103 |
| Vagueness of the constitutional requirement | 103 |
| Advance made by Confederate constitution | 104 |
| Millions in unexpended balances | 104 |
| Senate committee on public expenditures | 105 |
| Senator Aldrich's estimate of present waste | 106 |
| Congressional jealousy of the executive department | 106 |
| President Taft's Newark speech | 107 |
| Congress lacks power of self-control | 107 |
| Statement of Representative Burton | 108 |
| Budget control made a presidential responsibility | 109 |
| Failure of republics in the past | 110 |
| The principle of national unity | 111 |
| President Polk's assertion of executive responsibility | 111 |
| President Taft on his difficulties | 112 |
| The President represents the people | 113 |
| Institutional means of discharging the function | 114 |
| Significance of budget reform | 115 |
| Reduction in department estimates | 115 |
| Executive Order No. 1142 | 115 |
| Need for more energetic action | 116 |
| The items of appropriation bills | 117 |
| Veto power of the President | 118 |
| President Grant's claim of authority | 119 |

CONTENTS XV

| | PAGE |
|-------------------------------------|------|
| Senator Sherman's opinion | 119 |
| Presidential influence | 120 |

APPENDIX A

| | |
|---|-----|
| ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES | 121 |
|---|-----|

APPENDIX B

| | |
|--|-----|
| BUDGET PROCEDURE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES . | 127 |
|--|-----|

APPENDIX C

| | |
|--|-----|
| LETTER FROM POSTMASTER-GENERAL MEYER | 134 |
|--|-----|

APPENDIX D

| | |
|--|-----|
| EXECUTIVE ESTIMATES AND CONGRESSIONAL APPROPRIATIONS | 136 |
|--|-----|

| | |
|-----------------|-----|
| INDEX | 145 |
|-----------------|-----|

APPENDIX A

ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES

The following document was prepared for the House Committee on Appropriations by the Bureau of the Census, and was appended to the annual review of appropriations and expenditures by Chairman Tawney, published in the Congressional Record for May 30, 1908.

The figure given in the column "ratio" is the quotient secured by dividing the per capita expenditures of the period under consideration by the corresponding per capita for the years from 1791 to 1796.

TABLE 1.—A.—Total and Per Capita Expenditures of the National Government for all Purposes for Specified Periods, 1791–1907

| PERIOD | AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURES | PER CAPITA ANNUAL EXPENDITURES | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| | | Amount | Ratio |
| 1791–1796 | \$5,854,172 | \$1.34 | 1.00 |
| 1821–1828 | 17,681,344 | 1.59 | 1.19 |
| 1846–1853 | 49,137,138 | 2.23 | 1.66 |
| 1878–1885 | 294,855,816 | 5.66 | 4.22 |
| 1898–1905 | 653,932,414 | 8.17 | 6.10 |
| 1906 | 736,717,502 | 8.72 | 6.51 |
| 1907 | 762,488,752 | 8.91 | 6.65 |

122 THE COST OF OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

B.—Paid from General Revenues for Specified Periods, 1791–1907

| PERIOD | AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURES | PER CAPITA AVERAGE EXPENDITURES | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|
| | | Amount | Ratio |
| 1791–1796 | \$5,852,509 | \$1.32 | 1.00 |
| 1821–1828 | 16,407,424 | 1.47 | 1.11 |
| 1846–1853 | 44,266,671 | 2.02 | 1.53 |
| 1878–1885 | 257,019,281 | 4.93 | 3.73 |
| 1898–1905 | 521,636,626 | 6.65 | 5.00 |
| 1906 | 568,784,799 | 6.73 | 5.10 |
| 1907 | 578,903,746 | 6.77 | 5.13 |

C.—For the United States Post-office for Specified Periods, 1791–1907

| PERIOD | AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURES | PER CAPITA ANNUAL EXPENDITURES | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--------|--------|
| | | Paid from Postal Revenues | Paid from General Revenues | Total | |
| | | | | Amount | Ratio |
| 1791–1796 | \$83,784 | \$0.02 | — | \$0.02 | 1.00 |
| 1821–1828 | 1,273,916 | .12 | — | .12 | 6.00 |
| 1846–1853 | 5,390,961 | .21 | \$0.02 | .23 | 11.50 |
| 1878–1885 | 41,638,131 | .73 | .07 | .80 | 40.00 |
| 1898–1905 | 126,608,377 | 1.54 | .10 | 1.62 | 81.00 |
| 1906 | 180,606,077 | 1.99 | .15 | 2.14 | 107.00 |
| 1907 | 191,214,389 | 2.15 | .09 | 2.24 | 112.00 |

The expenditures in not only the federal government but all state and local governments are met in part from public taxes and in part from other revenues. In the federal government the latter class comprises principally revenues received as compensation for services rendered by the Post-office.

The postal expenditures in 1907 were 112 times greater than those of the six years of Washington's administration for which

the table presents data. Comparison of the expenditures for postal service in 1907 with similar expenditures in 1791 (but \$36,697) shows that such expenditure increased 248 times as rapidly as population, while all governmental expenditures increased about 6.3 times.

The increase of national expenditures actually met from taxation is reflected fairly well by the figures given above, although the reported expenditures include payments for other purposes than the cost of government and payments that are not met from the proceeds of national taxation. Among the payments of the first class so included are those for the expenditures of the District of Columbia disbursed through the national treasury, the payments of trust moneys, and duplications of many kinds. Among the payments of the second class are those for governmental expenditures which are met from fees for services, such as those of the Patent Office and of the General Land Office. The payments for both of these classes, like the expenditures of the Post-office, have increased much faster than the expenditures met from public taxation. The data for an exact exhibit of these payments are, however, not readily available. If they were, it would be found that the actual increase of expenditures payable from national taxes was slightly less than indicated by the table.

EXPENDITURES WITH RELATION TO POPULATION

National expenditures payable from taxes have increased in one hundred and eleven years something over five times as fast as population. The relative increase was much slower in the first sixty years of national life than in the last fifty. The greatest increase was in the period which includes the Civil War, and largely represents the increase in the governmental payments for interest and pensions. Just prior to the Civil War these payments were only 13 cents per capita per annum. This was the lowest in the national history, and was less than one fifth the corresponding per capita payment of 1796 to 1800. The per capita annual payments for interest and pensions in the four years ending June 30, 1869, were \$4.32, and by 1907 had declined to \$1.92. This decline was balanced by a relative increase of other costs of government, so that in 1907

124 THE COST OF OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

the per capita for all expenditures payable from taxes was not far from five times what it was in Washington's time. The same statement can also be made of all such expenditures, exclusive of those for interest and pensions.

The average annual per capita expenditures of the national government payable from taxes for the eight years 1846 to 1853 was \$2.02; for the eight years ending June 30, 1905, it was \$6.65; and for the year ending June 30, 1907, \$6.77. The average for the eight years 1898 to 1905 was 3.29 times, and that for 1907 was 3.35 times, the corresponding average for the period 1846 to 1853. To the extent represented by these numbers did the expenditures payable from taxes increase faster than population.

EXPENDITURES WITH RELATION TO NATIONAL WEALTH

The per capita of national taxable wealth was \$308 in 1850 and \$1234 in 1904. In the latter year it was four times what it was in 1850, indicating that the relative ability of the nation to pay taxes had increased in fifty-four years four times, while the national expenditures payable from taxes had increased in the fifty-seven years ending in 1907 only 3.35 times. The national wealth, or the ability to meet governmental expenditures, increased at least 20 and possibly 25 per cent more than did the national expenditures to be met from taxation. Considering the number of people in the country to be taxed, the present national administration makes the government 3.35 times as costly to the taxpayer as did the government of 1846 to 1853. But taking account of the wealth of the citizens or their ability to support the government, the administration of the United States in 1907 was only 75 or 80 per cent as burdensome as that which controlled the country at the middle of the last century.

INCREASE IN THE EXPENDITURES OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF STATE, MUNICIPAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

The following table presents the actual expenditures of the federal government by decades, from 1850 to 1907, a period of fifty-seven years, and the amount which such expenditures repre-

Total National Wealth and Expenditures of the Federal Government and of State, County, Municipal, and all Local Governments, per \$1000 of Wealth, 1860-1907

| YEAR | TOTAL NATIONAL WEALTH | TOTAL EXPENDITURES OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT (TAXABLE) | | TAX LEVY FOR EXPENDITURES FOR STATES, COUNTIES, CITIES, MINOR CIVIL DIVISIONS, INCLUDING SCHOOLS | | PAYMENT FOR EXPENDITURES FOR STATES, COUNTIES, CITIES, MINOR CIVIL DIVISIONS, INCLUDING SCHOOLS | |
|--------------|------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| | | Amount | Per \$1000 of National Wealth | Amount | Per \$1000 of National Wealth | Amount | Per \$1000 of National Wealth |
| 1860 | \$7,135,780,228 | \$46,448,368 | \$6.5 | — | — | — | — |
| 1860 | 16,159,616,068 | 71,718,943 | 4.4 | \$94,186,746 | \$5.8 | — | — |
| 1870 | 24,054,814,806 | 313,429,226 | 13.2 | 226,185,629 | 9.4 | — | — |
| 1880 | 41,067,122,000 | 298,163,117 | 7.3 | 313,921,474 | 7.6 | — | — |
| 1890 | 61,203,755,972 | 358,618,585 | 5.9 | 471,365,140 | 7.7 | \$569,252,634 | \$9.3 |
| 1900 | 82,304,517,845 | 590,068,371 | 7.2 | — | — | — | — |
| 1902 | ¹ 91,238,732,842 | 593,038,905 | 6.5 | 724,736,539 | 7.9 | 1,156,447,085 | 12.8 |
| 1904 | 100,272,947,840 | 725,984,946 | 7.2 | — | — | — | — |
| 1907 | ¹ 113,947,270,337 | 762,488,752 | 6.7 | — | — | — | — |

¹ Estimated on basis of increase 1900-1904.

126 THE COST OF OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

sent per \$1000 of national wealth as compiled at the various census periods mentioned. The proportion per \$1000 of national wealth of the taxes levied to meet the expenditure, including schools, for government other than federal, from 1860 to 1902, and the grand total of expenditure for government, exclusive of federal, compiled only at the Eleventh and Twelfth Censuses, are also presented.

The expenditures of the national government payable from taxation may be compared with the general property taxes levied for the support of state and municipal governments. The tax levies for state and municipal governments were ascertained by the Bureau of the Census for 1880, 1890, and 1902. For 1880 the per capita of such levies was \$6.26, and in 1902, \$9.22. In twenty-two years it increased 47.3 per cent. The per capita of national expenditures payable from taxation in 1880 was \$5.28, and in 1902, \$5.91, and in 1907, \$6.77. The percentage of increase from 1880 to 1902 was 12, and from 1880 to 1907 only 28.2. The former was only a fourth and the latter barely 60 per cent of the corresponding percentage of increase of state and local taxation for twenty-two years. State and local taxation is increasing proportionately with national wealth and the ability of the people to meet the added costs of local government, while national expenditures — though growing rapidly — do not keep pace with the increasing national wealth; and so the burden of national government becomes smaller and smaller with the passing of the decades — at least, that has been the general trend of affairs since the middle of the nineteenth century, in spite of the cost of the Civil War with its legacy of heavy interest and pension charges.

APPENDIX B

BUDGET PROCEDURE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

IN answer to an application from the author, the following account of Budget Procedure was furnished, under date of October 13, 1909, by the Hon. James A. Tawney, Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations : —

“Prior to the enactment of Section 7 of the sundry civil appropriation act, approved March 4, 1909, the law only required the heads of the several executive departments of the government to submit their estimates for the next fiscal year's expenditures to the Secretary of the Treasury on or before October 15th of each year. It was then made the regular duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to arrange and compile these estimates thus submitted, have them printed, and transmit the same to Congress on the opening day of the session. Under this law, and the practices which it authorized, the head of each department prepared his estimates, or the estimates for his department, without any reference whatever to the estimates submitted by the heads of the other departments, and without any reference whatever to the estimated revenues for the fiscal year for which the estimated expenditures were to be made. The law also required the Secretary of the Treasury, in submitting the estimates for expenditures for appropriations to also submit an estimate of the probable revenues. Under this practice the estimates for appropriations were made without any reference to the estimated revenues, and frequently these estimates for appropriations were far in excess of the estimated revenues. This threw upon the Committee on Appropriations the necessity

of reducing the estimated expenditures so as to keep the appropriations within the estimated revenues.

“Section 7 of the sundry civil appropriation act referred to, provides as follows : —

“Immediately upon the receipt of the regular annual estimates of appropriations needed for the various branches of the government, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to estimate as nearly as may be the revenues of the government for the ensuing fiscal year, and if the estimates for appropriations, including the estimated amount necessary to meet all continuing and permanent appropriations, shall exceed the estimated revenues, the Secretary of the Treasury shall transmit the estimates to Congress as heretofore required by law and at once transmit a detailed statement of all of said estimates to the President, to the end that he may, in giving Congress information of the state of the Union and in recommending to their consideration such measures as he may judge necessary, advise Congress how in his judgment the estimated appropriations could, with least injury to the public service, be reduced so as to bring the appropriations within the estimated revenues, or, if such reduction be not in his judgment practicable without undue injury to the public service, that he may recommend to Congress such loans or new taxes as may be necessary to cover the deficiency.’

“From this you will observe that if the budgets hereafter submitted exceed in the aggregate the estimated revenues, the President must either recommend to Congress what estimated expenditures can be omitted without detriment to the public service, so as to bring the appropriations within the estimated revenues, or else recommend to Congress new sources of taxation from which the deficit can be made up. The existence of the responsibility thus created has prompted President Taft to organize a committee of his cabinet to go over the estimates before the same are submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury in accordance with the law and thereby correlate all the estimated expenditures so as to bring the same within the estimated revenues. This will greatly relieve the committees of the House of Representatives which have appropriating jurisdiction so far as the estimates of the executive departments are concerned. Hitherto it has been the practice for

each department to resist any proposed reduction in their estimates in order to bring the total appropriations within the estimated revenues.

"One of the greatest evils that to-day exist in our system of submitting estimates and making appropriations for public expenditures is the divided jurisdiction over appropriations. This jurisdiction is divided between eight committees of the House. Seven of these committees have jurisdiction over but one appropriation bill, and that is the bill carrying the appropriations for one particular executive department. The Agricultural Committee has charge of the agricultural appropriation bill; the Naval Committee, of the naval appropriation bill; the Committee on Military Affairs, of the army appropriation bill and military academy appropriation bill; the Post-office Committee, of the post-office appropriation bill; the Foreign Affairs Committee, of the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill; the Committee on Indian Affairs, of the Indian appropriation bill; and the River and Harbor Committee, of appropriations for river and harbor improvements, except those improvements which are authorized to be made under continuing contracts.

"The Committee on Appropriations has jurisdiction over appropriations for legislative, executive, and judicial expenditures, which are carried in one bill; the District of Columbia appropriation bill; the fortification appropriation bill; the pension appropriation bill; the sundry civil appropriation bill; and all deficiency appropriation bills.

"Each of those committees which has jurisdiction of but one appropriation bill naturally becomes the partisan representative of the department for which it recommends appropriations rather than the representative of the body to which its members belong and which is ultimately responsible for the appropriations which are made for that department. When, in the Forty-fourth Congress, under the leadership of Carlisle and Morrison, the jurisdiction of the Committee on Appropriations was thus divided, for the purpose of weakening the influence of Samuel J. Randall, a protectionist Democrat, Mr. Randall and Mr. Cannon, now Speaker, then members of that committee, predicted that this division of jurisdiction would cost the people of the United States not less than \$50,000,000

annually. They were not far out of the way, as our experience has proven.

"In my judgment this is one of the chief causes for the rapid increase in our appropriations for public expenditures. If the jurisdiction over appropriations were vested in one committee, as it was prior to this time, it would not have been possible during the last eight years to have increased the annual appropriations for the army from \$24,000,000, the average annual appropriation for the army for the eight years preceding the Spanish-American War, to \$83,000,000, the average annual appropriation for the eight years last past, including the present fiscal year, 1910; nor would it have been possible to have increased the appropriation of the navy from \$27,500,000, the average annual appropriation for the same period prior to the Spanish-American War, to more than an average of \$102,400,000, for the eight years last past, including the current fiscal year, 1910. Nor would the increase for other departments, for which appropriations are made by individual committees, be as great; nor would we have had the deficit in our revenues during the past two years we have had.

"Whether this defect will ever be remedied or not, I am unable to say. It cannot be done unless it is the result of a great popular demand, for the reason that these seven committees, which have a membership of nineteen each, would combine to prevent the House from taking away from them jurisdiction over particular appropriation bills which they now possess. It may be that the effect of Section 7 of the sundry civil appropriation bill will to some extent check the increase in appropriations for these departments for which these different committees recommend appropriations. It was my thought in securing the enactment of this section that we might possibly check the rapid increase in such appropriations by the adoption of this section.

"The plan which the President has adopted under this section throws upon the head of each department the responsibility for his aggregate estimates with reference to the combined aggregate estimates for all the departments; and in this way the one may keep the other down to the minimum.

"When the estimates are submitted to Congress, they are referred by the Speaker of the House to the several committees

having jurisdiction over particular appropriations for which the estimates are made. The practice is then for these committees to send for the heads of the departments, the bureau chiefs in the department, and have them fully explain to the committee the necessity for the appropriations for which estimates are made. At these hearings these officers are closely examined by the committee regarding the subject-matter of their estimates and after such examination the committee then makes up its bill, recommending the amount which in its judgment should be appropriated under each particular head.

"The rule differs somewhat in the Committee on Appropriations, for that committee has jurisdiction over five general appropriation bills and all of the deficiency appropriation bills. The Committee on Appropriations is divided into seven subcommittees, the seventh one having jurisdiction over permanent appropriations. But owing to the legislation making these permanent appropriations this subcommittee has nothing to do. Each subcommittee considers the estimates for expenditures under the appropriation bill over which it has jurisdiction, and when the bill is finally prepared by the subcommittee it is reported to the full committee and the full committee recommends to the House the passage of the bill as prepared and submitted by the committee.

"Outside of the demands for appropriations which come to Congress through the regular estimates, we have what is known as supplemental estimates; and prior to the 59th Congress the practice was to submit a large part of the estimates for appropriations through supplemental estimates. This practice grew out of the carelessness of the departments in making their general estimates covering all of the needs of their respective departments for the year for which the estimates were made. That is, after the general estimates were submitted and Congress was in session, they would discover that they had neglected to estimate for certain appropriations and would then submit them in the form of a supplemental estimate. This practice I endeavored to check by making it unlawful to submit a supplemental estimate except on account of some expenditure authorized by the session of Congress to which the regular estimates had been submitted, or on account of the happening of some emergency which could not be

132 THE COST OF OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

anticipated at the time of preparing and submitting the regular estimates.

"In addition to the supplemental estimates, demands for appropriations come from the recommendations of the board of engineers of the War Department to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors. Their recommendations are made in connection with reports on investigations for river and harbor improvements, which investigations are usually made under the direction of Congress. Hence, the appropriations made upon the report of the engineers of the War Department are not usually carried in the regular estimates.

"Another source of appropriations is in the authorizations for appropriations carried in legislation which is enacted during the session; that is, if a bill authorizing a service passes and becomes a law, it then becomes necessary to appropriate the money for carrying into effect this law or providing for the service which it creates. So that the sources from which emanate the demands for appropriations are: first, the regular annual estimates, submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury at the beginning of each session of Congress, including the estimates of all the executive departments of the government; second, the supplemental and deficiency estimates; third, the reports of the engineers of the War Department for river and harbor improvements; and fourth, new authorizations or authorizations enacted at the session of Congress for which the annual appropriations are made, including appropriations for the payment of claims allowed under the Bowman act or recommended under the Tucker act.

"The demands that are made by individual members of Congress and senators upon the Committee on Appropriations, independent of the regular and supplemental estimates, are very few and are never granted unless the appropriation asked for has been previously authorized by law, or unless the House by unanimous consent includes such a demand in one of the appropriation bills, for under the rules of the House no appropriation can be considered, except by unanimous consent, unless such appropriation has been previously authorized by law.

"The difficulty in practice which the Committee on Appropriations has in trying to keep the appropriations within the estimated revenues arises from the fact that the several committees which

have jurisdiction over the appropriations for a particular department appropriate for the field service only of that department, or for the naval or military establishments. That is, their appropriations are entirely for the service outside of the city of Washington over which the respective departments have jurisdiction, or for the naval or military establishments outside of the Navy and War Departments at Washington. These appropriations being expended out in the districts and states represented by members of the House and Senate, the departments for which the appropriations are made can always rely upon the representatives and senators in whose districts and states these appropriations are to be expended to support almost any demand they make; and it has not been an uncommon thing for the bureau chiefs to line up or to lobby with the representatives and senators in whose districts or states the appropriations are to be expended for the purpose of securing their support on the floor of either House. I have even known bureau chiefs to prepare briefs and arguments for members to be made on the floor of the House in support of proposed increases in appropriations recommended by the Committee on Appropriations. But I am glad to say that as the result of efforts of myself and my associates on the Committee on Appropriations this practice has been almost completely done away with. It obtains yet to some extent, but it is not done as openly as it used to be.

"I know it is a popular impression that members of the House and Senate demand appropriations upon their own responsibility, but this is not the fact. As I said before, they do it occasionally, but it is only where the appropriation asked for has been previously authorized by law. The clamor on the part of members and senators for appropriations is in support of appropriations which are estimated for regularly by the departments or included in supplemental estimates; and their motive, as I have also stated, is the fact that the money is to be expended in the field service of the government, or in the navy yards or at the military posts in the districts or states which the members or senators represent."

APPENDIX C

POST-OFFICE APPROPRIATIONS

THE following is the essential portion of a communication received from former Postmaster-General Meyer, under date of February 26, 1909 :—

“It is the opinion of the Department that in the large cities buildings should be constructed exclusively for post-office use, especially designed for that purpose, and located in the immediate vicinity of the union railroad stations, so that the cost of transporting the mails between the post-offices and the stations may be saved and the distribution facilitated. At the urgent solicitation of the Department, Congress has acquired a site for a new post-office building in Washington, immediately adjacent to the new Union Station, and an appropriation has been secured for a new post-office building in the city of Chicago, the purpose being to locate it as near as possible to the principal railway stations where the mails are received and despatched. A post-office building is also in process of construction in the city of New York immediately above the terminal station of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. A site has also been secured for a new post-office building in the city of Saint Louis and plans are now being perfected for the construction of a building, the site adjoining the Union Station.

“As a general rule, however, in the preparation of the Public Buildings bills the executive branch of the government is not consulted with respect to making appropriations for the new public buildings. At the last session of Congress more than twenty millions of dollars were appropriated for the construction of public buildings for the exclusive use of post-offices in the smaller cities and towns, where the Department had made no recommendation for new buildings. The initial cost of public buildings, together with the

cost of maintenance, is very much in excess of the amount required to provide suitable rented quarters properly equipped for post-office purposes in the smaller cities and towns, and from the standpoint of economy, therefore, there are no arguments worthy of consideration in favor of public buildings in these towns. On the other hand, the federal building represents the government, and if it stimulates national and civic pride, and if love of country and patriotism are thus instilled in the minds of the people, the money is no doubt well expended."

APPENDIX D

EXECUTIVE ESTIMATES AND CONGRESSIONAL APPROPRIATIONS

As a result of the lack of budget system in the United States, there is always room for dispute as to the amount of the expenditure authorized by the appropriation bills. Various partisan statements are made at the close of every congressional session, differing as to amounts. For the purposes of this work, it has been thought sufficient to give the statements of the chairmen of the Appropriations committees of the House and the Senate, along with the estimates transmitted by the Secretary of the Treasury. For additional details the reader may consult the Congressional Record, vol. 45, 61st Congress, 2d session, Nos. 163, 164.

The arrangement by fiscal years is such that the duty imposed upon the President by the Act of March 4, 1909, could not be discharged with any marked effect prior to the preparation of the estimates for the fiscal year of 1911. These, as transmitted by the Secretary of the Treasury (report for 1909, page 26), were as follows:—

EXECUTIVE ESTIMATE

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| Legislative establishment | \$7,093,201.00 |
| Executive establishment — | |
| Executive proper | \$472,270.00 |
| Department of State | 299,720.00 |

| | | |
|--|-------------------|----------------|
| Treasury Department | 11,220,515.00 | |
| War Department | 2,272,908.00 | |
| Navy Department | 841,500.00 | |
| Department of Interior | 5,044,745.00 | |
| Post-Office Department | 1,695,690.00 | |
| Department of Agriculture | 13,377,136.00 | |
| Department of Commerce and Labor | 3,431,330.00 | |
| Department of Justice | 525,740.00 | |
| Territorial governments | <u>266,850.00</u> | |
| | | 39,448,404.00 |
| Judicial establishment | | 1,072,600.00 |
| Foreign intercourse | | 4,133,581.41 |
| Military establishment | | 95,605,147.92 |
| Naval establishment | | 108,106,264.38 |
| Indian affairs | | 8,988,262.90 |
| Pensions | | 155,858,000.00 |
| Public works — | | |
| Legislative | 7,000.00 | |
| Treasury Department | 7,028,365.60 | |
| War Department | 39,983,392.38 | |
| Navy Department | 5,957,150.00 | |
| Department of Interior | 246,000.00 | |
| Department of Commerce and Labor | 223,200.00 | |
| Department of Justice | <u>275,000.00</u> | |
| | | 53,720,107.98 |
| Miscellaneous — | | |
| Legislative | 6,009,478.70 | |
| Treasury Department | 20,383,725.00 | |
| War Department | 6,700,072.98 | |
| Department of Interior | 4,509,175.00 | |
| Department of Commerce and Labor | 9,935,383.00 | |
| Department of Justice | 7,502,800.00 | |
| District of Columbia | 11,180,628.49 | |
| Smithsonian Institution and National Museum | 974,000.00 | |

138 THE COST OF OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

| | | |
|---|---------------|------------------------------|
| Interstate Commerce Commission | 1,370,000.00 | |
| | | 68,565,263.17 |
| Postal deficiency | | 10,634,122.63 |
| Permanent annual appropriations— | | |
| Interest on the public debt | 22,195,000.00 | |
| Refunds—customs, internal revenue, etc. | 19,144,300.00 | |
| Collecting revenue from customs | 5,500,000.00 | |
| Miscellaneous, exclusive of sinking fund and national-bank note redemption account | 23,160,295.12 | |
| | | <u>69,999,595.12</u> |
| | | 623,224,550.51 |
| Add estimated naval appropriations for new ships for expenditure the first year, received from the Secretary of the Navy after completion of the Book of Estimates and to be separately transmitted to Congress | | <u>12,844,122.00</u> |
| Total estimated ordinary appropriations, excluding postal service payable from the postal revenues, but including the postal deficiency | | 636,068,672.51 |
| The Panama Canal appropriations to be met by sales of bonds are estimated at | | <u>48,063,524.70</u> |
| Total estimated appropriations for 1911 | | <u><u>684,132,197.21</u></u> |

CONGRESSIONAL APPROPRIATIONS

Statement by Mr. Hale, chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations

| TITLE | FISCAL YEAR 1909 | FISCAL YEAR 1910 | FISCAL YEAR 1911 |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Agriculture | \$11,872,106.00 | \$12,995,036.00 | \$13,487,636.00 |
| Army | 95,382,247.61 | 101,195,883.34 | 95,440,567.55 |
| Diplomatic and consular | 3,538,852.72 | 3,613,861.67 | 4,116,081.41 |
| District of Columbia | 10,001,888.85 | 10,699,531.49 | 10,608,045.99 |
| Fortifications | 9,316,745.00 | 8,170,111.00 | 5,617,200.00 |
| Indian | 9,253,347.87 | 11,854,982.48 | 9,266,528.00 |
| Legislative, etc. | 32,832,913.50 | 32,007,049.00 | 34,158,767.00 |
| Military Academy | 845,634.87 | 2,531,521.33 | 1,856,249.87 |
| Navy | 122,663,885.47 | 136,935,199.05 | 131,350,854.38 |
| Pension | 163,053,000.00 | 160,908,000.00 | 155,758,000.00 |
| Post-office | 222,970,892.00 | 234,692,370.00 | 243,907,020.00 |
| River and harbor | — | 9,435,750.00 | 41,329,113.50 |
| Sundry civil | 111,958,088.23 | 137,696,623.36 | 113,984,101.82 |
| Total | 793,489,602.12 | 862,735,918.72 | 860,880,165.52 |
| Deficiency, 1910 and prior years | -56,702,309.06 | 20,310,339.92 | 12,722,739.80 |
| Total | 850,191,911.18 | 883,046,258.64 | 873,602,905.32 |
| Miscellaneous | 4,011,337.26 | 12,520,926.72 | 2,000,000.00 |
| Reclamation projects | — | — | 20,000,000.00 |
| Total, regular annual appropriations | 854,203,248.44 | 895,567,185.36 | 895,602,905.32 |
| Permanent annual appropriations | 154,194,295.12 | 160,096,082.52 | 130,934,595.12 |
| Grand total, regular and permanent annual appropriations | 1,008,397,543.56 | 1,055,663,267.88 | 1,026,537,500.44 |

Statement by Mr. Tauney, chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations

| TITLE | REPORTED TO THE HOUSE | PASSED THE HOUSE | REPORTED TO THE SENATE | PASSED THE SENATE | LAW, 1910-11 |
|--|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Agriculture | \$13,417,136.00 | \$13,330,276.00 | \$13,512,636.00 | \$13,522,636.00 | \$13,487,636.00 |
| Army | 95,322,707.55 | 95,297,707.55 | 95,440,567.55 | 95,440,567.55 | 95,440,567.55 |
| Diplomatic and consular | 3,986,981.41 | 3,731,981.41 | 4,119,481.41 | 4,166,081.41 | 4,116,081.41 |
| District of Columbia | 10,285,907.99 | 10,258,067.99 | 10,946,960.99 | 11,012,960.99 | 10,608,045.99 |
| Fortification | 5,617,200.00 | 5,617,200.00 | 5,817,200.00 | 5,817,200.00 | 5,617,200.00 |
| Indian | 8,513,757.90 | 8,798,478.00 | 9,920,934.68 | 9,931,934.68 | 9,266,528.00 |
| Legislative, etc. | 33,897,816.00 | 33,853,295.00 | 34,044,357.00 | 34,207,017.00 | 34,158,767.00 |
| Military academy | 1,855,249.87 | 1,855,249.87 | 1,856,649.87 | 1,856,649.87 | 1,856,249.87 |
| Navy | 129,037,602.93 | 127,829,602.93 | 130,737,934.38 | 131,679,854.38 | 131,350,854.38 |
| Pension | 155,674,000.00 | 155,674,000.00 | 155,758,000.00 | 155,758,000.00 | 155,758,000.00 |
| Post-office | 239,812,195.00 | 243,907,020.00 | 243,907,020.00 | 243,907,020.00 | 243,907,020.00 |
| River and harbor | 35,173,846.50 | 35,351,746.50 | 41,732,313.50 | 41,819,113.50 | 41,329,113.50 |
| Sundry civil | 111,804,838.82 | 112,302,541.82 | 117,408,970.02 | 117,618,320.02 | 114,080,101.82 |
| Total | 844,399,238.97 | 847,807,167.07 | 865,203,025.40 | 866,737,355.40 | 860,976,165.52 |
| Urgent deficiency, 1910 and prior years | 5,013,836.03 | 5,116,325.73 | 5,713,124.79 | 5,768,409.65 | 5,767,699.22 |
| Deficiency, 1910 and prior years | 5,737,412.09 | 6,264,601.47 | 7,946,946.58 | 8,338,490.14 | 6,954,986.58 |
| Total | 855,150,487.09 | 859,188,094.27 | 878,863,096.77 | 880,844,255.19 | 873,698,851.32 |
| Miscellaneous | — | — | — | — | 2,500,000.00 |
| Advances to reclamation fund, reimbursable from receipts of reclamation fund | — | — | — | — | 20,000,000.00 |
| Total, regular annual appropriations | — | — | — | — | 896,198,851.32 |
| Permanent annual appropriations | — | — | — | — | 130,934,595.12 |
| Grand total, regular and permanent annual appropriations | — | — | — | — | 1,027,133,446.44 |

REMARKS

In comparing the executive estimates with the congressional appropriations, allowance should be made for the fact that the Secretary of the Treasury does not include post-office receipts in his estimates, but only the postal deficiency. In the statement of appropriations the post-office receipts are included in the amount of the appropriation, which was made on the assumption that \$233,058,572 would be supplied by postal revenues. Adding this amount to the estimates transmitted by the Secretary of the Treasury, the total is raised to \$917,190,769, as against appropriations made by Congress for that fiscal year amounting to \$1,026,537,500, according to Senator Hale's statement, or \$1,027,133,446, according to Representative Tawney's statement.

Detailed comparison between the estimates and the appropriations is impossible, because the appropriations are not accurately classified, and the cost of any particular service may be scattered through various appropriation bills. Demands successfully resisted when one bill is under consideration may be slipped into another bill. For instance, when the Legislative Appropriation bill was under consideration in the Senate, March 24, 1910, an item appropriating \$1800, for the salary of a professional masseur was so severely criticized that it was dropped.¹ But on June 21 the masseur was provided for by an item inserted in the Deficiency Appropriation bill, appropriating \$1800 to pay the salary of an "attendant in charge of the bath-

¹ See *ante*, page 92.

ing rooms in the Senate Office Building." Conditions are such that it is impossible to ascertain the exact cost of any branch of the public service. In this respect the contrast between congressional appropriations and those made by the British Parliament is very striking. In the latter, the cost of every public office is exactly set forth. I have at hand the estimates for 1907. They are grouped in seven classes, and the subclasses of each group are numbered, with a page reference, on turning to which one finds full particulars as to the expenditures under that head, including the number and pay of employes. In addition, a full index is provided, to which one may turn for reference to any item on which information is desired. As an example of the completeness of this index I give a small extract from the entries under the letter A, as follows:—

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| Aberystwith University College, Wales | 398 |
| Academy Royal, of Music, England | 395 |
| of Music, Ireland | 396 |
| Hibernian, Ireland | 396 |
| Irish, Ireland | 395 |
| Irish, Buildings | 69 |
| Accidents (Railways) Act, Expenses under | 119 |
| Accountant of Court, Scotland | 290 |
| Accounting Office, Consolidated, Supreme Court of Judicature, Ireland | 315 |
| Admiralty Registry (see Supreme Court), England | 241 |
| Admiralty Marshal, England | 241 |
| Admiralty Court Registrar, Ireland | 314 |
| Admiralty Buildings | 46 |
| Advocate, Lord, Scotland | 286 |
| Africa, British Protectorates in | 463 |

APPENDIX D

143

| | |
|---|-----|
| Agricultural Statistics, Great Britain | 139 |
| Agricultural and Dairy Education, Great Britain | 140 |
| Agricultural Statistics, etc., Ireland | 208 |
| Agriculture, Board of, Great Britain | 136 |
| Department of, Ireland | 204 |
| etc. | |

Fourteen long pages are occupied by a minute index of this character, set in double columns. There is nothing like this in our budget statements. Compared with the exact and minute system of English budget control, our methods seem like the ignorant and disorderly practices of barbarians.

INDEX

- Adams, John Quincy, 69.
 Aldrich, Senator, 3, 105.
 Ames, Fisher, 69.
 Appropriation Committees, 15, 129.
 Appropriations, classification of, 19;
 framed by eight committees, 19;
 rules governing consideration, 20;
 Senate increase, 21; manipulated
 in aid of patronage, 100; Presi-
 dent's relations to, 54, 109, 119.
 Australia, 61.
- Bacon, Senator, 6.
 Bagehot, Walter, 37.
 Bailey, Senator, 71.
 Bartholdt, Representative, 43.
 Bennet, Representative, 95.
 Benton, Senator, 68.
 Blackmail, legislative, 27, 117.
 Breckenridge, Vice-President, 68, 76.
 British Estimates, 11, 95.
 Bryce, James, 9.
 Budget, process of making, 11, 127;
 lack of control, 15; constitutional
 agencies of control, 22; English
 system of control, 54, 103; U. S.
 constitutional provision, 103; in
 Confederate constitution, 104;
 control impossible under present
 conditions, 108; responsibility laid
 on President, 109; significance
 of that action, 115; requires ex-
 ercise of veto power, 117; in-
 volves whole organization of public
 authority, 120; compared with
 English system, 142.
 Burgh, James, 36.
 Burke, Edmund, 35, 39, 87, 107.
 Burton, Theodore E., 31, 32, 42, 104,
 108.
- Calhoun, Senator, 68.
 "Cambridge Modern History," 63.
 Canada, 61.
- Cannon, Speaker, 4, 26, 27, 34.
 Carter, Senator, 97.
 Census Bureau, 8, 121.
 Charleston Navy Yard, 48.
 China, 957.
 Committee of Conference, senatorial
 use of, 29, 44.
 Commons, House of, kicked out
 money bill of Lords, 22; legisla-
 tive proposals, 39; rules of order,
 54, 93; seat of government, 66;
 payment of members proposed, 91.
 Concurrent Resolutions, 17, 117.
 Congress, of United States, action on
 estimates, 14, 46; numerous com-
 mittees of, 72, 105; feeble begin-
 nings of, 76; pay and perquisites
 of, 91; office buildings of, 93;
 cost of franking privilege, 92;
 expense of, compared with Parlia-
 ment, 95; resists economy, 98;
 futile commissions, 99; encroach-
 ments on Executive, 99, 101, 105;
 reforms instituted by, 104; ser-
 vant of particular interests, 107;
 need of reform, 115; see Senate
 and Representatives.
 Constitution, U.S., 17, 66, 118.
 Convention system, 70.
 Cortelyou, George B., 1.
 Court of Claims, 16.
 Courts assuming legislative functions,
 79.
 Cost of government, see National
 Expenditure.
- Darwinism, 110.
 Dawes, Representative, 104.
 Denmark, 5.
 Direct primary system, 85.
 Dolliver, Senator, 99.
- English constitution, 66.
 Estimates, British, 11, 142.

- Estimates, U.S., 11, 17, 115, 127, 136.
 Executive communications, 14.
 Executive Department, *see* President of the United States.
 Expenditure, *see* National Expenditure.
- Federal authority, 79.
Federalist, The, 23, 45, 111.
 Fitzgerald, Representative, 49.
 France, 56, 63, 73.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 75.
- Gardiner, Professor, 30.
 Gardner, Representative, 25.
 Garfield, Representative, 104.
 Genoa, 110.
 Gillett, Representative, 100.
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 110.
 Graft, its genesis, 61, 89.
 Grant, President, 119.
- Hale, Senator, anticipates national bankruptcy, 5, 6; on navy yards, 52; on Senate bath-rooms, 92.
 Hamilton, Alexander, 45, 69, 113.
 Hemenway, Senator, 47.
 Holland, 110.
 Holman, Representative, 37.
 Holy Roman Empire, 79.
- Irrigation works, 5.
 Italy, 56, 90.
- Jefferson, Thomas, 103.
- Kansas City Star*, 113.
 Keep Commission, proposes economical reforms, 98; such procedure since prohibited, 99, 109.
 Keifer, Representative, 94.
 Korbly, Representative, 92.
- Lecky, W. E. H., 86.
 Legislation, flood of, 39.
 Log-rolling, 41.
 Lowell, President, 53.
- Macon, Representative, 95.
 Madison, James, 65, 68, 97, 111.
 Mann, Representative, 26.
 Maryland, 77.
- Meyer, Postmaster-General, 50, 134.
 Milton, John, 5.
 Money, Senator, 106.
 Montesquieu, 62.
- National expenditure, growth of, 1, 2, 3, 7; compared with other countries, 57; increase of pay roll, 82; conditions promoting extravagance, 84, 87, 97; analysis of, 121; tabular statements, 136.
- Navy yards, 52.
Newark Evening News, 113.
 Newlands, Senator, 106.
 New Zealand, 58.
 Norway, 5, 63.
- Office-holders, their number, 82.
 Olmsted, Representative, 40.
- Panama Canal, 5.
 Parcels Post, 51.
 Pension agencies, 25, 107.
 Philipp, E. L., treatise of, 89.
 Platforms, party repudiated, 70.
 Polk, President, 111.
 Portugal, 56.
 Post-Office Department, 50.
 President of the United States, excluded from budget-making, 53; separated from Congress, 60; represents the people, 72, 111; congressional jealousy of, 106; his duty to coördinate income and expenditure, 109; difficulties of his office, 112; should exercise powers of Committee of Rules, 114; his budget responsibility, 117; his veto power, 118; discretionary authority over appropriations, 119.
- Prussia, 90.
 Public Buildings bill, 43, 51.
 Public printing, cost of, 97.
- Reed, Speaker, 72.
 Representative institutions, debility of, in America, 30; breakdown in the United States, 73; salvation of, 109; conditions of efficiency, 115.
 Representatives, House of, 7, 11, 14, 15; constitutional powers of, 23;

- rules of, 40; decline of, 34, 45, 61, 69; legislative deluge in, 40; action on appropriations, 46; seed distribution by members, 91; patronage of members, 94.
- Republics, past failure of, 110; a superior type, 111.
- River and Harbor bill, 5, 19, 32.
- Roosevelt, President, 62, 98, 109.
- Root, Senator, 83.
- Secretary of the Treasury, 11, 127.
- Senate, U.S., ability to override House, 24, 28, 43; was expected to be corrupt, 33; constitutional place of, 34; professional masseur for, 92, 141.
- Separation of the powers, origin of doctrine, 62; its spread, 63, 64; results of, 73, 76, 108.
- Sherman, Senator, 29, 45, 119.
- Sidgwick, H., 111.
- Sims, Representative, 32.
- Spain, 56.
- Spanish America, 61, 63, 73.
- Speaker of the House, 11, 14.
- State, the American, decay of, 75, 77, 78, 79; Elihu Root on, 83; mendicancy of, 84.
- Statesman's Year Book, 57.
- Statistical Abstract, 57.
- Sun, the New York, 116.
- Switzerland, 5, 55, 67, 74, 77, 113.
- Taft, President, speech on the "pork barrel," 19; on congressional opposition to economy, 107; on difficulties of his office, 112; reduces estimates, 115; issues important executive order, 115.
- Tawney, Chairman, 2, 3, 13, 84, 121, 127.
- Tillman, Senator, 6, 48.
- Turkey, 57.
- Venice, 110.
- Veto power, 117.
- Ward, Sir Joseph G., 58.
- Washington, President, 120.
- Willoughby, W. W., 79.
- Wisconsin, 86, 89.

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Columbia University in the City of New York

The Press was incorporated June 8, 1893, to promote the publication of the results of original research. It is a private corporation, related directly to Columbia University by the provisions that its Trustees shall be officers of the University and that the President of Columbia University shall be President of the Press.

The publications of the Columbia University Press include works on Biography, History, Economics, Education, Philosophy, Linguistics, and Literature, and the following series :

Columbia University Biological Series.

Columbia University Studies in Classical Philology.

Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature.

Columbia University Studies in English.

Columbia University Geological Series.

Columbia University Germanic Studies.

Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series.

Columbia University Contributions to Oriental History and Philology.

Columbia University Oriental Studies.

Columbia University Studies in Romance Philology and Literature.

Blumenthal Lectures.

Hewitt Lectures.

Carpentier Lectures.

Jesup Lectures.

Catalogues will be sent free on application.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, AGENTS

64-66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Columbia University in the City of New York

Books published at net prices are sold by booksellers everywhere at the advertised net prices. When delivered from the publishers, carriage, either postage or expressage, is an extra charge.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LECTURES

BLUMENTHAL LECTURES

POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT.

By ALBERT SHAW, LL.D., Editor of the *Review of Reviews*. 12mo, cloth, pp. vii + 268. Price, \$1.50 net.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By WOODROW WILSON, LL.D., President of Princeton University. 12mo, cloth, pp. vii + 236. Price, \$1.50 net.

THE PRINCIPLES OF POLITICS FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE AMERICAN CITIZEN. By JEREMIAH W. JENKS, LL.D., Professor of Political Economy and Politics in Cornell University. 12mo, cloth, pp. xviii + 187. Price, \$1.50 net.

HEWITT LECTURES

THE PROBLEM OF MONOPOLY. A Study of a Grave Danger and the Means of Averting it. By JOHN BATES CLARK, LL.D., Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University. 12mo, cloth, pp. vi + 128. Price, \$1.25 net.

JESUP LECTURES

LIGHT. By RICHARD C. MACLAURIN, LL.D., Sc.D., President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 12mo, cloth, pp. ix + 251. Price, \$1.50 net.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, AGENTS
64-66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

CHECKED
2003-04