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PRELIMINARY INVENTORY  
OF THE RECORDS OF THE  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBYING ACTIVITIES

1949 - 1950

*(not published)*

Compiled by  
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## INTRODUCTION

The first major Congressional investigation of lobbying occurred in 1913. On May 29, 1913, the Senate authorized and instructed the Committee on the Judiciary, or a subcommittee thereof, to investigate the charge "that a lobby is being maintained in Washington, or elsewhere, to influence proposed legislation now pending before the Senate." This action followed charges of President Woodrow Wilson that "an insidious body of tariff lobbyists" had been spending large sums of money to create a false impression of the state of public opinion on certain provisions of the Underwood tariff bill. On July 9, 1913, the House of Representatives also voted for an investigation of lobbying. It set up a select committee to investigate "divers statements and charges as to the existence and activity of a lobby organized by ... the National Association of Manufacturers." The House committee confined itself to the investigation of the revelations of Martin L. Mulhall, a former representative of the National Association of Manufacturers. The revelations, originally published in The Chicago Tribune and The New York World on June 29, 1913, reflected on the integrity of several members of Congress who had dealt with the National Association of Manufacturers through Colonel Mulhall. On the other hand, the Senate committee first looked into tariff lobbying, then turned its attention to the pressures exerted in the then pending Union Pacific Railroad dissolution case, and finally inquired into the Mulhall revelations. Only the House committee made a formal report on the results of its investigation

(House Report 113, 63rd Congress, 2d session), and neither committee proposed remedial legislation.

Another broad investigation of lobbying was authorized on September 30, 1929, when the Senate empowered and instructed the Committee on the Judiciary, or a subcommittee thereof, to investigate "lobbying associations and lobbyists." The vote of the Senate had been occasioned by a speech of Senator Pat Harrison, of Mississippi, who charged Senator Hiram Bingham, of Connecticut, a member of the Senate Finance Committee, with having contrived to have present at the deliberations of this committee on the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill an assistant to the president of the Connecticut Manufacturers' Association, C. L. Ryanson, so that the assistant might aid the Senator in safeguarding the tariff interests of Connecticut industry. A subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee first inquired into the accusation against Senator Bingham and then looked into some broad phases of lobbying, particularly on tariff measures. The subcommittee submitted to the Senate reports on the results of its investigations (Senate Report 43, parts 1-10, inclusive, 71st Congress, 1st and 2d sessions), but it made no recommendations for remedial legislation.

In 1935 Congress launched a further investigation of lobbying. The investigation stemmed from the pressures exerted upon Congress to influence action on the Wheeler-Rayburn public utility holding company bill. On May 13, 1935, the Senate established a special committee to investigate "all lobbying activities and all efforts to influence, encourage, promote, or retard legislation, directly or indirectly, in connection with the so-called 'holding company bill', or any other

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matter or proposal affecting legislation." On July 8, 1935, the House of Representatives instituted a similar investigation, directing the Rules Committee, or a subcommittee thereof, to investigate "attempts to intimidate or influence Members of the House of Representatives with respect to the bill S. 2796 or any other bills affecting utility holding companies during the Seventy-fourth Congress...." The findings of ~~this~~ <sup>the</sup> Rules Committee were reported to the House on February 27, 1936, accompanied by a proposed bill for the registration of lobbyists (House Report 2081, 74th Congress, 2d session). The Special Senate committee conducted a longer investigation but submitted no proposals for remedial legislation (Senate Report 1272, 74th Congress, 1st session).

Congress enacted the first Federal statute of general applicability to lobbying in 1946; the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act became Title III of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. The Lobbying Act did not regulate lobbying but merely required public disclosure of lobbying activities, and of the identity of persons and organizations which paid for efforts to influence legislation. There was historic precedent for this law, for in the Forty-fourth Congress, the House of Representatives, on May 20, 1876, adopted a resolution for the registration of lobbyists. The resolution, which appears to have been in effect only for the Forty-fourth Congress, provided as follows:

"Resolved, that all persons or corporations employing counsel or agents to represent their interests in regard to any measure pending at any time before this House or any committee thereof

shall cause the name and authority of such counsel or agent to be filed with the Clerk of the House; and no person whose name and authority are not so filed shall appear as counsel or agent before any committee of this House."

The genesis of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act is found in the recommendation of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, for legislation to require the registration of those engaged in lobbying. Among the considerations which had convinced the Joint Committee of the need for a lobbying registration law were, according to its staff director, the results of the hearings and of the independent studies of the Joint Committee, the findings of Senate and House committees which had theretofore investigated lobbying, the existence of lobbying laws in 35 States, and the personal experiences of members of the Joint Committee with pressure groups.

Because of the heightened lobbying activity during World War II and the period immediately thereafter, due mainly to attempts to influence the impact of Government controls over the national economy, the House of Representatives, in the Eighty-first Congress, deemed that a still further airing of the lobbying situation was advisable. Furthermore, the House wanted to know how effective the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act had proved. Accordingly, the House of Representatives, on August 12, 1949, adopted House Resolution 298, 81st Congress. The resolution, which had been submitted on July 27, 1949, by Representative Frank Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, provided in part as follows:

RESOLVED, That there is hereby created a Select Committee on Lobbying Activities to be composed of seven Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he

shall designate as chairman. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointment was made.

The committee is authorized and directed to conduct a study and investigation of (1) all lobbying activities intended to influence, encourage, promote, or retard legislation; and (2) all activities of agencies of the Federal Government intended to influence, encourage, promote, or retard legislation.

The committee may from time to time submit to the House such preliminary reports as it deems advisable; and prior to the close of the present Congress shall submit to the House its final report on the results of its study and investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable. Any report submitted when the House is not in session may be filed with the Clerk of the House.

On October 5, 1949, the Speaker announced the appointment of Representatives Frank Buchanan, of Pennsylvania (chairman); Henderson Lanham, of Georgia; Clyde Doyle, of California; Charles A. Halleck, of Indiana; Clarence J. Brown, of Ohio; and Joseph P. O'Hara, of Minnesota, as members of the Select Committee on Lobbying Activities. Lucien Hilmer became the committee's staff director.

At the beginning the committee inquired into the role of lobbying in representative government; afterwards the investigation of the activities of certain organizations engaged the committee in the main. The United States Savings and Loan League, the Conference of American Small Business Organizations, the American Enterprise Association, the National Economic Council, the Committee for Constitutional Government, the Public Affairs Institute, the Foundation for Economic Education, the Civil Rights Congress, and Americans for Democratic Action, figured in the committee's investigation. In addition, the committee looked into lobbying by agencies of the executive branch of the Federal Government. In aid of its fact-finding function, the

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committee sent questionnaires to business, labor, and farm organizations, to members of Congress, to political scientists, to newspaper reporters, and to other persons. The committee conducted intermittent hearings from March 27, 1950 to August 25, 1950, and performed extensive research work. However, the members of the committee could not agree on how the investigation should be conducted. The minority members, Representatives Charles A. Halleck, Clarence J. Brown, and Joseph P. O'Hara, questioned the findings and conclusions of the majority members, embodied in several reports submitted to the House of Representatives in the course of the committee's work (see Appendix B for a list of these reports). The issuance of the minority report (House Report 3239, Part 2, 81st Congress, 2d session), on January 3, 1951, marked the end of the Committee's work.

The records of the committee, which amount to approximately 20 cubic feet, are part of Record Group 233, Records of the United States House of Representatives. No person may have access to the records of the committee or receive information contained therein except upon express authorization by the House of Representatives.

GENERAL FILE. AUG. 1949 - DEC. 1950. 12 ft.

1

Apart from its hearings and reports to the House of Representatives, the committee has filed the records resulting from its activities in a consolidated alphabetical file, i.e., a general file. Among the records of this series are correspondence and memoranda of committee and staff members relating to the committee's agenda; reports of committee investigators embodying the results of interviews with witnesses, of searches in the files of individuals and of organizations under investigation, and of other investigative activities; photostat copies of correspondence, memoranda, and other documents in the files of individuals and of organizations examined by committee investigators to discover exhibits for the committee's record; copies of publications issued by organizations under investigation; correspondence with citizens commenting on the work of the committee, suggesting the inclusion of certain individuals and organizations within the scope of the investigation, or requesting copies of the committee's hearings and reports; clippings from newspapers concerning the work of the committee; press releases of the committee; a reading file; replies to questionnaires sent by the committee to business, labor, and farm organizations, to members of Congress, to newspaper reporters, and to other persons, to elicit information for the committee's record; applications for employment with the committee; and copies of vouchers showing disbursements of the committee for salaries of staff members, office supplies, travel, and other expenses. For a list showing the arrangement and the folder headings of the records in this series, see Appendix A.

TRANSCRIPTS OF EXECUTIVE SESSIONS. JAN. - JULY 1950. 1/2 in.

2

This series comprises the hectographed transcripts of the proceedings in two executive meetings held by the committee on January 17, 1950, and on July 19, 1950.

PRINTER'S COPY OF THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE HEARINGS. MAR. - AUG. 1950.  
6 ft.

3

This series consists of the printer's copy of the transcript of the committee's hearings; the Government Printing Office returned this copy of the transcript to the committee's files after having prepared to print it for the committee.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS AND REPORTS. MAR. 1950 - JAN. 1951. 1 ft.

4

In this series are prints of the transcripts of the committee's hearings, and of the committee's reports to the House of Representatives, with the exception of House Reports 3024, 3025, 3033, and 3232, 81st Congress, 2d session. For a list of the published hearings and reports of the committee, see Appendix B.

APPENDIX A

List of the Folder Headings  
in the General File (Entry 1)

The following list shows the arrangement and the folder headings of the records described in Entry 1 of this inventory:

Activity reports

Air transport

All America Defense Association

American Bar Association

American Medical Association

Americans for Democratic Action

America's Future

Anti-Defamation League

Appearance before committee requests

Applicants

Articles

Associated Fur Coat & Trimming Mfrs., Inc. (Thomas J. Downs)

Associated Fur Manufacturers, Inc.

Associated Tobacco Mfrs.

Biffle, Leslie (Secretary of the Senate)

Bowles, Chester A.

Brannan, Charles (Sec'y. of Agriculture)

Brown and Williamson Tobacco Corp.

Buffalo Chamber of Commerce

Building Products Institute

Bureau of National Affairs

Burger, George J. (National Federation of Small Business, Inc.)

Burke, Thomas H.  
Columbia Reporting Co.  
Committee for Equalization of Tobacco Taxes  
Committee for the Nation's Health  
Committee Members' memoranda  
Conference of American Small Business Organizations  
Congress of Industrial Organizations Housing Committee (Leo Goodman)  
Congressional Record  
Congressional replies  
Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation  
Constitutional Educational League  
Contempt citation of Joseph P. Kamp  
Contempt of Congress  
Contingent fees  
Correspondence miscellaneous  
Correspondence prior to November 1, 1949  
Council for Clarification of Pricing Practices (William Simon)  
Crow's Pacific Coast Lumber Digest  
Davis, Elmer  
Distilled Spirits Institute  
Doyle, Representative Clyde  
Duplicated photostated work  
Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy  
Editorial Research Reports  
Ewing, Oscar R.  
Excise tax  
Executive sessions

Expenditures of the Lobby Committee

F. E. P. C.

Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.

Freedoms Foundation

Friends of Democracy

General interim report

General practitioners - lawyers & law firms

Grave's report (requests)

Hearings

Hearings - Congressional acknowledgements

Halleck, Representative Charles A.

Hilmer drafts and memoranda

Honolulu Oil Company (Albert C. Mattei)

Hoper, E. and Sons

House Resolution 298, 81st Congress

House Resolution 633, 81st Congress

House Resolution 638, 81st Congress

Housing

Industrial News Review

Inquiries by members of Congress

Insurance

Internal Revenue Department

Jewelers Vigilance Committee, Inc.

Justice Department (investigation of Lobbying)

Justice Department Files

Kefauver bill (S. 1527, 81st Congress)

Ketchum, etc.

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Labor

Legislative hearings

Library of Congress

Library of Congress books (loaned to the Committee)

Little, Louis

Lobbying Committee meetings

Mailing lists

Memoranda to members of committee

Mimeographed letters (sent out by Committee)

Minority press release

Miscellaneous letters

Miscellaneous memoranda

National Associated Businessmen

National Association of Chain Drug Stores

National Association of Electric Cos.

National Association of Homebuilders

National Association of Independent Tire Dealers

National Association of Manufacturers

National Association of Real Estate Boards

National Association of Retail Druggists

National Association of Retail Grocers

National Authority for the Ladies Handbag Industry

National Beauty and Barber Manufacturers Association

National Committee for Repeal of Wartime Excise Taxes

National Economic Council, Inc.

National Federation of Independent Business

National Fur Industry Tax Committee

National Housing Conference, Inc. (Lee F. Johnson)  
National Retail Dry Goods Association  
National Retail Lumber Dealers Association  
National Small Business Men's Association  
National Tax Equality Association  
National Water Conference Conservation  
Navy League of the United States  
New forms, inquiries re newspaper clippings  
Patterson, William L. (National Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress)  
Philadelphia Housing Authority - Philadelphia Real Estate Board  
Photostat lists  
Press release (correspondence)  
Press releases - Committee  
Program of committee  
Public Affairs Institute  
Public utilities  
Publications requested  
Questionnaire and list - Representatives  
Questionnaire and list - Senators  
Questionnaire replies of corporations  
Questionnaire replies (newspaper reporters, political science writers, etc.)  
Information  
Questionnaire replies (newspaper reporters, political science writers, etc.)  
No information  
Radio  
Radio broadcast - Cong. Buchanan  
Reading file (alphabetical)  
Reading file (chronological)

Real estate  
References (reading)  
Rent control  
Reporting service  
Reservations  
Resolution blank forms  
Roberts, Ralph R. (Clerk of the House)  
Shearon, Marjorie, Ph. D. (Shearon Medical Legislative Service)  
S. B. A.  
Small Business Economic Foundation  
Southern Railway System  
Space and equipment  
Speeches  
Spiritual mobilization  
Staff activities  
Staff studies, surveys, and investigations  
Standard Oil Company (N. J.)  
State Department  
State lobby laws  
Stout, Rex  
Subpoenas  
Suggested investigations  
Supplies  
Tax question  
Telephone  
Texas Electric Service Co.

Twenty Per Cent Cabaret Tax Committee

Union Electric Company of Missouri

United Gas Improvement Company

United States Chamber of Commerce

United States Conference of Mayors

United States Savings and Loan League

Virginia Electric and Power Company

Vouchers

Washington Water Power Company

Western Electric Company

Westinghouse Electric Corporation

Witnesses

Zeller, Dr. Belle

## APPENDIX B

### List of the Committee's Published Hearings and Reports (Entry 4)

#### Hearings

- Part 1: "The Role of Lobbying in Representative Self-Government,"  
March 27, 28, and 30, 1950
- Part 2: "Housing Lobby," April 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, and 28, 1950;  
May 3, 5, and 17, 1950
- Part 3: "Contingent Fee Lobbying," May 18, 1950
- Part 4: "Lobbying, Direct and Indirect": National Economic Council,  
Inc., June 6, 20, 21, and 28, 1950
- Part 5: "Lobbying, Direct and Indirect": Committee for Constitutional  
Government, June 27, 28, and 29, 1950; August 25, 1950
- Part 6: "Lobbying, Direct and Indirect": Americans for Democratic  
Action, July 11 and 12, 1950
- Part 7: "Lobbying, Direct and Indirect": Public Affairs Institute,  
July 14, 1950
- Part 8: "Lobbying, Direct and Indirect": Foundation for Economic  
Education, July 18, 1950
- Part 9: "Lobbying, Direct and Indirect": Civil Rights Congress,  
August 3 and 4, 1950
- Part 10: "Legislative Activities of Executive Agencies": Bureau of  
the Budget, General Accounting Office, Housing and Home Finance  
Agency, Department of Agriculture, Federal Security Administra-  
tion, and State Department - March 30, 1950; May 5, 1950; and  
July 26 and 28, 1950

#### Reports

- House Report 3024, 81st Congress, 2d session: "Report Citing Edward  
A. Rumely," August 30, 1950
- House Report 3025, 81st Congress, 2d session: "Report Citing William L.  
Patterson," August 30, 1950
- House Report 3033, 81st Congress, 2d session: "Report Citing Joseph  
P. Kamp," August 31, 1950

- House Report 3137, 81st Congress, 2d session: "Expenditures by Corporations to Influence Legislation," October 13, 1950
- House Report 3138, 81st Congress, 2d session: "General Interim Report," October 20, 1950
- House Report 3139, 81st Congress, 2d session: "United States Savings and Loan League," October 31, 1950
- House Report 3197, 81st Congress, 2d session: "Lobby Index 1946-1949," December 15, 1950
- House Report 3232, 81st Congress, 2d session: "Conference of American Small Business Organizations," December 22, 1950
- House Report 3233, 81st Congress, 2d session: "American Enterprise Association," December 28, 1950
- House Report 3234, 81st Congress, 2d session: "Lobby Index 1950," December 29, 1950
- House Report 3238, 81st Congress, 2d session: "Expenditures by Farm and Labor Organizations to Influence Legislation and Supplement to Expenditures by Corporations to Influence Legislation," January 1, 1951
- House Report 3239, 81st Congress, 2d session: "Report and Recommendations on Federal Lobbying Act," January 1, 1951
- House Report 3239, Part 2, 81st Congress, 2d session: "Minority Views."