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EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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CONGRESSIONAL.

DEFERRED DEBATE.

THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 1854

SENATE.

DEFICIENCY BILL

The Senate, as in committee of the whole, resumed the consideration of the bill from the House of Representatives "to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1854;" the pending question being upon the amendment of Mr. BADGER to add the following as an additional section:

SEC. — *And be it further enacted*, That the provision contained in that portion of the seventh section of the act of August 26, 1852, entitled "An act to provide for executing the public printing, and establishing the prices thereof, and for other purposes," which provides that when any document shall be ordered to be printed by both houses of Congress, the entire printing of such document shall be done by the printer of that House which first ordered the same, is hereby repealed; and when different printers are elected, each shall do the printing of the house electing him; and so much of the printing for the executive departments and bureaus of the government as is ordered by the said act to be done by the public printer shall be divided equally between the printers of the two houses.

Mr. BAYARD. I move to amend the amendment by adding the following:

Provided, That from and after the 3d day of March, 1855, the said act, entitled "An act to provide for executing the public printing, and for other purposes," be, and the same is hereby, repealed: *And provided, also*, That no contract or engagement made by either of the executive departments, or the authority of either house of Congress, under and by virtue of the provisions of said act before the time of the repeal, shall be vacated or impaired, and no law or resolution repealed by said act shall, by the repeal thereof, be revived or enforced.

Mr. President, the object which I have in offering that amendment is to place this question of the public printing in such a position that it may be fairly considered in both houses of Congress, as to the ultimate system which is to be adopted. My own views of the proper system I have submitted in a bill, which was adversely reported upon by the Committee on Printing. That bill I still intend, during the session, to call up and ask the sense of the Senate upon it. I wish it to stand in a position in which it may have fair play; and I am perfectly aware that while the existing law stands it will be very easy to overthrow the bill, and prevent its being carried through, even though a majority of Congress be in its favor. But if you provide that after the 3d March, 1855, there shall be no law upon the subject, except what in the interim you may pass, then I think a fair consideration of the whole subject will be had, and a proper bill will be passed; and whenever such a bill is passed after discussion, and on the deliberate convictions of Congress, I shall be willing to abide by it in every respect. That is the object of my amendment.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I am opposed to the amendment, and my relations with the Committee on Printing, I presume, will justify me in offering a few remarks in regard to it. I know very well that there is a difficulty attending the subject as the law in relation to the public printing now stands. The House of Representatives has, at this session, elected one printer, and the Senate another; and that raises a difficulty. But it seems to me that, without going into the merits of the amendment, it is altogether out of place. That amendment has no reference to the bill under consideration, which is a bill making appropriations to provide for deficiencies incurred in the operations of the government. Here is an amendment that has no kindred relation to that; and it seems to me that if the Senate understood the facts correctly, the amendment would not now be insisted upon to this bill.

Conceding, however, that a majority of the Senate are inclined to adopt some provision for the purpose of remedying the existing evil, it occurs to me, without a thorough investigation of the subject, that the expense involved in the adoption of the amendment would be sufficient to deter the Senate from annually entailing upon the government the great amount which will be incurred if you agree to the proposed amendment. If I am not mistaken, the chairman of the Committee on Printing [Mr. HAMLIN] has in his possession statistics which, from his position, he has obtained, and which, I presume, at the proper time, he will lay before the body, to sustain the position which I take.

The fact cannot be denied that there is a difficulty in disposing of the printing to be done for this body in connexion with the House of Representatives, as the law now stands. That is a question which the committee has now before it; it has caused more or less embarrassment; but even in order to obviate a difficulty of that kind, it seems to me senators should pause before they attempt to ingraft this amendment upon this bill, and thereby entail a heavy expense upon the treasury of the country. If I am not incorrectly informed, the change proposed by the amendment will make a difference of between $10,000 and $15,000 a session. Connected as I am with the Committee on Printing, I am satisfied that there should be some modification of the law, but not in the mode contemplated by the amendment. I think a provision could be made which would not entail on the treasury at each annual session of Congress the very heavy expense which would be entailed by this amendment.

Now, what is proposed here? Because there is a disagreement between the House of Representatives and the Senate in the selection of the gentlemen who are to execute their printing, it is proposed to obviate the difficulty by incurring this extraordinary expense. If I am not mistaken, by the most clear and conclusive calculation, as demonstrated by the gentleman who has in charge the public printing of the country, the increase of cost will be between $10,000 and $15,000. I do not wish to be understood as taking side with this or that printer. I am perfectly content, as the majority of the body has elected a gentleman to transact the public printing, that we shall put it in such a form that the work for this body shall go to him; and, far from opposing, I would invite an amendment in the way of some modification of the law as it now stands, which would rid the subject of the difficulty which is now encountered in the disposition of the work. The law under which the printers have been elected, if I am not mistaken, contemplates that the same printer shall do the work for both houses of Congress. It goes upon that hypothesis—that the work shall be done by the same printer; but that happens now not to be the fact.

Mr. BAYARD. It provides that each house shall elect separately.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I know that it provides that each house shall elect a separate printer; but if you scrutinize the law, I say you will see that it must have been the sense of Congress that the work should be done by the same printer. Look at the difficulty which has arisen, and I presume that is the reason for offering the amendment. The law provides that all the printing of any work which is ordered by both houses of Congress shall be done by the printer of the house which first orders its printing. Now, look at the difficulty which has arisen from this provision in a special case. Some weeks ago the mechanical portion of the report of the Patent Office was sent to this body, and, as a matter of course, was ordered to be printed, and went to the printer of the Senate. After that the second volume, the agricultural portion of the report, was sent in to, and ordered to be printed by, the House. The contest is now, who is entitled to the printing of that second portion? It is an adjourned question—it is an undetermined question now beore the joint committee of the two houses; and how are we to dispose of it? It is a legal question, to be determined by legal investigation, in order to see which, according to the law, is entitled to the printing of the first and second parts.

Now, if the honorable senator who has offered the amendment [Mr. BADGER] will put it in such a form as to remove the difficulty, without incurring the heavy expense which is here contemplated, I assure him I am not disposed to thwart the action of this body in the selection of its printer, and I will vote for any amendment which will not entail on us the expense which his amendment will entail. As it is, we are meeting difficulties at every point. I am anxious to obviate these difficulties; but I am not anxious to obviate them at the heavy and extraordinary expense which will be entailed upon the country by the amendment. If the honorable senator who has offered it, or any other senator, will offer such an amendment as will carry our printing to the printer of this body, ridding it of the expense which the pending amendment will incur, and lead to no more expense than is already incurred under the present law, I am prepared to say that the Senate should be gratified in giving its printing to him who has been selected by the majority of the body. I have no feeling on the subject. I am not opposing the amendment simply to benefit this individual or that; but I want to obviate the difficulty and relieve the Committee on Printing from the responsibility which now attaches to it. At the same time, however, I do not like to incur the extraordinary expense which will ensue if the amendment is adopted.

It seems to me that the senator who has offered the amendment could devise some plan by which the power could be delegated to the committee, or to the Superintendent of the Public Printing, to parcel out the work to the printers, and to require the press work and other materials to be used in common, without throwing upon the government this heavy outlay of money. It seems to me that if such an amendment should be offered it would be adopted without difficulty. In such a case the Superintendent of the Public Printing might determine, when the work was ordered by one house, and afterwards also by the other, that the same press work and everything else should be used for it by the gentleman who prints for the body last making the order. It is not, therefore, for the purpose of showing any favoritism to this press or to that press, but it is for the avowed object of bringing this to the notice of the Senate, to admonish the body of the consequences that will ensue if this amendment be adopted, that I have submitted these remarks.

It was but the other day that I spoke to a distinguished gentleman on this floor, and told him that the law as it now stands, and as the printers are now selected, throws difficulties, in the execution of the law, before the committee—and difficulties that we found it difficult to overcome. But is it not possible that we can now agree to place the printing upon such a footing as to avoid the increased expense, and at the same time award our printing to the gentleman who has been selected by this body? It is not with the view of preventing that that I am combating the amendment of the senator from North Carolina, but it is with the sole view of impressing upon the Senate the idea that I believe this can be done, while at the same time we can avoid an extraordinary expense. I have no feeling for this gentleman or for that gentleman, so far as the printing is concerned. I am willing at all times to yield to the majority who have at their pleasure selected a gentleman to discharge the work, and to award him what we order to be printed, but I do not want to do it under the heavy penalty imposed by the amendment.

Mr. WELLER. I regret very much to differ on this occasion from the senator from Alabama, [Mr. FITZPATRICK.] Ordinarily he is right; but if I understand the object proposed by this amendment, it is simply this: that each branch of Congress which is authorized, under the existing law, to elect a printer for its own printing, shall have the control of its own printing.

Mr. BADGER. That is all.

Mr. WELLER. Under the law as it now stands, the Senate and the House of Representatives each elects a printer. This proposition is simply that the printer elected by the Senate shall have the control of the printing which may be ordered by the Senate; and that the printer who is selected by the House of Representatives shall, in like manner, have the control of the printing ordered by that body. If there be any defect in the law as it now exists, it is in this: that we are allowing other persons to have the control of an office which, under the existing law, we are authorized to fill. We may elect a public printer, who is ostensibly the printer of the Senate, and yet, under the law as it now stands, by the agency of some other body, or by trickery or management, that office may be rendered entirely valueless. It is to prevent that; it is to make the officer or the Senate independent of the action of the other branch of Congress, and to give him the control of that printing which we may choose to order, that this proposition is made. That is the principle incorporated in the amendment, and that is the whole of it.

So long as we elect a public printer, I should like to know upon what ground my friend from Alabama would concede to the other branch of Congress, or to any of the departments, or to the Superintendent of the Public Printing, the decision of the question as to the amount of printing which should be done by that officer? If it is found inexpedient to have the two officers, the two printers—one to each branch of Congress—let us abolish the law, let us change it; but so long as our public printer is intended to be independent of the other branch of Congress, let us retain to ourselves the exclusive right of directing what amount of printing shall be done by him. That is the whole object of the amendment. Why should it be otherwise? Why should we connect the duties of these two public printers any more than the duties of the other officers of the Senate and the House? Why not have a connexion between the sergeants-at-arms of the two branches of Congress in their discharge of their duties? If you intend that, in regard to the public printing, each branch of Congress shall be independent—if you claim the right for each branch of Congress to select its public printer—let the duties of the two printers be so separated that there never can be any conflict between the two branches of Congress as to who shall do the public printing. Everybody knows that there has been a contest as to which branch should first order the printing of any important public document, for the purpose of giving it a direction to the printer of either this or the other branch. That contest should be done away with. The amendment, in my judgment, is simply a proposition to dissolve the connexion—to make our printer independent of the other branch of Congress. Let each one take care of its own officers; let each branch of Congress be responsible for what printing it orders; and then the people will know where to attach the blame, if any blame there be for extravagant expenditure in the way of public printing.

Mr. BAYARD. As I never desire to embarrass the amendment of any other gentleman, I will withdraw my amendment. I think, however, in reference to the amendment of the senator from North Carolina [Mr. BADGER,] that it only illustrates the evil of the whole law as it now stands. You have one of two evils to encounter. You must either adopt the amendment, and increase, to some extent—I do not know to what extent—the expenditures of the public printing; or, on the other hand, if you do not pass the amendment, it will lead to an undignified scramble between the two houses of Congress as to which shall dispense the greatest amount of patronage to the printer elected by it. I consider the whole system corrupt and corrupting. It makes the printers connected with Congress stipendiaries respectively of the two branches of Congress. It reacts upon and injures the body; and it also tends to corrupt that which is a power for evil as well as for good—the press. It is my intention, independent of this amendment, which I withdraw for the present, to take the sense of the Senate on the propriety of continuing a system which has, in my belief, such deleterious results on the whole political morals of the country. I withdraw my amendment.

The amendment of Mr. BAYARD to the amendment offered by Mr. BADGER was accordingly withdrawn.

The question recurred upon Mr. BADGER's amendment, and upon that question the yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HUNTER. I shall vote for the amendment of the senator from North Carolina. I have no doubt that it will add something to the expense of the printing of the two houses, but I have no idea that it will add anything like what the senator from Alabama imagines. There can be at present no means of making an accurate estimate as to what the additional expense will be. Undoubtedly it will add something; but unless we do this, we shall have to engage in that scramble to which the senator from California [Mr. WELLER] so well refers. As the law now stands, whichever house first orders the printing of a document, sends the whole printing of it to its own printer; the consequence is, that it is in the power of the departments to say to which printer the work shall go. It is in the power of the departments to give the whole of the printing to that printer which they prefer, and the consequence may be that the printer of the other house may be broken down, from the very fact that he was re-elected printer by that house. If we have the right, as the law gives it to us, to elect a public printer, it seems to me that we ought also to have the right of sending to him the printing which we order. That seems to me to be but justice. I believe it will avoid disputes if we do it; and, unless we do it, there is danger that disputes will grow up. How is it in regard to the most profitable documents which have been printed? Here was the census report. The senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRODHEAD] moved to print that. I believe the first motion made to print it was made in this body; and the Committee on Printing, I also believe, reported against it. They afterwards fixed upon some other form, and a resolution to that effect was reported to the House on the 12th of January, when it was agreed to by that body, while I think it was not reported here until the 16th of January. If I am wrong the senator from Maine will correct me.

Mr. HAMLIN. The senator is certainly wrong. The senator from Pennsylvania moved to print a very small volume, of about fifty pages, called the "Abstract of the Census," of which one hundred thousand copies were printed last year. That was the proposition submitted by the senator from Pennsylvania. The question of printing that document was referred to the Committee on Printing, who reported against it. The same committee reported a joint resolution for printing another abstract of the census, which makes a volume of four hundred pages. That was an entirely different thing from the other.

Mr. HUNTER. I ask the senator if that report was not made in the House on the 12th of January, and if it was not made to the Senate only on the 16th, so that the Senate had no chance of giving the printing to its printer? I ask if the Joint Committee on Printing did not report this resolution for printing these copies to one branch on the 12th, and the other on the 16th?

Mr. HAMLIN. I cannot say as to that; I do not know.

Mr. HUNTER. I have copies of the reports here; they are as follows:

"In the House of Representatives, January 12, 1854.

"The House then resumed the consideration of the following resolution, reported yesterday from the members of the Committee on Printing, on the part of the House, viz:

"*Resolved*, That there be printed for the use of the House of Representatives, by the public printer of the House, fifty thousand copies of a compendium of the seventh census, to be arranged by the Superintendent of the Census, embracing the population by towns and counties; the ratio tables of population; tables of nativities, births, marriages, and deaths; of the deaf, dumb, blind, insane, and idiotic; of schools and colleges; of aggregates of occupations; of churches; of newspapers and libraries; and of agricultural products; with illustrative notes and comparative tables. *Provided*, That the said compendium shall be printed in royal octavo form, and not exceed four hundred pages."

This resolution was amended by inserting "one hundred thousand" instead of "fifty thousand," and it was agreed to January 12, 1854.

Then, in the Senate, it was

"*Resolved*, That there be printed for the use of the Senate fifty thousand copies of the compendium of the seventh census, to be arranged by the Superintendent of the Census, embracing the population by towns and counties; the ratio tables of population; tables of nativities, births, marriages, and deaths; of the deaf, dumb, blind, insane, and idiotic; of schools and colleges; of aggregates of occupations; of churches; of newspapers and libraries; and of agricultural products; with illustrative notes and comparative tables: *Provided*, The said compendium shall be printed in royal octavo form, and not exceed four hundred pages."

This was reported from the Committee on Printing by the senator from Maine, [Mr. HAMLIN,] and considered and agreed to, January 16, 1854.

So that the Senate had no chance to give the printing to its printer. The report was not made to us until the 16th, and the order in the House was made on the 12th.

Now, in regard to the agricultural portion of the Patent Office report, which is the most profitable document given to the public printer, I heard one day that it was carried to the other house, and that they were voting upon it. I went up to the desk of our Secretary, and asked if it had come here. It had not. Now, I ask, is it not obvious, in order to prevent these difficulties, if the Senate means to exercise the right to elect a public printer for itself, that it ought to separate itself from the House, and have the means of sending its own printing to its own printer? Let each house have its printing done by its own printer. That is fair. If the privilege ought to be given to each house to elect its own printer, that is certainly fair.

I understand—and the senator from California tells me that he is informed, on what he believes to be sufficient authority—that the increase in the cost of composition, by the proposed amendment, will be only $2,500 or $3,000. Had we not better give that in order to preserve the right which the Senate has, under the law, to elect its own printer? What is that right worth if all the work is taken from him, and the profits withdrawn from him? So far as I am concerned, I never have believed in the propriety of giving the public printing to editors. I have always voted to put it out to contract, or to put up a government press, or so to dispose of the matter as to separate it, if possible, from the political press of the country. I will vote for any scheme which may be tolerably matured to effect that purpose; and whenever the senator from Delaware shall bring it up he will find me aiding him with all my power to give it the force and effect of law. But, until this is done, it seems to me we ought to do something to prevent a scramble between the two houses in regard to the printing.

Mr. HAMLIN. I think there is a good deal of misapprehension on the part of senators in relation to this matter: first, as to the ordering of the printing; and, second, as to the expense. I was originally a member of the Committee on Printing, and a member of the select committee who reported the bill which changed the system of the printing of Congress. I was opposed to the passage of the present law. I resisted it until I found myself almost alone. I believe that the contract system, fairly and rigidly enforced, would be the cheapest and best, and I constantly resisted any invasion upon it. I found myself powerless, and this law was passed. I had hoped that those who claimed that the system would be put upon a better footing after the passage of such a law as they desired, would not be, at least, the first to come here and complain of it, and endeavor to change it. I hope that that law might be permitted to remain until it had had a fair trial. I was originally opposed to it. I should oppose it now under such a state of things as then existed; but inasmuch as the law has been passed, I am for giving it a fair trial, and will stand by it until it has been fairly tested.

One very essential consideration urged by the friends of the bill at that time was, that it contained an express provision that double composition should not be paid, and would not be paid, if it passed. Senators who now come and ask us to change the law urged its passage then, upon the ground that it provided for one composition only.

Now, let me invite the attention of the Senate to this matter for a very few moments, as it truly exists. So far as it is a matter of controversy between individuals, I have no feeling, and I care not one fig about it. The law provides for the election of a printer or printers. The House and the Senate, in the exercise of their rights, have seen fit to elect different persons as printers. The law made provision as to the manner in which the printing should be disposed of. The printer of the House and the printer of the Senate, then, were respectively elected under that law, with the full knowledge of precisely what were their rights, to wit: that each printer would print what was printed exclusively in either branch by itself, and that the printer of the House would print such documents for the Senate as were first ordered by the House, and that the printer of the Senate would print for the House such documents as were first ordered by the Senate. That was the law. So it stood when these persons were elected; so it stands now. The amendment proposes to change that, and to confer the exclusive printing of the Senate upon the Senate printer, notwithstanding the House may order the same document to be printed, and thus compel us to pay double composition for the same work.

I think my friend from California suggested that the printer was an officer of the Senate, and therefore he should be under our control. Now, sir, if that be the object you must go a step farther, and remove your Superintendent of the Public Printing, for we have now just nothing at all to do with our printer. We pass an order for printing. When we have passed the order we have nothing farther to do with it. It passes from our hands to the Superintendent of the Public Printing; he gives it that direction which the law points out; and when the document is printed it is delivered to us. If the amendment should be adopted, we should have nothing to do but to order the printing; it would then go to the Superintendent, and, instead of directing it according to the law as it now stands, he would direct that everything ordered by the Senate to be printed should go to the Senate printer, and everything ordered by the House should go to the House printer.

Now, in the first place, there is a very considerable amount of printing in the Senate, which is ordered here, and done by the Senate printer, with which the House have nothing to do, because they do not order copies of the same. That, therefore, belongs to the Senate printer, and is not affected by this amendment in any way. So it is with the House. It is only with those documents where the same are ordered in each house that difficulty arises; and in my humble judgment, notwithstanding the complaint of individuals, the relative proportion of the two printers' will be found, at the close of the session, to be just about in that proportion which the printing of the Senate bears to the printing of the House. If I am correct in this supposition, it would be just to the printers of both branches to continue our system, and there would be a saving of the expense incurred by double composition.

Let me here allude to a suggestion made by my friend from Virginia in relation to the printing of the census. It only goes to show how a man may be mistaken, and how information, when only partially imparted, may mislead the most honest mind. A few words in relation to this census document, about which so much complaint has been made. Whom made by? By men who, I apprehend, are interested in the matter. I find no fault with them for it, but still I think if there is annoyance, it is annoyance to the public printers of both branches, and it is not an annoyance of our own. We would not be annoyed in the transacting of our business, and the ordering of the printing, if we were approached by nobody, neither by the printer of the House nor of the Senate.

In relation to the printing of this census, I have only to say this: The senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRODHEAD] offered a resolution one day to print an abstract of the census, which was denounced in the Senate last session for its inaccuracy. The Senate absolutely refused to print it. It was but a small document. It was referred to the Committee on Printing, who, on a re-examination of it, came to the conclusion unanimously that it was not worth while to reprint it; that it did not contain any information which was very valuable, and it was so small that it was no object to print it, even if it had been accurate; but we believed it to be inaccurate, and reported against the printing; and that is all there was about that.

In the House of Representatives a resolution was introduced and referred to the joint committee—for senators will bear in mind that the Committee on Printing is a joint committee—directing the committee to inquire into the expediency of having an abstract of the present census printed. The Senate gave the resolution a thorough investigation. They called before them the Superintendent of the Census, Mr. De Bow, and they compared with him the various tables of the large work which had been prepared, and, after spending several meetings upon it, they came unanimously to the conclusion to order an abstract to be printed, which should not contain over four hundred pages, and which should contain what, in their judgment, would be the most useful matter in that volume. And let me say, that when it is printed I think it will be vastly more useful than the larger edition, because it presents, in a condensed form, facts and figures which are useful, and which, to be obtained from the large volume, would require an addition of different tables together. This, in my judgment, will render it very much more valuable than the large one. It will contain all that is really necessary or useful. The resolution requiring the printing of that document emanated from the House. The House committee considered it first, and made up their minds precisely as to what they would do. It was their matter; and after they had acted, the committee on the part of the Senate took the same work, and reported it, at their very next meeting, to the Senate.

That is the whole history of that matter. That is the long and the short of it. It was, therefore, a proposition which originated in the House, and which was reported on first by the House committee, because it was their proposition. Then the Senate committee took their resolution, because, from the investigation of the committee, they came to the conclusion that that was the best compilation which could be made, and for the additional reason, that if we took that work, the cost of composition would be saved. I undertake to say that if the resolution ordering the printing of that work had emanated from the Senate, and if the committee had been directed by the Senate to investigate, and report upon the expediency or the propriety of having such a work prepared and printed, they would, in that case, have reported first to the Senate. I think the senator from Virginia, if he had been a member of the Committee on Printing, would have done precisely what we did. As a matter of economy, I felt it, as one member of the commitee, to be my duty to recommend the House proposition, after they had matured and reported upon it, instead of making a new document which should be substantially the same thing, with perhaps the difference of a page or two.

And let me say that that resolution now meets precisely what I understand to be the objection of the honorable senator from South Carolina; which is, that the compendium does not include certain tables which he deems valuable. That resolution authorizes the inclusion of these very tables if necessary; in other words, it authorizes the Superintendent to add notes which shall convey other facts that may be deemed essential. Any modifications which may be suggested by senators will be considered, and, if thought necessary, will be put into the work, under the resolution as it now stands. The resolution was thus drawn for the purpose of accommodating as many as it was possible to accommodate; though, of course, it is impossible to accommodate everybody. So much in relation to that work.

In relation to printing the Patent Office report, I can only say that I know nothing about it. I was not in the Senate when either portion of that report was sent here. I came in when the mechanical portion was about being ordered to be printed. I think the senator from California [Mr. WELLER] made the motion to print it, and I came in just as he was offering it, and I made a suggestion to him as to the form in which he should present it. That is all that I know about that.

Now, sir, let us see what is the proportion of matter which has been printed by each printer. One thousand one hundred and ninety-two pages have been ordered to be printed by the Senate, which are to be executed for the Senate and the House; in other words, we have, at this session, ordered the printing of documents containing one thousand one hundred and ninety-two pages, which are printed for us, and are also printed by the Senate printer for the House. The House has ordered the printing of three thousand five hundred and forty-eight pages, which have been executed by the House printer for it and also for the Senate, being the proportion, about three to one, of the pages thus far ordered to be printed. I find, by a statement which has been handed to me from the Superintendent of Public Printing, that the aggregates of the two branches, at the last session of Congress, bear about the proportion of two to one; or, in other words, the Senate printing cost $24,000, while the House printing cost $44,092; thus the proportionate cost of the printing ordered by each House is about two to one. The extra documents which have thus far been printed by the House printer for the Senate are about as three to one. I repeat again, however, that when the session shall have closed, I doubt not that the portion printed by the two respective printers will be relatively equal. I believe they will bear about the same relation to each other that the cost of the printing of one house does to that of the other. The cost of the House printing is twice as much as the Senate.

Mr. WELLER. Why does the senator give the number of pages, and not the number of copies of the extra documents already printed?

Mr. HAMLIN. Because I am speaking now only of the cost of the composition. I hold in my hand a communication from the Superintendent of Public Printing, which, last evening, on the adjournment of the Senate, I requested him to make. It is nearly complete, although not perfectly so. If it could be made perfect and accurate, so as to embrace the entire printing of Congress, it would swell the amount beyond what he has stated. It is based on that printing in regard to which he had the details before him, leaving out a little in regard to which he had not. I wish to have the communication read; but, before it is read, I wish to state, first, that it shows that the composition of the last Congress would have amounted to $16,532 if the whole printing had been done under the present law. During a part of that Congress, the printing was done under contract, at a very low rate. This communication also shows that the cost of composition for this Congress, up to this date, amounts to $8,269. That is the cost of composition alone—one single item in the cost of the public printing, far below what will be the aggregate. The Superintendent tells us that the aggregate cost of composition will be at least $15,000 a Congress. How he comes to that conclusion I confess I do not understand; for he shows us by figures, that at this session, up to this time, it amounts to over $8,000. If we assume that the remainder of the printing for the Congress will cost the same, it would make the whole amount for composition over $16,000. He estimates the whole amount at $15,000; and probably, as we increase the printing at every session of Congress, it will come up nearer to $20,000 than $15,000.

Mr. HUNTER. That is $15,000 for both houses.

Mr. HAMLIN. Precisely; and it is just one composition in both houses. Now, if you repeal that portion of the law, you double this sum.

Mr. HUNTER. Does not the senator perceive that two-thirds of that is for the House, and we only double the composition on one-third for the Senate?

Mr. HAMLIN. I repeat, the sum will be just double that which is here stated; because this includes only the documents which are already ordered to be printed, and which are printed in both houses. To illustrate this, I will take the Patent Office report, and I will assume that one portion of it is first ordered to be printed in the House; then the House printer is to be paid for the composition. The work comes here, and we order it to be printed; but the printing is executed by the House printer, and we have not to pay for its composition, as the law stands. Now, what is the cost of the composition? It is a given sum. The Superintendent states that the mechanical portion of the Patent Office report will be four hundred pages, and the cost of the composition will be $500, and the cost of the agricultural part will be $700. Suppose the other portion of it is first ordered to be printed in the Senate, and then it goes to the House. The Senate printer does the work under the present law, and but one composition is to be paid for. Now, if both were ordered to be printed in the Senate and the House, and composition paid for to the Senate printer and to the House printer in addition, it is as evident as that two and two make four, that you just double the price of composition; and so you do on all those documents which are ordered to be printed in both houses.

Mr. BAYARD. I wish to ask the senator a question, for information, if he will allow me. I understand him to say that the statement to which he refers, made by the Superintendent of Printing, which was nearly complete in its character, though not perfectly so, shows that $15,000 will be the amount of the cost of composition for documents printed by both houses. I understand that is the result arrived at. Then the senator immediately controverts this statement by saying that he cannot see how the superintendent arrived at that conclusion.

Mr. HAMLIN. No, sir.

Mr. BAYARD. I so understood the senator.

Mr. HAMLIN. The Superintendent first shows that the cost of composition for the work printed for the last Congress would, if paid for at the present rates, be $16,532. He shows that up to the present date the composition of the documents which have been ordered to be printed in both houses at this session amounts to $8,269. Then he closes with a paragraph, which I will read:

"By the repeal of the seventh section of the printing act of 1852, or so much thereof as it is proposed to repeal, the *additional* cost of the printing for Congress may be fairly estimated at $15,000 for each Congress," &c.

What I say is this: The Superintendent, in his caution not to over-estimate, has under-estimated. I say it, because he shows, in fact, that the cost of composition at this session, up to this time, has been over $8,000 on works ordered to be printed by both houses. I doubt not it will be more than $3,000, and probably $5,000 more, at this session.

Mr. BAYARD. I will ask the senator whether most of these documents, of which the greatest number are printed, such as the census report and the reports accompanying the President's annual message, have not already been printed?

Mr. HAMLIN. Undoubtedly; most of the documents, of which we shall have a large number in each branch of Congress, have been printed. I have no doubt about that; but still, up to this time, the cost of composition has been over $8,000. I have no doubt—and that is all I need say—that the Superintendent, in his over-caution, has understated, rather than overstated, the amount which it will cost. I now ask that the communication from the Superintendent may be read, for he states very clearly the whole matter.

The Secretary read the letter, as follows:

OFFICE SUPERINTENDENT PUBLIC PRINTING,
Washington, March 30, 1854

SIR: In reply to your verbal inquiry yesterday, as to the cost of composition of those public documents ordered to be printed by *both* houses of Congress, I have the honor to submit the following statement:

At the first session of the Thirty-second Congress those documents that were printed by both houses of Congress made 4,480 pages, at a cost for composition of	$6,085 00
At the second session, (including the Census, which made 1,158 large quarto pages,) they made 5,010 pages, at a cost for composition of	10,447 00
	16,532 00

It will be seen, therefore, that if the present printing law had been in operation during the whole of the Thirty-second Congress, without the seventh section, and there had been a different printer for each house, the cost of the printing would have been increased $16,532. It may be proper to state, however, that the data in this office are not sufficient to furnish a *full* statement as to the first session of the last Congress; the quantity of matter of the character referred to doubtless exceeded that above stated; but there are no means of ascertaining the exact amount, only a portion of the printing of that session having been executed under the superintendence of this office.

The cost of composition of the same documents, ordered to be printed by both houses of Congress, during the present session, to this date, reaches nearly $10,000. Of course, in the absence of the provision of the printing law referred to, the cost of the composition would have been double this amount.

The principal documents ordered to be printed by both houses of Congress consist of the annual communications required by law from the President of the United States and the several heads of departments.

The following is a list of the principal documents ordered to be printed by BOTH houses of Congress at the present session, to this date, with their real or estimated cost for composition alone:

	No. of pages.	Cost for com'n.
Message of the President of the United States and accompanying documents	1,936	$2,466 00
Letter from Second Auditor, relative to Indian disbursements	552	1,001 00
Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances	384	502 00
Report of the Secretary of the Treasury Coast Survey, (quarto)	560	1,500 00
Patent Office report—mechanical	400	500 00
" " " agricultural	600	700 00
Compendium of the seventh census, (nonpareil)	400	1,500 00
		8,269 00

Besides the reports of several surveying and exploring expeditions, and a considerable number of smaller documents.

By the repeal of the seventh section of the printing act of 1852, or so much thereof as it is proposed to repeal, the ADDITIONAL cost of the printing for Congress may be fairly estimated at $15,000 for each Congress, which will be paid for EXTRA composition alone, provided that the Senate and House employ different printers.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
A. G. SEAMAN, Superintendent

Hon. H. HAMLIN, United States Senate.

Mr. HAMLIN. I have but a few words more to say. I desire to invite the attention of the senator who offers the amendment to the suggestion which I make, and it is one of a practical character. The amendment of the senator from North Carolina provides, first, for a repeal of the seventh section of the act of 1852, which requires that a document shall be printed by the House printer for the Senate, when the printing is first ordered by the House, and *vice versa*. Then it provides that "each shall do the printing for the House electing him; and so much of the printing for the executive departments and bureaus of the government as is ordered by the said act to be done by the public printer, shall be equally divided between the printers of the two houses."

A difficulty which this provision involves I will now point out to the senator. The House have already ordered certain documents to be printed, which are now in the process of printing; some perhaps are in process of composition, and others are in press. The Senate have also ordered certain documents, and they are in process of printing, in different stages. Now, suppose this amendment shall be adopted, in what manner is the printing already ordered to be completed?

Mr. BADGER. According to the law in force when it was ordered, of course.

Mr. HAMLIN. That law will be repealed by the passage of this provision; and there will then be no such law in existence. The House printer can, therefore, come forward and insist on his right, under this section, to do all the printing ordered by the House; and the Senate printer can make the same demand with regard to the Senate printing. I insist that the law under which they now act being repealed, they would have a right to do so. This would require double compensation for all the work which is even in process of being printed. It seems so to me. There ought at least to be a provision to meet that exigency, if an amendment similar to this is to be adopted. I have nothing further to say in regard to this matter at present.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I wish to speak to one part of the subject only, and to make myself distinctly understood upon it. I have a right to claim to speak with some degree of intelligence, at least, upon the matters connected with the census. I was one of the committee which had that matter in charge originally, of which an honorable senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Davis] was chairman, and of which Mr. Underwood was another member. It cost us a great deal of labor, and the tables were very carefully prepared. I was in the minority upon the committee, dissenting so far as regarded many of the columns, and dissenting essentially so far as regarded the propriety of publishing anything beyond the enumeration of the inhabitants, and perhaps the real estate of the country. But they went on in opposition to my views; and what was the result? Why, sir, a book of twelve hundred pages was presented to Congress. Yes, sir, a book of twelve hundred pages, containing the results of that census, was authorized to be published under the authority of Congress. How stands that book? It differs from every one of the documents which are laid before us. The President's message cannot be changed by the House of Representatives, nor by the Senate. The reports of the heads of departments cannot be changed either by the Senate or the House of Representatives; but how is it with regard to this book, which is known as the census of the United States? Why, sir, the House of Representatives have not only assumed to change the original character of the book, and make a compendium of it, but they have sent to the Senate a compendium, of which they are to be the author, and we the editor. We are to edit the book of which they are the author, and are to take it without examination, upon the recommendation of the House.

Now, sir, if this census is to go out—and if it is to go out as a book which may be arranged, edited, or compiled under the authority of the Senate or the House of Representatives—I take the liberty of saying that I wish the pen of the Senate at least to be allowed to write a single page in that history. But how stands it? Here comes a book from the House of Representatives, to be published under the direction of the head of the census bureau, with certain smooth columns, which will be very easily printed, and will be very profitable to the printer. What are they? One of them is a very curious piece of information to be sent out to the public, of how many paupers, how many lunatics, and how many idiots there are in the United States; when, to my utter surprise, in looking at it, and referring to my section of the country particularly, that which I supposed every man wishing valuable information to be published and sent out to the community would desire to have in it, is left out. There is no column showing how many acres of land are under the proprietorship of individuals in the United States. That which I wish to attain (and I would not increase the columns by it) is to substitute a statement showing how many acres of land are in cultivation in the different States. I would put that in place of the column of lunatics, and paupers, and idiots. Will any man say, in compiling such a book, this would not be a more valuable species of statistics than to state how many lunatics are in the United States? That may be information for the curious, but it can be ascertained from other sources than this compendium.

I know it is much easier to prepare that kind of a book than the one which I would wish; and it has been sent here by the House of Representatives, who undertake to be an intelligent author, sanctioned, I have no doubt, by a very intelligent critic—the senator from Maine. I am not going to say that he would not be a very good reviewer, but allow me to say that I do not think it is a good book. If we are going to reduce it from twelve hundred to four hundred pages—and I think it could be better reduced to two hundred—I am not disposed to mar it by striking out columns; but, if filling it up, I would omit the column of lunatics, idiots, and insane, and insert a column showing the number of acres of land in cultivation in each of the different States. That could be very easily done. That information might be readily obtained; and it would be somewhat germane to the taking of the census, because Congress may possibly have occasion to impose something like a direct tax. What information have you now with regard to property which is taxable? None at all. In place of that information you have a detailed statement as to lunatics and idiots. That is put in because it will make a smoother column, and an easier book for the printer.

Then, I say, if we are to have a printer for the Senate, I want that printer to be under the authority of the Senate as an author, and not as an editor adopting the authorship of other people's books. As to the two or three thousand dollars difference which this amendment will make as to the expense, I regard it as nothing.

As I said before, we cannot change the standing documents; but this census compendium to which I have alluded could, if put under the care of an intelligent committee, be reduced from four hundred to two hundred pages with advantage. I am willing, however, to leave it a book of four hundred pages