

Chapter 16 – No Deal: The 82nd Congress

The Democratic Party remained in control of the House of Representatives in the 82nd Congress. Sam Rayburn was reelected Speaker. Committee chairs remained Democrats. The staff, particularly the chief officers remained the choice of Democrats. Yet the reduction of the numbers in the overall membership of Democrats who were non-Southern increased the ability of the so-called “conservative coalition” to dominate the process and product. But, given that the 81st Congress had not delivered a great deal of President Harry Truman’s program, the change was less than profound. Ten of the House’s standing committees were chaired by Southerners in the 81st and 82nd Congresses (and three more by Border Democrats); one could expect little change. The biggest initial differences were that the 21-Day Rule was revoked on January 3 and that Republicans felt free to audibly jeer the President’s State of the Union address on January 4.¹

The guaranteed tenure of so many Democrats from the one-party South enabled their chairships. In the meantime, the remaining members of the Class of ’46 continued their slow advance up the seniority system.

The previous winners of the committee selection process, Democrats Otto Passman of Louisiana and Prince Preston of Georgia, and Republicans Norris Cotton of New Hampshire and Frederick Coudert of New York on Appropriations, were joined on that body by Republicans Glenn Davis of Wisconsin and Edward Miller of Maryland. Democrat Burr Harrison of Virginia also moved onto one of the three exclusive committees, Ways and Means. Harrison was the lowest ranking Democrat on the Committee. Glenn Davis came to Appropriations as the 16th most senior of 20 Republicans and moved up to 15th during the 82nd Congress thanks to the death of Karl Stefan of Nebraska on October 2, 1951. Miller was placed on Appropriations to fill Stefan’s vacancy and, so, was 20th in seniority. No one from the Class of ’46 was on the third and smallest exclusive committee, that of Rules.

As for the other Class members on Appropriations, Preston was 20th in seniority and Passman was 21st among the 27 Democrats. Of the Republicans, Coudert was 12th and Cotton was 15th, both moving up a notch after Stefan’s death.

There were eleven subcommittees of the Committee on Appropriations in the 82nd Congress.² The chair of each of these subcommittees wielded substantial influence over the designation of public funds. Political Scientist Richard Fenno would write in 1966, “If there is any generalization about Appropriations Committee activity that is fully supported by past research, it is the proposition that the tasks of the Appropriations Committee are accomplished by its subcommittees. The full fifty-man committee does not transact much of its business as a unit. Normally, it meets only to organize itself at the beginning of each Congress and to give a majority vote of approval to the recommendations of its subcommittees.”³

To reach the chairship of one of the subcommittees was an achievable goal for the members of the majority party; so for the attainment of ranking member for the minority, as the Committee had a reputation for bipartisanship. The chair, with the ranking member of the Committee, designated the members of each subcommittee and the seniority system worked within each subcommittee as within the Committee as a whole. The Class members still had a distance to go.

¹ Donovan (1982), 131-2.

² Saturno.

³ Fenno (1966), 134, 138-40, 277.

There were fewer committee changes among the members of the Class in the 82nd than there had been in the 81st, in large part because the lack of a party shift in control meant few changes in the numbers of the parties on committees. For example, the number of Democrats on the Agriculture Committee remained at 19 while the number of Republicans increased from 11 to 14 as a result of changes in the partisan balance in the House as a whole.

Apart from Glenn Davis, who gave up Veterans' Affairs for Appropriations, Harrison who surrendered Un-American Affairs and House Administration for Ways and Means, and Miller who left Merchant Marine and Fisheries for Appropriations, changes among the less toney committees were few. Republican Ralph Harvey of Indiana traded Expenditures in the Executive Departments, where he would have been third in seniority, for the tenth seat on Agriculture, exchanging investigations for something more constituency-oriented. Don Wheeler of Georgia also moved from Veterans' Affairs to Agriculture, having faced a challenger who criticized his lack of agricultural effort, and thus from fifth to twelfth in seniority. Republican James Patterson of Connecticut gave up fourth on Veterans' Affairs for eleventh on District of Columbia, a move which, one assumes, was at the behest of the Republican leadership. He retained his seat on the more prestigious Armed Services Committee. Republican Charles Potter of Michigan, curiously given his Great Lakes oriented District, surrendered the fourth chair on Merchant Marine and Fisheries for ninth on Education and Labor. If there was an obvious sweetener, it was his addition to Un-American Activities, the membership on which had made Richard Nixon's career. John Bell Williams of Mississippi probably cheerfully gave up the headache committee of Post Office and Civil Service for Interstate and Foreign Commerce, moving from the fifth seat to twelfth, but possibilities for helping commercial enterprises were presented by his new committee.

Seven members remained on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, hoping perhaps that their probing of executive lapses would bring them rewards. That seemed to work for Porter Hardy of Virginia, but Henderson Lanham was a notch higher at third among Democrats than Hardy. Walter Riehlman of New York was second among Republicans. Omar Burleson of Texas was also second among seven Democrats on House Administration.

Five Democrats were on Veterans' Affairs with Olin Teague of Texas at third and Bryan Dorn of South Carolina, who joined the Committee after his failed Senate run, now at eleventh, having lost the seniority which placed him at sixth on Expenditures in the Executive Departments in the 80th Congress. On August 9, 1951, one of the five, Harold Donohue of Massachusetts would surrender the sixth seat to take the seventeenth chair on the Judiciary Committee, appealing to this attorney.

The Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee counted five members, including Horace Seely-Brown of Connecticut, who returned to it after a hiatus occasioned by defeat for reelection. He had been ninth in seniority among Republicans and now was eighth, an improvement due to the departure of four Republicans from the Committee, including Potter and classmate Franklin Lichtenwalter of Pennsylvania, who marked paid to a congressional career. Another classmate, Charles Kersten of Wisconsin, who like Seely-Brown had failed for reelection in 1948 but returned in 1950, also took a seat, one notch behind Seely-Brown on Merchant Marine. In the 80th Congress he had been eleventh of Republicans on the more prestigious Education and Labor Committee.

Education and Labor had seven classmates, with Republican Wint Smith of Kansas fourth and Democrat John Kennedy of Massachusetts fifth in seniority. They were rejoined by Richard Vail of Illinois after his failed reelection hiatus, now at tenth, where he had been in the 80th House.

Thomas Stanley of Virginia was the first to achieve the holy grail of committeeship, chair. Admittedly, House Administration was considered a minor committee. Its chair would not achieve a position of power until Wayne Hays (D OH), who would use the Committee's control over committee budgets, office expenses, and travel vouchers to bully members at large. The official history of the Committee would mention Stanley exactly once in his role as Chair.⁴

Two Republican members of the Class of '46 rejoined the 82nd House due to special elections.

Claude Bakewell of Missouri, who had not attempted to regain his seat in 1950, was nominated by the District Republican Committee as a compromise candidate between competing factions. The Democratic candidate was an organization man without Labor support, nominated by Committee over the widow of John Sullivan, Bakewell's predecessor and successor in office, who died on January 29, 1951, at age 53. Bakewell won easily and took office on March 19, 1951.⁵

Robert Tripp Ross of Queens replaced Vincent Quinn, who had defeated Ross in 1948 and resigned the House to become the district attorney for Queens. Designated again by the Party, Ross ran, unsurprisingly, against Truman, but so did Democrat Hugh Quinn, a City Councilman. James A. Roe, the Queens Democratic leader had been a steadfast backer of Gen. Dwight Eisenhower for the Democratic nomination. When Eisenhower had let it be known he was not a candidate, Roe had himself nominated for President at the 1948 Democratic National Convention. Thus, it being unclear what Hugh Quinn represented, Ross had no difficulty running away with the special election, defeating the Democrat by 17 points with an American Laborite taking 8%. Ross took his seat in the House on February 26, 1952.⁶

One member of the Class left the 82nd House early. Democrat John Whitaker of Kentucky, who had come to the 80th Congress late through special election, died on December 15, 1951, at age 50 of a heart attack. Plagued by heart ailments, he had never been a well man during his 3 year, 7 month, and 19 day congressional career. Whitaker left no children. His widow sought to succeed him in office, but the District's Democrat leaders thought otherwise. When the new representative, Democrat Garrett Withers, would die on April 30, 1953, Helen Dent Whitaker tried again with the same result.⁷

The war in Korea dragged on through the 82nd Congress. The day after the Congress convened in 1951, Chinese and North Korean forces recaptured Seoul. On April 11 President Truman relieved Gen. Douglas MacArthur of command. Truce talks began on July 10 with the United States, the Soviet Union, and China attempting to rein in their more belligerent Korean allies. Though fighting continued, the front approximated the final demilitarized zone through the 82nd Congress and beyond.

The war had diminished the potential for realization of Truman's Fair Deal initiatives, had the Congress even been willing. A rare victory for the Administration, the 21-Day Rule, was revoked at the start of the 82nd Congress. Speaker Sam Rayburn supported a Southern drive, backed by Republicans, to repeal it,

⁴ *The New York Times*, February 11, 1989. "Wayne Hays ... is a mean man, and he has not hesitated to use his meanness, and his reputation for it, to achieve his ends. ... With his control over the housekeeping functions of the House almost total, Hays has even his potential enemies cowed...." Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews (1975), 681. *A History of the Committee on House Administration, 1947-2012*, 186.

⁵ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 12 & 13, 1951. *Macon Chronicle-Herald*, February 14, 1951. OurCampaigns.com.

⁶ *Troy Record*, January 23, 1952. *The New York Times*, April 23, 1967. *CQ Almanac* 1952, 31. *Times Record*, February 20, 1952.

⁷ *The Courier-Journal*, December 16, 1951; May 18, 1952. *The Franklin Favorite*, December 20, 1951; May 8, 1953. *The Owensboro Messenger*, March 25, 1952.

recognizing the power of the conservative coalition. The President, in his 1951 State of the Union address focused on issues of defense, not domestic policy. The 1952 address was similar, beginning with defense and foreign policy issues and ending with a repetition of Fair Deal objectives.⁸

The Defense Production Act, which provided for regulation of wages and prices in the face of war-driven inflation, was to expire on June 30, 1951. Truman got a two-year extension but with weakened controls. Given the limited nature of the war, this was adequate but a defeat for the Administration.⁹

The hunt for domestic communists was in full cry. Sen. Joseph McCarthy was ranging the country with lists of varying number. Republican members of Congress were decrying the Administration's "socialist" policies. The House Un-American Activities Committee was naming names. Truman's loyalty boards were requiring Federal employees to prove their innocence. His rejection of MacArthur's aggressive posturing on Communist China provided excuses for attacks on the President's loyalty.¹⁰

MacArthur got a ticker-tape parade in New York City and an address to a joint session of Congress, but the documented revelation that he had assured Truman in October 1950 that the Chinese would not intervene in Korea even as indications demonstrated that they already were, diminished his stature. A Senate inquiry into the General's dismissal revealed the unified opposition of the Army's command structure to MacArthur's would-be aggressiveness. This did not eliminate MacArthur's use in the ensuing election.¹¹

The 82nd Congress ended, as all congresses do, in an election year – in this case in a presidential election year. Truman announced on March 29, 1952, that he would not be a candidate for reelection, but he and his administration would be major issues in the contest. It may have been, as Congressional Quarterly opined, that the second session of the 82nd Congress convened "with one principal purpose in mind – to get away from Washington before the first of the major party presidential nominations was made in July," but election years inevitably lead to opportunities for much partisan posturing among members of Congress. The Administration helped much in this regard by delivering a series of scandals – in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, in the Bureau of Internal Revenue, in the Attorney General's office. Congressional investigations followed.¹²

A major activity of members of the Class of '46 in the 82nd House was whittling away at Administration spending requests. Despite the success of many members in doing so through amendment to appropriation bills, Federal spending increased, thanks to larger Administration requests, especially for defense related expenses.¹³

Class members who were successful whittlers through floor amendment were Harrison (once), Wheeler (once), Laurie Battle of Alabama (twice), Coudert (twice), Glenn Davis (twice), Cotton (twice, losing a third time when a teller tally reversed the standing vote), Williams (six times), Kenneth Keating of New York (seven times), and James Davis of Georgia (eight times) – all Republicans and Southern Democrats.

⁸ Rayburn's biographers contend that he decided the Rule led to "irresponsible legislation." Hardeman & Bacon, 344. Donovan (1982), 365. 1952 State of the Union Address, at TeachingAmericanHistory.org.

⁹ Donovan (1982), 368-9.

¹⁰ Donovan (1982), 366-8.

¹¹ Halberstam (2007), 379-80. Donovan, (1982), 369-70.

¹² Boeckel (1952). Donovan (1982), 332-9, 372-81.

¹³ Boeckel (1952).

The Republicans made S 1203, the creation of 22 new permanent Federal judgeships, an issue. They would be appointed by a Democratic President and confirmed by a Democratic Senate. Keating moved recommitment, successfully in the absence of a number of Democratic members after the Easter recess, succeeding in cutting the number of new permanent judges to 14.¹⁴

With the exception of William's reduction in Coast Guard funds (accepted standing and by teller but rejected by roll call), none of these cuts were in defense items, though many were in international aid – four of Williams', two of James Davis', and one of Keating's. A favorite domestic target of Republicans was public power – Coudert (twice), Keating (twice), Cotton, and Glenn Davis. Williams effected an amendment to inhibit the Department of the Interior from purchasing new cars.

Not all of these cuts survived the conference process.

The Defense Production Act attracted many attempts at amendment, either to restrict its controls: Harrison, Democrat Abraham Multer of New York, Republican Antoni Sadlak of Connecticut, Wheeler, James Davis (though successful in Committee of the Whole, the House reversed his amendment), Lanham (won on standing but then lost on teller) – or to expand them: Republican Jacob Javits of New York.

Wingate Lucas of Texas successfully amended the Defense Production Act to change the membership of the Wage Stabilization Board. Multer amended it to create a Defense Areas Advisory Committee. Multer also made nine unsuccessful attempts to amend the extension.

Efforts on defense included a successful amendment to the Defense Housing Act by Democrat Charles Deane of North Carolina to permit prior commitments in financing military housing projects. Glenn Davis amended the Defense Department appropriation bill to restrict the numbers of officers in the armed services. Congress passed a universal military training act in the first session then failed to enact the administrative mechanism for it in the second session. Teague amended this act to limit inductions of those under 19 years of age. James Davis amended the unsuccessful Administration bill to suspend UMT whenever the draft was active. Burleson moved a complete substitute for the UMT bill, HR 5904, which would turn it into a compulsory yearlong ROTC program in schools, vocational or academic. Burleson's substitute as amended was accepted by Committee of the Whole and rejected by the House. Battle signed a congressional petition urging complete national disarmament and the creation of a standing United Nations police force. American faith in the UN was at a high point, given that the country was fighting under the UN flag with 15 other nations in Korea.¹⁵

While the United States had a monopoly on nuclear weapons, the presumption of the Administration had been that the Soviet Union would be deterred from military aggression. The Soviet achievement of a successful atomic bomb in September 1949 ended the assumption. The Korean War absorbed the still limited military activities of the United States, as well as that of participating allies, and led to increasing concern about the security of western Europe. In December 1950 Truman announced the appointment of Gen. Dwight Eisenhower as supreme commander of NATO and the intent to send more American troops to Europe. This prompted what was termed at the time "the Great Debate." Former Pres. Herbert Hoover broadcast his opposition to the defense of continental Europe. Sen. Robert Taft (R OH), who had opposed the NATO treaty, disavowed the country's mutual defense obligations under the Treaty. Truman insisted that as commander-in-chief he could send troops anywhere he wanted to. Eisenhower defended America's military commitment under NATO to members of Congress. Sen. Kenneth Wherry (R-NE) and Coudert introduced complimentary resolutions (HJRes 9 in Coudert's case) to ban the use of

¹⁴ Boeckel (1952).

¹⁵ Boeckel (1952). *The Anniston Star*, March 4, 1951.

appropriations to send American troops abroad without explicit congressional approval. About 120 House Republicans signed a “Declaration of Policy” in support of the resolutions; these included Caleb Boggs of Delaware, Cotton, Carroll Kearns and Paul Dague of Pennsylvania, Glenn Davis, Harvey, Donald Jackson of California, Jenison, William McCulloch of Ohio, Russell Mack of Washington, Miller, Donald Nicholson of Massachusetts, Patterson, Potter, Sadlak, Katherine St. George of New York, Smith, Thor Tollefson of Washington, and Vail from the Class of ’46. The Senate passed resolutions without binding effect, while the House took no action.¹⁶

Coudert later moved an amendment to HR 5054, the bill to appropriate funds for the Department of Defense for FY 1952, to restrict moneys for troops in Europe to six divisions, the number Truman had deployed, but the amendment failed. The range of Class members signing the Declaration of Policy from internationalists to isolationists indicates that the Great Debate had more to do with partisanship and the battle between the executive and the legislative than it did with Europe. Similarly, Riehlman’s success in amending a bill authorizing Truman to make temporary reorganizations in Federal agencies by extending the time in which Congress could override the executive action was about legislative authority.

Captain and former member of the Class of ’46 Willis Bradley returned to testify before the House Public Works Committee. The issue was a push to build the St. Lawrence Seaway, a potential series of canals and locks to enable ocean-going ships to reach as far as Duluth, Minnesota. The Administration was asking for the funding. John Blatnik of Minnesota was pushing for it. The Administration contended it was a measure for national defense. Bradley was called in to testify on the exposure of the Seaway to Soviet attack; vulnerable, he said. On a somewhat related matter, Boggs got a bill (HR 6521) enacted to provide for safe loading and unloading of explosives on ships.¹⁷

Kersten successfully amended a foreign aid bill (HR 5113) to fund the creation of military units of refugees from eastern Europe. No such units would ever be created, though funds authorized would be used to resettle refugees. Battle got HR 4550 passed to prohibit aid to nations who sent strategic materials to Soviet-bloc countries. The President could waive the prohibition in certain instances and, given the need for the markets by recovering western European countries, sometimes did so. Kersten and Battle accomplished the eponymic feat of having, respectively, an amendment and an act known for them, however incomplete the results.¹⁸

While preparing for present and future wars, Class members also attended to past wars. The number of bills dealing with veterans diminished, but Javits effected an amendment to permit veterans to take advantage of a past increase in the amount of Veterans’ Administration mortgage guarantees. Teague sponsored HR 3205 to recognize multiple sclerosis as a service disability and HR 7656 to expand the educational benefit coverage of the GI Bill, and both became law. Hamilton Jones of North Carolina got the Congress to pass HR 3549, which would modify the requirements for widows of various wars before the First World War to receive a pension. Truman, however, vetoed the bill in opposition to its removal of dependency as a criterion for aid.

President Truman asked the Congress to end the state of war with Germany, which had been declared in December 1941, as something of a demonstration of forgiveness, given the need to enlist West

¹⁶ Donovan (1982), 321-5. *CQ Almanac 1951*, 220-32.

¹⁷ Boeckel 1951. *The New York Times*, April 10, 1951.

¹⁸ Dalglish, 11. Hixson, 68. Zeller, 726-7.

Germany in the anti-Soviet cause. The House passed the resolution (HJRes 289) 376-0, but Javits voted “present” as it being premature, the only such vote on this Resolution.¹⁹

HR 5411 to continue funding for schools in areas impacted by Federal facilities, largely military bases, was passed by Congress but vetoed. Javits and Democrat Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, who had defeated Class member Edward Devitt in 1948, led the opposition to it over its requirement that such schools be racially segregated in states where that was mandatory.²⁰ This was also the stated cause of Truman’s veto, it being a change from the current law. Javits, while in a sense triumphing on the veto, which was accomplished after Congress was no longer in session, had failed on the vote, as he did in numerous efforts during the 82nd Congress, spreading himself thin on housing, hospital funding, the Defense Production Act, postal rates, tourism in aided countries, immigration, agriculture, trade, UMT, and foreign aid.

An abiding interest of Kennedy was subsidies to air carriers for postal services. He introduced a number of unsuccessful bills in both the 81st and 82nd congresses addressing the matter. In the latter he did succeed in amending the Defense Production Act to allow the imposition of price ceilings on both unregulated common carriers and public utilities.

Agriculture was the primary interest of Watkins Abbitt of Virginia, Carl Albert of Oklahoma, and Dorn. Abbitt’s bill, HR 4475, was successful in amending the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Albert sponsored HR 6773 which would provide further development of agricultural extension work. Dorn got HR 3981 enacted to authorize the Department of Agriculture to adjust land titles.

In spite of Republican attacks on public power and the Tennessee Valley Authority specifically, Robert Jones of Alabama, himself from within the TVA domain, succeeded in amending the enabling act with HR 3209.

Toby Morris of Oklahoma continued his efforts on behalf of Indians, introducing 13 bills, none of which became law.

This accounting has largely ignored efforts directed specifically to district constituencies, but one that bears acknowledgement is that of Thruston Morton of Kentucky to provide aid to the Printing House for the Blind in his home of Louisville. He was successful with HR 1499.

Also of service was Preston, whose HR 4106 provided for recognition of the admissibility of photographic reproductions of documents in Federal court cases. Deane by amending the Defense Production Act aided states and localities in disposing of surplus property without having to clear the price control laws. More exotic accomplishments were enactment of HR 4443, introduced by Lucas to prevent the entry of certain mollusks into the country and two bills of Potter’s enacted for the investigation of lampreys.

Hardy continued to define his career as investigation and chastisement of the administration. He successfully amended the Defense Production Act to prevent the president from establishing government corporations without congressional charter and again to require that any contracts under the Act be subject to audit. His subcommittee criticized the actions of agencies under the Act in allowing certain firms to amortize the cost of a new factory in just five years rather than the statutory thirty. The Subcommittee investigated favors received by Federal officials who awarded loans under the Act, criticizing the “irregular conduct” of the program. The Subcommittee inspected air bases in Africa and reported \$42 million in

¹⁹ Boeckel (1951).

²⁰ *CQ Almanac 1951*, 194.

materials stolen and \$50 million wasted. It described government subsidies for the construction by United States Lines of a new ocean liner, *United States*, to be “improper and excessive.”²¹

Hardy was not the only Class member making a name in administrative investigations. Teague chaired the House Select Committee to Conduct a Study and Investigation of the Education, Training and Loan Guaranty Programs of World War II Veterans. After 17 months of investigation the Committee said the program was a success, though there were a “minority” of participants “who lacked sincerity or who acted in bad faith,” some “irregularities” by providers mostly in trade schools and on-the-job training, and “an excessive number” of Veterans’ Administration employees, who “accepted bribes, gifts, unusual loans, gratuities, services and ownership in schools.” The Committee report recommended a new program for Korean War veterans and abandoning most on-the-farm training.²²

Hardy and Teague were Democrats, albeit Southern Democrats, baring problems of a Democratic administration. Republicans in a Democratic congress had less occasion to lead such efforts. Nevertheless, Keating took his opportunity. Keating authored a successful resolution to create a subcommittee to investigate the Justice Department and Attorney General Howard McGrath. Keating then became the ranking Republican on the Subcommittee. The precipitating issue was the failure of the tax division of the Department to investigate criminality in the Bureau of Internal Revenue and, not incidentally, the irregularity of tax returns of the head of the Division. Truman fired the Division head when McGrath failed to and then cast around for an independent body to investigate the Department. Failing to come up with anything, Truman had McGrath appoint an outside investigator, Newbold Morris. When Morris proved overly enthusiastic, McGrath fired him, and Truman then fired McGrath. While this summary reads as if the President was active in trying to clean up matters, in fact the scandal dragged out over about a year and appeared to reveal not only a bumbling administration but one reluctant to crack down on wrongdoing or incompetence. It was the Truman presidency’s worst scandal.²³

While the Internal Revenue/Justice matter struck at the core of trust in the competence and honesty of the Administration, the House Un-American Activities Committee, under the chairship of Democrat John Wood of Georgia and the piloting of Democrat Francis Walter of Pennsylvania, spent efforts trying to undermine confidence in the Administration’s loyalty. This was aided by Truman’s decision to loosen the litmus test in front of his loyalty boards from “reasonable grounds” to “reasonable doubt.” Class members Jackson and Potter went on the Committee in 1951 and took the lead in February in reinvigorating its Hollywood activities, creating sure-fire publicity but far from an embarrassment to the Administration. The Committee also held hearings in Detroit, focusing on the yet unpurged communists in the largest United Auto Workers local and offering Potter a stage, from which he branded the secretaries of Agriculture and State as “American Socialists.”²⁴

Vail, back in the House but not back on HUAC, nevertheless made headlines with charges of communism against a Federal judge in Los Angeles, who had upheld a damage suit by one of the Hollywood Ten against the studio which had suspended him, and against Edward Condon, former director

²¹ Drew Pearson, June 22, 1951. *CQ Almanac 1951*, 496-7. *CQ Almanac 1952*, 213. *Long Island Star-Journal*, May 12, 1952.

²² *CQ Almanac 1952*, 210.

²³ Keating interview. Donovan (1982), 372-81.

²⁴ On Wood and Walter’s relatively decorous management of HUAC, see the various references in Goodman. Donovan (1982), 366-7. Goodman, 298, 317-8. *CQ Almanac 1952*, 468.

of the National Bureau of Standards. Condon had been a central player in the development of the atomic bomb and had been put in figurative stocks by HUAC in 1948 and then released after the election of that year amid numerous testimonials to his loyalty by the scientific community and the Administration. He had not been subpoenaed to appear before the Committee then, but Vail aided by Harold Velde (R IL), now on HUAC, got him ordered to appear in a hearing in Chicago. The charge was association with known communists, but shortly he was installed as president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.²⁵

There was little activity on equal rights in the 82nd Congress. Korea and Southern intransigence pushed the issue away, but one of the members of the Class of '46 encountered a situation in his District that would soon have a great significance. On April 23, 1951, students at Moton High School, a facility for black students, in Prince Edward County, Virginia, struck over inadequate facilities. One month later the NAACP filed suit in Federal court on behalf of 117 students, Dorothy E. Davis being first on the list.²⁶ Eventually the Supreme Court would consider the case as one of five combined into *Oliver Brown, et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka, et al.* Abbitt represented Prince Edward County in the United States House of Representatives.

The personal lives of members of the Class of '46 moved on. Hardie Scott of Philadelphia finally got married at the age of 45 to Almira Geraldine Rockefeller Jackson, twice a widow, and the niece of John D. Rockefeller of Standard Oil and much else. She came with a 16-year-old son.²⁷

Laurie Battle of Alabama greeted his second child, a daughter. James Patterson of Connecticut welcomed his third child, also a daughter. Williams had a boy, his second child.²⁸

It was announced by Afrasiab Assad Baktiari, a cousin of Queen Soraya of Iran, that her son would be engaged to Suzanne Allen, 20, daughter of Republican Rep. John Allen of California, and that she had sent Miss Allen a \$6000 diamond engagement ring. Miss Allen denied an engagement as did young Mr. Baktiari, though he did admit asking for the ring, which Miss Allen said she did not have. Suzanne would marry the less exotically named Scott Harvey seven years later.²⁹

The Kersten family of Milwaukee performed on Ted Mack's Original Amateur Hour in 1951. *The La Cross Tribune* reported, "They've been singing together for many years under the patient guidance of their father...." They were also instrumentalists. Wife Mary played the piano as did Campion, 18. Mary, 17, was a violinist. Kenan, 15, and Kevin, 10, were guitarists. Charles, 49, played the less challenging marimba. George, 16, was not mentioned; perhaps he managed. It is unclear from the article exactly what genre of musical entertainment TV viewers were treated to.³⁰

A much less pleasant event was the collision on June 12, 1952, of the car driven by Roberta Regan with another one. Rep. Ken of Texas sued the other driver for \$50,000 for personal injuries, pain and suffering, loss of earning capacity, and medical expenses, saying the injuries would "continue in large degree throughout the remaining part of her natural lifetime." The judge dismissed the suit, and Roberta

²⁵ *The Fresno Bee the Republican*, March 27, 1952. *The Berkshire Evening Eagle*, August 21, 1952. Goodman, 231-9.

²⁶ Kluger, vol. 2, 593, 605.

²⁷ Stillman.org. *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, January 13, 1935; November 5, 1999.

²⁸ *Naugatuck Daily News*, July 9, 1951. *Clarion-Ledger*, May 3, 1952.

²⁹ *Ames Daily Tribune*, April 13, 1951. *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, April 14, 1951. *Oakland Tribune*, March 31, 1958.

³⁰ *The La Cross Tribune*, September 26, 1954.

returned from a summer in Europe in September “seemingly entirely recovered.” Unfortunately, she returned to a Georgetown home burned out by fire.³¹

Kennedy, on a seven-week tour of Israel, Pakistan, India, Vietnam, Malaya, Korea, and Japan in the fall of 1951, fell ill in Okinawa with a fever of 106° after neglecting medications for the Addison’s disease that was diagnosed in 1947. Doctors feared for his life.³²

Robert McGarvey of Philadelphia died at home on June 28, 1952, at the age of 67. He left his second wife and five children, three by her.³³

Kennedy’s attention to congressional business remained, retrospectively, questionable. Fellow Class member and Democrat Blatnik would recall in 1966 that he had not seen much of his colleague in 1951 and 1952 because Kennedy was running for the Senate.³⁴ Kennedy’s introduction of bills and resolutions did decline from the 81st Congress. He introduced 64, which was more than all but two of his classmates and exceeded the 19 that Blatnik introduced. Kennedy also moved seven amendments in floor debate (Blatnik moved none) and had moved none in the 81st Congress. Seven of Kennedy’s bills in the 82nd Congress passed the House and five became law, including two public bills. Four of his Classmates enacted more bills.

Multer introduced the most bills and resolutions among the Class of ’46 – 102. Javits was second with 82. More noteworthy was that McCulloch and Jenison, finally in their third terms, introduced bills. McCulloch even introduced two. Jenison’s even became law, a private bill. Neither of McCulloch’s bills were reported out of committee.

Multer also introduced the most public bills, 56, while Javits was one behind Keating’s 35. Teague had the most public bills enacted, five. Boggs was next with three. The overall batting average for the Class was only 0.051. In other words, 95% of the public bills crafted by members and staff did not become law. In the previous two congresses 93% were not enacted. The 82nd Congress was in session fewer days than the 81st but more than the 80th; so, this does not alone explain the decline.

Multer and Javits tied at 28 in the introduction of private bills. Allen was most successful, having seven private bills enacted. Javits was second with six. As is consistently the case, members were more successful with private bills than with public, with 17% enacted compared to 19% in the 81st and 12% in the 80th. The enactment rate does track the number of session days.

One curious characteristic of bill introduction by members of the Class in the 82nd Congress was the number introduced in bulk. Ten of the members of the Class introduced at least seven bills seriatim, St. George twice. Multer, perhaps unsurprisingly, was the leader here, introducing 27 public bills in one fell swoop. Keating was close at hand with 26 public. St. George’s best effort was 18 private bills. Donohue of Massachusetts dropped 15 public into the hopper one day. In the aggregate, the 118 public bills so introduced produced exactly one law. None of the other 117 were even reported out of committee. The private bill success rate was far better, with 25 private bills resulting in six enactments.

If one needed evidence that many bill introductions are exercises in public relations rather than legislation, the bulk public bills provided it. The ability of a representative to shepherd even seven bills in

³¹ *El Paso Herald-Post*, September 11, 1952; February 11, 1954.

³² Burns (1960), 83-4. Sorensen, 41. Dallek.

³³ 1930 Census schedule, Philadelphia. *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, June 29, 1952. Philadelphia City Births.

³⁴ Blatnik, 2.

play simultaneously through the hazards of Congress and the executive would be impressive, much more so with guiding 15 or 26 or 27. Why the bulk private bills had a success rate better than that of private bills as a whole is curious.

Not one member of the Class had a lower level of introductions and floor amendments in the 81st Congress than in the 80th, yet 34 had a lower level in the 82nd than in the 81st.³⁵ Most of the fall-off was among Democrats, 20 of 31 total Democrats versus 14 of 31 Republicans. Possible reasons for the decline in introductions and amendments and the partisan difference are:

- The low rate of enactment of bills and resolutions introduced led to a realization that much of the effort was a waste of time, if the purpose was legislation. More was to be gained by committee work and behind the scenes efforts, especially among the Democrats, who had dominated the latter two congresses.
- Greater security in their electoral situation led to less public activity, if the effort was posturing. Since only one of the six who had lost their seat in 1948 and regained it in 1950 had a drop-off compared to 33 of the 56 others, there is support for this explanation.

It is unsurprising that the 50 members of the 82nd House who would continue into the 83rd had a greater average roll call voting percentage (85%) than the 12 who would not (75%). The lowest average (60%) was among the three who would choose to retire, but the lowest individual percentage was Kennedy's, who was running for the Senate and perhaps ill. And the lowest individual percentage in the second session was that of the other Senate candidate, Potter.

³⁵ For the six members who were not in the 81st Congress, the comparison is between the 80th and 82nd Congresses. Only one, Robert Tripp Ross of New York had a lower level in the later congress.