

Chapter 26 – Back in Control? The 87th Congress

The return of the Democratic Party to the White House, with Democrats remaining in the majority in both houses of Congress, gladdened those who welcomed the possibility of a more activist Federal government but concerned the Party leaders who recognized the tenuousness of congressional support for the policies that would accomplish that activism. Chief among the worriers was Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn.

An attempt in August 1960 to demonstrate the ability of a Democratic Congress to support the active agenda of the new presidential nominee John Kennedy had failed, when the Rules Committee in the House of Representatives prevented minimum wage, aid to education, and a new housing program from reaching the floor. This reflected badly on the perception of the Democratic Party and its candidates as change agents, and it showed the weakness of the Speaker. The Democratic majority in the House would be even smaller in the new congress.¹

Rayburn long had his problems with the Rules Committee. As with the committees in general, it was a fulcrum of power in the House, independent of the speaker, but more so, given that its charge extended to most potential legislation of the greater body. The criticality of the speaker's influence over the Committee is demonstrated in future Speaker Thomas O'Neill's remembrance of his charge from Rayburn when he was placed on Rules:

Now I don't give a rat's ass whether or not you like the legislation. If it's a party issue, your obligation is to get it on the floor. Once it gets there, of course, you're on your own and you're free to vote your conscience – or your district. But on the Rules Committee, if we need your vote, you'll give it to us – even if you hate the bill, and even if it goes against the economy of your area.²

In a Democratic House, eight of the Committee's twelve members were Democrats, but given the preponderance of Southerners in the Democratic delegation and their longevity in single-party districts, the alliance of some of them with the more conservative of the four Republican members could doom Democratic legislation. The death of Gene Cox of Georgia after his reelection in 1952 removed from the Committee a close friend of Rayburn's, who could be counted on to support the Speaker and encourage other Southern members of the Committee to do so as well. In 1955 Howard Smith of Virginia became, as the most senior Democrat, the chair of the Rules Committee after the Republican interregnum, the previous Democratic chair, Adolph Sabath of Chicago, having died the month before Cox. Smith was no more conservative than Cox was, but he was aware of and jealous of his own power and, in Carl Albert's characterization, obstinate. Less kindly, O'Neill would label Smith as "arrogant" and "no more a Democrat than the man in the moon." Finally, the unseating of Joseph Martin as Minority Leader by Charles Halleck in 1959 resulted in a more aggressively partisan Republican leadership whose members on the Rules Committee, including two who replaced more moderate Republicans, were more eager to cooperate with Smith and William Colmer of Mississippi in embarrassing Democratic legislative initiatives.³

The August 1960 debacle convinced Rayburn that appeals to the Democratic members would invariably come up short in, at best, a six-to-six veto of Democratic policy objectives, and that some fundamental change needed to occur. The 21-day rule of the 81st Congress potentially provided a bypass of the Rules Committee, but it devolved power to other committee chairs and not to the speaker.

¹ Hardeman and Bacon, 449-50. Albert with Goble, 237.

² O'Neill with Novak, 135

³ Albert with Goble, 226, 227-9, 237. Hardeman and Bacon, 304-5, 449. O'Neill with Novak, 138.

Removing Colmer from the Committee was attractive in terms of party discipline, since the Mississippian had actively supported the independent ticket of electors that would vote for Harry Byrd for president rather than for Kennedy. When three members from the Democratic Study Group met with the Speaker to press action on Rules, John Blatnik of Minnesota threatened to bring a motion in Caucus to strip Colmer and other apostates from their committee assignments. But party discipline was always a weak reed in the fasces of American parties and would arguably require a similar discipline of other errant Mississippi representatives, including John Bell Williams. Williams warned that such a move would force the group, and potentially other Southerners, to oppose Rayburn for reelection to Speaker at the start of the Congress. Rayburn threatened to initiate the purge, which brought a commitment from Carl Vinson of Georgia to help line up Southerners to support adding three new members to the Rules Committee, if the Speaker would not seek punishment of individual members. Vinson was second only to Rayburn in longevity in the House and had been Chair or ranking of the Naval Affairs then Armed Services committees since 1932.⁴

Adding two new Democrats and a Republican to Rules to enable a probable eight-to-seven vote in support of Democratic initiatives was, in fact, where Rayburn began. He had proposed the move to Smith, been rejected, and then brought up the purge option. Rayburn called the struggle to win votes, “The worst fight of my life,” in large part because there was no certainty of victory and also because a change to support of Democratic policies would split the Democratic vote, further alienating Southern Democrats, who were from a region already kicking over its loyalties to the national Party. On January 31, 1961, the national Democratic Party and Speaker Sam Rayburn won a new configuration of Rules on a narrow 217-212 vote. Most of the Southerners voted nay, 62 of the 96 cast. The change was saved by 23 Republicans who rejected their own leadership to support the initiative. Albert would note that Smith took the loss like “a mean old man,” refusing to provide chairs around the oval committee table for the new members when they were appointed.⁵

Among Southerners in the Class of '46, Robert Jones of Alabama, Joe Evins of Tennessee, and Olin Teague of Texas voted for the new Rules Committee configuration, while James Davis of Georgia, Otto Passman of Louisiana, Williams, Bryan Dorn of South Carolina, Omar Burleson of Texas, and Porter Hardy, Watkins Abbitt, and Burr Harrison of Virginia opposed it. The six Northern and Border State Democrats supported the change. Horace Seely-Brown of Connecticut was the only one of the eight Class Republicans to vote for the expansion. Thor Tollefson of Washington voted on the quorum call then left the floor for the remainder of the day. He had committed to vote for the Committee change but was “subjected to a bitter counterassault from his own Republican leaders.” He did not vote on passage.⁶

Americans for Democratic Action called the expansion “a pyrrhic victory.” Despite an all-out push by the Administration (while Kennedy publicly claimed that he was staying out of it), the Speaker, and even by Vinson, the best that could be accomplished was a five-vote margin. Congressional Quarterly would note that the expansion was not the “panacea,” giving the Party leadership at best a one-vote margin in the Rules Committee. Political scientist James Robinson’s comparison of Rules Committee actions and results between the 86th and 87th congresses would reveal a limited scope to the effect of the expansion.⁷

⁴ Bolling (1965), 214. Hardeman and Bacon, 453-4. Albert with Goble, 239-40.

⁵ Albert with Goble, 238, 244. Hardeman and Bacon, 456, 458. O’Neill with Novak, 135.

⁶ Jones was a critical supporter of the change. MacNeil, 435-6, 443.

⁷ *ADA World* (September 1961). Hardeman and Bacon, 457, 459, 462-3. *Congress and the Nation* (1965), 44. James Robinson, 79-80.

Political scientist Andrew Busch in his survey of a century of midterm elections would report that “most observers viewed [the 87th Congress] as an obstructionist body. Most of the president’s program stalled....” James McGregor Burns, another political scientist, would write in 1963, “We are mired in governmental deadlock, as Congress blocks or kills not only most of Mr. Kennedy’s bold proposals of 1960, but many planks of the Republican platform as well.” Yet, Professor Burns was a sometime Democratic politician, and deadlock or obstruction to him might well look like success to the opposition. Political analyst James Sundquist, in reviewing national policy initiatives from 1953 to 1966, would note that even if that opposition felt there was a problem requiring solution, that solution was rather better to come from “states, communities, the family, private enterprise, private groups of various kinds” and not from the Federal government.⁸

With the exceptions of Franklin Roosevelt’s 100 days in 1933 and Lyndon Johnson’s run after his landslide 1964 election, legislation always falls short of the expectations of the activists. In fact, the 87th Congress gave Kennedy the Peace Corps, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, a five-year commitment to development loans to struggling nations, American membership in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, an increase in the minimum wage to \$1.25, subsidies for economically distressed areas, increases in Social Security benefits, a \$4.88 billion housing bill, increased aid for water pollution grants, an expanded public works programs, a significant manpower retraining program, and a substantial increase in defense spending. Congress also voted to refinance interstate highway construction, create 73 new Federal judgeships, increase postal rates and civil service pay, regulate drug efficacy, fund communications satellites, authorize a bond for the United Nations, and ask the states to outlaw the poll tax through constitutional amendment.⁹

If the Administration focused on its failures rather than its successes, that would be a starting point for a midterm election campaign to increase its support in Congress. These failures included non-enactment of a tax credit for business to stimulate investment, five of nine executive reorganization plans (especially the creation of a new Department of Urban Affairs), area redevelopment loans, Federal aid to education, and a farm bill that would have restricted production of wheat and feed grains. The death of Sam Rayburn near the end of the 1961 session and the removal of Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson from the Senate to become Vice President were given some blame for these failures, but the list of successes seems far longer.¹⁰

Oklahoman Albert of the Class of ’46 in his role as Majority Whip was a central player in the expansion of the Rules Committee. Much later, Congressional Quarterly would note that as Whip, “Albert worked without fanfare with committee barons, who ran their domains with scant regard for the wishes of the leadership.”¹¹ The death of Rayburn provided an opportunity for Albert to advance to Majority Leader, as John McCormack of Massachusetts moved to Speaker. McCormack had been number two in the Democratic leadership to Rayburn since 1940 and his promotion to Speaker was unchallenged. Albert’s advancement was less certain.

⁸ Busch, 145. Burns (1963), 2. Sundquist, 5, 386.

⁹ *Congress and the Nation* (1965), 41, 45.

¹⁰ *Congress and the Nation* (1965), 43-4.

¹¹ *CQWR*, June 12, 1976, 1492.

Richard Bolling of Kansas City, Missouri, announced his candidacy for majority leader the day after Rayburn's funeral, forcing Albert to announce without the respectful delay he anticipated. Bolling, who in 1948 replaced Republican Albert Reeves of the Class, was a member of the Rules Committee, active among the Democratic Study Group, and a crusader for congressional reform. He was also a member of Rayburn's circle. Albert, apart from being the heir-apparent due to his position as Majority Whip, trumped Bolling in congeniality and connection to the still substantial Southern Democratic faction and, perhaps most importantly, had all the private phone numbers of the Democratic membership due to his years as Whip. Bolling was slow off the mark after his rushed announcement, and Albert could demonstrate support by a majority of the Caucus within eight days of his own declaration. Bolling waited over a month to withdraw and then nominated Albert for Majority Leader when the Caucus met. Congressional Quarterly assessed Albert as "quiet and scholarly" with "few enemies."¹²

Albert gave up his seventh seat on the Agriculture Committee and his subcommittee chair when he became Majority Leader. In contrast, McCormack served on numerous committees while Majority Leader as a way for the Speaker to keep his hand in via his pugnacious lieutenant. Apparently, McCormack felt that the more pacific Albert would not be required in the committee roles. McCormack's resignation from those seats when he became Speaker advanced five members of the Class of '46 on the seniority list.¹³

Democrats Harrison and Frank Karsten of Missouri retained their seats on Ways and Means, each advancing a step to sixth and seventh respectively due to a retirement. Democrats Passman and Evins continued on Appropriations, with the former still Chair of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. Georgia Classmate Prince Preston's denial of renomination and a death on February 15, 1961, moved Passman and Evins up two places to twelfth and seventeenth respectively. One member of the Class had obtained a new position on an exclusive committee with New York Republican Katherine St. George's appointment to the Rules Committee. Leo Allen of Illinois chose not to return to the House, and Hamer Budge of Idaho was defeated for reelection. When Carroll Reece of Tennessee died on March 19, 1961, St. George moved up to second in seniority of the five Republicans on her new committee. St. George was not one of the two more conservative Republican appointees to Rules that alarmed Rayburn; rather, Budge and Reece were. Contrary to the usual practice, St. George retained her seat on Post Office and Civil Service even as she was appointed to Rules and advanced to eighth in seniority thanks to a retirement.¹⁴

Democrats Teague and Burleson remained as chairs of Veterans' Affairs and House Administration, respectively, and Republicans William McCulloch of Ohio, Carroll Kearns of Pennsylvania, and Tollefson continued as ranking on Judiciary, Education and Labor, and Merchant Marine, respectively. McCulloch also remained the Ranking Member on the Special Committee on Small Business. As well, McCulloch and Tollefson kept their ranking positions on their respective subcommittees. Kearns became the ranking Republican on a new Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Impact of Imports on Employment. In addition, Teague remained on Science and Astronautics and in the second session advanced to the second seat with McCormack's movement to the speakership and the death of Overton Brooks of Louisiana, who was the Chair of the Committee. Burleson stayed on Foreign Affairs and as the chair of his subcommittee there, moving up to third on the full Committee with a defeat for renomination. Kearns kept his second seat on District of Columbia and his ranking position on one of its subcommittees.

¹² Champagne, Harris, Riddlesperger, and Nelson, 156-8. Albert with Goble, 172, 254-7. O'Neill with Novak, 137. William Morrow, 125. *CQWR*, October 6, 1961, 1702.

¹³ Nelson, 360, 680.

¹⁴ Hardeman and Bacon, 449.

Democrats whose seniority on their committees increased due to McCormack's withdrawal at the second session included Hardy who took the fifth seat, Blatnik who moved up to sixth, Robert Jones who advanced to seventh, and Edward Garmatz of Maryland who moved to eighth, all on Government Operations. Hardy also took the ninth seat on Armed Services due to a retirement and advanced to eighth with a resignation on September 24, 1961. Abraham Multer of New York found himself in the fourth seat on Banking and Currency with a retirement and eighth on District of Columbia with the defeat of Roy Wier of Minnesota for reelection. Wier came to the House through the defeat of George MacKinnon of the Class of '46 in 1948. Multer also received new chairships of numbered subcommittees in both committees. No Democrats in the Class experienced any other changes in committee seniority or membership or in chairships of subcommittees from the 86th Congress.

Among Republicans, Walter Riehlman of New York advanced from the ninth seat to the sixth on Science and Astronautics thanks to a retirement and two departures from the Committee. Paul Dague of Pennsylvania gained a new ranking position on a subcommittee in Agriculture to add to his two such positions – Special Subcommittee on Departmental Oversight and Consumer Relations. No returning Republicans in the Class had any other changes in committee seniority or membership or in chairships of subcommittees from the 86th Congress.

The two Republicans who recaptured their seats after being discommoded in 1958 suffered, of course, for the lapse. Ralph Harvey of Indiana was returned to Agriculture, but in the tenth seat, compared to his sixth place in the 85th Congress. On the other hand, he was given a new committee assignment as the sixth most senior Republican on Small Business. Seely-Brown was not returned to his previous memberships on Small Business or Banking and Currency, in which he was tenth in the 85th Congress. Rather, he was given the thirteenth seat on Foreign Affairs.

Teague and Burleson continued the activities that the power of committee chairships enabled. Teague introduced 118 Veterans' Affairs bills in the 87th Congress, 23 of which were enacted. Another two passed both houses in different versions that were not reconciled by conference. Thirteen other of his veterans bills passed the House, and three more were reported out of Teague's committee but did not pass the House. He also sponsored three successful resolutions enabling investigations by Veterans' Affairs. Enacted bills included HR 5723, which extended the entitlement of World War II and Korean War vets to guaranteed and direct home loans, which the Administration had requested.¹⁵

Among Teague's bills that passed both Houses in unreconciled versions were HR 856 and HR 879. The former would have allowed veterans enrolled in National Service Life Insurance (NSLI) to convert to a new plan, which would reduce premiums by using updated actuarial tables and cost the government \$800,000 over five years. HR 879 would have increased wartime disability compensation for veterans. The Senate wanted to reopen enrollment in NSLI for any previously eligible veterans and added amendments to accomplish this to both bills. Teague, the House, and the Administration were only willing to do so for the disabled and their supporting families. Teague introduced a new benefits bill, HR 10743, which the Senate held until Teague introduced HR 12333 to reopen NSLI. The Administration modified its opposition to opening NSLI but opposed Teague's greater benefits bill. Sen. Russell Long (D LA) introduced S 3597 to open NSLI. The Senate then passed HR 10743 on the same day the House recommitted HR 12333 to modify the Insurance provision to limit it to the disabled, which Teague immediately effected and moved that it

¹⁵ CQWR, April 21, 1961, 663.

be substituted for S 3597, which was the Senate's effort to open NSLI. The House passed their version of S 3597, which they failed to reconcile with the Senate version. Teague got his benefits increase of \$98 million (the Administration had asked for \$65 million) without the wider opening of NSLI.¹⁶

Teague also was the focus of "an intensive pressure campaign by the Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc. for increased pensions. Teague argued that three-fourths of the requested increase was to provide for veterans whose incomes were too high under current law, and that other veterans organizations opposed it, as did the Administration. Winfield Denton (D IN) filed a discharge petition for his HR 3745 bill to provide the benefits, but Teague successfully kept the bill off the floor, though the petition came within nine signatures of discharge.¹⁷

HR 7445 was an Appropriations bill covering various independent agencies, including the Veterans' Administration, for FY 1962. Teague offered an amendment to restore \$5 million for veterans hospital construction that the Appropriations Committee removed because the Veterans' Administration identified that amount of its \$75 million budget for construction of fall-out shelters. Curiously, in that period of enhanced conflict with the Soviet Union, the Committee had determined that fall-out shelters were no longer a priority. The Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba failed on April 17, and Pres. Kennedy had been bested at the Vienna Summit with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev on June 4. On June 9 Teague got the funds restored but not for fall-out shelters, and there it would remain through enactment.¹⁸

Burleson's House Administration Committee dealt with less public issues. His one successful bill was HR 3019, providing for the construction of a fireproof annex to the Government Printing Office. He also sponsored six successful resolutions concerning the operation of the House, including HRes 486 to pay the expenses of the funeral of Sam Rayburn.

Otto Passman continued his jousting with foreign aid budgets, now with the Kennedy Administration supplanting the Eisenhower. While Pres. Dwight Eisenhower was a backer of foreign aid, members of his Party in the House were less supportive. For example, in the 86th House, the Eisenhower Administration was supported by 59% of voting Republicans on House passage of HR 7500, the Mutual Security Act of 1959, and 60% of them on House passage of HR 11510, the Mutual Security Act of 1960. Among Northern Democrats voting, the support was 89% and 84%, respectively.¹⁹

Passman sponsored and guided HR 6518, \$500 million for a new "Inter-American" program and \$100 million for Chilean reconstruction after an earthquake through the House, in addition to the regular two fiscal year foreign aid appropriation bills, HR 9033 and HR 13175. Passman's attempt to cut the amounts for HR 6518 in his subcommittee and his lukewarm support on the House floor did not impact the Administration request.²⁰

¹⁶ *CQWR*, August 18, 1961, 1453; September 8, 1961, 1548; May 11, 1962, 794; August 10, 1962, 1325; August 24, 1962, 1400; August 31, 1962, 1439.

¹⁷ *CQWR*, July 20, 1962, 227-8; August 17, 1962, 1382; April 17, 1964, 736.

¹⁸ *CQWR*, June 9, 1961, 942. P.L. 87-141. Richard Reeves (1993), 159-74.

¹⁹ Democrats from the Border States voted 76% in support of HR 7500 and 78% for HR 11510. Among voting Southern Democrats, support was 34% and 35%, respectively. Note that these are the bills authorizing the programs. The bills that Passman introduced are the bills appropriating the funds. Authorization precedes appropriation and if passing handily carries a presumption that appropriations will do so also. Authorization is thus more the key vote. In both cases, support of appropriation was slightly greater than support for authorization.

²⁰ *CQWR*, April 28, 1961, 712; September 8, 1961, 1553-5. Drew Pearson also provided his inimical take on the subcommittee struggle on April 24, 1961.

Passman's subcommittee did cut the Administration request for FY 1962 in HR 9033 by \$896 million. After pleas from the Administration and his own perception of the attitude of the House, Passman moved to restore \$175 million of the cuts on the floor, which was boosted by an amendment to his amendment to \$300 million, and this passed the House. After conference, a bill with \$257 million more than the House approved was enacted. The Administration also sought through a new Foreign Assistance Law to avoid an annual fight for money through authority to borrow funds from the Treasury. Such a procedure was not unheard of, even in foreign aid programs, such as the Export-Import Bank and those of the Department of Agriculture, and it carried in the Senate. Kennedy lost on this issue in the House, not least due to hostility from Passman, but did receive authority to make five-year commitments to individual projects.²¹

This FY 1962 appropriation bill was supported by 58% of Republicans voting on initial House passage. Past Pres. Eisenhower made a public appeal for support of the bill; one would perhaps not expect Republicans to be any more supportive of their ex-President than they had been of their current President. Democratic support took a jump forward with one of their own in the White House; 96% of Northern Democrats voted for the bill, and Border and Southern Democrats increased their support as well. Among the Class of '46, the Republicans split, with Riehlman, Seely-Brown, and Tollefson supporting the appropriation and Harvey, Kearns, McCulloch, and St. George opposing. Southern Democrats opposed the bill, except for Hardy, Jones, and Passman, while all other Class Democrats supported it.²²

Passman had been acting in the same role for seven years now, but for the first six his major critic was a Republican President. The Kennedy Administration now realized that their primary opponent on foreign aid was, nominally, one of their own. Passman had not supported either Kennedy or Richard Nixon in the presidential contest, complaining that Kennedy and Johnson were "Democrats in name only." Now Passman complained to a Congressional Quarterly interviewer that he was under attack from the Administration. The magazine, rather belatedly, recognized that Passman was "Congress' most effective opponent of U.S. foreign aid programs." It was reported, "Observers agree that Passman's impressive knowledge of all aspects of the foreign aid program, his boundless energy and his articulateness in opposition have created a widespread distrust of foreign aid among conservative House members." That "conservative" members needed Passman to create their opposition to foreign aid is a questionable proposition, but the recognition of the depth of Passman's specialization on the topic speaks to the value of hard work on the part of a representative. The foreign aid appropriation always passed, and Passman voted for his bills, but after reducing them substantially – by a total of \$4.5 billion from 1955 to 1960, he claimed.²³

HR 13175, the foreign aid appropriation bill for FY 1963, had a similar experience, with the difference being that Kennedy decided to negotiate with Passman. The net effect was to get \$298.5 million restored in conference of the \$1,248.1 million that the Representative's Foreign Operations Subcommittee cut from the President's \$4,878.5 million request.²⁴

Passman also inserted himself in S 2325, a bill to amend the Export-Import Bank Act. The Bank made loans to foreign borrowers to finance purchases of American exports. The Kennedy Administration's effort

²¹ CQWR, August 11, 1961, 1382; September 8, 1961, 1553-5; September 29, 1961, 1653-5. Kaplan, 259. Rostow, 173. The \$175 million resulted from \$150 million begged by new Speaker McCormack and another \$25 million added by Passman. The greater boost by the membership embarrassed the new Speaker in his failure to perceive the attitude of his membership. MacNeil, 333-4. The Foreign Assistance Law was S 1983.

²² CQWR, September 8, 1961, 1539-40. Dague and Evins did not vote.

²³ *Daily World*, August 16, 1960. Hinckley, 104-5. CQWR, September 8, 1961, 1553-5.

²⁴ CQWR, March 16, 1962, 433; September 21, 1962, 1573-4; September 28, 1962, 1705; October 12, 1962 1887.

to expand its guarantee and insurance authority and to extend the Bank's authorized life beyond 1963 ran into "Passman's personal driving determination at this time to place a lid on anything smacking of foreign aid," in the words of legal scholar Jordan Jay Hillman. The Bank already had caps on outstanding loans, guarantees, insurance, and debt, and now Passman's subcommittee placed a limit on its annual obligatory authority. In practice, the effect of the operations of the Bank was minimal, but Passman could boast of a limitation on foreign aid.²⁵

Hardy's continuing roles on Government Operations and Armed Services kept him on the track of investigating waste in military spending and its foreign aid concomitant. His Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Government Information had withdrawn its request for investigative reports from the inspector general in the Department of State (and threats to punish the position) on request of the incoming Kennedy Administration, but the abeyance lasted only two months. On March 22, 1961, Hardy resumed hearings on the retirement of John Neale, former Director of the International Cooperation Administration's program in Peru. New Secretary of State Dean Rusk required his department to stonewall the Committee, given that the Department was conducting its own investigation; then, two days later the Committee and the Department reached an accommodation. It was revealed that Neale was an investor in a cattle ranch in Peru that received aid from the ICA. The Eisenhower Administration had pushed him into retirement, but he was now drawing a government pension and remained three years later in Peru.²⁶

As a result of his battles with the State Department, Hardy successfully amended the foreign aid authorization and appropriations bills for FY 1962 to prohibit payment of the inspector general if that officer did not provide requested information within 35 days. Hardy also offered amendments to the authorization bill for FY 1963 to prohibit setting aside funds for a particular country, subject to approval by the Development Loan Fund and to require the president to establish procedures to prevent the use of funds to assist foreign aid projects from communist countries. His Subcommittee determined this was happening in Cambodia. He then moved an amendment to the appropriations act to cut the funding for the Research, Evaluation and Planning Assistance staff in the Agency for International Development from \$20 million to \$4 million, saying his Subcommittee concluded that it uses its budget for other units. All these amendments were accepted.²⁷

In his membership on the Armed Services Committee, Hardy was charged by Chair Carl Vinson (D GA) to head a subcommittee to investigate five agencies within the Department of Defense that were created between 1959 and 1961, overlapping the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations. The Department had been prohibited from making organizational changes without congressional oversight with certain exceptions. The major focus of the study was the Defense Supply Agency. The Subcommittee's report criticized the "centralization of decision making ... in the Office of the Secretary" and urged a limit on the creation of these agencies. Nonetheless, it would be reported in 1968 that over 60% of the budget of Defense ran through the Defense Supply Agency, which also controlled all the real property of the Department.²⁸

Kearns' ranking position on Education and Labor put him at loggerheads with new Chair Adam Powell (D NY) on some matters. The Committee was largely irrelevant under retired Chair Graham Barden (D NC).

²⁵ Becker and McClenaham, 131-41. Hillman, 39-45.

²⁶ *CQWR*, April 21, 1961, 671-2. *The New York Times*, March 30, 1961.

²⁷ *CQWR*, August 25, 1961, 1472; September 8, 1961, 1540; July 13, 1962, 1159-60; September 28, 1962, 1704.

²⁸ *CQWR*, August 24, 1962 1418-21. Borklund, 99-100.

Carl Elliott (D AL) would report, “Graham Barden didn’t have much ambition. He regarded it as his duty to hold down all the changes that would shake up things in the South in the slightest.” The Committee rarely met under Barden’s chairship, and subcommittees, when they rarely existed, were tightly constrained. This meant that Kearns’ ability to see any of his education issues through to consideration, much less enactment, were badly hampered. In this respect, Powell’s much more activist stewardship was welcome. In June 1961, Kearns stated that he had a “very fine association” with Powell and that Committee members had “trust and confidence” in the Chair. “His maneuvering on the floor has been very good. We’re getting out legislation on the floor. What more can you ask of a chairman.”²⁹

But one of Powell’s initiatives was a large increase in staffing positions, from 21 to 51 people, and that required space for them. The Chair wanted to take some of the office space used by minority staff, that is Kearns’ people. This led to a very public and “rancorous running feud” between the two men that lasted through the entire 87th Congress. Kearns’ refusal to relinquish the space resulted in a partition being built outside minority staff offices, that blocked one of their two hall doors. In the midst of this conflict, Kearns said kind things about Powell’s stewardship, though in September Powell publicly rebuked Kearns for requesting the assignment of a military aid to accompany him on a six-week world tour.³⁰

On a policy issue of substance, Federal aid to colleges, Kearns ran afoul of not only Powell but the Committee. Edith Green (D OR), a subcommittee chair in Education and Labor, sponsored a bill in 1961 to provide \$300 million a year in construction assistance. The Committee approved, but Rules would not report it. She then introduced HR 8900 and included aid to church-related colleges and about \$600 million over five years for student loans. The House passed the bill 319-80. The Senate added \$50 million a year for community colleges. Five public school organizations then marshalled opposition to the bill because of its inclusion of church-related colleges, fearing this would lead to legislation providing aid to primary and secondary parochial schools. Their opposition was to the student aid more so than to the construction assistance. As a result, the Rules Committee refused for three months to approve a conference with the Senate, finally doing so after Education and Labor Chair Powell promised there would be no scholarships, only loans. The conference reported a bill in which 20% of the student aid could be scholarships but only to “exceptionally needy” individuals. Kearns was the only House conferee to vote against the report, contending that Powell violated his promise. When the bill came up on the floor, Kearns moved to recommit the bill with instructions to eliminate the student aid. He was successful and the bill thus died, killed by opposition to parochial aid and, according to Americans for Democratic Action, by a racist concern that those “exceptionally needy” would be black students. Kearns supported equal rights on nine of twelve key votes; so, presumably that concern was not his.³¹

Evins also crossed his Committee Chair, and Clarence Cannon (D MO), who had led the Democrats on the Appropriations Committee since 1941, was far more autocratic than Powell. In January 1962, Cannon proposed a change in the location of conference meetings with the Senate Appropriations Committee. Such meetings had always been held on the Senate side of the Capitol, and Cannon proposed that the meetings rotate between the two sides. Senate Chair Carl Hayden (D AZ), who had been in Congress even longer than Cannon, asked for a *quid pro quo* – the Senate would originate half the appropriations bills each year. This exchange escalated into a refusal of the conference to meet. Cannon presented a

²⁹ Haygood, 192. Powell, 199-201, 202. Charles Hamilton, 345-7. Andrée Reeves, 107. Hickey and Edwin, 192.

³⁰ Powell, 202. Fenno (1973), 87. *The New York Times*, January 30, 1962. Andrée Reeves, 125. Charles Hamilton, 352-3.

³¹ Sundquist, 201-5. *ADA World* (October 1962).

resolution to his committee accusing the Senate of various macroeconomic sins. Only two of his committee took issue with the resolution; one was Evins who decried its “inflammatory language.” With appropriations bills stalled and fiscal years and congressional adjournments approaching, the House and Democratic leadership leaned on Cannon to reach an accommodation. Majority Leader Albert took credit for the resolution of the venue issue, saying he tasked the architect of the Capitol find a neutral space.³²

While the argument over venue was new, such a delay in appropriations was common, often deliberate on Cannon’s behalf as a way of forcing both houses to a decision on his preference. The battle between Rayburn and Cannon to close the appropriation process was a near annual occurrence and resulted in the two men detesting each other, in the words of Rayburn’s biographers. In 1962 with a new Speaker and a new Majority Leader, the drama repeated with Cannon apparently testing the backbones of the new leaders over HR 13290, a supplementary appropriation bill. An effort by Albert to intervene on an amendment the Senate added resulted in Cannon accusing Albert on the floor of offering justice for sale. Cannon then went on to say about McCormack and Albert, “I honor the office they hold but I cannot endorse the quality of leadership. I have sat under ten Speakers but I have never seen such biased and inept leadership.” “There were not many things more frustrating than ... dealing with Clarence Cannon,” would write Albert.³³

A benefit for many members of committee service were the junkets. If one liked to travel, and one could find the slightest justification in service on a particular committee, one, with the support of the chair of one’s committee, had a very good chance of spending congressional recesses or intersessions in being wined and dined by overseas or even domestic recipients of government largesse. Passman’s pleasure in his foreign aid oversight was often attributed to the joy of junkets. One of the briefer but more memorable junkets for its participants occurred on May 4, 1961, for the members of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, probably including Riehlman and Teague. After finishing their markup session and grabbing their overnight bags, they bused to Andrews Air Force Base in Washington to catch a flight to Patrick Air Force Base in Florida. The next morning, they watched a Redstone rocket launch Captain Alan Shepard on a parabola 116 miles above sea level and 303 miles downrange from Cape Canaveral, a flight that took only 15 minutes but arguably counted as the Nation’s entry into manned space flight. Soviet Yuri Gagarin had orbited the earth 23 days earlier.³⁴

Teague, chair of a Science and Astronautics subcommittee, was instrumental in wresting lands from the Air force for the expansion of the NASA facilities at Cape Canaveral. The decision during the Eisenhower Administration to make space exploration a civilian and open enterprise clashed with the ambitions of the military services for many years.³⁵

Specialization of the members of the Class of ’46 as measured by bill introductions increasingly tracked their committee service. Before the 87th Congress, Dague, Blatnik, Harold Donohue of Massachusetts, Passman, and Riehlman each showed a preference for revenue bills – those destined for the Committee on Ways and Means. Now Dague’s activities matched his Agriculture post, Blatnik’s his Public Works membership, Donohue’s his Judiciary seat, Passman’s his Appropriations subcommittee, and Riehlman’s his place on Government Operations. In addition, Burleson, despite his chairship of House Administration

³² Fenno (1966), 637-41. Drew Pearson, July 15, 1962. Albert with Goble, 269-71.

³³ Fenno (1966), 661. Hardeman and Bacon, 512. *CQWR*, October 19, 1962, 1962. Albert with Goble, 269.

³⁴ See, for example, *CQWR*, September 8, 1961, 1553-5. Hechler, 89-90.

³⁵ Hechler, 113-4. Launius, 33-5.

had demonstrated more interest in Public Works; no more now, though it must be acknowledged that House Administration is more governed by resolutions than by bills.

The Class king of resolutions, however, was Albert. While retaining his seventh seat on Agriculture and his chairship of its Subcommittee on Wheat in the first session, his real job was Democratic Whip and he resigned from Agriculture when he became Majority Leader in the second session. He introduced two Agriculture bills, neither reported, and proposed two amendments on the floor to Agriculture bills, both relating to wheat, both accepted. All of this Agriculture activity was in the first session. For the Congress he introduced 21 resolutions, 17 of them as majority leader; 19 of them were enacted, all relating to the operation of the House as a whole.³⁶

A personal calamity resulted from Whip Albert's being tapped by the Party leadership as its third ranking member to move a complex substitute for HR 3935, the Administration's minimum wage bill. The bill as reported would add 4.3 million workers to coverage by the Fair Labor Standards Act, an increase of 18%, and raise the minimum wage to \$1.25 from the existing \$1.00. Assessing that the bill would fail to pass the House, the leadership wanted to reduce new coverage by 500,000 and keep the \$1.00 rate for the newly covered occupations, a summary that does not come close to representing a substitute with a dozen changes to the reported bill. Two amendments to Albert's substitute were accepted, but the substitute as amended was rejected 185-186. The House then accepted, 216-203, a substitute offered by an Ohio Republican and a North Carolina Democrat that added only 1.3 million new workers and set the new minimum at \$1.15. Albert, the Rhodes scholar, master debater, and vote-counter *par excellence* was widely criticized at losing the vote on his substitute. Albert blamed the time that he needed to spend studying the complex substitute from impacting his whipping and the fact that ten "liberals" did not show up for the vote. Thanks to the Senate and the House leadership's control of its participants, the conference report added 3.8 million workers and raised the minimum to \$1.25, but at a slower rate for the newly covered. With Albert whipping hard, the conference report was adopted 230-196.³⁷

Perhaps Albert's Oklahoma constituents were impressed by his leadership role in the House Democratic Party, but it is likely that Dorn's South Carolinians were even happier with his role in the new House Textile Conference. Dorn acted as secretary and as a spokesman for the 95 or so members on the issue of tariffs on textile imports. In bill writing, Dorn primarily continued his interest in veterans legislation.³⁸

Blatnik also assumed a leadership post in the 87th, becoming chair of the Democratic Study Group in July 1962. Congressional Quarterly reported that about half of Democratic representatives participated in the Group, and that number was large enough when whipped up by the Group to "swing decisive weight on division or teller votes in the course of floor debate, when no more than 100 to 150 Members are usually present." Blatnik had also been considered for and was interested in being the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare when Secretary Abraham Ribicoff left to run for the Senate, but the post went to Anthony Celebrezze, the former Mayor of Cleveland.³⁹

His role in the Group and his notoriety among the Administration did not seem to inhibit Blatnik's activity in the House. He successfully amended HR 11581, updating the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, to strike lines added to the bill that would have nullified the intent of the bill to require pharmaceutical

³⁶ The two that failed were specific to committee work, including one to Agriculture.

³⁷ *CQWR*, March 31, 1961, 514-5, 519; June 16, 1961, 995; October 6, 1961, 1702. Albert with Goble, 247-8.

³⁸ "Biographical Note," Dorn papers. *CQWR*, February 23, 1962, 280.

³⁹ *CQWR*, June 16, 1961, 993; August 31, 1962, 1445. *The Austin Daily Herald*, April 3, 1962.

advertisements, which at the time were limited to an audience of doctors, to include generic names, formulas, side effects, contraindications, and effectiveness. The Representative also introduced a bill, HR 10113, to establish an office to accelerate public works projects by developing projects to be funded by matching grants. It was an Administration objective to provide jobs by building infrastructure. The Public Works Committee reported the bill by merging into Blatnik's \$900 million in matching grant money for new projects a separate bill that would have allowed the president to use unobligated funds for already authorized projects. The new office was taken out of the bill on the floor, and Blatnik successfully amended the bill to remove schools to head off opposition to Federal aid for education. The Senate version of the bill, S 2965, was enacted.⁴⁰

Blatnik's major accomplishment in the 87th Congress was the enactment of HR 6441 to increase Federal grants to local governments for sewage treatment and water pollution control programs, to fund research in pollution control, and to make all navigable waters subject to Federal oversight. Eisenhower vetoed Blatnik's similar effort in the previous congress. Still, the Representative was forced to yield on transferring Federal authority to HEW from the Public Health Service, his \$125 million was cut to \$100 million, and there would be a delay until FY 1964 before funding would be available, all changes to make Pres. Kennedy happy.⁴¹

In May 1961 Blatnik found himself on the hotseat when Frank Thompson (D NJ) released a 1958 letter from Sen. John Kennedy that endorsed a Massachusetts highway consultant named Thomas Worcester, who would be convicted in 1960 of reporting highway contract bribes as tax deductible business expenses. Blatnik's Special Subcommittee on the Federal-Aid Highway Program had been investigating allegations of fraud or mismanagement in six states in 1960, but Thompson's initiative brought such concerns close to the person if not the office of the President. When Blatnik cancelled hearings of the Subcommittee the day after Thompson's bombshell, Republicans charged coverup. After staff groundwork, the Subcommittee conducted hearings in February 1962 on Massachusetts issues. By then, four were convicted in the Commonwealth and seven more were under indictment for crimes involving the highway program. Republicans charged Blatnik with restricting the focus of the Subcommittee's work to land acquisition rather than to Democratic highway policies. When the hearings ended in March, Blatnik charged that land acquisition practices in Massachusetts were "honeycombed by gross incompetence and downright collusion and fraud." The ranking Republican on the Subcommittee called for a wider investigation. In June, Blatnik minimized the findings of fraud as "only a small fraction of the total of this great program."⁴²

Multer also found himself under accusation in 1961, though not from hiding the sins of others. Muckraker Drew Pearson reported that the Brooklyn representative had founded a bank in the Bahamas, a British colony noted as a tax haven with a secretive banking system. Multer was quoted as saying that he had founded it, sold out, and made a ten percent profit. Pearson quoted other sources as saying Multer was still president of the bank.⁴³

Multer's position on the Banking and Currency Committee arguably lent itself to organizing banks, particularly if they were not subject to laws he might be involved in promulgating. He continued his spendthrift ways with legislation in the 87th Congress, achieving a new personal best of 264 bills

⁴⁰ *CQWR*, February 23, 1962, 203, 284; August 31, 1962, 1437-8; September 14, 1962, 1524. Sundquist, 95-6.

⁴¹ *CQWR*, April 21, 1961, 674. Sundquist, 348, 547. Jennings.

⁴² Dickinson. *CQWR*, May 19, 1961, 841; March 23, 1962, 475. Weingroff.

⁴³ Drew Pearson, August 23, 1961.

introduced and nine enacted. Six of the latter were private bills. While 59 of his bills were Banking and Currency bound, none were even reported by his committee. His three successful public enactments were all District of Columbia legislation, another of his committees. These laws protected professional communications of ministers of religion from revelation in court (HR 5486), authorized the District to regulate dogs (HR 7154), and permitted the issuance of certain life insurance policies to members of veterans organizations (HR 8563). He also accomplished an amendment to the Juvenile Court Act of the District, which saved the Court from being rolled into the municipal court.

Attempting to block Multer's expansion of the District of Columbia juvenile court, but failing, was James Davis. Drew Pearson alleged that Davis blocked expansion of the court for ten years and attributed it to racism. The school age population of the District was 82% African American. In a possibly similar vein, Congressional Quarterly reported that Davis used his subcommittee chairship to block home rule for the District.⁴⁴

DC remained Davis's primary focus, though Post Office and Civil Service continued to run a close second. In the 87th Congress, two of Davis's bills (HR 6836, HR 12727) relating to retirement, disability, and medical care for police and firefighters of the District were enacted, as well as a bill addressing the transportation of mail (HR 6695). On the other hand, with respect to District firefighters, Davis successfully amended S 1292 to extend their maximum work week from 70 to 72 hours. He also was successful with three separate amendments relating to high level civil service positions. The number of new highest-level positions, so-called "supergrades," was reduced from fifteen to five in S 1, involving a program to address unemployment in economically distressed areas. On the legislation creating the Peace Corps (HR 7500), his amendment required that forty new positions be under Civil Service classifications. In the debate on the establishment of the new Arms Control Agency (HR 9118), his action eliminated 45 proposed new positions.

McCulloch, House point man for Eisenhower civil rights legislation, was left with little to do in that way in the 87th Congress. The Republican Administration was gone, and the new Democratic Administration had no civil rights legislation for even a Democratic representative to push. Despite running on a platform that advocated new laws, Kennedy's interest in the subject was held hostage to his fear of losing the narrow margin of public support he had managed over Nixon; his victory had depended on his taking six Southern states. His brother, Robert Kennedy, now the Attorney General, was actively promoting voter registration by civil rights organizations that would enable the Justice Department to step in when would-be voters were denied rights under previous legislation. This could help increase the turnout of black and presumably Democratic voters in those Southern states, but it could also help shift white Southern voters away from the Party. Pres. Kennedy's sole initiative was the off-the-cuff minting of a White House liaison to the Civil Rights Commission, who resigned after 15 months to go to Ethiopia with the Peace Corps.⁴⁵

What McCulloch did accomplish was the enactment of two laws to amend the Fugitive Felon Act (HR 468) and the Foreign Agents Registration Act (HR 470), as well as a revision of conflict-of-interest laws covering Federal employees, HR 8140, which he co-sponsored with Emanuel Celler (D-NY) and John Lindsay (R-NY), who had replaced Class of '46 member Frederic Coudert. A failure of the Ohioan's was an amendment to reduce the number of new Federal judges to be created by S 912 from 70 to 35. McCulloch noted that Congress failed to create 35 new judgeships when a Republican President could have

⁴⁴ CQWR, March 2, 1962, 344; September 28, 1962, 1721. Drew Pearson, October 1, 1961; December 5, 1962.

⁴⁵ Branch (1988), 398-9, 480-1, 586-7.

appointed them while now inventing 70 new Democratic judges. Democratic loyalty might founder over policies, but not over patronage.

Garmatz introduced HR 1159 to eliminate a differential in the 1936 Merchant Marine Act that set a shipbuilding cost of 106% in a yard on the West Coast to be equivalent to a 100% cost in the rest of the Country. The intent was to encourage the development of shipyards on the Pacific on a presumption that costs would be higher there for materials and labor. The differential applied to only a limited number of vessels that might be financed by the Maritime Commission. The Rules Committee rejected a rule for the bill and requested a study of differential costs, which then indicated that costs were 4% higher on the West Coast than the East Coast. A rule was then voted. The division, unsurprisingly, was between easterners and westerners, Garmatz and Tollefson managing support for and opposition to, respectively, the bill on floor debate. Efforts to replace the 6% differential with 4% failed easily on amendment and the bill passed by voice. The Senate included the provisions of HR 1159 in HR 11586, a bill to extend and modify a subsidy for the renovation of merchant ships. The conference report accepted this change, and HR 11586 was passed by voice. Tollefson took pains to point out that the Secretary of Commerce retained under law the allocation of ship construction to any shipyard that national defense might require. Thus, Garmatz' bill was not enacted, but the substance of it as amended was.⁴⁶

Bills for government-provided health insurance had been regularly introduced in Congress since 1939 and became a goal of Pres. Harry Truman in 1949. His failure then and in three subsequent years did not prevent subsequent bills but with a significant change. Truman's early proposals were not limited to the aged, but beginning in 1952 the objective was narrowed to medical care within the Social Security system. Such a program had not been an Eisenhower Administration goal, but Kennedy ran on hospital insurance for the aged, and thus he called on Congress to enact an extension of Social Security that would cover it. A program sponsored by Ways and Means Chair Wilbur Mills (D AR) had been enacted in 1960 that provided grants to states that matched Federal funds for a range of medical services for the needy. Committee member Harrison declared himself opposed to that program as well as to the Kennedy bill sponsored by Cecil King (D CA). Given Harrison's demonstrated policy leanings, this was unsurprising. What was startling was his statement of support for a medical program within Social Security as a declared "compromise" measure. It was reported, "Harrison has quietly emerged as a key figure in forthcoming negotiations within the Ways and Means Committee." His bill was to confine benefits to catastrophic illness. As it turned out, Harrison never introduced a bill, and Ways and Means never acted on King's bill.⁴⁷

Though St. George remained on Post Office and Civil Services despite taking a seat on Rules, her interest in the former waned in bill introductions. She introduced only five such bills in the 87th Congress, compared to eight Ways and Means bills. These were the same numbers as in the previous congress, but the total of introduced bills declined by four. St. George suffered from being a Republican. Out of 229 public bills introduced through her entire tenure only nine had been enacted, and five of those were in the two Republican-controlled congresses. A recurring defeat was the introduction of a joint resolution to add an equal rights amendment to the Constitution – eight so far, one each session. She also introduced bills five times to give members of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps credit for service before the WAAC

⁴⁶ CQWR, April 20, 1962, 627; October 19, 1962, 1956.

⁴⁷ Marmor, 9-23, 35-6, 39-40. CQWR, May 11, 1962, 795-7, September 14, 1962, 1531. The Eisenhower Administration did propose a reinsurance fund financed by insurance companies to underwrite those companies selling insurance to high-risk individuals. Myers, 36.

was made part of the regular Army as the Women's Army Corps in October 1943. HR 3321, introduced by Paul Kilday (D TX), was finally enacted in 1959 to provide a limited credit.⁴⁸

In 1961 St. George introduced HR 766 to prohibit discrimination in wages due to sex. Her bill did not get out of committee, but HR 11677, an Administration bill introduced by Herbert Zelenko (D NY), made it to the floor, shorn of enforcement and with an exception for small businesses. St. George spoke for the bill and moved an amendment to change "work of comparable character" to "equal work." Zelenko thought that would make the resulting law moot, and the various women speaking on the bill divided on the wording. St. George complained that "comparable" was "going back to that good old adage that women are so weak and delicate that they need protection. I think equality is one thing, but when we go into these hazy words, it is another matter." Her amendment carried by teller, 138-104. Another member of the Class of '46, Williams, offered what he thought would be a poison pill amendment, to apply the bill to Congressional offices. The bill passed the House with Williams' and St. George's amendments, and a separate bill passed the Senate, but a conference was blocked by Frank Bow's (R OH) objection to unanimous consent, which send the bill to Rules, where it died.⁴⁹

Williams' run of air travel enactments did not extend into the 87th Congress, though he introduced more Commerce Committee bound bills (29) than in any previous congress. His effort on the equal pay bill was one of a series of obstructionist actions. On the HR 8400 foreign aid authorization bill, Williams offered an amendment to forbid aid to countries that supported the admission of mainland China to the United Nations. On HR 12580 to fund the Department of State, he moved an amendment to prohibit some payments to performers in the Department's cultural exchange program. Both amendments failed. Williams initiated delays with procedural roll calls, quorum calls, and demands to read the journal of the previous day to prevent calling up HR 10682, a youth employment bill, and HR 11158, Federal aid for mass transit, through the Calendar Wednesday procedure. He also joined with John Dowdy (D TX) to lead in the extension of the allocated 40 minutes of debate on SJRes 29 to almost four hours. The resolution was a constitutional amendment to eliminate the poll tax in Federal elections. It passed the House 295-86 and would be ratified in 1964. Mississippi and Texas were two of only four states still requiring payment of taxes to vote.⁵⁰

It is unsurprising that the members of the Class from these two states and from Virginia, which still retained poll taxes, opposed the amendment, except that Hardy from Virginia supported the ban as did another Virginia Democrat. Six Democrats from Texas voted for the amendment but not Teague and Burleson. Poll taxes for decades were an equal rights issue in the minds of many and was becoming more so. V.O. Key's analysis of a decade earlier that the taxes were more a barrier to whites voting than black people was being eroded by an expanding belief (and the 1957 Civil Rights Act) that black Americans were unjustly denied the franchise. Growing belief or not, it was expected that Southerners would oppose the amendment, and they did, including Class member Robert Jones, who had shown signs of racial moderation. Despite the apostate Texans and Virginians and some Floridians, Tennesseans, North Carolinians, and a Louisianan (Hale Boggs, now the Majority Whip), 78% of Southern representatives opposed the amendment. Of the non-Southerners, 95% voted for the amendment, including those in the

⁴⁸ Morden, 163.

⁴⁹ *Congressional Record*, July 25, 1962, 14767-71, 14778. Cynthia Harrison, 91-6. *CQWR*, June 22, 1962, 1055; July 27, 1962, 1243-4; December 28, 1962, 2298.

⁵⁰ *CQWR*, September 21, 1962, 1562, August 31, 1962, 1443. Keyssar, 263.

Class, Republicans and Democrats, and especially including Albert, now very much a man of the national Party.⁵¹

The lack of an Administration initiative on equal rights eliminated much of the verbiage of Southern members of the Class on race, but the issue was hardly absent. Though “the best spirit of Kennedy was largely absent from the racial deliberations of his presidency,” in journalist Taylor Branch’s measured evaluation, his administration continued the effort to support scattered franchise applicants and efforts at school desegregation.⁵² Passman saw Administration activity in his District, as the Justice Department sued Ouachita and East Carroll parishes as well as the State for their denial of voting rights to black Louisianans. Prince Edward County’s schools in Abbitt’s District remained closed, but the Justice Department brought a school desegregation suit against the County. Abbitt complained of “totalitarian executive action.” Virginia was using public funds for white children in private schools in the County, which the Justice Department got the courts to prohibit on August 23, 1961, but the public schools remained closed.⁵³

Williams’ District saw “Freedom Riders,” who were testing the lack of Southern compliance with the 1960 Supreme Court ruling in *Boynton v. Virginia* that interstate bus terminals could not be racially segregated. After assaults on the riders in South Carolina and Alabama, and a temporarily realized threat by the Kennedy Administration to deploy Federal marshals to protect the riders, Attorney General Robert Kennedy reached an agreement with Alabama and Mississippi authorities for the Federals to look the other way of arrests of the riders as long as the states protected them from injury. Jackson was designated the arrest point, and bus Riders after bus Riders were funneled into the bus station, the Jackson jail, and Parchment Penitentiary.⁵⁴

This account of congressional activities has largely ignored the many that are directed solely to individual constituencies, but one bears recounting. All representatives likely have famous constituents, and Evins had Sgt. Alvin York, a would-be conscientious objector who killed 20 or so German soldiers and, with some help, captured 132, was lionized by *The Saturday Evening Post* and portrayed by Gary Cooper, and returned to the hills of Fentress County to build schools. By 1961 the 73-year-old York was in bad health and in trouble with the Internal Revenue Service, which had claimed for years that he owed thousands, now set at \$172,000, on royalties from two ghost-written books and the Cooper movie. Evins and others got involved. The IRS agreed to call it even if York paid \$25,000, which he did not have. Evins helped organize a drive to raise contributions to York and acted as treasurer. Twice as much was rather quickly raised, the IRS was paid off, and the rest was placed in a trust fund to benefit York.⁵⁵

The rotation of parties in the presidency saw an exodus of Republican appointees and an influx of Democrats. John Davis Lodge’s six years as Ambassador to Spain ended, and he returned to his home in Westport, Connecticut. Parke Banta ended eight years as general counsel for the Department of Health,

⁵¹ Evins, Donohue, Kearns, and Seely-Brown did not vote. One of the Republicans in the larger membership who voted against the amendment was Bruce Alger of Dallas, Texas.

⁵² Branch (1988), 918-9.

⁵³ *CQWR*, May 5, 1961, 766; July 14, 1961, 1237; September 15, 1961, 1582-3; January 5, 1962, 27; August 3, 1962, 1308-9. *The Progress-Index*, April 27, 1961. *The Pittsburgh Courier*, June 23, 1962. *The Evening Sun* (Hanover), April 5, 1962.

⁵⁴ Branch (1988), 415-82.

⁵⁵ *The Bee*, February 18, 1961. *Kingsport Times*, March 20, 1961. *Independent* (Long Beach), March 24, 1961. Drew Pearson, April 2, 1961. *Monroe Morning World*, June 25, 1961.

Education, and Welfare and retired at the age of 69 to his home in Potosi, Missouri. John Allen finished his two years as undersecretary of commerce for transportation but passed up Oakland for a new law practice in McCall, Idaho. George MacKinnon left his position as special assistant to the attorney general after one year to become general counsel and vice-president to Investors Mutual Funds in Minneapolis. Unlike Lodge, Banta, and Allen, he was asked to stay by Attorney General Kennedy to continue MacKinnon's investigation of Teamsters General Pres. Jimmy Hoffa.⁵⁶

Incoming Democratic appointments from the Class of '46 were limited to Glen Johnson, who had been out of the House since 1949 and out of Federal patronage since 1952. He left his law practice in Oklahoma City to work as an attorney for the Department of the Interior in Washington.

At the State level, the defeat of the incumbent Republican governor ended Edward Jenison's seven months as Director of the Illinois Department of Finance. He remained publisher of the Paris *Daily Beacon-News* and now was appointed by the State Republican Chair to a committee intended to help revitalize the Party. There was no change in governors in Oklahoma, and Democrat Toby Morris got an appointment as judge on the State Industrial Court.⁵⁷

The 1962 Senate election saw eight former members of the House from the Class of '46 contending. Republican Jacob Javits of New York and Democrat George Smathers of Florida were reelected, Javits by 17 points despite once again losing the Liberal Party nomination to the Democrat, and Smathers by 33 points. Republican Norris Cotton of New Hampshire was also reelected by a comfortable 19 points. While Cotton was winning handily, the interim Republican appointee to the other New Hampshire Senate seat was defeated by the Democratic challenger by five points.

Democrats picked up six new Senate seats in 1962 and lost two. One of the latter was an interim appointee; the other was John Carroll in Colorado. Carroll squeaked through to his first Senate term in 1956 with a 2,770-vote margin. In 1962, running against Rep. Peter Dominick and the Kennedy Administration's new wheat program, which Carroll supported, the incumbent lost by 49,069 votes.⁵⁸ If Carroll was "the great white hope of the liberal-labor folks," as one columnist had tagged him, that anticipation was limited if not altogether hopeless. After six attempts, he had two terms to show in the House and one in the Senate.

Republican Edward Miller, who failed in 1960 to recapture his House seat in Maryland after losing it in 1958, made a run for a vacant Senate seat in 1962. Miller won the nomination, taking the primary over three lesser-known candidates but with slightly less than a majority, then lost the general election handily by 24 points to Rep. Daniel Brewster for one of the Democratic Party's Senate gains. Miller took a pro-civil rights position and advocated the invasion of Cuba. It is unclear which hurt him worse.⁵⁹

Thruston Morton, coming off a losing two-year tenure as Chair of the Republican National Committee, nevertheless easily took the renomination for Senator from Kentucky against one candidate, who was near the front-end of nineteen losing primary races for Congress and Governor. Morton kept the seat Republican in November by beating a co-founder of Americans for Democratic Action by six points. The

⁵⁶ MacKinnon interview, 11.

⁵⁷ Thomas W. Ewing, Remarks Honoring Edward H. Jenison, *Congressional Record: Extensions of Remarks*, (July 11, 1996), E1263-E1264. *Belvidere Daily Republican*, January 29, 1961.

⁵⁸ *The Victoria Advocate*, November 18, 1962.

⁵⁹ *CQWR*, October 19, 1972, 1985.

victor later would say, “We made the ADA an ugly word. It could have been the American Dairy Association, but the people thought it was communist.”⁶⁰

John Sanborn of Idaho, seatless since 1951, ran for the House, losing the Republican runoff with 40%.

Lodge intended to be Governor again. Abraham Ribicoff, who defeated him in 1954, resigned the office in January 1961 to become Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Lieutenant Governor, now acting as Governor, was running for the office in his own right in 1962. But Lodge felt that he simply needed to wait for the nomination to be bestowed. Then on May 16, 1962, only three weeks before the State Republican Convention, Sen. Prescott Bush, father and grandfather of Presidents, announced he would not seek reelection due to ill health. Rep. Seely-Brown and Antoni Sadlak, who had lost his attempt in 1960 to recover the House seat he lost in 1958, immediately announced for the Senate. Lodge announced a day later but again felt that he would be handed the nomination. Sadlak withdrew three days after announcing and endorsed Seely-Brown. It was reported that delegates felt slighted by Lodge’s assumption of a coronation. Seely-Brown took the nomination on the first ballot, 476-149 over Lodge. Sadlak would be Seely-Brown’s campaign manager in the election, which he lost by 2.5 points.⁶¹

Nixon, out of the vice presidency and defeated for advancement, reported feeling “letdown” and strained and fatigued. He was in a nominal job with a Los Angeles law firm and dealing with demands for speeches and a consultation with Kennedy over the Bay of Pigs fiasco. Nixon would write that he was encouraged by many, including Eisenhower and Thomas Dewey, Republican presidential nominee in 1944 and 1948, to run for governor of California, but was reluctant to run for fear it would weaken his chances for a return contest for President in 1964. But run he did, taking the nomination by 32 points over the Republican leader of the State Assembly, but losing the election to incumbent Pat Brown by five points.⁶²

Blatnik welcomed his third child and first daughter, Stephanie, on October 14, 1961. His first child with his first wife remained largely unknown.⁶³

Claude Bakewell of Missouri lost his only son, Claude Jr., on March 31, 1962, killed in a single car accident not far from the family home at the age of 18.⁶⁴

Dorn had surgery on October 31, 1961, in Greenwood, South Carolina, for a ruptured appendix.⁶⁵

Preston, who was denied renomination in 1960, had been in dicey health since 1957, when he suffered a coronary thrombosis. In fall 1958 he had a hernia repair and a diagnosis of cancer in his neck for which he began receiving radiation. On Thanksgiving 1960 while driving to dinner with his wife’s parents he suffered a heart attack. He died from cancer on February 8, 1961, in hospital in Savannah. He was 52.⁶⁶

Kingsland Macy died of a heart attack on July 15, 1961, in Islip, New York. Out of the House and the chairship of the Suffolk County Republican Committee since 1951, he was 71. Wife Julia Dick Macy survived. He was the 17th member of the Class of ’46 to die.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ OurCampaigns.com. *The Courier-Journal*, August 15, 1982.

⁶¹ DeLong, 246-50. *The Bridgeport Post*, May 17 & 18 & 20, 1962. *CQWR*, May 18, 1962, 865; June 8, 1962, 980.

⁶² *Nixon Memoir*, 232-9. *California Statement of Vote*, June 5, 1962.

⁶³ *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, October 15, 1961.

⁶⁴ *Moberly Monitor-Index and Moberly Evening Democrat*, March 31, 1962. Claude I. Bakewell Jr. stone, Calvary Cemetery, St. Louis, Missouri.

⁶⁵ *The Index-Journal*, November 1, 1961.

⁶⁶ *The Atlanta Constitution*, November 13, 1958; November 29, 1960; February 9, 1961.

⁶⁷ *Detroit Free Press*, July 16, 1961. *The New York Times*, July 16, 1961. *The Suffolk County News*, August 18, 1977.