

Chapter 38 – Major Changes: The 93rd Congress

In its partisan balance and in its leadership by Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma and Minority Leader Gerald Ford of Michigan, the 93rd Congress was generally the same as the 92nd. But during the 93rd House, Ford would end his tenure as Minority Leader and Albert would consolidate and increase his formal powers. There would be new Minority and Majority Leaders, new means of roll call voting, new methods of designating committee chairs, and Congress would depose a President.

Albert's election as Speaker was once again subject to a pro forma challenge in the Democratic Caucus. John Conyers of Michigan praised Albert as "a gentlemen of great honor and dignity" but opined that he presided over "stagnation." Conyers got 25 votes, five more than in 1971.¹

The steam turbine, which produces most electric service today, was invented in 1884. In 1972 the House of Representatives finally agreed that electricity could be used to shorten its roll call voting process. The system went live on January 31, 1973, the first use being on a quorum call. The introduction of recorded teller votes in the 91st Congress and electronic voting in the 93rd led to a large increase in the number of roll calls. There were 177 in 1969 and 541 in 1973. The number would continue to increase to 834 in 1978. The elimination of the clerk's call of 435 names encouraged more demands for the yeas and nays and subverted the time savings of the technology, while increasing both the information on members' actions and the demands on members' times to respond to called votes, to the point that the numbers of members required for the demand for a record vote would be increased from 20 in Committee of the Whole to 25 and then to 30. The Speaker would also be given authority to postpone and cluster votes.²

Albert was a major supporter of electronic voting, as he was of the election of committee chairs by the Democratic Caucus. On January 2, 1973, the Caucus adopted the rule and provided for a secret ballot if demanded by one-fifth of the Caucus. On January 22, prospective chairs of all committees by seniority were for the first time subject to an up or down vote by the Caucus. All were confirmed, but the hoary hand of seniority was bruised if not broken.³

The Caucus also changed how committee assignments were made. While the Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means had assigned Democrats to committees since 1911, and the Speaker had involved himself in those decisions informally, the Caucus expanded the group to add the Speaker, the Majority Leader, and the Caucus Chair as members. Albert was reportedly not happy with the change, with his behind the scenes influence now becoming public as well as shared by two others of the Party leadership. Nevertheless, he was successful in substantially changing the Democratic members on the Rules Committee to make them more supportive of his leadership. William Colmer of Mississippi finally retired at age 82 after 40 years in the House and three terms as Chair of the Committee, William Anderson of Tennessee was defeated for reelection, and Thomas O'Neill of Massachusetts left the Committee on selection as Majority Leader. Albert got three loyalists chosen to replace them. After Committee expansion and 21-day rules, the leadership may have finally gotten control of Rules.⁴

¹ *CQWR*, December 23, 1972, 3205. *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, January 2, 1973.

² "Electronic Voting in House," *CQ Almanac* 1972, on-line. "Congress and Government 1973: Overview," *CQ Almanac* 1973, on-line. *CQ's Guide to Congress*, 343, 346, 355. Anderson interview.

³ Anderson interview. Remini, 433. *CQWR*, January 27, 1973, 136. Albert with Goble, 343.

⁴ *CQWR*, February 10, 1973, 281-2. Albert with Goble, 143-4.

Albert also supported the opening of committee meetings to the public, which the House approved 370-27 on March 7, 1973. Even more extensive changes proposed by a special committee chaired by Richard Bolling of Missouri and trumpeted by Albert were opposed by committee chairs and watered down by referral in Caucus to a new committee chaired by Julia Butler Hansen of Washington. The Caucus vote was 111-95 on a ruling by Caucus Chair Olin Teague of Texas, that Teague admitted was erroneous but also likely deliberate. The vote on the Hansen recommendations as adopted by the House on October 8, 1974, was also a loss for Albert, as he still pushed Bolling's proposals. Still, proxy voting was eliminated in committees, the leadership was allowed to organize the House before convening, the speaker was given more flexibility in bill assignments, all committees were required to have at least four subcommittees, and the minority was provided with one-third of committee staffs.⁵

On January 2 the Caucus elected O'Neill as Majority Leader, promoting him from majority whip to replace Hale Boggs of Louisiana who had been missing since a lost flight in Alaska in October. O'Neill was unopposed after Sam Gibbons of Florida dropped his challenge on December 28. O'Neill was a partner with Albert in the reforms, but there was a tension between the two. For new Whip, O'Neill selected John McFall of California, which represented a continuation of the method of appointment, but also represented a setback for Albert in control of his party. O'Neill was selected as Whip by Boggs, Albert acquiescing to the strong support for his fellow Bostonian by former Speaker John McCormack. Now O'Neill had leaped quickly to the majority leadership, and Albert supported a change to weaken him. Albert backed a modification in which the Caucus would elect the whip as it did the majority leader. This lost in the Caucus by nine votes thanks to O'Neill's lobbying. Albert salvaged some influence by adding John Brademas of Indiana as a deputy whip, and the still intrusive McCormack got O'Neill to add Jim Wright of Texas as another deputy. There is a photograph in Albert's autobiography of the diminutive Oklahoman standing between the bulky O'Neill and the towering McCormack that says much of Albert's relative influence within the Party, even as he enhanced his power within the House.⁶

Albert became more vocal in staking out a Democratic opposition to Republican Pres. Richard Nixon's policies. The President prefixed his fiscal 1974 budget request with a radio address the night before. The budget included \$5.6 billion in reductions in natural resources and environment from fiscal 1973, \$4.5 billion less in commerce and transportation, and \$2.1 billion less in community development and housing. Albert called it "the systematic dismantling and destruction of the great social programs and the great precedents of humanitarian government inaugurated by Franklin Delano Roosevelt and advanced and enlarged by every Democratic President since then." When Nixon followed up with an address on the environment on February 15, Albert responded with a radio broadcast. Even on the war in Vietnam, on which Albert had been increasingly distant from the rising opposition to its continuance within the Democratic House delegation, the Speaker declared after his reselection by the Caucus, "If the President does not end the war, Congress will."⁷

Still, Albert did not push for an end to the war. What he did support was HJRes 542, the War Powers Act, which set a limit of 60 days on presidential commitment of troops abroad without congressional

⁵ *CQWR*, February 24, 1973, 419; March 10, 1973, 503-4; May 11, 1974, 1256. John Jacobs, 246-7. [Hechler], 709-14. Remini, 434. Albert with Goble, 345-6.

⁶ *CQWR*, December 23, 1972, 3205; January 6, 1973, 5. Albert with Goble, 328, 329, 342. O'Neill with Novak, 216, 226, 231. Remini, 432.

⁷ "1974 Budget: \$268.6-Billion Spending, 12.7-Billion Deficit," *CQ Almanac 1973*, on-line. *CQWR*, January 6, 1973, 5; February 24, 1973, 380; March 10, 1973, 490; October 27, 1973, 2843.

approval. It was a horse-already-out-of-the-barn law with respect to Vietnam, and Presidents from Nixon on contended that it was an unconstitutional infringement on the powers of their office. By 2007 Presidents had submitted over 120 reports to Congress on the deployment of troops. The Resolution passed the House on October 12, 1973, 238-122 and passed the Senate as well. Nixon vetoed it, his ninth of the session and the previous ones were all sustained. But on November 7 both Houses overrode. It was necessarily a narrow victory in the House, 284-135, as original passage was not by the two-thirds necessary for an override. Republicans supported their President but with many opponents, 103-86. Democrats, even Southerners, voted to override, 198-32.⁸

Among the Class of '46, Robert Jones of Alabama was the only member to support passage and override. Omar Burleson of Texas and Otto Passman of Louisiana opposed passage and override. John Blatnik of Minnesota supported passage but missed the second vote. Democrats Harold Donohue of Massachusetts and Joe Evins of Tennessee missed the first vote but voted to override. Republican Glenn Davis of Wisconsin opposed passage but missed the override vote. Bryan Dorn of South Carolina and Teague voted for passage, then opposed the override. The Speaker, of course, did not vote.

Nixon's veto message was on October 24, but the override votes were not taken until two weeks later, four days after the President ordered the dismissal of Archibald Cox, the special prosecutor appointed by the Attorney General to look into the complex of issues by then called "Watergate."

Watergate emerged as an interrupted burglary of the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate Office Building in Washington, DC, on June 17, 1972. Extensive reporting by *The Washington Post* documented the connection of the burglars to the Committee to Re-Elect the President, the official campaign organ of Pres. Nixon's run for a second term. Continued reporting by news organizations and investigations by prosecutors, congressional bodies, and others revealed a complex of re-election Committee and Administration directed or financed illegal efforts to identify leaks of government and campaign activities, illegal fund raising for reelection efforts, and, finally, unlawful obstruction of resulting investigations. The indictments of the general counsel for the re-election Committee and a White House consultant in September, and *Post* reporting in October that the burglary was part of a wider campaign directed by the Committee and the Administration did not seemingly affect the President's landslide reelection in November.⁹

Majority Leader O'Neill would later write that in January 1973 he advised Speaker Albert that a Democratic investigation of Watergate was inevitable. In February the Senate voted 70-0 to empanel a select committee to investigate. Albert then proposed a similar House panel, but Judiciary Chair Peter Rodino (D NJ) insisted that his Committee should handle any such effort. When Albert began to be pressured by oil interests back in Oklahoma to name a special committee, he felt that Nixon's people were behind it and decided to stay with Judiciary. Staying with an existing panel also had the benefit of constraining the investigation within House norms without the accusation of membership on a special committee being selected for possibly preordained reasons.¹⁰

While investigations and new revelations continued, and the nation was increasingly riveted by extensive televising of first the Senate and then the House committee sessions, a separate event fixed a

⁸ *War Powers*. Albert with Goble, 356-7. "Enactment of War Powers Law Over Nixon's VETO," *CQ Almanac 1973*, on-line.

⁹ Genovese, 4, refers to the complex as three conspiracies: Plumbers, reelection, and cover-up.

¹⁰ O'Neill with Novak, 242, 250. Remini, 438-9. *The New York Times*, February 6, 2000.

scarlet letter on the Nixon Administration. On August 7, 1973, *The Wall Street Journal* revealed that Vice Pres. Spiro Agnew was the subject of an investigation by a US attorney of bribery in the award of highway contracts. On September 25 Agnew came to Albert's office in the Capitol to ask that the Judiciary Committee take over the investigation, citing the House's inquiry into accusations of Vice Pres. John Calhoun in 1826. O'Neill would claim that Albert was inclined to refer the matter to Judiciary, in which fourteen of the Republicans supported the request. O'Neill opposed the option, in part because it would expose Albert to accusations of involvement in the removal of the Vice President and, per statute, put the Speaker in line to succeed the President should he be removed through impeachment. Albert would write, "I knew instantly that the House must not involve itself in a nearly completed criminal investigation before the federal courts," but he dithered and did not reject Agnew's ploy until the following day. Agnew resigned on October 10 and pleaded no contest to one count of tax evasion, was fined \$10,000, and given a suspended sentence of three years.¹¹

Agnew's resignation indeed made Carl Albert the immediate successor should Richard Nixon vacate the presidency. The Secret Service moved in, literally in the case of Albert's home, which was an eleventh-floor apartment on Cathedral Avenue in DC. Mercifully, his dwelling had recovered from a fire in the living room in May. They set up in the hallway outside the apartment and a van in the back alley, insisted the drapes be kept closed, and screened everything and everyone that came in. Wife Mary, who recovered from smoke inhalation and a bump on the head in May, now complained of claustrophobia.¹²

Two days after Agnew's resignation, Nixon nominated House Minority Leader Gerald Ford (R MI) as the new Vice President. He was not confirmed until December 6, and Carl and Mary Albert's two-month family nightmare ended. Albert supported the choice of Ford, but 35 members in the House, all Democrats, opposed the confirmation. The members of the Class of '46 all voted to confirm except Albert and Blatnik, who did not vote.¹³

Between nomination and confirmation of Ford, Nixon's firing of Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox on October 20, along with the resignations of the Attorney General and deputy attorney general, who refused to acquiesce in the presidential decision, launched "a spontaneous emotional eruption" as he had never seen, would write Albert. "Resolutions of impeachment virtually rained on the House floor." Albert sent them all to Judiciary, which started consideration of impeachment proceedings on October 30. On February 6, 1974, the House voted 410-4 to grant subpoena power to Judiciary for its impeachment hearings. All members of the Class were in the majority except for non-voters Albert, Jones, and Passman.¹⁴

Cox was fired largely because of his insistence on access to audio tapes of the President that recorded much of his conversations and phone calls in his offices. Nixon mightily resisted on the presumed legal basis of executive privilege. Donohue on the Judiciary Committee moved on April 11 to subpoena the tapes after the Committee's request for them in February was not productive. Donohue, "the aging, white-haired liberal ... read the motion to issue the subpoena ... in a deep voice," reported *The Sun*. Only three members of the Committee opposed the subpoena.¹⁵

¹¹ Cohen and Witcover, 152-3, 255-7, 352-3. Albert with Goble, 359-60. O'Neill with Novak, 258. Remini, 435-6.

¹² *Moberly Monitor-Index and Evening Democrat*, May 17, 1974. *The Daily Times-News* (Burlington), November 28, 1973. Albert with Goble, 360.

¹³ Albert with Goble, 361.

¹⁴ Albert with Goble, 362-3. Genovese, 43-4.

¹⁵ *The Sun* (Lowell), April 14, 1974.

On July 27, the House Committee on the Judiciary voted Article I of impeachment 27-11. The next day Article II was approved 28-10. On the third day, Article III passed 21-17. Two other articles failed. The 21 Democrats on the Committee, including Donohue who introduced all five articles, supported the first two articles and were joined by a minority of Republicans. Donohue also backed Article III. Tapes of Nixon's conversations that revealed his participation in the cover-up of the Watergate burglary were turned over to the court on August 2 after much delay, and transcripts were released by the White House on August 5. Albert's comment was, "The most devastating thing that can be said of it is that it speaks for itself." Republican support in the House for Nixon melted away, including that of all the Republicans on Judiciary who had opposed any article of impeachment. The Committee's report on its inquiry was accepted by the House 412-3 on August 20. The three opponents included Passman, a Mississippi Democrat, and an Indiana Republican.¹⁶

Albert, Teague, Passman, and Burleson were among around 50 members of Congress that Nixon invited to his office in the Executive Office Building on August 8 to announce that he would resign the presidency the following day. Nixon would write, "Carl Albert ... was the first to enter. Before I said a word he blurted out, 'I hope you know, Mr. President, that I have nothing to do with this whole resignation business.' I said, 'I understand, Carl.' We talked about coming to Capitol Hill together in the same freshman class in 1947." Albert would write that Nixon "put his arm around my shoulders. 'We've always been friends,' Dick Nixon said. I could not help but be touched by it. He had been my friend, my first Republican friend in Congress."¹⁷

Albert found himself again the heir apparent to the presidency, now to Pres. Gerald Ford. Once again, Congress saved him, by confirming Ford's choice of former Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York as Vice President. This time the wait was longer, until December 19, and the vote was closer, 287-128 in the House. Except for Albert's non-vote and Evins' nay, the Class supported confirmation. Opposition centered around the nominee's great wealth, how he had used it, and how it created a host of potential conflicts of interest.¹⁸

Richard Nixon, Class of '46, a candidate for national office five times and successful four of those, was not an ideologue. One ideology that he was lacking was that of liberal democracy.

Journalist Theodore White wrote soon after Nixon's departure,

Such a stewpot civilization [as America] would be impossible unless its people were bound together by a common faith. Take away that faith, and America would be a sad geographical expression where whites killed blacks, blacks killed whites; where Protestants, Catholics, Jews made of their cities a constellation of Belfasts; where each community within the whole would harden into jangling, clashing contentions of prejudices and interests that could be governed only by police. ... Of all the political myths out of which the Republic was born ... none was more hopeful than the crowning myth of the Presidency - that the people, in their shared wisdom, would be able to choose the best man to lead them. From this came a derivative myth - that the Presidency, the supreme office, would make noble any man who held its responsibility. ... Richard Nixon behaved otherwise.¹⁹

Such was yet to come fifty years later.

¹⁶ Genovese, 47-8. "The Impeachment Inquiry," *CQ Almanac 1974*, on-line.

¹⁷ Hébert and McMillan, 434. *Nixon Memoirs*, 1081. Albert with Goble, 366.

¹⁸ "Rockefeller Becomes 41st Vice President," *CQ Almanac 1974*, on-line.

¹⁹ White (1975), 323-4.

Election of committee chairs by the Democratic Caucus produced no disruptions of seniority. Still, Blatnik was subject to four opposing votes in remaining Chair of Public Works, Teague nine in shifting to chair Science and Astronautics, and Dorn four in succeeding Teague as Chair of Veterans' Affairs.²⁰

The *Texas Monthly* would opine that Teague had already been running Science and Astronautics for the past fifteen years, twelve of those with George Miller of California as Chair, who now was denied renomination by his District. The Committee had not been very busy recently as the manned space program declined, but Teague got the House to send energy related legislation, a growing field, to it. The Chair had an active congress, urging Pres. Ford to restore an adviser of science and technology that Pres. Nixon eliminated and getting \$50 million for a demonstration solar energy project by NASA and Housing and Urban Development. The Committee was responsible for funding authorizations for both NASA and the National Science Foundation.²¹

Teague remained on Veterans' Affairs, now as second ranking Democrat to Dorn. The South Carolinian in his twelfth term on the Committee did not escape his second fiddle status to the Texan. Before his chairship Dorn had introduced 118 veterans bills and none were enacted. Only six with him as first sponsor had made it out of committee and four out of the House. Now as chair he was a sponsor of 75 such bills and four with him as first sponsor passed the House and two were enacted. Teague was still a sponsor of 49 veterans bills, one as first sponsor being enacted. The *Texas Monthly* still felt Teague "called the shots" on Veterans' Affairs.

Dorn moved up to eighth on Public Works with a defeat for reelection, but this was Blatnik's bailiwick and seven bills with the Chair as first sponsor passed the House and four were enacted. Jones remained in the second seat on Public Works but changed from chair of the Subcommittee on Flood Control and Internal Development to chair of the Subcommittee on Economic Development. Jones was central to fights over subsidies for urban mass transit systems in the 93rd Congress. HR 6452, which was to provide \$800 million for these systems over two years escaped evisceration by a five-vote margin in October 1973 thanks in large part to Albert's effort to turn an earlier three-vote loss around, and was substituted for S 386. But then Jones led a recommittal of S 386 in preference to HR 12859 that would have provided \$20 billion over six years. The House cut the amount to \$11.4 billion and passed it, but the Senate did not.²²

Passman and Evins moved up a seat on Appropriations to fifth and sixth respectively, when George Andrews of Alabama died on Christmas Day 1971. More importantly, they retained their chairs of Foreign Operations and Public Works subcommittees. Evins shepherded his two appropriations bills to enactment, but Passman's Subcommittee could produce only one foreign aid law. The fiscal 1975 appropriation was not brought to the floor because the Foreign Affairs Committee did not produce an authorization law until December 18, 1974, five-and-one-half months after the start of the fiscal year. The invasion of Cyprus in July 1974 by Turkey, a NATO ally and recipient of much aid, upended the authorization, and aid was finally supplied through a continuing resolution that prohibited military aid to Turkey without the president's certification of Turkey's compliance with certain matters.²³

The last Republican of the Class of '46, Glenn Davis, moved up to sixth on Appropriations due to the death of Frank Bow of Ohio on November 13, 1972, and when John Rhodes of Arizona succeeded Ford as

²⁰ *CQWR*, January 27, 1973, 136.

²¹ Smith and Burka, 113. *CQWR*, June 16, 1973, 1531. Also see [Hechler], 655-62. Dodge and Beuttler, 98. [Hechler], 674-81.

²² *CQWR*, August 3, 1975, 2044-5; August 24, 1975, 2336-7.

²³ "Congress Wins Restrictions on AID to Turkey," *CQ Almanac* 1974, on-line.

House Minority Leader on December 7, 1973. Davis was ranking on the Subcommittee on the District of Columbia in the 92nd Congress, but changed to ranking on the Subcommittee on Military Construction in the 93rd. When Rhodes left the Committee, Davis changed again to replace the Arizonan as ranking on the Subcommittee on Public Works, serving with Classmate Evins. Davis had been ranking on Public Works before leaving the House and was now back where he could work to frustrate other members of the House by opposing their pork barrel projects.

Donohue moved to second on Judiciary thanks to Chair Emanuel Celler's having been denied the Democratic renomination and then losing the election as the Liberal candidate. Celler had been Chair or ranking for twelve terms. O'Neill would feel that his replacement by Peter Rodino in the 93rd Congress made the difference in how the House hearings on the impeachment of Nixon were handled. With Celler in place, O'Neill thought that Albert would have been inclined to bypass in-place procedures and appoint a special committee to deal with the bills of impeachment. The departure of Celler also put Donohue in place to make the motions to subpoena the Nixon tapes and to impeach.²⁴

Donohue had another important role on the Committee in the 93rd Congress, not as fundamentally critical as removal of a President but nevertheless of import to the nation. He, as a representative from Massachusetts, was active in creating and serving on the American Bicentennial Revolution Commission. Donohue's Judiciary subcommittee completed a report in December 1972 that found the "commission had failed to give direction either to itself or to its staff" and would be "unable by 1976 to provide the country with a meaningful bicentennial commemoration." Donohue was the first sponsor of HR 7446 that was enacted and replaced the Commission with a presidential Bicentennial Administration that still retained an appointed advisory board and policy council.²⁵

Burleson remained in the ninth seat on Ways and Means, which was subject to major disruption. Chair Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, who had been in that position since the 85th Congress, was stopped by DC police on October 7, 1974, near the Jefferson Memorial. Mills was drunk, had a bloody nose, and a woman with him jumped out of the car and into the Tidal Basin. On November 30 Mills appeared on stage in Boston with the woman who was stripping under the name of Fanne Fox. He resigned as Chair on December 10, ten days before the end of the session but stayed on the Committee.²⁶

Two of the members of the Class of '46 received political appointments during the 93rd Congress. Kenneth Keating of New York was named Ambassador to Israel. Edward Jenison (R IL), defeated for reelection to the House in 1952, took the place of a member of the Illinois House of Representatives who pleaded guilty to tax evasion and mail fraud. Jenison had been sporadically busy in politics since 1952. On his current appointment, he agreed not to seek election to the seat.²⁷

Jacob Javits, another New York Republican, won reelection to the Senate in 1974, where he had served since 1957. He won a minority of the vote in an eight-party race, in which he also received the nomination of the Liberal Party. He had left the House in 1954 to become the State Attorney General.

²⁴ O'Neill with Novak, 249.

²⁵ *Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph*, March 27, 1973. "Bicentennial Administration," *CQ Almanac 1973*, on-line.

²⁶ Remini, 442-3.

²⁷ *The Edwardsville Intelligencer*, November 6, 1973.

Norris Cotton (R NH) did not seek reelection to the Senate in 1974, having been hospitalized three times from July 1973 to February 1974. His wife Ruth fell and broke her hip in May 1973. She was 80 at the time. Norris was 74 at retirement and had served in the Senate since 1954, when he left the House.²⁸

Watkins Abbitt of Virginia and John Bell Williams of Mississippi, both Democrats but now freed of public office, kicked over the traces in 1972 and actively backed Classmate and Republican Richard Nixon for reelection. Abbitt not only backed Nixon but also Mills Godwin for Governor in 1973. Godwin had been a Democratic Governor, but was now running successfully as a Republican. Williams resigned the House in 1968 to become the Democratic Governor of his State, the term ending in 1972.²⁹

Williams, now in Jackson, reopened a law office. So did William McCulloch (R OH), who did not run for reelection to the House in 1972, though in his case it was rather a greater devotion to a practice he never really discontinued while in Washington. Edward Garmatz (D MD), who also retired from the House in 1972, filed as a lobbyist for Baltimore Gas and Electric Company in Washington. Ellsworth Foote (R CT), who served one term in the House, retired in 1973 after sixteen years as legal counsel to the commissioners of New Haven County. Of course, the biggest political retirement of the period was that of Richard Nixon, who resigned the presidency. A month later President Ford pardoned him “for all offenses against the United States which he ... has committed or may have committed or taken part in during” his presidency. Between periods of national office Nixon had practiced law in New York. The State would disbar him in 1976.³⁰

Keating, a year into his ambassadorship to Israel, remarried on June 7, 1974. His first wife had died in 1968. Mary Pitcairn Davis’ husband, a law school classmate of Keating, had died in 1972. Kenneth was 74, Mary was 54.³¹

Williams filed for divorce from his wife, Elizabeth Ann Wells Williams, in 1973. They married in 1944 and had three children, now 22, 21, and 18.³²

Monroe Redden (D NC), who retired from the House in 1952, lost his wife through death on May 20, 1974. Mary Belle Boyd Redden died in Helena, Montana, of a hemorrhaging gastric ulcer, at age 69. One presumes she was on a vacation trip. They were married in 1923. There were two adult children.³³

Marie Ryan McGarvey, widow of Robert McGarvey (R PA), who served one term in the House and died in 1952, passed away on January 7, 1974, of a stroke in Massachusetts. She was 80.³⁴

The first wife of Jacob Javits, Marjorie Ringling Javits Groves, died on November 3, 1973, in Florida at 62 after a long illness. The Javitses had a three year marriage that ended in 1936.³⁵

²⁸ *Nashua Telegraph*, February 19, 1974. *The Portsmouth Herald*, May 30, 1973. List of US Citizens for the Immigration Authorities, NYC, January 23, 1941.

²⁹ *Kingsport News*, October 17, 1972. *The Delta Democrat-Times*, November 5, 1972. *Atkinson Dynamic*, 310.

³⁰ Financial disclosures reported in *CQWR*, for example, May 23, 1969, 786. *CQWR*, April 28, 1973, 1027. *Congressional Record*, January 26, 1977, 2328. *The Bridgeport Post*, January 20, 1977. “President Gerald R. Ford’s Proclamation 4311, Granting a Pardon to Richard Nixon,” Ford Library.

³¹ *The Kansas City Times*, June 8, 1974. *Wellsville Daily Reporter*, May 6, 1975. Mary Pitcairn Keating stone, Princeton Cemetery, Princeton, New Jersey.

³² *McComb Enterprise-Journal*, August 30, 1950. *Enterprise-Journal*, June 1, 1973. *Clarion-Ledger*, May 3, 1952; October 13, 1954.

³³ Montana Certificate of Death. There was an autopsy.

³⁴ *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 10 & 11, 1974.

³⁵ *The Post-Herald*, November 5, 1973. *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, September 17, 1933. *Albuquerque Journal*, April 24, 1966.

Seven members of the Class died in 1973 and 1974.

George Sarbacher and Franklin Lichtenwalter, two Pennsylvania Republicans, died on March 4, 1973. Sarbacher was the youngest member of the Class of '46 and only 53 when he died of heart failure in Maryland. He served one term in the House and worked with the Postal Service in Washington since 1969. He left wife Dolly Forsyth Sarbacher and three children. Lichtenwalter was 62 and survived by wife Marguerite Stoneback Lichtenwalter and his mother. He had no children. His childhood diabetes may have contributed to his death. He retired from the House after two terms.³⁶

Toby Morris (D OK) died September 1, 1973, in Lawton, Oklahoma, possibly of a ruptured aorta. He was 74 and survived by his second wife Laura Claycomb Morris, his mother, and two children from his first wife, who died in 1922. Morris served five noncontiguous terms, losing two primaries, and was sixteen years a judge.³⁷

Burr Harrison (D VA) died December 29, 1973, in Winchester, Virginia, of a heart attack at age 69. He also suffered lung cancer. He retired from the House in 1962 and resumed his law practice. His second wife Dorothy Green Harrison and their daughter survived. His son from his first marriage predeceased Burr. Burr's executor found a handwritten note that requested the traditional Bar Association memorial service be suspended and his estate provide bourbon for the "next evening debauchery of the gentlemen of the Bar." Harrison also asked doctors to use his body for any medical experiment "which in the future they think might reduce their many past mistakes."³⁸

Robert Nodar (R NY), who served one term in the House, died on September 11, 1974 in Flushing, New York, at age 58. His mother, his wife Florence Raska Nodar and probably his twin children survived. After the House, Nodar worked for Solomon Brothers & Hutzler.³⁹

William Crow (R PA) died on October 13, 1974, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, at 72. He served one term in the House and then seven years with the Securities and Exchange Commission, thanks to the Dwight Eisenhower Administration. His family had an interest in oil wells. His wife, Charlotte Sheaffer Crow, and two sons survived.⁴⁰

In what was a bad season for Pennsylvania members of the Class of '46, Paul Dague, the fourth one, died on December 2, 1974, in West Chester, Pennsylvania. He was 76 and left wife Mary Williams Dague. There were no children. He retired from the House in 1966.⁴¹

Dague was the 40th member of the Class of '46 to die.

³⁶ *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 5, 1973. *The Evening Sun* (Hanover), March 5, 1973. *Chester Times*, December 2, 1950.

³⁷ *The Lawton Constitution*, September 2, 1973.

³⁸ Death Certificate, Winchester City, Virginia. Dorothy Green Harrison stone, Mt. Hebron Cemetery, Winchester, Virginia. *The New York Times*, September 12, 1993. Thomas Brinton Harrison stone, Christ Church Cemetery, Mathews, Virginia. *Las Cruces Sun-News*, January 30, 1974.

³⁹ Florence M. Nodar stone and Grace Nodar stone, Pinelawn Memorial Park, East Farmingdale, New York.

⁴⁰ K3vr.com. *The Evening Standard*, October 14, 1974.

⁴¹ *Indiana Evening Gazette*, December 30, 1946.