

Chapter 40 – Generation Gaps: The 94th Congress

The 48 new Democratic seats added as a result of the 1974 election underrepresents the impact of the change. There would be 86 members of the House who had not served in that body previously. This still did not challenge the number of new members, 109, in the 80th House. Of the 86, 70 were Democrats, the so-called “Watergate Babies.”¹

There were 291 Democrats in the 94th House and 70 new ones were fewer than a fourth, but they were in large part determined to shake up the institution, and they had the country behind them. IMPEACH SOMEONE was on bumper stickers. The Democratic leadership of Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma and Majority Leader Thomas O’Neill of Massachusetts had already supported substantial changes, which opened House processes to the public, reduced the power of committee chairs, and limited the seniority system. The Babies provided support in extending similar reforms, and with the Democrats overpowering the Republicans 291-144, change was nearly a given.²

The enlarged Democratic delegation in the House caucused for four days in early December 1974, this early convention an innovation. Olin Teague of Texas stepped down as Caucus chair after two terms as required under its rules. Phillip Burton of California, a leader of the Democratic Study Group, defeated the more conservative B.F. Sisk, also of California, for the chairship, 162-111. A biographer of Burton contended that Sisk had the support of the leadership, which was likely but also restrained. Albert would describe Burton as “my informal liaison with the doctrinaire liberals,” and Sisk had not been overwhelmingly reliable on the Rules Committee, though he represented a more consensual position between the Party’s wings.³

While the left wing of the Democrats won the Caucus chairship and pushed through most of its reforms in that body, Albert and O’Neill won reelection without opposition. Not even Michigan Rep. John Conyers repeated his two challenges to Albert. The support of Albert and O’Neill for the reforms, however tepid, did away with any potential opposition. But Albert’s accommodating nature also meant he was not a threat to the new reformers and could be managed.⁴

Two years before, the Caucus had added three members of the leadership to the Democratic members of Ways and Means that made Democratic committee assignments. Now, the power was taken from the Ways and Means Democrats in its entirety and placed in the Caucus’s Steering and Policy Committee composed of the three-member leadership, twelve regionally elected members and nine members appointed by the speaker. In theory, this increased the leadership’s influence by completely

¹ These numbers are from *Congressional Directory, 94th Congress, 1st Session, 248-50*. The number usually cited for the so-called Watergate Babies is 75. The additional five could refer either to the five members who joined the House late in the 93rd Congress through special election or, more likely, to the five elected in 1974, who did not serve in the 93rd Congress but had in previous congresses. Only 70 of these Democrats were true “freshmen,” but there were also three Democrats first elected to the 94th Congress but in special elections after November 1974.

² Broder, 34. Perlstein, 322. A summary of changes is in “Congressional Reforms Made In 1975,” *CQ Almanac 1975*, on-line.

³ *CQWR*, December 7, 1974, 3247. *The Washington Post*, December 6, 1974. John Jacobs, 119. Albert with Goble, 357.

⁴ *CQWR*, January 4, 1975, 3-4. Smith and Deering, 235. Burton was one of the six most liberal members of the 94th Congress, if one can so interpret the NOMINATE1 measure, as its developers’ claim. Conyers was the most liberal with a score of -0.658. Burton’s score is -0.634. The mean of the 70 Babies is -0.269. Of the 52 Northern Babies it is -0.316. Carl Albert is -0.392. The Babies were less liberal by this measure than they were iconoclastic, but they were supportive of Burton. These values were as of June 24, 2022. See Chapter 44 for a discussion of this measure.

removing the embedded membership of Ways and Means, as well as reducing an alternate center of power in the chair of Ways and Means. The speaker was also given the explicit power to choose Democratic members of the Rules Committee, subject to Caucus approval.⁵

The Caucus added chairs of Appropriations subcommittees to those subject to Caucus approval. Steering and Policy was granted the ability to recommend committee and subcommittee chairs to the Caucus outside of seniority rules. Secret balloting on chairs was made automatic. If the recommended chair was rejected, nominations were enabled from the floor of the Caucus.

The Caucus decreed that an individual could not serve as the chair of more than one committee, standing, select, special, or joint. Restrictions were placed on appointments to subcommittees by committee chairs to enable less senior members to have a better chance at the seats.

The Babies also caucused separately. They invited (or demanded) committee chairs apparent to appear before them over three days beginning January 9, 1975. Steering and Policy would meet on January 15 to nominate committee chairs. O'Neill moved the nomination of all chairs based on seniority, but this was rejected and it was clear the Speaker and Majority Leader were not in control of the process. The Committee nominated Frank Thompson of New Jersey to replace Wayne Hays of Ohio as chair of House Administration and Henry Reuss of Wisconsin rather than Wright Patman of Texas of Banking and Currency. Hays was Chair the previous two congresses and Patman the previous six. The former was notable for his difficulty and high-handedness. It was claimed that Albert and O'Neill orchestrated the rejection of Hays because the Speaker had made an alliance with Burton. It is clear that they were not fans of Hays. It is also likely they knew of the scandal that would blow up in Hays' face the following year.⁶

The rejection of Patman sent shock waves. Reuss, the fourth most senior Democrat on the Committee had been lobbying to replace the Chair for weeks. Patman was less a liberal than a populist; still, there was no great issue difference between the two men. Reuss' campaign was premised on the claimed ineptness of Patman in enabling House approval of the Committee's goals. Patman was 81 years old. Albert would bitterly complain that the only sin was Patman's age. But a major player in the downfall of Patman was Common Cause, the self-described citizens' lobby, then less than five years old.⁷

As the Babies' interviews of chairs ended, Common Cause released a report accusing a number of committee chairs of various sins. While formally evaluated on institutional criteria, the liberal bias of Common Cause undoubtedly was also in play. Patman was reported to have "significant shortcomings" along with Ray Madden (Indiana) of Rules and Harley Staggers (West Virginia) of Interstate and Foreign Commerce. This criticism, however, was the lowest of three levels of opprobrium. Hays occupied the second level of "serious abuses" with George Mahon (Texas) of Appropriations and Robert Poage (Texas) of Agriculture. The worst offender, "flagrantly violates all three standards," was Edward Hébert (Louisiana) of Armed Services. No one was campaigning yet, however, for the ouster of those other than Hays and Patman. Among the Class of '46, Robert Jones of Alabama was nominated as the new Chair of Public Works 21-3, Joe Evins of Tennessee as Chair of Small Business 21-3, and Teague of the renamed Science and Technology 19-5.⁸

⁵ Though not the reason for the change, the self-destruction of Ways and Means Chair Wilbur Mills enabled it. Zelizer (2000), 352.

⁶ Thomas Murphy, 197. *The Washington Post*, January 9, 1975. Zelizer (2006), 168-9. On Hays, Albert wrote "no one could work with in any capacity" and O'Neill wrote, "The man had a mean streak and was often abusive to people...." Albert with Goble, 326. O'Neill with Novak, 216.

⁷ *The Washington Post*, January 16, 1975. A thorough reporting on the Patman unseating is in *The Village Voice*, February 3, 1975. Albert with Goble, 368.

⁸ *The Washington Post*, January 14 & 16, 1975.

The full Caucus met on January 16 and rejected Reuss for Banking and Currency and Thompson for House Administration. Caucus Chair Burton was actively promoting retention of Hays and apparently carried the Babies. There were also accusations that Hays promised the neophytes he would get them a pay raise. Ralph Nader, still another “citizen’s lobbyist,” intervened actively in favor of Patman. The Caucus, though, rejected Poage for Agriculture and Hébert for Armed Services. Albert’s later assessment would be that Hébert “could be a pain in the neck” and that Poage “had goaded the professional liberals too often.” They were also easily the most conservative of Common Cause’s seven.⁹

The process was hardly over. Steering and Policy met again to nominate for the four rejected chairships and put Patman and Hays back in play, replacing Poage with Thomas Foley of Washington and Hébert with Melvin Price of Illinois, who were the next most senior Democrats on those committees. Those nominations were unanimous. Foley also happened to be the chair of the Democratic Study Group. The full Caucus meeting on January 22 included an important process change. Now the question was not on simple acceptance or rejection of the nominees for chairs; nominations could be made from the floor. Foley and Price were confirmed with minimal opposition. Thompson was put in play again for Hays’ seat, but the Chair held on 161-111. Reuss led Patman 130-90 with Robert Stephens of Georgia, who was three seats lower in seniority than Reuss, getting 58 votes. Reuss won the runoff.¹⁰

When the dust cleared, four chairs of committees were ousted. The conservative Teague was not really threatened for his seat, but he received the largest negative vote from the Caucus of those reconfirmed, 182-26. No chairs of Appropriations subcommittees were rejected, although Otto Passman of Louisiana and the Class of ’46 encountered the most opposition at 159-72.¹¹ The seniority system was hardly broken, but it was demonstrated that it could be deflected through concentrated effort. Chairs and would-be chairs were alerted that it was wise to keep connections vital.

This along with the other reforms had a substantial decentralizing effect on the House. Back benchers were more important. Subcommittees were more important. The Democratic Caucus was more important. While the diminution of committee chairs and the granting of the power to name new Democrats to the Rules Committee strengthened the Speaker, the rise of the Caucus under the influence of the Democratic Study Group was a new potential opponent. *The Washington Post* opined that the Group had “become the new establishment.” As late as 1979 the Class of ’74 would still have their own caucus. O’Neill would later observe, “Congress became more difficult to control than ever before.” Albert would write, “They wanted to build a record, not a policy, and they had the votes to pass bills that I knew [Pres.] Jerry Ford would have to veto. He did, but they did not have the votes to override them.” Ford issued 39 vetoes in the 94th Congress and seven were overridden.¹²

The House’s sustainment of Ford’s veto of HR 25, a bill to set standards for strip mining and reclamation of strip-mined lands, on June 10, 1975, seemed to confirm Albert’s later assessment, but the reaction of Democratic reformers was to call for more reforms. These would be reforms of the Party leadership. There was no action to replace Albert and O’Neill and Democratic Whip John McFall of

⁹ Zelizer (2006), 169-70. Perlstein, 328-9. *The Washington Post*, January 17, 1975. Hébert was hardly a neutral commentator on these struggles, but he would make the possibly salient observation that Patman led investigations of “the financing and funding of tax-exempt foundations, those angels who provide the wherewithal for myriad liberal projects, such as Common Cause.” Hébert and McMillan, 440.

¹⁰ *The Washington Post*, January 18 & 23, 1975. The day after his ouster, Poage spoke to the Caucus and told them he accepted the will of the majority and spoke in support of Foley. Poage, 148.

¹¹ *CQWR*, January 18, 1975, 116.

¹² *The Washington Post*, January 4, 1975. O’Neill with Novak, 283, 285. Albert with Goble, 368. Peters and Woolley.

California but there was implicit criticism in the call for a five-day work week, identification of Party issues, the designation of a key spokesperson on key issues, and more meetings of the leadership with the members. Congressional Quarterly opined, "Albert always has been more adept at backstage maneuvering than at overt use of power. ... Albert has preferred to use conciliation and compromise despite a frequently fractious and sometimes ungovernable House constituency." Minority Leader John Rhodes of Arizona wrote in 1976 that Albert insisted on operating with the concurrence of his chairs. That was a criticism of the reformers as well, though their leader Burton headed off a new attack on chairs by saying, "We are not a monolith. We are a party of diverse opinion."¹³

Four of the six remaining members of the Class of '46 were now chairs. Teague of Science and Technology, Robert Jones of renamed Public Works and Transportation, Evins of Small Business, now finally a standing committee, as well as of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works, and Passman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. Two of these, Teague and Evins, as well as Omar Bureson of Texas, voted to sustain the strip-mining veto. The other three, including Speaker Albert, who normally did not vote, and Passman, who had voted against the conference report of HR 25, voted to overrule the veto. A party of diverse opinion indeed.

A major but rare application of the Speaker's clout was Albert's push for adoption of HCRes 218, to set budget targets for fiscal 1976. Pres. Richard Nixon's attempt to ignore legislated spending through "impoundment" had led to the passage of the 1974 Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act with a goal of imposing a level of fiscal responsibility on appropriations. Since one congress cannot bind a future congress, the Act was a bit of public relations that still would make it more difficult for that future congress to exceed spending targets set by the earlier congress. Beset by rightist opponents of deficit spending and leftist opponents of restricted social spending, these within the Democrats, and unified Republican opposition to embarrass the Democratic leadership, Albert, O'Neill, and Burton all worked hard to gain approval, 200-196, for the first effort at implementing the new procedures on May 1, 1975. Of the Class of '46, Albert failed to win the support of Bureson and Passman.¹⁴ Bureson was appointed to the new Budget Committee, charged with developing the enacting resolutions. In the Fiscal 1976 iteration of the budgetary process, the Texan offered two floor amendments in a row to cut spending targets approved by his Committee – all rejected.

Albert also stepped in to secure passage of HR 15 to replace the 1946 lobbying registration act with tighter rules. He shook it loose from the Rules Committee, but only late in the second session, and he and O'Neill kept the House in session for nearly 18 hours until the bill passed just before the 3:58 am adjournment on September 29. But the Senate passed a different version and sine die adjournment was on October 1. The last-minute hyperactivity had a histrionic quality.¹⁵

One reform that the leadership, particularly O'Neill, fought was televising the proceedings of the House. O'Neill argued that House sessions, often poorly attended and seemingly disorganized, would misrepresent the institution to the public. Albert insisted that the chair would have to control the cameras, which, to his surprise, the reformers agreed. Still, the Rules Committee, now under more direct control of the Speaker, failed to report HRes 875 on a 6-9 vote.¹⁶

¹³ *CQWR*, June 21, 1975, 1295; June 28, 1975, 1333; June 12, 1976, 1491-2.

¹⁴ "Congress Implements New Budget Procedures," *CQ Almanac 1975*, on-line.

¹⁵ "Time Ran Out for Lobby Revision Bill," *CQ Almanac 1976*, on-line.

¹⁶ *CQWR*, March 20, 1976, 623. "Congress and Government 1976: Overview," *CQ Almanac 1976*, on-line.

Another reform, public sessions of the Democratic Caucus, exposed the recurring conflict within the Party over racial issues. A petition that was circulated by Teague placed an anti-busing resolution on the agenda of the first such open session on November 19, 1975. Albert's motion to table the resolution prevailed on a 172-96 vote.¹⁷

Albert came in for very public criticism as well as defense in another such Caucus session on February 2, 1976, when the Speaker's defense of the interests of his District ran afoul of the majority of his Party. The issue was deregulation of the interstate sales of natural gas, a product of Oklahoma's Third Congressional District. The Commerce Committee brought forth HR 9464 to allow temporary deregulation in the event of another energy crisis such as the oil embargo of 1973-4. The Speaker refused to allow the bill to come up under suspension of the rules, which would have forbade amendment, instead sending the bill to the Rules Committee, which proposed a rule allowing an amendment expected to eliminate price regulation. Bitter criticism of Albert was voiced in the Caucus, particularly by John Dingell of Michigan, Chair of the subcommittee that wrote HR 9464. Prominent among defenders of Albert was Richard Bolling of Missouri, a constant critic of Democratic leadership, but who accused the detractors of Albert with a "hatchet job." Albert sat through the Caucus without speaking. The amendment to completely deregulate natural gas failed, as did the effort to provide for emergency deregulation.¹⁸

Of greater embarrassment to Albert was the House's rejection on March 9, 1976, of authorization for a trip by the Speaker and two dozen other members of Congress to Britain to escort an original copy of the Magna Carta to Washington as part of America's celebration of its Bicentennial. Albert vowed to reverse the vote "if you have to kill me in the process." The failure was really that of the leadership in not bothering to schedule and explain the vote. To most of the members voting, it appeared to be a junket that was sprung on them, rather than a ceremonial trip including both a parliamentary and a royal reception to commemorate American independence and its English heritage. Congressional Quarterly reported that the successful reverse of the vote on March 17 was "a personal crusade" by the Speaker. In his autobiography Albert would write that his journey from Bug Tussle School was completed by his visit to England to accept its physical and representative gift to America.¹⁹

While not as much a personal embarrassment to the Speaker, the revelation on May 23, 1976, by Elizabeth Ray that she was on the payroll of the Committee on House Administration to provide sexual services to Chair Wayne Hays reflected badly on Albert's control of the House. It did not help that at the time of the publicization Albert and O'Neill were on the Magna Carta trip to London. Even worse, it was revealed that she had provided a similar and even more expansive service on the staff of Kenneth Gray (D IL) from 1972 until his retirement in 1974. Albert clearly avoided policing the matter, but O'Neill forced Hays' resignation, first of his chairship, and then of his seat in the House. "Carl's problem was that he said yes to everybody," O'Neill would later write.²⁰

Part of Albert's problem with managing the House and its Democrats was that he once again failed to manage the bottle. The Speaker himself was linked to an attractive young woman, who often accompanied him to social events. A Justice Department investigation of possible bribes to two Democratic members of the House from the government of South Korea revealed a link by the pair to Korean-born Sook Nai (Suzi) Park Thompson on the staff of Albert, who was the young woman in question.

¹⁷ CQWR, November 22, 1975, 2525-6.

¹⁸ CQWR, February 7, 1976, 259-60. "Gas Deregulation," CQ Almanac 1976, on-line.

¹⁹ Albert with Goble 371-2. *The Washington Post*, March 10 & 11 & 18, 1976.

²⁰ O'Neill with Novak, 216. *The Washington Post*, May 23, June 3, 1976.

Albert was told in 1971 or 1972 that she was in the pay of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency, but when he had an FBI check run on her it came up negative.²¹

The investigation of possible bribery by South Korea also enmeshed Passman. News media reported on Passman's involvement with a South Korean businessman, Tongsun Park, who on and off was the agent for South Korea's purchases of rice. Louisiana was a major producer of rice, and Passman had a great interest in promoting its sale. Passman's central role in foreign aid also meant that he was important to South Korea's receipt of such aid. The reports alleged that Passman pressured several countries to use certain shippers of aid. The Justice Department began looking into Passman's dealings, as did the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.²²

There was little hard evidence reported to indicate illegal activity in regard to South Korea, but there were reports that Passman had filed false travel vouchers for reimbursement by the House. Members were allowed reimbursement for up to 26 round-trips from Washington to their districts each year. Members might claim trips that were fictional, though the focus of the Passman story was claiming automobile mileage reimbursement when he actually flew.²³

Passman was not the only representative so ensnared. The Justice Department looked into the travel reimbursements of nine members, including Robert Jones. The House Administration Committee urged the accused to reimburse the government, and the Justice Department did not bring any charges. Both Passman and Jones reimbursed some funds.²⁴

Mistresses on the public dime, questionable foreign connections to representatives, false claims for government funds, and alcoholism were joined in the public's perception of the 94th House with news that a major federal contractor, the Northrop Corporation, maintained a facility on Maryland's eastern shore for the entertainment of members of Congress and others. Among those hosted was Albert. Eighteen members were identified and all denied they were influenced in any way by the largess of Northrop and other government contractors who shared the facility. While the legislative performance of the House seemed to suffer from both a passion for reformism and an inattentiveness by the leadership, the public perception of the Speaker's domain was likely primarily influenced by the real or potential scandals.²⁵

Corrupt or not, Otto Passman chaired the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations for his eleventh term in the 94th Congress. Thanks to the December 1974 passage of the foreign aid authorization bill for fiscal 1975, Passman's subcommittee did not deliver an appropriation report until March 1975, over eight months into the fiscal year. Aid to Turkey over its Cyprus incursion held off that authorization. The fiscal 1976 authorization was held up by the decision to produce two authorization bills, one for economic aid and the other for military aid, by Ford Administration delays in making its requests, and by Congress' attempt to write restrictions on the administration in its military authorization. Passman's subcommittee proceeded to write an appropriation for fiscal 1976 without waiting on authorization, delivering a committee report on March 1, 1976, again eight months into the fiscal year,

²¹ *San Antonio Express*, April 20, 1975. *The Lawton Constitution*, February 23, 1976. *CQWR*, February 28, 1976, 478. *The New York Times*, May 10, 2008. *The Washington Post*, September 30, 1976. Boettcher, 245-6.

²² *CQWR*, July 24, 1976, 1960. Grossman, 208. Robert Johnson, 230.

²³ *CQWR*, May 8, 1976, 1125; August 21, 1976, 2290.

²⁴ *CQWR*, June 9, 1976, 1624; October 30, 1976, 3108.

²⁵ *CQWR*, February 14, 1976, 345-7. Others hosted included military personnel and civilian officials in the Department of Defense, the contractors being defense oriented.

but nearly four months before the military authorization was enacted. The appropriation bill cleared Congress one day before the end of the fiscal year. The fiscal 1977 process was more timely, enactment was only three months into the fiscal year.²⁶

As always, Passman's committee cut the administration's foreign aid requests – by 38% for fiscal 1975, 14% for fiscal 1976, and 15% for fiscal 1977. Congressional Quarterly summed up the Louisianan's efforts:

He has defended his subcommittee's deep cuts in the appropriations with a remarkable memory for facts and figures and with what has come to be known jokingly as the "Passman dance," a term used to describe his oratorical combination of rapid-fire delivery and vigorous gestures. He once justified the switch in his foreign aid voting record by explaining that it was his job "to remove the fat from the program" but not to kill it against the will of Congress. While he grudgingly voted for the appropriations themselves, not until 1976 did Passman vote for a single bill authorizing foreign aid. In March, he voted in favor of the fiscal 1976 foreign military aid authorization (HR 11963). Passman has been friendlier toward military assistance than to economic aid and the organizations that dispense it, such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and the Agency for International Development (AID). He once said that such agencies were created by "tens of thousands of fat cats ... drawing big salaries, flying all over the world, who did not want to lose their jobs, so they started cooking up fancy names such as Peace Corps, AID, IADB and so forth in the belief that if you put one of those fancy names on it, it would be easy to sell to Mr. and Mrs. America."²⁷

Evins finally became chair of a standing committee when Small Business was raised to permanent status. He was now in his seventh term as chair. Temporary or not, Small Business had kept up a constant stream of studies, reports, and recommendations, and Evins became a go-to for members wanting to help small business. There was no substantial shift in the operations of the Committee as a result in the change of its status.

Evins had also become chair of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works in 1971 after five years as chair of the Subcommittee on Independent Offices and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Between the Tennessean and fellow classmate Robert Jones of the adjacent Alabama district and new chair of the Public Works and Transportation Committee, they largely controlled public works funding in the United States. *The Almanac of American Politics* opined in its 1976 edition that pork barrel politics was "slightly less important" to "the new breed liberal Democrats" who were "not going to rise or fall because he did or did not obtain a new post office building." The operative word was "slightly" and the statement applied, if it did at all, to a minority of representatives. With respect to Jones, *The Almanac* confirmed the importance of the pork barrel and the Alabaman's devotion to it. Public works appropriations totaled about \$12 billion in each of the two sessions of the 94th Congress.²⁸

The pattern of Jones's introductions of bills followed that of Olin Teague, when the latter became chair of Veterans' Affairs. Jones' sponsorship of public bills jumped from 40 in the 93rd Congress, which was already a personal best for the Alabaman, to 89 in the 94th. And 79 were to Public Works, compared to 14 in the 93rd. Jones had never been the first sponsor of more than three bills in a congress which were reported by a House committee. In the 94th, the number was 18. Eleven of these passed both houses, but only eight became law. Ford vetoed HR 12, which was a bill to provide for protection of foreign missions

²⁶ "Fiscal 1975 Foreign Aid," *CQ Almanac 1975*, on-line. "Congress Passes Compromise Military Aid Bill," "Fiscal 1976 Foreign Aid: \$5.2-Billion," and "\$5.1-Billion 1977 Foreign Aid Bill Approved" *CQ Almanac 1976*, on-line.

²⁷ *CQWR*, August 21, 1976, 2290.

²⁸ Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews (1975), 12, 802. "Appropriations, 1975 Overview," "Continuing Appropriations," and "1976 Supplemental: \$2.3-Billion for New York," *CQ Almanac 1975*, on-line. "Budget and Appropriations 1976: Overview," *CQ Almanac 1976*, on-line.

and to increase the numbers of the Secret Service. He also vetoed HR 5247 authorizing a local public works program. HR 14360 to provide funds for work on the Kennedy Center in Washington failed of conference.

Teague's personal popularity helped preserve his chairship, but he had already demonstrated how to navigate the changing climate by convening the returning Democrats of Science and Technology on, appropriately, a boat on the Potomac. With the strengthening of subcommittees looming and a slew of new Democrats destined for the Committee as party ratios were adjusted to reflect the two-to-one dominance of the Party in the House, Teague offered an opportunity for the returning members to structure the subcommittees and their jurisdictions. The group effort resulted in the Party Caucus ratifying the decisions of the boaters without objection.²⁹

The attack on Israel by a coalition of Arab states on Yom Kippur 1973 and the active support of Israel by the United States had led to a five-month oil embargo by major Arab oil producers. Pres. Nixon had called for shorter school and work hours, the reduction of commercial flights, lower heating temperatures, lower highway speeds and carpooling, year-round daylight savings time, more nuclear plants, and the Alaska pipeline. The Committee on Science and Technology found itself with a charge to address energy issues, which two of its subcommittees tackled. Teague now pushed for Federal funds to subsidize the development of synthetic fuels and threatened to tie up adjournment of the second session if the Rules Committee did not give HR 12112 a rule. He got his rule but the complicated bill failed 192-193. Teague's HR 13350 to authorize funding for nuclear power development passed both houses, but the 94th Congress ended before conferees resolved differences. Senate aides blamed Teague for the delay due to his focusing on HR 12112.³⁰

Teague had greater success in reestablishing an Office of Science and Technology in the White House. Nixon eliminated the Office, and Teague was determined to recreate it now that Ford was President. A history of the Committee of Science and Technology gives a detailed accounting of what was a successful but laborious effort for Teague. As opposed to the more targeted and immediate money bills of HR 12112 and HR 13350, the development of an Office of Science and Technology had a generalized and longer-term payoff. Teague could be criticized for so much attention to a less pressing need, but the thoroughness with which he built the case was a testament to a global view of America's need for governmental direction and support in the areas of science and technology.³¹

Teague retained his seat on Veterans' Affairs, as Ray Roberts of Texas moved over him to replace the departing Bryan Dorn of South Carolina as Chair. Teague left the Subcommittee on Hospitals and transferred his subcommittee chairship from Compensation, Pension and Insurance to Education and Training.

Teague also remained on the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. Melvin Price's move to Chair of Armed Services removed himself from the Chair. John Flynt of Georgia moved up from the fourth seat to Chair, while Price's moving down to second seat bumped Teague down to third. The Committee was called on to deal with the financial misconduct of Robert Sikes (D FL), who sponsored legislation to remove restrictions on land he owned an interest in. Sikes failed to disclose this as well as other financial holdings. The Committee recommended a reprimand, which the House passed 381-3. Teague was one of

²⁹ Thomas Murphy, 200. Hechler, 714-7.

³⁰ Perlstein, 197. *CQWR*, August 28, 1976, 2341; September 18, 1976, 2503-4; October 16, 1976, 2992.

³¹ [Hechler], 612-27.

the three votes against, keeping consistent his reluctance to punish his fellow representatives unless they were Adam Powell.³²

Teague remained active in sponsoring veterans legislation, putting his name on 47 bills in the 94th Congress, on 25 of which he was the first sponsor. One, HR 8507, a very minor bill, was enacted. Science and Technology, however, drew more of his attention. He was a sponsor of 63 bills, 43 as first sponsor. Eight of these latter were enacted. Six were bills to authorize appropriations. Two other authorization bills passed both houses but failed of enactment. HR 13350 we have already mentioned. The other, HR 12567, to authorize appropriations for the Federal Fire Prevention and Control Act, was vetoed. HR 10230 established the science and technology office. HR 8674 set a national policy of converting to the metric system but carried no requirement to do so.

Burleson was the one member of the remaining six of the Class of '46 who held no leadership or chairship. He was chair of House Administration from the 84th through the 89th Congresses before giving it up as a thankless task to take a seat on Ways and Means. Wayne Hays would turn House Administration into a powerful fiefdom from the 92nd to the 94th Congresses, while Burleson worked his way up in Ways and Means. In the 94th the Texan became eighth in seniority among Democrats on the Committee with a retirement and then seventh when Richard Fulton of Tennessee left the House on August 14, 1975, to become the Mayor of Nashville. Burleson was appointed to the new Budget Committee, which he entered in the tenth seat. Apart from his aforementioned futile effort to cut spending targets, his public accomplishment in the 94th was passage of HR 7706, a bill to suspend the duty on natural graphite, an important lubricant in drilling for oil.

In overall seniority, Burleson, Evins, Passman, and Albert tied for 12th. Robert Jones was 16th. Teague was 11th. The most senior member of the House was Wright Patman, now deposed as Chair of Banking and Currency, who began his service in 1929. The 29 most senior members of the House were Democrats.

About 1975, Carl and Mary Albert moved their Washington address out of the District to Arlington, Virginia. When first elected, they sublet a suite in the Jefferson Apartments on 16th Street Northwest, but soon moved to an apartment in the Dorchester House at 16th and Kalorama Road. In 1954 they were staying at 800 Barnaby Street Southeast, four stories of flats. The next session it was 5115 Allen Terrace Northwest. They moved to a two story rowhouse at 3312 Cathedral Avenue Northwest by 1959. Their children could walk to school from there. Two years later they were staying at 4614 Reno Road Northwest, a two-story detached house. After seven years they moved to a two-bedroom ground-floor apartment at 4000 Massachusetts Avenue Northwest. This was reported as helpful after his heart attack, but by 1971 they were at 4101 Cathedral Avenue Northwest on the eleventh floor. From there they moved to Arlington. It was reported in July 1975 that the Albert's apartment had water damage from heavy rains. Since the last DC abode was on the eleventh floor, that report probably pertained to the Arlington address and suggested a ground floor unit in the eight-story building. One might speculate that moving out of the District after at least eight addresses there was a preparation for a more permanent post-House accommodation as perhaps a lobbyist.³³

³² *CQ Almanac* 1976, 30.

³³ Residential addresses are reported in the *Congressional Directory*. Albert with Goble, 150, 189. Albert reported the Jefferson Apartments as the Jefferson Hotel. The conversion to the Hotel was in 1955; jeffersondc.com. *The*

Lobbying was a favored activity for many ex-representatives, particularly for those of longer tenure. Glenn Davis, denied renomination by the Republicans in his Wisconsin district in 1974, took up the practice with Potter International, founded and run by Charles Potter, a Republican member of the Class of '46 from Michigan, who spent three terms in the House and a term in the Senate. Davis would remain with the firm until 1983.³⁴

Other ex-representatives depended on political appointments. Republican Thor Tollefson, who was defeated for reelection to the House in 1964, spent the subsequent ten years as director of fisheries for the State of Washington, retiring in 1975.³⁵

Republican Norris Cotton, who retired from the Senate in 1974, returned to the upper house on appointment for sixteen days in September 1975. The contest for Cotton's vacated seat in November 1974 resulted in the New Hampshire Secretary of State declaring Democrat John Durkin the winner by ten votes. This was overruled by the State Ballot Commission, who awarded Republican Louis Wyman the win by two votes. The Senate finally on July 30 declared the seat vacant. Cotton was appointed to the vacancy by the Governor on August 8 but, the Senate being in recess, was not sworn in until September 2. A special election on September 16 returned Durkin by a good margin and Cotton re-retired.³⁶

The ex-representatives in the Class were largely finished with the pursuit of new electoral positions, but some of their offspring were weighing in. Mac Davis, 24, won the Republican nomination for the Wisconsin Assembly in 1976, defeating the previous nominee, but losing to the incumbent Democrat. Davis's father was Glenn Davis, who served a term in the Assembly, shortened by his enlistment in the Navy in 1942.³⁷

Mississippi Democrat John Bell Williams left the House in 1968 to become Governor, completing his term in 1972. In the 1976 presidential election he endorsed Republican Gerald Ford.³⁸

Florence Sarbacher, widow of Republican George Sarbacher, who served one term in the House, remarried in 1976. George died in 1973. Florence was 58 or 59.³⁹

Patricia Nixon suffered a stroke on July 6, 1976, at the age of 64. She would not appear in a public event again until November 1979.⁴⁰

Olin Teague also suffered a stroke. His was in summer 1975. He was 65. He had to take to an electric wheelchair to get around the House.⁴¹

Daisy Minnich Burke died on February 17, 1976, in Hamilton, Ohio, at age 92. She was the widow of Raymond Burke, who served one term in the House and died in 1954. She left a son.⁴²

Ruth Magill Foote, 75, died November 17, 1976. She left her husband, Ellsworth Foote, who had represented New Haven County, Connecticut, for one term, and four children.⁴³

Lawton Constitution, October 4, 1966; February 16, 1970. *The Daily Times-News* (Burlington), November 28, 1973. *Playground Daily News*, July 15, 1975.

³⁴ *Waukesha Freeman*, January 3, 1976.

³⁵ *The Daily News* (Port Angeles), May 4, 1975.

³⁶ "The Election Case of John A. Durkin v. Louis C. Wyman of New Hampshire (1975)."

³⁷ *Wisconsin State Journal*, May 22, 1976. *Waukesha Freeman*, September 29, November 3, 1976.

³⁸ *The Delta Democrat-Times*, October 31, 1976.

³⁹ HayGenealogy.com.

⁴⁰ Anthony, 205, 262.

⁴¹ [Hechler], 637. Smith and Burka, 113.

⁴² *The Journal News*, February 19, 1976.

⁴³ *The Bridgeport Post*, January 20, 1977.

Marjorie Thomas Twyman, wife of Robert Twyman of Chicago, who served one term in the House, died May 24, 1975, at home in Palm Beach, Florida, at age 77. Robert died a year later on June 28, 1976, in West Palm Beach. He was 79. They left two children.⁴⁴

Kenneth Keating died May 5, 1975, in New York City a month after a heart attack. He returned from his post as Ambassador to Israel on March 31. He left the House in 1958 for the Senate, serving there until defeat in 1966. He was 74, leaving a wife of less than a year and his daughter from his first marriage.⁴⁵

Wint Smith died in Wichita, Kansas, on April 27, 1976 at 83. It was reported that he was stricken by a blood clot and that he died following surgery for cancer. His wife, Blanche Kingsley Smith, survived. After his retirement from the House in 1960 he took up a long hobby of the collecting of antiques.⁴⁶

Carroll Kearns, 76, died in Meadville, Pennsylvania, on June 11, 1976. He served in the House until denied renomination in 1962. His wife Nora Lynch Kearns survived. His congressional biography says that he went into manufacturing after he left the House.⁴⁷

David Potts died on September 11, 1976, in Bronxville, New York, of an apparent stroke. He served one term in the House and was a senior partner at Kadel, Wilson & Potts, attorneys, at death at age 70. His wife Elizabeth Crighton Potts and two children survived.⁴⁸

On December 26, 1976, John Brophy died in Milwaukee of cancer. He served one term in the House and retired in 1969 from sales and public relations activities. Marie Pechauer Brophy survived. Dying at age 75, he was the 46th member of the Class of '46 to pass.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, May 25, 1975. Florida Death Index. *Palm Beach Post*, June 30, 1976.

⁴⁵ *Times Record*, April 22, 1975. "Kenneth Barnard Keating," at History.State.gov.

⁴⁶ *The Belleville Telescope*, April 29, May 6, September 23, 1976. *The Emporia Gazette*, April 27, 1976.

⁴⁷ *The New York Times*, June 13, 1976.

⁴⁸ *The New York Times*, September 12, 1976.

⁴⁹ Marie Brophy stone, Mount Olivet Cemetery, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.