

Chapter 45 - Epilogue

By the departures of Democrats Omar Burleson and Olin Teague of Texas from the House on December 31, 1978, a date chosen to maximize salary and retirement payments, most of the members of the Class of '46, 59 of 109, were still alive. Thirty of these survivors left the House in defeat, 18 in 1948 (though three of these returned later, to be ousted again). Twenty-nine left on their own power, eleven to seek the Senate or a governorship. Eighteen voluntarily gave up what most Americans think is national power, but thirteen of these had served at least 20 years in the House, a good run of some influence. Of the remaining five, Thruston Morton of Kentucky and Jacob Javits of New York were later elected to the Senate. The Class of '46 was not a retiring bunch.

In 1979, 74-year-old Republican Jacob Javits still sat in the US Senate, the only one of the Class remaining in high public office. In the Senate since 1957, he was diagnosed in 1979 with amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS) and would lose the 1980 Republican primary for renomination.¹

Javits was not the oldest surviving member of the Class by far. Frederick Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania turned 92 in 1979, his one term in the House long in the past. His last public office, chair of the Berks County Planning Commission, ended in 1972. He would die on January 19, 1980, in Reading short of his 93rd birthday.

George Smathers of Florida would figuratively bury Muhlenberg and all the other members of the Class, outliving his nearest competitor by seventeen months. Smathers would die on January 20, 2007, at the age of 93. Smathers continued his legal practice as primarily a lobbyist. In 1987 the firm he and Jack Thompson opened in 1946 in Miami merged with the much larger Kelley, Drye and Warren, based in New York. Smathers still remained a partner in two other firms, one in Jacksonville, Florida, and one in Washington. His death outside Miami followed a stroke five days earlier.

The remaining lives of the Class of '46 can be summarized as follows:

Charles Potter of Michigan spent his last twenty years running a consulting firm for American and foreign companies. He also was a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission from the Eisenhower to Carter administrations, a continuing public service. He died November 23, 1979, at age 62 of an apparent heart attack in the District of Columbia. Second wife Mary Bryant Potter survived.²

E.A. Mitchell of Indiana remained in food production and distribution as owner of Hesmer Foods until his death on December 11, 1979, at age 69 in Evansville, but he had been ill for eight months. Second wife Elizabeth Dodge Mitchell survived. His last known public service was attacking House Democratic Majority Leader Hale Boggs in a men's room in 1971.³

William McCulloch of Ohio resumed the active practice of law as principal partner of McCulloch, Felger, Fite and Gutman in Piqua on his retirement from the House in 1973, but it seems he never really returned home. On February 19, 1980, he came down with pneumonia and his heart failed him three days later at the age of 78, dying in Washington. He left wife Mabel Harris McCulloch and a legacy of support for equal rights for black Americans.⁴

¹ "Biography," Javits Papers.

² *Detroit Free Press*, November 27, 1979. ABMC.gov. *The State Journal*, November 26, 1979. Mary Elizabeth Potter stone, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Virginia.

³ *The Indianapolis Star*, December 13, 1979.

⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, February 23, 1980.

Dayton Phillips of Tennessee served as a judge of chancery court until his death on October 23, 1980, in Kingsport, where he was attending a rally for Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan. An apparent heart attack felled him at age 70. Wife Jessie Hill Phillips survived.⁵

Teague, who dominated veterans assistance and the manned space program for many years in the House, died on January 23, 1981, at age 71, two years after leaving Congress. He never really left DC, dying in Bethesda Naval Hospital from a heart attack, kidney failure, and complications from diabetes. He was hospitalized on and off for the previous six months. Wife Freddie Dunman Teague survived.⁶

Donald Jackson of California also remained at DC after completing service as a member on the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1972. He died at Bethesda on May 27, 1981, at age 71, Shirley Connell Jackson surviving.

Robert Tripp Ross of New York, with only one term and a part of another in the House, did return home to Jackson Heights in Queens, where he died on October 1, 1981, at age 78. Wife Claire Wynn Ross survived. After death he traveled even farther to his birthplace in Washington, North Carolina, where he was buried. Until 1968 he was vice-president of Merchandising Apparel Company. His last apparent public service was as Assistant Borough Commissioner for Works in Queens In 1958.⁷

William Dawson, on leaving the House in 1958, returned to Utah to become president of the State Bank of Kearns. He announced for Utah's Republican National Committeeman in 1961 but withdrew from the contest. Dawson died on November 7, 1981, at age 77, and was buried in Kaysville. Wife Gladys Norton Dawson survived.⁸

James Scoblick of Pennsylvania died on December 4, 1981, in Archbald at age 72, leaving wife Mary Quinn Scoblick. It is unclear what he did for a living after his parole in 1958.⁹

James Davis of Georgia resumed an active law practice after losing the Democratic nomination for the House in 1962. Having spent nearly as much energy opposing equal rights as McCulloch did supporting it, he also was a mover behind starting *The Atlanta Times* as a segregationist alternative to the more moderate *The Atlanta Constitution* and served as the paper's publisher in 1964 and 1965, which was the life of the newspaper. He died in Atlanta on December 18, 1981, at age 86.

Horace Seely-Brown of Connecticut died in Florida on April 9, 1982, at age 73, leaving wife Rosalie Slack Seely-Brown. He had had a winter home in Delray Beach for over 25 years. In and out of the House three separate times, after his last departure in 1963 and the concomitant failure to be elected to the Senate, he made flurries on attempts to receive another Senate nomination in 1964 and let it be known he was available for governor in 1966, but his last public service was a member of the State's 1982

⁵ *The Anniston Star*, October 24, 1980. *Elizabeth Star*, September 30, 1999. Phillips married Jessie in 1958. On his death it was reported that he was survived by two sons and two daughters. Jessie had two sons from a previous marriage. Phillips had had a previous relationship with Ruth Griffin, but it is unclear that there was a marriage. Griffin had had two daughters during that period but also other relationships. "Dayton Edward Phillips," Ruth Griffin Wingo and Jessie Lynn Phillips at findagrave.com.

⁶ *The Austin American-Statesman*, January 24, 1981. Freddie D. Teague stone, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington Virginia.

⁷ Claire W. Kelly stone, Our Lady Queen of Peace Cemetery, Royal Palm Beach, Florida.

⁸ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, March 1, 1959; October 14, 1961. Gladys Norton Dawson stone, Kaysville City Cemetery, Kaysville, Utah.

⁹ *The Courier* (Connellsville), February 14, 1958. Mary M. Scoblick stone, Our Mother of Sorrows Cemetery, Carbondale, Pennsylvania.

constitutional convention. He raised apples and peaches as operator of Seely-Brown Orchards in Pomfret Center until his death and was buried there.¹⁰

Thruston Morton, raised in the grain and milling business, was cast adrift when the business was sold to Pillsbury, but then served on various business boards, including that of Churchill Downs. He never really escaped politics. After quitting the House in 1953, he became the congressional liaison for the State Department, then was elected to the Senate and served as chair of the Republican National Committee during that tenure. Retiring from the Senate in 1969, he became co-chair of the Citizens Committee for Postal Reform. On his death on August 14, 1982, at age 74, the *Britannica Book of the Year* described his “towering figure in state politics.” *The Courier-Journal* lauded him as “a thoughtful advocate of moderate policies” as well as “a tough-talking Republican partisan.” The paper quoted him as saying that his one regret was leaving the House. “I love the House. It’s a much more responsive body, much more interesting. Among 435 guys, you find much more camaraderie, more guys you like.” Morton died just short of his 75th birthday at home in Louisville. Wife Belle Lyons Morton survived.¹¹

Thor Tollefson, a victim of the Goldwater candidacy after 18 years in the House, died in Tacoma on December 30, 1982, at age 81. Wife Eva Keuss Tollefson survived. He said he turned down offers from three law firms and a shipping line to lobby for them and returned to Washington to be the State’s Director of Fisheries, a position he held until 1975.¹²

Glen Johnson’s House career ended after one term when he failed spectacularly to get the Democratic nomination for the Senate from Oklahoma. Pres. Harry Truman appointed him to the National Mediation Board, then as head of National Production Authority for Oklahoma. After the Eisenhower drought, he got a job with the Department of the Interior in DC. Pres. Lyndon Johnson made him chair of the Oil Import Appeals Board. His public service ended in 1972 as an attorney for the Department of the Interior back in Oklahoma. He died of congestive heart failure on February 10, 1983, in Okemah at age 72. Wife Imogene Storms Johnson survived.¹³

John Bell Williams of Mississippi returned to his law practice after the end of his tenure as Governor in 1972. The “Mississippi Democrat” remained politically active, supporting Republican presidential candidates Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Ronald Reagan. After “several heart attacks and open-heart surgery,” the divorcé was found dead at home in Brandon on March 26, 1983, at age 64.¹⁴

Katherine St. George of New York, the one remaining woman of the two members of the Class of ’46, died at home in Tuxedo Park on May 2, 1983, at age 86. Another victim of the Goldwater candidacy in November 1964, the next month she joined in the founding of the American Conservative Union and was named a member of the initial board of directors. Active as a member of Congress in the Interparliamentary Union, she remained on its executive committee after the end of her House career and then as an honorary member until 1977.¹⁵

Harold Youngblood had relocated in 1958 from Michigan to Arizona, where he failed to get the Republican nomination to return to the House. He served one term, and his Arizona failure was his fifth attempt to return. He started a plumbing business in Tucson but by 1979 relied on his church to fix the

¹⁰ *The Hartford Courant*, April 11, 1982; April 7, 1999. *The New York Times*, April 11, 1982.

¹¹ *The Courier-Journal*, April 17, 1952; August 15, 1982; June 10, 1995. *CQWR*, July 18, 1969, 1279. Daume, 117.

¹² Eva M. Tollefson stone, Mountain View Memorial Park, Lakewood, Washington. Tollefson interview (1974), 81. *The Daily News* (Port Angeles), May 4, 1975.

¹³ Burke and Franks. *Durant Daily Democrat*, September 18, 2011.

¹⁴ *The Delta Democrat-Times*, November 5, 1972; October 31, 1976. *The Los Angeles Times*, April 2, 1983. *Clarion-Ledger*, March 27, 1983.

¹⁵ *CQWR*, January 1, 1965, 13.

roof of his home. He died in Tucson on May 10, 1983, at age 75. Wife Jennie Highstreet Youngblood survived.¹⁶

John Carroll of Colorado left the House in 1950 for a failed run for the Senate. He failed again in 1954 but won in 1956, serving a single term, being defeated for reelection 1962. In private life he practiced law in Denver, from which he retired in 1968. Arterial sclerosis claimed him on August 31, 1983, age 82. Wife Dorothy Doyle Carroll had died the previous year.¹⁷

Joe Evins of Tennessee, who capped a thirty-year House career with a domination of public works appropriations, died in Nashville of a heart attack on March 31, 1984, at age 72. Wife Ann Smartt Evins had died the previous year when she drove her car into an exit sign on I-40. All House members try to look after their districts, but Evins was particularly remarkable. Evins was also the most influential member of the Class of '46 that few ever heard of – in public works and in patronage.¹⁸

Harold Donohue of Massachusetts, a quiet member of the House for 28 years, died quietly on November 4, 1984, at age 83 in Worcester. On his retirement, Congressional Quarterly noted he was “a politician of the old school, paying close attention to constituents’ needs and not making many headlines on the national scene.” The *Nashua Telegraph* opined that “he guards his philosophy carefully.” The *Sun* described, “The taciturn elder statesman who rarely speaks because ‘what you don’t say you don’t have to take back up’” Never married, he was survived by a brother.¹⁹

Abe Goff of Idaho returned to his law practice in Moscow after his 1948 defeat, but then failed to get the Republican nomination for a Senate seat in 1950. The Eisenhower Administration gave him a job in the Post Office Department and then an appointment to the Interstate Commerce Commission, where he served until 1967. He died in Moscow on November 23, 1984, at age 84. Wife Florence Richardson Goff survived.²⁰

Preston Peden of Oklahoma was ousted in the Democratic primary in 1948. The House Committee on Public Lands put him on staff, then the Truman Administration gave him a job in the Department of Interior in Alaska. In 1950 he returned as a House staffer. When the Republicans took the House in 1953, he took over a farm in Maryland. In 1954 he became a lobbyist for the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry and moved his residence to Illinois. Retiring from that in 1980, he moved to California, where he died on June 27, 1985, at age 70. Wife Ursula Wendt Peden survived.²¹

Charles Fletcher remained president of Home Federal Savings & Loan in San Diego during his one term in the House. He moved to chair of the board of directors in 1959. Fletcher remained active in Republican matters at least until 1968, but his last public office was as a member of the California Commission on Correctional Facilities and Services in 1957. Fletcher died of cancer in San Diego on September 29, 1985, at age 82, Jeannette Toberman Fletcher surviving.²²

¹⁶ *Arizona Daily Star*, October 26, 1979; August 30, 1994.

¹⁷ “Biographical/Historical,” Carroll Papers. *The New York Times*, September 3, 1983. Dorothy R. Carroll stone, Fort Logan National Cemetery, Denver, Colorado.

¹⁸ *Eugene Register-Guard*, February 19, 1971. *The Daily Sentinel*, January 4, 1983.

¹⁹ *CQWR*, February 23, 1974, 415. *Nashua Telegraph*, March 4, 1974. *The Sun* (Lowell), December 29, 1974. *The Ledger*, November 7, 1984.

²⁰ “Biographical Note,” Goff Papers. Florence Richardson Goff stone, Moscow Cemetery, Moscow, Idaho.

²¹ California Death Index. Social Security Death Index.

²² *San Mateo Times and Daily News-Leader*, April 27, 1956. *Chula Vista Star-News*, September 20, 1956; August 30, 1962. *Humboldt Standard*, February 4, 1964. *Redlands Daily Facts*, May 4, 1964. *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, August 2, 1964. *Independent-Press-Telegram*, February 25, 1968. “Charles Kimball Fletcher,” Wikipedia.org. EdandMaryFletcher.com.

John Davis Lodge left the House in 1950 to become Governor of Connecticut. Denied reelection four years later, he served as the Ambassador to Spain until displaced by the Kennedy Administration. He failed to win the Republican nomination for the Senate in 1962 and, after getting the nomination in 1964, failed of election. He served in the State's constitutional convention in 1965, and Pres. Nixon appointed him Ambassador to Argentina in 1969. Pres. Reagan sent Lodge as Ambassador to Switzerland and as a delegate to the United Nations in 1983. He died in New York City on October 29, 1985, of an apparent heart attack suffered while speaking to the Women's National Republican Club. He was 82. Francesca Braggiotti Lodge survived.²³

Javits died on March 7, 1986, at age 83, in West Palm Beach, Florida, from a heart attack while on vacation. Second wife Marian Boris Javits survived. *The New York Times* wrote that he was "one of the most respected and influential figures in the nation," "instrumental in composing and helping to enact legislation on foreign affairs, urban redevelopment, civil rights, organized labor and big business."²⁴ Most of this was in the Senate after his departure from the House in 1954.

Howes Meade of Kentucky died in Lexington on June 2, 1986, at age 74. Wife Laura Neel Meade survived. An owner of radio and television stations, he made an attempt at the governorship in 1951, but failed to get the Republican nomination. His early support for Eisenhower got him an appointment as the Federal Housing Administrator in Kentucky, but he held it for only six months. Later he rejoined the agency. During the Johnson Administration, the Republican Governor of Kentucky made him his Commissioner of Personnel and then appointed him to the Workman's Compensation Board.²⁵

Edward Garmatz' 26 years in the House from Baltimore left him with a prosecution for bribery, which was dropped when prosecutors discovered their key witness was lying. It resulted from the Representative's closeness to the shipping industry, which he coddled as chair of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. He died of lung cancer in Baltimore on July 22, 1986, at age 83, Ruth Burchard Garmatz surviving.²⁶

Abraham Multer of New York, despite leaving the House at the end of 1967 for a State judgeship, almost held the record for the numbers of bills and resolutions introduced by a member of the Class of '46 – 2092. Teague, who had the advantage of twelve more years in the House, the allowance of co-sponsorship in his last ten years, and domination of committee bills as chair, topped Multer with 2173. In third place was Donahue with 895. And Multer, who never achieved a prominent institutional position, saw only 40 of his introductions enacted, 23 being private bills. Teague, with the advantage of chairships, had 251 enacted, 159 of them public bills. Multer's batting average was 0.019, Teague's was 0.116, and Donahue's was 0.034. Multer retired from the supreme court position on reaching the mandatory age limit but then served five years as a special referee in the Brooklyn appellate courts. He died two years after the end of that service on November 4, 1986, in Hartford Connecticut, at a nursing home, at age 86. Wife Bertha Leff Multer survived.²⁷

Republican Claude Bakewell of Missouri lost out in 1948, returned to the House in 1951 in a special election only to be unseated again in 1952. Six years later President Eisenhower made him postmaster of

²³ *The New York Times*, October 30, 1985; March 8, 1998.

²⁴ *The New York Times*, March 8, 1986.

²⁵ Johnston County, Kentucky, Historical and Genealogical Society. *The Courier-Journal*, April 17, 1951; January 6, 1952; May 12, 1954.

²⁶ *The New York Times*, July 24, 1986.

²⁷ *The New York Times*, November 7, 1986. Multer.com. Enactments include only bills and resolutions for which Teague was the first sponsor.

St. Louis, where he remained through Democratic Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter, only to be forced out during the Reagan Administration. He died five years later on March 18, 1987, of emphysema at home in University City, Missouri, at age 64. Wife Helene Brown Bakewell survived.²⁸

Albert Reeves, another Missourian, returned to his Kansas City law practice after one term in the House but moved to San Francisco in 1958 to become a vice-president of Utah Construction and Mining. He retired to San Diego County and died there on April 15, 1987, at age 80. Wife Eleanor Glassner Reeves survived.²⁹

Monroe Redden of North Carolina left the House after three terms to practice law with his sons in Hendersonville. In 1987 he had surgery for colon cancer, then suffered a stroke and died on December 16 at age 86 at home.³⁰

Otto Passman of Louisiana was acquitted of bribery, conspiracy, and tax evasion in 1979, three years after losing the Democratic primary for his sixteenth term. The Supreme Court ruled also in 1979 that Passman could be sued for gender discrimination and he settled with the plaintiff. He still had his numerous business interests but was done with politics. The foreign aid program had to limp along without his opposition and support. Wife Willie Bateman Passman died in 1984 and Otto married his secretary, 25 years his junior, the next year. He died at age 88 on August 13, 1988, in Monroe from a heart attack.³¹

Glenn Davis, another victim of the primary, but a 1974 Republican one in Wisconsin, passed on Pres. Ford's offer of an appointment to the Federal Election Commission and became a consultant for Charles Potter's lobbying firm. He retired from that in 1983 and battled leukemia for many years, dying on September 21, 1988, at home in Arlington, Virginia, at age 73. Wife Dr. Kathryn MacFarlane Davis survived.³²

James Patterson of Connecticut died on February 7, 1989, in hospital in Camden, New Jersey, at age 80. Wife Jeanne Kinsman Patterson survived. He remained a resident of Connecticut, moving from Naugatuck to Watertown to Bethlehem. His plumbing supply and builders supply companies were in Waterbury. After he lost reelection to the House in 1958, he failed in attempts to return in 1960, 1962, and 1970.³³

Norris Cotton at 80 married his long-time housekeeper two years after his 85-year-old first wife died. The new bride was only three years younger than the long-time Senator. He died nine years later from pneumonia on February 24, 1989, at home in Lebanon, New Hampshire. Eleanor Coolidge Cotton survived. After ending his Senate career in 1975 he held a few seminars at Dartmouth College for a year.³⁴

Don Wheeler of Georgia lost the Democratic nomination for the House in 1954 and then again in 1956 and 1958. And then he lost it for the Senate in 1972. His last apparent public office was as John Bell

²⁸ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 19, 1987.

²⁹ *The Los Angeles Times*, April 19 & 20, 1987.

³⁰ *The Times-News*, December 17, 1987. *Asheville Citizen*, December 17, 1987.

³¹ "Inventory," Passman Collection. *Albuquerque Journal*, August 14, 1988. *CQWR*, June 9, 1979, 1103-4; September 22, 1979, 2050. *The Times*, January 24, 1984. "Otto Passman," Wikipedia.org.

³² *Waukesha Freeman*, December 2, 1974. His House biography gives August, his biographer September. Kevin Smith, 365. *The New York Times*, September 22, 1988.

³³ *The New York Times*, February 9, 1989. Jeanne Kinsman Patterson stone, Saint Francis Cemetery, Naugatuck, Connecticut.

³⁴ Eleanor Coolidge Brown stone, Pine Crest Cemetery, Charlestown, New Hampshire. *The New York Times*, February 25, 1989. Cotton, 30.

Williams's assistant director of the Mississippi Highway Safety Program. Death came on May 5, 1989, in Alma at age 73. Wife Aubee Reeves Wheeler survived.³⁵

Wingate Lucas served four terms in the House as a Democrat from Texas before losing the primary in 1954. He resumed his law practice but as a counsel on government relations, first to Sears Roebuck, Inc., and then to General Electric. These jobs brought him to New York City and to a home in Greenwich, Connecticut. His conservatism brought him to acting as secretary-treasurer for Sigma Chi Brothers for Barry Goldwater in 1964. In 1966 he relocated to Bristol, Tennessee, as executive director of the Mid-Appalachia College Council until 1986. He died in Bristol on May 26, 1989, at age 81.³⁶

Gregory McMahon of New York, after one term and two failures to return, stuck with his accounting and tax consulting business until his retirement in 1981. He died in a nursing home on Long Island on June 27, 1989, at age 74. Wife Juliette Schall McMahon survived.³⁷

Charles Russell washed out of the House after one term but was elected the Governor of Nevada two years later, a position he kept for eight years before being ousted in 1958. The Eisenhower Administration then sent him to Paraguay as the Director of International Cooperation, where he remained for four years. He became the chief fundraiser for the University of Nevada until retirement at 65. Russell spent his last seven years in a wheelchair, largely from emphysema, dying on September 13, 1989, at age 85 in hospital at Carson City. Wife Marjorie Guild Russell survived.³⁸

The death of Francis Love is the only one of the Class of '46 that is somewhat uncertain. His congressional biography lists only a month of death, October in 1989, when he would have been 88. His second wife Enid Nesselroad Love, whom he married in 1953, survived. The *Congressional Record* for 1989 and 1990 indexes no remembrance in the House for him. Love family websites list October without a day. The congressional biography also lists his burial at Cadiz Union Cemetery in Cadiz, Ohio, but neither findagrave.com nor peoplelegacy.com list him among their extensive burials there, although the latter lists his first wife Pearl and the former does not. Pearl's West Virginia death certificate records her burial at Cadiz Union. The biography does not list a site for his death. Love's one term in the House was followed by biannual attempted returns through 1952. He remained an active Republican, meeting Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin who arrived at Stifel Airport to deliver his address at the Lincoln Day dinner in Wheeling that kicked off his "I have a list of Communists" campaign. Love made a failed run for the Senate in 1966. He was a West Virginia delegate to Republican National Conventions from 1956 to 1972. The 1972 convention seems to have been his final major political activity. Love told a reporter, "I'll go along with Nixon, even though I served in Congress with him and never have been 100 per cent for him," but then vacated his seat and let his alternate cast the vote. He made his living as an attorney.³⁹

Burleson, second to only Teague among the Class in his tenure in the House, outlived the latter by ten years, dying on May 14, 1991. He passed after two months in the hospital at Abilene at age 85. Wife Ruth DeWeese Burleson predeceased him. A very conservative Democrat and arguably a dyed-in-the-wool

³⁵ Aubee L. Wheeler stone, Pine Lawn Memorial Garden, Bacon County, Georgia.

³⁶ *The Bridgeport Post*, October 30, 1964. *Magazine of Sigma Chi* (winter 2002-2003).

³⁷ *The New York Times*, July 1, 1989.

³⁸ *Reno Gazette-Journal*, March 12, September 15, 1989. *The New York Times*, September 15, 1989. Marjorie Guild Russell stone, Dayton Cemetery, Dayton, Nevada.

³⁹ *The Wheeling Intelligencer*, February 10, 1950. Marriage License, Ohio County, West Virginia. Social Security Death Index. *Sunday Gazette-Mail*, August 20, 1972. *The Charleston Daily Mail*, August 24, 1972. Love acted as counsel to Frank Desmond, whose reporting of the speech prompted an investigatory visit by the Tydings committee the next month. *Journal-Every Evening*, March 24, 1950.

bigot if a quiet one, Burleson avoided apostasy while in the House, but in 1984 he allowed his name to be attached to Texans for Reagan.⁴⁰

Ralph Harvey of Indiana came back two years later from the 1958 loss of his House seat to eventually suffer a primary defeat in 1966. After those nine terms he wrapped up his public service with membership on a Forest Appeal Board for the US Department of Agriculture in 1970. He was a lifelong farmer and a partner in a seed company until deciding that he could not do the latter as well as serve in Congress. He died in a hospital after a stroke in his winter home of Fort Lauderdale on November 7, 1991, at age 90. Wife Charline Bowers Harvey survived.⁴¹

John Blatnik of Minnesota served fourteen terms in the House, retired in 1972 after two heart attacks, and died nineteen years later on November 17, 1991, at age 80 from heart failure. He worked as a political consultant and never really returned to Minnesota, dying in Maryland. As responsible as anyone in Congress for efforts to address water pollution issues, much of his consultancy was on environmental matters. His second marriage ended in divorce in 1974. Blatnik's first marriage and child remained hidden. His obituaries in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* as well as his biography on the Minnesota Legislature site do not know of it.⁴²

Edward Devitt's one term in the House brought him appointments, first by Minnesota's Governor, to probate judgeship in 1950, and then in 1954 by Pres. Eisenhower to the Federal bench. He served in the latter capacity until 1981. He also was the co-author of *Federal Jury Practice and Instructions*, a standard reference. He died in St. Paul on March 2, 1992, at age 80. Marcelle LaRose Devitt survived.⁴³

Frank Karsten retired from the House in 1968 at age 55 and became a lobbyist. He had spent 12 years as a congressional staffer and 22 years as a representative. Born in San Antonio, but a resident of St. Louis since the age of twelve and then of Washington for decades as page (maybe), staffer, representative, and lobbyist, it is doubtful if he ever really was a St. Louisian. When he retired, it was to San Antonio where he died on May 14, 1992, at age 79, wife Opal Osborn Karsten surviving.⁴⁴

Republican Caleb Boggs, after six years as a representative, eight years as Governor of Delaware, and twelve years as a Senator, was put out to pasture by Democrat Joseph Biden at the age of 63. He died twenty years later on March 26, 1993, in hospital in Wilmington, having suffered from cancer, diabetes, and other ailments for several years. Elizabeth Muir Boggs had died the previous year.⁴⁵

Richard Nixon's resignation from the presidency in disgrace in 1974, and his protection from prosecution by Pres. Ford were hardly forgotten, but he recovered a level of appreciation over the next twenty years for his competence as President. Disbarred by New York, he published and spoke and recouped. He died in hospital in New York City on April 22, 1994, at age 81 four days after a stroke. Wife Patricia Ryan Nixon had died the previous year.⁴⁶

Republican John Allen, elected from California, lived the longest of the Class of '46, dying on March 7, 1995, at age 95, survived by second wife Sally Clement Allen. Defeated by a narrow margin in 1958, he

⁴⁰ *The Galveston Daily News*, May 16, 1991. Antle, 299.

⁴¹ *The Vidette-Messenger*, May 16, 1970. Harvey, 30-1. *The New York Times*, November 12, 1991.

⁴² *The New York Times*, December 19, 1991. *The Washington Post*, December 18, 1991. Minnesota Legislative Reference Library. *Star-Tribune*, April 10, 2016.

⁴³ *The Bismarck Tribune*, January 7, 1950. "Biography," Devitt Papers. Marcelle Devitt stone, Resurrection Cemetery, Mendota Heights, Minnesota.

⁴⁴ *Abilene Reporter-News*, June 23, 1968. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 17, 1992.

⁴⁵ *The News Journal* (Wilmington), March 28, 1993. Elizabeth Muir Boggs stone, Old Presbyterian Cemetery, Dover, Delaware.

⁴⁶ *The Washington Post*, April 23, 1994.

took an Eisenhower appointment as Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation. When that ended after two years, he did not return to Oakland, California, but moved to McCall, Idaho, and opened a law practice. He retired from law in 1969, but politics again called and he served a term as Mayor of McCall from 1988 to 1992. He is buried in the McCall Cemetery.⁴⁷

Porter Hardy of Virginia died a month after Allen, on April 19, 1995, but four years younger. His daughter wrote that he lost his sight and died in a “facility.” The papers reported he died in Virginia Beach. Wife Lynn Moore Hardy survived. He retired from the House in 1969 and sat on corporate boards, his large farm having been sold off for development.⁴⁸

George MacKinnon, like his Minnesota twin Devitt, gained an appointment to a Federal judgeship but came to it less directly. He worked actively in the presidential candidacies of Minnesota Gov. Harold Stassen as well as in Nixon’s vice-presidential campaign in 1952. Pres. Eisenhower appointed him the US Attorney for Minnesota, from which he resigned in 1958 to get defeated for governor. Eisenhower put him back in office as a special assistant to the attorney general. When the Kennedy Administration came to town, he returned to Minneapolis to work for Investors Mutual. Pres. Nixon brought him back to public service with an appointment as a judge on the Court of Appeals for the DC Circuit, where he served until 1983. There followed a series of committee and commission appointments related to the administration of justice and a seven-year appointment as presiding judge of the division of the Court of Appeals that appointed independent counsels to investigate executive branch officials. Finally retiring in 1992, he died on May 1, 1995, at home in Potomac, Maryland, at age 89 from myelodysplasia. But he was buried back in Minnesota. Wife Elizabeth Valentine MacKinnon survived.⁴⁹

Edward Jenison ran for the House six times, the last in 1962, and won a seat three times, the last in 1950. He also served twice in the Illinois House and in the State’s Sixth Constitutional Convention and was appointed to two positions in Illinois government. His last hurrah was in the 1973-74 General Assembly when he was 67. His living was as a newspaper publisher. He himself would say “he never thought of his three terms in Washington as anything other than a ‘temporary public service.’” He died on June 24, 1996, in Paris, Illinois, “after a brief bout with cancer,” at age 88. Wife Barbara Weinburgh Jenison survived.⁵⁰

Leo Isacson, who served 304 days in the House from the Bronx, died in Florida on September 28, 1996, at age 86. He was survived by his second wife Violet and his son from his first marriage. His daughter was murdered in her home in 1981. His last apparent public service was as a Eugene McCarthy delegate to the 1968 Democratic Convention.⁵¹

Robert Jones of Alabama wrapped up his fifteen terms in the House in 1976, spending much of his effort on the Tennessee Valley Authority. He did not blame ill health for his departure and, in fact, lived another twenty years, until June 4, 1997, when he died in hospital in Florence, Alabama, at age 84. Wife Christine Francis Jones had died in 1993.⁵²

Watkins Abbitt, Democrat of Virginia, remained politically active after his retirement from the House in 1972, mostly plumping Republican candidates. There was Nixon for President in 1972, Mills Godwin (another sometime Democrat) for Governor in 1973, and John Dalton (a regular Republican) for Governor

⁴⁷ *The Idaho Statesman*, November 9, 1987. John Joseph Allen, Jr. stone, McCall Cemetery, McCall, Idaho.

⁴⁸ Yeakel, 142. *The New York Times*, April 23, 1995. VCDH.virginia.edu.

⁴⁹ MacKinnon interview, 4, 8, 11. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 3, 1995. *Star Tribune*, October 13, 1999.

⁵⁰ Slepikca, Miner, and Illinois Press Foundation, 16.

⁵¹ *The New York Times*, September 25, 1996. Stone, 219.

⁵² Christine Francis Jones stone, Cedar Hill Cemetery, Scottsboro, Alabama.

in 1977. On the other hand, in 1989 he announced his support for Douglas Wilder, a black Democrat, for Governor. Partisanship was fungible for Abbitt as it was for the Byrds who dominated Virginia Democratic politics for decades. Rep. Virgil Goode (R,I,D VA) paid tribute on Abbitt's death to say, "This last year he sold more tickets to the Appomattox County Democratic Fish Fry than any other person." Wife Corinne Hancock Abbitt died of a self-inflicted gunshot in 1989. Ill with leukemia, Abbitt died on July 13, 1998, in hospital in Lynchburg, Virginia, at age 90. His second wife survived.⁵³

Hardie Scott, the only one of four Republican members of the Class from Philadelphia to survive 1948, left the House after three terms and resumed his law practice. He did serve on an advisory commission appointed by Republican Speaker Joseph Martin the next year to recommend a pay scale for members of Congress and the judiciary. He died at age 92 on November 2, 1999, at his Kirkwood Farm outside Philadelphia. Wife Almira Rockefeller Scott preceded him by two years.⁵⁴

Carl Albert died on February 4, 2000, at age 91. He stayed in Washington for a year or so while he explored lobbying, which it turned out he had no stomach for. He and his wife returned to Oklahoma and bought a new house. He wrote his memoirs and taught a little at the University of Oklahoma and the marriage lasted. A heart attack in 1980, prostate surgery in 1981 following by radiation, heart bypass surgery in 1985, and a stroke in 1996 chased him to his death in hospital at McAlester, Oklahoma. Mary Harmon Albert died the next April.⁵⁵

Laurie Battle left the House in 1954 to fail at capturing the Democratic Senate nomination against incumbent John Sparkman. He was a staffer with the Rules Committee until 1976, when he began a twelve-year stint with the US League of Savings Associations. He died in the Naval Hospital in Bethesda, Maryland, of cancer on May 2, 2000, at age 88, Janis Hunt Battle surviving.⁵⁶

William Jennings Bryan Dorn, who said he never really wanted to be in the House but stayed there thirteen terms, left it twice, once to chase a senatorship, and once to fail at capturing a governorship. He tried again for governor but two years later took the consolation prize of Chair of the South Carolina Democratic Party. Despite being strongly conservative, he remained loyal to the national Party except for Strom Thurmond's States' Rights candidacy while Dorn was pursuing the Senate. In 1983, Dorn campaigned in Chicago for Harold Washington, a black Democrat, for Mayor. He never fully recovered from a car wreck in 1983 that fractured his pelvis and ribs while he was returning from a fund-raiser for the State Agriculture Commissioner. His wife Mildred Johnson Dorn died in 1990 of cancer. In 1997 his son Johnson took over all of his financial decisions and in 2002 moved his family in with his father.⁵⁷ Dorn fell seventeen months short of beating Smathers as the last surviving member of the Class of '46. He proudly claimed to be a farmer and died on his farm near Greenwood at age 89 on August 13, 2005.

From these thumbnail biographies one gets the impression that many, if not most, of the Class of '46 did not put away their Federal political baggage once their House service was over. In fact, as far as can

⁵³ Atkinson *Dynamic*, 310, 387. *The New York Times*, July 15, September 25, 1989. *Congressional Record*, July 14, 1998. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, May 16, 2012. *The Washington Post*, July 15, 1998. *The Free Lance-Star*, February 16, 1989.

⁵⁴ *The Evening Sentinel*, September 14, 1953. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 5, 1999.

⁵⁵ Albert with Goble, 372, 375-6. *The New York Times*, February 6, 2000. *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, March 12, 1985. *Santa Cruz County Sentinel*, February 6, 2000. *The Daily Oklahoman*, February 6, 2000. Mary Harmon Albert stone, Oak Hill Memorial Park, McAlester, Oklahoma.

⁵⁶ ArlingtonCemetery.net.

⁵⁷ *Jet*, April 1983. *The Gaffney Ledger*, August 15, 1983. *The Index-Journal*, July 4 & 5, 1990; October 13, 2002.

be determined only 35 of the 106 who survived that service continued their activity at the Federal level. Nine, of course, became U.S. Senators (and two of those became President). Nine held positions in the Federal administration plus one who had a position as a White House aide. Two were appointed to the Federal judiciary. Six worked as congressional staffers. Seventeen were lobbyists. The elimination of duplicate roles results in the 35 count.⁵⁸

Lobbying, for many in the electorate, is troubling. Many equate the activity with functional if not illegal bribery. Congress seeks to regulate it while relying on it as a source of information and contact with constituents. The representative who moves from membership in the body to using the resources of extra-congressional entities, which may be administrative agencies and other levels of government as well as non-governmental organizations or individuals, to influence the body, to call on his or her former colleagues leaves an uncertain taste. Carl Albert, who made an attempt at it, reported he did not have the “guts” to do it. Yet, others did, notably Smathers and Potter.⁵⁹

Some who did not lobby or staff or administer after the House still found it hard to leave Washington. Albert stayed for a year or so, but then moved back to Oklahoma. Others died in the area, eleven of the Class of '46, not counting the three who died in Washington while in the House. Some, like Teague, were in such bad shape physically that perhaps a return to Texas would have been overmuch. Some, like McCulloch may have preferred to spend his last seven years in the places and with the people he had passed most of the previous 25; or, perhaps McCulloch did lobby.

It is also interesting that nine members of the Class elected to be buried in Arlington National Cemetery across the Potomac from Washington; or perhaps their survivors made that decision. Burial is an interesting choice. The bodies of nineteen of the Class were returned to where they were born or where they had served in the House for burial from the place where they died. Ten died away from where they were born or lived during their House service and were buried away, six in Arlington; another was John Kennedy. Three died in their home state and were buried in Arlington. The largest number by far, 74 died near home and rested there.⁶⁰

If this gives the impression that 70% of the Class were homebodies, we might wish to consider that 26 of the 74 served only a single term in the House. Congressional service took more of them far from home for extended periods of time, but that was quite limited for these 26. There were, however, eleven single-termers not among the homebodies.

Consider that 27 of the Class were not elected from their birth states. Twelve of these were relocated by their parents when children. Four moved to attend college, and eleven moved, usually for work, as adults. When we add up all those who were peripatetic in some sense, other than just from their House service, we find only 43 of the 109 whom we can label homebodies. Members of the House represent particular districts, but most, 61%, of the Class of '46 were not tied to those districts throughout their lives. The Class of '46 was a national body.

Former Pres. Harry Truman, a famous homebody, told Merle Miller, “I was there more or less by accident you might say, and I just never got to thinking that I was anything *special*. It's very easy to do that

⁵⁸ This is certainly an undercount if we define lobbying as being paid to attempt to influence the federal government. This may be by direct contact with a member of congress or the administration or by advising those who actually make the direct contact. The count does include Joe Evins, whose documented lobbying seems to have been unpaid. Lobbyists have been required to register with the Congress since 1946 and lists are printed quarterly in *Congressional Record*. The author has not waded through these lists.

⁵⁹ *The New York Times*, February 6, 2000.

⁶⁰ The burial places of three members of the House are unknown: Leo Isacson, Preston Peden, and George Sarbacher.

in Washington....”⁶¹ The one-termers probably lacked feelings of singularity from their short House service, but one suspects that the long-termers did. Yet, no matter how early they felt the pull of Congress or how hard they worked to stay there, there was for each one, as there is for all of us, a significant element of chance. Death could have come, particularly for those who went to war, accident could have happened, a few voters could have made a different decision. William Lewis may not then have had his 246 days as a national representative or Teague and Burleson their 10,956.

⁶¹ Merle Miller, 10.