

**The Honorable Clarence J. “Bud” Brown Jr.**

U.S. Representative of Ohio (1965–1983)

**Oral History Interviews  
Final Edited Transcript**

November 15, 2013

November 22, 2013

Office of the Historian  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

“Well, the first thing is that I had been out selling fruitcakes on that Sunday in my neighborhood as a member of the Boy Scout troop and came home to have my Dad and family tell me that—and my sister was living with us at the time, then just graduated out of Duke—and they told me about the attack on Pearl Harbor. My Dad said, ‘Why don’t you get dressed up tomorrow to go down to the Capitol with me?’ And that was an invitation that I could not refuse because I figured it was going to be a vote on us entering the war. Roosevelt would be there as the President and made the ‘Day that Will Live in Infamy’ speech. But the thing Dad did when we walked in, Johnny McCabe, who was the doorkeeper, from the Republican side of the House Chamber, stopped us at the door. And Dad said, ‘I’ll go on in. And Johnny, when you’re ready to let him in, just tell him to go to the back of the chamber.’ And that’s where I did . . . and I was next to the woman from Montana [Jeannette Rankin] who was a Member of Congress and who was the ‘no’ vote. She was there close to us.”

**The Honorable Clarence J. “Bud” Brown Jr.**  
**November 22, 2013**

## Table of Contents

Interview Abstract	i
Interviewee Biography	ii
Editing Practices	iii
Citation Information	iii
Interviewer Biography	iv
Interview One	1
Interview Two	47
Notes	88

## Abstract

Growing up as the son of a prominent Ohio Republican politician (Clarence Brown Sr.), Clarence J. “Bud” Brown was introduced early in life to electoral politics and public service. After his father was elected to the U.S. House in the late 1930s, Bud Brown had a unique vantage point from which to observe the inner workings of the institution. In his interview he discusses his father’s career, elections, and the work lives and social interactions of House Members in the 1940s. He provides a firsthand account of being on the House Floor on December 8, 1941, seated next to Jeannette Rankin of Montana when she cast the lone vote against the U.S. declaration of war on Japan. He recalls other prominent Members of the House, including Joseph Martin of Massachusetts, the Speaker and GOP Leader in the 1940s and 1950s, and Michigan’s Gerald R. Ford, who became Republican Leader in the 1960s and whom Brown describes as an “older brother” figure.

Bud Brown earned his undergraduate degree from Duke University, graduated from Harvard with an MBA, served in the U.S. Navy during the Korean War, and eventually joined the family newspaper business. Following his father’s death in 1965, he won his first campaign for elected office by capturing the special election to succeed Clarence Sr. in the U.S. House. Brown talks about that unique election, the composition of the district that he sought to represent, the encouragement he received from Representative Ford who was by then the GOP Leader, and campaigning with a largely volunteer group of supporters. He talks about the impact of winning that election on family life, and how he organized his office and sought out committee assignments, including his post on the Commerce Committee. Brown also discusses his membership in the Chowder & Marching Club, an informal organization, founded in the late 1940s by Republican Representatives (mostly young World War II veterans), that included in its ranks future prominent leaders such as Ford, Richard M. Nixon of California, and Robert Michel of Illinois.

## Biography

Clarence J. “Bud” Brown Jr. was born on June 18, 1927, in Columbus, Ohio, the youngest of three children born to Clarence J. Brown and Ethel McKinney Brown. At age 23, Clarence Sr. won the first of two terms as the lieutenant governor of Ohio and later, when Bud was born, he served as the Ohio secretary of state. He became a newspaper publisher, who owned and operated a chain of newspapers throughout the state. The family split their time between Columbus (when the state legislature was in session) and their home in Blanchester, Ohio. In 1938, Clarence Sr. was elected to the U.S. House to represent Ohio’s Seventh District in the west-central part of the state. On the way to accruing more than two decades of service in the House, he became one of the most senior Republicans in the chamber and an important member of the House Rules Committee.

Bud Brown moved with his parents to Washington, DC, at age 12 and spent his teenage years there, after his father won election to Congress. He graduated from Western High School in the capital in 1944. He went to Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, as part of the U.S. Navy’s V-12 program, graduating in 1947 (he’d later serve in the Navy during the Korean War from 1950 to 1952). In 1949, Bud earned an MBA at Harvard Business School in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and after graduation began working for the family business, Brown Publishing Company. He’d later serve as president (1965–1976) and chairman of the board (1976–2002) of Brown Publishing. He met Joyce Eldridge of Franklin, Ohio, a concert pianist and composer, and they married on June 11, 1955. They raised four children: Elizabeth (who died in 1964), Clancy, Catherine, and Roy.

When Clarence Sr. died in August 1965, Bud Brown entered the special election to succeed his father in the U.S. House, representing a district in west-central Ohio. With the help of Republican leaders in the House, Bud Brown won the November 2, 1965, special election and took his seat in the 89th Congress (1965–1967). He was subsequently re-elected to eight succeeding Congresses, before announcing his retirement from the House to run for Governor of Ohio in 1982. His campaign was unsuccessful and he left the House at the end of the 97th Congress in January 1983. Afterward, President Ronald Reagan appointed Bud Brown the Deputy Secretary of Commerce, a position he held from 1983 to 1988—at one point serving as the Acting Secretary of Commerce. From 1993 to 1999, Bud served as the president and chief executive officer of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society in Washington, DC, an organization created in the early 1960s by Iowa Congressman Fred Schwengel to promote the history of Congress and artwork of the Capitol building. Bud and Joyce Brown live in Urbana, Ohio.

## Editing Practices

In preparing interview transcripts for publication, the editors sought to balance several priorities:

- As a primary rule, the editors aimed for fidelity to the spoken word and the conversational style in accord with generally accepted oral history practices.
- The editors made minor editorial changes to the transcripts in instances where they believed such changes would make interviews more accessible to readers. For instance, excessive false starts and filler words were removed when they did not materially affect the meaning of the ideas expressed by the interviewee.
- In accord with standard oral history practices, interviewees were allowed to review their transcripts, although they were encouraged to avoid making substantial editorial revisions and deletions that would change the conversational style of the transcripts or the ideas expressed therein.
- The editors welcomed additional notes, comments, or written observations that the interviewees wished to insert into the record and noted any substantial changes or redactions to the transcript.
- Copy-editing of the transcripts was based on the standards set forth in *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

The first reference to a Member of Congress (House or Senate) is underlined in the oral history transcript. For more information about individuals who served in the House or Senate, please refer to the online *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, <http://bioguide.congress.gov> and the “People Search” section of the History, Art & Archives website, <http://history.house.gov>.

For more information about the U.S. House of Representatives oral history program contact the Office of House Historian at (202) 226-1300, or via email at [history@mail.house.gov](mailto:history@mail.house.gov).

## Citation Information

When citing this oral history interview, please use the format below:

“The Honorable Clarence J. “Bud” Brown Jr. Oral History Interview,” Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, [date of interview].

## Interviewer Biography

**Matt Wasniewski** is the Historian of the U.S. House of Representatives, a position he has held since 2010. He has worked in the House as a historical editor and manager since 2002. Matt served as the editor-in-chief of *Women in Congress, 1917–2006* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2006), *Black Americans in Congress, 1870–2007* (GPO, 2008), and the *Hispanic Americans in Congress, 1822–2012* (GPO, forthcoming 2013). He helped to create the House’s first oral history program, focusing on collecting the institutional memory of current and former Members, longtime staff, and support personnel. He earned his Ph.D. in U.S. history from the University of Maryland, College Park, in 2004. His prior work experience includes several years as the associate historian and communications director at the U.S. Capitol Historical Society, and, in the early 1990s, as the sports editor for a northern Virginia newspaper.

— REPRESENTATIVE CLARENCE J. “BUD” BROWN JR. —  
INTERVIEW ONE

**WASNIEWSKI:** Today’s date is November 15th, 2013. I’m Matt Wasniewski with the House History Office. And on the phone line with me I have Clarence [J.] Brown Jr., former Congressman from Ohio, son of Clarence [J.] Brown Sr. And we’re going to talk about his career, and we’re also going to talk about his memories of being a child of a Member of Congress and his early life in Washington. Thank you so much, Mr. Brown, for doing the interview with us.

**BROWN:** It’s a pleasure to be with you.

**WASNIEWSKI:** I’m going to start off as we do with all of our interviewees and get some basic biographical information on tape. The first question we ask everyone is when and where were you born.

**BROWN:** I was born in 1927, June 18th, in Columbus, Ohio, because it had a big hospital there. And otherwise my two sisters were born at home, in Blanchester.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And just so we have it on tape as well, what were the names of your parents?

**BROWN:** It was Clarence J. Brown and Ethel McKinney Brown. And they were high school sweethearts at the Blanchester High School, or after Blanchester High School, I should say, when they appeared in something called *She Stoops to Conquer*, a play that perhaps didn’t describe her very well, because she didn’t have to stoop very far. She was only five feet tall, and my Dad was six-two-and-a-half.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And they were both Ohio natives?

**BROWN:** They were both Ohio natives and had been born in that community. And Blanchester then was a town of about, I guess, 2,000 people.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Can you talk a little bit about your father's early political career? He started in politics very early. He was lieutenant governor and then secretary of state of Ohio, right?

**BROWN:** He was. He was elected lieutenant governor of Ohio in 1918 in that election and served in that two-year term after the first election, and then he served another two years after that because we had two-year terms for statewide elective officials at the time. And then he got defeated by a guy by the name of Thad Brown, and that was a warning to me or anybody else that wanted to see: be sure you get your names correctly. But the end of it is that he started, in 1920, the Brown Publishing Company, and it was across the street from where I was growing up. And it published the *Blanchester Star-Republican* in addition to a lot of other things.

**WASNIEWSKI:** He was a young man when he became the lieutenant governor, correct?

**BROWN:** He was 21 years old when he was elected lieutenant governor. He was born in 1895, and I guess he was elected in 1916. I guess I should make that clear.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And he later went on to become the secretary of state of Ohio.

**BROWN:** He was elected secretary of state in 1927, the year I was born. No, it was '26 I guess. And I had my childhood there in Columbus. I first met my Dad when we were both just coming out of the shower one evening. My Dad picked me up and gave me a big kiss, and I thought gee, this is a nice family to be in. I was about three years old, I think, at the time.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You were a young child, but how active was your family in your father's career? And here I'm thinking prior to his run for Congress. But how active was your mother, for instance, in his political career?

**BROWN:** My mother was not active at all in his political career. She was a stay-at-home mom. But she did follow him wherever he went. He went to Columbus as secretary of state and served in that capacity for three terms and then ran for governor of Ohio. That's how he got to be free enough to run for Congress in 1938, because in 1936 he was an unsuccessful candidate for governor. He had a lot of career potential because of his service at various Republican conventions. And those went back to—oh gosh, I guess 1932 or earlier, maybe '28, maybe just after I was born. But in any event, he had friendships with people that he dealt with in the conventions, and one of them was Frank Knox, who later became [Franklin Delano] Roosevelt's secretary of the navy. And they had a good relationship, I guess. I don't remember that in detail. But I can remember being in Chicago when it was so cold I didn't think I'd live. But except for that early career in Chicago, I survived.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You were still young, but what do you recall about his campaign for Congress in 1938?

**BROWN:** Well, I can recall him running, and the largest county in population in our district was Clark County—Springfield, Ohio. And it was dominated by a woman Republican who didn't always help carry the county. But the point is that the first thing I remember was a story that was in one of the scandal papers that said, "Look who Clarence is in bed with now." And that was to point out that he had a connection. Not that kind of a connection, but a connection, with Margaret Baker, who sort of became the woman leader in the Republican Party in Clark County.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Do you remember campaigning for him at all? Or was that not something that you did?

**BROWN:** Well, I was only what, 12 years old. No, I don't. I remember being in school and suddenly being told that we would be moving to Washington, and it was before the actual swearing in. And I remember being with my Dad when he was sworn in in the House of Representatives. He took me to that occasion. And then I remember a couple years later, after we'd been attacked by the Japanese at Pearl Harbor, and I went down with him the day that Roosevelt took the podium and said, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself" and gave the Japanese what for for a sneak attack. And then after that, I can remember being involved in his office frequently because I had the freedom in those days—Washington was a smaller city than it is today—to ride the streetcar and shop downtown sometimes alone. And that's all changed, of course.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You've touched on a couple things I want to ask you questions about in greater detail. But I want to back you up just a second here and ask about that experience of uprooting from the district and moving to Washington, DC. Where did your family live? And what was that experience like for you at that age?

**BROWN:** Well, we lived on Main Street in probably what may have been the largest house in Blanchester. There weren't very many big houses. And he had grown up in a house that was just a story and a half tall with his sister Lucille. The fact that my growing up was mostly devoted to public education because I worked at the Brown Publishing Company that he had started. My sisters and I got 15 cents an hour, I think, for putting folios on a stitcher that brought them all together. The other thing I remember, I, of course, the names of all the guys who were in the back room at the time and several of

the people in the front room who accepted the attention of people who wanted to put something in the paper or who wanted to get an ad in.

**WASNIEWSKI:** When you moved to DC, where were you located, and what were your early memories of Washington?

**BROWN:** My early memories are the same as some of my last memories because we moved directly into an apartment house called Alban Towers, and we had a neighbor by the name of George [Herman] Mahon, who later became, for years as a Congressman, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee. And he and Dad—he was a Democrat of course, being from Texas—and my Dad frequently rode to work together, bipartisan. It depended really on how much my Dad wanted to drive and how much George wanted to drive.

**WASNIEWSKI:** That must have been a unique relationship.

**BROWN:** Well, it was. I dated George's daughter. She was an only child. Her name was Daphne, and she actually followed me down to Duke University where I went to get my college degree. But it was a platonic affair, I think.

**WASNIEWSKI:** That leads into a question I had about socialization among your family and the family of other Members either from the Ohio delegation or other delegations. Can you describe what the family scene was like in Washington among Members at that point?

**BROWN:** I think it was very good relationships over the political divide along with everything else. They might get together and argue on the floor of the House, but, as I say, they could go to work together in the same car and still be friends. We had several friends who were from other delegations and other parts of the country, other states. And we had a friend named [Frank]

Aloysius] Barrett from Wyoming and several of those families. I'm not sure I can remember all their names. But it was a good relationship.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Do you remember anyone from the Ohio delegation at that time? It was a large delegation during the 1940s. There were 24 House Members, so not including the Senators, but people like Frances [Payne] Bolton.

**BROWN:** I remember Frances Bolton well. She was awe-inspiring. She came walking across the floor of the House one day, and I knew she was headed for me, and I couldn't figure out what she wanted to say to me. And I asked her. I said, "Mrs. Bolton, is there something you wanted to tell me?" And she said, "Yes, I don't think somebody of your stature should be chewing gum on the floor of the House of Representatives."

**WASNIEWSKI:** Was this when you were in Congress, or was this prior to that?

**BROWN:** It was when I was in Congress because I think I was in my first term, after my Dad passed away. But the point of that visit was that she stayed for, I think, two or three terms after that. She was from Cleveland, and I once called her office to ask her secretary whether she owned a plant in Springfield where I was going to make a speech to the foremen or the other group of people who were involved in running the plant. And I asked the secretary, I said, "Can you find out from Mrs. Bolton whether she owns that property, so I can make mention of her in the course of my speech there?" And the woman called me back later and she said, "Mrs. Bolton doesn't know what she owns, she's just very wealthy." So I didn't use the fact, but I thought of having the opportunity to say, "One of my colleagues in Ohio owns this plant."

I can remember most of the names if it helps for this presentation because Dad came in as the new Member of Congress in 1938, but in 1939, he was

asked by the Speaker or others to go to the World's Fair in New York, then take a trip by boat down through the Panama Canal, back up to San Francisco, where it was World Exposition, and then to Hawaii. And while we were in Hawaii, things deteriorated with the Japanese to the extent that when we got back to—not the Japanese, sorry, World War II with the Germans—but the trip back we made a hurry by car to get back for him to vote on the Neutrality Act at that time. I've skipped a couple more important parts to that because not only did he take my mother, he took my two sisters and me. And I was then, as I said, only 12 years old, and I said, "Can we take our dog?" And he said, "I don't think so."

**WASNIEWSKI:** Were there any other congressional families, Members on that trip?

**BROWN:** Oh yes, yes, Earl [Ramage] Lewis and his wife and two sons. [Walter Ellsworth] Brehm, another Member from Ohio. And there was a young Senator from Georgia [Richard Brevard Russell Jr.] who later became the guy for whom they named one of the Senate office buildings.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Couple more questions about Washington. What schools did you attend when you were in Washington? And what did the annual calendar look like for you? How often did you go back to the district?

**BROWN:** Well, I went back to the district frequently but usually just in the summer. The schools I went to were Stoddert, which was an elementary school, and it was by measurement a half mile from where we lived at the Alban Towers. And I walked to school, I think, every day. And then that got me through the first part of my sixth grade and finished it up. But one of the women who was a teacher said, "I think this guy ought to be promoted. We can get him into the seventh grade." And so I was only there a couple months before they

gave me the chance to skip sixth and a half grade. At that time it was 6A, 6B, and so forth.

And then when I went to high school, that's an interesting memory, because my sons say, "What sports did you play when you were in school?" I said I was a high school cadet. We marched three times a week, and I didn't have much time for sports. But the end of it is that in the high school that I went to, Western High School, it's now the oldest high school standing in DC. And it's named the Duke Ellington High School for the Performing Arts.

**WASNIEWSKI:** When you'd go back to the district in the summer, was this typically when your Dad would be back there? Were you going back with him?

**BROWN:** Dad was very much involved since the trip to Hawaii in everything that the Congress did. And there was even, I think, two years when they had a session that went past the usual adjournment time, which became later and later. And of course now Congress is there round the clock technically. But in any event, in those days it was all quite serious. He had me down, as I said, near him when President Roosevelt was announcing the relationship with the Japanese had turned into war. And I have a picture that I found recently of me in my jacquard sweater standing next to the first woman who ever served in the Congress.

**WASNIEWSKI:** This would have been Jeannette Rankin.

**BROWN:** It would have been, yes it was.

**WASNIEWSKI:** What are your memories of that day? How was it that your father brought you onto the floor that day? And what memories do you have of what was happening?

**BROWN:** I can remember him bringing me to the Capitol building. And as we got to the door, which I would go through, and he would go through, to get into the chamber, he spoke to a guy by the name of Johnny McCabe who was, I guess, in a kind way I could call him a midget.<sup>1</sup> But the point is he was all legs, and the top of his body was very short. And so we were about the same height, and I said, “What do you want me to do?” And he said, “Just stand here for a few minutes next to the door. And then when you go inside go back and sit with the Pages.” And they had benches along the back of the Congress. I did that for a time, until Dad sent another Member of Congress to pick me up and said, “He’s going to be here for a while. Let him sit in one of the seats.” And that’s when I got to sit, or was standing, next to the first lady in Congress. That was the end of her term because she voted against the war. But it was quite an experience for me.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Where was that on the floor that you were sitting next to Rankin?

**BROWN:** It was on the Republican side, and I think probably halfway between the place where everybody spoke from, which was then without voice assist, I think, and in the back row. So I was moved up to sit with my friend from—I think he was from Colorado, I’m not sure.

**WASNIEWSKI:** What memories do you have of Roosevelt’s speech? Do you have memories of him coming into the chamber?

**BROWN:** I do. And I guess I was not conscious of the fact that he had suffered, to be a cripple because of having had infantile paralysis when he was young. But I do remember him and remember his speech. At that time it was fairly brief. It was to the point that the Japanese had attacked us at Pearl Harbor, and we ought to respond, and we did.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Do you have any memories of what Jeannette Rankin was doing at that time? She tried to get recognized during the debate afterwards at one point.

**BROWN:** She wanted to have an opportunity to say why she voted against war with the Japanese. And she was not recognized by the Speaker, and when the whole event closed down, she made her way to the phone booth in the area that we used off the floor later when I was a Member of Congress and holed up in one of the telephone booths. And the press at that time was not allowed on the floor. So they were in the gallery. But I had my picture with her taken by somebody who gave it later to the U.S. Capitol Historical Society, which I later became the president of, and, after I left the Congress, the guy who was our historian there mailed me a copy of this picture, and said, "Is that you?" And I said, "It's every bit me."

**WASNIEWSKI:** What about the mood in the chamber on that day? What was your sense of the proceedings and the Members' mindset at that point?

**BROWN:** Well, they were obviously upset by the attack by the Japanese. We were not prepared for that attack. And so it's odd because the war had begun in Europe, and we'd made a separation in our minds, I guess, at that time, although we were beginning to gear up for the war. But there were very few people who spoke in addition to Roosevelt. I don't remember who all they were. I think probably the leadership on the Democratic side and the Republican side too, to indicate to the enemy that we felt about going to war. And two or three years later, I was in uniform.

**WASNIEWSKI:** I want to back up and ask one more question about a memory you had with your father, which you've mentioned, and I've moved past it. But the swearing in, his swearing in, what are your memories of that day? And was that your first time in the Capitol?

**BROWN:** Let's see. Was it my first time? I don't think so because I think I'd been— well, no, it may have been because I remember going to his office soon after that and making several visits there because, as I said at that time, if you were old enough to get on a streetcar, you could get anyplace in Washington you wanted to go. And that was the method of transportation down to the Capitol. But as I said, people who were not on the same side in the sense of the political parties were good friends. Everybody knew each other, and you spoke to some people, and you didn't care whether they were Democrats or Republicans when I was there as a child. And obviously they didn't care that I was the son of a Republican Congressman who at that point was one of the leaders in Congress.

**WASNIEWSKI:** About the swearing in, were you on the floor with your father? Or were you up?

**BROWN:** I sat next to him.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And that would have been the group en masse swearing in?

**BROWN:** Yes.

**WASNIEWSKI:** At that time did they have a separate ceremonial swearing in with the Speaker like they do now where Members would have pictures taken with the Speaker?

**BROWN:** I don't think we did. I don't remember that well, and obviously I didn't go with my dad to any of those ceremonial shots as you call them. But I think because of the war, people who were being sworn in for that purpose, who had to cast their votes two, three years later to go to war with the Japanese and the Germans, just didn't want to take advantage of that experience as a political matter.

**WASNIEWSKI:** It's interesting. One thing that comes up in interviews with folks from that time period is what security was like at the Capitol during the war. Do you have any memories of how the war changed security at the Capitol?

**BROWN:** Well, it changed it specifically from when I went in the day that we responded to the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor. The whole Capitol is hard to get into, but in a comparative way because it was in fact guarded by police or those who took their place as the police went into uniform in the armed services. But at a later time, folks from Puerto Rico, I think, were in the gallery and shot up the Congress. And one of the stories out of that was by a Member of Congress from, I think, Alabama or someplace came running out of the House Chamber. And the doorkeeper said, "What's going on in there?" He said, "They're shooting the place up." And they said, "Where are you going?" And he said, "I'm going after my gun." And they said, "Where's your gun?" And he said, "It's in Alabama."

**WASNIEWSKI:** That would have been in 1954 with the Puerto Rican nationalists.<sup>2</sup>

**BROWN:** Exactly.

**WASNIEWSKI:** I want to ask a couple more questions about your time in Washington. One of them was did you ever consider becoming a Page, or were you ever a Page?

**BROWN:** No. No, I didn't want to, and I was busy in school. I made up that half year that they gave me, the pass to go into the next grade also when I was in high school. So I graduated from high school when I was just 17 from Western High School, and it was quite a year because at that point, my Dad wanted to take me to a convention up in Chicago. And it was my first Republican convention ever. And it gave me the urge that I guess I have enjoyed since to get to a couple conventions.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You mentioned that you did some work in your father's office or you remember being there quite a bit. Can you describe what you did?

**BROWN:** Well, when he was first elected, he had a staff of two people. That was it. And there was his office, and then there was the general office where people worked. There was the place where you could receive visitors. And I didn't get paid or have anything of that nature, but I got down to see him frequently there and sometimes when special visitors came in if they were from our community. But it was in the oldest House office building there, and I don't think the Longworth Building had been built. I think I can recall that he moved from the...<sup>3</sup>

**WASNIEWSKI:** He would have been in Cannon [House Office Building].

**BROWN:** He would have been in Cannon, exactly, and on the back side of it in fact. But he later moved to the Longworth Building when it was completed and had a room that he could look over and see the Capitol from there as some of the other senior Members could. The staff has now grown. I think the full staff for every Member of Congress would be 18 people.

**WASNIEWSKI:** What were some of the things that you did in his office in particular? You mentioned constituents coming.

**BROWN:** Well, I was still in junior high school and high school, so I didn't do much of anything. I had worked at the Brown Publishing Company when I was not yet even school age, I think, and had the maintenance and pay of 15 cents an hour on the stitcher. But I didn't do any work in his office as such because there was no need for it, and I didn't have any time for it.

**WASNIEWSKI:** One thing that some of our interviewees who are related to Members have mentioned in the past is that oftentimes the wife or kids would give Capitol tours. Did you ever give Capitol tours to constituents who might be visiting?

**BROWN:** No.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Okay.

**BROWN:** Let me just say that I did a lot of that after I was president of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society. And I gave plenty of tours and even climbed up to the top of the dome and had a chance to do that inside and outside the dome. I don't think that's allowed anymore. But in any event, we saw everything from the place where Lincoln was laid out in the Capitol after he was shot and a lot of other people. And I can remember swearing ins and so forth at that time. But no, I didn't do anything as a child, leading tours around.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You've touched on aspects of this question in some of your answers, but can you describe the culture and the pace of life in the House in the 1940s and how that differed from what it would be like when you became a Member in the mid-1960s, or even now?

**BROWN:** Well, as I said when my dad first arrived in Congress, he had two staff members, and that was it—both of those ladies. And Washington was a very familiar place. By familiar I mean between staff members and people who were in the executive branch. He had a Jewish secretary who was one of his first, I think the first that he had and perhaps the last she had. But when she wanted to call Henry Morgenthau at the Treasury Department, she would call and say, "This is Martha, and is Henry there?" And the response would get Henry on the phone to Martha because they had sat in temple together. And they shared that enthusiasm, I guess, religiously.

But at any rate, the relationships in the Congress between Members and the rest of the people in Washington was not an active one but it was certainly a friendly one at the time, I think, even though you might have voted against each other. And it remained that way most of the time for me when I was there because I got to know as many of the Democrats as I did Republicans probably. John [David] Dingell [Jr.] and I were good friends, even though one of the most unhappy things that ever happened to me while I was in the Congress was that when I was on the subcommittee that he was chairman of, and I thought we had beat John at the game by one vote, and sure enough, 15 minutes later, three or four people showed up because they held the vote open long enough that I got defeated. It was the Clean Air Act at the time. And it didn't destroy our friendship, but one of the guys who had told me on the Republican side that he was going to vote my way on that bill, somebody said, "You've got to go down and cheer him up because he's in his office weeping." And I said, "I may see him tomorrow or the next day, but if I go down today, I'll kill him."

**WASNIEWSKI:** That's one of the votes that we're going to talk about in a little more detail when we get to your House career. You mentioned Mr. Dingell. When was the first time you met him? Did you know him from the 1940s or through his familial connection to Congress? Or did you meet him later?

**BROWN:** No. No, I never knew his father [John David Dingell], and I never knew John when he was a Page. I had a lot of reaction to being a Page. I didn't think it was a good idea for me to go down there and work when my Dad was working in the leadership role on the Republican side at that time. And I was pretty much confined to my school activities, which left me free to do things in the cadet corps and other things in the high school that I wanted to do, including working at the drama part of the educational picture and

several clubs that I was free to join. And I never met John, I don't think, until after I was elected to Congress.

**WASNIEWSKI:** One more question, and I'll move into some questions about your father's career in the House. You've mentioned the swearing in. You've mentioned December 8th, 1941. Are there any other memorable events that you recall witnessing as a young teenager in the '40s while your dad was in Congress—opening days or State of the Unions?

**BROWN:** I don't remember going down to the State of the Union. As I said, I do remember the trip that Dad was sent on by the leadership when he was first a Member of the Congress, and when he took the whole family on something called the USAT, U.S. Army Transport, *Republic*. And I was just starting to read a book that was lying around the house here by Eisenhower, who mentioned that after the war got started, the USAT *Republic*—he mentioned it by name—carried a lot of troops to the South Pacific for that war.

We were supposed to stay, as I think I mentioned, for a week in Hawaii, and I came back from a drive with my Dad and my sisters and my mother down through the Central Valley of California after the ship arrived in San Francisco. And he had taken his automobile on the ship. So we were on this trip when we heard the beginning, not of the war with the Japanese, but of the war with the Germans. That was interesting because I didn't figure out how he had managed to be designated as somebody who should go to Pearl Harbor at that time, but he did. And we enjoyed the time together and the trip back. But the time together in Hawaii was cut in half by the time that we were required to leave for Washington, and we drove pell-mell back through the U.S. along with a couple of other Members of Congress who wanted to get back for votes on the Neutrality Act.

**WASNIEWSKI:** It sounds like Congress could be pretty demanding in terms of family life. What was it like to have a father in Congress with his work schedule?

**BROWN:** Well, he frequently brought home people who were in the leadership, and we would have them for a meal at Alban Towers. And I then remember as a youngster sitting around. I remember being on a hassock while he was talking to Joe [Joseph William] Martin [Jr.] one time in our apartment and had other people in of like nature. As a matter of fact, one of them had a son who was about my age—well, no, he was a little older than I, who graduated from high school and then was ready to leave after college was over, and he was going to go to South America and make a lot of money, and I thought that sounded pretty good if he could do that. His father must have been on the Foreign Affairs Committee or something. But the end of it is that we did have several Members of the House come to our apartment and either have dinner or sit around and talk with my Dad on matters of consequence. And I always enjoyed that.

**WASNIEWSKI:** What are your memories of Joe Martin? He would have been the Republican Leader at that point.

**BROWN:** I think he was Republican Leader twice—Speaker twice, but I'll have to check that out. But I don't know whether he was Speaker at the time he came because Dad just knew him as a friend and invited him home for a family meal. And Martin was a bachelor as I recall. And so the meal and the evening talk after that was all politics, and I didn't have any say in it except that I was able to sit and listen to it.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Martin became Speaker in '47 to '49 and then again in '53 to '55.

**BROWN:** Right.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And he was the Republican Leader beginning in 1939.

**BROWN:** Yes. And he became Republican Leader I guess with my Dad's vote in support of him for that position in '39 because that's when Dad went to Congress. But I can remember being involved in what I would call normal things that were not political, like the Boy Scouts. And we had a big troop that met over in one of the buildings, the cathedral, just walking distance away from our apartment building. And I think we had 100 kids in that Satterlee Hall and some 65—no, not that many troops, about 12 troops, 12 patrols. And among them were Sandy Vandenberg, who was the son of the first air force secretary [Hoyt Vandenberg]. And I didn't have conscious feeling about those people who were of significance at the time because I didn't think in terms of significance I guess.

**WASNIEWSKI:** But a lot of children who were children of prominent politicians or administration officials.

**BROWN:** Yes. And Sandy, just to take him as a point, later invited me to come out and speak at the air force place in Colorado. And we shared time together, and his wife, who was an artist, later did some drawings for the Aviation Hall of Fame that I was involved in as an adult later. But I did go out for that football game that he invited me to, and we had a good time.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Some lifelong connections.

**BROWN:** Yes, I guess, until recently. I don't know whether he's still living, and he probably doesn't know whether I'm still living. But the friendship was there, and it came to us through the same experience that other people had with me in scouting.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Your father very early on got onto the House Rules Committee, which is a very influential committee.

**BROWN:** Very influential at the time. I'm not sure it's influential now. But at the time, it literally was a traffic cop for all the legislation that was brought before the House. And the Rules Committee name indicated that there would be a special rule for various kinds of legislation. And so my Dad knew a lot about what was coming to the floor of the House and had voted on the various aspects of it. I tell everybody it was a very powerful committee at that time. Somebody the other day said he was going to get on the Rules Committee, and I said, "I think you'll not find it as powerful as it used to be."

**WASNIEWSKI:** Why do you think that is?

**BROWN:** Well, it's because I don't believe that—I again don't know the House rules because—in today's framework. But I don't think that every piece of legislation goes before the Rules Committee before it gets to the floor. It may, but the Rules Committee then was literally controlled by Southern Democrats, and I have to say that that's another aspect of my experience and my Dad's, because when he was on the Rules Committee as the Ranking Republican, the old Judge [Howard Worth] Smith from Virginia was there. And he held out as long as he could as the Ranking Member of that committee. But it eventually got turned into a somewhat more liberal committee and began to approve legislation that brought, for lack of a better term, the integration of the U.S. Congress.

**WASNIEWSKI:** I had a specific question about that. It's pretty late in your Dad's career, but in 1961, the Rules Committee was expanded. And that was quite a fight on the House Floor. And I'm just wondering if your Dad shared any stories

about that expansion with you, because Speaker [Samuel Taliaferro] Rayburn was involved in that.

**BROWN:**

He and Rayburn were good friends, and of course he was a good friend with Judge Smith. But the critical vote that I can remember being one of the last votes Dad cast when he was ill—he came back from the hospital to vote on an integration bill which finally set the framework for the consideration of anybody who was a different color complexion from the majority white male membership of the House when he first went to it. That was a critical vote my Dad cast in favor of the black community because when he was a young man—while I was with him as he campaigned, he would speak frequently to black audiences, and I must say that the blacks at that time tended to vote Republican as now they vote quite heavily Democratic.

But the point at that time was that I learned two lessons from those speeches. I'd sit with my mother on the podium, and behind the speaker they usually had food baskets set up, and this was the time of the Depression. And they gave people tickets to match up for the food baskets. I saw that my ticket matched the number being called and had my hand up and was about to say something. And my mother slapped her hand over my mouth and said, "The speaker's kid never wins anything." Then there was another time at which Dad asked that my mother come and stand next to him at the podium. And somebody in the front row said, "I'll be damned, the big walrus married a midget." It brought the house down.

**WASNIEWSKI:**

How was your dad as a public speaker?

**BROWN:**

Excellent, I think. He was very persuasive as a debater, and he made a lot of speeches because of course he hoped to run, as you indicated earlier, for governor in Ohio and got defeated in 1933 and the election after, no, it was

'34. After the prospect of him having spoken around the state, and he didn't win. I can remember that as a child as somebody—what was I then? Six years old. Because I woke up the next morning to hear the newspapers, the extras being sold in Blanchester from Cincinnati, saying, "Brown defeated," so forth. But that's part of life.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Your father also played significant roles as you've mentioned in a couple of GOP conventions. And you had mentioned one in a previous discussion in 1952 when he served as Senator [Robert Alphonso] Taft's floor manager.

**BROWN:** That's right.

**WASNIEWSKI:** I was wondering what some of your memories of that are, if you were present for it, and what was your father's part?

**BROWN:** Well, I was on the podium at most of the conventions he went to after I became of age to go and was a page, as I said, on the platform. They don't have those kind of conventions anymore. They don't have smoke-filled rooms anymore for that matter. But that was a great disappointment when Taft lost and the New York folks who then did not have any friends in Texas, and I guess Taft did, but they took those delegates away from Taft. And it was called the "Texas steal," and it was a very hard-fought convention because the last vote was very close. But it was a disappointment for me because I was there in uniform as a navy officer, and I remember one of the group of people from the New York delegation told my dad, he said, "You can go back and use your newspapers." And of course Dad had only weeklies at the time. "And try to upend this thing before the vote." Well, that was not a very thoughtful, not a very kind suggestion to my Dad.

**WASNIEWSKI:** What did your dad do as floor manager? Do you have any specific memories of what he was doing during that convention?

**BROWN:** He was presiding at one time. And as I said, I went to about at least three conventions with him. But I was there as a platform page when I was a teenager.

**WASNIEWSKI:** He had a longtime relationship with Robert Taft as well. Do you have memories of Senator Taft?

**BROWN:** Not personal relationships with—I mean I didn't have personal relationships with Senator Taft. I was involved with his family, his children, a couple times at conventions. But I don't want to put this in the wrong context. Dad and Taft thought alike. Dad and John [William] Bricker thought alike. John Bricker was the governor from Ohio who came. And they were all elected to national—not national because Bricker later became a Senator, but this was a time when the papers carried Taft, Bricker, and Brown, all elected at one election in the '30s. And I knew John Bricker well and knew Taft less well. But I knew Taft's family very well, and his wife said the Tafts all married well because it was always their wives who were seen as the motivators of their political interests. But in those days, the relationships did not break down to philosophical discussions very often.

**WASNIEWSKI:** How did you get to know the family so well?

**BROWN:** Well, they were at the conventions, and I had run into them, I think, in Washington a couple times, so it was not an intimate relationship for sure. As a matter of fact, one of them said something—well, one of the members of his family said something that I thought was not very kind about Taft himself. And I took offense at that. But that was part of the relationship. I had a good relationship with some of them and not a good relationship with some of the others in the family.

**WASNIEWSKI:** I was reading in one of your father's obituaries that one of the bills he was instrumental in helping to pass was a bill to create the first Hoover Commission.

**BROWN:** He was the originator of the first Hoover Commission. He managed to get the Republican Senator from Massachusetts [Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.] as cosponsor because you had to have a cosponsor in the Senate if you wanted to get it through the Senate, and we did, or he did, I should say. But that was the bill. The Hoover Commission was the organization that had people in it like John [Fitzgerald] Kennedy's father and several others who were related in the business community and so forth. Dad was the author of that legislation. It was to revise the organization of the executive branch of the federal government.

It was very successful because if you look at the books that are used by Members of Congress—and by that I mean something that is published as a formal introduction to the Members of Congress and various agencies in Washington called the *Congressional Directory*—before the Hoover Commission they would have committees that went for pages in that book. The point that Dad wanted to make was that we get rid of a lot of these subcommittees that are now listed as committees with various standings, and let's get it down to a few committees. He managed to do that, and I think in many ways I profited from that, and so did the U.S. Congress.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Did he consider that his principal legislative achievement?

**BROWN:** That's a good question. I wish I could ask him that. Certainly he mentioned it in his personal biography, the thing that he would write. But I mean it appeared in that directory when he was in Congress. In the last years he carried that in it, just listing that he was—I don't think he ever tried to say

that he was the originator of it. But I know he was because he'd discussed that with his family before he ever introduced it and before he got the guy from Massachusetts to share its introduction in the Senate.

But it was Dad's idea, and the commission literally had meetings. And he took the early members of the commission down to meet with Harry [S.] Truman. And by that time, he had talked to President Truman before about naming it the Hoover Commission because Hoover was on it as one of the members of the commission. And Dad suggested Hoover could be the chairman as a matter of rehabilitation for him because in those days Hoover was not well thought of. Truman was also not terribly well thought of, having followed Roosevelt as the President. And Truman went for it immediately. He said, "By all means, let's help rehabilitate Herbert Hoover."

**WASNIEWSKI:** Interesting. Where do you think your dad had that interest in efficiency in government? Was that something that he was interested in in Ohio politics that carried over to the House?

**BROWN:** I would say so. I would say it came probably from his days as secretary of state. He didn't have much to do when he was the lieutenant governor because lieutenant governors don't have much to do technically, like vice presidents. But it developed over the years. Dad was always very conservative about money. He grew up in the Depression as I did with him, after I was born. He spent much of his time as secretary of state in the Depression trying to make the state government run more efficiently. And I remember getting a nickel from him once a week for spending any way I wanted to. That was back when a nickel was worth a nickel. You could spend it on a three-dip ice cream cone or some other thing that was like that, a sack of popcorn or something. But you got a big sack of popcorn for a nickel. It's an inflation message for today because you can't spend a nickel and get a three-dip scoop

of ice cream cone or bag of popcorn. The bag of popcorn is likely to cost you 40 cents at least. So yes, he always had that attitude about government expenditures. Of course the New Deal, it was a means of trying to modify them, as it might be today by any Republican Member of the Congress.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You've touched on this again in a couple of your answers as well, talking about your father's relationship with the House leaders. But I'm just curious what your perspective is on what his place was in the House by the time he'd finished nearly a quarter century serving in the House. What was his stature among his colleagues?

**BROWN:** I think it was quite high. He had the opportunity, I know, at one point to run for the Senate here in Ohio, and he chose not to do it. It was a matter of personality. And then I read something the other day. When he was never a great friend personally with Charlie [Charles Abraham] Halleck for instance, and they wanted him to run against Charlie Halleck, and he said, "No, I won't do that," because they saw him as the equivalent of somebody who was—later I was a great admirer of Jerry Ford's when he became Minority Leader.

And it was not my Dad's way to be confrontational in a political campaign. This is a dumb thing for me to say because Dad ran the Taft campaign and that lead-up to the election when Taft did not get nominated by a narrow vote. But Dad had been in those situations before because I can remember 1936 when Mother and I stayed at Dad's behest and with the financing of Frank Knox, I suppose who was then the director, the manager of one of the papers, or maybe the owner of one of the papers in Chicago, one of the dailies, *Daily News*. He put us up at the Lake Shore Athletic Club, and I can remember Dad had been to a couple conventions before that. So that goes

back to soon after he was lieutenant governor, he was involved in Republican politics at the national level.

**WASNIEWSKI:** If you look at his career arc, it seems like he was a pretty serious no-nonsense person but who preferred to work behind the scenes.

**BROWN:** Well, he'd say he carried a lot of debates, I can say that.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Well, I guess the political scientists would say that Members are either show horses or workhorses. The show horses like to be out in front of the cameras and the workhorses are behind-the-scenes people. And I was just trying to get your read on your Dad's career and where he would fit in that sense.

**BROWN:** Well, having been lieutenant governor of Ohio when [James Middleton] Cox was the governor, I mean, and Dad got elected lieutenant governor when Cox was going for his third term—I don't know whether to say he was a show horse or not because in those days, as I said, lieutenant governors don't have a hell of a lot to do. But Dad brought the state legislature, which was then still in its Democratic posture, along on the question of what kind of a Republican candidate would you be. And his comparisons were—you mentioned show horses—were you a Teddy [Theodore] Roosevelt type, wanting to get involved in everything who then later enjoyed the governorship? What was he? He was involved in state politics in Ohio briefly, I think. But the other question, would you rather be Teddy Roosevelt or [William] McKinley [Jr.], or early Bob Taft's father [William Howard Taft], because he had been a Republican President? And the question was a good question because the idea was what were your philosophies and what did you think about things. And in a way, he did that as a means of challenging members of the state legislature as to whether they wanted to get into the leadership position of a show horse or workhorse. But the answer is that a lot

of the people that he dealt with at that time went on to become Congressmen in Washington from Ohio, because they all knew who he was.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And so he was a very well known quantity even as a freshman Member of Congress.

**BROWN:** No question. They wouldn't have suggested him to go as the leader, if you will, of a group of other Members and their families to go to Hawaii at the time that we were just beginning to get into World War II, not with the Japanese but with the Germans.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And when he passed away in 1965, I came across a *Washington Post* editorial that had the following quote that Representative Brown, quote, "accepted controversy and difference of view as the natural phenomena of politics and embraced it at every opportunity. American public life requires the frankly aligned and openly committed party men of his kind if it is to retain its vitality, preserve its variety, and continue the kind of controversy essential to a dialogue on public affairs." I'm just curious if you think that's an accurate portrayal of your father's—

**BROWN:** I think it's an accurate portrayal. I would say that Dad was—well, he did not want the government to continue to spend more money than it took in. And, of course, that's when the deficits really began to matter. And he wanted to see that the people who were involved in government as appointed positions did their jobs, whether they were Democrats or Republicans, effectively. I can remember debates he had with—oh, God, who was the head of the Office of Price Administration? Leon Henderson. And Leon Henderson was of one view, and Dad was of a very different view.

But they enjoyed each other's debate challenges as I did with John Dingell [Jr.] later because, as I said, my biggest disappointment was to lose the final

vote on the Clean Air Act in our committee by one vote. I'm sorry. Win it by one vote and then later, as I said, they held the vote open, and John had three or four other people come in and vote against me, big disappointment.

But the good thing that came out of that for me was that I served also on the Joint Economic Committee. And we put out the first fully vetted and unanimously supported report of the Joint Economic Committee soon after that vote. So my belief in supply-side economics carried the day, and we had some people on that Joint Economic Committee who were Senators like—well, I hesitate to get into mentioning names here. But they were from left to right in the spectrum at that time. And we pulled off the Joint Economic Committee thing with a 100 percent vote. Lloyd [Millard] Bentsen [Jr.] was the chairman because, as a Republican, I didn't have any chance to be chairman of anything except that I was the ranking Republican on the Joint Economic Committee. And we worked out that unanimous vote in support of the recommendations of the Joint Economic Committee at the time.

**WASNIEWSKI:** One or two more questions to wrap up the section on your father's service. I asked about the culture and pace of life in the House in the 1940s, but I'm just curious what the average Member of the House was like in that era when your father served. And how has that changed?

**BROWN:** I think the relationships then were a lot easier between different views because the views themselves were not as divided. In the first place, the Congress was not in session from January to December as it is today. And the other thing is that you've got all sorts of other means of communication that means that people don't go over and listen to the vote. I can remember one of my Ohio colleagues went over to listen to Wilbur [Daigh] Mills explain the tax spending bill and was sitting there. And I was quite interested in his proposal and his presentation. One of my younger members of the Ohio

delegation said, “You really go for this stuff, don’t you, Brown?” And what he meant—I didn’t use the right word there. And I said, “Yes, I like it.” And he said, “Stick with it,” and walked off. Because I thought I was learning something from somebody like Wilbur Mills before Wilbur got into other troubles. But he was a genius in his responsibility at the time.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You mentioned it was a lot easier for Members to get along because the ideas weren’t so divergent or the philosophies weren’t so divergent. But we’ve also touched on your family background in DC and the fact that you knew the children of so many Members. And you had people coming into your parents’ house on a regular basis. What’s the importance of that kind of family interaction?

**BROWN:** Well, I think regular basis is an overextension of the cordiality that we had, because we did not have very many household visitors. But when they came, I got a chance to sit in and hear what they were saying. I don’t know how to respond to that because the climate was just very different. I can remember going down with my Dad waiting for the daily Washington newspapers to come into the drugstore. And you got everything from one end of the spectrum to the other each day as the newspapers took different attitudes. We liked reading the different views. But it didn’t always reflect our viewpoint as a family.

### **END OF PART ONE ~ BEGINNING OF PART TWO**

**WASNIEWSKI:** During your father's career in the House, had he ever talked to you about your future in terms of running for elective office generally or the House specifically?

**BROWN:** {Laughter} No, I thought you might have that question. I don't think he ever thought seriously about my being a successor to him as a Member of Congress because he saw me as a youngster, as a student, as a navy officer, as other things, and didn't make any personal connection. Jerry [Gerald Rudolph] Ford [Jr.] was one of the people who come out, and Jerry Ford had just been elected Majority Leader when Dad died. He brought a delegation of Members of Congress that wanted to say goodbye to my Dad at the funeral. And he said, "Do you have any desire to run for Congress?" And I said, "I want to think about it." And he said, "Fine." That was as far as he would go in encouragement, I suppose. And I did. I thought about it for a couple of days and made up my mind, and we had a very short time before we got to the time limitation of when you have to file, when you would run for general election, and so forth. And I did it and I won handily. But I had what, five other Republicans running for that position at the same time, all of whom thought that they'd be successors to my Dad. I won it going away.

**WASNIEWSKI:** I was going to get into that special election because it was a very quick turnaround for you. But I'm just curious, having watched your father going through being a Member, even if he hadn't discussed it with you, was it something that you aspired to? Or did you have to think about that for a little while?

**BROWN:** I think it was something that I aspired to but not because at the time he was quite ill and I got called over because he was in the naval hospital at that time by members of his staff. Nobody called me to be there for my sake, but it was for Dad's sake. And the issue at the time, I mean there was never a point at

which—we did have one funny experience. When I was editing a paper, he frequently asked me to drive him to a speech or something, and we were driving one day. And something came on the radio about Ollie [Oliver Paynel] Bolton, Frances Bolton’s son, buying a group of weekly newspapers up around Cleveland for 3 million bucks. Now you got to think back to when 3 million bucks was 3 million bucks. It isn’t anymore. But the point is that I then said to my Dad, “How did a young guy like Ollie Bolton get three million bucks for this purpose?” And his response was to say, “Well now, son, it’s like I’ve been telling you. You got to work hard at what you’re doing, you got to get up every morning and meet people working for the paper, and so forth and so on.” He said at the end of it, “It doesn’t hurt to have a mother that’s worth \$50 or 60 million.” And I said, “Dad, I’m doing my part, are you doing yours?” And he wouldn’t speak to me for the rest of the trip.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Oh, boy.

**BROWN:** So that was as near as we ever got to either fatherly advice—frequently he got me up in the middle of the morning by coming in and grabbing my toe and saying, “Let’s go.” But I don’t know that his state background in politics was a deterrent for him. He wanted to look at the various possibilities, and unless I’m wrong, I think he served as lieutenant governor besides the one with Cox with other Democratic governors.

And so I had the feeling that they got along, although the only time I ever saw my Dad, a little later when I was older—well, take a humbler view in somebody’s presence was when Cox was quite old. And we went to visit him at the place that’s called Trail’s End or something like that. And I really thought my Dad did not rise to the level that I’d seen him on the floor of the House every once in a while debating with somebody that he disagreed with

because he was awed by Cox, I think, and probably behaved that way when he was lieutenant governor to him.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You had already started in talking a little bit about Gerald Ford taking a delegation to your father's funeral. Frances Bolton was part of that too. Had you been approached by anyone in the state party or in the local party to run, or was Ford the first person to ask you whether you had interest?

**BROWN:** Well, first place, you mention Frances Bolton. I don't think she came out for Dad's funeral. But there were a couple of people. I told you Dad spoke a lot to black groups when he was—well, not lieutenant governor, because I don't remember at that time, but secretary of state. And so he had a very easy relationship with blacks. I know that one of the black guys who served as chairman when Dad was the Ranking Republican came along with Jerry Ford and the rest of the group because it was right for him to do it. But the end of it is that I can't remember anybody at the community level ever saying, "Why don't you run for your Dad's position when he dies?" Because that wasn't in their mind, and it wasn't in my mind, I think, because I, as you would with your own father, was thinking he's going to be around forever.

But what I did was work on his campaigns, and I told you I drove him when he was making speeches to those speeches and getting acquainted with a lot of people in the political spectrum. And when the situation came quickly after his death, where I had to move if I wanted to do it, I decided to do it, and with Joyce's [Representative Brown's wife] permission if you will. And we went after it and we carried all but the largest county in the district, and that was a fairly close vote in that county. And, as I said, we had six other Republican opponents in the primary, so it was not anything that I had earlier thought about doing. I got into it. I remember calling my Dad's secretary from then who was the secretary for a few years and was my

secretary most of my career when I was there. And I said, "Please tell all the women in the office," and it was mostly women because Dad had a female staff who ran the office if you will. And I said, "Please tell them that if I get elected, I will hopefully keep them all on board." She said, "Indeed I won't do that." And I said, "Why won't you do it?" She said, "Because there's a law against promising people work for your candidacy." And I said, "No, that wasn't what I thought about." And she said, "Well, I did when you mentioned it, so there you are."

**WASNIEWSKI:** You mentioned consulting your wife Joyce. How difficult a decision was that in terms of family arrangements at that time, because you had fairly young kids at that point? And going off to Washington, was that a big consideration?

**BROWN:** Yes it was. We had to keep the kids in school here I guess. One of them was in college already. He's the actor.

**JOYCE BROWN:** No, no, not in college, honey, we had just lost Beth. And Clancy was in elementary school and Cate had just been born.

**BROWN:** That's true. I'm glad you got on to correct me.

**JOYCE BROWN:** Everything else I agree with 100 percent, but that was a little bit off.

**BROWN:** Yes it was. It's hard for me to remember how we took the family. What did we do? Did we take them to Washington?

**JOYCE BROWN:** Not then because you just were there for one year. We decided to stay home. You rented an apartment, and we stayed here and then you...

**BROWN:** That's true, I can remember that.

**JOYCE BROWN:** Yes, and then you ran the second term and won, and that's when we decided we would move to Washington to be with you and share in your—

**BROWN:** Well, I think I didn't have any opposition in the second term, running for that second term, did I?

**JOYCE BROWN:** I don't know.

**BROWN:** I don't think I did. I think that's why we made the move to stay to Washington because we thought it was going to be three years. It was largely uninterrupted.

**JOYCE BROWN:** And the salary we thought was unbelievably large, \$30,000, is that right, something like that? Yes, I thought, boy that beats being the editor of the small-town newspaper by 100 percent.

**BROWN:** Maybe a little more than 100 percent but not much.

**WASNIEWSKI:** To get back to the special election. Just wondering if you have any memories of the day of your announcement, how you made the public announcement, where you made the public announcement.

**BROWN:** Well, Joyce is listening. I have to be careful about this. I don't know that I ever made a public announcement as such. I had several mentors in the community that I talked to at the time. And I didn't say, "Is it all right to run, or what do you think?" I just said, "I'm going to run, and I hope I have your support." And I can remember making a speech in Clark County at one time and having the Republican chairman after I made the speech. He just said, "Well, you can't help what you are." I didn't know how to take that.

**WASNIEWSKI:** We've got about 10 or 15 minutes left. And we could break then if that's good for you. And we could pick up early next week when I call again.

**BROWN:** All right.

**WASNIEWSKI:** We were talking about your decision to run, whether you made an announcement. But you said that you had consulted a few people whose opinion you valued in the community.

**BROWN:** I did. And one of them was a fellow who was head of Grimes Manufacturing in our home community who's been a very good friend all the time, not always agreeing with me about things. But he had no—I don't think I ever asked anybody if I could run. I just went after it. And some of the embarrassment came later when a couple of the county chairmen said, "Well, now you would like to make a donation to the Republican Party in our county, wouldn't you?" And I said, "Well, if I had any money I would. Maybe later." And I thought because that seemed to be my father's pattern, why I should go ahead and do it. But the effort to run. First place, I got a lot of support from newspapers in the district. And one of them was—when I talked to him later, he said, "I could kill you for running for your father's position as a Republican." I said, "What do you mean?" He said, "Well, hell, we've been Democrats all our lives." And I went home to tell my wife, and she wouldn't speak to me after that. But anyway, those are the kinds of things that happen.

When I got into it—well, one of the early things I did was nominate kids for the various service academies. And we did it by having them all take tests to see how they would qualify and so forth. And the guy who ran the morning paper of the daily that was from the biggest community wrote a very nice editorial about me saying that—it wasn't meant to be a slam on my father. He said, "But if this is the kind of guy that's going to represent us in Washington, he's certainly getting his start the right way." And I thought

that was a good thing to do. He was not always cordial to me, but he did accept that viewpoint of mine.

**WASNIEWSKI:** How was your campaign organized? Who managed your campaign? Did you have any staff?

**BROWN:** An old friend came out and volunteered his time. His name was Ed Fogo. He's since gone. But he had worked for my Dad when he was secretary of state. And that's the other thing I should tell you. I mentioned that the counties in that district all were named with two exceptions, Champaign where we are and another county, Union County, but they were all separately organized, but they met together occasionally. And I think in each case I had the support of quote the Republican organization in the counties, but I never questioned it, I never said, "Are you going to support me" or anything else. And that's how I got, I think, the position that I did. But the end of it is that—where was I headed with this?

**WASNIEWSKI:** We were talking about your campaign manager.

**BROWN:** Oh, Ed Fogo. Ed Fogo had come from the days when he worked for my Dad, secretary of state. And by that time, Ed was one of these people who went from job to job as the climate of politics changed, and he was by that time then the head of the division of motor vehicles or something. He had his name signed on your driver's license or whatever. And he came and said, "Let's pull this thing out." I only spent about \$35,000 on that first race and thought my Dad would be turning over in his grave.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Did you have a large campaign staff working for you?

**BROWN:** I had a lot of volunteers. I mentioned the minister's wife who came in and said, "I'll take over in the office." And I said, "I just hate to have you do

that.” And she said, “Well, I want to do it, so we’ll do it.” We had no large campaign staff, I don’t think. But we had friends that had been cultivated both by me and I’m sure friends cultivated by my Dad, who were cordial to my being a candidate.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You’ve talked about the counties in the district. Can you describe a little bit of the demographics of the district as it existed then and what kind of people lived there?

**BROWN:** Well, it’s interesting because in anticipation of this I thought I ought to look at some of these books that Dad had. Because they all have—back to when there were 24 Congressmen elected from Ohio, and then it began to dwindle because the population of Ohio began to decrease. And so I lost one, well, I lost counties one by one for the first three times I ran. But the district has remained essentially the same. And it’s an agricultural district between Columbus, Dayton, and Cincinnati, and it goes a little north of Columbus, which was where Dad had the nine counties. By the time we got through with all that, I was down to I think either five counties or six. I’m not sure. But at any rate, that district, the seventh district, has remained the same as it was originally when Dad first ran and perhaps when his predecessor who had been a Republican Congressman who was a local resident here in Urbana. But other districts all got chopped up for one reason or another. Now you had to have somebody looking after you in Columbus to have that happen, and I think it was a guy who got to know my Dad when he was either secretary of state or the lieutenant governor. He’s now gone. But he had been Dad’s mentor and mine. I didn’t have to go fight with the legislature to keep the district.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Who was that?

**BROWN:** I wish I knew his name. But he's gone now too. But he had gotten to know Dad. And I should tell you we had a flood in our basement, and that's where we kept all these old records that my Dad had, all the mail and so forth. And I had gotten a letter from this guy shortly after I won the seat, congratulating me and telling me that he was cheering for me. I don't know whether he was still a member of the staff of the state senate, but he obviously was no longer involved actively.

**WASNIEWSKI:** So largely an agrarian district?

**BROWN:** Well, agrarian doesn't quite do it. Yes, it's a farming district to be sure. But counties, we were up next door to Dayton and next door to Columbus in that way. And the population in the county where Dad came from has not—well, had not changed much until he was gone, and then our little town grew from 1,500 or 2,000 people to about 4,500 people today. So yes, it's changing. But those people all work in Cincinnati, though they may live in the country.

**JOYCE BROWN:** Wright-Patterson Air Force Base.

**BROWN:** Yes, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base during the war—which Dad was not representing the district at that time—well, I shouldn't say it that way. He was involved with Wright-Patterson, but I campaigned heavily in Wright-Patterson, and that had probably 25,000 employees, didn't it, Joyce?

**JOYCE BROWN:** I think. I'm not sure.

**BROWN:** Yes, and I made it one of my first stops. They had a general who talked to me in a very warm room. And I kept drifting off to come back and say, "Yes of course that's right, general." I don't know.

**WASNIEWSKI:** In 1965 what were some of the issues that you ran on in the special election?

**BROWN:** I'd have to go back and check that out. In '65, Joyce, what do you think?

**JOYCE BROWN:** Well, that was your first election, and of course the name was very important, I think, at that point. Contacts that Dad Brown had made were very important, so he was very fortunate in that regard. His newspaper background I think helped tremendously. He had contacts with media, WHIO in Dayton, which is a Cox broadcasting company. Very good friends, and they were good. They weren't staunchly Republican. I shouldn't say that at all. But they did cover the campaign and did a very good job with that with all the candidates. But I think his newspaper ability and his ability to speak and communicate with all kinds of people, and Wilberforce had a big impact in that regard, the black community.

**BROWN:** Yes, that's true. It's a black college that's here today. And I'm no longer on the board, but I was asked to be on the board by the president of the college years ago and stayed with it for about how many years, 20 or 30. But the fact that I had gone with Dad to these various strictly Republican meetings—by that I mean everybody was welcome, but the Republicans were the ones that showed up. And then we had a couple of women Republicans that were older, black or white, that got involved in one way or another. So you just do the best you can.

**WASNIEWSKI:** I was looking at the chronology based on a couple newspaper articles I found, that the nomination was just two weeks after you had declared. It was a pretty quick turnaround. Do you remember anything about—

**BROWN:** September 21st was the date of the primary. And so it was more than two weeks. I think Dad died mid-August. So it was maybe six to seven, maybe eight weeks. But that's not important, go ahead.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Just curious to know about the contenders. It was a fairly crowded field you were saying, about five other contenders.

**BROWN:** One had been a state senator or maybe was a state senator at the time. Joyce will correct me now. You're listening, Joyce.

**JOYCE BROWN:** But I won't correct you.

**BROWN:** Well, Charlie Fry wasn't he?

**JOYCE BROWN:** Oh, and a great guy. He was wonderful.

**WASNIEWSKI:** A state representative?

**BROWN:** Yes, he helped me start the Rotary Club here before Dad died—well, anyway he did. And another was a state rep from...

**JOYCE BROWN:** Greene County?

**BROWN:** No. There were two people. One was a prosecuting attorney in Greene County, Xenia, and the other one was from Madison County, I think. They were all serious opponents, I guess one has to suggest. And then I saw the other day where Blanchester is still voting fairly solidly Republican. So it's larger, but I don't know where the folks come from that are living there now.

**JOYCE BROWN:** They were all good candidates, and it was a good hard-fought campaign. I mean very well fought. The mudslinging that you see now is just...

**WASNIEWSKI:** You won pretty handily, and then you went to the general election, and that was against a Democrat, James Berry. Do you have any memories of the general election?

**BROWN:** Not many, because it came again on a short string after Dad had died. Anyway, we had Hubert [Horatio] Humphrey [Jr.] come out and speak against me, not as such. He said, "I hope that you'll give your vote to Mr. Berry." And Berry never ran again after that experience. But I think he carried that county. And it was the largest county, and he was known there but he didn't carry it by a big vote, big margin.

**WASNIEWSKI:** He was a city attorney in Springfield, and he was a county prosecutor. One of the articles I came across said he tried to challenge your qualifications because you hadn't held elective office before, and he said he had that experience. I'm just wondering how did you answer those charges?

**BROWN:** I didn't. I didn't have to, because the newspaper people all knew who I was, and maybe I should say the Republican Leadership such as it was. So I just didn't worry about the fact that I had not run for other office. And we had volunteers and help from all the counties. And I have to say that this has been a traditional Republican district, but it has always been a district that had a large voter turnout. I did this the other day. I looked up the votes in the districts that included Columbus, Cincinnati, Dayton, Cleveland, so forth, Toledo. And I was even surprised to see that the Dayton district had that district and a couple counties near it. But the seventh district with the total vote cast—this comes out of this book I'm reading about the *Congressional Directory*—we were right next to the smallest—no, I'm sorry. The largest of the votes total. And still kept that same number of votes because after I was in Washington we had to go to the one man, one vote issue, and I supported that. So it's a good Republican district.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You mentioned Vice President Humphrey coming out and campaigning for your opponent. Did you get any national GOP help in terms of resources or party VIPs?

**BROWN:** Joyce?

**JOYCE BROWN:** I don't remember.

**BROWN:** Well, we didn't. We didn't have any support because Jim Rhodes, who was the Republican governor [of Ohio] and who's no more, but I don't think the Republican organization at the state level was terribly helpful. And by that, I mean the officeholders at the gubernatorial level.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Well, you won the general election by a large margin, and maybe a good concluding question, and we can pick up on Tuesday, getting you sworn into the House. What your memories are of election night?

**JOYCE BROWN:** Oh great.

**BROWN:** We had a band on the porch. That's why I wish you'd stopped by on the way west because we live in a big house, and it has a big front porch. And so we had a band on the front porch, and we always, every election, primary or general, at least at the beginning of my candidacy, we always invited people to come and share the evening with us. And they did, and we had television sets set up in different rooms. Fortunately they all left happy and satisfied.

**JOYCE BROWN:** But we just invited everyone to come. It was a complete open house in the real meaning of the word.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Sounds like quite a party.

**BROWN:** Well, I will never forget one woman who came. And she brought a vase with her. She was black. And she had a young driver, muscle-bound. And I said, "I'm so happy that you came tonight." And she said, "Well, I just wanted to be here" and so forth. She said, "Because I'm all for you." And somebody

told me later that she ran a house of ill repute in one of the communities that was in the district.

**JOYCE BROWN:** Greene County.

**BROWN:** Greene County. And I said, “Well, okay.” I didn’t know anything about her background or anything else. But it was the way things were back then. I don’t think anybody now admits to having run a house of ill repute.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Well, did I miss anything or any other topics from your time as a child as a Member in DC or your first election? Anything else you want to talk about?

**BROWN:** Well, my memories of a child in DC were not focused on Dad as much as I think that I did afterward because—well, he’s like anybody else’s father. You expect him to live forever. So when I came over to Washington as a youngster at the age of 12, I decided that I would take the roles that I should have in that position rather than anything that was aimed at the U.S. Congress. So I would visit him on occasion in his office, and I don’t know that I ever offered to give people tours. Joyce, do you remember that at all?

**JOYCE BROWN:** Oh no, honey, no, heavens, he was a Member of Congress. I had no relationship at all with your family at that point. I was in Franklin, Ohio. But you did have two older sisters who I don’t think you did mention, Betty at Duke. They were both gone at that point.

**BROWN:** And part of the reason I went to Duke was because Dad had suggested that I might want to go down and look at it sometime, and I did. And so that’s where I wound up going for undergraduate. And then when it came time for me to graduate, and I was in the V-12 then, a swabbie in uniform, but I was at the end of the war. But when the Korean War broke out, I got called back by the chief of naval operations’ letter, and I had been working on a 24-page

weekly from our little town in Blanchester I thought would be worthwhile putting out. And he wanted me to come out before I sent that weekly to the press to be published. And I called Dad, and I said, "What can I do about this?" And he said, "Well, you can call him and ask him for another month, but I don't think he's likely to give it to you." Well, I didn't call him, I wrote him. And he did, and I said, "He still wants me to report by the 1st of October." The first indication was it should have been the 1st of September. And so he didn't understand my letter because I thought this would get me out from under for a couple months so I could wrap up the newspaper and get a new editor and so forth. And I said, "I don't think he understood my letter." And Dad's response was "I think you don't understand his answer, which is that you're going to be out there to San Diego by a certain date." And sure enough.

**JOYCE BROWN:** And then Betty, of course Duke, but then Dorothy got married and went to Miami.

**BROWN:** Well, Betty met me when I came back from Korea.

**JOYCE BROWN:** So they were so much older that they didn't really enter into your life at that point.

**BROWN:** I did see. I was in a navy battle after. I won't describe the details of it, but we were on three amphibious ships which only make 10 or 12 knots at their maximum speed. And we followed three destroyers who can make it a lot faster in a bay in Korea still in North Korean hands. And I kept thinking you could be killed out here if you're not careful, and your mother is never going to forgive your father for letting you come out. But she knew he didn't have anything to do about it. I got a funny letter from her about that same time because they'd been caught in a snowstorm on the way back to Washington,

and it was just one of those things I deserve a battle star for though. I do, I'm serious, because I was floating around on this little amphibious ship and standing in the conning tower and kept seeing the plumes of water go up where they'd misfired or got misses. And believe it or not, none of the three amphibious ships got hit at all. But that's the end of that story, and the experience otherwise in Korea and Japan was in no case as threatening as that was. But it was certainly a serious situation for a few days.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Well, I think that this might be a good breaking point, and we can pick up next week with your early House career and get into your House career.

**BROWN:** Okay, I'll look at that and think about it. But we'll look forward to doing it.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Well, great. I appreciate your time.

**BROWN:** Thanks, Matt. And we'll look forward to your questions. I hope I anticipate some of them properly. But I hope the answers have been worthy.

**WASNIEWSKI:** They have. I think you're anticipating well. And I'd like to get specifics about your career but also your broad perspective on the House because between your career and your Dad's career you've seen the place for a number of decades. And I think you've got some unique insights.

**BROWN:** Well, Dad and Mother came down to visit me occasionally when I was at Duke. And when I finally graduated and had a period of time on the paper where Dad—I shouldn't get into this detail at this point—but he used to send me a copy of the paper when I was doing the weeklies in which he'd mark up areas of language usage and so forth he thought were poor. But beyond that, he and my mother used to come down and see me. It isn't that far from Washington when you're driving. And at one time I think Winston Churchill had died at that point, and I said, "Well, we lost a great one." And

Dad's response was "Yes, I wish he'd been on our side." And I said, "What do you mean by that? He was on our side." He said, "Well, he had an American mother, and he could have just as well been here taking Roosevelt's place." So that inferred two things that I always understood. But anyway, I'll talk to you when you call back next time.

— REPRESENTATIVE CLARENCE J. “BUD” BROWN JR. —  
INTERVIEW TWO

**WASNIEWSKI:** Okay, so let’s start from the beginning again. [The date is November 22, 2013]. Mr. Brown, you had mentioned there were a few things we didn’t cover in the last interview regarding your father’s career, and you wanted to talk about some of those points. One of them was his role in the Taft Memorial.

**BROWN:** Yes. That was put up on the Capitol grounds. It’s the only structure in the Capitol grounds that is dedicated to an individual. And Dad got it dedicated, I guess, by having a lot of Ohio and others who knew [Senator Robert] Taft or worked with him. But he was the chairman of the physical memorial, and other people had their individual responsibilities. It has bells in it that have never been rung—well, were only rung for a few years, until Lyndon Johnson objected to them because he said it interrupted his thoughts when he was in the Senate. And that, I think, has not been corrected. But at any rate, Dad had a whole raft of people, bipartisan group, plus members of the Taft family and Katharine Kennedy Brown, who was his female member of the Republican National Committee, with him. So that was done on the 14th of April, and it was a formal dedication in 1959.

That’s one of the things. One of the other things that I wanted to mention was that Dad was the presiding or the grandfather or something of the campaign in 1980—I got to get this right now—that won the House and Senate both in the same year. And that was—no, it couldn’t have been 1980.

**WASNIEWSKI:** I think it was 1946, but it’s the 80th Congress.

**BROWN:** That's what I was trying to think of, the 80th Congress, 1946. And it was his involvement in that that won every—well, the solid South went Democratic except for one or two states in the solid South, both up in the north part of the solid South. But if you drew a line across where the Mason-Dixon Line is and continued it across the country, every state that was north of that was won by a Republican. And it was when we were down to not very many Members who were there representing the South. And then, of course, the war and all turned pretty much the other way.

**WASNIEWSKI:** That 80th Congress was an interesting one because that's the one where Richard [Milhous] Nixon comes in and also Kennedy if I'm remembering correctly, on the Democratic side. But that's a large influx of World War II veterans.

**BROWN:** Exactly. And that's the same time that *Chowder* and *Marching* got started after that but I'll come back to that later.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Okay. You had also mentioned at one point that your father considered himself a newspaperman first and foremost and that his connections in the publishing world were important to him in the House. And some of these were in the Ohio delegation.

**BROWN:** I think there were six out of the 24 Members of Congress in the listing when we had that many Members from the Ohio delegation in the House. Six of the 24 had in their written biographies that they had a connection with the newspaper or publishing business.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And do you recall any individuals from the publishing world who were in the House who your dad had a particularly close relationship with? Any examples?

**BROWN:** Well, yes, that's a hard question. I should get that book and find those people because I don't remember the Members of Congress when I wasn't there. But in the 80th Congress for Ohio—and I'm now getting that biography part. Let me get that list of who was in Congress with him when I was not. Hold on.

**WASNIEWSKI:** I have a list of names here that I could just walk through with you.

**BROWN:** You're welcome to do that.

**WASNIEWSKI:** George [Harrison] Bender.

**BROWN:** No.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Frances Bolton.

**BROWN:** No.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Walter Brehm.

**BROWN:** Hold on. I've got to get to that point in this. No. You're doing it alphabetically, are you?

**WASNIEWSKI:** John Bricker was in the Senate. Raymond [Hugh] Burke—we could come back to that at some point. It would be interesting to see who those folks were. But I had a more general question which wouldn't require you to look at the list or the book: you mentioned your dad believed he was a newspaperman first and foremost. And I'm just wondering, did he ever go into more detail about that and talk about—was that his passion? Did he feel like being a newspaperman gave him skills that proved useful in his political career?

**BROWN:** Well, he started the *Star-Republican* in our hometown after he had been the lieutenant governor for two terms in the early 1920s and came back and became the Brown Publishing Company. And it was later when I came into the family, it was right across the street from where we lived at that time and has been since. But his connection with the newspaper business was if he wasn't on the front porch at our house, you could find him, or wasn't in an elective office someplace, you could find him at the Brown Publishing Company, sitting there as the president of the Brown Publishing Company and worrying about what the results of the paper that week would look like. It was a weekly of course. And he acquired a couple of other weeklies in the course of his being involved with that. I acquired one as soon as I came to Congress. But they were all weekly newspapers until he started the *Urbana Daily Citizen*. Didn't start it, he took over the *Urbana Daily Citizen* as an ownership factor in, I think it was my last—well, it was probably 1938 or '39.

**WASNIEWSKI:** So right when he was coming into Congress.

**BROWN:** No, wait a minute, I got to get that one right. But anyway, that's when I was old enough to start working at the *Citizen*, the newspaper. And when I started there, I think I was probably 14, 15 years old, as the editor. But I had a couple of interesting things happen the first year. I was probably not yet 16, and we had a policeman that lived behind us who was killed when he interrupted a 15-year-old boy attempting to rape a 12- or 13-year-old girl. Well, my dad was aware of this, and it was during the harvest festival. And I was involved in the newspaper, as I said, at that time. So I told my family, I said, "I would like to go after this 15-year-old boy, I don't know where he is, but he took off after that occurrence." That was one of the dramatic things that happened when I was involved in the management of the paper as

editor. I was still too young to be able to drive, and I didn't mention that. My mother mentioned it to me. She said, "How will you go after this guy?" And I told her, "Well, I'll find another way."

But not long after that, about the next year, I could drive, and I had the responsibility of going down and sitting in the undertaker's house. The light was on in his embalming room. And I called him and said, "Why do you have that on?" I was headed for Washington that same day. And he said, "I have it on because two people both from the Brown Publishing Company got killed in a head-on accident down on the route from Cincinnati to Blanchester." And I said, "Who are they?" And he said, "I don't know." And I said, "Let me go see." And I knew who they were. They were [employees] who worked in the back room.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And so you're 16 at this point, and you're basically editing the newspaper. This is a tremendous amount of responsibility.

**BROWN:** Well, Dad set the operation up, I'm convinced, pretty much with friends and relatives, because he borrowed the money for acquiring the paper then, I think it was about \$1,000 from five different businessmen in Blanchester. And he did that in 1920 I think. But by the time I took over the operation, it was clearly operating smoothly. And, of course, weeklies at that time, we lived in a market town. It was not a county seat town; it was a market town down in the corner of three counties including Clinton County where it was housed. Blanchester was right on the county line. But at any rate, the situation was such that when I took over the paper, it had been run by a guy named [Dutch Wade?] who was a nephew of my dad's. And there were others in the business that he had hired in, I guess, when he wasn't out on the trail politically.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And the expectation was that you would run the paper until you went off to college, I guess?

**BROWN:** Well, that didn't take long either. No, I went to Washington with him and Mother after the '38 election. And I stayed in Washington for the three or four—well, let's see, two or three years that I did not come home in the summer with my mother. And Dad didn't come home either because it was World War II. So I was then what, 12 to 14, I guess.

And then came back to learn to be the editor of the paper. My dad used to send me the copies of the *Star-Republican* that circled or noted either typographical errors or my grammatical errors when I was writing a paper. But it was one of those times when things happened, like the guy raping the girl on the steps of the Methodist church. It was during the harvest festival, and I wanted to go after him. My mother said, "How are you going to get there? You can't get there on your bicycle." And I said, "Well, I'll sit home and wait." And the kid was captured shortly after that and tried and sent to the Lima reformatory for deranged young men. But then within two years, I had the obligation of going down to identify these people who were killed in the head-on accident. And I knew who they were, and that's when I was working on the paper and getting ready to drive to Washington for a weekend or whatever the holiday was. But the end of it is that I stayed with the paper until I was elected in the first instance.

**WASNIEWSKI:** I had a few of my own follow-up questions from that first interview. One of them was we talked about the day of December 8th, 1941, and I threw a lot of questions at you about that day. But I was wondering if we could just revisit that and have you walk me through your experience that entire day, being in the House Chamber, because that's a pretty remarkable moment in American history. And I would just like to get your perspective start to finish:

how you got to the Capitol, what the atmosphere was like in the chamber?  
What you recall.

**BROWN:** Well, the first thing is that I had been out selling fruitcakes on that Sunday in my neighborhood as a member of the Boy Scout troop and came home to have my dad and family tell me that—and my sister was living with us at the time, then just graduated out of Duke—and they told me about the attack on Pearl Harbor. My dad said, “Why don’t you get dressed up tomorrow to go down to the Capitol with me?” And that was an invitation that I could not refuse because I figured it was going to be a vote on us entering the war. Roosevelt would be there as the President and made the “Day that Will Live in Infamy” speech. But the thing Dad did when we walked in, Johnny McCabe, who was the doorkeeper, from the Republican side of the House Chamber, stopped us at the door. And Dad said, “I’ll go on in. And Johnny, when you’re ready to let him in, just tell him to go to the back of the chamber.” And that’s where I did. I didn’t spend the time with Dad until—and I was next to the woman from Montana who was a Member of Congress and who was the ‘no’ vote. She was there close to us. And when I was the president of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society that got me later sent a picture that had been sent to the U.S. Capitol Historical Society, obviously taken from the gallery. You can identify me as the kid in the jacquard sweater close to the one ‘no’ vote in the Capitol at that time.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Jeannette Rankin.

**BROWN:** Jeannette Rankin, yes, excuse me. Jeannette Rankin. And I don’t know that when the House adjourned or when she left to go to a telephone booth that I can remember that part of the involvement.<sup>4</sup> But it was startling to me to see that she would vote no. And Dad gave me to Henry [Clarence] Dworshak, who was a second-term Member from Idaho. And that’s how I wound up

being next to Jeannette Rankin because the states Idaho and Montana are close.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And do you remember the atmosphere after the vote, after Rankin had cast her no vote?

**BROWN:** Only to the extent that there was obviously a lot of muttering and people in shock that she was willing to vote no. But she had also been a no vote in the First World War, her other term that she served. And so that maybe didn't surprise anybody. And, of course, she'd been there for a while. And people knew what her views were on the international situation. So it didn't set anybody off. But it did send the press off after her, and that's why she left the floor and went to the cloakroom, and that's where the press came down to try to confront her on the subject. But they couldn't get into the cloakroom until we adjourned.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Thanks. Just one more question related to your father's career. We had started off on this, and it's a general question really. It's not about your father's career so much. But just your observations on what the culture and pace of life in the House was like in the '40s when you knew it as a child. But do you see any difference in that and how it has changed over the years—the way Members interact, the way business is done in the House?

**BROWN:** Well, my memories go back vividly to the beginning of my service in the House because soon after I was in the House, I was taken into Chowder and Marching. And Chowder and Marching existed because people like Jerry Ford and others who served in the South Pacific in the military during World War II were people who had created Chowder and Marching as a group of Republicans, a private group. I think originally it had maybe 18 people in it.

And at the time I got in it, it had perhaps 24 or so. But that era was a time when the war was over.

And you have asked me a question I really can't answer because I can't recall the relationships that existed. I can remember my mother saying that she had a very formal presentation of herself in printed cards that she had to present to the White House, to the Speaker, and then to other people who were significant, I guess, from Ohio who were serving in Washington at the time. I thought that is an interesting requirement because you'd think that maybe things were more—but the experience of having to do that as part of the obligation as a wife of a new Member was impressed on me at the time, and I don't know why, I just thought gee, that's an unusual thing. And then later, it was clear that the House was still in an old order of things. You had, I think, 40 different committees. I mean that, committees, not subcommittees. But they were made up of the subcommittees that were washed out when my dad set up the new arrangements where the executive branch then went to the new formation, and then later on...

**WASNIEWSKI:** Mr. Brown, you're breaking up a little bit. You sound very muffled.

**BROWN:** Oh, I'm sorry.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Okay. You were talking about your mom's experience and then you were talking about committees and subcommittees.

**BROWN:** Well, let me close that up quickly. My mother had to do this card presentation to the people in Congress. It was a social thing. That was 1939, '40 when I first went to Washington with Dad and Mother and one of my sisters just graduated from Duke. And his secretary and another woman who was our housekeeper lived in an apartment in Alban Towers. And we lived in

very close quarters because I got an enclosed porch which was okay when the weather was good. It was tough there when it wasn't.

But the House itself was something that was a new experience for us as a new Member of Congress. The first obligation was to do all the things that a new Member of Congress did when they first got there. And that was—remember it was 1939—Mother had to call on the various people that etiquette required her to call on with cards. And then after that the House changed because my dad got the idea of the Hoover Commission and served on both the First and Second Hoover Commission, which changed the House and its organization and the Senate, too, considerably from what it had been when I first came with my father, because then it had 41 different committees as I recall.

And Dad got that number down and got to a manageable number of committees. Many of the committees that existed when I first got there with him—they had three different committees on the elections that had transpired. The one that was last year, the one that was this year, and the ones that were going to be next term and all sorts of different organization committees. And then they were changed radically by the time I got to Congress—well, before I got to Congress, to where the Rivers and Harbors Committee didn't exist. It was now part of the Interstate and Commerce Committee or whatever it was.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Just one question because you mentioned your mom having to go around and introduce herself with calling cards. Was she active in the Congressional Wives Club?

**BROWN:** Yes. Well, it was called the Congressional Club at that time because it was a wives' group and it crossed party lines, and so she was involved very much. I

can remember her wrapping bandages at home for use of returning casualties of World War II. But that was something that the members of the Congressional Club did. And my sister, who was married to a guy in Washington during that period at the end of the war, had her marriage at the Congressional Club on whatever it is, not 16th Street, but it's close to Connecticut Avenue.

**WASNIEWSKI:** All right. If you don't have anything else to cover from your father's era, I wanted to move into your career. And last time we had talked about your special election and left off at the night of the victory. And I'm wondering, coming into the House, if you've got memories about your swearing in ceremony and what family and friends were present.

**BROWN:** Well, obviously my wife and my kids were there as I had at that time in terms of the kids. We had one later. But the family was very supportive, and we had a lot of friends come in from Urbana that we had known for one reason or another, professionally, our dentist, our doctor, and their wives, and others all came in to celebrate that accomplishment that was a very short notice thing because, as I said, Dad died in August, and we had the first primary in September and the general election in November.

The other thing that I can recall was that I got sworn in in January with just one other person, and that was Tom [Thomas Mankell] Rees, from California. And [Majority Leader Carl Bert] Albert was the acting swearing inner, the one that was in charge because Speaker John [William] McCormack was either away or something when that time came. And that was done soon after I got elected. I think Congress was not in session at that time, and so I went to Washington and got to my office and all that happened with the new Congress—not the new Congress, but yes, the new Congress. It was the second session of the 89th Congress [1966].

What else can I tell you? I think we had no great celebration of any kind except that the folks who had come to be there—and we went down, and my brother-in-law was driving the car that took me down to the Capitol for the swearing in. And they'd changed the streets, they had some one-way streets, and I gave him directions about how to get there. And he was surprised that I knew that much about Washington.

**WASNIEWSKI:** So you took the oath in the well of the House. What was that moment like for you? I mean to become a Member in a place where your father had been for so many years.

**BROWN:** Well, it was a big thrill, and I had a lot of people come up to me after the oath and congratulate me on succeeding my dad in the Congress. And so I knew that there was something unusual about it. It was during the 89th Congress [1965–1967], and so therefore he served the first term of the 89th Congress and I followed him with the second half term. But a lot of folks that served with Dad and knew Dad and had comments. And several knew me because they were in the Ohio delegation. And I think we had a chance to meet those folks pretty well before I was elected.

**WASNIEWSKI:** If you were in DC setting up the office, were you going around and introducing yourselves to Members who may have been in town at that point?

**BROWN:** Not necessarily. I think I accepted Dad's staff. I called his secretary right after I got nominated in the primary, and I think I may have told you that story, and said, "Tell all the people who are working in his office that when I'm elected they'll stick around." And Miss Harpster said, "I will not do that." I said, "What do you mean?" She said, "Well, there's a law against it. You can't promise to people that you'll have something to do after you get elected that

will affect them positively.” I said, “Okay that sets me up for being careful about what I do as a new Member of Congress.”

As a new Member I got very interested in a lot of the things that the Congress did at that time because I was on the Government Operations Committee, and Dad had served on that committee. It had been set up after he did the Hoover Commission. The responsibilities I had were not heavy in terms of the committees I was on. So I would go listen to the debates that were going on or the presentations.

And I don't know that I told you this. I was listening to Wilbur Mills making a presentation about the new tax law that his committee had passed. I thought this is interesting to me from the standpoint of the business connection and the connections that were affected by what the new law would do. And I was sitting next to another Member of Congress who was relatively new and I said, “Isn't this interesting?” And he turned to me and said, “I don't know why you find it interesting. If this really turns you on, you can stay and listen to it. I'm going to do something else.” So that was my involvement to the extent. Well, until I wound up getting new assignments. And I saw Jerry Ford who came to Dad's funeral along with Bill [William Levi] Dawson, the black chairman of Dad's Government Operations Committee and so forth, and about six or eight others.

Jerry Ford I saw as my older brother. That was the relationship we had because he was also new in that position of being the Minority Leader. And whenever I got a committee assignment that didn't work for me—well, that's the wrong way to put it. After I was on the Government Operations Committee, I then went through committees, and I knew that with the changes made in the first election for a full Congress, where I had no opposition incidentally, the vacancies that my dad had held had been picked

up by somebody else because they were all significant positions. Interstate and Commerce was his first choice when he first came to Congress. And I knew that I couldn't get on either Appropriations or Ways and Means, which were the two very significant committees that I wanted to be on. So I decided I would also look at Interstate and Commerce as a committee I wanted to be on and then later the Joint Economic Committee. I told Jerry Ford when I took the Interstate and Commerce Committee. I said, "I'm interested in this because it's the next best committee after Appropriations and Ways and Means, in my opinion." So he said, "Okay." And I think within two terms I was on all three committees.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Yes, that's right. I'm going to get to committee assignments in just a minute, but I want to walk you back just a second to talk about—you've hit on a couple points that I want to follow up on. Setting up your congressional office. You said you carried over your father's staff. Can you just tell me how your office was organized? I mean, this is the 1960s, and the way congressional offices operate has changed over time. How did you organize your staff? Did you have a chief of staff? And did you have district offices?

**BROWN:** I never gave anybody the definition of chief of staff, I don't think. I don't remember doing that. But a woman who had worked in Dad's office who was obviously skilled and was from Toledo and had come, I think, to Washington to work for [Henry] Frazier Reams, who was first an independent and then later a Democrat, I think. But in any event, she worked for Dad as the very accomplished position that she was in. But Dad had brought to Washington Rose Kincaid, who had been his lifelong secretary in effect. He found her—well, I won't go into that joke story.

But he said he heard rustling in the bushes and it turned out to be his secretary Rose Kincaid who was with him in the first years that he was in the

office. And she stayed with him a good part of that time. But she was his more general political and other activities secretary and knew everything there was to know about my dad and his business arrangements and so forth. The end of it is that when she retired, Margaret Harpster took her place. But we had another woman briefly in there by the name of Lula Metcalfe who was older than Margaret, and she just accepted the responsibility of making the assignments of who got the mail to work on and who had other things that they might do that would be connected with my service.

**WASNIEWSKI:** How big was the staff at that time?

**BROWN:** Two when my dad first went because I can remember going down. And he had an office, as I recall, in the Cannon Building. I think it was 212 Cannon, and it was the two offices. And he occupied one to himself and the outer office was occupied by the staff of two and some waiting room or whatever the rest of the room was used for. By the time I left the Congress, there were 18 members on staff.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And it sounds like there were a lot of women on staff even in the 1960s who were holding important positions.

**BROWN:** Well, I think there were. In the first place, we had a lot of women Members of Congress, and they all wanted to have women on their staffs because they felt more comfortable with women. The male staff directors and so forth also, of course, had responsibility for women Members. And the staff exchanged a lot of information back and forth, I think, whether I was conscious of it or not, to get things done, answering mail and dealing with problems, that in effect I soon turned over to the staff completely because I had confidence in them. And as I say Lula Metcalfe and Margaret Harpster—and Margaret

stayed through almost all my career—had the responsibility of assigning mail to answer and that sort of thing.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And did you have district offices that you maintained too.

**BROWN:** We couldn't do that at the time because there was no allowance for it. But later on—no, I take that back. Yes, my dad, before I got elected, opened an office near the Brown Publishing Company, in the same building. And I don't know that he ever had a member of staff in that office, but by the time we—there was an allowance for paying for that sort of thing if you wanted to use it. He only did it in the last couple terms he served. When I came in I thought well, we'll set up that district office in the most populous community in my district, and that was Springfield. And I hired in somebody that I had confidence could run that when I wasn't around.

And that was a good part of the time because, as I said, the war changed things and the way Congress lived in terms of how much they spent in the office and how much they had as free time, as it were. So I came in just at the beginning of the war, and that all shifted around very much by requiring you to be there most things. I think at one time we had a session that lasted 366 days because you had to start a new session with the next year. So it was a very demanding time, and it was a time to have to learn quickly the responsibilities of your committee. But at any rate, that's the way life was lived. The first year I was in Washington, I lived alone in an apartment house, really just a rental property, one room, and my wife stayed home with the kids because she didn't know whether I would have opposition next time, and she wanted to be part of that political scene. So when I didn't have any opposition with the next election, she moved to Washington. We lived there until we retired from Washington a couple years ago.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You had also mentioned the greeting you received from a lot of your dad's former colleagues that served with him for many years. I'm just wondering—and you've touched on this a little bit—did you seek any of them out as a mentor? You've mentioned Jerry Ford. That might be a good place to start. You said he was an older brother figure, but how did you come to meet Mr. Ford?

**BROWN:** Well, he came to Dad's funeral with the delegation that included—I can't remember how many people in the delegation because at the time I was still grieving over my dad's death. But I did have one funny occurrence that occurred at that time because after Dad passed away his remains were taken to Gawler's Funeral Home, which is still there, it's still very famous. So my two sisters and my wife and I think Dad's secretary Rose—we all went to Gawler's the next morning after he passed away, about 2:00 or 3:00 in the morning. We were all tired, and everybody was still affected by Dad's demise. And some guy came in—I was told to go to the third floor of the Gawler's building or something and sit in an office, and somebody would be in to talk to me—and a guy walked in, and you could tell that he was not part of our group, not part of Congress or anything else. He sat down and said, "Walmendorfer." And I said, "Your name or mine?" Because I didn't want to make an arrangement for somebody named Walmendorfer that I'd never heard of. And he said, "You're Mr. Brown, aren't you?" And I said, "Yes, and that was my father." So anyway, that got my sisters and wife out of whatever their sulky mood was to laughing because it was one of those strange occurrences.

Lyndon Johnson came to his funeral. Well, it wasn't his funeral, Gawler's. But came to Gawler's to pay his respects to my dad, in part, I think, because

Lyndon had just brought to the interest of the Congress the civil rights bill of 19 whatever it was.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Nineteen sixty-four civil rights bill?

**BROWN:** Nineteen sixty-four, yes.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And the '65 Voting Rights Act would have probably been one of the last bills that your father voted on.

**BROWN:** That's correct because he then—and he had been in the hospital before then. And he came out of the hospital for the Voting Rights Act and the civil rights bill the year before. But I was impressed with Lyndon Johnson coming as President of the United States to see my dad's funeral.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Did you speak with him?

**BROWN:** Oh yes. And I told him who I was, and that's about the end of it. He told me what he thought of my dad. It was all very positive because Lyndon had been interested in the civil rights activity, and so had Dad, I think, all his life. But he was serving as a Member of Congress on the Rules Committee with the fellow who would not be sensitive to the interest of the Negroes in the South or in the United States because he represented a district that you didn't have to do anything particularly to attract black votes: Judge [Howard] Smith. And when Dad left being his ranking Republican on his committee that Smith had been on since before Dad went to Congress, Judge Smith left the office. He just did not want to take part in things at his age to learn a new approach to things. And I know Dad had always had that approach, that is the sympathy to the blacks, because there was a time—I think I've told you all this—there was a time when the blacks voted Republican quite heavily.

My first experience with Dad making political speeches as a state officeholder were to these black groups.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You did talk about that last time. Did your father have any stories about Judge Smith? Some of the ones from the '50s and '60s about how he would block legislation by refusing to bring the committee together, claiming he had to tend to things on his farm in Virginia? What was their relationship like?

**BROWN:** Formal but friendly. And the times when Dad served on the Rules Committee with Judge Smith, the judge knew that he couldn't—how should I say this? That until the end of my dad's life that there were not very many votes that confronted the Rules Committee with the black voters issue. And Dick [Richard Walker] Bolling, who was also on that committee, who was a very liberal Democrat from Missouri, visited Dad in his office several times. They talked through this thing. I don't think Dick Bolling had convinced Dad of something he was already convinced of, that when the time came, he should support the extension of civil rights to the black community. But anyway, that's where Dick Bolling was maybe working on my dad as part of the relationship, which won him away from Judge Smith on that issue. We didn't have very many issues before that where you could divide it on racial lines.

**WASNIEWSKI:** We've gone a little afield from the question because we started out talking about Gerald Ford coming to your dad's funeral. That's how you met him. And he served in something of a mentorship role for you?

**BROWN:** Yes, I'm sitting here looking at a picture of the two of us because I could visit him in his office. Jo Wilson, Josephine, she was Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, no relation to the President, and she was a widow, but her role was to assist Dad

in the assignment of new Members when they came in because whoever had been the Speaker before then just said, "Send that down to Clarence Brown, let him worry about it." And so Dad officially through her had that assignment. She went to work for Jerry Ford, I think, the year before Dad died. And she continued in that role, but she continued to send Dad the materials Dad would find necessary to look at before he made the specific committee assignment.

Now how he did that I'm not sure, except that a lot of guys who I ran into when I first got to Congress on any committees of substance like the Interstate and Commerce Committee, Government Operations was a committee of substance, and they gave that to Dad after the Hoover Commission, and he was the ranking Member of that committee. But at any rate, a lot of fellows who I ran into as Members who were senior to me said, "Yes I remember going to talk to your dad about what committee assignments I would get, and you got to be satisfied with Interstate and Commerce." And I said, "Well, I am but I'd like to also be on the Joint Economic Committee."

**WASNIEWSKI:** Was there anyone else other than Ford who you looked to as someone to learn from, a mentor in your early career in the House?

**BROWN:** I told you the story about Mrs. Bolton coming across the House to say something to me about chewing gum on the floor of the House.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Yes, you did. She sounds like there's other stories of her going to women Members and telling them what kind of dresses and not to wear hats on the floor. She sounded like she was a little bit of a fashion policeperson.

**BROWN:** She was. Her husband had served in the House of Representatives and had died, I think, in that service. And so she felt a long term dedication to the

House and served there until she was either not well or passed away. But other Members of the House—gosh, I can think of a lot of different people with whom I served. I guess I just didn't feel that I—well, I felt I needed the help of Ford and his office on my committee assignments. And Jerry delivered that, or through Jo Wilson. I don't know what that influence was, which way it went. But I wound up getting the three committees that I thought were worthwhile. And they obviously tied in something of my dad's career.

Government Ops had a black chairman [Bill Dawson] when Dad died, and he came out with Jerry and about 10 or 12 other people. That's all I can remember because I was still having some emotional problems as a result of Dad's death. I don't know that my dad ever would have said in the Congress, "Well, when I'm gone; my son will seek my seat," because we never had that conversation. Jerry Ford, when he was there with the delegation, said something to me about are you interested in running for your father's seat? And I said, "I'll have to think about that." I thought about it. I never called Jerry back to tell him, "I'm doing it." But that was one of the first interests that got expressed to me from the Congress. And I don't think Dad had ever mentioned it to him specifically. Jerry Ford talked about having won his position as the Minority Leader with I think one vote at the time that he defeated—was it Charlie Halleck?

**WASNIEWSKI:** That's right.

**BROWN:** And I can tell you that my dad never cared much for Charlie Halleck. And Jerry Ford did win his Minority Leader position with that one vote. And he never suggested, nor did I ask, if he thought that came from my dad. I never asked my dad that question because I wasn't conscious of the means by which those positions were allocated, that is, how you got to be the Minority

Leader. But it was a vote of the whole Republican membership of the Congress.

**WASNIEWSKI:** I want to move at some point into your committees and talk about Government Operations and Interstate and Commerce at that point and then also the Joint Taxation. But this might be a good point when we're talking about your early career and how you learned the ropes to transition and talk a little bit about the Chowder and Marching Club.

**BROWN:** Well, can I take that away from you for a minute?

**WASNIEWSKI:** Certainly. Yes.

**BROWN:** You look at my career in education, and you'll find that starting with the college career and then Harvard Business School, I was always interested in, and listening to, my friend, our friend Wilbur Mills talk about the tax laws and so forth. I was always interested in the economic things primarily. And I took the Interstate and Commerce Committee because I thought that was the next best committee to take for that interest. And so the end of it is that I tried to follow that path. And when I had the Interstate and Commerce Committee, it became my primary interest until I got on the Joint Economic Committee. Then I would go to meetings of the Joint Economic Committee when Henry [Schoellkopf] Reuss, or somebody else was chairman.

And we were thought of in those days always as a bipartisan and bicameral part of the operation of the Joint Economic Committee. You had House and Senate Members, and the committee worked through the seniority in both the House and the Senate membership separately. In other words, I wound up being the acting chairman of the Joint Economic Committee in my later years because I've got pictures of me sitting in that position in the old chambers that were in the Russell Building. I am in the position of being

presiding over something that had Hubert Humphrey on my left and somebody else on my right that you could identify as not having the gavel.

But the position that I held in the Joint Economic Committee was that we had to work together for the establishment of economic rules. And it was clear the last term that I had we got a unanimous vote, the first time in 20 years and the existence of the Joint Economic Committee. First unanimous vote from all the Members of the Joint Economic Committee on a report that we put out. And I must say that that made me feel great confidence in the idea that I could run for governor because I thought if I can put that committee together that had people from both the left and the right in Congress on it, liberal Democrats, conservative Democrats, liberal Republicans, and conservative Republicans, I ought to be able to do very well running for governor. And so I did, and then we had the economy collapse at that time in a very sharp recession that lasted I think only about 12 months. But it was enough to end my ambition to be the governor of Ohio, and possibly just as well because I knew more about the federal government than I knew about the state government. How did we get started?

**WASNIEWSKI:** Well, we had talked about maybe transitioning from committees to talk about Chowder and Marching. But I'm happy to talk about committees if you think that would be more productive today.

**BROWN:** Well, I was, as I said, always interested in the Ways and Means Committee and the Appropriations Committee. They'd both been filled when I got there, so I took Interstate and Commerce for obvious reasons. But one of the first committee assignments I had on the Interstate and Commerce Committee was with Lionel Van Deerlin as the chairman of my Subcommittee on Communications and Power. And so I went with him at the time that we passed through the House and through the committee

legislation that established the FM radio, the educational broadcasting, which is now public broadcasting I guess. And there was one other function of it I recall that we had.

But it was a time when the committee worked together on things. And I felt comfortable with Van Deerlin in this because we were establishing this for the good of the country as a matter of law. Oh, I know—the other one was automobiles were all to carry FM radio. And at the time, I thought that's probably the only thing that we did that was unconstitutional. I don't know how you forced your will as a government on the automobile manufacturers, but we did. And those things were recognized, I guess, by Van Deerlin here just a few years ago when he was being honored by the people in his San Diego constituency, the whole community I think, for having fathered this concept of the three pieces of legislation that we originated to modernize the whole communications industry. We're past that point now perhaps because you got the movies involved and so forth. But the reason that I felt comfortable with Van Deerlin is that I can't remember any other Members of that committee at the time.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Let me go back and walk you through Government Operations and then move to Interstate and Commerce. So Government Operations, your dad had been on that committee. You've talked about how you were assigned to it. Let's talk about some of the people who were on that. You've mentioned Bill Dawson of Illinois who was chairman of the committee at the time. Do you have any memories of him or some of the other folks on the Democratic side of the committee?

**BROWN:** L. H. [Lawrence H.] Fountain was one as I recall on Government Operations.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Chet [Chester Earl] Holifield would become the chair.

**BROWN:** Later.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Later. And then Jack [Bascom] Brooks would become chair I think probably your last term.

**BROWN:** Yes. But wasn't L. H. Fountain also in there somewhere?

**WASNIEWSKI:** I don't have him on my list. He may have been. I had Dawson serving till 1971 as chair, and then Holifield takes over through '77.

**BROWN:** It's pronounced Holifield anyway.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Holifield, yes, sorry.

**BROWN:** Well, I was not the Ranking Republican on the committee at that time. I perhaps was one of the more active when I got that committee assignment as the only assignment when I first went to Congress because I thought, well, if I've got the committee assignment, I'd better be there when they're doing things. And so I was very active for the first few years on the committee and then felt very comfortable with what we were doing.

My reaction when I heard that I was going to go to the Interstate and Commerce Committee and go to the question of what subcommittees I would get and so forth was that I wanted Communications and Power. And so [James Thomas] Broyhill was senior to me on the committee. I said, "There's a Communications Subcommittee and a Power Subcommittee, an Energy Subcommittee." And I said, "Which one would you want?" And he said, "I'd like both of them." And I said, "So would I. So let's make a decision now about who's going to do what." And because Broyhill was senior to me he said, "Well, if you want Energy, I'll take Communications."

And I said, “That’s fine.” And he said, “And then when you need a senior person on Energy [for] help and advice, you can call on me.” I said, “Well, I’ll be more than happy to do that,” which I didn’t do, and I don’t think he ever resented it. But the point is that I spent my first part of that on Communications with Van Deerlin. And I don’t have a memory. I’m trying to remember where my feeling about L. H. Fountain comes into this. He must have been the ranking Republican on that committee when I first went onto Government Operations. I haven’t ever checked that out.

**WASNIEWSKI:** On Government Operations?

**BROWN:** Yes.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Florence [Price] Dwyer of New Jersey was the...

**BROWN:** That’s right. She was the Republican.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And then Frank [Jefferson] Horton took—she was there till ’73 as the ranking Member, and then Frank Horton of New York took over for the last decade that you were in Congress.

**BROWN:** That’s right. Well, I can remember. I don’t know why the association about L. H. Fountain. But at any rate, my attitude—I shouldn’t admit this, I guess—but my attitude about Florence Dwyer was that she never was very strong in her views on anything. And I shaped what the committee did as somebody subordinate to her because she was the chairwoman. I had a different relationship with the other fellow from New York.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Frank Horton.

**BROWN:** Yes, Frank. Because I had the feeling that Frank had stronger positions sometimes equivalent to mine and sometimes at variety from mine. But I

worked with both of them effectively I think. Wasn't John [Neal] Erlenborn in there somewhere?

**WASNIEWSKI:** Perhaps a Member of the committee. I don't have him.

**BROWN:** I think he was senior to me until he got assigned to another committee. I'm not sure.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Do you remember any other Republican Members of that committee during your time? I had a committee roster. Bob [Robert Joseph] Dole at one point served on the committee—Donald [Henry] Rumsfeld.

**BROWN:** I think by the time they served they were junior to me in their rank of service on the committee and in other ways. And I have to suggest that—and this is a terrible self-serving suggestion, but they left it up to me to make the decisions about where the committee was headed.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Well, I'll come back to subcommittees at another point. But let me ask some more general questions about being on Government Operations. You were in the minority at that point.

**BROWN:** I was always in the minority.

**WASNIEWSKI:** That's right. So what chance did you have at that point to participate in the legislative process as a minority Member? Let me ask that one first. Was there opportunity for the minority to have a lot of input at the committee level?

**BROWN:** I think by the time I got on the Government Operations Committee my dad had been the ranking Republican on the committee, I think for the time Bill was chairman, and then Holifield was my chair when I can recall that work. But when the Government Operations Committee was my only assignment, I was probably filling the seat of Flo Dwyer and others as we heard the

testimony of people who were interested in certain things that came before the committee. But when we got down to the point of the final vote on an issue—and it didn't always come that way. But at least people listened to my viewpoint on it. And though Mrs. Dwyer didn't always share the same viewpoint, and the same is true of Frank Horton, we met.

### **END OF PART ONE ~ BEGINNING OF PART TWO**

**WASNIEWSKI:** A more general question about how important committee assignments are to a House Member's career. What can a good or bad assignment mean to a Member?

**BROWN:** Well, if it's my only assignment, I felt good having it, but I had the feeling that as soon as I got Interstate and Commerce and Joint Economic Committee about the same time as I recall, I knew where my basic interest lay, because of my education, in the Joint Economic Committee and in the work of the Interstate and Commerce Committee. And John Dingell and Frank [Edward (Ted)] Moss were on the full Interstate and Commerce Committee when I was first on it as a newbie, and when I found out, I thought they were two wild men on the Commerce Committee generally. I thought why am I here because this is not going to go politically in any way I'm particularly enthusiastic about. But I think time did move Frank Moss off the committee. But the situation with John Dingell was I helped John Dingell moderate his views because I at least had a sense of humor. John in the beginning of his service did not have much of a sense of humor.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Let me ask another general question. Government Operations has a lot of investigatory powers looking into what the executive is doing. And I want to get in a general sense: What was your philosophy about Congress' oversight responsibilities? Did that change over the years?

**BROWN:** Well, first place, I was never directly involved in any of the—what should I say, activities because all that was left to the staff. And we had good staff on the Government Operations Committee. A guy whose name now I can't remember, who was there when my dad was there, and they conducted the investigation with themselves and other limited number of Republican staff members we had. I always had the opportunity to discuss a specific issue before it came before the committee. How should I say this—at my level. Not the staff level but at the level for me to try to make a philosophical decision about which I think was right or wrong. I had confidence in the staff at that time. Well, I shouldn't say at that time because I've always had confidence in my staff because I could name the staff later when I got to the senior position on both committees.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And the staff does a lot of the legwork of course for committee hearings and background investigatory work. But I guess I'm looking for your general approach to should Congress have an active role in oversight and how that applied to your committee work on either Government Operations or Interstate and Commerce.

**BROWN:** Well, again remember that I was always in the minority. But I philosophically felt that the Congress should not try to write legislation in the specific sense but that my job was to deal with the realities of legislation that had been in effect done by the majority staff on those committees with the blessings of their leadership.

As I said one time, John Dingell and I got into an argument on the floor and John suggested that if we're going to ration gasoline, we should give it to the various businesses or services that had health orientation in their connection. I had this wonderful debate with John in which I said, "Well, I'm sure it would be right to give the doctors the first choice on gasoline if they get a chance against others that are not doctors." And I said, "I'm sure it's true of hospitals. What do you think of massage parlors, John?" And John did not like the question. Then the more he thought about it, the more he thought that kills the whole idea. We're not going to try to set the priorities for the people who maybe decide who gets gasoline and who doesn't. I do have to ask you the question. Do you remember the gasoline shortages that we went through that time?

**WASNIEWSKI:** Yes, I do. I do. I remember sitting in lines waiting for the green flag, yellow flag, red flag days. I was young, but I remember it.

**BROWN:** You're still young as far as I'm concerned. Go ahead.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Just again another question related to oversight. And, of course, as you pointed out you were in the minority and the Republican side wasn't in the driver's seat to do investigatory work, set that agenda for the committee. And I'm just wondering what it was like to be on that committee in the early 1970s in particular when there were so many investigations going on into what the president and executive branch were doing, when Watergate was dominating the news. What was it like to be on the committee at that point?

**BROWN:** Well, which committee are you talking about? Government Operations?

**WASNIEWSKI:** I'm still talking about Government Operations.

**BROWN:**

Yes. By that time, I think Government Operations had in my mind become my second committee assignment. Later I got the feeling that maybe my most significant committee assignment was the Joint Economic Committee where I had personal philosophical principles that I thought it was a victory when we could get the liberal Democrats—I could mention some names—and the conservative Republicans all in agreement on what we had written up in the report of the Joint Economic Committee at the end of my service before I decided to run for governor.

I don't remember those conflicts as much in the Government Operations Committee as I do in the other two committees—all three committees, but in the other two committees. I felt that I was putting together my views in such a way and my actions in such a way that I could demonstrate how little I thought of overregulation. I remember one situation when I was given all the regulatory books that affected the energy industry. I decided we will stack those books up in front of me because we were being covered by television and so forth, so that anybody sitting in the audience won't be able to see me. And my staff that I had on the committee thought that was one of the better ideas I had about opposing regulation or overregulation.

I can remember that I had conflicts on the Republican side with Tim Lee Carter because Tim had had an emotional involvement with losing his son and so forth, and he knew that I'd had the same experience with our daughter. But he got very upset with me one time and said, "If you weren't ranking to me on the committee, I would take care of you," and so on. And I thought that's a threat I can't ignore. But on the other hand, it isn't going to change my position. And he was also a Republican from Kentucky. But generally, we never had such conflicts within the Republican side of the committee.

I can remember one time on Interstate and Commerce when we had—I don't want to give names away to you if they're going to get publication on this in any way. But it was when Dave [David Alan] Stockman was on our committee. But I remember at least one of the freshman Members of the committee said, "Now the way we ought to play this thing, because we don't have enough to have a majority, is that I think I will take the position that the Democrats have had on this issue," that was before us at the time, "and then at the last minute I'll switch back and vote with the Republicans, and that may give us a majority." And I said, "If you do that, your career here in the Congress will be very short because then nobody will trust you." And I said, "You've got to express yourself in ways that you think reflect your viewpoint thoroughly." And the other thing I can remember is that we had a Democrat on the Commerce Committee, Phil [William Philip] Gramm was his name, from Texas. And I think he'd served as a Democrat before in some position. But I was having a meeting with my five or six Members that were Republicans. And Phil came in and said, "I just want to see how you felt about such and such because I think what we ought to do is so-and-so." I said, "Phil, if you wanted to know what we were going to do about it, you should have come to the subcommittee meeting. But what we're going to do is not what you're suggesting." And that was not we're going to fool the Democrats or anything else. That was just his view of something. I said, "If you want to express your view, you're welcome to come to the subcommittee meeting on it. But if not, don't come in and try to tell us what our positions ought to be."

**WASNIEWSKI:** We've been going about an hour and a half. Are you still okay to go for a few more minutes?

**BROWN:** Oh, sure.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You need to take a break or anything?

**BROWN:** No, I'm fine.

**WASNIEWSKI:** You're doing good.

**BROWN:** I'm not remembering things as well as I should. And if you wanted to ask me specifically how I voted on any piece of legislation, I think my answer would have to be I voted right on it, of course.

**WASNIEWSKI:** That's a good answer. Well, I think maybe we'll switch gears from committees. And what I can do is in between now and the next interview I can send you a full set of committee rosters and other information and let you look through that and see if there...

**BROWN:** I have those, yes, and all the books, and the trouble is that we had a flood in the basement. And the *Congressional Directories* that I have, the ones that I had were affected by that flood. And now Joyce brought me last night several copies that were not as badly affected by the flood in our basement. So I can keep up with it. I'm not sure I can tell you who all the Members are on the Joint Economic Committee or the other committees without looking it up in the books. But I do remember the ones that I thought were the most significant in the conversations.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Well, we'll come back to the committees because that takes you through your whole career. But before I get too far away from the early part of your career, this might be a good way to wrap up today: Chowder and Marching. Because you said that you got into the Chowder and Marching Club fairly early on, and I'm just wondering how that process worked. How did you join Chowder and Marching?

**BROWN:**

Well, it's like when I was in college and you wanted to know who got named for ODK [Omicron Delta Kappa]. And they had some kind of a placard up with ODK on it, and you could look up there and find out if you were one of the fortunate ones that was picked for that fraternity. And that was the general leadership fraternity at Duke.

The opportunity to join Chowder and Marching was something that I knew from talking to other Republican Members would be quite an honor. I had a feeling when I got—the other thing that has to be said was that Chowder and Marching had times when the Members and their wives, early on in my opportunity to be in Chowder and Marching, was one of the ways you do business. And they had a thing that was salacious in its presentation but when you had a meeting when your wife was there to suggest a moral philosophy about sexual involvement. But at any rate, that was what all the senior Members, the males, in Chowder and Marching sang to the new wives when they came in. It quickly made the conversations a lot less formal than they would be otherwise.

In Chowder and Marching, it was when you arrived—for males—I'm sorry, not the males, the Members—when you arrived at the meeting, and they would go around the table and ask people what they knew of their committees, what they knew from their districts, and what they knew from their general reaction to some of the proposals that they would be voting on. And it was a way that the Republicans who—I don't know whether this is a good phrasing or not—but who had personal feelings of their leadership capacity would sit around and talk about it. And you would have your views shaped by the responses you were getting in your district when you were at home making speeches or discussing things with the folks that you talked to from your district on other occasions. And how what you heard from your

committee on the specific subject that they wanted to tell their C and M [Chowder and Marching] members about, and on their general philosophic positions and then whether it differed—what they thought the majority of the committee was going to do that differed from the views that they held. And then each one of us listening to that could make our judgments of whether we supported what the C and M member thought or what they suggested somebody else was thinking in the bipartisan committees on which they sat. It was a great learning experience for me. I can't remember which night they met on. But whatever it was.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Was it Wednesdays?

**BROWN:** Yes. Regular Wednesday night, I wanted to get to Chowder and Marching before I went out socially for the evening or whatever we had to do because I wanted to hear those things from the various viewpoints. And I could then refine my own position on the issues, and I gave my own reports on committees that I was sitting on at the time. Does that make any sense to you?

**WASNIEWSKI:** It really does. I came across a quote that Bob [Robert Henry] Michel made at one point saying that it was really a two-way circuit, as a way to mentor young Members and get them plugged into the committee processes and various legislative issues that might be going on, but it was also a way for more senior Members to take the pulse of rank-and-file Members.

**BROWN:** I think that I don't know how to say this. I agree with Bob on everything except that it gave the senior Members an opportunity to mentor the younger Members because there are many times when I just didn't agree with something that was being said by a more senior Member of the Joint Economic Committee—I mean of the Chowder and Marching Group. We

had a wide variety of philosophy within the Republican Party from the time the group got established, and I can't think that—well, let me skip that.

One of our early Members was Richard Nixon. He could come to the Chowder and Marching Group when we might agree or disagree with him on a specific issue. I can remember having a meeting at the White House when Jerry Ford was the President and having a discussion that was fairly vigorous about whatever the subject was. And for one reason or another, I was one of the last people that left Jerry in the room where we were having the meeting. And we had it set up in a circular fashion, the way it usually was done in Chowder and Marching, around a table or something. But at any rate, Jerry followed me out and said, "Now Bud, you've got to tell those guys in Chowder and Marching that I don't think" whatever it was. His viewpoint was different than what he was being told by members of Chowder and Marching in the informal way that you would deal with somebody who was not the President.

And I thought that was very illuminating because I should say my mother-in-law trying to tell me how—this is a bad choice of words. My mentor, somebody who was a Member who was the guy who became President, and I was thrilled when he got the job. I was so thrilled because he was selected to be on the trip to be President I guess. And I was on an airplane, and I literally had a physical reaction to his being in the loop. But Chowder and Marching was one of those things where when you got together, whether you had the wives present or not, it was always completely informal. You might want to say Mr. Speaker or Mr. President or something else as you started. But you knew that whatever you said you could say, and nobody was going to come back at you as Jerry Ford did to me personally one time as I mentioned, saying, "Bud, you've got to explain that that's not quite the position that I

want us to take.” And I said, “Sure, let me go back and tell them that when we have our next meeting.”

**WASNIEWSKI:** But in the meetings you’re describing people were free to speak up regardless of their rank, whether they were—

**BROWN:** Oh, absolutely. Absolutely. And I guess the only position everybody respected was the guy who was holding the meeting at the time. And there was a different one of those from Chowder and Marching who was the host at whatever the meeting—they rotated through the membership.

**WASNIEWSKI:** A different person would host it every Wednesday that the House was in session.

**BROWN:** That’s right. Actually, I hate to bring this into it, but when I was the Deputy Secretary of Commerce, Joyce prepared the food. And we had a meeting of the Chowder and Marching group, and we had them all at the offices of the Commerce Department. And everybody expressed themselves as they wished.

**WASNIEWSKI:** How and when were you invited to join?

**BROWN:** Well, early on. Oh, yes, right, I’m sorry. I’ve got the book. It was fairly early in my career if I can come back to it. We used to list in this book—the book is a catalog for Chowder and Marching. And Joyce and I put it together when I was leaving the congressional relationship, I guess is a way to put it, although you were always welcome as a member of Chowder and Marching, whatever your position was after you left Congress. I came into it in 1967, the second term of the 90th Congress. And the book at least is the takes from those people who have gone on if you will. It had enough pictures in it that we could separate the charter members from the later members, Richard Nixon being one of the charter members I think.

**WASNIEWSKI:** And Ford as well.

**BROWN:** Yes, and Ford as well. Now how do you know this?

**WASNIEWSKI:** I've read bits and pieces of Mel [Melvin Robert] Laird's memoir.<sup>5</sup> He talks about Chowder and Marching. There are a number of newspaper articles, but no one history that I've come across.

**BROWN:** Well, I should give you this book because I think the book is still given—I'm sure it is still given to new members of Chowder and Marching. And it's one that Joyce and I put together from our last days in the Congress if you will.

**WASNIEWSKI:** That would be great. Can I ask you—because again in the different sources I've looked at no one seems to have a clear answer to this—but how did it get its name?

**BROWN:** It's a made-up name, Chowder and Marching. And I think it came from John [William] Byrnes, who was one of the very early Members. Well, wait a minute, maybe not because I'm looking at the picture of John. I'm trying to think whether he has a—no, I can tell you better. It came from Don [Donald Lester] Jackson, now gone on, who was the second guy that Glenn [Robert] Davis talked to. It started with people who were all veterans of World War II. And then by the time it got to me, it didn't make any difference whether you were a veteran of World War II, but it didn't hurt that you had had time in Korea or time in the service. But it was Don Jackson who I think came up with the name. And Chowder and Marching means—chowder is we'll do this around the dinner table, and marching meant that we will all be there for the others except if it interferes with our own career.

**WASNIEWSKI:** That actually gets to one of my questions too. How important was—I mean, it was an influential group of Republicans. And it's not a huge voting bloc

but it is a core voting bloc. Any instances in which it made a legislative difference or helped people get on a committee or advanced people's career in leadership?

**BROWN:** Well, there are two things about being in Chowder and Marching. One was, of course, you had to be a Republican. And second one was—or three things I guess I should say. You should be somebody who was likely to continue to be re-elected in the future. And that brought all of us to the membership. In other words, in the first selection of charter members they had some people who were serious members of the organization, Michel being one, but who were picked for the variety of the committees that they served on. Do you follow that?

**WASNIEWSKI:** Yes.

**BROWN:** And so it was almost like being in a fraternity except that in a fraternity you didn't belong to other committees. You were there by dint of being selected by whoever the senior group was. Usually the way it came about that people were selected was that they would start at one of the Chowder and Marching meetings after the new Members first met saying, "What do you think of so-and-so? What do you think of this guy as a Member of the organization?" And if you got a good vote you had a committee that could go talk to him.

Now let me make two or three comments about that. I think—God, I got to be careful about how I talk to you about this because—whoever was running for President or Vice President didn't always come with the endorsement of the Chowder and Marching group. And how do I know that? The endorsement wouldn't be made public. But there would be—I think the enthusiasm out of Chowder and Marching varied from the early days when charter members really got the support of the group and later days when you

had candidates for those offices outside Congress that sometimes it didn't come. It was a matter of, I guess, how you felt about the person after they were members of Chowder and Marching. And even that's a distinction I don't want to draw. Chowder and Marching also has women in it now.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Correct, yes, that happened in the early 1990s.

**BROWN:** Yes, Deborah [D.] Pryce I think was one of the first, wasn't she?

**WASNIEWSKI:** I think you're right. And Ileana Ros-Lehtinen I think was another.

**BROWN:** Yes. And that's just the way it is.

**WASNIEWSKI:** How was that group like or unlike some of the other informal clubs like SOS or Acorns that were from the same era, the '50s and '60s?<sup>6</sup>

**BROWN:** I can't tell you how it was depicted. I think I mean my version of it is it was the guys who served together in World War II who went to Congress who got together in 1949 to start the group. The other side of all those other groups, the other reason for all those other groups is they maybe moved toward not a common bond of having federal service in some way—I mean military service in some way—but the bond of their philosophy after that military service no longer was significant. Does that make sense?

**WASNIEWSKI:** It does.

**BROWN:** Okay. And then as we went along, I think Chowder and Marching was looked upon as a senior organization. Now, I'm not absolutely sure that's true. But at any rate, it has continued to be the group that influences Republicans in their votes in the Congress. I can't go beyond that because I don't know how people got selected for Acorns. In some cases, you would be in both organizations I think. But when I got into Chowder and Marching, I

thought I'd accomplished the most significant thing in my congressional career, and it was significant to my congressional service.

**WASNIEWSKI:** Okay. That might be an excellent breaking point for today because we're coming up on two hours.

**BROWN:** Time flies.

**WASNIEWSKI:** It does. I've enjoyed talking with you today.

**BROWN:** Okay. Well, I hope I've tried to cover the subjects that you wanted to ask about.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> John W. McCabe of Indiana worked in the Doorkeeper's Office as the Chief Page on the Republican side for more than two decades.

<sup>2</sup> On March 1, 1954, four Puerto Rican Nationalists, looking to draw attention to their demand of immediate independence for Puerto Rico, indiscriminately opened fire in the House Chamber, wounding five Members of Congress.

<sup>3</sup> The Cannon House Office Building opened in 1908, followed by the Longworth House Office Building in 1933.

<sup>4</sup> After recording the only dissenting vote for a U.S. declaration of war against Japan in wake of the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin sought refuge in a phone booth off the House Floor before receiving a police escort to her office.

<sup>5</sup> Dale Van Atta, *With Honor: Melvin Laird in War, Peace, and Politics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008): 31–33.

<sup>6</sup> Like Chowder and Marching, these groups met both for social purposes and for informal strategizing and discussion. For example, several Republican House freshmen in 1957, including Bob Michel of Illinois, founded Acorns to discuss legislative issues. See, Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, "What's in a Name? Origins of the Chowder & Marching Club," 15 January 2014, <https://history.house.gov/Blog/Detail/15032400030>; Kevin B. Smith, *The Iron Man: The Life and Times of Congressman Glenn R. Davis* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994): 99–110; Thomas A. DeLong, *John D. Lodge: A Life in Three Acts* (Fairfield, CT: Sacred Heart University Press, 1999): 149–151; Irwin Gertzog, *Congressional Women: Their Recruitment, Integration, and Behavior* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995): 92–95; Leroy N. Rieselbach, *Congressional Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973): 160; Charles F. Caldwell, "Government By Caucus: Informal Legislative Groups in an Era of Congressional Reform," *The Journal of Law & Politics* 5, (no. 3, Spring 1989): 630.