George W. Andrews III

Page, U.S. House of Representatives (1961–1964)
Son of Representatives George and Elizabeth Andrews of Alabama

Oral History Interviews
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"I was about 15. I had just gotten my learner's permit and the train was three hours late and so Dad and I drove that little Tempest around and I sat a long time at the station with my dad that day. I remember him saying, 'I have really enjoyed this time because it has given us a chance to know each other better.' It was hard on the family a lot of times because there were a lot of separations. Being a Page was a way to bring my dad and me closer together, because I saw the same thing he saw every day. I saw the same people that he saw and we'd talk about it. It gave us a nexus, a thing we could talk about. And I appreciated his job a lot more so to that extent it was great. I enjoyed that aspect of it so much and living on the Hill so much that the fact that we lived in a place the size of a postage stamp didn't really bother me that much."

George W. Andrews III
September 24, 2009

House Page and son of U.S. Representatives George and Elizabeth Andrews of Alabama, George W. Andrews III, poses with his dog Bambo in front of the Capitol in March 1965.
Image courtesy of George W. Andrews III, provided by the Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives

Table of Contents

Abstract

The son of two Members of Congress, George and Elizabeth Andrews, George W. Andrews III provides a unique look at the House of Representatives during one of the more turbulent periods in American history. Born and raised in the Deep South, Andrews discusses how he came to terms with divergent views on race relations—in his family, in the state of Alabama, and at the U.S. Capitol—in the civil rights era. In his series of interviews, Andrews offers a detailed description of the Alabama delegation, including his father's congressional office, during the 1950s and 1960s. He also reveals the impact of a House career on Members and their families faced with a decision of uprooting their lives and moving to D.C., or remaining home and spending time apart. Andrews, who joined the Page program in 1961 to be closer to his father, recalls an institution fraught by deep divisions, but where collegiality among Members typically prevailed. Andrews witnessed firsthand many historic events, including the vote to expand the House Rules Committee in 1961 and the lying-in-state ceremony in the Rotunda for President John F. Kennedy in 1963. Andrews also shares his memories of House traditions like the Congressional Baseball Game and the culture and living quarters of the Congressional Hotel where many Members of the time lived during House sessions. Assigned to the Democratic Cloakroom, Andrews credits the often stressful and fast-paced environment of his Page service, as a key component to his later career as a high-profile criminal defense attorney. After the sudden death of his father in 1971, Andrews observed his mother's transformation from a grieving widow to a serious candidate, determined to fill out her husband's term to continue his legislative agenda. In his dual role as House Page and as the child of Members, Andrews provides a distinctive narrative that augments segments of House history with few written records.

Biography

George W. Andrews III was born on October 12, 1946, in Union Springs, Alabama, to George and Elizabeth Andrews. Andrews' father served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1944 until his death on December 25, 1971. His mother Elizabeth went on to win the special election to fill out the remainder of her husband's term during the 92nd Congress (1971–1973).

Andrews remained in Alabama for much of his childhood while his father served in the House. In 1961 he moved to Washington, D.C., to become a House Page. Assigned to the Democratic Cloakroom, he answered telephones and relayed messages to Members of Congress—an essential role in an era before pagers, computers, or cell phones. As a Page, and as the son of an influential Representative, Andrews interacted with Members of Congress on a daily basis. During his tenure, he worked his way up to "number one phone Page," a position he held for the majority of his service. In his leadership role in the cloakroom, Andrews oversaw an organized and carefully orchestrated messaging system which required on-the-spot decisions—some of which involved important communications between House Leaders, the Senate, Cabinet officials, and even

Presidents. While employed by the House, Andrews attended the Capitol Page School, graduating in 1964.

After his Page service, Andrews attended Emory University in Atlanta, earning a B.A. in 1968. Three years later, he was awarded a J.D. from the University of Alabama. Andrews began his law career in the U.S. Navy, where he served in the Judge Advocate General's Corps until 1975. From 1975 to 1979, and from 1985 to 1989, Andrews was a chief prosecutor in the Jefferson County, Alabama, District Attorney's Office where he prosecuted many high-profile criminal cases. Andrews also worked in a private law practice and for a major legal firm in Alabama as a criminal litigator for both the prosecution and the defense. Currently a resident of Birmingham, Alabama, Andrews works part-time as a lawyer.

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) 226-5525, or via email at history@mail.house.gov.

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Interviewer Biography

Kathleen Johnson is a senior historical editor for the Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives. She earned a B.A. in history from Columbia University and holds two master's degrees from North Carolina State University in education and public history. In 2004, she helped to create the House's first oral history program, focusing on collecting the institutional memory of Members and staff. She co-authored two books: *Women in Congress: 1917–2006* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2006) and *Black Americans in Congress: 1870–2007* (GPO, 2008).

— GEORGE W. ANDREWS III —

INTERVIEW ONE

JOHNSON: This is Kathleen Johnson interviewing George Andrews, former Page and the son of two former Members from Alabama, George [William Andrews] and Elizabeth [Bullock] Andrews. The date is September 24, 2009, and the interview is taking place in the Madison Building of the Library of Congress. To start off with today, when and where were you born?

ANDREWS: I was born in Union Springs, Alabama, 1946.

JOHNSON: What were the names of your parents?

ANDREWS: George and Elizabeth Andrews.

JOHNSON: Jumping right into your rich political history, what can you describe about your father's first campaign for Congress in March of—when he won his election in March of 1944?

ANDREWS: Well, actually, to get into it his first campaign for Congress was unsuccessful. That was in 1940. He ran against Congressman Henry [Bascom] Steagall. He later said one of his platforms was that Henry Steagall had been in Congress for 20 years and that was too long. He changed his opinion—my dad changed his opinion after he'd served 19 years in Congress. He said he realized that he was wrong in 1940.

My dad was a prosecutor in Southeast Alabama. He was the DA and Mr. Steagall won the race. It was a fairly civilly conducted race, but Mr. Steagall was actually only the third Congressman from that district since Reconstruction. My dad was the

fourth, so in a span of almost 100 years, that district only had four Congressmen.

After he lost the election, he joined the Navy in 1943 and was sent to Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Initially, he was in Naval intelligence and then got moved into the legal department. In 1944 or late '43, Mr. Steagall died and they declared that seat open and they decided—I didn't know you could do this, but they decided that when they had the election they were calling the election for February that that election would also stand as the primary for the next term in Congress.[1] So he was actually running for a two-and-a-half year term and he was running against a lawyer from Dothan, Alabama, named [J. Hubert] Farmer. Dothan is down in the southeast corner of the district near the Florida-Georgia line and it's the largest city, if you could call it that, in that district. It has a population of about 30,000.

Winton Blount, Sr.—whose son Winton Blount, Jr., (Red Blount), later became Postmaster General under President [Richard Milhous] Nixon—the Blounts were from Union Springs and he contacted the Department of the Navy about seeing whether my dad could run while on active duty and the Navy ruled that he could run, but he could not campaign. Nor could he take any stand on issues or anything even remotely resembling a political campaign because he was on active duty.

JOHNSON: So he could just declare his candidacy.

ANDREWS: All he could do was say, "I'm running." And basically my mother ran his campaign. Mr. Blount was the campaign manager and Dad had friends throughout the district helping him. Mother told me later that she literally checked her last dime out of the bank to get him elected. He had a good lead. Almost won without a run-off, but there was a run-off against Mr. Farmer. There were actually four candidates initially, but when they had the run-off, Farmer, being from Dothan, had some friends and

they started altering the numbers. I brought a newspaper article up here I was just looking at the other day. What they would do is if Farmer got 470 votes, they would—this is back before they printed out, the results would be hand printed, but you would post one result on the courthouse and one at the voting station and the numbers were different on the two posts {laughter} and when they were counting they might change the four to an eight. And to hear Dad tell the story, he starts out, he is comfortably ahead. He's 5,000 votes ahead and the lead. By the afternoon he's 2,000 votes ahead and when all was said and done it was just getting down to the wire and my mother is from Geneva, which is a little town near Dothan down near the Florida line.

My dad's district actually geographically—to backtrack just a little bit—if you see the Georgia line, the Chattahoochee River divides the states and you take the southeast corner of the state of Alabama, go down the Chattahoochee, that was his district down to the Florida line, so it's like a long rectangle. But Bud Boswell was the Geneva District Attorney back then. Mr. Boswell had grown up with my mother and everybody from Geneva always called Mother, "Baby." She was the third of three children. And Mother's up in Union Springs going nuts, the lead is going from thousands to hundreds to scores and she gets a telephone call and it's Bud Boswell from Geneva. He says, "Baby, don't you worry about this election, darling. Ain't a single Geneva box getting reported until every one of those damned Dothan boxes are counted." {laughter}

When all was said and done and the smoke was cleared, he won by 46 votes. And that is actually the last time he was seriously challenged in the district for the rest of his career. He did have some opposition in 1952, but he won by about three to one. So that was certainly the closest race, but when he won, the Blounts and some supporters and Mother got on the train in south Alabama and Dad flew from

Honolulu to Washington and they met there and had a big party.

JOHNSON: That's great.

ANDREWS: So that's how he got elected.

JOHNSON: I wanted to go back to one thing you said about your mother, just a follow-up question. You said that she was responsible for the campaign; she played a very active role because your father was in Hawaii. What were some of the things that she did?

ANDREWS: Well, she was responsible for the money more than anything and back in those days it was a different world. Somewhere through the years I found one of his campaign books and I think the biggest contribution was like $100. The campaigns were literally run on a shoestring and she invested in . . . They certainly weren't rich. He had given up a district attorney's job. Mother never worked *per se*. She worked very hard but she never had a salaried job. So they were living on a lieutenant's salary in the Navy and prior to that as a district attorney's salary and so that was the biggest concern. But she kept in contact with people all through the district and would go to gatherings and talk about him and things like that because he physically couldn't be there. So she was on the road quite a bit and she had a five-year-old daughter at that time. It was a Herculean task for her.

JOHNSON: In his subsequent campaigns did she also work for him, did she go on the road or canvass or do any of the things that you just spoke about?

ANDREWS: She did. He really didn't have many campaigns. The only campaign—and this might be a good place to talk about it—it was one of the most unusual campaigns.

Probably the only election of its kind ever. In 1960, in the census, Alabama did not grow enough. We lost a Member. We had nine Members of the House and we went from nine to eight. They tried to come up with a redistricting bill. Well, obviously when you go from nine to eight somebody's got to go and there weren't any volunteers. {laughter} Nobody stepped forward and fell on the sword.

And interestingly enough it was in the summer of 1961 when the redistricting battle took place in the Alabama legislature. My uncle, Lawrence K. Andrews, better known as "Snag," was a lawyer, a very good lawyer, and stayed in Union Springs. Union Springs is a little town about 40 miles from Montgomery. And he served in the state senate for over 30 years himself and that summer was the summer of redistricting. Well, that was my first year of paging up here and when I went home for the summer I wound up paging for Uncle Snag in the Alabama state legislature.

The initial plan on the floor would combine the districts of George [McInvale] Grant, and Kenneth [Allison] Roberts. George Grant was from Troy. Montgomery was in his district. Kenneth Roberts was from Anniston, which was located above my dad's district. Those two districts were somehow going to combine and Grant and Roberts would have to run against each other. The plan passed the [state] house of representatives, but when it got into the state senate, there was enough opposition to it that they were clearly going to be able to filibuster it to death.

So late one night my Uncle Snag—who somebody told me later on they compared to—as the Everett [McKinley] Dirksen of the Alabama state senate—back literally in a smoke-filled room off the lieutenant governor's office, just off the senate floor, they said, "Well, this isn't going to work, so what are we going to do?" Well, the one Congressman who has been doing nothing and sitting out of this thing was George Huddleston, [Jr.], from Jefferson County, Birmingham. It was the biggest district in

the state. Uncle Snag said, "Well, we'll just carve up Jefferson County. Give everybody a little piece of Jefferson County." {laughter} So his defense was instead of only having one Congressman, they'll have four. {laughter} So lo and behold that's what comes out. It shows you a little bit of the time because the other big issue at that time was reapportionment. The one man, one vote controversy. And states all over the country were going through this.

But my uncle's district was Bullock and Macon Counties. The total population of the two counties put together wasn't 30,000. And the way it worked, Uncle Snag would serve four years representing Bullock County, and Union Springs, and then somebody from Tuskeegee, which is Macon County, would serve four years and they would alternate. But those 30,000 people had one senator. Jefferson County, which at the time had over 600,000 people, had one senator. So, again, it was easy to pick on Jefferson County because they didn't have that much representation. Three senators wound up filibustering—or trying to—the passage of the "chop up" Jefferson redistricting plan. And they all went on to have interesting careers. Senator [Larry] Dumas was a senator from Jefferson County and he was the senior partner in the second largest law firm in the state. His son was a law school classmate of mine. We are still very good friends. Ryan DeGraffenried**,** who was from Tuscaloosa, a brilliant, sharp man who was the logical challenger to George Wallace and was going to run against Wallace and was killed in an airplane crash right before the election and could easily have won and changed the course of history. And the third one was Bert Haltom, who was a senator from Florence up in northwest Alabama, who later became a federal judge. I tried my first federal case in front of him.

But as my uncle's page, my job was to watch the three of them talk for an hour each and make sure nothing funny happened all night while Uncle Snag slept on a cot outside the senate chamber. That bill passed, but the governor, Governor John

Patterson at that time, vetoed it because he didn't want to incur the wrath of Jefferson County. He still had further statewide political ambitions. So what the legislature in its infinite wisdom came up with was a plan called the nine-eight plan and in that plan, each of the existing nine districts nominated a Congressman, which was their Congressman, and then the nine ran against each other at-large, statewide.

JOHNSON: That's interesting.

ANDREWS: And the low man on the totem pole lost. He was out. Well, my dad was probably one of, if not the most, conservative Members in Congress in, I have grown up with this. I'm still a Democrat. I don't apologize for his politics. That was what he was brought up to believe. He was a staunch segregationist; he was a typical southern Congressman. And population-wise, he was from the smallest district, so he had three factors going against him. The black vote, to the extent that it existed in 1962 because this was a '62 election that it governed, came out against my father. The labor union vote came out against my father and he was from the smallest district population-wise. So he was a rather heavy underdog. But he had a great personality and he was a great speaker and people liked him. Those were his assets and he worked hard.

He was having to campaign . . . he had two young administrative assistants working with him. They were driving a Pontiac Tempest, which, thank God, don't even exist anymore. The Tempest was comparable to a Ford Falcon or Chevy Corvair. Dad had two 190, 200 pound administrative assistants. They would drive and he would sit in the passenger seat and he'd wear them out. They'd work three days and be off. Poor Dad was driving the whole time. There was absolutely no strategic planning. He was liable to be in Hunstville one day and Mobile the next and back in Birmingham the next. He spent very little time in his own district because he felt like he had that

sewn up, but he would go anywhere and they would—it was old-time politics. They would go into a town, go to the town square and he would get out and shake hands with everybody in the town. Then he'd go in the stores and talk and they'd spend a day in that town. Mass media was not thought of at that time.

JOHNSON: And since this was such a major task, did your mother also help out?

ANDREWS: She was up here with me. I was in school.

JOHNSON: Okay.

ANDREWS: She went some, but her parenting was her . . . They just weren't quite ready to turn me totally loose. She would go down some. She would pick her spots and she would go, but my dad—two things happened. First in Birmingham, where they had as much media coverage as you could get back then, all the nine candidates met at the Boutwell Auditorium, which was the big auditorium in Birmingham. All nine candidates met there and they all got up to give speeches. To hear Dad tell it, he said they were all pretty dull really. {laughter} And what could you do? There are no issues. Vote for me, don't vote for my opponents. {laughter} And you would vote for eight. The voter would vote for eight and not vote for one, so you just want to be one of the eight. So my dad said he was sitting there and all at once it came to him what to say, like less than five minutes before he was to stand up. He got up and his speech was about "Mr. Nine." He said, "Last night I had a dream that I was sitting in my office next year." And he said, "Boy, I was glad to be sitting there. All at once, my secretary buzzed me and said, 'Congressman, Mr. Nine is here to see you.' I said, "Oh, Mr. Nine! I'm so glad to see you. Come in and have a chair. Can I give you a cup of coffee? Can I give you a sandwich? Can I buy you lunch? I was so glad to see

him." He had the audience just dying laughing and he got the big headline of the day.

The other thing that he realized and you have to know a little bit about who [Representative] Frank [William] Boykin was to understand this and this might be a good place to talk about Frank Boykin. He was one of the most colorful characters. I brought the picture up here. He used to give great parties. Great parties. He was fabulously wealthy. He owned land. He owned much of Mobile and Baldwin Counties. Timber, salt, oil. His son-in-law was Riley Smith, who was a starting quarterback for the Redskins back in the '40s. He looked like a Congressman with long wavy white hair. He always wore the blue suits, vested, with a gold chain watch across the top and his slogan was: "Everything's made for love." It was in his hatband, it was on his cards, it was and it was his life.

My favorite story about Mr. Boykin that Dad used to tell was one year—he always loved to give lavish parties. He lived in the Washington Hotel and he often rented that basement in the Washington Hotel for "bear meat" parties. One year I know he had Chief Justice [Frederick Moore] Vinson give the speech and my dad said it was 100 degrees down there. It was in July. The air conditioner was—I don't even think they had air conditioners then. Chief Justice Vinson was giving the speech and my dad said it was the dullest speech he'd ever heard in his life and everybody in there, if they weren't snoring, they were fighting to stay awake. And there was a Congressman named Dewey [Jackson] Short from Missouri. Have you ever heard of him?

JOHNSON: Yes, I have.

ANDREWS: He was quite a character too. Apparently Mr. Short had a few alcoholic beverages, which were also known to be prevalent at Mr. Boykin's parties {laughter} and he said

finally in the middle of the Chief Justice's speech, Mr. Short stood up and he said "Enough! Enough! I can't take it anymore! Stop it!" {laughter} They all just fell out.

But anyhow, there was a lady and I don't know her name, which is probably good for posterity since this is being recorded. I just always called her Mrs. Grimes. That wasn't her name, but she was the type of lady that would go on and off the alcohol wagon periodically for months, if not years. When she was on the wagon and not drinking, she was extremely active in the DAR. The Daughters of the American Revolution, and excuse me—the DAC, Daughters of the American Confederacy. And the DAC had a convention up here in Washington at Constitution Hall. Mrs. Grimes was running for office, so Mr. Boykin decided to give a luncheon in her honor in that beautiful Speaker's Dining Room across from the present House Restaurant. The room had beautiful mirrored walls and ceilings. Dad and Mr. Armistead [Inge] Selden, [Jr.], the Congressman from Tuscaloosa, were invited to the luncheon. The luncheon was designed to promote her candidacy, so she was sitting at the head table. Congressman Boykin was also at the head table and he wanted to say something nice and really promote her. Dad described it. He said, "If you could take an aerial photograph of that room, it would look like the botanical gardens." {laughter} Every fruit, leaf imaginable that you could put on a hat was in that room. And in trying to promote the lady, Mr. Boykin gets up and starts to talk about Ms. Grimes' father, who was a justice of the peace.

However, Mr. Boykin referred to him as a great jurist, a fine judge in Mobile. And he said, "I remember, ladies, when Judge Grimes came to Washington, he was 82 years old. Eighty-two years old, ladies. I went up to him and I said, 'Judge, you want to get away from your daughter and all her friends, you come see me anytime you want to. You can come see me anytime you want to and we'll do whatever you want to do.' And ladies, one morning there was a knock on my door and I opened the

door and it was Judge Grimes. Ladies, do you know what he wanted? Do you know what he wanted to do? Ladies, he wanted whiskey and women!" {laughter} There was this stunned silence. Daddy said he almost choked, but he said to Frank Boykin that was the ultimate compliment that an 82-year-old man would want whiskey and women. That was Frank Boykin.

JOHNSON: But not quite the appropriate setting.

ANDREWS: Not quite the appropriate setting. That didn't matter. {laughter} But the second thing, giving a picture of Mr. Boykin, who was a wonderful man, let me say that. I don't mean to denigrate him at all. His office, to a six year old like me, was like being in paradise. He was here in the Cannon Building and in his private office, over the door that goes into a hallway was a six-foot diamond back rattlesnake skin. And then he had his gun collection in a glass case and in that gun collection was Jesse James' gun. Now can you imagine to a six year old seeing what it was like to see Jesse James' gun? I remember spending a Saturday morning with Mr. Boykin in his office and it was one of the most entertaining days I have ever had.

JOHNSON: Did you live with your family—your mother moved up when your father came to Congress?

ANDREWS: Oh, yes. Oh, yes.

JOHNSON: So you always lived in D.C. when the House in session?

ANDREWS: Yes. Yes. Yes. And I can tell you that in a minute. Let me finish the Mr. Nine story. The other thing that Dad realized he would win the election was when he was in Birmingham and had gone in the old city federal building, which was the tallest

building in town, to visit a lawyer friend of his. When he came outside he was standing on the street corner. And here was this guy in overalls and a hat, grizzled t-shirt everything, standing there beside him. He had no idea who my dad was. A Birmingham bus drove by and on the side of the bus is an advertisement for Frank Boykin and it's got Mr. Boykin with his head leaned back, holding the telephone. And the old guy turns around to my dad and says, "Look at that SOB, sitting in Washington in that air conditioned office." {laughter} Dad said, "I knew who was going to win the election then." And, sure enough, Mr. Boykin finished number nine. He was the ninth man.

But that went on. They had to do it again. And if I recall in '64, I believe Carl [Atwood] Elliott lost that time, who is an interesting guy, too. I don't know how much you know about Carl Elliott. He was the first winner of the Kennedy Profile in Courage Award. But he lost in, I believe he was the one in '64 and what happened was—and Dad saw it coming. He said, "If we don't get a redistricting bill this summer"—they had their Democratic primary in the spring. He said, "If we don't get a redistricting bill this summer, we're all going to lose because [Barry Morris] Goldwater is going to get the nomination and they don't know how to vote split tickets down here and we're going to run against—in '62 the Republicans, that was a joke. You were still a Democrat. That was tantamount to election. But he said, "That's not going to be the way it's going to be this time." I remember saying, "Dad, you're crazy. Nobody is going to vote for Republicans." Yes. Oh, yes. It's going to be history. That was my freshman year in college. Fortunately that summer the legislature managed to come up with a redistricting bill. There were now eight districts with Democratic incumbents. The Republicans did not run anyone against my father, nor did they run against [Robert Emmett] Bob Jones, [Jr.], up in north Alabama, which was the most liberal district. They are still represented by a Democrat to this day in Congress. But of the other six incumbents, Armistead Selden

was the only one who survived and he won by only 1,600 votes. Alabama in that one election lost over 100 years of seniority.

After voting, Congressman Kenneth Roberts from Anniston got on the train in Alabama. We used to take night trains to come to Washington. And they would have a Washington car because the train was going to New York but it would decouple in Washington and you could sleep until 7:00 a.m. and no cell phone and I loved it because you were just totally cut off from the world. You were just totally cut off from the world and no cell phones, no nothing. When Mr. Roberts arrived in Washington at 7:00 the next morning, his entire staff was at Union Station. He says, "What are you all doing here?" And they said, "Congressman, we're so sorry." He says, "So sorry? So sorry about what?" And they say, "You don't know?" "Of course I don't know. Know what?" "You lost." Boom. He'd been in Congress for close to 20 years. He was shot by the Puerto Ricans.

JOHNSON: In 1954.[2]

ANDREWS: In 1954. And it was still . . . some of them stayed. [William Jackson] Jack Edwards and [William Louis] Bill Dickinson were elected then, and Dickinson just recently well, he recently died but he didn't retire that long ago. So, it totally changed the landscape of politics. Not only in Alabama, really in the South, that one election. But those were really the only contests my dad ever had but they were for the history books, they were incredible. They were incredible.

JOHNSON: I wanted to spend some time this morning on your childhood and one question that I asked and you briefly mentioned was that you did live here when the House was in session when your father was in Congress.

ANDREWS: My sister is eight years older than I am. She went to the Cathedral Girls' School. I first remember coming to Washington two years before kindergarten. I was four years old and we lived in the Alban Towers Hotel for a year. We then moved across the street for two years to the Cathedral Courts Apartments. Our home was always Union Springs, Alabama. That's where my mother and father bought the lot that sits on a bluff that looks out on a clear day in the wintertime when the leaves aren't growing up, you can see 20 miles. They love that house. They built it, they designed it. I've got the original architectural drawing on my wall in my house. That was home. Unlike, you see a lot of Congressmen they come here to get away from where they're from and they never go back. It was always drummed into me that we are from Alabama. We are in Washington on public service, but we are from Alabama. And so that home in Union Springs was always maintained. So they camped. They lived in Cathedral Courts and then we rented a house for three years on Cathedral Avenue.

My best friend, who I went to a ballgame with the night before last was Tom Reston, whose father was [James Barrett] Scotty Reston. When I asked him—I remember—when I asked him what his father did he said he's a newspaper man and I thought, gosh, he sells newspapers. {laughter} And I didn't realize he was *the* newsman in Washington at that time and I think I first realized how important Mr. Reston was when I saw him on *Meet the Press*. There's Mr. Reston! You know?

We lived there for three years and then my dad actually bought a house on Reno Road. It was a modest house. Later on Carl [Bert] Albert lived there and rented it from my dad. The entire time he was Speaker [1971–1977] he lived there. When my sister graduated from school, we went home. In the fifth grade, I tried to do a half a year in Washington and a half a year in Union Springs and it just didn't work.

JOHNSON: Are you talking about as far as schools go?

ANDREWS: Yes, as far as schools go. And with my parents, the children always came first. I mean, their welfare. Well, we decided to stay home, but that's when Congress started changing. Up until that point, Congress was a six-month a year job. They would typically go into recess in June or July and that would be it until January. During the period of six, seventh, and eighth grades.

JOHNSON: Then about what year was this?

ANDREWS: When we were in Union Springs that would have been—I started as a Page when I was in January in the middle of the ninth grade that was January '61. So we are talking late '50s.

JOHNSON: Okay.

ANDREWS: Congress was in session longer, and longer, and longer. During that time Dad lived down here—it's gone now—but the old Continental Hotel right down by the Teamsters building, near Union Station. That's where he lived. We lived at home. Well, 10, 11 months out of the year, I didn't have a father. It was tough. I had to come up and stay with him a week in the summertime, but that was not the life my parents had envisioned, so the idea came up and I don't really think they could afford, at that point, to send me to a place like St. Alban's. That was the only job my dad had. My mother did not work. She worked but she didn't work for a salary. In Congress I think Dad was making $12,000 a year then.

So the idea came up to be a Page. And so when they came up with that idea, that's when Dad—well, Dad really started renting the Reno Road house after we went

home full-time after finishing the fifth grade. Never sold it until way in the—right before he died in 1971 he sold it. But that's when the idea came up to live in the Congressional Hotel. And so that's where we lived from January of 1961 until my mother completed her term, which was January of 1973, so we lived there 12 years.

JOHNSON: In the Congressional Hotel?

ANDREWS: We and a lot of Congressmen. A lot of Congressmen lived there but we saw during that time it changed from a hotel into an office building and because the government owned the building and they leased it to the hotel chain. By the time Mother left, the Congressmen were reduced to one floor of the hotel but there were a number of Congressmen who lived in that hotel. A lot of them did. And it was very convenient, but it was very convenient for me because my school started at 6:30 in the morning, so I'd cut right through the Cannon Building. On cold days I'd cut right through the Cannon Building and then cross the street to the library where we were in the attic of the Library of Congress.

JOHNSON: Okay. I want to ask you more about the hotel but I didn't want to forget to ask you another question. When you did live in D.C. when you were younger and you said your sister was going to school, was your mother at all involved in your father's day-to-day operations in his congressional office?

ANDREWS: Not really. Mother was active though in the Congressional Wives Club. She was always on the Congressional Cookbook Committee and actually when my Dad died in 1971, the president of the Congressional Club was [Corinne Claiborne] Lindy Boggs and the vice president was my mother. So she was very active in that. She would come to the office—Mother was a housewife.

That's not to say that when needed to rise to the occasion she couldn't do it in the nine-eight campaigns. Mother was attractive. She would get down there and she would go to the things she needed to go to and she was always a source of advice to my dad. Their conversations would be—their time together was really early in the morning. They were both early risers and they would rise and drink coffee and they would discuss the events and in those times. I think she was of great counsel to him because she had a good head on, which I didn't really realize until the time came for her to run. I didn't realize how smart she really was. She could have been—she could have had a really good career in Congress, too, I think. She was a very sincere person and that came across to people. They really did like her. She was not flamboyant. She was not—but just in the one year she wrote in one of her writings I was reading before I came up here—she was very complimented that she was invited to sit in on the Southern Strategy Committee meetings, which was not, she was just a one-year Congressperson but she was smart. She was smart but she was content to stay in the background.

JOHNSON: But in your opinion do you think she knew what was going on? She knew the political issues that your father was dealing with?

ANDREWS: Oh, yes. Oh, yes. Oh, yes. Yes, she did.

JOHNSON: So she had an interest in politics before she became a Member?

ANDREWS: She did, but her role was to be the wife and mother and she played it perfectly. One of the things you don't really appreciate what . . . it was always important for them for us to spend the summers in Union Springs. Now I went to school here [in Washington, D.C.] through the fifth grade, but we always went home during the summer. Now Congress would take a summer recess, or they used to. They still do

but not—it used to be longer so they could go back and campaign in the districts. But she would literally have to uproot us and pack. She had to maintain two homes. She had a lady in Union Springs that helped her keep the house up and go up and clean it but our mode of transportation was a 1951 Chevrolet and she would have to pack two children, a cocker spaniel, and darn near every piece of clothing we owned, and the day we would pack that car was memorable. Every square inch was taken and then she would drive to Union Springs and I think other than a stretch or two in North Carolina, there were no four-lane roads then and you would drive through downtown Richmond. You would drive through downtown Atlanta, and she learned the back ways.

Just to show you how smart—she would learn, for example, all the little towns and byways through south Georgia and interconnecting highways to get around Atlanta. She did the same thing with Richmond. One of the great days she told me of her life was when they opened the Richmond Turnpike. {laughter} That made life so much easier for her, but it's a little over 800 miles from Washington to Union Springs and that was two 400-mile days and that was dawn-to-dusk driving and there were times that she would drive all day and into the night because things would happen. You would get behind wrecks, she'd get behind trucks. You can imagine the amount of traffic on two lane roads.

JOHNSON: And you are doing this trek without your father?

ANDREWS: Oh, yes.

JOHNSON: So she was responsible for everything?

ANDREWS: Oh, yes. She was responsible for the whole thing. And now getting older just packing

to come up here for three days, I can appreciate what that must have been like. It was quite a feat. I remember one time driving up here I was in—I think it was that year that I split. I had the first year in fifth grade and I spent the first semester in Union Springs. We came the first year and Dad wasn't with us. He had come up with the idea of taking the train or driven up separately. I don't remember why but it was just Mother and me and we hit a snowstorm and we got the last hotel room in, I think the place was Chatham, Virginia. We got the last hotel room for miles. I don't know what we'd have done. I was in the fifth grade. I figured Mother will handle it. {laughter} I wasn't worried.

JOHNSON: Mothers always do.

ANDREWS: Yes. But so it was she had to juggle a lot of balls that in this day in age I don't think we appreciate as much. I certainly didn't appreciate it at the time but, again, and she was very responsible. Alabama was always home. Washington was a place where Dad worked, but Alabama was always home and she maintained—that was drilled into us from day one. From day one.

JOHNSON: I wanted to go back to your memories of the Congressional Hotel. So you said you lived there from '61 to '73?

ANDREWS: Yes.

JOHNSON: What was it like there? What do you remember about the hotel?

ANDREWS: It was a fascinating place. You would see the great and the near-great. Let me just think back on some memories. At that time the Democratic Club was in there in the early '60s. Then they moved I guess where they still are. They back here? Right over

here? Aren't they? Or is that the Republicans here now?

JOHNSON: The Republicans are right across from where the hotel used to be.

ANDREWS: Yes, yes. Okay. Well, the Democrats moved over here somewhere, too, but at that time in the early '60s they were in the Congressional Hotel. And so you never knew who . . . I remember seeing, gosh, Sargent Shriver come out of there one time, lots of Congressmen and Senators.

Funny story about Sargent Shriver, while I am thinking about him. I had been watching him during the [Edward Moore] Ted Kennedy funeral and seeing him, he's got Alzheimer's and I've had some experience with dementia with my mother towards the end. I really empathize with what they are going through there but he was one Kennedy my dad really liked. I don't know how their relationship got started. I really don't know, but, again, they were on total opposite poles of the political spectrum but he was—I think it was when I think he was still active with the Peace Corps, he was active in something. He came up to my dad's office one day and if you look through that biographical book, the tributes on Dad, one of the things my father was famous for was peanuts.[3] There's a town that has some renown in our district called Enterprise where in a lot of towns—little towns in south Alabama you see memorials. Confederate memorials or Revolution memorials or whatever in the town square or in the middle of the town and Enterprise, the memorial is to the boll weevil, which is a pest, which eats cotton.

JOHNSON: Right.

ANDREWS: And the boll weevil infested Enterprise and destroyed the cotton crop and rendered it impossible to keep growing it. So they turned and started growing peanuts, and that

has been the staple of that economy down there. It's a farming area—that's been the staple of that economy down there ever since. And Dad was always—you always go in his office and he'd have a promotion of Enterprise peanuts. Sargent Shriver came up to visit Dad one day and they were in there and Tommy Gilbert told me this story. (He was Dad's administrative assistant.) He said he'd hear laughter coming out of the office. They'd be telling stories and Sargent Shriver came out and he turned to Tommy and says, "I went in to see your boss to talk about millions and instead I wound up with peanuts." {laughter} But one of the characters I remember that lived in the hotel was Congressman Barratt O'Hara from Illinois.

JOHNSON: Illinois.

ANDREWS: He was just a little old man, but he was well-known to—he spent much of his time out at Pimlico. He played the horses and I think he got in trouble. I think he got into some financial trouble with gambling. He was always in the lobby every night with his racing forms. Pouring through them. And you could tell by looking at him whether he won or lost. And I would be out at night a good bit or—or in high time because I'd take our cocker spaniel, Bambo, our black cocker spaniel, who walking to a friend's house last night got off, I know every tree in this neighborhood, every shrub. {laughter} I'm familiar with. But I'd come in from walking Bambo and I'd see Mr. O'Hara sitting in there and you could tell if he'd lost because he would have the saddest look on his face and he would just be poring through those racing forms getting ready for the next day's action I guess.

JOHNSON: What were the accommodations like in the hotel?

ANDREWS: I don't know how we lived in it to tell you the truth. We, I mean, it was nice enough. It wasn't a dump by any stretch, but it was so tiny. We had a living room

and a kitchen smaller than most bedroom closets. The kitchen had an old gas stove, a little tiny refrigerator, and one little cabinet. It was just microscopic, yet Mother would cook terrific dinners. You asked what my mother did. She would cook her terrific dinners out of that little kitchen. Because we would leave for the summer, each year we would usually wind up in a different room. Later on, Dad kept the same room, 722, year round. The "22" rooms were located on the far end of the hotel facing New Jersey Avenue. The room had a picture window and on the seventh floor, there was a pretty doggone commanding view, especially before they built the Rayburn Building. It was a terrific view of the city. You could see the new State Department.

I remember the night before [John Fitzgerald] Kennedy's inauguration when they had the big snow storm and we were watching cars skid all the way down Capitol Hill. It was a show. I referred to it as our own private bumper car show. That's where Mother and Dad would drink their coffee every morning. They would watch the sun come up. And then there was a tiny little bathroom and a tiny little bedroom. I slept in the living room. The couch folded out into a bed. I still feel that metal bar across my stomach, but there was just no privacy. It was just very Spartan but I don't know. It still in a way was home. I didn't really think about how tiny it was.

I was always glad—it was terrific to be living with my father again. He was gone so much the years before then. He was really often a voice that appeared on the telephone every Sunday morning and I remember I was going up to Washington ahead of them one time. This was after I was a Page. They were staying down in the district. I had to get back up for school I guess is what it was and they were staying down in the district to campaign a little more. In Tuskegee, a little town about 20 miles away from Union Springs, there was a little tiny train station called Chehaw. I was about 15. I had just gotten my learner's permit and the train was three hours late

and so Dad and I drove that little Tempest around and I sat a long time at the station with my dad that day. I remember him saying, "I have really enjoyed this time because it has given us a chance to know each other better." It was hard on the family a lot of times because there were a lot of separations. Being a Page was a way to bring my dad and me closer together, because I saw the same thing he saw every day. I saw the same people that he saw and we'd talk about it. It gave us a nexus, a thing we could talk about. And I appreciated his job a lot more so to that extent it was great. I enjoyed that aspect of it so much and living on the Hill so much that the fact that we lived in a place the size of a postage stamp didn't really bother me that much.

I remember one night and, of course, you see people in all manner of intoxication come in and out of there [hotel lobby] because it was a popular watering hole. It had snowed and was icy on the ground. One of the things Bambo used to do—my black cocker spaniel—he had a lot of fur underneath, and when his paw . . . We tried the little galoshes things he'd sling him off and one day we were—one night rather—I was walking him and when his paws would get cold—his front paws especially—he would pick one of his paws up and stick it under his fur to warm it. He would just hobble on three legs. When it would get warm he would put the paw down and might pick the other paw and hobble along on three different legs. So one night I'm coming into the lobby of the hotel from the walk and Bambo's got his paw up under his fur and he's hobbling on three legs. And this lady is coming out. She's decked out in an evening dress, got her mink and her diamond necklace on and she's three sheets to the wind and she's with her husband or whoever and she looks. "Oh, that poor little dog! He's only got three legs! Oh, you little fellow. He's so cute, Fred. Look at the little dog!" About that time Bambo puts his paw down. She says he's only got three legs and the guy looks at Bambo he's standing there on four legs and he looks at her, "Come on, dear. It's time for you to go home." {laughter}

But anyhow there was a lot of action going on in that hotel. The manager of the hotel, Mr. Highland, his son is John Highland, who was a Page, and John is up here. He was at our Page reunion last year. He lived in the hotel. We would walk to school together, John did the year he was a Page. Actually, he worked with me back in the Democratic Cloakroom. John is the manager of the Hyatt in Washington now but his dad I'm sure could—he's no longer living, John told me last year—but his dad could probably tell you some really interesting stories about that hotel. Some of the Members that lived in there. There were some very colorful Members. Fats [Robert Ashton] Everett. You ever heard of Fats Everett?

JOHNSON: I have.

ANDREWS: He was well named. He was very rotund. And it was a constant party in his place. He had young aides, guys, they'd have barbecue in there and on the hotel roof, Mr. Everett liked to grill out and Daddy liked to—we'd cook out on the roof of the Congressional all the time. Of course, it was a beautiful view and you could slip up there and have a drink or two. And he always had a lot going on.

One of the more interesting Members that lived in that hotel was Otto [Ernest] Passman from Louisiana. And Mr. Passman gave a very interesting, for me being the fly on the wall that I was, it was a very interesting education in the presidency. The presidency in general but the presidency of Lyndon [Baines] Johnson in particular. Mr. Passman was a southern conservative. Interesting guy. He'd go to Hong Kong every year and he'd always buy three tailor-made suits and fortunately for Dad they fit him. And he'd always buy three. He'd buy a grey one, a blue one, and a brown one. He maybe might buy one from him at Hong Kong prices what he would get back, but Mr. Passman was the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Appropriations Subcommittee.

He was the chairman of the subcommittee, but he was anti-foreign aid, which most Southerners were. And Johnson had a very big ambitious foreign aid program, which was not faring well in Mr. Passman's committee. On several occasions Mr. Passman would be invited down for a rose garden chat with the President and sometimes those chats weren't too friendly. It was often said that President Johnson was a big "arm twister" and I saw Mr. Passman's arms a few times after the twisting sessions. Mr. Passman was an extremely nervous and twitchy person. We would imitate him as Pages. We would twitch our heads, we would twitch our arms, we would twitch and say, "Who am I?" And everyone would go, "Otto Passman!" We would do imitations of the Members. You ain't never seen anybody twitch until you saw Otto Passman come out after a meeting in the Rose Garden. He lived in the hotel room right across from us. His wife was back in Louisiana and he lived up here by himself and rather than turn left and go into his room, quite often after one of those twisting sessions, there would be a knock on our door and Mr. Passman would come in and he would say, "George! George, he said he was going to defeat me." All these things he was going to do and you really realized what a hands-on guy Lyndon Johnson was with the legislators. You could see it and Mr. Passman . . .

[John F.] Kennedy didn't operate that way. Kennedy was—he would operate through Kenny O'Donnell and Lawrence O'Brien. I am trying to remember the other people. There was another one. We would always get calls from the White House but it was always . . . One time I did the phones, and I said the President was calling and I go out and I find the Member and I'd run back and I'd say, "Congressman so-and-so will be with you in just a minute." And I hear, "Thank you very much, son." {laughter} It was Lyndon Johnson. That's the President, he's on the line. Well, I'm out there trying to find the Member and the President is waiting.

Another person who lived in the hotel was—and you should read his tribute to my

Dad. I read it on the Metro riding over here because I hadn't gotten that book out on time—[Representative] Dan [Daniel John] Flood. You ever heard of Dan Flood?

JOHNSON: Yes.

ANDREWS: He was a character and he might have been my dad's best congressional friend. They were just—he was elected in 1945, right after Dad was and was right behind him in seniority on the Appropriations Committee. Jamie [Lloyd] Whitten was right ahead of him, Dan Flood was right behind him. Flood's tribute to Dad was just beautiful—I can still—he said, "I sat next to him." Flood was a great orator. He had a waxy mustache. I always thought Donn Anderson kind of copied his mustache from Mr. Flood.[4] He once was an actor, a great orator. Some of the oratory that I got to see and as a trial lawyer, it was very beneficial to me because I watched some of the best and I think it helped me a lot in my closing arguments.

But Flood was so dramatic and the day he eulogized my dad on the floor I can still hear him say, "I sat next to him every day. My knee touched his knee." And, I mean, it was unbelievable. I've got a picture of him on my wall with my dad and then Governor Albert Brewer from Alabama, who was up here for some function, and they are laughing. They are always laughing. But Flood was almost an expatriate Southerner. He'd sit back there in the cloakroom with them and tell stories and they sat together on the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee and Flood talks in the eulogy about how the secretaries and generals would come and go and come and go through the years and this one was a fraud, and this one was brilliant, and they shared things that the average American didn't get a chance to share.

I remember hearing them talk and one time early in the Kennedy administration about [Robert] McNamara saying the man is brilliant but he's going to be either the

greatest Secretary of Defense we've ever had or the worst. Well, {laughter} guess what? They pretty well called it. But Admiral [Hyman G.] Rickover was a guy they talked about a lot. They loved him appearing before the committee. Rickover always talked about how—Daddy always quoted Rickover about how he was furious with the Naval Academy because the library closed down at 11:00. A library should never close. Study all night. His work ethic must have just been incredible and when my dad was in the hospital Rickover called everyday. But anyhow those were some of the folks in the Congressional Hotel and it was—you just never knew who you were going to see in the morning.

One morning I was leaving early and Richmond Flowers, the attorney general of the state of Alabama, was standing there at the newspaper stand buying a *Washington Post*. I said, "What are you doing here?" {laughter} Saw Rogers [Clark Ballard] Morton when he was in [President] Nixon's cabinet because even after my Page days, the Congressional Hotel was still home. But then you'd watch it evolve and like I say, at the end the Congressmen were down to one floor. What is interesting it was very interesting years later when Nixon turned over the Watergate tapes to Congress, the physical transfer took place at the old Congressional Hotel.

END OF PART ONE ~ BEGINNING OF PART TWO

JOHNSON: We are back on tape now.

ANDREWS: Okay.

JOHNSON: I wanted to ask you—you mentioned how your family started in D.C., you went back to Alabama, but then you ended up living in D.C. What about the other Alabama delegation? What did their families do, that you recall? Was it common for

them to bring their families with them as well?

ANDREWS: Let's see. Let me think. The Grants [the family of George McInvale Grant] lived up here. I think Ms. Boykin lived up here. I am not 100 percent sure. And I don't know that his children did. They were a lot older than I so if they did they would have been gone. Laurie [Calvin] Battle, who was a Congressman, Huddleston's predecessor, his family lived up here because I won a dog in a contest and I already had a dog. I had to give them the dog. That's the hardest I think I've ever cried. {laughter} We went out to their house. I don't believe Carl Elliott's family lived up here. I may be wrong. I think they all lived up here to some degree but I think the prevailing sentiment was with most of them they would always go back.

I mentioned Carl Elliott; I'd like to tell you a little bit about him. He was—Alabama in the '60s before race became an all-pervading issue, which it did really when [Governor George] Wallace and the civil rights before that time in the '50s—Alabama's delegation was kind of split five to four. Five conservative—south Alabama was conservative. North Alabama was liberal. North Alabama was labor, North Alabama was TVA [Tennessee Valley Authority]. Carl Elliott was quite liberal, had a very Rooseveltian voting record, my dad used to say, though Elliott's district was very, very poor. It's almost—parts of it were like Appalachia. Still are. And my dad said that after riding around that district, he understands why Elliott wants big government and big government spending and so forth. It just shows you how your political philosophy can so often be shaped by your background.

Carl Elliott was one of the two that was added to stack the Rules Committee [in 1961]. That's a whole other topic that we'll probably want to come back to but he was one of the two. And the reason he was put on there was to try to entice Southerners to vote for the stacking. He was voted out in the nine-eight—the second

nine-eight deal. My dad had tremendous respect for him. He said he probably had more character than any man that he ever knew, but he was far and away the most liberal man of the delegation and when hit with a statewide vote, what happened to him is, what daddy was afraid, being the most conservative, but it's interesting how the two of them connected.

Mr. Elliott made, I think, the most foolhardy political decision. Perhaps the most courageous as well. When he decided—he thought when George Wallace was up for re-election in 1966 well, he would have been except Alabama had a law at that time that a governor couldn't succeed himself, so Wallace couldn't run. He tried to get the legislature to change it and, surprisingly, they didn't. And so what he did was he ran his wife, Lurleen Wallace. And Mr. Elliott, number one, he didn't like George Wallace particularly and, number two, he thought that was wrong and, number three, even though he had lost a statewide race in a nine-man race—he finished ninth—for some strange reason he thought he could be elected governor. And so he ran for governor and in the process to raise money to run for governor, he gave up his congressional pension and he got buried in that election. I mean, he got buried.

He told a story about Frank Boykin. Boykin told him to go see somebody and he went. {laughter} The guy never heard of him and wasn't going to vote for him. But Carl Elliott stood up to Wallace and that was a rather foolhardy thing to do in the state at that time but a very courageous thing to do. He went back to Jasper, the coal-mining community that was his hometown. Carl Elliott never would have in a million years thought about staying in Washington and going to work for an administration or to be a lobbyist or whatever. He was another one of those folks that Alabama was home and he went back. He tried to practice law. He was broke. He stayed broke for the rest of his life and when the Kennedys came up with the Profile in Courage Award, the first one given was to Carl Elliott and I just happened

to be in Jasper not long after that. I had a case up there and I knew the judge was close to Mr. Elliott and I asked him, I said, "How is Mr. Elliott doing?" And he says, "He's not doing well." He says, "He's had health problems." The judge encouraged me to go by and see him. Mr. Elliott told the judge he'd love to see me. I guess I spent two hours with him. His house was very modest. There were some men there. They were cooking lunch for him, vegetables. He'd written a book, didn't sell, but he wrote it. I got one.[5] But he talked about the Profile in Courage Award and it paid—at that time it paid $25,000. That bailed him out, that paid his power bill. That's how poor that man got. I went out to my car after visiting him and I sobbed to see how—I can still see how if you look at that—some of those pictures of him he was a big guy. He was a strong guy and he stood for something and that Profile in Courage Award meant so much to him, but he deserved it. He deserved it. He put it all on the line, but it's the type of thing that it also speaks volumes about the way Congress was then that you could have people . . .

I was reading in the *Washington Post* yesterday, the day before yesterday, about the two Congressmen from South Carolina, the Republican and the Democrat, who just absolutely despise each other. Apparently they are on opposite poles of the political spectrum. Well, my dad and Carl Elliott were on opposite poles of the political spectrum, but as Mr. Elliott said as he looked at me, and it's the right way to close it up, he says, "Your dad and I didn't vote for a handful of the same things in the whole years we were in Congress. But, I liked him and he liked me."

BRIEF INTERRUPTION

JOHNSON: Okay, we are back recording and talking about the culture and atmosphere of the House.

ANDREWS: The culture and the atmosphere. I remember one time I was walking down the hall in the Cannon Building and around the corner I just hear these two uproarious laughters coming down the hall and around the hall and there's [Lucius] Mendel Rivers and Adam Clayton Powell, [Jr.]. {laughter} You know? Who are both great guys, I mean, very flamboyant and elegant.

Now I think Congressman Powell kind of had his own agenda. He was difficult—his office was difficult to deal with. I'd hear a lot of complaints by Pages and I had an experience one time. He was the chairman of the Education and Labor Committee. They also had an office in the Cannon Building on the other side of the Cannon Building. One of my jobs my senior year—usually it worked out really well because I could get off quick—but my job was to carry the extenuated or corrected remarks [for the *Congressional Record*] because I lived in the Congressional Hotel close by if Congress was in late. In the *Congressional Record* they would type it up and the Congressman would have a chance to review what he said just to make sure that he said what he said. And you would take their remarks by to their office. They tried to get to them before Congress adjourned and get to the floor but sometimes there would be some that they couldn't get prepared in time to get it to the members before the House adjourned. There would usually be three or four of them that would need to be delivered to their office. So that was my job my senior year. I would get it since it was on the way home I'd deliver them.

One time I had something for Mr. Powell. I went to his door at his office. We had adjourned early in the day, so it was mid-afternoon. I pounded on the door. It was only 2:30 in the afternoon. Nobody came to the door and it was locked. Finally somebody came, cracked the door, and said, "Take it to the Education Committee office." So, I took it all the way around to the other side of the building and they

said, "Why are they sending that to us? We don't want it," you know? "Well, here it is."

JOHNSON: Right. And you're a Page and so you just do what you're told.

ANDREWS: Yes, you do as you're told. There were a lot of stories like that, but in terms of—and I know he was later censured and I think that was a lot of politics, but personally, he was a delightful guy, at least, from all appearances. Mendel Rivers was the same way. Very flamboyant, very, very outgoing and a "hail-fellow-well-met" sort of guy. And I think you saw a lot of that. I think you saw a lot: Northerners and Southerners. One of the most beautiful tributes to my father in the book was very short and it starts out "We are as different as night and day, we're from different parts of the country, with totally different philosophies, but he was my friend." That was Bella [Savitsky] Abzug. I remember Dad telling a story. {laughter} She got into it with [William] "Fishbait" Miller because she insisted on wearing her hat on the floor and you are not supposed to wear a hat. Sure that's a legendary story. Well, Dad witnessed it.

JOHNSON: And "Fishbait" was the Doorkeeper.

ANDREWS: He was the Doorkeeper, yes, "Fishbait" Miller, who thought he was bigger than most Congressmen.

But in the—I don't think there—there was one really irascible guy and I'm sure you've heard of him. And I don't know if he had any friends or not. That was [Harold Royce] H. R. Gross. Oh, God. We used—and every week it was the same drama every week. And it was real important to us. This would come up each Thursday, when the leadership requested for unanimous consent that Congress not

meet on Friday and adjourn over to Monday. Now that was understood. The Members from New York and the Eastern seaboard wanted to go home. A lot of them I think still had law practices or business or campaigns. They did live in two-party systems unlike those of us from the South. And H. R. Gross would always get up and say, "Why aren't we working? Why aren't we doing this? Why aren't we doing that? I don't know why I should let them go home. I think I'll call a quorum call!" {laughter} You know how quorum calls worked then? You had to physically go over there, you had to get there, you had to wait for your name to get called by the clerk, answer present, then you'd split. He just would do it just to be cantankerous. He was a good debater, he was a feisty debater. I can still see him, granted I can still hear that gravelly voice bellowing "Mr. Speaker, I object!"

BRIEF INTERRUPTION

JOHNSON: We are back recording.

ANDREWS: Okay. But with the exception of Mr. Gross, who none of us Pages could see how anybody could like him, it is probably not true but, I mean, he was a maverick. But the relations across the Mason-Dixon Line or between Republicans and Democrats across the aisle seemed to me to be far better than they appear to be now. Everybody realized that you got to do what you got to do to get elected. You got to vote this way. You got to vote that way. But the Members didn't take it personally, whereas today, I think a lot of them do take it personally. And I think that's to the detriment of the Republic. I really do. My daddy always used to say you could kill a lot more flies with honey than you could with a swatter. My dad was able to get things done. He was able to get it done because, as Bella Abzug or Carl Elliott said, "I liked him and he liked me." I think there was more relationship building then and your political philosophies were not part of that relationship.

The Appropriations Committee would be a good place to study that because while there were differences in philosophy, the relationships on that committee were very, very good. And they had some very able people. The Defense Appropriations Subcommittee that my dad was on for 20 years—President [Gerald Rudolph] Ford, [Jr.], was on that committee with him, Melvin [Robert] Laird, the future Secretary of Defense. They were Republicans. They were great friends.

I ran into President Ford when he was Vice President. My mother really liked his wife, too; she thought she was first class. When President Ford was Vice President, in 1974, one of my college buddies and I went to Vail [Colorado]. We were in the Vail lodge or whatever it is the hotel out there and Vice President Ford had a condominium there. He'd have to walk through the bar to get to his condominium. One night he came down to the bar. I was there. I went up and introduced myself to him. Mr. Ford was just the nicest man. He said, "I was so close to your dad," I mean, he said, "We were very, very close." And they were. Dad talked about him a lot. Different parts of the country, different sides of the aisle, but I think they had—I liken it to practicing law. I was a criminal lawyer.

I was a prosecutor for a number of years and then I was a defense counsel. And I loved to try cases, don't get me wrong. I thrived on it. But to me a trial was a last resort. Most cases are not black and white. There's a lot of grey. There's a lot of mitigation. And most cases should be worked out both as a prosecutor or a defense counsel. The key is to be able to sit down with your adversary and say, "Okay, I realize this ain't real good for me. Well, this ain't real good for you but what's the right thing to do?" What's the best thing for both sides? Can two reasonable people get together and figure out a reasonable solution for this mess? I think that's the way Congress operated back then. It wasn't like two machines of Republicans and Democrats duking it out. It was reasonable people sitting down together, trying to

figure out how can we reasonably resolve these problems. Now you couldn't always do it and you would have to vote up or down. But you understand that you didn't take it personally. It wasn't part of your personal agenda and I think most Members back then were like that and I think that's why they were as effective as they were. Didn't mean you didn't fuss and fight on the floor and in debates, but I think there was a lot more civility back then than there appears to be now. And if you'll note I answered—I asked that question at the reunion and Donn Anderson said, "It is not the same." He said, "It's totally different." The cloakroom was a place where they would get back there and they would just let their hair down.

JOHNSON: You had said . . .

ANDREWS: Also take a nap. {laughter}

JOHNSON: You had said in one of our phone conversations that the cloakroom was, "Where the Mason-Dixon line was erased."

ANDREWS: Yes, yes, yes. I think so. Dan Flood mentioned that in his eulogy to my dad. And you would just working there . . . it's an L-shaped room and working there and the phone wasn't tumult where we were when it would be quiet. Sometimes you would just hear this absolute burst of laughter coming out. Somebody had told a story and they talked about everything. I think I mentioned the story to you about Carl Vinson. He would talk about the secret of politics was bending with the wind. He said, "In the hurricane the mighty oak tree stands tall. The palm tree gets bent down to the sidewalk, but when it's all over, the oak tree is uprooted and down on the ground, the palm tree is back standing upright. You've got to bend with the wind." You've got to go with the flow, in more modern parlance. And my dad quoted that a lot but, yes, it was a gathering place.

Now you had regulars but you'd have visitors. I remember Bella Abzug would go back there. And then you would have places they would—another place where you would see a lot of visiting and co-mingling would be behind the rail. Frank Karsten, [Jr.], used to talk—his dad was a Congressman from St. Louis, Missouri, [Frank Melvin Karsten]—and Frank was a Page with me. And Frank said, "Yes, my dad was a railbird." That meant he hung out on the rail. Smokers. At the time, you could smoke behind the rail, so the smokers would congregate behind the rail and they'd talk. Yes, there were gathering spots. The Speaker's Lobby would be a place where, it wasn't just going out there to read newspapers. They would go out there and kind of let their hair down a little bit or talk about things.

JOHNSON: So they really got to know each other?

ANDREWS: They got to know each other. I think Washington was a lot smaller then. I know the numbers of the Members is the same, but it just didn't seem to be quite so overwhelming. You only had two House office buildings. I guess you could, well, no, you only had two. The Rayburn Building didn't come until I was in college [1965].

That's a good story about the Rayburn Building. I was in college when they moved into the Rayburn Building. *Roll Call* interviewed my dad. Said, "Congressman, the Rayburn Building cost more than the Empire State Building, the Hoover Dam, and the Golden Gate Bridge all put together. Being the conservative Member that you are, doesn't that bother your conscience to be moving into a building that costs that much?" Dad looked and he says, "Son, after 20 years in Congress I have no conscience. I'm moving." {laughter}

The first time I went to my dad's Rayburn office, Dad was over on the House Floor, so I decide to go to the Capitol and see him. I go down to where the subway train is

and I stand there like I am waiting for the train. The cop is sitting there. Remember, we hated tourists. You've got to understand. I think I told you we used to climb up to the [Capitol] dome and drop ping-pong balls on them. But I'm standing there waiting for the train to come and I finally turned to the cop after standing and standing and I said, "Man, these things are just getting slower and slower." Sure enough he says, "Yes, but they're going to speed up when they go into operation next month." Duh!

But back then there were only two House office buildings. Everybody ate in the Longworth cafeteria. I'd have lunch with Congressman [Joseph Manuel] Montoya from New Mexico, Senator [Daniel Ken] Inouye. I remember having lunch with him one day. I remember Wayne [Levere] Hays from Ohio and Armistead Selden from Alabama. They were getting ready to go on a trip together and they were laughing, going out the door. Yes, they would see each other I think a lot more. Everybody ate in the Longworth cafeteria. There wasn't anywhere else to eat!

People did eat lunch back then. Now they bring lunch or they go to the gym or work out. That's another place I don't know whether they still use that much but that was another place. You had your gym rats. And, again, I played handball with Charles [Longstreet] Weltner one day, the Congressman from Atlanta who was very liberal. That was when Atlanta became—he defeated a longtime conservative. That was in the early '60s but so, yes, I think there was more of a sense of a community among Members up here. It wasn't so big. It wasn't so—and the other big factor is you didn't have the constant press attention that you have now and I think there's a natural ingrained tendency to play to the press. Dad dealt with a correspondent for the *Birmingham News*. They'd have lunch once a month. That was his extent of dealing with press, and the press didn't cover—they'd cover the big stuff, obviously, in the *Washington Post*, but you didn't have the cable networks—you didn't have all

that. And I think so the glare wasn't as bright. Practicing law for 36 years, I sometimes, think they turn that spotlight on you and it makes a different human being. I think that might have a lot to do with it too. But there's no question it was a different atmosphere.

JOHNSON: Before we finish today I want to switch gears and talk a little bit about your mother.

ANDREWS: Okay.

JOHNSON: We can talk about your memories of her, specifically with your father passing away in 1971.

ANDREWS: Right.

JOHNSON: And so what I was hoping you could talk more about was providing some background on how your mother came to the decision to run for your father's congressional seat.

ANDREWS: Okay. I think it begins with Albert Thomas, who was a very good friend of my dad's. Albert Thomas was a Congressman from Houston. In the famous picture of Lyndon Johnson being sworn in on the airplane, Albert Thomas is the tall guy with the bowtie. He was a Congressman from Houston. The space center [in Houston] is named for him [President Johnson].[6] Our families were very close. Their daughter went to the Cathedral School with my sister and was in her wedding.

Mother and Lera [Millard] Thomas were very good friends. They lived right down the street from us when we lived in the house on Cathedral Avenue. So Mother and Ms. Thomas spent a lot of time in each other's homes. Albert Thomas died of cancer

in the early '60s, early to mid '60s [1966]. Ms. Thomas filled out his term, and she did not run for re-election. When Dad died on Christmas morning in Birmingham, we were driving back to Union Springs and we stopped at a convenience store. I pulled Tom Gilbert, my dad's administrative assistant, aside and I said, "What do you think about Mother's filling out dad's term?" And he said, "I thought of it too but I don't think we ought to go there now." I said, "No, no, no, let's think about it but no. Let's not go there now. This is not the day to do it." That was the Saturday morning that he died.

The funeral was, I think, that Tuesday. Monday or Tuesday. I think Tuesday. Union Springs, that little town of 5,000 people, had never seen anything like that. Admiral [Elmo] Zumwalt, [Jr.], came, and they had a planeload of Congressmen. [Thomas] Hale Boggs, [Sr.], was there. I think I mentioned the Boggs were the first people I talked to. They called the hotel in Birmingham. They had heard it somehow. And I talked to them going out the hotel door. They are wonderful people. But Lera Thomas had retired to Nacogdoches, Texas, which is outside of Houston and it's an old, old area. I've never been there. Mother visited her there later but Ms. Thomas basically rebuilt that town and she lived in an old 100-year-old house.

When Lera Thomas realized that Dad had died, on the day of the funeral, at dawn, she got in her car and drove to Union Springs, Alabama, halfway across the country. She didn't get there in time for the funeral. We had a reception for people back over at the house after the funeral and in drives Ms. Thomas. Nobody knew she was coming. We have a little room in our house we call it the "sunroom." She came in the door, saw me, and said, "George, I want to see your mother." I said, "Mother, Ms. Thomas has traveled here from Nacogdoches, Texas, and she wants to see you." And she said, "Lera is here?" I said, "Yes." And, the sun started to go down and I

walked to the sunroom. I can still see the sun filtering in through the shade. They hugged, embraced, Ms. Thomas basically tells me to get lost. I did and she said, "Elizabeth, you need to fill out George's term." Mother says, "No, I've never been in politics. No. How could I? It's time for the next generation." "No. You need to fill out his term. Don't run for re-election. Just fill out his term. Only those things that are near and dear to his heart."

Well, there was that one thing on the fire and that was the Lurleen Wallace Cancer Center in Birmingham, Alabama. It is part of the University of Alabama-Birmingham Medical Complex. The month before Dad died, he came home. Mother described how he came in to the Congressional Hotel and he clapped his hands and said, "Hah! I did it! I did it! I've got it!" He said, "I got Dan Flood," who was the chairman of the health subcommittee of the appropriations. "I got Dan. I got him. I got ahold of him and I've got the seed money for the cancer center." Now keep in mind this is 1971. Who is that cancer center going to be named for? Mrs. George Wallace! {laughter} And you're going to get that through the United States Congress at that time! "I got the seed money. Dan'll do it. He'll do it for me." {laughter} So Mother said that was the thing that entered her mind and she thought that, "If I'm not there,"—that second year is crucial—"If I'm not there, Dan's going to get somebody else because he's certainly got no loyalty to George Wallace, but if I go to him and look him in the eye and say, 'Do this for George.'"

JOHNSON: It would be tough to refuse.

ANDREWS: Yes. That won't be turned down. So she said, "Let me think about it." Well, we found out, she calls and tells us what happens. Tommy Gilbert and I are looking at each other. Whew!

JOHNSON: Did you want her to run?

ANDREWS: Yes, I did. Alabama was always home, but 80 percent of her time had been spent in Washington and you talk about culture shock, going from Washington, D.C., and living on Capitol Hill to Union Springs, Alabama, an agrarian small town—it's the same size it was a century ago. Yes, I felt like she needed that year to separate herself, stretch it out a little bit. And I felt how it could be good for her.

But so anyhow initially we felt like there would be no opposition but in comes redistricting and Alabama, once again, is going through the trauma of redistricting. Now from eight to seven. There had been a move to redistrict, to cut Dad's district and put him in with Bill Dickinson from Montgomery. Dad pretty well killed it. But once he was gone the legislature met and they cut that district up in a heartbeat. And the way the long narrowness of it, it was very easy to take the top third of it and put it in with [William Flynt] Bill Nichols, and the bottom two-thirds and put it with Bill Dickinson in Montgomery. Well, you do that, you put it in with Dickinson and Montgomery, Dickinson is strong in Montgomery—it's going to be tough. Dickinson went on to serve 20 years after that. It was clear that that was going to be a difficult thing to do.

There was a state senator from Eufaula, Alabama, which is 40 miles away from Union Springs, part of our district: Jimmy Clark. I brought a newspaper article on that I think you have got but the prevailing—the way it was going to be set-up was that the Alabama democratic executive committee was going to nominate the Democratic candidate to run in the special election. You weren't going to have a Democratic primary. Still, at that time, there was a Republican presence—by that time, but when they cut that district up, there's no Republican going to run against Bill Dickinson. So the feeling was among many in the—and times were changing,

the state was starting to change. The old conservative, segregationist posture of the state was changing. It was in the process of changing. All the conservative segregationists were becoming Republicans. The Democrats were becoming the liberal wing of the state. So there wasn't quite that inbred loyalty to my dad statewide in the Democratic Party. What they wanted to do was to create an incumbent to run against Dickinson. Give him that leg up. And Clark wanted to be that incumbent and he was in the state legislature and he had a lot of statewide contacts.

So it was very dicey. That's when I really learned that my mother was a "steel magnolia" because while she was initially reluctant to run ("How could I?" was her first thought), when she decided she could, she wanted it. She wanted to do it. Well, she gets rebuffed by a few old friends and she said, "I'll be all right. I'll be all right." She's on the phone. She's up there, we've still got the Rayburn Building office. Dad started out in 1724 of the Longworth [Building]. We were in the Rayburn office, 2466, I think it was on the fourth floor—great office down on the very far bottom of the H [shape] down there at the bottom of Independence Avenue. Look right out the window and see the Capitol dome and the city, terrific view. She's up there sitting behind Dad's desk and she's on that phone. It's 9:00 at night she's still calling away, and calling all the mayors in the district. Well, Red Blount, remember the Blounts and that connection? It all comes around. Red Blount, the former Postmaster General, is running for the Senate—fresh out of the Postmaster General's office, Nixon is still President—he's running for the Senate against John [Jackson] Sparkman. Mother says, "Well, I've always been a Democrat. George was always a Democrat. But if I had to run as an independent this one time, I could do that." {laughter}

Well, John Sparkman goes down to our district and the mayors of Dothan, Ozark, all of them corral him and say, "Let us tell you something, Senator, we're all going to

vote for Elizabeth Andrews for Congress and if those Democrats don't give her that seat, we're also all going to vote for Red Blount." And I brought you the newspaper headline, little-bitty headline. Senator Sparkman announces that he's for my mother. Now Bob Vance was the head of the Democratic Party. His son, Robert, is one of my best friends and is a circuit judge in Birmingham. He used to be a neighbor of ours. His wife just got appointed U.S. Attorney in Birmingham, one of the first five appointed by [President Barack] Obama. But Bob Vance was, at that time, the head of the state Democratic Party. He was from Birmingham. He was a lawyer. Went on to become a very distinguished federal judge and was killed by a mail bomb sent to his house. The federal courthouse is named for Bob Vance. Initially, Bob Vance was the bearer of bad tidings, such as, "Ms. Andrews, there's a lot of people on this committee that think we ought to have an incumbent run against Bill Dickinson. You've said you're not going to run and Jimmy Clark would be a popular candidate." After Senator Sparkman's meeting with the local mayors, however, he endorsed Mother, who then received another call from Vance with a very different message: "Ms. Andrews, you have pushed all the right buttons. The Democratic Party will be happy for you to be our nominee." And that did it. Most of that was all behind the scenes, but it was hardball, very hardball politics. Mother jumped right in it. I was amazed. She was tough.

JOHNSON: So she got in the middle and she knew exactly what to do.

ANDREWS: She knew what to do. It would have been interesting to see her take on Bill Dickinson because, as I say, so many of the conservatives became Republicans by that time that no Democrat—the fellow who got the Democratic nomination got drubbed by Dickinson but Mother would have given him a good race. I don't know if she could have won or not but she had a lot of friends in Montgomery, but she had no stomach for that. She did not want to do that and interestingly enough she retired

back to Union Springs and lived the rest of her life, a long life. She left Washington in January of '73 and she died in December of 2002. She just fit right back into that little town, into the bridge clubs, garden clubs, First Baptist Church—that type of life. And, again, I think it's because I keep going to the fact that I think to her Alabama was always home. Washington was not home. Washington was a place we worked but Alabama was always home. She really fit back into that life.

But through the years, as long as they were both physically able to, both she and Lera Thomas went to former Members' meetings and they took great trips together every year. One year they went to Philadelphia and they rented a van and drove through the Amish country and bought antiques, so she lived a great life. I think she was very content and I—but for that one time she was something. And she was a good Member. She was just there for really nine months but the office never really closed. But do you know we had to move out of the Rayburn Building and there were only two offices available but one of them was 1724 Longworth? So she went back and that's where her office was right where they started. So what are the odds of that?

JOHNSON: Do you think that she had a large learning curve because she had been behind the scenes before or do you think because she had spent so much time in D.C. and she knew so much about your father's office that she was ready to be a Member of Congress.

ANDREWS: She was ready, yes. I think she might have had a little bit of a confidence problem, but she was the type that when she set her mind to do something, she did it very well. It's interesting to note that, at the time of my father's death, the president of the Congressional Club was Lindy Boggs and the vice president was my mother. I think they were very similar and I think if we had not had the redistricting conundrum, I could very easily see Mother—I could very easily see her serving 10,

15, 20 years up here. She was only—she was in 1971 she was 60 years old so she could have had another 10 or 15 years just like Ms. Boggs did. They are about the same age.

JOHNSON: Right. Do you know if Lindy advised her at all afterwards about running for Congress?

ANDREWS: I don't know. I don't know that. I don't know what conversations they had. And Mr. Boggs was killed the year after she left. I think he was killed in '73.

JOHNSON: 1972.

ANDREWS: Well that was the year Mother served. I'm not sure. I think and I asked Jan [Schoonmaker] that last night. I wasn't sure and I think she came the next year. I don't think ever really got a chance to talk about it because Mother didn't come back up here much after that. When she left Washington, she left Washington. I think one reason is that there were so many memories here involving my father that it was kind of bittersweet. It was for me for a long time, believe it or not, because I really wasn't interested in getting into politics. That was one of the last conversations I had with my father. "Don't do it," and I didn't. He said, "Practice law."

JOHNSON: That was his advice to you?

ANDREWS: Mmm-hmm. Mmm-hmm. Mmm-hmm. He saw the changes coming, which is, and I want to hit one thing on that because I told this story to Tommy Reston and Tommy has just written a book on the Democrats. He hasn't gotten it published it yet but he said I did steal a line from your dad in the book and I didn't credit it to him. A friend of mine, Ray Johnson—who the year I went to Darlington School in

Rome, Georgia, my junior year—Ray was from Montgomery and his father Walkins Johnson was my Uncle Snag's roommate at the University of Alabama, very prominent lawyer. Ray used to ride home with us for Daddy would come get me in Rome and he would take us to Union Springs and Mr. Johnson would come to Union Springs and meet so Daddy got to know him pretty well. Daddy offered him a job up here one year when Ray was in college. So he worked in Dad's office. This was post-civil rights in the late 1960s.

This one Saturday morning Ray and Dad were talking and George Wallace was all in the news and everything. They started talking about integration and segregation. And Ray later told me, "Your dad shocked me." Publicly Dad was a Wallace person. They were friends. They were from the same part of the state. Wallace thought seriously about running against my father in the late '50s but he couldn't win. He said he really didn't want to run against him. So he turned his attention to state politics instead. The rest of the country might have been better off if he had run against Dad! {laughter}

Anyway, Dad called Ray in and they talked. Ray told me, "Your dad told me it's coming." A very prominent banker in Dothan once wrote Dad a letter in 1963, right before they got into the civil rights bill, which said, "If the civil rights bill passes Congress I will do everything I can within my power to defeat you." As if Dad could stop it! But, to a great extent there were a lot of people who felt that way. My dad told Ray, "I was brought up to believe one way. That's the way it was. That's the way my parents lived. That's the way my grandfather lived." His grandfather—my great-grandfather—is buried in Clayton, Alabama, a little town in Barbour County, with the Confederate Cross on his gravemark. He fought in the Civil War, all over. "We were raised the way we were taught to be raised," Dad said. "But Ray, it's coming. It's the law. It's going to be the South. The South is going to have to learn to accept

it." And Ray said, "I was just amazed." He said, "That was almost blasphemous."

Of course, we all feel differently now. I started feeling differently in high school when as a Page we went to the Key Club Convention in Richmond, Virginia, and one of my friends was a black Supreme Court Page and he went down to breakfast with us and the lady didn't want to serve us. I told myself, "This is wrong. It's okay in Alabama. That's the way it's done. They're not going to try to eat with us. But this is my friend. This is wrong." We stayed away from that conversation in the house. But, like I said, this was not too long before my dad died, but he saw the change coming, yes. He supported Wallace. He went out there to Virginia with him when he had to. I saw them on the stump together many times.

The two or three days after Wallace stood on the schoolhouse steps, it was the summer before my senior year, 1963, and they were having a dam dedication. The Chattahoochee River, which is the boundary line between Georgia and Alabama, has a series of dams on it which creates lakes. My dad got that through Congress by one vote and they were going to name—and they did name after he died the lower dam the George Andrews Dam. They couldn't do it while he was alive. At the dam ceremony I told them when they did name it for him, Dad always said he didn't know whether they were going to name it the George Andrews Dam or the Damn George Andrews.

But they were also dedicating, the same day, up the river the Walter F. George Dam for the Georgia Senator in Fort Gaines, Georgia. Dad's dam ceremony was down in Columbia near Dothan in the morning. So the ceremony started in Columbia at the future George Andrews Dam and George Wallace was there. All the members of the Alabama delegation were there. Most of the members of the Georgia delegation were there. Senator [Herman Eugene] Talmadge was there. And I saw a lot of them, I

wouldn't say all. But then, after the ceremonies at Columbia, we got on a bus and crossed over the river. We were on the Georgia side and somewhere along the way we picked up Carl Sanders, the governor of Georgia, and it was an interesting dichotomy. Sanders was somewhat of a liberal, sharp looking guy. Sanders was in a khaki suit, really sharp looking. Wallace was dressed in his customary black suit, white shirt, black tie. But all along the road, all along the road on that bus drive, there were crowds in the towns waving Confederate flags and cheering all the way up to that dam. The emotions were unbelievable and Wallace I think that day was right at his peak. It was that unbelievable and, again I'm a fly on the wall. I see this and to hear my dad tell Ray Johnson that makes me realize that he was a realist. He fought the good fight but he knew it was coming and basically, what he was telling Ray, You're going to have to accept it. The battle's been fought. The Civil War is finally over, and that's the way it's going to be.

I don't know whether Mother saw that our time had come and gone or their time had come and gone. She didn't have any regrets about leaving Washington—none at all. She adapted very well but on the other side of the coin, I think she could have been a Lindy Boggs. I think she would have bent with that wind like Carl Vinson did probably easier than my father may have. I know she was acceptable with it at her death. She knew I had African-American friends. I stayed a Democrat. And she had no problem with that. So I think she could have had a career like that but, the redistricting, she had no stomach to get into World War III at that point in her life and so she put it behind her and went home.

JOHNSON: She was the first woman elected . . .

ANDREWS: Only. Only.

JOHNSON: And only woman elected from Alabama.[7]

ANDREWS: To this day.

JOHNSON: And the first. Was that an important personal milestone for her being the first?

ANDREWS: She probably would not tell you that but, yes. When you read that speech she wrote I think it meant a lot to her and unfortunately she never really got—she wasn't there long enough to make much of a name or get much recognition. UAB [University of Alabama at Birmingham], to this day, does not know that cancer center is there because of her. Somebody else would have made sure of that. One of the problems was that—and this is politics—Bill Dickinson was up for election and he knew he was going to be running against, in a new district in effect. Nixon was in the White House, so when things—she actually had a confrontation with Dickinson about this—when the money would be approved or the bill would be signed into law or whatever, it would come out of the White House and Dickinson would get the press release. And Mother confronted him about it. "I did that!" He says, "Yes, but I'm the professional. This is, you're up here for a year. I've got to do this." There was no love lost. I don't know what Dickinson felt but Mother didn't appreciate it and to her credit, steel magnolia that she was, she walked right up to him and looked him in the eye and said, "I don't appreciate it. I did that work." But she was not a publicity hound. She wasn't looking for a political future. She knew, as George Allen, the coach of the Redskins used to say, "The future is now." "And my political career is now. I'm not trying to protect a political future." She did not do that for any sense of ego, she did not. The only reason that she did that was the biggest thing was the cancer center. I'm sure there were two or three other things she knew that were important to Dad because she did know what was important to him and she did know the irons that were in the fire.

The other aspect of it was and, you know, it's ironic. I had this conversation with my father two months before he died. I can't remember the Congressman's name. He was a long-serving Member from Kentucky [John Clarence Watts]. But he died. They moved him out of his office. He was gone. I knew somebody on his staff or something or somebody was telling me, he had to get out of that office or the staff had to get out of that office and so I said, "That's terrible." And he [my father] was like, "No," he said, "When you're not here anymore, you're not the Congressman anymore. That's just the way it is." He said, "Time goes on. That's the way it's been for 200 years. That's the way it's going to be." It's interesting that I had that conversation. Two months later we were faced with the same thing. And I think it was important for Mother to give his staff that year to adjust and find other employment.

JOHNSON: The transition.

ANDREWS: The transition. Because there is very—probably still isn't. There's very little transition time for a deceased Member. You are basically on the street. You don't have the parking place anymore. It's gone. And so I think that was a very important thing to her that because she loved especially the years that we were in the Congressional Hotel.

She did spend a lot of time—you had asked me that earlier and I was thinking back when I was younger but really in the last few years—the years that—when we moved up here on the Hill, Mother was a lot more interactive with the office. We did a lot of things together. We would go to the theater together. There was a lot of interaction with the office and, but so she did not want to see those people displaced and in the middle of a congressional term it's kind of hard to get a job. So I think that was the other factor that was extremely important to her and I think looking

back. I think it meant a lot to her through the years that she did it but I don't think she regretted not being able to do it longer, but she would have. She would have done it longer, I think.

JOHNSON: If the circumstances . . .

ANDREWS: If the circumstances had been different, yes.

JOHNSON: Well, I think this is a good stopping point.

ANDREWS: Okay.

JOHNSON: We have a lot more to cover, but for today this should be good.

ANDREWS: All right.

JOHNSON: Unless you had anything else to add?

ANDREWS: Let me see. We haven't talked about paging at all.

JOHNSON: No, but that's going to be for the next interview.

ANDREWS: That's a longer [discussion.]

JOHNSON: That's for the next session and there will be a few follow-ups on your parents, but we've covered a lot of ground today, so why don't we leave it till next time.

ANDREWS: Okay.

— GEORGE W. ANDREWS III —
INTERVIEW TWO

JOHNSON: This is Kathleen Johnson interviewing George Andrews, former Page, and the son of two former Members from Alabama, George and Elizabeth Andrews. The date is May 20th, 2010, and the interview is taking place in the Madison Building of the Library of Congress.

I wanted to start today with a few follow-up questions from your last interview, specifically about your father's congressional office in Washington, D.C. Can you talk a little bit more about the size of his staff, some of the long-time staffers that you remember, and then just the overall atmosphere of this office?

ANDREWS: We had one lady, Eva Hammond, who worked for my dad right up until the last two years. Started with him in 1944, and worked until the late '60s, and she was a wonderful lady. She lived out in Arlington, she was originally from Alabama. Almost all of Dad's employees were Alabama connected. He didn't hire Washington people, he wanted Alabama people in his office. And Eva was with him for just about the entire ride. Dad served 27 years; I think Eva retired shortly after her 25th anniversary. She lived with her sister and mother, never married, lived with her sister and mother out in Arlington. And their next door neighbors, whose name escapes me, but they had two children by the name of Shirley MacLaine and Warren Beatty. And I met them one time. Eva used to have us out to her house every summer for like a barbecue. And so she was like family.

JOHNSON: What was her position in your father's office?

ANDREWS: She was—well, that's interesting, titles and function are two different things. Title-wise, she was the administrative assistant. Really, the first 15 years or so, the real person who ran his office was Clara Belle Blount from Union Springs. She was like a second grandmother to me. I never knew my dad's mother, so really, she was sort of like my paternal grandmother. Her husband, Winton Blount, Sr., was my dad's first campaign manager. She had two sons, Winton Blount, Jr., who they called Red Blount, Red. Red became Postmaster General under Nixon. And his brother, Houston Blount, her other son, worked . . . They formed a construction company that, among other things, built the Atlanta airport, and much of Saudi Arabia, Blount Brothers Construction Company. They then split off and Houston founded Vulcan Materials, which is a huge quarry company nationally. So she had two very successful sons. She taught my dad in the fifth grade, and she really ran the office.

When she finally retired, Eva was a wonderful secretary and a wonderful person, but she was not the most organized person in the world. And after Armistead Selden was defeated, Dad brought in Tommy Gilbert. Tommy is from Athens, Alabama, which is in north Alabama, and was Armistead Selden's administrative assistant for 16 years. And when Mr. Selden ran for the Senate and was defeated, Dad hired Tommy. So the last six years Dad was in office, Tommy was the administrative assistant. My father said that Tommy would have been the finest Congressman in Washington, but he'd never be able to get elected. {laughter}

But he knew everybody, he was extremely active on the Hill, very popular. If there was a problem, Tommy would know exactly who to call. He was invaluable. When my mother served, he stayed with Mother, and then he

worked for—when Mother retired, he worked for a Congresswoman from Maryland, and I can't remember her name.[8] But he was a fixture on the Hill for many years.

JOHNSON: How would you characterize the overall atmosphere of your father's office?

ANDREWS: Very good. We were close-knit. The last few years, we used to make an event of going to Shady Grove Music Theater, and we do that all the time, because we all love musicals. That was probably our biggest outing. The last few years Dad was in office, when I was in law school, he had a young man named Forrest Tate, who became one of my best friends. We were the same age, and we dated, went to stuff together all the time. So I lived up there, it was like home, it was very home like atmosphere.

Of course, when we were in the Longworth Building, those offices were tiny so everybody was jammed in. I think he only had three or four people. We had a lady who, in the last few years, we had a person who ran an office in Ozark, Alabama, who lived there, she didn't come to Washington. So we did have that luxury. That came along, I'd say towards the tail end of Dad's term, that they would have a local office. But I think the staffing situation has grown considerably since those days.

JOHNSON: Do you recall if there were a lot of constituents from Alabama, from the district, that would come and visit the office?

ANDREWS: All the time, all the time. And the door—one of my dad's major commands was that a constituent was to be treated like royalty when they came. And he always had, for those with infants, they got a baby book. For anybody that

ate food, they would wind up with peanuts. I think I told you the story about Sargent Shriver last time.

JOHNSON: Right, yes.

ANDREWS: We always had lots of peanuts in the office, and of course, probably the most common request would be White House tour tickets. But we'd also give passes to go to the House Floor and the Senate Floor, and I forged my father's name on most things. I used to pitch in and work in the office a good bit when I was a Page, and even when I was in school and we'd be up here. Although, I had various jobs on the Hill when I was in college in law school, when I'd be up here for the summer.

So one summer, I worked in the Library of Congress in the economics division. And one of the researchers was a guy named Vladimir Pregelj, and I guess it was 1974, I was watching the news, the national news. That would've been like '74, I was stationed in the Navy in Pensacola, Florida. I'm sitting there watching Walter Cronkite one afternoon and it says that the Watergate jury has issued indictments in the following cases. The foreman of the Watergate jury, economist Vladimir Pregelj. {laughter} So I went, "Wow!" And I got very familiar with the stacks of the Library of Congress. I'd shag a lot of books. One summer, when I was in law school, I worked as a law clerk for the House Public Works Committee, and did a lot of research on citizens' suits, and the Clean Water Act, the environmental bill. So I had various jobs on the Hill through the years, but our office was always very close.

JOHNSON: In the first interview, I asked about your mother's involvement with your father's campaigns. How frequently did she spend time in your dad's office, the physical office in D.C., and did she come to help out with things?

ANDREWS: After I got older, and we lived in the Congressional Hotel, she spent a lot of time in the office, but she never interfered in the office. She respected that they had a job to do, and she did not infringe upon that job at all. But was she familiar with what was going on in the office? Yes. So when she became a Member herself, she was really able to slide into the job pretty well because she knew how the office was running.

JOHNSON: Your father had a reputation as being a very talented orator, and what I wanted to ask is either as a Page, or before this time, did you witness any memorable speeches, any that stand out in your mind that your father made while he was a Member of Congress?

ANDREWS: I don't really recall any memorable speeches he made on the floor. I know he did, but most of the speeches I saw him give were back home, campaigning or going through the district. One of the things he was always—I think I told you about his Mr. Nine speech.

JOHNSON: Yes.

ANDREWS: I think that was the speech I think he liked to quote the most. But one thing he was able to do, and that I learned from him, was to mix in a lot of humor, he was a very humorous man. He could be funny, and he could talk about a serious subject and still inject humor into it. So he was interesting. He was not a yeller or a screamer, but he was one of the Members, and I don't really

remember any specifics, but he was one Member usually, when they talked, people would stop what they were doing and listen to what he had to say. Another one like that was [Representative] Wilbur [Daigh] Mills, He always, he was good. He was really good. And there were a certain number of Members that when they spoke, things quieted down.

I think people would be shocked. I know people that would come up to watch Congress in session, would be shocked at how little attention some of the Members would seem to be paying to what was being said on the floor. A lot of speeches were made for the *Congressional Record*, for quotes back home, or being made because they had to be made. But there were certain Members that when they went down into that well, their position, or their skill demanded respect and silence, and they were listened to. There were also some that had the exact opposite effect. I remember the John Birch Society, that was a big deal in the '60s. It was sort of like the Tea Party is now—very right wing, very conservative. One of their leaders was a California Republican named John [Harbin] Rousselot. The Birch Society, we called them the Birchers, we weren't too fond of them in the Democratic Cloakroom. But they decided they were going to keep the House in session all night. The House was going to work.

JOHNSON: This was while you were a Page?

ANDREWS: Yes, yes, this was while I was a Page. Well, the only ones—and they demanded a full House. So they called quorum calls. Now, you can imagine when somebody demanded a quorum call at 6:30 at night how popular that was, especially on my side of the aisle. But they decided they were going to keep the House in session all night, and Rousselot was down there speaking,

this was about 9:00. And they called quorum calls. Well, there was a Congressman from Illinois, John [Carl] Kluczynski, K-L-U-C-Z-Y-N-S-K-I. I had to learn to spell that, and I can still spell it. He was a big, heavy-set, grey-haired guy. He gets a copy of the *New York Times*, which is like waving a red flag in front of a bull to Birchers. He gets a copy of the *New York Times*, and goes down, and sits in the front row, pulls out that newspaper, and puts on a pair of earmuffs {laughter} while Rousselot's making . . . {laughter}. It was hilarious.

But this might be a good time to talk about great speeches. I just wish I could remember who it was. The very first time I remember coming to the House Floor, I was a little boy. I couldn't have been more than kindergarten, first, second grade. My dad decided to bring me up. I remember eating lunch in the old House Restaurant, which was located—if you went through that first floor door on the East Front of the Capitol, the basement door, the one under the stairs, if you went into that door, and headed towards the main corridor. Now you would turn right to go to the House Restaurant, I guess that's where it was still. The old House Restaurant was on your right and your left along that hall headed towards the main corridor. And not nearly as nice or opulent as the one they had later on. I remember having lunch with my dad, it was the first time I ever had bean soup, and it's still my favorite soup.

JOHNSON: Was this your whole family, or was it just you and your dad?

ANDREWS: Just me and my dad. And I think it was a Saturday, and this was a big bill, and I have racked my brain to try and remember what it was. I thought it might have been Taft-Hartley, but I looked, and that was 1947, and I wasn't

that little, but it was a big bill. And it was one that my dad was on the Democratic side. He was voting with the Democrats. And it was one of those rare times that the floor was packed. I think that's why my dad brought me that day. And I don't remember who it was, but he was the chairman of the committee. I can still hear my dad saying the chairman of the committee, and he gave the last speech. The Democrats rose and gave a standing ovation. I remember looking over the aisle, the Republicans were stone-faced, and the bill passed. But I'll never forget that particular—that was my first. But you talk about great speeches. Even though I can't remember who it was, and I can't remember what it was about {laughter}, I remember it was a great speech. {laughter}

JOHNSON: As a child, this must've been a very special event for your father to take you to the Capitol.

ANDREWS: I know it was. He knew it was a historic event, and one of the great regrets of my life is I never went back and asked my mother or father what it was, or if it was, I forgot. But it was a biggie, and it had to be in '52, '53, or '54, I was born in '46, so maybe a little research, we can figure out what it was.[9]

JOHNSON: Exactly.

ANDREWS: But it was a biggie.

JOHNSON: I wanted to switch gears at this point, and to get into your years as a Page. And the first question that came to mind was what initially sparked your interest in becoming a House Page?

ANDREWS: Well, it has nothing to do with being a Page. If it had been up to me, I'd have stayed at home. But after the fifth grade, I went to school in Union Springs, my mother stayed in Alabama with me at our family home. And in those days still, Congress was basically in session from January to June, and they'd recess until January again. So it was six months up here, six months at home. Well, as the years went on, it became eight months up here, then 10 months up here. And by the time I was in the seventh and eighth grades, my father was a voice on the telephone on Sunday mornings, and that was about it. I would come up here. Dad lived in the Old Continental Hotel down by Union Station, and we'd walk to work. I would stay with him at the Continental, he stayed in a little tiny little room up there—that wasn't a good existence for any of us.

And the idea was that I could, in the ninth grade, I could come, since Page School was geared towards short timers that I could come up here in January of 1961, when Congress came in session, and not be penalized too much for breaking mid-year in school. Because we tried that when I was in the fifth grade; it was very difficult for me. I went for the first half, up until that time, my sister was at the Cathedral Girl's School. But when I was in the fourth grade, she graduated from high school. So in the fifth grade, we tried half in Alabama, and half in Washington, and that just didn't work. The curriculums didn't match, so it was really putting me at a disadvantage. I stayed in Union Springs.

So I came in January of '61, and that's when we moved to the Congressional Hotel, even though Dad owned a house. He rented the house to Carl Albert, and Carl Albert lived there the whole time he was Speaker. Or at least until—no, until 1971, and that's when Dad sold the house out on Reno Road. And

so that's when we moved to the Congressional Hotel. So January of 1961 was when I started, and it was really an accommodation so the family could stay together. So I didn't become a Page because I had a burning ambition to be a Page. Now, after I got there, I loved it.

JOHNSON: Your Page years were, you started in 1961, and you were there until '64?

ANDREWS: I graduated in '64, now, I did not go to Page School my junior year in high school, they sent me to a prep school in Georgia because the 10th grade was very difficult. Congress had a rough year that year. I had horrible—two of the worst courses I ever had in my life, well three; I had Biology, French, and Geometry, none of which I was good at. {laughter} It's tough to work all day and then have to come home and do homework. Especially stuff that, Geometry, to this day—an isosceles triangle is one of my worst enemies. So they decided that it was just too abnormal a life. But when I went to the prep school, I realized I wanted to go back. So I came back my senior year, and I wouldn't have missed that senior year for anything, because that was the—1963–1964 was one of the most dramatic years in the history of this town, and I got to see most of it.

JOHNSON: At the time, were there a lot of Pages that stayed for the four years, or three years? Were there long-term Pages that you knew?

ANDREWS: Well, more so than there are now, I know. There were probably a half a dozen of us that were—I like to think I was here the whole time. Keep in mind, when I say the whole time, '61 to '64, I was out that year, but there were probably five or six of us that were here most of the time. Paul Hays was one, who retired as the House [reading] clerk [in 2007], but Paul was a

Supreme Court Page, but he was a classmate of mine. We didn't call him Paul then, we called him Melvin. His aunt was our English teacher, Ms. Williams, Jessie Williams.

I remember Rick Harding and Berle Schiller. Rick's father was Ken Harding, who was the Assistant Sergeant at Arms, and he was the number one phone Page when I started working. Berle was the number two, he was from New York.[10] Very bright, sharp guy. And I remember them talking about Melvin. They said, "Did you know that Melvin is Ms. Williams' nephew, and he lives with her?" Rick said, "Oh, that's okay, he hates her too." {laughter} Of course, he really didn't, he loved her. We saw her when we had our reunion in 1988, she was still living at that time, and we had a party at Paul's house, and we saw her, and it was wonderful to see her. Her class was remarkable because it was along the front . . . that was class number two of the day.

We started our class at 7:15 in the morning, and that was when it was on the front side of the school, facing the Capitol. Every morning, I guess this was my senior year that I particularly remembered, the sun came up on the Capitol dome. To this day, it's one of the most gorgeous sights. It would turn all shades of pink, almost orange sometimes against the deepening blue sky. It was hard to concentrate on adjectives and verbs when you had a sight like that out the window.

JOHNSON: Your classes were in the Library of Congress?

ANDREWS: Yes, in what we affectionately refer to as the attic of the Library of Congress.

JOHNSON: I want to ask you more specific questions about your schooling, but I wanted to get back to just a few of the basics first. Did your father sponsor you as a Page?

ANDREWS: Yes. Yes.

JOHNSON: Okay. Was it common for sons of Members to serve as Pages?

ANDREWS: It was not uncommon. There was a number of us, Frank Karsten was in school with me, his father was a Congressman from St. Louis. Blaine Purcell, who I saw at the reunion two years ago, he's a doctor in Houston now, his father was Congressman [Graham Boynton] Purcell, [Jr.], from Texas. Those two come to mind, but there were others. It was not against the law though.

JOHNSON: What do you recall of your first day, and if not your specific first day, your first few weeks as a Page?

ANDREWS: Oh, I remember the first day. The first day—I'm trying to remember exactly where, but my father, I think he may have come up to our office. Frank Cabrello, you ever heard of Frank?

JOHNSON: No.

ANDREWS: Frank Cabrello, and I think that's C-A-B-R-E-L-L-O if I remember correctly, was a Cuban refugee, he was probably in his 60s. And he was in charge of the Pages' Cloakroom. The Pages' Cloakroom, which we all grew to hate, is located in the basement of the Capitol, real close by to where the flag room was, and I think still is on the West Front basement. And that was where we

were supposed to come, we were supposed to hang out, the kind of place, it really wasn't, I spent more time there the first day than I ever spent thereafter. But that's where we were supposed to come and deposit our briefcases, our book bags, and our overcoats, which you wore a lot in Washington in the winter time, and of course, this was in January when we started. And then report up to the floor. Well, it didn't take long for us to figure out, that's a long walk to go down to that cloakroom, and then turn around and then come back up to the floor, and after working a long day at work, you sure didn't want to have to go [that far].

So it became a real game to hide our overcoats and our briefcases. Frank would always be trying to spy to find out where we were doing it. It became a cat and mouse game to hide them somewhere in the Capitol, and that's where you learned where a lot of the nooks and the crannies of the Capitol were. Our favorite spot, and we got away with it for about a month, and then Frank found it, this is probably—well, it became so popular that we got too many guys hiding it there, I think that's probably how we got caught. But it was under the stairwell that went down, if you go out of the Speaker's Lobby, towards the Speaker's Office, there's a stairwell that goes down. If you go down there, the first floor, that stairwell ends, and up under that stairwell was kind of a dark place, and we'd stick the book bags and the overcoats in there. So then when Frank caught us, we found other places. And it was just a {laughter}, it was a real battle.

He was a Cuban refugee, spoke very bad English, and we used to inflame him by saying something. Having a conversation within his earshot, so we would be sure he would overhear us. "Did you hear [Fidel] Castro's invading Key West?" He'd just go ballistic. {laughter} And we just did it for spite. But I

went, going back to that first day, Frank takes me over to the Pages' Cloakroom, and we were all assembled in the cloakroom.

JOHNSON: This is the Democratic Cloakroom?

ANDREWS: No, it was the Page Cloakroom.

JOHNSON: Oh, the Page Cloakroom, right.

ANDREWS: But in those days, everybody was a Democrat. There were only four Republican Pages that I recall, they were all in the Republican Cloakroom. Everybody else was Democrats. Even the Pages that worked on the Republican side were Democratic appointees. And so we were all gathered down there waiting to be summoned. I remember there were old *LIFE* magazines and *Look* magazines, none of them recent, but they were all on this big table. We were sitting around this big table, and I remember, that's where I learned who the seven astronauts were going to be, read about them, and there was a feature on there about the Johnson—Lyndon Johnson's daughters. (Interestingly, Luci [Baines Johnson] became, I wouldn't say a close friend, but she was a friend. She had dated Pages when I was in school.) But an article about the Johnson girls.

And then finally, after what seemed like an eternity, we were all summoned and taken up to the House Floor. And it was lit up, and I'm not exactly sure why, I don't think the House was in session that day, but they might have been, they might have because we started early. But we were standing along that wall on the east door, right where you come in the east door on the east side of the chamber, the Democratic side. We were all standing along there,

and Turner Robertson [the chief Page] came and introduced himself to us. And then he came to me and he said, "George, you're going to be in the cloakroom." And that's when Colonel Emerson was standing there, and Charlie Hackney, and that's when I met Art Cameron. That was a day I'll never forget, so I never spent a day on the bench. I was in the House Democratic Cloakroom the entire time I was a Page.

JOHNSON: For Pages during the time, you had specific responsibilities. So you could be a bench Page, you could work in the cloakroom, you could be a Speaker's Page.

ANDREWS: Yes, we had, I think if you break it down, you had a Speaker's Page, who was just basically at the Speaker's beck and call. He sat at the little desk there with the Parliamentarian, and worked in the Speaker's Office, and was just basically the Speaker—exactly what the title, he was the Speaker's Page. And the Speaker's Page, when I started, was Davey Howser from South Carolina. Of course, [Samuel Taliaferro] Sam Rayburn was the Speaker then, at first. And then Bob Barnes, my classmate Bob Barnes was Speaker [John William] McCormack's Page for two or three years. Very close to him.

JOHNSON: Did you view this is a prestigious position, to be the Speaker's Page?

ANDREWS: Oh yes, oh yes. I always said being the number one phone Page was the most prestigious. {laughter} I'll talk about that, we had a ranking. The other special Pages, you had the documentarian Pages. They sat to the Speaker's left, on the Republican side in the bench there. I'm not totally sure what those guys did. They looked and acted like they were important. Technically, they were in charge of assembling the bills and the paperwork. The biggest

job they had was, and most important job was, they rang the bells. And that sounds like an easy job, but just you mess up, for example you sound four bells instead of three when somebody calls for a quorum, or two.

JOHNSON: Can you explain what was meant by the bells for people that don't know about that?

ANDREWS: The whole communication on the Hill was governed by the bells. The bells rang everywhere, in the offices, in the cafeterias, even in the restrooms on both the House office buildings, of which there were two then, of course, the Longworth and the Cannon. There were four bells. I think I still remember it right. Two bells—well, I remember, two bells were for a roll call vote, three bells were quorum call, four bells were adjournment. I think one bell was a teller vote, which was like they do in the English Parliament, where they're not recorded, their votes aren't recorded, but the Members would walk—if you were for a bill, you would walk up the center aisle, and then those against the bill would walk up the center aisle. And each side would appoint a teller to do the counting.

JOHNSON: So it'd be a total number of votes, but with no specific assignments.

ANDREWS: But with no specific—yes, yes, record of how the Member voted. Of course, they were somewhat rare unless nobody wanted anybody to know how they voted. {laughter} And that happened occasionally. But in any event, going back to that first day, I started out in the cloakroom, and that's the only place I ever worked. So I guess now, it's time to talk about the cloakroom a little bit.

JOHNSON: Right. And just to start off with, what were your specific responsibilities?

ANDREWS: Oh, well let me get back. The other key position, you had your bench Pages, which ran the errands, but the other key position as a Page, was the overseer Page. You had an overseer and an assistant overseer. They're the ones who handle the switchboard when people would call Pages, and they're the ones, they were like a dispatcher. They had to know where everybody was. And, of course, if they felt malicious, they might send a new Page to a non-existent room to get a bill stretcher, which there's no such thing as a bill stretcher, but you don't know that on the first day you're a Page. {laughter}

JOHNSON: Right. Was this Turner Robertson?

ANDREWS: Well, Turner Robertson was—the overseer was a Page position. Turner Robertson's title was chief Page. And he was over everybody in terms of Pages. But the Speaker's Page worked for the Speaker. But Turner determined who worked where, and so forth and so on. But really, when I went to the cloakroom, I no longer worked for Turner, I worked for Art Cameron primarily. He was the hands-on guy.

JOHNSON: Okay. So he was the one responsible for the cloakroom?

ANDREWS: The cloakroom. The hierarchy was Colonel Emerson and Charlie Hackney was the number two. Now, Charlie had a lot of other duties, and, of course, Charlie later became the reading clerk for many years. He was one of the 10 nicest people I've ever known in my life. He was from North Carolina, had this wonderful melodious voice, and he was just so nice. And then there was Art, and Art was a piece of work. I learned very quickly that I was no longer

in Bullock County, Alabama, that I was in the big leagues. It's a pretty hefty thing for a 14 year old to realize that you were in the big leagues. So, the duties of the telephone Page, I guess it would be. We had a number of duties, and I just kind of wrote a few things.

JOHNSON: Sure, that's fine.

ANDREWS: So I can keep up, and so I can remember.

JOHNSON: So your specific title was telephone Page.

ANDREWS: Mmm-hmm. We were numbered one through six, there were six of us, number one being the chief Page. I started out as either number five or number six. Rick Harding, who's Ken Harding's [former House Sergeant at Arms] son, was the number one Page then. He was a senior, he was the star on the basketball team. I saw him at the reunion two years ago, he's a doctor in California, and one of the outstanding young men I've ever known. He was sharp as a tack. As was the number two Page, who was Berle Schiller, who was from New York. And Berle went to Bowdoin College, so that gives you an idea how smart he was.

Here I was fresh out of Union Springs High School in Union Springs, Alabama. Talk about culture shock; it was culture shock. And it took a while, but I've got nothing but great memories of those guys; they did a lot for me. But our specific duties, they were very important duties because there were no cell phones in those days. We were the only means of communication when Congress was in session with Members on the floor.

I guess the number one duty was to find Congressmen. If anybody's looking for the Congressman, they would call. We had 14 telephone booths. We would answer the phones, we would take the messages, and then we would go out and find the Congressman. Now, you had to get an organization on that, and that's the number one Page is the person who kept that organized. He's the one that would dispatch you out there to find somebody. And we'd tell him sometimes, if it was busy, we'd tell him, "It's going to be a while, you hang on, we'll get back with you." But what that necessitated that you do is, you had to learn every Member by sight. And since you wrote out, we had just the typical pink message pads like they got that day. It had the name of the Congressman, the name of the caller, each booth had a number, we put on their number, like six, or number eight, whatever the phone booth that call was on. Then down in the right hand corner, we put our initial, as we're the ones that took the message. Now I learned later that that's because if you screwed up, {laughter} Art knew who to chew out.

JOHNSON: It wasn't to go back and say, "Good job?"

ANDREWS: No. {laughter} You would hand that to the number one Page, and then he would dispatch somebody to go out and find them. And sometimes, you might get two or three, if the calls were coming in hectically, because you couldn't just go out and find one Member and have somebody out on the floor looking for a Member, and still have people to man the phones, there were only six of us. But the first thing you had to do, you go back to that first line, by golly, you don't misspell a Congressman's name. And we had [Daniel David] Rostenkowski, we had Kluczynski, we had [Roman Conrad] Pucinski. We had some names. Then we had some tricky names, then you would have Congressmen with the same name. And there was a John

[William] Davis of Georgia, and there was a James [Curran] Davis of Georgia. So you'd have to put Davis from California, or Davis from Georgia. So your little book, which I brought, let's see. Well, you know what it looks like.

JOHNSON: Is this the *Congressional Pictorial Directory*?

ANDREWS: Yes.

JOHNSON: Is that what you used to memorize all the faces of Members?

ANDREWS: This was our Bible. Now, these were in a lot better shape, this was my parent's copy. I have no idea where mine is, probably in rags somewhere, because mine was limp. I lived in this book. But we would go through and like Rick would—or one of the senior Pages would get one, and, "Who's that?" "That's William [Huston] Natcher of Kentucky." Charles [Albert] Vanik of Ohio, had a daughter named Phyllis who was cute.

JOHNSON: So you'd be quizzed, and you were sure that you memorized all the faces?

ANDREWS: {laughter} I didn't know Phyllis then when we started. And so they would go through and they would show me—not only would I have to identify who it was, I'd have to spell it. So that was mission number one, was you had to learn it. And some of these photographs, then you'd really learn who the egos were.

JOHNSON: The ones that hadn't been updated for a few years?

ANDREWS: Now, I'd say that this is a picture of my dad in January of 1963. I would say that photograph was taken probably in 1954. This is George Grant, he's a Congressman from Troy. Montgomery was his district. I would say that that photograph was, this is again, 1963, I would say that that photograph was taken in about 1938. {laughter} So, you had to factor in that as well as this.

JOHNSON: That added a degree of difficulty.

ANDREWS: And then, not only then did you have to learn what they look like, then you had to learn where to find them because typically, in the House, they don't have assigned seats or tables like they do in the Senate, and the House is a lot bigger floor than the Senate. But the House also has little nooks and crannies [where I] would go. "Congressman so and so" might want to sit out on the balcony on the Speaker's Lobby. So by golly, if he gets a telephone call, you make sure you check that balcony. One time, I missed one and boy, that was woebegone if you missed one if he was there and you didn't find him. You never know how important those calls were.

I remember one Congressman, who was a very nice man, Congressman [George Elliott] Hagan from Georgia, he was a friend of mine, I would say. I was not, thank God, the one who missed him, but he got missed. And it was a very important call, and while he was a very nice guy, he came out back there, and cussed us up and down the line. You're 15 years old, and you're getting dog cussed by a 50-year-old man. He came and apologized, and thereafter, periodically, he would go back to the snack bar, put down a couple of bucks, because he really felt bad about it, but it was important, and we didn't do our job. It happened though; we're human.

I remember one time, another place would have to look was back in the cloakroom, obviously. Especially Southerners, especially my daddy. He spent a lot of time back there telling stories. You talk about giving speeches, my father was much more effective in the cloakroom as a Member telling stories. You ask Donn Anderson, or the few people around who still remember him, oh yes, he told hilarious stories back in the cloakroom. I always knew when my daddy was back there because periodically, there would be this uproarious burst of laughter, you know? One time they did that, and Art looked at me and said, "Your dad's back there."

But I remember one time, a lot of times, because they never turned the lights out, occasionally they did turn the lights out. They had wonderful leather couches, I'd go back there and a Member would be taking a nap. I never made those calls as to whether to wake him up for the phone call. Those calls would go to Art, or sometimes Colonel Emerson because Colonel Emerson was technically in charge, Art worked for him. Colonel was kind of a hands-off person, but there were some decisions that a 15 year old just didn't feel compelled to make. And one of them was whether or not to wake up "Congressman so-and-so" when he had a telephone call.

But I remember one time, sometimes they put those little hand towels over their face to block out the light. And I was down on the floor looking up, trying to look under that towel, to see if it was a Congressman that I had a phone call for, because I couldn't tell, his head was covered up. And the only thing worse than waking up a Congressman that doesn't want to be waked up for a telephone call, is to wake up the wrong Congressman for a telephone call that wasn't his. {laughter} So we had some tough decisions. There were a

lot of other aspects to the job too, because again, we were the only source of what was going on in a Congressman's office.

JOHNSON: Before you move on to the different responsibilities, I wanted to ask you if you can provide an example of some of the phone calls that you fielded for the Members of Congress.

ANDREWS: Oh, well we'd get calls from prominent news people, calls from the White House. There's a rather infamous story, which it was in the *Roll Call*, this was before my time, a few years before my time. But it was in the '50s. It was quoted in *Roll Call*, however, from the guy it happened to. He picks up the telephone call and says, "This is President Eisenhower, I'd like to speak to Senator Dirksen." And the Page said, "Bullshit." {laughter} He says, "I beg your pardon?" And then the Page realized, it was the President. {laughter}[11]

JOHNSON: What are the odds?

ANDREWS: But I didn't have an experience quite that bad. But just to give you an example, when Kennedy was President, we would get calls from Kenny O'Donnell, and Lawrence O'Brien, who later became Commissioner of the NBA. They were the guys—and a lot of times it'd be the secretary. And what was funny sometimes would be you'd have to kind of discern the pecking order because we were told, you make sure the party's on the line. We don't go out and get a Congressman and have him come back and wait for somebody's secretary to wait for somebody to get off the line to call to talk to the Congressman, when they were calling the Congressman in the first place. Yes, but what happens if you've got Larry O'Brien's secretary on the phone. Who gets who first? {laughter} So, typically, the way we'd handle it, you'd

race back, you'd find the Member, and you'd race back, and grab the phone and say, "I've got him, he's coming." And what we would always do, we would get to the phone booth first, pick up the phone, hold the phone at the heel of the phone, so the Congressman could grab it. We had it down to a science, where they'd go right in, and be able to go into the booth, and close the door, and have privacy. So when you had somebody like that, you'd say, "I've got the Congressman, he's 10 steps behind me, if you could put Mr. O'Donnell on the line," or whatever.

JOHNSON: What a sophisticated handoff system.

ANDREWS: Oh, yes. We even had alcohol wipes. Every morning, the first job of the day was to go through. Now, that was the only time those things got used, there was a lot of slobbering. It was not the most hygienic system in the world, but we did the best we could. It was a different time.

But one time, I never heard John Kennedy's voice on the telephone, but I went out to get, I think it was Carl Albert, President Johnson was calling Carl Albert. Carl Albert was the Majority Leader. And this was my senior year, and I was the number one Page there. So I went out and, of course, when you got the Majority Leader, you talk about pecking order, well I figure that's where you go in and say, I found Mr. Albert, and you can tell the President he's 10 steps behind me, and I did that, and I hear, "Thank you, Son." Lyndon Johnson was waiting on the line for him. And that's kind of an example of the difference between the two Presidents. Because even though both of them had been Members of Congress, Lyndon Johnson was a creature of Congress, both the House and the Senate. He knew the Members, especially those that had been around, a lot better than John Kennedy did.

And he was a much more hands-on President with the Members than John Kennedy was. John Kennedy was a much more of a delegator, I guess would be the word. Lyndon Johnson got down into the pits. That's just an example of how he worked. He was on the line for Carl Albert, he was not going to have Carl Albert speak to a secretary. So, you never knew who was on the other end, you never knew.

JOHNSON: A little while ago, you mentioned the culture shock of coming from Alabama, a high school boy coming from Alabama, and that just made me wonder, was there any sort of orientation for the Pages, any sort of preparation for these really big responsibilities that you were going to have working for Congress?

ANDREWS: On the job training. I mean, pure, in for a penny, in for a pound. No. And much of it depended on your senior Pages, which I understand they don't really have now. But I had the advantage of learning how to do my job from guys who had been doing it for a couple of years. So they really knew it, and they really knew the Members, and they really knew the Members likes and dislikes, or where to find them, where they hung out, and also the ones to be careful of. Wayne Hays being one, [James Joseph] Delaney from—I think that was his name—Delaney from New York. You don't mess with those guys. They might be otherwise great people, but they don't broke in confidence, and you make sure you're right.

So no, it was sink or swim. If they weren't in session that first day, they were certainly in session the second day. And now, we have a good bit of downtime, because we'd get to work at 10 in the morning, and so we'd have an hour or so that we could—there wouldn't be a whole lot of activity going on with the phones. Then, of course, you'd have the short days, we'd still

have to be there until 5:00, or at least I was initially. And so you'd have times, and it was during those times that we would quiz on the book, and learn procedure. We had to learn what is a rule on a bill, how does it work? We were little bitty parliamentarians by the time we got through.

JOHNSON: I bet.

ANDREWS: What does it mean to have an open rule, asked the congressional secretary of the Page, who's looking for the thing, when they're—whatever. Well, that means, an open rule means it can be amended, and we could be here a while. If it's a closed rule, that means it's an up or down vote. A rule sets the time of debate. What is a quorum call? A quorum call is a majority plus one have got to be here. So, we got a lot of questions. Some people did not know anything, but we always were told, we were representing the House of Representatives, and so every caller, even though sometimes they could be somewhat abusive, every caller was to be treated with respect, and we were to answer their questions no matter how stupid they were.

JOHNSON: So in your training in the Page School, you didn't have any classes about procedures or what was happening in the House?

ANDREWS: No, no. School was pure academics, pure and simple. We started school at—our first class was at 6:30 in the morning. We would have maybe five minutes of homeroom, we would start out in our homeroom, which would also be our first class. We lived, that was one of the reasons we lived in the Congressional Hotel, because I could walk to school. And on bad days, I could just cross the street, go in the Cannon Building, walk through the Cannon Building, then cross the street to the Library [of Congress], so I

could avoid at least two blocks of the bad weather. But I would wake up—my mother would get me up at 5:15 every morning, sit there and have a cup of coffee, and have breakfast, and get dressed. It wasn't hard to figure out what to wear, it was the same thing every day. So at 10 after six, I would leave the Congressional Hotel and walk to school, and we'd have our homeroom class. Do you want to talk about school, or you want to go back to the cloakroom?

JOHNSON: No, no, school is fine.

ANDREWS: I learned, and this will show you how long ago it was, my sophomore year, I was elected president of our class. So I thought that was kind of neat. We always had re-elections in January because the size of the school would typically triple from what was there, or at least double, from what was there in September, to what was there in January, because the new Congress would be coming in, or the Congress would be coming back in session. A lot of times, Pages, they'd either be new, or they'd go back to their home state after the summer, or whatever, they would split the year. Or they would start the year in January. So we always have our school elections in September, and then total new elections in January, you got the new student body. I was re-elected president of the class in January without opposition. I was feeling pretty good about myself. Until Naomi Ulmer, God rest her soul, she died two years ago, age 91—she was our science teacher, and our homeroom teacher, and a great lady. We loved *Breakfast at Tiffany's*. That was one of my favorite movies. I told Ms. Ulmer, "You'll love it, it's a wonderful movie." She went to see it, she said, "George, it's the worst movie I've ever seen, it's about a prostitute and a gigolo." I said, "Prostitute, was she a prostitute?" {laughter} But Ms. Ulmer, in her New York infinite wisdom, NYU graduate,

said, "George, don't get a big head about being president of the class. You've only got one duty as president of the class, and that is every morning, you are to read the Bible, and lead the Pledge of Allegiance, and that's all you do. And you've just got to understand, the reason you're president of the class is because that early in the morning, it just makes everybody's day to listen to you fracture the King James version." {laughter} So that's how I got to be president of the class, because my Southern accent made the King James version very entertaining to all of the Yankees in the class.

But we would start, and we had one recess break of 15 minutes, which we would race down to the Library of Congress snack bar, and then we went in through the basement door, or under the stairs, under the big stairway, we wouldn't go in the main entrance, that would be locked. And [we would] take the elevator up to the top, and the school was built around the main reading room. You can see it through some kind of convoluted darkened windows, and it just went around the outer part of the attic up there, and the front rooms, and I said earlier, face the Capitol, and just had incredible views.

But we took a normal high school curriculum. The only thing that we did not take was chemistry, which was great with me, because I am not a scientific person at all. But because of the risk of explosions, there are some rather expensive books in that building, it was decreed that they did not need Pages mixing chemicals in the Library [of Congress] building, so we did not get chemistry.

But I'll never forget dissecting a frog. The guy I dissected a frog with was John Bishop, he tells this story himself. I tell him, John went on to live one of the most fascinating lives. He was Barry Goldwater's Page, from Arizona,

and a Republican conservative. Well, in the early '70s, he was convicted of running thousands of pounds of marijuana over the Mexican border, and served three years in a federal penitentiary. His roommate in the federal penitentiary was John Ehrlichman [domestic policy adviser for President Nixon]. When he got out, his life started over, his wife had divorced him, his life started over. He did whatever a convicted felon does, he moved to California. And he's sitting out on a patio with his buddy and he says, "Wouldn't it be great to develop a daily calendar that you can put in your pocket?" And that was the Day-Timer. After he made his millions, in 1988, he organized the Page School reunion, where he told me that story himself, and he said, "I just bought Ehrlichman's house in Santa Fe, New Mexico." That's where he lives now.

But it just gives you an example of some of the guys you met during the course . . . But back to the curriculum, we would get out of school, most of us would get out of school, we had four 45-minute classes. So we'd get out of school promptly at 9:45. We would then cross the Capitol plaza, Senate Pages go there, while the Supreme Court Pages go—well, when I started, the Supreme Court Pages were still wearing knickers.

If you look at—I brought the '61 [Page] album, you will see, the retired Reading Clerk of the United States House of Representatives. Let me find the Supreme Court Pages. Oh, that's it in the front. Let me find it, just a second. Well, Paul Hays, and here, he's in his knickers.

JOHNSON: Very nice.

ANDREWS: They did away with that, they did away with the knickers.

JOHNSON: This is in 1961?

ANDREWS: Yes. They did away with the knickers by the time we—here's my dad's first office, I knew I brought that picture. That's my wife. But there's my dad's first office—that just got stuck in the book. That's my dad's first office.

JOHNSON: Oh, okay.

ANDREWS: That's Clara Belle Blount that I talked about, right there. I don't know who that woman is, but that's Eva. That is A. B. Robertson, who was young, graduated from law school, and went to work for my dad, later became President of the Alabama state bar association. That is Ed Danley, who was my father's first administrative assistant. He retired—or he left Dad and ran the newspaper in Andalusia, Alabama, until he died a few years ago. And Dad always said, until Tommy Gilbert came along, that Ed Danley was the best administrative assistant he ever had.

JOHNSON: We're going to pause for a moment because we are running out of space on our CD.

END OF PART ONE ~ BEGINNING OF PART TWO

JOHNSON: We had to pause for a minute, but we're back on tape now, and I wanted to start by asking you about the cloakroom lunch counter. You mentioned the snack bar, and since you were a phone Page, you spent a lot of time in the cloakroom. So basically, what do you remember about the lunch counter, and also the staff that worked there, and memories of them.

ANDREWS: Well, it was the husband and wife duo of Helen, was it Helen?

JOHNSON: Helen was in the Republican Cloakroom. Was it Clint and Ginny?

ANDREWS: Clint and Ginny, God. Helen was in—yes, Clint and Ginny. They were the two nicest people. They were so nice. They knew everybody. I mean, everybody knew them, they generally knew what everybody liked, and Ginny was kind of a den mother. Spent a lot of time talking with her. When we'd have down times, they would be there. You remember the busy times in the cloakroom, but there were a lot of days or times when there wouldn't be half a dozen Members on the floor. It would just be dead, the phones weren't ringing. Occasionally, Art would say, "so-and-so," take the rest of the day off, we're not doing anything. Then, of course, when Congress wasn't in session, it would really be dead. So you were often either really, really busy, or you weren't. The busy times—what I was going to say about them, we'd spend a lot of time talking on those down times. I'd just go flop back down there and drink a coke, and talk with them, they were just so nice. And a lot of times, the Members would buy the boys a couple of—a quarter would go a long way in those days. But it makes me think about the busy times, and what it was like in the busy times.

The training I got in crisis management stood me in great stead. I was privileged as a lawyer to try some pretty high-profile, big, pressure-packed, front-page type cases. The training I got of crisis management in keeping your cool under fire from those days was invaluable. I showed you that inscription that Rick Harding wrote. But I grew up more in those six months, those first six months, I think, than I ever did in any one particular time in my life. If I could just kind of describe to you what it would be like.

JOHNSON: Sure.

ANDREWS: There were six of us. There were 14 phone booths. There were 237 Democrats, for 14 phone booths. And those were rollover numbers. When we would have quorum calls, roll calls, you would just have this sudden influx of Members. Typically, during the debate and big stuff, there would be a lot of Members, but then when you'd have the roll calls, or steady quorum calls on the big cases, and the Members knew that if they left, there'd be a quorum call, they'd stay there. Well, they'd make telephone calls, they'd warn them, or people would be trying to get ahold of them. Fourteen phone booths, and six Pages was not a lot of phone power, or boy power to handle those moments. As the number one Page, as I was from June of—when Rick graduated, even though I was a freshman, Art made me the number one Page. I was the number one Page next year, then I left to go to Darlington, and when I came back, he remade me number one Page.

Donn Anderson, and we're supposed to have dinner tonight, so I'll call him when we get through here, but I don't know if he remembers this, Donn Anderson actually worked for me for a week. {laughter} When he came back, he was in college, and they threw him in the cloakroom, and so I was number one Page, and then I think Donn moved to a door, I think he started on a door. But here's what you had to do.

First of all, in busy times like this, we would have a list, because you'd have an influx of Congressmen that wanted to telephone. Usually, when we were busy like that, the phones were lit up. We had lights on the phones to show that they were occupied, so I could look. You never saw anybody, and typically, the way we would have it stationed, you'd have a guy standing at

what we would call the front, which was right at the door, which is where the Member would come in, we'd say, "May we help you, Congressman?" Like, make me a phone call, or whatever. The other guys that we had available would be strategically placed along the numbered booths. As the number one Page, I stood at the head of that desk in there, just as you came in the door, about three feet from the guy, like if the front door were there, where you are now, the guy on the front would be standing to my right, I would be standing at that desk. I had the list, those lists would be on Congressmen wanting to make a telephone call. Because we have to say, we don't have any phone booths, but I'll get you on the list.

Well, in addition to that, what you'd be watching—I'd be watching the lights. The minute one of those lights would go out, I'd scream at the closest Page, grab it, and it would be a race, because at the same time, you probably had 50 telephone calls trying to ring in there. So you would try to grab the phone before it rang so you could make the call for the Member. Then I'd cross the list off, and every now and then you'd get a cross Congressman saying, "I need a telephone, I've got to make a phone call." And I'd look at the Member, and fortunately, if I knew the Member ahead of him, if I knew him, "let him go ahead," wait. But sometimes you could get on it. So diplomatic skills were important, and then, when you did get calls, you had to send somebody out to find them. So a lot of times, you'd wait until you got a couple or three, so you couldn't have one Page out looking for one Member, there were only five little worker bees back there.

So the hectic moments were very energized, very stressful, and exhausting when it was over. And I'll tell you, I told you the funny story about Sam

Rayburn, but it'd be a good time to tell the story because we're talking about the cloakroom. We had a guy named Bobby Shelton from Indiana.

JOHNSON: This is the Page you were referring to?

ANDREWS: Yes, yes. And he was an underclassmen. Okay. Here he is. "To George, my old cloakroom buddy," signed Tweety. That's him. See, little guy. It had been a busy day. Now, let me tell you a little bit about Sam Rayburn. Our year was his last year. Because he died, I think in December that year, I don't even think Congress was in session when he died. Or maybe he was sick, I can't remember.

JOHNSON: He died in November of 1961.

ANDREWS: Okay, there you go. Yes, we weren't in session then, he died over the recess. We were scared to death of him. I mean, we were absolutely terrified. Typically, if Speaker Rayburn were about to appear in the cloakroom, which wasn't very often, but usually somebody—Colonel Emerson's job, he sat on the very back row in the center Democratic section, right in front of the Page's bench. He would see what was going on, and so if somebody called in and wanted to know what was going on, Colonel Emerson could tell you. He'd come back and tell us, they've finished debate on the rule, they're now in general debate, two hours. So that was his—plus, on certain Members, he was there to back-check, to look for them, if we see them, if we could find them. Colonel Emerson, or sometimes it'd be the Sergeant at Arms [Zeake Johnson], or Mr. Harding, his assistant, or Turner, somebody would say, "The Speaker's on his way back to the cloakroom, everybody would kind of

straighten up." "May I help you, Mr. Speaker?" He kind of grumbled and walked right on by. I don't think he ever said hello. {laughter}

Now, Mr. McCormack was entirely different. He was a courtly, wonderful gentleman. Bob Barnes loved him dearly. I mean, he was his Page. He just said he was just the nicest, sweetest man he ever met. And he would come back and he would say, "Hello, boys. How are you all doing?" But not Sam Rayburn, we were all terrified.

This was one of those down times, it had been a busy day, and Congress was ready to adjourn, okay? But I was out on the floor looking for a Member. And this, Bobby Shelton was standing at that door at the front. I'm standing right out in front of him on the floor, and all at once, I look out, nobody's there, Colonel Emerson's gone, there aren't three Members on the floor. All at once, in through the east door comes Speaker Rayburn. And he turns left, and he's headed towards the cloakroom. I look, and Bobby is leaning against the door, he's half asleep, he's slumped over, and I'm out on the floor, and I've got my hands cupped so the Speaker can't, "Shelton! Shelton! The Speaker's coming! The Speaker's coming! Straighten up! Straighten up!" He finally looks up, and he sees me, and I'm going, "Straighten up! Straighten up!" He said, "What?" I could see his lips go, "What?" "The Speaker's coming! Straighten up!" And he goes, "Oh," and he shoots me a bird. Right as Sam Rayburn turns the corner, he's shooting me that bird, and it was a look of abject terror. The eyeballs almost popped through the glasses, the mouth dropped open, it was absolute terror. And all at once from that kind of crouched–like position, he throws out his other hand and goes, "May I help you, Mr. Speaker?" And I am draped over the . . . He turned white as a sheet. So I told him later, I said, "Forever after, you actually favor, but you

are the man, or the Page, who shot a bird at Sam Rayburn." I said, "Henceforth, your name shall be Tweety Bird." So that's how it started. I don't know whether that name stuck, I don't know whether Bobby Shelton is still alive or not. If he ever looks at the House oral history, and I wonder if the name Tweety ever stuck, but to me forever, he will always be Tweety. {laughter}

JOHNSON: What was the Speaker's response?

ANDREWS: "Fool." I don't know if he saw the bird or not, he just sees this [Page] falling all over him, "May I help you, Mr. Speaker?" And that was typical. He went on, but I thought, it scared him to death, it scared me to death. If Colonel Emerson or Art Cameron had ever known, he might've been a dead bird. {laughter}

JOHNSON: So it was a close call that you both lived to tell about?

ANDREWS: But you asked about my major memory of Sam Rayburn, that was it. {laughter} It'd be hard to top, I don't think anybody else has got one of Sam Rayburn quite like that.

JOHNSON: One name that came up, not as famous as Speaker Rayburn, but definitely a name that we all know, "Fishbait" Miller. You briefly talked about him in the first interview, but I was hoping you could talk more about your memories of him since he was the Doorkeeper, and he oversaw the Pages.

ANDREWS: He was technically our boss, the Pages were in his department. I liked "Fishbait." Now, I think some people didn't. He was always good as gold to

me. I mean, I brought the picture of me as the bat boy in 1955, and he was right there by me, so I've known Mr. Miller all my life, practically. And he was a friend of my dad's. He was quite a talker, and I think he buttered up. He was really good at buttering up people. I think looking back, he was probably not as nice a guy as I thought he was. I read his book, and I was greatly disappointed. Of course, the first thing I did when I got the book was turn to the index and saw my dad's name, opened it up with great fear and trepidation, and it was positive what he said about my dad. But I think he died a very bitter man, and I'm sorry for that. But he had that magnificent office, and he had a beautiful secretary, Caroline West, you ever heard about her?

JOHNSON: No.

ANDREWS: Every Page was deeply in love with Caroline West. I was probably more in love with her than any of the other Pages. I talked to Donn Anderson the other day, and told him I was coming up here, and I asked him about her. And he saw her not too long ago. He said she's still beautiful, married to a rich guy in South Carolina. She was a Southerner, like "Fishbait," he was from Mississippi. And we used to just walk by the Doorkeeper's office to see if Caroline was there, and you'd go in and talk. In my senior year, and I started out as a bat boy. In my senior year as a Page, I was promoted from being a bat boy to being the rear end of a donkey from the Democrat/Republican game. My friend Bob Bartkus was the head of the donkey, and I got to be the donkey's butt, so to speak.

JOHNSON: And this is for the Congressional Baseball Game?

ANDREWS: For the Congressional game. So I could not see. Caroline West was the head cheerleader. She was maybe the best-looking girl on the Hill. She was really spectacular. She wasn't that much older than we were. I was what, 17 or so by then, and she was probably 22 or 23. But she was the head cheerleader for the Democrats. Well, the cheerleaders had a few beers, so Caroline decides it's going to be fun, she's going to ride that donkey. So she jumps on the donkey. My neck is the part of the donkey that you would sit on if you were riding the donkey. So she was on the neck, and she wrapped those great legs around my Adam's apple, and I thought I was going to suffocate. And I thought to myself, well, what a way to go. {laughter} But, that was back when things were a lot more collegial, but I'll always have a very warm spot in my heart for Caroline.

But the Speaker—"Fishbait." He would show up at the darndest places too. I guess he probably got hired, but I remember Forrest Tate, my friend in the office, we would, in my dad's office. When I was in law school, we would always be looking for this—when I graduated from law school and took the Bar, that's when I worked for the House Public Works Committee. I was scheduled to report into the Navy JAG Corps in October, so I was up here for about four months. Forrest and I were always looking for things to go to where we could meet girls and stuff. Why we picked the National Junior Bowling Conference, but it was at the new Hilton Hotel, so we figured well, let's go. And we'd go to some of those things. I went to one at the Shoreham. Up at the bar, ordering a drink, and I look around, there's David Brinkley, so it was pretty neat. Well, David Brinkley didn't make the National Junior Bowling Conference. But "Fishbait" Miller did. And he was the star attraction.

JOHNSON: Really?

ANDREWS: Yes. So I know they paid him some money to go do it, I'm sure "Fishbait" wasn't doing that for nothing. And he said, "George, I don't think there are any women here that you'd be interested in." He knew exactly why I was there. But so I knew "Fishbait," really the whole time I was up here, and my relationship with him, of course, I call him "Fishbait" now, he was Mr. Miller to me. But my relationship with him is always very positive, and very good.

JOHNSON: From your recollections, did he have a real hands-on approach with the Page program, was he someone that you saw quite a bit?

ANDREWS: No, no, no. If he did, it was a lot more behind the scenes, I didn't see it. I think that—Art Cameron ruled that cloakroom, he was my boss. I saw Art, do you know Art, or do you know who I'm talking about?

JOHNSON: Right, I've heard of him.

ANDREWS: Art has had a very, very successful career as a lobbyist. I saw him at the reunion two years ago up here, or in '08, and he told me, it was something that was interesting. He said, I focused—I hadn't seen him for 40 years. {cell phone rings} I'm sorry.

JOHNSON: That's okay.

ANDREWS: But, talking about Art, Art focused, he said, "I decided to focus on one committee in my lobbying career," remember, he was in law school. He was

going to law school while I was working in the cloakroom. He said, "You want to know which one it was?" I said, "Yes. House Public Works." That's what he's done. He's focused on lobbying the House Public Works Committee, and has been extremely successful. But he would be, he was one—if you want a history of the House, he knew everything, he knew everything. And he was a tough, tough taskmaster. He would cuss me out. I'd never been treated that way. {cell phone rings} I truly hated him.

BRIEF INTERRUPTION

JOHNSON: We're back on tape, and you were talking about Art Cameron.

ANDREWS: Okay, Art Cameron. I hated Art when I was starting. Nobody had ever been that tough with me, and we were in the big leagues, I was 14 years old. I had lived the last four years of my life in a town of 5,000 people. It was like being in another, totally different world. I had a confidence problem, I made mistakes, and he let me have it. Then, somehow, through his guidance, and Rick's and Berle's guidance primarily, like I said earlier, I grew up more in those six months than at any period of my life. And I got to tell Art this at the reunion. I always went home for the summers. Mother and I would go home at the end of the school year, and come back in September, in the fall.

One year, when I was in the 10th grade, I boarded up here during the fall because the folks were back home campaigning. But by the end of that first period, by June, by the time Rick had graduated, I still worked for a couple of weeks after graduation. By the way, our speaker at graduation that year, which was always in the Ways and Means Committee room, was Lyndon Johnson; it was the first speech I ever heard him make. But Art made me the

number one phone Page over some older people. On the last day that I was there, we had just an incredibly hectic day. Art had to be somewhere, so I was totally in charge, and weathered the storm, and weathered it well. I won't ever forget. It was the last day before I was to go home, Art looked up at me at the end of day, and he said, "George, I wish you were not going back to Alabama." And I felt 25 feet tall. I got to tell Art that at the reunion. I said, "You made me a man." I said, "I have been lucky, I went to law school because I wanted to try great cases, and I did. But I don't think I ever would've been able to try them if it hadn't been for you, you made me. Whatever I am, you made me, other than my father, you made me more than any other man I've ever known." And then we both cried. {laughter}

It's amazing the influence that one man and one job can have on you. I think that's the great thing about the Page program, I think that's the thing that I couldn't have bottled that. One thing Art told me, he said, "I never told you this, but your dad always came by about every other week, he didn't want you to know, but he wanted to know how you were doing." And he said, "I told him. He's slow, but he's getting better, getting better."

JOHNSON: Did you feel any added pressure, because as a Page, you were the son of a Member? Maybe you felt like you were held to a higher standard?

ANDREWS: No. No, I really didn't. I didn't feel any different than any other Page, either any better or any worse. It just so happened that's what my dad did. Because, as I said earlier, it was not that uncommon. I think the great thing about it for me was that it brought my dad and me closer together. Because we had that long period of separation, and suddenly, I worked where he worked, I saw the same people he saw. I saw the same speeches, or the same bills that he

saw, and that gave us a common denominator that we could talk, and I think it made the two of us closer than we ever had been. But other than that shared experience, I can't really say that it was any different for me. I certainly did not detect any favorability in treatment.

Now, maybe I got to be a phone Page because of who my father was, as opposed to being a bench Page, I don't know. I'm sure my dad and Turner Robertson, or Art talked about it. But as far as the treatment I got, it was no better or worse, because I guarantee, I got chewed plenty of times. I felt the pressure to perform, and Art Cameron was a much tougher task master than Turner Robertson was. Turner was a great man, he was a wonderful man, he was perfect for the program, and he did a wonderful job, but Art could be tough, a lot tougher than Turner. Turner might slap you with a velvet glove. Art would smack you with a fist. {laughter} So that was the difference between the two.

JOHNSON: Something to do with your Page time, but also before you were a Page, in the 1950s that I wanted to ask you about was the access that you had to the Capitol—the access that you had to the Capitol before your time as a Page, and then also as a Page. Can you describe what your remember? Areas that you were able to go to?

ANDREWS: I remember going to the Longworth Building a lot. I'd come up on Saturdays with Dad. But during the week I'd be in school, so when Congress was in session, there wasn't as much opportunity for me to come up on the Hill. I'd come down to the office with my dad on Saturdays. Daddy always came to the office on Saturday mornings, at least for a while, and I would come down, and I remember eating in the old Longworth cafeteria, which was

across the hall from where it is now, over where the—I guess the Post Office—it was over there, that's where I first met Ernest, the maitre d'.

JOHNSON: Oh, Okay. Petinaud. Ernest Petinaud?

ANDREWS: Yes, Ernest Petinaud. He was another one, talking about people that I knew all my life. Ernest was one. And he was great. He [would say], "Little George!" Even when I was in law school, "Little George, how are you?"

JOHNSON: Well, specifically as a Page, were there any areas that you were not able to access?

ANDREWS: I don't think so, I can't remember any. One place that for some reason or the other, I don't really—well, I do remember seeing it, but nobody would go in it is the old Supreme Court/Senate Chamber, which now has been redone to look like . . . it was a dump when I was a Page, or at least it wasn't used, it wasn't open access. But I do remember going in there. And in the later years, I would take constituents.

One thing I would often do would be take constituents on a tour of the Capitol. I always, I'd say, "George Andrews, Congressman Andrews' son." I can go anywhere I want to, including the Senate Gallery, even into the Senate, I forget what they call it, where the paintings of the most famous Senators are [Senate Reception Room]—kind of their equivalent to the Speaker's Lobby.

JOHNSON: Okay. And you didn't need any kind of special identification?

ANDREWS: No. They didn't even have badges then.

JOHNSON: Now, you would've been young at the time, but your dad was a Member of the House, but do you remember anything about the '54 shooting in the House Chamber?

ANDREWS: Yes. I remember the day it happened. We were here, we were in Washington. I was over at my friend Tom Reston's house, James Reston's son, with whom I went to the ballgame last night. And I remember Ms. Reston calling me into a room and she said, "George, there has been a shooting in the House of Representatives; your mom just called me. Your dad is all right, he was not shot. Kenneth Roberts from Alabama," who I knew, "was shot, but he's not seriously wounded." I knew Congressman Kenneth Roberts from Alabama, who was one of the Members wounded. The wound was not serious. He made a full recovery.

My dad says that he wound up on top of Sam Rayburn, they were both—the Speaker was coming off, he came off—Daddy was walking in the well, walking down the aisle when the shots rolled out, and Rayburn was coming off the Speaker's chair, and they basically collided and wound up on the floor with each other behind, kind of cowering behind the . . . there's a famous story, I'm sure you've heard it. I've heard two different versions. One version is there was a bullet scar in the wall behind the Page's bench for years, I think it may still be there, I'm not sure, but it was. It was there when I was there. They left it there.

The two stories that I heard, one story I heard was two Pages were sitting on the bench, and the bullet went right between their heads, it was head high.

But the one I believe, the one I heard, and Rick Harding told it to me, and he was not far removed from it. He had started out as a Page in, let's see what it says here. He would've been a Page in 1959, so he was only five years removed from it, was that this guy that was a Page had a piece of paper, and he dropped it, and he leaned over to pick it up, and the bullet went over his head as he leaned over to pick up the paper, I don't know which was true. But I know the spot, and I remember the day.

JOHNSON: Either way, it was a close call.

ANDREWS: But it was close, yes, either way, it was a close call. But amazingly, the security really, it may have been stronger after then, but it wasn't much. I know that you asked me what security was there, there wasn't any security. You basically could go wherever you wanted to. Most of the Capitol cops were graduate students part time. The only protection on the door—I don't think Donn Anderson was going to stop any terrorists. {laughter} I think they did sometimes have an off-duty cop, but you could walk into the office of the Speaker or the House of Representatives, probably and barely be molested, there wasn't any [security].

And I remember when John McCormack was, in effect, the Vice President of the United States, and he didn't want the Secret Service around him.[12] He was just about as accessible being a heartbeat away from the Presidency as he was when he wasn't. And I did tell the Bambo story?

JOHNSON: No.

ANDREWS: This would be a good time to tell that story.

JOHNSON: Since we're talking about access.

ANDREWS: Yes. Because it changed my freshman year in college. I don't exactly remember, somebody had some sort of attack on the Capitol, and I can't remember exactly what it was, but it would've been either in the fall of '64, or early '65. But I had a very famous black cocker spaniel named Bambo. He was my birthday gift when I was six years old. And he did not die until my sophomore year in college. So he was a member of the family. And living in the Congressional Hotel, we would walk him in. Bambo made the front page of *Roll Call*. And in my freshman year in college, after that event happened, I was taking Bambo for his nightly walk from the Congressional Hotel—and we usually would walk between the House office buildings on New Jersey Avenue, and I was going to go by Dad's office, I think to use the phone or something. He was still in Longworth at that time. He might've been in Rayburn, but anyhow, that's the door I'd go into. So I was going in that door into Longworth on New Jersey, kind of the back door. And a police officer was kind of leaning back there half asleep. Whatever it was, employees had badges, or ID cards.

JOHNSON: And they didn't while you were a Page?

ANDREWS: They didn't while I was a Page. So I've got Bambo with me, going in the door, and the police officer looks up, it's 8:00 at night, he says, "Excuse me, do you have your ID?" I said, "Well, no, no I don't." "Well, I'm sorry, you can't," and he's leaning up, he's more interested. And then he looks down, he sees Bambo, he says, "Oh, Congressman Andrews' dog, go right ahead." {laughter} So Bambo was my access.

JOHNSON: Bambo was your identification.

ANDREWS: He was my identification and access to the building. But until John Kennedy was shot, we didn't think about things like that, it just didn't happen. It happened to Abraham Lincoln.

JOHNSON: Well since you just brought up President Kennedy and his assassination, this was in '63, so you would've been a Page at that point.

ANDREWS: It was my senior year.

JOHNSON: What do you remember about the lying-in-state ceremony, and, as Pages, did you participate in any of the preparation, or were you just a witness to this historic event?

ANDREWS: No, we participated. That was the watershed event of my life. Even more so than the death of my father, believe it or not. I'm getting hoarse.

JOHNSON: Did you want to stop for a minute?

BRIEF INTERRUPTION

JOHNSON: We're back recording, and we're talking about President Kennedy's assassination.

ANDREWS: First, backtrack just a little bit because the first big thing I ever saw was the counting of the electoral votes, which was done on the House Floor, in a Joint Session, like the first week I was a Page, in January. And at that time,

the defeated candidate, Richard Nixon, was Vice President. It was interesting because Alabama, as I talked about, of the nine Members, five were very conservative, and four were Rooseveltian Democrats. The five conservative electors from Alabama voted for Senator [Harry Flood] Byrd of Virginia. And since that was the first vote call, for about 30 seconds there, Senator Byrd was leading Senator Kennedy five to four in the electoral college. But I remember how gracious Richard Nixon was in his speech, saying it was the first time it had happened, I don't know, way back, that the Vice President had been in that position. He congratulated Senator Kennedy on the victory, and he was just very gracious.

Then the inauguration events were dominated by cold and snow. The night before, sitting up in the Congressional Hotel, we had an ice storm, and we watched the cars slide down Capitol Hill. People were spending the night up here. It was just absolute carnage on the Hill, the night before the inauguration. People couldn't get home and they had an inaugural gala that night. So it just really was difficult. I'll never forget, I was at the inauguration, and I will never forget how cold it was. It's as cold as I've ever been. It was a beautiful, beautiful day.

One thing, while I remember Kennedy's speech, it was just a great speech, everybody's seen that speech, but I heard it for the first time that it was spoken, and it's always been very special to me. But the thing I remember that was so poignant about it, was Robert Frost read a poem, and he was in his 90s or 80s, anyway, very old, feeble man, and the brilliance of the sunlight was such, and it was on the East Front of the Capitol then, that he was basically blinded by the sun, and John Kennedy got up, and held his hat over the speaker's stand to shade Frost's poem so he could read it. And I can't

tell you how many people I heard that day say what a gracious and thoughtful . . . there were a lot of people there. There was only one President-elect, and he's the guy that stood up to help the old man read the poem in the sun. John Kennedy was, he was special to everybody, but he was especially special to me because the impression he made on me that day, it was just, I'll never forget.[13]

Well, we talked about activities that we had as congressional children. When I was in the 10th grade, I got an invitation, along with a 100 or so other congressional children to go down to the Justice Department when Bobby [Robert Francis] Kennedy was Attorney General. The day started out, I remember my dad taking me and dropping me off in the courtyard there, and we toured the FBI facility, and then we went in to the Solicitor General's office, where we met with the then Solicitor General, [Byron] Whizzer White, who later became a Supreme Court Justice, and also, he'd been an All-American football player at the University of Colorado. Then the day ended, it was a morning tour, the day ended, we were escorted up to the Attorney General's office. I'll never forget going in the door, there was a Marine combo band playing, in red coats down at the far end of the office, and then there was a doorway, and around through there, there was a dual fireplace on the walls. As we walked in the door, I looked, and there is the Attorney General of the United States at the fireplace flipping burgers. They told us he'd been cooking the burgers all morning. We had burgers for lunch cooked by Robert Kennedy.

One of the interesting things about the Kennedys was they did not like receiving lines. They liked to mix and mingle. My mother told a story about when my father was out of town, and she went to the White House by

herself, and was surprised that there was no receiving line, because she was used to a receiving line. But they were just scattered through the downstairs there at the White House, I think she said she was in the Blue Room. And the President walked by, and he walked right by her, and he stopped like whoa, I missed that lady, and he turned around, and came and talked to my mother. She said it was like he just had radar, he just knew how to do it. Bobby and Ethel did the same thing, there was no receiving line. Ms. [Ethel] Kennedy came by and said—I'm sitting there eating a burger on a couch, and Ms. Kennedy comes by. I've got a crush on Senator Montoya's daughter Linda, prettiest girl I ever saw, next to Caroline West, but I'm trying to meet her. She comes by, "Hello, I'm Ethel Kennedy." I had to bite my tongue, I started to say hello. I finally got Ms. Kennedy out.

But Bobby Kennedy did the same thing. He got to me and he just said, "Well, where do you go to school?" I told him I was a Page and he just brightened up. I talked to him for five minutes, just like I've talked to you, telling him about my job, about the school, he was interested in about us kids. I will never forget his eyes. His eyes, they were the bluest, most penetrating eyes I've ever seen. They just looked right through you. It was like, man, I'm with an important person here. He was really something. So, I watched [John F.] Kennedy through his presidency, he was my President. He came up here to the Rayburn Building. Did you know there was a time capsule in the Rayburn Building?

JOHNSON: I have heard that before.

ANDREWS: There is a time capsule. My name is on it, I signed it. All the Pages signed the piece of paper, and [President] Kennedy came up here when they laid the

cornerstone, with the time capsule with our names on it, right on the—it would be the northeast corner, up closest to the Longworth Building, that corner. Kennedy gave a speech there. I saw him on the floor when he talked about. I was standing in front of the George Washington painting [on the House Floor] when he gave the State of the Union saying we were going to go to the moon. It was just, he was my President.

On November 22, 1963, it was a Friday, we were off. I was because the House wasn't in session. I had lunch with my dad, I can still see the headline, "Kennedys in Dallas Today," [in the] *Washington Post.* My dad and I were talking, and my dad said, "I'm worried for him." They'd had a lot of violence in Texas, there's a lot of extremism in Texas. And he said, "I wish he had not gone to Texas." He said, "Those people are rough down there." He said, "I'll take you downtown." We were talking about that very thing as we rode across the Capitol plaza. I decided to go see a movie. I wanted to see *McClintock* with John Wayne at R.K.O. Keith's Theater, which is where the Old Ebbitt Grill is now. So right across from the White House. And I walked out from the movies. There was a newspaper boy with the *Washington Daily News*, "Extra, Kennedy Shot, JFK Shot, Feared Dead." I was stunned, and I walked around to Lafayette Park, and just sat there, and looked at the White House.

That night, I was double dating with a friend, when we got back down there, and I think I remember seeing the helicopter come in. On Saturday, I was basically at home, it rained, he laid in state up at the White House, but on Sunday, it was another beautiful sunny day, and my dad's office was on the seventh floor of the Longworth Building. Several of us were up—you could go out the window on that walkway. We walked up, and we were up where

the flagpole is on the green roof when they brought the body up. And I've often compared it to like sitting in the upper deck of a football stadium on the 50-yard line, that's the kind of view we had of that whole panorama. They played two songs when they carried the casket up. You know what they were?

JOHNSON: No.

ANDREWS: Well, the first one's easy, the Navy Hymn. The second one, nobody remembers that, but I did because I'm a Baptist, and I was surprised that a Catholic should have a Baptist song, but it was "Fairest Lord Jesus." And we were out there on the roof, there was a TV in my dad's office, and somebody came out and said, "Somebody shot Oswald!" So after the body goes in up the stairs, we went in and saw that. And then we were told we could go over to see the body lying in state, so we did. The crowds were huge. Donn Anderson was with us, I don't know whether Donn remembers this or not.

When we left, we decided to go downtown to get something to eat. There was Hot Shoppes Restaurant down on, it became a Marriott, down on 14th Street. And so we decided to go down there, and the crowds were so thick, Donn looked then much like he does now. He had on a black overcoat, and a black derby hat, and his gold watch chain. We formed a wedge around him and said, "Make way for Ambassador Anderson," and crowds parted and we went through. It's about the only time we had any humor for three days. I remember walking down F Street that Sunday night, and every store had John Kennedy's picture in it. I remember standing in front of one, and I said, "He can't be dead, he just can't be dead." He was.

Turner Robertson called later that night to the hotel and said, "We need you to come over about 4:00 in the morning; they decided to keep the body in state all night." They were going to close it off at eight, then they said 10. They had no idea the thousands of people that were going to be there. So I went over there, and I stood at the dome, at the entrance to the dome. People were coming in four, eight abreast. I can't remember, but I'd tell them to separate and walk around, so they'd walk around, show them where to go. I did that for about two hours and about 6:00 in the morning. I took a break, and I went out on the balcony of the East Front, which was new then. And I stood out there, the sun was coming up. You've got the Supreme Court over here, you've got the Library of Congress over here, the sun, everything's gold, beautiful day, and as far as I could see, people. All the way down East Capitol Street as far as I could see. And I thought to myself, and it was almost like a tomb. There's no noise, unbelievably quiet. And I thought to myself, you are a fly on the wall at one of the most historic moments in the history of this country, don't ever forget it. That's the memory that I will take with me, I think, the last memory I'll have. I mean, it was that strong.

I then went over to the House Floor and I had a bus list, and Members would come to the floor, and I'd tell them which bus they were on. I think all of us went through that. The bus to go to the funeral. That was the end of a life of innocence. Life was never the same because, up until then, life had always been good, things had always gone well, and that's when I learned life doesn't always go good, bad things happen.

So, when I say it was a watershed event in my life, it was. I felt like I knew him, I felt like he was part of me, and then when they killed Bobby, it was just like going through it all over again, except with the President, I was here,

I saw it. I do feel like I was a part of it. I'll never forget, I never could believe that 100,000 people could be that quiet, but they were. We were just in shock. This country had never seen anything like that happen in our lifetime, really. Mother always talked about when Roosevelt died, but I mean, he died of a disease. So anyhow.

JOHNSON: Okay. I think that's a good place to wrap up today, unless you wanted to add something else?

ANDREWS: As you can tell, it was an emotional moment, it still is, it still is.

JOHNSON: Was there anything else that you wanted to add for today's session?

ANDREWS: I think that's a good place to stop, my voice is about gone. I hope the tape recorder picks it up, I hope it does better tomorrow.

— GEORGE W. ANDREWS III —

INTERVIEW THREE

JOHNSON: This is Kathleen Johnson interviewing George Andrews, former Page and the son of two former Members from Alabama, George and Elizabeth Andrews. The date is April 29th, 2011, and the interview is taking place in Cannon 247. In your previous interview you spoke about President Kennedy's assassination and its effect on your life. Today I was hoping that you could reflect a little bit on his successor, Lyndon Johnson, and in particular if you remember his first speech to Congress in November of 1963.

ANDREWS: I remember it very well, and the thing that stands out about that to me more than anything—I was standing along the rail near the center door. I bet I was less than 10 feet from him when he walked into that chamber for the Joint Session, and he had the most determined look I've ever seen. The country, and the Congress especially, we all were looking to him, and I can't really say it was a great speech. He was not a good speaker, which I think is {laughter} pretty well reflected, but his presence was very powerful. He was a type of man that when he was in the room he knew it.

The first time I ever saw him up close was the Page School graduation, which we always had the graduations over here in the old House Ways and Means Committee room. I had never heard him speak. I'd never heard—to my memory, I may have heard him on TV. I know he campaigned for President Kennedy, but I'd never physically heard him that I can recall.

JOHNSON: Was this, the Page graduation, was this when he was Vice President?

ANDREWS: Yes, this was in May or June of 1961. He hadn't been Vice President five months, and he . . . I was, again, sitting pretty close to him; I was on about

the third or fourth row. Because the two guys who had such an influence on me, Rick Harding and Berle Schiller, were in the cloakroom, were graduating, I got there early to get a good seat. I thought how distinguished he looked then. He was a very striking man. And then he gets up, and he's got this Texas twangy voice that just didn't fit the body! {laughter} You're expecting to hear some sort of stentorian tones come out. You're expecting Arnold Schwarzenegger and you get Don Knotts! {laughter}

But I've often heard—I never heard the quote, and I laughed at the time, but he came right out of the bat he said, "Winston Churchill once said, 'Never give up. Never, never, never'"—and he would look around the room—"'Never, never, never give up.'" And I said, "Gosh that sounds stupid." {laughter} Yet I have heard that quote so many times. I've heard it recently, and I was trying to remember when I was coming up here who I heard say—somebody big—and I said I know the first time I heard that. It came out of President Lyndon Johnson's mouth, and how appropriate that was, because I think he really kind of gave us his motto, because he was the type of man who never gave up.

So his speech that day of the Joint Session was not that great. I don't remember a lot about it. I can remember a lot of Kennedy's, and especially his inauguration speech, and this was, in effect, Johnson's inauguration speech. It just wasn't that great, but he had a presence. And even though he was not that great a speaker, I think everybody kind of felt comforted that at least—he wasn't John Kennedy, but at least we had a very strong man to step into those shoes. Because I think everybody on both sides of the aisle was really looking for that that day, and to that degree I think he delivered quite well.

JOHNSON: The newspaper accounts said that it was quite well-received by both sides.

ANDREWS: It was.

JOHNSON: That there was a lot of applause during his speech.

ANDREWS: Yes, it was, it was, it was, but we were hungry for that. We wanted leadership that day. And like I say, while I don't remember the content and he was not that great a speaker, I think he provided it. I think everybody felt a little bit better about things. I've said how I felt. I was devastated, but I think most people were.

JOHNSON: Hale Boggs of Louisiana was the Democratic Whip while you were Page, and you talked a little bit about Lindy Boggs earlier, but I was wondering if you could first describe the relationship between your father and Hale Boggs, two Southern Democrats?

ANDREWS: He was a great guy. He was terrific, and he and my dad were real good friends, but again—and I've mentioned this before—politically in some quarters he was viewed as something of a turncoat, and there were some hard feelings about that by many Members.

JOHNSON: Do you mean by his changing stance for civil rights?

ANDREWS: Being so liberal and his stance on civil rights. He was one of the first. There were several . . . This is probably a good place to talk about this. Whenever you're with somebody from Alabama, the elephant in the room is always race. {cell phone rings}

JOHNSON: It's okay.

ANDREWS: I think race became more and more prevalent during the time I was here, and it became kind of a demarcation point. You had certain Southerners that might have started out as segregationists in their political career. [Senator]

Hugo [Lafayette] Black was a member of the Klan. And they changed. One that really comes to mind is [Congressman] Albert [Arnold] Gore. Now, I do think there were some hard feelings towards Albert Gore. I remember my mother saying they used to be really good friends, (and underlined "used to be" like they weren't good friends anymore.) But I don't know whether it was so much about the racial belief as it was the fact that they were changing their stance because they thought it was politically expedient to do so and not out of conviction.

I don't apologize—I've always—I basically, for example, consider myself colorblind. Some of my very best friends are African Americans. One of my two or three best friends is. I don't apologize for my parents. I didn't have anything to do with their beliefs, but they sincerely believe that. They were sincere in their belief that things ought to be separate. But I also believe—I know at least in my mother's case—that she believed they ought to be equal, and it seems like a lot of times the white folks in the South forgot about that part, the separate but equal part.

I asked my mother one time—and she was a wise lady, as I've said, "Why?" Because I was starting to get questions in my mind about what I had been told. You have to understand the dichotomy of, the almost schizophrenic, existence that we children of Southern politicians lived with when we would split our times between the South, where we had colored waiting rooms, colored water fountains—and I use that word "colored" because that's what you'd see: "No colored." You had that world, and then you'd come up here and you didn't have that. It took a lot of sorting through to figure out what it was, and I was starting to get questions as I was in high school because I had friends in Page school that were black. We didn't have many blacks at Page school, but we had a few.

JOHNSON: As Pages, did you discuss this when civil rights was in the forefront and all this legislation and debate was going on?

ANDREWS: No. As a matter of fact, no. I think it started more in '64 when the civil rights bill came along. It was never hardly ever discussed in '61 or '62.

But getting back to my conversation with my mother, I said, "Why," and I said, "Why is it integration is wrong, in your opinion?" She said, "Because God didn't intend for there to be a blending of the races." In other words, it's almost like if God created different races he meant for them to remain different, and that meant to remain separate, but it didn't mean they should be treated as second class people. As I say, though, in the South we kind of lost sight of the fact that . . . They got the separate part real good! {laughter} The equal part, talk to some of my black friends, they didn't see it that way. And I don't think anybody would if you saw a water fountain that somebody put a sign on that said you couldn't drink out of it.

I think I mentioned this in one of my earlier talks when he was talking with this friend of mine that was working for him [George William Andrews]. One summer back right before he died, and he said, "Integration is—that battle has been fought. We have lost that battle, and the South needs to understand that that's over, and we're going to have to learn to deal with it." My mother did learn to deal with it. She knew I had black friends. She was—by the time she died, I never asked her, but I honestly think that if I'd have asked her she probably would've said they were wrong. But again, that's something that she had to work through with the sign of the times, because at the time white Southerners were deathly afraid of integration. I think they were afraid. It's almost like the Italians were deathly afraid of the Irish when they moved into New York. What's going to happen to us if they take over?

And so I think when you had people like Hale Boggs or Albert Gore, and I could probably think of some others—really think of many of the urban areas in the border states—that there was some resentment, or looking at them almost like traitors to a cause. But those people started to die out. Judge [Howard Worth] Smith, for example, or [William Meyers] Bill Colmer—they were a good bit older than my father—never, ever in 100 years would they have made a statement like my father said in 1971, "It's coming and we've got to deal with it."

JOHNSON: And it's inevitable.

ANDREWS: They never would have. But you think about it, they weren't that far removed from the Civil War. This is 50 years ago we're talking about now, and that's a half a century. Well, if you subtract another 50 . . . In that oral history that I provided, when my dad was running for DA back in the '30s, and he went over to a little town there in the neighboring Barber County, to a Civil War reunion, place was packed with Civil War veterans.[14] So my father grew up like say I did with veterans of World War II, my father grew up with veterans of the Civil War.

My great-grandfather Zack, who named me, because I'm the third—he named my grandfather George William; I don't know where the George came from, but he had an interesting story, but he is buried there in Clayton, Alabama, and he has a Confederate cross on his grave, on his tombstone. When we were cleaning out his house—his daughter, my Aunt Irene, lived to age 96—we found a book that was about five inches thick called *The History of the Confederacy, Volume 17*, copyright 1897. There was a clip on one of the pages, and my grandfather had four brothers, one of whom, William, died early in the war of illness. I'm named for him, and I figure he must, one of the other brothers must have been named George. But my grandfather

fought in the Mississippi campaign and became ill and was left behind enemy lines. Imagine how terrifying that would've been. He was a prisoner of war, and a little known fact is there were some prisoner exchanges, especially toward the end of the war, and my great grandfather was one of them, and wound up with one of, if not the last Confederate forces that surrendered in North Carolina, so he moved all the way across. So number one, I'm lucky to be here, but number two, he fought a hell of a war, and he's buried with that cross on his grave.

My dad had a sign or a cartoon on his office window, which I saw in numerous congressional offices. It was an old, grizzled Confederate soldier, like 80 years old, dressed in a Confederate uniform, draped in the Confederate flag, glaring out. He looked sort of like Grumpy in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, and underneath it says, "Forget Hell." So you have to remember that in the '60s you had some Members that were born in the late, a lot of Members that were born in the late 1800s, and my dad was born in '06, not that far away, and the memories of that war and that way of life were still fresher and rawer than they are now, and I think that explains, at least in—like I say, I can't apologize for it. I didn't have anything to do with it. That's not the way I felt really ever, but in looking back I can understand it.

So when you have a Hale Boggs that is from an old Southern tradition—you don't get any more Southern than New Orleans—who comes down in favor of civil rights, you're going to have some resentment, you would've had some resentment from people.

JOHNSON: Do you remember your dad specifically talking about Hale Boggs and any sort of animosity he might have had?

ANDREWS: Not my dad. I do remember that comment my mother made about the Gores. I think there was some resentment there. Tennessee is a little more liberal than Alabama, and I think they saw that as a little more politically opportunistic, and my parents, if one thing, if they were one thing it was principled. It's just like my dad would come out for Al Smith when probably it wasn't really popular back in 1928. He talked about how that election split families. There were true believers and there were opportunists, and that's not to say that there weren't true believers who were pro-integration. I don't mean to imply that at all, and I think quite possibly that it could be—this is just a hypothesis—that some of those they believed were true believers, that Hale Boggs came to his position on civil rights because he thought that that was the right thing to do, as opposed to some other person. I don't want to particularly mention Mr. Gore, because I really don't know that for sure. I just remember my mother's comment on that.

JOHNSON: Well, in Boggs' case you have someone who voted against the '64 civil rights legislation but then in '65 voted for the Voting Rights Act.

ANDREWS: Voting rights, right.

JOHNSON: And he even spoke on the floor, which he had said he had no intention of doing but then decided that it was something he felt that he had to do.

ANDREWS: Let me go back to Carl Vinson. You remember the story I told about Carl Vinson?

JOHNSON: Yes.

ANDREWS: You have to bend with the wind. I think there was a . . . That's a good example. That's a good example. The times, they are a-changin', and we're talking about the '60s here. We're talking about the '60s and early '70s, and

the times, they were a-changin'. And the interesting thing about it is that when they changed, they really changed, but in the time I was here, from '61to '64, it really changed, and race was not the pervasive issue. Like we're talking about the Rules Committee. Carl Elliott voted against the civil rights bills, but Sam Rayburn, that wasn't his main concern. His main concern was getting to somebody who was going to vote for other progressive, liberal, Democratic legislation. So in 1961 that was not a pervasive issue, so to speak.

By 1964 it sort of had become that, and I think some of the politicians from the South had to come to grips with that. Am I going to stick by my guns, or am I going to bend with the wind and recognize the inevitability of change? Hale Boggs obviously had ambition. He wanted to be, I'm sure, Speaker one day. Carl Albert—do you think he was a rabid integrationist when he came to Washington? No, he wasn't. I can tell you, he wasn't! There were a lot of them, a lot of these border state Congressmen from Missouri and places like that. When they initially came here in the '40s or '50s, if you ask them what their position on integration versus segregation was, they would probably come down on the side of segregation. But as the winds started to change nationally and it became more of an issue, then they had to decide where they were going to fall.

JOHNSON: Right, which side they were going to go on.

ANDREWS: Which side they were going to go on.

JOHNSON: So you said it really wasn't until 1964 that among the Pages and maybe the institution that race was really talked about openly?

ANDREWS: And it really wasn't then. My two best friends were from New Jersey and Rhode Island. They were my two very closest friends, and we never discussed

that issue. We never discussed . . . the civil rights bill was looked upon as being a hell of a lot of hard work. {laughter}

JOHNSON: {laughter} How so?

ANDREWS: You heard me talk about how crazy that cloakroom could be. Let me assure you, for the two weeks—it seemed like two years—that that bill was going on, that was the way . . .

JOHNSON: That was the final version in the summer, or earlier in the year?

ANDREWS: This was in—it wasn't the summer, because it was during the school year, and I was sick part of it and glad to be so, {laughter} because we really . . . It was during the school year when it was in the House. Now, it may not—I think maybe the final version didn't come through until—

JOHNSON: The final version came back in July.

ANDREWS: Yes, okay, but in the House, which it would've gone to first, then it went to the Senate, but the civil rights bill in the House, if you go back and look you'll see it was probably I'd say in the spring, in February, March, April, somewhere in there. It was not immediately before our graduation.[15]

JOHNSON: So were you so busy as a Page that you really didn't have time to take in any of the debate or maybe even the historical significance?

ANDREWS: Was I able to sit back and watch debate, *per se*? Yes and no, because you've got to remember what my job was. What I did, as much as anything—I never left the floor. The typical Page was running errands all over Capitol Hill. My job was always on the floor, and part of our job was people would call and want to know what was going on, and we had to be up with what the status of the bill was. The other part of my job, though, was I was on the floor

looking for Members, so yes. My favorite place to look for Members was in front of the portrait of George Washington. I'd get right down there because I could see the whole Democratic side.

JOHNSON: You're talking about the portrait in the House Chamber.

ANDREWS: Yes, the portrait, yes, in the front, right, to the Speaker's right, right by that door, right by the Sergeant at Arms' chair. That's where I would look for Members. Well, now I admit sometimes, yes, you'd get caught up, you know, in what was going on.

JOHNSON: As a teenager that must have been really exciting to witness this.

ANDREWS: Oh, I was standing in front of the George Washington [portrait in 1960] when Kennedy said we were going to the moon. {laughter} It was great! So yes, I saw some great speeches. Yes, we were busy, but I was on the floor or in the cloakroom all the time. Some days I'd look for Members, other days I'd be in charge of what we call the list: Who's on the phone here? Where? What? It depends on whether Art was there. If Art Cameron was there—which he usually was, or at least 50 percent of the time and especially when something big was going on—Art maintained control of the list, and as the number one Page he had me out on the floor looking for Members, because we had calls coming in like crazy. So I got to spend a lot of time on the floor. I got to see a lot of it. But no, did we sit down and discuss it? We could sit down and talk about what Bill Colmer said and what Eugene [James] Keogh said, and we could talk about the way they said it and we could talk about the arguments they made and so forth and so on. We would not take positions. I don't know whether it was because they respected what I had to deal with, where I was from and who I was living with, or—and I didn't want to go there—or I think they knew that I was at best ambivalent about it. But we

didn't have raging political debates. It was more commentary on what was happening, but without getting personal.

But that's sort of the way Congress was, too. You didn't have—I mentioned this before—I'll give you an example. There was a Congressman named [Edward James] Patten from New Jersey, a big, blustery, he was new. He came there in the '60s, I think. In the course of the civil rights debate, my dad's up making his obligatory speech, and he got a letter from the president of the bank in the largest city in his district, "If the civil rights bill passes Congress I will do everything I can to see you're defeated." He was having to deal with stuff like that. He knew it was going to pass. I mean, everybody knew. That's what distinguished it from, say, the Rules Committee situation where nobody knew what was going to happen, or if they did they weren't saying. Anyhow, my dad was up there, and he, Patten interrupts my dad, and they get into this thing, and I think my dad's point was there are counties and cities that are largely black, and they'll basically take over. And he said, "Well, what's wrong with that?" They're going back and forth, and it gets to the point that my dad said, "Well, if you want all the black people, get them to move up to New Jersey {laughter} if you like them so much!" And Patten said, "We'd love to have them! We'd love to have them. I hope they get on the train and come up there." End of the debate, there were a lot of Patten's constituents in New Jersey that didn't really appreciate him taking that position, probably some of the Irish and the—and he was getting calls and letters, so he comes up to my dad and he said, "You got me in a hornet's nest!" {laughter} And they laughed about that for eight years.

JOHNSON: So they were able to not take it too personally.

ANDREWS: Exactly, exactly. I mean, didn't mean they didn't debate the issue, but they were able to do it with a degree that there was no personal animosity, which I

don't know that that's quite the case today. I think that's sort of the way Congress was then, and we were sort of like that.

JOHNSON: During this period did you have any discussions with your dad about what was going on, about how he was going to vote or his opinions and if they were changing? You said you found out later that he really said this change was inevitable.

ANDREWS: I didn't, I didn't, no. I didn't want to go there. I was always more liberal than my dad, and I came from a different time. And the more I was around it my education was a lot more liberal. You look at how my dad was educated and I go to school up here. Then I go to Emory—which was an extremely liberal school, always has been—my senior year we elected a guy president of the student body who burned his draft card. That wouldn't have happened in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in 1928.

So I was exposed to a lot more different things, but I had too much certainly respect; I imagine there was probably a little fear mixed in there, as well. We did not engage in political arguments, and when he would make a political pronouncement, certainly as a young man I was greatly influenced. When I came to Washington in 1961 I saw absolutely nothing wrong with segregation. That's the way I was raised. The old song from the South Pacific, "You've Got To Be Carefully Taught." Well, I was carefully taught, and only when I became exposed to different things did I start to question some of the things that my dad espoused. Had he lived longer we probably would've engaged in those discussions. My mother and I did, and as I say, I never point blank asked her, "Were you wrong?" And I don't know that she ever would have admitted that, but she certainly, her views were quite different. I think in 1985 she would've been appalled if she'd have walked in somewhere and seen a water fountain that said "No coloreds," something we saw every

day in 1955. And I like to think for my own benefit that my dad would've gotten there, but I don't know. I don't know. Like I say, the scars of that Civil War were still there and they ran deep.

JOHNSON: You brought up a couple times today, and you certainly alluded to it in earlier interviews so I think now is the time to talk about the Rules Committee. So just for background, this was Speaker Rayburn's move to try to increase the membership of the Rules Committee, which was considered very controversial and it was hotly debated. What are your memories of this period? This was in early 1961.

ANDREWS: January 1961. I don't know the exact date, but it was within two weeks of Kennedy's inaugural speech. The Rules Committee had been dominated by Judge Howard Worth Smith from Virginia. His number two guy was Bill Colmer from Mississippi, and what the Rules Committee did was govern the rules of debate of any bill that comes to the House Floor. Now, the Appropriations Committee kind of had their own deal, but outside of the Appropriations Committee, any bill had to have a rule. Now, to get a rule that governed the rules of the debate, it had to be reported out by the Rules Committee. Every bill, other than an appropriations bill, every bill started out with a one hour debate on the rule. The debate was limited to one hour, but it was to vote up or down the rule that had been passed forward by the Rules Committee, but the rule would do things like how long is the debate going to be. The rule would set the length of debate two hours for each side, or four hours, eight hours, whatever, and then it also said whether a bill was an open rule or not, and an open rule mean that a bill could be amended. A closed rule meant you had to vote the bill up or down. But those were the rules that were promulgated by the Rules Committee. Well, if a bill didn't have a rule, if it hadn't been passed by the Rules Committee, it never got to

the floor. There may have been some parliamentary maneuver, but it was so Byzantine and bizarre, it was very rare.

JOHNSON: Very rare.

ANDREWS: I certainly couldn't explain it.

JOHNSON: You could do a discharge petition like a few Members did, but it was very complicated.

ANDREWS: But it was very cumbersome and very difficult to do. So what Judge Smith was able to do, he controlled that committee basically, or often could, and what he was able to do was bottle up what I'll call liberal legislation while Judge . . . You've got to remember at this time while the Democrats were in control, the South was still Democratic. Only when Barry Goldwater ran in 1964 did the Republican Party ever get any foothold in the House of Representatives in the South. So every Southern Member of the House of Representatives, other than—there probably weren't half a dozen Republican Southern Members. I'll bet there weren't half a dozen. So while the Democrats were the majority party, a substantial majority, a very substantial minority of the Democratic Party were Southerners, and they were able to get a lot of representation as a majority party on the major committees.

Well, and in the seniority system, the South being a one party state, my dad could take every November off! {laughter} He didn't have to worry! And rarely did he have any opposition within the—and rarely did Members have opposition in their own party. If they'd been up here you had to really screw up badly. Just for example, the Alabama delegation, the junior Member in—I think I brought my book—the junior Member—this is 1961.

JOHNSON: Is this your *Congressional Pictorial Directory*?

ANDREWS: Yes, yes, this is my Bible, yes. The junior Member in 1961—let's just look at this—Frank Boykin, 14th term, George Grant, 13th term, George Andrews, 10th term, Kenneth Roberts, sixth term, Albert [McKinley] Rains, ninth term, Armistead Selden, fifth term, 10 years, Carl Elliott, seventh term, Robert Jones, eighth term, George Huddleston, fourth term. So the junior man had been here six or seven years, but more of them had been here 18 or 20 years. You flip through this book, I guarantee you, you look at Mississippi you're going to see the same thing. Thomas [Gerstle] Abernethy, 10th term, Jamie Whitten, 11th term, Frank [Ellis] Smith, sixth term, John Bell Williams, eighth terms, [William] Arthur Winstead—he was a piece of work—10th term, William Colmer, 15th term, 15th term.

JOHNSON: {laughter} So unless there was a vacancy by death, more than likely long tenures.

ANDREWS: Yes. Let's see how long Judge Smith had been here in 1961. It had been a long time, a real long time. You ever seen him, you ever looked at his picture?

JOHNSON: Yes, I have.

ANDREWS: {laughter} He looked like a Civil War veteran—16th term. I mean, look at that man!

JOHNSON: This is in 1961.

ANDREWS: {laughter} This is the man who was going to control the rules of debate, if it ever got there, of the Kennedy administration. Sam Rayburn realized something had to be done. Kennedy would not get to first base on anything. One of the reasons, though, that Judge Smith was so revered by Southerners, my dad included—we lost the Civil War, okay, we got our butts kicked in the Civil War, we hadn't had a President in 100 years, and I think the last

Southerner that had been President they almost impeached, Andrew Johnson. We didn't have power anywhere else except right here on Capitol Hill, and we were a minority, but we were a very, very strong minority because of people like Howard Smith.

So I'll often refer to the Rules Committee action as the last great battle of the Civil War, because that's exactly what it was. And again, those people, I guarantee you had a "Forget Hell" bumper sticker in his office, and he wasn't about to lose that power and control, because they could. One of the things that most Southerners were really good at was parliamentary procedure. Almost all of them were lawyers. He [Howard Smith] was a judge. So they could take the technical language of legislation, the parliamentary rules of procedure, and tie everything in knots.

JOHNSON: And bury a lot of this legislation.

ANDREWS: And bury it! That's why you had *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, and it was 10 years before you could get a meaningful civil rights bill through Congress. That's exactly the reason.

So the battle lines were drawn, and I think Sam Rayburn, this was his chance. When [Franklin Delano] Roosevelt was President, he was Roosevelt. He just ran it. When [Harry S.] Truman was President he had to deal with Republican Congress some, and then you had Eisenhower, a Republican President. So when Kennedy comes in, even though Speaker Rayburn had been here a long time, was a very powerful man, this was the perfect opportunity for him to exercise his power, and to make himself relevant in the new administration. He also knew that, again, Kennedy would not be a very effective President as long as Judge Smith was able to bottle things up, so the idea—and, of course, this was not the first time this idea had been

floated; Franklin Roosevelt tried to do it with the Supreme Court. Well, you saw my dad's, in the oral history, attitude towards that! Well, it was pretty much the same with Rules Committee. You didn't mess with Rules. You didn't mess with the Rules. That's the way it is. You've got to play the game by the rules. You can't go in and change the rules in the fourth quarter, and a lot of people viewed it that way. So you had a very strong alliance for the *status quo* between the Republicans and the Southern Democrats. The key to victory for Sam Rayburn in stacking the rules committee lay where? Where did it lie?

JOHNSON: In the South.

ANDREWS: In the South. That's where you had to go. I think I told this story on the oral history, but that's why Carl Elliott was picked. That's why he picked Carl Elliott to be one of the people to stack. Now, again, you say, "Well, that's civil rights." Well, again, talking about what I was talking about earlier, civil rights was not the overriding—now, it was out there. Everybody knew it was out there, but that was not the overriding—because you weren't going to get the Republicans to vote for civil rights. Civil rights were a majority, but as long as you could bottle things up procedurally . . . Now, what this was geared towards was progressive legislation that Republicans would oppose.

JOHNSON: And you're talking about the three additional Members that would be added to the Rules Committee.

ANDREWS: Right, right.

JOHNSON: So Rayburn let it be known who his three choices would be if this—

ANDREWS: Oh yes, everybody knew who they were going to be, yes. I've forgotten the other two, but Carl Elliott was one of the three.[16] And the reason, if you

look at the Alabama delegation, there were nine Members at that time from Alabama. You had North Alabama, which was New Deal TVA country. Four of the Alabama Members voted as basically Rooseveltian Democrats. Five of them were basically conservative, and those were from the rural Southern Alabama—my dad, George Grant, Frank Boykin. But you had Bob Jones, and you had Bob Jones and Albert Raines and Carl Elliott and, to a certain extent, Kenneth Roberts, and George Huddleston was kind of in the middle. He was from Birmingham. He was kind of in the middle. He could go either way.

Well, Rayburn knew that if he got Elliott, he'd get four Alabama votes. He'd get four votes. And that's exactly what he got: he got four Alabama votes. Well, what was the final tally? 217 to 212. Subtract four from that. Now, if you wanted to purely look at it at civil rights, which could happen if Elliott weren't one of those two, then it probably would've been nine to nothing, but by putting one of their own on there, knowing that Smith probably wouldn't be able to block civil rights because of the Republicans, they wouldn't go along with that, but the way the Rules Committee was constructed at that point you could. I don't think this book [*Congressional Pictorial Directory*] had the Rules [Committee], had the committees on it, did it? Or did it?

JOHNSON: I think it just has state delegations.

ANDREWS: Yes, I think it does, too. I could just about look at that and tell you, how it stacked down, because I can look at this book, at least at the Democrats, and pretty well tell you how they voted. Well, Sam Rayburn did, too, but he knew, and he also knew that Carl Elliott, who's an extremely respected man, he was . . . There's a reason he won that Kennedy Profile in Courage Award. Did we talk about Carl Elliott before?

JOHNSON: You did.

ANDREWS: But he got some Southern votes in there, too, and—but that's what Rayburn did. And I think it was a tremendous legislative triumph, and did open the door to a lot of . . . It was maybe not the absolute end, but it was certainly the beginning of the end of the domination of the House in control, or to the extent that it was, by Southern Democrats.

JOHNSON: Well, and for Rayburn, of course he was really putting himself out there.

ANDREWS: On the limb, about as far as he could climb on that limb.

JOHNSON: Right, and he usually worked behind the scenes.

ANDREWS: Very much.

JOHNSON: Now you have on the day of the vote, which was January 31st, he actually made a speech on the floor, which was very rare for him.

ANDREWS: Rare, very rare, very rare.

JOHNSON: Do you remember that day at all?

ANDREWS: Oh yes, yes, and I remember him speaking. I don't remember the speech particularly, but I remember the event.

JOHNSON: But do you remember the mood of the chamber?

ANDREWS: Oh, it was tense. It was really, really tense. I remember Judge Smith. I remember his speech. {laughter} It was hilarious! He got up there and he said, "Okay"—I'm paraphrasing him, but the effect of it was, "All right, so maybe I've got to change. Maybe I've been a little too dogmatic or whatever. I will change. I will not be the obstacle that I have been, unless of course my

conscience won't allow me to do it!" {laughter} This burst of laughter went up in the House, from both sides because his credibility just went down the toilet. Because his conscience, that was going to block everything! He was a really, really—you talk about conservative, you can look at him. He thought $10 was a lot of money for anything, so he would do everything he could to block it.

But the vote, the vote is what I remember, that because I could see that, and it's very, very rare that that chamber would be packed. Most of the time a Member would come in on a roll call vote and they'd vote and they'd leave. They'd go to lunch, they'd go back to their office, they'd go to the committee or wherever they were, Carroll Arms Hotel, wherever they were going, and that'd be it. Not that day. That day they vote and they stayed. And I remember Art Cameron—the procedure, you'd go through the roll once and then the clerk would go back a second time and call out the names of those who did not respond to the first one. Well, because the floor was so jam-packed, I'd say a vast majority voted the first time, and because everybody knew that that was the day. Everybody knew. They'd been talking about it from the Opening Day of Congress, and it didn't take very long. We did the whole thing in one day. The [*Congressional*] *Record* would tell you, but I bet the whole thing took less than four hours, which is extraordinary for a piece of legislation that dramatic. I remember Art Cameron coming and whispering to me at the conclusion of the first roll call. I don't remember the exact number. The Speaker's five votes ahead, not the Democrats are five votes ahead, not the pro-expansion position is five votes ahead: the Speaker's five votes ahead.

JOHNSON: Because it was seen as Speaker Rayburn's battle.

ANDREWS: Because this was the Speaker, and had he lost, I think it would've been devastating to him. He knew he was coming to an end. He was dead a year later and he knew his time was coming to an end. I think this was the thing he could do for a young President and his party that had been out of power for, executively at least, for a long time. I think he viewed that vote as kind of his legacy, and the Speaker's five votes ahead. And just like the analogy I gave to the Alabama delegation, I'll guarantee you Sam Rayburn gave every analogy to every state delegation that was there. He knew Congress, probably better than any man. John McCormack or Carl Albert, those were the other Speakers. They couldn't hold a candle to Sam Rayburn in terms of knowing the Members. It was his turf. That was his turf. But he put himself way out on the limb on that, and he won, and I think that . . . That's probably the biggest vote I ever saw, because like I say, the civil rights bill, everybody knew that was going to pass, that was a foregone conclusion.

JOHNSON: So there wasn't the same suspense anyway.

ANDREWS: No, no, not at all. Like I say, my dad knew that bill was going to pass, but he had to get up and argue against it if he wanted to stay elected, and as did everybody else, so they had to blow as much smoke and raise as much hell as they could, but they all knew when the vote was taken what the outcome was going to be, despite what that banker wanted.

JOHNSON: I think this is a good stopping point, and we can switch out the CD.

ANDREWS: Okay.

END OF PART ONE ~ BEGINNING OF PART TWO

JOHNSON: All right, we're back on tape, and before we move ahead I just wanted to step back and ask you about Speaker McCormack because he was Speaker for most of your time as a Page. You talked about Rayburn some, but what were your personal reflections or recollections of Speaker McCormack?

ANDREWS: He was 180 degrees different in terms of personality. Speaker Rayburn, I have no idea what he was like, other than we were all terrified of him. He didn't pass pleasantries with us or anything. He was just kind of out there on another plateau. He just, he didn't come back in the cloakroom much. Of course, I told you the hysterical story of Tweety Bird.

But Speaker McCormack was totally different. He was an absolute gentleman. He was so nice. And as busy a man and as big a man as he was, he would come back and he would come back from time to time and just stop and say, "How are you boys doing? I appreciate the work y'all do back here." He didn't know me personally. I knew a lot of Members, they knew who I was because of my dad, but I didn't have that relationship with Speaker McCormack now. Bob Barnes did. He was a classmate of mine. He's a history professor down in some college in North Carolina now. He was Speaker McCormack's Page for two or three years. He knew him well, and he loved him. He just said he was such a courtly gentleman.

I don't think he was nearly the force that Sam Rayburn was. John McCormack could never have defeated Howard Smith, never would've happened. Never would've happened. But just in terms of personality he was a much more lovable person than Sam Rayburn was, at least to me on the surface. One of the interesting things about him—of course, he lived—he was always immaculately dressed, and he basically dressed the same; he had the vest. A lot of those guys dressed pretty much the same way for 50 years with vested suits and it was either gray or blue.

My recollection is he lived a very simple life. He lived down at the Washington Hotel, as I recall, with his wife. He didn't go out much. He wasn't a big partier. I do remember when he was, after the assassination and he was a heartbeat away from the Presidency, he abhorred the Secret Service protection. He didn't want it and he was adamant about it. Of course, that would never happen today. They wouldn't let him. But you'd see him walking the hall—I'm sure there were some, but it wasn't very visible, and he didn't want it. He was very adamant about that.

One of the things I enjoyed about him was he was really funny to watch in things like quorum calls. He would get up there. Somebody like H. R. Gross would move for a quorum, just to be aggravating. {laughter} I know one time—and when we had those things, and he would wait and he would count—I know on a quorum call one time he counted me at least four times. {laughter} And we were all told, "Get out of the floor!" Doormen—if you ever want to be on the House Floor without privileges, let H. R. Gross make a point of order that a quorum isn't present at 4:30 on a Thursday afternoon! {laughter} And John McCormack, he'd be out there and go, he'd just be squaring. You could see Gross fuming. He'd get his gavel, and he'd look, there's me! {laughter}

JOHNSON: Pointing his gavel at anyone who was in the chamber.

ANDREWS: At anyone he was near. What's the old saying, "Vote early and often? I was counted early and often. They were told, though, Art or Colonel Emerson's like, "Get out of the floor, Gross has called a quorum call! {laughter} Move around so he'll count you again!" It was really funny. But a lot of affection for Speaker McCormack. He was a class guy, a gentleman, a real gentleman. That's the best word to describe him.

JOHNSON: You had mentioned in your last interview, I believe, that you were in college when the Rayburn Building, the third House office building, was completed in 1965. But you were here when the cornerstone was laid and here during the construction.

ANDREWS: Oh yes, yes, right out here. They had a time capsule. I don't know what all's in that time capsule, except I know I'm in it. They brought a list around and said, "Sign your name and do it legibly, because the Pages are going to go into the time capsule," which I thought was kind of neat. And they came down here, Kennedy came . . .

JOHNSON: For the cornerstone laying?

ANDREWS: Yes, and I'm trying to remember when it was. It would've had to have been either '61—

JOHNSON: I believe it was 1962.

ANDREWS: Sixty-two would've been my guess. I think I was in the 10th grade. Yes, yes, I think I was in the 10th grade. It was a real pretty day. I remember that. And you know, it's on this end. It was on Independence [Avenue], on the upper part of Independence. They had banners out there, and Kennedy came, and, of course, Rayburn hadn't been dead very long. Kennedy paid a beautiful tribute to him, and how fitting that this was his dream and that it, that the building should be named for him.

JOHNSON: Before this the two buildings had just been the old and the new, right?

ANDREWS: I was just getting ready to say, and I think simultaneous to that was when they named the Cannon [Building] because we always referred to it as the

Old House and the New House Office Building when I was younger, and I think that's when they came up with Cannon and Longworth.

Now, I knew—just to divert just a little bit, but I do want this story preserved—Clarence [Andrew] Cannon was an icon, and he was the chairman of the Appropriations Committee before George [Herman] Mahon was. I believe he was from Missouri. He looked like one of the seven dwarfs. He was kind of a short; he looked sort of like Grumpy. But we were down at the old S&W Cafeteria down there on, between 14th and 15th Streets, right around the corner where the Old Ebbitt Grill is now, that street that runs into the Treasury Building [G Street NW]. It's between 14th and 15th, right there where the Old Ebbitt Grill is, that street. And that was S&W Cafeteria, and a lot of people ate there, and a very popular cafeteria. Chairman Cannon was in there, and I was a little boy. I was in grammar school. My dad took me up—and and I was with my mother and father—my dad took me up and introduced me to him. He reached in his pocket and he pulled out a silver dollar and he gave it to me and he said, "Son, always keep this and you'll never be broke." I've still got it, a very treasured possession. But anyhow, that was not the Cannon that this building was named for [Joseph Gurney Cannon], but he was another Cannon that was a giant in this place. But it was a terrific event.

But I'll always remember—and I think I told the story—my dad, when we moved, when he moved, that the reporter from *Roll Call*—we were in 1724 Longworth, and the reporter from *Roll Call* did a little story about Dad's moving his office over to the Rayburn, and the reporter asked him, he said, "Congressman, you're known for your conservative beliefs." He said, "This building that you're moving into cost more than the Empire State Building, the Hoover Dam, and the Golden Gate Bridge all put together. Doesn't it

kind of bother your conscience to be moving into a building like that?" And Dad looked at him and said, "Son, I've been here for 20 years. After 20 years in Congress I have no conscience. I'm moving!" {laughter}

Yes, and they finished it—I guess I was in college when they moved. It might have been law school, but I was gone when they moved into it. But yes, I watched it go up brick by brick for a long time because we could watch them out the window of the Congressional Hotel. We had a really good view of watching the whole thing go up.

JOHNSON: Another topic I wanted to touch on before we ended today was technology in the House and in the cloakroom. TV was becoming more popular in the 1960s, and of course the proceedings weren't televised until the late '70s, but were there any televisions in Members' offices or in the cloakrooms that you remember?

ANDREWS: Not in the cloakrooms. None in the cloakrooms, not when I was there. As a matter of fact, the only time they would televise would be like in a Joint Session of Congress, and they did have the TV lights. They'd come on and it would be, you felt like you were on the moon. It was so bright. As a matter of fact, my senior year was the year they opened up the new East Front, and one of the jobs that I had, you got that Speaker's, it's the congressional meeting room or waiting room that's right out the—you go out the door of the cloakroom and you cross the hall, and right there to the left is this big room that—I've forgotten what they call it.

JOHNSON: Past the Speaker's Lobby? You're talking right outside of—

ANDREWS: You're on the wrong side. Go out the cloakroom to the hallway that runs . . . Here's the House Floor, okay. This is the door that the President comes in right here. Here's the Democratic Cloakroom right here. This is where the

couches are, this is where the phones are, okay. If you go out this back door right by the snack bar, where the snack bar was, that hall that runs the width of the building, you cross that hall to the new East Front of the Capitol, and there's a big waiting room there that Congressmen could meet constituents [Rayburn Room] or things like that.

One of my jobs was to take out telephones every day. When we'd get ready to go into session, somebody from the cloakroom would have to take the phones out there and plug them into a room so a Congressman would have a telephone to use out there. That's the first time they had a telephone outside the cloakroom, anywhere near there. So no, there weren't TVs. The snack bar folks have radio. That was as high tech as we got. {laughter}

JOHNSON: Okay. And since I just brought up the Speaker's Lobby, that made me think of the newspapers that the Pages had to put out there. Was that part of your responsibility?

ANDREWS: Not me, but yes, we did it. I think the documentarians did that. I think that's one of the things they did, if I recall correctly. I used to like to go out there because you'd get the *Birmingham News*. I could read—the *Birmingham News* was one of the papers. Now, the papers were usually two or three days old, but the other thing you had out there was the tickertape.

JOHNSON: What was that?

ANDREWS: The AP ticker was going all the time. That would be, that would be instantaneous news. I've got a friend, Jeff Jones, who was a Senate Page that had the presence of mind at the assassination to run outside, he saw it on the tickertape that Kennedy had been shot, and he pulled—he's still got it. He's got the tickertape that ran in the—they had one in the Senate that ran on the

AP machine when Kennedy was shot, but that's how you got . . . And there might be a crowd around when something was going on.

JOHNSON: And this was located in the Speaker's Lobby, the tickertape?

ANDREWS: Yes.

JOHNSON: On a lighter note, I don't think I asked you this before, but you had spent so much time in the Capitol in the chamber, and I was just curious as to what your favorite spots were as a Page, or as a child of a Member. What were your favorite places?

ANDREWS: I had two or three that I really enjoyed. One I'm not even sure is there anymore, because I looked for it last time I was up here on the West Front of the Capitol, off the dome, that balcony, I always heard—and I think it was the truth, but I'd always heard it—I can't vouch for the historical accuracy, but I do know that there used to be a slave trading market down off the Mall. I don't exactly know how that was tolerated. It was some sort of slave activity, and the term that Abraham Lincoln spent in the House [1847–1849], that he used to go out on that balcony off the dome and look at that and was appalled by it, and that those observations formed a resolve—not that he probably wouldn't have already had it, but it certainly increased his view against slavery.

It's funny, in talking about my own evolution in the civil rights saga, I would go out there and, as I say, whether or not it's totally true or not it's certainly what I'd been told and believed. I used to go out—while I didn't talk about it much—that is a place that I used to go out and think about that, not to mention the fact that it's just an absolute gorgeous view of the Mall. But I always thought of Lincoln going out there, and that particular issue, and my own—especially, I think, even more so after my Page years and I was in

college and the whole question of race relations and the South's position in it, "Oh my God, my parents are totally wrong," and having to deal with all those conflicts. When I was in college and law school I really enjoyed going out there a lot and just thinking.

Just to the left as you're going out that door of the hall from the Rotunda, there was a real pretty little chapel there that was always a nice place to meditate. Another place that I really liked to soak in—and I could get in there because of who I was, because it was not open to the public and it was largely a dump—was the old Supreme Court Chamber. I know they've redone it now and it's beautiful. I have a couch that I think came from there. My dad said it came from the Supreme Court, when they renovated he bought it for $100. It's a great big old leather couch that's six feet long at least with rolled wooden arms. It's a beautiful piece of furniture, and I always think about it. I wonder who sat on that couch. I know it was the Senate Chamber, and that's the way they have it set up now, but the Supreme Court met in there before they moved into their present building. And about the only thing they used it for when I was here was for luncheons.

When Alan Shepard came and when John [Herschel] Glenn, [Jr.], they had—I know they did for Shepard, I'm not sure about Glenn. Glenn came and spoke to Congress [in 1962]. That was an exciting day, right after he orbited the Earth. Shepard came to the Hill. He didn't address Congress, as I recall, but they did have a, Congress had a luncheon for him there. So I liked to go in and absorb the history in that room. Now, it was green then and there were tables and chairs. It was, like I say, there was usually a cop there and it was usually closed, wasn't open to the public, but if I told them who I was I'd just say I'd like to go in and visit the chamber. I enjoyed going in that room—the historical rooms or spots. There's a place down underneath the

stairs, underneath the dome, two floors down, down in the basement there's a crypt, and that's where they keep the . . .

JOHNSON: Oh, the catafalque?

ANDREWS: Yes.

JOHNSON: It's in the Capitol Visitor Center now, but you're right, it used to be there.

ANDREWS: Yes, it used to be down . . . nobody knew where it was, and I used to like to go down there and look at that. I just thought that was kind of a neat place. I just loved the whole Capitol. The whole building to me—I still do; it's my favorite building.

I do not have complimentary things to say about the Visitor Center. I think it's a total waste of money. The tours are horrible. The tours that you had—and they dealt with a lot of people—when we were up here, after we had the Page reunion in 2008 and '09, some of my classmates, we all came up here, and we arranged what we thought was going to be a special tour. Bob Bartkus from New Jersey did it—a special tour of the Capitol, and we went through the center and watched that self-promoting film, {laughter} and then we went through and met the tour guide. We were in the Rotunda and we looked at the friezes and the paintings, and they told us what the paintings were, and then we went into Statuary Hall, and the next thing we know we go downstairs and we're in the area directly underneath the dome, and we see the spot that decides the Northwest/Southwest Washington, D.C., and she said, "This completes our tour," to which yours truly . . . We weren't the only ones on the tour, and, of course, hell, we knew more about the damn place than she did, collectively for sure. {laughter} She said, "This completes our tour," and just out of my mouth I said, "That's it?!" {laughter} Like, "What?! You've got to be kidding!"

The tours they gave when we were here—they took you into the balconies of the House, they took you into the balconies of the Senate. They had special balconies. Now, I know they have throngs of people coming through, but we had throngs of people coming through then. You have school kids from all over the country. Spring break this place would be—it wasn't any more crowded than it was then. I guess that's just progress, or it probably goes back to the security problems. It's a shame, because the Capitol tours were wonderful.

And, of course, the person who gave the best Capitol tour ever was Donn Anderson, because nobody knows more about it than Donn, especially things on the House, but he knows the whole Capitol. I don't think anybody's got more knowledge. I had the pleasure of being with Donn. I know when the high school classes from Alabama would come up from Union Springs, my hometown, the seniors would always come to Washington every year, and I'd get Donn to take them and I'd go with them, of course, and so I was lucky enough to be on the "Donnald K. Anderson Capitol Tours" four or five times, and I learned more about the Capitol on those tours than I ever learned, and got to where one of the things that I was able to do in the later years when I was in college and law school, when my father and then again when my mother was here, to make myself useful to them is I would take constituents on a tour, and I could give a pretty doggone good tour.

JOHNSON: And I'm assuming then you had very good access to where you could take visitors.

ANDREWS: Take them anywhere. Take them anywhere. We'd even go into the—I've forgotten the room; I obviously don't know the Senate side as well as I know the House side, but the room where they have the portraits of the Lafollette and the great Senate leaders, that beautiful, ornate room just off the Senate

Chamber [Senate Reception Room]. I could take them in there. So people are missing a lot when they come up here. All they get's the dome and Statuary Hall. That's progress, I guess.

JOHNSON: How do you think your experience as a Page changed your life? And I know that's a broad question, but specifically what lessons do you think you might've learned as a Page?

ANDREWS: I was 14 years old when I came up here, thrust into the Democratic Cloakroom, when the Rules Committee, the battle of the century in the House of Representatives—I think it was fought, and I've described that. And think about that: I was 14 years old. I've described the bedlam in that cloakroom, when you had 14 phone booths and it was the only way you could phone in to talk to a Member. It was the only way the Member could phone out to talk to his office or to a constituent, and you had a list with 15 Congressmen on it wanting a telephone. All the phone booths were lit up in use, and that light would go out, and I'd be sitting there as a number one Page holding that list, and with how small that cloakroom is, and you've got Congressmen lined up, "I've got to talk to so-and-so!" and "I've got to do this!" "Yes sir, yes sir!" And {laughter}, "Well, be my guest!" And it's impossible. Bedlam! Absolute bedlam. And we'd have a guy down on the end, we'd have a guy in the middle, and we have a guy on this end, and I'd be holding the list, and say Congressman Pucinski would be the next one on the list. He'd be standing there.

Oh, I'll tell you a funny story. A very powerful Congressman, William [Joseph] Green, [Jr.]—he was the political boss of Philadelphia, and he died my senior year. His son [William Joseph Green] was elected in a special election to take his place. He was barely 25 years old. By this time I was almost 18, so he was seven years older than I was. We were just about the

same age. He was standing there in one of those hectic times, there was one of our—I can't remember his last name, but one of my guys [House Page] that I had standing on an end down there, we had them backed up, and one of my guys was named Bill, and phone number for the light went on and it was vacant. Well, you had to grab it quick, because you had all these Members wanting the phone. Well, you had a whole lot of people out there in the world dialing that same Capitol 43121, wanted to get in on that line, so you had to grab that phone quick when that light went out, otherwise it was going to ring! {laughter} So I'm standing there with the list and the light goes out, and I said, "Bill, grab number six!" Congressman Green dashes to number six and grabbed it, {laughter} said, "What do I do with it?" I said, "Congressman." {laughter} But when I yelled out, "Bill," he wasn't used to—that's what he was used to being. And I think he served a number of years up here. I'm sure he never grabbed the phone when somebody yelled Bill to him again.

But yes, and what you had to learn you'd get irate Congressmen. You had to learn organization. You had to utilize the assets you had, which were often not up to the task but you had to do what you had to do. You learned responsibility, because you miss a Congressman on an important call and President Johnson's on the other line, which happened to me, you can't very well afford to screw those things up. That's a pretty heavy load to put on a 14, 15-year-old kid. We did it, we did it well.

I became a trial lawyer. I followed my dad's advice. He told me, "Don't get into politics." He saw it coming, and it is a different world. The press has created a different world, just the whole money. The whole thing is just totally different. I think those were the last days of life as we knew it. I always put the watershed event as Watergate. Vietnam and Watergate right there

together, but it just, it changed. But I was a trial lawyer, and I was a criminal trial lawyer. I was a prosecutor, and I was a criminal defense attorney. I tried a lot of cases, a lot of them big. You read my dad's oral history and he talked about the courtroom. I was the same way.

I remember my law partner and I were defending a capital murder case. A doctor's son was paranoid schizophrenic and broke in on his ex-girlfriend and battered the head in of the new boyfriend. Brutal murder. Our defense was insanity. The doctor, the family was very prominent. The mother was British, of our client, the mother was British and was a lay reader at the most exclusive Episcopal church in Birmingham. We had half the church there. We had the big courtroom. It was jammed. The defense was insanity. He was an absolute, legitimate paranoid schizophrenic and honestly didn't know what he was doing, but there's no question he did it. So it was a great trial. All the issues of paranoid schizophrenia, and at that time they'd just developed the CAT scan, and we had the showing of our client's brain versus the showing of a normal brain and what wasn't there. But the state was seeking to put him to death, and the closing arguments were very impassioned. When I finally sat down from mine, I passed my partner a note, and he opened it up, and it said, "A packed courtroom, a life on the line, God help me I love it!" {laughter}. And I did! But the organization, the discipline, the . . .

And whether you're a trial lawyer or a businessman or whatever you do in life, the things that I learned [in the Page program] stood me in great stead in later life. Whereas my contemporaries at home were worrying about what position they were going to play on the football team or who they were going to take to the prom. We missed a lot of that by being Pages. It's certainly not a normal life, but it was exciting. I can look at a list of a vote that was taken

50 years ago and know just about everybody on it and tell you a little something about them. That's great. Just the memories are great, but I think the responsibilities that you take at that age stand you in great stead.

I think I was a better trial lawyer after having learned at the feet of people like Art Cameron, especially, and being associated with some of the greatest guys I've ever known. And it's funny, when you go to these reunions and you see, most all of us have done well. Some make more money than others. I wish I was on that higher end, but I've got no regrets. I've got no regrets about my career. I did what my daddy said was his favorite place—the courtroom. I tried 10 times more cases than he did, and mine were on TV! That's pretty neat. And I credit the things I learned as a Page to a great degree for the success I had later in life. I think if you talk to just about any of my contemporaries. That's why I hate to see it become so . . . It's like everything else: everybody's gotten paranoid. Now they've got rules. I guess that's okay to have a Pages dorm. We didn't have it. Now, sure, I lived with my folks, but all my other buddies, they were living in boarding houses scattered all over the Hill, and like I say, you go through my class or the classes behind me or below me, just about every one of them has been a success. I think that maybe sometimes we're a little overprotective, but it was probably the greatest experience I've ever had.

JOHNSON: If you had the chance to offer advice to someone who knew that you had been a Page and they were thinking of becoming a Page, what would you say to them?

ANDREWS: Do it! Matter of fact, I'm trying to get my nephew on board. He wants to do it desperately, and he's just been made the most outstanding, voted the most likely to succeed in his entire junior high school, so he might have a shot at it. But no, it's the greatest . . . You will look back when you get to be in your

mid 60s, like I am, or older, you will look back on it as being one of the greatest experiences that you've ever had, and it forms a love of the institution and the country that I think is unique and special.

JOHNSON: Okay. Well, I wanted to thank you very much for taking the time to sit down with me during these sessions.

ANDREWS: It's been fun.

JOHNSON: Great, thank you.

ANDREWS: It's been fun.

NOTES

[1] Representative Steagall died on November 22, 1943.
[2] Reference to the shooting that took place in the House Chamber on March 1, 1954.
[3] *Memorial services held in the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States, together with tributes presented in eulogy of George W. Andrews, late a Representative from Alabama.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1972.
[4] Donnald K. Anderson, a House Page in 1960, served as Clerk of the House from 1987 to 1995.
[5] Carl Elliott and Michael D'Orso co-authored *The Cost of Courage: The Journey of an American Congressman*. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
[6] Representative Albert Thomas of Texas played a major role in bringing the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center to Houston.
[7] Elected to the 112th Congress (2011–2013), Martha Roby and Terri Sewell brought the total number of women elected to Congress from Alabama to three.
[8] Thomas Gilbert went on to work for Congresswoman Marjorie Sewell Holt of Maryland.
[9] When reviewing the interview transcript, the interviewee believes that the debate he recalled could have been about a controversial amendment attached to an Appropriations bill.
[10] Kenneth Harding went on to serve as the House Sergeant at Arms from 1972 to 1980.
[11] Emily Yehle, "Tales from Pages of Years Ago," 8 April 2008, *Roll Call*.
[12] When Lyndon Johnson was sworn in as President on November 22, 1963, after Kennedy's assassination, Speaker McCormack became the next in the line of succession for the presidency. No one served as Vice President during this period until Hubert [Horatio] Humphrey's swearing in on January 20, 1965.
[13] Contemporary news accounts of the inauguration indicate that Vice President Lyndon Johnson attempted to shield Frost from the sun. Rather than reading the poem he prepared for the occasion, Frost recited another one of his poems from memory.
[14] "Congressman George K. Andrews, Jr.," Department of Archives, Auburn University, [March 4, 1971].
[15] The House passed civil rights legislation on February 10, 1964. After languishing for several months in the Senate, the House passed the final version of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 on July 2, 1964.
[16] In addition to Carl Elliott of Alabama, Bernice Frederic Sisk of California, and Elmer Joseph Hoffman of Illinois joined the Rules Committee during the 87th Congress (1961–1963).

INDEX

C

G

H

I

R

S

Z