

# **ROBERT L. PEABODY RESEARCH INTERVIEW NOTES, 1964-67**

## **Collection Type**

Federal Records

## **Extent**

0.6 linear feet (ca. 1200 pages)

## **Record Type**

Textual

## **Access**

Open.

## **Copyright**

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## **Processed by**

William McNitt, August 1994

## **Biography**

Robert L. Peabody

Dec. 23, 1931 - Born, Seattle, WA

1954 - B.A., University of Washington

1956 - M.A., University of Washington

1960 - Ph.D., Stanford University

1960-61 - Post-doctoral research fellow, Brookings Institution

1961-- Member of the faculty, Department of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University; participant, American Political Science Association Study of Congress; he has also received fellowships from the Social Science Research Council and the Ford Foundation and served as a congressional intern to the House Majority Whip.

### **Scope and Content Note**

Soon after suffering severe losses in the 1964 elections, Republican members of the U.S. House of Representatives began discussing organizational and leadership changes. As a political scientist specializing in the study of Congress, Professor Robert Peabody of Johns Hopkins University became interested in studying these potential changes.

Beginning in late December 1964, Peabody conducted off-the-record interviews with many Republican members of Congress and a few of their staff members. Although he apparently did not tape any of these interviews, Peabody took brief notes during the discussions and then typed up more detailed summaries soon thereafter. The bulk of this collection consists of the typed interview notes, although some folders contain only handwritten notes and a few contain both the typed and handwritten versions. Peabody used some of these interview notes as source material for a scholarly article on the Ford-Halleck leadership contest. He published the article ("The Ford-Halleck Minority Leadership Contest, 1965") in 1966 as Number 40 of the Eagleton Institute Cases in Practical Politics and later reprinted it as a chapter in his book *Leadership in Congress: Stability, Succession,*

and Change (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1976).

Many of the interviews focus on the successful campaign of Gerald R. Ford to unseat Charles Halleck as Minority Leader of the House. Ford had announced his challenge on December 18, 1964 and the brief, but intense, campaign ended with a 73-67 victory by Ford in the January 4, 1965 meeting of the Republican Conference (or general caucus). Some of the "Young Turks" who played key roles in Ford's campaign were Robert Griffin, Charles Goodell, and Donald Rumsfeld. Many interviews also contain information on Melvin Laird's contest with Peter Frelinghuysen to succeed Ford as Republican Conference Chairman. Laird won by a 77-62 margin in the Conference meeting on January 4.

In subsequent weeks, House Republicans faced other leadership contests. One of Ford's earliest acts as Minority Leader was to back Representative Peter Frelinghuysen in his campaign to replace the incumbent Minority Whip Les Arends. Arends prevailed in the January 14 voting, thereby handing Ford his first defeat. Ford-supporter Charles Goodell was a candidate to chair the Republican Policy Committee, but the emergence of John Rhodes as a candidate threatened another major leadership battle. This confrontation was avoided through the creation of a new Planning and Research Committee to do long-range policy planning. The Republican Conference named Rhodes chairman of the Policy Committee and Goodell chairman of the Planning and Research Committee. Many interviews discuss both the Whip contest and the long struggle over the Policy Committee, including frequent interviews with Goodell.

During the period in which the House Republicans were making these leadership decisions, Representative Al Quie was chairing a Committee on Organizational Structure. This committee examined the organization of the House Republicans and recommended changes. For instance, it recommended that members with leadership roles should not also serve as the ranking Republican on standing committees of the House. A small number of interviews, especially those with Quie, focus on the work of this committee and the ratification of its recommendations by the Republican Conference.

Peabody continued interviewing into April 1965 and conducted some further interviews in 1966. Although many of the later interviews touch on the 1965

leadership races, they focus on assessments of the work of the leaders since that time. Some include information on the handling of such issues as the Voting Rights Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1966, and the Vietnamese War. Others concern the upcoming 1966 congressional elections.

When Professor Peabody donated this collection to the Ford Library, it was arranged in six folders, organized by topic. Interviews and background material appeared in each folder. As the topics overlapped and many interviews related to multiple subjects, archivists reorganized the interviews into a single chronological sequence during processing. See Appendix A for a list showing the original organization of the interviews.

#### Related Materials (August 1994)

The most important related collections are the Ford Scrapbooks and the Ford Congressional Papers. In the latter collection, see especially the folders labeled "Republican House Organization" in the General and Case File for 1964 and 1965 (Boxes A16 and A30). For information on the activities of the Republican House leaders in later years, see also the House of Representatives File in the Robert Hartmann Papers. In addition, many of the William Syers interviews concern Ford's work as Minority Leader.

#### **Last Modified Date**

2024-04-09

#### **Research Interview Notes, 1964-67.**

(Boxes 1-2, 0.5 linear feet)

Peabody's notes on interviews with Republican members of the U.S. House of Representatives and their staff members. Most of the interviews concern the selection of the Republican leadership team - Minority Leader, Minority Whip, Conference Chairman, and chairmen of the Republican Policy Committee and the Republican Planning and Research Committee. In addition, some early interviews focus on the work of the Committee on Organizational Structure and most of the later ones concern assessments of the work of the Republican leadership and the handling of such issues as the Voting Rights Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1966, and the Vietnamese War. Key individuals whom Peabody interviewed multiple times are Charles Goodell, Robert Griffin, Melvin Laird (and his aide Bill Baroody), Don

Rumsfeld, Al Quie, Robert Ellsworth, Bob Wilson, and Tom Curtis.

Arranged chronologically by date of the interview.

**Box 1 - Research Interview Notes**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Dec. 29, 1964 - Robert Griffin Interview
OPEN	Dec. 30, 1964 - Donald Rumsfeld Interview
OPEN	Dec. 31, 1964 - Albert Quie Interview
OPEN	Jan. 6, 1965 - Robert Griffin and Charles Goodell Interview (Conducted by Roger Mudd)
OPEN	Jan. 6, 1965 - Melvin Laird Interview
OPEN	Jan. 7, 1965 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Jan. 8, 1965 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Jan. 11, 1965 - John Anderson Interview
OPEN	Jan. 11, 1965 - Alphonzo Bell Interview
OPEN	Jan. 12, 1965 - Charles Mathias Interview
OPEN	Jan. 13, 1965 - Chester Mize Interview
OPEN	Jan. 13, 1965 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Jan. 14, 1965 - Thomas Curtis Interview
OPEN	Jan. 14, 1965 - Robert Griffin Interview
OPEN	Jan. 14, 1965 - House Whip Contest Notes
OPEN	Jan. 14, 1965 - John Lindsay Interview
OPEN	Jan. 14, 1965 - Fred Sontag Interview
OPEN	Jan. 15, 1965 - Robert Griffin and Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Jan. 18, 1965 - Robert Ellsworth Interview
OPEN	Jan. 19, 1965 - Silvio Conte Interview
OPEN	Jan. 19, 1965 - Glenard Lipscomb Interview
OPEN	Jan. 22, 1965 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Jan. 22, 1965 - William Kendall Interview (Aide to Peter Frelinghuysen)
OPEN	Jan. 25, 1965 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Jan. 26, 1965 - Charles Goodell Interview

Status	Title
OPEN	Jan. 26, 1965 - Brad Morse Interview
OPEN	Jan. 26, 1965 - Richard Poff Interview
OPEN	Jan. 27, 1965 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Jan. 27, 1965 - Rogers Morton Interview
OPEN	Jan. 28, 1965 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Jan. 29, 1965 - William Baroody, Jr. Interview (Aide to Melvin Laird)
OPEN	Feb. 1, 1965 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Feb. 1, 1965 - Catherine May Interview
OPEN	Feb. 2, 1965 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Feb. 3, 1965 - Thomas Curtis Interview
OPEN	Feb. 3, 1965 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Feb. 4, 1965 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Feb. 23, 1965 - Notes on Republican Conference Meeting on the Republican Policy Committee
OPEN	Feb. 24, 1965 - Frank Fortune Interview (Reporter, Buffalo Evening News)
OPEN	Feb. 24, 1965 - Melvin Laird Interview
OPEN	Mar. ?, 1965 - John Anderson Interview
OPEN	Mar. ?, 1965 - John Saylor Interview
OPEN	Mar. 18, 1965 - Albert Quie Interview
OPEN	Mar. 19, 1965 - Wisconsin Delegation Notes
OPEN	Mar. 22, 1965 - John Byrnes Interview
OPEN	Mar. 24, 1965 - Melvin Laird Interview
OPEN	Mar. 30, 1965 - William Baroody, Jr. Interview (Aide to Melvin Laird)
OPEN	Mar. 30, 1965 - Paul Findley Interview
OPEN	Mar. 30, 1965 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Apr. 6, 1965 - William Pitts Interview (Aide to Les Arends)
OPEN	Apr. 7, 1965 - James G. Fulton Interview
OPEN	Apr. 7, 1965 - Bob Wilson Interview

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Apr. 9, 1965 - Jim Martin Interview
OPEN	Apr. 9, 1965 - Donald Rumsfeld Interview
OPEN	Apr. 12, 1965 - William Cramer Interview
OPEN	Apr. 13, 1965 - Melvin Laird Interview
OPEN	Apr. 14, 1965 - Robert Ellsworth Interview
OPEN	Jan. 25, 1966 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Jan. 26, 1966 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Mar. 10, 1966 - William Baroody, Jr. Interview (Aide to Melvin Laird)
OPEN	Apr. 22, 1966 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Apr. 28, 1966 - Notes on Theodore Kupferman Speech to Young Republicans
OPEN	May 2, 1966 - Bob Wilson Interview

## **Box 2 - Research Interview Notes**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Aug. 1, 1966 - H. Allen Smith Interview
OPEN	Aug. 3, 1966 - Silvio Conte Interview
OPEN	Aug. 3, 1966 - Charles Goodell Interview
OPEN	Aug. 5, 1966 - John Anderson Interview
OPEN	Aug. 5, 1966 - Jack Edwards Interview
OPEN	Aug. 5, 1966 - Donald Rumsfeld Interview
OPEN	Aug. 9, 1966 - Albert Quie Interview
OPEN	Oct. 15, 1966 - Notes on Republican Congressional Reorganization Plans
OPEN	Nov. 2, 1966 - Robert Ellsworth Interview
OPEN	Jan. 9, 1967 - House Republican Conference Meeting Notes
OPEN	Feb. 27, 1967 - Henry H. Wilson Interview (White House Staff)

## **Background File, 1961-66.**

(Box 2, 0.1 linear feet)

A small file of newspaper and magazine clippings, notes, publications, and some copies of documents concerning the selection of the Republican leadership in 1965, its subsequent activities, and the history of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee.

Arranged chronologically into two folders, with a third folder containing the campaign committee history.

**Box 2 (Continued) - Background File**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Title</b>
OPEN	Background Materials - Clippings, Notes, and Documents (1)-(2)
OPEN	Republican Congressional Campaign Committee - History, 1966 (Publication)