

JACK KEMP
ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interview with
JENNIFER KEMP ANDREWS and JUDITH KEMP NOLAN
November 7, 2012

Interviewer
Morton Kondracke

JACK KEMP FOUNDATION
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Morton Kondracke: This is a Jack Kemp Oral History Project interview with Jennifer Kemp Andrews and Judith Kemp Nolan, daughters of Jack Kemp. Today is November 7, 2012, and we are at the Jack Kemp Foundation in Washington, DC. Thank you both for doing this.

Jennifer, let me start with you. When did you first become aware that your father was a famous person, football player, politician and so on?

Jennifer Kemp Andrews: Well, I think that life for us was so normal, always. That's all we knew. He was playing football, and [Jeffrey A.] Jeff [Kemp] might go to some of the home games, but the sisters, Judith and I, would stay at home, maybe, or play with our dolls, and it wasn't a big deal, because all of our friends' parents were football players and spouses, so that wasn't a big deal. I didn't think of my dad as a football star at all. And then when he ran for Congress when I was in third grade. it wasn't a big deal either. We just effortlessly moved into this new aura of living near the Beltway, and a lot of their friends were in Congress also. Our parents had the philosophy of "drink water and go to school," or just downplay your life. So it wasn't anything that we felt heady about. We were probably treated the same by teachers and friends, and people didn't ooh and ah about us. I don't really ever feel any big famous thing, except, I suppose when we got other, we would go to Super Bowls or we'd be at dinner out, and people would ask for his autograph, and then it would start to go, "Oh, I guess he is something more than just our Pops." But really, we were just a normal family.

Judy Kemp Nolan: Yes, I think being younger, [James P.] Jimmy [Kemp] probably has a different experience as well, but I remember being in college, and they did a newspaper article on Jennifer and I.

Do you remember that? You were a senior in college. Because he wasn't running for president yet, but anyway. That to me, in high school, it didn't stand out because there were lots of Congressmen's children at our school, and diplomats. But when we went to college in Ohio, and people somehow found out that our dad was Jack Kemp, and then they did an article on us. It wasn't a big deal, didn't change any of my friends' opinions, but I remember thinking, "Oh my goodness, they want to do an article on us?" And then I remember we did *People* magazine when I was I think a senior in high school. You might have been at college.

Andrews: I remember that, and I remember *60 Minutes*.

Nolan: I remember thinking "Wow, that's a big deal. We're famous." You don't really recognize it until something like that happens.

Kondracke: *60 Minutes* and *People* magazine is not normal.

Andrews: No, right—

Nolan: My mom would downplay everything. She wouldn't like, "We have to get everything ready, everything has to be perfect. Change your hair, get your hair done." No, it was, she didn't pay attention to what you were wearing, she didn't pay attention to what *she* was wearing. She didn't make anything other than her Triscuits [snack cracker], which she made for everyone who came to the house. So it wasn't, my mom's not a fussy person, so I think you end up taking her cues, and she was really calm and the same with everyone. I think you're right, it was a big deal, but they downplayed it.

Kondracke: So, growing up you spend Sundays, you're not at the games, you're watching it on TV, but your dad is there?

Andrews: Well, we were very young, so Judith would be in kindergarten and I would be in third grade at the very end of his career. Again, I remember maybe watching a snippet on TV of him playing, but that wasn't our life. Our life was playing dolls and doing whatever we were doing, so for Jeff, for a boy who was in sixth grade, that's kind of a cool, big deal.

Nolan: Yes, he may have felt it more.

Andrews: I think he was on the sidelines and he got to pass around with some of the guys and he'd go to practices and summer camp sometimes, but for us it wasn't a big deal. I think later, looking at some of the films, it's remarkable to see "Wow, he had a good arm. He threw the heck out of that ball." Remember, just pounding it. And watching the highlight films of him getting tackled, and understanding where the scars came from. Because his knee was so demolished. Now looking at the films, we see, "Oh, [Ernest] Ernie Ladd fell on him in practice and caused that knee." So it's kind of in retrospect that I think we realize he was a pretty good athlete.

Kondracke: So your mom didn't go to the games, she stayed home with you.

Andrews: She stayed home.

Nolan: I'm sure she went to some of them. We probably wouldn't remember, because we had a babysitter and we wouldn't have even known, and she wouldn't have been—

Andrews: She just would have said, "Bye, I'll be home in two hours."
"I'm going to Daddy's office."

Nolan: And that's funny. I don't ever remember going to a game, I don't remember having to be bundled up. I bet they didn't take us to one game.

Andrews: Probably not. And I do think that the wives sat together in a certain section, and maybe occasionally they would go. And we had a babysitter, which was probably a treat. Martha [Dymschuck], probably.

Nolan: Right.

Kondracke: So, how much memory do you have of Buffalo?

Andrews: I've got a pretty decent memory of it, because after Dad ran for Congress in 1970, and won, I think he still had five years on his contract, so if he had lost he would have gone back to be their quarterback, albeit he had already played 13 years, so that was a long time being a quarterback. But I have a good recollection, because not only living there until 1970, but also we'd go back every summer.

Nolan: We rented a house.

Andrews: So in the off-seasons we would go back. We couldn't afford to keep a house in Bethesda and a house in Hamburg [New York], and we loved our house in Hamburg. But after renting it out for a while, the Haucks [phonetic] bought it, our good friends, and we had to rent a house in Hamburg to live for the summer. So that's where we spent our summers. And we had a few friends in Hamburg. It was a really sweet kind of growing up—

Nolan: An idyllic town.

Andrews: The perfect place to raise a family. People laugh about Buffalo, but man, I've got great memories. Either night skiing at Kissing Bridge, which was so close, or going to Niagara Falls.

Nolan: Or Lake Erie. It was really fun. Perfect temperature.

Andrews: Yes, it was a great place.

Kondracke: Why did you spend the summers in Buffalo?

Nolan: He would campaign up there, so we would go to the Erie County Corn Festival, and then the Cheektowaga Queen of—I don't know. It was always some silly thing that we got dragged to. We didn't care at all.

Andrews: Actually, we had fun.

Nolan: We had kids and Frisbees and free hotdogs.

Andrews: Well, it was a way for Dad to of course stay in contact. He had to constantly go back and forth, but many Congressmen now are living here in Washington, like Paul [D.] Ryan. We had our family together, and that was really important for us to have every night dinner after Congress got out. So since that was our school year plan, in the summer we didn't have that school year plan, so we all moved to Hamburg and we made it work. Jimmy and Jeff did their sports in Hamburg. Our family just moved there, and that way Dad could be with constituents, and he'd have to keep going back and forth, but I think it gave us that touchstone.

Nolan: Yes, he would still have to vote sometimes. But Mom was, they made very close friends in Buffalo, and she remained very close with her girlfriends. They had like six very close couples, so we would spend a lot of time with those families. For her it was probably, seems like the perfect thing. "Let's pick up the kids, get out of the humidity, get away from Washington, and be with my dear friends." So I can see that it was probably ideal for her. And it was for us too. Because it was a small town that was able to allow kids to bike into town. It was that lifestyle that we didn't have in Washington, which was very suburban and kind of car-driven.

Kondracke: There was a point at which there was an issue as to whether Jack Kemp really lived in his district.

Nolan: You had to keep a property in your district and in D.C., as I recall, and I remember my mom saying "We just have an apartment there." They had to get that apartment to say that they had a residency. But we thought that was such a silly law in that we were

definitely a part of Hamburg. We just didn't live there all year. And he could not afford to keep both houses.

Andrews: Yes, he actually had one, he had to rent it out because we couldn't afford it. We needed to be back there in the summer. Because he's from California, that's the—

Nolan: Maybe later in his career. By the time he was in '88, we probably did that for seven years. But he was a Congressman for 13 years, so by the end we're in high school. By the time I was in high school, we stayed in Washington, so we did not go back.

Andrews: That's true, that's true.

Nolan: So I bet they felt that he was a bit of a carpetbagger then. But, you know, he didn't start out that way.

Andrews: That's true. It got complicated when we were in high school because we needed to have jobs and our sports.

Nolan: And Jeff had to play football for Churchill [High School.]

Kondracke: So when did the summer business stop.

Nolan: I don't know.

Andrews: Probably when we were in high school.

Nolan: You were probably in high school; I was in junior high.

Andrews: Probably in 1977, '76, I don't know.

Nolan: Yes, early eighties maybe.

Kondracke: Not everybody in Bethesda has a congressman for a dad, especially one who was a pro football player, so—

Andrews: Actually, Judith, there weren't many—

Nolan: Gary [W.] Hart. I went to school with his kids.

Andrews: They lived across the street, okay.

Nolan: There were quite a few. I was good friends with Diane Nowak [daughter of Rep. Henry J. Nowak]. There were quite a few.

Andrews: The [family of Sen. Samuel A. "Sam" Nunn, Jr.] Nunns were not too far from us. But I'm thinking Churchill High School is a big public school, and, you're right, but everyone did something interesting, and they all had interesting jobs. No one really cared what anyone's dad did, because we were kids.

Nolan: Teachers didn't care either. I don't think they gave us preferential treatment. "How interesting, your dad just passed legislation." No.

Andrews: No one mentioned anything to us.

Nolan: In college I had professors that knew, especially my econ professors and poli-sci professors. That was more interesting. They would engage me. But in high school, not at all.

Andrews: In college I was an elementary education major, and no one asked me about that. I guess you were in poli-sci, so—

Kondracke: Basically you went through school with it not mattering to your friends, or no one was intimidated, or—

Nolan: There might have been some boyfriends that were intimidated.

Andrews: Yes.

Kondracke: How did Jack treat your boyfriends?

Andrews: I remember this one sweet boy. Dad loved just harassing him, and really liked him, but that's part of his love language, is just ribbing someone, and he would say, "Bill, how can you play soccer? It's a socialist sport." You know, fortunately the guys that I dated would be able to joke right back at him, and he loved that.

Nolan: It would have been intimidating for a lot of guys, I can see, because Dad had a very strong personality. Despite the fact that he was a somewhat famous politician, he was a really strong character, and he took up the whole room he was in. I remember thinking, "I'll meet you there. You don't have to come home and get me." And then it really made you think twice before bringing someone home,

because you wanted to make sure they were able to handle themselves. So it probably raised our standards slightly.

Kondracke: Did you warn them?

Nolan: Boyfriends? No, no.

Kondracke: That was part of the test, I guess.

Nolan: Probably.

Kondracke: Did he do homework with you?

Andrews: Not with me. The only thing I can remember is, of course any time we had a question on history, he loved Western Civ[ilization], loved history, as we all know, and he was always throwing books our way. Or "you've got to read this." Or "Here are two articles." So we had riveting debates and discussions on those topics. But as far as math, science, English, no we didn't.

Nolan: No. Mom was an English teacher, so she would correct your papers and give you editorial help. He really just entered in when it was in his wheelhouse, politics or history, he'd give you a book, go to the bookshelf.

Andrews: They were kind of hands-off in some of those issues.

Nolan: And it wasn't like they helped us with our homework.

Andrews: And today the parents are so different. They're micromanaging. And our parents really didn't.

Kondracke: What about doing well and getting good grades and stuff like that, how into that was he?

Nolan: Not so much. In my opinion it was important to them that you do well and you try your best, but I don't think they were, again, it reflects the same attitude my mom had about "Oh, *60 Minutes* is coming. Go upstairs and change." Do as well as you can, and your life is going to go fine. I don't think they had this, "You have to get into a good college." I don't think they had any of those long-term objectives that would have made them nervous or too interested.
What do you think?

Andrews: They never said, "You're a Kemp, you need to have straight A's," or anything like that. There was no pressure in that regard. A lot of inspirational, encouraging messages, but also, I remember, "Get back into your room and go study." I just remember living in my room in high school. No phone, no computers, of course, no TV.

Nolan: She'd catch us watching TV.

Andre3ws: Little things they were strict about, but it was just a given. You don't watch TV and you do your homework and you do your best, I guess I would say.

Kondracke: When you were talking about your dad throwing history or economics or something like that at you, "read this" and stuff like that, any vivid examples of that?

Nolan: I remember writing a paper in college on the War Powers Act, and he was trying to explain it to me, and it took a long time. It took some time, and it was confusing, and I would say something like "No, no no no." I remember him kind of getting frustrated, like you're not getting it, and he said "You just need to talk to—" It might have been Michelle [K. Van Cleave], for all I know. And they hooked me up with the Library of Congress. "You just need to get more information and read." The next day in the mail I got this entire package on the War Powers Act. And I still to this day, I think, "This is so much. How can I go through it?"

Andrews: He was into a lot of information, and it was a fire hydrant of information.

Nolan: And he could read tons—

Andrews: He might have sped-read. I don't know if he did that.

Nolan: Yes, he was a speed reader.

Andrews: I remember when he was sick, and he couldn't speak. You remember? He was having a hard time after a few months of cancer, he was having a hard time speaking, so he would have to whisper. And one of our kids had an assignment, a question about what role did the radio have in World War II? And so, I knew Dad would have some

kind of answer. So this child called up Grandpa and he whispered, and left the dinner table. Uncle Paul [R. Kemp, Jr.] was there and a few other people. He left the dinner table, and over the phone explained for about half an hour, Winston Churchill and his address to the British people. It really gave chills. We put it on speakerphone, and it was really moving, because his brain was still so intact and he cared so much about history. Because he often would say history is so important, it changes lives. You shouldn't repeat the ills of the past. Anyhow, that was just one thing that I remember when he was sick. But I do remember talking about Star Wars [Strategic Defense Initiative-SDI] at dinner and saying something stupidly, like, "Oh, I just wish they'd spend more money on education, not on Star Wars," and he just lambasted me and said, "Jennifer." And he went through how important it is to understand what you're saying and to think through the issues. And the next day I got piles and piles of articles and books to read. It did help me, I think, a little bit, be more thoughtful on just spouting out without thinking through some of the issues.

Kondracke: Any other examples besides Star Wars?

Nolan: Of him?

Kondracke: Educating you.

Nolan: On issues. Oh, my gosh, she's exactly right. During Iran-Contra, you could just bring home things that kids were saying and say, "This sounds horrible. Really, we did that?" And then he would go through, and take time to explain to you the logic behind it. He

was really quite, "lambast" may be too strong, because he was never—

Andrews: He was trying, with me, at dinner that night. The other one, I would say that I recall, would be Israel. He was so passionate about Soviet Jewry. He was so passionate Israel being for Israel. So, just the whole issue of the Middle East was so complicated, and you hear both sides, and you don't know what to believe. And you hear the media say this, and pundits say this, and so I remember Dad, well, I went with him to Israel, and I think that was one reason why he took us, because I had this interest in Israel. I knew it was special, and I studied the Bible, but I wanted to understand a little bit more. So he took [Allen] Scott [Andrews] and me on a trip, and yes, that was a blast.

Kondracke: That was after you were married.

Andrews: That was after we were married. I think I went once too, before we were married. I've been twice. You went once with—

Nolan: Mom and Grandma.

[pause]

Kondracke: If you did well in school, for example, did you get rewarded in some way?

Nolan: Not monetarily, but with a lovely note, a JFK-gram, sometimes on your pillow, absolutely telling you that the hard work

was worth it and aren't you glad you worked hard, and encouraging you to keep going in that direction.

Kondracke: Did you save your JFK-grams?

Nolan: She did.

Andrews: No, Judith, I didn't save those, I saved the ones in the last let's say 25 years, I guess. But I didn't save all those little cards. He used to—

Nolan: You'd get them like once a month.

Andrews: Right. And sometimes we would write him messages, too. I remember one bad report card you had.

Nolan: Oh, yeah. Well I'm a perfect case of it, because I got horrible grades, and I would just cry. And he was a real softy, so when you say did they—well, they should have come down harder on me and said, "You're capable of more," but they believed my little stories, like "I tried my hardest." And then he'd end up writing me a note, "I'm so sorry. I know you're trying." So sometimes he was too encouraging. He could have come down a little more. He didn't enjoy being the bad cop.

Kondracke: Did your mom play the bad cop? You had no bad cops in your family.

Nolan: She had to be the bad cop, but she wasn't that convincing.

Andrews: There was something about my dad that made us want to please him. He never raised his voice at us, he never really punished us, we didn't get time outs or too many spankings. I'm sure there were some spankings, but really, there was just something about him. He could just look at you and you wanted him to be pleased with your efforts and your leadership. He didn't have to give long speeches on that, it was just a given. You wanted to make him proud.

Nolan: Yes, and when we did disappoint him, you felt the disappointment, and it was all you needed. You didn't need harsh words. It was like he was disappointed, and you felt crushed.

Kondracke: Think of any examples?

Andrews: I can.

Nolan: I can too. I had a party in eighth grade, and my parents were out of town, at a Dartmouth football game, and they did that quite a bit, so it gave us a little bit more freedom than we maybe deserved, and we probably had a babysitter. But on this particular weekend I was with a friend, we broke into my house, had a party, cleaned it all up, went back home to that girl's house, and then Mom and Dad got home and they're like "This is so strange. There's all this beer in our kitchen. Do you know where it could have come from?" And I'm like, "I have no idea. That's crazy. Someone must have broken in and had a party." Of course my parents knew that it was me, but I didn't know that, so I lied to them for like three hours, in my room. And I couldn't come downstairs, so I'm just up there balling. And finally I come

down, and I'm like, "Oh, I lied." I remember my dad saying—they grounded me, and they were right to do so. What was your question? He didn't have to yell, and he didn't have to say much. Just disappointing him felt like crap.

Kondracke: Did you ever get spanked?

Andrews: I do recall some spankings, and I think it was a wooden spoon.

Nolan: By Mom, not by Dad. And she always did it calmly. That was her big thing. She didn't do it in anger. It was like, "You're going to get a spanking. I love you. And here's why."

Andrews: And she would do it quick and swift, and it was a wooden spoon.

Kondracke: Talk about these JFK-grams. So how often would you get them?

Nolan: I guess that's a little bit too much. In high school I felt like I got more than I did at other parts of my life, but it was after a ballet recital, I'd get one on my pillow, "Great job," even if he wasn't there. "Mom said you did a great job and I'm proud of you." So he clearly knew the power of communication and used it.

Andrews: He was such an encourager. We've all said this, but he also really showed gratitude. And I've noticed this. He had a way of making people understand and know that they are appreciated for

little things they did. He wrote letters to so many people to say thank you, and he always penned out his words. So I do have these letters that he's written when he was sick, when he was healthy, after a political loss. I guess those are the times that really test you, when things are not so good. So those are the times when mostly his words would flow and pages and pages of his cursive handwriting that are tender, and they're personal too. Even if he wrote it to all the kids and their spouses, he had a way of adding our names and little vignettes, and "Judith told me this," and "Scott, I was so proud of the fact that you love Jennifer so well." He had a way of personalizing these messages. And he wrote a bunch to our kids too, especially to our oldest son, Turner, and yes, they're tender, they're really sweet. And yes, he did have this heart that was big.

Kondracke: So you said that some of them were after political events.

Andrews: After a loss, after a campaign, the '88 campaign. And I remember sending him a note too, so it went both ways. We had this thing going on in our family where we all would send notes to each other, sometimes under the door. But I remember sending him one note. I found a quote that said, "Success is never final. Failure is never fatal. It's courage that counts." I think it was a Churchill quote, and since then I think I've seen it attributed to some different people, but that happens in life. And he loved that. I just said, "Daddy, I'm so proud of you," and gave him that quote, and he loved quotes, he loved these historical quotes, so he would use that in speeches down the road.

Kondracke: Was the JFK-gram on a certain kind of paper?

Nolan: Normally the short ones were on his calling card from Congress. You know, have you seen it? It's a really thick piece of card stock that's that big with lines on it, that says Jack Kemp at the top. It's index-card-sized, but it's—

Kondracke: Seal of the Congress and all that stuff? Jack Kemp—

Nolan: Yes, he was using the position at that point, like "Look at this!" We called those JFK-grams.

Andrews: And he'd send them to friends and colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

Nolan: "Thought you'd enjoy this article."

Andrews: Right. And then it ended up being "Here's a JFK-gram," and it would be just regular paper that he would use later.

Nolan: Yes, that's true.

Kondracke: There's one incident that I read in some article when he was about to run for the presidency. One of you was sick, or claimed to be sick and didn't want to go to school, and he said something like, "You can do anything you want to do. If you think you can do it, you can do it."

Andrews: That sounds like it could be either one of us.

Nolan: I don't remember it, though. I would say that he talked about leadership. He literally would tell you when you were going out with your friends, "Be a leader," he'd call after you.

Andrews: It's not really an option to miss school or to not do your best in your sport or whatever. No matter how bad things got, give it your all. That kind of thing.

Kondracke: "Be a leader," he said often.

Nolan: Absolutely, and it was a joke. He said it with a smile on his face. I would go to my ballet recital. "Be a leader." Whatever it was.

Andrews: But he also said it before we went out every Friday night. And we were rolling our eyes. "Be a leader." "Okay, Daddy."

Nolan: "I'll be a leader and lead the parade of kids into the—

Andrews: the abyss.

Kondracke: What did "Be a leader" mean?

Andrews: Don't go with the crowd. You know what is right, and you do it. He used to always talk about the quarterback position. Thank God Jeff and Jimmy went along with it, but he would say, "The quarterback is an important leadership." He really believed that we were supposed to not just be little pansies, that we had a calling, not to do great things. I think in our own world, wherever we were, he was pleased that I was a schoolteacher. He loved that. He thought

that was leadership. He talked to me over and over about the importance of a schoolteacher. For him that's leadership. Being a leader in your sports team. Not that you had to be captain. Even if you're not captain, what's your role? Are you following the crowd, or are you able to lift them up and encourage them?

Kondracke: Did he talk about his own leadership experience?

Nolan: No.

Kondracke: As a quarterback, or as—

Andrews: No. I think it was kind of a given. We kind of knew. Around the house there were some references to the fact that he was a quarterback, so it was just a given. He didn't talk like, "I'm a leader, and you're to be a leader." In fact, he was a leader, I think minority whip or something.

Kondracke: Yes.

Andrews: We didn't even really talk about that. He didn't really. It was just understated.

Kondracke: So leadership has to do with not following the crowd. Does that mean leading the crowd, or—

Nolan: Sometimes, I will say, they didn't define it very much all the times, so there were times in my head, "I am leading." You don't want to know where, but sometimes I'm a bigmouth, and I sometimes

would go into a room, "Okay, what are we going to talk about?" If we did those small groups in college, I was always taking charge. I thought, "I think this is what it means." I found myself not afraid of taking charge of the situation sometimes, and I think I got that, when I look back on it, from all those "Be a leader." But I don't know that's exactly what he meant. I think he probably meant don't follow the crowd.

Andrews: But he also talked a lot about [Ronald W.] Reagan, and I think that kind of leadership, if he ever talked about whoever else was running, there's something in Ronald Reagan that he saw as a leader. "Tear down the wall." Unafraid, and not just going along with what's going on in our country, but thinking forward to the future, thinking of next generations. But Reagan, it seems to me, was something that he did talk a lot about Reagan and that kind of leadership, and how important that is. That he didn't just want a political candidate to vote or to run against someone, you've got to be for something. He was always talking about that.

Nolan: Um hum. You can't be against the other candidate, you have to have a plan.

Andrews: Right. I hear his voice now, even during the campaign with [Willard Mitt] Romney, I hear him saying, "Okay, Mitt, you can't just talk about what Barak Obama did poorly. You have to offer solutions." So I think the leadership encompasses both of those.

Kondracke: Did he talk about his interactions with Ronald Reagan? Meetings—

Nolan: It was so commonplace—not commonplace. He was not braggadocious, and he wasn't impressed, "Girls, guess who I met with." He would never do that. It might come up in a conversation that he was off-handedly telling Mom. "Oh, you won't believe what [Richard D.] Dick Darman said," you know, whatever it was, you would hear that, but it wasn't bragging to us or bringing us into the pettiness of his day. You would just overhear it.

Andrews: Although at dinner we would have conversations, and whatever was going on on the floor of Congress, for example, was discussed at dinner. We discussed that at dinner. And probably they asked about homework and sports and stuff, but you're right. He didn't brag about his meetings or anything like that.

Kondracke: What impression about Reagan did you get from him?

Nolan: I don't remember getting an impression while Reagan was in office, because Dad was going about his very busy agenda too. So, I feel like I heard more about Reagan in '88, and definitely in '92. Then he was looking with that wide lens and saying, "Oh, my gosh. What a visionary. Look how he guided us." So, we got the idea, I think, that he admired him and he was glad that he worked for him, he was proud that he worked for him as governor in California, but it wasn't worship status by any stretch. I think it was admiration, pointing to his leadership qualities, and conservative principles.

Kondracke: Did he ever talk about what the word "Kemp" means?

Nolan: I knew it from growing up, and I can't remember. I can hear him saying something to Jeff like, "Do you know what Kemp means? It means be a leader. This is what we are."

Andrews: Champion, or whatever the definition was, but it's not like we talked about it a lot.

Kondracke: In your household were girls treated differently from boys?

Andrews: Heck, yes.

Nolan: Yes.

Kondracke: How so?

Nolan: We didn't care or know the difference. We had different chores. The boys would do more of the outdoor chores and we would set the table and clear the table.

Andrews: We didn't get cars, I'll tell you that. The boys got cars when they were 16. We kind of still ream them about that. I remember when Dad was dying, I said, "Dad, by the way"—because they say that the last thing you lose when you're dying is your hearing—and so remember I said, and I'm holding his hand, and I'm like, "Hey, Dad, we forgive you about not getting cars when we were 16." He didn't respond, and we've laughed about it since then, but I do remember Jeff getting a Jeep at 16, and they said, "Well, he needs to get to football practice." And it made sense. I'm like, "Well, what

about my tennis practice?" "Well, you can get a ride with Christy up the street." I did get a car eventually, when I was student teaching in college.

Nolan: Yes, just the fact that they gave the boys middle names, Jeffrey Allen Kemp and James Paul Kemp, but we did not get middle names. This was the age of the preppy monograms, and Jennifer and I were just looking at them like, "How could you have not given us a middle name?" And my mom saying, "Well, Kemp will be your middle name when you get married." You know, very sexist.

Andrews: And we said, "What if we don't get married?"

Nolan: "Well, you *will* get married." We were pretty aware that it was some old-fashioned values in our house that women are—

Andrews: But they also just loved us for who we were. We were often called "Girls, girls, come down." We were lumped together because Judith and I were in the middle of the boys, Jeffrey, of course being the oldest, and Jimmy, being six years younger than Judith. So Judith and I were happily clumped together. We didn't really mind it because we were friends also, even though we were three years apart. So we were relegated to that kind of, don't you think?

Nolan: Yes.

Andrews: We were clumped together. So we didn't have a lot of alone time throwing, like the boys may have gone out, dad and son, throwing football back and forth for hours, or going on trips.

Kondracke: They did that.

Andrews: Yes. Or going on trips, or whatever boys do.

Nolan: Well, we did go on trips. They were pretty even when it came to trips, but Dad would spend, oh gosh, hours downloading after a football game, and he had not as much to relate to my ballet. More to relate with your tennis, I mean, he'd play tennis with you. But unless you, like I said, were in his wheelhouse, it was hard for him to relate to what it was like to put a ballet performance on. So, there wasn't a ton of talk, but it didn't bother me in the least. My mom was, again, really good at picking up any slack, like "Oh, yes, that's normal. Most dads don't talk about ballet." She never, "Jack, you should do this with the girls." You never heard her say that. If she did, she didn't do it in front of us.

Andrews: Somehow we felt really loved, and appreciated, and didn't have a chip on our shoulder.

Nolan: Yes.

Kondracke: Did he ever go to ballet recitals?

Nolan: Yes. He went to, I'm sure, a couple.

Kondracke: Because he knew about ballet, didn't he? His mother supposedly took him to ballet.

Nolan: Well he took me to the ballet a lot. He loved going to the Kennedy Center, and we would get good tickets and go see "Swan Lake."

Andrews: He loved ballet.

Nolan: So, absolutely he was involved. I'm sure he missed recitals, because I remember that, but then as I got older, in high school he wouldn't miss them. It was one a year, and they would schedule it, I remember my mom, the minute she got that date, would put it on Sharon's calendar and say—

Andrews: And you played piano, and you had that in common with Dad, and Dad played.

Kondracke: I didn't know that. He played piano?

Andrews: In fact

Kondracke: Did you have a piano in the house?

Andrews and Nolan: Yes. We all took piano lessons.

Andrews: Some of us longer, and some of us were better, but I do remember, Judith and I went on a trip with Dad to Central America—Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, during the Contra [Nicaraguan rebel fighters] thing, right? It was a privately funded trip, and we were thrilled to be able to go. And I remember being in Costa Rica, walking in that front lobby—

Nolan: Of the Ambassador's house.

Andrews: Was that it?

Nolan: I think so.

Andrews: And he sat down and played "Clair de lune," and it was perfect. We were sitting there going "This is surreal." It was lovely.

Nolan: He played it flawless[ly], from his childhood.

Andrews: Not that he could play many songs, but "Clair de lune" he could just sit down and play and it was gorgeous.

Kondracke: So he took piano lessons when he was a kid.

Andrews: When he was a kid.

Nolan: And so did all the brothers. Their mom made them. And I don't think he liked it, and he would say, "I regret not studying it more. Stick with it. It's a great habit to form." And then Uncle [Thomas P.] Tom [Kemp] ended up doing it later in life, and became very accomplished. He was 70, I think, when he picked it up again. Their mom loved music.

Kondracke: So he did go to boys' football games.

Nolan: He wouldn't miss.

Kondracke: He wouldn't miss.

Andrews: He would change his schedule around football games, absolutely.

Nolan: I would even venture he probably even missed a vote over going to a football game, so—

Andrews: Not many. He was pretty good as far as voting, but it's true that he would fly from California to New York back to Maryland to go to a game, and then back to New York again, just so that he could be at a game.

Nolan: Um hm.

Andrews: And I think he came to a few tennis matches, but not many. And he'd talk to me about the matches. I never really felt that hurt about it, but I loved ribbing him and just teasing him.

Nolan: I think I remember by the time you were in high school playing high school tennis, that he came to a match, and I remember being there, and a lot of people kind of pointing, "Oh, that's Jack Kemp." So I was just going back to his earlier question.

Andrews: My partner, we played doubles, and we were the number one undefeated. Stacy Roth, remember?

Nolan: Yes.

Andrews: And it was funny because he was doing Kemp-Roth bill at the time, so he thought that was hysterical.

Nolan: Yes, "Kemp-Roth, Kemp-Roth." That's right.

Andrews: And he loved tennis, and I think that I loved tennis because it was one way I could connect with him. This is before I knew I wanted to teach school, so this was my only thing, and I would spend hours practicing against the backboard and begging to play with Dad, and he'd go out and play with me, and that's how I think I developed my competitive nature, because I wanted to spend time with the boys.

Kondracke: So how often would he play with you?

Andrews: On weekends. Every weekend we would—he'd throw a football with the boys, and, if he could, he had a solid game with Barney [J.] Skladany and [Stanley] Stan Holland, and a few other guys that he had games with—and then if I could grab him. And it wasn't every weekend, but during nice weather, and because we lived close to Mater Dei School, which had a tennis court, so you'd walk behind the house, through the woods, to this tennis court. We acted like it was ours.

Nolan: And it was. On weekends it was perfect.

Andrews: And no one ever played there. Our family loved sports. We loved skiing together, we loved playing tennis, we loved competition, water skiing, though we didn't do a lot of water skiing,

but that was kind of part of their past because they're Californians. So it was important for everybody to learn these sports. Did you not learn to water ski?

Nolan: I never learned. It was very frustrating to him.

Kondracke: You didn't do any sports?

Nolan: I could not water ski. I hated it. I didn't want to do it. And he tried to teach me to dive and I couldn't do it, and I was seven years old and I still couldn't dive. They were all athletes and I really wasn't. I just didn't like putting myself out there. And I remember, I could sense that he was frustrated, but it didn't matter to me. It's not worth it. I'm not going to get my head wet and get water up my nose just because he wants me to do it. So I must have been very secure to be, "I don't need his love like that."

Kondracke: So you didn't play any sports.

Nolan: I didn't. I did play tennis. I just wasn't very good. I didn't often play.

Andrews: You were a cheerleader, and that's kind of athletic, right?

Nolan: Yes. Ballet is athletic. I just wasn't into competitive sports.

Andrews: And you skied. You're a good snow skier.

Nolan: Yes.

Kondracke: Didn't you get a car because you beat him in a tennis match?

Andrews: Right. He probably had to get me one anyhow, but nonetheless.

Kondracke: What was that?

Andrews: Well, I was a senior in college, and student teaching was coming up. It was imperative that I—I went to Miami [University] of Ohio—it was imperative that I was able to get from Oxford to my public school to do my six-month whatever teaching job, and I remember that summer, practicing every day, and saying, "Dad, look. If I can beat you." And I'd get a few games, and finally he said, "Okay, Jen, if you can beat me a set." And I hadn't been able to work that hard to get a set from him. And when I did, the car didn't come right then and I didn't get to pick the car. But I remember coming back from church with Kelly [Ryan] one night, it was a Sunday night, and I came back, so it might have been two, three weeks later, came home, and in the driveway was my little Honda Civic with a bow, a huge red bow on it, and a big cardboard poster that said "You win" in his handwriting.

Nolan: He was a good gift giver.

Andrews: It was cute. He loved, he did love giving gifts.

Nolan: It wasn't effusive. It's just when he did it, he liked to make a big splash. He loved to be told thank you.

Kondracke: What are your favorite gifts?

Nolan: I remember he got my mom a fur coat one time, and she didn't really want it. She was just like, "Thank you." And he was incredulous, like, "You love it, right?" He so wanted to be a big, splashy gift giver sometimes. He couldn't do it very often, because they didn't have a ton of money, but I just remember that one. When I say good gift giver, I don't think I ever got anything equivalent of an iPad. Nothing so dramatic. But they would take time on your birthday and watch you open your gifts. He would make us go slow at Christmas, and he'd say, "No, no, no Jimmy, don't open that. Judith's opening that one." Because he wanted to hear you say thank you. He paid attention that they had gotten the gift, it could have been Mom, but, it's not like he wanted the credit, but he loved watching you be happy, and then, I think it was a great joy of his to make his children happy. And his dad did that. His dad spoiled them, remember that?

Andrews: And they didn't have a lot of money.

Nolan: Right, they didn't have a lot of money, and the mom would have been much more practical, but the dad would every once in a while do something a little spontaneous.

Andrews: And I remember the cards, the pomp and circumstance was important.

Nolan: Yes.

Andrews: The cards, and the little—

Nolan: The card as much as the gift.

Andrews: But I do remember getting for graduation from high school—

Nolan: Because he wrote on the card. He wouldn't just give you a Hallmark card. There was a letter to you in the birthday card.

Andrews: Right. It wasn't graduation. It was a Christmas present. But I got a pair of skis. And I was so used to skiing on any old skis that he had or Jeff had or Mom had, and I was so tickled. And they didn't have a lot of extra money. We never went out to dinner, really. And we didn't go to the movies a lot. We went on that trip skiing every year and that was a big splurge. So it wasn't the monetary amount, it was just, gosh, the thought that goes into a pair of PRE skis, like my own, are you kidding me? That was huge. But most of our gifts, honestly, were a series of books, and I remember graduating from college and high school, and I think I got, who [are] the historians, the couple?

Nolan: [William J.] Will and Ariel Durant.

Andrews: Durant. So I got those series, history books, like, "Ah, thanks, Dad."

Nolan: Yes, that's what I got for college graduation too.

Andrews: And like really, I could have taken the cash, but, so, I never read them. And I'm reading them now, actually, which is quite funny. After he died, I got them out and I started reading them, and some of them were really dry.

Nolan: Well he would never want you to read them. He used them as a reference. He'd watch a movie on Napoleon, then he'd go look at the chapter on Napoleon. He'd be like, "Joanne, did you know this? Did you know this?" So I loved that about his curiosity. I feel like he always dove into those as little nuggets instead of reading it cover-to-cover, because they are boring.

Andrews: Okay. See, I try to read it cover-to-cover. That's what I'm missing.

Kondracke: Sundays, tell me about Sundays. How did Sundays go?

Nolan: We always went to church; we never missed. We didn't even question it. And they didn't have to impose it. It was just such a habit that you didn't even think about it. And then it was just the best. My mom would make amazing food, and he would be watching television, football games, so you knew he was going to be there, she was going to be producing some good food, so you could come in and out, watch for a little while, go do some homework, go out with your friends. But there was just this consistent, great smells and football on TV.

Kondracke: And he would sit there and watch both games, or—

Nolan: Oh, gosh.

Andrews: I think at some point there were two TVs, right? Because he had to have two, and they had to put extra satellites on top of the house that looked ridiculous, because they had to be able to get, I think it was the Canadian Football League, which didn't come on network TV. That was fun. There was a sense, even as kids growing up, as adults, we'd walk in that door, and there's something about being in that house and having your dad. He was just so thrilled. You are the most important person. So I just remember him getting up from his chair, and he had his chair, his leather chair, and he had control of the driver, but as he got older it was fun to see him put it on mute. I remember, when he started doing that mute thing, and he would listen—

Nolan: Actually talk to us.

Andrews: Wow. So, it's fun to see the evolution of Dad being a little bit more thoughtful and sensitive. Because he used to, I remember him kind of barking at Mom, "Joanne, do you have any more Triscuits?" And Triscuits are not just the Triscuits, the crackers. It's this concoction that she makes from different ingredients that go on top of the Triscuits, that go in the broiler and have to be done at a certain temperature. So when he'd say, "Hey, Joanne, do you have any more Triscuits?" Or "Joanne, get the phone." He used to be more barky at Mom, and I noticed, at least, as we got older, that softened, I think.

Nolan: Yes, in a way.

Kondracke: So he's sitting there watching football. Is he critiquing the quarterbacks?

Nolan: He's reading newspapers, he's clipping articles, he's got a pile of things to take to the office here, a pile of things to put in—not a file drawer, but a file that he's going to leave here—he's ripping this editorial and he's doing that and watching games. So he's working. He was just never happier than watching football and, you know, he could be reading a history book. If it was a boring game, you'd see him reading and checking on it. I don't feel like he was cheering, like "Oh, they have to win." I don't remember that kind of dad that's like, "Darn it, they lost." It wasn't that. He was actually watching the game for more intellectual purposes than who won. And he would talk about it with the boys, maybe, but, I don't know. We picked up a lot of football.

Kondracke: I'll talk to the boys about the science of quarterbacking.

Andrews: Yes. He would critique the plays, and what the coach was calling. But he didn't get riled up.

Nolan: No.

Andrews: And some people get so mad and so frustrated.

Nolan: Yes. He wasn't attached to any particular team. Of course, he wanted the [Buffalo] Bills to win.

Kondracke: Then did you have a dinner afterwards?

Nolan: Oh, yes. We ate dinner every single night, seven days a week. It wasn't just Sundays. So Sunday was almost like any other day. Great meal with a salad, a little cottage cheese, then there's a dessert always. It was unbelievable. Now that we're both mothers and have to feed children, we just can't believe how much she did. They didn't have take-out and they never went out to eat. It's crazy. She was just a food machine.

Kondracke: What time was dinner?

Nolan: Eight, and sometimes 8:30. It was late. We would wait for him to drive back from voting, a lot of times, and we'd be starving.

Kondracke: He walks in the house and you sit down right away?

Nolan: Yes, because it's been all waiting, and it's hot.

Kondracke: How did it go? Did he ask you about your day? How did those dinners go, typically?

Andrews: It was a mishmash of what went on during the day. It's not like he wanted us to perform, or really hold court, but conversation just kind of flowed. Whatever was going on in anyone's day. And mostly it did revolve, I have to say, about what went on in Congress, what was going on at the time.

Nolan: And a lot of times I feel like Mom and Dad, he would be telling her inside stuff that we really weren't all that knowledgeable about, and I remember—I know you [will] ask this in the future—I remember her being a wonderful sounding board for him on, "You won't believe what he did." And she's like, "Well, remember he's the one that helped you pass that other piece of legislation." That's just an example, but she was, really knew his business, so he could come home and not have to back up too far to get her up to speed. So she knew what was going on in Congress, and maybe they talked on the phone, she knew what vote was up. He definitely would download on what happened in Congress, and she was a great sounding board. I feel like we would just more listen. But we certainly talked at the dinner table, "How was school?"

Kondracke: Do you have any especially vivid memories of dinner table conversations?

Andrews: I've got memories of him coming home with these jokes. He just thought it was hysterical to tell the jokes, the good news and bad news jokes about the Viking Ship, and the captain of the ship. Anyhow, I just remember him coming home and telling us jokes. I can vividly recall where I sat, where everybody sat.

Nolan: And everyone had the same seat every time.

Andrews: And then the Star Wars conversation, I remember that.

Nolan: I remember being drilled. This is about my siblings, but you guys knew I wasn't very good at the multiplication facts, so you would quiz me on them at the dinner table.

Andrews: Oh.

Nolan: And so every once in a while he'd be there, and I'd be especially embarrassed if I didn't know them quickly. We, of course—you alluded to this—but the Thanksgiving dinner table where I was spouting off on the theories of women not being able to communicate, because semantically we have been suppressed, and I was just going on a tangent. My dad looks down, it's like, "Joanne, who's paying for that college class?" And that just made the [Charles and Carol] Marcks laugh so hard.

Andrews: And I remember you took a class called French Feminism, and he said, "I understand that you've become a feminist, Judith. But how did you become French?" He just loved it.

Nolan: Yes, he thought it was funny.

Kondracke: So it was funny. Did you have visitors? Did he bring people in that you guys ate with and stuff like that?

Nolan: Yes. At least once or twice a month.

Andrews: I'd say more than that, because really, instead of, I do remember in high school we didn't go out as much as our other friends would have gone out because, "Your dad is home." And they're like,

"Your dad's home. So what? You go out." On the weekends it's really important, so if he's home, you were basically home, a lot of times. And I do remember instead of going out to dinner, Dad would always invite the person or persons to come. "Oh, that's fine. Joanne is making macaroni and cheese," or ham loaf, or whatever, and Mom just took it in stride and would make do with whatever she had. It wasn't fancy or anything, but we would eat in the dining room on those occasions always, rather than our little breakfast room. So yes, we would have the kitchen cabinet guys over all the time, right?

Kondracke: Like who?

Andrews: [Newton L.] Newt [Gingrich], and [C.] Trent Lott and [John V.] Vin Weber, and David [A.] Stockman, for a while, and [Arthur B.] Art Laffer and Jude [T.] Wanniski.

Nolan: Jeane [J.] Kirkpatrick.

Andrews: Jeane Kirkpatrick came over a lot. And I still recall her slow, intellectual banter, and explaining, and she was so sweet. She was such a sweetie.

Nolan: Yes.

Andrews: So smart.

Nolan: She would also help us learn the issues too. She would take some time to explain [them.]

Andrews: She really did take time.

Kondracke: What would a conversation with Jeane Kirkpatrick be like?

Nolan: The adults would be talking and debating an issue, and get heated.

Kondracke: The kids are sitting there.

Andrews: We're listening.

Nolan: Every once in a while my mom would have us serve, and if there were too many people and she couldn't fit us all, I don't know if you feel like this, but we had to serve a lot. But most of the time we're sitting there listening. And we would pull chairs up, because it was interesting. It was fascinating.

Andrews: And it's not that we would have side conversations—

Nolan: Yes.

Andrews: —because at the table, the main conversation was going on about whether it was gold standard or interest rates or tax, whatever the issue was, it didn't matter, and it could change like this [snapping fingers]. We weren't whispering or giggling or going off to do anything else. We just sat and mostly listened, and occasionally, if you got gutsy enough to ask a question, you would. But in those settings typically, I think we, at least Judith and I, would mostly sit and just absorb, and it was normal. It was just what we were used to doing.

Kids today many times aren't able to just even sit and listen to a conversation where they're not maybe the center of attention. It was kind of par for the course for us.

Nolan: Yes.

Kondracke: Does any of these visiting sessions stand out in your memory as really special?

Nolan: Jeane Kirkpatrick taking time to explain an issue to me. I knew she was secretary [U.S. ambassador to] of the UN [United Nations], maybe at that time, or maybe past, and I remember thinking "This is huge. This lady, who knows so much and is so important in the world is taking time, and she cares." And I felt that way with Jude Wanniski too. I felt like he was really personable.

[pause]

Kondracke: Paint me a word picture of Jude Wanniski and his influence on your dad.

Nolan: Well, we talked about earlier that he had a style very unique in the circles we ran in. He came in in very different clothes. Dark shirts and slicked-back hair, so he looked different. And then he was as much of a presence as my dad, and I remember being struck that Dad could command the table conversation; when Jude was there, Jude could. Saying it actually makes me realize that it was very unique to have someone that Dad had to yield to as much as he had to.

Kondracke: What did he yield about?

Nolan: Just the floor of the dinner conversation. If Jude wanted to change the subject, he would. And if he wanted to cut Dad off and say "You're absolutely wrong on that," he got away with it, whereas other people wouldn't, and wouldn't have dared. I feel like Jude had more chutzpah than some other people that you would have thought might have. Because I feel like Dad had that personality, even if it was a strong person. Dad could sometimes get the last word, he could summarize, "Okay, here's what we're going say about this issue. Let's move on to the next one." But Jude had the ability to do that. And then the surprising part to me that he took a personal interest in us children, and I think he was—

Kondracke: How so?

Nolan: He helped me change my major from mass communications to political science, because he came in and asked me, "What are you studying at college?" Listened to my answers, and then looked at my dad, "Why is she studying that crap?" And he might have used a bad word, which, again, my parents didn't ever cuss, so that would have stood out about Jude. And so he asked me what I was interested in, and followed the train of thought enough to finish the conversation ten minutes or 15 minutes later with "You should be studying political science. That's what you should change your major to." Went back to college and changed it.

Kondracke: And Jude was always trying to promote your dad as president and all of that, so do you remember any specific conversations about how he was trying to help your dad advance?

Nolan: Specific conversations, no. I definitely think you're right. He was a cheerleader of Dad, and I can hear him trying to convince Dad to take a more active role in the next step he was going to make, and kind of wishing Dad would assert himself more. We can go on to Dad's political lessons, but if other people didn't want to build him up, he wasn't going to build himself up. Whereas Jude wanted Dad to do that for himself. And if he wasn't going to, "Well then I'm going to call the *New York Times* and give them this article." So yes, I feel that he helped him in that way, and it was something that wasn't natural to my dad's personality, to self-promote.

Kondracke: Jude wasn't as much of a presence in your life?

Andrews: I remember lots of times with Jude.

Nolan: Yes, you might have been in college when the Jude Wanniski—

Andrews: I do remember Art Laffer writing the Laffer Curve on a napkin, and again, it was just part of our life, so it wasn't history then, it was just kind of explaining, "Look, this is what I'm talking about. This would really work. This is the rate at which you're going to get decreased results. If you're going to tax something, you're going to get less of it." Just listening to these guys over and over again debate and hash it out. It was a fun way to grow up, but it was just what we knew.

Kondracke: David Stockman, what was he like?

Nolan: I got the sense that they were more polite dinner companions. They would come over for dinner, because my dad hated going out to dinner, and I just felt there was not a warmth or a personal connection as much as other people. So it was a little more businessy, let's talk policy. I didn't feel that we were personal friends, and I didn't have that personal relationship with him.

Andrews: And then again, it was cut off, and now, in retrospect, I think I understand a little bit more, because he was blaming some of the Republicans and probably Dad, and he went further away from the gold standard, and I forget if it was interest rates, or what the issues were, and balanced budget, but there were so many butting head issues, that that relationship really just kind of was severed.

Nolan: And that was unusual to have a relationship go like that, and that stood out in my mind, because I'm like, "What? You never see the Stockmans anymore?" So they must have had a falling out that we—

Kondracke: Didn't he also have a falling out with Jude later on?

Nolan: Yes, but I was out of the house by then.

Kondracke: Right. Some other people whose names come up all the time, Irving Kristol? Anybody else who was a frequent visitor—what was the relationship like with Newt Gingrich?

Nolan: Close and cute and fun. Newt was a great dinner guest. Engaging, personable.

Andrews: And could spar with Dad. Talk about the energy and the stories and debating. Well, he's a history teacher, so just when you thought you couldn't get any more history or inundated with any more, you got Newt Gingrich. And he wasn't married, or he was between whatever, but he was always by himself when I recall him coming over a lot.

Nolan: Yes, that's true.

Andrews: The Lotts. Both of them would come over. [Patricia T.] Trisha [Lott] and Trent would come over, and sometimes [Chester T.] Chet [Jr.], I think, their son, I remember him playing guitar and singing.

Nolan: That was Thanksgiving.

Andrews: Thanksgiving. But the Lotts would come over.

Nolan: Yes, I do remember them coming over a lot.

Kondracke: Did he have any Democratic friends who came over?

Andrews: Sam Nunn.

Nolan: [Henry J.] Hank Nowak. And then they had personal friends that were Democrats. I'm trying to think of political leaders. I mean they were good friends with the Nunns and the Nowaks.

Andrews: I'm sure there were others.

Kondracke: Did he ever talk about his rivals, like Bob Dole?

Nolan: I say no. What do you say?

Andrews: I would say that they were just on different pages. I think for many conversations, that I would overhear things.

Nolan: Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.

Andrews: Just knowing the philosophies, I think I would tend, and it wasn't anything personal, it was just, I think they did butt heads.

Nolan: And policy.

Andrews: And policy. Dad was so outspoken and he knew it, and he knew that he drove some of them crazy, and I remember him saying, "Ah"—

Nolan: "He worships at the shrine of a balanced budget."

Andrews: Right. But he'd be frustrated because people in the administration might not be embracing him, or he might have to get in to say something to Reagan or to [George H.W.] Bush or whomever,

and to get in the door he had to get by all the peeps [people], and that was hard and frustrating, and he would get it out at home and express his frustration, but we got it, because he can be a pain. He can be persistent and chatty and think that he's right, so we could understand. They don't want to hear you. I'm not sure we said it to him, but—

Nolan: Yes. Domineering, he can be domineering.

Kondracke: What do you mean?

Nolan: He could control a conversation and not let anyone else in, and sway it.

Andrews: If he knows he's right. Not if he thinks he's right, because he's right. So he had this power of persuasion and he didn't want to let you leave until you understood what he understood it to be. There was just such passion there.

Kondracke: Do you think that your dad's outlook on life changed over time?

Nolan: Absolutely, I think like, hopefully, most of us does. Just one clear example to me is that I think he was very busy in his life and didn't do a lot of the details and left that to my mom, like changing a baby's diaper or babysitting a child or something like that, childcare. And when my daughter Jennifer was born, he was fascinated with her, and he would take her to all his HUD [U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development] meetings, and he took her up on stage and

paraded her, and just went gaga over this baby. And my mom and I would just laugh, and she said, "He didn't do this with you guys." And he changed a diaper one time. We had to leave him at home for just like 20 minutes. We're like, "Are you sure you can handle it, Dad?" Mom and I went to do something. He came up and he was so proud. He changed her diaper. He said, "I believe that's the first diaper I ever changed." My mom said "*I know* it's the first diaper you ever changed." So I thought that was such a softening. And again, he just didn't have time, and my mom never faulted him for that or asked him to change, so it wasn't like it was a bitter contention thing.

Andrews: They seemed to have a division of labor, don't you think?

Nolan: Absolutely. So the fact that he would realize on his own, and I think he even said something like "I missed a lot." So yes, that grandfather becoming soft was absolutely a treat for me to see.

Andrews: I remember one time when he was babysitting in Sacramento. Maybe it was you, or me, but the story is that whoever it was, he was taking a shower. He was babysitting, but babysitting a toddler, and the little toddler is naked, and gets out of the house in Sacramento, and here he'd been in the shower, so he has to throw on a towel, running down the street to find his child. But as far as how he changed, I would say, dramatically, especially in the last year of his life, because when one recognizes weaknesses and has to face what you're facing, the end of your life, I mean we're all dying, so when you're faced with a diagnosis that says, well, you've got so many weeks or months to live, it puts it all in a whole new perspective. And he didn't really want to talk about death, ever. I recall him specifically

saying, "Don't ever give me a funeral. Don't ever have a memorial service for me." He never wanted to address that, and it might have gone back to his Christian Scientist upbringing. It's just not something that they talked about. When Grandma and Grandpa died, Grandma and Grandpa Kemp, there wasn't a service for them. And I remember saying to Mom, "He's going to be gone. He's not going to know the difference." And she's like, "I know." She was patient, she understood what his background was, and yet I saw this man being able to, he pulled Jeff and me into the living room and sat us down and talked about his future passing away, and he said, "When I'm gone, I want to make sure you take of Mom." Talking so much in loving terms about "taking care of this precious woman. I want to make sure that there's no complications. You can have a service for me." We're like, "Thanks." And he talked about a memorial service, and he said "I want it at Fourth Presbyterian Church." Jeff and I were like kicking each other, because for so long you could never talk about death. So there were things like that that he was able to comfortably share. He said, "I want you kids to talk at my service." It was so freeing and lovely, and my kids saw a man who was courageous. He never complained. And they've written essays for an English composition on how proud they are of their grandpa. And when I read it, it's interesting because they saw this giant of a man whose body used to be just so buff, and he used to walk on hands on the beach, right? When we were growing up he was just always doing sports, in great shape. They saw a different side of him. They saw at the end a weaker boned man, who couldn't speak as much, he didn't need as much attention. He was able to let us take care of him, he was much more humbled, he was peaceful. And they saw these things. It was really neat for them because they'd say, "I've never been so proud of

someone, because he's courageous and he doesn't complain, he's got a good attitude. And that for them meant more than the rock star that he might have been in Congress, or that they heard about on the football field. They saw a man who cared about others and who was really selfless. He was really precious and tender. So, I do think he changed.

Nolan: Yes.

Kondracke: When you guys were growing up, was there ever any time that he really aggravated you?

Andrews: Parents certainly can be aggravating. I think that my mom aggravated us a little bit more than Dad. I don't know why that is.

Nolan: Because he never had to play bad cop. He didn't aggravate us very often. She allowed him to come in and be the hero all the time. Because he wasn't home all that much, compared to a regular nine-to-five job, so she kind of facilitated him being the hero a little bit. So aggravate? Now, having said that, once someone is used to being the center of the universe at work and home, he could be demanding and curt, and the older we got, feels like the more he was that way with Mom, and we hated that. I remember him getting ready to go on a business trip and he couldn't find his socks, and he's, "Joanne, where are my socks?" And we're all, "Go look for them yourself!" It was just, you're older now and so you don't take their habits very well, so that was aggravating. He was never aggravating to us. He just—

Andrews: No, because he didn't micromanage, so they gave us a leash, in a way. But I do remember being aggravated by his lack of patience, maybe with silly things, like a longer lift line in Colorado. So we'd be skiing and—

Nolan: Probably because of his knee.

Andrews: Oh, that's probably true, but I just remember he's like "Ahhhh, I can't believe this long line. Ugh."

Nolan: Yes, that's true.

Andrews: And he would just get impatient, and I remember him going up kind of too close to the guy's skis in front of him, and this guy, I remember, turned around and gave him an evil look, and Dad almost was like, tough guy, and I just remember going, "You're kidding." Not that he would get in a fight, but I thought there are certain little impatience issues. He didn't like cloudy days. If he went to Laguna [Beach, CA], to Uncle Tom's house, he wanted the weather to be perfect. These are silly things, but—

Nolan: He became a little bit of a prima donna after the private jets and everything else, so it became a little bit annoying.

Kondracke: He was sort of notoriously impatient, I mean, driving, for example.

Nolan: But it's amazing. Those stories. He put on his best face for us, because—I don't think we knew that until we were adults.

Andrews: He was a good driver, but he should have been a race driver, because he was a fast driver, zipping in and out of traffic.

Nolan: It was so funny, the impatience he had with the people that were driving him to the airport. That came out during the thing [September 6, 2012 Oral History Symposium, On the Road with Jack Kemp] but it was hysterical. But we would have never, he was always in the driver's seat, so we never had him be impatient with us.

Andrews: I'll tell you what I didn't like. We love Sharon Zelaska, I mean Sharon ran everything, but he was curt. But he was curt almost like, "She can handle it, you know. It's Sharon." That bothered us. Just like the barking sometimes he would do to Mom. So we would speak up. I got in a few little tete-a-tetes with him about the way that he would speak to Sharon or, and he'd say, "Oh, you know, she's great. She knows. She makes it all happen." Taking it for granted a little bit.

Nolan: He would get a little mad at you for raising it, and then he would laugh at himself and diffuse the moment.

Andrews: Right.

Kondracke: What words come to mind when you think of the relationship between your mom and your dad?

Nolan: Compatible.

Andrews: They never fought, which is really amazing. I think of, as a married couple, you know you marry someone who's typically opposite of you. Now I know that they had so many things that drew them together, and she really appreciated his business and his life, football. She got it all.

Nolan: Supportive.

Andrews: She was supportive. And they were compatible. They didn't fight or nag at each other.

Nolan: What else? To a certain extent, separate worlds, but that was pretty common back then. She kept very busy, and had her own life, and then—

Kondracke: Basically around the religion, I mean around the church and Christianity?

Nolan: No, not necessarily. She had International Club.

Andrews: Soviet Jewry was a huge group that she was involved with. Prison Fellowship, her Bible studies, her international groups. Some of them were church-related.

Nolan: So it's not like she was doting in the sense that when he walked through the door her whole life stopped. She acted that way, but she had a full life on her own, and I remember being very impressed with that.

Andrews: She didn't complain, and that was lovely.

Nolan: And when he travelled, she loved it. She's like, "Oh, God, I've got this to do and this done, this done." So she was so supportive and so yielding her schedule to his, and yet she didn't stop her life at all, it's just she stopped it for the time he came home.

Andrews: One thing that impressed me, Judith, is that she never complained about Dad having to travel. And they did travel a lot together, but when he did have to be away, she would say, "Oh, let's do a treasure hunt dinner." She never gave us the impression that she was "Oh, woe is me. Dad's travelling." She never acted like that, and we just kind of took it in stride.

Nolan: She had his back. She had his back a lot. She could have complained to us.

Kondracke: Various people have said that she was his ground, grounded him. Is that accurate, and what does it mean?

Nolan: Well, I think that when you know someone since college, they had a history together. She knew his family, he knew hers. If he came in high and mighty, I think that knowing that someone knows where you came from and knows that you've got these children, and that's the most important thing in your life, I think that grounds you. Just looking at her face probably grounded him, like, "Oh, that's right. This is what it's all about." He knew that, and she didn't have to say it. That's how he wanted to live. She represented his best aspirations for himself.

Kondracke: Tell me what you know about their courtship at Occidental.

Andrews: They were both in fraternities, so he was an ATO [Alpha Tau Omega], and she was a local sorority, and I think they were both, let's see, Mom was president of hers, and Dad ran for president. I'm not sure he was president, I don't think so.

Kondracke: I think he lost.

Andrews: I think he did. So he's a year older, and they had, of course, mutual friends. It's a small school, Occidental, in LA, and I think that his best friend was dating her sister, and they ended up getting married, and getting divorced. But that still was a tight relationship, even after the divorce, which is funny. When we would ask Mom, "Tell us what attracted you about Dad?" And Mom said, "You know, we talked philosophy and we talked religion, and we talked big ideas." And she loved that. She always has taken an interest in those kind of deeper philosophical issues, and she said they talked a lot. And they had of course the fraternity, sorority events and sports, and she was kind of your all-American girl dating the all-American guy, and he didn't drink, he was obsessed with weight lifting and filling up the back of the trunk with—I remember going up to Mammoth [Mountain, Calif.]—he tells the story of having his trunk filled with protein drinks, something like that, so that it caused them not to be able to get up to the hill, so they had to empty the whole back of the truck. Then the friends were like, "What did you put in this trunk, Jack? We can't even get up to Mammoth." But he had obsession,

which eventually when he became pro football player, that turned to history. But there was always an obsession, so when he was in college he was obsessed with sports, obsessed with football, and being in shape, and didn't drink at all. And they were just pretty clean-cut. Neither of them smoked or drank. And in that age that's pretty amazing, because even when they moved to Buffalo and he was playing—he got traded to Buffalo from San Diego—I remember they would have bridge club, and all the football players and their wives would come over, and that was the day and age of lots of smoking and drinking, but my parents didn't. So they were pretty clean-cut, and they got along great, and they seemed to share a lot of the same kind of philosophies in life.

Kondracke: Do you have any sense of who pursued the other more strongly?

Nolan: We do know from her records that she had many, many dates, and that after she got engaged she had to break some dates. So we get the idea that she's a bit of a hot chick on campus.

Andrews: I don't think she pursued him in the least. I think he decided "I want her," and he even, the way I think he asked her to get married was a little bit forward because he set it up where it was New Year's Eve, and everybody he asked to leave the room, and at a certain time he was just going to surprise everyone that this was the new—

Nolan: Or ask her in that private room, and then the party would be going on where he would announce "Yes, indeed, she said yes."

Andrews: But with the assumption, right.

Nolan: Exactly, right. Assuming she would say yes.

Kondracke: This was where?

Nolan: It was at a party at school, at Occidental.

Andrews: And I think he had just come back from, he was playing pro football, and I think he came back and organized this thing, knowing she would say yes, and so he kind of put the ring on her finger, I think, something like that.

Nolan: Yes. I think so too.

Andrews: Rather than getting down on his knee, "Would you please?" He just kind of had that confidence that, of course, she's going to say yes. And then again, she had to break a date. So she wasn't just sitting, waiting for Jack. She had a life.

Kondracke: Usually when you're going steady with somebody and you're about to get engaged, you're sort of exclusive, right?

Nolan: I know. We can't figure out exactly if the culture was different, or there's something missing from that story.

Kondracke: I'll ask her. If your mother's sort of lodestar was her Christian faith, what do you think his lodestar was?

Nolan: Family. It was his faith as well, as passed on from his parents. I think he wanted to please his parents, and so following their faith was important to him, and Joanne's lined up pretty darn close, and she still valued family the way his family did, so I think his was embodied in Joanne, but it was faith in family.

Kondracke: Not politics, not—

Andrews: And love of country, and love of freedom.

Nolan: Yes. His lodestar was not politics, would you say?

Andrews: No, not politics, because I remember he said, "Oh, gosh, if someone else wants to run and carry this forward, have at it." It wasn't politics that he loved. It was a passion for ideas, debate of what you believe in, and the groundedness of family and faith, certainly. At least when you read about the JFK-grams, those things continued to come in, and he would say often "I care really nothing about my political career, my football career. It pales in comparison to my love of you children, and the fact that you're married to amazing spouses." So he uses the theme a lot and gives Bible verses in these to remind himself that he needs to be humble, to ask forgiveness, and all these themes would go back to a biblical-based belief that you're in your right place, that God opens doors, that there's forgiveness. So these are all biblically-based, and they were threaded throughout whatever was going on in his life, they were a part of that.

Kondracke: So he know Bible?

Andrews: He did.

Kondracke: Not as well as your mom.

Nolan: Well, she studied it more, but he had a really amazing retention. He could read something and then remember it. So he could pull verses out pretty darn well.

Andrews: He would also sit down, there are different times in his life—I remember one time when he read Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy, and then, you read it next to the Bible, that's what they do. And I remember him months, reading every day.

Nolan: That was after '88. After he lost, he doubled down on his faith.

Kondracke: Why?

Nolan: Because he knew that this life was fleeting. He thought he was going to do better than 13 percent. It was devastating. I was thinking about that last night with Romney. The next day no one called. You know, you go from—and so where do you go? You go to God. That's what the whole Psalms is about. He knew enough to know, oh yeah, this guy's not changing.

Andrews: And he went back to what he knew, that comfort of the Christian Science, and he did that for months and months and months. I think it was partly during the campaign, though, too, Judith.

Nolan: Oh, yes, that's true. You're right.

Andrews: And then I remember he chucked it. Then he was like, I said, "Hey, what happened to Dad? He's not doing his reading." Mom's like, "Oh, he hasn't been reading every day for the last month." So it went in spurts. And then he put away Christian Science at some point, and just read the Bible. So toward the last 10 years, I would say it was the Bible rather than reading something along with it. But I'm not saying he read it every single day. There were times in his life when he did.

Kondracke: What do you think the influences of Christian Science were on him, to the extent that you understand Christian Science? What do you see in Christian Science or know about Christian Science that you could see in his personality and his behavior?

Nolan: All very positive things, I would say, a positivism. Because from what I know, sickness is more in the imagination, and you can almost will yourself to be better, and that's how he lived his life. Whether it was an election that they lost, or one of us going through a trial, it's like the sun will come out tomorrow, just that positivism. It's a little bit of escapism, but it worked. Growing up in a family, you don't want your parents to dwell on the thing you just did wrong. So I feel like he moved quickly to the next positive thing he could find. And I believe he got that from his Christian Science background, but I don't know enough to theologically argue it or anything.

Kondracke: So did your mom have any problems with his being interested in Christian Science?

Nolan: I think they worked it out early in their marriage. To the extent that he went to a church, Presbyterian church that she picked. She usually got to pick the churches. They both wanted an intellectual Bible teacher. But I think they worked something out, and I don't know what happened, because we were not aware of Christian Science until we were adults, and my mom would say, "Oh, that's your dad's background." I think there's something that—

Andrews: And they never fought or disagreed in front of us, so if they did have disagreements on the Christian Science aspect of—

Kondracke: Did they ever talk about it?

Andrews: I know they did, but it was very uncomfortable for them,

Nolan: They didn't talk about Christian Science. They just talked about Christianity. And my dad, of course, I think he was happy to say, "We're all good. We're all Christians." So he wouldn't bring up, "Hey, I'm a little different than you guys." No.

Andrews: You can talk to Mom, of course, about that, but I don't think it was a comfortable conversation for either of them, because she realized, "There are some differences here."

Kondracke: Let's do some politics here. So what do you remember about him running for Congress ever, his campaigns and his Congressional—

Andrews: I remember in Hamburg, our whole basement being turned into kind of sewing-central, and all these lady friends would come over and they would make their homemade short, mini-dress, I don't know, it was the door-to-door campaigning. So they would have little berets that they made on the sewing machine, and they would prepare signs, and it was all just handmade great stuff. It was really sweet. And I remember the way that they included the children. As Judith said, we went to parades and we went to corn festivals, and we went to all those small groups.

Nolan: Lions Clubs, probably.

Andrews: But they made it fun, and it was just what we did, and we didn't complain. I think we were relatively easy kids, and I think that is what helped Mom, because she had a relatively complicated husband, and she didn't catch a lot of grief from us. We went along with the flow. We were happy to go along. It wasn't even happy; it just was what it was.

Nolan: That's what we always say to our kids. "We were so easy as kids. What's your problem?"

Andrews: Yes, my kids hate hearing that.

Kondracke: What do you remember about 1980? The Republican Convention comes down, there's all these Reagan-Kemp buttons—

Nolan: You were there, in Detroit?

Kondracke: Did you go to Detroit?

Andrews: Yes, I did. You asked me a question a while ago about when we first figured out he was famous or something. That was a big deal, because I was shocked. I go to the convention in Detroit, and remember seeing Reagan-Kemp signs. Is that the convention? And I'm like whoa, what's this all about? It was kind of fun to see that, and he was an inspiring speaker. He spoke at the convention. That was huge. And then life went on as usual.

Nolan: And then we both worked in [the] '88 campaign, so we have very vivid memories of that.

Kondracke: We'll get to that in a second. Do you remember his decision not to run for the Senate? You know, Jacob [K.] Javits was sick, and the question was, was he going to run, and Jack supposedly was ready to run if Javits said that he wasn't going to run.

Nolan: I don't. I don't really remember.

Kondracke: So, '88. Tell me what you remember about '88, Jennifer.

Andrews: I was living in Spain and teaching on an Air Force base, and I remember the campaign felt that I should come back. And it

was a good opportunity. I would have stayed in Spain teaching; I loved it. Nonetheless, I came back, and since I was a school teacher by training, it was maybe, I'm not sure how long, maybe that whole school year, I needed to take off and I worked on the campaign, which is an incredible experience. Judith and I were kind of surrogate speakers. We spent some of the time in the campaign office in Arlington [Virginia], but also, I was on the road a lot in some of those early states. I spent a lot of time in Iowa and spoke on college campuses a lot and women's groups and such. I remember one time Jeane Kirkpatrick couldn't show up, and they put me on at the last second, like "You're kidding me." And it was a group of maybe two, three thousand people, and by that point you realize, "Shoot. This is much easier than speaking to a group of five people." It was a good experience, and I felt like I was up-to-date on the issues at that time, much more than I am now. It was a fabulous opportunity in '88. And of course he's running against the sitting vice president, and Governor [Pierre S.] Pete du Pont [IV]. We got to know him well and really liked him. We got to be good friends with the Bush kids, and I ended up marrying a guy who's best friends with Marvin [P.] Bush. And we got to be very good friends with [Dorothy W.] Doro [Bush Koch], who was at the time really uncomfortable speaking as a surrogate. I remember my heart would go out to her, because she was very nervous, and it was so hard for her, and growing up for us we were told, as Judith said, "Be a leader," so it was kind of expected that we would put other people at ease. So it wasn't a problem for us to be out there speaking as a surrogate, and actually we got to be good friends, Doro and I. And then he was running against [Alexander M.] Al Haig [Jr.], [Marion G.] Pat Robertson, and there were so many others.

Kondracke: [Robert J.] Bob Dole was running too.

Andrews: Bob Dole and [Patrick J.] Pat Buchanan. The list goes on.

Nolan: That whole election, the best memory I have of it is the *Saturday Night Live* version of the debates, if you remember it, and it is just so funny. Exactly what they have Dad doing, so characteristic. They have him clearing his throat and then they have him dominating the conversation and just throwing footballs into the crowd.

Andrews: And numbers. Fifteen percent tax and numbers, and just chatting, chatting. They had him in a brown blazer and I remember thinking they've got that wrong because he never wore brown. That might have been the Ronald Reagan thing.

Nolan: They were trying to make him, "He's the jock."

Andrews: Yes, and the hair. They had perfectly coiffed hair. But that was an exciting time and yet a losing battle from the beginning. It was such a long shot.

Kondracke: Did you know it was a losing battle?

Andrews: No, because it was so exciting. Wherever we happened to be, whether we were listening to Dad speak, or going to do our own little events, the people that showed up were so enthusiastic, and they cared so much about the ideas, and it wasn't politics. It seemed to be something so real, and we were engrossed in it.

Nolan: And it's amazing how you can just be isolated and think you actually have a chance when you don't. You'd go to an event, if you happened to get to hear Dad, if he came to your town or whatever, he was such a great speaker. The crowds would leave electrified. And you'd be like, "How can I ever not vote for him?" And I remember waking up after New Hampshire came at 13 percent like, "What just happened?" I was blind-sided. I thought, I don't know what got into me, but I thought we had a chance. You think there's always a chance, and, of course, being his daughter, he would come into town and encourage you, encourage the whole office, and you believed him. There was going to be a chance. It would be interesting to know, in his head, if he was a realist or if he had to believe the hype in order to project it.

Kondracke: Did you ever talk to him about it afterwards?

Nolan: We talked about it after the Dole campaign. We said it this morning to Mom, Chris said this to my mom yesterday, "You thought there was a chance with Dole." "No I didn't." He said, "Yes you did. You thought there was a chance." She was like, "Well, you live in a bubble and you end up thinking there's a chance." You know how it happens. They get removed from reality and they have yes men around them. But anyway, working on a campaign was a fascinating insight into our dad, I'm sure, for both of us, because we never really worked in politics before. And just seeing the people that worked behind the scenes for him, and then when he would come to the scene how they were just in awe of him. He would grab us and put his arm around, and make us go to dinner with him, and these people would be like, "Oh, you've got time with him?" And I'm like, "Oh, my gosh,

he's just my dad. Really, you're worshipping from afar?" That was really interesting.

Kondracke: So how did he take the fact that he didn't win? I mean, he got wiped out.

Nolan: Hard, I think he took it really hard.

Kondracke: How?

Nolan: Well, Jennifer referenced it. He was at home. We'll never forget the emptiness of not having the phone ring. We all came home. It was devastating. It was very sad to watch, just because I don't think he was necessarily subject to thinking he's an important person because he has national press following him, but the silence of the next day was deafening. That's all I can say, it was deafening. Anyone would be rocked to their core, and he turned into God, like "Holy crud, what just happened?" You could almost see that he was physically knocked over. Go back to your roots, you know. I wasn't worried for him, I didn't think he was going to be suicidal. I knew he had a faith, and I knew he had it before, but to watch him wake up at six in the morning and pore through the Bible, I'm like, "Oh, gosh. He's soul-searching."

Andrews: I'm sure it was a crushing blow personally, but I do remember him thinking, "Wow, all these ideas," and everything that he had worked so hard—

Nolan: Who's going to champion them?

Andrews: Who's going to carry—

Nolan: It wasn't going to be [George H. W.] Bush. He was worried that Bush wouldn't do what he needed to do.

Andrews: Yes, right.

Nolan: And he certainly didn't have a mandate from Jack Kemp, and Dole wasn't going to do it.

Andrews: So he was kind of persona non grata.

Nolan: He was distressed, for the ideas.

Andrews: For the ideas. I'm saying the ideas. It wasn't so much ego.

Nolan: You're right.

Andrews: It was Super Tuesday. I remember that that's when, right? When he had to get out of the campaign.

Kondracke: South Carolina was the last, I think, shot, at any rate. He made one last shot in South Carolina.

Nolan: Right. You worked in South Carolina.

Kondracke: There was a chance that he might have been Bush's running mate. Were you there at that convention?

Andrews: Well, I worked at the convention in New Orleans for two weeks, just doing menial little jobs, just because I had a little time before I started public school again, teaching. And so I was there for two weeks, and heard a lot of hubbub about that, and again, we were friends with the Bushes. It was kind of a funky situation because you hear about it, and there's such hype going into a convention, and then being there and the energy, and then at the last minute, of course, you know, it was not. It was [James Danforth] Dan Quayle. That's another friend, actually. The Quayles spent a lot of time at our home too, Marilyn [T. Quayle] and Dan, and they got to be really good family friends. And Dad, I don't think was sore about that, do you think, Judith, at all?

Kondracke: Were you there in the hotel suite when he got the word that it wasn't him?

Andrews: I think I was, and I think Scott and I were dating at the time, and I think that we were there.

Nolan: That wouldn't have devastated him. He was really big in a lot of ways when it came to petty issues that might move other people.

Andrews: But he liked Dan Quayle too.

Nolan: And I hope that I didn't give the wrong impression that he was devastated after '88. He was, but, you're right, part of it was ideas, part of it was an ego crush. I think more '88 was an ego crush. That was not an ego crush. I think he knew, well it's a lot of work. He had

campaigned before. I think he had high hopes for Dan Quayle. Dan Quayle loved Dad.

Andrews: They were simpatico.

Nolan: He could have been his mouthpiece.

Kondracke: And what about '96? Well, there was a decision as to whether he would run again in '96. He had to decide not to run. Do you remember any of that?

Nolan: I don't.

Andrews: Is that the Dole?

Kondracke: Yes, that was the year that Dole won.

Andrews: That was after HUD?

Kondracke: Yes, that was after HUD.

Andrews: So he's not going to run again for office, I don't think. After he was in HUD, I don't think, well, I don't know.

Kondracke: There was chatter. That's all I'm saying. He had to make a decision not to run.

Andrews: I don't know.

Nolan: I don't either.

Kondracke: What part did you take in the '96 vice presidential run?

Andrews: Well, we had young kids. So we have three and she had four or five or, not six yet.

Nolan: Four.

Andrews: So it was quite different. I couldn't just take off and leave, although I have to say there were short trips that I would do. I did one trip in Pennsylvania with my brother Jeff, and it was a bus trip, bus and train. We did a little bit of campaigning, a little bit here and there, not as much as before.

Nolan: Yes, a little bit.

Andrews: Not as much as before.

Nolan: Chris and I went on the trail when he was in the South, a couple of times.

Andrews: Vice president is a whole different thing, isn't it? It's just not as, even though it's fun to do.

Nolan: Yes, but we immediately had Secret Service, and there was, what's it called, motorcades. I remember they shut down I-85, because we were doing an event at I think it was an Olympic stadium, and they shut down a highway for us in Georgia. And the police

troopers were so excited to have a presidential candidate. That was fun to watch from that standpoint. Crazy.

Andrews: Little did we know that a vice presidential candidate really doesn't make or break the campaign at all. Do you think?

Nolan: I don't know.

Andrews: Dad did such great things.

Nolan: Yes, but ultimately—he gave a huge boost originally, more than [Paul] Ryan did. There was a Kemp bounce.

Kondracke: Were you at that convention, at the San Diego Convention?

Judith and Andrews: Yes, we were all there with all the children.

Kondracke: Because you already knew that you were the nominee.

Nolan: We knew a week beforehand.

Kondracke: How did you find out that he was the nominee?

Nolan: I found out on the news. My parents didn't have time to call us. You know, once they were in negotiations, and "It's going to be you. It's going to be you." Their life was whisked away from us, and you're know, we're adult kids. So if we had been kids at home, they would have had to communicate with us, but they didn't. So it was

bizarre for a couple months there. I remember thinking, "I don't have access to my parents, and I'm not cool with this." But I found out on the news.

Andrews: We were at—

Nolan: I wasn't mad, I was just floored.

Andrews: We were at Coleman [Andrew]s' farm in Rapidan [Virginia]. It's my husband's brother's farm. And I remember Dad had to take a phone call, and he was out in the cow fields or something like that. We were just having a typical chill day out there, and that's where he said, "I need to talk to you," and grabbed my hand, kind of asking permission, or something like that. And I think I said, "No, I don't really want you to. Are you asking my permission?" I think I said, "No, my preference is no," and he did it anyhow, so I'm not sure. I don't know, he doesn't need my permission, but I do remember him kind of asking me.

Nolan: Yes, that would be something he would do.

Andrews: He was feeling me out, assuming I'd be cool with it.

Nolan: They asked us in '88 if they could run. I remember them sitting us down. It was just a formality.

Andrews: So that's when apparently he spoke with Dole, and Dole said, "I would like you to come to the Watergate tonight." And so from the farm I remember Scott left to go back home to Middleburg

[Virginia], and I followed with the kids, and I'm listening to the radio, and Scott called and said "Your father just—" And I said, "No, no, no, because he talked to me and I said no." Then I turned on the radio, and sure enough I'm listening to the radio, and it said, "Jack Kemp is now going to be the vice presidential running mate with Dole." And I've got kids doing whatever kids do in the back, and it was surreal. I'm like, "That couldn't be. I just said no." So much for a daughter's input.

Kondracke: Tell me what your memories are of his brothers and his parents. We don't have much time, but—

Nolan: We absolutely love the whole Kemp family. We are just so blessed with that family. Our grandfather spoiled us, our uncles—

Andrews: Spoiled us with just tenderness.

Nolan: Yes.

Andrews: Little trips to the circus and to the zoo.

Nolan: Yes, it wasn't money.

Andrews: Right,

Nolan: And you could bury him with sand. He was a softy, he was a softy. I didn't know my dad's mother.

Andrews: And Grandma had to raise four boys, four very active boys, so she was the tough one, I think, and that family, they're so, and they're still so close.

Nolan: Do you have warm, cuddly feelings about her?

Andrews: Warm cuddly, no. But she wasn't tough and mean, she just had to keep things rolling. But that family, they'd just get together and tell amazing stories. They all love history, they all love family, they're devoted to each other.

Nolan: They tell stories about their childhood.

Andrews: Funny as all get out.

Nolan: They have us laughing.

Andrews: We just hear these stories, as all families have their stories, but they love gatherings, and they're a very sentimental family.

Nolan: The boys all cry pretty easily.

Kondracke: Did your dad ever cry?

Nolan: Yes, he would get teary. He would get teary at the National Anthem sometimes. Yes, he could get *verklempt*.

Kondracke: Did you ever see him cry, Jennifer?

Andrews: I think I did see him cry. He wasn't a crybaby, but he was emotional with us, and tender with us, yes.

Kondracke: Tell me about his brother Tom and their relationship, because Tom's gone.

Andrews: Oh, gosh, Dad respected Tom, his older brother. I think he was two or three years older, and he was an incredible sports star, and Dad just really idolized his brother. They got to be very, very close, and one thing I was saying is that those boys all would go to, where was it, Gettysburg [Pennsylvania], every year, for years and years. They love history. Remember that author who wrote the book, *The Gettysburg Gospel?* Gabor [Boritt]. Anyhow, they would go and listen to speakers and read books and share info and tell stories and get together often, and do field trips. I remember Uncle Paul came when Dad was sick, and we decided Dad needed to get out, he needed to get out of the house, and we needed to get him on a field trip, and Uncle Paul and Scott and Mom and I took Dad, in his wheelchair. At this point no one could really recognize him because he was just not his normal stature. We went to Frederick Douglass's house on Capitol Hill, a mile from the Capitol, which is wild that you can see it. And then we went to the [National] Portrait Gallery, or something like that, and it was so exciting, because the love of history was so ingrained in these brothers of Dad's, and they inculcated it into all their children and grandchildren. So love of family, love of sports, love of being together. All of our Fourth of July memories or going to Laguna, or their house on Balboa Island, it was my grandfather's house. So gatherings are important, keeping family solid.

Kondracke: Okay. What have I forgotten? Any favorite memories?

Nolan: I'm trying to think.

Andrews: Dad had knee surgery, and his knee, this is toward the end of his life, maybe a year before he died. I remember him crying, I do remember this. He was so grateful that he could ski again. So I think this man, who was larger than life in many ways, found that his body was decaying, and so he would have a hard time sleeping, he would have a hard time with his knees. He used to have to put all these braces on it to go skiing.

Nolan: Ice packs.

Andrews: So when he finally got that surgery done, toward maybe age 70, I remember him literally crying with gratitude, and just joy that he could ski. He loved skiing with his grandkids. That's like the epitome of life for him. And he was tender with all those kids.

Kondracke: Judith.

Nolan: I kind of have fond memories of all his newspaper clippings. Surrounded by everything he loved, and we would be having guests over, and I would try to clean up, and he was like, "No, Judith!" and he would laugh at himself. He knew it was ridiculous, but he really didn't want you touching his piles. And I'm like "This is just embarrassing for Mom. Look at this is a mess." I can just kind of hear him laugh at himself, knowing, "Yes, I'm obsessive and it's okay."

Andrews: I also love Jeff making fun of Dad. Jeff has this great impersonation of Jifka [JIF-ka; Jack F. Kemp] So we call Mom Jimka [JIM-ka; Joanne Main Kemp] and Dad Jifka, and Jeff can do it so well, the voice and the speeches, because we've all heard them so much. And Dad could laugh at himself.

Nolan: He liked being made fun of.

Andrews: He loved it.

Kondracke: So Jeff used to mimic him and—

Nolan: Poke fun at him, very effectively.

Kondracke: He certainly does sound like your dad. Oh, my God, it's amazing.

Andrews: It's eerie.

Kondracke: Okay. Thank you so much.

Andrews: Thank you.

Nolan: Thank you.

[end of interview]