

Chapter 20 – Equal Rights: The 84th Congress

The 84th Congress was notable for its relative harmony. The Republican right wing was chastened by the Party's loss of control of Congress despite the continuing popularity of the Republican President. Pres. Dwight Eisenhower's moderate policies enabled a large measure of Democratic support. This Congress was not notable for great leaps forward in policy. Though it was also not paralyzed by partisan or ideological divisions, the so-called Conservative Coalition of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats accomplished a number of victories. And a major policy division was evident between the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic policy over racial matters.¹

The President asked in his State of the Union message in 1956 for the creation of a bipartisan commission to evaluate the denial of the franchise to black citizens and to examine racial economic disparities. In April, Attorney General Herbert Brownell followed with a proposal to add to the creation of the Commission the formation of a civil rights division in the Department of Justice, to allow his Department to initiate civil rights cases in the courts and to prosecute persons and officials for the intimidation of voters. Eisenhower accepted Brownell's presentation but not as an Administration initiative. The House passed the resulting bill (HR 627) on July 23 by 279 to 126 with the overwhelming support of Republicans and Northern Democrats and the nearly universal opposition of Southern Democrats.²

The votes of members of the Class of '46 reflected this division with rare exceptions. Republican Wint Smith of Kansas voted like a Southerner, including on the other two roll call votes on the bill, supporting tabling and recommittal, as well as opposing passage. While Democrat Charles Deane of North Carolina voted against passage, he also voted against tabling and recommitting. Border State Democrat Carl Albert of Oklahoma voted like a Southerner, or at least like the representative of the Little Dixie region of his State. Border State Republican Edward Miller of Maryland voted against tabling, then for recommittal, but then for passage. The *Brown* desegregation decision was a major issue in his recent reelection, with the Democratic candidate advocating opposition to the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision and Miller counseling acceptance. Democrat Edward Garmatz of Baltimore opposed tabling and recommittal and supported passage. Republican Glenn Davis of Milwaukee did not vote on any of the three opportunities.

Kenneth Keating of New York managed the Republican side of the debate on HR 627 and pressed for approval. Democrats Bryan Dorn of South Carolina and John Bell Williams of Mississippi each moved an amendment to HR 627, both amendments niggling at the bill without addressing its fundamental purpose but seeking to raise doubts about that purpose. Both amendments were rejected.

The heavy Republican support of the bill (169-24 including pairs) represented a shift from mixed support and opposition to previous equal rights initiatives. It was a Republican Chief Justice who led the unanimous Court to find school segregation a violation of equal justice under the Constitution, and the President who appointed him, Dwight Eisenhower, was assertive in ordering the desegregation of District of Columbia schools as well as schools on military bases and in finalizing former Pres. Harry Truman's order to desegregate the military, military hospitals, and Navy yards. Yet Eisenhower was reluctant to publicize his actions, apparently for fear of instigating a backlash against both his Administration and progress on equal rights. The approach was an executive version of the "all deliberate speed" the Court decreed for implementation of desegregation in its second *Brown* decision, itself issued on May 31, 1955,

¹ Boeckel (1955). "Record of the 84th Congress (Second session)."

² "Record of the 84th Congress (Second session)." Branch (1988), 183.

over a year after the first decision. Eisenhower's reticence has resulted in characterizations of him as unsupportive of desegregation.³

As for the Democrats in the House, the split over equal rights between the regional wings of the Party widened. Southerners remained seemingly intransigent while Northern Democrats increasingly supported the aspirations of black people, a position encouraged by a shift in partisan choice by their black constituents, responding to the economic policies of the New and Fair Deals and the equal rights initiatives of Truman. Yet there was a Southern Democratic equivalent to Eisenhower's acting without speaking. House Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas worked with Rep. Richard Bolling, who was Rayburn's man on the Rules Committee (and had ousted Class member Albert Reeves in 1948), to enable Brownell's initiative to survive for another day. Recognizing that the bill by coming up late in the session would enable a successful filibuster in the Senate, which Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (D TX) would not inhibit, Bolling with Rayburn's guidance worked to delay the bill to the point it would not come to the floor in the Senate and thereby suffer a potentially mortal defeat. The legislation would return in the 85th Congress.⁴

Some of the Southern reaction to the first *Brown* decision was restrained, largely because there is often a significant gap between a Supreme Court decision and its implementation, particularly one affecting so many separate governmental entities. The Administration gave no signs of actively seeking to effect desegregation and had no existing mechanism to do so. Brownell's bill would make a start, but its primary focus was on voting restriction, not school desegregation. Defenders of segregation assumed time and a history of successful Southern noncompliance with national initiatives on racial matters would be to their advantage.

In the Border South, all of which required school segregation, the response to *Brown* was positive, except in Oklahoma. Republican Class member Caleb Boggs, now Governor of Delaware, told the State Board of Education, which was a defendant in one of the cases included in *Brown*, "to work toward adjustment to the United States constitutional requirements." The Democratic Governor of Oklahoma complained the Court was "forcing people to do something they don't want to do." But a new Democratic Governor, taking office in 1955, advised local school boards to end segregation "as quickly as possible."⁵

Four of the seven Southern State Governors elected in 1954, the year of *Brown I*, campaigned as moderate segregationists, in a categorization by political scientist Earl Black. Democrat Thomas Stanley of the Class of '46 ran in 1953 in Virginia as a moderate; his initial response to *Brown I* as sitting Governor was measured. But despite his promise to consult "leaders of both races," he appointed an all-white commission to develop a response to *Brown I*, which came up with a "freedom of choice" plan. This would

³ Caro (2002), 777-9. Jean Smith, 710-3. Eisenhower ordered DC schools to desegregate but lacked the actual authority to make this happen. The District was one of the five defendants aggregated in *Brown*, and while the District claimed compliance it did so with the stipulation that students could choose to remain in their current schools. Kluger, vol. 2, 916. The Committee on the District of Columbia under Chair John McMillan of South Carolina appointed a subcommittee chaired by James Davis to investigate standards and delinquency of the District schools. *Kingsport News*, June 25, 1956. The subcommittee report found that integration caused disciplinary and sexual problems and white flight and recommended a return to segregation. The four Southerners on the six-member subcommittee signed the report. *The Anniston Star*, December 28, 1956. *Panama City News*, December 29, 1956. *The Washington Post* called it a hatchet job. *Florence Morning News*, July 12, 1956.

⁴ Lubell, 100-2. Caro (2002), 790-1. Hardeman and Bacon, 418-20.

⁵ Wilhoit, 30-1. *The Eufaula Indian Journal*, July 7, 1955.

maintain dual school systems while allowing the parents of individual students to petition for assignment to a school of a different race.⁶

The second *Brown* decision of May 31, 1955, in which the Court laid out its requirements for implementation, fulfilled Southern optimism about a lack of enforcement. “All deliberate speed” resulted in much deliberate delay. Ten years after *Brown I* 97.75% of black children in the South would still attend all-black schools.⁷

But while *Brown II* largely gave the South a pass, it did not diminish what sociologist Michael Kimmel calls “aggrieved entitlement;” that is, the perceived self-victimhood of a social group against those who, in fact, are less entitled. After *Brown I*, crosses were burned on the lawns of Supreme Court justices, kerosene was dumped under the windows of Brownell’s house, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation reported that lynching increased in Mississippi. One of the lynchings counted was that of Emmett Till, the 14-year-old from Chicago, that became widely publicized. One of the murderers was quoted in justification: “As long as I live and can do anything about it, niggers are going to stay in their place. Niggers ain’t gonna vote where I live. If they did, they’d control the government. They ain’t gonna go to school with my kids. And when a nigger even gets close to mention sex with a white woman, he’s tired of livin’. Me and my folks fought for this country and we’ve got some rights.” The political class were less publicly honest, couching their opposition in “states rights” and the impossibility of legislating social acceptance.⁸

In Virginia the special session called by Gov. Stanley in November 1955 replaced the Commission’s freedom-of-choice plan with one making public grants to parents for private school education. That same month *The Richmond News-Leader* began a campaign promoting interposition, the doctrine that a state could find a Federal mandate unconstitutional, and the General Assembly passed such a bill in February. Virginia Sen. Harry Byrd on February 24 proclaimed “massive resistance,” echoing that call by Sen. James Eastland of Mississippi on February 10. Virginia Class member Watkins Abbitt was one who pressed for the “more forceful commitment to segregation.” The Representative joined the newly formed Federation for Constitutional Government in December 1955 and embraced its doctrine of interposition. The Prince Edward County School Board in Abbitt’s District was a defendant in *Brown*. Stanley joined in a series of meetings with Abbitt, Byrd, and others to develop the enactment of massive resistance.⁹

Most Southern members of the Class of ’46 still in the House in 1954 and 1955 followed the usually successful incumbent strategy of avoiding taking a hard position on a volatile issue, and *Brown* was such a matter. Miller successfully straddled the controversy in his reelection against a hard-line segregationist. In Virginia, Abbitt took a strong position, while Burr Harrison of the Byrd organization but from a district

⁶ Kluger, vol 2, 897. *The Bee*, July 11, 1970. Earl Black, tables 6-10, 12-14, 16-18. His definition of “moderate segregationist” is on pages 14-5. He also defines “strong segregationist” on page 13, and “nonsegregationist” on pages 15-6. In each case he refers to the candidate’s rhetoric in primary and general elections.

⁷ Black and Black, 96.

⁸ Kimmel. Jean Smith, 715. Kluger, vol. 2, 920-28. Halberstam (1993), 434-5. The source of the quotes was a journalist named William Bradford Huie who paid for the interview after the murderers had been found not guilty.

⁹ Thorndike, 55, 56, 62. Day, 82. *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, February 14, 1956. Bartley, 110, 121-3. *The Bee*, December 30, 1955. Mays, 140. Wilkinson, 130. Heinemann, 336. Robbins L. Gates argues that Stanley’s poor showing in the 1953 gubernatorial election could have pushed the Byrd organization to adopt such an extreme stance on integration in order to reinforce its core strength in Southside Virginia, which was largely congruent with Abbitt’s District. But he also temporizes by noting that the reaction may just have been old-fashioned racism. Gates, 205-6. For a brief discussion of interposition, particularly in the context of the Southern Manifesto, see Crespiño, 105-7.

with less racial obsessions appears to have kept a low profile. So did Porter Hardy, who was not of the organization.¹⁰

Albert may have been the Representative of Little Dixie, but the District was only 8% African American (and 4% Indian) in 1950 and Albert seems to have had little to do with *Brown*. He does not mention it or racial matters in his autobiography.

It may be notable that the one Republican member of the Class who voted against the 1956 civil rights bill, Smith, was from Kansas, which spawned the headliner of the *Brown* cases, but Topeka was not in Smith's District, whose black population was less than one percent. His vote may just have been consistent with his conservative inclinations.

One measure of the Southern Class members is their degree of participation in the lengthy debate on HR 627, the civil rights bill, and on other equal rights matters before the House. They fall into three categories: (1) those who were particularly active, (2) those who were barely active, and (3) those who were missing in floor debate.

Williams outpaced all his fellow Class members, not only in level of activity but in explicit racism. In 1954, before the decision in *Brown I* but after the case was heard (twice) by the Supreme Court, he complained about courts changing the Constitution and said the South was not worried about integration; the public schools would just close. He was quiet in 1955 but in 1956 returned to the issue. On January 25 he gave a 60-minute speech on the floor entitled "Interposition: The Barrier Against Tyranny" and returned to the unconstitutional doctrine on March 1 and April 16. Apart from recurring complaints of unconstitutional judicial decisions, he talked for 30 minutes on March 27 and 20 minutes on July 5 on Negro inferiority in "mental development" and "moral standards."¹¹

Henderson Lanham of Georgia was a very distant second to Williams in activity and in racism but did not avoid the latter approach. Apart from calling the civil rights bill "the civil-wrongs bill" and claiming it would lead to "a Soviet-type gestapo, of secret informers," he availed himself of the floor four other times. His first foray was a January 5, 1956, short address when he noted that he "did not abuse the Court although I knew the [*Brown*] decision was unsound and that it is based upon the sociological thinking of the members of that Court instead of upon the law and the Constitution." By May 22 he was delivering a 45-minute address entitled "Rebuilding the Brain-Washed, Floundering Supreme Court." His racism was sexual, asserting on February 23 and June 29 that school integration would inevitably lead to "intermarriage" and "a mongrel race."¹²

James Davis of Atlanta, as with Williams, did not wait for the *Brown I* decision before taking on the Court. He also delivered himself twice in 1956 on interposition and civil rights in general, including making fun of how "Negro" should be pronounced. Davis was prominent in the Federation for Constitutional Government and the White Citizens' Council movement, as was Williams. He was a member of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s "before the people who ruined the organization had taken it over," he said.¹³

¹⁰ Abbitt's District was 46% African American in the 1950 census. Harrison's was 9%. Earl Moreland, the husband of Hardy's sister Helen, and president of Randolph-Macon College, was a charter member of the Virginia Council on Human Relations and said the job of the Council was that "of trying to win acceptance in Virginia of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in the public schools." *Progress-Index*, November 27, 1955; October 5, 1964; September 29, 1967.

¹¹ *Congressional Record*, January 25, 1956, 1291-5; March 27, 1956, 5660-4.

¹² *Congressional Record*, January 5, 1956, 159; February 23, 1956, 3213; May 22, 1956, 8756-9; June 29, 1956, 11456.

¹³ *Congressional Record*, February 23, 1956, 3211. Bartley, 106, 121-3. *The Daily Times-News* (Burlington), September 26, 1956.

In 1954 Don Wheeler, who lost his quest for nomination that year, spoke three times on the floor for segregation and against the Court. He was succeeded by Iris Blitch, who would also be vocal on the floor in defense of segregation.¹⁴

Abbitt voiced support in 1955 for a bill that would prohibit Federal courts and agencies from deciding any matter involving the administration of state educational systems. In the second session he made a frontal assault on the “arrogant Supreme Court” that “arrogated unto itself powers never given it by the Constitution” and “usurped authority” of the individual states.¹⁵

Three members of the class made cameo appearances on the floor in support of segregation. Dorn’s amendment to the civil rights bill has been mentioned, in the discussion of which he complained that proponents of civil rights were “unwittingly advocating a change in our American way of life because Russia does not like America as instituted by the Founding Fathers.” Otto Passman of Louisiana prefaced his rather bland expression of “the unrest, heartaches, and even turmoil in my State that has been brought about by the nonjudicial, political school integration decision of the United States Supreme Court” with the observation that he rarely spoke on the floor. Prince Preston of Georgia was even more constrained, noting that the Court had admitted its error in another case and should fess up on *Brown*.¹⁶

The third category includes Burleson and Olin Teague of Texas, Deane, Joe Evins of Tennessee, Hardy and Harrison of Virginia, and Robert Jones of Alabama. Some inserted complaints about the Court and *Brown* in the *Record*, but none spoke on the floor to the issue. Nor did Albert of Little Dixie.

Even more rare were members of the Class who spoke in defense of the Court or for integration. Keating’s fight for the civil rights bill has been mentioned, and he also took 30 minutes of floor time to defend the Court and the *Brown* decision. He declared interposition to be unconstitutional, noted that *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court decision that found separate but equal racial accommodations constitutional and which *Brown* overturned, itself overturned precedent, and that, in any event, “Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal” as *Brown* found.¹⁷

Democrat Harold Donohue of Massachusetts of the Class endorsed HR 627 from the floor.

Republican Donald Jackson of California attempted to amend HR 627 to define membership or non-membership in a union as a protected class, but that was ruled non-germane to the bill. On the other hand, an amendment from Gordon McDonough (R CA) to include sex as a protected class, which was fought for by Republican Katherine St. George of New York, was accepted. Keating opposed all such efforts, including Dorn’s to include Indians, to expand coverage beyond color, race, religion, and national origin as potential “poison pills” meant to kill passage. St. George fought throughout her House career for an amendment to the Constitution to ensure sexual equality and was not intentionally proposing a poison pill. Keating lost his battle on sex and he would lose it on political affiliation as a protected class.

HR 627, the civil rights bill, was introduced on January 5, 1955, the first day of the 84th Congress. By the time it was reported out by the Committee on the Judiciary on May 21, 1956, a “Declaration of Constitutional Principles” emerged from Southern Democrats.

Sen. Strom Thurmond (D SC) produced an initial draft of this Declaration and presented it at a caucus of Southern Democratic senators on February 8, 1956. A committee of three other senators were appointed to rework it. One change from Thurmond’s draft was the abandonment of his argument for

¹⁴ *The New York Times*, August 21, 1993.

¹⁵ HR 2769 did not make it out of the Judiciary Committee. *Congressional Record*, July 10, 1956, 12232.

¹⁶ *Congressional Record*, May 29, 1956, 9252; July 20, 1956, 13752.

¹⁷ *Congressional Record*, March 15, 1956, 4859.

interposition. Whatever Thurmond's particular impetus was, a factor in the timeliness of the adoption of the Declaration by the other senators was an attempt to assist the widely-respected Sen. Walter George of Georgia in retaining his seat against a primary challenge by former Gov. Herman Talmadge.¹⁸

While the 78-year-old George could adequately demagogue race, Talmadge, 42, and his late father and earlier Governor Eugene were a class unto themselves. According to CNN reporter Frederick L. Allen, Atlanta-based Coca-Cola executives struck a deal with Gov. Herman Talmadge in 1949 to support Talmadge for the Senate in 1956 if the Governor would back enactment of a general sales tax, which would avoid a special excise tax on soft drinks. Coca-Cola got a three percent sales tax and avoided a soft drink tax. Talmadge got the effort of past Coca-Cola president and continuing director Robert Woodruff to dissuade George from seeking renomination, and when the Senator refused, Talmadge got a termination of contributions to George. George eventually, on May 9, 1956, would announce his retirement, but in February and March he still had hope.¹⁹

On Monday, March 12, 1956, George was recognized in the United States Senate and, after a quorum call to ensure an audience, read the text of a "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" aloud. About an hour later, when the House of Representatives convened, Rep. Howard Smith (D-Va.) rose and with a brief speech entered the Declaration into the *Congressional Record*. The issue at hand was *Brown v. Board of Education*. While the Declaration stated, "We pledge ourselves to use all *lawful means* to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation," the press labeled the document the "Southern Manifesto" and gave it the spin its authors wanted, that of the individual state's right to disobey the decisions of the United States Supreme Court.²⁰

The Manifesto's short term electoral service for George was also true for other Southerners in Congress. Although three defendant entities, Kansas, Delaware, and the District of Columbia, took steps toward school integration after *Brown*, other desegregation was minimal by 1956. Local branches of the NAACP had filed about sixty petitions for desegregation by then and was met with what historian Numan V. Bartley called "swift and vindictive" hostility. So-called Citizens' Councils and their affiliates, devoted to the maintenance of segregation, appeared in all Southern states, and Southern politicians were eager to demonstrate to their concerned white constituents their unalterable opposition to "race mixing." The Manifesto gave members of Congress an easy vehicle, requiring but a signature.²¹

The authors of the Declaration had been busily soliciting the signatures of Southern members of Congress since Thursday morning March 8 when the document was finalized, an effort that would continue past its unveiling on Monday. Eventually, 84 representatives and 19 senators from the South signed. One representative from Florida, a representative and both senators from Tennessee, three representatives from North Carolina, and 17 representatives and a senator from Texas did not sign.²² Among the Class of '46, Robert Jones of Alabama, Sen. George Smathers of Florida, James Davis, Lanham, and Preston of Georgia, Passman of Louisiana, Williams of Mississippi, Dorn of South Carolina, Evins of Tennessee, and Abbitt, Hardy, and Harrison of Virginia signed. Deane of North Carolina and Burleson and Teague of Texas did not sign.

¹⁸ Finley, 142. Day, 73-80, 93. Crespino, 105-7.

¹⁹ Bass and DeVries, 137-8. Frederick Allen, 315-6.

²⁰ Author's emphasis. Day, 123-4, 128.

²¹ Bartley, 82-4. Kluger, vol. 2, 916.

²² Sen. George presented the names of the 19 senators and 77 representatives to the Senate on March 12. Seven representatives signed later. Badger (1999), 517-34.

The Manifesto changed no law or the implementation of court rulings and only altered individual congressmen's positions in that those who did not sign it might find themselves a little more courageous in considering the legal equality of black Americans. But in the fact that Southern Democratic leaders such as Speaker Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson and a number of committee chairs did not sign the Manifesto, it denoted a shift in the Party from unquestioning support of white supremacy to a possibility of greater support for equal rights.²³

The Conservative Coalition had not held on the Republican Attorney General's civil rights bill. Republican Minority Leader Joseph Martin actively supported the Bill. On another bill before the House, HR 7535, to provide Federal funds for school construction, the same split between Southern Democrats and other members occurred in a vote on an amendment by Adam Powell (D NY) to deny funds to racially segregated school districts. Republicans supported the amendment 152-48 with pairs, with Southern Democrats universally in opposition. Border Democrats also opposed it by 8-25, while northern Democrats supported the amendment 70-28.²⁴

The Democratic Party was sidling toward equal rights, but the Republican Party still had claim to be the party of emancipation. On other issues, however, the Coalition held.

- Southerners voted with Republicans to defeat a resolution to disapprove the sale of government synthetic rubber plants, developed during World War II, to larger corporations rather than to smaller companies. Northern Democrats supported the resolution.²⁵
- The Coalition defeated a bill to grant statehood to Alaska and Hawaii. The House passed statehood bills for Hawaii in three previous sessions and for Alaska in 1950. The Senate passed such a bill covering both states in 1954. Eisenhower supported statehood for Hawaii but not for Alaska, citing security concerns. There was opposition to adding two more states with minimal populations to the Union. Southerners were worried about potentially four more senators supporting equal rights. Neither the Speaker nor the Minority Leader supported the bill.²⁶
- Eisenhower's national highway program, credited with leading to the interstate highway system, foundered on how to pay for it. Eisenhower proposed the issuance of 30-year bonds. The Democratic leadership wanted a pay-as-you-go plan of increased highway use taxes, an amendment introduced by Robert Jones. Both plans were defeated, as well as a highway expansion without dedicated funding. The Coalition joined in defeating the Democratic scheme. In the second session,

²³ Rayburn and Johnson were not asked to sign the Manifesto because sponsors did not want to compromise their leadership of the national party. Badger (1999), 519. Committee chairs who did not sign were Harold Cooley of North Carolina (Agriculture), Burleson (House Administration), Percy Priest of Tennessee (Commerce), and Teague (Veterans' Affairs). Those who signed chaired Armed Services, District of Columbia, Education and Labor, Foreign Affairs, Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Post Office and Civil Service, Rules, and Ways and Means.

²⁴ Remini, 373. Wint Smith voted for the amendment, while later opposing the civil rights bill. Dague, Kearns, Dawson, Mack, and Tollefson opposed the amendment but would vote for civil rights. Among Border Staters, Republican Miller opposed this amendment, while supporting the later civil rights bill; Democrats Garmatz and Karsten supported the amendment as they would the civil rights bill; Albert opposed the amendment and the civil rights bill. Teague did not vote on the amendment.

²⁵ *ADA World*, September 1955.

²⁶ Boeckel (1955). *ADA World*, September 1955.

a pay-as-you-go plan passed overwhelmingly after the tax burden was shifted from trucking companies, who heavily lobbied against the original plan, to the general highway user.²⁷

- The Coalition passed a bill to exempt independent producers of natural gas from Federal price regulation at the production point. The Texan Speaker took the floor to give a rare speech in favor of the bill, which passed by six votes. Former Pres. Harry Truman vetoed a similar bill in 1950, as would Eisenhower in 1956. Williams failed to amend the bill to increase the payments to gas producers. Keating moved unsuccessfully to strike the enacting clause of the bill.²⁸
- The Nation's persistent housing shortage continued to generate congressional battles. The Administration proposed a bill to build 70,000 units over two years, while the Senate adopted a bill to build 540,000 units over four years. An amendment to the Administration bill in the House to eliminate all public housing construction, positioned as a lead-in to conference with the Senate, passed with Conservative Coalition support. Congress eventually enacted a bill providing for 45,000 units in one year, with most Republicans opposing and most Democrats, including Southerners, supporting the conference report.²⁹
- HR 7535, the school construction bill to which was added Powell's anti-segregation amendment, failed on opposition by the Conservative Coalition. Both the Administration and the Democratic leadership supported providing \$1.6 billion over four years for aid. There was concern about Federal involvement in school administration that might result from such an act, with Powell's amendment confirming that fear. Republican leaders attributed the opposition of most of their party to the formula for allocation, which did not take into account the need of the school district but only the size of the school population. Liberals charged that 95 Republican representatives voted for the Powell amendment only to ensure defeat of the bill by the Coalition.³⁰

There were other votes on which Southerners in the Class voted with a majority of Republicans against a majority of northern Democrats, but in which most Southern Democrats remained loyal to their Party.

- A bill to extend the Trade Agreements Act succeeded in avoiding recommitment by only seven votes, opponents of the bill wanting the President to be required to charge tariffs if domestic industries were harmed. Most Republicans, traditionally the more protectionist party, supported recommitment with most Democrats opposed.³¹
- As with the recommitment vote on the Trade Agreements Act, a recommitment motion on the customs simplification bill positioned most of the Republican representatives in opposition to the free trade initiatives of the Republican Administration.³²

²⁷ An "interstate highway system" had been designated in the Highway Act of 1946, and by the consideration of Eisenhower's bill included 37,600 miles of highways, but funding was lagging. *Congressional Record*, July 26, 1955, 11542. *CQ Almanac 1955*, 441. Robert Jones was particularly active in debate on the highway bills, advocating for the Democratic pay-as-you-go plan. His obituary in *The New York Times* attributed the success of the 1956 act in part to him. *The New York Times*, June 12, 1997. Boeckel (1955). "Record of the 84th Congress (Second session)."

²⁸ Boeckel (1955). *CQ Almanac 1955*, 454-8.

²⁹ Boeckel (1955).

³⁰ "Record of the 84th Congress (Second session)." *ADA World*, August 1956.

³¹ Boeckel (1955).

³² Boeckel (1955).

- Democrats also supported the Administration in opposition to Republicans in providing \$4 million for United Nations technical assistance, though this was only half of the Administration request.³³
- Democrats in the House attached a \$20 tax cut for each taxpayer and dependent to an Administration bill, arguing that the Republican tax cuts of the 83rd Congress were weighted toward the wealthier and that poorer taxpayers deserved relief. The amendment survived recommitment in the House by five votes but was eliminated in the Senate.³⁴
- The Republican 83rd Congress had enacted the Eisenhower Administration's flexible agricultural price support plan. The Democratic 84th Congress sought to restore fixed price supports. The House passed fixed price supports in the first session by five votes.³⁵
- In the second session the Senate produced a muddled price support program, but the conference report restored the House fixed supports. A motion by the Minority Leader to recommit and return to flexible supports failed, but Eisenhower vetoed the bill.³⁶
- Congress extended the Water Pollution Control Act of 1948 permanently, and the House defeated a Republican amendment to strike \$500 million over ten years for grants to states for sewage treatment plants. Most Democrats opposed the amendment and most Republicans supported it. Blatnik, chair of the Public Works Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee, "forged" the bill, according to Congressional Quarterly.³⁷
- The President's recommendation to increase postal rates passed the House but was never brought to a vote in the Senate. Speaker Rayburn opposed the increase. Most Republicans voted for passage, while most Democrats opposed the increase.³⁸
- Public versus private power production remained a divide between the parties. A Senate-passed bill to fund development of prototype nuclear reactors by the Atomic Energy Commission, and strongly opposed by the power industry, was recommitted by the House with most Republicans supporting recommitment and most Democrats opposing.³⁹

On a number of votes a majority of Southern Democrats opposed a majority of Republicans and a majority of northern Democrats. The votes on the civil rights bill and on the Powell amendment to the housing bill have been mentioned above. Then there were three votes on foreign aid.

- The House passed an appropriation for foreign aid for FY 1956 after reducing the Administration request for \$3.5 billion to \$2.6 billion. Most Southerners opposed the appropriation. Southerner Preston successfully moved an amendment to restore \$4 million for the United Nations, which had been deleted on a point of order by Republican Clare Hoffman of Michigan.⁴⁰
- The Administration's authorization request for FY 1957 was also cut – from \$4.9 billion to \$3.8 billion. Again, most Southerners opposed the appropriation. Hardy attempted unsuccessfully to

³³ *ADA World*, September 1955.

³⁴ Boeckel (1955).

³⁵ Boeckel (1955).

³⁶ "Record of the 84th Congress (Second session)."

³⁷ "Record of the 84th Congress (Second session)." *CQWR*, September 26, 1958, 1238-9.

³⁸ "Record of the 84th Congress (Second session)."

³⁹ "Record of the 84th Congress (Second session)." *ADA World*, August 1956.

⁴⁰ Boeckel (1955). *CQ Almanac 1955*, 247-8.

amend the bill to require the administration to report to Congress any relevant, non-military documents before spending any money.⁴¹

- The FY 1957 appropriation of \$2.6 billion by the House was \$1.4 billion below the Administration request.⁴²

The positions on these 18 roll calls plus the vote on the Powell amendment and the votes on recommittal and passage of the civil rights bill, all considered key votes by either Congressional Quarterly or Americans for Democratic Action or both, reveal a division within both parties between party loyalists and independents.

On these 21 rollcalls the Republican members of the Class voted with the majority of their Party as follows:

18 times: Jackson (CA), Nicholson (MA), Dague (PA), Dawson (UT)
 17 times: Sadlak (CT), Harvey (IN), Miller (MD), Kearns (PA)
 16 times: Allen (CA), Seely-Brown (CT), Coudert (NY), St. George (NY), Keating (NY)
 15 times: Patterson (CT), Riehlman (NY)
 14 times: McCulloch (OH)
 12 times: Smith (KS), Mack (WA), Glenn Davis (WI)
 9 times: Tollefson (WA)

Some votes were missed. Glenn Davis did not vote 6 of the 21 times. Tollefson missed only two votes.

Non-Southern Democrats, including Garmatz of Baltimore and Karsten of St. Louis but not Albert of Little Dixie, Oklahoma, voted with the majority of their Party on these roll calls as follows:

21 times: Karsten (MO)
 20 times: Multer (NY)
 19 times: Blatnik (MN)
 18 times: Garmatz (MD)
 13 times: Donohue (MA)

There was less disaffection from the larger group among these few Democrats than among the Class Republicans, but....

Southern Democrats, including Albert, voted with the majority of Democrats on these 21 roll calls as follows:

16 times: Albert (OK)
 15 times: Jones (AL)
 14 times: Lanham (GA), Deane (NC)
 12 times: Preston (GA), Evins (TN)
 11 times: Passman (LA)
 10 times: Hardy (VA)
 9 times: Teague (TX)
 8 times: James Davis (GA)
 7 times: Dorn (SC), Burleson (TX), Harrison (VA)
 5 times: Williams (MS), Abbitt (VA)

The vote on the three equal rights issues was not the distinguishing feature in lack of Southern party loyalty.

⁴¹ "Record of the 84th Congress (Second session)." *CQ Almanac* 1956, 421.

⁴² "Record of the 84th Congress (Second session)." *ADA World*, August 1956.

Thus, one Republican, Tollefson, and eight Southern Democrats voted with their parties on less than half of these “key” votes.

The change from the Republican 83rd to the Democratic 84th Congress resulted in the usual shake-up in committee assignments, though as members of the Class of '46 gained in seniority, the effect tended to be less onerous on the Republicans and even more positive for the Democrats.

Nicholson was impacted the worst; he lost his seat on the Rules Committee as the number of Republican seats shrank from eight to four. In compensation he received assignments on Banking and Currency and on Public Works, an exception to the rule limiting a member to one major committee. He had served on Banking and Currency in three congresses, but Public Works was new to him. The Committee on Rules now had no members of the Class of '46.

Three Democrats were newly assigned to the Appropriations Committee and one to Ways and Means, as well as Harrison retrieving his seat on the latter committee that was taken away during the Republican interlude. He moved back off Foreign Affairs. Karsten was the new man on Ways and Means, shedding Government Operations as a result. Republican Sadlak remained on Ways and Means as well.

Karsten was identified early by the leadership as a comer, but it still took eight years for him to get an exclusive committee seat.⁴³

Deane, Evins, and Lanham gained seats on Appropriations, leaving Banking and Currency and House Administration in Deane's case, Veterans' Affairs in Evins, and Foreign Affairs in Lanham's. Deane's placement was aided by the removal of fellow North Carolinian Charles Jonas from the Committee due to the reduction in Republican seats. Tennessee had no one on Appropriations since Albert Gore advanced to the Senate in the 83rd Congress and the delegation was lobbying for a seat, specifically one for Evins. Evins contended that he was not interested and preferred to stay on Veterans' Affairs where he would have been second in seniority, but that his fellow Volunteers insisted. He placed twenty-first on Appropriations. Georgia already had a seat on Appropriations in the person of Preston. Carl Albert would attribute Lanham's placement to his being “just one of the most well-liked men in the House.”⁴⁴

These three brought the number of members of the Class of '46 on Appropriations to eight, joining Democrats Passman (chair of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations) and Preston (chair of the Subcommittee on Department of Commerce) and Republicans Coudert (ranking on the Subcommittee for the Departments of State and Justice), Glenn Davis (ranking on the Subcommittee for Public Works), and Miller.

The Appropriations subcommittee chairs and ranking positions were important sources of power, although Davis' opposition to many public works projects likely diminished his influence in the House rather than enhancing it. Davis' biographer quoted soon-to-be House Minority Leader Gerald Ford as saying that Davis in Appropriations would not compromise on anything, that he “could be almost impossible.” The chairships of House Administration for Burleson and Veterans' Affairs for Teague and Tollefson's ranking position on Merchant Marine and Fisheries also could have a broader influence. The effect of these positions was not limited to the functional areas of the committees and subcommittees, for power is fungible. Passman's constituents may not have achieved a concrete return on his being chair

⁴³ Nelson, 420, 445.

⁴⁴ *The Robesonian*, January 5, 1955. Evins interview. Albert interview (1963).

of foreign operations, but the position provided a bargaining chip for the Representative with other members with stakes in his leadership of the subcommittee.⁴⁵

Burleson and Teague advanced to their chairships through conventional seniority. Burleson inherited the ranking position in the 83rd Congress when Stanley resigned to run for governor, Teague with a failure of renomination and a retirement. Ohioan Alvin Weichel's retirement from Congress advanced Tollefson to the top Republican position on the Merchant Marine Committee in 1955.

Subcommittee positions in Appropriations also adhered to seniority with exceptions. Passman's advance to the chair of foreign operations was effected by the Committee Chair deciding that the two members ahead of Passman by seniority on the Subcommittee would be limited to their chairships of other subcommittees. Passman would say, "I didn't know I had the job until I read about it in the papers." Passman was a reliable opponent of foreign aid, which the Committee Chair apparently wanted.⁴⁶

If these seven men, four Democrats and three Republicans, were the winners in committee seniority (or semi-so in Passman's case) among the Class, who were the relative losers? The Democrat with the lowest committee position was Donohue at twelfth on Judiciary. His Republican counterpart was Nicholson, now out of Rules and in eleventh on Banking and Currency. Attorney Donohue had moved onto Judiciary deep into his fifth year in the House, surrendering accumulated seniority on Veterans' Affairs and Expenditures in the Executive Departments for the more prestigious committee. He subsequently moved up five positions thanks to two deaths, a primary defeat, and two retirements (including Frank Wilson of Texas). Nicholson, who joined the 80th Congress late in its first session after a special election, joined Banking and Currency at sixteenth in seniority. He had moved up to eighth before cashing out to move to Rules in the 83rd Congress, and now found himself back on without the previous committee seniority.

Other Republicans who lost in the shifting control of the House were Wint Smith, removed from his Armed Services membership, Mack, who lost Veterans' Affairs, and St. George, losing Government Operations. Other Democrats who gained were Williams, who added District of Columbia, Blatnik and Hardy, who returned to Government Operations after the 83rd hiatus, and Abbitt, who added House Administration in the second session. Other changes were Robert Jones, from District of Columbia and Garmatz from House Administration, both moving to Government Operations.

Committee position was important, but one member of the Class exceeded others in leadership achievement. Rayburn and Majority Leader John McCormack of Massachusetts chose Albert for the position of Majority Whip, the third position among Democrats and the heir apparent for Majority Leader. The party whip's job is to maintain contact with the party membership directly and through a system of regional whips. Unlike in the British House of Commons, the House of Representatives whip is not an enforcer but rather a persuader and vote counter, not a disciplinarian but a shmoozer. The position was available because the previous whip, Percy Priest of Tennessee, preferred to become Chair of the Commerce Committee.⁴⁷

Later, Speaker Thomas O'Neill (D MA) would say that McCormack's choice was Hale Boggs of Louisiana for whip, but Rayburn's choice was Albert. Rayburn's argument was that Albert was a Rhodes scholar, a champion orator, more knowledgeable about legislation than anyone, and, oh yes, from a district adjacent to Rayburn's. Albert's explanation of the advancement would be very similar, but

⁴⁵ Kevin Smith, forward.

⁴⁶ Fenno (1966), 146. Roger Johnson, 72. Bolling (1965), 71.

⁴⁷ Galloway (1961), 113. Albert with Goble, 199, 202-7.

emphasized that he could tell Rayburn how the individual members would vote on a given bill. McCormack created a deputy whip position for Hale Boggs.⁴⁸

Apart from stopping school integration, Abbitt's heart remained with agriculture. On the Committee he became chair of its Subcommittee on Tobacco and successfully sponsored two laws on the commodity.⁴⁹

Allen's focus was on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. In 1956 he was appointed to a special subcommittee to investigate the collision of the *Andrea Doria* with the *Stockholm* off Nantucket. His legislative enactments in the 84th Congress were two private bills.⁵⁰

Albert's position in the leadership led to his initiating four successful housekeeping resolutions. He also got April 12, 1956, designated as Pan-American Day and a private law passed. Albert successfully amended HR 10875, the Agricultural Act of 1956, to include grazing lands in the acreage reserve program.⁵¹

Blatnik succeeded with two private laws and two public works laws, apart from his central role in the water pollution law.⁵²

Burleson, "a dapper, pleasant man," chaired House Administration, "a musty housekeeping body" according to *The Almanac of American Politics*, "with nervous seriousness." A raft of 19 housekeeping bills and resolutions were enacted under his name. In this role he challenged the use of so-called "counterpart funds" for junkets by members of the House. These were monies the State Department received in foreign currencies and which the Department made available to traveling members of Congress. Burleson contended certain trips were not authorized by the House. Among the junketers Burleson targeted were Garmatz and Allen. Burleson was unsuccessful in getting accounting for the trips. He also was the sponsor of a law to improve the franchise for armed forces personnel and a private law. It is noteworthy that Burleson objected to the admission to the United States of refugees from the Hungarian revolt that was suppressed by Soviet and other Warsaw Pact troops. He wrote in a letter to the Secretary of State that they should remain in Hungary and "fight for its freedom." Burleson routinely opposed immigration, sometimes in bigoted terms.⁵³

Coudert's ranking position on an Appropriations subcommittee enabled his contribution to funding of international involvement through the State Department. Nearly a majority of the public bills he introduced over ten sessions were revenue bills, destined for Ways and Means and unsuccessful. He excelled in introducing private bills, 125 so far, versus 33 public bills. Four private laws were enacted in the 84th Congress. He also had an eye for constitutional amendments, having introduced 23 joint resolutions over his House career.

Dague had one private law enacted in the 84th Congress.

⁴⁸ O'Neill with Novak, 214. Albert with Goble, 172. *CQWR*, October 21, 1972, 2774. *Kingsport Times*, February 21, 1955.

⁴⁹ HR 4951 and HJRes 518.

⁵⁰ *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, August 2, 1956. HR 2241 and HR 2242.

⁵¹ *CQ Almanac 1956*, 389.

⁵² *CQWR*, September 26, 1958, 1238-9.

⁵³ Bolling (1965), 104. Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews (1975), 843. *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, September 28, 1955. *El Paso Herald-Post*, August 29, 1957. *New Castle News*, January 11, 1957. *Congressional Record*, June 10, 1947, 7756-7.

James Davis focused on his two committees on Post Office and Civil Service and on District of Columbia as well as on racial politics. Twenty-six of the 38 public bills he introduced in the 84th House were sent to those two committees. Seven of them were enacted, addressing salaries of public employees, DC revenues and police numbers and to define the handling of mentally defective criminal defendants in the District, as well as two private bills.

Dawson's interest was largely on that of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Eleven of his 17 bills were sent there. Two were enacted, one addressing Indian claims and another public lands devoted to schools, as well as one private bill.

Deane sponsored one successful resolution, that in the area of House Administration. It addressed salary inequities among House staffers.

Donohue got one private bill enacted.

It was Veterans' Affairs matters, he was now second behind Teague, that attracted the bulk of Dorn's legislation, 17 of his 30 public bills in the 84th Congress. None were enacted, though one bill that was, but referred to Armed Services, had to do with veterans assigned to the reserves. HR 7886, which would have increased pensions for veterans with non-service-connected disabilities resulted in an internecine battle among veterans organizations. Dorn introduced the bill on behalf of the largest such group, the American Legion, but it was roundly opposed by the American Veterans Committee, AMVETS, American Veterans of World War II and the Korean War, and Disabled American Veterans. Veterans' Affairs Committee Chair Teague advocated defeat of the bill on the floor to "teach the American Legion a lesson it won't forget." The bill nevertheless passed the House, but the Senate took no action. Two of Dorn's bills which addressed issues of public organizations in his constituency and a private bill were enacted.⁵⁴

Evins introduced 36 bills destined for Veterans' Affairs in his five congresses, over half of all the public bills he submitted, but with his change in committee membership his output in the 84th was low, only two of seven public bills. None of his bills were enacted.

Garmatz was successful with one Merchant Marine law and one private law. The former restricted the use of ships that were rebuilt abroad from the US coastal trade.

Hardy returned to the investigations he had become known for. He sponsored a resolution that created a select committee to investigate benefits provided to the survivors of veterans and was appointed Chair. Two other successful resolutions provided funding for the investigation, and a successful bill provided benefits for those survivors. Interestingly, Hardy had no seat on the Veterans' Affairs Committee but was back on Government Operations. He also succeeded with a private law.

Harrison successfully amended HR 3005, which extended the military draft for four years, to prohibit the consideration of surpluses or shortages of farm commodities in the granting or denial of occupational deferments. What seems like an arcane concern for a conscription bill makes a lot of sense for a district with a reliance on agriculture, and particularly apples, like Harrison's. The production of any agricultural commodity is variable, but apple trees in particular tend to produce larger crops every second year. Drafting agricultural labor in a low production year means less available labor in a boom year. Harrison's other activities in legislation also were constituent based. Woodrow Wilson was born in the Representative's District, and Harrison got four bills or resolutions enacted honoring the former President. He also racked up one private law.⁵⁵

Harvey introduced four public and two private bills in the 84th Congress. None made it out of committee.

⁵⁴ *CQ Almanac 1956*, 527-8. HR 7886 was a later bill than HR 3193 from 1951 that was a key vote per CQ.

⁵⁵ *CQ Almanac 1955*, 329-30.

Jackson had four private laws enacted. He was a purveyor of private bills, 112 over his five congresses, versus 19 public bills. His service on the Un-American Activities Committee continued as one of its two major antagonists of recalcitrant witnesses. The Committee, despite the waning of McCarthyism, continued, holding 121 days of public hearings and referring eight witnesses for contempt citations, including playwright Arthur Miller.⁵⁶

Apart from his work on the highway bill, Robert Jones introduced a successful bill to construct the Smithsonian's Museum of History and Technology. He also succeeded in amending HR 5881, a reclamation bill, to direct those funds for non-public land states through the Department of Agriculture rather than the Department of the Interior. Jones, too, was successful with a bill transferring some Federal land to the State of Alabama.⁵⁷

Karsten succeeded with a bill to extend the time for veterans to file claims under the GI Bill of 1952.

Kearns, a member of the District of Columbia Committee, got his bill passed allowing DC police and fire fighters to live outside the District.

Keating continued as a prolific instigator of legislation, introducing 79 bills and 17 resolutions. Four private laws and two public laws were enacted. HR 800 moved up the time to enable the FBI to involve itself in kidnapping cases. HR 2854 increased the penalties for sedition. Thirty-nine of his public bills, including the two enacted, all 17 of his private bills (of course), and eight of his resolutions were destined for his Judiciary Committee.

Lanham introduced 18 public and seven private bills in the 84th Congress. None made it out of committee. He did successfully amend HR 6766, a public works appropriation bill to add \$180,000 to complete a Corps of Engineers survey of a river system in Alabama and Georgia.

Mack successfully got the Public Works Committee to reconsider a Democratic bill to fund the highway expansion with taxes.⁵⁸ He was successful with two private laws.

McCulloch introduced only twelve public and three private bills over his nine sessions in the House; three public and two private were in this Congress.

Edward Miller had one private bill enacted in the 84th Congress.

Multer continued his superfluity of bills, introducing 98 public and 30 private, as well as 21 resolutions in the 84th Congress. One public and three private bills and one joint resolution were enacted. The public law was for the benefit of the Archeological Institute of America. The resolution authorized the disposal of a publicly-owned tin smelter in Texas. He also succeeded in amending HR 10660, the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 to provide a "sense of Congress" that it should aid small business, a non-mandatory requirement. This motion was consistent with a Democratic strategy of accusing the Administration of neglecting small business.⁵⁹ More pointedly, he amended HR 9052, the Export Control Act, to require the Secretary of Commerce to survey the iron and steel scrap trade.

Nicholson succeeded with one public law and two private laws. The former declared a stream in New Bedford as "non-navigable."

Passman's role as chair of the foreign operations subcommittee of Appropriations resulted in his introduction of the two fiscal year appropriation bills for the mutual security foreign aid program, as well

⁵⁶ Goodman, 367, 393. The number cited for contempt is from the *Congressional Record*. Miller was convicted of contempt but the conviction was vacated on appeal. Nevertheless, the sentence of probation and \$500 fine blossomed into \$20,000 in legal fees. Bigsby, 599-600, 608.

⁵⁷ *CQ Almanac 1955*, 461.

⁵⁸ This was HR 7072, which was not reported out.

⁵⁹ Jonathan Bean, 150.

as his support of it on the floor. Both bills were substantially reduced from the Administration's request. Passman also amended HR 6766, Corps of Engineers Appropriation Act for FY 1956, to increase the money for Mississippi River flood control by \$4,210,000.⁶⁰

Patterson's position on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy led to his introduction of a bill to implement Eisenhower's request for a nuclear powered "peace ship" to tour the world.⁶¹ The Committee reported his bill with the addition of a second nuclear powered cargo ship, but the bill that was enacted was that of Herbert Bonner (D NC), chair of the Merchant Marine Committee. One ship would be eventually built and tour from 1962 to 1971.⁶²

As with Passman, Preston's chairship of an Appropriations subcommittee resulted in his sponsorship of bills, in his case to fund the Department of Commerce in both fiscal years. Preston also got a private law enacted and one transferring lands to a town in his District.

Riehlman succeeded in getting two private laws.

Sadlak was successful with a law to amend the Internal Revenue Code in the treatment of the transfer of patent rights.

Seely-Brown's HR 842 increased the annuities of civil servants who constructed the Panama Canal. He also amended HR 11695, which aided school districts impacted by Federal installations to extend the time that alienated Federal property was counted as aid. A private law of his was also enacted.⁶³

Wint Smith, another man of modest bill introductions, eleven public, six private, and two resolutions over five congresses, got a private law enacted in the 84th.

St. George lost her Government Operations seat, but Post Office and Civil Service had been her focus for years. Over her five congresses she introduced 59 bills that went to the latter committee. Two of those were enacted, but her success in the 84th Congress was limited to three private laws. One of only 18 women in the House (which was a record total thus far), she gained press in 1956 by correcting the First Lady. Mamie Eisenhower held her annual tea for congressional wives and invited the congresswomen. Three of the latter showed up, and St. George complained that it was her husband who should have been invited, not she.⁶⁴

Teague's chairship of Veterans' Affairs resulted in eight bills and six resolutions from that Committee being enacted under his sponsorship. The most important of these extended the GI Bill of 1952 for those serving as of January 31, 1955. He also got a law passed conveying land to Texas and three private bills and one private resolution.⁶⁵

Tollefson's resolution authorizing the sale of some Liberty Ships was passed, as was his bill to convey property to Pierce County in Washington. Two private laws were also enacted.

Williams took a particular interest in bills falling under the purview of his Commerce Committee, and one of the nine he introduced was enacted. It mandated permanent certification by the Civil Aeronautics Board of local service air carriers. His bill to convey lands to Mississippi also became law.

⁶⁰ *CQ Almanac 1955*, 229.

⁶¹ *CQ Almanac 1955*, 463-5. The notion of a peace ship was part of Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace initiative. Apart from whatever technical or economic benefits might be achieved from the use of nuclear energy, a goal of the initiative was to reassure a world concerned about Eisenhower's shift of defense planning to one of massive nuclear retaliation. Jean Smith, 643-6. Halberstram 1993, 396-7.

⁶² *NS Savannah*, U.S. Maritime Administration, Virtual Office of Acquisition, undated, at archive.org.

⁶³ *CQ Almanac 1956*, 601.

⁶⁴ *Daily News* (New York), April 21, 1956.

⁶⁵ *CQ Almanac 1955*, 345-6.

In more personal matters:

Albert spent weeks in the hospital for the removal of a cyst on his leg.⁶⁶

Blatnik married for the second time (his first marriage being largely hidden) on April 9, 1955. Gisela Hager was German, a stenographer, and thirty.⁶⁷

Jessie McNabb Sanborn, wife of John, died November 19, 1955 in Boise following a heart attack.⁶⁸

Dorn's third daughter, Debbie Gail, was born July 21, 1955, in Washington.⁶⁹

Malcolm Nicholson, son of the Representative from Massachusetts, died September 2, 1955, at the age of 32.⁷⁰

The Supreme Court reinstated former California Rep. Ernest Bramblett's conviction for making false statements in connection with payroll kickbacks. He was fined \$5000 and given a four to twelve months suspended sentence. He was then sued for \$35,408 for diverting public funds in payments to dummy staff. He was still battling a suit from the 1950 election in which Frederick Farr, the campaign manager of his Democratic opponent had sued for libel as a result of newspaper ads for Bramblett that said that Farr subscribed to a communist newspaper and was involved with a communist front organization. Farr eventually would win a retraction and some damages.⁷¹

Kingsland Macy of New York won \$50,000 in his libel suit against the *New York World-Telegram and the Sun* over the Hanley letter than figured in Macy's defeat for reelection to the House in 1950.⁷²

Richard Nixon of California was reelected vice president.

Sen. John Kennedy of Massachusetts had surgery in February 1955 to remove an infected plate attached to his spine and for bone grafts. From May 1955 until October 1957, he was hospitalized nine times due to back pain, colitis, diarrhea, dehydration, prostatitis, and urinary tract infection. In 1956 he narrowly missed being nominated the Democratic candidate for Vice President.⁷³

John Carroll defeated Truman's former Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan in the primary and the former Governor of Colorado Daniel Thornton in the election to win a US Senate seat in 1956.

Norris Cotton of New Hampshire was reelected to the US Senate.

George Smathers of Florida was reelected to the US Senate without opposition. He also seconded the nomination of Kennedy for Vice President.⁷⁴

Jacob Javits of New York was elected to the US Senate, defeating Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City.

Thruston Morton of Kentucky resigned as assistant secretary of state for congressional relations and was elected to the US Senate, defeating incumbent Earle Clements.

Homer Jones of Washington was defeated for State treasurer by former Treasurer Tom Martin.⁷⁵

⁶⁶ *The Brazosport Facts*, January 10, 1956. *The Paris News*, January 24, 1956.

⁶⁷ *The Daily Telegram*, April 11, 1955. *The Winona Daily News*, April 27, 1955.

⁶⁸ *Reno Evening Gazette*, November 30, 1955.

⁶⁹ *The Index-Journal*, July 21, 1955.

⁷⁰ Malcolm M. Nicholson stone, Centre Cemetery, Wareham, Massachusetts.

⁷¹ *CQ Almanac 1955*, 393. *Oxnard Press-Courier*, June 15, 1955. *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, November 1, 1956. *Santa Maria Times*, November 2, 1950. *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, March 31, 1955. *The Modesto Bee and News-Herald*, May 25, 1955. Farr interview, 9-16.

⁷² *Sun-Bulletin*, July 16, 1961.

⁷³ Dallek.

⁷⁴ Sorenson, 80-92.

⁷⁵ *Port Angeles Evening News*, April 24, 1956. Washington Election Results.

John Sanborn of Idaho was defeated for the nomination for US senator by the incumbent, Herman Welker. Sanborn came in fourth of five candidates with 11%.

Charles Fletcher was appointed by the Governor to the California Commission on Correctional Facilities and Services.⁷⁶

Charles Kersten of Wisconsin was appointed a consultant in the office of Nelson Rockefeller, a special assistant to Eisenhower on foreign affairs. Kersten described the position as a consultant on psychological warfare. Kersten left after a year at the end of January 1956.⁷⁷

Robert Tripp Ross of New York was promoted from deputy assistant secretary for legislative affairs to assistant secretary of defense for legislative and public affairs.

Don Wheeler was badly missed by his House Democratic baseball team. Syd Herlong (D FL), the manager of the team, said, "[H]e was a sweet pitcher. We owe him last year's victory and there's no one to replace him." The Democrats had won six straight. In 1954, Wheeler pitched a no-hit, no-run game. The Republicans were victorious in 1955, 12-4.⁷⁸

Richard Vail of Illinois died on July 29, 1955, in Chicago of congestive heart failure.⁷⁹ He was 59. This was nine months after his disastrous attempt to return to the House. Given that the disease tends to be chronic and progressive, perhaps Vail was not at his best in fall 1954.

Former Rep. Howard Coffin of Michigan died on February 28, 1956, in Washington of a heart attack at the age of 78. Marie Thraikill Coffin, his second wife, survived.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ *Daily Independent Journal*, March 12, 1956.

⁷⁷ *The La Crosse Tribune*, July 25, 1955. *The Daily Telegram*, February 3, 1956.

⁷⁸ Drew Pearson, January 23, June 26, 1955. *Fort Pierce News-Tribune*, January 27, 1955.

⁷⁹ *The Edwardsville Intelligencer*, July 30, 1955.

⁸⁰ *The Kansas City Times*, February 29, 1956. Marie Thraikill Brown Coffin stone, Green Lawn Cemetery, Columbus, Ohio.