

Chapter 23 – The Grand Old Minority: The 1958 Election

The surviving members of the Class of '46 became more secure in their nominations. Of the 36 incumbents nominated in 1958, 27 had no opposition and 29 received more than 90% of the ballots.¹ Only two candidates, Democrat Toby Morris of Oklahoma and Republican Wint Smith of Kansas, received less than 55% and both were nominated. The table gives the proportions for each of the elections. The figures for the preceding years, including the entire Class of 1946 and the associated special elections, are included in the table for comparison.

	1958	1956	1954	1952	1950	1948	1946
Uncontested	75%	59%	70%	54%	51%	58%	24%
Over 90%	81%	69%	70%	54%	54%	58%	26%
Over 55%	94%	92%	89%	91%	92%	88%	54%
Lost Nomin.	0%	3%	7%	2%	2%	5%	0%
Missing %	0%	0%	2%	4%	3%	1%	5%

The greatest increase in primary or convention security was after the initial election, but the security of nomination continued to increase. While the conventional election security threshold of 55% was reached by 88% as early in 1948, this metric is less applicable to the relatively unstructured competition of intraparty contests. Not until 1954 did more than a bare majority of incumbents avoid a significant challenge of less than 10%. By 1958 81% of them faced essentially no real opposition in securing their party's nomination.

The Connecticut contingent (Republicans James Patterson, Antoni Sadlak, and Horace Seely-Brown), nominated by conventions, was secure all along. New York, where the primary was a low-turnout endorsement of the party leaderships' designations, provided safe summer run-ons to the November election for Republicans Kenneth Keating, Katherine St. George, and Walter Riehlman, and Democrat Abraham Multer. The strong party organizations of Ohio, Washington, Minnesota, and Massachusetts also provided similar assurance of the renominations of Republicans William McCulloch of Ohio and Thor Tollefson and Russell Mack of Washington, and Democrats John Blatnik of Minnesota and Harold Donohue of Massachusetts. The structured intraparty factionalism in Democratic Virginia protected Byrdite Burr Harrison, who was nominated three of the seven times by convention, and possibly contributed to the safety of Byrd-agnostic Porter Hardy.

Less explicable is the immunity from Democratic opponents of Democrats Robert Jones of Alabama and Olin Teague of Texas, neither of whom was challenged for nomination after 1946. One may have to chalk this up simply to being in all respects what their constituents and party elites wanted in a representative.

The same might be said of Democrats Brian Dorn in South Carolina and Joe Evins in Tennessee and of Republican Edward Miller in Maryland, who fought earlier battles for renomination but had not been significantly contested since 1952. The urban political organizations of St. Louis and Baltimore also provided security after 1952 for Democrats Frank Karsten and Edward Garmatz. Republican William Dawson in Utah benefited from a primary limited to two candidates who had led the vote in the District Convention.

¹A handful of write-in votes are ignored.

Republican Donald Jackson of Los Angeles lost fewer than 10% of the votes in 1958 and 1956 and never fell below 82% of the ballots after 1946. Republican John Allen of Oakland slipped a little under 90% in 1958 and always exceeded 75% after 1946. In all such cases their primary challengers were Democrats in California's cross-filing primary system. Similarly, neither came close in that system to winning the Democratic nomination since Allen did so in 1952.

Democrats Omar Burleson of Texas, Watkins Abbitt of Virginia, and Otto Passman of Louisiana, and Republican Carroll Kearns of Pennsylvania were unchallenged for nomination in 1958 and, with one exceptional year for Burleson, had similar easy times on previous occasions. Democrat James Davis of Atlanta won without opposition in 1958 as well, but it was his first time ever to top 68.5%.

Democrat Carl Albert of Oklahoma enjoyed walk-offs only twice in seven tries but came close in 1958 with 88% of the vote, Manley Misenheimer making his fifth run against the man who was now the Democrat's third ranking member in the House.

Republican Ralph Harvey of Indiana, always challenged but never greatly threatened, stayed within the 80% to 90% range of his primaries after his initial nomination. Harvey had two opponents in 1958: Herrod Carr, a 1948 opponent, returned with worse results for himself than ten years earlier; William David Loehr, 35, who two years later would be operating a drive-in restaurant, was a new opponent. Loehr had had a fraught childhood and would become rare among political candidates in self-revelation to take on the chairship of the National Convention of Former Mental Patients. The two candidates held Harvey to 84%.²

Republican Paul Dague of Pennsylvania, similarly, in 1958 stayed at the same 79% performance as in 1956 and against the same opponent.

Democrat Prince Preston of Georgia was not challenged for nomination from 1948 through 1954, but was held under a majority of the popular vote in 1956. In 1958 he captured only 59% against one of his 1956 challengers, Elliott Hagan, who continued to complain, however politely, of Preston's government-insured windfall in 1954.³

Wint Smith never had that easy a time of renomination, and 1958 was the worst since 1946. Two opponents held the incumbent to a plurality of 45%. The more serious opponent was Keith Sebelius, who came in only 51 votes behind Smith. Sebelius was 41, a War veteran, an attorney, a former Mayor, a former vice-chair of Kansas Young Republicans, and a former Commander of the Kansas American Legion. It being largely impossible to run to the right of Smith, the challenger confirmed the incumbent's policy stances except for the matter of pork for the District, which Smith unarguably was deficient in acquiring.⁴

Smith always needed to run hard for renomination, but he could not hold a candle to Morris, who lost three runs for the nomination before succeeding in a run-off in 1946, was defeated in a run-off in 1952, came back with a narrow run-off victory in 1956 and in 1958 found himself with four opponents. The most insignificant was a repeater from a poor showing in 1956. The most significant was former Representative Victor Wickersham, who ousted Morris in 1952 and had the tables turned in 1956. The central issue in the campaign, apart from the known personalities and histories of Morris and Wickersham, was the proposed expansion of the Army's Fort Sill. Both Morris and Wickersham supported the expansion in 1956, and

² *Greenfield Daily Reporter*, December 18, 1926; March 27, 1959; May 27, 1961. *The Anderson Herald*, May 1, 1960. *The Hancock Democrat*, May 5, July 21, 1932.

³ *The Atlanta Constitution*, August 22, September 1, 1958.

⁴ *The Salina Journal*, January 9, May 14, June 5, July 9 & 16 & 30 & 31, October 30, 1958. Sebelius' daughter-in-law Kathleen would in 2003 become the Democratic governor of Kansas and in 2009 the United States Secretary of Health and Human Services.

Wickersham blamed it for his loss. Wickersham came out in opposition to the expansion in 1958, which was also the *raison d'être* of one of the other opponents. While the people directly inconvenienced by the Fort's wanting to acquire 280,000 more acres for a missile artillery range had one perspective, those whose livelihoods were tied to the Fort had another, and Morris tried to split the difference.⁵

Morris topped Wickersham by 483 votes, but far short of the majority needed to avoid a run-off. With the exception of the Ft. Sill issue, the runoff was a replay of the two previous battles between the candidates with Morris squeaking out an 81-vote victory after countercharges of vote fraud.⁶

Finally, there was one nonincumbent member of the Class of '46 who attempted a return. Don Wheeler in southeast Georgia, who failed of renomination in 1954, took on Rep. Iris Blitch, who bested him then by only 369 votes. Wheeler had declared his intention to run in 1956 but did not, possibly because county-units would be the deciding factor again and Blitch beat him 32 to 16 in unit votes in 1954. County-units were to be used again in 1958, but Wheeler made a run at it. Wheeler accused Blitch of absenteeism in roll calls (which was her charge against Wheeler in 1954) and in support of the District. Blitch had also promised to be more of a supporter of Democrats than Wheeler, but evidence in support of that was lacking. She was accompanied in her campaigning by the wife of the late Gov. Eugene Talmadge. Not given much of a chance, Wheeler was sunk even further by being sued the day before the primary, accused of engaging in a stock fraud aimed at Georgia schoolteachers. The timing of the suit was highly suspect, and Wheeler, though later arrested, escaped conviction. Blitch took every county-unit vote, and Wheeler managed only 24% of the popular vote.⁷

In 1958 all incumbent members of the Class of '46, who wanted to be, were renominated by their parties. Two Republican members did not want to be.

Frederic Coudert of New York City, after a general election win by 478 votes in 1956, decided to retire. His biographers would later write that his "interest in congressional work had begun to diminish" and that "a rising young liberal Republican" named John Lindsay announced he would run. Lindsay, President of the New York Young Republican Club, did announce, but the District organization voted to support Elliot Goodwin. Coudert backed Goodwin, but Lindsay won the rare competitive primary with 61%.⁸

Donald Nicholson of Massachusetts easily won reelection in 1956 but announced four-and-a-half months later he would not be a candidate in 1958. "I'm fed up with by-passing of the Constitution, with 'modern Republicanism,' with huge budgets, with federal interference in the states," he said. "Congress seems willing to surrender all its constitutional powers to the President and the government. I've had it."⁹

Thus departed two Republicans, Nicholson the more conservative. Political analyst Kevin Phillips saw Coudert's retirement, in particular, as evidence of the growing liberalism of the northeastern "establishment." Lindsay, a liberal Republican, succeeded to the Manhattan seat, while the Massachusetts District fell to Republican Hastings Keith, also more liberal than Nicholson, but less so than Lindsay.¹⁰

⁵ *The Lawton Constitution*, July 22, 1956; January 19, March 6, June 8 & 22, 1958. *Miami Daily News-Record*, June 27, 1958. *CQWR*, June 27, 1958, 826.

⁶ *Miami Daily News-Record*, July 27, 1958. *The Lawton Constitution*, July 29, 1958.

⁷ *The Atlanta Constitution*, October 28, 1955; June 5, 1956; August 25, September 10, December 11, 1958; October 3, 1959; September 1, 1960. *Georgia Register* 1959.

⁸ Coudert, Jones, and Klepp, 111. Citron, 64.

⁹ *Tampa Morning Tribune*, March 20, 1957.

¹⁰ Phillips, 85-6. Based on roll-call voting analysis at Voteview.com.

Such “growing liberalism” may have been a major contributor to the Democratic accomplishment in gaining 19 House seats in New England and the mid-Atlantic states in the 1958 election compared to the 1956 election. After all, Pres. Dwight Eisenhower with a rather moderate image did little campaigning, while Vice Pres. Richard Nixon, reviled in more liberal circles for his earlier red-baiting, “bore the brunt of the task of stumping the country” for the Administration. Economics is a partial determinant of ideology, but the worst recession since the 1930s, whose memory was still within the lifespan of many voters, undoubtedly had an impact apart from philosophies. The Administration’s farm program was widely unpopular in the farm belt, and the Democrats gained 23 seats in the Midwest. A Republican push to enact “right-to-work” laws, a general failure, also contributed to Democratic gains in industrial areas in the North. In the South, Eisenhower’s intervention in the Little Rock school integration situation halted Republican gains in that region, and Democrats picked up two seats in Border States. America’s lagging in missiles against the Soviet Union and the appearance of scandal surrounding Sherman Adams hurt generally.¹¹ Five seats were added to the Democratic total in the West, including the bonus seat temporarily created for the new 49th state, Alaska. The overall Democratic gain was 51 seats, including the Alaskan one.

Among the Class of ’46, seven Republican incumbents were defeated, barely in the case of four (Miller in Maryland, Harvey in Indiana, Dawson in Utah, and Allen in California) who each took 49%, and none by more than twelve points.

The three who lost more badly were all in Connecticut.

Sadlak in the At-large District fared worst, going down 17 points from his 1956 showing. It was another Pole versus Pole contest. Democrat Frank Kowalski, 51, largely absent for 30 years in the Army, won the nomination in convention after a bitter challenge by the 1956, non-Polish, nominee. Sadlak had taken his eye off the House ball by publicly seeking the nomination for governor from December 1957 to the State Convention, where he withdrew and accepted the renomination for the House. The general House election was in many respects a textbook conservative-liberal battle on issues, with the addition of Kowalski’s criticism of the Administration’s weakness on defense. Kowalski’s absence from the State was reportedly mitigated by his wife’s published memoir of a long marriage of constantly packing up to follow her husband as he (and she) served and protected the nation.¹²

Patterson dropped 16 points from 1956 to an eight-point loss to Democrat John Monagan. Unlike Kowalski, Monagan, 46 and a lawyer, had been Mayor of Waterbury, largest city in the District, had run unsuccessfully for the House at the age of 30 and had not served in the military.¹³

While Seely-Brown in eastern Connecticut lost by only seven points, his vote was twelve points less than two years before. His opponent, Democrat Chester Bowles, 57, had been the State’s Governor and an Ambassador to India, unlike the unknown Kowalski and the locally prominent Monagan. *The Hartford Courant* reported that Seely-Brown went on his reelection campaign as usual: “He walks from one house to the other, ringing doorbells, saying hello and bringing to the housewife his campaign trademark, a pot-holder.” In the meantime, Mrs. Bowles drove her candidate around in a Buick station wagon with a leaking radiator and festooned with campaign signs. Both candidates appeared at multitudinous coffees, which

¹¹ Key (1964), 567. “Eisenhower, always reluctant to involve himself in partisan politicking, would be able to do even less than in 1954 because of his health.” Nixon *Memoirs*, 199. Busch, 94-5, 98. Barone, 304-5.

¹² *The Bridgeport Post*, April 6, June 1 & 18 & 30, September 4, October 4 & 8, 1958. *Naugatuck Daily News*, June 30, 1958. *The Bridgeport Telegram*, January 22 & 28, June 11, August 7, October 31, 1958. *The Hartford Courant*, June 18, 1958.

¹³ *The Washington Post*, October 25, 2005

Bowles blamed for his weight gain. Both ran with their full Connecticut party ticket, which their positions reflected.¹⁴

Whatever the idiosyncrasies of the three races, Connecticut as a whole was a Democratic windfall in 1958. The Party captured the governorship, a US Senate seat, all six House seats, all eight sheriff's positions, and both houses of the General Assembly. Yet, Congressional Quarterly opined on October 10 that all three Class members were favored to win.¹⁵

Congressional Quarterly also thought Miller was quite safe. Democrat Thomas Johnson, 49, a lawyer and former district attorney and legislator, disagreed. Miller had beaten him before, in 1950. The campaigns were fairly standard Republican-Democratic contests, but what probably flipped the District was the Administration's farm program, the Eastern Shore being preeminently agricultural.¹⁶

Harvey's Indiana District was more agricultural in spirit than in economics, but Administration farm policy helped too in this incumbent as well. Democrat Randall Harmon, 55, a factory machinist and union leader, was nominated over organization opposition. He had run for office five times as a Republican (three of them against Harvey); this was his third try, but first against Harvey, as a Democrat. He had never even visited the District of Columbia and was ill during the fall campaign and made only one speech. Congressional Quarterly thought Harvey was safe. One Indiana newspaper reported the "almost unanimous belief" that Harvey would win. But Muncie, New Castle, Connersville, and Richmond were "recession-hit," not to mention Administration agricultural policy. Harvey's ads claimed, "Farm income is the highest in history." He blamed the recession on Democratic scuttling to ensure a presidential win in 1960 and thereby aid "the Communist line that the capitalistic system eventually must give way to a socialistic economy." Harvey would say his defeat was due to the "difficulty of living in Washington and keeping liaison with the district," letting his "bulletin back home lag," and the crippling of his campaign team by illness and other duties.¹⁷

Democrat David King also took a conspiracist line in criticizing Dawson in Utah for his opposition to the Kennedy-Ives labor bill as a Republican plot to keep labor racketeering as a live issue. Dawson's campaign was curious in responding specifically to King's attacks on the incumbent and the Administration on labor reform, foreign policy, projects to reduce unemployment, and housing, rather than posturing above the petty complaints. Congressional Quarterly, again, deemed Dawson favored and, what's more, polls showed him with big leads, right up to four days before the election. Nevertheless, King, 41, a lawyer and business college teacher, a "political newcomer" despite being the son of a former US Senator, won the election.¹⁸

Dawson saw the biggest drop in election percentage, nine points, of the four narrow losers. Allen of Oakland had the least, four points. His vote share had not topped 53% since 1952 and the decreasing

¹⁴ *The Hartford Courant*, September 14 & 16, 1958. *The Bridgeport Post*, November 1, 1958. By November the car was a new Ford convertible.

¹⁵ *The Bridgeport Post*, December 28, 1958. *CQWR*, October 10, 1958, 1287-8.

¹⁶ *CQWR*, October 10, 1958, 1288. *The Baltimore Sun*, October 19, 1958.

¹⁷ The farm population was 14% of the total in 1960 according to the Census. There were nearly 13,000 autoworkers in the District in the 1950 Census. *The Terre Haute Tribune*, October 31, 1958. *The Franklin Evening Star*, November 3 & 20, 1958. *CQWR*, October 10, 1958, 1296. *The Evening Republican*, October 30, 1958. *Greenfield Daily Reporter*, October 14, 1958. *The Anderson Herald*, April 27, 1958. *Rushville Republican*, November 2, 1964. Harvey, 62.

¹⁸ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, September 23 & 26 & 28 & 30, October 4 & 5 & 7, 1958. *CQWR*, October 24, 1958, 1357. *The Daily Herald*, October 31, 1958. *Idaho State Journal*, November 5, 1958.

Republicanism of the Bay Area contributed as much as anything to his defeat by Jeffrey Cohelan, 44, a long-time union official with the Milk Drivers and Dairy Employees local. He also possessed a bachelors in economics, a Fulbright to Leeds and Oxford, and three years on the Berkeley City Council.

One other incumbent Republican in the Class of '46 dropped to 49% of the vote in 1958 – Smith. Having squeaked through the primary by 51 votes, he now won the general election by 233 votes. The Prohibition candidate's 1624 votes ensured that Smith won a minority but plurality of the ballots. The Democratic candidate was Elmo Mahoney, whom Smith fought off in 1954 and 1956. Congressional Quarterly, so wrong in the other elections we have noted, reported that Smith "could easily lose." One must admit that the Journal was correct. The District was very much agricultural, but Smith spent much breath on Labor issues, not to mention communism, they being largely equivalent to the Representative. Curiously, so did Mahoney, while attacking Smith for a peculiar list of shortcomings: killing a code of ethics of businessman advisers to government, denying funds to investigate regulatory agencies, cutting \$50 million from Federal grants for sewage disposal plants, cutting funds from veterans' re-employment rights, and opposing passage of the flood control rivers and harbor bill. Mahoney did not seem to know where he lived or anything about agricultural policy and yet almost won.¹⁹

Allen's fellow California Republican, Jackson, easily survived the election purge with a small drop in performance, though he too faced an effort by organized labor, this to elect Democrat Melvin Lennard, a Beverly Hills attorney and Labor arbitrator.²⁰

Pennsylvanians Kearns and Dague also endured with small falls in their election percentages. Kearns in particular escaped the effects of the recession which hit Erie hard. Democrat James O'Brien, 37, was a former businessman become an employee of the US Department of Agriculture, from which he was required to depart to mount his first political campaign. Dague had less trouble with Democrat James Paul, 32, a lawyer and law professor.²¹

New Yorkers Riehlman and St. George also survived, the latter with a small drop in support. Riehlman saw his vote percentage fall 13 points but still to an acceptable 54%. Yet, it was his worst showing since 1948. Democrat and Liberal Caryl Kline, 43, was his opponent. A geography professor, Kline was the sister of Republican turned Democratic Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon. Apart from accusing Riehlman of absenteeism, she campaigned on foreign policy, specifically Eisenhower's intervention in Lebanon and the more general opposition to aid for "kings, sheiks or chiefs" and their "policies of economic enslavement and exploitation."²²

After the heavily publicized challenge by Bill Mauldin, St. George faced Democrat David Sive, who failed by 22 points. Sive, 38, an attorney and political novice, hit all the Democratic policy points but failed to lure St. George out of "teas, fashion shows, club meetings and an occasional political rally," according to the *New York Herald Tribune*. Perhaps his (purely hypothetical but worthy of Mauldin) winning move was an effort to campaign door-to-door in walled Tuxedo Park, St. George's home. He was denied entry.²³

Not only did Tollefson fall off from his 1956 showing by a mere half of a percentage point (still leaving him in the worrisome low 50s), but his Washington Classmate Mack saw his performance improve to 61%.

¹⁹ CQWR, October 17, 1958, 1323. *The Salina Journal*, September 28, October 2 & 12 & 29, November 3, 1958.

²⁰ *The Van Nuys News and Valley Green Sheet*, October 8, 1968.

²¹ *Standard-Sentinel*, October 17, 1958. *Lock Haven Express*, October 30, 1958. *The Record-Argus*, March 18, November 5, 1958. *Pottstown Mercury*, November 4, 1958.

²² *The Binghamton Sun*, November 2, 1958. CQWR, October 10, 1958, 1299. *The Post-Standard*, July 20, August 4, October 15, 1958.

²³ *Daily News* (New York), November 2, 1956. *The Reporter Dispatch*, September 2 & 12, October 6 & 15 & 29, 1958. *Kingston Daily Freeman*, September 17, 1973. *The Binghamton Sun*, October 10, 1958.

Tollefson had lost badly to Democrat John Coffee in 1944 and defeated him in 1946 by eight points and by twelve points in 1950. Now Coffee, currently 61, was back. Mack faced a new (to him) Democrat, Victor Meyers, 61, the Washington Secretary of State and also a band leader. Meyers ran an active campaign, hitting many Democratic policy points but also making his opposition to foreign aid a major point in his campaign.²⁴ Washington's Democratic Legislature made a mid-point correction to congressional districts in 1957, eliminating the at-large seat and supposedly increasing Tollefson's vulnerability. Congressional Quarterly thought both Tollefson and Mack were in jeopardy, though the latter's District was unaffected.²⁵

The last incumbent Republican in the Class, McCulloch, took an eight-point drop but still was secure with 61% of the vote. While Ohio Democrats had a good year, taking the General Assembly, the governorship, and a Senate seat, Marjorie Conrad Struna fell short against McCulloch. Even Congressional Quarterly did not fear for the Representative. Mrs. Struna, 42, was a Lima first grade teacher and a newcomer to politics.²⁶

McCulloch likely feared not, but 1958 was a hard lesson for other Republican winners. Dague's 62% was the best showing for a Republican member of the Class in 1958, while no Democratic member received less than 64%. One reason for the divide, of course, was that so many of the Democrats came from Southern one-party districts: Burleson, James Davis, Dorn, Evins, Hardy, Robert Jones, Passman, Preston, Teague, and John Bell Williams of Mississippi faced no opposition.

The other Virginia Democrats, Watkins Abbitt and Harrison, had a harder but not hard time of it, though neither faced a Republican. Eisenhower carried the State in both 1952 and 1956 with Sen. Harry Byrd's tacit blessing, but that did not mean the Senator appreciated Virginia Republicans. Harrison's District had voted around 64% for Eisenhower at the two opportunities, yet he now faced only Henry Oder Jr who called himself an "independent Republican," and who eked out 23% of the vote. Eisenhower had run well, considering, in Abbitt's District but failed to prevail. Frank McCann tried to challenge Abbitt as a Republican but the District Party refused to nominate anyone; so, he ran as an independent and got a miserable 13% of the ballots.²⁷

Abbitt was the only Southern Democrat in the Class to see his vote percentage fall from 1956, but that was due to having no opponent in the previous election. Harrison improved by eight points, having faced a non-independent Republican in 1956. The Republican opposition in 1956 to Dorn, Hardy, Robert Jones, and James Davis also disappeared in 1958; the last had been held to 59%. Little Rock apparently doomed the President's party in the South.

Oklahoma Democrat Albert also saw his performance improve and by a substantial 14 points. He drew the same Republican as before, Chapin Wallace, 55, a realtor. There was no contest; Albert got 91%. His fellow Sooner, Morris, also had the same Republican opponent, Fred Coogan, 69, an oilman. The incumbent, however, did not improve over 1956 (though slipping by only two points) after surviving a difficult primary only to find that some Victor Wickersham supporters organized Democrats for Coogan, and that the Ft. Sill expansion still continued to roil.²⁸

²⁴ CQWR, October 10, 1958, 1302; October 24, 1958, 1357. *The Daily Chronicle*, September 2 & 3 & 5, October 20 & 28 & 30 & 31, November 6, 1958.

²⁵ CQWR, January 17, 1958, 64; October 24, 1958, 1357-8

²⁶ CQWR, October 10, 1958, 1300; October 17, 1958, 1326. *The Delphos Courier*, February 3, 1960.

²⁷ CQ Almanac 1957, 175. *Kingsport Times*, October 12, 1958. *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, July 13, 1958. *The Progress-Index*, July 23, 1958.

²⁸ *The Lawton Constitution*, May 30, November 2, 1958; July 13, 1959. CQWR, September 26, 1958, 1237.

The non-Southern Democrats in the Class all improved their vote share over 1956 with Karsten of St. Louis leading the pack with a nine-point increase. Republican Paul Corning, 30, an attorney, was a last-minute fill-in for the initial nominee, who withdrew due to ill health; Corning took a paltry 24% of the vote.²⁹

Garmatz of Baltimore and Multer of Brooklyn both gained seven points over their previous showings, with Garmatz getting a huge 84% and Multer a safe 78% of the ballots. Republican Harry Kemper, Garmatz' opponent, was a repeat from 1956 and four other failed attempts. Hyman Siegel was a fresh Republican for Multer. Siegel, 52, ran after his law partner of 27 years was elected New York attorney general. Multer was not noticeably hurt by a Drew Pearson column in October criticizing a monthlong junket he and his wife took to Europe.³⁰

Donohue, improving four points to 64%, beat Republican Charles Briggs. Blatnik saw the smallest increase in his vote of the Northern Democrats, two points to a still very safe 76%. Republican Roy Ranum, 60, a long-time Mayor and a past State Senator, was a foreman at a paper plant. Blatnik's opposition during the campaign to Eisenhower's protection of Nationalist China's claim to Quemoy did not appear to hurt him.³¹

The 1958 election was a bloodletting for Republicans, both in the Class of '46 and the House in general, though whether it was therapeutic is debatable. Among the Class there were 20 Democrats (13 of them Southern plus the two Oklahomans) and 19 Republicans in the 85th House. After the 1958 elections there were 19 Democrats, Henderson Lanham having died in November 1957, and only nine Republicans.

If the reader has been keeping count in this chapter, he or she might have a question. Keating indeed won renomination to the House but was not reelected to that body. Political columnist James C. Munn reported in May that the Representative was "sorely tempted to gamble for higher office...." Earlier in the month Sen. Irving Ives announced his retirement due to ill health. Keating was the obvious candidate for this "up-state" seat but soon announced he would not be a candidate for it, valuing his House seniority. Then, two weeks after Keating was renominated for the House, former New York Governor and twice presidential candidate Thomas Dewey and current gubernatorial candidate Nelson Rockefeller at a breakfast meeting decided to back Keating for the Senate. The next day while Keating was being cajoled in person by Rockefeller, Vice Pres. Richard Nixon called with a plea from him and the President to make the run. That day he was nominated by the State Convention and in November was elected with 51% of the vote. Rockefeller, a liberal, won the governorship by a larger margin and was the Republican Party's major success in a bleak year.³²

In the House as a whole, the number of Republicans dropped to 153 from 203 in the previous election. At a longer-term perspective, that 153 compared to the 246 seats the Party held after the 1946 election, and for the Class of '46 that fall-off was from 71 Republicans (including the special elections for the 80th House) to 9.

²⁹ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 30, 1958.

³⁰ *The Morning Herald*, December 14, 1955. *Arizona Daily Star*, May 24, 1963. Drew Pearson, October 3, 1958.

³¹ *The Austin Daily Herald*, July 7, 1958. *The St. Cloud Daily Times*, October 22, 1958. *CQWR*, October 10, 1958, 1307.

³² *The Evening Times*, May 23, 1958. *Wellsville Daily Reporter*, May 15, August 27, 1958. *The Troy Record*, May 15 & 23, 1958. *Kingston Daily Freeman*, August 18 & 25, 1958. *CQWR*, August 29, 1958, 1156.

For political scientist Andrew Busch and political analyst Michael Barone, the 1958 mid-term election was a watershed, “preparatory” (in Busch’s categorization) to a period of Democratic dominance in the presidency, as 1950 was and 1966 and 1978 would be to a term of Republican supremacy. But in the House of Representatives, the 203 seats the Republican Party had held after the 1956 election would not be equaled again for 38 years.³³

Members of the Class of ’46 who did not return to the House after 1958:

John Allen concerned himself with the Merchant Marine and fisheries. Two of his four enacted public bills did that, including an interstate fisheries compact on the Pacific Coast. The other two public laws dealt with the District of Columbia as did his one accepted floor amendment. That was the only floor amendment that he proposed; his floor participation was moderate with a 109 count over six terms. He proposed 55 public bills and 150 private bills, 21 of this latter being enacted (only one fewer than Keating, who was first among Class Republicans) and one vetoed. One resolution out of 19 was enacted. On key votes Allen voted with Republicans 162 times, Democrats 21 times (13 with Northerners only), and missed three. He was contrary in opposition to the Colorado River project and supporting recommitment of a bill to increase pensions for veterans with non-service-connected disabilities. His rated voting was on the liberal side of the Republican center.

Frederic Coudert, like Allen, specialized in private bills, introducing 147 and succeeding with 16. None of his 47 public bills were enacted. Two of his 52 resolutions were adopted, addressing amateur radio and Alexander Hamilton. He was active on the floor, speaking 246 times and particularly concerned with statehood for Hawaii, foreign aid, and the Tennessee Valley Authority, not a fan of them. It is likely that Coudert was influential on the funding of foreign involvement through his ranking position on the Appropriations Subcommittee on the Departments of State and Justice. He moved 21 amendments; four were accepted dealing with subversion, the draft, TVA, and private power production. Coudert voted 137 times with Republicans, 38 times with Democrats (20 with Northerners and five with Southerners), and missed 11 votes. He was contrary on two votes, both opposing pensions for veterans with non-service-connected disabilities. His rated voting was a little more liberal than Allen’s.

William Dawson’s concerns were those of a Utahn – public lands, the Colorado River, Indians, mining – but also governmental reorganization and accounting. Two of his enacted public bills dealt with the use of public lands for schools and the third with Indians. His accepted floor amendments concerned mining claims, the Glen Canyon Dam, and counterpart funds. He introduced 59 public bills, 24 private bills (two enacted), and three resolutions. He moved seven amendments and spoke on the floor 262 times in his four terms. Dawson’s key votes were with Republicans 97 times, Democrats 15 times (nine with Northerners, three with Southerners), and missed two. He opposed the draft and the Trade Agreements Extension Act, and supported recommitment of pensions for veterans with non-service-connected disabilities. His rated voting was between that of Allen and Coudert.

Kenneth Keating was a very active representative. He spoke 1270 times (close in number of times per session to Carl Albert) and moved 51 amendments. Twenty-five were accepted (most among Class Republicans) covering war reparations, rent control, subversion, the articles of war, funding of the draft, Labor (twice), the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Fair Employment Practices Commission, the National Minerals Act, funding of public aid, private power production, flood control, funding of the Trade

³³ Busch, 43. Barone, *passim*.

Commission, foreign aid (thrice), funding of the Department of the Treasury (twice), the TVA, submerged lands, the St. Lawrence Seaway, extradition, veterans, and an anthracite lab in Pennsylvania. He introduced 296 public bills, 114 private bills, and 97 resolutions. His public bills per session was the most of any Republican in the Class and third most of any member, though only one-third as many as Democrat Multer. Two resolutions were enacted dealing with the oath of a member and a private matter, and 22 private bills became law, the latter the most of any Class Republican and only one fewer than Class leader Multer. His ten public enactments addressed immigration (twice), copyrights, patenting of plants, incorporation of a society, kidnapping, subversion, a medal, a button, and a local issue. Apart from the above listed topics, he was concerned with taxation, the oleo tax, additional Federal judges, the Defense Production Act, agricultural policy, the District of Columbia, and equal rights. Keating voted with Republicans 142 times, Democrats 45 times (31 with Northerners, once with Southerners, and missed only one vote. He was not contrary. He was the fifth most liberal of the Class Republicans, though far removed from Jacob Javits.

Henderson Lanham concerned himself with Labor, textile imports, and the Supreme Court. His two accepted amendments out of five moved addressed welfare funding and a local matter. His one enacted public bill out of 66 was a local concern. Six of his 35 private bills became law. None of his 16 resolutions did. He spoke 242 times. Lanham voted with Democrats 166 times (52 with Northerners and 37 with Southerners), Republicans twice, and missed three votes. His key voting was the most Democratic in the Class. He was the most liberal Southern Democrat in the Class.

Edward Miller spoke to military funding in many of his 122 events. His one public law out of 81 attempts addressed fishing contests. Two of his 31 private bills became law and none of his five resolutions. Three amendments failed. Miller voted with Republicans 163 times, Democrats 19 times (Northerners alone four times and Southerners nine), and missed three votes. He was contrary on the State Department information service, repealing the oleo tax, and increasing the minimum wage. He was in the center of Class Republicans in rated voting.

Donald Nicholson was a small government guy who spoke to housing, the Corps of Engineers, the Defense Production Act, and committee investigations. He spoke 579 times and moved eight amendments, one of which addressed a local matter. One of his two enacted public bills did also. The other dealt with fisheries. He introduced 21 public, 44 private bills (8 enacted), and two resolutions. Nicholson voted with Republicans 145 times, Democrats 21 times (two with Northerners and 16 with Southerners), and missed no key votes. He opposed the draft, the Mutual Security Program, reciprocal trade extensions, the Eisenhower Doctrine, and the Trade Agreements Extension Act. His rated voting was much on the conservative side of the Republican center.

James Patterson was concerned with tariffs and natural disasters. Three of his five enacted bills addressed tariffs, the other two veterans. He introduced 131 public bills, 77 private bills (four enacted), and 20 resolutions. He spoke on the floor 161 times and moved two amendments. One that was accepted dealt with nuclear reactor design funding. Patterson voted with Republicans 130 times, Democrats 46 times (31 with only Northerners), and missed ten votes. He opposed reciprocal trade extensions and the Trade Agreements Extension Act. He was the sixth most liberal Republican in the Class.

Antoni Sadlak was most vocal on Polish matters. He spoke a total of 243 times and moved six amendments. Two were accepted on the Defense Production Act and unemployment benefits. Of his 93 public bills, four were enacted, two addressing footwear, one taxes on patents, and one veterans survivors. Five of his 47 private bills became law. His one enacted resolution of 28 resulted in the derided chicken stamp. Sadlak voted with Republicans 152 times, Democrats 29 times (11 with Northerners and

two with Southerners), and missed six votes. He opposed the Trade Agreements Extension Act. He was on the liberal side of the Republican center.