

Chapter 25 – Mixed Results: The 1960 Election

Five of the Republican members of the Class of '46 who lost their seats in 1958 attempted to return to the House in 1960, anticipating a Republican resurgence, but two incumbent Republicans in the Class chose not to seek another term.

Donald Jackson of California told friends a year earlier that he did not want to be in Congress another four years and was considering not running in 1960, since he thought that would improve the chances of the seat remaining Republican. Murray Chotiner, by some accounts the *essence grise* in Richard Nixon's successful Senate campaign in 1950, let it be known he was seeking the seat. Jackson made his retirement official on January 8, 1960, saying he was retiring to enjoy life and spend more time with his wife and seven-year-old son.¹ He turned 50 that month. Chotiner was defeated in the primary by Alphonzo Bell who did hold onto the District for the Republican Party.

Two Republicans announced for Wint Smith's seat in the Sixth District of Kansas before he made public on January 26, 1960, that he would not run again for the House. There was talk of running Smith for governor, and he had announced that he likely would do so. He did not. Years later, Smith would tell a reporter that he left Congress when "my constituents began apologizing for my conservatism." He added, "I don't think I've been a good Congressman. I didn't have enough finesse." Smith turned 68 later in 1960.²

The three Nutmeggers who were unseated in 1958, Antoni Sadlak, Horace Seely-Brown, and James Patterson, sought to reclaim their seats. All were renominated by convention, Seely-Brown without evident contest.³

Sadlak's employment with the Veterans' Administration constrained his political activity until he resigned at the end of April 1960. The Chair of the State Party had looked into taking the nomination, and the former Mayor of Bridgeport had announced. By the State Convention, any challenges to Sadlak's renomination for the At-large District vanished, and he was chosen without challenge.⁴

Patterson had more of a go of it. He let it be known long before that he wanted the nomination again, but four other Republicans then announced and later a fifth. All five had been legislators, three giving up their seats in 1958 to chase statewide offices unsuccessfully, and the other two being defeated for reelection by Democrats. Four of them were out of the race against Patterson by April 27, 1960, and by June 7 it was said Patterson would be nominated without opposition. On June 11 the Fifth District Convention chose him by acclamation.⁵

The fourth would-be returnee, Edward Miller in Maryland, faced a primary challenger, William Lloyd, whom he had beaten by about ten points for the nomination in 1946. Lloyd, 48, was now a home improvement firm sales manager. Miller won by 75 points.⁶

¹ *Pasadena Independent*, June 12, 1959. *Corvallis Gazette-Times*, November 17, 1959. *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, January 9, 1960. *Independent* (Long Beach), January 25, 1960.

² *The Salina Journal*, January 13, 1960. *The Hays Daily News*, January 13 & 26, 1960. *CQWR*, February 5, 1960, 190. *Garden City Telegram*, April 27 & 28, 1976.

³ *The Hartford Courant*, January 31, February 14, 1960. *The Bridgeport Post*, February 21, 1960.

⁴ *The Bridgeport Post*, July 26, 1959; February 21, April 10, 1960. *The New York Times*, June 8, 1960.

⁵ *Naugatuck Daily News*, July 14, December 2 & 10, 1959; January 19 & 20, June 7 & 13, 1960. *The Bridgeport Post*, February 21, 1960. *The Hartford Courant*, April 27, 1960.

⁶ *The News*, June 29, 1946. *The Salisbury Times*, May 16, 1960. *Maryland Manual 1961-62*.

The fifth, Ralph Harvey in Indiana always had competition for the nomination, but had never fallen below 80% of the primary vote since 1946. This was not the case in 1960. He announced his 1960 run on January 15, 1959, but failed to scare off three other Republicans. One, Herrod Carr, lost the nomination to Harvey in 1948 and 1958. Another, Parker Lacy did so in 1954. Joel Rhodes was a fresh candidate, a legislator and farmer, whose campaign was a friends-and-neighbors effort; "It has been 43 YEARS since we have had a congressman in Washington from Wayne County," he advertised. Nevertheless, Rhodes was the main competitor, still getting only 27% of the vote. Harvey walked away with 66%.⁷

Seventeen of the 25 Class incumbents seeking renomination were unopposed except for the rare write-in. The exceptions were John Bell Williams of Mississippi, Frank Karsten of Missouri, Paul Dague of Pennsylvania (the only Republican in this group), Olin Teague and Omar Burleson of Texas, Edward Garmatz of Maryland, Prince Preston of Georgia, and Toby Morris of Oklahoma in order from least challenged to most.

Williams's opponent ran far to his left on everything but racial segregation. William Higgs was only 25, a Harvard-educated lawyer, and had Labor support, none of which helped him. The incumbent won by 80 points.⁸

Karsten's challenger was relatively new to Missouri, but would pop up in statewide races again in the 1970s. A taxicab driver, he said he was running on one issue, repeal of the Federal income tax. Karsten won by 79 points.⁹

Earl Pfoutz ran against Dague for the Republican nomination, after losing the same race to the same man in 1956 and 1958. Dague won by 65 points; it was Pfoutz' worst showing.

Teague had a fresh opponent and his first contest for the nomination since 1946. William Moore, 41, a long-time legislator and an attorney, assailed Teague for voting like a Republican and for the usual incumbent sins of absenteeism from the District, nepotism, and junkets. Teague's supporters claimed that Moore was put forward by Labor because of Teague's support of the Landrum-Griffin act. Teague won by 33 points.¹⁰

Challengers for the nomination were not unknown to Burleson, who had a close one in 1952. One of his two opponents in 1960 was also known, Robert Wagstaff, having run for the nomination for the seat in 1946 after also failing in 1944. Roy Skaggs, a securities manager with local political offices, was a new opponent for Burleson. Wagstaff, an attorney, had been a legislator. Apart from the usual incumbent sins and the over-simplification of policies by non-incumbents, the major issue was Burleson's supposed lack of support for limiting oil imports to the country. This was Wagstaff's bread-and-butter go-to. Wagstaff's position on the wider range of issues had shifted to the right from his 1946 campaign, but then so had

⁷ *Greenfield Daily Reporter*, January 15, 1959. *Rushville Republican*, January 11, 1960. *National Road Traveler*, April 21, 1960.

⁸ *The Delta Democrat-Times*, April 1, June 2, 1960. *Clarion-Ledger*, April 2, 1960. *Greenwood Commonwealth*, June 6, 1960. *Mississippi Blue Book 1961*. In 1963 Higgs would be charged with "sex acts with a minor male" and flee the State. Higgs said the charge was due to his involvement with the Freedom Democratic Party. The 16-year-old boy was said to have recanted his accusation. *Clarion-Ledger*, July 4, 1963. *Albuquerque Journal*, June 1, 1969. Howard, 155-8.

⁹ *The Sedalia Democrat*, August 2, 1970. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 30, 1959; August 1, 1976. *Wilmington Morning News*, December 1, 1959. *Missouri Manual 1961*.

¹⁰ *The Austin American*, March 10, April 13, 1960. *Corsicana Semi-Weekly Light*, April 29, 1960. *Corsicana Daily Sun*, January 28, April 30, May 5, 1960. *Bryan Daily Eagle*, April 21 & 28, 1960. *Texas Almanac 1961*.

Texas. Burleson was worried enough to absent himself from Washington for three weeks of campaigning but won with 64% of the vote, besting Wagstaff by 42 points.¹¹

Garmatz had never been seriously stretched in the primary and had no challenger in the previous three contests, but 1960 brought out three opponents. The major one was Joseph Bertorelli, who was a close association of Thomas D'Alesandro, Mayor of Baltimore since 1947. Garmatz' congressional seat was the gift of D'Alesandro, who left it for the mayoralty. Garmatz had turned on D'Alesandro for reelection in 1955, an *annus horribilis* for the Mayor, but supposedly they had made up. D'Alesandro announced his neutrality in the primary for Garmatz' seat in 1960, but Bertorelli and his possible support by units of D'Alesandro's organization if not by the Mayor himself was a clear threat to the incumbent Representative. As it worked out, Garmatz took only 54% in the primary, but since his opponents split the opposition vote three ways, he bested Bertorelli by 17 points. Alas for Carroll Kearns of Pennsylvania, Bertorelli was also a professional musician and could have increased that special interest clique in the House.¹²

Preston from near Savannah was beset by organized labor. Elliott Hagan, who lost primary runs against the Representative in 1956 and 1958, both by 17 points, returned for a third match with the full backing of the AFL-CIO. Preston had voted for Landrum-Griffin. The Georgia Education Association was also after Preston for his opposition to Federal aid to education. Preston said he only opposed that bill because of the amendment by Rep. Adam Powell (D NY) that would have required integration. Largely absent from the white press coverage of the race was Hagan's campaign at the time to get a Savannah postal worker fired who was president of the Georgia NAACP. Preston emerged from the primary with a 689 popular vote victory but an eight county-unit vote loss.¹³

Also on the short end of his nomination contest was Morris. After being thrown together by redistricting, Morris lost to Victor Wickersham in 1952 by 4,448 votes, beat Wickersham in 1956 by 5,039 votes and in 1958 by 81 votes, and now lost to him by 402 votes. Congressional Quarterly called the contest "bitter," and Wickersham accused Morris of being behind a suit involving the former's property dealings in the District of Columbia, where Wickersham was a realtor since the 1940s.¹⁴

President Dwight Eisenhower was still personally popular in 1960, and his vice president, Richard Nixon, was viewed favorably by 59% and unfavorably by only 19% in December 1959; nevertheless, Nixon lost the presidency to fellow Class of '46 mate, John Kennedy. Political analyst Michael Barone would opine that the result was due to religion more than to anything else.¹⁵ Political analyst Kevin Phillips would contend that Catholics voted heavily for Kennedy and Protestants not so heavily for Nixon; that the

¹¹ *Corsicana Daily Sun*, January 28, 1960. *Abilene Reporter-News*, March 13 & 21 & 22, April 4 & 19 & 30, May 5, 1960. *The Hamlin Herald*, May 5, 1960. *Texas Almanac* 1961.

¹² *The Morning Herald* (Hagerstown), December 23, 1955. *The Salisbury Times*, May 17, 1960. *The Daily Mail*, August 27, 1955. *The Cumberland News*, May 3, 1956. *Maryland Manual* 1961-62. D'Alesandro battled illness and scandal in 1954-55, following an underage rape charge against his son the previous year. *The Morning Herald*, July 13, 1954, May 3, 1955. *The Bee*, May 4, 1955. *The Daily Mail*, August 12, 1953. Bertorelli would be partly paralyzed by a stroke in 1961 at age 49 and proceed with his political career from a wheelchair until retirement in 1974. *The Cumberland News*, January 12 & 13, 1976.

¹³ *The Atlanta Constitution*, August 31, 1960. *The Pittsburgh Courier*, April 30, 1960; October 21, 1961. *Georgia Register* 1961.

¹⁴ *CQWR*, October 14, 1960, 1692. *Miami Daily News-Record*, June 6, 1960. *Oklahoma Manual* (1961).

¹⁵ Barone, 329.

Catholic vote shifted 27 points for Kennedy from Democrat Adlai Stevenson's showing in 1956, while Nixon lost a point from Eisenhower's performance among Protestants. Perhaps confirming Barone's opinion was that Republican congressional candidates recovered somewhat from their 1958 disaster by retaking 20 House seats that their presidential candidate lost. Kennedy's gains were in areas already represented by Democrats.¹⁶

This work has differentiated Members by party and region. A typology by religion of the member's congressional district adds another categorization. The National Council of Churches surveyed participating denominations in 1952 to assess religious affiliations by county. The Members standing for election in 1960 fall out in groups by the estimated percentages of Roman Catholics in their districts as follows:¹⁷

Percentage Roman Catholic by Congressional District							
70s	60s	50s	40s	30s	20s	10s	0s
Donohue	<i>Patterson</i>	<i>Riehlman</i>	<i>Kearns</i>	<i>Tollefson</i>	<i>Dague</i>	HARDY	<i>Harvey</i>
	<i>Seely-Brown</i>	Karsten	Garmatz	Multer		TEAGUE	WILLIAMS
	<i>Sadlak</i>	Blatnik	<i>St. George</i>	<i>McCulloch</i>			BURLESON
							PASSMAN
							DAVIS
							<i>Miller</i>
							ALBERT
							JONES
							ABBITT
							HARRISON
							EVINS
							DORN

Republicans are italicized. SOUTHERNERS (including Albert) are in upper case.

Catholicism is a differentiating factor between North and South. Harvey's Indiana District is the only Northern one of these districts with fewer Catholics than 21% of the population. There is no Southern district of the Class with more than 15% Catholic. The rural Border State districts of Miller and Carl Albert of Oklahoma adhere to the Southern model, while the urban Border State districts of Garmatz and Karsten are as Catholic as Northern districts.

The relationship between Catholic voters and ballots for Kennedy breaks down totally for the very Protestant Southern districts but is apparent for the Northern districts. Garmatz' Baltimore District is the only one to break the linear pattern. The Republican districts show the relationship more clearly without the Democratic districts. All three Connecticut districts and Tollefson's Washington bailiwick shifted from Eisenhower to Kennedy, while the other Republican districts held for Nixon.

¹⁶ The Gallup poll taken in May 1960 put Eisenhower's approval at 68% and disapproval at 21%. Gallup, 1647, 1672. Barone, 329. Phillips, 30. Busch, 145. Key (1964), 571.

¹⁷ The data were downloaded from TheARDA.com. Not all denominations participated and denominations count membership in a variety of ways. In the cases of members with districts that were parts of counties or independent cities, the estimates were calculated using the reported numbers for the full counties and cities.

Change in Vote for President from 1956 to 1960 by Congressional District ¹⁸						
Catholic %	More Democratic for President			no change	More Republican	
	20-30 pts	10-20 pts	0-10 pts		0-10 pts	10-20 pts
70-80	Donohue					
60-70	<i>Patterson</i>	<i>Seely-Brown</i>	<i>Sadlak</i>			
50-60		<i>Riehlman</i>	Karsten Blatnik			
40-50	Garmatz	<i>St. George</i>	<i>Kearns</i>			
30-40			<i>Tollefson*</i> Multer <i>McCulloch</i>			
20-30			<i>Dague</i>			
10-20		HARDY	TEAGUE			
0-10		ABBITT	Harvey BURLESON <i>Miller</i> HARRISON	WILLIAMS	PASSMAN DAVIS ALBERT EVINS JONES	DORN

* Thor Tollefson's Washington District was redrawn between 1956 and 1960.

The Southern and Southern-like Democratic districts are all over this table. The districts of the Virginians, Watkins Abbitt, Porter Hardy, and Burr Harrison, gave Kennedy a boost over Adlai Stevenson's showing in 1956. Sen. Harry Byrd's "complete silence" on the 1956 presidential race was replicated in 1960, though he was said to have worked behind the scenes for Nixon. What differed was that Hardy, Harrison, and Abbitt, in that calendrical order, endorsed the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.¹⁹ Nevertheless, Nixon carried the State, as had Eisenhower. Both Republicans also took Harrison's District, while Hardy's shifted from Eisenhower to Kennedy, and the Democratic presidential candidates carried Abbitt's District in both elections.

The Texas situation was a reversion of Virginia. Democratic Governor Allen Shivers backed Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956, but in 1960 Sen. Lyndon Johnson was the Democratic vice-presidential candidate and shifted the State as a whole back from Eisenhower to Kennedy.²⁰

Other Southern Democratic districts continued a drift away from Democratic presidential candidates, either to Nixon in 1960 or to third alternatives. In Robert Jones' Alabama District, the names on the presidential ballot were the various electors. The Democratic electors carried his District handily, but six of the eleven voted for Sen. Byrd for President. Nixon took Otto Passman's Louisiana District, and Kennedy came in third to an unpledged States' Rights ticket. Thanks to a supportive vote in largely Catholic south Louisiana, Kennedy carried the State. An unpledged slate carried Mississippi and Williams's District as well and voted for Harry Byrd. Kennedy took third place in the District. Kennedy carried the districts of James Davis of Georgia, Albert, Joe Evins of Tennessee, and Dorn with from 51% in the first to 64% in the last, while slipping from Stevenson's level. The Democratic fall-off was least in Dorn's even as the Republican proportion was boosted, the 1956 Harry Byrd vote shifting to Nixon.

¹⁸ The presidential vote by congressional district is taken from the Congressional Quarterly Almanacs of 1957 and 1961.

¹⁹ Sweeney, 308. *The Bee*, October 6, 1960. *The Progress-Index*, August 26, October 18, 1960.

²⁰ Bass and DeVries, 310.

The relationship between the Catholicism of congressional districts and the change in the vote for representative from 1958 to 1960 is similar to that for president but not as compelling. Ignoring the Southern Protestant districts, there is a weak relationship. The most Catholic district had one of the increases in the Democratic vote, while the least Catholic districts had the largest Republican increases. In all the non-Southern districts the changes in the vote for representative were in each case less than ten points. The Southern districts saw wide swings, from Harrison's 23-point Democratic increase, as no Republican candidate was fielded, to Burleson's 22-point Republican increase as a Republican entered the race against him for the first time ever.

Looking at representatives raises the question of the religion of the members themselves. Of those in the 1960 election, four were Catholic (John Blatnik of Minnesota, Harold Donohue of Massachusetts, Patterson, and Sadlak). Democrat Donohue experienced a small increase in his proportion of the vote compared to 1958, while Blatnik had a small decrease. Republican Sadlak took a small increase in his share of the vote, but Patterson saw a small decrease. The Democratic incumbents that Patterson and Sadlak sought to unseat were also Catholic. The religions of the Republican opponents of Blatnik and Donohue could not be determined. It is difficult to find evidence of an impact in an ostensible increase in the numbers of Catholic voters or a shift of Catholic voters to Democratic members of the Class occasioned by the candidacy of Catholic Democrat Kennedy.²¹

Passman was vocal in opposing the election of the Kennedy-Johnson ticket, saying liberal economics and civil rights were the reason. This was the first time the Representative took such a public stance, but he declined to voice support for Nixon and his running-mate, Cabot Lodge. Williams backed a slate of independent electors, who would eventually vote for Harry Byrd. The winning independent electors and a losing slate of electors pledged to Kennedy and Johnson both appeared on the Mississippi ballot under the Democrat insignia. Dorn supported the Kennedy-Johnson ticket but "did no bush-beating" on its behalf. Burleson announced his support for Kennedy and Johnson while criticizing both major party platforms as too liberal. Albert was active in the Kennedy-Johnson campaign. His was the only congressional district in Oklahoma to support that ticket. Evins was an active campaigner for Kennedy-Johnson and took the pulpit at Hillsboro Church of Christ in Nashville to counter comments in his sermon by Rev. Dr. Batsell Barrett Baxter that were hostile to a Catholic as President.²²

²¹ Among the Class of '46 as a whole the most popular religion was Methodism with 20 members (including Albert, James Davis, Hardy, and Robert Jones), followed by 16 Baptists (Abbitt, Dorn, Passman, Riehlman, Teague, Williams), 16 Catholics, 14 Episcopalians (Harrison, Karsten, Seely-Brown, St. George), 9 United Church of Christ and Congregationalists (Evins, Garmatz), 7 Presbyterians (Dague, McCulloch), 5 undifferentiated Protestants, 4 Disciples of Christ (Burleson, Harvey), 4 Jews (Multer), 3 Lutherans (Kearns, Tollefson), 2 Quakers (Miller as well as presidential candidate Nixon), 1 Mormon, and 8 unknown. Many of these categories may include a variety of denominations: Southern Baptists, American Baptists, Free Will Baptists, for example. Protestants include two men who shifted among denominations within that wide term. Sources include the *Congressional Directory*, news stories (including reports of funerals), and PoliticalGraveyard.com.

²² *Daily World*, August 16, 1960. Hinckley, 104-5. *CQWR*, September 2, 1960, 1524; August 14, 1964, 1761. *The Gaffney Ledger*, October 6, 1960; July 29, 1961. *The Index-Journal*, July 15, October 3 & 14, 1960. *Florence Morning News*, August 31, November 12, 1960. *Abilene Reporter-News*, July 19, 1960. *Nashville Tennessean*, September 28, November 10, 1960. *Delaware County Daily Times*, October 11, 1960. Graves, 122-3. Cabot Lodge was the brother of Class of '46 member John Davis Lodge.

None of the incumbent members of the Class of '46 lost their seats in November 1960, but three of the five Republicans, who were ousted in 1958 and tried comebacks, failed. Eight of the Southern Democrats – Davis, Passman, Williams, Dorn, Evins, Teague, Abbitt, and Harrison - had no opposition other than a scattered write-in. One write-in, Willie B., an Atlanta Zoo gorilla, was entered against Davis by Atlanta Mayor William Hartsfield. Davis “said ... that the new candidate is in keeping with the usual caliber of his opposition.” There were 272 write-in votes counted.²³

The other Southern Democrats – Jones, Burleson, and Hardy, as well as Oklahoman Albert - were opposed but received 75% to 79% of the vote. Hardy’s challenger was a newly minted Republican, having run as a Democrat in four previous races, while Albert’s made no campaign whatsoever. Still, Albert’s showing was the worst yet for him against a Republican, as was Jones’ and Burleson’s.²⁴

Garmatz took 80% against a 28-year-old attorney making his first campaign, placing the Representative in the heady category of unbeatable Southern Democrats, but still a drop from his 1958 performance. The Northern Democrats had little trouble with relative youths as well, although all but Donohue fell off from their halcyon 1958 showings. The opponent of Abraham Multer of New York, a 51-year-old attorney, held the incumbent to 75%. Blatnik’s was 31, and the Representative got 70%. Donohue’s was 36 but had tried and failed to get the Republican nomination to run against Donohue in 1958. Donohue got 65% of the vote. Karsten drew a 26-year-old electrical engineer who held him to 71%.²⁵

Of the 11 Republican members of the Class contesting for the House in November 1960, only two outperformed the worst showing of a Democratic member. Dague took 67% against a 36-year-old school teacher. William McCulloch of Ohio outdid Donohue by less than a point to defeat a 39-year-old attorney and legislator.²⁶

The Class was largely divided into the secure Democrats and the shaky Republicans, but this was nothing very new. Southern Democrats were nearly always more secure in the general election. In the 1946 cycle (including special elections before November 1948), 95% of Southern Democratic members of the Class were elected with over 60% of the vote. Their worst year through 1960 was 1956 when “only” 92% received over 60%. In 1960 it was 100%. Democratic control of the House of Representatives depended on Southerners.

Other Democratic members, including those from Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Kentucky, suffered in 1946 with only 46% over the 60% threshold and five of those six were from the three Border States. From 1948 through 1960 the proportion over 60% was never lower than 83% (in 1952 and 1954). In 1960 it was 100%.

Republican members, on the other hand, during the period never saw more than 45% receive over 60% of the vote. This was in 1956. In 1960 it was 18% which was second lowest only to 1948’s 11%.

Some Republicans had gotten large portions of the vote. What happened to them?

Dayton Phillips of Tennessee, the only Southern Republican in the Class, was initially elected without opposition, then took 87% two years later. In the next primary he lost the nomination. William Lewis of

²³ *The Index-Journal*, November 5, 1960.

²⁴ *The Danville Register*, October 21, 1962. *The Lawton Constitution*, November 8, 1960.

²⁵ *The News*, November 1, 1960. *CQWR*, October 14, 1960, 1705. *The Minneapolis Star*, October 20, 1960. *Naugatuck Daily News*, September 2, 1960. *The Sedalia Democrat*, July 24, 1960.

²⁶ *Chester Times*, July 9, 1947; November 21, 1959. *The Delphos Courier*, April 27, 1960. *CQWR*, October 14, 1960, 1706.

Kentucky won a special election in 1948 with 96% of the vote and retired that year. Three of the California Republicans, John Allen, Ernest Bramblett, and Nixon, captured both Republican and Democratic nominations one year and took over 80% of the November vote. They were defeated in 1958, retired under a cloud in 1954, and were elected to the Senate in 1950, respectively. Thirteen Republicans were initially elected with vote shares over 60%. Four of them ran for the Senate, three were defeated by Democrats, two retired, and one lost the nomination. Three remained in the House after the 1960 election – Dague, Kearns, and Walter Riehlman of New York, but only the first held onto over 60% of the vote in that year. Twelve managed to gather over 60% of the ballots after a lower start. Two ran for other offices, three were defeated by Democrats, three retired, and one died. Three remained in the House after the 1960 election – McCulloch, Katherine St. George of New York, and Tollefson, but only the first held onto over 60% of the vote in that year.

Of Republican members, only 10% of the Class remained in the House after the 1960 election. A huge 54% were defeated for election. Among Democrats the proportions were 46% still in the House and 3% defeated for election. The overall results as this point in time were as follows:

	Remaining in House	Defeated for election	Denied renomination	Ran for other office	Retired	Died
Republicans	7 (10%)	38 (54%)	4 (6%)	9 (13%)	10 (14%)	3 (4%)
Northern Democrats	5 (62%)	0	1 (12%)	2 (25%)	0	0
Border Democrats	1 (17%)	0	3 (50%)	1 (17%)	0	1 (17%)
Southern Democrats	11 (48%)	1 (4%)	5 (22%)	3 (13%)	2 (9%)	1 (4%)
All Democrats	17 (46%)	1 (3%)	9 (24%)	6 (16%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)

Given that the 1946 election, which defined the membership of the Class, was one which resulted in Republicans taking a number of Democratic seats and Democratic winners surviving the onslaught, the distinction between the parties in electoral success is unsurprising. The following table excludes electoral success from this comparison.

	Remaining in House	Denied renomination	Ran for other office	Retired	Died
Republicans	21%	12%	27%	30%	9%
Northern Democrats	62%	12%	25%	0	0
Border Democrats	17%	50%	17%	0	17%
Southern Democrats	50%	23%	14%	9%	5%
All Democrats	47%	25%	17%	6%	6%

The table reiterates the criticality of Southern Democrats to the longevity of the Party in the House. A much larger proportion of Democrats who remained in the House were Southern rather than outside the South. The figures also give some support to the Southern contention that their one-party states had competition for office, but that it was within the dominant Democratic Party. Twice as many Democrats,

proportionally, were defeated for renomination as were Republicans. Finally, the figures indicate the greater tendency of Democratic representatives to want to remain in the House. Over half of the Republicans chose to run for other office or to retire altogether from electoral office. Less than a quarter of the Democrats close that route. One suspects that this was in large part due to five of the seven Congresses by 1960 being Democratic-majority. That they were provides a partial explanation of why they continued to be. Democratic rule provided an incentive for successful Democratic representatives to continue to wish to return to the House, which provided a source for continued Democratic rule.

Of the six Republicans who returned to the House with less than 60% of the vote, St. George seemed the most secure. One of Eisenhower's rare appearances during the election campaign was at a testimonial dinner for her. Her opponent was James Truex, 47, a public relations executive. Truex may have been one of the first congressional candidates to use walking across the district as a stunt. He wore an Army field jacket while walking to emphasize his Naval service in the Second World War and the incumbent's lack of service. How much this resonated with voters fifteen years after the War ended is questionable, not to mention the fact that most voters did not expect a woman to have served. Truex's mother was also semi-famous. An actress, she was currently on television playing Mrs. Wilson on "Dennis the Menace." St. George took 59%.²⁷

Harvey recovered from his 1958 defeat with a 57% win over incumbent Randall Harmon. Harmon, who took the seat without the support of much of the Democratic organization in the District but with the major assistance of the 1958 recession and the farm programs of the Eisenhower Administration, now found himself labeled "Front Porch Harmon." He had designated the "front porch" of his Indiana home as his District office, collecting rental payments from Congress on it. The porch was actually an enclosed two rooms where his wife worked and where he met constituents. No matter; Harvey traded on the image of bilking the government. Harmon tried to laugh at the joke, mounting a small model of a front porch on the bed of a small truck and touring the District. The agricultural issue was primary again, but Harmon's distinction from Harvey was minimal, and Eisenhower and Ezra Taft Benson were not on the ballot. Harvey also took off after Harmon on communists, helped by the incumbent's declaration that Morton Sobell, who was convicted with the Rosenbergs in conspiring to give atomic secrets to the Soviets, should get a new trial. Congressional Quarterly opined that "Harmon's chances appear to depend on the value Tenth District voters place on individuality." Apparently, not enough.²⁸

John McCutcheon, 37, the prosecuting attorney for Pierce County, emphasized his AFL-CIO backing in challenging Tollefson. There were defense contract cutbacks in the area, and the Kennedy-Johnson campaign was emphasizing the need to spend more on defense than the Eisenhower Administration had. Nevertheless, Tollefson also received Labor backing, and he improved his 1958 margin by three points to 56%.²⁹

²⁷ *Daily News* (New York), June 4, 1960. *CQWR*, October 14, 1960, 1705. *Elmira Star-Gazette*, October 9, 1960. *Sun-Bulletin*, October 17, 1960. Sylvia Field, at IMDB.com.

²⁸ *CQWR*, October 21, 1960, 1731; December 16, 1960, 1965. *Greenfield Daily Reporter*, March 4, 1959; May 25, October 24, 1960. *National Road Traveler*, October 27, November 3, 1960. *Rushville Republican*, September 21, 1960.

²⁹ *CQWR*, October 14, 1960, 1710; October 28, 1960, 1774; November 11, 1960, 1857. *Eugene Register-Guard*, November 18, 1960.

Jerome Wilson, 44, a manufacturer and retailer, also received Labor support against Riehlman. Wilson tried a pitch for civil rights and a criticism of Riehlman for his association with Southern Democrats in the House. Olympic star and African American Jesse Owens came to Syracuse to counteract the charge and to campaign for Riehlman. Nixon also came a week before the election in an extravaganza with the Republican Governor and the two Republican Senators (Class members Jacob Javits and Kenneth Keating). Riehlman took his exact percentage of the vote as in 1958 – 53.8%.³⁰

Kearns slipped from his 1958 showing by three points to squeak back to the House with 51% of the ballots. Presidential candidate Kennedy tried to pump the Democratic candidate, Chester Hampton, by giving him a prominent appointment in his campaign. Labor gave Hampton money. But Hampton had just been unseated the year before after 11 years as Mayor of Titusville, and Nixon visited Erie briefly before he flew off to Syracuse, and Kearns held on.³¹

Seely-Brown, like Harvey, recaptured his seat in 1960 but by a bare 456 votes. He was helped by the late withdrawal of incumbent Chester Bowles who expected a major role in the coming Kennedy Administration. The Democratic Central Committee nominated Judge William St. Onge, 46, to replace Bowles. Seely-Brown had been handing out potholders door-to-door with his name on them for 14 years. St. Onge appeared on TV, tossed one of the potholders away, and said the policy issues were not too hot to handle if done correctly. He pulled the preservation of peace, Federal aid to education, better jobs for the District, and security for older citizens out of an iron pot as he spoke. Seely-Brown was much better known, and St. Onge's gimmick could not overcome that.³²

Seely-Brown was the only one of three Connecticut Members unseated in 1958 who reclaimed his seat. Sadlak came a distant eight points in the At-large District. Incumbent Frank Kowalski had made a splash in Washington attacking the military for using servicemen as servants, and he made an issue of Sadlak's support for tax cuts that aided the rich more than others. Sadlak accused Kowalski of wanting to let Communist China in the UN and of being one of three representatives opposing a bill to require the labeling of propaganda from abroad. This was Sadlak's last run for the House.³³

Patterson also fought the Cold War against incumbent John Monagan, but the real issues were more local – imports that affected Connecticut industry, farm programs, and a proposed jet port in the District. Patterson took only 45%.³⁴

Miller did a little better than Patterson, but his run in the House ended. His Eastern Shore District, Democratic since 1921 before his win in 1946, reverted, though, as it would turn out, for only four years. Commentators thought that Miller did not exert himself against incumbent Thomas Johnson, assuming the anti-Catholic vote of the heavily Protestant District would carry him through. Johnson followed the often victorious stance of incumbent representatives saddled with a questionable presidential ticket –

³⁰ *CQWR*, October 14, 1960, 1705; November 11, 1960, 1857. *The Post-Standard*, September 18, October 26, 1960. "Itinerary of Vice President Richard Nixon October 31 through November 5, 1960," Nixon Presidential Returned Materials Collection: White House Special Files (WHSF), Nixon Library.

³¹ *The Titusville Herald*, October 11, December 8, 1960. *CQWR*, November 11, 1960, 1857. *The Derrick*, March 12, 1963. *The Morning Herald* (Uniontown), November 2, 1960.

³² *Naugatuck Daily News*, June 4, 1960. *The Bridgeport Post*, August 12, 1960. *CQWR*, October 14, 1960, 1697; December 9, 1960, 1946. *The Hartford Courant*, October 22, 1960. Bowles would be appointed an undersecretary of state by Pres. Kennedy. Bowles would not last the year, removed by the Administration over his opposition to its eagerness to project American power overseas. Schaffer, 220-31.

³³ *The Bridgeport Post*, October 25, November 4 & 6, 1960. *The Bridgeport Telegram*, September 2, 1960.

³⁴ *Naugatuck Daily News*, September 30, October 5 & 15 & 31, 1960.

stressing party over candidate and picking out party issues to support, even if qualifying them. Miller got 46%.³⁵

When the dust settled, the Class of '46 in the 87th House would consist of 17 Democrats (11 of them Southerners plus Albert) and only eight Republicans. From the previous election, two Democratic and one Republican seat disappeared. Republicans Russell Mack of Washington died, and Jackson and Smith retired, but Seely-Brown and Harvey returned. Democrats Preston and Morris lost their primaries.

In the House as a whole, the number of Republicans increased from 153 after the 1958 election to 173. The number of Democrats fell from 283 to 264, with the number of Southern Democrats remaining at 99.³⁶

Republicans recouped all their losses in 1958 in the Northeast and 17 of their 24 losses in the Midwest. The supposed demise of Northeastern Republicans in 1958 was greatly overstated. There was no change in the partisan balance in the South.

The following members of the Class of '46 did not return after 1960:

Donald Jackson served seven terms with moderate public activity, but he was a mover of private legislation. Seventeen of his 154 private bills were enacted, compared to one of 31 public bills. That one dealt with civil service annuities. He was more successful with his sixteen resolutions. Five were enacted, one to approve his acceptance of a subpoena and four to commend Latin American efforts, one of his concerns. Others were Greece, foreign aid, and subversion. He spoke on the floor 180 times, moved seven floor amendments, and had one, about the International Children's Emergency Fund, accepted. 180 of Jackson's key votes were with Republicans, 20 with Democrats (four with only Northerners and five with only Southerners), and he missed 17. He voted contrarily to oppose (twice) increases in pensions for veterans requiring constant care as a result of non-service-connected disability, to oppose the Colorado River project, and to oppose an increase in salaries for Federal employees. His rated voting was in the center of Class Republicans.

Russell Mack was more participatory than Jackson. He spoke 294 times and moved 18 amendments, one of which was accepted dealing with wage rates for highway workers. He was concerned with flooding relief, the Soviet Union, highways, crabbing, and plywood. Four of his 112 public bills were enacted, two addressing local matters, another Indians, and a fourth veterans. A resolution to do with the Capitol grounds was enacted out of his 15 introduced. Seven of his 37 private bills were enacted. Mack voted 145 times with Republicans, 44 times with Democrats (22 with Northerners, 12 with Southerners), and missed four votes. He opposed Interim Foreign Aid, the Mutual Security Program, the Trade Agreements Extension Act, and the repeal of the oleo tax. He was a centrist Republican.

Toby Morris was a small-d democrat, a protector of civil liberties and unconvinced of the imminent threat to the US of international or domestic communism. Beyond that, as befits an Oklahoman, he was concerned with Indians and public works. Five of his 69 public bills were enacted, all dealing with Indians. He spoke on the floor 267 times in his five terms and moved nineteen amendments. Thirteen were

³⁵ CQWR, November 4, 1960, 1821. *The Baltimore Sun*, October 23, 1960; January 21, 1968.

³⁶ There was an extra member of the House elected in 1958 due to the admission of Alaska. Two extra members were elected in 1960, one each from Alaska and Hawaii. The summary by the Clerk of the House on its website reports inaccurate numbers that conflict with the individual race reporting.

accepted, all about Indians. He introduced fifteen private bills (two enacted) and six resolutions (zilch). Morris voted 123 times with Democrats (46 with Northerners and 26 with Southerners), nine times with Republicans, and missed a substantial 28 votes. He was an isolationist. He opposed aid to Greece and Turkey, the Marshall Plan, the Eisenhower Doctrine, the Trade Agreements Extension Act, and the draft. He was in the middle of Border Democrats in his rated voting, which would have made him the third most liberal Southern Democrat.

Prince Preston, being one of the cardinals of Appropriations, was responsible for funds for the Department of Commerce. Six of his eleven enacted public bills (out of 57 introduced) provided that funding. Another dealt with the admissibility of images of records, another with income tax prosecutions, and three with local matters. Two of his six accepted floor amendments (out of seven moved) were on his appropriations bills. The others covered funding of the UN, roads on public lands, airport funding, and a local matter. Eight of his 30 private bills were enacted and one of his two resolutions, that one for issuance of a postage stamp. He spoke 210 times on the floor. Preston voted 196 times with Democrats (90 with Southerners and 25 with Northerners), ten times with Republicans, and missed 14 votes. He opposed the Trade Agreements Extension Act. His rated voting was somewhat to the left of the Southern Democratic center.

Wint Smith was the fourth most conservative Class Republican and a contrarian. He opposed the State Department information service, Interim Foreign Aid, the Marshall Plan, the repeal of the oleo tax, the draft, an increase in the minimum wage, the Mutual Security Program, reciprocal trade extensions, new taxes for the national highway plan, the Eisenhower Doctrine, the Trade Agreements Extension Act, and a salary increase for Federal employees. Foreign aid and Labor were his bugaboos. One of his 27 public bills was enacted dealing with wheat production quotas. One of his ten private bills became law and another vetoed. One of his eight resolutions was enacted dealing with a private matter. He spoke only 23 times on the floor in fourteen years and moved one floor amendment on the minimum wage, which was accepted. Smith voted 148 times with Republicans and 40 times with Democrats (26 with only Southerners), and missed 21 votes.