

Chapter 27 – Calm Before the Storm: The 1962 Election

The 1962 election dealt with a reapportionment of House seats resulting from the 1960 Census. This was with a continuation of redistricting practices almost totally immune from court action and thus from any requirements for population balance among districts within a state or any other concerns other than pure political power. Even a state constitutional requirement, such as Virginia's, for equitability in population was deemed irrelevant by the Governor.¹

The year was also a midterm election with an incumbent Democratic Party in both the presidency and the Congress challenged by a Republican Party nominally headed by its defeated presidential candidate, Richard Nixon.

Twenty-two of the 25 incumbent members of the Class of '46 sought renomination and 21 of them succeeded. Five former representatives from the Class also sought renomination and one got the nod. Sixteen had no opposition in the primary, 15 of them incumbents.

These 27 contenders for nomination, plus three who did not seek to continue in the House, were from 21 states. Twelve of these were among the 26 states that were faced with a change in the number of their representatives and thus needed to take some action to redistrict. Yet only six of those who ran for renomination in 1962 found themselves in districts different from those of their last races.²

Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Washington saw no need to adjust their districts to the new population figures since they had no change in the number of representatives. In the last six states, Otto Passman, Carl Albert, Bryan Dorn, Joe Evins, Watkins Abbitt, Porter Hardy, and Thor Tollefson, the last the only Republican on this list, faced no opposition in the primary, other than some scattered write-ins.

In South Carolina, Democrat Dorn poked at the Senate nomination. Incumbent Olin Johnston of New Dealish origins was seeking re-election, and Gov. Ernest Hollings was flirting with running. Dorn said he was "receiving a tremendous amount of mail and personal callers urging him to run for the U.S. Senate" but said it depended on Hollings. Hollings declared, ran, and lost the primary, and Dorn was elected without opposition for his House seat.³

Evins in Tennessee also felt the pull of another office, in his case the governorship, necessarily to be vacated by term limits. His biographer would note that he "finally decided he had too much to lose even if he won" and did not make the run. His House race was more reliable than a different contest, and he could stay in the House longer than the eight-year limit on Tennessee Governors if he kept winning. Evins had no opponent on the ballot, and former Gov. Frank Clement returned to his old office after the election.⁴

Republican Ralph Harvey failed of coronation but was easily renominated with 89% of the vote in Indiana. His two opponents included Herrod Carr in his fourth attempt to take the nomination from Harvey.

¹ A suit by the League of Women Voters in Washington resulted in a ruling by a Federal panel on December 13, 1962, that the malapportionment did not constitute "invidious" discrimination. *CQWR*, January 4, 1963, 15; September 16, 1966, 2131. *The Bee*, November 25, 1961.

² Among those counted with a change are Alaska and Hawaii, newly added since the 1950 census. Their claim of three seats out of the fixed 435 helped drive the numbers of states affected.

³ Bartley and Graham, 26, 31, 97. *The Index-Journal*, January 27, July 27, 1961. *CQWR*, June 15, 1962, 1032.

⁴ *Kingsport Times*, November 12, 1961. Graves, 75.

In Maryland, Mississippi, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Texas, changes in the numbers of allocated Representatives necessitated action, but the districts of Members of the Class were unaffected. Maryland, Ohio, and Texas decided their new seats would be elected at large. Mississippi simply combined two districts without affecting the rest, including John Bell Williams's. This had the advantage of getting rid of Rep. Frank Smith, who had proven too much of a national Democrat for Mississippi.⁵

Pennsylvania had to eliminate three congressional districts, and the government was divided between parties. The Governor and the House were Democratic and the Senate was split 50-50. The result after much posturing and delay was the enactment on January 29, 1962, of the sacrifice of a seat by each party and the combining of a Democratic and a Republican district for a fair fight. The seats of Paul Dague and Carroll Kearns in Pennsylvania were unchanged.⁶

In Maryland the Democratic Governor came up with a plan to add the new district and got the agreement of the Democratic congressmen and the approval of the General Assembly, but various League of Women Voters chapters with the help of the Republican Party got enough signatures, only 10,000 needed, to force a referendum, causing the delay of the plan's implementation until after the election. Thus, the new district became At-large for 1962.⁷

The creations of the new at-large House districts were not without angst in Ohio and Texas. The Republican-controlled General Assembly in Ohio tried to create a new district but faced a Democratic Governor and the opposition to redistricting of the incumbent Republican members of the House. Democrats controlled the executive and legislative branches of Texas government and all the House seats except the one in Dallas. Somehow, this did not make the creation of a new district any easier. There was still the need to hem the Dallas Republican in and to protect all the incumbent Democrats; hence, the At-large solution. William McCulloch of Ohio and Texans Olin Teague and Omar Burleson faced no opposition in their primaries, and the Texans also had none in November.⁸

Williams did not escape competition for the nomination, but it was nearly virtual. His opponent was Robert Smith, a black grocer and minister in Jackson. Smith ran as active a campaign as white tolerance and lack of access to broadcast media, funds, and voters allowed. Black voter registration was a hard-fought battle. One television station finally allowed Smith access, "more or less as a novelty," journalist Taylor Branch would opine. The Legislature effectively eliminated Smith's ability to have poll watchers. It was surprising that Smith managed 7% of the vote.⁹

Edward Garmatz in Baltimore faced a recently minted maritime lawyer who was an active ship's machinist. Peter Ladzinski, 40, held Garmatz to 86% of the ballots. Earle Pfoutz made his fourth run at Dague in Pennsylvania, joined by a new contestant. Dague took 75%.¹⁰

Robert Jones in Alabama, Harold Donohue in Massachusetts, John Blatnik in Minnesota, Frank Karsten in St. Louis, and Abraham Multer in Brooklyn all found themselves with changed districts.

⁵ *The Delta Democrat-Times*, January 26, 1962. *Clarion-Ledger*, March 18, 1962. *CQWR*, September 28, 1962, 1650-1.

⁶ *CQWR*, September 28, 1962, 1673-4.

⁷ *CQWR*, March 17, 1961, 437-8; September 28, 1962, 1639-40. *Cumberland Evening Times*, April 4, 1961.

⁸ *CQWR*, April 21, 1961, 680; September 28, 1962, 1670.

⁹ *Greenwood Commonwealth*, December 15, 1961. *Clarion-Ledger*, April 22, May 11, 1962. *Hattiesburg American*, April 14, 1962. *Enterprise-Journal*, May 3, 1962. *The Delta Democrat-Times*, June 3, 1962. Branch (1988), 560. *CQWR*, May 25, 1962, 889.

¹⁰ *The Baltimore Sun*, February 8, 2002.

Massachusetts lost two House seats. Democrats controlled the General Court but without enough votes to override a veto by the Republican Governor. The legislature's inclination to eliminate Republican seats resulted in a flight by three Democratic and two Republican Representatives from Washington to Boston, and after "six hours of frantic lobbying" they convinced the General Court to adopt a plan from the five to protect their districts and eliminate those of two others, a Democrat and a Republican. Donohue was neither predator nor prey in this drama, but emerged with a still safe Democratic seat after the Governor signed the bill on April 3, 1962. One reason for his security was that only one town was new to him, Watertown with only 39,092 inhabitants against the loss of two towns with a total of 4935 people. He was unopposed in the primary.¹¹

The population shift was greater for Blatnik, who kept all his old counties and added five new ones, bringing his District from the far northeast down to the Minneapolis-St. Paul suburbs. Still, this represented an addition of just 65,122 people, an increase of 20%. Minnesota lost one seat and the "nonpartisan" Legislature was divided, one house controlled by one party, the other by the other. Eventually a joint committee agreed to combine a Republican and a Democrat incumbent in one district and let them fight it out. Blatnik's popularity was an incentive to resolution and avoidance of electing all eight representatives at large. The Representative threatened to run for governor in such a case, a prospect neither the incumbent Republican or the prospective Democratic candidates welcomed. He was unopposed in the House primary.¹²

New York lost two House seats. Redistricting was firmly under Republican control, and the Republican State Committee and the Borough Republican Committees in the City came up with a plan that was expected to shift the Congressional delegation from a 22-21 Democratic majority to a 25-16 Republican one. In fact, the 1962 election would result in a 21-20 Republican delegation, a shift in the desired direction but hardly the magnitude expected. The redistricting eliminated one upstate district by placing two Democratic incumbents in the same new district, and three City districts by combining two incumbent Democrats in each of three new districts. One of these upstate Democrats would change his residence to the remnants of his old district and replace a retiring Republican incumbent. One of the redistricted City Democrats would change his residence as well, but to a new district with an incumbent Republican and lose. Another of these Democrats was defeated in the primary and the other retired.¹³

Apart from throwing Democratic incumbents together, the changes seem minimal, but one only has to look at the contorted districts in the Bronx and Brooklyn to appreciate the herculean efforts at gerrymandering, particularly given the lack of the computer tools that would make 21st century redistricting so creative. The value of these efforts in Brooklyn were particularly curious, given that all seven incumbents were Democrats. By far the most compact district in Brooklyn was and continued to be Abraham Multer's. It was substantially expanded to the east in 1961 but trimmed in the north. The population increased by 102,000 or 29%, and Multer faced opposition in the Democratic primary for the first time. Seymour Friedman was identified as a "reform" candidate, which in New York City meant unsupported by the Democratic Committee. Multer won handily with 88%.¹⁴

The districts of the other two remaining members of the Class of '46 from New York, upstate Republicans Katharine St. George and Walter Riehlman, were untouched by the redistricting. Riehlman

¹¹ CQWR, December 1, 1961, 1909; September 28, 1962, 1642-4; September 16, 1966, 2063.

¹² CQWR, June 23, 1961, 1041, 1043; December 8, 1961, 1943. *The La Cross Tribune*, September 25, 1961.

¹³ CQWR, November 17, 1961, 1868-9. Santangelo, 211-3.

¹⁴ CQWR, August 31, 1962, 1462.

was unchallenged for renomination, but Elias Jacobs announced against St. George, complaining that Delaware County was “shortchanged,” and slammed her “social position in the Blue Book.” After three months Jacobs withdrew his candidacy and endorsed St. George.¹⁵

When Karsten’s District was expanded out of St. Louis City in 1951 to include five townships in St. Louis County, the bulk of the population, 62%, had been still in the City. By 1960 the population in these townships had almost exactly doubled and the population of the City as a whole had fallen by 100,000. Missouri lost a House seat, thanks to the 1960 Census, yet in 1961 the Democratic General Assembly protected Karsten by removing two townships from his District, while tinkering a bit in the City. The population in the new District was reduced to 82% of what it would have been without the changes, that of the City remaining the larger proportion, though now reduced to 58% of the total.¹⁶

Redistricting in Missouri was under Democratic control, which did not make the job of shrinking eleven districts, nine of them held by Democrats, to ten unfraught. Cutting one from eleven was a larger hit than cutting two from 43 in New York. There were fewer districts to play with, and the two Republican districts were so Republican as to be difficult to abuse; so, which Democratic incumbent to victimize? The struggle went on to the constitutional time of legislative adjournment, when the obvious victim who occupied the only district which touched five others was sacrificed and chose to retire.¹⁷

Karsten drew three primary opponents, though one bailed, deciding to run for the General Assembly instead. The other two held the Representative to a comfortable 75%. Four-fifths of the opposition vote went to a candidate from the County whose issue was provision of public school buses for parochial students.¹⁸

No member of the Class of ’46 was more affected by redistricting than Robert Jones of Alabama, a State which lost one seat. All incumbent representatives were Democrats, and the one-party Democratic State government was divided over whether to combine two of them or split up the Jefferson County District among others. The County included Birmingham and had a 1960 population that was 190,000 greater than the next largest district. Intra-party divisions involved Black Belt legislators against others, Jefferson County legislators against others, and loyalist Democrats against Dixiecrats. Eventually, after many filibusters a bill splitting Jefferson was vetoed by the Governor but not overridden, thus defaulting to an at-large election of all remaining eight House seats. After the constitutional expiration of the Legislature, a special session enacted a so-called “9/8” plan proposed by the Governor. The old nine congressional districts would hold primaries and the nine nominees would then contest in a run-off At-large primary for the nominations for the eight remaining seats.¹⁹

¹⁵ *The Oneonta Star*, May 10, August 3, 1962. *Sun-Bulletin*, May 18, 1962.

¹⁶ The number of townships in Karsten’s new district, however, was four, since one of the townships remaining from the 1951 redistricting had been split into two by 1960.

¹⁷ *The Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune*, April 13, 1961. *The Kansas City Times*, June 16 & 28, 1961. *CQWR*, September 28, 1962, 1652-3.

¹⁸ *The Washington Citizen*, December 18, 1961. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 19, 1962.

¹⁹ *CQWR*, April 21, 1961, 679; July 14, 1961, 1231; August 18, 1961, 1440; September 8, 1961, 1549, 1563; September 22, 1961, 1635; September 28, 1962, 1608-9. *The Anniston Star*, May 11 & 19, June 10 & 23, August 3 & 5 & 11 & 13 & 26, November 12, 1961. The Alabama Black Belt in theory refers to an area of particularly rich, black soil, but, since in practice this was the area of the largest antebellum plantations and thus the largest concentration of black Alabamans historically, in practice the term refers to a region of particular support for white supremacy by its white population. The elite agricultural whites of the Black Belt in alliance with the economic elite

Jones was the only incumbent representative opposed to the 9/8 plan. His District was only 16% nonwhite and the most loyalist in the State. His predecessor in the House was Sen. John Sparkman, the Democratic vice-presidential candidate in 1952. The white voting turnout in Jones' District was also the lowest in the State. It seems that Jones' fellows in the House delegation were sure that he would be the odd man out in the run-off.²⁰

All nine incumbents were renominated in their individual districts; Jones was unopposed. It was observed, "Many people who have opposed their Congressman in the past are now supporting him in the race against the other eight. For the district whose Congressman is eliminated will be without representation for the next two years, or until the Legislature passes a re-districting bill."²¹

The run-off was the critical test. Voters were required to cast a vote for eight candidates, or their ballots would be invalidated. It was reported that there was a "well-organized, state-wide effort" against Jones consisting of distributed sample ballots. Supposedly, the Alabama Farm Bureau Federation, the Associated Industries of Alabama, and Jim Martin, who was running as a Republican for the Senate that year were behind it. Jones, nevertheless, came in eighth, and thus was a winner. Frank Boykin, the Representative from Mobile, polled last, trailing Jones by 108,000 votes while Jones was 18,000 votes behind the seventh-place winner. Though Boykin was the dean of the delegation and wealthy enough to outspend the other candidates, he also was something of a clown and was publicly involved in a savings and loan scandal in Maryland. Boykin's catch-phrase was "Everything is made for love," which he would repeat many times a day. Boykin had won his first primary with only 53% of the vote, demonstrating a lack of support from his own constituents.²²

Two incumbent members of the Class failed of renomination: James Davis of Georgia and Kearns. Neither was affected by redistricting: Georgia did not redistrict, and Kearns' District was unchanged by Pennsylvania's loss of three House seats.

Kearns had never taken less than 71% in a primary since his initial contest. His troubles probably began with his flirtation with a Senate run, Democrat Joseph Clark being up for reelection. This attracted opponents to fill Kearns' potentially vacated House seat. Raymond Shafer, a 45-year-old lawyer, former district attorney, and legislator from Crawford County, announced against Kearns' renomination, and was followed by Woodrow Bashline, 48, an osteopath from Mercer County. Kearns kept homes in both of these counties. Bashline was considered ultra-conservative, Shafer a moderate conservative, and Kearns' rated voting behavior was moderate. Shafer was apparently marking time as a candidate until a faction of the Republican organization could place him for statewide office, which happened, propelling him into a run for lieutenant governor.²³

of Birmingham had often in alliance frustrated more liberal economic and social politicians and policies of the rest of the State. Key (1949), 43-4.

²⁰ The voting turnout statement is based on the 1960 election for US senator and assumes that all ballots in each district were cast by whites.

²¹ *The Anniston Star*, March 18, 1962.

²² *The Anniston Star*, February 22, March 15 & 29, June 6, 1962. *Alabama Register* 1963. Boykin would be convicted of conspiracy and conflict of interest in June 1963 for being paid to use his influence as a representative to get charges dropped against Kenneth Edlin, who operated two savings and loans in Maryland. *The Anniston Star*, June 14, 1963.

²³ *Gettysburg Times*, January 23, 1962. *The Warren County Observer*, January 24, 1962. *The Record-Argus*, May 21, 1954. *The Titusville Herald*, January 6, February 15 & 19, March 12, 1962. *Warren Times-Mirror*, March 2, April 23,

When Shafer withdrew from the House race on March 11, James Weaver entered. Filings closed the next day. Weaver was a medical doctor, 41, from a political family but had, himself, not held elective office. Most significantly, Weaver was from Erie County, in which over half the residents of the three-county District lived. He ran on a contention that Erie County was neglected by Kearns, a position assisted by Kearns' bitter feud with the *Erie Daily Times* and *Erie Morning News*. Kearns had introduced a resolution in the House to investigate these as a newspaper monopoly. Weaver won the primary by 1,029 votes, with Bashline a distant third. Kearns carried Mercer County by 3100 votes and Crawford County by 80, but Weaver took Erie County by 4200. Kearns vowed not to support Weaver in the general election. He may not have been around to do so. The lame duck Representative took a junket to Japan, Hong Kong, Philippines, Thailand, India, and eight countries in Europe.²⁴

James Davis had faced substantial primary opposition in six of his eight runs, but there was none in the past two. Twice he lost the popular vote but was saved by the county-unit system, which allowed the two counties with an aggregate population of 32% of the District total in 1960 (23% in 1950) to disfranchise the voters of Fulton County and its city of Atlanta. On March 26, 1962, the US Supreme Court found that Federal courts had jurisdiction over issues of legislative redistricting. A court challenge to the county-unit system resulted in a Federal district court holding on April 28 that the county-unit system could not be more excessive than the national electoral college system. On the same day the General Assembly amended the law to modify the county-unit system, which would have allowed Fulton to outvote the other two counties combined. Apparently as a result, the Georgia Democratic Committee voted to hold the 1962 statewide primary by popular vote. Davis's Fifth District Committee did so as well.²⁵

Three men challenged Davis for the Democratic nomination. Charles Weltner, 34, was an Atlanta attorney and political newcomer, but a "scion of one of Georgia's oldest families" and descendant of Confederate generals; he was variously described as "moderate," "party moderate," "racial moderate," "liberal," and, by himself, "conservative." *The Atlanta Constitution* and Labor supported Weltner, as did the Democratic National Committee, surreptitiously. Black support of Weltner was tempered by the candidate's avoidance of them as the third rail of Georgia politics. Interestingly, Weltner used Davis's continuing membership on the Committee on the District of Columbia as evidence that he was "still playing on the freshman team" in the House.²⁶

Wyman Lowe and John Respass also ran. Lowe, now 57, was an also ran in 1946 and 1948, and Davis's major opponent in 1950 (with 31%) and 1956 (26%). Weltner led the vote with 47%, while Davis took 46%, 2,113 votes behind. Before this year's institution of a runoff primary in non-statewide elections as part of

1962. *Hazleton Standard-Speaker*, March 8, 1962. *The News-Herald*, February 2, 1962. See Chapter 44 on rated voting. *The Evening Standard*, March 7, 1962. Shafer would be elected Lieutenant Governor, then Governor of Pennsylvania.

²⁴ *The Warren County Observer*, March 29, 1962. *Warren Times-Mirror*, May 1, 1962. *Delaware County Daily Times*, May 17, 1962. *CQWR*, October 19, 1962, 2002-3. *The Evening Sun* (Hanover), May 17, 1962. Drew Pearson, September 19, 1962.

²⁵ *Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962). *Gray v. Sanders*, 372 U.S. 368 (1963). *CQWR*, May 4, 1962, 701; June 22, 1962, 1071.

²⁶ *CQWR*, May 25, 1962, 899; August 31, 1962, 1465; September 14, 1962, 1545; 26 Apr 1963, 660. *The Bee* (Danville, Virginia), September 27, 1962. *The Index-Journal*, September 13, 1962. *Chicago American*, September 26, 1963. *News Journal* (Mansfield), October 25, 1965. *The News-Herald*, October 4, 1966. Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews (1972), 170. Bartley and Graham, 71. There were 12,000 fewer ballots cast by black voters in the District primary than in the contemporaneous State primary. *CQWR*, September 21, 1962, 1577.

Georgia's modification of the county-unit system, Weltner would have won. But now, two weeks later, he and Davis would face off again. Davis's most public support came from fellow conservative Democrats, who trooped electronically to Atlanta from Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Mississippi to endorse him on television. A major change in strategy in the runoff was Weltner's public embrace of the black vote, which turned out for him. Davis publicly admitted that he had belonged to the Ku Klux Klan 40 years before, which may have been a deliberate appeal to the white supremacist vote, as the only other contest on the runoff ballot was that between two "ultra-segregationists" for lieutenant governor. Weltner's vote total dropped only 2200 votes from the broader first primary, while Davis hemorrhaged 14,500 votes, and the eight-term Representative was retired.²⁷

Two incumbent members of the Class of '46 did not seek renomination to the House in 1962. Democrat Burr Harrison of Virginia retired from elective office, having announced the intention in fall 1961. He was only 57 at that time. It was reported that "White House insiders" leaked that he was under consideration for appointment to a major agency. Then it was said that the departure was for health reasons. There was no major appointment; Harrison resumed his law practice in Winchester. Nor was there public evidence of ill health until he suffered a heart attack in 1973. His own explanation of his departure from the House was that it was a young man's job because of strenuous work and long hours. He also said he was "cynical" about the demand of the "people" to have "the federal government to do this and do that. The price they pay is loss of freedoms."²⁸

Harrison entered Congress with a conservative majority organized by Republicans, persisted through Democratic congresses and a Republican president, and now was in a Democratic congress frustrating to some extent a Democratic President. Perhaps what the Kennedy Administration was able to accomplish was a harbinger of a more activist future, that Harrison's actions would not be able to disturb. In the interview quoted above, he also noted that "the experience which has meant the most to him was a close relationship with Rep. Howard W. Smith," whose feathers as chair of the Rules Committee were cropped by the 87th House.

As for "strenuous work and long hours," it seems that this was true for Harrison. He put in hard work on an effort to revise the Hatch Act that governed civil service employment; a revision that amounted to a voluntary Federal Fair Employment bill was eventually produced. He was handed the chairship of the Subcommittee on Administration of Social Security Laws, which required a level of activity on a very public and very important government service for a great many people. Four of his tax bills became law. With the new Kennedy Administration's push for what eventually became Medicare, Harrison came up with his own plan, which would have provided catastrophic coverage, though his plan never amounted to a bill.

Horace Seely-Brown did not retire from elective politics but rather sought and received the nomination of the Connecticut Republican Convention for the US Senate. The Democrats nominated Abraham Ribicoff, who took the governorship from Lodge in 1954 and resigned the office in 1961 to become Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Seely-Brown campaigned statewide as he had eight

²⁷ CQWR, September 7, 1962, 1494; September 14, 1962, 1545; September 28, 1962, 1721; October 12, 1962, 1835-6; June 7, 1963, 915. *Georgia Register* 1963.

²⁸ *The Progress-Index*, October 1, 1961; April 11, July 8, October 28, 1962. *Abilene Reporter-News*, November 21, 1961. "Biographical/Historical," Harrison Papers. *Times Record*, December 31, 1973.

times in his District, with a paper boy's sack over his shoulders filled with potholders, going door to door.²⁹ Only the wording on the potholders changed. He had a much larger area to cover against a man known statewide. While personal contact is one of the most effective campaign methods, it can only go so far in a large area. Nevertheless, Ribicoff would win by only 2.5 points in an election in which five of the State's six House seats would go Democratic, including the At-large District in which the Democrat would win by 5.5 points. Democrat William St. Onge, whom Seely-Brown beat by 456 votes in 1960, indeed would take the Second District seat in 1962.

The five non-incumbent members of the Class of '46, four Republicans and one Democrat, who chose to run again were Dayton Phillips of Tennessee, James Patterson of Connecticut, Harold Youngblood late of Michigan, Edward Jenison of Illinois, and Don Wheeler of Georgia.

Patterson, ousted in 1958 after six terms, had failed in the subsequent election to be returned, as the combination of Kennedy Catholicism and Yankee liberalism made Connecticut a greater challenge for Republicans. In 1962 he could not even get the nomination. He came in second in the District Convention balloting in a three-person field, the prize going to a State Representative who had "won bipartisan, statewide acclaim as the chief author and architect of the extensive re-drafting of Connecticut's workmen's compensation law during the 1961 session."³⁰

Phillips was denied renomination to the House in 1950 by the return of State Republican kingpin Carroll Reece to his old seat. Phillips then turned on the Party organization for a losing independent run in the general election. Afterward, he returned to his law practice and then took an elective judgeship. While remaining anti-organization, there were enough voters of that inclination to keep him in that office and to be chosen as a delegate to Republican national conventions.

Reece died in office on March 19, 1961; his widow took his seat but declined to run for the full term in 1962. Phillips declared and, having endorsed Mrs. Reece for the temporary vacancy, perhaps hoped to mend ties with the organization. Nevertheless, James Quillen, 46, received the organizational aid. He was a developer, a legislator, and a personal friend of the Reece family. Three other candidates entered the race for the Republican nomination: Robert Peters, businessman and legislator; Haynes Elliott, former staffer to Carroll Reece; and Judge Orris Hyder. All were considered organization candidates except for Phillips, and all were to Phillips' right. The vote was quite scattered. Quillen, the winner took 29%, beating Elliott in second place by 6900 votes. Phillips came in fourth with 17%. There was no run-off. Phillips would continue in his judgeship until 1980.³¹

Wheeler served four terms before losing the nomination for his south Georgia seat, tried again four years later in 1958 getting only 24% of the vote, and now after another four years was back at it. Iris Blitch, who displaced Wheeler in 1954, was retiring due to bad health at 50, given her long running battle with kidney and bowel infections. Six contenders for the Democratic nomination declared. Henry (Country) Johnston was back for a third try at this seat, both previous being against Wheeler. Mayor Russell Tuten

²⁹ *Time*, October 12, 1962. *CQWR*, October 19, 1962, 1980-1.

³⁰ *Naugatuck Daily News*, December 7, 1961.

³¹ *Kingsport News*, May 26, 1960; March 25, 1961. *CQWR*, January 19, 1962, 88; May 4, 1962, 705; May 25, 1962, 902; October 12, 1962, 1843. *Nashville Tennessean*, August 31, 1962. *The Daily News-Journal* (Murfreesboro), January 17 & 18, February 7, 1962. *Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle*, July 17, 1962. *Kingsport Times*, July 29, 1962.

of Brunswick, 51, a builder; Wallace Jernigan, 36, secretary to the Governor; Wimbric Walker, 40, a legislator; and Bill Smith, 54, a school superintendent were new entrants for the seat. *The Atlanta Constitution* opined that the race was about personalities and where those personalities lived in the District and not about issues. Johnston led, perhaps by dint of previous runs, but with only 23% of the vote, leading Tuten by 865 votes. Wheeler, whose six earlier races were devalued by his questionable 1958 arrest for stock fraud, came in fifth with 10% of the ballots. Tuten went on to win the newly instituted run-off.³²

Neither Tennessee nor Georgia redistricted, and the fact that Michigan did was without effect on Youngblood, who decamped from Detroit to Tucson in 1958. He had lost his House seat to a Democrat after one term, lost the nomination to return to the seat in 1950 and 1952, was nominated again in 1956 but lost the election. After losing a try at the Michigan House in 1958, Arizona's deserts must have looked like greener pastures. Owner of a plumbing shop in Detroit, he continued in the business in Tucson. The Second Arizona District was occupied by Democrat Morris Udall, whose brother Stewart gave up the seat the year before to become Secretary of the Interior. The District was reduced from 13 counties to five as the State gained a third House seat from the 1960 census.³³

Youngblood's primary opponent, Richard Burke, had been in the State only one year longer. He was a Democrat in Arkansas, losing a race for County attorney. He was 40, 15 years younger than Youngblood. The primary campaign was a race to the right, which Burke won handily with 78% in a contest in which only 15,725 votes were cast. Udall would stay in office with 58% of the ballots.³⁴

Jenison remained in Paris, Illinois. Since losing for the second time to Democrat Peter Mack in 1954, he had been a delegate to the 1956 Republican National Convention and had served on the Illinois Board of Vocational Education and as Director of the State's Department of Finance, as well as in a committee of 58 "to help revitalize the Republican Party in Illinois." He continued to publish the Paris *Daily Beacon-News*. The 1960 census took a House seat away from the State. The Governor was Republican, and control of the General Assembly was split. No agreement was reached on redistricting by legislative adjournment, and a special session dragged on for two-and-one-half months before a compromise was reached and signed by the Governor.³⁵

Mack's Twenty-first District was a snake wandering from Jenison's home county of Edgar on the Indiana border through nine others to end up in Macoupin County, the residence of the incumbent, near the Mississippi River. It was inevitable that such a district would end up sacrificed in the redistricting and that Jenison and Mack would find themselves in different districts. Such a situation proved attractive to Jenison. He found himself in the new Twenty-third District of 21 counties. It included eight of the counties in the old Twenty-first, all 11 of the counties that Jenison represented in the 81st and 82nd Congresses, and three from his 80th Congress stint. The incumbent was Democrat George Shipley of Richland County, which had been in Jenison's 80th, 81st, and 82nd House districts. The prospects looked good.

³² *The Atlanta Constitution*, April 18, July 6, September 14, 1962. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, September 23, 2002. *CQWR*, August 31, 1962, 1465. *Georgia Register* 1963.

³³ *Arizona Daily Star*, May 12, 1983. *Detroit Free Press*, December 1, 1958.

³⁴ *Tucson Daily Citizen*, September 10, 1962. *Arizona Daily Star*, June 19, August 31, 1962. *Arizona Republic*, August 21, September 8, 1962.

³⁵ *Belvidere Daily Republican*, January 28, 1961. *CQWR*, September 28, 1962, 1626-8.

Republican leaders from 19 of the new District's counties met on January 8, 1962, and endorsed Jenison. Mack feinted at possibly changing his residence to run in the new Twenty-third District, but no one opposed Shipley in the Democratic primary. No one filed against Jenison in the Republican primary either.³⁶

Cuba loomed large in the 1962 general election. Fidel Castro's occupation in 1959 of the vacuum left by the flight of dictator Fulgencio Batista, the new government's seizure of productive assets, many held by American companies, its inclusion of communists, and its arrests of numerous "counter-revolutionaries" resulted in American fear, hostility and the welcoming of many dispossessed Cubans of the upper economic strata. It also led the Eisenhower Administration to take hostile covert military and public economic actions against the country. Chief among the former was an invasion of Cuban expatriates assisted by the CIA, planned in the previous Administration but executed in the new Kennedy Administration. The incursion failed miserably, and Kennedy did not intervene to escalate.

Pres. Kennedy took to the hustings during the 1962 election campaign with "a vast and avowedly political national campaign tour" to defend himself, his Administration, and his Party against vehement accusations by Republican over the failure of American policy to oust Castro. In mid-October the President was forced to desist, because matters in Cuba only got worse. Intelligence discovered the presence of offensive Soviet missiles in Cuba, and Kennedy returned to Washington in crisis mode. The resolution of the emergency, in which Kennedy pledged not to attempt to oust Castro in return for the withdrawal of the missiles, was perceived by most of the public as a success, and the cries of the warhawks for invasion largely fell on deaf ears.³⁷

The Administration experienced the second smallest midterm election loss of House seats since 1866 and gained two seats in the Senate. There was a much greater shift than this number represents, due mostly to reapportionment and redistricting. Democrats lost 28 seats and Republicans lost 15, but Democrats gained 24 seats and Republicans gained 17. Put another way, Democrats lost 17 seats because of reapportionment and redistricting and gained 16. Republicans lost 7 and gained 6. Democrats took 8 Republican seats and Republicans took 11 Democratic seats. These summaries cannot do justice to the topsy-turvy result of redrawing districts. California gained eight seats from the reapportionment and Democrats won seven of them, but Democrats also won three Republican seats and Republicans displaced one Democratic seat while also winning one of the new seats.

Regional changes saw net losses of four Republican seats and two Democratic seats in the Northeast, four Democrats in the Midwest, and the gain of one Republican and nine Democratic seats in the West. The South lost four Democratic seats and gained four Republican ones; this hides the fact that the most racially recalcitrant states in the South lost the Democratic seats and the less so gained the Republican seats.

Of the nine Southern members of the Class of '46 in the November 1962 general election, six were unopposed. Robert Jones in Alabama on an At-large ticket with seven other incumbent Democrats opposed by three Republicans and a States' Rights candidate, came in seventh, topping the eighth place Democrat by 12,000 votes. The top Republican challenger was 116,000 votes behind again. The State still required in the general election that valid ballots be marked for eight candidates. The Republican Party

³⁶ *Southern Illinoisian*, January 9, 1962. *The DeKalb Daily Chronicle*, January 5, 1962. *Illinois Vote*, April 10, 1962.

³⁷ Busch, 145-6.

identified five write-ins for Republican voters; such votes are not reported in the official totals, but this effort may have saved some Republican ballots. The growing strength of the Republican voting in Alabama was better expressed by the 49% that the Republican candidate for the US Senate received against the incumbent Democrat. Worries that Jones' support for the expansion of the Rules Committee would hurt him helped bring Pres. Kennedy and Vice Pres. Lyndon Johnson to Huntsville in his District in September.³⁸

Evins in Tennessee had an opponent but not an official Republican. Arch Eaton, 61, was a retired Army colonel nominated by the Cumberland County Republican Executive Committee. The understanding between the statewide parties held – no Democratic challengers for the two Republican House districts and no Republican challengers for the Democratic districts. Eaton billed himself as “strictly conservative” and took an eighth of the vote.³⁹

An official Republican, the same man as in 1960, challenged Hardy again in the Norfolk area. Louis Fine ran to the left of the Representative, telling voters he was not a segregationist and offering qualified support for Medicare. Hardy slipped less than a point from 1960 to 75%.⁴⁰

Two other classmates were unopposed in November, Border Staters Albert of Oklahoma and Garmatz of Baltimore. This was a first for both, though neither was previously stretched by opponents.

Donohue in Massachusetts had been pushed in the past, though his share of the returns increased each November since he received 54% in 1952. In 1962 it hit 90%. His only opponent was a Prohibition Party candidate, no Republican running against Donohue for the first time.

Karsten had a Republican opponent, Charles Cherry, 35, senior accountant for Southwestern Bell, president of the St. Louis Jaycees, resident of the County and not the City, and a first time candidate. He did as well as Karsten's last Republican opponent in 1960, 29% of the vote.⁴¹

Abraham Multer's Republican opponent in Brooklyn also equaled the performance of his immediate predecessor, getting a quarter of the vote. Multer actually improved his Democratic vote by three points, his overwhelming majority coming with the help of his Liberal nomination. Thanks to redistricting, the vote total in this off-year election increased over 1960 by 1242.

The Class' remaining Democrat, Blatnik, also enjoyed an easy time in November, taking 66% against the same Republican opponent as before, Jerry Ketola, but slipping four points in his newly expanded District. Ketola ran a very active campaign, likely hoping that the new counties in the District would give a boost against the incumbent, but Ketola was from the original District, and no Republican from the new counties challenged him for the nomination. Medicare was an issue, with Blatnik a strong supporter and Ketola an advocate of a tax deduction that could be used to buy private insurance, saying counties provided the indigent with medical care. The challenger also sought to make Blatnik's investigation of misuse of Federal highway funds against him, claiming that the Representative pressured the Minnesota highway administrator to come up with something wrong. It is questionable that opposition to an effort to goad the Republican highway administrator to oppose investigations of misuse of tax moneys by a Democratic State administration was an effective campaign strategy for a Republican.⁴²

³⁸ *The Anniston Star*, August 12, September 12, October 5, November 4, 1962.

³⁹ *Nashville Tennessean*, September 14, 1962. *CQWR*, May 25, 1962, 902; September 28, 1962, 1740; October 12, 1962, 1844.

⁴⁰ *Kingsport Times*, December 2, 1962. *The Danville Register*, October 21, 1962.

⁴¹ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 28, April 25, November 4, 1962. *CQWR*, October 5, 1962, 1767.

⁴² *The Minneapolis Star*, September 22, 1962. *The Winona Daily News*, November 2, 1962.

Republican members of the Class, without the asset of single party districts, did manage three walk-off wins out of seven candidates.

Tollefson of Tacoma scored the highest with 71%, his best ever showing. The Democratic candidate was Dawn Olson, 37, former Tacoma Council member, who tried unsuccessfully for the Democratic nomination in the District in 1958. She received the sexist approvals of the press: She was a former airline hostess, her husband was this and he did that, she was “pretty, blue-eyed” and blonde and the mother of three.⁴³

McCulloch, like Tollefson, saw his premier November performance with 70% of the vote. Also like Tollefson, his Democratic opponent was a woman. Marjorie Struna had also successfully gotten the 1958 nomination to oppose the incumbent. She was still a school teacher and counted out by the commentators, even more so than Olson.⁴⁴

In southeastern Pennsylvania, Dague did not see his best November percentage, but he improved over the last two elections with 67%. Richard Keller, 38, professor at Millersville State College, was described both as running an “articulate campaign” and as “token opposition.” Since we have mentioned sexism in the Tollefson-Olson race, it behooves to point out that in 1974 Keller would be an appointee on the Pennsylvania Board of Education and would be the sole vote against allowing public school girls to try out for boys’ sports and to provide equal athletic opportunities for the sexes.⁴⁵

St. George was challenged by a director of marketing for General Aniline and Film Corporation, William Ward, 34, who received the Democratic and Liberal nominations. He had had a State patronage job for three years until 1960. He focused on St. George’s opposition to the Peace Corps, while she campaigned on Cuba. Curiously, it was reported that Ward accused her of not having “a single piece of legislation passed in her name in sixteen years in Congress,” when in fact she sponsored nine public and twelve private bills that were enacted. Although Congressional Quarterly thought she was “heavily favored,” Americans for Constitutional Action poured support into her District. She prevailed without too much of a problem, getting 58% of the vote, which was indeed her lowest showing yet, though not a tremendous drop from her best in 1952 of 66%.⁴⁶

St. George’s fellow New Yorker, Riehlman, did not see a drop from his previous two elections, though running below his 1956 peak of 67%. Since Lee Alexander, his Democratic opponent did not also get the Liberal nomination, Riehlman’s 55% was a twelve-point winning margin. Alexander, 35, was an attorney who lost a race for County Clerk in 1958. Cuba was the major and recurring issue, swamping Alexander’s efforts to run on Medicare, a new Department of Urban Affairs, and Federal aid to education.⁴⁷

In Indiana Harvey got a new Democratic opponent after losing in 1958 to Randall Harmon and then beating him in 1960. “Front Porch” Harmon lost the 1962 nomination to John Mitchell by a landslide. Backed by the Democratic organization, Mitchell, 35, a farmer and member of the State Budget Committee, managed to get a majority among nine primary candidates. Reports emphasized the

⁴³ *Port Angeles Evening News*, July 16, 1958. *CQWR*, September 28, 1962, 1739; October 19, 1962, 1974. *The Daily Chronicle*, November 8, 1962.

⁴⁴ *CQWR*, October 5, 1962, 1772.

⁴⁵ *CQWR*, September 28, 1962, 1736; October 19, 1962, 2002. *Pottstown Mercury*, November 7, 1962. *Gettysburg Times*, September 13, 1974.

⁴⁶ *CQWR*, September 28, 1962, 1733; October 19, 1962, 1997. *Sun-Bulletin*, September 4 & 8, 1962. *Poughkeepsie Journal*, October 28, 1962. *The Oneonta Star*, October 24, 1962. *The Reporter Dispatch*, October 31, November 1, 1962. *The Indianapolis News*, November 3, 1962.

⁴⁷ *Wellsville Daily Reporter*, July 15, 1962. *The Post-Standard* July 19, August 23, September 29, October 16 & 20 & 23 & 24, 1962.

aggressiveness and competence of Mitchell's campaign, while Harvey hit back with Cuba, socialized medicine, Federal control of education, keeping Red China out of the United Nations, and "Kennedy socialism" in general. A noteworthy campaign ad for Harvey included a picture of a log cabin with the label "Lincoln Slept Here," a picture of Mount Vernon "Washington Slept Here," and a map of Cuba and a rocking chair "Kennedy Slept Here." Harvey prevailed with 53%, his third lowest showing and a four point fall from 1960.⁴⁸

None of the incumbent members of the Class were defeated in November, but not so Edward Jenison, attempting to return to the House after twelve years. He faced George Shipley, the Democratic incumbent, and, like all the above, the incumbent won. Shipley, 35, was only a four-year incumbent, but he had been elected Sheriff of Richland County at the age of 27 and dropped out of school at 17 to join the Marines in time for the last year of the Second World War, marrying his wife when she was 17 and he 20. He had represented twelve of the counties in the new District compared to eleven for Jenison, and the Democrat's representation was far fresher. But only two of the 21 counties went for Kennedy in 1960. After a race in which mainstream Republican and Democratic positions were taken, Shipley eked out a three-point win. Jenison returned to his newspaper, which, curiously, printed a story declaring Shipley the victor before Jenison conceded.⁴⁹

Thus ended an election year, which in the aggregate, saw little change in the House, but still a substantial turnover fueled by reapportionment and redistricting; 65 districts changed partisanship or were newly created. Among the Class of '46, 21 of the original 109 would be returning to the House. Six were Republican, out of the original 71 (8%). Fifteen were Democrats from the 37 that began (41%). Nine of those Democrats were Southerners out of the original 21 (43%).

Members who did not return to the House after 1962:

James Davis was most definitely a white supremacist, which contributed to his governance of the District of Columbia as a member of the House Committee. Of his 23 public bills enacted (out of 222 introduced), 18 concerned the District. Three others dealt with the Post Office and Civil Service, and two were purely local. His three successful resolutions (out of 23 introduced) were about the District. And he moved nine accepted floor amendments on the District. He was quite successful with floor amendments, moving 47 and getting 32 adopted, affecting aid to Greece and Turkey, foreign aid, and foreign aid employment. Other concerns of Davis were trade with the Soviet Union (one amendment as well as much comment), reciprocal trade, civil service pay grades (three amendments and comment), and he was a budget quibbler (nine amendments affecting various fundings). Subversion, displaced persons, rent control, the Defense Production Act, universal military training, military stockpiles, and postal rates all were subject to accepted amendments. He spoke 512 times on the floor. While Davis introduced 106

⁴⁸ *The Tipton Daily Tribune*, November 28, 1961; July 18, 1962. *CQWR*, May 4, 1962, 707; September 28, 1962, 1727; October 5, 1962, 1759. *Rushville Republican*, May 9, 1962. *The Evening Republican*, September 26, November 5, 1962. *The Elwood Call Leader*, October 1 & 3, 1962. *Greenfield Daily Reporter*, October 10 & 12 & 22 & 24 & 26, November 3, 1962. *The Vidette-Messenger*, October 24, 1962. NB: The image was not labeled a campaign advertisement and was underneath an AP story entitled, "Was JFK Slow to Recognize Soviet Buildup in Cuba?"

⁴⁹ *The Decatur Herald*, November 14, 1962. *CQWR*, October 5, 1962, 1756. *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, September 18, October 23 & 26, November 7, 1962. *The Anderson Herald*, October 12, 1962. *Mount Vernon Register-News*, November 1, 1962. *The DeKalb Daily Chronicle*, November 2, 1962.

private bills, only sixteen were enacted. He voted 188 times on key votes with Democrats (122 with only Southerners and nine with Northerners), 51 times with Republicans, and missed ten. He contrarily opposed the Colorado River project, the Eisenhower Doctrine, the Trade Agreements Extension Act, and the Peace Corps. He was among the six most conservative Southern Democrats in rated voting.

Burr Harrison was less participatory. He spoke 125 times and moved five amendments, all accepted and addressing State Department funding, the Defense Production Act, foreign aid, universal military training, and the soil bank. Four of his eleven private bills were enacted and eight of his 68 public bills, covering wool tariffs (twice), social security (a major issue for him), excise taxes, and four local matters. Two of his three enacted resolutions out of fifteen introduced also were local in scope; the third dealt with a contested election. Woodrow Wilson (born in his District) and Shenandoa National Park were his primary local concerns. He also focused on the civil service, welfare fraud, and agricultural policy. Harrison voted 193 times with Democrats (125 times with only Southerners and nine with Northerners), 47 times with Republicans, and missed seven. He was contrary on the Marshall Plan, benefits for veterans requiring constant care for non-service-connected disabilities (twice), the Colorado River project, a salary increase for Federal employees, and the Peace Corps. He was on the conservative side of Southern Democrats.

Carroll Kearns was the point man of the Class on cultural issues and also focused on Labor and education. Five of his 220 public bills were enacted, two dealing with school aid and three with the District of Columbia. Three accepted floor amendments out of nine moved addressed the Defense Production Act, the District of Columbia, and the National Defense Education Act. As for culture, his one enacted resolution out of 38 introduced concerned pornography. One of his 48 private bills was enacted. He spoke on the floor 323 times and voted 198 times with Republicans, 39 times with Democrats (22 with only Northerners and five with Southerners), and missed twelve. He was contrary on the State Department information service, Interim Foreign Aid, reciprocal trade extensions, and the Trade Agreements Extension Act. His rated voting was on the liberal side of the center of Class Republicans.

Horace Seely-Brown served six terms with two interruptions. He spoke 308 times and moved three floor amendments, all accepted and addressing school aid, area redevelopment, and the Coast Guard. The Coast Guard Academy was in his District and was his major focus. Four of his 61 public bills were enacted, covering the Merchant Marine, the Panama Canal staff, and two local matters. Four of his 39 private bills became law; none of his eleven resolutions did. On key votes he was with Republicans 120 times, Democrats 61 (42 with only Northerners and twice with Southerners), and missed only two. His only contrary vote was opposition to the Trade Agreements Extension Act. In rated voting he was the second most liberal Republican, but far from Jacob Javits.