

Chapter 29 – Goldwater Landslide: The 1964 Election

It is a truism of American politics, no matter how trusting the devotion of partisans to a candidate, that we all know that candidates when elected will not or cannot keep their campaign promises. The fear of a significant part of the American electorate in November 1964 was that Republican presidential nominee Barry Goldwater might.

- “prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program”
Goldwater, *The Conscience of a Conservative*, page 43.
- “I strongly favor enactment of State right-to-work laws which forbid contracts that make union membership a condition of employment.”
The Conscience of a Conservative, page 50.
- “government has a right to claim an equal percentage of each man’s wealth, and no more”
The Conscience of a Conservative, page 63.
- “I would like to suggest one change, that Social Security be made voluntary, that if a person can provide better for himself, let him do it.”
Goldwater press conference, January 6, 1964, quoted in Theodore White (1965), page 318.
- “I am ... not impressed by the claim that the Supreme Court’s decision on school integration is the law of the land.”
The Conscience of a Conservative, page 37.
- “And so I endorse the position of the Republican Platform of 1964 on the bussing [sic] of school children. I say with the Platform that it is wrong to take school children out of their normal neighborhood schools for the sake of achieving ‘racial balance,’ or some other hypothetical goal of perfect equality imagined by the theorists of the so-called ‘Great Society.’”
Goldwater speech at Chicago, Illinois, October 16, 1964.¹
- “The civil rights bill is ‘like a three dollar bill – it’s a phony.’”
Goldwater quoted in *Time*, June 12, 1964.
- “Assume ... a major uprising in Eastern Europe.... In such a situation, we ought to present the Kremlin with an ultimatum forbidding Soviet intervention, and be prepared, if the ultimatum is rejected, to move a highly mobile task force equipped with appropriate nuclear weapons to the scene of the revolt.”
The Conscience of a Conservative, page 125.
- “Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice.”
Goldwater acceptance speech, Republican National Convention, July 16, 1964, quoted in Theodore White (1965), page 228.

These quotations lack context, but as Theodore White would write, Goldwater erred in that, “for each complication he has a direct and simple answer,” and an answer that could be easily cited to worry farmers, labor unionists, retirees, minorities, and, perhaps most importantly, those wary of a nuclear

¹ Goldwater Papers. One might ask if an individual who condemned busing for integration ever previously condemned busing for segregation. In this speech he did both, but busing for segregation had been going on for decades previously.

holocaust. The candidate's remarks bedeviled not only liberal Democrats but many of those Republicans and independents whose votes he needed for election.²

Too much can be made of voters' fears of Goldwater; 27,146,969 Americans were sufficiently unafraid to cast votes for him. Of course, that was only 38.5% of the total votes cast, the lowest percentage share for a major party candidate since Republican Alf Landon in 1936. Democrat Lyndon Johnson took a larger vote share in 1964 than Franklin Roosevelt did in 1936, given that minor parties received 3.3% of the vote in 1936 compared to 0.4% in 1964.

While there was a nationwide shift to the Democratic presidential candidate, in the five Deep South states plus Florida there was an opposite reaction; 72% of counties that had voted Democratic for John Kennedy supported Goldwater. In these six states, 84% of Nixon counties remained Republican in 1964. The Democratic shift in the other 44 states was necessarily greater than in the country as a whole; 76% of Richard Nixon counties going for Johnson.³

Thirty-seven states, including Tennessee and North Carolina in the South, and Kentucky, West Virginia, Oklahoma, Delaware, New Mexico, and Arizona in the Border lost no Kennedy counties to Goldwater. On the other hand, North Dakota and Idaho had three counties between them make that jump. Nixon counties were wiped from the Republican map in ten states, including five of the New England states and New York and New Jersey.

Changes in the Senate were limited, Democrats picking up three seats, including Class member Kenneth Keating's in New York, while a Republican took a Democratic seat in California. The House, on the other hand, saw a major shift. The Democratic Party increased its seats by 37 over the 1962 election, resulting in a division of 295 Democrats and 140 Republicans. The new House would be overwhelmingly Democratic. The number of Democratic seats was the greatest since the 75th Congress that followed Roosevelt's 1936 landslide. Still, the partisan shift in seats was only half that resulting from the 1948 elections.

Democrats picked up 16 seats in the Northeast (including seven in New York and two in Pennsylvania) and 22 in the Midwest (including four in Ohio and two in Indiana). They gained nine in the West (including four in Washington) while losing two. In the South Republicans took seven new seats (including five in Alabama and one in Mississippi) while losing four.

Overall, there appeared to be a seismic modification of the partisanship of the country, with the Deep South increasing its flirtation with the Republican Party while the Northeast and Midwest threw in its lot with the Democrats. If nuclear war was the bugaboo of the new Democrats, equal rights trumped that fear in the South. But seismic events tend to have a short life.

² White (1965), 108.

³ Alabama's presidential ballot in 1960 complicates the comparison. Eleven Democratic electors were listed on the ballot and the vote was for the individual elector. Six of the eleven were not committed to Kennedy and voted for Sen. Harry Byrd. The remaining five cast ballots for Kennedy. If one counts the Alabama "Democratic" counties rather as uncommitted, then the proportion of 1960 Democratic counties in the six states voting Republican was 67%. If Alabama is excluded in toto from this calculation 68% of the Democratic counties in the remaining five states voted for Goldwater in 1964. In addition, all counties carried by unpledged electors (however that is counted) in the six states voted Republican for president in 1964. There were no counties outside these six states that were taken by unpledged electors in 1960. In totaling counties, parishes and independent cities are included, but Alaska, not having any of the category, is counted as one county equivalent.

All 21 incumbent members of the Class of '46 chose to run again in 1964. Eleven of them faced no opposition for their renomination. The primaries were unusual in that only three of the nine Southern Democrats were unopposed. Joe Evins of Tennessee saw his first primary opponent since 1952, Bryan Dorn of South Carolina had had a free pass since 1950, and Robert Jones of Alabama faced another 9/8 primary. Olin Teague and Omar Burleson of Texas faced their normal presidential year contests for the nomination, with no opposition in off years. Watkins Abbitt and Porter Hardy of Virginia had no opposition in the primary; in both cases, declared Democratic opponents chose to run as independents in November instead. Otto Passman of Louisiana was the only Southerner with a clear road to renomination. It is probable that the increase in primary opposition or threats of same was related to the rising struggle for equal rights for black Southerners, the response of the Democratic Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in support of that movement, and the enactment by the Democratic controlled 88th Congress of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

While the Southerners were battling for renomination, five of the six Republican members of the Class were home free, including Paul Dague of Pennsylvania, who had not avoided a challenger since at least 1954. Only Ralph Harvey of Indiana faced, as always, an opponent for renomination. Three of the six non-Southern Democrats also lacked primary opposition as usual: Carl Albert of Oklahoma, Harold Donohue of Massachusetts, and John Blatnik of Minnesota.

John Bell Williams of Mississippi was contested but barely. As in 1962, Williams' opponent was a black man, but unlike Robert Smith two years earlier, James Houston filed but did not try to campaign. Houston was 74 and a retired furniture dealer. He took 1600 fewer votes than had Smith, but Williams' totals dropped as well by 3100 votes. He took 97% instead of the 93% he received in 1962. The Civil Rights Commission estimated that only 7% of black voting-age Mississippians were registered in 1964.⁴ A black candidate nonetheless seems to have had an impact on voter turnout; 43% more voted in the 1964 House race than in 1960. Presumably this was primarily an increase in white turnout in the face of a black challenge or perhaps just to show solidarity with the white candidate.

Arthur Wuigk was not a black man, but his challenge in the primary to Frank Karsten in St. Louis was little more effective. Karsten took 92%, his best showing in the primary since 1958. Wuigk was a member of Teamsters Local 618 and was chair of a draft Adlai Stevenson for President committee in 1960. In 1964, however, he was co-chair of the Union Labor for Goldwater-Miller Committee, perhaps not an auspicious position for a candidate in a Democratic primary in St. Louis.⁵

From 1948 through 1962 Ralph Harvey, with one exception, won nomination with between 81.1% and 89.4% of the vote, and 1964 was no different. Two opponents managed to hold Harvey to 87%. The quality of his opposition might best be expressed by an advertisement by one of the two that read in part: "I seek this office because, The Man Inside of me suggested to me that I do so. I do not ask that you vote for me, but when The Man Inside of you suggests to you that you do, I Thank You."⁶

A political columnist in the *Kingsport News* opined that Judge Alfred English might pose the "most serious challenge" of Evins' career. Given that Evins had no primary opponent since 1952, that possibility could have meant little, and it turned out to be so. English gathered only 16% of the vote. The challenger's complaint was that Evins' tenure led him to be complacent; about what was not made very explicit, as

⁴ *CQWR*, May 22, 1964, 1003. *Lake Charles American-Press*, June 1, 1964. Phillips, 224.

⁵ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 7, 1960; October 15, 1964.

⁶ *Rushville Republican*, May 2, 1964

English's campaign was, in the words of the *Nashville Tennessean*, "a token." But the *Tennessean* did not indicate what it was a token of.⁷

Abraham Multer had been the nominee of the Liberal Party as well as the Democratic Party since winning the seat in Brooklyn, but in 1964 the Chair of the Liberals announced the Party could not support Multer because of allegations he "misused his public position for private gain," citing his reported activities in the Bahamas, Florida, and Maryland, as well as his support for private operation of the planned Washington Metro. Multer's press also attracted two challengers for the Democratic nomination, though the Representative still took 70% of the primary vote. His string of unopposed nominations by the Democrats had ended in 1962, when a "reform" candidate held him to 88%.⁸ His trend was downward but still far short of problematic. In 1962 his Democratic votes alone were 65% of the total cast.

Though Olin Teague's opponent for the nomination in 1964 held him to 74%, his trend was upward, having taken 67% in the previous presidential year, these two being his only challenged primaries since being elected. In both cases he was attacked from his left. While businessman and Mayor *pro tem* of Bryan, Jack Zubik, emphasized his support of proposed Medicare, his recurring theme was that Teague was no longer a true resident of the District.⁹ In something of a switch in defining "absenteeism," Zubik complained not about Teague's missing votes in the House but rather about his being away from the District. By now, Teague had been in Congress for 18 years and undoubtedly was more a citizen of the Nation than specifically of Texas. This was to no avail for Zubik.

Dorn was challenged for nomination by T.M. Tucker, like Zubik a businessman and Mayor, but who took a much more activist position on issues, including a wide range of more liberal positions. His ads declared his support for minimum wage, Social Security, Medicare, price supports for small farmers, and rural electrification and complained that Dorn opposed them all. "Vote for a Democrat!" Tucker trumpeted. The major issue however was whether Duke Power or the Federal government should build a power plant on the Savannah River. Dorn had been blocking the public dam from his position on Public Works, which incentivized Tucker to run. Dorn, in his first contested primary since 1950, took 71%. In 1966 public and private power forces would reach a compromise on the River, with Duke to build a nuclear plant and the Federal government to build a dam.¹⁰

Burleson had faced an opponent for the nomination in every presidential year since 1952, and 1964 brought Max Carriker, a legislator, farmer, and businessman, to fill that role. Carriker, if anything, appears to have been farther to the left than Tucker, but then the District had no overwhelming local issue like Savannah River power to distract from more global issues. One thing definitely did distract, however, and that was the race for the Senate nomination between Sen. Ralph Yarborough and a radio executive named Gordon McClendon, who called the Senator a "left-wing lizard." Yarborough attempted to aid Carriker in his run against Burleson. Burleson defended himself as a loyal Democrat, saying, "Except on matters of economy, I agree generally with Democratic philosophy." "I supported Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Johnson when it was not altogether popular in this congressional district to support them." The Civil Rights Act was something of an issue. Burleson declared his support for civil rights but could not support the public

⁷ *Kingsport News*, April 4, 1964. *Kingsport Times*, June 29, 1964. *Nashville Tennessean*, August 7, 1964.

⁸ *The New York Times*, April 2, 1964. *CQWR*, April 10, 1964, 691, 699. The term "reform" in New York simply means an outsider to the official party organization.

⁹ *The Mexia Daily News*, February 3, April 26, 1964. *Corsicana Daily Sun*, January 6, 1964. *Waxahachie Daily Light*, January 7, 1964. *CQWR*, April 17, 1964, 727; May 8, 1964, 910.

¹⁰ *The Index-Journal*, April 10 & 23, May 30, June 1 & 6, 1964; July 5, October 5, 1966. *CQWR*, May 1, 1964, 1827; May 29, 1964, 1967. Dorn and Derks, 228-9.

accommodations and equal employment opportunity sections, a position that Carriker agreed with. Yarborough voted for the Act. Burleson's supposed support for equal rights is not apparent over his tenure from his vote against them on 42 of 44 key votes, his only support being against funding private education, which would also have been for parochial schools. A curious issue that was raised by a Carriker representative was an accusation that Burleson, as chair of House Administration facilitated the free spending of the funds of the Education and Labor Committee that was chaired by black Rep. Adam Powell (D NY).¹¹

There is some truth to Burleson's defensive argument that he was a Democrat in a district that tended to be Republican, but only some truth. Democrat Kennedy carried the District in 1960 with only a smidgen greater than a plurality. On the other hand, native son and Democrat Lyndon Johnson had no problem with Goldwater in Burleson's District, taking 67% of the vote. The District's Democrats also may not have been that conservative; Sen. Yarborough carried the District in the primary with 55%. Burleson safely retained the Democratic nomination with 69%.

None of these incumbents, whatever their sleeplessness before their primaries, at the end had any reason to fear for their renomination. Even Edward Garmatz in Baltimore, as it turned out, was secure, though by a substantially lower margin than the others. Garmatz cruised in 1962, but 1960 had been a scare, when he took only 54% of the Democratic primary, and 1964 was another presidential year. His challenger was John Pica, who did not live in the congressional District but whose City Council district was partly in it. Pica staked out a position to the right of Garmatz, at least on integration of public accommodations, and was the godfather of one of the children of Thomas d'Alessandro III, President of the City Council and son of the former long-term Mayor of Baltimore. Nevertheless, the d'Alessandro organization supported Garmatz, and so did d'Alessandro III. Garmatz took 58%.¹²

The remaining incumbent member of the Class is Robert Jones. It was 1964 and the Alabama Legislature had still not figured out how to draw the State's congressional districts after losing a seat in the 1960 census, despite the fact that the free-for-all run-off primary in 1962 eliminated one of the incumbent Representatives. That one, Frank Boykin, ever how much his loyalists in the Legislature might have wished to give him another chance in 1964, was effectively eliminated through a conviction in 1963 on charges of conspiracy and conflict-of-interest in getting dismissal of mail fraud charges against a savings and loan operator. Boykin was also in the midst of a series of heart attacks. Neither of the Representatives whose old districts abutted Boykin's wanted to take on his City of Mobile, particularly if it meant giving up counties in which they were known, and Mobile counted too many people for that not to happen. The Legislature wrestled with redistricting again in 1963 before giving up.¹³

Jones found himself in another 9/8 situation. The old nine districts once again held first primaries to choose nine contenders for the eight nominations, who then competed statewide in a run-off. In the first primary Jones was challenged by David Archer, an attorney and former legislator who was appointed a circuit judge by Gov. John Patterson in 1962. Archer was elected as a loyalist elector in 1960 and voted for Kennedy, while six of the 11 Alabama electors voted for Sen. Harry Byrd (D VA). Patterson's long-term claim to fame is that of defeating George Wallace in the latter's first attempt to become Governor by, in Wallace's words, out-niggering him. Wallace overcame that handicap in 1962, the next gubernatorial

¹¹ *Abilene Reporter-News*, January 1 & 12, March 24, April 18 & 19 & 27 & 29, 1964. *CQWR*, April 17, 1964, 726-7. *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, April 17, 1964.

¹² *CQWR*, May 8, 1964, 912; May 22, 1964, 1002. *The News*, April 17, 1964.

¹³ *The Anniston Star*, July 15, 1962. *CQWR*, May 24, 1963, 817.

election by establishing himself “on the extreme right of the racial issue.” In four years thence, Sen. John Sparkman would be up for election, and it was said that Wallace wanted to soften the Senator’s support by defeating his protégé Robert Jones. To that end Gov. Wallace ran Archer against Jones. As far as Alabama racial politics goes, this cast of characters only illustrates that there was little more than a dime’s difference among them, again to use a common phrase of George Wallace. There was, however, a substantial difference between Jones’ and Archer’s electoral performances, as Jones won 69%. This was Jones’s first primary challenger in his District since his initial election.¹⁴

In the statewide run-off Jones again came in seventh, and the loser this time was not either John Tyson who replaced Boykin from the Mobile District or George Hawkins, who took the nomination from the District of the retiring Albert Rains, but Carl Elliott, ending his tenure at eight terms. A wire service story broke out the race as follows: Jones was “liberal,” though he and Elliott voted against the Civil Rights Act they “did not continuously denounce the federal government.” Tyson “gained statewide fame as an anti-Wallace legislator. However, during the election Tyson circulated pictures of himself with Wallace and proclaimed himself a Wallace backer.” “Hawkins campaigned that he supported Wallace’s states rights position. But so did all the other candidates, including Elliott.” “A sample ballot containing Wallace’s slogan, ‘Stand Up for Alabama,’ omitted Elliott’s name and was widely circulated.”¹⁵

One member of the Class of ’46 who was absent from the House since 1956 made a run in 1964 at recapturing a seat. Glenn Davis of Wisconsin failed at unseating a fellow Republican Senator in 1956 and failed again in 1957 of getting the Republican nomination for a Senate seat in a special primary. He wanted to run again in 1958 for the regular term for that seat but eschewed a campaign, pinning his hope on a draft by the Party Convention, which did not happen. Without actively seeking that endorsement, he came in a distant third. Since then he had been practicing law in his hometown of Waukesha as well as organizing and leading a new bank.¹⁶

Davis’s entry into the 1964 race for the House eliminated an apparent leader for the nomination, Donald Tewes, who complained that Davis gave him his word that he would not run in 1964. Tewes had been Davis’s “top campaign operative” during all of his previous House service, but opposed Davis’s run for the Senate in 1956 and chose to make his own successful campaign to succeed to the House seat. Tewes was then ousted by a Democrat after one term. Tewes supported Eisenhower’s foreign policy more so than had Davis.¹⁷

Davis scared another potential front-runner, legislator Glenn Pommerening out of the race, but two other candidates announced. Thomas Tuttle was a Milwaukee Alderman, attorney, and broadcaster. George Kersten was an attorney and son of former Rep. Charles Kersten, a member of the Class of ’46. The Goldwater candidacy permeated the campaign for the Republican nomination in this congressional District. Tuttle condemned the John Birch Society. The Society backed Goldwater, which that candidate welcomed while being wary of an organization whose founder characterized Eisenhower as either a stooge or “a conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy.” Nixon in his campaign for

¹⁴ *The Anniston Star*, December 19, 1960; June 1, 1962. Bartley and Graham, 67. *The North Adams Transcript*, March 31, 1964.

¹⁵ *Independent* (Long Beach), June 5, 1964.

¹⁶ *Waukesha Freeman*, August 31, 1974.

¹⁷ *CQWR*, May 24, 1963, 817. *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, June 20, 1963. Kevin Smith, 187, 234.

California Governor in 1962 denounced the Birchers, and New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller in 1964 chastised them as part of “the radical right lunatic fringe.”¹⁸

Davis mirrored Goldwaterite aggressiveness in calling for a military assault on Castro and criticized the “eastern wing” of his party for its lack of support for the Republican presidential nominee. Tuttle endorsed Goldwater but called for a more moderate course and said he would have voted for the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Davis also stated his support for the Act but criticized northern white activists in the Southern equal rights movement, which Tuttle supported. Kersten, as his father had, ran largely on the communist threat.¹⁹

The Republican District Caucus in the meantime called for the defeat of the Civil Rights Act, an end to the graduated income tax, a ban on communist speakers at State universities, and passage of a right-to-work law. Tewes and Tuttle did not allow their names to be submitted for endorsement of the Caucus and were not allowed to speak to it, while Davis and Kersten did. The Caucus endorsed Davis, and two months later Tewes withdrew from the campaign, saying “a sad and angry man is wise to keep his peace.” Davis won a plurality of 48% in the primary, beating Tuttle by seven points, while Kersten trailed with 11%.²⁰

Goldwater’s success in the Deep South brought in the largest number of Republican members of the House from that region since the 44th Congress, elected in 1874. The region had not elected a Republican representative since 1898. Five of the eight Republicans were from Alabama and there was one each from Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Incumbent Democrats Passman, Williams, and Dorn, however, more than survived the tide; neither faced an opponent in November. This was despite Goldwater carrying the districts of Passman and Williams by nearly five-to-one margins. Undoubtedly, Williams’s campaigning for Goldwater helped spare him, but Passman withheld any active support.

Robert Jones also lacked a Republican opponent in the fall, while five of his seven fellow Democratic nominees for the House were falling to Republicans. This scenario was a result of the confluence of the Goldwater tide and Alabama’s eight At-large House seats. In March a Federal panel found the 9/8 schema to be unconstitutional but allowed it to continue during the year. Redistricting was coming sooner or later, and there arose a fear among the State’s Democratic politicians that their House delegation might fall victim to Republicans, erasing years of seniority and even greater influence in a Congress that was likely to remain Democratic. Gov. Wallace called a special legislative session in August, which quickly enacted redistricting, taking advantage of the defeat of Carl Elliott in the primary and the retirement of Albert Rains to combine much of their districts. Jones’s District remained unchanged from its 1960 version. Instead of Republican candidates all potentially coming in first in a state-wide vote reflecting Goldwater’s 69%, the Party’s contenders had to run in individual districts, and only six were found to do so. Two Democrats, including Jones, escaped competition, and one Democrat, Armistead Selden, managed to defeat his Republican opponent. Jones’s lack of a Republican opponent was only the third time in ten.

¹⁸ *The La Crosse Tribune*, August 8 & 18, 1963. *The Racine Journal-Times Sunday Bulletin*, June 9, 1963. *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, January 24, 1964. *CQWR*, May 1, 1964, 835. Donaldson, 81, 147-9.

¹⁹ *CQWR*, August 28, 1964, 1985. *The Daily Telegram*, July 23, 1964. *The Des Moines Register*, September 8, 1964. Glen Davis’ overall voting on key equal rights issues was negative. He supported equal rights on 9 votes and opposed it on 21.

²⁰ *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, April 17, 1964. *The La Crosse Tribune*, June 18, 1964.

Goldwater took Jones's District, too, but only barely, and the same was true in Dorn's District in South Carolina.²¹

In the other Deep South states, only four Republicans contested 10 seats in Georgia, winning one. In Louisiana four Republicans lost their attempts among the eight districts. The only Republican candidate among five seats in Mississippi won. Two Republicans failed among six districts in South Carolina, but Albert Watson, uncontested for a return as a Democrat to his seat, actively supported Goldwater and would be stripped of his seniority by the Democratic caucus in January 1965. He would resign his seat and successfully run for reelection as a Republican in a special selection in June. There may have been reasons for Alabama's uniqueness in having three-quarters of its districts contested by Republicans, but one suspects Democratic losses would have been greater if Democrats in more than 38% of the districts in the other four states were challenged.

Robert Jones' unusual fortune was shared by Evins, who also lacked an opponent in November. An "Independent Republican" took 6310 votes away from Evins in 1962 but he had never faced a regular Republican. Goldwater was no impetus to such opposition either, as that presidential candidate gathered only 31% in the District, a twelve-point drop from Nixon's performance four years earlier.²²

Three of the four remaining Southern members of the Class of '46 found greater challenge in November 1964 than they had previously experienced, and Hardy's performance was the lowest since 1948.

Abbitt was the only one of these who had a district in which Goldwater improved over Nixon's proportion of the vote, and his Southside Virginia District was the only one of the four districts in which Goldwater took a majority of the vote. Abbitt had never faced a Republican opponent, and 1964 was no different, despite the Goldwater wave. The Representative's drop from his usual 100% of the vote to 69% was due to an independent candidate, black attorney and equal rights activist S.W. Tucker, who had been an Army major in combat in Italy. One newspaper estimated that, despite a black population in the District of 48% in the 1960 Census, the outlawing of the poll tax in the Federal election by the 24th Amendment in January 1964, and a voter registration drive, white registration outweighed black registration by four to one. A major strategy of the Abbitt campaign involved widespread distribution of photographs of his opponent beside his own white likeness. Turnout in the House race nearly doubled from the last presidential year, evidence perhaps that Virginia's long career of voter suppression was nearing an end. This increase was also consistent with the observation with respect to Williams's contest that a black candidate seemed to lead to an increase in turnout. If only 20% of the franchised electorate was black and voted for Tucker, his other 10% may have come from those who voted for James Respass, an independent candidate running against Sen. Harry Byrd. Respass, a white man, running a liberal campaign, took 24% of the District vote.²³

²¹ *CQWR*, September 11, 1964, 2137; March 26, 1965, 468, 503. *The Anniston Star*, November 30, 1963. *Florence Morning News*, June 4, 1964.

²² *CQWR*, March 26, 1965, 504. *CQ Almanac 1961*, 1033.

²³ "Samuel Wilbert Tucker," at ArlingtonCemetery.net. *The Progress-Index*, October 30, 1964. *The Danville Register*, January 19, 1973. Sweeney, 312-3. *CQWR*, March 26, 1965, 508. "A smaller proportion of Virginia's potential electorate votes for governor than does that of any other state of the South." "By contrast Mississippi is a hotbed of democracy." Key (1949), 20. All the Southern members saw increases in turnout except for Robert Jones and Burleson, and Burleson's was virtually identical. None were as great as Abbitt's and Williams's, though Evins' 40% was not far behind the latter. The comparison is with the previous presidential election year, since turnout is almost always higher than in off-years. The Goldwater candidacy may have boosted turnout generally across the

Abbitt, Chair of the Virginia Democratic Party, maintained Sen. Harry Byrd's "Golden Silence" on the presidential contest, but the Virginia Democratic Convention by a narrow margin endorsed Johnson and Democratic vice presidential candidate Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D MN) over the opposition of Byrd and the State Chair, and Abbitt selected a supporter of that endorsement to manage the Democratic campaign in the State. Gov. Albertis Harrison, despite being a Byrd man, endorsed Johnson and Humphrey as well.²⁴

Goldwater found himself somewhat handicapped in Virginia. The State Republican Party was running an opponent to Byrd in his effort to be reelected to the Senate; Goldwater was constrained to stay away from the Senate candidate of his own party in order to maintain Byrd's silence on the presidential race. Goldwater's campaign in Virginia was run by "Democrats for Goldwater and Byrd."²⁵ Byrd won reelection handily with 64% of the statewide vote against his Republican opponent's 19% and that of five independent candidates. Byrd took Abbitt's District with 71% while his Republican opponent got only 5%.

Hardy, Abbitt's fellow Virginian, was accustomed to Republican opposition, and 1964 brought Wayne Lustig, a young attorney. The election also turned up an independent, Grady Speers, a middle-aged farming neighbor of Hardy, who initially filed in the Democratic primary. Speers had two losing campaigns under his belt, which far outstripped Lustig. Neither was given much of a chance, and so it proved. Hardy took 69%, Lustig 22%, and Speers 10%. This, however, represented a drop from Hardy's 76% in 1960 and 75% in 1962. In a counterpoint, Goldwater took 38% in the District, a drop from Nixon's 42%. Turnout increased in Hardy's District, too, but the 20% increase over 1960 was nothing like the jump in Abbitt's.²⁶

The two Texans, Burleson and Teague, also encountered more opposition than in 1962, even as Goldwater underperformed Nixon in their districts. Nixon nearly took Burleson's District in 1960, but Goldwater secured only 33%. The Republican slippage was comparable in Teague's District and from a lower Nixon showing.²⁷ Having a Texan at the top of the Democratic presidential ticket may have contributed to Goldwater's drop from Nixon, but Burleson had seen only one Republican opponent before, in 1960, and the vote received in both elections was comparable. The Representative took 78% in 1960 and 76% in 1964. Teague also encountered one Republican opponent previously and that was in 1950. In 1964 Teague won easily with 82%.

Burleson came out of a hard-fought primary (but with a big win), which was a lovefest next to the Republican primary that barely delivered Phil Bridges as the Representative's opponent. Bridges seemed somewhat to the right of Burleson but to the left of his primary challenger, who had not been involved with the Republican organization and attacked Bridges as being of that organization. It is possible there are echoes of the Goldwater takeover of the Republican Party in this District intra-Republican fight, but Bridges ran only four points behind Goldwater's showing. Public policy was not really the issue in the

South. Outside the South, the turnout in Albert's district rose slightly while Garmatz' fell substantially. The other four non-Southern Democrats were redistricted. Turnout fell very slightly in four of the Republican districts and rose very slightly in the other two.

²⁴ Sweeney, 317-21, 329. Abbitt became chair of the Virginia Democratic Party on the resignation of Thomas Blanton, chair since 1952, due to ill health. Blanton died the following year in the bathroom of the bank of which he was president. *The Progress-Index*, January 8, 1964; October 19, 1965.

²⁵ Sweeney, 325.

²⁶ *CQWR*, October 9, 1964, 2367; March 26, 1965, 508. *Kingsport News*, April 17, 1964. *The Bee*, April 15, 1964. *Kingsport Times*, October 21, 1964. *CQ Almanac* 1961, 1072.

²⁷ *CQ Almanac* 1961, 1069, 1071. *CQWR*, March 26, 1965, 505, 507.

general election campaign. Once again, Burleson's service as chair of House Administration left him open to account for the peccadilloes of his fellow members of the House.²⁸

Bridges may have been a bit more conservative than Burleson, but neither they nor Teague were in the same ideological region as William Van Winkle who was the Republican opponent to Teague. Van Winkle was a minister and a retired major who ran a hard-right campaign. Losing to Teague by 64 points was not the most significant event in the challenger's life. Van Winkle lost his twelve-year-old son on April 22.²⁹

Garmatz was the only member of the Class other than five of the Southern Democrats to face no opposition in November, making up for the bit of a scare he had in the primary. Goldwater took only 22% in the District, three points less than Nixon's anemic showing.³⁰

Karsten's District was comparable. Goldwater got 24%, giving the lie, perhaps, to suburban fears of equal rights measures, the District now being 42% suburban in population. The Representative himself improved on his 1962 showing by six points to 77%, this time against salesman Ted Fischer, a Party regular.³¹

The reelection campaign of Blatnik was complicated by Republican challenger David Glossbrenner's accurate charge that Blatnik wanted to be appointed to the Senate if Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey was elected Vice President. This was, however, about the only concern for Blatnik's potential victory over a Goldwaterite candidate who was the son of the president of a steel company in a substantially unionized district. Blatnik had a host of infrastructure accomplishments to point to, and he improved by four points over his previous showing to 69% of the vote, while Goldwater took only 26% in this new District.³²

Abraham Multer in Brooklyn experienced a substantial drop of six points in his showing from 1962, though this was completely due to losing the Liberal nomination. His Democratic vote actually increased by four points, and he took 69%. In the District, Goldwater received only 19% of the vote. At any rate, Gerald Held, Multer's Republican opponent was not a Goldwaterite, describing himself as liberal like Sen. Jacob Javits.³³ The Liberal Party candidate got 12%, three points more than Multer got on that ticket in 1962, and Held took only 19% of the vote, seven points less than the previous Republican candidate. The negative effect of Goldwater was felt across the Republican board.

That said, Donohue in Massachusetts and Albert in Oklahoma saw 28 point and 21 point drops in their vote percentages in 1964 from 1962, but then neither had faced a Republican candidate in the earlier election. It had been for both the first time without a Republican in the field. Donohue took less in 1964 than he secured in 1960, but his District had changed. His 72% in 1964 was hardly threatening. Dudley Dumaine, his Republican opponent, was the son of the Goldwaterite chair of the State Republican Party, and himself had been in a fight to strip liberal Republican Sen. Silvio Conte of the Party's endorsement. Goldwater took 31% in the District.³⁴

Frank McSherry had run against Albert before, in 1952, and despite being a Taft supporter that year, Eisenhower rewarded his candidacy by appointing him Federal attorney. Now, at 72, he was back to take

²⁸ *CQWR*, May 8, 1964, 910. *Abilene Reporter-News*, April 4 & 30, May 2 & 11, October 20, 1964.

²⁹ *Corsicana Daily Sun*, January 23, April 24, 1964. *CQWR*, October 9, 1964, 2365.

³⁰ *CQWR*, March 26, 1965, 483. *CQ Almanac 1961*, 1047.

³¹ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 13, August 5, 1964. *CQWR*, Mar 26, 1965, 488.

³² *CQWR*, October 23, 1964, 2500; March 26, 1965, 487.

³³ *CQWR*, October 2, 1964, 2285; March 26, 1965, 493.

³⁴ *The North Adams Transcript*, September 21, 1964. *CQWR*, October 2, 1964, 2278; March 26, 1965, 483.

21% of the vote, one point below his previous showing. In a supposedly Southern-oriented district, Goldwater dropped 15 points below Nixon's showing to 31%.³⁵

Compared to their 1962 elections, the Democratic members of the Class were up and down in their November 1964 performance. Four were unchanged, being uncontested in both years, four had improvements (three being non-Southern), and six dropped (four of them Southern).

The six Republican members were more consistent, all lost vote share. In each of their districts Goldwater ran behind Nixon's showing and lost each of the congressional districts.

Among Republicans, Ralph Harvey of Indiana saw the smallest change from 1962, losing only two points compared to Goldwater's 13-point drop, whom Harvey endorsed. Harvey had never made it above 60% in his district and he had limited room to lose vote share. Democrat Russell Davis barely lost a statewide run for secretary of state in 1962 and had held appointive positions in State administrations. He held Harvey to 50.4% of the vote, but the Representative survived.³⁶

Dague dropped ten points from 1962 and Goldwater fell 20 points in the District from 1960. Dague had some room to spare as he had never fallen below 61%, and he needed the space. However, Democrat John O'Brien, a young attorney, barely campaigned, and Dague was secure with 58% of the ballots.³⁷

William McCulloch of Ohio, who was as responsible for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as anyone, was not among 62 Republican House members who signed *The New York Times* ad endorsing Goldwater. The presidential candidate fell 20 points below Nixon's showing in McCulloch's district, and the Representative dropped a huge 15 points from 1962, but had enough cushion to survive a young and actively campaigning Democratic attorney. McCulloch took a safe 56%.³⁸

Walter Riehlman of Syracuse also did not sign *The New York Times* ad; he did, however, back Goldwater "faithfully" and accept the nomination of the Conservative Party for the House. Most New York Republican representatives rejected an offer of the Conservative nomination, which was created as a rejection of Republican Gov. Rockefeller. Democrat and Liberal nominee James Hanley, 44, was a mortician and had lost a race for ward supervisor. Republican voter registration in Onondaga County, which was the entire congressional District, was 117,549 compared to 44,975 Democrats. On the other hand, in the last three elections Riehlman's share of the vote did not exceed 55%, which was consistent with Nixon's 54% share in 1960. Goldwater dropped that by 21 points. Riehlman fell by far less, six points, but which was enough to lose by two points.³⁹

Katharine St. George of New York focused on being a Republican Party loyalist. She supported the Party leadership by providing a vote on the Rules Committee to send the Civil Rights Bill to the floor. She voted for the Bill and continued to support it in her campaign for reelection. She rejected nomination for the House by the Conservative Party. She signed *The New York Times* ad endorsing Barry Goldwater and campaigned for him. She endorsed Sen. Kenneth Keating's reelection, he having rejected Goldwater, but she also appeared at a Conservative Party rally for their Senate candidate. Her Democratic and Liberal

³⁵ *The Galveston Daily News*, February 1, 1952. *The Ada Weekly News*, August 13, 1953. *CQWR*, September 25, 1964, 2245; March 26, 1965, 500. *CQ Almanac 1961*, 1064.

³⁶ *The New York Times*, July 7, 1964. *CQWR*, April 24, 1964, 768; Mar 26, 1965, 479. *CQ Almanac 1961*, 1043.

³⁷ *CQWR*, October 2, 1964, 2289; March 26, 1965, 500. *CQ Almanac 1961*, 1066. *The Derrick*, December 11, 1964.

³⁸ *The New York Times*, July 7, 1964. *CQWR*, October 23, 1964, 2507; March 26, 1965, 498. *CQ Almanac 1961*, 1063.

³⁹ *CQWR*, May 22, 1964, 1005-6; March 26, 1965, 495. *The Post-Star*, April 24, 1964. *The Post-Standard*, November 4 & 29, 1964. *CQ Almanac 1961*, 1061.

opponent, John Dow, 59, an assistant manager of systems for a rail car manufacturer, had lost races for the State Senate, the State Assembly, and town superintendent. He ran against Goldwater as much as against St. George and voiced a telling observation, “that the Goldwater philosophy is one of belligerent protest – not by the down-trodden, hungry masses of people – but it is a protest by those who are on top of the nation, and on top of the world.” Goldwater lost the District, falling 22 points from Nixon, and St. George dropped 10, losing by three points.⁴⁰

St. George’s 10-point fall from her 1962 vote share was miniscule next to the 23-point free fall that Thor Tollefson of Washington experienced. He even exceeded the 16-point drop from Nixon to Goldwater in the district. This was due in large part to Tollefson’s excessive win in 1962 over a Democrat reported as a “pretty, blue-eyed blonde Tacoma housewife,” who was married to an oil industry executive, not perhaps a winning Democratic combination. Tollefson’s 71% in 1962 was his largest win ever, and his 48% share in 1964 was his smallest. He was seen as anti-Goldwater before the Republican National Convention, but he signed *The New York Times* ad. Democrat Floyd Hicks, 50, a superior court judge, was reportedly cajoled into running by assurances that he would not win and have to move to Washington, DC. Tollefson was the only House incumbent who had received more than 65% of the vote in 1962 to lose in 1964.⁴¹

Riehlman, St. George, and Tollefson were three of the thirty-nine Republican incumbents defeated in 1964.

Glenn Davis was in a district newly created in 1963 that incorporated the well-to-do and strongly Republican suburbs of Milwaukee. Wisconsin experienced no change in the number of House seats as a result of the 1960 census. It had not been redistricted since 1931 and the average variation of districts from a mean district population was 22% with ranges from 40% under the mean to 34% over. The outgoing Democratic Governor recommended a plan that was closely followed by the Republican Legislature, and the average variation fell to 1.5% with ranges from 3% under to 3% over.⁴² When Davis last ran for the House, his District included five counties, none of which were Milwaukee County. His home Waukesha County remained the only commonality between the old and new districts. Sixty percent of the new District population was not in his old District, but Davis had run two statewide primary races since. He was not an unknown quantity to Milwaukee County voters.

Democrat James Buckley was also from Waukesha County, neutralizing pro-Milwaukee County sentiment between himself and Davis. Buckley was 31, a first-time candidate, but the son of a long-time Supervisor of Waukesha County. Congressional Quarterly described Davis as “an all-out Goldwaterite,” but let it be known that Davis said he would have voted for the Civil Rights Act as passed. Despite the expected leanings of the District and the callowness of his opponent, Davis won with a comfortable but hardly overwhelming 55%. This was not unrelated to Goldwater’s loss of the District with 48% of the vote. Davis became one of twenty non-incumbent Republicans elected to the House in 1964.⁴³

⁴⁰ *The Reporter Dispatch*, September 23, October 21 & 29, November 2 & 3, 1964. *The New York Times*, April 23, 1964. *CQWR*, October 2, 1964, 2286; March 26, 1965, 495. *The Oneonta Star*, October 15, 1964. *CQ Almanac 1961*, 1060.

⁴¹ *CQ Almanac 1961*, 1073. *CQWR*, March 26, 1965, 509. *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, June 28, 1964. *The Daily Chronicle*, January 14, 1977.

⁴² *CQWR*, September 16, 1966, 2137-9.

⁴³ *The La Crosse Tribune*, September 6, 1964. *The Janesville Daily Gazette*, October 30, 1964. *Waukesha Freeman*, March 15, 1966. *CQWR*, October 23, 1964, 2511; December 4, 1964, 2783; March 26, 1965, 511.

With the loss of three Republicans and the gain of one, the members of the Class of '46 now became fourteen Democrats, nine of them Southerners, and five Republicans. The original 71 Republicans and 37 Democrats and one American Laborite were pared to 19.

Members of the Class of '46 who did not return to the House after 1964:

Walter Riehlman's apparent legislative impact in nine terms was low. He succeeded with one public law, which addressed sales of surplus government property, out of only 63 introduced. He was more successful with resolutions, two being enacted out of 16, and both dealing with processes of his committees. He spoke 190 times, or a little over ten times per session, and moved one amendment, which was accepted and dealt with executive reorganization. His greatest success was with private bills, twelve of 56 enacted. On key votes Riehlman was with Republicans 237 times, Democrats 43 times (Northerners alone 24, Southerners once), and missed nine. He was very much on the liberal side of the center of Class Republicans in rated voting.

Katherine St. George was more active. Women's rights was a particular concern, which was the subject of one of the two floor amendments (out of nine) that was accepted. The other dealt with foreign aid. Her service on Post Office and Civil Service led to activity on postal matters. One of her enacted public bills was in that area. Others concerned pharmaceuticals, housing, veterans, and the Military Academy, which was in her District. Four others were purely local. That amounts to nine enacted out of 260 introduced. Twelve of 179 private bills became law. None of her 53 resolutions was enacted. She spoke on the floor 388 times. St. George voted with Republicans 247 times, Democrats eighteen (seven with Northerners, five with Southerners), and missed 18 votes. Unlike Riehlman, she was a contrarian, opposing aid to Greece and Turkey, the State Department information service, repeal of the oleo tax, the Trade Agreements Extension Act, a Federal employee salary increase, and the Peace Corps. Her rated voting was centrist as far as Class Republicans went.

Thor Tollefson was very active in Merchant Marine and fishery matters. Five of his twelve enacted public bills (the most of any Republican in the Class and out of 333 introduced) dealt with these issues. Others concerned wood tariffs, court jurisdictions, and local matters, the latter covering five of the laws. All four of his enacted resolutions (fifty introduced) were Merchant Marine and fishery concerns, as were six of his eight accepted floor amendments (17 moved). The other two addressed school funding and foreign aid. Of 102 private bills introduced, 15 were enacted. He spoke 353 times on the floor. Tollefson's key voting was with Republicans 179 times, Democrats 89 times (59 with Northerners, two with Southerners), and he missed twenty votes. His only contrary vote was on the Trade Agreement Extension Act. His rated voting was the third most liberal among Class Republicans, but far from Jacob Javits.