

Chapter 35 – Stasis: The 1970 Election

All thirteen incumbent members of the Class of '46 sought renomination and reelection in 1970. In addition, James Patterson of Connecticut, who lost his House seat in the 1958 bloodletting of Republican candidates, failed to recapture the seat in 1960, and then been denied the nomination in 1962, chose to try again.

Democrat Watkins Abbitt of Virginia was the first to achieve renomination. By the gubernatorial primary of 1969 the Democratic Byrd organization, whose eponyms were silent on most Democratic presidential nominees since 1948, had split into two hostile factions and faced an even more hostile insurgent Democratic candidate. Abbitt, chair of the Virginia Democratic Party since 1964 and who was as silent as the Senators Byrd on Democratic presidential candidates, seemed to have considered representing the more right wing of the factions in the gubernatorial contest but ceded the role to the Lieutenant Governor. Abbitt stayed publicly neutral on the Democratic candidates for governor and chose to run again for the House after reportedly considering retiring.¹

Retirement could have looked attractive from a congressional district that on the one hand cast two-thirds of its presidential vote for other than the Democratic candidate in 1968 and on the other, thanks to court-ordered redistricting, included a population that was 38% black and 50% urban, two constituencies in which Abbitt did not poll well. The Voting Rights Act helped increase presidential turnout in Abbitt's Districts from about 10% of the population in 1948 to about 30% in 1968. Thomas Nettles, a member of the Governor's Conference on Education, and Peter Axson, a commonwealth's attorney, announced for the Democratic nomination for Abbitt's seat in December 1969. Both appeared to be moderate by the terms of the Virginia Party's three-way split, which generally meant conservative but backing Democratic presidential nominees.²

Republicans were gearing up to run a candidate against Abbitt for the first time since his free-for-all special election in 1948 and may have been an incentive to Democrats to adhere to V.O. Key's observation that Republican threat induced Democratic loyalty. This would have weighed especially heavily in 1970 after Virginia elected its first Republican Governor since 1874 thanks to the fractured Democratic primary in 1969. Abbitt had been nominated by primary since 1954 and faced only one opponent, in 1966, and the Democratic Executive Committee of the congressional District decided on February 28 to nominate by convention and end any threat to Abbitt. Nettles nominated himself but received no second and Abbitt received all but four, African American as it were, of the 162 votes at the April 11 Convention.³

Texas held its primaries on May 2. Neither Omar Burleson nor Olin Teague faced opposition for the Democratic nominations. In the conservative-liberal divide of the dominant Democratic Party in the State, both representatives were on the former side, Burleson the more so and as a result encountered more challenges for renomination, six out of twelve so far compared to four for Teague.⁴ The Party, held together not by Republican threat but by the power of its Democratic influence in Washington, due to

¹ Key (1949), 33. Bass and DeVries, 353. *The Progress-Index*, July 31, December 6 & 9, 1968; July 13, 1969. *The Washington Post, Times-Herald*, December 12, 1968; July 3, December 5, 1969. *The Danville Register*, February 22, 1970.

² *The Danville Register*, December 14, 1969. *The Progress-Index*, August 6, 1967; December 15, 1969.

³ Key (1949), 336. *The Progress-Index*, January 29, February 10 & 28, 1970. *The Bee*, April 13, 1970.

⁴ Key (1949), 255-9. Bass and DeVries, 306-7.

Speaker Sam Rayburn, Senator then President Lyndon Johnson, and the size of its congressional delegation, had been loyal nationally except for the affection of Governor Allen Shivers for Republican Pres. Dwight Eisenhower, who was, after all, a native Texan. Burlison and Teague, now with the former an important supporter of the oil depletion allowance on the Ways and Means Committee, and the latter a critical player in the space industry headquartered in Houston through his two subcommittee chairs in the Science and Astronautics Committee, sailed to renomination.

Robert Jones of Alabama also faced no opposition in his May 5 Democratic primary. He had encountered none since his first nomination, apart from two years when the State nominated its representatives at-large. George Wallace had held onto the Governor's office in 1966 by running his wife, but she died in 1968 and the Lieutenant Governor served out her four-year term. Since he personally appeared blocking the door to the registration of black students at the University of Alabama in June 1963, the State's politics had revolved around Wallace and his confrontational white supremacy.⁵ The complications of coexisting with Wallace shifted Jones's roll call voting somewhat away from backing national Democratic positions. His accommodation with Wallace and extreme white supremacy as well as his active role in support of the Tennessee Valley Authority helped ensure nomination for Jones.

William McCulloch of Ohio faced a primary on May 5, a Republican one. After nine uncontested primaries, the Representative was opposed in the last two and now this one in 1970. For the third time in a row, James Carpenter contested McCulloch for the nomination, taking from 15% to 22% each time, with the current contest being his nadir. Carpenter's declared issue when he would run for the fourth time in 1972 would be the enforcement of anti-trust laws, but the fact that he was a realtor makes one wonder if McCulloch's critical support for equal rights laws, including open housing, had something to do with the opponent's candidacy. In 1970 there was also a third candidate, Ralph Dull, a farmer who had spent time as director of a Baltimore, Maryland, community rehabilitation project. Dull ran on a platform of peace in Vietnam and registered with the voters even lower than Carpenter. McCulloch won renomination with 74%.⁶

Back in the South, Bryan Dorn of South Carolina had a primary opponent only once as an incumbent, in 1964, and faced none in the June 9, 1970, Democratic contest. While racial issues had some play in western Ohio, they could not hold a candle to the situation in South Carolina. Unlike Alabama, however, the Democratic Party in South Carolina had made a major shift toward accommodation with desegregation and the increasing black vote. The difference was the conversion of South Carolina's leading segregationist, former Governor and current Senator Strom Thurmond, to the Republican Party. In 1970, Lt. Gov. John West won the Democratic primary for Governor without opposition as a non-segregationist, while Rep. Albert Watson, who followed Thurmond from the Democratic to the Republican parties would contest West as a militant segregationist. Dorn, who had consistently opposed equal rights legislation, could also look past the primary to Republican opposition in November, his own white supremacism paling in comparison to that of the die-hard Republicans of the State.⁷

Patterson in Connecticut had been out of office since 1959 and counted a string of failed candidacies since, not only the two House tries but an abortive run for a US Senate nomination in 1968. Public electoral failures do keep one's name before the public, and the nominating public in Patterson's case were the delegates to the District Republican Convention. An extra attraction in the 1970 run for the Fifth District seat was that the incumbent Democrat was said to be running for the Senate instead of reelection. The

⁵ The black students entered the University off camera. Branch (1988), 823.

⁶ *The Piqua Daily Call*, May 3, 1968; February 3 & 23, May 1, 1970; April 28, 1972.

⁷ Earl Black, 84.

field for the Republican nomination at the June 27 Convention was the usual fluctuation, result of the parsimony of declaring candidacy for something decided by a small number of convention voters. Dan Lufkin, an investment banker, entered and then withdrew. Mayor Vincent Tisi of Shelton came and went. Patrick Zailckas, an attorney, announced and remained, but no one nominated him at the Convention. Only attorney Arthur Friedman and Patterson stayed, with the former dropping out during the voting and leaving the man with the long political record to achieve a unanimous victory.⁸

Joe Evins, ever more racially moderate in Tennessee, the least racially obsessed of the Confederate states, had no opposition in the August 6 Democratic primary. His last primary opponent, in 1964, was no segregationist die-hard. Evins' success at bringing federal largesse to his District, changing though it was through the multiple redistrictings of the 1960s, a reflection of his chairship of an Appropriations subcommittee and of the Speaker's Patronage Committee and even of his chairship of the Small Business Committee, helped seal his ongoing primary success.

Otto Passman's chairing the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations may have brought few monies to the Louisiana Fifth District, though his membership on the larger Committee surely did not hurt. Over and over again he was challenged for renomination, getting a free ride only five times in thirteen. Except for 1946 and 1948 these contests were not close, but successful politicians run scared. In 1970 there were two primary opponents. Paul Kidd, 34, an attorney, who would become known for his civil rights work, ran to Passman's left. David Patten, 46, a State Representative, declared he was the moderate between Kidd and Passman and would run on economic development of the District.⁹

Passman was more involved in State level politics than any of the remaining Class of '46 other than Abbitt. An ally of the Longs early on, Passman had turned from this family of governors and senators that preferred populist economics to white supremacy, to back men with opposing preferences after Gov. Earl Long supported Passman's opponent in 1956. The Longs were hardly integrationist, and Passman never was. While Louisiana politics often could be seen as a battle between a Long and an anti-Long faction, the multiplicity of candidates in a given Democratic gubernatorial primary argued for a more complicated politics. The remaining Democratic dominance was as yet untroubled by Louisiana Republicans, who would not reach the level of the institutional white supremacy of 1964 Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater for some time. The growing complexity of the dominant Democrats helped insulate Passman from State-level factions and assured him victories over his local opponents. But if Passman could not deliver on economic benefits, and his die-hard segregationism failed white supremacist whites and alienated the growing numbers of black voters, there was danger for his continuance. Passman managed 62% in the August 15, 1970, primary, his worst showing since 1948.¹⁰

One might assume that Carl Albert, the speaker of the House apparent, would be immune from primary challengers in his Oklahoma district, but the leadership role is without much popular appreciation. In itself, that role moved the Representative to the active support of policy positions consistent with the national Democratic Party and not necessarily those of his Southern-oriented district. The previous primary in 1968 brought a challenger who advocated an expanded War and held Albert to 70%, and 1970 brought Marvin Andrews. Andrews, 65, was a rancher and political novice who fought Albert on one issue,

⁸ *Naugatuck Daily News*, March 18, 1970. *The Bridgeport Post*, March 13 & 15, April 29, May 13, June 27 & 28, 1970.

⁹ *The Shreveport Times*, June 22, 1970. *The News-Star*, April 24, 2011.

¹⁰ *The Shreveport Times*, July 3 & 16, 1956. *CQWR*, September 8, 1961, 1556.

a dam that would put much of his valley under the planned Clayton Reservoir. There was nothing philosophical about the issue. Representatives like water projects. They employ people, they prevent floods and ameliorate droughts, they produce recreational resources, and they are visible signs of the activism of the representative. They also are undeniable examples of the sacrifice of the few for the benefit of the many. Mr. Andrews was among the few and received 20% of the vote. Mr. Albert represented the many and got 80% on August 25. The Reservoir would be finally completed in 1983 and is now called Sardis Lake.¹¹

Since returning to the House with the 1964 election, Glenn Davis of Wisconsin had had no contest for the Republican nomination. It was no different in the September 8, 1970, primary. Davis tried, largely successfully, to navigate the divisions within the Party between the McCarthyite red-baiters and the more traditional concerns with limited government and lack of international involvement.

Maryland, Massachusetts, and Minnesota all held their Democratic primaries a week later, on September 15. Edward Garmatz of Maryland had the easiest time, with no opposition. The news that Garmatz had been receiving illegal campaign contributions from business and Labor interests in shipping came just before the primary, by which time his one declared challenger had dropped out. Robert Douglass, a Baltimore City councilman was a member of a "reform coalition," which was organized in late 1969. A former IBM employee who started his own business, Baltimore Electronics Associates, in 1968, he would later chair the Maryland Senate Black Caucus.¹²

Both Harold Donahue of Massachusetts and John Blatnik of Minnesota had their most serious challenges for nomination in 1968 since their initial elections, and both recovered in 1970, though not to their unchallenged status of previous years.

Blatnik, one of the few representatives to vote against the resolution supporting Nixon's handling of the Vietnam War, was actively challenged for the nomination by a peace candidate, County Commissioner William Ojala, in a repeat of his run in 1968. Ojala spent the intervening two years actively organizing for his second attempt. Ojala had the support of State Sen. Rudy Perpich, whom Blatnik bested for reelection as Democratic National Committeeman in 1968. Perpich backed Sen. Eugene McCarthy for the presidential nomination then, while Blatnik supported Vice Pres. Hubert Humphrey, both presidential contenders being Minnesotans. Perpich ran a slate at the District Convention for State Convention delegates, losing nine out of ten, but in 1970 Perpich was elected Lieutenant Governor. Blatnik marshalled his union support, the District Convention endorsed Blatnik readily, and Ojala decided not to press his case in the primary, running instead for the State House.¹³

Rather, John Perko, 56, who had an eight-year National Football League career, made a run in the primary. Perko had no known political history and made little campaign but still came up with 18% of the vote. Blatnik's response to newspaper queries was to support the Cooper-Church amendment to end funding for American military activities in Cambodia and the Hatfield-McGovern resolution to set the end

¹¹ *The Lawton Constitution*, July 9 & 12, 1970. *Kiamichi River Basin Water Resources Development Plan*, 11.

¹² *The Daily Mail*, February 10, 1969; September 17, 1970; March 18 1971. *The News*, November 17, 1969. *The Morning Herald* (Hagerstown), July 7, 1970; June 1, 1977.

¹³ *Pharos-Tribune and Press*, January 5, February 8, 1970. *The La Crosse Tribune*, June 24, 1968. *Minneapolis Tribune*, September 4, 1968; April 26, July 2, 1970.

of 1970 for American military operations in Vietnam, but it is likely that the vote for Perko was a vestige of Ojala's antiwar campaign.¹⁴

Harold Donohue in Massachusetts also faced a "peace candidate," Stephanie Riopel, for renomination. Riopel followed through to the Democratic primary despite being labeled "token opposition." She was also labeled a perennial candidate "on the women's rights platform." Unlike Blatnik, Donohue had shown few signs of reluctance to defend the war, but like Blatnik he also relied on strong union support. And almost like Perko, Riopel got 17%.¹⁵

Every incumbent member of the Class of '46 was renominated without great difficulty. Only Passman received less than 73% of the vote, and he took 62%. Among the least district-oriented of representatives, Passman was faced with a rising black voter turnout, while the Party ensured that Abbitt was insulated from that by reliance on renomination by convention. The failure of peace candidates to breach 20% of the primary vote in two of the more antiwar states of Minnesota and Massachusetts indicated both the popular dependence on established incumbents and the rising sense that Nixon's withdrawal of American troop levels and publicization of Vietnamization efforts was winning most of the electorate.

There are various explanations for the 1970 election.

- "Richard Nixon's social issues campaign, focusing on law and order themes, seemed to backfire" – Political scientist Andrew Busch.¹⁶
- "So while Nixon fought for policies which addressed liberal priorities, he sought votes from people who had conservative values." – Political analyst Michael Barone.¹⁷
- Journalist Richard Reeves listed the "mild recession," Vice Pres. Spiro Agnew's over-the-top campaigning, Democrats' adoption of "law and order" verbiage, the fading of the Vietnam War as an issue, and Maine Democratic Sen. Edmund Muskie's "Lincolnesque" television response to Pres. Nixon's "manic" ad.¹⁸

The most important reason may simply have been that it was a midterm election. As Busch, himself, wrote, "the president's party in midterm elections almost invariably loses congressional seats, state legislative seats, and governorships...."¹⁹

Busch would label 1970 a "normal midterm," a category constituting half of the 26 midterms he examined. Democrats had a net gain of 14 House seats and a whopping 11 governorships, while losing a net of two senators.²⁰ Republican losses in the House were far less than the post-War average for the presidential party. Nixon won his election in 1968 with only 43% of the popular vote and picked up only a

¹⁴ *Minneapolis Tribune*, September 9, 1970. *Indiana Evening Gazette*, August 2, 1947. *The Minneapolis Star*, September 4, 1972. *CQWR*, September 4, 1970, 2184.

¹⁵ *CQWR*, September 4, 1970, 2188. *Nashua Telegraph*, September 3, 1970.

¹⁶ Busch, 148.

¹⁷ Barone, 479.

¹⁸ Richard Reeves (2002), 264-71.

¹⁹ Busch, 175.

²⁰ Busch, 153. The shifts in Senate seats were complicated. Democrats took two Republican seats and lost four. Harry Byrd Jr in Virginia was reelected as an independent but still caucused with Democrats. Republican Charles Goodell in New York, an interim appointment to the seat vacated by the death of Democrat Robert Kennedy, was defeated by Conservative James Buckley, who caucused with the Republicans.

net of five seats in the House then. The effect of the two elections on party strength in the House was minimal. Democrats would enter the 92nd Congress with a 255-180 edge in the House and 55-45 in the Senate.

Southern Democrats, however, remained Southern Democrats as votes in the 91st Congress showed. Republicans reduced the number of Southern Democrats by only one (in Virginia) in 1970, while the number of Border Democrats increased by four (one each in Kentucky, Maryland, New Mexico, and West Virginia). George Wallace's white-supremacist presidential campaign in 1968 prevented the shift of segregationist voters to the Republican Party despite Nixon's wooing of the Southern electorate, a strategy that Wallace himself battled.²¹ The larger shift in the 1970 House elections was of Midwesterners to Democrats, a net gain of nine seats for the Party, largely as a result of the economy with, perhaps, a touch of isolationist impatience at the pace of Vietnamization. Particularly noteworthy is that Republicans lost three of the four Dakota House seats.

The weakness of Republicanism in the South was demonstrated by the continued lack of any opposition to the reelections of Passman, Teague, and Burleson in November. Burleson and Teague had not had a Republican opponent since 1964, and Passman never had. The other Southerners in the Class, with the exception of Abbitt, greatly distanced their opponents – Dorn with 75%, Evins with 83%, and Robert Jones with 85%. All three improved over their 1968 showings, while Abbitt dropped ten points to 61%.

While Virginia as a whole was shifting more Republican, being the only Southern state to add to its number of Republican representatives in 1970, Abbitt's problem was not Republicans. He had had no Republican opponent before, and Republican James Helms in 1970 took only 11%. Ben Ragsdale, 26, who worked for the Virginia Council on Human Relations and who supported Democratic rabble-rouser Henry Howell for governor in 1969, ran as a peace candidate, listed on the ballot as independent. Most of his 28% of the vote reportedly came from the District's African Americans, as had the 28% that black independent S.W. Tucker took in 1968. It is doubtful the war had much to do with the vote, but rather everything to do with Abbitt's white supremacy. New Republican Gov. Linwood Holton had campaigned as a non-segregationist, and Helms, despite his conversion to Republican due to Goldwater, rejected making a segregationist appeal, which did not help draw voters away from Abbitt.²²

South Carolina's established Republican Party was decidedly white supremacist, which might have been expected to draw votes away from Dorn, whose District was the strongest in the State for George Wallace in 1968, yet the 42% and 32% that John Grisso took against the Representative in 1966 and 1968 diminished to Grady Ballard's 25% in 1970. Ballard did not take on Dorn on explicit racial issues, perhaps assuming Dorn was impregnable in his white supremacy, but rather ran on crime with a touch of populism. Campaigns on crime usually have a racial element, given often higher rates of crime among the black population and, even more so, white fears of black crime. Dorn ran on crime, too, but even more so on support for the textile industry, which incentivized Ballard's populist touch. Ballard, 49, with little political history, owned concrete plants.²³

²¹ Richard Reeves (2002), 116-20, 157-61, 238.

²² *The Washington Post, Times-Herald*, June 14, October 29, 1970. *The Bee*, September 28, October 23, 1970. Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews (1972), 845. *The Danville Register*, October 28, November 17, 1970. *The Progress-Index*, June 7, 1964.

²³ *The Index-Journal*, October 8 & 14, 1970. *Florence Morning News*, October 21, 1970. *Aiken Standard*, October 30, 1970. *The Gaffney Ledger*, October 30, 1970.

Jones had no Republican opponent in Alabama; he did not have one in 1968 either. Conservative Party candidate Ken Hearn repeated his 1968 opposition, while the National Democratic Party of Alabama put up another candidate, Thornton Stanley, and Thomas Lee Harris ran as an independent. The non-George Wallace but deliberately confusing American Independent Party did not repeat its opposition to Jones and may have ended its brief existence. The Alabama Conservative Party's last hurrah against Jones was in 1970 when Hearn's vote dropped from 15% to 8%. The National Democratic Party persisted, though Stanley's 5% in 1970 was a point less than his predecessor's in 1968. Assailed again, to the extent that minimally resourced campaigns could assail, from the right and left, Jones's economic activism and enhanced racial orthodoxy assured him an easy win.

Republican Chlorine Boles reprised her husband's 1968 contest against Evins with a reduction of seven points in the take. It is unrecorded as to whether her toxic given name was a help or a hindrance. The increasingly statewide Tennessee Republican Party was yet to impinge on Evins' turf. Its national policy orientation differed not all that much from Evins' position on many issues, including that of race.

It was not only some Southern Democrats who faced no Republican opposition in 1970. Border Staters Albert and Garmatz also got a bye.

Garmatz experienced a low-level Republican threat in 1968, and the news about his questionable campaign finances elicited none in 1970. As with the potential for Democratic primary opposition, the news came late for Republicans to nominate an opponent through the primary.

Albert, on the other hand, had significant Republican opposition in 1968 when Gerald Beasley achieved the Party's best showing against the Representative. The 32% in itself was not threatening, but the potential for an increasing trend of Republican opposition was. Yet, for the first time since 1962, Albert faced no opponent in the general election in 1970. It may have helped dampen Republican opposition in that Albert, the House Democratic leader, in 1970 was fourth among Democratic representatives in support of Nixon's position on roll calls.²⁴

Minnesota Republicans had failed only once, in 1966, to challenge Blatnik. Paul Reed, 58, a physician and "political novice," took on the task in 1970 with a mainstream Republican approach and a low-key campaign. He recognized that the Vietnam War needed to be ended "promptly," while opposing a hard and fast date for withdrawal, which Blatnik, in concordance with his peacenik primary opponent, favored. Blatnik took 78%, his best share ever, other than in 1966.²⁵

Ohio Democrats had also failed only once, in 1968, to challenge McCulloch. Donald Laws, 29, Sheriff of Shelby County since only 1968, took on the task in 1970 and did little campaigning outside his home county. McCulloch, 68, fell in his DC apartment after his primary win and underwent surgery in August to remove a blood clot in his brain associated with the fall. It is unclear how many voters in the Fourth District knew about this before the election, which his hometown newspaper would report in December after further surgery on his abdomen was required. The Representative won with 64%, which was about his average.²⁶

Donohue's 54% was his worst November showing since his initial election and was a drop of seven points from his contest with the same Republican candidate, Howard Miller, in 1968. Miller favored an

²⁴ *CQ Almanac 1970*, 1121.

²⁵ *Minneapolis Tribune*, September 17, October 28, 1970. *CQWR*, October 21, 1970, 2520. *The Minneapolis Star*, October 24, 1970.

²⁶ *CQWR*, October 16, 1970, 2526. *The Piqua Daily Call*, November 4, December 23, 1970.

end to US troops in Vietnam by 1971 and wanted to address industrial pollution with tax incentives. His previous campaign against Donohue helped him with name recognition, as did his losing run against Democratic Rep. Phillip Philbin in the neighboring district, part of which was pulled into Donohue's district in 1968. There were reports that the 69-year-old Donohue was in poor health and his campaigning may have suffered.²⁷

Democratic slippage in a Massachusetts district was countered by Republican decline in a Wisconsin one. Fred Tabak, only 27 but already a Milwaukee County Supervisor, ran hard against Glenn Davis on federal funds for hospital construction, the Equal Rights Amendment, the Clean Water Act, and the war, advocating June 1971 as an end date for US troops in Vietnam. Davis' 52% was an eleven-point drop from 1968 and his worst since his initial election.²⁸

For better or for worse, the thirteen survivors of the Class of '46 won their nominations and their elections and were returned to the 92nd Congress, their thirteenth for all but the interrupted Dorn and Davis.

Patterson, trying to return to his seventh congress after a twelve-year hiatus, did not fare so well. The incumbent Democrat, rumored to be leaving the House for a run at the US Senate, did not. Patterson accused the Democratic Party of "perpetuating war, inflation and crime" but also said, "Government can no longer bow to the dictates of the free market society and ignore the rape of our natural resources in the name of good capitalism." Rep. John Monagan's vote share dropped by two points from 1968, but one point of that went to the candidate of the Common People's Party, which was far to the left. Patterson got 44%.²⁹

It may have hurt Patterson that it was reported he moved into the Fifth District only in fall of the previous year.³⁰ In this decade of seemingly constant redistrictings, Patterson was the only one of the fourteen members of the Class of '46 to run in a district new to him, but this was due to his last general election race having been in 1960. Connecticut redistricted only once in the interim, but the State had gained a representative, and the five new districts were substantially different from the previous four. A huge 72% of the population of the 1970 version of the Fifth District lived in towns not included in the 1960 version. It should also be noted that Patterson's first run for the House in 1946 was by a man who had not lived in that District for many years.

This is the first election in which there was no change in the incumbent members of the Class of '46. The 13 remaining members of a class of 109 seemed to have reached a stasis point.

²⁷ *Nashua Telegraph*, September 3, 1970. *CQWR*, September 4, 1970, 2188; October 2, 1970, 2366-7.

²⁸ *Waukesha Freeman*, July 3 & 16, August 11, September 21, October 26, November 4, 1970. *CQWR*, October 16, 1970, 2529. Kevin Smith, 283-5.

²⁹ *Naugatuck Daily News*, March 18, July 9, August 19, 1970. *The Bridgeport Post*, July 29, 1970.

³⁰ *Naugatuck Daily News*, September 16, 1970.