

Chapter 37 – Satisfaction: The 1972 Election

The year 1970 brought the 19th Decennial Census and, since 1964 had brought *Wesberry v. Sanders*, 1972 brought redistricting in each of the twelve states that the thirteen incumbent members of the Class of '46 inhabited. Still, only eleven of the thirteen representatives saw changes in their own districts' lines. South Carolina made some minimal changes statewide which left a range of 8.2% in the variance of populations and expected a challenge, but used the districts for the 1972 election. Bryan Dorn's District did not change. Alabama lost a seat in the House as a result of the Census and there were major changes in district boundaries. Robert Jones' Eighth Congressional District was renamed the Fifth, but the counties in which he had run in thirteen primaries was unchanged for the fourteenth, though he had faced two at-large elections in that time.¹

The Supreme Court had smoothed out the differences in the numbers of people that nearly each member represented in the House. The 1950 populations of the districts the thirteen were elected from in 1946 or 1947 varied from 195,213 for Democrat Edward Garmatz in Baltimore to 388,880 for Republican Glenn Davis in Wisconsin. These districts did not represent the overall range of those of the 109 members of the Class of '46. Preston Peden's constituents in Oklahoma would have numbered only 159,838 in 1950. Thomas Owens counted 994,053 Chicagoans and suburbanites according to the 1940 Census and would have probably had more in 1950, but the 1947 redistricting in Illinois resulted in no published number for the 1950 population. A special case was Antoni Sadlak, who had 2,007,280 constituents by the 1950 Census, the entire State of Connecticut, though those residents each also had another district-based representative as well. The 1970 population of the 1972 districts of the remaining thirteen ranged from 426,596 to 492,124.

The growth in population of the United States from 1950 to 1970 was reflected in increases in the numbers of constituents that our Class members represented, which increased from an average of 280,583 to 468,474. Population growth also led to greater numbers voting, but the more important contributor to higher turnout among the thirteen districts of the Class was the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the growth of partisan competition in the South. The average number of voters for president in the Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Wisconsin districts of our class increased from 155,021 in 1948 to 211,369 in 1972, but in the Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas districts it went from 34,492 to 134,675. While a big jump, the South still lagged the North in voter turnout. In their jobs as representatives, the Class had to work for more constituents, but Southern members in their effort to be renominated and reelected needed to reach many more voters than they had in the past.

While Jones' District did not change geographically, the population had increased by 52% from 1950 to 1970 as it became the center for rocketry in the United States. The Army's guided missile development along with its German scientists and technicians was transferred from Texas to Huntsville in the District in 1950. This in turn attracted engineering related industry. The rocket team was pulled into the civilian National Aeronautics and Space Agency (NASA), and the Marshall Space Flight Center was established at Huntsville in 1960.² The TVA remained critical to the District, and thanks to that Authority and to NASA and the Army, government employment was the highest of any of the Class's districts, 22% of civilian workers in 1970. For the same reason, the number of college educated was high, 11% of those 25 years

¹ CQWR, February 26, 1972, 430; May 6, 1972, 1040.

² Bullard, 19. Bromberg, 57.

old or more, particularly for a Southern district without a large city. Huntsville's population was 139,282 in 1970, but it had been 16,437 in 1950. The whitest district in the State, the black population was 16% of the total in 1970.

Dorn's District had added only one county since 1946, but Aiken County was significant. In the 1950s the Atomic Energy Commission opened the Savannah River Plant there for the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons. Not as significant for Dorn's District as government installations were for Jones,' the Plant still helped boost income and education in the area, as did the presence of South Carolina's white land-grant college, Clemson University, in the foothills. Congressional Quarterly characterized the District as one of small textile-mill towns. The black population was 23% in 1970.³

The 1970 census results brought only a small boost in new constituents for Democratic Speaker Carl Albert; those folks were in a block almost detached from the remaining counties, and they were largely Republican. Luckily for Oklahoman Albert, they were few. A somewhat bigger problem was that it took 19 months of battle for the Legislature and Governor to finally redistrict in a state that had no change in numbers of House seats. Democrats controlled all aspects of the process but were still rurally based and needed to contend with accommodating two large cities, Oklahoma City and Tulsa. The resulting Tulsa District was a marvel of gerrymandering. It was April 3, 1972, by the time redistricting was accomplished.

Albert's District remained the most rural of the Class's. The population on farms was 11% of the total compared to Dorn's 3%, but coal mining and petroleum refining were also important. It may have been a mark of Albert's accomplishments that government employment in 1970 was high, 19% of the civilian labor force. The Associated Press reported in 1971, "There is hardly a community in the district that has not benefited from some federal program. McAlester is being almost totally transformed by a combination of urban renewal and Model Cities projects. Federal water projects ... are turning eastern Oklahoma into a land of lakes...."⁴ Nevertheless, median family income was low, \$5762 in 1969, compared to \$8271 in Jones' District. Black population had never been very great, it was 9% in 1950 and 6% in 1970, indicating that the District's segregationist attitude owed more to tradition than fear and allowed its Representative to move from white supremacist to integrationist over the decades.

The Massachusetts legislature had regularly added and subtracted towns from Democrat Harold Donohue's District, but always leaving it centered on Worcester. New constituents to Donohue for 1972 were 18% of the population. The District had been extended into the Boston metropolis and now it was retracted from it. Still, it was always about 75% metropolitan as the Census calculated matters, and it was heavily industrialized and unionized. Black people in 1970 were only 1% of the population, but people of foreign stock were 32%. The college educated were one point less than in Jones' District, but those with high school diplomas were six points greater and the median family income was \$10,863, 89% greater than in Albert's District. The Democratic General Court shifted district lines around without regard to the Republican Governor and moved one of the four Republican representatives in with a Democrat who was on an anti-busing crusade, feeling the Party would benefit whatever the result.⁵

John Blatnik acquired new constituents who were 19% of his District's population. His District, in 1946 just the northeastern beak of Minnesota, had gradually moved south along the Wisconsin border and in 1971 was extended further into the Minneapolis-St. Paul suburbs. Thanks to the constant presence of

³ Frederickson (2013), 1. *CQWR*, October 7, 1972, 2501.

⁴ *CQWR*, May 13, 1972, 1086; October 7, 1972, 2500. *The Sedalia Democrat*, January 12, 1971.

⁵ *CQWR*, November 20, 1971, 2397; October 7, 1972, 2547. By the Census definition, people of foreign stock were either born abroad or had a parent who was. The anti-busing Democrat and the Republican were defeated by a regular Democrat running as an independent.

Duluth, the District always counted a substantial metropolitan population per the Census, and the suburbanites were also blue collar if quite different than the iron ore mining and shipping center folks of Duluth. Still, all pretty much were Democrats. Despite the decline in the mining districts and low college education level of 8%, the median family income was \$9393 in 1970. The District was even whiter than Donohue's and less ethnic; foreign stock were 24% of the population. The balance between the stealth partisan Republicans who dominated the "non-partisan" Legislature and the Democratic Governor ensured that the evenly split House delegation remained secure.⁶

Monroe, Louisiana, the home of Otto Passman, was nominally metropolitan according to the 1970 census, but its population of 56,374 in 1970, while the largest in the District, qualified more as small city. The District, whatever the Census said, was rural by most lights, and, while farm population was down to 8% and chemicals, petroleum, natural gas, and paper were produced, cotton was the more obvious contributor to the economy, particularly in the older parts of the District near the Mississippi River. The median family income in 1969 was the lowest of the Class's - \$5762. The District had the largest black proportion of the Class's districts at 35% in 1970, down from 41% in 1950. Black families' median income was \$3020. Since 1946 the District had expanded toward the south and west, still remaining firmly in the Protestant part of the bi-religious State. The State, having kept its eight representatives after the 1970 Census, had little intent to redistrict until a lawsuit was filed and the new Governor rushed the Legislature to do so, not incidentally hoping to aid supporters of his in three vacant districts. A plan was enacted on June 1, 1972. About 22% of Passman's constituents in 1972 were new to him.⁷

Texas gained a House seat from the 1970 Census. Given that the State already had 23, fitting one more in either presented a minimal or a maximal challenge. It was the latter. The Legislature took pains to consult the incumbents, which probably complicated the process. Omar Burleson's District was threatened by the Lieutenant Governor, who presided over the Senate, as a bargaining chip to get what he wanted in an eastern Texas district. Among the various serious plans, one would have looped Olin Teague's District around Fort Worth to the west, across its north, and then down between the City and Dallas. After a plan was enacted on June 17, 1971, a Federal panel ruled the variance between districts (477,858 to 458,581) too great. The Court adopted a plan drawn by a research mathematician for an oil company which placed six incumbents together, including Teague, who found himself in the same District as Democrat Charles Wilson, and Burleson who was placed with Graham Purcell. Seven of the representatives joined to file an *amicus* with the Texas Attorney General's appeal of the panel's ruling. The district court on January 28, 1972, stayed the mathematician's plan, and the 1972 election was held with the districts the State enacted.⁸

Teague's District was pushed into Dallas and Tarrant (Fort Worth) counties in the 1960s and was expanded still further in those areas in 1971. There was also a shift of his rural counties, the legislature having eliminated the gerrymander that extended all the way to the west of Houston, resulting in a more compact arrangement resembling his original 1946 District, except for the metropolitan addition, which now was 82% of his constituents. Thanks to those urbanites and suburbanites, the District, whose original claim to education and income was dependent on Texas A&M University, had an income almost identical

⁶ CQWR, August 6, 1971, 1678; October 7, 1972, 2530.

⁷ CQWR, July 8, 1972, 1666-7; October 7, 1972, 2495. *The Alexandria Daily Town Talk*, March 22, 1972. *The Shreveport Times*, April 28, 1972.

⁸ *Abilene Reporter-News*, April 2, June 4, 1971; January 23 & 24 & 25, 1972. *Brownwood Bulletin*, April 7, 1971. *The Austin Statesman*, May 29, 1971. CQWR, August 6, 1971, 1676-7; February 19, 1972, 364. *The Bonham Daily Favorite*, January 19, 1972. *The Eagle*, January 23, 1972. *McKinney Courier-Gazette*, January 28, 1972.

to that of Blatnik and a college educated population 50% greater. Oil and gas production was important, it being Texas. The black population in 1970 was 12% of the total, compared to a much different 37% in 1950, another shift thanks to those white suburbs.

Burleson was spared double-bunking but found himself with a district that was larger in area than ten states. The 31 counties were only one more than his 1970 District, but the shuffling of counties in and out gave him a constituency 27% new to him. It was 164% larger in area than his 1946 District. Still a district of oil and natural gas and cattle, it remained centered on Abilene, its metropolis of 89,653 people. Thanks to a sparse population on extensive ranches and the Census's definition of any municipality of at least 2500 people as urban, it had a phenomenally large "urban" population of 64%. More so even than Albert's District, its devotion to white supremacy resulted from tradition rather than fear of a substantial black population, which was only 4% of the total in 1970, up from 3% in 1950. The two Texas districts were the only ones among the thirteen that counted significant numbers of Hispanics in 1970, 9% in Burleson's, 5% in Teague's. Oil, gas, and cattle did not translate to wealth for most. The median family income was \$7010.

Glenn Davis' District moved out of the City of Milwaukee, which he had represented in part since his return to the House in 1965. On the other hand, he kept many of the suburbs and acquired counties along Lake Michigan to the north, all of which increased the proportion of his Republican constituents.⁹ When he was first elected in 1947, the State capital of Madison was more central to the District than Milwaukee, but that increasingly liberal town was spirited to another district by 1965. There were farms, mostly dairy, in the District, but the metropolitan proportion was 86% and the farm population was 5% in 1970. This was the whitest of the thirteen districts at nearly 100%, and the foreign stock was only 16%. Of the Class's remaining districts, Davis' was the best educated, with 65% having finished high school and 16% college. It was also the richest; the median family income was \$12,479, 117% more than in Passman's. Wisconsin lost a House seat, and the Republican Senate, Democratic Assembly, and Democratic Governor eliminated a far northern Republican seat.

Joe Evins' central Tennessee District, like Donohue's, waxed and waned regularly, though with counties not townships. After the 1970 Census took a House seat away from the State, Evins' District changed in a major fashion. Shedding counties that impinged on the eastern Republican stronghold in Tennessee, it gained a number to the more Democratic west. The shift also meant it lost the Oak Ridge area with its government centers for technology and defense. This left a district in which only 35% of the age 25 and over population had graduated high school and only 14% were employed by government, in spite of many TVA installations. One county fell in the penumbra of the Nashville metropolitan area, but the overall District was only 35% urban, even given the Census's liberality on the definition. The Census put the farm population at 17% of the total, the highest of the districts. The black population was only 6% of the total, half of what Evins' District showed in 1950. Median family income was \$6451.

The loss of a House seat necessitated double bunking of incumbent representatives if they all persisted. Evins was nominated for that distinction in some plans. One would have put him with Republican LaMar Baker of Chattanooga. The General Assembly was under Democratic control but nevertheless took a year to get a bill to the Republican Governor, who vetoed it. He was overridden in April 1972. Evins ended with a district that was two-thirds of central Tennessee, from Kentucky to Alabama, and with 47% of its population new to the Representative.¹⁰

⁹ *CQWR*, March 26, 1971, 681.

¹⁰ *CQWR*, March 26, 1971, 676; October 7, 1972, 2502.

Three Class incumbents chose not to run again in 1972.

William McCulloch, who missed much of the first session of the 92nd Congress due to injury, illness, and surgery, announced on June 8, 1971, that he would not be a candidate again. Ohio needed to eliminate a House district and McCulloch's then was the obvious one. His hometown of Piqua was moved into the District of Republican Jackson Betts. Then Betts announced his retirement in January 1972 at the age of 68, and McCulloch decided to run after all. A few days later, McCulloch changed his mind again, saying he wanted to see what Republican might take his place. Tennyson Guyer, a State Senator and public affairs director for a tire and rubber company, announced, which apparently satisfied McCulloch, who would end his House service at the age of 71. Guyer, as it turned out, would be elected and die in office at the age of 67.¹¹

Had McCulloch persisted he would have found 160,494 new constituents (35% of the total) but a district that resembled more the one he was first elected in rather than the previous incarnation. His District had been impinging on the Dayton metropolis, but now was withdrawn from there and extended to the northeast over the Ohio of farms and small industrial cities. The new District was 56% urban. The farm population was 11%. It was 97% white with only 4% of foreign stock. High school graduates were 54% and the median family income was \$9710. It also had the lowest employment in government of the Class's districts – 9%.

Garmatz had every intention of being in the 93rd Congress, but the machinations of Gov. Marvin Mandel intervened. It was not that Mandel wanted to divest Garmatz, but rather that he wanted to get rid of Rep. Paul Sarbanes, who was elected in 1970 independently of the Democratic organization that the Governor was devoted to maintaining. Mandel developed a redistricting plan that took most of Sarbanes' northern Baltimore District and combined it with Garmatz' city area. Northern Anne Arundel County, which Garmatz was given in 1966 and which he had worked hard to win over, was taken away and replaced with southwest Baltimore County. While the new District was considered good for Garmatz' return, it presented the Representative with a lot of new constituents.¹² It was whiter and less ethnic than his old District, richer and better educated. These are comparisons. It was 87% white, 15% foreign stock, 39% high school graduates, and the median family income was \$10,022.

The debut of *The Almanac of American Politics* saw Garmatz' chances against Sarbanes differently, pointing out that the latter won his office with support from black voters, peace groups, and Labor and should win handily. Garmatz apparently agreed. On February 1, 1972, he announced he would not run, saying he was concerned about his health. He said it was a last minute decision, and a Sarbanes aide agreed, saying that Garmatz' campaign was going at full speed right up until he stopped it. It was reported that campaign funds were flowing to Sarbanes. Garmatz, at the verge of 68, yielded the field to a man 29 years his junior.¹³

Virginia retained its ten House seats after the 1970 Census, but the difference between the smallest and the largest districts grew from 42,000 people in 1960 to 245,000 in 1970. Watkins Abbitt's Fourth District was now 39,000 under the optimal population and the other Southside district, Dan Daniel's Fifth was 60,000 under. The mountain districts that the Fifth abutted were all undersized. The General Assembly toyed with combining much of the Fourth and Fifth, unavoidably placing the two Democratic

¹¹ CQWR, June 11, 1971, 1247; July 8, 1972, 1662. *The Piqua Daily Call*, January 6 & 14 & 19, 1972.

¹² *The News*, February 12, April 5, 1971. *Evening Capital*, March 10 & 12, October 13, 1971. *Cumberland Evening Times*, April 8, 1971. CQWR, April 23, 1971, 950.

¹³ Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews (1972), 328. *The News*, February 1, 1972. *The Cumberland News*, February 2, 1972. *The Post-Crescent*, November 17, 1972. Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews (1975), 358-9.

representatives in the same District, since Abbitt lived as far west as possible in the Fourth and only about 60 miles north of Daniel's home. The Associated Press reported Abbitt saying, "I don't contemplate" that happening, "with a big grin as he tilted back in his leather office chair, holding a long green cigar." The State enacted a plan that double-bunked four of the State's five Republican representatives and preserved the separation of Abbitt and Daniel. Abbitt's District acquired Portsmouth. But the variance from optimal was 7.3% and a Federal panel voided it. Abbitt gave the State a solution by announcing his retirement on March 3, 1972; his home County of Appomattox moved into Daniel's district, and the variance of the new districts was reduced to 0.67%.¹⁴

Abbitt was relatively young, 63 at announcement and more senior than Daniel, who was in just his second term. Abbitt, though facing a new district in which 82% of the population was new to him as representative but not so much new to him as a dominant figure in the Byrd organization, might have had a good chance, either to beat Daniel in a primary or simply to scare him out of the race. Daniel, after all, was as aligned with the organization as was Abbitt. The new District was still the Southside in large part, 29% African American, 74% non-urban with a farm population at 14%, and the least educated of the thirteen districts. But the Democratic Party of Virginia, which Abbitt chaired from 1964 to 1970 and whose statewide campaigns he managed in 1945, 1946, 1953, and 1957, yet whose national candidates he avoided supporting time after time, was shifting under his feet. In 1969, Henry Howell came within four points of winning the Democratic run-off for governor. Howell was unabashedly liberal and anti-Byrd. A moderate Republican then won the election with Howell's followers abandoning the Democratic candidate. Democrats won the other two statewide offices, but they were both anti-Byrd candidates. In 1970 Harry Byrd Jr was elected to the Senate as an independent, defeating both Democratic and Republican candidates. The new Lieutenant Governor, Sargeant Reynolds, attended the 1971 shad planking, "the springtime tribal ritual of the Byrd machine," to decry the State's battle against school integration. When Reynolds died that year, Howell won the special election to fill the vacancy.¹⁵

And the thirteen became ten.

The presidential election was a runaway in 1972. Republican incumbent Richard Nixon, Class of '46, defeated Democrat George McGovern of South Dakota 60% to 37%. McGovern carried only Massachusetts and the District of Columbia. Yet the Democrats, though diminished by twelve seats from the 1970 election results, still retained the majority control of the House, 243-192. Nixon carried 376 congressional districts, but Republican House candidates took only 189 of them. Presidential coattails were noticeably lacking, in part because the Nixon campaign did not exert itself for other Republican candidates.¹⁶

But, even more so, this was a static election at the House level. Only 13 incumbents were defeated for re-election. Another 12 failed of re-nomination.¹⁷ Four of the election losses and six of the nomination failings resulted from putting two incumbents in a new congressional district. By comparison, in 1970

¹⁴ *The Bee*, November 20, 1970; February 23, 1971; March 2 & 4, 1972. *CQWR*, April 23, 1971, 951; April 8, 1972, 820.

¹⁵ Atkinson, *Vanguard*, 79. Bass and DeVries, 353-5. Bartley and Graham, 142-5. Laurant, 52. *The Danville Register*, April 22, 1971.

¹⁶ Barone, 509-10.

¹⁷ Emanuel Celler (D NY) failed of renomination by the Democrats, ran as a Liberal in November and was defeated then. He is not counted twice here.

there were 12 election losses and 10 nomination defeats for incumbents, one of each due to double-bunking. Eliminating the effects of head-to-head contests between incumbents, there were 20 losses in 1970 and 14 in 1972. Despite the massive shift in presidential voting, the electorate seems to have been content with their representatives, and they certainly were with their incumbent President.

Apart from the internal redistricting in each state, Republicans picked up two seats in California and one in each of Arizona, Colorado, Florida, and Texas from apportionment gains. Democrats added three seats in California and two in Florida thanks to their new allocations.

As a result of the 1972 elections, Republicans held 34 seats in the South, seven more than after 1970. Democrats still held the bulk of House seats there, 74. This compared to 140 Northern and 29 Border Democrats. Southerners were 30% of the total Democratic membership, the lowest ever, but still enough if united with the 192 Republicans to determine outcomes in the House.

The ten incumbent members of the Class of '46 who sought reelection in 1972 made it past their primaries with relative ease. Donohue in Massachusetts and Dorn, Evins, Teague, and Burleson in the South faced no competition.

This was Donohue's first pass since 1966. His "serious heart problem" in 1971 did not result in retirement, nor did the death of his close friend Rep. Philip Philbin of the Third District. Americans for Democratic Action targeted him as a "conservative" who could be defeated, and he did appear to draw opposition for the Democratic nomination from John Kerry, a well-publicized leader of Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Kerry had lost the antiwar support to Robert Drinan, who was elected, in the open Third in 1970. Kerry bought a house in Worcester and said he was 95% sure of challenging Donohue. Then the incumbent in the Fifth District announced his retirement, and Kerry looked for a house in Lowell. After winning the primary in the Fifth, Kerry sold the Worcester house, but then lost the election. Donohue had shifted to support for an early withdrawal from Vietnam, which likely also had something to do with Kerry's move to the Fifth.¹⁸

Burleson had not had a primary opponent since 1966 and Dorn, Evins, and Teague had passes since 1964. A peace candidate supportive of a variety of liberal policies feinted at challenging Burleson for the Democratic nomination but withdrew. As with Donohue, a recent heart attack neither prevented Evins from running again or encouraged opposition.¹⁹

Albert did not escape an opponent for the third straight primary, that being Marvin Andrews, who took 20% against the Representative in the previous one. In 1970 Andrews seemed to run due to opposition to a dam, which was still a long way from completion. In 1972 Andrews slipped to 14%.

Jones had not had a primary opponent since the at-large shenanigans of 1964. Now Mary Texas Hurt Garner challenged Jones, it was said because the TVA was condemning her land to build a nuclear power plant. Garner, unlike Oklahoma dam opponent Andrews, had a political pedigree. As Mary Texas Hurt she was elected at the age of 25 to be Alabama's Secretary of State. When she reached her one-term limit in 1958, she ran successfully for State Auditor. The incumbent Auditor, also term limited and female, was elected State Treasurer, and the incumbent and term limited female Treasurer, took the office of Secretary of State. They repeated the round robin until 1966 when Treasurer Hurt, now Garner, decided

¹⁸ Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews (1972), 345. *CQWR*, November 6, 1971, 2298; February 19, 1972, 350; September 9, 1972, 2289. *The Sun* (Lowell), October 27, 1972.

¹⁹ *Abilene Reporter-News*, September 21, 1971; January 2, 1972. *The Comanche Chief*, September 30, 1971.

not to run again for secretary of state. Jones did not play the same game as the three state officers and defeated Garner for the Democratic nomination with 78% of the vote.²⁰

Blatnik's heart attack in 1971 did not keep him from seeking another term in the House, but it may have encouraged three opponents. James Miller, 47, an oiler at a cement plant and an Indian, filed on July 5, citing his support for pretty much everything Blatnik backed. John Perko, 58, who took 18% against Blatnik in the 1970 Democratic primary, filed on July 13, calling the incumbent a "power mad" "fat cat." Ray Murdock, 32, another Indian and a broadcaster and reporter, campaigned for indigenous rights. On August 21, Blatnik was hospitalized again with heart trouble. Eight days later he transferred from a local hospital to Cleveland Clinic. Eighth District voters still had confidence in Blatnik or lack of same in his opponents and gave the Representative 76% in the Democratic primary on September 12.²¹

Passman had been opposed for the Democratic nomination every time since 1966. One of his two opponents in 1970, David Patten, returned to the challenge in 1972. Thanks to Louisiana holding State elections on a different schedule from Federal elections, Patten, who had served in the Legislature since 1964, was defeated for renomination in 1971 and unlike in 1970 could make a clean run for Passman's job. The greater challenge, however, was from Charles Brown, 53, still a State Senator with numerous business interests. Brown attacked Passman at the Representative's own perceived strength, his primary role in foreign aid, by saying, "It's time we think in terms of some local aid, and not what we can cut from some foreign aid appropriations bill that was padded to take the cuts in the first place." Brown broadcast recordings of Passman offering to get a scholarship for a local black man to the University of Mexico, saying, "But I handle foreign aid. When I get into putting up money for the foreign universities, I tell them how about taking care of some of my poor people. So I made them give me 15 scholarships.... They're worth \$7,000 each." Passman was also recorded telling a black group that he would buy the land for a community center for them. Given the rich history of political money in Louisiana, these revelations brought Brown only 31% of the vote. Patten dropped from 18% in 1970 to 8%. Passman had a safe 61%, which, however was his worst showing since 1948.²²

Davis had avoided a contest for the Republican nomination since 1964 but like Passman drew two opponents in 1972. A challenge by Verne Read, 50, a lawyer and businessman, was prompted in part because of speculation, not least by Davis, that he might receive an appointment as a Federal judge. Two Jews, one Italian, and the NAACP went on record opposing the appointment, in large part thanks to some thoughtless statements over the years by Davis, and an American Bar Association review declared the Representative unqualified due to a lack of trial experience. Read, more moderate than Davis, based his campaign largely on tax relief and in a powdered wig reenacted the Boston Tea Party on a bridge in Milwaukee, casting a spoon of tea into the Milwaukee River. Two other candidates declared, but one dropped out, leaving Robert Baggs, 38, a foreman of an electronics manufacturer, as the third man in the primary. Both Read and Baggs were somewhat peace candidates, the latter the more so. Baggs' campaign was minimal, Read relied heavily on purchased media, while Davis stuck to old-fashioned personal contact. The incumbent's 59% was safe enough. Read took 37%.²³

²⁰ CQWR, April 22, 1972, 892. *The Anniston Star*, February 8, 1970; March 8, 1973.

²¹ *The Daily Journal* (Fergus Falls), July 5, August 30, 1972. *The Winona Daily News*, July 16, September 5, 1972. *The Minneapolis Star*, September 4, 1972. CQWR, September 2, 1972, 2264; September 16, 1972, 2332.

²² *The Alexandria Daily Town Talk*, February 2, June 16, August 18, 1972. *The Shreveport Times*, June 21, August 13, 1972. CQWR, August 26, 1972, 2202.

²³ *The Post-Crescent*, April 28, 1971. *Waukesha Freeman*, August 4 & 8, 1971; June 1 & 8 & 19, July 3 & 11 & 22, August 30, September 1 & 7 & 13, 1972. *The La Crosse Tribune*, September 36, 1971. CQWR, September 2, 1972, 2266.

No incumbent member of the Class had lost a primary since Ralph Harvey in 1966.

Only three of the ten members of the Class of '46 had no opposition in the general election in November 1972, and neither was the one Republican running on a ticket headed by Pres. Nixon. In 1970, five were unopposed and four of those were still in the battle. Passman had never had a general election opponent, but he actually drew a Republican this time who was designated by the Party as their candidate. Then the Republican dropped out in September. Burleson had not had one since 1964. But this was only Donohue's second pass, the other being in 1966, though in 1962 his only challenger was a Prohibition candidate. Donohue's was one of the 59 districts that McGovern carried in the presidential contest, giving the Senator 54%. Nixon's runaways in Passman's (69%) and Burleson's (73%) districts nevertheless did not encourage Republican contenders for the House.²⁴

Albert had a walk-off November win. Nixon took the district with 68%, but Albert's opponent was Harold Marshall, 46, a chiropractor registered as American Party, double to the American Independent Party of George Wallace, and who ran as an independent. Marshall said he was fighting socialism by running and got 7% of the vote. This was Albert's third best election win, having had no opposition at all in 1962 and 1970.²⁵

Evins drew his third regular Republican opponent in a row in 1972 and his third ever. Billy Joe Finney, 38, a factory pipefitter and welder and registered Republican only since 1970, had no Party support and no campaign. Evins took 81%, middling between his previous races against Republicans. McGovern received 34% of the district vote.²⁶

Blatnik missed a Republican opponent only in 1966, but Edward Johnson, 62, a rancher, realtor, and livestock broker, received no more Republican Party support than did Finney. When he filed for election he listed a Duluth motel as his home, and before the election he moved to Wisconsin. Johnson still received 24% of the vote, while Nixon got 44%, Blatnik's district being one of McGovern's 59. Blatnik performed better in only 1966 and 1970.²⁷

For a Democrat who averaged 89% of the vote over 14 elections, Dorn missed having a Republican opponent only half those times. There was a spate in the fifties and now there was a Republican every year since 1966. John Grisso held Dorn under 67% in 1966 and 1968, and Roy Ethridge, 39, a former newspaper publisher now in public relations, ran an active campaign in 1972 with Party support. Dorn's support of school busing was a central issue, but the wider campaign was decidedly populist in its evinced concern for the factory worker against the wealthy Representative. Dorn, who prided himself on his oratory, kept his head down, avoided much campaigning, and got 75% of the vote. McGovern got 24%.²⁸

Republican opponents came and went for Jones. Dieter Schrader was his seventh, but the first since 1966. Schrader, 35, was an attorney and child of the German rocket migration to Huntsville. There was also, for the third time, a candidate of the National Democratic Party of Alabama. Shirley Irwin got 2% of

²⁴ *The Shreveport Times*, August 13, September 15, 1972. *CQWR*, February 23, 1974, 456, 477.

²⁵ *The Lawton Constitution*, July 10, 1972. *The Ada Weekly News*, August 17, 1972. *CQWR*, February 23, 1974, 471.

²⁶ *CQWR*, October 7, 1972, 2502; February 23, 1974, 475. *Nashville Tennessean*, November 5 & 8, 1972.

²⁷ *The Minneapolis Star*, September 4, 1972. *CQWR*, October 7, 1972, 2530; February 23, 1974, 461. *The Daily Journal* (Fergus Falls), November 8, 1972.

²⁸ *The Index-Journal*, April 8 & 10, May 17, September 11 & 29, October 30, 1972. *CQWR*, October 7, 1972, 2501; February 23, 1974, 474. *Aiken Standard*, November 6 & 8, 1972.

the vote, Schrader took 24%, and Jones' 74% was only his second worst showing, next to 1966. McGovern got 25%.²⁹

Carl Nigliazzo was Teague's third Republican opponent and the first since 1964. Nigliazzo was 50 and wrote pamphlets on the economy but listed "local control of the local schools and local neighborhoods" as a priority. Given Teague's opposition to school integration and support for school prayer, that would seem not to be a winning Republican platform against him. Still, 73% was Teague's worst showing ever, though keeping in mind his sparseness of November opponents. The Representative certainly topped McGovern, who managed only 29%.³⁰

In these lists, which are organized from the greatest percentage for the incumbent to the least, Davis comes in last, but his 1972 showing, helped by redistricting and perhaps even by the presidential contest, outdid his 1970 performance by nine points. Between those two considerations, the Democratic Party had trouble finding a candidate and eventually came up with Ralph Fine. Fine, 31, was from New York, had worked for the US Justice Department in DC, and moved to the home district of his wife in Wisconsin in 1970. Now he taught high school and wrote about drug issues. While voicing a number of liberal causes, he settled on the recent ban of cyclamates as carcinogenic and, in particular, Davis's support to compensate cyclamate-producing companies. He lost, underperforming the last two Democratic opponents (in a differently drawn district) of Davis. Davis got 61% and an American Party candidate 2%. The American Party in Davis's home County endorsed the Representative rather than their own candidate. Davis and Nixon received the same proportion of the vote, while Fine outperformed McGovern by one point. None of the other nine districts came closer to the national norm than 22 points.³¹

The last members of the Class of '46 to be ousted in a November election were the three Republicans sacrificed on the altar of Barry Goldwater in 1964: Katherine St. George and Walter Riehlman of New York and Thor Tollefson of Washington.

Members of the Class of '46 who did not return to the House after 1972.

Watkins Abbitt was a Byrd organization stalwart and a white supremacist. As far as legislative output, his primary concern was tobacco, the money crop in his District. Seven of his 19 successful public bills (out of 283 introduced) dealt with tobacco. Another concerned peanut growing and four others with more general agricultural matters. His involvement with adjudicating election contests resulted in another public law, and the remaining six were purely local matters. Two of his six enacted resolutions (out of 74 introduced) also dealt with tobacco. Two concerned election contests, and two were about Virginia's boundary disputes with neighbors. He spoke 308 times and moved ten floor amendments. The seven accepted were about tobacco, three on other agricultural issues, one on minimum wage, and two on vocational education, which was also a major concern of his. Three of his 35 private bills became law. Abbitt voted on key issues 373 times with Democrats (291 with only Southerners, five with Northerners), 69 times with Republicans, and missed a substantial 34 votes. He was contrary on the Colorado River project, the national highway program, veterans pensions, the Peace Corps, the Surcharge-Spending Limitation Act, educational funding, and the Equal Rights Amendment. His rated voting was the most conservative of Southern Democrats in the Class.

²⁹ *The Anniston Star*, March 15, 1972. *CQWR*, October 7, 1972, 2487, Feb 23, 1973, 441.

³⁰ *Corsicana Daily Sun*, March 26, 1972. *CQWR*, October 7, 1972, 2505; February 23, 1974, 476.

³¹ *Waukesha Freeman*, July 3 & 11, August 24 & 29, September 1 & 21, October 25 & 28 & 30, 1972. *CQWR*, October 7, 1972, 2537; February 23, 1974, 481. *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, November 3, 1972.

Edward Garmatz' issue was the maritime industry. As a committee chair he was the listed sponsor of 506 public bills, 65 of which were enacted and placing him in second place among the Class. All were related to the maritime industries. Thirteen of his 100 introduced resolutions became law. Only three did not address maritime concerns: one designating National Clown Week, one the pay of the House chaplain, and another a private issue. He spoke 429 times and moved eight floor amendments, six accepted on maritime matters and one purely local issue. Six of his 58 private bills were enacted. Garmatz voted with Democrats 455 times (221 with Northerners, 82 with Southerners), with Republicans eight times, and missed 21 votes. He was contrary on the Colorado River project, on redistricting standards, and the Surcharge-Spending Limitation Act. His rated voting was second most liberal of Class Border Democrats, but considerably less so than Frank Karsten.

William McCulloch was concerned with gun control, but more importantly was the preeminent Republican advocate in the House for equal rights for African Americans. Many of his 631 floor appearances dealt with that matter. As such he moved two accepted amendments. His other four of a total of nine introduced dealt with government reorganization, designating a Loyalty Day, and two about Jamestown. Four of his 180 public bills were enacted, addressing the census, expenses of judges, fugitives, and foreign agents. None of his 31 resolutions was enacted. Three of his fifteen private bills were and another was vetoed. He voted 376 times with Republicans, 54 times with Democrats (25 with Northerners alone, 20 with Southerners), and missed a large 48 votes, primarily in his last term, afflicted with physical problems. He was contrary on Interim Foreign Aid, the oleo tax, the draft, the Mutual Security Program, the Colorado River project, the Trade Agreements Extension Act, and limiting the Equal Rights Amendment. McCulloch's rated voting was on the conservative side of the center of Class Republicans.