

Chapter 44 – Ideology

Throughout this work, reference has been made periodically to votes by members of the Class of '46 on issues that appeared critical to their work in the House. In the aggregate, it has been apparent that the three parties, Republicans, Northern Democrats, and Southern Democrats, have, with the more varying consistency of the last, diverged regularly on a right-left dimension between Republicans and Democrats, respectively, with Southern Democrats diverging from Northerners particularly on equal rights votes. The author has used “rightist” and “leftist” and “liberal” and “conservative,” though their meanings can be fuzzy.

Before plunging in to member evaluations based on the apparent hard data of roll calls, we need to heed Class member Norris Cotton’s frustration with such votes:

It is not so much the size and complications of government that baffle a new congressman, as it is the fact that he finds himself constantly handcuffed by the legislative process. He rarely has the opportunity to vote for what he wants, but nearly always has to take the lesser of two evils – and then try to explain the whys and wherefores to his constituents. Thus, during one fateful month, I voted for a compulsory Selective Service bill I disliked, a tax bill I detested, and a price-and-wage-control bill I abominated.¹

Individual roll calls often reflect a complex decision-making process with ideology and regional, partisan, and personal loyalties layered on individual idiosyncrasy and evaluations of political advancement and self-preservation. In the aggregate, however, a multiplicity of such public commitments presumably will reflect something more scalable, in limited dimensions if not in only one.

There are three evaluations of individual members of Congress on a liberal-conservative scale that cover the complete period of time in which the members of the Class were in the House: Scores by Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), adjusted ADA scores, and DW-NOMINATE.

ADA’s choice of key roll call votes to construct their scores may vary in its ability to produce a consistent scale over time. The numbers of votes are limited to a dozen or so per year before the 89th Congress and to a couple of dozen from then on. The issues of the moment varied over the period 1947 to 1978, and ADA’s position on issues may have changed over the 30 years. Missing a single vote can cause a significant shift in scores, particularly before the 89th Congress, and only twenty of the Class voted on all of their opportunities on the ADA’s key roll calls, and sixteen of those were single-termers.

How one treats missed votes is problematic. What was the member’s intent on the missed vote: Support of the ADA position, opposition, a deliberate omission – a fence-sitting decision, or inadvertence? This work has assumed the missed vote to be neutral; negative ADA scores have been calculated to provide a score in opposition to the ADA position. Thus, when Francis Love missed the vote to recommit HR 6481 on May 11, 1948, which would restore funding for the TVA hydroelectric plant at Johnsville, Tennessee, his ADA support score remained 0 while his ADA opposition score was calculated at 91, the missed vote neither indicating support or opposition for the ADA position. The value 91 represents the votes cast in opposition to the ADA position divided by the total number of key votes. This work also uses paired votes as indicators and ignores sessions in which the Classmate was not a member for the entire session.²

¹ Cotton, 16-7.

² There are three special cases of Class absences from membership in a session. The Speaker of the House rarely votes and thus, when Carl Albert was speaker, he is treated as not a voting member for those sessions. The second

ADA scores measure votes that ADA thought were important at the time, and the ADA has been considered in the words of the first issue of *The Almanac of American Politics* “synonymous with a certain brand of liberalism” consistent with “New Deal Great Society legislation and against rising defense spending and encroachments on civil liberties.”³

Groseclose, Levitt, and Snyder attempted to standardize ADA scores across time and between the two houses of Congress by creating an “adjusted” score. The adjusted scores produce estimates for each member in each session assuming normalized consistency in individual and ADA ideology and a probabilistic distribution of scores. The scores of individual members are used to indicate the changing ideological balance of the houses and the parties over time, but the scores of the individuals are, in the words of the authors, “‘nuisance’ parameters.”⁴ That is, the score of any individual may diverge from some presumptively accurate assessment of the member’s ideology, but the aggregate of the individual scores will approximate that reality.

This work has, nevertheless, used the individual adjusted ADA scores as just that, some approximation of the liberal-conservative scale on which the member of the Class may fall. Anderson and Habel reported adjusted scores for six sessions that the original authors omitted as incomplete: Carl Albert for 1971 and 1972, Claude Bakewell for 1951, American Laborite Leo Isacson of New York for 1948, William McCulloch for 1971, Thomas Owens for 1948, and John Bell Williams for 1965.⁵

DW-NOMINATE, developed by Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal, uses all roll call data for all members in the House for all congresses to produce statistically a dimension that the aggregate votes of members most closely approximate. The creators label this through observation of the individual members’ proclivities a liberal-conservative dimension. Other dimensions which less accurately reflect members’ votes may also be identified, and the authors post a second dimension on their website. The authors define “liberal” as support for an increase in the minimum wage, mandatory affirmative action, and federal funding of healthcare and daycare, and opposition to reducing the capital gains tax, military force abroad, and further funds for Star Wars. As with adjusted ADA scores, the values assigned to individuals on the primary dimension are statistical constructs. The extent that they reflect a presumed reality of liberalism or conservatism may vary with the individual. Since the dimensions are calculated for all congresses, a new congress alters the values. The individual member’s DW-NOMINATE score is a moving target.⁶

This work uses the DW-NOMINATE scores that were calculated through the 112th Congress for no better reason than that was when the author recorded them. Use of values from a later congress would be altered in another two years.

The ADA scales give a higher score to liberalism, and thus the following table ranks the members in that order, from high to low, with the addition of the author’s calculation of the ADA opposition score. The various ADA scores are arithmetic averages over the sessions the member served.

case is that of William McCulloch who was late being sworn in to the House in 1971 due to illness and was ineligible for a key vote (*Congressional Record*, January 22, 1971, 145). The third case is that of John Bell Williams who was denied his seat temporarily at the start of the 1965 session. As it happened, he missed one ADA key vote during that period.

³ Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews (1972), xii.

⁴ Groseclose, Levitt, and Snyder, 36.

⁵ Scores are posted at dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=hdl:1902.1/12339.

⁶ Poole and Rosenthal, 12, 26-30. Scores are posted at Voteview.com.

ADA Support		ADA Opposition		Adjusted ADA Support		DW-NOMINATE	
Carroll D CO	94	Carroll D CO	2	Multer D NY	79	Isacson AL NY	-0.775
Multer D NY	93	Multer D NY	3	Carroll D CO	78	Multer D NY	-0.534
Karsten D MO	93	Karsten D MO	4	Karsten D MO	77	Kennedy D MA	-0.525
Javits R NY	89	Kennedy D MA	8	Blatnik D MN	73	Carroll D CO	-0.515
Blatnik D MN	83	Blatnik D MN	8	Javits R NY	71	Blatnik D MN	-0.452
Donohue D MA	77	Javits R NY	9	Donohue D MA	67	Karsten D MO	-0.445
Kennedy D MA	76	Donohue D MA	18	Garmatz D MD	66	Albert D OK	-0.293
Lusk D NM	76	Peden D OK	20	Kennedy D MA	66	Garmatz D MD	-0.290
Garmatz D MD	76	Lusk D NM	20	Lusk D NM	59	Donohue D MA	-0.273
Lanham D GA	69	Johnson D OK	20	Lanham D GA	58	Whitaker D KY	-0.265
Albert D OK	68	Garmatz D MD	21	Albert D OK	57	Lanham D GA	-0.260
Deane D NC	68	Albert D OK	25	Deane D NC	55	Lusk D NM	-0.246
Peden D OK	62	Whitaker D KY	27	Peden D OK	51	Jones, R D AL	-0.239
Smathers D FL	57	Deane D NC	28	Isacson AL NY	48	Javits R NY	-0.234
Morris D OK	55	Smathers D FL	28	Jones, R D AL	47	Morris D OK	-0.231
Jones, R D AL	54	Morris D OK	28	Smathers, D FL	46	Deane D NC	-0.226
Whitaker D KY	54	Lanham D GA	28	Morris D OK	46	Evins D TN	-0.205
Seely-Brown R CT	53	Jones, R D AL	39	Evins D TN	41	Johnson D OK	-0.197
Tollefson R WA	50	Battle D AL	42	Whitaker D KY	39	Peden D OK	-0.121
Bakewell R MO	50	Tollefson R WA	43	Seely-Brown R CT	39	Battle D AL	-0.102
Battle D AL	48	Seely-Brown R CT	45	Tollefson R WA	37	Preston D GA	-0.101
Keating D NY	48	Bakewell R MO	45	Battle D AL	37	Smathers D FL	-0.080
Evins D TN	46	Evins D TN	46	Bakewell R MO	34	Hardy D VA	-0.054
Patterson R CT	45	Patterson R CT	49	Meade, Hu D MD	32	Jones, Ha D NC	-0.037
Johnson D OK	44	Meade, Hu D MD	49	Patterson R CT	32	Meade, Hu D MD	-0.010
Meade, Hu D MD	42	Jenkins R PA	51	Preston D GA	30	Redden D NC	-0.002
Preston D GA	41	Preston D GA	52	Keating R NY	30	Teague D TX	0.009
Coudert R NY	38	Keating R NY	53	Hardy D VA	30	Meade, Ho R KY	0.050
Hardy D VA	38	Jones, Ha D NC	55	Johnson D OK	28	Bakewell R MO	0.052
Lodge R CT	36	Kersten R WI	55	Redden D NC	25	Passman D LA	0.056
Dawson R UT	36	Coudert R NY	56	Lodge R CT	25	Seely-Brown R CT	0.066
Sadlak R CT	34	Redden D NC	56	Jones, Ha D NC	23	Tollefson R WA	0.067
Kersten R WI	33	Hardy D VA	57	Morton R KY	23	Lodge R CT	0.077
Devitt R MN	32	Morton R KY	57	Coudert R NY	22	Patterson R CT	0.080
Allen R CA	32	Phillips R TN	62	Sadlak R CT	20	Jones, Ho R WA	0.090
Riehlman R NY	32	Lodge R CT	63	Dawson R UT	20	Stanley D VA	0.096
Morton R KY	32	Sadlak R CT	63	Kersten R WI	20	Keating R NY	0.098
MacKinnon R MN	32	Dawson R UT	63	Riehlman R NY	19	Devitt R MN	0.100
Redden D NC	31	Wheeler D GA	64	Stanley D VA	18	Lucas D TX	0.101
Jones, Ha D NC	31	Chadwick R PA	64	Wheeler D GA	18	Burleson D TX	0.111
Ross R NY	28	Riehlman R NY	65	Teague D TX	18	Dorn D SC	0.113
Potts R NY	28	Jones, Ho R WA	65	Kearns R PA	18	Foote R CT	0.113
Chadwick R PA	27	Allen R CA	66	Devitt R MN	17	Regan D TX	0.113
Jenkins R PA	27	Teague D TX	67	Allen R CA	17	Jenkins D PA	0.117
Kearns R PA	27	Stanley D VA	67	MacKinnon R MN	17	Harrison D VA	0.121

ADA Support		ADA Opposition		Adjusted ADA Support		DW-NOMINATE	
Mack R WA	27	Devitt R WA	68	Ross R NY	16	Wheeler D GA	0.128
Stanley D VA	26	Lucas D TX	68	Passman D LA	16	Chadwick R PA	0.132
Brophy R WI	26	MacKinnon R MN	68	Lucas D TX	15	Davis, J D GA	0.135
Wheeler D GA	26	Potts R NY	68	Mack R WA	14	Wilson D TX	0.135
Lucas D TX	24	Snyder R WV	68	Chadwick R PA	13	Phillips R TN	0.138
Phillips R TN	24	Kearns R PA	69	Jenkins R PA	13	Muhlenberg R PA	0.145
Burke R OH	24	Scott R PA	70	Jones, Ho R WA	13	MacKinnon R MN	0.149
Foote R CT	24	Regan D TX	70	Potts R NY	13	Morton R KY	0.149
Jones, Ho R WA	24	Mack R WA	71	Burleson D TX	12	Kersten R WI	0.156
Muhlenberg R PA	24	McMahon R NY	72	Dorn D SC	12	Nixon R CA	0.156
Snyder R WV	24	Ross R NY	72	Phillips R TN	12	Brophy R WI	0.159
Jackson R CA	22	Mitchell R IN	72	Wilson D TX	11	Boggs R DE	0.161
McMahon R NY	20	Scoblick R PA	72	Scott R PA	11	Potts R NY	0.161
Teague D TX	20	Jackson R CA	73	Harrison D VA	10	Sadlak R CT	0.161
Scott R PA	20	Nixon R CA	73	Brophy R WI	10	Snyder R WV	0.162
Wilson D TX	20	Cotton R NH	73	Burke R OH	10	Abbitt D VA	0.165
Harrison D VA	20	Meade, Ho R KY	74	Foote R CT	10	Dawson R UT	0.186
Meade, Ho R KY	20	Brophy R WI	74	Meade, Ho R KY	10	Russell R NV	0.189
Russell R NV	20	Passman D LA	74	Muhlenberg R PA	10	Lewis R KY	0.192
Passman D LA	19	Macy R NY	75	Snyder R WV	10	Scott R PA	0.192
Miller R MD	19	St. George R NY	76	Davis, J D GA	9	Burke R OH	0.200
St. George R NY	18	Burke R OH	76	Jackson R CA	8	Ross R NY	0.200
Cotton R NH	18	Foote R CT	76	Cotton R NH	8	Riehlman R NY	0.203
Davis, J D GA	18	Muhlenberg R PA	76	Dague R PA	7	Allen R CA	0.209
Nixon R CA	17	Nodar R NY	76	St. George R NY	7	Williams D MS	0.210
Burleson D TX	16	Davis, J D GA	77	Williams D MS	7	Lichtenwalter R PA	0.213
Dague R PA	16	Wilson D TX	78	Davis, G R WI	7	Kearns R PA	0.214
Nodar R NY	16	Potter R MI	78	Miller R MD	6	Coudert R NY	0.228
Dorn D SC	15	Harrison D VA	78	McMahon R NY	6	Potter R MI	0.231
Bradley R CA	15	Burleson D TX	80	Russell R NV	6	Fletcher R CA	0.235
Coffin R MI	15	Miller R MD	80	McCulloch R OH	5	Coffin R MI	0.240
Fletcher R CA	15	Coffin R MI	80	Abbitt D VA	5	Mack R WA	0.247
Goff R ID	15	Russell R NV	80	Nixon R CA	5	Bradley R CA	0.251
Williams D MS	14	Williams D MS	81	Boggs R DE	5	Nodar R NY	0.252
Boggs R DE	14	Boggs R DE	81	Regan D TX	4	Goff R ID	0.261
Sarbacher R PA	14	Dorn D SC	81	Bramblett R CA	4	Scoblick R PA	0.274
Potter R MI	13	Dague R PA	81	Potter R MI	3	Mitchell R IN	0.275
Reeves R MO	12	Lichtenwalter R PA	82	Harvey R IN	3	McMahon R NY	0.282
Scoblick R PA	12	Sarbacher R PA	83	Lichtenwalter R PA	3	Bramblett R CA	0.283
Bramblett R CA	11	Harvey R IN	84	Nodar R NY	2	Dague R PA	0.288
Davis, G R WI	11	Davis, G R WI	85	Bradley R CA	2	Reeves R MO	0.299
McCulloch R OH	11	McCulloch R OH	85	Coffin R MI	2	Crow R PA	0.309
Harvey R IN	11	Bradley R CA	85	Fletcher R CA	2	Miller R DE	0.310
Mitchell R IN	10	Fletcher R CA	85	Goff R ID	2	McCulloch R OH	0.316
Lichtenwalter R PA	10	Goff R ID	85	Sarbacher R PA	-1	Harvey R IN	0.319

ADA Support		ADA Opposition		Adjusted ADA Support		DW-NOMINATE	
Regan D TX	10	Abbitt D VA	85	Reeves R MO	-2	Sarbacher R PA	0.327
Abbitt D VA	8	Bramblett R CA	86	Jenison R IL	-2	Jackson R CA	0.334
Crow R PA	8	Owens R IL	86	Mitchell R IN	-3	Cotton R NH	0.350
Maloney R PA	8	Smith R KS	86	Scoblick R PA	-3	Meyer R KS	0.351
McGarvey R PA	8	Reeves R MO	88	Nicholson R MA	-3	Love R WV	0.353
Twyman R IL	8	Love R WV	88	Macy R NY	-4	St. George R NY	0.360
Nicholson R MA	8	Maloney R PA	88	Sanborn R ID	-4	Maloney R PA	0.364
Love R WV	7	Twyman R IL	88	Crow R PA	-6	McGarvey R PA	0.367
Owens R IL	7	Crow R PA	92	Maloney R PA	-6	Nicholson R MA	0.401
Jenison R IL	7	McGarvey R PA	92	McGarvey R PA	-6	Davis, G R WI	0.412
Sanborn R ID	6	Nicholson R MA	92	Vail R IL	-6	Sanborn R ID	0.422
Macy R NY	6	Jenison R IL	92	Meyer R KS	-6	Macy R NY	0.430
Smith R KS	5	Sanborn R ID	92	Twyman R IL	-6	Youngblood R MI	0.443
Meyer R KS	4	Vail R IL	94	Love R WV	-6	Vail R IL	0.449
Banta R MO	0	Meyer R KS	96	Smith R KS	-7	Twyman R IL	0.457
Vail R IL	0	Banta R MO	100	Owens R IL	-10	Owens R IL	0.490
Youngblood R MI	0	Youngblood R MI	100	Banta R MO	-13	Jenison R IL	0.494
Isacson AL NY	na	Isacson AL NY	na	Youngblood R MI	-13	Banta R MO	0.528
Lewis R KY	na	Lewis R KY	na	Lewis R KY	na	Smith R KS	0.550

The order of the individuals shuffles a bit, but all four scales are very closely related. The lowest Pearson coefficient is between ADA Support and DW-NOMINATE, but that is a very strong -0.987.

If we accept these scales as a measure of liberalism and/or conservatism, then Democrats Abraham Multer, John Carroll, Frank Karsten, John Blatnik, John Kennedy, and Harold Donohue are the most liberal in that order, each appearing in the top ten in each list. The presence of Kennedy raises the question of whether “most liberal” on these scales equates to “true liberal.” Blatnik was of the opinion that Kennedy was not liberal enough. James MacGregor Burns called Kennedy a “pocketbook liberal” but a “fiscal conservative.” Theodore Sorensen wrote that Kennedy was privately scornful of liberals. The true question, which cannot be answered here, is what “liberal” really means, but let us accept the characterization of ADA and Poole and Rosenthal that their scales define liberalism for this discussion.⁷

The six men listed above were all Democrats and all Northerners, except for Karsten, who was from the nominally Border city of St. Louis. Nine other members, including the limited Isacson, were in the top ten in at least one of the four scales: Republican Jacob Javits and Democrats Edward Garmatz, Georgia Lusk, Carl Albert, Henderson Lanham, Preston Peden, John Whitaker, and Glen Johnson in order. That is six Border Democrats, one Southern Democrat, a Republican, and an American Laborite. Shall we consider these liberal or perhaps moderate? Javits certainly considered himself to be liberal, as did the Liberal Party that regularly endorsed his candidacy. Given that ADA rankings are not only explicitly liberal but Democratic – the D in ADA is most definitely a capital D – it would not be too surprising that his roll call votes might occasionally place Javits at odds with ADA. In fact, however, each of the three ADA scores place him among the top six while DW-NOMINATE puts him fourteenth.

While DW-NOMINATE scores might reflect a liberal-conservative dimension, they also illustrate a partisan divide. Sometimes the votes of members of Congress place them closer to members of their

⁷ Blatnik interview, 7-8. Burns (1960), 88-9. Sorensen, 17. Isacson, who runs away with the DW-NOMINATE measure, does not appear in the other scales due to his very limited service in the House.

parties than their ideology might determine. For example, *The Almanac of American Politics*, while characterizing Burleson as having “one of the Congress’s most conservative voting records,” noted that “occasionally he would give the Democratic leadership a little help, usually on a procedural vote.” The ADA scores place Burleson, 71st, 75th, and 54th, while DW-NOMINATE puts him 39th.⁸

At the other end of these scales, only three members fall among the top ten most conservative in all four: Parke Banta, Harold Youngblood, and Richard Vail in order, all Midwestern Republicans. Thirteen others made it into the top ten in at least one of the scales: Wint Smith, Herbert Meyer, Thomas Owens, John Sanborn, Robert Twyman, Edward Jenison, Francis Love, Robert McGarvey, Donald Nicholson, Franklin Maloney, William Crow, Kingsland Macy, and Glenn Davis in order. All are Republican, six are Midwesterners, three are Pennsylvanians.

Glenn Davis is the odd man out here. DW-NOMINATE places him 100th, while the ADA scales put him at most 86th. Given that the DW-NOMINATE is a partisan scale as well as an ideological one, Davis’s loyalty to the Republican Party, to the extent that he sometimes voted against his own policy inclinations, led him to end up among the sixteen.

Make of this labeling of individuals what you will, reader, it is unquestionable that all four scales match a general understanding of how ideology on a liberal-conservative scale falls out among the partisan groups. Northern Democrats are the most liberal, followed by Border Democrats, Southern Democrats, and Republicans.

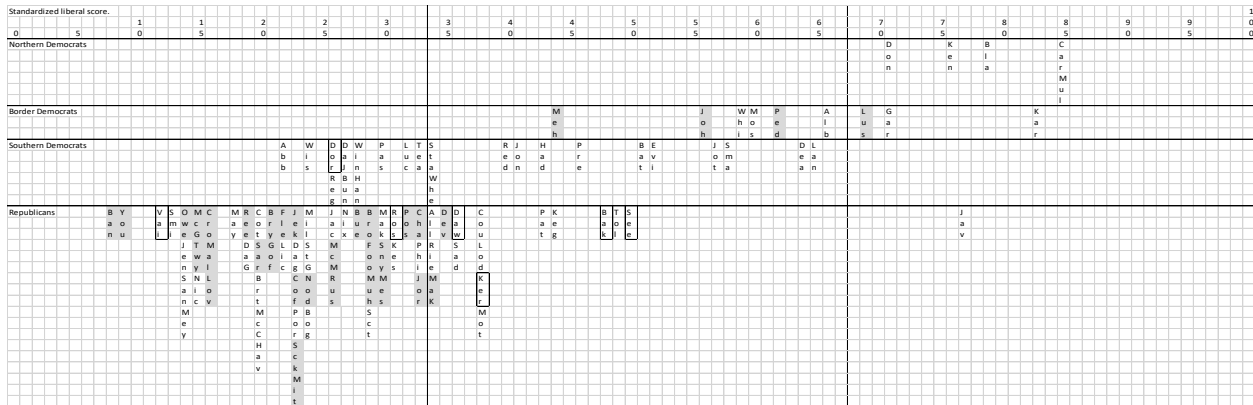
Mean Scale Ratings by Group				
	ADA Support	ADA Opposition	Adj. ADA Support	DW-NOMINATE
Republicans	21	74	8.70	0.243
Southern Dems.	31	61	23.84	0.008
Border Dems.	63	24	50.60	-0.233
Northern Dems.	85	8	71.92	-0.460

Within three of the groups the range is substantial. To look at these distributions, a combination of the four scales is useful. They have all been standardized to a common scale in which 100 is the maximum liberal score and 0 the minimum liberal score.⁹ The average of the standardized scores is plotted on the graph, wherein a three-letter abbreviation for each member is placed.¹⁰ William Lewis of Kentucky and Isacson are not plotted because of their very small number of votes in their short tenures.

⁸ Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews (1975), 844. Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews (1979), 864.

⁹ Standardizing the four scales to a range from maximum liberal to minimum liberal is simple for ADA Support and ADA Opposition; if a member supports all the ADA positions the score is 100, if he or she opposes all ADA positions the score is 0. For Adjusted ADA Support scores the range varies with the year but one point of the adjustment was standardization of scores across time; the maximum for the period calculated by Anderson and Habel is 129.04 and the minimum is -31.10. DW-NOMINATE is more complicated in that the maximum and minimum ranges are not necessarily equivalent to the most or least that could be scored. For this exercise, however, we will treat them as such. The maximum “liberal” score is -0.784 and the minimum is 0.882, with zero representing a midpoint between the ideologies, reported for the congresses used in this work. For this exercise, absolute 0.882 is taken as the maximum ideological value, which means that the maximum standardized liberal value is 89. All of these scores have been standardized to represent 100 for maximum liberal and 0 for minimum

¹⁰ In most cases, the three letters are the first three of the member’s last name. Because of duplication, the following letters are used for some members: Bradley = Bry, Bramblett = Brt, Burke = Bue, Burleson = Bun, Glenn Davis = DaG (not to be confused with Dague = Dag), James Davis = DaJ, Hardy = Had, Harrison = Han, Harvey = Hav, Jenison = Jen, Jenkins = Jek, Hamilton Jones = Jon, Homer Jones = Jor, Robert Jones = Jot, Kearns = Kes, Keating =



The five Northern Democrats cluster pretty closely, but Democrats as a whole have a very wide range, from 85 to 22 for a difference of 63. Republicans' range is even greater than Democrats' as a whole, 77 to 8 for a difference of 69, but elimination of Javits would reduce the range to a difference of 41, far less than for Democrats, who have no equivalently isolated member. The ranges of Southern Democrats, 65 to 22 for a difference of 43, and Border Democrats, 83 to 44 for a difference of 39, are nearly identical to that for Republicans without Javits.

The nine Border Democrats, unlike Southern Democrats, have an isolated member on each end of the range. Frank Karsten of St. Louis fits better with Northern Democrats and Hugh Meade from Baltimore with Southern Democrats.

Southern Democrats tend to cluster at the lower end of the range, with 13 of the 23 falling between 34 and 22. Republicans also cluster at the lower end with 62 between 37 and 12; five Republicans (not to mention Javits) score somewhat higher, while two are noticeably lower.

Members who left the House after the 80th Congress, usually by electoral defeat, are highlighted or boxed, the distinction being that the latter group were reelected to a later congress. If the 1948 election was a case of buyer's regret, were the Republicans who were most antagonistic to the liberalism of the New Deal and particularly to the Fair Deal of Pres. Harry Truman more likely to be removed?¹¹ The average standardized liberalism score of Republicans returning to the 81st Congress is 27 and those not returning is 25. There is minimal support here for a theory that the less liberal Republicans suffered greater in 1948.

The attrition of the less liberal Border Democrats is noticeable. Three were defeated in primaries and the fourth chose to run for the Senate.

Let us draw two arbitrary lines through the graph between 33 and 34 and between 66 and 67, dividing the overall range into thirds, and let us call the higher end "liberals" the lower end "conservatives" and the middle range "moderates."

All of the Northern Democrats, three of the Border Democrats, and Javits are by this definition liberals. The remaining six of the Border Democrats, twelve of the Southern Democrats, and fifteen of the Republicans are moderates. Eleven of the Southern Democrats and the remaining 54 Republicans are conservatives. Twenty-four of the Republicans are more conservative than the most conservative

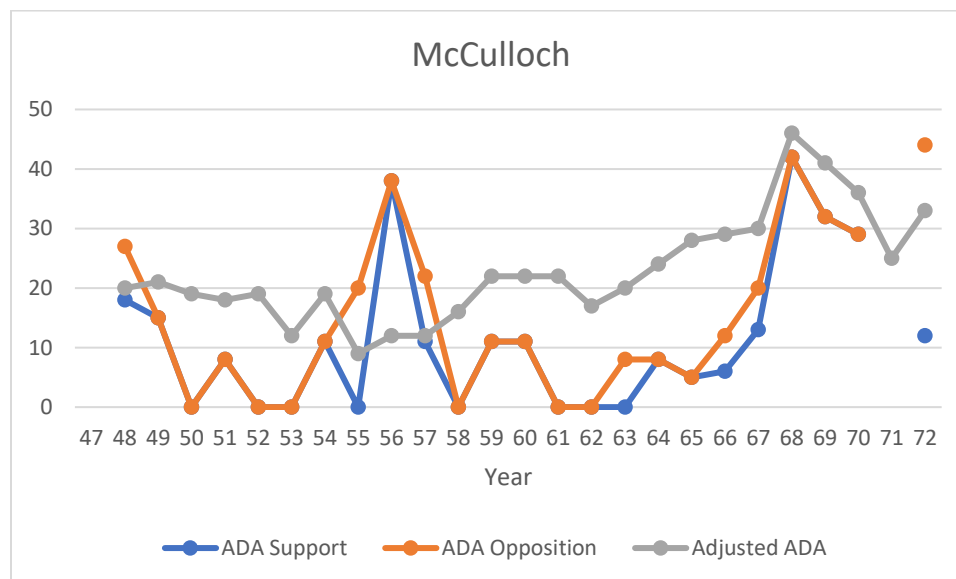
Keg, Mack = Mak, MacKinnon = MaK, Macy = May, Howes Meade = Mes, Hugh Meade = Meh, Morris = Mos, Morton = Mot, Potter = Por, Potts = Pos, Scoblick = Sck, Scott = Sct, Williams = Wis, Wilson = Win.

¹¹ Members who left through defeat are not differentiated from those who departed by retirement or by seeking another office because a perception by the candidate of the likelihood of defeat may encourage a voluntary departure.

Democrat. If the House Class of '74 had a reputation for liberal consistency, the Class of '46 was very differently diverse.

The average liberalism of individual members of the Class changed over time. Consider the graphs of the following three long-term representatives. William McCulloch, despite his strong, game-changing support for equal rights, was, as Jacqueline Kennedy observed, quite conservative in his overall voting. John Blatnik was about as liberal on our standardized scale as McCulloch was conservative. Joe Evins fell very nearly in the center of that scale. DW-NOMINATE produces a single value over time and is thus not plotted. Adjusted ADA Support produces individual values over time and is plotted, but it should be remembered that the creators described individual scores as “nuisances.” ADA Support and ADA Opposition are both plotted and track each other but diverge when there are missed key votes. The more missed votes in a year, the greater the divergence of these two scales.

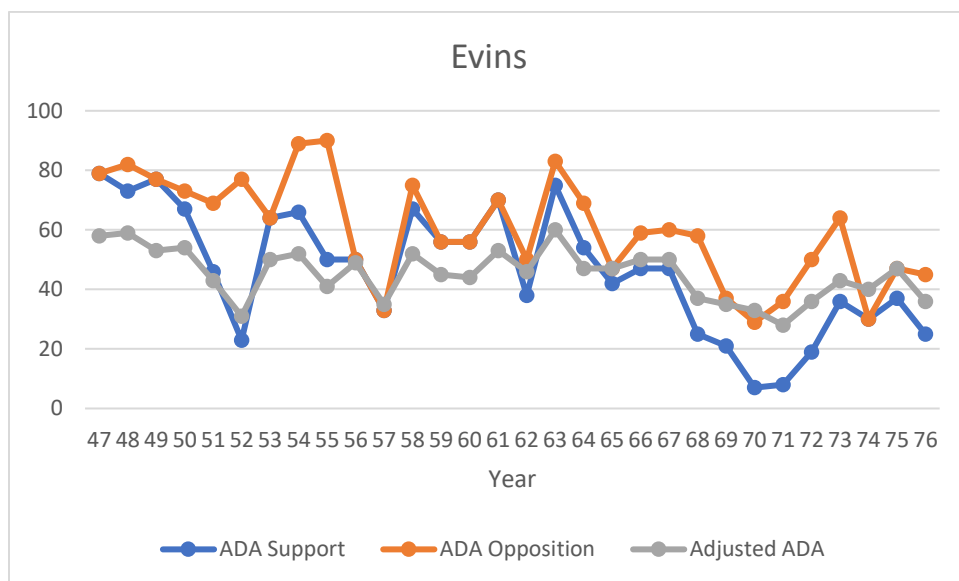
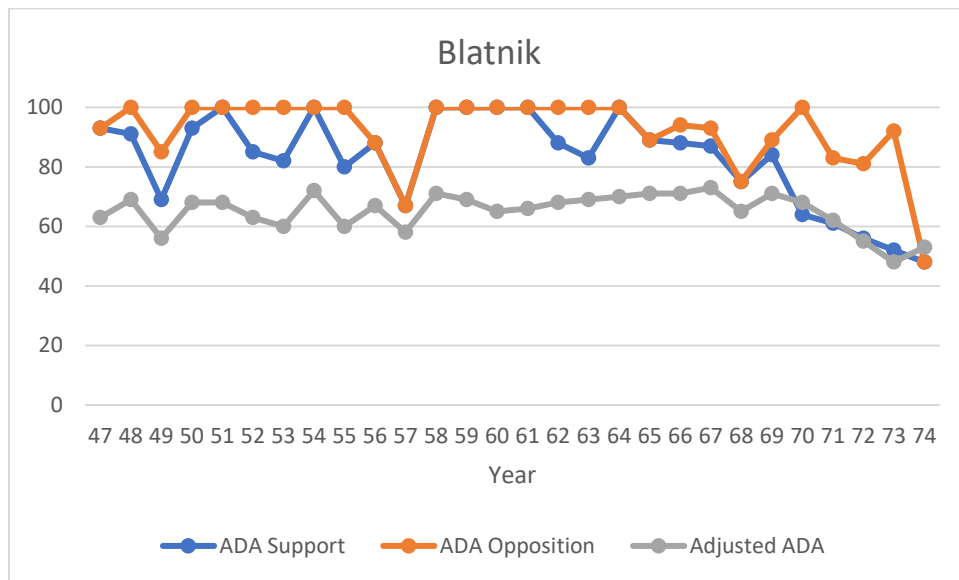
McCulloch, with a reliably conservative average Standardized Score, showed as quite conservative on ADA scores from 1950 until 1966, with a major divergence for 1955-1957. In his first two years in the House, however, he was somewhat less conservative in his voting, and from 1967 on he tended toward moderation. The Adjusted ADA Score did not track the mid-50s divergence but shows the increasing moderation of McCulloch's voting in later years. His illness in 1971 resulted in so many missed votes that fewer scores are plotted.



It is possible that the 1955-57 flurry was due to the Representative coming of age in the House. After eight years, McCulloch first acquired a ranking position on a subcommittee in 1955, though this was a subcommittee of Small Business, which could not initiate legislation. More important, perhaps, was his appointment in 1955 to the new Commission on Government Security. The appointment was by Democratic Speaker Sam Rayburn but undoubtedly on recommendation of the House's Republican leadership. He was the only House Republican on the Commission. The year 1957 brought the Eisenhower Administration's equal rights bill in which McCulloch played a key part, his introduction to the role which would ensure his place in American history. His achieving a bare indication of moderation in his 1956 ADA key votes did not, however, herald a permanent shift. The 1960s increase in moderate voting may have been instigated by the recurring redistricting, which gave him new territory and new voters. McCulloch's

November performance did not suffer, but from 1966 on he drew primary opposition for the first time since 1947.

Blatnik, an even more reliable vote for ADA positions than was McCulloch's opposition, had a slight 1957 apostasy, an even slighter fall off from 1965, and a more significant drop from 1970 on, largely due to an increasing tendency to miss the key votes. Primary opposition came to Blatnik from 1968 on, and redistricting in the 1960s shifted his district. In his last year, 1974, his ADA voting was clearly in the moderate mainstream and not due to missed votes. Why this was so is unclear. His Adjusted ADA score tracks the liberal decline of the later years. For his entire term, this measure also places Blatnik as not one of the House's more liberal members but rather someone sitting on the liberal-moderate divide until his later rightward turn.



Evins, the Southern Democratic moderate, bounced all over the ADA scales, beginning as a liberal, missing a lot of key votes in the 1950s, voting like a conservative in 1952 and 1957 and then again in 1970, 1971, and 1974. Evins had his greatest challenge for the nomination in 1952 and his attention to the

primary could explain the large number of missed key votes. It could also explain his choices when he did vote. The drop in liberal votes after 1967 may reflect the greater opposition he encountered from Republicans and is consistent with a conservative shift of Southern Democrats in general. He also was subject to the redistricting orgy of the '60s.

The fact that the voting of each of the three representatives shifts in 1957 and in about 1968 raises the question to what extent the so-called liberalism of the ADA was consistent. Either the three individuals all shifted at the same time, or the ADA did. In the case of the 1960s shifts, it is possible to note increased contests for reelection associated with changes in district boundaries as possibly contributing in the cases of all three representatives. Still, one wonders about the ADA.

At this point a caution is in order to take the definitions of liberalism by the ADA and DW-NOMINATE, the statistical manipulations of Adjusted ADA Support, and the fitting of the four scales onto a standardized scale with skepticism, though it must be admitted that there is a substantial fit of all the evaluations to the common perceptions of the members at question, even if one might argue that the most right-wing Democrat Watkins Abbitt at 22 was no more liberal than Republican Abe Goff at 21. In fact, given that ADA scores are oriented to Democratic issues and DW-NOMINATE has a partisan as well as ideological element, Abbitt may well have been more conservative than Goff, maybe even the most right-wing of the entire Class of '46.