

Chapter 15 – No Going Back: The 1950 Election

Fifty-nine of the Class of '46 sought reelection to the House in 1950. One retired. The other five sophomores pursued different offices. In addition, fourteen others from the Class who did not serve in the 81st Congress, attempted to return to the House; four succeeded.

The war in Korea dominated the news and the election. The war was going well until just before the election, when news of the Chinese incursion began to break. Accusations of poor readiness for war by the Democratic Administration conflated with charges of communist influence in the Nation's foreign policy were a mainstay of challengers to Democratic representatives. Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R WI) began his series of charges of a varying number of communists in the Administration on February 9. He campaigned personally in fifteen states leading up to the election. The conviction of Alger Hiss and the arrest in Britain of Klaus Fuchs for passing atomic secrets to the Soviets, with Truman's announcement in 1949 that the Soviet Union had the bomb and the arrest of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as spies in New York, added weight to Republican charges: "The Korean death trap we can lay at the doors of the Kremlin and those who sabotaged rearming, including [Secretary of State Dean] Acheson and the President, if you please," in the words of McCarthy. Pres. Harry Truman, now a wartime leader, eschewed the kind of campaigning he did in 1948, limiting himself to one purely political speech focused on "pocketbook issues" at a televised rally in St. Louis three days before the election.¹

Yet the election was just an off-year election. Compared to the 1948 election, the President's party lost 28 seats in the House and held on to narrow majorities in both houses. It was the smallest midterm loss for the Democrats since 1934.

None of the Class Democrats who ran for reelection lost their seats. Two of them ran instead for Senate seats. John Carroll of Colorado lost to incumbent Republican Eugene Millikin by six points. George Smathers of Florida won after ousting incumbent Democrat Claude Pepper in the primary. Smathers' campaign was as red-baiting as any Republican effort.²

Two Republican sophomores also left the House to try for the Senate, with Richard Nixon of California winning an open seat and John Sanborn of Idaho failing to get the nomination for what turned out to be an open seat when incumbent Glen Taylor, Henry Wallace's 1948 vice-presidential running mate on the Progressive ticket, was denied the Democratic nomination. The Republican that defeated Sanborn in the primary won the general election. Nixon's win over Democratic Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas has been characterized as "virtually a case study in red-baiting," but, if so, only in its economy, for the same plot occurred dozens or more times in 1950, including in Smathers' campaign.³

A third Republican Class member left the House, but to run for governor. John Davis Lodge of Connecticut won the office, defeating the incumbent Democrat by two points. His Fourth District was held for the Republican party.

Two Republican members of the sophomore Class did not contest the November 1950 election for the House. Franklin Lichtenwalter of Pennsylvania, after trying to position himself for a nomination to the Senate, announced in March 1950 he would not run for anything, saying "he had accepted an offer to enter private business." He had not wanted to exchange the Pennsylvania House for the national House in 1946, though the Pennsylvania General Assembly's website attributes his withdrawal in 1950 as a

¹ Donovan (1982), 295, 297. Conley, 7. McCullough, 813.

² Pepper with Gorey, 198. *Time*, April 3 & 17, 1950.

³ Halberstam (1993), 56.

necessity due to “childhood diabetes.” Lichtenwalter had been in the insurance business since 1933 and returned to it, if indeed he stopped during his House tenure. He continued in this while also becoming a vice president and managing director, a lobbyist, of the Pennsylvania Electric Association. He remained active in insurance until his death, but resigned from PEA in 1954, expecting to have an important State Party role, but that foundered on the Party’s factionalism.⁴

The second, Herbert Meyer from Kansas, won an easy victory over a female challenger in the primary only to die two months later, a month before the general election. He was 64. His death at Bethesda Naval Hospital was attributed to a heart attack, which followed hospitalization two weeks earlier for a viral infection.⁵ The third member of the Class to die, he left wife Mary Watts Meyer and a grown son. His place in the House was taken by another Republican, but not by his primary opponent.

The ability of the Democratic Party to win so many contests in 1950 and to retain control of the House was due to the nearly Solid South. Despite the States’ Rights revolt of 1948, the representatives who supported Strom Thurmond’s candidacy remained Democrats, voted to reelect Sam Rayburn as Speaker, and retained their seniority and committee chairships. Of the 235 Democrats in the 82nd House, 103 were from the South, as was the case in the 81st House. Another 36 were from the Border, compared to 41 after the 1948 election. That left 96 Northern Democrats in the 82nd House compared to 119 in the 81st.

The challenge for nearly all the 21 Southern Democrats of the Class who were running for reelection was in the primary, rather than the general election. The same was only somewhat less true for the five Border State Democrats. Seven of the Southerners avoided competition on both the primary and general election ballots (Watkins Abbitt, Porter Hardy, and Thomas Stanley of Virginia, Henderson Lanham and Prince Preston of Georgia, Robert Jones of Alabama, and Omar Burleson of Texas), and Olin Teague of Texas came very close. There was a Republican on Teague’s general ballot, but he drew only 2% of the vote. John Bell Williams of Mississippi had opponents in both the primary and general elections, but in neither case did they do better than 7%.⁶

Seven had no Republican opposition but could not avoid the primary, although Joe Evins of Tennessee was not badly stretched by a challenger with a history of being secretary to two more conservative Tennessee congressmen. Given the battle over poll taxes in the 81st House, it is worth noting that Tennessee eliminated that requirement for voting in the 1950 primary for the first time in 60 years.⁷

Otto Passman of Louisiana, despite having two opponents in the primary as usual, enjoyed an easier win in 1950. Passman’s opponents declared they were “independent,” which meant they were not affiliated with the Long faction in the party and, ergo, anti-Long. Passman was a Long loyalist and as such was not a Dixiecrat. His 70% showing in 1950 contrasted with the 51% he received in the previous two primaries and indicated that perhaps he was reaching a level of security in the District.⁸

Whereas black voters in Louisiana tended to align with the Long faction, the Talmadge faction in Georgia was anathema to them. There were 4,687 Negroes registered to vote in the Fifth Congressional

⁴ *The Evening Sun* (Hanover), February 15, 1954. *The Daily Notes*, February 24, 1954. *The Record-Argus*, February 24, 1954. *The Lebanon Daily News*, and *the Lebanon Daily Times*, February 25, 1954. *The Bedford Gazette*, March 31, 1954.

⁵ *Kansas Report 1949-1950*. *The New York Times*, October 3, 1950. *The Emporia Gazette*, October 3, 1950.

⁶ *Texas Almanac 1951-1952*. *Mississippi Register* 1952.

⁷ *Kingsport Times*, October 2, 1949. *Kingsport News*, August 4, 1950.

⁸ *Daily World*, January 18, 1948; May 21, 1950. Key (1949), 164-5, 341. *The Monroe News-Star*, May 16, 1950. *Weekly Town Talk*, March 27, 1948. OurCampaigns.com.

District of Louisiana in 1950. If all of them voted in the Democratic primary, they would have constituted nine per cent of the electorate, not enough to have made the difference for Passman. James Davis in Georgia, a Talmadge loyalist, faced a greater hazard from the black vote in Atlanta. In 1946 it was reported there were 24,378 Negroes registered in Davis's District. That number would have been 29% of the number voting in the 1950 House primary, with a significant potential effect on the result, assuming, as always, that the county unit system would not invalidate the popular vote. Wyman Lowe in his third attempt for the nomination against Davis, and without Helen Mankin again dividing the anti-Davis vote, scored much better this time, but still took only 31% – 26,746 ballots. A black newspaper reported that only half of the black voters cast a ballot, which might have then been half of Wyman's vote if they all voted for him. If the other half had voted for him, it might have made a difference. On the other hand, the citizen population of voting age in the District according to the 1950 census was 403,624, which means that turnout in the primary was only 21%. If white voters had showed up at the polls in greater numbers, Davis's margin may well have been far larger. Like Passman, Davis reached a new level of electoral security in his third primary. Also, like Passman, Davis eschewed the Dixiecrat rebellion.⁹

Frank Wilson in Dallas was challenged in 1950 by a radio personality as well as by organized labor. While James Jefferies complained that Wilson catered "to the moneyed class," his primary line of attack was Wilson's vote against aid to Korea. Complaining that Wilson "gladdened Communist hearts" likely did not ring true for voters, and Wilson won with 66% of the vote, about the same as in 1948.¹⁰

Labor was an antagonist for Laurie Battle in Birmingham as well. Hugo Black Jr, who practiced labor law in Birmingham, and was a political understudy to Alabama Sen. Lister Hill, endorsed Battle's opponent and attacked Battle as a Dixiecrat who "consistently voted with the Republican fat cats." Hugo Black Sr, the Supreme Court justice, was the least Southern of Southern senators of his era. Unsurprisingly, Battle won easily, bettering his vote share from the 1946 and 1948 primaries.¹¹

Don Wheeler of Georgia would face no Republican in November, but he had two substantial opponents in the primary. Ronald Adams, 34, prominent in the Georgia Bar and the American Legion, challenged Wheeler as not adequately representing the agricultural interests of the District. Country Johnston, who pressed Wheeler from the right in 1948, returned for a second bout. Johnston had run as a white supremacist in 1948, while Wheeler pledged his support for the national Democratic ticket. Wheeler tarried in DC for floor votes but finally got on the train for Georgia and the Easter holidays. The Eighth District Democratic executive committee saved Wheeler by deciding in April to let the popular vote decide, for Johnston would win the county-unit vote with 24 to Wheeler's 20 and Adams' 4. Wheeler won the popular vote with 44% to Johnston's 33% and Adams' 23%. There was no run-off provision for congressional primaries in Georgia.¹²

Ken Regan in Texas did not get off so easily. Fred Hervey, 40, a businessman, was another El Paso challenger for Regan, but the major opposition came from Paul Moss, 64, of Odessa, who made the offside accusation that Regan was the product of a "small group of 'king-makers' in El Paso." Moss, an

⁹ Key (1949), 113, 165. *Monroe Morning World*, July 13, 1950. *The Pittsburgh Courier*, July 8, 1950. *The Atlanta Constitution*, July 17, 1946; January 21, 1948.

¹⁰ *Abilene Reporter-News*, May 17, 1950. *The Galveston Daily News*, July 17, 1950. *Denton Record-Chronicle*, July 16, 1950. *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, July 22, 1950. *Texas Almanac 1951-1952*.

¹¹ *The Anniston Star*, March 30, April 25, 1950. Newman, 392-3. Key (1949), 366. *Alabama Register 1951*.

¹² *The Atlanta Constitution*, September 10, October 30, 1948; May 31, 1950; August 12, 1974. Rep. William Natcher of Kentucky who did not miss over 18,000 votes during his 41 years in the House, to the point of being brought in to vote on a stretcher at the end, gave a word of advice on the subject: "just miss one early in your career and get it over with." *The Republic* (Columbus), June 18, 1990. *Georgia Register 1951-1952*.

attorney, rancher, and oilman, came at Regan from a dizzying variety of positions, managing to sound both to the right and left of the representative in the same speech. Moss also made an issue of Regan's failure to vote aid to Korea. Regan took 45% to 37% for Moss and 18% for Hervey, and Texas had a run-off provision.¹³

Regan hit back hard in the run-off campaign, broadcasting ads that accused Moss of being supported by "racial labor leaders" and "Uncle Joe admirers." Whether this shifted Moss into a more conventionally populist stance or he was getting support from the Labor leaders who had announced they wanted to dump Regan, the battle settled into a more conventional right winger versus moderate contest. This did not stop Moss from pointing out that Regan voted with American Laborite Vito Marcantonio on Korea. Regan survived with 55% of the vote.¹⁴

Two Southern Democrats were without primary competition but faced Republicans in November. Neither Burr Harrison of Virginia nor Monroe Redden of North Carolina was seriously threatened.

Harrison's opponent was 71-year-old Jacob Garber, who had served a term in Congress, having defeated Harrison's father in the anti-Catholic election of 1928. Thomas Harrison had a spotty congressional career, having won a seat in a special election in 1916 and being displaced in 1922 when the apparent Republican loser, John Paul, successfully contested Harrison's reelection in 1920. Harrison, however, was not removed until after the 1922 election when he defeated Paul. Harrison returned to the House until Garber replaced him. Thomas Harrison did not run after that.¹⁵

Redden's Republican opponent, John Wagner, had no overt political history, having retired from the Army in 1943, but rather a family history that indicates why Southern Republicans were concentrated in the Appalachians. Wagner's father of the same name was raised in the Tennessee mountains and fought for the Union in the 4th Tennessee infantry, later becoming an architect and builder in Asheville, North Carolina. The campaign was low impact with Redden bettering his 1946 off-year showing by three points.¹⁶

Of the four Southern Democrats who had significant primary and general election opposition, Wingate Lucas of Fort Worth was stretched the least. His two primary opponents, a "hillbilly guitar player" and a realtor, were political novices that together took less than a third of the vote. The Republican opponent,

¹³ *The Odessa American*, May 12, June 6, July 5 & 13, 1950. *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, March 6, 1950. *Denton Record-Chronicle*, July 16, 1950. *Texas Almanac 1951-1952*.

¹⁴ Joe Stalin of the Soviet Union presumably. *The Odessa American*, August 11 & 18 & 20 & 24, 1950. *The Galveston Daily News*, July 17, 1950.

¹⁵ Over 25 years later, V.O. Key Jr noted both the restricted size of the Virginia electorate as well as the simplicity of the voter registration requirements and the laxity of their application. Key (1949), 20, 564-5. Paul's challenge to Harrison's State-certified victory in 1920 relied on that laxity, for Virginia's registration conditions were not as simple as Key indicated. House Parliamentarian Lewis Deschler in his discussion of the case termed the requirements "drastic." Deschler, vol. I, pp. 766-74. Apart from the poll tax requirements, applicants for registration were required to submit in their own handwriting without assistance a document stating name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation for the two years preceding, and whether they had previously voted and where in detail. The House Committee on Elections No. 1 hearing Paul's challenge threw out the votes of 38 precincts whose registrars did not follow these rules, as well as in the other precincts the votes of individuals who could be identified who were improperly registered, as well as a prorated number of ballots of those who could not be identified. This gave the victory to Paul, but on a party line vote in both the Committee and the House as a whole.

¹⁶ *Asheville Citizen*, March 17, November 3, 1950. On mountain Republicans, see Key (1949), 280-5. Bishir.

an oilman who warned that the country was headed “down the road to socialism,” did worse but, nevertheless, seven points better than Lucas’s Republican opponent had in 1946.¹⁷

Charles Deane in North Carolina faced W.E. Horner again in the Democratic primary. Horner and Deane contested for the open seat in 1946 with Deane winning by 350 votes. Horner, a newspaper publisher and former legislator, was identified as marginally to the right of Deane in 1946, but in 1950 he attempted more explicitly to differentiate himself from Deane on issues, complaining of America’s drift to socialism, while not identifying Deane so clearly with that trend. Both candidates were very publicly anti-Dixiecrat in 1948. Horner, as was not uncommon in Southern primaries, enlisted a “hillbilly band,” Corbett Bennett and His Mountain Dudes, while Deane countered with a swing band. Deane increased his margin to nearly 8000 votes in 1950. Deane won the general election by six points more than he had in 1946.¹⁸

Deane’s fellow Tar Heel, Hamilton Jones, had the worst time of any of the Class’s Southern Democrats in 1950. The primary was a cake walk against two candidates, one an unknown running well to Jones’ left and the other Jones’ Republican opponent of 1946. The general election was a different matter. The Republican nominee, Louis Rogers, came to that position through “a stormy battle” at the District Convention, which was related to the rivalry involved in the election of the State’s national committeeman of the Young Republican National Federation. Rogers, the primary in a Charlotte investment firm, could challenge Jones on the wealth scale, and the Republican Party ran a well-funded campaign.¹⁹ Jones had taken 60% against a candidate from a tiny mountain county in 1948, but Dewey took the District, getting 4000 more votes than in 1944 while Truman got 14,000 less than had Roosevelt. Strom Thurmond received nearly 11,000 votes. Charlotte and its Mecklenburg County were the great Democratic balancers of the gerrymandered Tenth District and it was there that the shift was greatest. While Truman still took the County, the falloff from Roosevelt was 30 points and Thurmond got 22%. These were harbingers, but 1950 was not a presidential election year, and Jones’ District vote share fell only 1.5 points from 1946 for a close 5-point win. In critical Mecklenburg County, though, his share fell 12.5 points, but to a comfortable 13-point margin. Still, a harbinger.

In the Border States, Frank Karsten of St. Louis and Carl Albert of Oklahoma had no primary opposition, and Kentuckian John Whitaker’s was insignificant.²⁰ Whitaker also faced no Republican opponent, and Albert’s was inconsequential. Karsten had more of a contest but still took 68% in the general election.

Democrat Edward Garmatz in Baltimore was challenged by Lillian Klecka, a community activist, in the primary and in the general by Louis Milio, 26, who would compile a long list of failed campaigns before having his law license suspended in 1961 for violations of escrow. In both cases Garmatz got a little more than two-thirds of the vote.²¹

Toby Morris in Oklahoma was pressed in the primary by attorney Red Ivy, 28, who held the incumbent to 56%. Ivy, under his only slightly less catchy birthname of Francis Marion Ivy, had competed with Morris

¹⁷ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, May 17, 1950. *Brownsville Herald*, July 17, 1950. *Texas Almanac 1951-1952*. *The Hamlin Herald*, March 17, 1950.

¹⁸ *The Charlotte News*, March 18, 1950. *The Daily Times-News* (Burlington), October 12, 1948; May 6 & 24, 1950. *The Gastonia Gazette*, April 29, 1950. *The Landmark*, October 14, 1948. *North Carolina Manual 1951*.

¹⁹ *The Charlotte News*, January 23, March 1 & 13, 1950. *Life*, November 14, 1949. Matheseon, p 13. *Asheville Citizen*, November 7, 1950.

²⁰ *The Paducah Sun-Democrat*, September 12, 1950.

²¹ *The Morning Herald* (Hagerstown), July 5, 1950; March 22, 1951; March 4, 1959; August 1, 1961. *The Cumberland News*, March 28, 1951. *The Daily Mail*, March 2, 1955; July 6, 1966. *Maryland Manual 1951-52*.

for the open seat in 1946 while a college student. Both exceeded their showings from then, with only two rather than six candidates in the primary. The Republican candidate in November took a third of the vote and Morris did somewhat better in the general election than he had in 1946.²²

John Blatnik of Minnesota and Abraham Multer of Brooklyn among the northern Democrats, as in 1948, faced no primary opponents, while Harold Donohue and John Kennedy of Massachusetts had little problem. The last faced five primary opponents, the most successful of which took 9% of the vote. Kennedy was uncontested for the nomination in 1948, but that year his father commissioned a statewide poll ostensibly to determine how the Representative would do in a race for Governor. The Massachusetts Governor served two-year terms; so, there was another gubernatorial election in 1950. Perhaps opponents were drawn to the chance of an open seat if Kennedy made the attempt. On the other hand, four of the five were a collection of political unknowns. The fifth was in the 1946 primary scrum. Kennedy also had no problem in the general election, exceeding his 1946 showing by ten points.²³

Multer also experienced little difficulty with both the Democratic and Liberal party nominations.²⁴ He did have a Republican opponent unlike in 1948, now that the leadership of that party was no longer concerned about a potential American Laborite victory. Multer exceeded the Republican candidate's total by 37 points, with an American Laborite taking 9%.

Blatnik faced the incumbent he defeated in 1946. William Pittenger had tried for it in 1948 as well, but lost the Republican primary by a bare 460 votes. Blatnik ran a very pro-Truman campaign and improved his 1946 showing over Pittenger by five points. Donohue had the closest November contest of the four, but not very close at that, winning by 14 points and topping his 1946 showing by seven points.²⁵

Sixteen Republican members of the Class running for reelection had no primary opposition. Antoni Sadlak and James Patterson did not face a primary, Connecticut still using conventions, and both were nominated without opposition. Caleb Boggs of Delaware was also renominated by convention without opposition. The six from New York (Kingsland Macy, Frederic Coudert, Jacob Javits, Katherine St. George, Walter Riehlman, and Kenneth Keating), where designation by party committee usually preempted primary challengers, were thusly renominated. Edward Jenison of Illinois, Thruston Morton of Kentucky, Edward Miller of Maryland, Charles Potter of Michigan, William McCulloch of Ohio, and Glenn Davis of Wisconsin all came through primaries without opposition.²⁶

Keating indicated in June that he was unlikely to run for the House again or for any other office, but in July the die was cast, and no Republican opponent emerged. The reason given for his reluctance was personal, likely his wife's chronic illness.²⁷

²² *The Ada Weekly News*, February 2, 1950. Red Ivy stone, Waurika Cemetery, Oklahoma. *Miami Daily News-Record*, April 26, 1946. *Oklahoma Directory* 1951.

²³ *Minnesota Manual* (1951). Massachusetts Elections Statistics 1950. O'Brien, 229. *The Berkshire Evening Eagle*, March 24, 1950.

²⁴ *Brooklyn Eagle*, August 2, 1950.

²⁵ *Minnesota Manual* (1949). *The St. Cloud Daily Times*, September 8, 1950.

²⁶ *The Hartford Courant*, June 16, 1950. *Wilmington Morning News*, August 17, 1950. *The New York Times*, August 22, 1950. *Illinois Vote*, April 11, 1950. *Maryland Manual* 1951-52. *Detroit Free Press*, July 4, 1950. *Ohio Election Statistics* 1950. *Wisconsin Blue Book* 1952.

²⁷ *The Daily Messenger*, June 14 & 27, July 6, 1950.

The three Californians (John Allen, Ernest Bramblett, and Donald Jackson) faced only cross-filing Democrats for the Republican nomination and had no problem. Similarly, Russell Mack and Thor Tollefson in Washington's blanket primary saw only Democratic opponents.²⁸

Norris Cotton in New Hampshire barely broke a sweat defeating his primary opponent, Joseph Moore, a Lebanon attorney, for the third time, now with 90%. Ralph Harvey in Indiana had two Republican opponents but still won with 87% of the vote. Carroll Kearns, Paul Dague, and Hardie Scott easily were renominated in Pennsylvania. Wint Smith in Kansas and Donald Nicholson in Massachusetts were only a little more challenged.²⁹

Then there was Dayton Phillips of Tennessee. Carroll Reece, who gave up the seat in 1946 to chair the National Republican Committee and who ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 1948, reclaimed the First District in 1950. Phillips accused Reece of being a plutocrat, and Reece charged Phillips with being leftist, specifically of voting like Marcantonio. Both Phillips and the Republican incumbent in the Second District, who was being challenged by a Reece associate, alleged that the Reece organization controlled the Republican primary boards in each county and would thereby steal the vote. At the request of the incumbents the House Committee on Campaign Expenditures, a temporary body established in each election cycle, posted twenty observers in the districts to observe the vote. The Committee observed nothing "beyond minor irregularities" and rejected the complaints. The result was close, Reece winning by five points.³⁰

Phillips' defeat in the primary was predicted as so his likelihood of running in the general election as an independent, which he did. In a three-way race with a Democratic candidate, Phillips came in second, holding Reece to less than a majority, but trailing him by 18 points.

The other November loser among the Republican members of the Class was Macy. While Macy was Chair of Suffolk County Republicans, he was no friend of Republican Gov. Thomas Dewey. This came to a head in 1950 when Macy was likely at fault for the dissemination of a letter documenting Dewey's offering the Lieutenant Governor money and a State job if he made a thankless race for the US Senate. Dewey partisans within the First District were undoubtedly unamused. *Newsday*, a daily Long Island newspaper, would later take responsibility for Macy's defeat. Engaged in competition with weekly papers published by Macy, the managing editor of *Newsday* was said to have also managed the campaign of Ernest Greenwood, the Democratic-Liberal Party candidate for the House seat. The year before, Greenwood was a losing candidate on the Republican ticket for the Suffolk County Board of Supervisors. The first returns gave Macy a 33-vote victory, but a report three days later gave the win to Greenwood by 126 votes. Eventually the official canvas reported to the House showed a Greenwood win by 57 ballots.³¹

Macy challenged the results to the House, which on March 19, 1952, dismissed his complaint. Furthermore, the Suffolk County Republican Committee removed Macy as Chair in 1951. Dewey was reelected Governor in 1950. Lt. Gov. Joe Hanley did run for the Senate and predictably failed to dislodge

²⁸ *California Statement of Vote, June 6, 1950*. Washington Elections Results.

²⁹ *New Hampshire Manual 1951*. *The Kokomo Tribune*, the *Kokomo Dispatch*, May 23, 1950. *The Record-Argus*, May 17, 1950. *Pottstown Mercury*, May 17, 1950. *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, May 17, 1950. *Kansas Report 1949-1950*.

³⁰ *Kingsport News*, May 24, July 29, August 9, 1950. *Kingsport Times*, July 16 & 30, 1950. *Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle*, April 22, 1950. *The Knoxville Journal*, September 28, 1950. *The Jackson Sun*, January 3, 1951.

³¹ Richard Smith, 567-8. V.O. Key Jr wrote that the State Republican organization "disciplined" Macy "by defeating him in the general election. Key (1964), 570. Reprinted in *South Shore Press*, February 19, 2014. *The New York Times*, November 11, 1950.

Democrat Herbert Lehman. He did get his State job, with the Division of Veterans' Affairs.³² Greenwood would be the Democratic-Liberal candidate for reelection in 1952, losing badly. Macy was the only Republican House incumbent in the nation who lost to a Democrat in the 1950 election.

No incumbent Republican member of the Class of '46 was given a pass in the general election. Dague and McCulloch were tested the least, getting two-thirds of the November vote, with Potter and Keating of New York a smidgen behind. Dague's fall-off from his 1946 vote was 5.5 points; Keating's was five points. McCulloch and Potter were specially elected.

Cotton was challenged by a Democrat who was labeled a "novice." Cotton beat him by 29 points and was only 0.4 points off his 1946 showing.³³

Javits, St. George, and Riehlman, New York Republicans, each took 62% of the vote in November 1950. Javits received both the Republican and Liberal nods, while St. George and Riehlman did it on Republican votes alone. These two had Liberal opponents, and St. George and Javits also faced American Labor candidates. All three Democratic candidates were in the 33% to 37% range in the returns. The campaign appears to have been hottest in St. George's District, in large part because she tended to generate more heat than Javits or Riehlman. She recounted a vision of the results of the election, saying that if Democrats won, then the Soviets would withdraw the North Korean forces in return for the United States seating Communist China in the United Nations and allowing China to take Formosa. Also, that Gen. Douglas MacArthur would be replaced.³⁴ She was right about MacArthur. Javits' showing increased a huge 16 points over 1946 (4.2 points in Republican and 11.5 in Liberal ballots), and St. George's went up seven points. Riehlman, on the other hand, saw a slight decline, but a big increase over his 1948 share.

The last of the six New York Republicans, Coudert, received 53% against an American Laborite and the Democratic-Liberal candidate, a novice politician and attorney who was the chair of the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee. This was four points less than in 1946.³⁵

Smith in Kansas was attacked by Democrat Fritz Wasinger for his vote against Korean aid, as well as his opposition to the Marshall Plan. Smith embraced the term "isolationist" and, as with St. George, predicted the Truman Administration would recognize Communist China. He also alleged an effort by Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan to have the UN flag flown above the US flag on all public buildings. A particular issue in Kansas as well as other farming areas was opposition to the "Brannan Plan," which would do away with production restrictions on certain items of farm produce, with the government paying farmers the difference between the free market price of perishable products and a production cost based on farm income in the previous ten years. Consumers would get low prices, farmers would get high prices, and the taxpayer would pay the difference. Needless to say, this was anathema to most Republicans as well as to many Southern Democrats, since cotton was not an included product. The Plan was also opposed by almost all farmer organizations, which were controlled by large farming interests, as

³² *A History of the Committee on House Administration 1947-2012*, 118. *Kingston Daily Freeman*, February 20, 1951. *The New York Times*, March 15, 1951.

³³ *Nashua Telegraph*, November 6, 1950.

³⁴ *The Reporter Dispatch*, October 6 & 18, 1950. As a sidelight, it is worth noting that St. George's Democratic opponent, Harry Prince, made an issue of the building of the Tappan Zee Bridge. He was against it.

³⁵ *The Troy Record*, June 20, 1950. *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, October 20, 1950.

the Plan put a limit on payments per farm. The Brannan Plan was doomed, as was Wasinger. Smith took 60% and slightly increased his performance over 1946.³⁶

Tollefson in Washington also got 60% of the vote. John Coffee, the Democratic incumbent whom Tollefson ousted in 1946, returned to the fray, coming in second in the blanket primary to the Republican. Jack Duncan, the third-place finisher in the primary, a conservative Democrat next to the leftist Coffee, ran a series of ads against Coffee that were given wide circulation by the Republican Party in the general election campaign. The vote shift from 1946 was seven points toward Tollefson and seven points away from Coffee.³⁷

The other member of the Class from Washington, Mack, was challenged by Democrat Gordon Quarnstrom, an elected coroner. Quarnstrom ran a strong campaign, focusing on Mack's vote against Korean aid, and Mack ran against the Brannan Plan, but the major issue was which candidate got the endorsements of which labor unions, and whether they lied about it.³⁸ Mack was initially chosen in a special election. In 1950 he took only 53% of the vote.

Harvey in Indiana also pilloried the Brannan Plan and played aggressive defense on Korea, expanding accusations of Democratic bungling to both world wars as well as the current conflict and further accusing the Truman Administration of withdrawing military aid from Korea, which did not happen.³⁹ Harvey won safely with 59%. Like Mack, he was a special election product.

The California Republicans were re-elected with varying margins. Jackson of Los Angeles won easily over Esther Murray, an educator and principal with Hubert Humphrey in pushing through the civil rights plank at the 1948 Democratic National Convention. The Representative improved his 1946 showing by five points. Allen of Oakland won by a smaller but still comfortable margin over attorney Lyle Cook, his margin dropping a point from 1946. Bramblett of Pacific Grove had secured both the Republican and Democratic nominations in 1948. In 1950 he yielded the Democratic slot to Marion Walker, a rancher. Walker ran a Fair Deal campaign, but waffled on the Brannan Plan. Bramblett, like Harvey, laid three wars at the Democratic doorstep, due he said to "appeasement." A Bramblett newspaper ad accused Walker's campaign chair, Frederick Farr, of being in a communist front organization. Farr sued and after many judicial comings and goings would win a retraction and some damages five years later. But in 1950 Bramblett won the election and dropped only a point from 1946.⁴⁰

Glenn Davis's campaign to retain his seat from Wisconsin was discussed in the previous chapter. His win in the Korea-centric election was with 58%. His first election was special. Nicholson in Massachusetts also took 58%, and he also was the product of an initial special election.

Boggs had a Democratic opponent with a rare career as a trap-shooting professional. A "novice" candidate, Henry Winchester ran an active, Labor supported, Fair Deal oriented campaign, including attacking Boggs on his vote against Korean aid. Boggs' response on Korea was to accuse the Administration of a lack of preparedness. Equal rights was an issue, with Boggs stating his support for "fuller civil liberties for Negroes ...; especially those in the field of fair employment practices." Boggs, however, temporized,

³⁶ *The Kansas City Times*, August 1, 1950. *The Emporia Gazette*, October 20, 1950. Donovan (1982), 122-3. Matusow, 196-9.

³⁷ *The News-Review*, May 19, 1950. *The Daily Chronicle*, October 6, 1950.

³⁸ *The Daily Chronicle*, October 4 & 24 & 26 & 28, November 2 & 3 & 4 & 11, 1950.

³⁹ *Greenfield Daily Reporter*, August 28, 1950. *Rushville Republican*, November 2 & 3, 1950.

⁴⁰ *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, July 12, 1948; June 8, 1950. *Santa Ana Daily Evening Register*, April 29, 1932. *Santa Ynez Valley News*, February 3, April 7, May 26, 1950. *Santa Maria Times*, April 6, October 17, November 2, 1950. Farr interview, 9-16.

while Winchester advocated the repeal of segregation laws. Boggs won by 13 points and increased his 1946 showing slightly, by 0.3 points.⁴¹

Miller, also on the Delmarva Peninsula, received 57%, the same percentage as Boggs. His opponent, Thomas Johnson, was an attorney. A local and legislative Democratic power, it did him little good in the House election. Miller did six points better than in 1946.⁴²

Kearns of the Erie District also drew 57%. His opponent, Steve Filipkowski, was a grocer and ice cream plant operator. Kearns ran against the Truman Administration, who would let Communist China into the UN and fire Gen. MacArthur. Curiously, Erie County “was said to be fairly well flooded with printed forms urging voters to vote for” the Republican candidates for all offices except the House, endorsing Filipkowski. It was unclear whether this was a Democratic or Republican initiative. Whichever, Kearns dropped seven points from 1946 but still took a comfortable win.⁴³

The remaining Republican member of the Class from Philadelphia, Hardie Scott, continued to hang on, barely, to his seat. Maurice Osser repeated from 1948 as the Democratic candidate. The official margin was 931 votes, and Osser challenged the election in the House. On March 19, 1952, the challenge would be dismissed. Scott’s vote dropped 11 points from 1946, but unlike the three other Republicans elected to the Class from the City in that year, Scott did indeed hold on.⁴⁴

Morton from Louisville faced a Democratic mirror-image. Morton’s family, famous in flour in Louisville, was reflected by Alex Humphrey’s. The newspaper reported that Humphrey’s “whole family tree bristles with names prominent in Kentucky life.” The only issue he and Humphrey disagreed on was the McCarran Act, which Morton supported. Morton took 56%, a drop of three points from 1946.⁴⁵

The seeming congressional inactivity of Jenison did not seem to bother his constituents. Uncontested in three primaries, he defeated his 1950 Democratic opponent, Laurence Arnold with a safe 56%. Arnold served in the House from 1937 to 1943 and in the Illinois General Assembly for ten years. A small-town banker, he was predicted to give Jenison a close run.⁴⁶ He did not. Although Jenison did drop nine points from 1946, the constituency had been redistricted before 1948.

This leaves the two Connecticut Republicans. If Patterson’s opponent was not another novice, the incumbent might have fared worse than his seven-point margin. He even improved a tad over his 1946 showing. Sadlak, however, squeaked back into office, defeating Joseph Bogdanski in the statewide House seat by less than one point. Bogdanski was also a novice candidate although an appointed city judge. It may have helped that he was a football hero in New Britain and at Colgate University and had coached in New Haven. Sadlak’s showing fell five points from 1946.⁴⁷

Fourteen of the Class of ’46, who were ousted in 1948, tried to return to the House in the 1950 elections. Four succeeded.

Two of the fourteen were Democrats, the two who gave up the House in 1948 for failed attempts to be promoted to the Senate. Glen Johnson of Oklahoma ran badly against his successor, Thomas Steed in

⁴¹ *Wilmington Morning News*, September 8 & 9 & 22 & 29, October 3 & 18 & 21 & 23, November 3, 1950.

⁴² *The Easton Star-Democrat*, November 3, 1950. *The Baltimore Sun*, September 19, 1950.

⁴³ *Warren Times-Mirror*, March 31, 1950. *The Record-Argus*, September 29, October 24, November 6 & 8, 1950.

⁴⁴ *A History of the Committee on House Administration 1947-2012*, 118-9.

⁴⁵ *The Courier-Journal*, September 8, October 29, November 1, 1950.

⁴⁶ *Mount Vernon Register-News*, September 27, 1950. *The Decatur Herald*, November 6, 1950.

⁴⁷ *The Hartford Courant*, November 5, 1950.

the primary, being whipped by 40 points. Johnson's criticism of Truman during his Senate campaign may not have reverberated well in a Democratic primary.⁴⁸

Bryan Dorn also tried for the Senate in 1948 and supported Strom Thurmond for President. This was not a losing position in South Carolina. In 1950 he outpolled incumbent James Hare in the House primary, but with two other candidates in the race failed to take a majority. In the run-off he won by nine points. And, as they used to say in the State, that was tantamount to election, there being no opposition in November. In his autobiography Dorn would say there was no policy disagreement with Hare but damned the incumbent as "the kind of man who asked you to call him James, not Jim."⁴⁹

The two Republican members of the Class who were ousted in Connecticut in 1948 were renominated by convention and made another try. Horace Seely-Brown won and Ellsworth Foote lost. Democrat John McGuire, who beat Foote in 1948 staved him off by four points in 1950. Seely-Brown took his seat from Chase Woodhouse in 1946 and did so again in 1950. The District continued to choose Republicans in off years. This was a narrow 2,000 vote victory, but it still made Seely-Brown the only Republican in New England to defeat a member of Congress in that year. His drop from 1946 was 4.5 points. Foote's was 11 points.

Charles Kersten of Milwaukee also beat the Democratic incumbent, Andrew Biemiller, whom he had replaced in 1946. Sen. Joseph McCarthy, on his own turf, was an issue, particularly given Biemiller's opposition to the McCarran Act and the Senator's endorsement of Kersten in the primary. The issue getting the most press, however, was Truman's proposal for compulsory health insurance within the Social Security system. Tarred as "socialized medicine" and roundly opposed by the medical establishment, it was pitched by Biemiller and condemned by Kersten. Kersten's victory was two points off his 1946 showing.⁵⁰

The other Milwaukee district was less congenial to the Republican member of the Class who lost it in 1948. John Brophy won the 1946 primary with 24% and the 1946 general election with 36.5%, and lost the 1948 general election to Clement Zablocki with 39.5%. Yet he won renomination in both 1948 and 1950 with safe margins. That may have been because Republicans abandoned the District as hopeless. It was so indeed in 1950, as Brophy took only 39% in November, which still exceeded his 1946 showing.

The remaining success story of the redeemed is Richard Vail. Greatly redistricted, in 1948 he lost his seat along with the other surviving Chicago Republican of the Class, Robert Twyman. Vail returned in 1950 to unseat Barratt O'Hara, who had discommoded him. Vail was part of an effort that held a "grass roots conference" in July 1949 in Chicago to oppose what they saw as the "me-tooism" of the national Republican leadership with regard to the New and Fair deals. Looking forward to the nomination of Dwight Eisenhower as the Republican candidate for president in 1952, we might note that this movement, which produced something called the Republican Roundup Committee, did not succeed. Vail, however, did take this philosophy into the primary and with organizational backing handily defeating two other candidates. One, Bernard Epton, sued Vail and his campaign manager over claims he was financed by Eisenhower

⁴⁸ *The Lawton Constitution*, April 6, June 20, 1948. *Miami Daily News-Record*, April 6, 1948. *The Evening News*, July 7, 1948.

⁴⁹ Dorn and Derks, 107, 118.

⁵⁰ *The Janesville Daily Gazette*, June 17, 1950. *The Capital Times*, June 19 & 28, September 1, 1950. *Winona Republican and Herald*, September 11, 1950. *The Decatur Herald*, May 16, 1950. *The Rhinelander Daily News and the New North*, September 6, November 3, 1950. *The Sheboygan Press*, October 3 & 4, 1950.

money, and Epton was the subject of an anti-Semitic tract by Vail supporters. Vail had been a member on HUAC and brought that ethos to the general election campaign. He won with 54% of the vote.⁵¹

Twyman announced in November 1949 that he would not run again, saying he could not take more time away from his business. Then, two months later he threw his hat in the ring. Five days after that he had second second thoughts and withdrew, apparently never to run for public office again. Sidney Yates, who retired Twyman in 1948, held on to the District for the Democrats.⁵²

Another big city couple of Republican classmates who found themselves terminated in 1948 did run again in 1950, though not joined by their third musketeer. The Queens Republican Committee redesignated Gregory McMahon and Robert Tripp Ross but passed on Robert Nodar.⁵³ The skip was, perhaps, just as well, as McMahon and Ross lost to the incumbents, and Democrat James Delaney held on to the old Nodar seat by a healthy margin. Ross lost by seven points and dropped 12 points from his 1946 showing. Gary Clemente, however, edged out McMahon by only three points. Still, the Republican was 9.5 points below his 1946 share.

The West Virginia classmates, Melvin Snyder and Francis Love, also tried again. Both faced off less conservative opponents in their primaries and then came up against the incumbents who retired them in 1948. Love, in particular, established rightist positions in a speech in October 1949, opposing “bi-partisan foreign policies,” “socialized medicine,” price controls, “excessive” foreign aid programs, and public power, and supporting a 20% cut in the Federal budget and old age pensions for “worthy people.” Both he and Snyder did support modifications to the Taft-Hartley Act. In November both fell six points from their 1946 returns.⁵⁴

Parke Banta in Missouri also presented himself to the voters again in 1950, losing to Albert Carnahan, his 1948 opponent, by nine points, a six-point falloff from 1946.

Of the four Classmates from Philadelphia, Hardie Scott survived the 1948 purge and the 1950 contest as well. Robert McGarvey remained active in the Republican organization, but would not contest an election again. George Sarbacher made it to the general election to be beaten by incumbent Democrat William Green by 11 points, a 12-point falloff from 1946. Franklin Maloney, recovered from his heart attack, ran for his old seat but lost in the primary by a good margin to Theodore Spaulding. Spaulding was a black attorney, a member of the central board of the NAACP, and supported by the “progressive” faction of the State Party headed by Gov. James Duff. Maloney was backed by the “conservative” faction of former Sen. Joseph Grundy. Spaulding failed in the general election.⁵⁵

Finally, Harold Youngblood of Detroit attempted to reclaim his House seat but came in second in a six-person primary to Richard Durant, 32, an investment counselor endorsed by the Detroit Civic League. One

⁵¹ *Waukesha Daily Freeman*, July 26, 1949. *The Kokomo Tribune*, *the Kokomo Dispatch*, July 28, 1949. *Mexico Weekly Ledger*, July 8, 1952. The struggle between the Sen. Robert Taft of Ohio and Gov. Thomas Dewey of New York wings of the Republican Party resulted in competing efforts to define Republican principles. A Philadelphia assemblage produced what it called “a positive” program as a counterpoint to the Chicago effort. See Key (1964), 563-4. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 19, April 2 & 7, September 7, October 22, 1950. Bernard Epton, the target of the tract and the initiator of the suit, would in 1983 barely lose a race for Chicago mayor, while supported as the Republican candidate by the bulk of the Democratic machine against black Democrat Harold Washington. Granger and Granger, 212-3.

⁵² *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 3, 1949; January 16 & 21, 1950.

⁵³ *Daily News* (New York), May 24, 1950.

⁵⁴ *Sunday Gazette-Mail*, July 24, 1960. *The Charleston Daily Mail*, March 7, 1964. *The Post-Herald*, November 1, 1949. *Cumberland Sunday Times*, October 15, 1950.

⁵⁵ *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, May 21, 1950. *The New York Times*, May 17, 1950.

of the candidates, a grandmother by the name of Gertrude Clark, 56, was convicted of assault and battery just before the primary. She finished fifth with 1830 votes.⁵⁶ Durant lost the ensuing election. Howard Coffin, who was elected from Detroit with Youngblood in 1946 and deposed in 1948, did not run in 1950.

The midterm election of 1950 was not a repudiation of the Truman Administration or, at least, no more so than the normal midterm election was of any incumbent administration. Comparing the 1946 returns and those of 1950 for the members of the Class of '46, the 32 Republicans lost an average of 3.6 points from their earlier showing. Meanwhile, the 26 Democrats gained an average of 6.7 points. An average gain was true for each of the geographic groupings of Democrats: Southern, Border, and Northern.⁵⁷ Ten Republicans did experience a gain between the two elections while 22 experienced losses. Five Democrats had a loss, five had no change (because there was no competition in either election), and 16 had a gain.

The Class emerged from the election with 31 Democrats and 30 Republicans headed to the 82nd Congress. Of the Democrats, 22 were Southerners, the one-party system therein being the reason that Democrats now outnumbered Republicans.

Three election cycles in, the Class of '46 lost two to death, three to retirement, and seven to senatorial and gubernatorial races (three of them successful, and one of the unsuccessful ones returned to the House). Six were defeated for renomination (and one of those for election as an independent as well) and 35 in the general election (three returning). Eight departed the House in 1950. Of the 41 who left earlier through defeat (including the losing senatorial aspirants), only 14 attempted a return to the House in 1950. Two others made Senate (unsuccessful – Republican Abe Goff in Idaho) and governor runs (successful – Republican Charles Russell in Nevada). Four of the 14 recaptured their House seats.

The questions occur: What happened to the other 23? Did their loss of the House seat drain them of their politically competitive urge?

Three of the Republicans defeated in 1948 who did not run again in 1950 for their seats would eventually return to the House.

Two apparently came close to running for the House again in 1950. Robert Twyman we have already discussed. The 65 year old Willis Bradley of California flirted with running in 1950. His public statements went forward and backward for nearly six months before he endorsed a successor. In the interim he said he was “under a great deal of pressure” to run but that his “doctors have informed me that I must not go into another political campaign.”⁵⁸

Leo Isacson, the lone American Laborite in the Class, served only a brief ten months as a member of the House between his special election upset win and his supposedly inevitable defeat. The Korean War imposed a barrier between Isacson and the American Labor Party. He strongly supported the United Nations, and by extension the United States, fight to throw back the North Korean invasion. Discussions within the Party of Isacson running for governor of New York in 1950 foundered on the Party's opposition to this war. In this respect, Isacson continued his congruence with Henry Wallace, who broke with his

⁵⁶ *Detroit Free Press*, May 7, September 3 & 10, 1950. *Michigan Manual* (1951-52).

⁵⁷ Obviously, candidates who did not run in both 1946 (this would be those chosen for the 80th Congress in special elections) and 1950 would not be included. Also excluded is Phillips of Tennessee, who did not receive the Republican nomination in 1950 and ran as an independent, and Jenison and Vail of Illinois whose districts were altered between the two elections.

⁵⁸ *Long Beach Independent*, October 6, November 27, December 17, 1949; January 1, February 22, March 28, 1950.

Progressive Party over its opposition to the Korean War. In the interim, Isacson was the ALP candidate for Bronx borough president in 1949, getting only 17% of the vote. He resumed his law practice, and in 1968 he would be a Eugene McCarthy delegate to the National Democratic Convention.⁵⁹

Five would throw their hats in the rings for offices other than the House, but less eagerly than Isacson:

E.A. Mitchell seems to have begun his political activity with his run for the House at age 35 on discharge from the Navy. He had a business to run after his defeat but also became chair of the Vanderburgh County Republican Party. Then in 1952 he would be defeated for the chair by one Ervin Taylor. Still, Mitchell would remain active in the Party and seek its nomination for the Indiana Treasurer position in 1964 but would come in last of five in the State Convention voting.⁶⁰

Howes Meade of Kentucky claimed to be a novice politico in 1946 but was active before the War. In 1950 he floated a run for the US Senate but did not attempt it. The next year, however, he would try for the Republican nomination for governor, losing by 17 points. He would be active in “booming” Eisenhower for the presidential nomination in 1952 and would be rewarded with a Federal appointment. In 1954 he would make a disastrous try for the Republican nomination for the House.⁶¹

David Potts’ political career before the House was little extensive. Not designated by the Bronx Republican Party to run in 1950 and denied a City appointment after protests by the Liberal Party and the NAACP, Potts stayed with his law practice until given a State appointment in 1951. In 1954 he would run for an elective judgeship, but fail.⁶²

A 1948 primary loser from Pennsylvania in the Class, James Scoblick, would not shrink from another electoral campaign. He would run for the nomination for the US Senate against incumbent Republican Edward Martin in 1952 and come in a very distant third. Two years later he would be sent to prison for fraud.⁶³

Homer Jones, a career politician, was discommoded by losing the House seat but quickly obtained a State appointment as superintendent of the Washington Veterans’ Home. After four years in that position, he would be appointed an assistant State treasurer. In 1956 in his fifth run for State Treasurer he would be again defeated. It would be his last run for elective office. At age 63 he would become a real estate salesman.

Nine remained politically active but eschewing candidacy:

Charles Fletcher was only 47 at his defeat in 1948 but soon spent a few weeks in Bethesda Naval Hospital for treatment of a reported intestinal ulcer. On returning to California he picked up his many business interests. Over the following years he would remain politically active but appears to have never sought public office again. In the House he was a favorite whipping boy of muckraker Drew Pearson, who complained he was of the “real estate lobby;” perhaps Fletcher experienced enough of a sort of fame in national office.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ *Brooklyn Eagle*, August 3, 1950. *Ames Daily Tribune*, August 9, 1950. Stone, 219.

⁶⁰ *The Indianapolis Star*, May 11, 1952; December 13, 1979. *The Daily Journal* (Franklin), June 10, 1964.

⁶¹ *Congressional Record*, July 2, 1947, 8152. *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 13, 1950. *The Courier-Journal*, May 14, 1951; January 6, 1952. OurCampaigns.com. *Danville Advocate-Messenger*, November 8, 1953.

⁶² *The New York Age*, May 20, 1950.

⁶³ *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 5, 1952. *United States of America v. James Paul Scoblick, Frank Scoblick, and Scoblick Bros., Inc.* *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 225 F.2d 779, December 3, 1954.

⁶⁴ *The Bakersfield Californian*, December 1, 1948. *The Chula Vista Star*, September 21, 1950. *San Mateo Times and Daily News-Leader*, April 27, 1956. *Chula Vista Star-News*, September 20, 1956; August 30, 1962. *Humboldt Standard*, February 4, 1964. *Redlands Daily Facts*, May 4, 1964. *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, August 2, 1964.

Howard Coffin had a lengthy resume of national defense and local political involvement. On defeat in 1948 he was 71 and did not attempt a return to the House but would rather set up as a DC lobbyist, which he would pursue for five years.⁶⁵

George MacKinnon would throw himself into the effort by former Minnesota Gov. Harold Stassen to secure the Republican presidential nomination in 1952. This would morph into Stassen's support for Dwight Eisenhower, whose election as President that year would lead to MacKinnon's appointment as the Federal attorney for Minnesota.⁶⁶

Minnesota twin Edward Devitt's pre-War life was spent partly on the bench and he returned after defeat with an appointment by the State's Governor.

Philadelphian Robert McGarvey returned to his investment brokerage. His two House runs were his first and last campaigns for electoral office. He was 64 at his loss and would die less than three years later.⁶⁷

Wallace Chadwick's bitter primary loss sealed his political future in Delaware County and in Pennsylvania. The War Board incumbent in the House defeated the independent Republican challenger in the 1950 primary four-to-one. A Federal judgeship for Chadwick did not materialize, but he would serve in limited Federal positions on appointments by a Utah Senator and by Eisenhower's Secretary of State.⁶⁸

William Crow of Pennsylvania had lost an early run for the General Assembly, had served as Mayor, had won a term in the House and lost, and now focused on his law practice until scoring a Federal appointment in the Eisenhower Administration in 1957. In the meantime, his successor as the Republican nominee in the Twenty-Third Congressional District defeated Anthony Cavalcante, who displaced Crow. But Edward Sittler's House career would be brief, too; he would be ousted partly as a result of redistricting in 1952.

The two Democrats in the Class who lost their House primaries in 1948 subsequently sat out electoral contests for themselves, but accepted Federal appointments, an opportunity unavailable to the Republicans with Truman in the White House. Georgia Lusk of New Mexico served on the War Claims Commission until illegally fired by Pres. Eisenhower. Preston Peden of Oklahoma, after a brief House staff position, became the Alaskan regional counsel for the Bureau of Land Management but soon returned to staffing on Capitol Hill.⁶⁹

The remaining three would leave little in the way of political tracks behind:

Albert Reeves Jr.'s entire political career was largely encapsulated in his 1946 victory, one-term service, and 1948 defeat, a career enabled by his father's local notoriety and Pres. Truman's figurative defenestration of the incumbent Democrat. He returned to the law, and his career would displace him ten years later from Kansas City to San Francisco.⁷⁰

Independent-Press-Telegram, February 25, 1968. Drew Pearson, May 12, July 28, 1947; April 29, October 25 & 30, 1948.

⁶⁵ *The Washington Post*, April 15 & 23 & 24, 1916. *The Ludington Daily News*, October 19, 1932. *The Wakefield News*, September 9, 1933.

⁶⁶ "Biographical Note," MacKinnon Papers. *CQWR*, October 17, 1958, 1324. MacKinnon, 4, 8.

⁶⁷ *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, June 29, 1952.

⁶⁸ *Chester Times*, May 2 & 17, 1950.

⁶⁹ *Albuquerque Journal*, March 22, 1953; July 2, 1958. *El Paso Herald-Post*, March 31, 1954.

⁷⁰ *The Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1987.

Raymond Burke of Ohio turned 67 two days after his 1948 loss, which apparently ended a long political career of City and State service. He would continue in the insurance business until his death.⁷¹

Frederick Muhlenberg's absence from the 1950 race may owe something to the fact that he "deviated from the Republican caucus as much as any member of the Pennsylvania Republican delegation except one." Fellow Classmate Chadwick called him "a liberal in my book." He was replaced on the ticket by a man 19 years his junior who ran a hard red-baiting losing campaign. Muhlenberg, who had been active in partisan politics, seemed to shift to civic involvement.⁷²

Now after three election cycles, why did 61 members of the Class survive the gauntlet and 37 fail?⁷³

Republicans were 33 of the failures. Let us propose an obvious hypothesis – that the history of the district was determining. Those elected from historically Republican districts would survive and those from historically Democratic districts would fail. Districts would be identified by their choice of representative in the previous two elections, 1942 and 1944. We will not go any further back in time because we will reduce our N, our number of districts, due to redistricting after the 1940 census. Thus, we will have RR districts that voted Republican in both previous elections, RD, DR, and DD districts. We would expect the success rate of Republican members to decrease from RR to RD to DR to DD. Why more successes in RD than DR? Because Republicans tend to overperform in off-year elections, 1942 in this case, and Democrats in presidential elections, 1944. DR districts that reverse the historical experience would be outliers.

The numbers are as follows, excluding complicated cases, those in which a 1948 defeat was followed by a 1950 win, defeat was in the primary, or there was redistricting between 1946 and 1948.

	Survived		Failed	Total
RR	10	91%	1	11
RD	4	33%	8	12
DR	0		0	0
DD	6	30%	14	20

The following are cases from districts that were tardily redistricted, that is, between 1942 and 1944:

?R	3	75%	1	4
?D	2	29%	5	7

First of all, we need not have worried about the outlier DR districts. There were none.

Secondly, those elected from the most Republican districts (RR) had by far the highest survival rate, a case of proving the obvious.

Thirdly, those elected from the most Democratic districts (DD) had a survival rate equal, given the small Ns, to those from swing districts (RD).

Fourthly, can we explain the exceptions: the one from RR who failed, the six from DD who succeeded, the lack of differences between RD and DD, and overall why some survived and some failed?

⁷¹ *Evening Journal-Tribune*, August 19, 1954.

⁷² *The Morning Call*, October 10, 1947. *Chester Times*, November 25, 1948. Bertolet. *The Kutztown Patriot*, October 30, 1952.

⁷³ The other eleven died or voluntarily left the House.

The member who failed from an RR district was Mitchell of Indiana. While his District elected a Republican in 1942 and 1944, that Republican succeeded a Democrat who had held the seat since 1930. True, there was a redistricting in 1942, but it was rather minor. The Democrat who defeated Mitchell was himself ousted in 1952, but returned in 1954 and served until losing in 1966, when the District was substantially redistricted. The 1952 result was part of a Republican wave that helped ride Dwight Eisenhower into the presidency. The Republican elected in 1942 and 1944 was an unusual Republican, becoming director of the quite liberal Americans for Democratic Action in 1949. Mitchell's 1946 win looks like a classic Republican wave fluke.

The six who survived from DD districts include Allen, Bramblett, and Jackson of California, Morton of Kentucky, Tollefson of Washington and Miller of Maryland.

California's usual Republicanism was interrupted by the Great Depression and Franklin Roosevelt. It began to swing back after the War, confirmed by Dwight Eisenhower, until the 1960s saw a new Democratic dominance established. Democrat John Tolan had held Allen's seat since 1934. Allen would stay in until 1958, when a Democrat replaced him until 1970. Bramblett replaced a Democrat, who was in only since 1942, but before that the borders of the District were quite different. Bramblett would be replaced by a Republican who stayed in through a big district change in 1962. Although Jackson was preceded by two Democrats in 1942 and 1944, they followed a Republican, who had held the seat in a somewhat geographically larger district since 1938. Jackson would remain until 1960. Allen's District followed the overall California pattern while Bramblett's and Jackson's were redistricted enough to make conclusions about underlying partisanship questionable.

Morton's District did not change over a lengthy period. His Democratic predecessor had held the District since 1935, and Morton would be replaced by a Republican who stayed in until 1958. This was equivalent to the California pattern and speaks to the prevalence of national swings in voter preference.

The same could be said of Tollefson's District. His two Democratic predecessors were in office seriatim since 1932, and Tollefson remained until replacement by a Democrat in 1964.

Miller's District showed a more pronounced shift, as he replaced Democrats who were in place since 1921; except, that Miller would be ousted by a Democrat in 1958. Miller's accomplishment in taking the seat in 1946 looks more substantial than that of the other five members, but he still seems to have foundered on national currents in 1958.

These speculations do not adequately explain why these six were more successful than the other fourteen from the DD districts. The Six were only slightly more successful in 1946 than the Fourteen, exceeding the latter in voting percentage by one point on average. This was true of their districts in 1944 as well. On 1942 the difference had flipped - the Fourteen districts were on average one point more Republican than the Six or, more accurately the five, since cross-filing eliminated a Republican candidate in a California district. Before 1942, redistricting reduces the comparability of the arithmetic means. Looking just at the 1942 and 1944 votes, five of the Fourteen losers had higher Republican averages than any of the Six winners (one of the California districts again just including the 1944 figure). Why did these fail in 1948?

In 1948 the Six were, by definition, more successful than the Fourteen, but the average difference of 15 points is remarkably substantial. In 1950 the difference was 11 points, but in the case of the Fourteen, only two of the Republican candidates were members of the Class. Redistricting causes a diminishment of comparability of means after 1950.

Aggregate numbers do not take us far toward an explanation.

What about the twelve members from the swing districts, the RD districts? Can we explain why four held on through 1950 and eight did not?

As with the DD districts there was little difference in the average Republican percentages in 1942 and 1944 between the successful Four and the failing Eight – two points more Republican for the Four in 1944 and one point in 1942. The Four were three points ahead of the Eight in 1946, when they all won. This, at least, is consistent in that the Four districts were consistently the most Republican and a narrow margin can be a winner.

This table gives the average Republican percentage in the four categories of districts for five elections:

Average Republican percentage						
Rep. candidate	Districts	1942	1944	1946	1948	1950
DD successful	6	43.8	43.8	54.4	58.3	56.6
DD failures	14	44.9	42.4	53.2	43.4	45.7
RD successful	4	54.9	48.7	56.6	50.9	56.5
RD failures	8	54.1	46.8	53.4	43.1	44.5

The RD districts swing with the alternation of presidential and off-year elections, being more Republican in the latter. The divergence in Republican vote after 1946 between the successful Four and the failing Eight is not reflected in abandonment of the swinging alternation; however, the divergence is substantial.

The DD districts do not show the same pattern of swing. The eventually successful Six had no swing between 1942 and 1944 and the other Fourteen had very little. But in 1946 there was a big swing to the Republican, more so than in the RD districts, and the Six had a reverse movement in 1948, being more Republican in the presidential year than they were in 1946. They were then a little less Republican in the 1950 off-year. In effect the successful DD districts had two plateaus, rather than swings, one in 1942 and 1944 and another in 1946, 1948, and 1950. The failing DD districts also had little swing, with a plateau in 1942 and 1944 and another in 1948 and 1950, with nearly the same level of Republicanism in both plateaus. In between there was a large swing in 1946 to Republican voting.

On the bases of these percentages, there is a distinct difference in voting patterns between RD districts and DD districts, with the former being swing districts, and the latter much more independent from presidential candidates and the vagaries of voting turnouts in presidential elections. In other words, DD districts are not DD or not just DD because Republican percentages are so low that presidential swings do not lift them into competitiveness. They just do not swing, or do so more rarely. Clearly, they swung big in 1946 and then some of them, the Six, stayed stuck at a higher Republican vote level.

For some of the RD swing districts, the Four, there was also an increased Republican percentage after 1946 even though they continued to swing. They were not exactly stuck like the Six, but they shared with them a shift in voting behavior.

We cannot find evidence of the difference between the Six and Four on one side and the Fourteen and the Eight on the other due to demographic differences. There is almost no difference in average metropolitan percentage and agricultural employment percentage. The difference appears to be personal and/or organizational. The candidates and/or the campaign organizations determined the success of the Republican members of the Class or the lack thereof.

Democrats are a simpler case. Only three were defeated by 1950, all three in primaries. Only three were elected from Republican districts, two surviving, the other having run for the Senate.

We are left with the idiosyncrasy of election contests, with the variability of candidates and campaigns and the fact that most elections are local.

Clearly, the 1950 returns were not the disaster for the Democratic Party that 1946 was, but it was a disaster for the President's program. Six days before the election Truman barely missed assassination when two Puerto Rican nationalists attempted to shoot their way into the Blair House, where the Trumans were living while the White House was renovated. One of the Puerto Ricans was killed as was a White House policeman. At the end of the week, Truman, hearing the election returns, became drunk, the only time on record.⁷⁴

There were nine members of the Class of '46 who permanently left the House with the 1950 election.

John Carroll was very active on the floor, appearing 235 times, in part because he was an objector. He was active in debates of the Natural Gas Act, military reserves and the draft, reclamation, foreign aid, subversion, basing points, and fair employment practices. Three of his nine floor amendments succeeded – two on basing points and one on military pay. Six of his 18 private bills were enacted, but none of his 13 public or his five resolutions. On key votes he was with Democrats 67 times (34 with only Northerners), none with Republicans, and contrarily opposing the Woods anti-subversion bill. Carroll's voting behavior was the least Republican in the Class and he and Multer were the most thorough Northern Democrats. He missed two votes. On rated voting, as befits "the great white hope of the liberal-labor folks," he tied as the most liberal of the Class.

Franklin Lichtenwalter, not wanting to be in the House to begin with, was relatively inactive. He spoke only 21 times on the floor, including moving one amendment, which was successful and dealt only with a private matter. He introduced no public bills or resolutions but did see one of his four private bills enacted. He voted 46 times with Republicans, four times with Democrats (once with only Northerners and once with only Southerners), and missed three key votes. His rated voting was in the center of the Class's Republicans.

John Davis Lodge, accustomed to public speaking, did so 143 times. He moved eight amendments on the floor and four were adopted, covering war reparations, UN participations, and Labor twice. He was concerned with the State Department information service and foreign aid, particularly that for Greece and even more so for Italy – in fact, for all things Italian. None of his 10 public and 22 private bills and 14 resolutions were enacted. He voted 50 times with Republicans and 19 times with Democrats (ten with only Northerners), and missed one vote. He was very much to the left of the center of the Republicans.

Kingsland Macy was probably more interested in his Long Island bailiwick than the nation. He spoke 26 times, most to complain about commodity speculation in the Truman Administration, which was the subject of the four resolutions of his twelve that were enacted. Two private bills of four became law, but neither of his two public bills did. He voted with Republicans 54 times and Democrats twice (once with Northerners and once with Southerners). He opposed the draft and missed 13 votes. His rated voting was much on the conservative side of the Republican center.

Herbert Meyer was concerned about the oil industry, in which he had labored. One of his two private bills was enacted, but none of his six public or his three resolutions. He moved no floor amendments and spoke only 15 times. He voted with Republicans 66 times, Democrats once, and opposed aid to Greece

⁷⁴ The second Puerto Rican was sentenced to death, but, his sentence commuted to life by Truman, he was pardoned in 1979 by Pres. Jimmy Carter. McCullough, 809-12. Donovan (1982), 297-8.

and Turkey, the State Department information system, and Interim Foreign Aid. His rated voting was quite conservative.

Richard Nixon made his name in battling subversion, which was the subject of his one successful resolution of nine, and all five of his floor amendments, all adopted. He spoke on the floor 69 times. Seven of his 30 private bills were enacted and two of his 20 public, one addressing absentee voting and the other of local interest. He voted 56 times with Republicans, six with Democrats (two only with Northerners and once only with Southerners), and missed eight votes. His rated voting was in the center of the Republican Class.

Dayton Phillips enacted three public laws of 17 attempts, dealing with veterans, the blind, and one local. One private bill of three was enacted. He moved one floor amendment unsuccessfully. His floor participation was low, 34 events. He showed a certain level of concern with Greece. He voted with Republicans 43 times, Democrats twelve (ten with Northerners only), and missed 11 votes. He opposed aid to Greece and Turkey, the State Department information system, Interim Foreign Aid, and the draft. His rated voting was to the left of the Republican center.

John Sanborn was quite the contrary voter, opposing aid to Greece and Turkey, the State Department information system, Interim Foreign Aid, the Marshall Plan, the oleo tax repeal, the draft, and the minimum wage increase. His primary concern was opposition to the proposed Columbia Valley Authority. He spoke only 11 times and his two resolutions and fourteen private bills failed, but five of his 26 public bills were enacted. Four were of local interest and one addressed homesteaders. He voted 57 times with Republicans, four times with Democrats (once with only Southerners), and missed two votes. He was quite conservative.

George Smathers was concerned with the draft, spending cuts, and housing. He was active, introducing 49 public bills, 16 private bills (two enacted), ten resolutions (one on Latin America successful), and three floor amendments. He spoke 91 times. He voted with Democrats 44 times (16 with Northerners only and once with Southerners) and Republicans 14 times, and missed 12 votes. His rated voting was third most liberal of Southern Democrats.