

Chapter 17 – Eisenhower Landslide: The 1952 Election

Republican Speaker Joseph Martin would write in his autobiography that the Republican defeat in 1948 “was more than a calamity for the Republican Party, which ... seemed dangerously close to losing its own existence. It was a calamity also for the political stability of the United States. ... Instead of two healthy parties, we had one party bloated with a too-long tenure and another party reduced to dark frustration.”¹

Four years later after another election, the frustration ended. Martin, again:

The party had been borne to power on strength contributed by every section of the national life. ... Millions of Democrats had deserted their own ticket to vote for Eisenhower. Though defeat had not reduced the Democratic Party to anything like the wreckage of the Republican Party in the mid-Thirties, it had nevertheless left the Democrats routed and practically leaderless. ... The reversal of fortunes of the two parties ... placed the new administration in a position to begin building the Republican organization up to a point where the Republican Party would be the dominant party in the United States for the next generation....²

Gen. Dwight Eisenhower won by a landslide. His popular vote exceeded Thomas Dewey’s 1948 total by 54%. The vote for Democratic presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson was greater than Harry Truman’s too, but by only 13%. Stevenson received about the same number of popular votes as Franklin Roosevelt had in 1944, while no one had come close to Eisenhower’s total before. Eisenhower won 442 electoral votes to Stevenson’s 89 and took four former Confederate states, losing only Kentucky and West Virginia outside of the Confederate South.

Republicans also picked up four House seats in the South, 3 in Virginia and 1 in North Carolina to add to the two in Tennessee. Despite the Democratic Party leadership’s wholesale defection to Eisenhower in Texas, those House seats remained totally Democratic. The Republican Party netted a gain of 14 seats in the House over the previous election’s results, enough to become the majority party, as they did in the Senate, but it was a bare win, just eight seats more than the Democrats held. The landslide for Eisenhower was indeed a personal victory more than a Party victory, though the fact that 100 of the Democratic seats out of 213 were from the South meant that on many issues the Republican victory in the House was more than sufficient from a policy perspective.³

The personal aspect of Eisenhower’s victory was reflected in the fact that four incumbent Republicans of the Class of ’46 were defeated in the general election despite the Republican presidential victory. One Democrat lost, also. Another Democrat was denied renomination. But one Republican in the Class who lost his seat in 1948 was elected anew to the House. Apart from the Eisenhower wave and the pungent dissatisfaction with Truman, whose poll approval dropped to 23% in December 1951, the decennial census led to a reallocation of House seats and redistricting in many states, which played a role in the election prospects of incumbents.⁴

Except for the Illinois contingent, redistricting was a novel experience for Class members. In the 173 years of American history before *Baker v. Carr*, in which a majority of the Supreme Court in 1962 would

¹ Martin as told to Donovan, 197-8.

² Martin as told to Donovan, 221-2.

³ One independent, Frazier Reams, won a seat in Ohio over the Republican and Democratic candidates. He had been a Democratic office holder but voted “present” in the choice of speaker.

⁴ McCullough, 873.

overturn precedent and hold that legislative redistricting was judiciable, legislatures were not constrained by Federal law in how they divided up their states for congressional districts. Thus, the reapportionment of House seats among the states precipitated by the 1950 census and the subsequent redistricting was quite limited in impact, but where it happened its effect was occasionally significant. Of the 30 states in which members of the Class of '46 faced voters in 1952, 14 redistricted, all but one of whom did so by necessity given a change in the number of House seats apportioned to them. The one exception was West Virginia, whose Legislature passed a token redistricting law "to stall a movement for complete redistricting;" one county was transferred between districts.⁵ One other qualification must be made. Texas and Washington did not redistrict despite being allocated an additional House seat. They simply elected the new seat at large.

Fifteen of the Class members contesting House races in 1952 were affected by redistricting; this out of 64 individuals. Before the redistricting, Democrat Edward Garmatz represented 195,213 Marylanders according to the 1950 census, and Antoni Sadlak of Connecticut counted 2,007,280 constituents as he was elected At-large.⁶ By the standards of *Wesberry v. Carr*, in which the Supreme Court in 1964 would apply the jurisdiction it had granted itself in *Baker v. Carr* to the issue of congressional districting, the vote of one of Garmatz's constituents was worth more than ten times as much as that of one of Sadlak's. On the other hand, the Constitution of the United States defined allocation of representation in the House by state, and thus such comparisons were valid only within each state. Still, James Patterson's 273,584 Connecticut constituents were but a fraction of Sadlak's in the same State.

Without the Court decisions of the next decade, redistricting in 1951 did not change the numerical misrepresentation appreciably. Sadlak's District remained At-large. Redistricting increased Garmatz's numbers to 298,598, but fellow Marylander Edward Miller then had the smallest district of the Class by population at 210,623. Although there was an ethic of equal representation – of one person, one vote – derived from the Constitutional requirement of proportion by population, and sometimes more explicitly prescribed in state constitutions, legislatures usually erred on the side of other considerations in drawing districts, such as commonality of community and, most importantly, political considerations. These latter attentions were those of either ridding the state of a representative of whom the legislative majority disapproved or protection of whom the majority favored. While personality played a role, the censure-endorsement balance more often was a partisan or seniority determinant.⁷

The first event of the 1952 campaign season for the class was the Illinois primary of April 8. Richard Vail's District had been reduced by 45% in 1947 when Illinois redistricted to integrate its at-large representative, but he experienced no change in district in 1951, though the State lost a House seat as a result of the 1950 census. Vail was defeated in 1948, returned to the House by the 1950 election, and now was up for a third term. He had no opposition on the ballot for renomination.⁸

The other Illinois incumbent of the Class, Edward Jenison, was much more affected by redistricting. The 1947 changes had removed two of his original counties and given him seven new ones. The 1951 version took away five counties and added four new ones. In 1952 his District of ten counties included only three from his original District. Nevertheless, this did not threaten Jenison's renomination as

⁵ *CQ Almanac 1952*, 479.

⁶ Figures used are those reported in *Congressional Directory*.

⁷ See, for example, a study of reapportionment in Edsall, 193.

⁸ *Illinois Vote, April 8, 1952*.

Republican leaders “held a ‘harmony meeting’ ... to weld GOP political factions in the newly formed 21st congressional district.” Jenison was the only person on the Republican primary ballot.⁹

On April 16 Thruston Morton of Kentucky informed the newly elected Jefferson County Republican Executive Committee that he changed his mind and was not running for reelection. He said he had been five years away in the Navy and six years in Congress. “I want to come home again and live with my family among my friends and neighbors. These past eleven years have been extremely hard years.” Like Illinois, the 1950 census cost Kentucky a House seat, but Morton’s District, consisting only of one county, was not altered. The Committee tried to recruit Morton’s brother, Rogers, to take his place but unsuccessfully.¹⁰

The Pennsylvania primaries were April 22. The 1950 census cost the State three House seats, but the districts of Hardie Scott, Paul Dague, and Carroll Kearns were unaffected. Pennsylvania continued to avoid dividing a county among congressional districts except for Philadelphia, which continued with the same six districts, and Alleghany (Pittsburgh), which lost one of its five districts. The population range of districts shrank a little, now from 255,740 to 414,234, not at all very wide for the era. The Republican General Assembly was forced to compromise with Democrats who held a large enough minority position to hold appropriation bills hostage. Nevertheless, the partisan balance in the House would shift with the 1952 election from 19-14 Republican to 19-11 Republican.¹¹

Scott, now a 45-year-old bridegroom, announced that he was retiring from the House, it seems because the Republican ward leaders had lost faith in him. Kearns had no opponent. Dague drew two challengers, including a prominent American Legionaire, but was victorious.¹²

May 3 brought a nomination in Virginia, but by District Democratic Convention, which kept Burr Harrison on the ballot. Virginia gained a House seat, and its struggle to fit that new district in is illustrative of regional conflicts within a state. The 1950 census reported that the State’s nine existing districts had populations that ranged from 259,202 (Watkins Abbitt’s Fourth District) to 505,979 (the Eighth District, which included the Washington suburbs). Porter Hardy’s Second District in the Norfolk area was also large in population with 488,432, while Harrison’s Seventh District was the second least populous with 279,618. The other five districts ranged from 312,028 to 387,923.

Virginia’s General Assembly got an early start on redistricting, creating a joint committee in January 1951, but the State elects legislators in odd-numbered years, and so nothing much happened until the new Assembly convened in 1952, facing a March 31 deadline to get candidates on the July 15 primary ballot without emergency legislation that required an 80% majority in the legislature. Acting with dispatch, the legislature approved a plan to create a new district in the Washington suburbs, but it would not take effect without emergency designation until June 29, well after the primary registration deadline. The Norfolk area wanted the new district and its legislators teamed with Republicans to prevent the 80% majority. The effect of this bit of one-upmanship was only that candidates needed to be nominated by convention rather than primary, and convention nomination had a long history in Virginia. But, wait! The State’s Attorney General ruled that since the bill was passed before the March 31 deadline, primaries could be held after all and could be delayed.¹³

⁹ *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, December 7, 1951. *Illinois Vote*, April 8, 1952.

¹⁰ *The Courier-Journal*, April 17, May 1 & 3, 1952.

¹¹ *Somerset Daily American*, December 18, 1951. *Indiana Evening Gazette*, December 20, 1951.

¹² *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, January 31, February 3, 1952. *The Evening Sun* (Hanover), April 18, 1952. *Pottstown Mercury*, April 23, 1952. *The Bristol Courier*, August 11, 1952.

¹³ *Kingsport News*, January 26, 1951. *The Bee*, February 28, March 6 & 10 & 13 & 24, 1952.

In the end, conventions nominated not only Harrison but Thomas Stanley on May 10 and Abbitt on May 23. Hardy was renominated by primary on July 15 without opposition.¹⁴ Redistricting substantially reduced Hardy's District in area, with much of it going to Abbitt's District. The population change was less significant, Hardy losing 85,000 Virginians and Abbitt gaining 79,000 of them. Harrison gained one county from the Eighth District, while Stanley's District was unchanged.

In the meanwhile, Maryland held its primary on May 5. Miller's Eastern Shore District was unaffected by redistricting, with the sense of a separate community trumping considerations of one person, one vote, as well as partisanship, Miller being Republican and the General Assembly Democratic. Maryland's congressional districts had not been changed in definition since 1902. Garmatz' District and the one represented by Democrat George Fallon were totally enclosed within the pre-1918 boundaries of Baltimore, while two other districts included parts of the expanded City. The General Assembly intended from the beginning to make Maryland's new district a Baltimore one. Garmatz and Fallon were instrumental in defining the new districts drawn by the General Assembly that expanded their districts outside the old city boundaries and created the new district within the City.¹⁵ Garmatz' District was greatly increased in size. Of all the Class of '46, only Jenison found himself with proportionately more new constituents than Garmatz, who emerged from redistricting with 53% of his constituents in areas which had not previously had him as their representative.

Miller won renomination unopposed, but Garmatz faced two opponents. One was a relative nonentity, but Del. George Wagner had the support of paving contractor George Mahoney, who was close to the start of a long period of perennial candidacy against the dominant organization within the Democratic Party. Wagner got only 17% of the vote, and Garmatz won going away with 76%.¹⁶

The day after the Maryland primary, May 6, Alabama, Indiana, and Ohio held primaries. Only the last redistricted and for the first time in 38 years. Ohio had no change in number of representatives but created a new district for what had been its At-large seat. Its House delegation, headed by a committee of Class member William McCulloch, Harry McGregor, and Jackson Betts, fought the effort. These three Republicans were no match for State Republican Chair Ray Bliss, who wanted to replace the 1913 districts, which were drawn by a Democratic General Assembly with those by the current Republican body. One county was added to McCulloch's District, giving him only 28,000 new constituents. He had no opposition in the primary.¹⁷

In Alabama, Robert Jones was unopposed for renomination, but Laurie Battle was challenged by the assistant principal of a high school, who took 24%.¹⁸

¹⁴ *Daily Press*, May 10, 1952. *The Bee*, April 17, May 26, 1952.

¹⁵ *CQ Almanac 1952*, 477. *The Morning Herald* (Hagerstown), February 6, 1951. *The Baltimore Sun*, February 6, March 9, 1951.

¹⁶ *Cumberland Evening Times*, April 4, 1952. *The Daily Mail*, May 2, 1952. Fenton (1957), 184-6. *Maryland Manual 1953-54*.

¹⁷ *CQ Almanac 1952*, 478. *The Akron Beacon Journal*, March 18, 1951. *Washington C.H. Record-Herald*, May 1, 1952.

¹⁸ *The Anniston Star*, May 2, 1952. *Alabama Register 1955*.

Ralph Harvey in Indiana, who spent the first quarter of the year flirting with, then denying a campaign for Governor, ran for reelection and faced a factory worker in the primary. Harvey was endorsed by the District Republican Committee and took about nine-tenths of the vote.¹⁹

On May 13, Francis Love of West Virginia, who lost his seat in 1948 and failed to recapture it in 1950, received the Republican nomination to try again. Despite his previous track record, or because of it, a Louis Levendorf filed against him in the primary. Levendorf dropped out, but Warren Pugh announced. Pugh was the Sheriff of Ohio County, of which Love had been the Republican Party Chair. Pugh did better in Ohio County than in the District as a whole but failed to carry any of the seven counties, and Love was renominated with 69% of the vote.²⁰

Georgia held its primaries on May 14. Prince Preston and Henderson Lanham had no opposition, though the latter had a bit of scare from a war hero who decided in the end to withdraw.²¹

Don Wheeler was opposed for the nomination by a Baptist minister who had tried for the position once before, in 1938. Rev. C.P. Watson got a Labor endorsement and 36% of the popular vote. The District Democratic committee decided that the popular vote would be determinant, but even so, Watson took only two of 48 county-unit votes.²²

In the Atlanta District, however, county-units were what counted, thus keeping the City at bay. Baxter Jones, 33, an Atlanta attorney, won the popular vote by one percentage point, but James Davis took the unit vote 8-6, carrying the two smaller counties over the one Atlanta county. The Davis campaign was heavily racist and the Jones campaign did not echo those sentiments. As Gov. Herman Talmadge made clear in a speech in June, the county-unit system also kept black voters at bay.²³

Connecticut continued to nominate by convention. Sadlak was renominated to his statewide seat on May 27 and Horace Seely-Brown and James Patterson to their district seats on June 21, all without problems but not without drama. Sen. William Benton, a Democrat and an interim appointee, was facing a regular election in 1952, and Seely-Brown and Patterson both sought the Republican nomination against him, but the State Convention chose William Purtell. Then on July 28, the State's other Senator, Democrat Brien McMahon, died. Patterson did not try for that seat but rather gave the nominating speech for Clare Boothe Luce at the special convention on September 5. Sadlak gave a shot at McMahon's seat but came in a very distant second to Prescott Bush in the nominating convention on September 5, still beating out Luce by two votes.²⁴

Connecticut Republican politics were also roiled by the contest between Sen. Robert Taft and Gen. Dwight Eisenhower for the presidential nomination. Governor and Classmate John Davis Lodge was a

¹⁹ *The Kokomo Tribune, the Kokomo Dispatch*, January 11, 1952. *The Anderson Herald*, January 29, March 12, 1952. *The Daily Clintonian*, February 7, 1952. *Greenfield Daily Reporter*, March 8, 1952. *Greensburg Daily News*, May 7, 1952.

²⁰ *East Liverpool Review*, January 16, May 8, 1952. *The Post-Herald*, February 15, 1952. *West Virginia Blue Book* 1953.

²¹ "Finding Aid," Preston Papers. *The Bee*, May 15, 1952. *The Atlanta Constitution*, March 27, 1952.

²² *The Atlanta Constitution*, September 25, 1938; February 29, March 20, May 9, 1952. *Georgia Register* 1953-1954.

²³ *The Index-Journal*, June 5, 1962. *Georgia Register* 1953-1954. *The Atlanta Constitution*, May 13, 1952. *Courier* (Pittsburgh), June 28, 1952.

²⁴ *The Hartford Courant*, March 15, 1952. *Naugatuck Daily News*, March 19, May 23, 1952. DeLong, 181-2. Patterson was said to have ended his speech by saying, "and now I give you Mrs. Clare Moose Lou." *The Waco News-Tribune*, September 6, 1952.

particularly active partisan for Eisenhower, while the Party organization, including Sadlak, Seely-Brown, and Patterson backed Taft. Whether due to the presidential contest or to his need to publicize himself statewide in seeking the Senate nomination, Seely-Brown took Lodge “to task” and made a “premeditated” “attack” on the Governor as detrimental to the Republican Party, according to political columnist Jack Zaiman. In the end, Seely-Brown was running for the House and not the Senate, and Eisenhower was the Republican nominee for president.²⁵

North Carolina’s primaries were May 31. There was no redistricting. Charles Deane faced only a last-minute perennial candidate in his primary, this despite musings that he was too liberal for his District. Hamilton Jones’ primary opponent was Thomas Burton, who resigned as the leader of the Charlotte Eisenhower movement to do so. Burton and his wife had started a business school and junior college at the end of the Second World War in order to cash in on the GI Bill. He held Jones to 70%.²⁶

The third Tar Heel, Monroe Redden, announced in February 1951 he would not run for reelection, barely after taking his seat won in the 1950 election. Financial pressures and the desire to establish his two young sons in his legal practice were consistently given as the reason, though along with intimations of a possible run for Governor in 1952. He would not run for Governor then or later, but the timing of his announcement argues more for that reason than for finances and legal practice. The failure to run for Governor may have resulted from a story revealed in February 1952 by an Asheville newspaper. The Federal Reconstruction Finance Corporation made a \$460,000 loan to Skyland Processing Corporation in Redden’s hometown. The company had recently been sold to a man who declared it bankrupt. Redden and his brother negotiated the sale for a \$50,000 brokerage fee. It was revealed that Redden lobbied the RFC for the loan and as a member of Congress had threatened to “get rid of men” who were holding up the loan.²⁷

California gained an amazing seven new House seats from the 1950 census, giving it the same number as Pennsylvania. Democrats in the heavily Republican Legislature were irrelevant, in the end taking their complaint unsuccessfully to the courts. The real battle was between the southern and northern parts of the State, with the south getting four of the new seats.²⁸ The districts of Republicans John Allen and Ernest Bramblett did not change. Donald Jackson lost over half of his constituents and gained no one.

California continued to allow cross-filing in its primaries on June 3, and all three remaining Class members did so. Allen managed to secure the nomination of both parties with 84% of the Republican and 52% of the Democratic vote. His Democratic opponents were a man suspended from his job with the Internal Revenue Service in Truman’s cleanup and a “notorious Communist” according to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.²⁹

²⁵ *Naugatuck Daily News*, February 13 & 19, 1952. *The Hartford Courant*, December 19 & 23, 1951; February 17, March 30, April 15, 1952. DeLong, 171-8.

²⁶ *The High Point Enterprise*, March 23, May 2, 1952. *The Robesonian*, February 28, March 12, 1952. *The State*, September 27, 1952. *North Carolina Manual* 1953.

²⁷ *The Evening Telegram*, February 3, 1951. *The Times-News*, February 12, 1951; February 23, 1952. Asheville Citizen, February 7, 1951; February 23, July 1, 1952; December 18, 1987. *The Western Carolina Tribune*, February 28, 1952. *The Panama American*, February 24, 1952.

²⁸ *CQ Almanac* 1952, 477.

²⁹ *California Statement of Vote, June 3, 1952*. *Santa Cruz Sentinel-News*, September 28, 1951. *The Fresno Bee the Republican*, December 19, 1951.

Jackson failed to get the Democratic nomination by only three points while walking away with the Republican one with 90%. The major opponent was a 33-year-old Beverly Hills attorney.³⁰

Bramblett had more of a challenge. What was becoming known as McCarthyism brought a candidate from Bramblett's left within the Republican Party and a qualified defense of McCarthy from Bramblett. The Democrat in the race, Will Hayes, a college professor, looked for the lighter side of the red scare in an ad entitled "How Congressman Bramblett Saved Us from the Reds," which highlighted Bramblett's statement that he put his wife on the House payroll because "you don't know who can be entrusted with confidential data." Bramblett took 61% of the Republican and 35% of the Democratic ballots, while Hayes got 65% of the Democratic and 35% of the Republican vote.³¹

Oklahoma went to the polls on July 1 after redistricting necessitated by a drop in House seats from eight to six. The Democratic Legislature enacted a plan in summer of 1951 which combined districts Six and Seven less one county from District Six. This pitted two Democratic representatives against each other, Classmate Toby Morris and Victor Wickersham. Wickersham was ousted in the 1946 primary by Classmate Preston Peden, who was in turn defeated in the 1948 primary by Wickersham. A previous plan the Legislature considered had put Morris in the same district with Carl Albert. A contest with Wickersham was arguably more winnable for Morris. Morris, however, found himself with a constituency that was 48% new to him, while 40% of the new Sixth District was new to Wickersham, thanks to the inclusion of four counties from the Eighth District. Wickersham led the primary 43% to 32% for Morris, with three other candidates taking the rest. Morris's opposition to draconian measures against domestic communists and other leftists did him no favors. The Wickersham campaign labeled him a "communist sympathizer," and Wickersham took 53% in the July 22 run-off.³²

The other heretofore surviving member of the Class from Oklahoma, Albert, gained one county. His new District had a population of 266,995. Morris' new District had 400,769 people. A five-term legislator, Kirksey Nix, ran for the Democratic nomination against Albert. One newspaper observed that the hottest issue in the race was Nix's accusation that the *Tulsa Daily World* had loaned a reporter to *The M'alester News-Capital* to defeat him. Albert in his autobiography would later contend that Nix's campaign had no lack of funds because of money from actor John Wayne, an investor in Nix's oil interests. Albert won with two-thirds of the vote.³³

The fact that Morris and Albert ran in new districts did not end the redistricting story and illustrates that the litigiousness of later redistricting was nothing new. The other district that Oklahoma ridded itself of was the First District. The First and Eighth districts were the two Republican districts in the State. The Legislature took two of the more Republican counties from the First and moved them to what used to be the Eighth District, less the four counties that went to the new Sixth District. One of the counties from the First was Tulsa, including the large city of that name. This new First District had even more people than the new Wickersham District. The State Republican Party cried foul, not least because the connection of Tulsa County with the rest of the District consisted of one spatial point, and filed an initiative petition for their own plan, which would place Albert in the same district with Fourth District Democrat Tom Steed. Only 52,000 valid signatures were required, which was accomplished by February 1952. The initiative

³⁰ *California Statement of Vote, June 3, 1952. San Bernardino Daily Sun, April 19, 1956.*

³¹ *Santa Maria Times, April 16, May 29, 1952. The Daily Californian, May 31, 1952. California Statement of Vote, June 3, 1952.*

³² *The Ada Weekly News, March 29, 1951. The Eufaula Indian Journal, July 24, 1952. Oklahoma Directory 1953.*

³³ *The McIntosh County Democrat, January 3, June 19, 1952. Albert with Goble, 182. Oklahoma Directory 1953.*

would make its way through the courts until the Oklahoma Supreme Court would uphold it in March 1954. The initiative required a statewide vote on its plan and two Democratic Governors would dawdle about putting it on the ballot until the general election of November 6, 1956. The initiative carried 391,453 to 297,628, but the State Attorney General ruled that it had to get a majority of the votes cast in the general election to pass, which would have been over 100,000 more. The Republican Party brought that issue to court also, but the State Supreme Court upheld the greater vote requirement on October 22, 1957, six years after the initiative was initiated.³⁴

South Carolina did not redistrict, and Bryan Dorn faced no opposition in the July 8 Democratic primary.³⁵

Texas gained a House seat from the 1950 census. There had been no redistricting from the 1940 census, and Governor Allan Shivers insisted it was “long overdue.” The Texas House passed a plan on second reading that would have placed Ken Regan in a district with another representative. So would have been Olin Teague. But then the House passed a substitute that undid those pairings. The Legislature met its mandatory constitutional adjournment after a 17-hour filibuster prevented enactment of a redistricting plan. The new District would be At-large over the opposition of the State’s two United States Senators, who feared a ready-made statewide-tested opponent.³⁶

The July 26 primary found Regan, Teague, and Frank Wilson without on-ballot opposition. Wingate Lucas faced the chair of the local United Auto Workers PAC, who tried to run to the right of Lucas and was not endorsed by the local Industrial Union Council (CIO); neither was Lucas. Lucas flirted strongly with running for an open US Senate seat but stayed with the House and was renominated with two-thirds of the vote.³⁷

The fifth Texan, Omar Burleson, had a serious challenge from Jack Cox, an automobile dealer and legislator. The candidates sought to out-conservative each other, disagreed on no issues, and differed only on which one was the most inattentive lawmaker. Burleson barely survived, winning by 435 votes. Cox carried all eight of the counties in the eastern part of the District while Burleson took all four in the west – an apparent “friends and neighbors” vote. Only two of Cox’s counties were in his legislative district; so, the vote seems to represent a rather deep discontent among the Democratic primary voters with Burleson, or perhaps with the Federal government.³⁸

Otto Passman also faced a challenge in the July 29 Louisiana primary. In his case, this was a recurring phenomenon. Four challengers included two legislators, each of whom got only about 16% of the vote. Passman took 65%. Policy differences were obscure among the three major candidates, though this did

³⁴ *Miami Daily News-Record*, March 9 & 29, September 28, October 11, November 4, December 1, 1954; November 11, 1956; October 22, 1957. *The Ada Weekly News*, November 22, 1951; February 21, 1952. *The Eufaula Indian Journal*, September 6, 1956.

³⁵ *The Index-Journal*, May 13, 1952.

³⁶ *Valley Evening Monitor*, January 12, 1951. *Abilene Reporter-News*, May 1, 1951. *The Canyon News*, June 7, 1951. *Brownsville Herald*, June 7, 1951.

³⁷ *Texas Almanac 1953*. *Valley Morning Star*, March 19, 1952. *Hood County News-Tablet*, July 24, 1952. *The Corpus Christi Caller*, July 25, 1952. *Denton Record-Chronicle*, April 15, 1952. *The Vernon Daily Record*, April 16, 1952.

³⁸ *El Paos Herald-Post*, January 4, 1952. *Corsicana Daily Sun*, July 10, 1952. *Abilene Reporter-News*, June 10, July 10 & 12 & 17 & 23 & 25, 1952. *Texas Almanac 1953*.

not prevent them from inventing some. The major contention was how well they did their legislative jobs.³⁹

Kansas, Michigan, and Missouri held primaries on August 5. Michigan and Missouri redistricted. Michigan gained a House seat while Missouri lost two.

Republican Charles Potter's District did not change in Michigan, but the Representative chose to run for the US Senate, a position vacated by the death of Arthur Vandenberg, who had served since 1928 and who took the point in the Republican Senate Conference in supporting much of Truman's foreign policy. As with Richard Nixon two years earlier, service on HUAC brought Potter much publicity, helpful in a campaign for nomination against the State Auditor General and a former Lieutenant Governor, both of whom had been elected statewide. Potter won nomination by a good margin and in November was elected to the Senate with 51% over the appointed interim.⁴⁰

Although Michigan redistricting was limited to the Detroit area, the Fourteenth District was unaffected, and Harold Youngblood made another try for the seat, failing the second time in a row to achieve the Republican nomination, losing again to Richard Durant. The investment counselor had failed to take the seat from Democrat Louis Rabaut in 1950 and failed again in 1952.⁴¹

Kansas did not redistrict, and Wint Smith had a relatively easy time in a contest with presidential overtones. Smith was for Taft in lieu of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, while his challenger, Ernest Strahan, came out strongly for Eisenhower. Strahan had taken only 31% against Smith in 1950 and in 1952 fell to 27%.⁴²

Both Claude Bakewell and Frank Karsten's districts were redrawn in St. Louis. Missouri was another state of partisan gerrymandering, partisan initiative referenda, and partisan litigation. The General Assembly reconvened in special session in September 1951 to eliminate two congressional districts. The Democratic legislature sent a bill to the Democratic Governor on December 11 that was predicted to create nine of eleven Democratic districts. Missouri's constitution required districts to be "as nearly equal in population as may be," but these districts had a range of 276,499 to 427,856, the last being Karsten's but Bakewell's being only 308 people fewer. The Republican Party threatened an initiative to force a referendum, which if successful would render the effective date of the bill past the coming election and result in all eleven districts being chosen at large. The Governor delayed to try to work out a compromise to avoid that situation but finally signed the bill on March 5, 1952. The referendum initiative was filed April 18, and the Secretary of State ruled it met the requirements of the law. Filings for the primary closed on April 29 with 54 Republicans and 49 Democrats filing for the eleven at-large seats. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported on May 10 that it found enough invalid signatures to nullify the initiative. On June 9 a circuit judge ruled that the initiative was invalid due to an insufficient number of signatures and that the deadline was past for seeking new names, a ruling upheld by the State Supreme Court 4-3 on July 8. The 98 candidates, reduced five by drop-outs, would be certified by residence into the election districts. In

³⁹ *The Monroe News-Star*, July 1 & 23, August 5, 1952. *Monroe Morning World*, May 18, July 20 & 27, 1952.

⁴⁰ *The State Journal*, March 16, 1952. OurCampaigns.com.

⁴¹ *Detroit Free Press*, August 3, 1952. *Michigan Manual* (1953).

⁴² *The Iola Register*, January 26, 1952. *The Salina Journal*, July 6, 1952. *Kansas Report* 1953.

November Republicans would win three of the seats and would have likely lost them all in an at-large contest.⁴³

Bakewell found himself with about 19% of his constituency new to him, while Karsten faced 38% new constituents. Both men won nomination easily. The number of candidates on the ballot dropped to four in Karsten's District, and one of those announced his support for Karsten, who took 80%. Bakewell also faced but three remaining candidates after three others dropped out. Bakewell got 86% against a diverse field – a black man, a woman, and a Jew, in order of performance.⁴⁴

Joe Evins found himself with 13 new counties after Tennessee accommodated its loss of a House seat. Tennessee political rules required four districts to remain unchanged (the two Republican districts to corral the Republicans and the counties containing Memphis and Nashville had to stay indivisible) which meant that the six remaining districts had to adjust to the loss. In practice the two rural west Tennessee districts were also untouched, which left only four districts to be altered. The dilemma was resolved through the fortunate run of Fourth District representative Al Gore for the US Senate. Evins picked up nine of the eleven counties from Gore's District. Before the redistricting, four districts had over 400,000 residents and five had under 300,000. After redistricting three were over 400,000 and two were under 300,000. Evin's District increased from 233,930 to 390,363, and that increase represented all new constituents. Evins had little difficulty against two candidates, taking 79% despite the new constituents and a candidate from the old Fourth District with the remembrance of times past name of Cordell Hull Sloan.⁴⁵

The New York party structure usually prevented primary contests, and all six incumbents from the Class of '46 won nomination on August 19 without significant difficulty. Frederic Coudert had the roughest time, as attorney Richard Neville, 27, filed petitions to get on the Republican ballot. His petitions were disallowed as having too few valid signatures. Neville ran a write-in campaign based on his support for Taft for President that did not seriously threaten Coudert.⁴⁶ Robert Trip Ross in Queens, returned by special election in February 1952, was nominated again for the regular term. Abraham Multer and Jacob Javits each took the Liberal Party nomination as well as the Democratic and Republican ones respectively.

The Delaware Republican nominating convention was August 20, and Caleb Boggs was chosen without opposition, but for governor, for which he announced in January.⁴⁷ He would face Elbert Carvel the incumbent Democrat in November.

Mississippi held its primaries on August 26. The State lost a House seat after the 1950 census. Like Virginia, Mississippi elected its legislature in odd numbered years; so, redistricting did not pass the Legislature until April 3, 1952. The District of John Bell Williams had the largest population, 487,433, of the seven old districts. The smallest district, the Fourth, had only 177,337, and one might assume it would be the most likely to be divvied up; it was, its counties going to two of the three most underpopulated districts. The third of those took two counties from Williams's District, which gained no counties. The

⁴³ *The Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune*, September 10, 1951; June 9, 1952. *Daily Sikeston Standard*, December 14, 1951. *The Kansas City Times*, January 22, July 15, 1952. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 20 & 24, July 9, 1952. *Mexico Weekly Ledger*, April 30, 1952. *Joplin Globe*, May 11, 1952.

⁴⁴ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 9 & 26 & 27, 1952. *Missouri Manual Nineteen Fifty-Three Nineteen Fifty-Four*. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 16, 1904.

⁴⁵ *Kingsport News*, August 31, 1950.

⁴⁶ *Brooklyn Eagle*, July 11, 1952. *Kingston Daily Freeman*, August 6, 1952. *Times Record*, August 19 & 20, 1952.

⁴⁷ *Indiana Evening Gazette*, August 21, 1952. *Wilmington Morning News*, January 8, 1952.

Representative from the Fourth District was not discomfited, however, as he took five of his counties with him and defeated the incumbent he was thrown in with in the Democratic primary, in spite of the loser having kept all eleven of his counties.

Williams had no great difficulty winning renomination, reportedly running “a token campaign,” and spent a few days in hospital just before the primary with a leg infection, related to the aircraft crash he suffered in the War. His three opponents, however, were quite active. Jack Vaughan ran against lawyers, of which Williams was one, in the aggregate as “powerful money monopolies, the invisible government of America” and also against the late Franklin Roosevelt, with which Williams agreed. Boyd Ridgway declared, “States rights must be upheld at all costs even if it means splitting the Democratic Party,” and followed this up with an endorsement of Republican presidential candidate Eisenhower. David Perkins passed for a Mississippi liberal, saying that “all men should have an equal opportunity to advance themselves ... regardless of sex, religion or color ... consistent with our traditional southern policy of segregation.” He “declared himself ‘100 per cent’ for the Democratic nominees” for President and Vice President and called Williams “a Republican.” Perkins also opposed “intoxicating liquors.” Williams, himself, came close to an endorsement of Eisenhower, saying that he and his running mate, Class member Richard Nixon of California, were “heading the wrong Party,” but on August 1 announced his support for Democratic presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson. Williams took 73%.⁴⁸

Minnesota, New Hampshire, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin all held primaries on September 9. None of these states redistricted, although Washington gained a House seat, and the Legislature with control split between the parties passed a bill. The Republican Governor, however, vetoed the bill, and the new representative was elected At-large.⁴⁹

John Blatnik in Minnesota had no opposition for the Democratic-Farmer-Labor nomination. Neither did Charles Kersten in Wisconsin for the Republican nomination. Glenn Davis, the other Wisconsinite, defeated Earl Schumacher handily for his Republican nomination. Schumacher, who had run for the nomination in the District in 1940, campaigned as an isolationist, differing with Davis on most defense issues.⁵⁰

In New Hampshire, Norris Cotton faced Joseph Moore for the Republican nomination for the fourth consecutive time, as well as John Warren, who had tried to gain the nomination in this District three times before Cotton appeared on the scene. Cotton took 85% against these perennials.⁵¹

William Dawson of Utah, unseated in 1948, put his oar in the water again in 1952. He had been serving on the State Welfare Commission since 1949 and had failed to get enough votes in the State Republican Convention in 1950 to make it onto the primary ballot for a US Senate seat, placing fourth. As with the Senate, Dawson needed to place first or second in the District Convention to make it to the primary ballot; Dawson came in first ahead of the second place Don Mack Dalton by 34 votes out of 562 cast. The third place finisher, who had made it to the Senate primary in 1950 but failed to get the nomination, sued to

⁴⁸ *McComb Enterprise-Journal*, June 19, August 27, 1952. *Hattiesburg American*, August 4 & 21, 1952. *Clarion-Ledger*, June 8, July 5 & 15, August 2 & 22 & 25, 1952. *The Delta Democrat-Times*, May 29, August 6, 1952. *Mississippi Blue Book* 1953.

⁴⁹ *CQ Almanac* 1952, 479.

⁵⁰ *Winona Republican and Herald*, September 6, 1952. *Waukesha Daily Freeman*, March 1, July 30, August 23 & 30, September 6 & 10, 1952. *The Janesville Daily Gazette*, March 27, 1952.

⁵¹ *Nashua Telegraph*, January 4, 1938; September 13, 1952; August 25, 1970. *The Portsmouth Herald and Times*, October 7, 1938. *New Hampshire Manual* 1953.

prevent Dalton's candidacy, contending that his filing was too late. Dalton won the court fight, but it probably did not help him in the primary, which he lost with only one-third of the vote.⁵²

Given Washington's blanket primary, the quest for renomination by Russell Mack and Thor Tollefson were previews of the general election. Each primary had two candidates, the incumbent and his Democratic challenger. Mack came in first in his with 59%, while Tollefson did even better with 65%.⁵³

Massachusetts closed out the nomination season for the Class of '46 on September 16. Neither Republican Donald Nicholson nor Democrat Harold Donohue had an opponent on the primary ballot. Democrat John Kennedy had been campaigning statewide since 1949 and to little surprise announced his candidacy for the US Senate on April 6. His successor in the Eleventh District seat, Democrat Thomas O'Neill, had already announced in March. Kennedy's youth and father bred resentment, and his lack of support for the Truman foreign policy relative to the incumbent Republican Cabot Lodge enhanced Democratic worries; still, he had the primary ballot to himself.⁵⁴

Of the 60 incumbent members of the Class, 54 would seek reelection in November 1952. They were joined by Dawson of Utah, and Love of West Virginia, returning to these particular frays. Youngblood of Michigan tried to return but failed of nomination. Three incumbents retired: Morton of Kentucky, Redden of North Carolina, and Scott of Pennsylvania. Boggs of Delaware chose to run for Governor, Potter and Kennedy for the Senate. Incumbent Morris of Oklahoma lost his primary. On the general election ballot would be 29 Republicans and 27 Democrats out of the 71 Republicans, 37 Democrats, and one American Laborite of the Class of '46.

Despite the Eisenhower landslide, there were only two races involving members of the Class of '46 in which the Republican candidate equaled Eisenhower's gain of 10.1 points over Thomas Dewey's showing in 1948. In Alabama Robert Jones gained a Republican opponent in 1952 where there was none in 1950, and in California Allen captured both the Republican and Democratic nominations. In only two other contests was the Republican gain as much as half of Eisenhower's. Glenn Davis in Wisconsin exceeded his showing of four years before by 5.3 points, and in North Carolina Hamilton Jones lost his seat to the Republican with a 9.7-point drop from 1950. But in eight of the 38 elections where a member of the Class was on the ballot in both 1950 and 1952 and there was no redistricting, the proportion of the vote Republican actually fell.

Hamilton Jones lost his seat to Republican Charles Jonas, who was the Party's choice in 1946 but had declined to run. Son of the last Republican representative from North Carolina, who was elected in 1928 for one term, Jonas was chosen in 1946 as President of the North Carolina Bar Association. Jones had not faced a Republican of Jonas's stature in his previous three elections, yet was held to 54% in 1946 and 52% in 1950. Jonas may have won in any event, but the Eisenhower candidacy helped push his margin to 15 points. The General campaigned personally in Charlotte and carried the District by 18 points, even as the Democratic candidate for governor won the District by 16 points. Jones, a reliable conservative vote in

⁵² *The Salt Lake Tribune*, June 11, 1950; August 3 & 23, 1952; March 1, 1959. *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August 14, October 8, 1952.

⁵³ Washington Election Results.

⁵⁴ *Massachusetts Election Statistics 1952*. Burns (1960), 105-6. *The North Adams Transcript*, April 7, 1952. *The Berkshire Evening Eagle*, March 29, August 19, 1952. *Brownsville Herald*, April 15, 1952. *Cumberland Evening Times*, September 10, 1952.

the House, tried to make a virtue of that in the campaign, which did not help with all potentially Democratic voters, particularly with the 12,000 registered African Americans in Charlotte's county. Jonas ran as a conservative but eschewed the red meat playbook of the national Republican Party, saying that Jones voted like a Republican in Washington, so why not have a real one. The voters did, and Jonas would serve until he chose to retire in 1972.⁵⁵

Hamilton Jones was the only Democratic member of the Class to lose his election in 1952, but, in the midst of a Republican presidential landslide, five Republicans were defeated. One was a non-incumbent trying for a comeback, three were redistricted, and one was Richard Vail of Illinois.

Vail edged by an incumbent Democrat in 1946, was redistricted and lost by four points in 1948, won over that Democrat by seven points in 1950, and then was ousted again in 1952 by the same Barratt O'Hara by three points. O'Hara was not widely viewed as a major force, and Vail's loss was considered perhaps the major upset of the House races in 1952; after all, Eisenhower carried the District. Vail ran a red-baiting campaign based in his work on HUAC, while the black population was rising in the Southside District. The strategy did not work.⁵⁶

The non-incumbent was Love. The year 1952 was Love's final attempt to reclaim the seat he had lost in 1948. Democrat Robert Ramsay, who had supplanted Love then, lost the primary in 1952 to Robert Mollohan. This victory of the "statehouse machine" over the CIO and AFL was bitter and narrow, and Ramsay took complaints of irregularities to the House. Mollohan got into publicized income tax trouble, and Eisenhower campaigned in the District. All of this and Love's attacks on the Truman and Roosevelt administrations still did no good.⁵⁷ Love lost by six points, even greater than his three-point failure in 1950. Mollohan would serve nine discontinuous terms in the House, broken by a failed run for governor.

Ross of New York returned to the House at the special election of February 19, 1952, by running against Truman. Truman was all but gone in November, and James Roe, the leader of the Queens Democratic Party, was also hostile to Truman.⁵⁸ Ross faced Lester Holtzman, an attorney, who gained both the Democratic and Liberal nominations and who eked out a victory by 541 votes. About 28% of the redistricted District was new to Ross.

Jenison in Illinois, with a District population that was 69% new to him and a Democratic incumbent in the same new District, may have had little chance; but Eisenhower carried the District by 20,000 votes and campaigned there with Jenison at his side. Peter Mack though, the Democratic Representative since 1948, had a major publicity advantage. On January 27 he landed his Beechcraft airplane at Springfield in the District with a Naval escort, ending a 33,233-mile round-the-world "friendship" flight. He received much press coverage followed by many personal presentations about the trip. The Democratic incumbent was assisted by the loan of the plane by the Smithsonian Institution. Jenison lost by 9,000 votes.⁵⁹

Bakewell in St. Louis faced a different kind of public relations coup, the widow of the Democratic incumbent whose death had created the vacancy the Republican filled. Leonor Sullivan was passed over

⁵⁵ *The Charlotte News*, March 9 & 11, 1946. *The Robesonian*, September 3, 1946. *The Daily Times-News* (Burlington), September 26, 1952. *North Carolina Manual 1953*. *The Carolina Israelite*, November 1952.

⁵⁶ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 26, November 13, 1952. *Time*, November 17, 1952. *The Daily Register* (Harrisburg), November 5, 1952. *Southtown Economist*, April 11, 1954. *Moline Daily Dispatch*, February 5, 1952.

⁵⁷ *The Charleston Daily Mail*, February 3, 1952. *East Liverpool Review*, June 5, October 2, 1952. *The Raleigh Register*, October 21, 1952. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 25, 1952. *The Post-Herald*, October 29, 1952.

⁵⁸ *Brooklyn Eagle*, February 17, 1952. *The New York Times*, April 23, 1967.

⁵⁹ *Southern Illinoisan*, January 28, 1952. *The Daily Pantagraph*, March 30, 1952. The Smithsonian transferred the plane to Beech Aircraft for the loan to Mack. Glenshaw, 16.

for the nomination by ward leaders in the special election the year before but won the regular primary nomination in 1952. Illustrating the flip side of the negative publicity of representatives putting their relatives on their office payroll, Mrs. Sullivan could point to her valuable experience as her husbands' administrative aid for seven years. Both candidates made statements supporting civil rights; the census tracts included in the original District in whole or in part had a population about one-third African American, while the new tracts included very few black people. Still, the local paper reported that Bakewell was hurt by the addition of "several strong Democratic wards" to the District.⁶⁰ Bakewell lost badly, taking only 35% of the vote. Sullivan would serve until her retirement at age 74 in 1976.

Most of the Southern Democrats had no or next to no opposition in November. For Battle of Alabama, the four Georgians, Passman of Louisiana, Williams of Mississippi, Evins of Tennessee, the five Texans, and three of the four Virginians, the general election was a formality.

The exceptional Virginian was Harrison, who had always been held under 70% by Republican candidates but never seriously threatened. His 1952 opponent, Glenn Ruebush, 61, a prominent Republican attorney, ran hard on Eisenhower's coattails, who took the District with a huge 64%. Harrison mirrored Sen. Harry Byrd, the dominant organizational Democrat in Virginia, and past Gov. William Tuck as the only three major Democrats in the State not to endorse Democrat Adlai Stevenson for President.⁶¹ Harrison had his best November to date, taking 79%. If one assumed all of Stevenson's voters supported Harrison and all of Ruebush's backed Eisenhower, then 49% of Harrison's voted for Eisenhower and 28% presidential electors did not vote in the House race.

Dorn in South Carolina had the novel experience of a Republican opponent, enabled by the commencement of the secret ballot in the State. Previously, voters had to ask for a Democratic or a Republican ballot. David Dows had moved to South Carolina in 1942 from New York, where he had been an elected Republican Sheriff. He had wintered in South Carolina since 1925. He paid for newspaper ads endorsing Eisenhower. Democratic Sen. Strom Thurmond endorsed Eisenhower. The Democratic Governor let it be known he was voting for Eisenhower. It may not have helped the General that there were two separate Eisenhower slates of electors on the ballot – a Republican one and an independent one. Eisenhower took 34% in the District; Dows took 6%.⁶²

Robert Jones had a Republican opponent, as he had in 1948, but Eisenhower was no threat in Alabama, whose Sen. John Sparkman (and Jones's predecessor in the House) was Stevenson's running mate. Republican H.G. Williams got 13%, one point more than Henry Frahn took in 1948.

Hamilton Jones lost to a Republican in one gerrymandered district thanks to urban apostasy, while Deane in the more rural gerrymandered North Carolina Eighth District escaped with 60% of the vote against a "prominent and popular" Walter Love. Deane's share was very slightly better than in 1950, despite Eisenhower taking 49% in the District. Deane praised Stevenson in private but may have been more circumspect in public.⁶³

⁶⁰ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 12, 1951; July 20, October 16 & 17, 1952.

⁶¹ *The Bee*, April 10, 1944; December 21, 1960. *Kingsport News*, October 30, 1952. *Statesville Daily Record*, October 15, 1952.

⁶² Dorn and Derks, 153, 154. *The Index-Journal*, October 9, November 1 & 26, 1952; September 10, 1954.

⁶³ *The Landmark*, October 21, 1952. Deane to T.J. Cheek (Tom), July 31, 1952, Deane Papers.

In Oklahoma's Little Dixie District, Albert walked away with 78% of the vote. It was his worst showing in November so far but hardly threatening. Eisenhower got 37% in the District but the Republican opponent of Albert, Frank McSherry, was a Taft man.⁶⁴

Garmatz in the Border State town of Baltimore did well, also, getting 71%, an improvement over his previous runs, despite a major redistricting. Stevenson campaigned with Garmatz, and the presidential candidate's showing was virtually identical to the House candidate's. It was said that the Republican candidate for the House seat, Jerry Toula, was not a serious opponent.⁶⁵

Miller, the Republican from the Maryland Eastern Shore, also exceeded his previous general election showings. Miller did not attack Dudley George Roe, his Democratic opponent whom he had displaced in 1946, but did some red-baiting with respect to Roosevelt, Truman, and Stevenson. Miller topped Eisenhower by four points.⁶⁶

The Republicans did well in New York as well, apart from the losing Ross, that is. Keating did the best with 69% despite intraparty conflict. Eisenhower campaigned in the District, accompanied by Gov. Thomas Dewey and Keating. A delegation of District Republicans did not want Dewey to introduce the General; so, Dewey introduced Keating who introduced Eisenhower. Eisenhower carried the District but well behind Keating.⁶⁷

Eisenhower outstripped Katherine St. George by four points, but she still had her best showing so far. While the General's internationalism was not the Representative's cup of tea, St. George endorsed him. A group calling itself "Republicans for Sanders" placed ads on how to split a vote for Eisenhower and Marion Sanders, the Democratic and Liberal candidate for the House. Sanders' candidacy was not helped by the split in her residency between the City, where her husband practiced medicine and she had always voted, and the Hudson Valley, a weekend home.⁶⁸

Eisenhower also did a little better than Walter Riehlman in Onondaga County, New York, whose performance tracked his previous showings, except for 1948 when Labor made a push to drive him from the seat.

His Liberal nomination may have saved Javits in Manhattan. Stevenson was the Liberal nominee as well as the Democratic candidate for president. Javits' Republican vote was only 41% of the total, while the Liberal vote added another 22%. These results were virtually identical to those in 1950. Eisenhower's candidacy may have boosted Coudert's a bit in his District, a more Republican one than Javits'. Without Liberal support, Coudert's four-point improvement still added up to but 57%.

The Democratic member of the Class from New York, Multer, benefitted from his Liberal nomination, which added 15 points to his Democratic 53%. His Republican opponent was a repeat from 1950 and offered little new. The fireworks came from the American Laborite and People's Rights candidates, the latter a functionary in the New York Communist Party and unacceptable to the Laborites, despite the recurring accusations that the Laborites were communists. Laborite Vincent Landi even pilloried Multer for not being anti-communist enough, and Multer refused to even share a stage with either of his leftist opponents. Landi took 28% while the minor candidates shared 4%.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ *The Galveston Daily News*, February 1, 1952.

⁶⁵ *Denton Journal*, September 19, 1952. *CQWR*, October 19, 1962, 1984. *The Cumberland News*, November 8, 1952.

⁶⁶ *The Easton Star-Democrat*, October 31, 1952.

⁶⁷ Drew Pearson, October 31, 1952.

⁶⁸ *The Reporter Dispatch*, September 25, October 20 & 23, 1952.

⁶⁹ *Brooklyn Eagle*, September 27, 1950; August 27, October 29, November 2, 1952.

McCulloch in Ohio outpaced Eisenhower by three points and his own performance in 1950 by one point. The shifts for Cotton and Eisenhower in New Hampshire's Second were identical. Smith in Kansas also improved by three points, but Eisenhower in his nominal home state outran Smith in his District by 14 points. In Indiana Harvey gained only a point over his 1950 showing. Eisenhower and he each received 60% of the vote in Harvey's District.

In Pennsylvania, Dague did better than that, getting 66% while slipping a point from 1950. Eisenhower showed a point better than Dague in the District. Kearns was dead on his 1950 performance of 57%, but also a point lower than Eisenhower's in his District.

In Wisconsin Glenn Davis pulled 63%, a substantial improvement of five points and outpolled Eisenhower by two points. Sen. Joseph McCarthy was running for reelection in the State. Davis's own red-baiting was consistent if less inventive than McCarthy's; "We love him for the enemies he's made," was Davis's affirmation of the Senator and about as far as he would go in 1952. Eisenhower campaigned with and endorsed McCarthy and Davis on October 3. This was the event in which the presidential nominee deleted an already publicized defense of Gen. George Marshall, who was accused of treason by McCarthy as well as by other Republicans. The criticism this brought of Eisenhower's lack of "backbone" from Democrats mirrored Davis's own concern of the candidate's "political vagueness."⁷⁰

Kersten in Milwaukee held off Democrat Andrew Biemiller again by three points, whom he unseated in 1946 and lost to in 1948 but replaced anew in 1950. The candidates' percentages were identical to the tenth of a percent in 1952 from 1950, despite an increase in the number of votes of 47%. With Biemiller being a former Socialist and Kersten complaining that the Democratic Party "has been taken over by socialism," the line was clear. Not only did Eisenhower, supporting Kersten, appear in Milwaukee, but so did Truman, boosting Biemiller. Eisenhower's vote share in Milwaukee County was nearly identical to Kersten's in his District.⁷¹

In Washington State, Tollefson won handily with 60% and bested Eisenhower in this Seattle/Tacoma District by a huge 10 points. In Russell Mack's less urban district, he and Eisenhower each took 53%. Tollefson slipped a point from 1950, while Mack held steady. Mack's opponent was the same Democrat whom he defeated in 1950. It was a campaign of dueling lengthy newspaper ads with disagreements over substantive policy and how well Mack did his job.⁷²

In California districts, Allen was secure with both major party nominations in his Oakland District, and Jackson and Bramblett ran very close to their 1950 vote shares. Jackson's 60% was less than a point higher, and Bramblett dropped a point to 51%. Eisenhower took 56% in Los Angeles County, which Jackson had a small piece of, but the General outdistanced Bramblett in his District by ten points.

Bramblett's having his wife on his House payroll was made a joke in the cross-filing primary, but then matters got serious. On October 31, Drew Pearson accused Lois Bramblett of never appearing around the

⁷⁰ Kevin Smith, 133-4, 139-40. *Waukesha Daily Freeman*, October 4, 1952. Hughes, 38-40. Emmet Hughes was involved in the drafting of Eisenhower's statement. Eisenhower would deny that the deletion was a capitulation to the McCarthyites, saying he had already defended Marshall in Denver and did not want to seem as if he carried a chip on his shoulder. Eisenhower (1963), 318. Jean Smith, 544.

⁷¹ *The La Crosse Tribune*, February 12, 1952. *The Daily Telegram*, August 20, 1952. Biemiller interview, 30. *The Rhinelander Daily News and the New North*, October 4, 1952.

⁷² *The Daily Chronicle*, October 21 & 24 & 25 & 28 & 31, November 1 & 3, 1952.

House office in five years despite an annual salary. Moreover, Margaret Swanson, the wife of the Republican Clerk of the House had been on Bramblett's payroll from 1949 to 1951 but reportedly never worked in the office. Pearson charged that staffer Vivian De Witt received an offer from Bramblett to more than double her salary if she kickbacked some of it to the Representative. Bramblett filed a libel suit against Pearson the day before the election for effect. How much these late events affected the vote is unknown but surely did not impact the 9710 absentee ballots cast in the race, which was 6% of the total. It was initially reported that Democrat Will Hayes won by 1361 votes but before absentees were counted and a 2000 vote count error were discovered. Bramblett won by 2980 votes.⁷³

Dawson, returning from a 1948 loss and a failed attempt to get the Republican nomination for the Senate in 1950, faced Democrat Reva Beck Bosone, his 1948 nemesis. Bosone had not done herself a favor by floating balloons earlier in 1952 of running for the Senate. It also did not help that Truman appeared for her on October 6 and in confusion asked listeners to replace her with Ernest McKay, the Democratic candidate in the other Utah district. Stevenson did better when he appeared with her a week later. Dawson complained that Bosone voted in the House "with extreme left-winger Vito Marcantonio and the radical elements in the CIO" and that Democratic administrations were responsible for three wars and that Bosone shared the responsibility for the "crime and corruption" of the "Truman machine" - pretty standard Republican campaign verbiage. Bosone, in response, listed her votes with Marcantonio and observed that "creeping socialism" was in the expensive homes "creeping right up the mountains" around Salt Lake City and in the new steel plant in Utah County and in the "finer life which we are all leading." Dawson returned to the House with 53% of the vote, which trailed Eisenhower's 58% in the District.⁷⁴

The Connecticut contingent, Patterson, Seely-Brown, and Sadlak received 57%, 56%, and 55% respectively in 1952, five points more than in 1950 for the last two and three points more for Patterson. Eisenhower's results were the same, albeit one point higher in the case of the State as a whole, which was Sadlak's constituency. Perhaps we should give Eisenhower's win some credit for ending the alternation of Republicans and Democrats in the Second District, with Republican Seely-Brown getting elected in a presidential year.

In Massachusetts, Nicholson improved one point over 1950 to 59%, which was about one point better than Eisenhower did in the District. Donohue took 54% in his District, this despite Eisenhower taking 57%. Donohue outperformed Stevenson by 11 points.

Democrats Karsten in Missouri and Blatnik in Minnesota had little trouble winning reelection, though Karsten's 64% was a drop of four points from 1950. Blatnik's 63% barely budged from two years earlier, despite hospitalization for influenza in the week before the election. Truman paid a campaign visit on the day Blatnik was expected to be released. Ernest Orchard, Blatnik's Republican opponent, was a major in the Salvation Army.⁷⁵ Blatnik topped Stevenson by four points in the District. Karsten's District included parts of St. Louis City and St. Louis County, where Stevenson received 62% and 45% respectively.

As for the wayward members of the Class of '46, Boggs won the governorship of Delaware with 52%, which was five points less than he had carried the State for the House in 1950. Potter of Michigan and Kennedy of Massachusetts were elected to the Senate. Boggs defeated the incumbent Democrat. Potter

⁷³ *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, November 4, 1952. *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, November 6 & 16, 1952.

⁷⁴ *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, January 4 & 17, October 6 & 14, 1952. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, March 31, September 27, October 8 & 17 & 30, 1952.

⁷⁵ *The Minneapolis Star*, October 27, 1952. *The Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, October 29, 1952. *Winona Republican and Herald*, February 13, 1952.

beat the interim Democrat, replacing the deceased Republican incumbent. Kennedy won over incumbent Republican Cabot Lodge, brother of Class member John Davis Lodge. Kennedy was one of four Democrats who defeated incumbent Republican senators amid the Eisenhower landslide.⁷⁶ Six Senate seats shifted from Democrats after the 1950 elections to Republicans after 1952. The result was a change from a bare Democratic Senate with a Democratic presiding officer, Vice Pres. Alben Barkley, to a bare Republican Senate with a Republican presiding officer, Richard Nixon.⁷⁷

The fact that Democrat Hamilton Jones lost his seat in the midst of Republican Dwight Eisenhower's landslide victory does not surprise. After all, Eisenhower picked up 14 points over Thomas Dewey's 1948 showing in North Carolina's Tenth District. But in the districts of the Class's Southerners, that was not even close to the 23-point average that Eisenhower increased over Dewey. In Williams's Mississippi District the increase was 49 points. In Burleson's Texas District it was 39. Yet the local Republican Party did not even field a candidate for the House seat in those districts or in 14 other of the 21 Southern districts. Eisenhower carried six of these districts as well as three of the five districts that did have Republican candidates for the House. In defense of Southern Republicans, it is necessary to point out that in the General's best of these, Burr Harrison's in Virginia, the Republican House candidate took nineteen points less than his counterpart had captured in 1948. The other three Republican candidates did not lose ground from 1948, but they gained little, four points, three points, and one point. Eisenhower's gain in the four-point district was 32 points; so, maybe a 49-point jump was irrelevant.

In Hamilton Jones' District the deciding factor was the city of Charlotte. Eisenhower also took Savannah and Dallas and Fort Worth, but there were no Republican House candidates there.

What is startling is that four Class of '46 Republican incumbents lost their seats among the presidential wave. Three of them were redistricted, Edward Jenison of Illinois badly so and placed with a Democratic incumbent. The other three had never established themselves, each having been defeated in 1948, then making their way back into the House.

The range of the swings from 1948 to 1952 for these four House candidates was from -4 points (Jenison) to +18 points, with the average a six-point Republican increase. Eisenhower improved over Dewey in those districts by ten points.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ The others were Stuart Symington in Missouri, Mike Mansfield in Montana, and Henry Jackson in Washington.

⁷⁷ Matters were more complicated than this simple summary. After the 1950 elections there were 49 Democratic and 47 Republican senators. Changes resulted from deaths and resignations during the 82nd Congress. The hiatus from death to interim appointee reduced the Democrats to 48 from March 8 to 19, 1951, before recovering to 49. Another such hiatus from April 18 to 25, 1951, reduced the number of Republicans to 46; the interim was a Democrat, changing the balance to 50 Democrats to 46 Republicans. The third hiatus from July 18 to August 29, 1952, reduced the Democrats again, this time to 49; the interim was a Republican, restoring the 49 to 47 balance. The net was that the Democrats never lost control of the organization although the combination of Southern Democrats and Republicans resulted in an effectively conservative Senate. The 83rd Senate at its start counted 49 Republicans and 47 Democrats, organizationally, though one of the Republicans was Wayne Morse of Oregon, who declared himself to be an independent and moved his chair into the aisle between the parties for one day to make the point.

⁷⁸ This omits three California members who were the nominees of both major parties in one of the elections.

As a result of the 1952 elections, 50 of the Class of '46 were elected to the 83rd House, 26 Democrats and 24 Republicans. Twenty of the Democrats were from the South. Of the 71 Republicans, 23 Southern Democrats, 14 other Democrats, and 1 American Laborite in the Class:

- 3 died – 2 Republicans and 1 Democrat
- 6 retired – 5 Republicans and 1 Southern Democrat. One of the Republicans, Morton, would begin service on January 29, 1953, as assistant secretary of state for congressional relations, i.e. head lobbyist for the Department of State. Morton said that taking a position in the Eisenhower Administration was not his intent on resigning, that he expected to be back in business, but Eisenhower talked him into returning to Washington.⁷⁹
- 10 ran for higher office – 5 Republicans, 2 Southern Democrats and 3 other Democrats. Four were elected senator (one of whom, Nixon of California, after two years was elected Vice President), 4 failed of election to the Senate (one of whom, Dorn, then returned to the House), and 2 were elected governor.
- 7 were denied renomination – 3 Republicans and 4 Border Democrats.
- 37 were defeated for reelection – 35 Republicans, 1 Southern Democrat, and 1 American Laborite. Another Republican, Charles Russell of Nevada, two years later was elected Governor of his State. Six of the Republicans returned to the House later, though three of these were subsequently re-defeated.

The following members of the Class of '46 left the House for good after the 1952 election.

Claude Bakewell served one full term and most of another. He had one private bill enacted to show for it out of 12, as well as 13 public bills, four resolutions, and two proposed floor amendments. He spoke on the floor 40 times, voted with Republicans 37 times, with Democrats 24 times (14 with just the Northerners), and missed four votes. These votes place him a distant second to Jacob Javits as the least partisan Republican. His rated voting was the fourth most liberal of the Republican Class, though a darn site less than Javits.

Caleb Boggs moved on to the governorship after three terms. He spoke on the floor 56 times, showing the most interest in cigarette taxes. Three public bills out of 56 were enacted addressing the Merchant Marine, to incorporate the Conference of State Societies, and a local matter. Another one dealing with bankruptcy referees was vetoed. Twelve of his 33 private bills became law and another was vetoed. One of his ten resolutions provided for issuance of a postage stamp. He moved three amendments on the floor; two were accepted on Army bursars and a local matter. He voted 87 times with Republicans, ten with Democrats (six with Northerners only and once just with Southerners), and missed five votes. He voted contrarily against aid to Greece and Turkey and against the State Department information services. His rated voting was in the center of Class Republicans.

Edward Jenison was defeated for a fourth term. His activity was low, ten participations on the floor and one private bill, which was enacted. He introduced no public bills. He showed a concern with subversion. He voted 91 times with Republicans, five with Democrats (once with only Northerners), and missed three votes. Jenison opposed aid to Greece and Turkey, the State Department information service, Interim Foreign Aid, the Marshall Plan, and repeal of the oleo tax. His rated voting was quite conservative.

⁷⁹ Morton interview, 3.

Hamilton Jones failed to get that fourth term. He was a little more active than Jenison, speaking 35 times and introducing five public and nine private bills, none enacted. His private bill introductions were the largest share of his total of any Democrat in the Class, but this places him only 11th among the Class. He voted eight times with Republicans, 84 with Democrats (five with Northerners and 44 with only Southerners), and missed twelve votes. Jones' rated voting was in the center of Southern Democrats, which placed him to the right of all other Democrats, and even a little more so of Bakewell.

John Kennedy was active in his three terms on Labor, housing, air travel, parochial education, and the District of Columbia. Three of his four enacted public bills out of 80 dealt with DC. The other was a local matter. He introduced 63 private bills, ten being enacted, and one vetoed. None of his five resolutions passed. One of his ten floor amendments was accepted, addressed the Defense Production Act. He spoke 143 times on the floor. He voted with Democrats 80 times (42 with Northerners and three with Southerners), Republicans four times, and missed 19 votes, partly because he was running successfully for the Senate. His one contrary vote opposed the override of a veto of HR 3193, increasing the pension for veterans requiring constant care as a result of non-service-connected disability. He was the sixth most liberal member of the Class, exceeded by three Northern Democrats, one Border Democrat, and Jacob Javits.

Thruston Morton moved two successful floor amendments, out of five, both addressing Labor issues, which was a major concern. He spoke 69 times. Of his 23 public bills, three were enacted, all of which dealt with local concerns, one of which was the Printing House for the Blind. Five of his 16 private bills became law and another was vetoed. He introduced one resolution. Morton voted 64 times with Republicans, 28 with Democrats (12 with only Northerners and twice with Southerners), and missed 12 votes. He was well on the liberal side of the center of Class Republicans.

Charles Potter moved on to the Senate after his two full terms and half of another. Losing both legs in the War and from upstate Michigan, he was concerned with vocational rehabilitation and the Great Lakes. Two of his enacted public bills addressed the Great Lakes, another veterans, and three were local. He introduced a total of 31 plus ten private (two enacted), and four resolutions and moved three unsuccessful floor amendments. He spoke 75 times. Potter voted with Republicans 70 times, Democrats seven (five only with Northerners), and missed nine votes. Like Kennedy he opposed the override of the veto of the constant-care bill for veterans. His rated voting was the Republican Class center.

Monroe Redden retired after three terms. He spoke on the floor 69 times, moved seven amendments, being successful with five that dealt with rent control, foreign aid, minimum wage, equal rights, and a local concern. His one resolution failed. Two of his seven private bills were enacted and five of his 17 public bills, addressing the Virgin Islands, Cherokee Indians (thrice), and the Blue Ridge Parkway. He showed an interest in the country's territories. Redden voted 75 times with Democrats (seven with Northerners and 39 with only Southerners), 15 times with Republicans, and missed 14 votes. His rated voting was in the middle of Southern Democrats.

Robert Tripp Ross served one-and-a-half interrupted terms. He was concerned with veterans, but unsuccessful with 31 public bills, ten private bills, and seven of his eight resolutions, the winning one called for a postage stamp. He was not too active on the floor, speaking 33 times and moving two unsuccessful amendments. Ross voted 41 times with Republicans and nine with Democrats (five with only Northerners). He was on the liberal side of the Class Republican center.

Hardie Scott retired after three terms. His major legislative concern was Independence Historical Park in his city, which explains his three successful public bills out of 23. Three of his 19 private bills were enacted, but none of his three resolutions. He was largely absent from the floor, speaking only three times

in six years. Scott voted 79 times with Republicans, 14 with Democrats (ten with only Northerners), missed ten votes, and contrarily opposed the draft. He was a bit to the left of the Republican center.

Richard Vail served two interrupted terms and worried about subversion. His two successful amendments out of three were both on that matter. He introduced eight public bills (one on veterans being enacted), eight private bills, and one resolution. He spoke on the floor 29 times. Vail voted with Republicans 58 times, Democrats three times (one with only Southerners), and missed three votes. He was contrary on aid to Greece and Turkey, the State Department information service, Interim Foreign Aid, and the draft. His rated voting was the third most conservative in the Class.

John Whitaker came to the House late in the 80th Congress, served through the 81st, and died halfway through the 82nd. His apparent contribution was low. One local public bill out of 11 was enacted, one private bill out of five, and he spoke eight times on the floor. Whitaker voted 48 times with Democrats (17 with Northerners alone, 13 with Southerners), twice with Republicans, and missed 13 votes. He was slightly to the conservative side of the nine Border Democrats.