

Chapter 2 – Communists!

Americans' concerns about communists did not start in 1946. The "Red Scare" of 1919 and 1920 followed the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Bolshevik abandonment of the war against Germany. The First World War was trailed by communist uprisings in Germany and Hungary and the founding of the Third International in Moscow to support worldwide revolution. The Communist Party was established in the United States, and there were major labor strikes and both deadly and non-fatal terrorist attacks. The strikes were broken, the bombings ended, and, according to some, winning capitalists dampened the anti-red hysteria to safeguard their victory.¹

Socialist parties had existed in the United States since 1877, with the organization of the Socialist Labor Party. Even earlier, the National Labor Union sent representatives to Karl Marx's International Workingmen's Association, and loose affiliates of the Association grew up, particularly among immigrant communities in the United States. The Socialist Party of America was founded in 1901, and its four-time presidential candidate Eugene V. Debs drew 900,000 votes in 1912 when the party elected 73 mayors, a member of Congress, and 1200 other officials. Norman Thomas ran as the Socialist candidate for president six times and nearly equaled Debs' vote total in 1932.²

Ten of the Class of '46 had Socialist Party or Socialist Labor Party opponents in 1946 – in the states of Missouri, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Colorado. One, Antoni Sadlak, faced a Communist Party opponent in Connecticut. The best performance of these candidates was for the Fifth District seat in Connecticut, where the Socialist candidate received 6% of the vote, 5,854 ballots.³

The American Labor Party, founded in 1936, took an active role in New York City politics. Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union played a major role in its creation and to a large part dominated the Party until he died on July 10, 1946. The ALP was meant to incorporate the Socialist Party, which had a worrying strength in the City, into an organization which would be compatible with, maybe even controlled by, the Democratic Party. The Communist Party was excluded, although many individual communists participated in the Labor Party. Hillman and Pres. Roosevelt collaborated, and the ALP supported the President and many other Democrats or even Republicans (New York City Mayor Fiorello La Guardia was a beneficiary), but its support was contingent on the candidates' support for organized labor and for liberal or leftist policies.

The Soviet-German pact of 1939 created a crisis within the ALP, as the number of Stalinist communists within the Labor Party found themselves at odds with the socialist or anti-Stalinist left. The German invasion of the Soviet Union did not heal the breach. Communist strength increased within the ALP, and socialists drifted away until the former took over control of the State organization in March 1943, although Hillman still retained a position of authority and individual candidates may or may not have been communist. In May 1944 the Liberal Party was founded to provide a home for the socialists and anti-Soviet left that were fleeing the ALP.⁴

¹ Schmidt, 24-7, 39-40. For a recounting of the Red Scare and its connection to the First World War, see Hochschild.

² Buhle, 32-5, 37-8. Schmidt, 51, 147, a socialist himself, somewhat dismissively saw little difference between Thomas' socialism and Roosevelt's Second New Deal.

³ General election returns for the House, Senate, and president throughout this work are from the official canvas of the Clerk of the House of Representatives unless otherwise noted.

⁴ Fraser, 371, 376, 517-22, 570.

Throughout the Great Depression, Americans were likely more concerned with their own troubles than with a threat of “foreign” ideologies. Rather, the nation bred its own variants of those ideologies. Fascist and communist urges seem to have flourished in the 1930s. The economic collapse produced a “search for a Satan, in the form of elephant, donkey, or Wall Street octopus,” wrote Prof. Robert S. McElvaine. It may have been that American fascists and communists were rare but less wary of being noticed in the 1930s than they were in the early 1940s in the case of fascists and the late 1940s in the case of communists.⁵

Journalist John Gunther’s best-selling series *Inside Europe* in the 1930s focused on Hitler – the first words on page one were “Adolf Hitler” – and relegated Joseph Stalin to the last chapter. As a person, Stalin was positively contrasted with Hitler, though Gunther did not dismiss the terrors of either regime. “Germany’s will to war” was emphasized, while Gunther wrote, “The foreign policy of the Soviet Union can be expressed in one word – peace.” Stalin’s destruction of yeoman farmers and his purges and show trials were recounted by Gunther, but it was “the immense shock of the Russo-German pact” and the Soviet invasion of Poland, the Baltic states, and Finland that finally alarmed Gunther and the country. Nevertheless, for Americans, this was offset at the time by Germany’s greater threat to western democracies, especially to the United Kingdom.⁶

Hitler’s attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 brought Stalin into an alliance with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and then with Pres. Franklin Roosevelt, and the three met cozily in Tehran and Yalta. Soviet soldiers were dying in great numbers as they eventually held the invaders before American troops encountered German forces at the Kasserine Pass. By D-Day the Soviets were starting to roll up German forces. The United States sent massive supplies to the Soviet Union and the brave Russians were America’s allies. In May 1944 the American Communist Party endorsed Roosevelt for reelection.⁷

What went wrong after the War? Normal tensions between nations were exacerbated by the contrast between a democratic, free-market system and an authoritarian, determined economy. Russian fears of incursion from the west, historically justified, led it to establish a *cordon sanitaire* of protectorates from Bulgaria to Poland. Feelings of American exceptionalism allowed for no equivalence of this to the Monroe Doctrine. The Soviet Union also reclaimed as its own territory land from the Baltic countries, Poland, and Romania that were part of tsarist Russia. In addition, the Soviets felt justified from two deep German invasions of their country in shrinking German territory and imposing heavy reparations on the parts they occupied as well as on other ethnic German populations within their scope.

Gunther had noted, “Stalin is the most powerful human being in the world,” being autocratic head of a nation and of the “Communist International, which has roots in all countries.” In 1943 the International was dissolved to reassure western allies, but the underlying threat of Soviet sponsored subversion could not so easily be dismissed. In July 1945 the American Communist Party was reinstituted under Stalinist leadership. There was also a hint of racism in American views. In July 1947 diplomat George F. Kennan

⁵ McElvaine, 81. McElvaine himself is skeptical of the extent to which one can pin fascism or communism on much of the radical political activity of the period. For a different opinion, see Goodman, chapters 1 and 2 *passim*, especially page 12.

⁶ Gunther; “will” and “peace” are from pages 82 and 453, respectively, in the 1936 edition; “shock” is from page 596 in the 1940 edition.

⁷ Donovan (1977), 53. For the extent of American aid to the Soviet Union, see Herring. *The San Francisco Examiner*, May 21, 1944.

would publish his influential *realpolitik* analysis of Soviet intentions in *Foreign Affairs* and contrast “Anglo-Saxon traditions” with “the Russian-Asiatic world.”⁸

The Soviet occupation and domination of Poland was a particular issue for American politicians. All eastern European countries provided substantial blocks of immigrants to America, and none so large as the Polish. While American policy largely abandoned Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, which cooperated with Germany in the War, and cooled toward Czechoslovakia, whose Slovak portion also bore war guilt, it drew a firmer but fruitless line with respect to Poland. The Soviets and Polish leftists created their own rump government in opposition to the London-based Polish government-in-exile, and Soviet occupiers arrested sixteen in-country leaders allied with the London government.⁹

A focus of the Yalta Conference in February 1945 was Poland. The two major points at issue were Poland’s boundaries and a provisional Polish government. The boundary with the Soviet Union, after initial insistence by Roosevelt that the 1919 Curzon Line be expanded in the south to include Lvov, was agreed to be that Line with only minor modifications, conforming to the Soviet position. Stalin agreed to a “reorganization” of the government the Soviets had set up to include representatives of democratic groups within the country and abroad, i.e. the London government-in-exile. This reorganized government would hold free elections. The Soviets rejected the western insistence that the elections be supervised by their ambassadors, and Roosevelt and Churchill surrendered.¹⁰

The reorganized provisional government would in fact be controlled by the Soviets as would the subsequent election. Since the Soviets were militarily in control of Poland, Roosevelt and Churchill had limited options.¹¹ In Roosevelt’s case it was also important that he retain good relations with Stalin because, although Germany was clearly going to fall, a fearful American invasion of Japan awaited, and Soviet assistance there was desperately sought. In July the new Truman Administration, told that the provisional government complied with the Yalta agreement, recognized it, but this was shortly after many of the sixteen Polish leaders were sentenced to prison terms by the Soviets.¹²

In February 1946 the news exploded publicly that American atomic secrets had been purloined by Soviet agents. The fact that other countries spied was not as alarming as the possibility that Americans acting for the Soviets were insinuated in places of power. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), founded as a “special” or temporary committee in 1938, became by 1946 a “standing” or permanent committee, as well as a shibboleth of rightist political correctness. Founded primarily to keep an eye on American fascists and Nazi agents, the Committee had quickly become more concerned with American communists and Soviet agents. In 1941 HUAC Chairman Martin Dies (D TX) claimed there were

⁸ Gunther (1936), 404. [Kennan], 568. Goodman, 175-6. Buhle, 194-5.

⁹ Kochanski, 514.

¹⁰ Buhite, chapter III.

¹¹ Buhite, 57-67, contends that Roosevelt did have two bargaining chips he failed to use. Firstly, he could have threatened to end Lend Lease shipments to the Soviet Union without at this point impairing the war against Germany. Secondly, he could have threatened to withhold the return of Soviet citizens who had been captured or enslaved by the Germans. Buhite dismisses Japan as “imminent” of “collapse” (page xvii); in retrospect this appears to be true only on the assumption of the atomic bombing, whose future performance was uncertain. While discussing at length the reciprocal nature of Soviet prisoners for return of American and British prisoners held by the Soviet advance, Buhite seems to think that because there were fewer American and British than Soviet bodies at question that this could have been a winner against Stalin.

¹² Kochanski, 536. Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt’s old fixer and Truman’s personal emissary to Moscow, approved the provisional government, according to Donovan (1977), 56. Truman, himself, attributes the recommendation to the official ambassador in Moscow, Averill Harriman. Truman, 356-7.

1,040 Federal employees “sympathetic with totalitarian ideology,” which in context meant communists. At Administration insistence four months later, he provided a list of 1,121 names. The FBI was funded to investigate and in 1943 issued a report that resulted in the dismissal of two people and disciplinary action to a third. Despite the .003 batting average of the accusations, charges and worries about infiltration did not go away.¹³

Dies’ accommodation of attacks by HUAC on New Deal agencies, which began in 1938 with the Federal Theatre and Federal Writers projects, enabled a broader brush than individual witching. By the next year Republican Committee member Parnell Thomas of New Jersey was stating during a hearing, “It seems as though the New Deal was hand in glove with the Communist Party,” and Administration allies were warning Dies to back off for the good of his party. Republican discovery of the communism of the New Deal had not waited on HUAC. National Republican Chairman John Hamilton warned the 1936 electorate that votes for Roosevelt would further the “International Communist Conspiracy.”¹⁴

Red-hunting in the 1946 elections often focused not directly on Democratic candidates but on their support, real or imagined, by the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The CIO was founded in 1935 and 1936 and was both more aggressive and more leftist than the American Federation of Labor from which it emerged. John L. Lewis was a principal founder of the CIO, but nevertheless led his United Mine Workers out of the organization in 1942. Lewis directed his union in two strikes during the War, making him the most hated labor leader at the time. The mine workers’ strike in 1946 resulted in electrical outages and shutdowns in other industries, but neither Lewis nor the UMW became a Republican target during the election. Lewis endorsed Republican Wendell Willkie for president in 1940 and, while Lewis personally kept silent in 1944, the *United Mineworkers Journal* endorsed Republican Thomas Dewey for president.¹⁵

CIO unions were part of the wave of strikes in 1945 and 1946, but the focus on the CIO in the election had more to do with the organization’s Political Action Committee, the CIO-PAC. The leader of the PAC was Sidney Hillman of the American Labor Party. Unlike the Iowa-born Lewis, Hillman was an immigrant from Lithuania and Jewish, and subject to anti-Semitic intimations. The AFL supported politicians with bodies and funds as did the independent unions, but the CIO-PAC gained fame in its all-out push for Roosevelt in 1944. In 1946 the CIO made an organizing push in the South, called Operation Dixie, bringing labor issues to election campaigns in that region. The CIO was also disparaged as communist-dominated and eventually would indeed eject eleven unions for that alleged sin.¹⁶

Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover kept his eye on domestic communists, whether real or alleged, throughout his tenure of 48 years. In September 1946 Hoover told the American Legion in San Francisco that the Communist Party claimed 100,000 members in the country and that they “boast that for every party member there are ten others ready to do the party’s work. These include their ... fellow-travelers and their so-called progressive and phony liberal allies.” It is unclear if Hoover believed his own magnitudes, but they were useful for FBI funding.¹⁷

¹³ Donovan (1977), 170-1. McElvaine, 203. *The New York Times*, June 24, 1941. Goodman, 135-6

¹⁴ Goodman, 25-6, 42-3, 55, 65. McElvaine, 279.

¹⁵ Lingeman (2007), 210. McElvaine, 289-91. Goulden, 112. Dubofsky and Van Tine, 257, 327. *The Gazette and Daily*, July 18, 1944.

¹⁶ Lewis was seemingly areligious, though his mother was Mormon. Dubofsky and Van Tine, 6, 213. Fraser, 2. Lingeman (2012), 145, 155-7. Also note Goodman, 31, on communist involvement in the CIO in 1938.

¹⁷ *The South Bend Tribune*, October 1, 1946.

National Republican Chair Carroll Reece of Tennessee did not kick off Republican attacks on the loyalty of Democratic candidates when he wrote in the June 1946 issue of the party newsletter that one of the three elements of the Democratic Party was “the radical group devoted to Sovietizing the United States,” but he captured the moment. House Minority Leader Joseph Martin of Massachusetts, soon to become Speaker, promised a Republican House would drive “Communists, pinks and fellow-travelers from the high places they occupy in Washington.” Those were New Deal high places.¹⁸

There is a distinction between criticisms of political candidates for their economic or social philosophies and censures of candidates for their supposed loyalty to foreign powers or their alleged support for rebellion against American constitutional government. Unfortunately for observers, that distinction can be difficult to parse. Fortunately for aggressive office-seekers the difference can be even harder to identify.

The following Class of '46 congressional districts stand out for their accusations and insinuations of communism.

Chicago



Richard Vail, 2CD

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



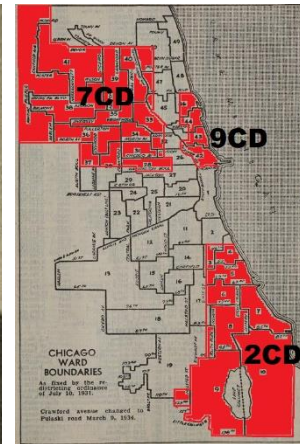
Thomas Owens, 7CD

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Robert Twyman, 9CD

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Chicago

Source: Chicago Daily News Almanac 1946

Republicans Richard Vail, Thomas Owens, and Robert Twyman took three seats from Democratic incumbents in Chicago while implying the disloyalty of Democrats. Yet in their respective primaries, Vail, Owens, and Twyman were, if not more moderate, at least more conventional.

One consideration in these contests was the fact that Illinois had not redrawn its congressional districts since 1901. Vail's Second District swelled with the growth of south Chicago to the point that it included 612,641 people in 1940. What is shocking is that it was not even the most populous congressional district that year. Not only were four at large districts (in Connecticut, North Dakota, Ohio, and, unsurprisingly, Illinois) larger but three other partial state districts were larger – one in Ohio, and two, again unsurprisingly, in Chicago. By 1950 Vail's district would add about another 70,000 people, though the State would redraw its districts before then. Which was the largest partial state district? That would be Owens,' which in 1940 held 914,053 souls, more than North Dakota with its two representatives. His Seventh District would have added another 75,000 people by 1950 had it not been redrawn. It included

¹⁸ Bowers, 100. The other elements, according to Reece, were big city machines and the South, “held in bondage by the chains of racial discrimination.” Bowen, 74, observed, “Reece effectively recast the domestic and foreign agenda of the GOP into the phrase “Communism vs. Republicanism.” Kenneally, 121.

northwestern Chicago as well as northwestern Cook County outside the City. Its 1940 black population was minimal, but its ethnicity was greater than Vail's, with 21% foreign born, and more diverse, with Poles and Russians (the latter often Jewish), Germans, and Italians leading the way. Twyman's Ninth District included Lakeview, Lincoln Park, and the Near North Side neighborhoods and, being earlier populated, became somewhat undersized since 1901. Its demography was similar to Owens': White and 23% foreign born in 1940, though the ethnics ran to Germans, Italians, and Swedes. Average median household income in 1949 would be \$3006 in Twyman's district, \$3541 in Vail's, and \$4080 in Owens'.¹⁹

Vail was a 50-year-old manufacturer of steel products, the family business. As such, he had a run-in with the National Labor Relations Board, which ordered him to reinstate two foremen whom he fired over their Union activities. Vail appealed all the way to the Supreme Court, which would uphold the NLRB's order. His public service consisted of an Army tour during the First World War and chairing a selective service appeals board and belonging to a dispute panel of the War Labor Board during the Second War. His father ran for the General Assembly as a Democrat, but the son was endorsed by Republican ward committees and swamped three opponents in the primary. One of these had a longer Republican resume, partly because he was a generation older than Vail. Another was a pro-Labor candidate, pretty much a non-starter in a Republican primary in his District, even one that was home to the University of Chicago and which in 1940 had a black population of 21% and a diverse foreign-born segment of 15%. The third opponent, Thomas Clark Van Hyning, 26, was a dive bomber pilot injured in the War, who was "building up a precinct-by-precinct organization with ex-GI's as a nucleus."²⁰

Van Hyning was the son of Lyrl Clark Van Hyning, a leader in the anti-War movement, heading first We, the Mothers, Mobilize to Keep America Out of War, which was replaced post-Pearl Harbor by We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America. One newspaper editor labeled her "one of the most aggressive figures in the 'mother' racket." She sent letters to the families of men lost in the sinking of the destroyer *Reuben James* in October 1941, torpedoed by a German submarine while guarding a British convoy, encouraging them to sue Federal officials for putting their loved ones in danger. She was an ally of Gerald L.K. Smith. Smith was a devotee of Sen. Huey Long's Share the Wealth movement and in 1944 recreated the America First Party, which foundered after Pearl Harbor, and declared himself its presidential candidate. Republican presidential candidate Thomas Dewey labeled Smith an anti-Semite, a native fascist. During the War, Mrs. Van Hyning's organization campaigned to keep "international bankers" out of the peace conferences, saying, "None but Christians should participate." Her organization circulated a tract entitled, "The Modern Canaanites, or, The Enemies of Jesus Christ." Her activities continued throughout her son's campaign.²¹

¹⁹ District boundaries and populations are from *Congressional Directory* unless otherwise noted. Ethnicity is from the US Census. Median household incomes are herein reported as arithmetic averages of the county, municipality, township, or census tract figures within each congressional district. In the case of sub-counties, the Census reported the amount for families and unrelated individuals. In the case of counties or states, the report is for family incomes. The source is the 1950 Census. A New York City Health Department survey of the entire City in 1952 found that 74% of Austrian immigrants, 71% of Polish immigrants, and 93% of Russian immigrants were Jewish. Rosenwaike, 151, 156.

²⁰ *The Gazette and Daily*, June 4, 1947. *Tucson Daily Citizen*, November 17, 1947. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 18, 1916. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 14, March 10, 1946. *Freeport Journal-Standard*, October 29, 1938. *The Daily Northwestern*, August 9, 1924.

²¹ *The Daily Notes*, April 8, 1946. Ribuffo, 137-40, 174-7. *The Escanaba Daily Press*, July 12, 1943. *The Gazette and Daily*, June 18, 1945. *The Kansas City Star*, November 30, 1941.

Thomas Clark Van Hying received only 3,454 votes to Vail's 24,434, proving not only that being an injured vet was no guarantee of election in 1946 but that Chicago, the center of isolationism before the War, had a limit to tolerance of its fringes.²²

The second Chicago member of the Class of '46, Owens, 48, was an attorney and a Republican ward chair who organized Republican lawyers' committees in the previous three elections. Not a veteran, he had three minor children. His father, who died when Owens was 13, was a laborer ironworker. Newspapers described the son as "stocky, jovial" and "athletic and robust." Owens said he decided to go into Congress when he listened to the League of Nations debate in the Senate in 1919. It took a while.²³

Owens, like Vail, was endorsed by the local Republican ward and township organizations and made short work of his two primary opponents. One was also a "hatriot," as the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* labeled anti-Semites who affected an "America First" position. This was Harold Dale, still in the Navy and thereby limited in his ability to personally campaign. He could still produce campaign literature, which claimed endorsement by "the national Republican organization" and accused "the Regular Republican organization" of "teaching New Deal foreign propaganda." Dale got 7,941 votes to Owens' 30,474, being advantaged with a less prominent mother than Van Hying, though Mrs. Dale did weigh in at one point with expressed opposition to the United Nations.²⁴

Also as did Vail, Owens had a pro-Labor primary opponent, Michael Hecht. A veteran, Hecht, 26 and a Zionist, was CIO-PAC committeeman for the 39th ward in the 1944 campaign and wanted the CIO to be brought into the Republican Party. Moreover, he urged nationalization of banks and industry. Isolationist, anti-Semites might do poorly among Seventh District Republicans, but socialist, Jewish, Labor activists fared worse, and Hecht counted half of Dale's vote.²⁵

The third Chicagoan, Twyman, was 49 and a manufacturer like Vail. Unlike Vail and Owens, he was a Second War vet as well as of the First War. He did his duty the first time sailing between America and France and the second time handling contracts in the States. Marjorie, his wife, had also done her First War service; five years older than Robert, she and her sister worked for the Signal Corps in France as interpreters.²⁶

Twyman's political experience was as a very young man when he became a secretary to US Sen. Harry New (R IN). Soon he was private secretary to the Ambassador to Cuba. Then, after the Navy and a brief stay in Guatemala, it was business, until he received the endorsement in December 1945 of the Republican wards in the Ninth District. In 1946 he was chair of the Thomas Hoist Company in Chicago, partly as a result of marrying Marjorie in 1920, daughter of Emmet Thomas of the Company. Twyman's father was a union stereotyper and also a minstrel performer.²⁷

²² *Illinois Vote*, April 9, 1946.

²³ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 11, September 22, November 19, 1946; January 8, 1947. Cook County births. 1900 and 1940 Census Schedules, Cook County, Illinois. *Dunkirk Evening Observer*, January 16, 1947. Data from Census schedules and from vital records such as birth, death, marriage, immigration, military enlistments, etc. are from those made available by FamilySearch.org, unless otherwise noted.

²⁴ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 2 & 7, 1946. *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, March 8, 1946. *Illinois Vote*, April 9, 1946.

²⁵ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 24, 1946.

²⁶ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 27, 1918; January 16, 1944; August 29, 1945.

²⁷ *The Indianapolis Star*, August 7, 1946. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 16, 1945. *Alton Evening Telegraph*, April 23, 1947. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 7, 1901; September 6, 1920. *The Indianapolis News*, February 4, 1911.

Twyman defeated his primary opponents handily in such a low turnout that he won with a total of 8,463 votes. Endorsement by the Party organization determined the winners, and few bothered to vote. Left to challenge their choices were largely oddities. Patrick Vincent, a Naval War veteran, still in the service, was constrained in his campaigning. The *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* considered him another “hatriot;” he had the reported support of Gerald L.K. Smith. His relative success in the primary was due to his father losing a race for the Republican nomination for Congress in 1942.²⁸

A third contender, Frederick Kister, was a prominent associate of Gerald L.K. Smith, who perhaps was nonmonogamous in his endorsements. He was an Army veteran of the Second War, a repentant Communist, and national director of the Christian Veterans of America. The *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* labeled him a “notorious anti-Semite.” On February 7, 1946, both Kister and Smith were speaking at a rally in the Chicago suburb of Des Plaines. A battle erupted between attendees and protesters of the event, and Kister and Smith ended up under arrest. Twyman won nomination with 71% of the vote.²⁹

Their primary opponents may have lulled the Chicago electorate into thinking that Vail, Owens, and Twyman were colorless, but the general election would disabuse that notion. Their three Democratic opponents were all older but nonetheless short-term incumbents. William Link, 62, Owens’ opponent, and William Rowan, 63, Vail’s, were both in their second House term. Alexander Resa, 59, whom Twyman challenged, was in only his first term. All were part of the Chicago Democratic organization. Rowan had been an alderman for 15 years, Link vice-president of the Board of Civil Service Commissioners of Cook County, and Resa assistant corporation counsel for the City for 24 years.

Republicans in Chicago regularly fought against the “Machine.” Twyman’s attacks on it and his blaming shortages on the Truman Administration were recounted in the previous chapter. He continued to emphasize these issues, now focusing on consumer shortages caused by American overseas aid but also venturing into foreign policy. On August 26 he cautioned that another war that would be larger than the last one was being caused by Administration unconcern about slave laborers, British mishandling of the Palestine situation, and Russian behavior in Poland. Twyman would remain concerned about Palestine throughout his tenure.³⁰

Resa received the endorsement of CIO-PAC but also of the Better Government Association, as did Twyman. The Association had been a private watchdog since 1923. Resa made something of a splash in Washington in his short tenure. Journalist Drew Pearson reported that he was “the only Democrat who speaks up vigorously” for Truman’s Full Employment bill, which “doesn’t have a chance of getting out of the House Committee.” Committee Chair Carter Manasco, Democrat of Alabama, said that if they passed that, they might as well pass the Soviet constitution. Twyman pulled his punches against Resa, whom even the very Republican *Chicago Daily Tribune* described kindly.³¹

Twyman’s “North Side” campaign, avoiding calling Resa a socialist or worse, contrasted with those of Owens and Vail. Both Link and Rowan provided more ammunition. Link was a sponsor of the Win the Peace Conference, which fellow Chicago Rep. Adolph Sabath organized and which HUAC listed as a “Communist front.” Link was an opponent of HUAC, and he and Rowan were endorsed by CIO-PAC. Former

²⁸ *Illinois Vote*, April 9, 1946. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 3, April 2, 1946. *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, March 8, 1946.

²⁹ *The Evening News*, February 8, 1946. *Long Beach Independent*, February 11, 1946.

³⁰ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 27, October 6 & 29, 1946.

³¹ Pensoneau. *Freeport Journal-Standard*, September 18, 1946. *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, March 20, 1946. Drew Pearson, November 1, 1945. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 3, 1946.

Secretary of Agriculture, Vice President, and Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace came to Chicago on November 1 to rally Democratic voters. He endorsed Resa, Link, and Rowan as well as others and declared that if the United States “really wants peace” it should accept a Russian disarmament proposal.³²

Wallace was let go by Truman from his Commerce post as a direct result of a speech the Secretary gave in New York City on September 12. The speech opposed a “get tough with Russia” policy, said the United States had “no more business in the political affairs of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the political affairs of Latin America, western Europe, and the United States,” and declared that he was “neither anti-Russian nor pro-Russian.” Moreover, the text was released before the event and Wallace said that he went over it with Truman, who approved it. Secretary of State James F. Byrnes was upset, not only at the tenor of the speech, but the fact that Wallace was trespassing on his bailiwick. Truman was embarrassed to be portrayed as agreeing with the speech and at having by-passed Byrnes. Then, a letter Wallace gave the President on July 23 came to light in which the Secretary portrayed American atomic bomb tests, military bases, and bombers as threatening to the Soviets. And so, Wallace had to go. Wallace’s sentiments in the speech and letter were consistent with his past and future statements. His endorsement could be a troublesome thing.³³

Poland was emphasized by the Republican candidates as the critical issue. The 1940 Census counted 129,212 Polish-born residents of Cook County, Illinois; 43% of them lived in the three congressional districts. Polish-American Republican Rep. Alvin O’Konski came to Chicago from Wisconsin to campaign in the Polish districts. He accused Roosevelt of betraying Poland: “Our President came back from the Yalta conference and peddled typical Communist apologies for his actions. Regarding the betrayal of Poland, he said the land didn’t belong to the Polish because there were not enough Polish people living in the area.... Poland was not divided by her enemies. She was divided by her allies. So too, will the United States be divided by Communists.” The United Press reported O’Konski saying “that the election Tuesday was ‘a fight between Communism and Americanism.’ He said that a government controlled by those who would sell such countries as Poland ‘down the river’ can be expected eventually to sell its own citizens into bondage.”³⁴

Twyman mentioned Poland, but Vail in his campaign connected the Yalta Conference, the Democratic Party, and the Sovietization of Poland. A War Veterans Committee for a Free Poland endorsed Vail as “a sincere friend of the Polish people” and accused Democrats of betraying Poland and pilloried Rowan of being pro-Russian and pro-communist. Most aggressive was Owens, who said Link supported Administration policies that turned Poland over to Russian domination with half its land in the Soviet Union. He described Yalta and Poland as the “victim of the biggest fraud ever perpetrated on a nation,” that Link supported appeasement to Russia and was a “stooge.”³⁵

Before Yalta, Rowan said that only “a radical right-wing fringe of Polish nationalists ... insist on a restoration of the 1939 border” of Poland. After Yalta he requested a plebiscite and said Yalta had denied

³² *Freeport Journal-Standard*, April 4, November 5, 1946. Twenty-three congressmen were sponsors, including incumbents who fell to Class of ’46 people Owens of Illinois, Laurie Battle of Alabama, Ernest Bramblett, Willis Bradley, Charles Fletcher, and Donald Jackson of California, Thor Tollefson, Homer Jones, and Russell Mack of Washington, George Sarbacher and Robert McGarvey of Pennsylvania, Charles Kersten of Wisconsin, and Frederic Coudert of New York. *The San Francisco Examiner*, October 20, 1946. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 13, November 3, 1946. *The Edwardsville Intelligencer*, November 2, 1946.

³³ Donovan (1977), 220-8.

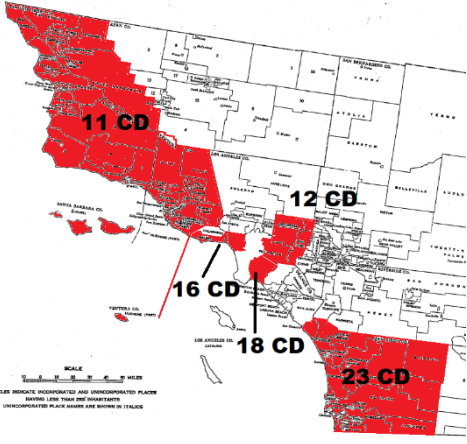
³⁴ Ubriaco, 239-40. *The Edwardsville Intelligencer*, November 2, 1946.

³⁵ Ubriaco, 236, 238. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 13, 1946.

the Poles' right to self-determination. But he did not attack Democratic foreign policy. Link, who was born in Poland, was general secretary of the Polish-American Democratic Organization of Illinois.³⁶

Owens' most aggressive stance appeared to pay off, taking 55% of the vote over Link, an improvement of ten points from 1944 in the Republican vote, mirroring the drop in Polish support of Democrats. Vail and Twyman squeaked by with 51% each with eight-point (nine-point in Polish wards) and four-point enhancements from 1944, respectively.³⁷

Southern California

		
Richard Nixon, 12CD Source: <i>Pocket Directory</i> (1951)	Donald Jackson, 16CD Source: <i>Pocket Directory</i> (1951)	Ernest Bramblett, 11CD Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov
		
Charles Fletcher, 23CD Source: Wikipedia.org	Southern California Source: 1950 Census	Willis Bradley, 18CD Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov

Republicans took six Democratic seats in southern California, including one in which a previous representative returned.

Republican challenger Richard Nixon's campaign against Democratic incumbent Jerry Voorhis in eastern Los Angeles County has been well documented. Nixon was 33, a lieutenant commander returned from Navy service in the Pacific but without combat experience, an attorney without notable political

³⁶ Ubriaco, 230-1.

³⁷ Ubriaco, 242, 243.

activity or wounds. He was born next door to and raised in the Twelfth District. He practiced law there for five years before moving to a Federal job in Washington for a few months before the Navy got him. His father operated a gas station and grocery. The District was east central Los Angeles County, all outside the City and in 1940 was only 63% urban, even by the Census' loose standards. By 1950 the population of the District would nearly double. In 1946 it was "a citrus-scented paradise soon to be lost as post-war boom towns gained ground on the groves."³⁸ Given its proximity to Los Angeles and its own small cities, agriculture was, however, only a small part of its employment picture. The average median household incomes across the census tracts in 1949 would be \$3495. The foreign-born population would increase from 8% in 1940 to 13% in 1950, with the largest share coming from Mexico.

Nixon was recruited by the Candidates and Fact Finding Committee in his district, part of the Los Angeles County Republican plan of organization. He was approached by one of the members of the future Fact Finding Committee about a legislative candidacy before the War but turned it down; now he was slated to run for Congress. Voorhis, 45, had been in the House since 1937. He was a New Dealer with a reputation as less a leftist than as an idealist, a man who before the House started and ran a home and school for orphans with his father. Voorhis was a true believer in the self-help cooperative movement, more akin to utopian socialism than to communism. His continuation in office was a tribute to his attention to constituents on a personal rather than a product basis. *The New York Times* journalist Turner Catledge determined the Representative "was ineffectual in terms of practical results."³⁹

There was no test of party affiliation in California to contest for a party's nomination. Single candidates could, and usually did, file for the primaries of both major parties. This "cross-filing" could result in a candidate running in the general election as the nominee of both the Republicans and the Democrats. It also meant that the primary could be a harbinger of the results of the general election. It definitely extended the partisan battle into the primary season.

Apart from one William Kinnett, who cross-filed as did the two major candidates, the 1946 House contest from the beginning was head-to-head between Voorhis and Nixon. The latter used his War service, which Voorhis lacked, and much has been made about Nixon's tarring Voorhis with, if not communism, then something very akin. Voorhis's votes for wartime aid to the Soviet Union were portrayed as "six pro-Soviet votes." One ad opposing Voorhis accused him of being supported by radical groups, of once registering as a Socialist, of being endorsed by the National Political Action Committee and linking that to CIO-PAC, which was portrayed as looking after the interests of Russia and being Communistic, and of voting 43 out of 46 times with CIO-PAC. Another ad charged Voorhis with being against the deportation of Australian-born and allegedly communist Longshoreman's Union leader Harry Bridges, of voting to send \$200 million to Russia after the War was over, of voting not to stop relief to Russia, Yugoslavia and other Russian-dominated countries, of being against (1) extending HUAC, (2) investigating government

³⁸ *Time*, November 18, 1946. Nixon, *Memoirs*, 4. Kendall. The Census definition of "urban" is dysfunctional in two ways. A municipality was counted as urban if the population was over 2500, thus overrating the urbanity of many districts. And, with the exception of some unincorporated towns in New England, a highly populous but unchartered community was not counted as urban. Thus Kingsland Macy, who represented a portion of Nassau County, New York, had a district only 16% urban thanks to its many unincorporated communities, while nearly half the population was counted in the metropolitan area of New York City. Something similar was true of William Crow's district, 24% urban but 60% metropolitan thanks to its proximity to Pittsburgh.

³⁹ Bone, 1117. *Wilmington Press-Journal*, November 2, 1945. Nixon, *Memoirs*, 34. Nixon, interview. Voorhis (1948), 2, 4-5, 43-4, 79-81, 352-60. *The New York Times*, December 21, 1947.

employees engaged in Communistic activities, and (3) firing three Federal employees for subversive activities, and so on.⁴⁰

An interviewer would later query Nixon: “The story has come down from that campaign, one of the most controversial legacies from it, that just before the ... election or on the election eve, ... very late at night, anonymous phone calls were made to Voorhis supporters, ... with the message just, ... ‘Jerry Voorhis is a Communist!’ and then hanging up, and it's been attributed to your supporters.” Nixon denied it was his supporters. Los Angeles Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas, later defeated by Nixon in a Senate race, would report that the daughter of a campaign worker of hers observed the activity in person.⁴¹

Still, the overriding issue in the contest may have been less Voorhis’ leftism than the problems that affected most Democratic representatives away from the one-party South: inflation, shortages, strikes, Truman, Wallace, and weariness with the Democratic Party. Years later Voorhis would write, “He might even have beaten me fairly, given all the circumstances of 1946, with the simple appeal that it was time to change parties in power....”⁴²

The cross-filed primary nominated Voorhis as the Democrat with 80% of the vote and Nixon as the Republican with 64%. Voorhis received 8000 more votes than Nixon. The shift from June to November was substantial, as Nixon won by 16,000. Perhaps post-primary debates and accusations of pseudo-communism made the difference, but it was perhaps more the deepening issues of inflation and so on. Or it may simply have been that the more disaffected did not show up for the primary vote; 47,000 more people voted in the general election.⁴³

Donald Jackson, 36, of Santa Monica, was also recruited by the Republican Fact Finding Committee in a district that was exploding from 330,000 people in 1940 to 478,000 in 1950, most all native-born white folks. The Sixteenth Congressional District included Santa Monica, Beverly Hills, Culver City, and Malibu, as well as Westside Los Angeles - Pacific Palisades, Brentwood, Bel-Air, Westwood, Venice, and so on, much of the high rent district of the City and its suburbs. There were also poorer districts and so the average household median income would be held to \$3727 in 1949.⁴⁴

Jackson was born in South Dakota, the son of a newspaper publisher, and was a journalist himself and director of publicity for the city of Santa Monica before the War. He served a pre-War tour and five years in the Marines during the War, fighting as an officer at Tarawa and Saipan.⁴⁵

Jackson had to contend with four other Republicans in the primary. Three were insignificant, but the fourth was former Rep. Leland Ford. Ford was 53, was defeated for reelection in 1942, had been a member of the Citizens Committee to Keep America Out of the War, and had urged the removal of all Californians of Japanese ancestry, citizens and aliens alike. Jackson was free of accusations of isolationism and racism.⁴⁶

The District’s incumbent, Democrat Ellis Patterson, did not want to remain in the House but rather made a run for the Senate in 1946. Democrats Harold Harby and Emmet Lavery sought to replace him. Harby was elected to the Los Angeles City Council in 1939 as an ally of Mayor Fletcher Bowron, who took

⁴⁰ *The Covina Argus-Citizen*, May 17, October 18, November 1, 1946. Goulden, 228. Conrad Black, 81-3.

⁴¹ Nixon, interview. Helen Gahagan Douglas, 244.

⁴² Voorhis (1973), 16.

⁴³ *California Statement of Vote, June 4, 1946*.

⁴⁴ *The Los Angeles Times*, March 20, 1946.

⁴⁵ *The Daily Times*, April 24, 1947.

⁴⁶ Leonard, 67. *The Bakersfield Californian*, February 10, 1942.

office in 1938 in a recall of the incumbent resulting from the bombing of a private investigator by two city police officers. Harby, himself, was removed from office in 1942 by a judge after his conviction of misuse of a city car, having driven it to Great Falls, Montana, for a vacation. Lavery was a playwright and screen writer, notably for *The Magnificent Yankee*, which ran on Broadway from January to June 1946 and would become a 1950 film. In 1946 he was president of the Screen Writers Guild and was busy defending this constituency against charges of communism.⁴⁷

Jackson squeaked by Ford to secure the Republican nomination, getting only 38% of the ballots, given the cross-filings by Harby and Lavery and the three minor candidates. Harby had a close win of the Democratic nomination over Lavery with 42%. Jackson was the only Republican to cross-file in the Democratic primary. Harby took 900 votes more than Jackson across the two primaries.⁴⁸

Then matters got complicated. Ellis Patterson failed to get nominated for the Senate and ran a write-in campaign for his old House seat. He had had a varied political career, being elected to the Legislature as a Republican, a Democrat, and an independent. He was the Democratic Lieutenant Governor and headed an unsuccessful slate of Democratic National Convention delegates against Roosevelt in 1940, opposing the President as a “war monger” from the radical left rather than the isolationist right. His candidacy as the incumbent Democratic representative could only help Jackson, by splitting the non-Republican vote with the questionable Harby.⁴⁹

Jackson fitted into the Republican pitch well, saying, “There’s only one real issue. That is who is going to govern the country – the minorities represented by the Wallace-P.A.C. philosophies or shall we continue under our representative form of government that is close to the people and does not govern through multiplied bureaucracies? As for me, I don’t propose to yield to the pressure of the C.I.O.-P.A.C.” Both Harby and Patterson were endorsed by the CIO, but many Democratic activists labeled Harby as “reactionary.” Jackson focused on Patterson, saying, “the write-in Democratic candidate in this district ... and his leftwing supporters, talk about getting our troops out of China and out of the way of the Communists, and they back [Henry] Wallace and his appeasement policy.”⁵⁰

Jackson bumped the Republican performance in his district up five points to 54%. Patterson ran as most write-ins do, distantly. Harby was in second place.

After taking the Eleventh District nomination with only second term Democrat George Outland as his primary opponent, California Republican Ernest Bramblett displaced Outland in the November election. Bramblett was from the north end of the mostly southern Monterey-Santa Barbara District that stretched half way down the State’s coast. It included the old Spanish capital Monterey and Salinas, “a mecca of the Okies,” as John Gunther termed it.⁵¹ The population of the District would grow by a phenomenal 60% over the 1940s. The 10% of the population that was foreign born was overwhelmingly from Mexico. The 6000 of Japanese ancestry that lived in the District in 1940 would be whittled in half by

⁴⁷ *The Bakersfield Californian*, May 3, 1939; September 11, 1941. *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, May 3, 1939; January 13, 1942; October 8, 1946. IBDB.com.

⁴⁸ *California Statement of Vote*, June 4, 1946.

⁴⁹ *The Fresno Bee the Republican*, April 17, 1948.

⁵⁰ *The Los Angeles Times*, October 11 & 17, 1946. *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, November 1 & 7, 1946. *Harrisburg Telegraph*, October 14, 1946. The appearance of China as a side issue in this election was unusual. Though the Communists and Nationalists were frequently testing each other in China, there were still active negotiations until 1947. See Donovan (1977), 248, for the state of American policy in late 1946.

⁵¹ Gunther (1947), 4. Gunther’s tour of the United States in the time frame of the 1946 election adds a contemporary context for some of the congressional districts of the Class of ’46.

1950 through War-based relocations. The economy was heavily agricultural, based on citrus, nuts, and vegetables. The average family median income in 1949 would be \$3421.⁵²

Bramblett, 45, was a school administrator and Mayor of Pacific Grove. Outland was 40 and a college professor. Neither was a veteran. Bramblett moved the Republican needle up seven points from 1944 to 53%.

Something called the Economic Council of Santa Maria ran ads against Outland, claiming that he was “anti-farmer, anti-free enterprise, pro-Russian, pro-regimentation, pro-most everything opposed to what we have always considered true Americanism.” Bramblett, on the other hand was “a red-blooded American.” Dates of votes by Outland in the House were cited in which he was anti-HUAC and protected the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, as well as his votes on agricultural policies. The “Better Government League of the Eleventh Congressional District” ran ads asking, “Does Outlandish Outland Stand Convicted of aiding and abetting Communism, the destroyer of our homeland, by opposing those who would expose Communistic activities? Never in our history has America had so many internal enemies. They are in the schools, the editorial offices, the broadcast studios, the film studios, even in the Army.” The ads linked Outland to “Sidney Hillman (original name Schmucl Gilman).” Outland’s endorsement by CIO-PAC was an issue as was his characterization of Henry Wallace as “one of the great men of our generation.”⁵³

Outland flirted with running for the Senate, then was widely thought early to be safe and was said to have not campaigned hard, but his advertisements were tough. Apart from the usual incumbents’ listings of what they had done for their districts, he struck back on New Deal issues. “Attention: Mr. Bramblett. Inasmuch as your campaign is being directed by rabid Roosevelt-haters, we assume that you never have believed in the policies of the late President Roosevelt. Therefore we ask you...” 1. “do you propose to ... repeal the Federal bank depository act?” 2. “repeal the social security law” 3. “work toward reducing old age pensions from \$55 to \$25?” 4. “stop all Federal housing projects, flood control work, soil conservation projects, Federal grants to municipalities to develop airports and other municipal projects?” 5. “abolish the G. I. Bill of Rights” 6. “repeal the Wagner Labor Act & reduce the minimum wage to 30 cents an hour?” If the contest was Red Scare against New Deal, it was clear which won.⁵⁴

The fourth southern California member of the Class of ’46 was Charles Fletcher, 43, president and manager of Home Federal Savings and Loan Association of San Diego. He served overseas in the Navy during the War and sought nomination for the US House in 1944 while in active service. Fletcher received 23% of the Republican primary vote then and 14% of the Democratic vote, placing second in both, while unable to campaign.⁵⁵

San Diego was and is an important Naval base. John Gunther characterized it during the War as “easily the most crowded city in the United States; a single factory, Consolidated Vultee, employed 48,000 workers, and a transient body of 125,000 soldiers, sailors and marines was jammed into the community on top of its violently expanding civilian population.”⁵⁶ The City would grow from 203,000 in 1940 to

⁵² Agricultural data for 1946 districts if from the Census of Agriculture, 1945.

⁵³ *Santa Maria Times*, May 22, October 21, 1946. *Oxnard Press-Courier*, April 18, June 1, 1946.

⁵⁴ *Santa Maria Times*, October 29, 1946. *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, January 17, 1946. Drew Pearson, January 6, 1946. *Oxnard Press-Courier*, June 5 & 10, 1946. Farr interview, 9.

⁵⁵ *California Statement of Vote*, May 16, 1944.

⁵⁶ Gunther (1947), 55.

334,000 in 1950, the County and Twenty-third Congressional District from 289,000 to 536,000. Median family income in 1949 would be \$3456.

The Democratic incumbent in 1946 was Ed Izac, 54, in his fifth term. A Naval Academy graduate, Izac in May 1918, then spelling his name Isaacs, was serving on a troop transport that was sunk by a German submarine. Isaacs was captured, the Germans mistaking him for the ship's captain, and imprisoned in Germany. Attempting to get away from a moving train, he was injured and beaten, resulting in broken feet and a broken shoulder blade and deafness in an ear. He successfully escaped to Switzerland on October 13, 1918. Izac was awarded a Congressional Medal of Honor, in large part because he concealed his lower rank on the transport from the Germans, but in 1921 was cashiered as physically unfit due to his injuries.⁵⁷

Fletcher announced against Izac, saying, "San Diego county deserves a far more alert, aggressive and sincere type of representation...." And "...such vitally important subjects as housing, water and taxes have been handled on a hit-or-miss basis." "Congress must have new blood."⁵⁸ Both Fletcher and Izac cross-filed.

Also running in both primaries was George Fisher, an Army veteran, who would soon be chosen as chair of the American Legion's Un-American Activities Commission. Fisher took 31% of the Republican primary vote, but Fletcher won with 56%, and the rest went to Izac. Izac was renominated with 58% of the Democratic primary vote, while Fletcher took 27% and Fisher 15%.⁵⁹

Izac was a member of the Win the Peace group, labeled by HUAC as a Communist front. Henry Wallace came to San Diego to campaign for him, and the CIO-PAC backed him. Fletcher won with 56% of the vote, an improvement of eleven points over the Republican performance in 1944. After this, Izac threw in the political towel and went on a congressional junket to the Pacific islands.⁶⁰

Finally, Willis Bradley was also recruited by the Los Angeles County Republican Party organization. He was born in 1884 in Niagara County, New York, to a physician, went to the Naval Academy, served in the pacification of Cuban rebels, in the rescues associated with the 1908 earthquake at Messina, Italy, commanded destroyers, and was the gunnery officer on the USS *Pittsburgh* in July 1917 when he rescued seamen and extinguished a blaze in a casemate, which earned him the Congressional Medal of Honor. He went on to be the Governor of Guam, an American territory under Navy control, to command the Pearl Harbor Navy Yard, a cruiser, and a destroyer squadron, but he spent the Second World War on the Navy's Board of Inspection and Survey. When he retired on August 1, 1946, it was stated as "physical incapacity incurred in line of duty."⁶¹

The Eighteenth Congressional District was Long Beach, Compton, and Downey in Los Angeles County. With 292,000 people in 1940, it would grow over the decade into 568,000. It remained overwhelmingly white and native-born during that period, its population growth coming from the central regions of the country. Average median household income in 1949 would be \$3397. The incumbent was Democrat Clyde

⁵⁷ *The New York Times*, June 29, 1919. *The Perry County Democrat*, July 16, 1919. *The Standard Union*, February 20, 1921.

⁵⁸ *The Chula Vista Star*, February 22, 1946.

⁵⁹ *The Fresno Bee the Republican*, December 5, 1947. *California Statement of Vote*, June 4, 1946.

⁶⁰ *The Bakersfield Californian*, October 26, 1946. *The Covina Argus-Citizen*, November 1, 1946. *The Decatur Herald*, November 23, 1946.

⁶¹ *Long Beach Independent*, March 20, 1946. ussbradley.com. "Willis Winter Bradley, Jr.," at cmohs.org.

Doyle, who ousted Republican William Johnson in 1944. Doyle was only three years younger than Bradley. An attorney, he was not a veteran but lost a son in the Army Air Corps in the War.

When Bradley announced his candidacy for the House, he said he was nonpartisan. A week later he participated in a mass Republican filing of candidacy. Bradley said, “I am in this campaign because I am convinced that the incumbent congressman is powerless to accomplish the things which must be done if we are to keep America a free land and where the individual still has some right other than a cog in a governmental machine.” Going farther, he accused Doyle of voting “with those who opposed the investigation of communists, fascists and radicals” and against measures to continue HUAC and that Doyle “had helped those sources that sought to destroy our way of life.” Doyle was endorsed by CIO-PAC and was a sponsor of Win the Peace.⁶²

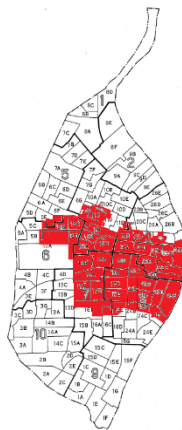
The only two candidates for both nominations, Bradley got 70% of the Republican vote and Doyle took 67% of the Democratic vote. Overall, Doyle received 2300 more votes than Bradley, but the growing meat shortage, Henry Wallace’s roiling of Democratic groups, and Bradley’s reference to “Communist fronts” had their effect. In November, Bradley took 7000 more votes than Doyle, his 53% a Republican improvement of 8.5 points.⁶³

Missouri and Washington



Claude Bakewell

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



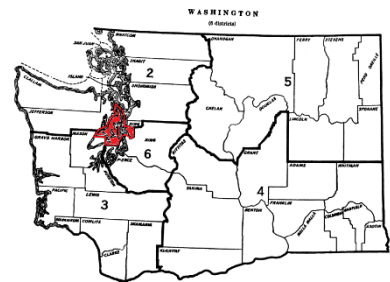
St. Louis 11th

Source: US Census 1950



Homer Jones

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Washington 1st Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory, 1948

The election in the Missouri Eleventh District followed a common pattern. Incumbent Democrat John Sullivan, 49 and in his first term, was endorsed by the CIO and the AFL. Republican candidate Claude Bakewell, 34, was unopposed for the nomination. He charged that CIO-PAC was “a group which is in a large measure controlled by Communistic design, subversive elements and radical personalities.” An extra sidelight was that Bakewell was endorsed by fascist Gerald L.K. Smith; the candidate’s reaction was to disavow Smith’s “principles or viewpoints – or anything.” Neither candidate headed for the extremes on specific policies, but Bakewell lit into the New Deal at large, saying, “You’re not going to get the Communists out until you get the New Deal out.” Bakewell charged that the Democratic Party “has become the tool of the totalitarian threat to our country.” Sullivan defended the New Deal, saying that Republican candidates “would like to see all the progressive legislation of the past fourteen years canceled and repealed.” “Today we take for granted the obligation of the Government to help our citizens insure

⁶² *Long Beach Independent*, March 10, May 10 & 22 & 27, 1946. *The Los Angeles Times*, June 2, 1946.

⁶³ *California Statement of Vote*, June 4, 1946. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, October 2, 1946.

themselves against the day when they might, unfortunately, be without a job, sick or enfeebled. The Republicans were unable to comprehend such a philosophy.” Bakewell eked out a victory by just 1.6 points, which, however, was a big ten point increase over the Republican vote in 1944.⁶⁴

Bakewell’s father was a St. Louis attorney, who was sued for divorce in June 1945 for desertion after a separation of 17 years. The son also took up the law, practicing with his father. His wife’s family had a summer house at Hyannis Port near the Kennedy family compound, and she grew up playing with the offspring. Claude was an alderman of the City from 1941 until he enlisted in the Navy in October 1944 despite having two minor children. He spent eighteen months in the service as an attorney.⁶⁵

The Eleventh District was downtown St. Louis, a metropolis that John Gunther found to be tolerant, “a great town for civil liberties.” But he also opined that it was “almost as southern in some respects as Atlanta,” two assessments seemingly at odds with each other.⁶⁶ For a city with a reputation of being heavily German, the proportion of foreign born in the District was low, but the black share was about 20% in 1940. Average median household income would be about \$2237 in 1949.

One of the incumbent Democrats who was more clearly sympathetic to Soviet foreign policy was Hugh DeLacy of Washington. A first term representative, only 35 years old, he was elected to the Seattle City Council when he was 27. He did not serve in the War; he had three very young children and he was a shipyard machinist before taking his congressional seat. He “defended Russia’s stand in seeking other spheres outside her own boundaries and said if the United States and Great Britain ‘expect to establish vast spheres outside their own boundaries for security reasons, then why criticize Russia for wanting the same thing.’” DeLacy opened his campaign declaring that the “get-tough-with-Russia policy” should be replaced with the “Roosevelt good neighbor policy.” More of a West Coast concern, he called for the US to end its support of Chinese Nationalists in the civil war.⁶⁷

The Republican candidate was Homer Jones, 53, a Naval veteran of both world wars and a vocational politician, who had a youthful career playing with dance and pit bands around eastern Washington. He was born to a Missouri farmer who relocated to Bremerton. Jones held a variety of local offices and appointive State positions and was defeated for State Treasurer four times. Jones took the Republican nomination with 74% against a publisher and a radio announcer. The First District consisted of Seattle and Kitsap County. The latter was only 11% of the District’s population in 1940 and would be 14% in 1950. Yes, it grew faster than Seattle over the decade, but the City still added 100,000 people during that time. Seattle’s population was 17% foreign born in 1940, Canadians, Scandinavians, and Japanese. Average median household income would be about \$3900. Gunther noted that the State had the highest wages outside Detroit.⁶⁸

Jones said little about DeLacy. Others did the talking. Pres. Roosevelt’s daughter, Anna Boettiger, a resident of Seattle, backed DeLacy’s primary opponent and accused DeLacy of following the Communist Party line. She also accused him of attacking her father as a “warmonger” until the Soviet Union entered the War. Howard Costigan, the losing candidate in the Democratic primary, “declared he would work

⁶⁴ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 14 & 23 & 26, 1946. *Missouri Manual 1947 1948*. *The St. Louis Star and Times*, October 1, November 4, 1946.

⁶⁵ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 6, 1945; November 24, 1963; October 2, 1972.

⁶⁶ Gunther (1947), 352, 653.

⁶⁷ *Capital Journal*, August 30, 1947. *Eugene Register-Guard*, March 29, June 18, 1946. *The Bend Bulletin*, July 27, 1946.

⁶⁸ *Port Angeles Evening News*, October 15, 1956. sos.wa.gov/elections/results_search.aspx. *Eugene Register-Guard*, July 7, 1946. Gunther (1947), 88.

unceasingly ‘not only to defeat DeLacy, but all communist-backed candidates.’” Republican Senate candidate Harry Cain said that HUAC labeled DeLacy among “45 who represent what is probably the most impressive aggregation of Communist talent ever assembled in a single organization throughout the long history of the Communist Party’s transmission belts in this country.” DeLacy was one of only three candidates for the House in November that a new American Legion PAC publicly identified as targeted. Passions ran high. A Jones campaign appearance was so buffeted by a demonstration for DeLacy that Sen. Robert Taft (R OH), offering a shelter to Jones in his car, ended up with six stitches when his driver, panicking, closed the door on Taft’s hand.⁶⁹

DeLacy replied that he was just supporting Roosevelt’s policies and just before the election announced a \$50,000 libel suit against fifteen people whom he said were trying to “overthrow the American political and economic systems.” The stunt did him no good. Jones took 64% of the vote, best showing of any Republican who took a Democratic seat that year and an eighteen-point improvement of the Republican performance in 1944. A year later DeLacy’s wife would sue for divorce. In 1954 DeLacy would become the first, and maybe still the only, former member of the House to plead the Fifth Amendment when questioned about being a communist.⁷⁰

The Republican leadership and many, maybe most, Republican candidates may have seen Democrats as the whipping boys of communism and the CIO, but as was evident in DeLacy’s case, Democrats did plenty of self-flagellation.

An intra-Democratic Texas race that emphasized CIO-PAC was in Dallas. Appointed Judge Frank Wilson and elected Judge Sarah Hughes squared off with three other candidates for the seat of 70-year-old Democrat Hatton Sumners, who had held off Wilson in 1944 but announced his retirement on March 9, 1946. Wilson was 45, “tall, handsome, dark-haired” it was said, and the son of a Corsicana banker who acquired large land holdings in Collingsworth County. Hughes, 49, was described gender-specifically as “a five-foot dynamo from Dallas” who was throwing off political sparks; “trim,” “not quite as glamorous as the more striking ... Clare Boothe Luce, but ... is every bit as brainy ... and has the same sparkling personality.” Hughes identified herself as a Roosevelt liberal, while Wilson called himself a middle-of-the-road, fighting conservative. Hughes and Wilson made it into a run-off, where Wilson made Hughes’ supposed endorsement by CIO-PAC central to his campaign. Hughes was endorsed by AFL and railroad unions but not apparently by the CIO, and that organization publicly stated that it agreed to back Wilson in 1944 against Sumners. Sumners endorsed Wilson, who took the nomination with 61% of the vote. Wilson overwhelmed the Republican candidate in November.⁷¹

Gunther described Dallas as “a highly sophisticated little city..., urbane as well as urban, quite chic, with a nice gloss and sheen....” “It is conservatively minded on the whole, with a strong Baptist and Methodist tinge....” The “little city” had 295,000 people in 1940 and would have 434,000 in 1950. The Fifth District was Dallas County, which would have a population of 615,000 in the latter year, with 13% black

⁶⁹ Drew Pearson, July 8, 1946. *The Oregon Statesman*, July 11, 1946. *Herald and News*, July 5 & 15, 1946. *Eugene Register-Guard*, October 27, 1946. Patch, “Communism.” *The News-Review*, September 24, 1947.

⁷⁰ *The Daily Chronicle*, November 6, 1946. *Eugene Register-Guard*, November 1, 1946. *The Dayton Daily News*, September 14, 1954.

⁷¹ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, February 17; May 11, 1946. *Texas Almanac* (1945), (1947). *Valley Evening Monitor*, March 10, 1946. *Abilene Reporter-News*, August 21, 1946; March 9, 1948. *Corsicana Daily Sun*, April 30, 1909; August 3, 1934. *The Austin American*, August 2 & 7 & 24, 1946. *Longview News-Journal*, August 21, 1946. *The Waco News-Tribune*, August 26, 1946.

folks. Gunther wrote that “it is a banking and jobbing and distributing center, the headquarters of railways and utilities....” The median family income would be \$3433 in 1949, high for a Southern city, but then Dallas was more western, and there was oil.⁷²

Interneecine Democrats



Frank Wilson

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)



George Smathers

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Otto Passman

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Laurie Battle

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1947)



Texas 1st Cong. Dist.

Congressional Directory (1948)



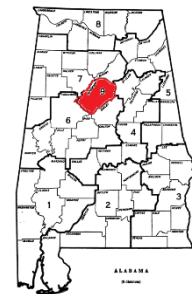
Florida 4th Cong. Dist.

Congressional Directory (1948)



Louisiana 5th Cong. Dist.

Congressional Directory (1948)



Alabama 9th Cong. Dist.

Congressional Directory (1948)

In the Miami, Florida, Fourth District, incumbent Democrat Pat Cannon attacked primary challenger George Smathers as too close to the leftist Sen. Claude Pepper, who was drifting now to accommodation with the Soviets. Cannon accused Smathers of “fence straddling” on the OPA, the Russian situation, and the atomic bomb, and of links to Pepper on “appeasing” Russia. Smathers cut his political teeth working for Pepper’s election and responded that he was friends with Pepper but, “For the record, I want you to know that I disagree with Sen. Pepper in his expressed view that the United States should collaborate with Russia outside of the United Nations organization.”⁷³

The Florida Fourth was like the Washington First in having a metropolitan county, Dade, and rather irrelevant add-ons. Monroe County included exotic Key West, Pres. Truman’s favorite retreat, and the Everglades, to become a national park in 1947, but Dade County had 93% of the District’s population. Miami would grow from 172,000 in 1940 to 249,000 in 1950. Gunther thought it was “about as ‘southern’ as the Bronx” with the addition of a strong strain of anti-Semitism and a domination by the gambling

⁷² Gunther (1947), 829.

⁷³ *Miami Daily News*, April 21 & 28, 1946. Crispell, 22-3. Smathers, 4.

industry.⁷⁴ A significant foreign-born element was contributed by migrants from the northeast and immigrants from the Caribbean. Median family income in the District would be about \$3000 in 1949.

The tall, handsome Smathers was 32 and born in New Jersey but raised in Florida after his father, a State judge, gave up the bench to move to a warm climate as more benign for his crippling arthritis. George Smathers' uncle William Smathers was a US Senator from New Jersey and a great-uncle Smathers and a great great grandfather Howell were North Carolina legislators, but George had never sought political office before. He took his law degree, married the next year, had a son in 1941 and seven months later joined the Marines. After eighteen months in the South Pacific and the birth of a second son, Smathers lobbied every political contact he could think of to be rotated back to the States.⁷⁵

Sen. Pepper, one of those lobbied, would publish later that Smathers had written that he wanted to return to run for a seat in the House. After his return Smathers wrote to a friend that he really wanted a Senate seat but needed to start somewhere. The story the would-be representative put out publicly was that "he really made up his mind to run for Congress when he was unable to find office space to resume his law practice upon returning from" service. Smathers would later report that he went to see Cannon and said, "Pat, I'm going to run for Congress. I'm sorry that it's going to be you. But I've got this wild hair to try myself in politics. I've thought about it a great deal. I want to run. And I'm not running against you, I'm just running for this seat."⁷⁶ Cannon was only 41, but had been in the House since 1939.

Cannon was grossly overweight and a 90-day hospital stay resulted in many missed votes in the House. Smathers' campaign focused on the absenteeism, and he was supported by both major Miami papers and unofficially by the CIO. On May 7 he took the nomination from Cannon with 68% of the vote.⁷⁷

Miami Republicans were well-heeled and numerous. Republican presidential candidate Thomas Dewey received 30,000 votes in Dade County in 1944 and would get 41,000 in 1948. This was still very much a minority but enough to fund a run for the House. Fourth District Republicans put up Norman Curtis, a Second World War vet who was running a fleet of excursion boats in 1946. Cannon's opponent in 1944 took 28%, which held constant against Smathers.⁷⁸

Political scientist V.O. Key Jr would write in 1949, "In its grand outlines the politics of the South revolves around the position of the Negro." But, "Certainly the Negro is not in the normal course in the forefront of the debate."⁷⁹ Rather race-baiting in elections was, and remains, often a response to a fear of slippage in the campaign. The same could be said of red-baiting.

When Otto Passman declared his candidacy for the Democratic nomination in the Fifth Congressional District of northeast Louisiana, he made no mention of negroes or communists; instead, he named reconversion, inflation, housing, veterans, and world peace. He attributed his run to a decision to do "something about the damned featherbedding such as I had to contend with in the civilian personnel attached to my outfit" during the War. His ten-point platform called for continuation of "white

⁷⁴ Gunther (1947), 563, 728-9.

⁷⁵ *Tucson Daily Citizen*, May 3, 1950. *Panama City News*, November 24, 1953. *Bryan Daily Eagle*, May 15, 1955. Crispell, 5, 8. Nemmers. Smathers, 12.

⁷⁶ Pepper with Gorey, 189-91. Crispell, 14. *Asheville Citizen*, March 2, 1947. Smathers, 15.

⁷⁷ *Miami Daily News*, April 2 & 14, 1946. Crispell, 25. *The Daily Notes*, July 22, 1946. *Fitchburg, Sentinel*, May 9, 1946.

⁷⁸ County presidential election returns before 1960 in this work are from McGillivray and Scammon, unless otherwise noted. Drew Pearson, September 28, 1946. Also see Heard, 43, 112, 116, on the migratory origin, activism, and wealth of Florida Republicans of the period. Crispell, 31. *Fort Myers News-Press*, January 20, 1946.

⁷⁹ Key (1949), 5, 671.

supremacy,” as sure as the sun rising in the Southern east, but there was no implied criticism of the incumbent in that regard. His platform called for getting the government out of private business, but he did not infer that incumbent Democrat Charles McKenzie was a socialist. McKenzie’s ad in late August listed sixteen things he had done, largely for the District. He mentioned his opposition to the Fair Employment Practices Commission, intended to improve minority hiring, but he did not accuse Passman of supporting it.⁸⁰

Yet three days later, Passman was accusing McKenzie of accusing him of being a candidate of CIO-PAC and of registering African Americans to vote. And three days after that, McKenzie was hitting the papers with this statement: “I am opposed to mongrelization of the white race as advocated by C.I.O. activities. This is so recorded in the Congressional Record, when on the floor of the house I deplored the actions of Mrs. Roosevelt in joining in group singing of such songs as ‘Let Me Call You Sweetheart’ at a C.I.O. canteen in Washington where white women danced with negro soldiers.” One sighs at the weaponization of “Let Me Call You Sweetheart.” While Passman in a long congressional career would never appear in any guise as a champion of equal rights for black people, the battle against reds and blacks was clearly in the forefront of McKenzie’s effort to retain his seat. This reached a peak two days before the primary with an ad associating “C.I.O.,” “foreign born and named radicals,” “cold-blooded murder,” “their foreign lords or commisars [sic],” “Communitic ... co-mingling of the races,” and “Passman.” If Passman ran a similar campaign it was more sub-rosa, and one almost takes comfort in the fact that, despite his ravings, McKenzie was defeated by 455 votes.⁸¹

Lieutenant Commander Passman’s war service was as a matériel and procurement officer. A somewhat advanced 42 years old when he joined the Navy, it is unclear if his service ever took him from his hometown of Monroe, or perhaps further than Memphis. He was a successful businessman, owner of a company that made and sold electrical appliances to hotels and restaurants, as well as a furniture company, and an “investment company.” He came far as the son of sharecroppers and undoubtedly had the experience to fill his Naval job. Not having shown much interest in politics before the War while building his fortune, he seems to have burst into democracy at a January mass meeting in Monroe, called by the Parish Police Jury (otherwise known in most of the country as the “county commission”) and the Mayors of the City and West Monroe, to address a critical housing shortage caused by the demobilization of 3200 in the Parish. Passman spoke and five months later announced his candidacy.⁸²

McKenzie was a substantial businessman himself, a First World War veteran and a representative only since 1943. McKenzie ousted the previous incumbent in the Democratic primary, who himself had defeated the even earlier incumbent in the Democratic primary. Before the House, McKenzie was a high-level appointee of Gov. Sam Jones and thus aligned with the anti-Long faction in Louisiana’s Democracy. Eventually, it would become clear that Passman was of the Long faction. “Long” in this case refers primarily to former Governor and martyred Sen. Huey Long, as well as to his various kin. While the Long faction was usually identified as a populist group of shady virtue versus an anti-Long assemblage of upright conservatives, V.O. Key offered a more nuanced portrait.⁸³

⁸⁰ *Monroe Morning World*, June 30, August 25, 1946. *The Corpus Christi Caller*, June 15, 1960. *The Monroe News-Star*, July 11, 1946.

⁸¹ *The Monroe News-Star*, August 28, 1946. *The Shreveport Times*, September 1, 1946. *Monroe Morning World*, September 8, 1946. *The Alexandria Daily Town Talk*, September 18, 1946.

⁸² Monroe newspapers frequently placed Passman in town during the War. His opponent in 1946 placed him in Memphis. “Inventory,” Passman Collection. *The Monroe News-Star*, January 9, 1946.

⁸³ Key (1949), 164-8.

The population of the District's fourteen parishes in the northeast of the State was about 43% African American. In 1940, 54% of the labor force was employed in agriculture, but even the cotton kingdom was changing. In 1950 agriculture would employ only 34%, and in mid-decade manufacturing wages rose to nearly half of farm income.⁸⁴ Still, in 1949 average median family income would be a miserly \$1478. The District produced no Republican candidate in 1946.

A most unusual Southern Democrat was Luther Patrick of Birmingham, Alabama. A three-term Representative before losing the nomination in 1942, Patrick recaptured the seat in 1944. Now 52, he began the year 1946 by attacking "Southern reactionaries who are preventing action on President Truman's progressive program" and listed three of his fellow Alabama representatives in that category. V.O. Key would single Patrick out as a Southerner who voted non-Southern 61.5% of the time; he ignored racial taboos in supporting House efforts to eliminate the poll tax. Patrick was the Stalin of the South as far as Birmingham's industrialists and financiers known as "Big Mules" were concerned. In particular, he was one of Adolph Sabath's sponsors of the Win the Peace Conference but was anything but a peacenik before the War. Despite voting consistently pro-Labor, Patrick had no use for the UMW's work stoppages during the War. Prone to stunts, Patrick was also well known for admitting on a radio broadcast that he voted for bills without knowing what was in them. His union supporters in heavily organized Birmingham sometimes lost patience with him; nevertheless, CIO-PAC supported him. Laurie Battle's defeat of him in the 1946 primary had most to do with heavy Big Mules financing of a young, attractive, and apparently stable War veteran.⁸⁵

Battle, 34, was the son of a Methodist minister and a clerk for a natural gas company before the War. The Army Air Corps Major saw fighting in the Philippines. He was back and married for less than two months when he filed for Patrick's seat. Patrick attracted not only Battle but Hugh DuBose as primary opponents. DuBose was a printer and publisher who ran an anti-union, racist campaign, which had the effect of making Battle's low key, industrialist-backed effort look more moderate.⁸⁶

DuBose kept Battle from winning the May 7 primary by a hair; thirteen more votes would have done it. Patrick ignored the obvious, called for a run-off, and lost on June 4 with only 37% of the vote. A Republican candidate in November took but 6%.⁸⁷

The Ninth District consisted solely of Jefferson County. Birmingham was iron ore and steelmaking and would grow from 268,000 in 1940 to 326,000 in 1950. While virtually every Southern district would lose black population during the 1940s as the migration to jobs in North and West continued, the number in Jefferson County would rise from 179,000 to 208,000 over the decade, even as the proportion would fall from 39% to 37%. This was enough of a black mass to rankle white prejudices, but War incomes boomed, even with wage regulation, and the UMW accepted black members even in Birmingham. Gunther reported, "This provoked bitter resistance and animosity on the part of the companies, and especially of their white foremen; presently the companies, to break the back of the unions, began to encourage racial

⁸⁴ Information on employment, manufacturing wages, and farm income in the 1940s is from *Census of Manufactures: 1947* and *Census of Agriculture 1945*.

⁸⁵ *The Pittsburgh Press*, January 31, 1946. Key (1949), 36, 56, 378-9. *The Anniston Star*, June 8, 1941; May 21, June 17, August 31, 1942; May 31, June 1, 1944; May 19, June 3, 1946. *The Cullman Banner*, April 9, May 28, 1942. Norrell, 230. Caughey, 108.

⁸⁶ *The Anniston Star*, February 17, 1944; February 3, 1946; March 22, 1954. *The Pittsburgh Courier*, May 18, 1946.

⁸⁷ *The Anniston Star*, May 12, June 11, 1946.

rifts.”⁸⁸ The worst was yet to come in the City. Median family income in 1949 would be \$2722, low by Pittsburgh standards but high for the industrial South.

Internecine Republicans



Katherine St. George

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



New York 29th Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory, 1948

Republicans were also not immune to intraparty warfare over alleged communism. In 1944, Hamilton Fish, son and grandson of Fishes who with him represented a Hudson Valley constituency for 18 terms, 13 of them by the current representative, was ousted by Augustus Bennet. Fish, of Pres. Franklin Roosevelt’s “Martin, Barton and Fish” isolationist mantra in 1940, had been challenged by Bennet in Republican primaries in 1942 and 1944, the incumbent winning both. In 1942 Bennet endorsed the Democratic and American Labor Party candidate who lost to Fish. In 1944 Bennet was the Democratic and American Labor Party candidate, as well as the Liberal and Good Government nominee, and took 53% of the vote. Republican presidential candidate and New York Gov. Thomas Dewey publicly repudiated Fish’s views, his “misuse of his office” by the nation’s enemies, and his pro-German associates. Bennet said he had always been a Republican and would caucus with that party in the House.⁸⁹

Despite the general expectation that Fish would try to reclaim his seat in 1946, a previously strong backer of Fish took the challenge against Bennet for the Republican nomination. Katherine St. George, 50, “practically unknown outside of Orange County,” and unendorsed by the Republican organizations in the other three counties in the Twenty-ninth District, made the run and won. Those organizations also did not endorse Bennet or anyone else. Fish had moved away to Queens but remained a potent actor in the District, attacking Bennet and supporting St. George. Bennet took 47% of the primary vote and said he would abide by its results.⁹⁰

Fish was widely portrayed as not only an extreme isolationist but as a Nazi friend, and Bennet had run on the first of those issues in 1944. Fish responded in excess, calling Bennet’s backers “radicals,

⁸⁸ Gunther (1947), 674.

⁸⁹ *Dunkirk Evening Observer*, October 15, 1942. *Women in Congress*, 258. *Daily News* (New York), July 29, 1944. Richard Smith, 345. Roosevelt introduced his mantra in a campaign address at Madison Square Garden on October 28, 1940. presidency.ucsb.edu.

⁹⁰ *Kingston Daily Freeman*, August 15, 1946. *The Reporter Dispatch*, May 13 & 17, July 3, 1946. *Middletown Times Herald*, May 22, 1946. *Time*, November 18, 1946. *The Neosho Daily Democrat*, August 21, 1946. OurCampaigns.com. *Poughkeepsie New Yorker*, August 22, 1946.

interventionists, reds, pinks and some soured millionaires.” When Fish lost he said his defeat was due to “Communitic and Red forces from New York City.” St. George picked up the thread but less speciously, saying Bennet voted in the House consistent with American Labor Party member Vito Marcantonio, widely alleged to be a communist. A particular *bête noire* was the CIO-PAC, which endorsed Bennet and which she called “left-wing radicals.”⁹¹

St. George was born in England to Price Collier, an Iowa-born Unitarian minister. Her mother was Katharine Delano, sister of the mother of Franklin Roosevelt. Her parents brought her to Tuxedo Park, a “posh haven for millionaires” surrounded by a guarded fence, in Orange County at two years old. She bred setters and pointers and was an officer of St. George Coal Company, which was a Wall Street brokerage. She served on the Tuxedo Park Board of Education and the Town Board from 1926 on. In 1942 she lost a bid for the Republican nomination for the Legislature. *Time* described her as “glib, chic, greying ... and first-string hostess.”⁹²

The current configuration of the District dated only from 1944, with two counties bordering the Hudson, but two others stretching along the Pennsylvania line nearly to Oneonta. The largest town, Newburgh, had all of 32,000 people, but the most southerly county was within the New York metropolitan area. Manufacturing wages were about 50% more than farm income, and in 1950 only 11% of the labor force would work in agriculture compared to 24% in manufacturing, but the latter ran to apparel and the average farm income was \$4305 in 1945. Average median family income would be \$2976 in 1949.

St. George faced Democrat James Welsh, 58, in November. He was a dairyman, lawyer, and veteran of both wars and ran an import-export business in the City between them. He was accused of being a former Republican and, in fact, his stance on issues differed little from St. George’s, who accused him of copying her platform. The issue was rather Fish. A highlight of the campaign was when St. George’s first cousin’s wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, campaigned in Newburgh and linked St. George to Fish. The response came less from the candidate than from Fish, who challenged the past First Lady to a debate “on the issue of Communist support of the Democratic or New Deal Party in the State of New York.” “Mrs. Roosevelt is one of the left-wing New Deal appeasers, who approved Henry Wallace’s suggestion to give up control of the atom bomb and turning half the Christian population of Europe over to being enslaved by the secret police of Soviet Russia.” Welsh may or may not have characterized St. George as “a glamour girl” “born and reared in luxury” with a “socialite’s outlook on problems of average citizens.”⁹³ The glamorous socialite won easily with 58%. Welsh got 38%, and a candidate of the American Labor Party took the rest.

Democratic incumbents in more competitive districts were not always protected by jumping on the red-baiting bandwagon. Dudley George Roe in Maryland said, “I am an old line conservative Democrat. I am not ashamed but am proud to be on the CIO-PAC blacklist....” Roe defeated the incumbent Democrat in 1944 and had a rough primary in 1946. One Democratic leader said Roe was “a better Republican than the Republican candidate,” Edward Miller.⁹⁴

⁹¹ *Daily News* (New York), August 1, 1944. *The Binghamton Sun*, November 8, 1944. *Middletown Times Herald*, June 6, July 24, 1946.

⁹² *Women in Congress*, 258. *The Troy Record*, November 14, 1946. *The New York Times*, May 5, 1983.

⁹³ *The Reporter Dispatch*, July 5, 1946. *Middletown Times Herald*, July 5 & 25, August 27 & 28, October 24 & 26, 1946. *The Binghamton Sun*, October 5, 1946.

⁹⁴ *The Easton Star-Democrat*, October 11, 1946. *The News*, October 24, 1946.

Fruitless and Gratuitous



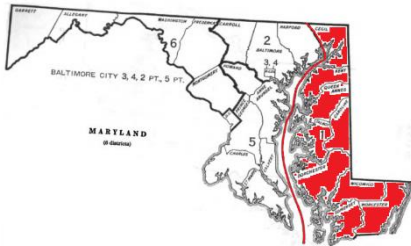
Edward Miller
Source: OurCampaigns.com



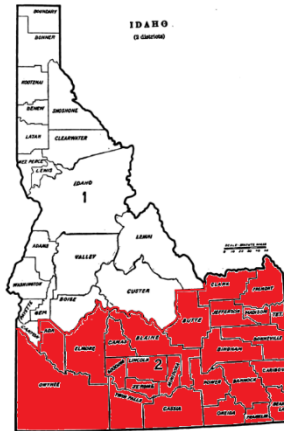
John Sanborn
Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Walter Riehlman
Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)



Maryland 1st Cong. Dist.
Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)



Idaho 2nd Cong. Dist.
Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)



New York 36th Cong. Dist.
Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Miller was born outside of the District of Columbia to an attorney father who was once special commissioner of the US Court of Claims. After infantry service on the First World War front in France, Edward was admitted to the bar in Easton, Maryland, the homeplace of his father. He lost a race as the Republican candidate for prosecutor two years later, but spent four years as an appointed police and juvenile judge. In the Army Reserves in the interwar period, he was recalled to active service in 1942 and detailed to Northern Africa and India on his way to China, where he was commissioned a brevet major general to give him more weight with Chinese officers. He was able to return to Easton on terminal leave by May 1, 1946.⁹⁵

The First District was the Eastern Shore, Maryland's part of the Delmarva Peninsula. The District had kept the same boundaries since 1902. Political scientist John Fenton would write, "The Eastern Shore white population ... is largely of Anglo-Saxon stock.... They are a conservative, rural, protestant people, whose opinions have their roots in the ante bellum South." Its Antebellum roots meant the area had a

⁹⁵ *The Easton Star-Democrat*, April 26, 1935; May 3, 1946; October 29, 1948; November 3, 1950. 1900 Census Schedule, Talbot County, Maryland. *The Baltimore Sun*, January 21, 1968.

substantial black population, 24% in the 1940s. Very much an agricultural area, its farms sold chickens and eggs and truck crops. The average median family income in 1949 would be a low \$2081. For an area so dependent on agriculture, it is interesting that the District's population would grow by 25% over the 1940s. Gunther attributed this in part to "the invasion of vulgar rich Pittsburghers and New Yorkers," but the agriculture was remunerative to the owners. The average farm harvested \$4916 in income in 1945.⁹⁶

Roe was only in his first term, though 65, but the District had been represented by Democrats since 1921. Eastern Shore Republican leaders were casting about for a candidate for the House, and as Miller would tell it, he "happened into the Easton yacht club for a drink and was invited to join a meeting of local Republican leaders. Two weeks later, he said, he received a phone call from one of them to tell him that two other men had turned down the indorsement. Would he take it? The answer was yes." The request was reported as being on April 5. Miller, out of the State for the bulk of the last four years but on War duty, was tapped. A curiosity is the juxtaposition of the yacht club and a Republican candidate with appeal to the normally Democratic farmers of the District. Miller disposed of a farmer in the June 24 primary, but only by nine points.⁹⁷

Roe was a farmer but also a banker and grain dealer. Miller voiced a Republican small-government anti-Labor campaign, and also attacked the "foreign concepts now gnawing deeply into our national government" and "Communism in Federal offices." Miller won by 1004 votes.⁹⁸

Republican candidates could be quick to attack socialism even in districts they were in little danger of losing. John Sanborn in Idaho's Second District lit into New Dealer Pete Leguineche. This was the State's southern district, its agricultural one, centered on the Snake River valley. Gunther described it as potatoes and "leftover war industry." In 1950 agriculture would have five times the employment of manufacturing, and manufacturing wages were a tenth that of farm income in the mid-1940s. Average median family income in 1949 would be \$2854. In religion the District was predominantly Mormon.⁹⁹

The Republican incumbent chose to run for the Senate. Sanborn announced his candidacy for the nomination with a statement that the country "is undergoing the crucial test of whether or not our form of government can withstand the insidious and cunning attacks of its enemies from within." He had run for the Republican nomination for the Senate in 1942 after ten years in the Legislature with an attack on the New Deal but achieved only 19% against an incumbent accused of being an isolationist. In 1944 he secured the nomination for Lieutenant Governor but fell to the Democrat.¹⁰⁰

A farmer and dairyman, Sanborn, 59, was born in Illinois to a "landlord" as the Census listed the occupation. After a law degree from Columbia, the son moved to Idaho. He managed barely to overcome two candidates in the 1946 primary. One was a Republican scion, Hamer Budge, who was a veteran of both the Legislature and the Navy and a Boise attorney. Budge would be elected to the House in 1950 and serve five terms. The other candidate, Max Cohn, was a cattleman, prominent in the State's Cattle and

⁹⁶ Fenton (1957), 178. Gunther (1947), 637.

⁹⁷ *The Morning Herald* (Hagerstown), April 10, 1946. *The Cumberland News*, April 9, 1946. *The News*, June 29, 1946.

⁹⁸ *The Daily Times*, October 26, November 1, 1946. *The Easton Star-Democrat*, November 1, 1946.

⁹⁹ *The Post-Register*, September 19, October 11, 1946. Gunther (1947), 114. Gaustad, 85.

¹⁰⁰ *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, April 11, 1946. *Soda Springs Sun*, April 25, 1946. *The Post-Register*, June 18 & 21, August 27, 1942; April 16, 1944. OurCampaigns.com.

Horse Growers' Association. Sanborn's share of the primary vote on June 11 was 45%, Budge's was 40%, and Cohn took the remainder.¹⁰¹

Democrat Leguineche was a Boise attorney and the son of a Basque sheep-herder in the State. Half the age of Sanborn, he was at pains to explain his lack of service in the War, attributing it to a weight issue. His platform listed, "Guaranteed full employment, and higher minimum wages," "national unemployment benefits of at least \$25.00 a week for 26 weeks," strengthening of labor, a Columbia Valley Authority (CVA), "a guaranteed floor on farm prices...," "better Farm-To-Market roads" with Federal funding, veterans benefits, "broadening of Social Security," "a world union...." He spent time during the campaign in Lake Success, New York, at a session of the United Nations economic and social council and in DC with Democratic leaders, including with the Undersecretary of the Interior about extending electric power to southeast Idaho and with Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace about getting more fertilizer to Idaho farmers. Labeled a protégé of Sen. Glen Taylor of Idaho, who would be Wallace's vice-presidential running-mate in 1948, these attempts to be a representative before election opened him up to various attacks.¹⁰²

Sanborn labeled Leguineche's push for electricity both a scheme to enrich himself through providing power to a phosphate industry the Democrat had an interest in and to promote the socialist development of power that the CVA represented. The CVA was a major issue in the campaign for both parties, representing a potential transposition of the Tennessee Valley Authority to the northwest. Government provided utilities were arguably socialistic, as was the Rural Electrification Authority of the New Deal in a different way. Both stepped on the toes of privately-owned power companies, who saw the initiatives less as cutting into their profits, since they took over unprofitable activities from the companies, than as threatening their very existence. *The Salt Lake Tribune* reported Idaho Republicans as "solidly lined up in opposition to the valley authority philosophy" and not to the praxis of electrical service. Sanborn said, "I am opposed to CVA because I am opposed to Socialists and socialism." Leguineche in return said the Republican Party was "one and the same thing with private power companies exploiting Idaho."¹⁰³

Secretary Wallace was its own problem. Sanborn: "I want to know, and the voters of Idaho have an undeniable right to know, whether the candidates on the Democratic ticket propose to support the appeasement policy advocated by Secretary Wallace or whether they favor the firm stand of Secretary Byrnes." James Byrnes, Truman's Secretary of State, had moved toward a publicly more critical stance toward the Soviet Union. Sanborn called on Leguineche to reveal the source of his allegedly "big money" campaign contributions. "I challenge him to tell the people whether the money spent on him came from Communist dominated PAC, and if so, why he accepted Communist support." The ever-present CIO-PAC threat led as well to this statement by Sanborn: "Early in this campaign I stated in plain and simple words my stand on communism in this country and on communists in the ranks of organized labor. I call on my opponent to make his position in this matter equally plain so that the voters will know exactly where he stands." In the meantime, CIO-PAC said they endorsed no one in the election.¹⁰⁴

In this Republican year, the well-known Sanborn was hardly likely to lose a district that his Republican predecessor carried in 1944, albeit with only 52%, but it is the nature of politicians to run scared. Such a consideration may justify Sanborn's red-baiting, if justification is needed. There is little reason to doubt

¹⁰¹ *The Post-Register*, May 21, 1940; June 27, August 2, 1942. 1900 Census Schedule, McLean County, Illinois. Columbia University, 7, 35. *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, April 17, June 12, 1946.

¹⁰² *The Salt Lake Tribune*, June 13, September 15, 1946. Drew Pearson, September 17 & 26, 1946. *The Post-Register*, September 17, October 28, November 4, 1946.

¹⁰³ *The Post-Register*, October 20 & 24, November 3, 1946. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, September 16, 1946.

¹⁰⁴ *The Post-Register*, October 21 & 31, 1946.

Sanborn's sincere anti-communism, even anti-socialism. Certainly, Wallace was unantagonistic to an authoritarian, communist, expansive Soviet Union. Certainly, a Columbia Valley Authority was socialistic. Certainly, the Congress of Industrial Organizations included very leftist unions. Certainly, Pete Leguineche associated himself with at least two of those. Sanborn improved eight points over his predecessor.

The Thirty-Sixth Congressional District of New York was also relatively safe Republican territory. The District was Onondaga County and its metropolis of Syracuse, which would have 220,000 people in 1950. Gunther observed that the City was "strongly Republican; it has a flourishing university; ... it has L.C. Smith typewriters and Solvay chemicals, and dozens of other industrial enterprises making everything from traffic signals to building blocks."¹⁰⁵ The foreign born were about 10% of the District, with Italians the most numerous. Median family income would be \$3459 in 1949.

Clarence Hancock had held the Syracuse area seat for 20 years and was expecting to be the senior Republican on the Judiciary Committee in the 80th Congress. Then on May 25, 1946, surprising his own local secretary, he announced he would not run for reelection. Hancock was only 61 but not in good health and would die inside two years. Within two days the District Republican Committee endorsed Walter Riehlman for the nomination, and he was unchallenged in the primary.¹⁰⁶

Riehlman was 47 and the owner and operator of Tully Bakery as well as holding a number of business directorates in the area. He employed his father, who had been a farm laborer. The son served in the First and Second World Wars, coming out of the latter as an Army colonel. He had been a Supervisor of Onondaga County and was the elected County clerk in 1946. His Democratic opponent was Lawson Barnes, 38, an attorney, and Naval veteran of the War.¹⁰⁷

When the local newspaper asked the candidates what were the most important issues in the campaign, neither mentioned the Soviet Union or communist infiltration. Riehlman listed, "Full production, stability of labor-management relations, elimination of unnecessary economic controls, an immediate housing program co-ordinating ... private initiative and government resources, reduction of Federal expenses by elimination of waste and Federal employees, balance the Federal budget." Barnes said, "Housing, education, Federal income tax (... increasing exemptions rather than a percentage reduction), reorganization of the executive branch to eliminate overlapping and to give even greater service. Civil service legislation should also be re-examined. Increasing the benefits of veterans. A permanent FEPC."¹⁰⁸

Yet nearly a month earlier Riehlman asked, "Does my opponent support the Democratic party's secretary of state and the nation's foreign policy? Or does he support the American Labor party's Communist-inspired foreign policy?" He charged in a radio broadcast that the Administration "has fostered policies leading straight to the destruction of free government and the enslavement of the individual." Then he said, "The Democratic administration means control of America by a group of totalitarian-minded radicals. The Republican party ... will put an end to the process of boring from within by subversive characters in high places in the government." While Barnes verbalized a conciliatory attitude to the Soviet Union, he also pledged that he would "insist that the names of the Communists, Ku Klux Klaners [sic], Fascists and others having un-American beliefs be publicly exposed and publicly condemned." It is rare to find any candidates condemning fascists in this election – after all, they were

¹⁰⁵ Gunther (1947), 537.

¹⁰⁶ *The Post-Standard*, May 26 & 28, July 3, August 19, 1946.

¹⁰⁷ 1920 & 1930 Census Schedules, Onondaga County, New York. *The Post-Standard*, October 30, 1946.

¹⁰⁸ *The Post-Standard*, October 30, 1946.

defeated (other than the ones in Spain and Portugal). Riehlman was one of a number of Republicans to support the modest equal rights legislation of the period – Fair Employment Practices Commission, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax.¹⁰⁹

Riehlman took 63% of the vote, an improvement of ten points from Hancock's last showing.

Wisconsin and Minnesota



John Brophy

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



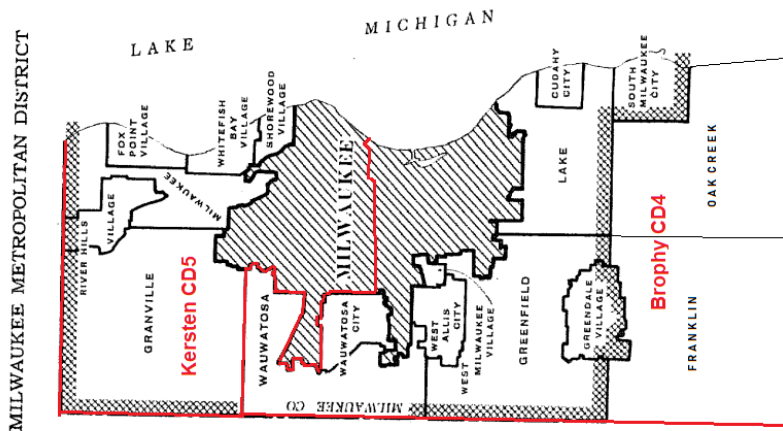
Charles Kersten

Source: Marquette University



John Blatnik

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)



Wisconsin Congressional Districts

Source: 1940 Census



Minnesota 8th Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory*, 1948

The most topsy-turvy campaign with a major communist focus was in the Fourth Congressional District of Wisconsin, which included the southern half of Milwaukee and most of Milwaukee County outside the City. Gunther described the City as “bland” and “even more markedly Polish than German,” with Catholics and the *Chicago Daily Tribune* being “powerful.”¹¹⁰ The foreign born share in the District

¹⁰⁹ *The Post-Standard*, October 4 & 8 & 12 & 24 & 31, November 3, 1946.

¹¹⁰ Gunther (1947), 288, 318.

would drop from 13% in 1940 to 10% in 1950. The City experienced modest growth in population in the 1940s and held over 80% of the District's people. Average median household income of the District in 1949 would be \$3372. The Fifth District in the north of the City with its affluent suburbs had a higher income of \$3717

The Democratic incumbent was Thaddeus Wasielewski, 41, a lawyer in his third term and a third generation Polish-American. Wasielewski was the only Wisconsin representative to support Roosevelt's pre-War military preparations, the others being either Republicans or Progressives. Wasielewski was supported by Labor in 1940 and 1942 and reluctantly in 1944, as he voted contrary to Labor's goals a number of times. The incumbent was also a strong supporter of Polish independence from the Soviet Union and urged the US to oppose Soviet domination of all of eastern Europe.¹¹¹

Wasielewski lost the Democratic primary to Edmund Bobrowicz, 27, an Army veteran and second-generation Polish-American. Before the War, Bobrowicz organized a tannery plant in Milwaukee for the CIO-affiliated International Fur and Leather Workers Union. After the War he was head of the Wisconsin CIO Veterans' Committee. In the primary Bobrowicz urged a continuation of the alliance with the Soviet Union, while Wasielewski "red-baited both the CIO and its candidate."¹¹²

The Republican candidate was John Brophy, 45, a pre-war Navy veteran, and former mechanic in the Coke and Gas Workers Union. Brophy was a third generation Irish-American and a Catholic, as were the Poles. He ran for the House seat earlier, in 1942, on the Progressive Party ticket, getting 18% in a four-way race, the Socialist Party candidate being the fourth contender. Since 1939 Brophy was a Milwaukee Alderman.¹¹³

The Wisconsin Progressive Party split off from the Republican Party in 1934, electing a governor three times out of six. The schism was economic, both parties being isolationist, and the reunion in 1946 was isolationist rather than economic, as the New Deal had collapsed the wind from Progressives' economic sails. Sen. Robert La Follette Jr took the Progressives out of the Republican Party, which elected him to the Senate twice, to be elected as a Progressive twice again, and brought the Progressive Party back into the fold only to lose the Republican primary in 1946 to Joseph McCarthy. The reunion was not clean, however, as a number of Progressive leaders found the Democratic Party more congenial both in economic and foreign policy and in the process helped transform that party.¹¹⁴

Brophy, described as "smiling, bald and plump," won the Republican primary with only 24% of the vote over seven other candidates. The field was totally fractured, the worst performing candidate getting 5%. Brophy's main opponent early appeared to be Lilian Kohlmetz, a regular and very conservative Republican, while Brophy took liberal positions. They differed on price controls, civilian control of atomic energy, the establishment of a Tennessee Valley Authority doppelganger for the Missouri and Columbia river valleys, Labor bills, minimum wage, rural electrification, Federal job creation, and equal rights for African Americans. However, a realtor named William Bohn took second, apparently because he was the only non-city resident in the field. Another former Progressive ran last. Kohlmetz, ended up next-to-last.

¹¹¹ "Biography," Wasielewski Papers. 1930 Census Schedule, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin. *Rhineland Daily News*, October 31, 1942. *The Gazette and Daily*, August 20, 1946. Stromquist, 174.

¹¹² *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, Mar 16, 2003. *The La Crosse Tribune*, April 11, 1946.

¹¹³ *The Sheboygan Press*, September 22, 1938. 1910 Census Schedule, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin. PoliticalGraveyard.com.

¹¹⁴ Fenton (1966), 46-8. *Ironwood Daily Globe*, June 21, 1946.

Two former Democrats ran second and third. John Wyngaard, a local political columnist, called the election an “utterly confounding mix-up.”¹¹⁵

Yet, Wyngaard was not referring to the primary but rather the general election. There was a Socialist Party candidate again but also an “independent,” Thaddeus Wasielewski. The incumbent figured he could get the conservative vote, since the Democratic nominee was “tarred with the brush of Communism,” and the Republican nominee was “a former Socialist-Progressive,” according to Wyngaard. Brophy met with County Republican leaders and assured them he would be a “regular Republican,” and they swallowed him, but Democrats doubled down on Bobrowicz. Incumbent Democrat Andrew Biemiller in the other Milwaukee district publicly repudiated Bobrowicz. The Democratic National Committeeman from Wisconsin did also. *The Milwaukee Journal* labeled him a Communist, which Bobrowicz denied. Brophy was described as “scrappy, hard-hitting” and a “relatively Republican weak nominee” but took the election with 37% of the vote, which was surprisingly a three-point improvement on the Republican performance in 1944.¹¹⁶

Biemiller of the Fifth Congressional District may have disavowed Bobrowicz as too leftist, maybe a communist, but communism popped up to help unseat this Democrat, too. Biemiller, 40, was in his first term in the House. An AFL organizer and State legislator for two years, he spent the War in Washington as a civilian assistant to the War Production Board. His Republican opponent was Charles Kersten, 44, a lawyer who had not held elected office and did his War service as a training officer in the Coast Guard. Kersten’s father, a furrier, was a German immigrant and his mother an Irish one.¹¹⁷

Incumbent Biemiller received a pass in the Democratic primary, but Kersten faced seven opponents for the Republican nomination, winning by sixteen points over his nearest competitor, Lawrence Timmerman, 68, who had been a member of the Milwaukee County Board since 1924. Kersten ran against Biemiller with the slogan, “Put Kersten in Congress and Keep Communism Out.” Two weeks before the election a woman named Dorothy Hartman Goff appeared and stated to a Milwaukee editor that she had joined the Communist Party in the apartment of Biemiller in the winter of 1934/5. Mrs. Goff’s husband, Kenneth, was a national news item when he appeared before HUAC in 1939 and resigned his Communist membership. He spent the rest of his years as an anti-Communist activist. He was also an associate of Gerald L.K. Smith and an anti-fluoridation activist.¹¹⁸

That Biemiller had been a member of the Socialist Party, in fact was on the left within the Party, was not in question. However, in 1936 the secretary of the Wisconsin Communist Party publicly attacked Biemiller for “red-baiting.” A historian of the Socialist Party characterized Biemiller, “though clearly doing the bidding of ... Communist allies in the SP” as being “more of a careerist than an ideologue” and noted that he resigned from the Socialist Party after being elected to the Legislature. Red-baiting could conflate

¹¹⁵ *Ironwood Daily Globe*, March 13, 1947. *Wisconsin Blue Book 1948*. *The La Crosse Tribune*, April 19, 1946. *The Capital Times*, July 5, 1940; July 14 & 23, 1946. *The Janesville Daily Gazette*, June 1, 1946. *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, November 4, 1938. *Rhineland Daily News*, April 23, 1946. *Waukesha Daily Freeman*, September 19, 1946.

¹¹⁶ *The Janesville Daily Gazette*, September 13, October 14, 1946. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, October 2, 1946. *The Capital Times*, June 16, October 14, 1946. *Time*, September 20, 1946.

¹¹⁷ “Biographical Note,” Kersten Papers. *The Winona Daily News*, August 13, 1968. Nora A. Gillespie Kersten, FindAGrave.com.

¹¹⁸ *Wisconsin Blue Book 1948*. *The La Crosse Tribune*, October 6, 1959. Kersten photograph description, Wisconsin Historical Society. *Waukesha Daily Freeman*, October 24, 1946. *Salt Lake Telegram*, October 10, 1939. Kenneth Goff’s FBI file, available at archive.org. *The Daily Times-News* (Neenah), September 27, 1946.

socialists and communists, or to put it another way, Marxists and Soviets. The accusations may have helped Kersten defeat Biemiller, but the Democrat himself attributed his defeat to the rationing of consumer items and that Labor did not turn out their voters. Kersten took 54% of the ballots, a nine point improvement for Republicans.¹¹⁹

A curiosity of the two Milwaukee campaigns is that a strike near the City at the Allis-Chalmers plant by the United Auto Workers that began in early 1946 did not seem to become an issue, probably because no candidate wanted to alienate Union members in a substantially organized city. Once in the House, Kersten would chair a subcommittee investigating, not so much the strike, as the possibility of perjury in the numerous counter-allegations as to the extent of communist influence in the UAW at the plant, and not so much in the 1946 action as in an earlier 1941 strike at Allis-Chalmers.¹²⁰

Republican red-baiting did not always win against Democratic candidates. William Pittenger, 60, was a member of the House from Duluth, Minnesota, serving over seven very broken terms. He won elections to the House in 1928, 1930, and 1934, losing in 1926, 1932, and 1936 before starting his current incumbency by winning in 1938. He earlier sought the Republican nomination for the seat in 1920, 1922, and 1924. In 1946 Pittenger was challenged by returning Army Air Corps and Office of Strategic Services Captain John Blatnik, 35. Blatnik's father was an iron miner and an immigrant from Slovenia, at the time a part of Austria. The younger Blatnik earned a degree from a state teacher's college and taught chemistry and became a school administrator before entering the service. The OSS parachuted him into German occupied Slovenia, where he operated with the partisans. He brought back amoebic dysentery, which would plague him during the first session of the 80th Congress. Blatnik was elected in 1940 and again in 1942 while in the Army to the nominally non-partisan Minnesota Senate, where he aligned with the Farmer-Labor Party.¹²¹

Blatnik, the returned warrior and State legislator, had no problem winning nomination from the two-year-old Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party over six other candidates. Even before the primary Pittenger inserted a speech in the *Congressional Record* accusing Blatnik of "making speeches indicating a particular fondness for Russia." Blatnik's service in Slovenia, part of the reconstituted Yugoslavia, was a target. The *Minneapolis Star-Journal* reported that Blatnik made a number of speeches "praising the military accomplishments of Tito," who was an anti-German partisan leader during the War as well as head of the Yugoslav Communist Party, and now was the head of government. Pittenger snapped at the chance when Tito became one of America's top public enemies after his army shot down five American fliers. "'That's the sort of man my DFL opponent has been praising to the skies,' shouted Pittenger. 'Tito's his hero and Tito shoots down our American boys.'" It was reported, "Pittenger has made the wholesale charge that Blatnik has Communist support 'and would follow that party's line if elected to congress.'"¹²²

¹¹⁹ *The La Crosse Tribune*, February 12, 1952. Glad, 478. Jack Ross, 372. Biemiller interview.

¹²⁰ *Waukesha Daily Freeman*, March 3, 1947. *Dixon Evening Telegraph*, March 20, 1947. Conrad Black, 94.

¹²¹ *Minnesota Manual* (1921). *Minnesota Manual* (1923). *Minnesota Manual* (1925). Drew Pearson, December 4, 1949. *The Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, October 20, 1946. *The New York Times*, December 19, 1991. Blatnik, 2. *The St. Cloud Daily Times and the Daily Journal-Press*, November 7, 1940.

¹²² *Minnesota Manual* (1947). *The Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, March 21, 1946. *Minneapolis Star-Journal*, September 5, October 17, 1946. On August 19 Yugoslavia had shot down an American airplane in the Julian Region, which was disputed between Yugoslavia on the one hand and on the other by American and British forces who were occupying Italy. At the time Yugoslavia was also holding an American plane it had forced to land. Three days later Yugoslavia released the interned Americans and offered an indemnity for the dead ones. Lees, 14-5.

Blatnik said he never met Tito, but “I have said that Tito and the partisans did a great military job against the Nazis. The partisans were made up of men from several of the political parties then existing in that country. The Communists took the lead in organizing the partisans and it was the partisans who fought back the Germans.” Blatnik picked up Labor support, including the CIO, which was not a subject of criticism by the Republican in a highly unionized area. The Catholic hierarchy accused the DFL Party of being a communist front, but the Catholic Blatnik won with a surprising 58% of the vote.¹²³

The Eighth Congressional District was northeastern Minnesota. In the late Nineteenth Century the iron ore ranges of the District were discovered, and Duluth on Lake Superior became the shipping point for ore to the steel furnaces of the Midwest and northeast. In conjunction with the Wisconsin port of Superior, Duluth was the second busiest port in the country in the late 1940s. The population of the District was static over the 1940s, there being no expansion of the mines which were being depleted of high-grade iron ore. Another item of interest was that, given the criticality of mining to the District economy, employment in mining in 1940 trailed that of manufacturing and agriculture, with only 8% of the labor force being so employed. The proportion would increase by 1950 with economic recovery and war to 12%, still lagging manufacturing. With the restrictions of the War years, the foreign born population would fall from 20% of the total in 1940 to 15%. While Blatnik’s Slovenian heritage may have been an electoral asset, the natality of the foreign born placed Yugoslavs behind Finns, Swedes, and Norwegians. The average median family income in 1949 would be \$3033.¹²⁴

The Republican assault on Democrats as opponents of capitalism or even traitors in the sway of the Soviet Union was broader than these campaigns waged by the coming Class of ’46. As *Congressional Quarterly Researcher* on November 13, 1946, pointed out, “Throughout the campaign Republican speakers sought so persistently to tar Democrats with the Communist brush that Democratic National Chairman Robert Hannegan finally declared on the radio, Oct. 30, that the Truman Administration ‘neither wants nor deserves’ Communist support.” But red-baiting knew no partisan boundaries as Republicans attacked other Republicans and Democrats disparaged other Democrats.¹²⁵

The *Researcher* reported, “The turn to the right, signified by the decisive Republican victory in the Nov. 5 election, is reassuring to those who had feared that Communist doctrines were winning substantial support in the United States....” There were fears, even legitimate fears, but there was also demagoguery, a word with the same root as “democracy.” Which politicians believed the substance of their charges against their electoral opponents, and to what extent, may be revealed if the candidate becomes legislator, though demagoguery does not necessarily end with election.

Still, this may have been primarily Sam Rayburn’s *beefsteak* election.

¹²³ *Minneapolis Star-Journal*, October 18, 1946. *The Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, October 20, 1946. Lubell, 200-1.

¹²⁴ Gunther (1947), 272, 311, 313. Drew Pearson, February 16, 1947.

¹²⁵ Patch, “Communism.”