

Chapter 21 – A Replay, But Not a Replica: The 1956 Election

Republican Dwight Eisenhower was reelected president in 1956 by 9.5 million votes over Democrat Adlai Stevenson, an increase from his 6.7 million margin over Stevenson in 1952. Yet, not only did the President's party fail to take either house of Congress, the Democrats netted a gain of two seats in the House and, with the shift of ex-Republican and independent Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon to affiliation with the Democrats, gained one seat in the Senate as well.

Many voters who considered themselves Democrats voted for Eisenhower but continued to vote for Democrats down the ballot. While the Republican Party could claim popular support for ending the war in Korea and for domestic prosperity, surveys indicated that voters saw little policy difference between the two major parties. That Republicans had largely not upset the innovations of the New Deal was an obvious contributor to the public perception. The overwhelming factor in Eisenhower's electoral success was his personal popularity, which did not seem to transfer to fellow Republican candidates. Democrat Bryan Dorn of South Carolina would observe, "the general's famous battle jacket had no coattails at all."¹

The one issue in opinion surveys that badly divided the electorate was racial integration of schools, with almost 75% of the poll choosing one of the two most extreme of five opinion options and segregationists shading integrationists.²

It did not help Republican House candidates that Eisenhower campaigned "sparingly," in the adverb of one of his biographers. Although much use was made of television advertising, in the first true presidential television campaign, this was far from appearing on the stump with Republican congressional candidates. Nevertheless, Republican state and local organizations campaigned harder for Eisenhower, convinced of the power of his coattails, than Democratic organizations did for Stevenson. Eisenhower's relative inactivity was partly due to his desire to be seen above party and perhaps partly due to health concerns. He suffered a serious heart attack in 1955 and had surgery for ileitis in June 1956. He turned 66 years old the month before the election.³

Republicans did flip nine Democratic seats in the House, but Democrats reversed eleven Republican districts. All the Republican gains were east of the Mississippi and all of the Democratic gains, except for a seat in Maine, were west of the River. Republican advances were strongly related to a shift in Catholic voting, traditionally Democratic, to Eisenhower. The Church was strongly and aggressively anti-communist and socially conservative, characteristics perceived as more aligned with Republican values than Democratic ones. Democratic improvements were a rejection of Administration farm, public power, and natural resource policies. From these shifts there was a perceived Eisenhower coattail effect, however limited. House seats flipped by Republicans were in districts that the President improved in. House seats flipped by Democrats, with one exception, were in districts that he lost vote share in.⁴

¹ Asher, 146-9, 150-1. Dorn and Derks, 213. On the origin of the so-called Eisenhower jacket, see D'Este, 346.

² Key (1967), 56-7.

³ Jean Smith, 696. Barber, 280-1. Key (1964), 459, 471. *CQ Almanac 1957*, 681. Eisenhower was the second oldest president at election and the fourth oldest (Ronald Reagan besting him twice) before the superannuated 45th, 46th, and 47th presidents.

⁴ Phillips, 68-70, 160-1, 203-4, 241, 343-4, 380, 420, 425, 454, 456. Hope, 238-9. Key (1964), 557.

Three former members of the House who were in the Class of '46 sought reelection to that chamber in 1956. Two were Republicans. They may have thought Eisenhower's coattails would help, but one of the two was a McCarthyite.

The Democrat hoping for a return was Toby Morris of Oklahoma. This was his eighth primary for the House and his fourth general election. Redistricting had thrown him with Rep. Victor Wickersham, a fellow Democrat, in 1952, and Wickersham won the runoff primary with 53%. After returning to the Oklahoma district bench for two years, Morris was ready for a rematch. Wickersham was running a real estate business in the Washington area while in Congress and complained that it was necessary because congressional salaries were too little. Morris publicized a letter from the Representative on congressional letterhead about a private land deal in Oklahoma. Wickersham attacked Morris on his votes with "leftwingers." Morris had been notable in the House for opposing the domestic Red Scare and in resisting Truman's aid to Greece and Turkey, the Marshall Plan, and aid to Nationalist China and South Korea. Morris beat Wickersham in the run-off, taking 54%, reversing the results from 1952. The general election was a walk-over of 67-year-old Fred Coogan in his first electoral campaign. Coogan's previous noteworthy political action was to nominate Gen. Douglas MacArthur for President at the 1952 Republican National Convention.⁵

Harold Youngblood of Michigan also had a lengthy electoral history, making his sixth race for the House – his third general election contest. His last run was in 1952 when he placed second of seven in the Republican primary. Richard Durant, who bested Youngblood in the 1950 and 1952 primaries, did not run in 1956, but Youngblood's only major opponent, Rockwell Gust, was a Durant man in the District's factional politics. Youngblood was nominated by a bare 401 votes, perhaps because "Youngblood" was a recognized name, both due to Harold's activities and those of his relatives, while Gust, 32, had never held public office. Louis Rabaut, whom Youngblood unseated in 1946, still represented the District after his comeback against Youngblood in 1948. Eisenhower carried the District by a mere 369 votes, but Youngblood took only 43%, the same as when losing the seat in 1948.⁶

Charles Kersten of Wisconsin was the other would-be returner to the House. Democrat Henry Reuss, a new entrant, had defeated Kersten in 1954. Kersten then spent a year as something of an aggressive anti-Soviet mole in the office of the White House special assistant on foreign affairs, one Nelson Rockefeller. Before declaring as a challenger for Reuss' seat, Kersten flirted for the seat of Republican Sen. Alexander Wiley, 72, who was looking for his fourth six-year term. Kersten worked in the office of Sen. Joseph McCarthy during his first congressional interregnum and floated his senatorial balloon from the comforts of McCarthy's Washington home.⁷ Wiley had been at pains to distance himself from McCarthy and did not vote on the resolution condemning the latter.⁸ McCarthyites in the Wisconsin Republican Party were eager to mount a challenge to Wiley. After jousting with Wiley at Republican caucuses, including Kersten's endorsement of McCarthy and accusations of lack of opposition to communism by the Senator, Kersten failed to win endorsement at the State Republican Convention. On July 10, Kersten filed for the House against Reuss. Russell Wirth defeated Kersten for the House nomination by 865 votes. Wirth

⁵ *Oklahoma Directory 1953. Oklahoma Directory 1957. Miami Daily News-Record*, January 2, 1947; March 2, 1955. *The Lawton Constitution*, July 1 & 8 & 13, 1956.

⁶ *Detroit Free Press*, August 5 & 16, 1956. *CQ Almanac 1957*, 159.

⁷ *The La Crosse Tribune*, July 25, 1955. *The Daily Telegram*, February 3 & 16, 1956. Drew Pearson, April 13, 1950. *Ames Daily Tribune*, April 18, 1950.

⁸ The only other senator not voting or paired was John Kennedy, who was on leave for illness.

had been running for months as a conservative, but much to the anti-communist left of Kersten. He was only 26 but from a prominent manufacturing family.⁹

The Wisconsin Republican who captured the Convention endorsement against Wiley was Glenn Davis. Davis looked to the defeat of Wiley as early as the anti-McCarthy resolution in 1954, and pressure for him to do the ousting began in early 1955. Davis tried to distance himself from McCarthy and said he would not challenge Wiley for the Convention endorsement. Although Davis announced he would run again for the House, he canvassed the State about challenging Wiley, and the Convention endorsed him and he accepted. The contest in the primary against Wiley was seen as a battle of partisans of deceased Sen. Robert Taft of Ohio, who had contended with Eisenhower for the presidential nomination in 1952, and Sen. McCarthy versus those of the President, whom Wiley sought to tie himself to. Wiley emerged from the primary with the nomination, but with only 49% of the vote against Davis' 47% and a third McCarthyite.¹⁰

Glenn Davis was the only House incumbent of the Class of '46 who did not seek to return to the House in 1956. Only one failed of renomination; Democrat Charles Deane's failure to sign the Southern Manifesto was the proximate cause. The primary in North Carolina was May 26 and he had no opponent until a half-hour before the filing deadline on March 16, four days after the Manifesto was made public. His opponent was Paul Kitchin, the nephew of two former members of the House and the grandson of another. One of the uncles had been the Majority Leader of the House. The other had been elected Governor of North Carolina. Paul Kitchin was the law partner of a recent Lieutenant Governor, whose son would be a future Lieutenant Governor. Deane's father was a sharecropper and carpenter in a mill village.¹¹

Kitchin ran on the Manifesto and accused Deane of being for racial equality. A cropped photo was distributed showing Deane's daughter next to two African Americans. Deane issued a statement the day after the Manifesto which was steeped in Moral ReArmament: "All persons, particularly we of the United States, need to work out our lives together. There is a solution to all of our problems. It is not who is right but ultimately what is right. It is my opinion that one group opposing another will not bring the answer." His campaign emphasized his seniority and place on the Appropriations Committee, and his ads often read like a Moral ReArmament playbook.¹²

While his statement could be interpreted as racially sensitive, Deane's voting record on 13 key House votes with major racial implications did not constitute a beacon of light toward racial equity. Eight of his votes were not supportive of equal rights, whatever other considerations were brought to bear. Comparing Deane to the thirteen other Southern members of the Class who served in all five congresses, however, yields a different perspective. Deane's five "non-racist" votes or pairings compares to two by

⁹ *The Rhinelander Daily News and the New North*, April 25, May 5, September 12, 1956. *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, April 26, May 2 & 28, August 31, 1956. *The La Crosse Tribune*, January 31, May 1, July 11, 1956. *The Janesville Daily Gazette*, May 3, September 21, 1956. *Wisconsin Blue Book* 1957.

¹⁰ Kevin Smith, 164, 169, 172, 194. *The La Crosse Tribune*, April 25, May 27, 1956. *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, May 23 & 30, 1956. Key (1964), 444. *The Janesville Daily Gazette*, September 27, 1956. It was the belief of the anti-Wiley partisans that Wiley was renominated with the help of Democrats who took advantage of the State's open primary system. *Wisconsin Blue Book* 1957.

¹¹ *Rockingham Post-Dispatch*, March 15, 1956. *The Messenger and Intelligencer*, March 20, 1956. Finding Aid, Taylor Papers. 1900 Census schedule, Richmond County, NC.

¹² *Rockingham Post-Dispatch*, March 15 & 29, April 26, May 17 & 24, 1956. *Statesville Record & Landmark*, May 26, 1956. Badger (2007), 83.

Robert Jones of Alabama, Henderson Lanham of Georgia, Otto Passman of Louisiana, and Olin Teague of Texas; to one by Prince Preston and James Davis of Georgia, John Bell Williams of Mississippi, Carl Albert of Oklahoma, Joe Evins of Tennessee, and Burr Harrison of Virginia; and to none by Omar Burleson of Texas and Porter Hardy and Watkins Abbitt of Virginia. By those candles, Deane was not a lighthouse, but he was at least fluorescent. But then Deane himself would say that he had understood the Manifesto would not come up until after the filing deadline for the primary; so, one may not overly emphasize his courage or foolhardiness in that matter.¹³

One other House member lost his seat as a result of refusal to sign the Manifesto, North Carolinian Thurmond Chatham. The third non-signer from the North Carolina delegation, Agriculture Committee Chair Harold Cooley survived in part by basing his campaign on opposition to *Brown v. Board*, which Deane and Chatham did not do. Political scientist David Mayhew observed that the defeats of Deane and Chatham made it “clear to southern members that there could be no straying from a hard line on the school desegregation issue;” that “Nothing is more important in Capitol Hill politics than the shared conviction that election returns have proven a point.” Kitchin took 55% of the vote against Deane.¹⁴

Another member of the Class who failed to get a majority of the primary vote was Preston. The Representative had not had primary opposition on the ballot since 1946. In 1956 he drew two opponents, both “well-known in political circles.” The precipitating factor seems to have been the revelation during the 1954 general election campaign of Preston’s secret interest in an FHA insured housing project on which he made a profit - \$47,666.67 in the accounting of one of his opponents. Two opponents, Spence Grayson with a tight history with the Talmadge faction and a Savannah resident, and Elliott Hagan of the rural counties, split the anti-Preston vote and enabled the incumbent to win with a 48% plurality of the popular vote and a huge county-unit vote margin.¹⁵

One Republican incumbent was renominated with a small majority. Wint Smith of Kansas had always had challengers for the nomination but not two of them since he was first nominated in 1946 and now in 1956. He had not fallen below 60% of the primary vote since 1946, but now he was held to 52%. Both opponents, who were legislators, identified themselves as Eisenhower Republicans, which easily placed them on the moderate side of what a District editorial termed the “ultra conservative and independent” Smith. Opponent Mildred Otis campaigned for the seat on crutches after sustaining a spinal injury on her

¹³ Deane’s opposition to equal rights were on Celler’s motion to recommit S 2242 in the 80th Congress, McConnell’s amendment to HR 4453 to rend powerless the Fair Employment Practices Commission in the 81st, to override Truman’s veto of HR 5678 in the 82nd, on passage of HRes 638 in the 82nd, on passage of HR 6481 in the 83rd, on Powell’s amendment HR 7535 to ban school aid to segregated systems in the 84th, on passage of HR 7535 in the 84th, and on passage of HR 627 in the 84th. His supportive votes were on passage of HR 4453 in the 81st, on the motion to strike the enacting clause of HR 561 in the 82nd, on passage of HRes 561 in the 82nd, on passage of HRes 217 in the 83rd, and on the motion to recommit HR 627 in the 84th. Albert and Evins did not vote or pair on three of the thirteen matters. Teague did not on one. Dorn, in the House in the 84th Congress, was not present during the 81st. Unattributed and undated [1962] questionnaire, Deane Papers.

¹⁴ While Deane’s opponent did not file until after the Manifesto, Chatham already faced a strong opponent in the race. *The Robesonian*, March 14, 1956. Chatham also had a history of absenteeism from the House, which was emphasized by his opponent. Bartley, 96-7. Drew Pearson, May 25, 1950. Christensen, 164. Cooley’s challenger was also post-Manifesto. *Statesville Record & Landmark*, March 17 & 27, 1956. Mayhew, 71. *North Carolina Manual* 1957.

¹⁵ *The Atlanta Constitution*, June 6, July 6, 1956. *The Bulloch Herald*, August 30, 1956. *Valley Morning Star*, August 5, 1952. *Georgia Register* 1957.

parents' farm. Smith attacked his opponents as "champions of forced unionism" but said the primary issue was foreign aid and his hostility to it.¹⁶

Donald Nicholson of Massachusetts, another very conservative Republican, fared better than Smith but avoided a landslide, getting 56% of the primary vote against a State legislator. Since his initial nomination in a special election he had not fallen below 62% and faced no opponent on the ballot in 1952 and 1954. As with Smith, Nicholson's opponent ran explicitly as an Eisenhower Republican, saying the District needed a representative who "acts like a Republican."¹⁷

Burleson had an opponent only once since his initial nomination and barely hung on then in 1952 before encountering another would be representative in 1956. Dan Kralis, 37, an oil man who bankrolled an expensive campaign by Seventeenth District standards, ran to the right of Burleson, which meant far right. The differentiating policy factors were primarily Kralis' opposition to the progressive income tax, advocacy for a huge oil depletion subsidy, and a hostility to foreign aid that exceeded Burleson's. Kralis took 38%.¹⁸

No other incumbent class member was really challenged in the primary. Only James Davis' vote share fell below 70% and then barely. It was his best run since 1950. Twice he had lost the popular vote and been saved by the county-unit system. His major 1956 challenger was again Wyman Lowe, who barely scratched in 1946 and 1948 and managed 31% in 1950 before sitting out a couple of election cycles and receiving 26% in 1956. A second opponent received 6% of the vote.¹⁹

Republican Carroll Kearns in Pennsylvania faced opponents in 1950 and 1954, with his 71% in the latter year being his worst showing. State Rep. Wilmer Waterhouse had announced for Kearns seat in 1954 before withdrawing. It seems that the showing of the two less politically well-known challengers in 1954 might have encouraged Waterhouse to try for real in 1956. "Doc" Waterhouse, an automobile dealer and gentleman farmer, appears to have mounted a campaign based more on intraparty factional matters than programmatic issues. Though Kearns was predicted to have a real contest from Waterhouse, the incumbent won with 72%.²⁰

Kearns' fellow Pennsylvanian, Paul Dague, regularly and fruitlessly challenged for the nomination, trumped an opponent with 79% of the vote. Dague's fellow Republican, Ralph Harvey, in Indiana overcame with his usual ease a contest, this time from his right, with 81%. Southern Democrats Lanham and Passman had little problem winning renomination, though the former faced his first primary contest since his initial win in 1946; he took 83%. Passman's only walk-off nomination was in 1954, but despite opposition in 1956 from two candidates, one a female mayor and the other a district attorney and both with the support of erratic Gov. Earl Long, the Representative got 86% of the vote. Passman was a Long loyalist, but so were his two opponents. The reason for the Governor's current hostility to Passman is unclear.²¹

¹⁶ Pettigrew, Owen, and Wanless, at doi.org, which is the source of House primary election returns henceforth unless otherwise indicated. *The Salina Journal*, June 4 & 23, August 5 & 9, 1956. *The Manhattan Mercury*, February 7, 1956. *The Belleville Telescope*, August 2, 1956.

¹⁷ *Massachusetts Election Statistics 1956*. Key (1964), 452.

¹⁸ *Abilene Reporter-News*, April 16 & 22, June 5, July 26 & 27, August 9, 1956. *Texas Almanac 1957*.

¹⁹ *Georgia Register 1957*.

²⁰ *The Record-Argus*, January 5 & 19, February 4, 1956. *The Bristol Daily Courier*, March 3, 1956. *The Gazette and Daily*, January 17, 1956. *The Derrick*, March 30, 1956.

²¹ *The Monroe News-Star*, May 8, 1956. *Monroe Morning World*, May 13, 1956. *The Shreveport Times*, January 11, April 22, July 16, 1956. *Daily World*, July 29, 1956. For more on Earl Long, see Liebling.

Albert met newspaper publisher Manley Misenheimer in a primary for the fourth time and did not bother to come home to campaign. The incumbent's 91% was his best showing, other than in 1950 when he was nominated without opposition. Misenheimer's best was 16% in 1948. Williams also escaped opposition for the nomination only once, in 1954. His opponent in 1956 was a civilian flight instructor at an Air Force base in Florida, whose remote campaign netted him 5% of the vote.²²

The 26 other incumbents in the Class of '46 faced no primary opposition, or at least no conventional primary opposition. Russell Mack and Thor Tollefson were in Washington's blanket primaries. Mack's only co-filer was the Democratic candidate. Tollefson faced a Republican, two Democrats, and an independent, taking 95% for the Party nomination. Similarly, John Allen and Donald Jackson were in the cross-filing California primaries. Their only opponents were Democrats. Antoni Sadlak, James Patterson, and Horace Seely-Brown were nominated in Connecticut by convention without opposition. These Classmates were all Republicans.²³

The unchallenged Representatives were not without their drama. Republican Edward Miller of Maryland angled to be appointed to a Federal district court vacancy, but when Congress raised the salaries of the bench, we would have had to wait a year by law to take the position and so chose to run for reelection. As for the common ambition of a representative to be a senator, Glenn Davis tried for it in 1956, and Kenneth Keating of New York and Dorn of South Carolina considered the shift. Dorn had failed eight years earlier and was reportedly talked out of another try in 1956 by Sen. Strom Thurmond, who feared that incumbent Sen. Olin Johnston would sponsor a Thurmond opponent in retribution. Tollefson also fell afoul of intraparty politics. Washington Gov. Arthur Langlie was expected and being encouraged by the White House to run for the Senate against Democratic incumbent Warren Magnuson. The White House and Langlie turned to Tollefson as the desired successor to the Governor. Tollefson announced for governor and would say that every time he returned to Washington for nine months he canvassed the State and found that Langlie was not preparing his way with the Party; so, he finally filed for reelection three-and-a-half months after filing for governor.²⁴

Democrat Adlai Stevenson ran for president in 1952 and 1956 with Southern senators as running mates. John Sparkman of Alabama and Estes Kefauver of Tennessee were both considered liberals, though not anti-segregationists. The National Democratic Convention in 1956 did not endorse a strong equal rights plank. To a large extent this palliated white Democratic Southerners' discontent with the integrationist initiatives of Pres. Harry Truman. Stevenson in 1952 carried the four states that went for Dixiecrat Thurmond in 1948 and three of them in 1956, losing Louisiana in large part to the Catholic Cajun vote. Stevenson also avoided the class warfare of Truman, to the point of declaring his support for big business.²⁵

²² *The Lawton Constitution*, June 28, 1956. *Oklahoma Directory 1957*. *Greenwood Commonwealth*, August 27, 1956. *Mississippi Blue Book 1957*.

²³ Washington Election Results. Actor John Wayne was the individual who filed the election papers for Donald Jackson in Los Angeles. *Santa Cruz Sentinel-News*, March 29, 1956. *Naugatuck Daily News*, June 20 & 25, 1956. *The Hartford Courant*, June 24, 1956.

²⁴ *The Baltimore Sun*, January 21, 1968. *The Index-Journal*, February 10, 1964. Key (1964), 440. Tollefson interview (1974), 34-39. *Port Angeles Evening News*, March 26, 1956. *The Bend Bulletin*, July 18, 1956. Langlie lost the election to Magnuson and a Democrat won the governorship.

²⁵ Bartley, 160. Phillips, 203-4, 241. Sundquist, 216-7. While it would be inaccurate to portray Kefauver as a segregationist, he attempted to walk the narrow line of the Southern politician who did not pander to racists, but

Eisenhower had taken actions in support of desegregation and, while not declaring his support for the substance of the *Brown* decision, it was his choice for Chief Justice that marshalled a unanimous Court for the decision he had written.

Whence Southern white supremacists?

Gov. Allan Shivers of Texas and former Louisiana Governors Robert Kennon and Sam Jones, who had endorsed Eisenhower in 1952, stayed with the President in 1956. Former Governors Thurmond and James Byrnes and present Gov. George Timmerman of South Carolina tried to organize a states rights ticket for President that also drew support in Mississippi and ended with a slate of unpledged electors; some leaders endorsed Sen. Byrd of Virginia and Rep. John Bell Williams of Mississippi for President and Vice President. A separate Independent States' Rights Party was organized with T. Coleman Andrews of Virginia, recently the US Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and former Republican Rep. Thomas H. Werdel of California as presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Prominent backers of the Andrews-Werdel ticket were lacking. Byrd announced he was not a candidate for President, and Gov. James Coleman of Mississippi and most other Southern Democratic political leaders remained loyal to the Stevenson-Kefauver candidacy.²⁶

Williams, of the Class of '46, endorsed his own Byrd-Williams ticket without explicitly accepting the informal nomination for Vice President. Thurmond, while a party in creating the unpledged slate, did not endorse it, avoiding a potential challenge to his position within the Democratic Party in the Senate. Williams, however exposed himself.²⁷

Sparkman, incidentally, was instrumental in organizing Southern loyalists and leading them at the National Convention. He was, himself, the chair of the Alabama delegation to the Convention, chosen by the delegation over the man who led the balloting for election to the delegation, Laurie Battle of the Class of '46. Battle, who had failed to take the Senate nomination from Sparkman two years before, was the candidate of the more segregationist of the delegates. It should be noted, however, that Sparkman, as well as Battle, pledged to oppose a national platform that called for an end to racial segregation.²⁸

The Andrews-Werdel ticket was on the ballot in Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin and received 111,178 votes. Its best showings were 6% in Virginia and 2% in Tennessee. Unpledged electors, the supposed Byrd-Williams ticket, did better, with 196,318 votes in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The last state was the slate's best with 29%, while it received 17% of the ballots in Mississippi. It appears that these explicitly white-supremacist slates disproportionately drew from the potential Eisenhower-Nixon vote. The Republican vote share increased from 1952 to 1956 in the other seven Southern states and decreased in the four in which the Andrews-Werdel and Byrd-Williams tickets did best.

Retrospectively, the Stevenson and Eisenhower campaigns of 1956 appear virtually indistinguishable on racial issues, yet the voters in situ seemingly were convinced of a racist distinction in favor of the Republican ticket. This was despite an increased vote among the black electorate for Eisenhower. It also ignored the fact that most Southern politicians were Democrats and were, if not cheerfully loyal to Stevenson and Kefauver, not disavowing of them. The massive shift in the Republican presidential vote in the South from 1948 to 1952 and its increase in most of the South from 1952 to 1956 was not founded on racial issues alone; the personal draw of Eisenhower and the conservatism of the Republican Party on

wanted to win elections. In the wake of *Brown* he announced his support of segregated schools while counseling accommodation to the ruling. See Gorman, 183-4.

²⁶ Bartley, 157, 164-6.

²⁷ *Clarion-Ledger*, October 23 & 28, 1956. Lamis, 15.

²⁸ Bartley, 159. *The Anniston Star*, May 27, June 3, 1956.

non-racial issues were strong pulls as well. A student of American party systems noted, "Even without the civil rights issue, then, it seems likely that the South would have realigned on the national pattern in the postwar years, and most rapidly in the cities."²⁹

None of the incumbent Class of '46 were defeated for reelection in 1956. This was particularly true of Southern Democrats. Williams was unchallenged in the general election. The same was true for Passman, Teague, and Burleson, and, with the exception of a handful of votes, for Lanham and Abbitt. Dorn and Evins received over 90% of the vote in their contests. Joe Smith, an independent on the ballot against Evins, did receive 923 votes despite being a fictional person. Robert Jones took 81%, Preston 78%, Carl Albert 77%, Hardy 76%, Harrison 69%, and returning Morris 69%. Preston's opponent was an "independent Jeffersonian Democrat" running against the Supreme Court. Passman, Dorn, Albert, and Hardy were among those who took active roles in the Stevenson-Kefauver campaign.³⁰

Only James Davis of Atlanta was stretched at all, with 59%. Attorney Randolph Thrower, 42, mounted only the second Republican challenge to Davis. None had emerged to grab onto Eisenhower's popularity in 1952, and even with the help of the President in 1956 Thrower exceeded Charles Moyer's performance in 1954 by only five points. Of the twelve Southern metropolises, Atlanta produced the lowest Republican presidential vote in 1952 and the second lowest in 1956, only Nashville being more Democratic. Eisenhower took 40% in Atlanta (Fulton County) in 1952 and 44% in 1956. Davis's campaign placed emphasis on his investigation of school desegregation in the District of Columbia, which reportedly produced a heavy African American vote for Thrower.³¹

Non-Southern Democrats John Blatnik of Minnesota, Abraham Multer of Brooklyn, Edward Garmatz of Baltimore, and Frank Karsten of St. Louis also had no difficulty with reelection. Alfred Weinberg, Blatnik's opponent, was 47, single, and an attorney; he ran a minimal campaign and held Blatnik to 73%. Multer scored 71% against his same Republican opponent from 1954. Harry Kemper had challenged Garmatz for the Democratic nomination in 1952 and after five losses for various posts as a Democrat announced he would try his luck as a Republican. "I don't run for a hobby. I really want to win and get out of the grocery business. It's a tough business," said Kemper.³² Garmatz took 70%. Karsten also had a repeat opponent, his Republican challenger from 1954. The vote percentages were identical between the two races, Karsten winning with 66%.

²⁹ Kevin Phillips, 221. Sundquist, 259

³⁰ *Kingsport Times*, November 5, 1956. *The Atlanta Constitution*, September 22, 1956. *The Monroe News-Star*, October 1, 1956. "Biographical Note," Dorn Papers. *Miami Daily News-Record*, October 26, 1956. *Progress-Index*, August 29, 1956. *Kingsport News*, September 8, 1956. Nebraskan Terry Carpenter, a delegate to the Republican National Convention despite having run for governor twice as a Democrat, nominated Joe Smith for vice-president to make the point that the Convention's nominees were predetermined. As well as receiving votes in Tennessee, Mr. Smith was written-in for governor and lieutenant governor in Texas. *The Lincoln Star*, August 23, 1956.

³¹ *Kingsport News*, September 27, 1956. *The Bridgeport Telegram*, March 19, 1969. *The Anniston Star*, October 17, 1956. *Freeport Journal-Standard*, December 26, 1956. Metropolises here are those in counties whose populations exceeded 250,000 in the previous census. In the case of Norfolk and Richmond, Virginia, the county population and presidential vote includes that of the independent cities within. Thus, Richmond is a combination of the city and Henrico County. The other metropolises were Birmingham, Miami, New Orleans, Memphis, Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, and Fort Worth.

³² *The Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, November 2, 1956. *The Winona Daily News*, November 13, 1956. *The Morning Herald* (Hagerstown), December 14, 1955. *The Decatur Daily Review*, December 14, 1955.

Harold Donohue of Massachusetts was the only non-Southern Democrat in the Class with anything resembling a challenge, and he improved on his 1954 showing by a couple of points to 59%. Republican Mary Richmond Wheeler was a fresh opponent. Daughter of a bank and railway president and wife of a surgeon, Mrs. Wheeler would be chosen Massachusetts' Republican National Committeewoman in three years.³³

Keating had the easiest reelection among the Republican members of the Class, taking 72% against his Democratic and Liberal opponent. William McCulloch of Ohio took 69%, and Dague got 68% against his 1954 challenger, an increase of six points. Walter Riehlman of New York faced an active challenger with strong union backing in Thomas Lowery, but the Representative improved three points to 67%. Despite Eisenhower's veto of a bill involving three flood control dams affecting his Connecticut District (or because of the veto), James Patterson swamped his challenger with 62%, a huge nine-point increase from 1954. Sadlak faced a fellow Polish American for the At-large Connecticut seat and won with 61%. Nicholson in Massachusetts took 61% against William McAuliffe, in his eighth race for a congressional seat, but none previously against Nicholson. Way out west in Los Angeles, Jackson also got 61%.³⁴

The Republican with the highest profile challenger was Katherine St. George of New York. Bill Mauldin, well known as the Wartime Pulitzer-winning cartoonist of Willie and Joe, campaigned hard via his own private plane and, an evocative touch, his jeep. Fellow cartoonists published efforts in support of him, and his own newspaper ads were both pointed and humorous, like a good editorial cartoon. Mauldin, himself, would say later that he was too leftist for the District, but the attention that his campaign attracted apparently scared St. George enough that her campaign took in the end to red-baiting. St. George slipped three points from her 1954 performance, but her 62% was not a narrow victory.³⁵

In the slightly challenged group of Republicans was Seely-Brown, who improved eight points to 59%. Kearns gained six points to 58% in a contest in which both candidates were involved in wee-hours traffic accidents. Democrat William Thomas' involved a State car at 2:30 am. Kearns' car was struck by another vehicle at 12:15 am. Thomas got a ticket and was injured. Kearns did not and was not.³⁶ Russell Mack of Washington lost points to 57%. Harvey kept to his 56%, as did Miller.

William Dawson of Utah also took 58%, an improvement of one point, against a reluctant Democratic opponent. Given the vituperation of Dawson's campaigns against Reva Beck Bosone, who chose not to run again, the reluctance is fathomable. Bosone's experience in seeking employment after the House is a reminder that campaign stones are not "just politics," as being tarred in Dawson's rather standard red-

³³ *The North Adams Transcript*, November 8, 1956; April 2, 1959.

³⁴ *The Post-Standard*, September 23 & 29, October 3 & 14 & 16 & 27, 1956. *Naugatuck Daily News*, August 11, 1956. *The Hartford Courant*, July 7, 1956. *The Bennington Evening Banner*, December 6, 1956.

³⁵ DePastino, 264-5, 267. *The Reporter Dispatch*, September 12, November 5, 1956. *The Oneonta Star*, October 3, 1956. As an example, directed to Rep. St. George: "You've been campaigning on your 'experience.' What experience? The rural life? You're an expert on saddle horses and show dogs, but they don't milk poodles in this district, lady; they milk cows." "Now in foreign policy, I've got to credit you with some experience. Being born and raised in England has surely broadened your tolerance of our British cousins, and I know you have been spending a lot of time spreading cheer among our French cousins over the 'Voice of America' with your impeccable 'Parley-voo.' But how to you feel about our Italian cousins and all our other cousins who can't join us because of the McCarran-Walter Act?" *The Oneonta Star*, October 24, 1956.

³⁶ *The News-Herald*, October 20, 1955. *The Record-Argus*, November 5, 1956.

baiting campaigns caused associates and former supplicants to avoid her. Members of Congress, in fact, were the only ones receptive to her job-hunting, a sympathetic band of brothers and sisters.³⁷

Four of the Republican incumbents had harder wins. Tollefson in Washington lost a point to win with 54% against the same opponent from 1954. John Allen of California gained a point to 53%. His Democratic opponent, Laurence Cross, unlike most of the opponents of the Republican members, had a substantial background in elective politics. Wint Smith of Kansas dropped two points to a bare 51% against his 1954 opponent. Frederic Coudert in Manhattan improved from his 314-vote win in 1954 to 51%, also against his 1954 opponent. This campaign, which one newspaper dubbed “the cocktail hustings,” in what was labeled the silk-stocking district, was another one with red-baiting, though in this case the Representative was absolved by a House investigation of being aware of the libelous literature circulated by his supporters.³⁸

Youngblood, attempting to make a return to the House after eight years, failed. He did manage to reduce the Democratic incumbents vote share a point, but Youngblood’s 43% was still a clear loss.

With few exceptions, and St. George’s stands out, the Republican-Democratic contests in 1956 were relatively non-calumniate. Republicans accused their opponents of being in favor of big government and high taxes and opposed to private initiative and local control. Democrats said their rivals were supporters of big business and the rich and against government services to the majority of Americans. Republicans were generally fond of Eisenhower and his policies (Wint Smith was an exception) and Democrats were opposed to his policies but not the man. Democrats, or those outside the South, liked organized labor and Republicans avoided the topic. Equal rights for black people was an occasional topic outside the South with the accusations of lack of support pointing in both directions. The St. George-Mauldin contest stands out for the level of its mud-slinging by both campaigns, which the Democrat started with his ridicule of the Representative’s life and life style.

Overall, Republican candidates in races involving the Class of ’46 fared better in 1956 than they did in 1954. Republican challengers to Democratic members improved by four points while Republican members bettered their last showings by two points. This could be the value of Eisenhower’s short coattails or simply the fact that a different electorate turns out for presidential than for off-year elections. Given that the advantage for Republican members east of the Mississippi was four points, while those in the west did two points worse than in 1954, the Eisenhower or the Eisenhower Administration explanation is the preferred one.

Thirty-nine members of the Class of ’46 served in the 84th Congress. All but one of the incumbents sought reelection. One, Deane, failed of renomination. None failed of election. Three nonincumbent members of the Class attempted a return; one, Morris, succeeded and two failed, one of renomination and one of election. Thirty-nine members would return to the 85th Congress, 19 Republicans and 20 Democrats.

One member of the Class of ’46 did not return to the House after 1956:

³⁷ *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 4, June 18, 1956. Clopton, 231-9.

³⁸ *The Fresno Bee the Republican*, April 5, 1948. *San Mateo Times and Daily News-Leader*, November 19, 1953; January 8, 1954. *Humboldt Standard*, February 8, 1954. *Rhineland Daily News*, July 19, 1956. *Times Record*, November 2, 1956. *Kingston Daily Freeman*, January 2, 1957.

Charles Deane was active in a number of areas: health care, housing, the Defense Production Act, fiscal policy, the textile industry, and defense funding. His role as an objector in the 80th Congress helped boost his floor participation over his five terms to 286 appearances. He moved six amendments on the floor and five were accepted, involving home loans, the Defense Production Act, tobacco marketing (twice), and a postage stamp. His seat on House Administration led to eight successful resolutions. Two others were private considerations, for a productive ten out of eleven introduced. Five of his 18 private bills were enacted, but only one of his 17 public bills, and that was a House Administration matter. Deane voted 150 times with Democrats (49 with only Northerners and 32 with Southerners), thrice with Republicans, and missed seven votes. His rated voting was second most liberal of Southern Democrats, being shaded by Henderson Lanham.