

Chapter Three – The Amateurs

Novelist Nevil Shute had the fictional Peter Marshall, the British pilot of a Wellington bomber in the Second World War, mull his post-war future: “Life in the R.A.F. was real and exciting and great fun – better by far than the life he had known in his insurance office before the war. Everything had to end sometime. It was undesirable to be killed, but it was also undesirable to go creeping back into the office when the war was over.”¹

Harold Russell was an American paratrooper who lost both hands during the War and won an Oscar for his portrayal of a returned veteran in the 1946 movie *The Best Years*. He would later comment, “The guys who came out of World War Two were idealistic. They sincerely believed that this time they were coming home to build a new world. Many, many times you’d hear guys say, ‘The one thing I want to do when I get out is to make sure that this thing will never happen again.’ We felt the day had come when the wars were all over, we were going to break down the bonds that separated people.”²

One of the biographers of Republican Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, opined on her reason for candidacy for the House in 1940: “Smith was in pursuit of no cause and motivated by no principle, aside from that she had pursued since childhood, a better job.”³

This combination of idealism and a desire for something less mundane than their pre-war activities, as well as a need for a good living, goes far to explain why individuals, including so many veterans, attempted elective public office soon after the War. But then, returning veterans were a large portion of the potential political labor pool. One-third of the adult male population had served in the armed forces during the War, and now among other matters were competing with other veterans for jobs. Most would-be politicians may not have achieved office, but the 69 veterans, 60 of the Second World War, in the Class of '46 encountered both a large-scale opportunity to make the world better and their lives more interesting and remunerative.⁴

There were 23 veterans of the First World War in the Class, 14 of both wars. Of the 49 who did not serve in the Second World War, 2 were women and 40 had been older than 37 at the start of America’s war. Two more had held elective offices that were statutorily exempt from conscription. The remaining five had been fathers of minor children in 1941; two of these reached 37 before the end of the War. Men of 37 and older and fathers of minor children were rarely drafted. Older men, elected officials, and fathers could volunteer, though the local draft boards or the military might reject them. Watkins Abbitt of Virginia, with one minor child in 1941 and another that came along in 1944, would say he had volunteered but was rejected because of a punctured eardrum. Jacob Javits of New York enlisted at 37. John Davis Lodge of Connecticut enlisted at age 38 with three minor children, the last only three months old. Charles Fletcher of California with three minor children signed up at the age of 40. Bachelor Harold Donohue of Massachusetts volunteered at the age of 41, childless Otto Passman of Louisiana at 42. Beyond these, older veterans of the Second World War were called up because of continuing service in the National Guard or reserves.⁵

¹ Shute, 39.

² Goulden, 5-6.

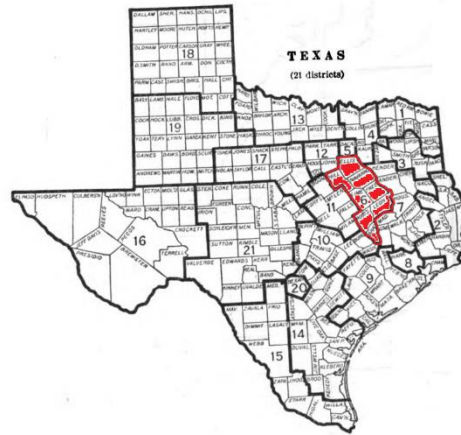
³ Wallace, 55.

⁴ “World War II Veterans by the Numbers.”

⁵ Flynn, 77-108. Governors, legislators, and judges were deferred by statute. Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, Pub. L. 76-783. Featherston, 103. *The Washington Post*, January 8, 1948. DeLong, 86, 103, 134. Charles K. Fletcher, Jr., Birth Certificate, Los Angeles County, California. Peter Toberman Fletcher, Genealogy Bank Obituary.



Olin Teague

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)Texas 6th Cong. Dist.Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Texas Democrat Olin Teague's explanation of his candidacy on the stump in 1946 was one of idealism: "I have no great desire to be a congressman. Neither did I have a desire to train 1,000 of America's finest men to fight and kill, ... to go into combat with them, to see 300 killed and another 500 wounded. I do have a burning desire to see that the sacrifice of the boys who gave their lives was not in vain." "The memory of those men is why I am running for Congress." Teague had been a postal clerk for the eight years before the War. His father ran lumber camps in the Ozarks. A year of war was a radically different experience.⁶

On April 11, 1946, Pres. Harry Truman appointed Teague's Representative, Luther Johnson, to the Federal Tax Court. Johnson was 70 years old, appointed to a twelve-year term to which he was quickly confirmed, and in which he would serve for ten years. Rep. Johnson resigned his seat from the Sixth Congressional District of Texas on July 17, 1946, and the Governor set a special election on August 24, which was also the date of the regular run-off primary.⁷

Lynn Griffith had already filed, and Joe Cowley had previously announced to contest Johnson for the Democratic nomination in the regular primary on July 27 before the appointment. Tom Tyson indicated on the day of Johnson's appointment that he might run in the event of confirmation. Fountain Kirby filed in April. On May 18 Teague announced. Three of the five candidates were attorneys and two of them had won elections. Only Tyson was not a veteran, and Cowley, a non-attorney, had a war record to rival Teague's, but without the injuries. Tyson was the identified "liberal" in the race, while Kirby was an anti-New Deal Democrat. Griffith was closer to Tyson, Cowley closer to Kirby in stated positions. Tyson, the non-veteran, New Dealer, led the field with 27% of the vote. Teague, whose advertisements played heavily, overwhelmingly to his war record, came in second with 22%. It was a "friends and neighbors" vote, with each candidate getting from 54% to 73% of the vote in his home county. Tyson also did well in another county in the District in which he had been born. Judge Kirby did well in the second county of his judicial district. Teague was the front-runner in the county in the District lacking these connections.⁸

Dale Fletcher, Legacy.com Obituary. *CQWR*, September 8, 1961, 1556. Lodge listed only two children in his biography in the *Congressional Directory*, omitting his third child, Edith, born in 1942 with Down syndrome and placed in a private foster arrangement. DeLong, 103.

⁶ *Bryan Daily Eagle*, May 31, 1946. [Hechler], 165.

⁷ *Texas Almanac*, 1947-1948.

⁸ *Waxahachie Daily Light*, January 13, April 7, June 6 & 16 & 24, 1946. *Bryan Daily Eagle*, January 17, May 1, 1946. *Corsicana Daily Sun*, April 11, May 13 & 16, July 1 & 30, August 8, 1946. *The Paris News*, August 2, 1946. *Mexica*

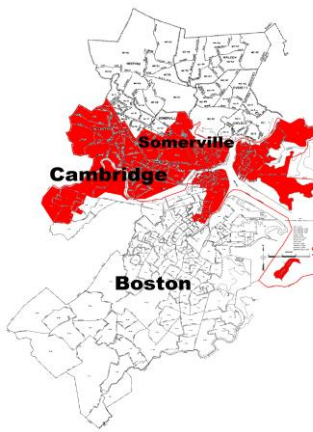
On August 1 Griffith, Cowley, and Kirby jointly spoke at a campaign site and endorsed Teague in the run-off, perhaps because of Tyson's relative liberalism. Facing this bloc, Tyson withdrew on August 8 and yielded the nomination to Teague. As for the special election, scheduled for the date of the regular run-off on August 24, the other candidates withdrew from that as well. There was no Republican candidate in either the special or regular election. This theoretically put Teague in the 79th Congress, but that body having adjourned *sine die*, he could not be sworn in until the 80th Congress convened in January 1947.⁹

Teague inherited a district partly in the "piney woods" and partly in the "blacklands prairie" of eastern Texas. It abutted Dallas County on the north and terminated at College Station on the south. Johnson had held the District since 1923. It was a district of small towns and farms, the largest city being Corsicana with 15,000 people in 1940 and 19,000 in 1950. Farm income was four times manufacturing wages in the mid-1940s, with cotton being the major product. The average median family income would be \$1741 in 1949. The white population was native born, but there was a substantial black population of 27%.



John Kennedy

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)



Boston area 11th Cong. Dist.

Source: 1950 Census

John Kennedy of Massachusetts attributed his run for Congress to "a 'promise' he had made while a patrol torpedo boat skipper in the Solomons: 'When ships were sinking and young Americans were dying ... I firmly resolved to serve my country in peace as honestly as I tried to serve it in war.'"¹⁰

Kennedy's candidacy for office was arguably predetermined; Joseph Kennedy, his wealthy father, first chair of the new Securities and Exchange Commission and former ambassador to Great Britain, was dedicated to having a son be President. His oldest boy had died in the War. The second, John, had barely survived having his patrol torpedo boat run over by a Japanese destroyer. Reportedly, Kennedy *père* having abandoned the idea of a run for his son for the lieutenant governorship as a potential loss in what was probably a Republican year, decided that candidacy for the reliably Democratic seat of James Curley in the Eleventh Congressional District was the ticket. Though under indictment for mail fraud, Curley had run and won a third term as Mayor of Boston in November 1945. The House seat would be open but not before the end of Curley's current term, despite his also becoming Mayor and his criminal conviction on

Weekly Herald, January 18, 1946. *The Hearne Democrat*, July 26, 1946. *The Austin American*, August 15, 1946. On friends and neighbors elections, see Key (1949), 37-41.

⁹ *The Mexia Weekly Herald*, August 2, 1946. *Corsicana Daily Sun*, August 8, 1946.

¹⁰ Goulden, 228.

January 18, 1946. It was said that Joseph Kennedy had bankrolled Curley's mayoral campaign to open a seat for John.¹¹

John Kennedy had not lived in the District since he was nine years old, floating with his family largely between New York and Florida. His initial District home during the campaign was his grandfather's in the Bellevue Hotel, but then he took a three-room apartment across from the State House. On the other hand, his parents had been from the District and his maternal grandfather's old congressional district overlapped it. Both his grandfathers and his father were well-known in the District, and John's well publicized war experience made him so as well. The District included four wards in Boston, three in Somerville, and the entirety of Cambridge. The black population was minimal, but 25% of the population had been foreign born in 1940. The largest share was English-speaking Canadians, followed by Irish, Italians, and Russian-born, the last largely Jewish. The average median household income would be \$2576 in 1949.¹²

The June 18, 1946, primary included ten candidates. Four of them, including a suspicious doppelganger for one of the six major candidates, were not expected to scratch and collectively would get 4% of the vote. The favorite was Michael Neville, Mayor of Cambridge and former State legislator. John Cotter was effectively the sitting House member as Curley's secretary, given Curley's conviction. Joseph Russo had been a Boston Council member. Joseph Lee had been a member of the Boston school board. Catherine Falvey, an attorney and former legislator, campaigned in her Women's Army Corps uniform.¹³

But the "boyish, rawboned" Kennedy had fame, family, money, an army of volunteers, and the women. He had a limp and was very thin and said to have malaria, or maybe it was hepatitis. Thomas O'Neill, successor to Kennedy in the District, would write that Kennedy's campaign was new to his experience, with "a group of energetic and talented volunteers, ... superbly organized." House parties, run by Kennedy's bevy of sisters, invited most if not all of the women in the District, and the 28-year-old candidate, handsome, but also frail from war injury and illness, was a draw. As O'Neill would write, "He had what we called a warm hand, and the women would melt...." Cotter could not even get the endorsement of Curley.¹⁴

Kennedy won handily, taking 42% to Neville's 22%, Cotter's 13%, Russo's 11%, Falvey's 5%, and Lee's 4%. Reportedly, Kennedy then took a vacation to recuperate from an active primary campaign and did little for the general election, which he won with 72% of the vote.¹⁵

Albert Reeves' candidacy also had a lot to do with his father. His father of the same name was the Federal judge who had empaneled a grand jury that ultimately led to the conviction of 259 people for voting fraud in Kansas City, Missouri, devastating the Pendergast organization and setting up his son to election to the House in 1946.¹⁶

¹¹ Nelson, 336. Caro (2012), 40. Cahill, 8-9.

¹² Cloherty, 4. O'Neill with Novak, 73, 76-8. Sorensen, 21. Nelson, 355. Rosenwaike, 151, 156.

¹³ Nelson, 356. Farrell, 93. *The Berkshire Evening Eagle*, June 5, 1946. *Fitchburg Sentinel*, June 14, 1946. De Guglielmo, 2. Colbert, 2. Burns (1960), 64-5.

¹⁴ *Time*, November 18, 1946. Blatnik, 2. Corrine Boggs interview, 1-2. Davis. O'Neill with Novak, 76-8. De Guglielmo, 7.

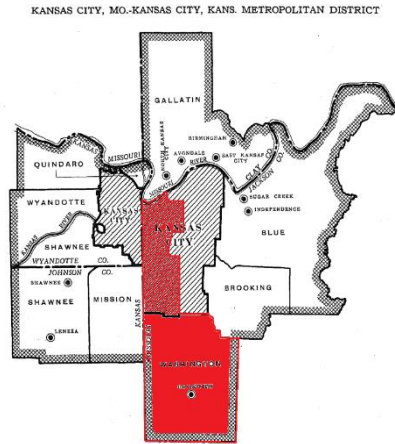
¹⁵ *Massachusetts Election Statistics 1946*. Cloherty, 13.

¹⁶ Larsen and Hulston, 645.



Albert Reeves

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov

Kansas City 5th Cong. Dist.

Source: 1940 Census

Albert Jr was 40, tall and solemn, an attorney himself and active in Republican organizations. Although with two minor children, he had been a captain in the Corps of Engineers in India, Burma, and China, and on terminal leave only in April 1946.¹⁷

The Fifth District, with perhaps 5% foreign born and 15% black population, contained about half of Kansas City and a township outside in Jackson County. The average median family income in 1949 would be \$2902. Pres. Truman's Independence home was in Jackson County but in the Fourth District, not the Fifth. The City had developed an urban "machine" in that of brothers James and Thomas Pendergast. "Kansas City was primarily a mercantile and financial center with a large, native-born, middle-class population." "Thus anyone who hoped to create a city- and county-wide organization would have to do much more than provide for the underprivileged. Tom Pendergast met the challenge, and achieved power by providing service for the diverse interests in his community. He always cared for the underprivileged, but he did much more. Middle-class citizens in residential districts were served, as were individuals in the professions and the business community." But the Pendergasts also had ruled through routine election fraud which eventually brought the organization down after the 1936 election. Thomas went to prison, and his nephew, another James, tried to keep the organization going. Harry Truman had come up in politics with the support of the organization, a "clean" but loyal politician who could provide a good face to the machine.¹⁸

Rep. Roger Slaughter was the Democratic incumbent, first elected 1942, but he was denied the renomination in the August 6, 1946, primary by Enos Axtell, 37, an attorney and Navy veteran. Slaughter, who had a seat on the powerful Rules Committee, opposed much of Truman's legislation, and the President publicly, and with the help of James Pendergast, supported Axtell. In the meantime Reeves Jr. won the Republican primary without opposition.¹⁹

Reeves ran against Pendergast and "Communist influence" in the Truman Administration and defeated Axtell with 54% of the vote. The defeat of Axtell, identified as Truman's personal candidate and

¹⁷ *Time*, November 18, 1946. *The Daily Capital News*, August 8, 1946. *The Sedalia Democrat*, April 3, 1946.

¹⁸ Dorsett, xii, 71-3, 122-3, 136-7. Ferrell, 146.

¹⁹ *The St. Louis Star and Times*, August 7, 1946. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 4, 1946. Milligan, 247. McCullough, 508. *Missouri Manual 1947-1948*.

sometimes, confusing district geography a bit, described as the President's representative, was "mortifying" for the President.²⁰



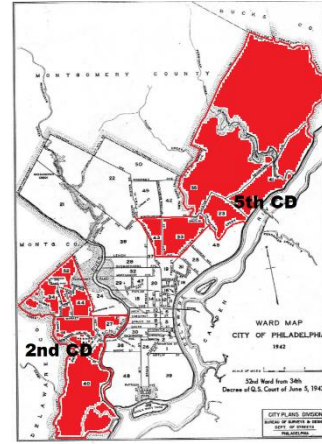
George Sarbacher

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Robert McGarvey

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Philadelphia

Source: Daly and Weinberg

George Sarbacher, "a political novice, was tapped to run for Congress by the Philadelphia Fifth District's Republican Party organization because of his military record during World War II." Captain Sarbacher had invaded Guadalcanal, Bougainville, and Guam with the Third Marine Amphibious Corps, but it did not hurt politically that his father, of the same name, was a veteran Republican leader in the Forty-third Ward. The candidate, only 26 years old, a "husky, full-faced six-footer," had been commissioned a lieutenant in the Marines out of Temple University. The May 21 primary predated his release from the service by eight months. His primary opponent, Fred Gartner, 50, a First World War veteran, had served a term in the House, losing to a Democrat in 1940. Despite Gartner's presumed political bona fides, the primary was a walkover for Sarbacher, who took 78%.²¹

The Fifth Congressional District was the northeastern part of the City, the wealthiest section and the whitest. There was still a significant percentage of foreign born, 14% in 1940. Those from Great Britain and Germany were each 21% of the foreign born, with Irish and Italians another 12% each. Average median household income in 1949 would be \$3661.

The Democratic incumbent was William Green, completing his first term. Green was only 36 and was also a Second World War vet, discharged in December 1944 after his election to the House. Sarbacher was still in service during the election, though conveniently assigned to the Philadelphia Naval Yard. On active duty, he was constrained from campaigning, but he could show up in uniform and take bows. *Time* observed that he simply rode "Pennsylvania's Republican landslide." Green's 66% in 1944 dropped an amazing 23 points in 1946 and Sarbacher would join the 80th Congress.

Landslide it was. Republicans captured nine Democratic House seats in Pennsylvania in 1946, six of them in Philadelphia. John Gunther thought the City had almost no civic pride but was "distinctly smug and self-satisfied," even though he thought it "full of troubles" from declining values and services and a

²⁰ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 9, 1946. Reddig, 376. McCullough, 523. *The Kansas City Star*, November 8, 1946.

²¹ *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, May 23, 1946. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 5, 1973. *Time*, November 18, 1946. *Chester Times*, April 21, 1948.

conservative refusal to take Federal funds to fix problems. In particular, he complained that the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers were “slimy with industrial and human waste.”²²

In the City a committee of “attorneys and businessmen, with Thomas C. Egan, former member of the Public Utility Commission as its head, was formed ... at the Union League to campaign for the six Republican Congressional Candidates from Philadelphia. All members of the committee are veterans of either the First or Second World War....” Their platform had two planks: “First, ... striking down the deadly influence of the Communists and the C.I.O. PAC whose activities come so very close to treason that the line is very thin indeed. Second, we will crusade to cut out waste and corruption on the part of the Government....” This was very successful in winning the elections.²³

Seven of the Republican captures in the State and four in the City would be members of the Class of '46. Only one other than Sarbacher would be a political novice. Robert McGarvey was a stockbroker who had been an active Republican for many years but had never run for office before. He was 65, had no military record and was the son of Irish immigrants; his father was a shirt-cutter. His first wife had died after five years of marriage, leaving him with two small children. His primary nomination was unopposed.²⁴

The Second Congressional District was the southwestern part of the City. It had had significant black and foreign-born populations in 1940, each 13% of the total. Russian-born, largely Jewish, immigrants were 30% of the foreign born. The Irish were 19% and the Italians 17%. Average median household income in 1949 would be \$3354.²⁵

The incumbent Democrat, William Granahan, was serving his first term in the House. He was 50 and a veteran of the First World War. Granahan was one of the sponsors of the National Committee to Win the Peace. He had won the seat in 1944 with 63% of the Second District vote, but in 1946 he fell to 49% and McGarvey rode the State and City landslide to Washington.

Caleb Boggs, 37, of Delaware was recruited by the State Republican leadership to run. His combat experience was extensive and appealing, having been a colonel in Gen. George Patton's armored push from Normandy to its meeting with the Soviets in Rochlitz, Germany. Boggs had also lost a brother to the War, and another saw battle with the Marines. An attorney of fewer than three years before enlistment, Boggs may have looked forward to a more interesting non-elective career than Teague, but he also had come from a political family. His father had run for the General Assembly and for Sheriff and had spent much of his adult life as an appointed office holder. The candidate himself had had some exposure to Congress, having served a brief period as a staffer. Until 1972, nominations in Delaware were by convention. Boggs was chosen unanimously by the State Republican Convention on August 14.²⁶

²² Gunther (1947), 603, 606.

²³ *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, September 24, 1946.

²⁴ *The Post-Register*, January 22, 1947. 1910 Census schedule, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Philadelphia Marriages Index. Anna F. McGarvey stone, Holy Cross Cemetery, Yeardon, Pennsylvania; unless otherwise noted burial stones are from FindAGrave.com. Philadelphia City Births Index. *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, March 12, 1946.

²⁵ Rosenwaike, 151, 156.

²⁶ *Wilmington Morning News*, November 7, 1940; June 12, 1945; July 19, August 15, 1946. *Journal-Every Evening*, May 9, 1940; December 28, 1944; February 28, 1945; March 17, 1950; March 28, 1993. *Abilene Reporter-News*, December 11, 1946. *Evening Journal*, September 14, 1914.



Caleb Boggs

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)

Delaware At-Large

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

The incumbent Representative was Phillip Traynor, a Democrat, who had returned to the House in 1944 after a 1942 defeat by a Republican. That Republican was twenty years older than Boggs and apparently content to return to his law practice. Boggs ran against Traynor and the New Deal, accusing the latter of responsibility for a shortage of meat and housing, and implying it included subversive elements. Traynor, indeed, was a New Dealer and had the support of Labor. It is noteworthy that Boggs, in a Border State, supported equal rights legislation, such as a fair employment practices act, and pointed out that Democratic committee chairs in Congress, many of them Southerners, would prevent it. Boggs took 56%.²⁷

Delaware had one representative. It gained population over the 1940s, but the biggest city, Wilmington, held pretty constant at about 110,000. For a former slave state in 1860, the black share in the 1940s was low, 14%. As Gunther pointed out, “The state is usually considered a kind of caliphate of the [DuPont] family,” and in 1950 employment in manufacturing would be nearly four times that in agriculture. But Gunther also observed that “the backwash area below Wilmington” grew “fruit, vegetables, broilers and other species of poultry” and that the “self-sufficient people” minded “their own business.”²⁸ Indeed, farm income was two-thirds that of manufacturing wages in the mid 1940s. Poultry ruled the roost agriculturally. Median family income would be \$3167 in 1949.

Edward Jenison of Illinois was also the pick of the Party to run. He was not discharged from the Navy until September 1946 after serving in naval intelligence, in large part on aircraft carriers in the Pacific War. Jessie Sumner, the Republican incumbent since 1939, said eight years in Congress was enough, that it was no place for a career woman unless she was willing to have that career put to a vote every two years. Jenison depended on the retiring Sumner to designate him as her preferred successor and on the District Republican Party to clear the path for primary nomination and to initiate a general election campaign. Jenison was a newspaperman and son of one.²⁹

²⁷ *Wilmington Morning News*, October 5 & 10 & 15 & 16 & 22 & 24, November 2, 1946. *Indiana Evening Gazette*, October 31, 1946.

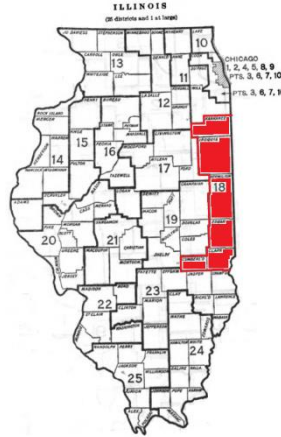
²⁸ Gunther (1947), 630.

²⁹ Slepikca, Miner, and Illinois Press Foundation, 15. *Standard-Speaker*, April 21, 1996. *Congressional Record*, July 11, 1962, E1263-4. *Carbondale Free Press*, February 12, 1946.

The Eighteenth Congressional District ran along the northern Indiana border and had included the same six counties since 1902. It was an agricultural district, growing lots of corn; in the mid-1940s its farm income doubled its manufacturing wages. The county average median family income in 1949 of this native-born white population would be a modest \$2713.



Edward Jenison

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)Illinois 18th Cong. Dist.Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Neither Jenison nor his Democratic opponent C.E. Spang had primary contests on April 9. As a newspaper editor, Jenison had been free to comment publicly on politics but had never run for office before. Spang, a building contractor, had lost a race for the General Assembly and currently was serving as Mayor of Georgetown. Sumner had taken 57% in 1944, and Jenison won 65% in 1946.³⁰

In Queens, New York, long-time, ailing, and soon deceased Borough Republican leader Warren B. Ashmead went out in a blaze of glory by getting three ward-healers elected to Democratic seats: Gregory McMahon, Robert Tripp Ross, and Robert Nodar.³¹ The Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth congressional districts were three of the four in the Borough. A Republican had won the Third District when New York had drawn new districts in 1944.

Ross's Fifth District included La Guardia Field, and Idlewild Airport was being built in McMahon's Fourth District. Gunther commented on Queen's "unending rows of ugly small houses." McMahon's district would be about 9% African American in 1950 and 15% foreign born with Italians and Germans making up over half the latter. The average median household income in 1949 would be \$3517. Ross's district was richer, \$3987 would be the average, and whiter, only 3% African American, but would have a larger proportion of foreign born, 21%, with Italians, Germans, and Irish making a majority. Nodar's Sixth District abutted the East River and included the motion picture studio district of Astoria, which had produced feature films in the 1920s and 1930s. The Sixth was similar to the Fourth with slightly more foreign born, 23%, with Germans, Italians, and Irish in that order forming a majority, but the average median household income would be closer to the Fifth at \$3520.³²

³⁰ *Illinois Vote*, April 9, 1946. *The Kokomo Tribune*, the *Kokomo Dispatch*, January 8, 1947. *The Decatur Daily Review*, April 6, 1948. *Belvidere Daily Republican*, September 16, 1942. *The Edwardsville Intelligencer*, November 5, 1946.

³¹ *Brooklyn Eagle*, January 8, 1947.

³² Gunther (1947), 555. See Koszarski on the Astoria motion picture industry.



Gregory McMahon

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



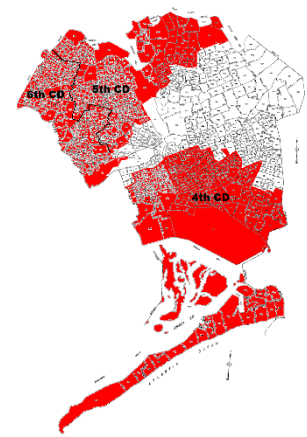
Robert Tripp Ross

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Robert Nodar

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Queens

Source: 1950 Census

Ross was 43, Jewish, born in North Carolina, and not a veteran. Nodar and McMahon were 30 and 31, Catholic (likely in the case of Nodar), City natives, and veterans of the Army Air Corps and the Navy respectively, both with service in the Pacific. Nodar was arguably ethnic, of Italian and Irish ancestry. Their fathers were, respectively, a carpenter, a US mail clerk, and an accountant, and the candidates were a drug store manager, a clerk in a steel company, and an accountant. Neither had apparently had elective political service but must have been well known to the Borough Republican organization. None of the three faced any primary opposition on August 20.³³

McMahon faced incumbent William Barry, or did until Barry died on October 20 at age 44 from pneumonia. The Borough Democratic organization replaced him with his widow, Emily, an attorney. This put McMahon's campaign on hold, but the lack of an American Labor Party endorsement doomed Mrs. Barry's chances. Mr. Barry had won in 1944 with ALP support, the Republican vote that year exceeding the Democratic vote, but he had a public break with the ALP over what he said was their rising communism. The Liberal Party also did not endorse Mrs. Barry. Mr. Barry had been something of an isolationist before the War, and this was not forgotten by the Rooseveltian loyalist Liberals. With George Rooney in the race for the ALP and Nash Star for the Liberals, Emily Barry managed only 36% in November. McMahon took a majority with 53%.³⁴

The incumbent in the Fifth District was James Roe, the leader of the Queens Democratic Party, but in June he gave up the seat and picked James Phillips to run in his stead. Phillips was 52 and a veteran holder of City jobs, currently secretary of the Finance Department. In 1954 he would succeed Roe as Queens Democratic leader. Roe had won with ALP support, which Phillips retained. Roe had had 235 more Democratic votes than his Republican opponent, but the Democratic vote for Phillips fell nearly 18,500 behind the Republican, and the ALP could not save him. Ross improved on the previous Republican vote by seven points.³⁵

³³ *The New York Times*, August 21 & 22, November 6, 1946. 1930 Census schedule, Queens County, New York. 1910 Census schedule, Beaufort County, North Carolina. *The Ithaca Journal*, August 21, 1946.

³⁴ *Santa Cruz Sentinel-News*, October 21, 1946. *Elmira Star-Gazette*, October 22, 1946. *Nashville Tennessean*, November 3, 1946. *Daily News* (New York), October 29, 1946. *Brooklyn Eagle*, May 15, 1946. *The New York Times*, August 20, 1946.

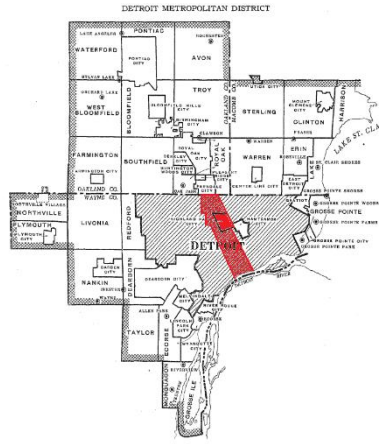
³⁵ *The Post-Standard*, June 12, 1946. *Brooklyn Eagle*, December 21, 1954. *Poughkeepsie New Yorker*, December 21, 1954. *Daily News* (New York), February 1, 1946.

In the Sixth District, Nodar took on incumbent Democrat James Delaney, 45, who had been an assistant district attorney in Brooklyn immediately before taking the House seat in 1945. Delaney knew he was in trouble and begged the Truman Administration to assure a supply of meat to his district. Delaney had the support of the ALP in 1944, though his Democratic vote had outdistanced the Republican vote by almost 5000 ballots. He kept the ALP endorsement in 1946 and even added that of the Liberal Party – Henry Wallace campaigned for Delaney – but it was not enough. Nodar took 54% of the vote, a nine-point improvement over the Republican showing in 1944.³⁶



Howard Coffin

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov

Detroit 13th Cong. Dist.

Source: 1940 Census

Howard Coffin had been the Party. In the early 1930s he had been a central figure in a movement to take over the Wayne County, Michigan, Republican Party, and he was elected County Party Chair. He had leadership backing for his run for the House in 1946, but he had strong opposition from Clarence McLeod in the primary. McLeod was 50 and had served in the House from 1923 to 1937 and 1939 to 1941, losing elections in 1936, 1940, 1942, and 1944. In November 1945 McLeod reported his son Malcolm's disappearance, but it turned out Malcolm had stolen \$20,000 from his father and lit out for Florida with two Wayne University girls. Arrested in Georgia and returned, his father did not press charges, but there was much publicity.³⁷

Coffin was 69 and a retired oil company executive who was on the Council of National Defense under Pres. Woodrow Wilson. Born in Massachusetts to a father who was a teacher, Coffin made his way to Detroit in 1911 as the controller of the Warren Motor Car Company, a manufacturer which went bankrupt two years later. He moved through the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, the Detroit Pressed Steel Company, the Cadillac Motor Company, and the White Star Refining Company, to finally in 1933 reach the position of general manager of Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, from which he retired to run for the House.

³⁶ *Brooklyn Eagle*, September 23, November 5, 1946.

³⁷ *The Wakefield News*, September 9, 1933. *The News-Palladium*, November 30, 1945; October 16, 1946. *Brooklyn Eagle*, November 25, 1945. *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, December 2, 1945. *The News-Review*, December 1, 1945. *Indiana Evening Gazette*, December 3, 1945.

His wife of 41 years had died the previous year. Coffin defeated McLeod 48%-44% on June 18 with two other candidates getting the balance.³⁸

The Thirteenth District was a slice of central Detroit, including the separate enclaved municipality of Highland Park, where Henry Ford had built his first assembly-line plant. The District lost a few people over the 1940s. Gunther in 1947 described Detroit as “the most touchy and violent of Midwest cities,” “full of company thugs, ex-Bundists, and Ku-Kluxers,” and hosting the “worst racial outbreak in the United States for many years” in 1943. The District’s population in 1950 would be 24% African American, up from 13% in 1940. Over the same period the proportion foreign-born dropped from 19% to 13%, with a quarter of them Canadians and the rest scattered in origin. *Time* described the District as “Detroit’s poor, melting-pot” one. The unionized and relatively high wages of automobile manufacturing would keep the average median household income of the District in 1949 at \$2987.³⁹

The incumbent was Democrat George O’Brien, 46, who served in the House from 1937 to 1939 and again since 1941, losing the 1938 election. He was reelected in 1944 with 58%. Coffin, “humorous” and “hefty,” ran against Federal taxes and the OPA. O’Brien landed in a Maryland hospital on October 4 after flipping his car and was still under treatment two months later. The Republicans took Wayne County for the first time in fourteen years as “a great Republican landslide” swept the State and Coffin went to Congress with 53%.⁴⁰



Monroe Redden

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



North Carolina 12th Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory, 1948

Monroe Redden had also been the Party. From 1942 to 1944 he was Chair of the North Carolina Democratic Party. The chair was the agent of the governor; the new governor elected in 1944 wanted a different man, who had chaired his successful campaign. Before that, Redden was a gubernatorial

³⁸ *The Wilkes-Barre Record*, June 19, 1946. *The Washington Post*, April 24, 1917. Births Registered in Middleborough, Massachusetts 1877. “Warren Motor Car Company Building.” Abbie G. Coffin stone, Woodlawn Cemetery, Detroit, Michigan. *Michigan Manual* (1947-1948).

³⁹ Gunther (1947), 279, 286. *Time*, November 18, 1946.

⁴⁰ *Time*, November 18, 1946. *The News-Palladium*, November 6, December 3, 1946. *The Morning Herald* (Hagerstown), October 5, 1946. *The Escanaba Daily Press*, November 7, 1946.

appointee on the State Board of Elections. By profession an attorney, he was 44 in 1946, the son of a rural mail carrier and an educator of 45 years.⁴¹

The incumbent Democrat was Zebulon Weaver, 74, who had been in the House since 1917 with one two-year hiatus. It was said that Redden did not want to run, but that the “mountain Democratic political machine” was pushing him to, and it was implied that some of his major corporate clients were behind the pressure. When Redden announced, his statement read, ““There has already been too much doing nothing and saying nothing – too much inaction and not enough action.” Weaver accused Redden of being a “controlled stooge” of the Enka rayon company, the Champion Paper and Fiber Company, the Ecusta Paper Company, and the Armour Company, all of which opposed the Representative’s efforts to clean up stream pollution from the industries. For a number of days before the primary, Redden ran a large ad as “attorney” which included an application for employment under “Are You Interested in a Big New Textile Plant” in Fletcher or other words to similar effect.⁴²

The Twelfth District included North Carolina’s ten most westerly counties, all within the Tennessee Valley Authority service area, with Asheville’s Buncombe County holding 43% of the population. Asheville itself was a small resort city of about 52,000. Overall, the mountainous District was quite rural, and although the agricultural population and employment was large, the miniscule farms were so poverty stricken that manufacturing wages were five times agricultural income. The average median family income in 1949 would be \$1557. Weaver’s critical effort to create Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway had given a boost to the tourist trade.⁴³

Redden won the May 25 primary easily with 60% of the vote. Weaver had not even had competition for the nomination in 1944. It was a hot race in 1946. Turnout in the District increased by 73% over the contested 1944 gubernatorial primary. In Redden’s home of Henderson County the increase was 229%.⁴⁴

The Twelfth District was heavily Democratic. Weaver took 64% in 1944, but Republicans usually made a contest. Redden’s opponent in November was Guy Weaver, a 68-year-old Asheville attorney. One wonders if the choice of candidates by the District Convention was not partially informed by the surname of Mr. Weaver, but the Republican version was very different from the Democratic. Zebulon Weaver was something of a New Dealer, while Guy Weaver held that the country had been through a bloodless revolution, with the New Deal seizing economic power by shackling industry, instilling hatred against the wealthy, making the individual dependent on government and the Congress a rubber stamp, and increasing the faith of the people in an unlimited Federal budget. Guy Weaver might have succeeded in picking up some of the Zebulon Weaver faithful, but not many. The defeated Representative endorsed Redden. Redden’s total dropped four points from the 1944 Democratic take to 60%. The most severe drop was in the Buncombe County home of both Weavers, the Democratic fall-off in ballots being 34%.⁴⁵

Wint Smith of Kansas would give a specific policy reason for running, saying his Army service exposed him to the British Broadcasting Corporation. “I got damned tired of the labor leaders ... telling what labor

⁴¹ *The Robesonian*, August 17, 1944. *Asheville Citizen*, November 5, 1946; February 10, 1951. *The Western Carolina Tribune*, March 7, 1946.

⁴² *The Evening Telegram*, January 11, 1946. *The Western Carolina Tribune*, March 7, 1946. *Statesville Daily Record*, April 10, 1946. For an example of ads, see *The Times-News*, May 6, 1946.

⁴³ *Asheville Citizen*, October 30, 1948.

⁴⁴ *North Carolina Manual 1945*. *North Carolina Manual 1947*.

⁴⁵ *North Carolina Manual 1929*. *Asheville Citizen*, May 27, October 26, November 5, 1946. These great vote swings in individual counties are suspicious. On electoral chicanery in western North Carolina, see Heard, 89-91.

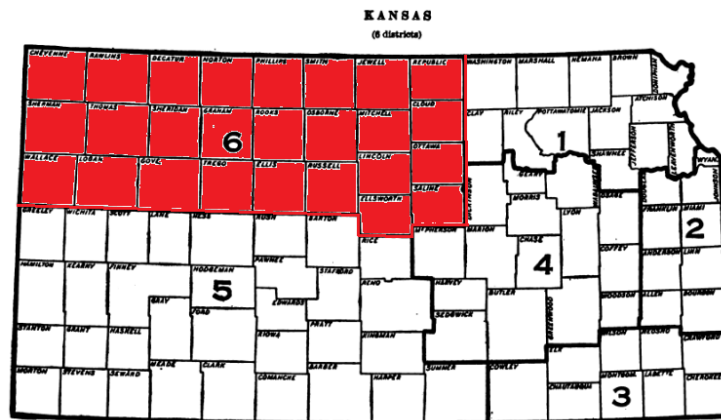
was doing to win the war. Well, I decided to find out if labor leaders were really running the country. I went to Congress and by God, I found out they really were.”⁴⁶

Smith, a farm boy 6’4” tall who became an attorney, had a lengthy military experience; he had served in the Kansas National Guard since 1916. This service sent him to Mexico in 1917 in the American response to revolutionist Pancho Villa’s raid on Columbus, New Mexico. Smith was wounded twice in the American Expeditionary Force’s battles in France, and returned in 1944 as commander of a tank destroyer battalion, landing two days after D-Day and fighting through to Austria. His candidacy was even more helped by his fame as the creator of the Kansas Highway Patrol, which he did as an assistant attorney general.⁴⁷



Wint Smith

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)



Kansas 6th Con. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

The Sixth Congressional District of Kansas was the northwest quarter of the State, where Smith returned after a career in the State capital and his War tour. An overwhelmingly agricultural district of winter wheat, its large farms had average incomes of \$4680 in 1945. The average median family income would be less, \$2504 in 1949; 35% of the farms were tenant farms. Salina was the largest town, 21,000 in 1940 and 26,000 in 1950. Smith was from Mankato, which had 1400 people. The incumbent representative was Republican Frank Carlson, in the House since 1935, but announcing on January 16, 1946, that he was running for Governor.⁴⁸

Henry Buzick, 63, a legislator for sixteen years, announced for the House as soon as Carlson made public his plans. Buzick had been a speaker of the Kansas House, was a past grand master of Kansas Masons and past president of the Kansas Bankers’ Association. Roy Bailey, 62, announced a week later; he was a State Senator, a newspaper publisher, and founder and long-term president of the State Chamber of Commerce. Smith, 53, announced on May 22, a late entry. He ran a campaign heavy on his Second World War service, something the other two candidates for the Republican nomination seem to lack, and an unnamed veterans’ group was given much credit for his primary victory with 41% of the vote.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Garden City Telegram*, April 28, 1976.

⁴⁷ *The Hutchinson News-Herald*, April 19, 1950. *The Atchison Daily Globe*, January 10, 1947. “Biography,” Wint Smith Papers. *Garden City Telegram*, April 28, 1976. Haldeman. “BG Wint Smith,” Hall of Fame, Museum of the Kansas National Guard.

⁴⁸ *Council Grove Republican*, January 16, 1946.

⁴⁹ *The Emporia Gazette*, January 16 & 23, May 22, 1946. *The Salina Journal*, February 10, 1966. *The Belleville Telescope*, August 1, 1946. *Elk County News*, May 27, 1948. *Kansas Report* 1945 1946.

Kansas Democrats were not the ciphers of Louisiana Republicans, but Gus Bengtson could only manage 38%, a Prohibition Party candidate won 4%, and Mr. Smith was on his way to Washington.



E.A. Mitchell

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Indiana 8th Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory*, 1948

E.A. Mitchell of Indiana said he decided to run for Congress when his underwater demolitions team had trouble getting machine guns and his business partner complained about red tape. Mitchell, 35, was born in Binghamton, New York, to a salesman broker. After Columbia University, he went to work for Kraft Cheese Company, married the daughter of a Kraft executive, and then in 1937 purchased half interest in a food manufacturer and distributor in Evansville, Indiana. The Navy took him away from 1942 to January 1946. He returned with three bronze stars and a silver star, having been a charter member of the Navy's first frogman unit. Still president of Hesmer Foods, he was recruited by Republican leaders to take the place of Republican Rep. Charles La Follette, who was making a try for the US Senate.⁵⁰

The husky, sandy-haired Mitchell was one of six candidates on the May 7 Republican primary ballot. A newspaper labeled the Eighth Congressional District "always a storm center for political activity." William Waldschmidt, an attorney and veteran, was "considered a formidable contender." James Campbell was an industrial engineer and veteran of both world wars. These three cornered 72% of the vote, with Mitchell alone getting 39% and the nomination.⁵¹

La Follette, a distant relative of the more politically famous La Follette's of Wisconsin, had taken the District from a Democrat in 1942. The Eighth ran along the Ohio River from Illinois to Louisville, Kentucky. Evansville was a substantial small city of 97,000 in 1940, 124,000 in 1950. Between its metropolitan area and that of Louisville, the Census would consider the District to be 64% metropolitan in 1950. Manufacturing employment was substantial, with concentrations in nonelectrical machinery and wood products. Manufacturing wages were nearly four times that of farm income. The population was primarily native-born white with modest median family incomes of \$2361 in its eleven counties. Gunther noted that the State was "ruled by grab and spoils," there being no civil service protection, that there was "savage" hostility to Labor, and that the schools were racially segregated.⁵²

⁵⁰ *The Palladium-Item and Sun-Telegram*, March 31, 1947. 1930 Census schedule, Broome County, New York. *The Indianapolis Star*, December 13, 1979. *The Indianapolis News*, April 15, 1946.

⁵¹ *The Indianapolis Star*, December 24, 1947. *Indiana Year Book 1946*. *The Kokomo Tribune*, the *Kokomo Dispatch*, May 3, 1946.

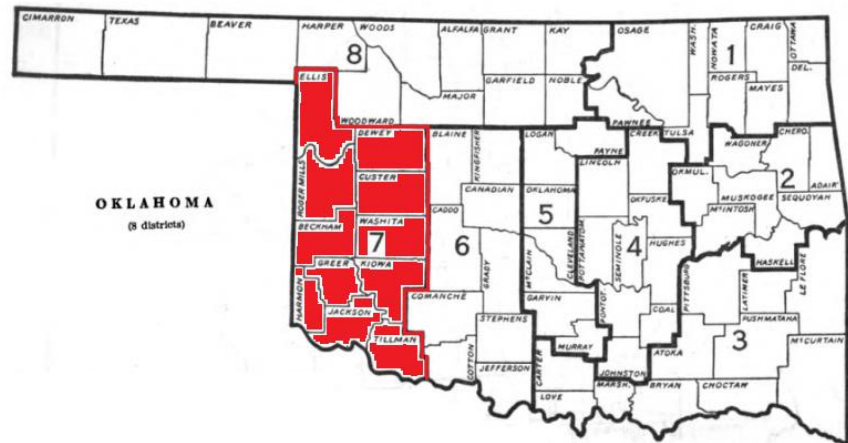
⁵² Gunther (1947), 387-8.

The Democrats put up Winfield Denton for the seat. An attorney, he had also served in the State House, his father had been a congressman, and he was more broadly known than Mitchell. Denton expected to get the Labor vote as had La Follette. Mitchell was still in uniform and thus constrained from active campaigning, but he gave many talks for the Navy, confined his remarks to flaying communists, and was invariably introduced as a candidate. His medals gleamed on his uniform. Denton was also a veteran, but of the Army's advocate general corps. Mitchell edged to victory with 52%.⁵³



Preston Peden

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Oklahoma 7th Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory, 1948

Preston Peden of Oklahoma had held appointive office and said he decided to run when his Representative made a "quick trip" to his Army unit in Europe "shaking everybody's hand." He seems to have been irritated by what he saw as a politician's condescension to those he sent to war. While still overseas, Peden sent a notification and declaration for the House job, and friends in the Seventh District began a campaign for him a month before he got back to the US on May 1, 1946.⁵⁴

Peden's father ran a tin shop in Duke, Oklahoma.⁵⁵ Preston had gotten a law degree in 1939 and went to work for the State Insurance Fund but was inducted into the Army in 1942. OCS made him a lieutenant in the field artillery in Europe until he was transferred to the Allied Military Government in 1945, acting as judge and prosecutor. Discharged as a captain, he hit the ground running for the seat of Victor Wickersham, whose hand he had shaken in Europe. Wickersham had served in the House since 1941.

The Seventh District was the southwest corner of the State and had held only 190,000 people in 1940, a figure that would drop to 160,000 in 1950. Only one of its counties was typed as a Dust Bowl county of the mid-1930s, but life was nonetheless chancy. The farms, averaging 300 acres, produced value in wheat and cotton, at least in good years, with \$3732 being the average income per farm in 1945, but the average median family income would be only \$2178 in 1949, the farm tenancy rate being 36%.⁵⁶

Peden was not the only Democrat challenging Wickersham for the nomination. Mansur Stewart, 43, was a Second World War Navy veteran, whose wife had been a staffer for the House. J.L. Edgecomb, 61,

⁵³ *The Indianapolis Star*, October 1, 1946. *The Indianapolis News*, October 18, 1946.

⁵⁴ *The Salisbury Times*, December 12, 1946. *Miami Daily News-Record*, March 28, 1946.

⁵⁵ 1940 Census Schedule, Jackson County, Oklahoma.

⁵⁶ "Map 2579."

was a rancher. James McClintic, 67, had served in the House from 1915 to 1935. Wickersham was 40 and had been a building contractor and had a life insurance business. Peden was 32.⁵⁷

The surfeit of candidates indicates some general disaffection with Wickersham, who was held to 39% in the July 2, 1946 primary. Peden came in second at 30%. The run-off on July 23 might have seemed like a lost cause, particularly since both Stewart and Edgecomb endorsed Wickersham, but Peden pulled a victory out of the hat by four percentage points. The District was traditionally Democratic, and the Republican candidate in November repeated his losing run against Wickersham two years earlier, slipping eight points to 21% in a Republican year.⁵⁸



Thruston Morton

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)



Kentucky 3rd Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Thruston Morton was a recruit by Kentucky's Republican National Committeeman within the context of an intraparty conflict, but an instigating factor was his own loose ends. Morton had been vice president of his family's Ballard & Ballard millers in 1940, then went off to war despite nine and five-year-old sons, commanding a minesweeper and destroyers in the Pacific. He would later say that when he came back, "the business had gotten in pretty bad shape," and his father retired. "I couldn't get interested in it. An opportunity came to run for Congress in 1946, and I ran."⁵⁹

Morton, 38, had sponsored Willkie for President clubs in 1940. But John Robsion Jr, whose father was representing Kentucky's Ninth District in his twelfth congress, opposed Morton as having "taken no interest in the Republican Party," not even bothering to vote for six years, and was the candidate of "certain men of wealth." In a vote managed by the Chair of Louisville Republicans, Morton was chosen by 49 out of 84 votes cast by 91 members of the County Republican Executive Committee and elected office holders. In the primary on August 3, Morton received 82% of the votes over two men who were not in the managed contest.⁶⁰

The Third District was just Jefferson County, which meant it was Louisville, a city of 319,000 in 1940 and 369,000 in 1950. The County was overwhelmingly native-born white. The black population was only

⁵⁷ Andrew Mansur Stewart stone, Santa Fe National Cemetery, New Mexico. *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, March 4, 1990. 1940 Census Schedule, Greer County, Oklahoma. *Miami Daily News-Record*, April 21, 1946; November 28, 1954.

⁵⁸ *Miami Daily News-Record*, July 11 & 12, 1946. *Oklahoma Directory* 1949.

⁵⁹ 1940 Census Schedule, Jefferson County, Kentucky. Morton, 1.

⁶⁰ *The Courier-Journal*, April 16 & 24 & 29, May 10 & 12, August 9, 1946.

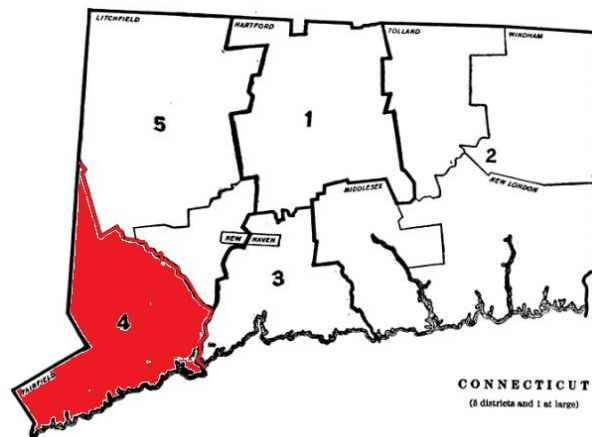
13%. The median family income in 1949 would be \$3247. Gunther reported that Louisville had “great charm” and that an activist Mayor in the early 1940s had taken “an isolated and moribund city” and given it “middle western bustle.”⁶¹

Democrat Emmet O’Neal, 59, had held the seat since 1935. He was an attorney and First World War veteran. Before the League of Women Voters, he and Morton had agreed on everything but price controls. Morton’s positions were quite moderate and positive, while O’Neal emphasized Democratic prosperity and attacked the news media as carrying water for the Republicans. O’Neal had gotten 57% in 1944, but Morton took 58% in 1946.⁶²



John Davis Lodge

Source: Connecticut Museum of Culture and History



Connecticut 4th Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory*, 1948

John Davis Lodge was brought into politics by J. Kenneth Bradley, a power in Fairfield County and Connecticut. Lodge, an actor by profession, came to the stage of his brother Henry Cabot Lodge Jr, soon to be US Senator, and of his grandfather Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge Sr, both from Massachusetts. Born in DC in the home of his grandfather, John Davis was a godson of Pres. Theodore Roosevelt. John Davis’s father, George Cabot “Bay” Lodge, was a poet and private secretary to the Senator. Bay had died when John Davis was five; two years later Henry Adams would publish a biography of Bay. John Davis’s maternal grandfather, having died earlier, it was the Senator who looked after Matilda Frelinghuysen Davis Lodge and her three children as they bounced among DC, Boston, Maine, and Paris.⁶³

Lodge had become a lawyer but more importantly married Francesca Braggiotti the same year Harvard granted him his law degree. She was a dancer who began to act on the New York stage, which took her and Lodge to Hollywood, where he began as an attorney with MGM, then moved onto the boards and the silver screen himself. He appeared in *Little Women* with Katharine Hepburn, *The Scarlet Empress* with Marlene Dietrich, and *The Little Colonel* with Shirley Temple among many others, including French and Italian productions, languages in which he was fluent.⁶⁴

He spent twenty months with the Navy in the Mediterranean as French liaison, historian, public relations officer, and press censor. Back in the US, the Navy sent him on a speaking tour. At 42 and out of

⁶¹ Gunther (1947), 650-1.

⁶² *The Courier-Journal*, September 28, October 4 & 12, 1946. *The Des Moines Register*, October 28, 1946.

⁶³ *The Bridgeport Post*, August 5, 1951. DeLong, 1, 7-10, 12-3. [Henry Adams]. *The Washington Times*, May 6, 1902. *Fitchburg Daily Sentinel*, August 23, 1909. *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, December 7, 1950. *Time*, July 11, 1960.

⁶⁴ DeLong, 69-75, 78-94. *Naugatuck Daily News*, July 29, 1961. *The Bridgeport Post*, July 10, 1976.

the theatre market with his military service, he no longer wanted to act or practice law and unsuccessfully tried writing.⁶⁵

The Lodges had bought a house in Fairfield County, which was the Fourth Congressional District. The population of 418,000 in 1940 would increase to 504,000 in 1950. The foreign-born share fell from 20% to 16% over that period, with Italians being by far the largest component. The black population was quite small. The County's proximity to New York City had increasingly seen a flow of ex-urbanites, taking advantage of both the rail service that was in place since the mid-19th Century and of their incomes to commute from homes in Connecticut to the City. The median family income in the County in 1949 would be \$3664, indicating that the peers of the Lodges were still a small part of a population of which 40% were employed in manufacturing.

Unsurprisingly, Lodge was tall and handsome and had a speaking ability which he actively displayed when out of the service, apparently in an effort to attract the attention of the political slate-makers. The incumbent Republican, Clare Boothe Luce, announced on January 30 she would not seek a third term, the result of a crisis of faith that began with the death of her only child at age 19 in 1944. Luce was initially opposed to Lodge's replacing her, and his brother, Cabot, an elected politician since 1933 and running for the Senate, was also opposed. Nevertheless, with the active support of Bradley, Lodge was nominated at the District Republican Convention on September 14 without opposition.⁶⁶

The Democratic candidate was a war hero. Three days before Gen. Douglas MacArthur made his well-publicized return to the Philippines, Col. Henry Mucci led a small Army Ranger force ashore to clear the way. Three months later, Mucci led a Ranger and Filipino group behind Japanese lines to rescue 511 prisoners of war, the remainder of the 15,000 who had surrendered at the fall of the Philippines.⁶⁷

"When the Lodges burst on the Connecticut political scene ... it was one of the most unusual experiences of flamboyance and restraint ever offered voters in the Nutmeg State." Lodge made "rousing speeches" in Italian while Francesca "swept all before her singing patriotic Italian songs." Lodge's fluency was on display in a joint appearance with Mucci. "Mr. Mucci ... told how his mother had come to America from Italy with \$16 in her pocket and said that he had not been born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Mr. Lodge, sensing an oblique attack on his Brahmin background, was gracious, praising Mr. Mucci as a great credit to Italian-Americans and all Americans and then delivering his own speech in Italian, a language Mr. Mucci did not speak."⁶⁸

Luce had barely won reelection by 2000 votes in 1944, a smaller margin than the Socialist candidate had taken. Lodge increased the Republican share by seven points to 57%, while Mucci dropped the Democratic proportion by fourteen points to 35%. Stanley Mayhew, the Socialist candidate in both elections and a Union official, increased his take from 1% to 6% while an independent candidate running as a supporter of Henry Wallace got the rest.⁶⁹

Don Wheeler said, "I returned to this country from overseas April 8 with the suggestion that I run for Congress already in my mind. But I didn't decide definitely to run until I qualified before noon, May 25, the deadline day for entries." Wheeler was a 31-year-old school teacher inducted into the Army in May

⁶⁵ DeLong, 56, 86, 103, 107-16, 119-20. *CQWR*, October 2, 1964, 2295. *Brooklyn Eagle*, February 18, 1945.

⁶⁶ DeLong, 121, 124-6. *The Bakersfield Californian*, January 30, 1946. Morris, 146-62.

⁶⁷ *The New York Times*, April 24, 1997.

⁶⁸ *Naugatuck Daily News*, July 29, 1961. DeLong, 127-8.

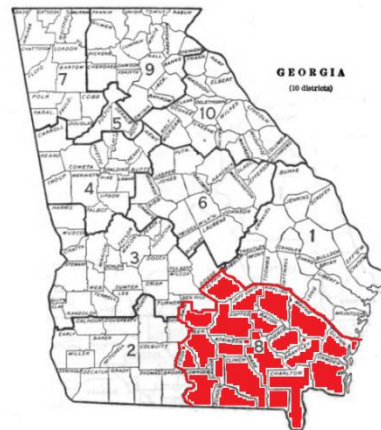
⁶⁹ *The Bridgeport Post*, November 4, 1947; September 6, 1955.

1942 as a private, sent to Officers Candidate School and released in 1946 as a captain after service with the Air Corps in Germany. Returning to teaching may have seemed a step back. His father was a mail carrier, but had been a Bacon County, Georgia, councilman.⁷⁰



Don Wheeler

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)



Georgia 8th Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

The Eighth District in the southeast corner of Georgia had been represented by Democrat John Gibson since 1941. A resolution in memoriam in the Georgia General Assembly would credit Gibson with the saving of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, the GI Bill, saying he rose from his sick bed at home in Georgia to make "a spectacular overnight journey" to Washington.⁷¹ The District was rural and agricultural with tobacco the money crop. The average median family income would be a paltry \$1432 in 1949. The black population was 28% of the total.

It was reported that Wheeler stressed farm benefits and, even with Gibson's spectacular journey, veterans legislation, but what really got press in the race was Gibson's full-throated attack on the CIO, linking it to a plan for communist penetration. Wheeler said that he got Labor votes but denied he was backed by unions, and certainly not the CIO. He attributed the support to his saying he would preserve the right to strike. It is unsure how many Labor votes there were in such a district, though in 1950 there would be 14,000 manufacturing and 3000 rail workers, the latter usually organized.⁷²

Gibson, in his farewell address to the House, would claim the CIO had shepherded black voters to the polls to oppose him. On April 3, 1944, the Supreme Court had declared primary elections that excluded black voters to be unconstitutional. The fear of white supremacists such as Gibson that a quarter of the electorate might rise against him was palpable. To what extent it happened is questionable. It was reported that there were 10,819 black registrants in the District for the July 17, 1946, primary, a notable number; so, the potential existed to fulfill Gibson's accusation. Certainly, the turnout in the 1946 primary was twice that in the 1944 primary for representative, but in 1946 there was a contest for Governor, unlike in 1944.⁷³

⁷⁰ *The Atlanta Constitution*, December 22, 1942; July 21, 1946; May 31, 1950. Baker, 74.

⁷¹ Georgia Senate Resolution 505, at trackbill.com/bill/georgia-senate-resolution-505-gibson-john-strickland-condolences/1734314/.

⁷² *The Atlanta Constitution*, July 14 & 21, 1946. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 19, 1946.

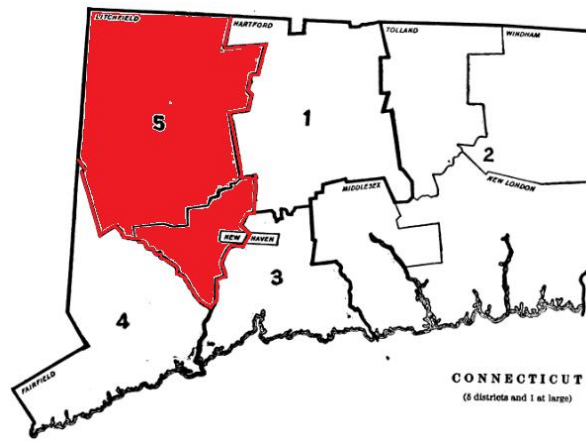
⁷³ *Congressional Record*, August 2, 1946, 10776. *Georgia Register 1945-1950*. For what it is worth, the correlation between county black registration percentage and Gibson percentage in 1946 is -0.0079 or virtually nonexistent. The correlation between manufacturing and rail workers as a percentage of the employed civilian labor force in

In 1946 Wheeler won the primary with 53%, and there was no Republican opponent in November.



James Patterson

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)



Connecticut 5th Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

James Patterson of Naugatuck, Connecticut, tried to get back into government service after discharge from the Marines but failed. Patterson had worked for the Federal government in and about Washington from 1934 to 1940. He joined the Marine Corps Reserve in 1935 and, as a result, was called up in 1941. He participated in the D-Day landings as well as serving in the Office of Strategic Services in West Africa, India, Burma, and China. Though he was accused of having been away from the State for 19 years, Republican leaders in Naugatuck remembered the captain of the high school football team and a member of the basketball team which had won the Eastern States championship in 1928. He initially announced from his home in DC a run for the Senate from Connecticut.⁷⁴

Patterson was in and out of the race for the District Convention nomination for the House, succeeding only because the more generally preferred candidates kept dropping out. The Convention on September 14, 1946, renominated Joseph Talbot, who had served since 1942. Talbot, however, declined, preferring to run for Governor. Patterson was then nominated at a second Convention on September 20.⁷⁵

The Fifth Congressional District consisted of Litchfield County and a part of New Haven County, but not including the City of that name. The largest city was Waterbury with about 100,000 people. Litchfield was largely rural, while the part of New Haven was very urban by Census standards. About a fifth of the population was foreign born, with Italians predominating. Even in rural Litchfield County, manufacturing wages in the mid-1940s were over five times that of farm income. Average median household income in 1949 would be \$3509.

The Democrats nominated Thomas Radzevich, a Second World War veteran, who had been a secretary to two representatives in the House. He captured 41% of the vote, with a Socialist candidate getting 6%. Patterson improved on Talbot's 1944 showing by only a point.

1950 with Gibson percentage in 1946 is 0.26662, which if it means anything indicates the Representative was a little more likely to get the Labor vote than was Wheeler. *Smith v. Allwright*.

⁷⁴ *The Salisbury Times*, December 16, 1946. *Naugatuck Daily News*, July 16, 1946; June 21, 1948; December 10, 1959; June 27, 1961. *The Hartford Courant*, June 30, 1946.

⁷⁵ *Naugatuck Daily News*, September 18 & 21, 1946; December 30, 1949. *Manchester Evening Herald*, September 16, 1946. *The Hartford Courant*, September 16, 1946.



Wingate Lucas

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)Texas 12th Cong. Dist.Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Radzevich's staffing experience would have been an asset as a representative, but presenting yourself as a candidate for that latter post required different skills. Democrat Wingate Lucas of Texas, who had served as staff to Rep. Fritz Lanham for seven years, managed to cover both ends of the job. It helped that he had the assumed support of the retiring Lanham, who had served since 1919. Lucas also enjoyed the support of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* and its publisher Amon Carter.⁷⁶

Lucas's father was a merchant who died when Wink (as the candidate liked to be called) was two. Lucas had resigned from Lanham's staff in 1940 to move to Fort Worth and practice law. Despite two minor children and a law degree, he signed up for the Army in 1943 as an enlisted man. A fall fractured a vertebra, and he was evacuated from Europe about a year later. A temporary job as an assistant US attorney was ended by Lanham's announcement of retirement.⁷⁷

By Texas standards the Twelfth District was small in area, five counties, but large in population, 286,000 in 1940 growing to 420,000 in 1950. Fort Worth went from 178,000 to 279,000 in that period; the rest of the District was largely an afterthought. Gunther called the City "a cattle annex" with "dust and stockyards." Half the men, he wrote, "wear big pearl-gray Stetsons and fancy tall-heeled boots."⁷⁸ The white population was native-born, and the black population was a tenth of the total. Wages from manufacturing were four times farm income. The average median family income would be \$2409.

An open seat in the District for the first time in 28 years brought out a slew of candidates. Twelve candidates were on the Democratic primary ballot on July 27. Lucas, nearly six foot with blue eyes and sandy red hair, was the obvious favorite and drew "most of the fire of the eleven other candidates. They charged that Lucas was 'hand-picked' to succeed Lanham." Lucas emphasized his experience as a House staffer and his veteran credentials and, indeed, finished first, but with just 22% in the crowded field. The other candidates in the order of their finish were:⁷⁹

- Penn Jackson, a First World War vet and a judge.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ *Hood County News-Tablet*, May 16, 1946. *Corsicana Daily Sun*, July 26, 1946. Lynam, 12. On Carter, see Flemmons.

⁷⁷ *Denton Record-Chronicle*, January 5, 1947. Guttery, 103. *The Pampa News*, December 24, 1944.

⁷⁸ Gunther (1947), 831.

⁷⁹ *Hood County News-Tablet*, June 6, 1946. *Texas Almanac* (1947).

⁸⁰ *Hood County News-Tablet*, July 25, 1946.

- Clory Cole, who with her husband operated Southern Business College. Both had run against Lanham in 1944, prompting husband O.A. Cole to bring a suit to compel Mrs. Clory to withdraw. The court ruled against him. The Coles would later be indicted for submitting false claims for tuition to the Veterans' Administration.⁸¹
- Ernest May, an attorney who had been an early backer of Franklin Roosevelt for President and would later act as an attorney for Truman loyalists in a legal battle over control of the State Democratic Convention.⁸²
- Ernest Gillam, a manufacturer of soaps and national chair of Independent Soapers of America. He was a Roosevelt loyalist.⁸³
- Goldman Drury, a Baptist minister who had served as a chaplain in the War.⁸⁴
- Byron Buckeridge, a veteran and field examiner for the National Labor Relations Board.⁸⁵
- H.C. Allison, who advertised himself as "A Texan who Lives, Loves and Fights" and emphasized that he was a veteran of the First World War. He was a chiropractor and a crusader against alcoholism. Allison was the subject of a charge that on July 24 he assaulted a man with a hammer as a result of a letter sent to him complaining that he cast "aspersions ... on the Mexican people."⁸⁶
- Lindsey Brown, also a First World War veteran. His slogan was "Less Government in Business More Business in Government." An attorney, he stated that Labor and Capital alike should be able to organize.⁸⁷
- Walter Nelson. Unknown, but a solid name for a potential representative.
- A.E. Harding, a newspaper publisher and former legislator.⁸⁸
- Curtis McBroom, an attorney who ran against Lanham in 1938 as a Roosevelt loyalist.⁸⁹

One interesting thing about this field was the lack of previous runs for elective office, seemingly limited to Jackson, Cole, and Harding.

Jackson came in 902 votes behind Lucas and called for a run-off. Lucas squeaked out the nomination by 1268 votes on August 24, then swamped Elton Hyder, the Republican candidate with 88% of the vote in the election. Hyder ran less against Lucas than the "radical" Democratic Party that represented "Communism and Socialism," a charge that failed to much dent Texas' traditional Democratic loyalty.⁹⁰

Also a congressional staffer was Frank Karsten. Born in San Antonio but relocated to St. Louis after the death of his father, an insurance agent, and his mother's remarriage to a machinist, he reportedly had

⁸¹ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, May 17, July 12, 1944. *The Mexia Daily News*, November 17, 1947.

⁸² *The Mexia Weekly Herald*, July 31, 1931. *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, May 25, 1949.

⁸³ *Brownsville Herald*, July 9, 1948. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 21, 1946. *Valley Morning Star*, February 22, 1936.

⁸⁴ *Valley Morning Star*, August 27, 1937; March 23, 1946.

⁸⁵ *The Paris News*, May 20, 1946. *Denton Record-Chronicle*, January 6, 1947.

⁸⁶ *Hood County News-Tablet*, April 25, May 9, 1946. *Abilene Reporter-News*, March 23, 1954. *The Vernon Daily Record*, July 25, 1946. *Denton Record-Chronicle*, July 25, 1946.

⁸⁷ *Hood County News-Tablet*, May 30, 1946.

⁸⁸ *Hood County News-Tablet*, June 13, 1946. *Denton Record-Chronicle*, November 21, 1948

⁸⁹ *The Pampa News*, July 15, 1938.

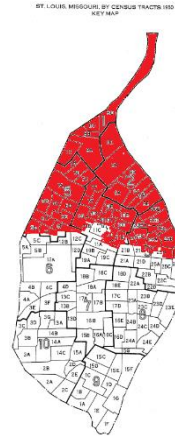
⁹⁰ *Longview News-Journal*, September 18, 1946. Hyder's grandfather, the Rev. J.A. Hyder was the man who was summoned to identify outlaw Jesse James when he was shot to death at St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1882. *The Springfield Leader*, May 28, 1929.

moved to DC early, perhaps as a congressional page. He served as secretary to Rep. John Cochran of St. Louis from 1934 until Cochran retired in 1946, and Karsten ran for his seat from the Thirteenth District. Although he had both legs amputated in 1943, Cochran filed for reelection in 1946 but suffered a stroke the next day. On doctor's advice, Cochran then withdrew. He would die in March 1947 at 66.⁹¹



Frank Karsten

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)



St. Louis 13th CD

Source: 1950 Census

Cochran endorsed Karsten as his successor in his withdrawal letter. Karsten, who was in DC, announced he would file but would withdraw if Cochran changed his mind. Karsten seemed to have the Democratic organization with him, but this did not give him an uncontested primary. Charles Wilson, an Episcopal priest and social welfare activist ran. Wilson campaigned actively in what was described as a “hot St. Louis contest,” but Karsten easily took the nomination with 82% on August 6.⁹²

Cochran had represented northern St. Louis since 1926 and had no Republican opponent in 1944. Karsten was not so lucky; Alfred Grattendick, an attorney and Republican committeeman, challenged for the seat. The climate was such that at least one columnist thought Grattendick had a chance, but Karsten won with 55%.⁹³

The Thirteenth District was the northern third of the City. The African American proportion doubled to 10% over the 1940s. Gunther observed that the City had “a very large German-descended population,” yet the proportion foreign-born in the District would be only 5% in 1950 and the German-born by then were fewer than the Russian and Italian components. Gunther also commented that the City had “intimate Deep South colorations,” but that it was “a great town for civil liberties,” not commonly associated with the South or a Jim Crow state like Missouri. The average median household income in 1949 would be \$3030.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Frank M. Karsten stone, Mission Burial Park South, San Antonio, Texas. 1920 Census Schedule, Bexar County, Texas. 1930 Census Schedule, St. Louis City, Missouri. *Abilene Reporter-News*, December 16, 1946. *The Daily Mail*, February 24, 1944. *Jefferson City Post-Tribune*, March 29, 1946. *The Neosho Daily Democrat*, April 1, 1946. *Joplin Globe*, April 25, 1946.

⁹² *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 25 & 26, August 4, 1946. *Joplin Globe*, April 27, 1946. *The St. Louis Star and Times*, August 3 & 7, 1946. *Macon Chronicle-Herald*, October 16, 1945. *Missouri Manual 1947-1948*.

⁹³ *The St. Louis Star and Times*, April 30, November 2, 1946. *The Huronite and the Daily Plainsman*, October 24, 1946.

⁹⁴ Gunther (1947), 351-2, 354.

A common theme in candidate recruitment was that of those who were highly active in party affairs without previously running for electoral office. Republicans Javits and Kenneth Keating of New York, Francis Love of West Virginia, Howes Meade of Kentucky, Horace Seely-Brown of Connecticut, and Charles Kersten of Wisconsin fit this model. Their political activity produced the personal connections and campaign support needed for electoral success.



Jacob Javits

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)Manhattan 21st CD

Source: 1950 Census

Javits, 42, who had been an Army lieutenant colonel in the Chemical Warfare Service, was born urban poor on Manhattan's East Side. Though his janitor father had passed around voting money for the Democratic Tammany organization, Javits would write that he became a Republican because of Tammany's corruption. As with others in the Class, Javits would write, "When I finally took off my uniform in June 1945, I knew I would never be satisfied again with just lawyering in New York." "I knew I would have to devote the rest of my life in some way to the larger issues that concerned mankind, the issues of peace and war, prosperity and depression, management and labor, and the welfare of the men and women whose sufferings I had seen." Javits had been an active club Republican from 1932 and worked for "fusionist" mayoral campaigns, those that crossed party lines, such as that of Mayor Fiorello La Guardia.⁹⁵

The Twenty-first Congressional District was northwest Manhattan, including Columbia University, Washington Heights, and Inwood. The *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* would report that it "includes so many German-Jewish refugees that it is sometimes called 'the Fourth Reich.'" German born residents would be 26% of the foreign-born in the District in 1950 and Austrians would add another 7%. Not hardly all were Jewish, but the overwhelmingly Jewish Russian-born were another 10% of the foreign-born. Javits was Jewish, but his father was from Galicia by way of Palestine, where his mother had been born. All foreign born were 29% of the District total. African Americans were 13% of the population. The average median household income was \$3041.⁹⁶

The District, however, was really in two parts. The census tracts south of West 165th Street were very different from those in the northern District. The black population was 28% of the total in the south and 1% in the north. Correspondingly, the foreign-born share in the north was 34% of the total but 24% in the

⁹⁵ Javits with Steinberg, 11, 45-6, 76, 85-7.

⁹⁶ *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, November 16, 1956. Javits with Steinberg, 2, 4. *The Ocala Star-Banner*, March 8, 1986. *Time*, March 17, 1986. Rosenwaike, 151, 156.

south. Latin Americans were three times the share of foreign born in the south compared to the north. Average income in the south would be \$2224, in the north \$3567.

The incumbent Democrat, James Torrens, had been in the House only since 1944 and was denied designation by the Democratic County Committee. He did not run in the primary but backed another, though losing, candidate. Javits was designated by the Republican Committee and had no primary opposition. He would later write that it was easy to get, since Republicans figured they could not win the District anyway; Torrens had received 69% of the vote in November 1944.⁹⁷

Torrens, however, had been the candidate of the Democratic, American Labor, and Liberal parties, while the new Democratic candidate, Daniel Flynn, had only the one nomination. Eugene Connolly, who lost the Democratic primary to Flynn, received the ALP nomination, and the Liberals chose Javits. Connolly and Flynn had a contentious run for the Democratic nomination, with Flynn calling Connolly communist and Connolly labeling Flynn anti-Semitic. Flynn was a Second World War vet and thirteen years a legislator, but it did not help in the Twenty-first District that he was Irish Catholic. Connolly was a member of the City Council and Irish as well. The Liberal Party “depended on Jewish districts for its votes and the Jewish labor movement for its material support.”⁹⁸

Javits’ platform emphasized peace through the United Nations, handicapping Germany and Japan, jobs through an increase in the minimum wage, unemployment insurance, free trade, and Federal aid to education. His support for price controls has already been noted in Chapter One. The CIO supported Connolly. Javits won a plurality with 46%, while Flynn took 40%, and Connolly 14%.⁹⁹



Kenneth Keating

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)



New York, 40th Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Kenneth Keating’s Fortieth District was upstate New York, most of Rochester and part of the surrounding Monroe County. Rochester was a sizable city of 330,000, but the District would include only 261,000 of them in 1950, still 69% of the District’s total. The black population of the District was small. The City part had 16% foreign-born, but 17% of these were English and Canadians, Italians otherwise predominant. The average median household income in the City part would be \$3044 in 1949. The County as a whole was \$3722; so, the extra-Rochester parts of the District were likely more reflective of the latter

⁹⁷ *The New York Times*, August 21, 1946. Javits with Steinberg, 95.

⁹⁸ Javits with Steinberg, 99. *Times Herald*, January 11, 1946. Stone, 227. Hanley, 259. Soyer, 27.

⁹⁹ Javits with Steinberg, 101-2. *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August 21, 1946.

figure as well as being less ethnic. Gunther pronounced Rochester attractive but somewhat feudal, noting the predominance of Eastman Kodak, “one of the great centers of scientific research in the world.”¹⁰⁰

George Rogers was the incumbent Democrat, but only since 1944 when he defeated Republican Joseph O’Brien, who had served since 1939. Rogers had eked out a narrow 1587 vote victory with help from the ALP.

Keating, 46, was an attorney and the son of a grocer and sometime politician of the village of Lima south of Rochester. The son was an alternate delegate from New York to the 1940 Republican National Convention. In his congressional biography, Keating listed himself as a veteran of the First World War. In fact, he had been in the Student Army Training Corps at the University of Rochester during that war. But he did indeed serve in the Second War, enlisting at age 42 and with a minor child. He spent his overseas duty as an administrative officer in India and was discharged in early 1946 as a colonel. He was soon “traveling the church social circuit.... That is another way of saying that indications are that he will be nominated for Congress.” In May he wrote that he had the “greenlight” for the nomination from “our Republican leader.” On July 3 he received the designation from the County Republican Committee, his interested opponents dropping out, including O’Brien.¹⁰¹

While Rogers’ win in 1944 had upset the Republican hold on the House seat, Monroe County voted Democratic for president from 1936 through 1948. Rogers retained his ALP support, but this in turn gave an opening for Keating to raise questions about the Representative’s “Communist sympathy.” Keating returned the District to Republican representation with an overwhelming 61% vote.¹⁰²

The New York races, one notes, were consistent in the ALP line retaining its strength between 1944 and 1946, while the vote on the Democratic line shrank radically, and the Republican vote rose greatly. Nothing could give more optimism for both a Republican victory and a left-wing splinter from Pres. Truman in the next presidential election.



Francis Love

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



West Virginia 1st Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory, 1948

¹⁰⁰ Gunther (1947), 537.

¹⁰¹ *The Corpus Christi Caller*, February 22, 1963. *Democrat and Chronicle*, October 24, 1918; January 22, September 5, 1919; September 6, 1921; August 8, 1940. 1940 Census schedule, Monroe County, New York. *Time*, October 30, 1964. *Congressional Record*, January 30, 1948, 785. Moore, 4. *The Post-Standard*, July 4, 1946. *Times Record*, July 11, 1946.

¹⁰² Moore, 7.

Francis Love was an attorney in Wheeling and Chair of the County Republican Party. His father, Ulysses S. Love, born 1867, was a carpenter, contractor, and councilman in Cadiz, Ohio, twenty miles to the northwest of Wheeling. Wheeling was a small city of 60,000 in West Virginia's panhandle that intervenes between Ohio and Pennsylvania. The panhandle and three counties to the south made up the First Congressional District. Though mostly small town and rural, the District was heavily into manufacturing. Wheeling "is based on steel," wrote Gunther. The largely native-born and white population would have an average median family income of \$2922 in 1949.¹⁰³

This area, more than any other, led the move for western Virginia to declare its independence of the Confederate State.¹⁰⁴ From 1896 through 1928, with the exception of the Wilson Presidency, six of the seven District counties had voted Republican for president, but with the Great Depression and Franklin Roosevelt, the counties flipped to Democratic. Representation in the House was not quite so clear-cut. A Democrat was elected in 1932, 1934, and 1936, a Republican in 1938, a Democrat in 1940, a Republican in 1942, and a Democrat in 1944. In other words, since 1936, the greater turnout in presidential elections sent Democrats to the House, while the lower turnout in off years selected Republicans.

The Democrat elected in 1944 was Matthew Neely. He served in the House from 1913 to 1921, in the Senate from 1931 to 1941 and as Governor from 1941 to 1945. He would return to the Senate in 1949. He was the dominant Democrat in the State for decades. In 1946 he was 71 years old.¹⁰⁵

Love was 45. His opponent for the Republican nomination was Sweeney Fleming, 68, an attorney and banker, who was the Republican nominee for State Auditor in 1940 and 1944. Fleming ran against the CIO-PAC and Love won with 59%.¹⁰⁶

Neely had taken the House seat in 1944 by 950 votes. He had a contentious relationship with Labor, a major player in West Virginia politics, but he received their support in 1946. Complicating the election was the threat of John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers, to lead a strike four days before the election. One of the counties in the District was a coal mining county. Love campaigned on balancing the budget and getting rid of governmental controls and won, but not big, with 53% of the vote over Neely.¹⁰⁷

The Seventh District in the far east of Kentucky was far more dependent on coal-mining than the First District of West Virginia. Half of the labor force were miners. The average median family income was \$1531, about half that of the West Virginia District. The biggest town in 1940 had 9428 people. That would shrink to 6921 in 1950. Life may have been good in the hollows, but it was not easy, matching Gunther's assessment of the State as poor in roads, education, toilets, health, electricity, telephones, salaries, and wealth.¹⁰⁸

Democrat Andrew May had held the House seat since 1931. He was not a New Dealer, but he became an active supporter of military appropriations as chair of the Committee on Military Affairs. In July 1946

¹⁰³ loneagle2002.tripod.com/lovelineage/index.html. Gunther (1947), 715.

¹⁰⁴ Zimring, passim. Four of the eight West Virginia counties that passed their own secession ordinances were in the First District, page 27.

¹⁰⁵ Fenton (1957) 83-5, 99-100.

¹⁰⁶ Allison Sweeney Fleming stone, Woodlawn Cemetery, Fairmont, West Virginia. *The Raleigh Register*, January 16, 1944. *The Cumberland News*, August 5, 1946. *West Virginia Blue Book* 1947.

¹⁰⁷ Fenton (1957), 82, 101, 116. *Tucson Daily Citizen*, September 18, 1946. *The Raleigh Register*, November 3, 1946. *The St. Louis Star and Times*, October 25, 1946. *Dunkirk Evening Observer*, February 22, 1947.

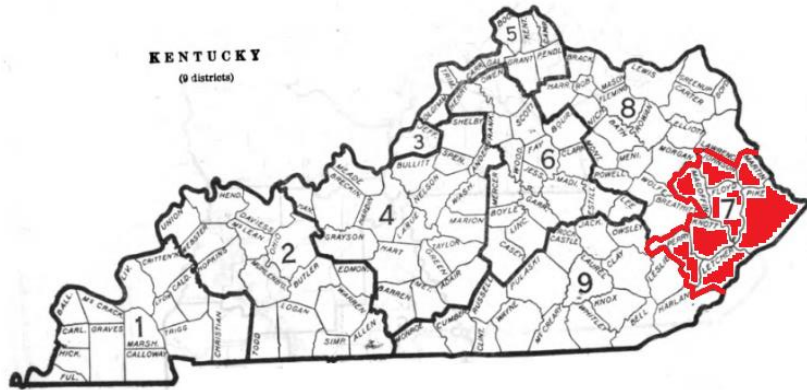
¹⁰⁸ Gunther (1947), 640-1. We will omit at this point Gunther's elitist appraisal of the State's mountaineers, but if the reader wishes, it can be read on page 643.

the Senate Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program held hearings on Erie Basin Metal Products, Inc. It was alleged that May improperly intervened on behalf of the Company in its acquisition of contracts for munition production. May refused to appear before the Committee voluntarily and when subpoenaed entered a hospital for treatment of a possible heart attack. On release, it was said, he returned to Kentucky to campaign for reelection. Witnesses before the Committee testified that principals in the Company made regular payments to May. The hearings were major news in the summer.¹⁰⁹



Howes Meade

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Kentucky 7th Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory, 1948

Unsurprisingly, there were a number of would-be Republican candidates who thought that May might be worth taking on in 1946. Five were on the primary ballot on August 4. Elmer Gabbard, 55, President of Witherspoon College, was the Republican nominee against May in 1942 and 1944. State Sen. Charles Trivette, 43, an oilman, who was the nominee for secretary of state in 1939, ran, as did Carlos Snapp, 50, the superintendent of schools in Jenkins, and William Stafford, 60, a retired minister and lawyer and regular legislative candidate. The winner, however, was Howes Meade, 34, a lawyer and son of a Paintsville dentist, and who was in the Navy until January 1946 despite a minor daughter. He was a county campaign manager for an opponent of May's in 1940. Meade declared his candidacy for May's seat in September 1945 and had been running ads in newspapers for several months, well before the Senate's public investigations. He bought a government surplus jeep, and with that evidence of his military history, traveled over the mountainous eight counties for over four months. He took 45% and the nomination.¹¹⁰

The Louisville *Courier-Journal* was of the opinion that "Jack" May would not be a push-over; "When Democrats up here read testimony that May solicited Army contracts and official favors for an Illinois munitions combine under investigation for war profiteering, their question is not: 'Is Jack right or wrong?' Rather, it is: 'Is Jack in trouble and does he need help?'" It did not help the 71-year-old Representative, however, that he may not have been faking the heart attack. His doctor said on August 23 that he was confined to bed, and it was reported that he did little campaigning on his own. The United Mine Workers

¹⁰⁹ Riddle, 149-50, 191. Grossman, 223-4. *Time*, July 27, August 12, 1946. May was convicted of bribery in 1947. See *Time*, June 9, August 4, 1947; December 5, 1949.

¹¹⁰ OurCampaigns.com. *The Courier-Journal*, September 28, 1945; April 3 & 21, July 14 & 28, 1946. 1940 Census, Johnson County, Kentucky. *Suffolk News-Herald*, October 15, 1946.

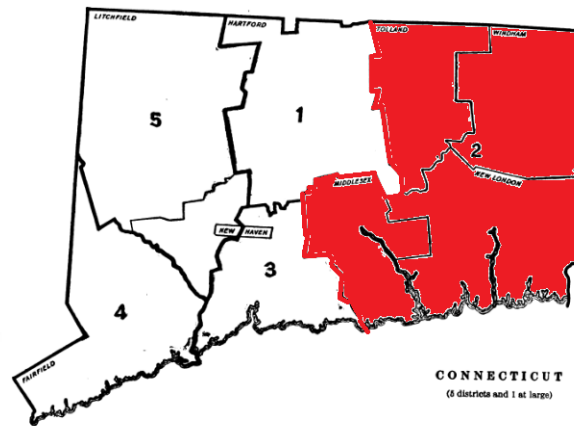
had not supported him since 1943, and his support by the coal operators could not make that up. Meade took an impressive 59% of the vote.¹¹¹

At the end of the campaign, Meade was described as stocky and affable with an attractive wife. It was also reported that he gained 55 pounds over the campaign. That would have been an amazing quantity of rubber chicken and perhaps is questionable.¹¹²



Horace Seely-Brown

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)



Connecticut 2nd Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Horace Seely-Brown had an extensive political non-elective resumé. He organized a Young Republican Club in Pomfret, Connecticut, in the mid-1930s and became the Chair of Windham County and then of State Young Republicans. His day job was as a science teacher, eventually at a prep school for boys in Pomfret, something he came by naturally as the son of a Hamilton College math professor of the same, sort of, name; father did not hyphenate his middle and last name. Hyphen or not, the son was known to all as “Seely” and not Horace. The son also operated peach and apple Seely-Brown Orchards, a business he married into.¹¹³

Seely-Brown, despite three minor children, went off to war in February 1943 at the age of 34, served as a carrier air operations officer in the Pacific, and was reported wounded. When he returned in January 1946, he sought the nomination to run against incumbent Democrat Chase Going Woodhouse. She, 56, had been an economist on the faculty of Connecticut College before her election to the House in 1944. Seely-Brown’s Young Republican connections probably secured the District Republican Convention nomination for him over three other candidates.¹¹⁴

The Second District was the eastern 40% of the State and largely rural. New London with 30,000 people was the largest town. Still, it being New England, manufacturing employed 37% of the labor force and manufacturing wages were four times agricultural income. In 1940 17% of the population was foreign

¹¹¹ *The Courier-Journal*, May 13, August 24, October 11 & 20 & 29, November 7, 1946.

¹¹² *The Courier-Journal*, November 6, 1946.

¹¹³ *The Hartford Courant*, April 11, 1982. *CQWR*, October 19, 1962, 2006-7. *The New York Times*, April 11, 1982. Dresden and Richardson, 286. Copyright Entries, 1289. *The Bridgeport Post*, October 28, 1962. *Women in Congress*, 240.

¹¹⁴ 1940 Census schedule, Windham County, Connecticut. US Public Records Index at familysearch.org. *The Greenville News*, March 16, 1943. *Manchester Evening Herald*, September 16, 1946.

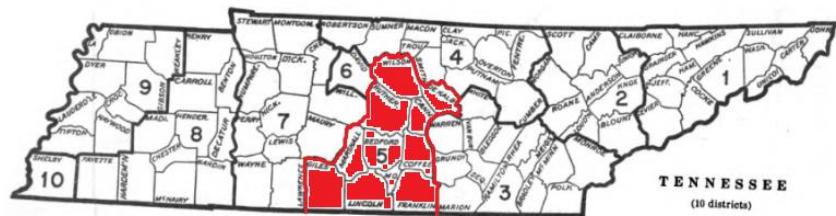
born with Italians, Poles, and French Canadians leading in numbers. Average median family income would be a nice \$3283 in 1949.

Woodhouse defeated a one-term Republican in 1944 for the seat. He had beaten a Democrat in 1942, who had won over a Republican in 1940, who had bested a Democrat in 1938, who had upended a Republican in 1936. Under the threat of exhausting synonyms, it is enough to point out that this is the pattern of Democratic wins in presidential years and Republican wins in off years. Woodhouse's 51% vote share in 1944, the fact that 1946 was an off year, and that the national trend was Republican were all sufficient evidence that Seely-Brown had good expectations of a couple of years in the House. Whether true or not, Woodhouse accused her opponent of making her opposition to the House Un-American Affairs Committee his major issue. Seely-Brown received 55% of the vote.¹¹⁵



Joe Evins

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)



Tennessee 5th Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

There were those members of the Class who had always wanted to be representatives and saw their chance. Democrat Joe Evins of Tennessee decided he wanted to be a congressman at age 13 when his father took him to DC and visited two representatives. His father was a Mayor, one-time Chair of the Tennessee Democratic Party, and State Senator, a post offered to Joe if he would cash out of the Army but taken instead by his dad. After six years with the Federal Trade Commission and a tour with the Judge Advocate General staff despite two minor children, Major Evins back home in March 1946, his hair parted just off center, “made the Fifth District two promises: (1) He would be no ‘knight in armor,’ seeking to change the world. (2) He would get along with all four elements in the hybrid Tennessee delegation: The Senators, the two Republicans, the liberal bloc and the more conservative members.”¹¹⁶

Harold Earthman was the Democratic incumbent in only his first term. Evins charged him with absenteeism. Earthman's response was that a first term was lucky to learn where to hang his hat – not a compelling defense. Evins ran on more Federal aid for the aged, disabled veterans, farmers, and education and opposition to communist aggression. Earthman “pointed ... to the Confederate flag in his

¹¹⁵ *The Hartford Courant*, October 29, 1946.

¹¹⁶ Graves, 17, 43-4, 54. *Kingsport Times*, July 6, 1947.

office as a symbol of 'Jeffersonian democracy'." Two other candidates filed, one a former representative and another who would become a secretary for Rep. Evins, but dropped out.¹¹⁷

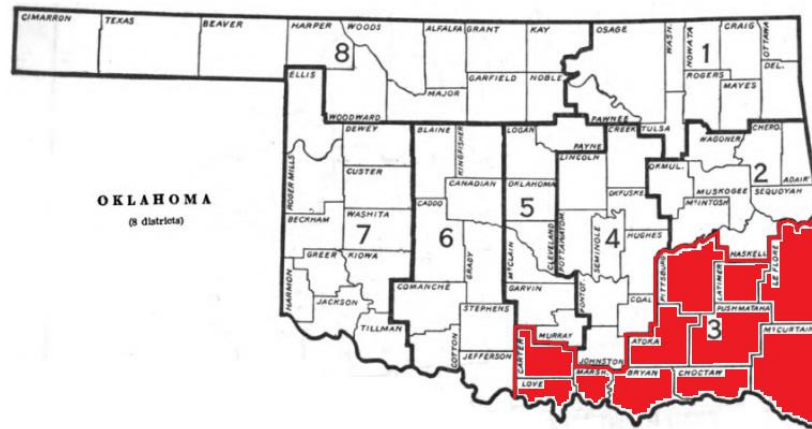
Evins snowed the incumbent for the Democratic nomination with 58% of the vote on August 1 and had no Republican opposition in November.¹¹⁸

The Fifth District in middle Tennessee extended from east of Nashville to the Alabama line. Very rural by even the standards of the Census Bureau, its largest town was Murfreesboro, which grew from 9000 to 13,000 over the 1940s. The black population was about 13% of the total. General agriculture was the primary industry, which yielded a paltry \$1286 in income per farm in 1945. The average median family income in 1949 would be \$1499.



Carl Albert

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)



Oklahoma 3rd Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Carl Albert of Oklahoma would write that he had wanted to be a representative since Rep. Charles Carter visited his school in 1914, when Albert was six. Born in a mining camp, his family moved to a cotton farm when he was three, then left that twelve years later as his father returned to the coal mines. Despite dropping out of school after the eighth grade because of the lack of a local high school, Carl soon managed to get to one, and after his debating team won a national championship parlayed that skill and hard work into college and his native smarts into a Rhodes Scholarship. He worked for the Federal Housing Administration and oil companies and had a brief legal practice. He did some campaign work for Democrats. Having been in the required Reserve Officers Training Corps in college, he was taken in by the Army in June 1941 and assigned to the Judge Advocate General Corps until discharged in February 1946.¹¹⁹

The Third Congressional District was the southeast corner of Oklahoma, known as "Little Dixie." While the population was heavily of Southern ancestry, the black population was a low 9%. Indians added another 4%. Petroleum and coal were mined, but agriculture employed far more people. Cotton and corn were the major crops, though livestock sales were as great as the value of the two combined. Average median family income in 1949 would be a low \$1465.

¹¹⁷ Graves, 52. *CQWR*, June 7, 1963, 930-1. *Kingsport News*, May 12, June 5, 1946; January 6, 1948; December 5, 1949. *Kingsport Times*, June 3, 1946.

¹¹⁸ *Tennessee Blue Book 1947-1948*.

¹¹⁹ Albert with Goble, 15-6, 41, 52-3, 73-4, 87, 111, 121, 123-6, 129. *CQWR*, December 25, 1970, 3073-4; June 12, 1976, 1492. *The New York Times*, February 6, 2000.

The Democratic incumbent since 1943 was Paul Stewart. While Stewart gave indications of being less than thrilled at another term in the House, he filed for reelection, then withdrew “on doctor’s orders.” Albert would later write that the Representative had “heart pains.” The press was skeptical, noting that he had already drawn an active opponent who was making inroads. But Stewart would die in four years at 58.¹²⁰

The opponent supposedly making inroads was Bayless Irby, a druggist and legislator, who had announced his candidacy in February. Harold Moore, a newspaperman, also declared in February. Bill Steger, an attorney and Second World War veteran, filed for the seat on April 22, and Manley Misenheimer, a newspaperman and ex-legislator, who came in fourth in the Democratic primary for the House in 1942, submitted his papers on April 24. In the meantime, Stewart filed on April 23, and Albert, after canvassing, decided not to run. Then Stewart withdrew on April 26 and reached Albert to let him know. April 26 was the deadline to file, and Albert rushed to do so. Two other candidates filed on the deadline, too, but both withdrew on May 1.¹²¹

Albert would write that his slogan was “From a Cabin in the Cotton to Congress,” that he had a three-piece string band and a 17-year-old red-headed girl singer, and that he favored farm price supports, rural electrification, and the New Deal, and that he would talk about his War service. Irby also had a track record of New Deal support, and Misenheimer was a La Follette Progressive in the 1920s. Nevertheless, it was the other veteran who led the primary on July 2. Steger had 36% and Albert 29% and were headed to the run-off on July 23. Steger’s father was a bank director in Durant, which might have helped, but Albert also had an unnamed millionaire oilman on his side.¹²²

The initial tabulation of the run-off gave Albert the win by 95 votes, and Steger asked for a recount. This increased Albert’s lead to 329 and after the final absentee ballots from the military came in the win was by 330. After Albert’s nomination, his cousin John Fuller, the Republican nominee, withdrew, and the Republican Central Committee nominated Eleanor Watson, who managed all of 15%.¹²³

The precipitating factor for others is uncertain. Herbert Meyer of Independence, Kansas, perhaps came to candidacy from experience in the Federal government or the publishing of a newspaper or from being a lobbyist at the state level. Born in Ohio, he was seemingly raised in DC by maiden sisters of his mother who were clerks for the government. Meyer got his LL.B. and went to work for the Secretary of the Interior. Democrat Woodrow Wilson’s appointee to head Interior, replacing Republican William Howard Taft’s in 1913, kept on Meyer as private secretary. He remained with the Department until at

¹²⁰ *The Lawton Constitution*, January 20, 1946. *Miami Daily News-Record*, February 3, 1946. *The Paris News*, April 28, 1946. Albert with Goble, 145.

¹²¹ *The Paris News*, February 22, April 28, 1946. *Miami Daily News-Record*, January 5, 1933; July 15, 1942; February 3, April 24, May 2, 1946. *The Ada Weekly News*, July 23, 1942. *Joplin Globe*, July 4, 1946. Albert with Goble, 142, 144-5.

¹²² Albert with Goble, 77, 142, 147-8. *The Paris News*, October 7, 1940. *The Ada Weekly News*, June 12, 1924. *Oklahoma Directory 1949*. Albert had been introduced to the millionaire while a student fronting on speaking tours for the University President.

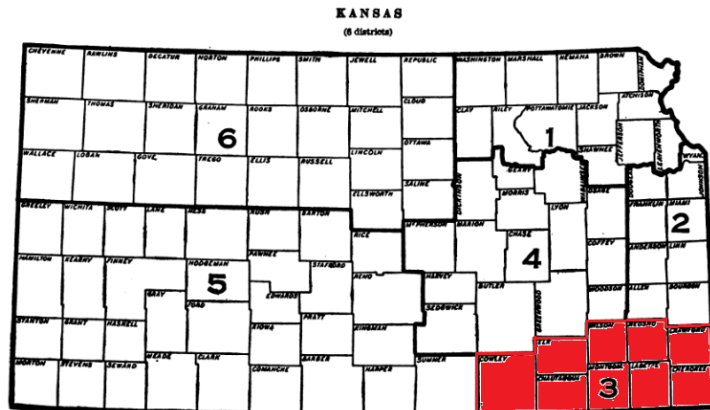
¹²³ *Miami Daily News-Record*, July 25, August 8, 1946. *Joplin Globe*, July 27, 1946. *The Paris News*, July 30, 1946. Albert with Goble, 149.

least 1918. In 1919 he moved to Kansas to work for oil companies. In 1940 he became publisher of the *Independence Daily Reporter*, then managing director of the Kansas Independent Oil & Gas Association.¹²⁴



Herbert Meyer

Source: Wikipedia.org



Kansas 3rd Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory*, 1948

Meyer, known as “Hub,” was 57 in 1941 and outside even the worst case for military service, but in 1918 he had been 32 and a Rep. Daniel Anthony (R KS) raised a fuss about Meyer’s commissioning as a captain in the Army Signal Corps and being assigned to a noncombatant position. Anthony charged that Meyer and similar men “of the millionaire class and of strong political connections” were commissioned without qualification and placed in safe jobs. The acting Secretary of War responded that Meyer had been in the Quartermaster Reserve Corps before the American declaration of war and that he had a dependent wife and child. The *Washington Evening Star* reported that “friends” said that Meyer was commissioned captain in March 1917 but kept in the Interior Department by the Secretary.¹²⁵

The Third District of Kansas was in the southeast corner of the State and represented by Republican Thomas Winter since 1939. The District lost population over the 1940s. It was an area of farms and small towns. Pittsburg, the biggest, had 18 or 19,000 people. Despite what one might expect from Meyer’s involvement in the oil and gas industry, mining employed only 3% of the labor force and half of that was in coal. A scattering of manufacturers contributed almost as much to the economy as agriculture. Livestock, mostly cattle, outstripped crop sales. The average median family income in 1949 would be \$2176.

Winter was 50, younger than Meyer by ten years, a veteran of the First World War, and an attorney. Winter complained that his challenger for the Republican nomination was a “lifelong Democrat,” pointing to his tenure in the Wilson Administration and that he only changed his voter registration in 1940. Whatever, Meyer took the nomination on August 6 by four points and then defeated Democrat Jo Gaitskill, a veteran of both world wars and a former legislator and judge, by eleven points. Winter had won in November 1944 by twenty points. Perhaps some Winter partisans stayed home in November.¹²⁶

Why run for Congress, particularly if one has not previously faced the electorate?

¹²⁴ *The Staunton News-Leader*, October 4, 1950. *The Scioto Gazette*, April 27, 1927. 1900 Census schedule, District of Columbia. *Evening Star*, May 1, 1912; March 28, 1918. *The Times Dispatch*, March 21, 1913.

¹²⁵ Hope, 186. *The New York Times*, April 14, 1918. *Evening Star*, April 7, 1918.

¹²⁶ *The Emporia Gazette*, June 18, July 30, 1946. *Kansas Report 1945-1946*.

Thirty of the 41 amateurs elected in 1946 had just returned from the War, and at least thirteen and probably more of these were obviously at loose ends, not easily able to pick up vocationally where they had left off. At least nine had fathers who were highly active politically; two, including one of these, had expressed a desire for election to the House since childhood. Four had previously worked in Congress as staffers. Recruitment to run by a dominant political organization was important; at least seventeen were and another four, at minimum, almost certainly had such backing as they faced no contest in winning the nomination. As for instigation by policy, that is difficult to identify. Rhetoric during the campaign almost always exceeds the passion available before declaration of candidacy, no matter how important the latter.

Only two of the 41 had none of the obvious indicators listed in the previous paragraph: Herbert Meyer of Kansas and Monroe Redden of North Carolina. The last had not run for public office but nevertheless was deep into politics and ostensibly pushed by his corporate clients to oust the incumbent. Meyer had long ago served at a high level in the national government.

From idealism and a yearning for something different in one's personal life through partisan slating to life-long desire, no one runs for Congress alone. It takes a village to raise a member of Congress. These men had organized political support ranging from established to ad hoc, friends and neighbors and family who were vested in their success, and as returning servicemen a brotherhood of war which elicited a kinship of desires and frustrations.

Nevertheless, 41 members of the Class of '46 elected in 1946 were electoral virgins, who for the first times in their lives were asking a large body of people who were overwhelmingly strangers to choose them for a potentially powerful position from which they could help or hurt their constituents and the country at large. It was a leap of faith for both the candidates and the electorate.

And what about the 53 members of the Class of '46 who were already politicians before their November 1946 run?