

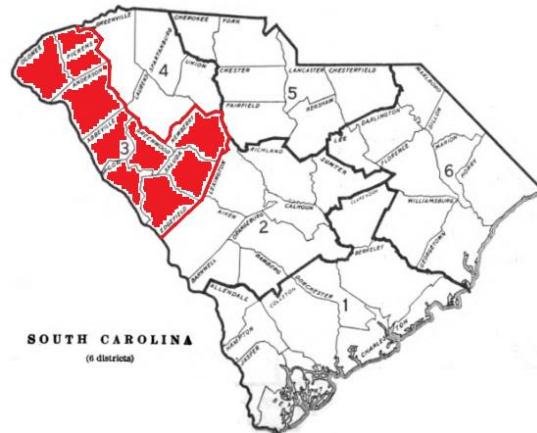
Chapter 4 – The Professionals

William Jennings Bryan Dorn would write, “Daddy was determined to name me after the three-time Democratic candidate for the presidency of the United States so I would have a political career. Because of this association, as far back as I can remember, I was referred to as ‘the future politician.’” “My original plan was to run for the South Carolina House at age 22, the South Carolina Senate at 24, and the United States Congress when I was 26 years old.... Then I planned to run for Governor at age 30 and the United States Senate before I was 35.” “World War II and three and one-half years in the Army Air Corps changed my timetable....”¹



Bryan Dorn

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)



South Carolina 3rd Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Dorn was the son of a politician, an elected County Superintendent of Education. The son won a seat in the State House of Representatives in 1938 and the State Senate in 1940. Despite being exempted from the draft as a legislator, he enlisted in June 1942 and served as an Army radio man in Europe. Discharged in October 1945, he announced for the US House in March 1946 against the Democratic incumbent, Butler Hare. Hare was 70 and was first sent to the House in 1924, then sat out from 1933 before returning in 1939. Bryan Dorn wrote later that he and Hare did not differ on issues, only on age, the challenger being 30. This was not totally true, as they differed on foreign aid, with Dorn opposing, and Dorn accused Hare as a member of Congress of failing to prepare the country for the War. Nevertheless, Hare ran on accomplishment, and Dorn ran on youth and veteranship and won the nomination on August 13 with an impressive 62% of the vote. There was no Republican opponent in November.²

The Third District of South Carolina was nine counties strung along the Georgia border in the northwest. It was rural, with Anderson at 19,000 being the largest town. Manufacturing wages from textile factories far outstripped income from the small, unmechanized farms heavily dependent on cotton. In 1945, 54% of the farms were operated by tenants and the average income per farm was only \$857. The farm population was 112,000 or about 36% of the District total, but farmers and especially white farm wives could work in textile factories, and the average median family income would be \$1831 in 1949. The

¹ Dorn and Derks, 4, 6.

² *The Index-Journal*, April 1, 1944; May 22, July 26 & 27 & 29, August 5 & 12, 1946; October 5, 1948. Dorn and Derks, 63. OurCampaigns.com.

population overall was about 30% black and on the farm was 37%. The farm population fell by nearly two-fifths during the 1940s. Dorn, the new representative, always described his occupation as farmer.

Few of the Class of '46 likely had such a political life's calling and, certainly, fewer would have admitted it; the office is said to seek the person. But few also get to the United States House of Representatives without a dose of ambition. The class of '46 may be rare in that 43 of its 109 members (41 elected in 1946 and two in subsequent special elections), 39%, made it to the House without previous elective experience. In itself this statistic is a significant indicator of the War's political effect, arguably more so than that military veterans were such a significant part of the Class. The continuing members of Congress included a significant proportion of veterans, given the mass mobilization of the First World War. Claiming active military services on their *Congressional Directory* biographies were 121 members of the 341 returning members of the 80th Congress (35% compared to 61% of the Class of '46) and 14 reported service during the Second World War.³

Sixty-six of the Class of '46 got to Congress the old-fashioned way, by being previously aspiring politicians. While there may have been a tendency on the part of the older members to think of the Class as the 1974 "Watergate Babies" class would be characterized – young, inexperienced, self-aggrandizing, impetuous, and disdainful of "the formal traditions of the House, their senior colleagues, and the leadership," in the words of long-time congressional staffer John A. Lawrence, it was not wholly accurate.⁴

The Class of '46 was younger than the returning representatives by about nine years on average, despite having, like Dorn, a military delay in getting to Congress of as much as five years.⁵ Nine of the youngest members in the 80th House were Class of '46. Born in 1919, George Sarbacher of Pennsylvania was the youngest at 27 when he took the oath at the start of the 80th Congress. The youngest returning member was five years older.

On the other hand, eight of the Class of '46 were over 60, with the oldest being 79-year-old William Lewis of Kentucky, who would not join the Congress until May 3, 1948. Three returning members were older, with Joseph Mansfield of Texas topping out the body at age 85. Mansfield was born in what is now West Virginia in February 1861, before the assault on Fort Sumter by South Carolina. George Sarbacher was born in September 1919, after the end of the First World War.

The level of experience of the Class of '46 was open to debate. Age brings more experience but so does war, and with respect to serving in an elective body, so does politics. Only nine of the Class appear to have lacked both elective and military experience. Though hardly callow, 40-year-old Carroll Kearns of Pennsylvania may have seemed the least prepared on paper. Kearns' father was a manager for the Pennsylvania Railroad, not a politico as was Sarbanes.' Kearns came to Congress from a five-year position as Superintendent of Schools in Farrell, hired by the school board. Before that he was chair of the music department at Slippery Rock State Teachers' College. In his *Congressional Directory* biography, he described himself as a "nationally known concert artist and conductor of instrumental and choral groups." Maestro Kearns was a baritone.⁶

³ There are and were in the 1940s 435 members of the House of Representatives. There are 450 members in this accounting. Fifteen members were replaced during the 80th Congress through resignation or death.

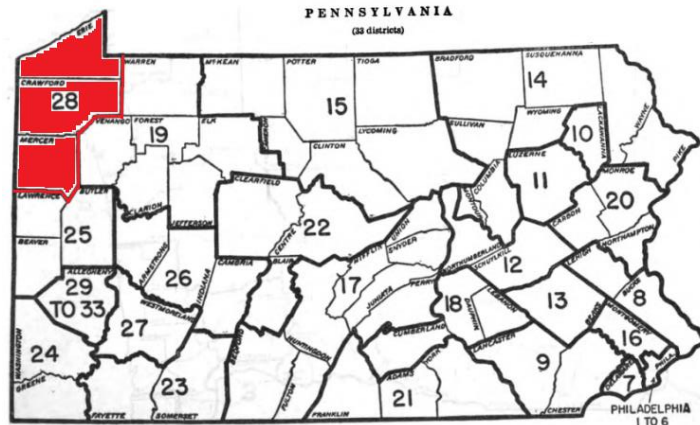
⁴ Lawrence, 52.

⁵ As of the individual's taking a seat.

⁶ *New Castle News*, February 25, 1936.



Carroll Kearns

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)Pennsylvania 28th Cong. Dist.Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Consider, though. Apart from the potentially fraught task of working with a school board, Super. Kearns also had to contend with a custodial strike.⁷ His biography lists a huge range of professional and civic activities: Organizer and three times president of the Farrell Chamber of Commerce, director of the Shenango Valley Concert Association, member of the Board of the Pennsylvania School Music Association, president of the Mercer County Tuberculosis Society, former president of the Shenango Valley Community Fund, member of the Mercer County War Problems Committee, Mercer County chairman of United China Relief, and far more in terms of memberships.

Kearns had no active military service, though he had been in the Student Army Training Corps at the University of Pittsburgh. Despite his long list of civic involvement, he seems not to have sought elective office before 1946. He did so then against a Republican incumbent in the primary. Robert Rodgers had represented Erie since 1939. Erie was the metropolis of the Twenty-Eighth District, growing from 117,000 in 1940 to 131,000 in 1950. The District would increase by 53,000 over the same period. Manufacturing, largely metal and machinery, would employ 44% of the labor force in 1950. The average median family income of the three counties would be \$3216.

Rep. Rodgers was 70 years old, a Spanish War vet, and a man of several business involvements in Erie. There was another challenger for the nomination, Chester Zerbe, 50, a veteran and one-time head of the State Veterans of Foreign Wars. Kearns, from the lesser county of Mercer, took the nomination with about 43% of the vote on May 21. Rodgers, then “squired” Kearns around at a Pennsylvania Republican nominees’ meeting, introduced him, and the November win was a *fait accompli*, with the Democrat getting only 36%.⁸

If Kearns was the least experienced member of the 80th Congress, the new members were well prepared, though not necessarily for the House of Representatives. One historian has observed, “Congress often attracts and, with its seniority system, trains and protects limited individuals until they grow into the job.” Only those who had previous experience in the House as aides had that level of preparation.⁹

⁷ *The Kane Republican*, March 22, 1945.

⁸ *The Evening News*, June 25, 1938. Primary returns are incomplete, *The Blizzard*, May 22, 1946. *Gettysburg Times*, June 25, 1946.

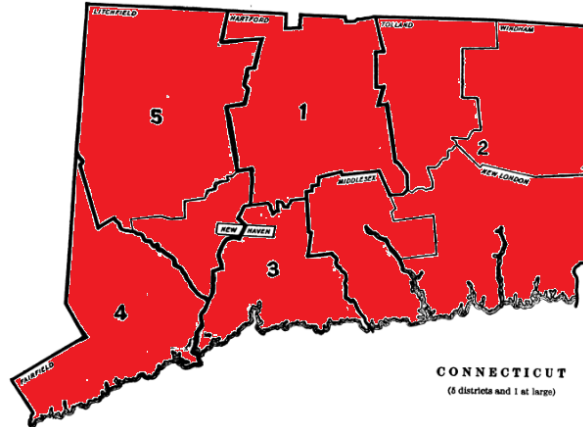
⁹ Wallace, 199.

At least nine of the Class had been congressional staffers: Antoni Sadlak of Connecticut, Norris Cotton of New Hampshire, Charles Deane of North Carolina, Glen Johnson of Oklahoma, and Omar Burleson of Texas among the professionals, in addition to amateurs Caleb Boggs of Delaware, Wingate Lucas of Texas, Robert Twyman of Illinois, and Frank Karsten of Missouri.



Antoni Sadlak

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)



Connecticut At-large District

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Antoni Sadlak's parents and wife were Polish, but he was born in Connecticut in 1908. His father owned and ran a liquor store. The son got a law degree from Georgetown, returned to Connecticut and lost an election for probate judge. This may have brought him to the attention of Rep. Boleslaus Monkiewicz, a Republican who had won election the same year, 1938, to the State's At-large District and hired Sadlak as his secretary. The Representative lost to a Democrat in 1940, and Sadlak became an inspector with the Department of Justice. Monkiewicz returned to the House after the 1942 election and so did Sadlak. Monkiewicz was to lose again in 1944, but Sadlak had already enlisted in the Navy despite a two-year-old son. After service as a communications officer on the staff of the commander of the Seventh Fleet, Sadlak was discharged in April 1946 and took a job with the Connecticut Department of Education as a supervisor of on-the-job training programs.¹⁰

Sadlak spent only two-and-a-half months with OJT before being nominated by the Connecticut Republican Convention on September 10 for Monkiewicz' former seat. The story goes that the slate-makers decided on Sadlak but could not remember his first name, wound up getting his brother, either William or Maximilian, to the convention and had to backtrack. The incumbent Democrat was Joseph Ryter, 32, himself of Polish stock, and hence the need for Sadlak. The major issue as far as the two Polish candidates were concerned was the American failure to prevent Soviet domination of Poland, an issue accentuated by the presence of a Communist Party candidate on the ballot. Ryter supported Poland and attacked the Soviet Union as thoroughly as Sadlak, but Ryter represented the conniving Truman Administration. While the numbers of Polish stock among the Connecticut electorate may have been significant, the Polish born population was only about 2%; so, American policies on Poland may not have

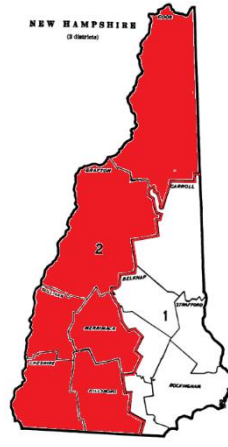
¹⁰ *Naugatuck Daily News*, October 13, 1958. 1910 Census schedule, Tolland County, Connecticut. 1930 Census schedule, Hampden County, Massachusetts. *The Hartford Courant*, November 12, 1916; December 21, 1938; November 3, 1946.

been the reason that Sadlak won the seat with 56%. Still, this was six points better than Monkiewicz' showing in 1942.¹¹



Norris Cotton

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)



New Hampshire 2nd Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Norris Cotton for four years had been a staffer for New Hampshire Sen. George Moses and his Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. Before and after that he served in the State House of Representatives, his last year as Speaker. He also spent four years as the elected prosecutor of Grafton County and another four years as an appointed Lebanon court judge. By 1946 the 46-year-old attorney, son of a merchant and deputy sheriff, had had considerable experience in winning elections and in intra-Republican Party posts. That year, the Second District seat became open as Rep. Sherman Adams, a Republican, opted to run for governor.¹²

Adams announced his candidacy on December 11, 1945, with two men to succeed him already in the primary race, given the Representative's public flirtation with his decision. Col. Albert Baker was recently back from four years in the South Pacific and returning to his day job as a political columnist. Charles Mills, a disabled First World War veteran, had been a Republican Party activist for 25 years and in 1946 was Majority Leader of the New Hampshire Senate. Cotton announced on December 19 but then changed his mind, only to reverse on January 16, 1946. In the interim, Joseph Moore, an attorney and perennial candidate joined the race for the Republican nomination. On March 6 Dr. Robert Blood, a surgeon and former Governor threw his hat in the ring. On May 21, another perennial candidate, Rita Collyer, declared. She was a writer and farm owner and the first woman to seek a major Republican office in the State. Cotton, Mills, and Blood had the electoral history, Baker the public forum, and Moore and Collyer the name recognition through persistent losing candidacies.¹³

¹¹ *Manchester Evening Herald*, September 10, 1946. *The Hartford Courant*, September 14, 1946; June 5, 1966. 1920 Census schedule, Tolland County, Connecticut. *Belvidere Daily Republican*, October 2, 1945.

¹² Cotton, 1, 13. *Nashua Telegraph*, February 19, 1974. Henry Lan Cotton Death Certificate, Warren, New Hampshire. *The Portsmouth Herald and Times*, September 19, 1924; August 13, 1928. *The New York Times*, February 25, 1989. *The Portsmouth Herald*, December 11, 1945.

¹³ *The Portsmouth Herald and Times*, October 7, 1938. *The Portsmouth Herald*, April 16, 1940; September 16, 1942; March 16, July 27, 1944; October 25, December 12 & 18 & 19, 1945; January 16 & 22, 1946. *Nashua Telegraph*, August 20, 1960; August 9, 1965. *The Berkshire Evening Eagle*, March 6, 1946. *Fitchburg Sentinel*, May 21, August 6, 1946.

The newspapers reported little of policy import in the primary campaign. Blood and Mills did take hard positions against Federal activism, while Moore and Collyer may have been more welcoming, if their future campaigns would be any indication. Mills was also a target of Labor activity. Cotton won decisively with 44% in the crowded field, with Blood at 24%, Baker at 16%, and Mills at 11%.¹⁴

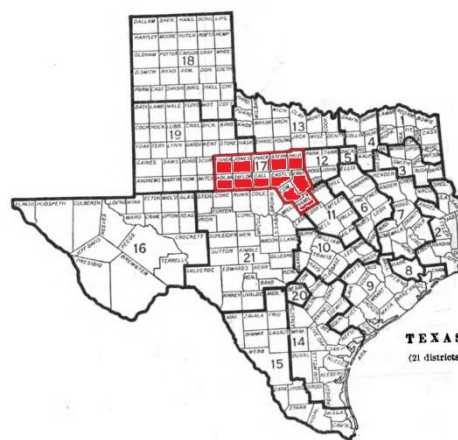
The Second District's boundaries had not changed since the State lost its third House member after the 1880 census, and there was an unbroken string of Republican House members since 1914. It was the more rural and agricultural of New Hampshire's two districts and thus more Yankee, with the foreign born, about half French Canadians, at around 12% of the population. Manufacturing of various kinds nevertheless outstripped agricultural employment with wages five times that of farm income. Average median family income would be \$2847 in 1949.

Patrick Hinchey was the sacrificial Democrat, unopposed for the nomination. He was a paper company executive and First World War veteran and prominent American Legionnaire; Cotton had not served. Hinchey had Labor support and ran on broadening and increasing Social Security payments. Cotton "pledged himself if elected to fight government extravagance and 'all system of government control that lead toward a socialist state.'" He also decried "the Red element" within the ranks of the Truman Administration.¹⁵ Cotton's 65% in 1946 easily topped Adams' 54% in the 1944 presidential election year.



Omar Burleson

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)



Texas 17th Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Omar Burleson's staff work was relatively recent and brief. For ten months from 1941 to 1942 he was secretary to Rep. Sam Russell, Democrat of Texas. Immediately before that he spent one-and-a-half years with the FBI. Burleson became an attorney in 1929, but private practice seems not to have been profitable enough. He had acquired a wife the same year and already was helping support a widowed mother, his farmer father having died when Burleson was 12. In 1930 he got himself elected to an open position as the prosecuting attorney of Jones County and in 1934 Judge of the County, which was the chief executive.

¹⁴ *The Portsmouth Herald*, January 3, 1945; January 22, 1946; August 24, 1954. *Nashua Telegraph*, September 20, 1946. *New Hampshire Manual* 1947.

¹⁵ *The Monroe News-Star*, August 7, 1946. *Nashua Telegraph*, October 28 & 31, November 1 & 4, 1946. *Fitchburg Sentinel*, June 28, 1946.

These were part-time positions. After two terms as prosecutor and three as Judge, he made a run for the Texas Senate and barely lost the runoff for the Democratic nomination. Then, he joined the FBI.¹⁶

The Navy caught him up in December 1942, commissioned him and assigned him to naval intelligence, maybe due to his FBI work. By the time he was discharged as a lieutenant commander in April 1946, he was already speaking around the District at Rotary luncheons and college lecture series. Rep. Russell, though only 56, was known to be in ill health, and it is possible that he had given his former secretary a heads up before the Representative announced on March 8 that he would retire at the end of his term. Burleson declared for the job the next day.¹⁷

Aristophanes' joke that under every stone lurks a politician described the Republicans of the Second District of New Hampshire and even more so the Democrats of the Seventeenth District of Texas. Burleson was one of eight contending for the nomination, from two who announced before Russell's news to one who filed on deadline. Four were lawyers. Five were practiced politicians. Six were veterans, five of the Second World War. Burleson fit into each of these categories. Two met none of them. Gib Sandefer was a band impresario and rancher. He had taken the Hardin-Simmons University Cowboy Band national. Eventually he would be the tour director for the US Navy and US Air Force bands. His service in the War was as the field representative for the Red Cross in Africa, Italy, and the China-Burma-India theater. Nina Headrick was a former school teacher, Democratic activist, clubwoman, and homemaker. Her husband died on March 7, 1946, which may have contributed to her tardiness in filing until May 20.¹⁸

The Seventeenth District, twice the area of Connecticut, was mostly in what Texans call "the rolling plains" west of Fort Worth. Abilene was the biggest town, growing from 27,000 to 46,000 people over the 1940s, even as the population of the District as a whole was dropping slightly. Urbanism by the census definition increased from 33% to 52% of the population. Agricultural employment fell from 25,000 to 18,000 over the period, while other sectors of the economy were expanding. Yet farm income in the middle of the decade was six times manufacturing wages. Cotton, sorghum, and peanuts were the primary crops, and crop sales were two-thirds greater than livestock sales, primarily cattle. There was also an oil industry. The average median family income in 1949 would be \$2321.

In the primary contest William Blanton easily ran the most right-wing campaign, making an anti-Labor stance his preeminent issue. His father had served in the House for most of nine terms. In 1941 this son as Shackelford County Judge had attracted attention by ruling coffee off the list of County foods granted to relief clients. Bryan Bradbury and Robert Wagstaff were the least rightist. Bradbury made aid to veterans the centerpiece of his campaign, but it was liberal positions on Labor and his advocacy in the Legislature for services for children and opposition to a sales tax that differentiated him from the rest of the pack. Robert Wagstaff's legislative record on water conservation and advocacy of the creation of Big Bend National Park, as well as his support for collective bargaining for Labor placed him with Bradbury on the left, but what he preferred to emphasize in his campaign was aid for farmers. He had challenged Rep. Russell in 1944 for the nomination and came in third. Still, in 1952 he would support Republican Dwight Eisenhower for President. He was older than the rest of the candidates, a First World War veteran.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Abilene Reporter-News*, September 1, 1946. *The Hamlin Herald*, July 25, 1930; April 12, 1946; April 18, 1974. 1930 Census schedule, Anson County, Texas. *Valley Morning Star*, August 26, 1940.

¹⁷ *Abilene Reporter-News*, February 2 & 27, March 10, 1946. *Harrisburg Telegraph*, July 2, 1945.

¹⁸ *Abilene Reporter-News*, March 14 & 16 & 18, May 21, June 6, July 4 & 21 & 25, 1946. *The Odessa American*, January 23, 1947. *The Hamlin Herald*, March 15, July 12, 1946. *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, February 16, 1969.

¹⁹ *The Waxahatchie Daily Light*, January 25, 1946. *Abilene Reporter-News*, January 24, 1943; June 11, 1944; April 14 & 21, May 23, June 30, 1946; October 27, 1952; April 11, 1973; January 19 & 20, 1974. *The Hamlin Herald*, April 19, June 7, 1946.

Gib Sandefer was also inclined to support Labor, but his overall campaign was nebulous. The first item on his published platform was “Fellowship.” Ever the showman, his tent at the Cowboy Reunion, which all the candidates attended, featured a bronc-riding monkey. Ted Miles, an insurance agent and oilman, drifted right, warning of “demoralizing postwar strikes” and opposing “socialized medicine,” but also voicing that rare support for price controls. He had run for the Democratic nomination for the Texas Senate in 1944 against an incumbent and came within 65 votes of winning without leaving his Army station.²⁰

Burleson did not take a position on fellowship, but his campaign was notable for its blandness. He avoided Labor issues, agreed with the other candidates that there were too many Federal regulations and that farmers needed help. He did take a hard line against communists, but did not accuse any of his fellow candidates of being one. It was perhaps his mild campaign or his raising the red menace that brought him second place in the crowded field on July 27. Blanton, seemingly the most conservative of the candidates, took first, but with only 19% of the vote. Burleson had 17%. The most fascinating thing about the friend and neighbors voting was that, while Blanton ran first in four of the counties in the District, Burleson ran first in only Jones County, his home, and he had to share that county with Miles. Still, he managed second place.²¹

The “high plane of sportsmanship shown by each [candidate] toward the others,” which a newspaper found “unique” in the first primary was found wanting by the same source in the “blistering” run-off. The change in part was due to a mirroring of Blanton and Burleson’s declared positions. Blanton discovered communists and their infiltration into government as well as his *bête noire* of labor unions, while Burleson found the CIO-PAC and “Labor Racketeers.” The vote was very close in ten of the twelve counties, i.e. those that were not the home counties of the two contestants. Overall, Burleson emerged with 56% of the total on August 24. There was no Republican opponent in November.²²

Glen Johnson’s staff work was earlier. He was a secretary for Senator Rose McConnell Long, widow of the slain Huey of Louisiana. The job seems to have come his way through dating the Long daughter while at LSU.²³

An attorney, Johnson, 35, came out of the War as a captain in military intelligence and judge advocacy, determined to run for the House. He had served in the Oklahoma House before, like Dorn passing up his draft exemption for European service. In March 1946 he declared for the US House the day after his discharge. He challenged the Democratic incumbent, Lyle Boren, for the nomination. Boren, 36, had been in the House since 1937, and would be remembered as the father of a US Senator and the grandfather of a US Representative. He was noted for his anti-Labor activities, and his pro-veterans efforts did not prevent two veterans challenging him for re-nomination.²⁴

²⁰ *The Hamlin Herald*, May 24, June 17, 1946. *Abilene Reporter-News*, August 27, 1944; June 9, July 1 & 7 & 14, November 18, 1946.

²¹ *Abilene Reporter-News*, April 28, June 5, 1946. *Texas Almanac 1947-1948*.

²² *Abilene Reporter-News*, August 11 & 24, 1946. *The Hamlin Herald*, August 16, 1946. *Corsicana Daily Sun*, August 21, 1946.

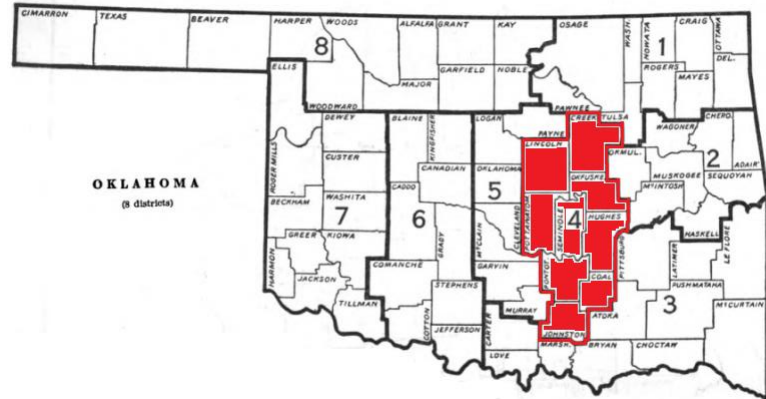
²³ *The Daily Oklahoman*, December 15, 1946. Burke and Franks, 9.

²⁴ Burke and Franks, 20-1. Biography of Lyle H. Boren, Carl Albert Center. Goulden, 228-9. *The Ada Weekly News*, May 28, 1936.



Glen Johnson

Source: OurCampaigns.com

Oklahoma 4th Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory, 1948

The total number of challengers was five and included Eugene Dunn, an African American cook, and Claude Hendon, a First World War vet, who led a fight against the Ku Klux Klan as a County attorney in 1923. Hendon came in fourth and Dunn sixth, while the incumbent took first place with 30%. Johnson was second with 24%. The July 23 run-off found Johnson so strapped for cash that he pawned his wife's piano, but we waltzed to victory with 61% over Boren. Johnson would recount, "Well, she put up a mild beef but I finally persuaded her by saying, 'Listen, Imogene, I will replace the thing as soon as we get to Washington and I get hold of a few of the prerequisites and emoluments that accrue to members of congress.' ... I really thought I would be able to save at least piano money out of my congressional wages but I haven't gotten enough together yet. I hear daily about her piano..." Imogene had dutifully played that piano in the back of a pickup to draw attention to her husband's campaign appearances.²⁵

Once elected (which he accomplished with 64% of the vote), Johnson told the newspaper that he did not intend to introduce any legislation for several months. "I want to get my feet on the ground and take care of the needs of the people in my district." He also cited former Speaker Joseph Cannon in saying that "young, eager congressmen had to learn their a-b-c's before they could talk in public." Columnist Jane Eads would think Johnson one of the four "photogenic" House members. The reporter for *The Daily Oklahoman* thought him a bit portly, but solid, and noted his blue eyes that were "quick to light up, in character with a grin which crinkles up his face with no effort at all."²⁶

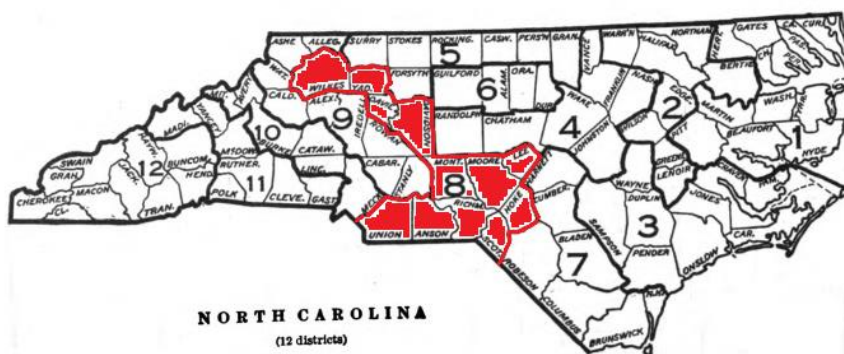
The Fourth District was nine counties in east central Oklahoma and was hemorrhaging people even faster than Peden's Seventh District, losing 27% of its population, 88,000 people, between 1940 and 1950. The black population, only 9% in 1940 would lose an even greater share, 39%, over the decade. The number of Indians in the District would decline as well, but the proportion would rise from 3% to 4%. The average median family income in 1949 would be a poor \$1789. The ensuing drop in farm employment from 37% to 24% of the total was the cause of the outmigration, the rate of tenancy being 46%, though farm income from cattle, cotton, and corn, nearly tripled manufacturing wages. There was also a substantial oil extraction industry, employing 10% of the labor force.

²⁵ *Miami Daily News-Record*, April 25, 1946. *Alton Evening Telegraph*, September 14, 1923. *Moberly Evening Democrat*, September 23, 1923. *Oklahoma Directory* 1949. *Tucson Daily Citizen*, April 21, 1947. Burke and Franks, 3.

²⁶ *Miami Daily News-Record*, November 13, 1946. *The Daily Oklahoman*, December 15, 1946. *Freeport Journal-Standard*, January 18, 1947.



Charles Deane

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)North Carolina 8th Cong. DistSource: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Charles Deane of North Carolina had a curious congressional staffing experience. From 1934 to 1938, for a few weeks each winter he was the compiler of the *Congressional Directory*, a patronage post owned by Deane's representative, whose retirement after the 75th Congress ended the plum. While exposing Deane directly to Congress, it was of a different cast than staffing a representative's office or a House committee.²⁷

Deane did, however, have a lot of interest in the House before he became a representative. He had run for the House twice, losing the Democratic nomination each time. Failed races for the House before success was a characteristic he shared with twelve other members of the Class of '46. John Brophy of Wisconsin, Charles Fletcher of California, and Frank Wilson of Texas we have already met in Chapter Two. Democrats Hamilton Jones of North Carolina, Toby Morris of Oklahoma, and Porter Hardy of Virginia, and Republicans Harold Youngblood of Michigan, Melvin Snyder of West Virginia, Parke Banta of Missouri, Thor Tollefson of Washington, Franklin Maloney of Pennsylvania, and Frederic Coudert of New York follow below.

Deane, the son of a tenant farmer become mill village carpenter, served as the elected County Registrar of Deeds for eight years – four terms – retiring in 1934 to practice law, which he had been licensed to do since 1923. It appears that legal fees were skimpy enough to justify an annual sojourn in Washington in the *Directory* job. The end of that posting and the retirement of his Representative lead directly to the 39-year-old Deane's first run for the House in 1938. The five-candidate primary with Deane's 29% leading William Burgin's 28% resulted in a July 1 run-off that ended in a dead heat.²⁸

The reported official returns before the State canvass gave Burgin a 25-vote lead. Competing recounts were ordered. On August 9 the State Board of Elections certified that Deane won by 23 votes. Burgin challenged the State Board's power to overrule the County Boards and got a court to issue a restraining order. Court battles persisted until the State Supreme Court ruled on September 21 in favor of the State Board but that the returns from the candidates' home counties had not been properly certified. The State Board then replaced the two Democratic members of the three member Davidson County Board of Elections, Burgin's home, and asked for a certification by October 7. One of the newly appointed Davidson

²⁷ Deane, 39-40. Application for Position unsigned, about 1940; Deane to H.G. Gulley, November 10, 1935; both in Deane Papers.

²⁸ Dean, 13. 1900 Census schedule, Richmond County, North Carolina. *North Carolina Manual* 1939.

County Board members resigned, and the two remaining certified returns on October 7 that the State Board rejected. The courts were brought in again, and on October 20 Democratic Gov. Clyde Hoey pressed the two candidates to find a solution as the November 8 election was fast approaching and Republican John Jones was felt to be a strong candidate. Deane and Burgin agreed on a panel of three arbitrators, which on October 25 unanimously handed the nomination to Burgin. The odd result is that the *North Carolina Manual* reports the official result of the runoff as a 23 vote win by Deane, while Burgin received the nomination.²⁹

Deane campaigned for Burgin against Jones, and the Democrat took the seat by ten points. The evidence of absentee voting fraud in the Burgin-Deane contest was so compelling that the General Assembly outlawed absentee voting in primaries but retained it as a weapon against Republicans in the general election.³⁰

Deane ran again in 1940 against the now incumbent Burgin. One of the two other candidates complained that Burgin and Deane had overlooked “the great Democratic Party” in 1938 and “thought first of self.” He might have had something. Turnout fell from 1938 even with a race for the nomination for Governor on the ballot. Burgin ran first but was kept from outright nomination with 44% of the vote. Deane took 37%. As far as Deane was concerned, it was a grudge match. Burgin won the run-off easily with 56% without leaving Washington. A newspaper editorialized: “It would be interesting to know how many of the voters were influenced ... by Deane’s insistence on pestering them with the trouble and cost of a second primary.” Once again, Deane supported Burgin in November in which the Representative took 67%.³¹

Deane bought an insurance agency and would later say he thought he was “through with politics,” but Burgin sent him word that he was retiring before his public announcement on February 22, 1946. Burgin had a history of health issues and would die on April 11. Newspaperman and legislator W.E. Horner was thought to be almost certain to challenge Burgin as early as January 1945. By Burgin’s announcement, Horner had been actively canvassing the District. Deane, however, did not rush to file, waiting until March 12. His wife “sobbed” at the probability he would run again.³²

Horner, 44, advertised himself as “Liberal in Mind, Cautious in Action, Proven in Service.” A columnist thought there was not a great deal of issue difference between Horner and Deane, but that the former would get the “more conservative elements” and Deane would have “the majority of extreme New Dealers and organized labor.”³³

Burgin’s death 44 days before the May 25 primary complicated matters. The Governor set a special election to fill the vacancy the same day as the regular primary, and the District Democratic Executive Committee chose Burgin’s secretary, Jane Pratt, as the Party nominee. It was hardly a slam dunk, as there were only twelve voters on the Committee, seven people got votes, and Pratt won on the fifth ballot. Pratt, 44, and secretary for a series of representatives since 1924 offered a temptation to voters unhappy

²⁹ *The Daily Times-News* (Burlington), July 5, August 22, October 3 & 7 & 14 & 15 & 21 & 24 & 25, 1938. *The Pilot*, July 8, August 12 & 19, September 23, 1938.

³⁰ *Rockingham Post-Dispatch*, November 10, 1938. Key (1949), 454-5.

³¹ *The Pilot*, May 10, June 21 & 28, 1940. *North Carolina Manual 1941*. *The Daily Times-News* (Burlington), January 22, 1940. *The Statesville Record*, June 24, 1940.

³² Deane, 57, 61. *The News & Observer*, April 13, 1946; June 25, 1950. *The Daily Times-News* (Burlington), January 15, February 26, May 1, 1945; March 13, 1946. *The Monroe Enquirer*, October 23, 1944.

³³ *The News-Journal* (Raeford), April 25, 1946. *The Daily Times-News* (Burlington), April 1, 1946. *North Carolina Manual 1945*.

with Horner and Deane. Horner made a play for that sentiment by saying that she would be his secretary if elected. Pratt won the special election with 79%.³⁴

Deane squeaked past Horner for the regular term nomination by 353 votes. Despite the close margin, Horner conceded two days later. Republican challenges in the Eighth District were usually not to be dismissed lightly; Joseph Whicker took 46% in November.³⁵

The Eighth District was a *mélange*, gerrymandered to ensure that two consistent Republican counties were outvoted. V.O. Key called it one of the State's "bacon-strip districts."³⁶ The black proportion ranged from 56% in one county to 5% in another – over the District 23%. The former county also had an Indian population of 5%. Farm income was 26 times manufacturing wages in one county, while in another manufacturing wages were six times farm income. Over the whole District, manufacturing wages topped farm income by one-fourth. Tobacco was the cash crop, though one county grew none, producing a large cotton crop. Manufacturing ran heavily to textiles. Average median family income would be only \$1810. The largest town held 13,000 people. The population in the District dropped 9% from 1940 to 1950.



Hamilton Jones

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



North Carolina, 10th Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory, 1948

Hamilton Jones was also from North Carolina but from the State's largest city, Charlotte, which would grow to 134,000 people in 1950. Charlotte was more of a trade center than an industrial one, though "Practically all the large textile companies in the United States handle their entire business in the South through offices and plants in Charlotte."³⁷ Textiles in particular resulted in wages being more than seven times farm income in the District in the mid-1940s. Average median family income in the District in 1949 would be \$2045, but \$3180 in Charlotte's Mecklenburg County.

Jones was 61 in 1946. His father had been a lawyer and legislator. Jones himself was a lawyer as well as owning a 300-acre farm. Between the law firm, his grandfather's development activities, and his father-in-law's textile barony, Jones was quite wealthy. In 1929 he built a 7222 square foot stone mansion in Charlotte. Like Deane, he had sought the House before 1946, in his case four times.³⁸

³⁴ *The News-Journal* (Raeford), March 28, April 25, 1946. *North Carolina Manual* 1947.

³⁵ *The Robesonian*, May 27, 1946. *North Carolina Manual* 1947.

³⁶ Key (1949), 226.

³⁷ Blackwell Robinson, 160.

³⁸ *Charlotte Daily Observer*, August 24, 1904. Morrill. Hanchett. Deeds.mecknc.gov.

He had had a term in the General Assembly and headed the Mecklenburg County Democratic Party for fourteen years before resigning to make his first run for the House in 1930. The District had elected the State's first Republican to the House in the Twentieth Century in 1928, when Democratic presidential candidate Alfred Smith's Catholicism and opposition to the prohibition of alcohol had cracked the Solid South. The Republican incumbent in 1930 was facing the effects of the beginnings of the Great Depression and Republican Pres. Herbert Hoover's incumbency, and Democrat Alfred Bulwinkle, who had lost the seat in 1928, was running to reclaim it. Jones and another man made a try for the Democratic nomination as well and Jones almost succeeded, falling only two points behind Bulwinkle. The third candidate prevented Bulwinkle from getting a majority, and Jones called for a run-off, in which Jones' proportion remained static and Bulwinkle took the rest. Jones did not run for the House in 1932 but rather announced at that time that he would run in 1934. In that event, Bulwinkle and Jones were the only primary candidates, and the Representative won a majority by five points. Jones again sat out the presidential year of 1936 but ran in 1938. Again there were two candidates, and again Bulwinkle won, this time by six points.³⁹

Jones passed on 1940, and in 1941 the General Assembly redistricted. Gaston County, the home of Bulwinkle, was separated from Mecklenburg. The new Tenth Congressional District was even more egregiously gerrymandered than Deane's Eighth. In 1940 Mecklenburg's population was a little more than half the District's; in 1950 it would be three-fifths. The District snaked from Mecklenburg on the South Carolina border through Lincoln through Catawba through Burke to the two most Republican counties in North Carolina on the Tennessee line.

Jones clearly intended to run in 1942, but in the end he as well as most other likely candidates bowed to the inevitability of the candidacy of former Governor and Senator Cameron Morrison for the Democratic nomination. In 1944 Rep. Morrison gave up the House seat to run again for the Senate, freeing Jones to try again. Two of the would-have-runs in 1942 also declared for the nomination. Joseph Ervin, 41, another Charlotte attorney, and brother of the eventually famous Sen. Sam Ervin, swept the nomination with 49%. It was not a majority, but Jones' second place share of 37% gave no compelling reason to call for a run-off, and for the fourth time he was a loser.⁴⁰

Jones was nothing, however, if not persistent, and a tragedy laid a course for him in 1946; on Christmas Day 1945 Rep. Ervin killed himself in his home in Washington. As in Deane's case, there would now be a special election to fill the vacancy, and the Democratic candidate would be chosen by the six-person District Congressional Committee. But an Ervin intervened again. Sam Ervin asked for the nomination and got it on New Year's Eve, but with the understanding he would not compete for the regular term. Sam Ervin was elected on January 22, 1946, without Republican opposition.⁴¹

The primary for the regular term was set for May 25. Jones filed on March 4. Ervin stayed true to his word, but Manly Dunaway had announced his candidacy in January. Dunaway was 50, a veteran of the First World War and had his hand in a variety of businesses in Charlotte. He had also run for a number of local offices unsuccessfully. Against Jones, he touted the need for "A Business Administration in Congress," but Jones finally achieved the Democratic nomination for the House with 81% of the vote. Dunaway was not a gracious loser, accusing Jones of exceeding the legal limit of spending \$6000 on his

³⁹ *The Charlotte Observer*, January 21, 1934. *The Landmark*, June 12, July 10, 1930. *The Charlotte News*, July 7, 1930. *North Carolina Manual 1935*. *North Carolina Manual 1939*.

⁴⁰ *The High Point Enterprise*, July 10, October 6, December 20, 1941; January 17, 1942. *North Carolina Manual 1945*.

⁴¹ *The Charlotte News*, December 26, 1945; January 1, 1946. Ervin, 84. *North Carolina Manual 1947*.

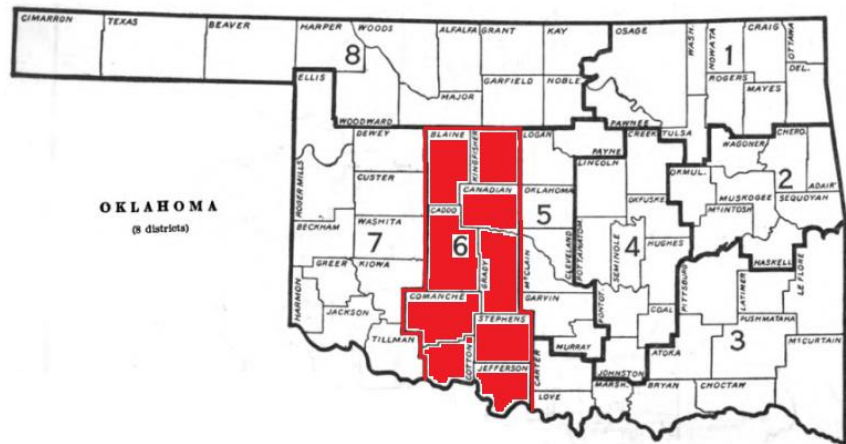
campaign by a factor of four or eight, and on November 4, the day before the election, Dunaway endorsed the Republican candidate, P.C. Burkholder.⁴²

Burkholder was 53 and had relocated from Pennsylvania to Mecklenburg County in 1927. In 1942 he wrote *The Charlotte News* that it was the “Yanks” who preserved the Union, and we should refer to “Damnrebels” rather than “Damnyankees.” This might endure him to those Republicans descended from the anti-secessionists of 1861, but it was doubtfully a winning political stance in much of the Tenth Congressional District. Burkholder did attract attention. He was known for wearing “a striking, cowboy-style sombrero.” He worked in the garden department of Sears Roebuck Company in Charlotte and was a sometime Methodist preacher. Jones was notable for not running issue-laden campaigns, but Dunaway explained his own apostasy by Jones’ supposed support of the New Deal. Burkholder, himself, declared his opposition to socialized medicine and said, “We’ve got to end controls, and Government messing with people’s business.” Damnrebels and ten-gallon hat or not, Burkholder got 46% of the vote but carried only the two Republican counties. Hamilton Jones was finally going to Congress.⁴³



Toby Morris

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)



Oklahoma 6th Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

No other members of the Class of '46 had four failures before being elected to the House, but Toby Morris had three. The Sixth District was a compact collection of nine counties in west central Oklahoma. Morris lived in Cotton County, which bordered Texas, but wheat was a more valuable crop to the District and cattle even more so. Manufacturing had little place in the District, but oil and gas extraction claimed a part. The largest town, Lawton, would grow from 18,000 in 1940 to 35,000 in 1950, but the District was not growing and overwhelmingly rural. The Indians we associate with the former Indian Territory were only about 3% of the population and with the black population constituted a racial minority of but 8%. Average median family income in 1949 would be \$2207.

Morris was 35 in 1934 when he made his first run for the House. Born to a lawyer, Texas legislator, and judge, Morris married at 18, fought in the First World War, studied law with his father, was elected

⁴² *The Charlotte News*, January 2, March 4 & 14 & 16, 1946. Manley Rudd Dunaway stone, Elmwood Cemetery, Charlotte, North Carolina. *The Charlotte Observer*, May 24, 1946. *Statesville Daily Record*, July 2, 1946. *The Times-News*, November 4, 1946.

⁴³ *The Charlotte News*, November 23, 1942; March 5, November 4, 1946. *Asheville Citizen*, November 5, 1946. *The Republic* (Meyersdale), February 14, 1980. *The Landmark*, November 4, 1946.

Clerk of Court of Cotton County, and was widowed at 23, leaving him with two small children. He married again in two years and was elected County prosecutor. Morris took on incumbent Democrat Jed Johnson for the Democratic nomination for the House in 1934 but came in third with only 22%. In 1936 he tried again and came in second to Johnson with 41%. The Governor appointed Morris to a new district judgeship as a consolation prize, and he busied himself in 1938 winning election to continue in the post. The siren call of Congress lured him again in 1940, and Johnson beat him even more soundly for the nomination. Morris got only 38%. He returned to the bench with the 1942 election.⁴⁴

On March 29, 1945, Pres. Roosevelt nominated Jed Johnson to the US Customs Court, and the Senate confirmed him. New Pres. Truman in August asked Johnson to remain in the House and he did so, rejecting the Court appointment. His initial acceptance of the appointment, however, quickened the aspirations of a number of would-be representatives, and five entered the Democratic primary in 1946 against Johnson's renomination. Among them was Morris. Bill Logan, 33, a legislator and lawyer, ran. Francis Marion "Red" Ivy, 25, a university student, declared. Bill Wallace and Floyd Graham rounded out the field. On July 2, Johnson's sails were trimmed; he came in with only 35% of the vote, still in the lead, but the persistent Morris was second with 26% and took the incumbent into a run-off on July 23. Morris picked up most of the votes of Johnson's other challengers and won the nomination going away, with 57%. Johnson had defeated his Republican challenger in 1944 with 60%, and in the Republican year of 1946 Morris bettered that by winning 66% against Republican Joe Hart, 48, a manufacturer of cotton gin machinery and air conditioning units, who said that Democratic administrations were "headed down the road to totalitarianism." Johnson left the House for a new appointment to the Customs Court, where he served until his death in 1963.⁴⁵

Porter Hardy, like Morris, defeated an incumbent in the primary to continue Democratic control of a district. His daughter would describe him as "direct, independent and determined (some might say stubborn)." The press weighed in with tall, lean, and careful. Hardy first ran in Virginia's Second District in 1944, when the seat was open due to the retirement of Democrat Winder Harris, who had filled it since 1941. Harris, 55, announced in April 1944 that he would not run again, "impelled in the interest of my health and personal welfare." Welfare may have been more important than health; he took a job as a lobbyist with the Shipbuilders' Council of America and worked there for fourteen years. He also resigned effective September 15, which resulted in the Governor's call of a special election at the time of the regular election on November 7.⁴⁶

Ralph Daughton, 58, announced for the Democratic nomination for the regular term the day after Harris announced his intent to retire. Vivian Page, 50, had already announced. Both were attorneys and both were long-time members of the General Assembly, Daughton since 1933 and Page since 1924, until he had lost his Senate seat in 1943. The District Democratic Committee named Daughton as the Party's nominee in the special election, but the regular election nominee would be chosen by primary. Hardy was 41 and had served two years on the Norfolk County School Board. Since 1932 he had owned and managed a large farm in the County, mostly growing truck crops for the urban markets of the northeast. His

⁴⁴ Hanneman. *The Lawton Constitution*, September 2 & 7, 1973. *Miami Daily News-Record*, January 7, 1935; April 11, 1938. *Oklahoma Directory* 1949.

⁴⁵ *The Lawton Constitution*, March 29, 1945; January 6, November 3, 1946; March 28, 1948. *Miami Daily News-Record*, May 31, 1945; April 26, 1946; December 6, 1956. Red Ivy stone, Waurika Cemetery, Waurika, Oklahoma.

⁴⁶ Yeakel, 19. *Kingsport News*, October 4, 1944; February 14, 1947. *The Bee*, April 28, 1944.

daughter would write that he started the farm to provide a home for his parents when his father retired from the Methodist ministry.⁴⁷



Porter Hardy

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)



Virginia 2nd Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Daughton was the Byrd candidate. The Byrd organization in Virginia, whose leader and eponym was Sen. Harry Byrd, was the decisive power in Virginia. The organization “dominates the situation thoroughly,” Key would write. Page was the “liberal” with Labor support. It was said that Hardy would get the farm vote, apparently because of his own farming enterprise. The fact that Hardy carried the rural counties seemed to confirm the prediction. Page had pluralities in the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, with their significant numbers of blue-collar voters. Yet it was Daughton who won the regular nomination on August 1 with 35% in a nearly three-way tie. Hardy was third with 32%.⁴⁸

Hardy’s near success encouraged him to try again in 1946, and he destroyed the incumbent Daughton for the Democratic nomination on August 6 with 67% of the vote. It was reported that Daughton’s loss in the two-person race indicated urban dissatisfaction with the Byrd organization, yet Byrd’s key man in Nansemond County campaigned for Hardy.⁴⁹

The Second District had boomed during the War, which made heavy use of the Norfolk area’s shipbuilding. The average median family income in 1949 would be \$2565. The District’s population would increase 58% from 1940 to 1950.⁵⁰ While that growth concentrated in the cities, Norfolk grew by 76%, even the rural counties had small gains. The influx of Southern whites led to a decline in the black proportion from 39% to 32% over the decade, while the foreign-born population remained low.

The in-migration served to confirm the District’s Democratic loyalties. Hardy defeated Republican Sidney Kelsey, 35, a War vet and attorney with 66% of the returns. Kelsey described Hardy as “a man of high character and integrity” but said that “what impressed me most during his campaign was his total failure to submit a platform to the people.”⁵¹

⁴⁷ *The Bee*, April 29, 1944. “Vivian L. Page,” Wikipedia.org. *The New York Times*, April 23, 1995. Yeakel, 23. *The Tidewater News*, June 24, 1924. *Middlesboro Daily News*, July 31, 1944. For a first-person recounting of the booming truck farms of the areas, see Hawks interview.

⁴⁸ Key (1949), 33. *The Bee*, July 14 & 24, August 2, 1944. *Suffolk News-Herald*, August 3 & 4, 1944.

⁴⁹ *Suffolk News-Herald*, August 7, 1946. Heinemann, 277. *The Bee*, August 5, 1946.

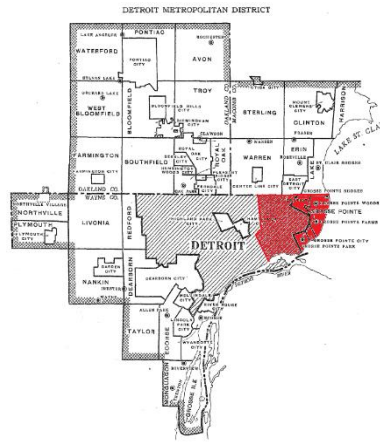
⁵⁰ These figures use a summation of 1950 Census figures for the components of the District rather than the reported population total in the *Congressional Directory*. The Census figures give a population of 525,205. The *Directory* gives 488,432.

⁵¹ *The Free Lance-Star*, April 26, 1946. *The Bee*, August 8, 1946.



Harold Youngblood

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov

Detroit 14th Cong. Dist.

Source: 1940 Census

Harold Youngblood of Detroit was also an early contender for the House. In 1934 he entered the Republican primary for the Michigan Fourteenth Congressional District, which was created in 1931 and included the upper income Grosse Pointe area as well as eastern Detroit. Youngblood ran fourth among six contenders, with the winner to be defeated in November by Democrat Louis Rabaut with 62%.⁵²

Youngblood was 27 in 1934, his German-born father a plumbing and heating contractor, a business the son would join after State and County jobs. In 1934 Harold was working for the Wayne County Board of Auditors, a job he would soon lose, he said, because the 1932 elections brought in the Democrats. In 1945 he was elected the constable of the 21st Ward and soon joined anew the pursuit of Rabaut's House seat.⁵³

The District was the whitest part of the City, with the proportion African American being less than 1% in 1940 and growing to only 2% in 1950 as the District added 79,000 new people. There were plenty of ethnics, however, the proportion foreign-born falling only from 19% to 16% over the restrictive 1940s. The 28% of the foreign-born from England and Canada may not be considered ethnic. Italians increased from 12% of the foreign-born in 1940 to 17% in 1950, while Germans fell from 14% to 11%. Average median household income in 1949 would be a princely \$4047; in the Grosse Pointes it was \$6438.

Youngblood was one of five candidates in the June 18, 1946, primary. Harold Love was a founder of an important city-wide Republican organization, had been president of the City Planning Commission, and spent three years in the Navy. Miles Culehan was a former deputy attorney general, recently out of the Army, and the choice of the regular Republican organization. Love and Culehan were both attorneys. Arthur Sherman was a pharmaceutical manufacturer. Edward Charles was a barber. Youngblood's victory with 36% of the vote, topping Culehan his nearest competitor by fourteen points and Love by fifteen, was a surprise. When he defeated Rabaut in November by seven points, his victories were chalked up to his "politically-potent name." His cousin Bernard Youngblood was Registrar of Deeds and his younger brother

⁵² *Michigan Manual* (1935).

⁵³ 1910 Census schedule, Wayne County, Michigan. *Detroit Free Press*, January 1, October 13, November 3, 1946; May 14, 1976.

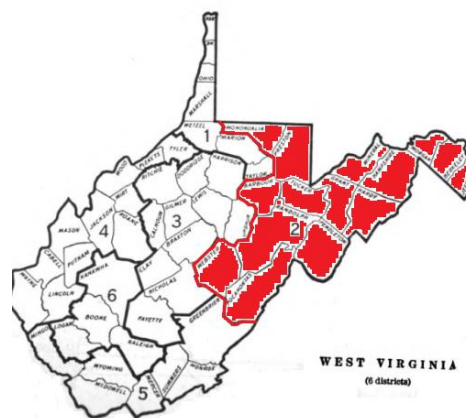
Charles was a two-term State Senator, although defeated himself in 1946, who had also sought election unsuccessfully as County Auditor in 1945.⁵⁴

Youngblood campaigned against price controls, including those for rents, and as an isolationist. Rabaut was a New Dealer. A later analysis of Youngblood's victory would ignore his family and attribute it to the successful campaign of Republican Kim Sigler for the governorship.⁵⁵



Melvin Snyder

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



West Virginia 2nd Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory, 1948

Melvin Snyder made an unsuccessful run for the House in 1938 as the Republican nominee. He was 40, the son of a farmer but himself a lawyer, had been the Mayor of Kingwood, West Virginia, and was the elected prosecutor of Preston County. He was brought into the latter job when the incumbent prosecutor recused himself from pursuing a case against the Sheriff for shooting a man three times whom he accused of "intimacy" with the Sheriff's wife. The shooting was committed in the Sheriff's office, the supposed lover survived, and Snyder got the Sheriff sentenced to eight years.⁵⁶

Snyder had no competition in the 1938 primary to challenge incumbent Democrat Jennings Randolph. Snyder ran against the New Deal, using such terms as "autocratic," "virtual dictatorship," and "utter absence of political decency, honesty and honor." Randolph was reelected with 55% of the vote, a decline of five points from the 1936 election.⁵⁷

Snyder had continued his legal and prosecutorial work until the Army called him to active service in January 1941. He had been a private at the time of the First World War and served in the National Guard from 1927. His Second World War duty was almost exclusively in Alaska, and he was discharged in January 1946 as a colonel. Randolph continued in the House until 1946, when Snyder decided to take him on again. Melvin Muntzing, a car dealer who had been a legislator and had had a brief tenure as sheriff, lost to Randolph in 1944 by eight points and was running again. Snyder swamped Muntzing in the primary by 35 points.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *Michigan Manual 1947*. *Detroit Free Press*, April 11, May 5, June 16, October 13, 1946; November 2, 1947; March 19, 1950; August 1, 1956; December 14, 1959; March 14, 1990. *The State Journal*, November 4, 1946.

⁵⁵ *Detroit Free Press*, October 13, 1946; August 7, 1954.

⁵⁶ 1920 Census schedule, Preston County, West Virginia. *The Pittsburgh Press*, July 18 & 20, 1928. *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 21, 1928.

⁵⁷ *West Virginia Blue Book 1938*. *The Cumberland News*, October 1, November 7, 1938.

⁵⁸ *Congressional Record*, May 20, 1948, 6224. *The Cumberland News*, May 2, 1946. *West Virginia Blue Book 1946*.

The Second District was not a slam-dunk for Democrats. It consisted of the eastern panhandle of West Virginia and seven contiguous counties to the west. Six of the counties were traditionally Democratic and two were brought in by the New Deal, but four were reliably Republican.⁵⁹ The biggest town was Morgantown, the home of the State university, which had 17,000 people in 1940 and 26,000 in 1950. The average median family income in 1949 would be \$1914 with farm income slightly ahead of manufacturing wages. Cattle, apples, and chickens kept the farms going, while wood-based manufacturers and railroad employment added to the economy.

In the general election, Snyder criticized Truman Administration shortcomings in services to veterans, but the gist of his campaign were his comments on October 27:

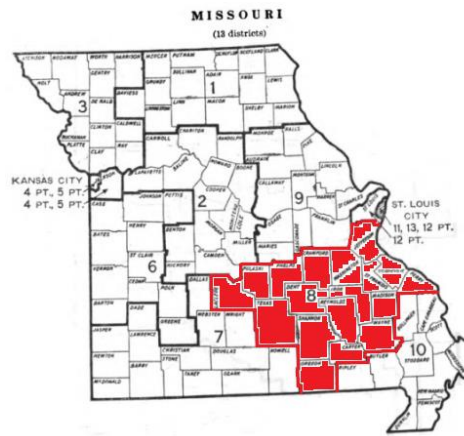
The hundreds of people that I have talked to are alarmed at the power the Communists hold in the national administration. They have noted with interest the confession of my opponent that known Communists are on the Federal payroll and his plea to President Truman to remove them. ... I have found, too, that the people have had enough of unnecessary shortages, and they have correctly placed the blame for them, squarely where it belongs – on the administration with its conflicting bureaus and on congressional rubberstamps who authorized their creation.⁶⁰

Snyder ousted Randolph by two points.



Parke Banta

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Missouri 8th Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory, 1948

The Eighth Congressional District of Missouri was one of the State's two Ozark highlands districts, the more easterly abutting the Mississippi River with its "German counties" and the St. Louis suburbs. The Ozarks have a reputation for Republicanism, resulting from opposition to secession in these mountainous counties of fewer slaveholders, but this Republicanism is much more true of the western Ozark District in Missouri than this eastern District. Political analyst Kevin Phillips differentiated the "high Ozarks" in the west from the eastern area. Political scientist John Fenton cited a source that claims that the "rocky crags of the eastern Ozarks" largely confined settlement to the "fertile valleys" that were inhabited by slave-holding Tennesseans, unlike the highland Tennesseans of the western Ozarks. The 1860 Census, however,

⁵⁹ Fenton (1957), 116.

⁶⁰ *The Cumberland News*, October 28, 1946.

indicated no differentiation in slave percentages between the two regions, except that the supposedly unionist German counties had a higher proportion of slaves.⁶¹

Whatever, the Eighth District, created in 1934, had elected Democrats with the exception of 1942. The current Representative, Albert Sidney Johnson Carnahan, a Democrat apparently named for a Confederate general, was first elected in 1944 by a margin of only 1086 votes. In 1940, Republican Parke Banta had made his first run for the House against Carnahan's predecessor, Democrat Clyde Williams, who was to lose the nomination in 1942.

Even by the Census Bureau's undemanding standard, the Eighth District was rural, with a 22% classification of urban in 1950, its largest town being Rolla with 9000 people. Farm income was somewhat higher in the mid-1940s than manufacturing wages. In 1940 agriculture employed 40% of the labor force. Cattle sales were the greater money-maker. Average median family income in 1949 would be a paltry \$1663.

Banta, 48 in 1940, the son of a merchant and a lawyer himself, served in the Army during the First World War, which terminated his elected position of County prosecutor. Subsequently, he was an elected trustee of the Town of Arcadia and a member of the local school board. His nomination for the House in 1940 was by the District Republican Committee, whose meeting for the event was described as "brief and harmonious."⁶² Rep. Williams was 67 and an attorney, who was first elected to the House in 1926, ousted in 1928, and returned in 1930 until his future 1942 defeat. Williams squeaked by Banta by two points.

Missouri elected a Republican Governor in 1940, who appointed Banta as administrator of the State Social Security Commission, which paid \$6000 a year. When a Democratic Governor took office in January 1945, Banta was out of a job, though he continued to serve throughout the year pending his replacement's confirmation.⁶³

In February 1946, Banta, plump and balding now, announced for Carnahan's House seat. Republican nomination was now by primary, and Banta faced two opponents. Robert McIlrath, 45, was a County probate judge. Clark Leonard, 26, was a Methodist minister and novice politician. Banta received 44% of the vote and the nomination.⁶⁴

In the "sharp contest" with Carnahan, Banta ran against price controls and won by 1835 votes, only 28 votes more than the Republican candidate for the US Senate had in the Eighth District.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Phillips, 189, 256. Fenton (1957), 10, 157. The use of the term "high Ozarks" is a bit misleading. The highest in altitude are the Boston Mountains of Arkansas, which were traditionally the most Republican part of that state, but nowhere nearly as Republican as the western Ozarks of Missouri, the differentiation resulting from Arkansas' secession imposing a political litmus test on its citizens, whereas Missouri's secession was by a government which had already been driven from all but the bootheel of the State by Union forces. Kirkpatrick, 366-86.

⁶² 1900 Census schedule, Washington County, Missouri. *The Daily St. Francois County Journal*, September 2, 1940. *The Salem Post and the Democrat-Bulletin*, August 29, 1940.

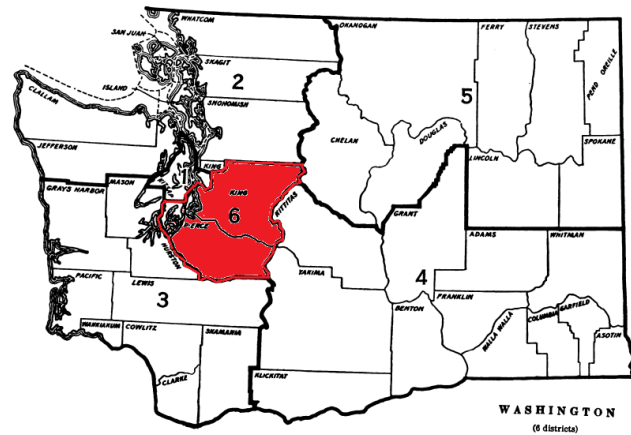
⁶³ *The Sedalia Democrat*, October 3, 1941. *The Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune*, October 24, 1945. *Moberly Monitor-Index and Moberly Evening Democrat*, November 14, 1945.

⁶⁴ *Joplin Globe*, February 28, April 18, 1946. *The Post-Register*, January 30, 1947. *The Daily Journal* (Flat River), March 12, 1979. Clark Leonard stone, Cedar Grove Cemetery, Salem, Missouri. *The Bland Courier*, February 19, 1942. *Missouri Manual 1947-1948*.

⁶⁵ *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, October 21, 1946. *Moberly Monitor-Index and Moberly Evening Democrat*, September 9, 1946.



Thor Tollefson

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)Washington 6th Cong. Dist.Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Thor Tollefson was the son of a Norwegian born father who migrated to Minnesota, where Thor was born, then moved on to Washington State in an effort to improve his health, but died within a handful of years of pneumonia after surgery for stomach cancer. Christian Tollefson had been a storekeeper, but his widow, left with six minor children including Thor and a sister who was posthumous, took in sewing. Mercifully, the oldest child, 26 at the death, married a lawyer and lived with her mother.⁶⁶

After a hiatus from school to work after his father's death, Tollefson completed a law degree at age 29 and eight years later was elected County prosecutor. In 1944 at age 43 he made a run for the House. The incumbent Democrat was John Coffee, who had taken office in 1937. Coffee was 47, a Yale law grad, and had won reelection in 1942 with 64% of the vote. Neither Coffee nor Tollefson had competition for their respective Democratic and Republican nominations.⁶⁷

Tollefson had little chance to defeat Coffee, particularly in a presidential election year, but he was not helped by the public support of one Vivien Kellems, described by Drew Pearson as a "comely, tax-hating industrialist." Kellems appeared in 1942 when she ran against Clare Boothe Luce for the Republican nomination for the House from Connecticut. Next in Kansas City in January 1944, she announced she had not paid her December Federal income tax and invited participants to a tea party. Her interest in the Sixth District race in Washington was due to Coffee's publicizing her correspondence with a German agent in Argentina. Coffee won over Tollefson with 61%.⁶⁸

Tollefson once again was the only Republican to seek the nomination in 1946. Coffee easily disposed of a primary contestant but soon ran into public trouble. A Washington State "war contractor" had sent Coffee's congressional secretary a \$2500 check in 1941. Coffee called it a campaign contribution. The contractor said it was payment asked by the Representative for help getting a government contract. Apart from the questionable check, Tollefson attacked Coffee for association with "communist front" organizations. Either communists or bribery or the national emphasis on strikes and price controls or all of these powered Tollefson to a 54% victory of Coffee.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Christian Tollefson, Certificate of Death, Washington State Board of Health. Tollefson interview (1972), 1. 1920 and 1930 Census schedules, Pierce County, Washington.

⁶⁷ Tollefson interview (1972), 1-3. Washington Election Results.

⁶⁸ Drew Pearson, July 9, 1944. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, January 20, 1944.

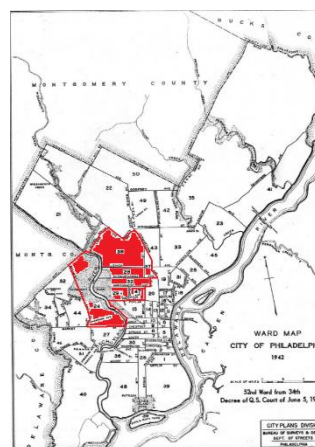
⁶⁹ *Capital Journal*, July 20, 1946. *La Grande Evening Observer*, July 30, 1946. *The Dayton Daily News*, October 13, 1946.

The Sixth District consisted of Pierce County with its blue-collar city of Tacoma (109,000 in 1940, 144,000 in 1950) and most of suburban King County but not its metropolis of Seattle. As with Hardy's Norfolk district, the Tacoma-Seattle area had benefited from the manufacturing demands of the War. Renton had a huge Boeing B-29 assembly plant. District population increased by 66% during the 1940s. Unlike the Virginia District, it had a substantial number of foreign born, particularly Scandinavians. The average median household income in 1949 would be about \$3296.⁷⁰



Franklin Maloney

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Philadelphia 4th Cong. Dist.

Source: Daly and Weinberg

Franklin Maloney was one of the four new Republican representatives from Philadelphia brought in by the 1946 election and one of the two with previous electoral experience. In his case it was a run for the House two years earlier. He was slated in 1944 by Republican leaders in the Fourth Congressional District to oppose Democrat John Sheridan, who had taken his House seat in 1940. Unopposed in the primary, Maloney went on to lose the general election with just 34% of the vote.⁷¹

Maloney, 45 in 1944, was a lawyer and the son of a painter. Sheridan was three years younger and also a lawyer. The District lay in west central Philadelphia and in 1940 had a black population of 28%; by 1950 this share would increase to 45% as the count increased by 50%. In the same period the foreign-born population would decline from 16% of the total to 9%. Russians, mostly Jewish, remained the largest component even as their numbers fell by one-third. The average median household income in 1949 would be \$2337.⁷²

On May 21, 1946, Maloney again won the Republican nomination for the Fourth District with organization support, defeating a primary challenger with 89%. Sheridan sought reelection, and a third candidate representing something called the United Citizen Party was on the ballot. He was John Rice, an African American dentist, who targeted the vote of the substantial number of black voters in the District. *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger* felt that Rice's candidacy increased Maloney's chances, and in fact Maloney won a bare majority. If Sheridan had had Rice's 5% it would still not have given him a win, but

⁷⁰ Gunther (1947), 143.

⁷¹ *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, April 23 & 29, 1944.

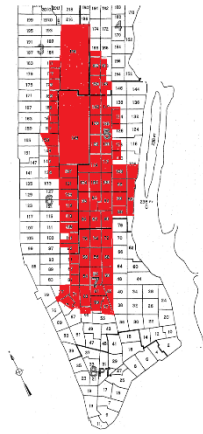
⁷² 1910 Census schedule, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Rosenwaike, 151, 156.

Rice's run may have siphoned support otherwise from the Representative. Maloney centered most of his campaign against the CIO-PAC.⁷³



Frederic Coudert

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Manhattan 17th Cong. Dist.

Source: 1950 Census

While Youngblood, Snyder, Banta, Tollefson, and Maloney all displaced incumbent Democrats, Frederic Coudert ousted a fellow Republican. Coudert was the scion of a family of international attorneys based in Manhattan. His grandfather and two brothers had established Coudert Brothers in 1853. A Democrat, the grandfather reportedly had turned down an appointment to the Supreme Court by Pres. Grover Cleveland. Frederic's father was an anti-Tammany Democrat who bolted the party in 1920 to support Republican presidential candidate Warren Harding in large part over Democratic Pres. Woodrow Wilson's refusal to countenance modifications to the League of Nations treaty. Frederic ran unsuccessfully as the Republican candidate for County prosecutor in 1929, but in 1938 was elected to the New York Senate and served until 1946.⁷⁴

In 1940 Fritz, as he was known, sought the Republican nomination for the Seventeenth Congressional District, but the New York County Party organization denied Republican Rep. Bruce Barton its endorsement for the US Senate and renewed its support of Coudert for the State Senate. Coudert dutifully ran for the Legislature even as Barton ran for the Senate anyway and lost the primary. Coudert's legislative service was known for his co-chairing a committee to investigate public education in the City. The instigation was the offer from City College of a professorship for Bertrand Russell, a pacifist and free-thinker. Expanded into a broader area, the Committee elicited denunciations of teachers that resulted in the firing of dozens accused of various sins, including communism.⁷⁵

In 1946 Coudert, described as handsome with blue eyes and curly hair, challenged Republican incumbent Joseph Clark Baldwin for the House nomination. Baldwin had been in the House since 1941, supported by the Party organization, despite his tendency to back the New Deal, perhaps because he was a "wealthy clubman" and thus of the same social stratum as the Party leaders. The Seventeenth had been labeled the "silk-stocking district" by Theodore Roosevelt for its wealthy constituents and its plethora of

⁷³ *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, May 19 & 23, November 3, 1946. *Indiana Evening Gazette*, December 31, 1946.

⁷⁴ Coudert, Jones, and Klepp, 1-2. *The New York Times*, December 20, 1903; October 17, 1918; October 18, 1920.

⁷⁵ Coudert, Jones, and Klepp, 3, 31-47. *The New York Times*, September 4, 1940. Leberstein.

cultural institutions, but some of the stockings were red; the headquarters of the American Communist Party was in the District. It extended from Washington Square Park to Central Park and to the East River between 40th and 59th streets and included Times Square and a good portion of the garment district, which meant the presence of two powerful unions, Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The cultural institutions might have justified the Silk Stocking name, but the income of the residents did not. The average median household income in 1949 would be about \$2897. Only six census tracts out of seventy would report incomes over \$4000. There were few people of color in the District, but the foreign-born would be 27% in 1950 and widely scattered in origin. The largest proportion, Germans, would be only 13% of the non-natives.⁷⁶

A new opposition to Baldwin within the Party was given voice by *Time*, which reported that on 112 "major issues" Baldwin had voted with Republicans 47 times, against them 33 times, and had failed to vote 32 times. Baldwin responded that he voted with Republicans when the Party leadership asked him to and otherwise was free to follow his conscience, which was liberal and internationalist. The most politically prominent constituent of the District, declared liberal and Republican Gov. Thomas Dewey, was supportive of Baldwin's ouster, either through support of his local "political lieutenant" or perhaps to differentiate his 1944 and 1948 runs for the presidency from that of Franklin Roosevelt.⁷⁷

The organization urged Coudert to run for the House and gave him its endorsement. Coudert was as internationalist as Baldwin but not a fan of the New Deal. Baldwin did not retreat and announced he would seek the Democratic and American Labor nominations as well as the Republican. The ALP gave him the nomination without contest, but the Democratic Party refused him a line on its primary ballot. Coudert easily won the Republican primary on August 20 with 84% of the vote.⁷⁸

The Democratic nominee was Myron Sulzberger, an attorney as well as a "wealthy socialite" of the real estate and publishing clans. Baldwin, on the general election ballot as an American Laborite, said he was not allowed to withdraw but would not campaign and stay a Republican. The ALP then backed Sulzberger. Sulzberger accused the Coudert Brothers of associations with the French regime based in Vichy during the Second World War. The law firm had indeed represented the Bank of France, part of the Vichy government, which was a protectorate of Nazi Germany. Coudert committed a major misstep during a debate with Sulzberger when the former asked, "While I was in the legislature, what was my opponent doing?" and the Democrat responded, "I was with the Marines – at Bougainville."⁷⁹ Coudert, in fact, did his war service in the First War. Despite any concerns fascism and *faux pas* might have raised, Coudert dispatched Sulzberger by 23 points, improving on Baldwin's 1944 showing by five points. Baldwin got 8% on the ALP line.

⁷⁶ *Abilene Reporter-News*, January 1, 1947. *Times Record*, June 21, 1946. *Brooklyn Eagle*, June 20, 1946. Cannato, 5-6. Gunther (1947), 381, 553.

⁷⁷ Citron, 32-3. *The Post-Standard*, July 16, 1946. *The New York Times*, August 20, 1946. *Kingston Daily Freeman*, August 19 & 21 & 22, 1946.

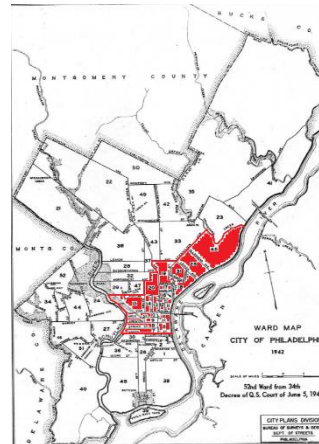
⁷⁸ Coudert, Jones, and Klepp, 26, 77-8, 79. *The New York Times*, August 22, 1946.

⁷⁹ *Long Beach Independent*, July 2, 1949. *The News-Herald*, December 28, 1948; January 11, 1949. *The New York Times*, November 21, 1946. Citron, 39. *Barnard Bulletin*, November 2, 1942. *The Tipton Daily Tribune*, November 9, 1942. *Abilene Reporter-News*, October 31, 1946.



Hardie Scott

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov

Philadelphia 3rd Cong. Dist.

Source: Daly and Weinberg

The state that contributed the largest component of the Class of '46 that was elected in November 1946 was Pennsylvania with eleven representatives, all Republicans. We have already met the two amateurs, Sarbacher and Robert McGarvey, and two of the professionals, Kearns and Maloney. There were seven more with previous electoral experience: Hardie Scott, James Scoblick, William Crow, Paul Dague, Wallace Chadwick, Frederick Muhlenberg, and Mitchell Jenkins.

Like Coudert, Hardie Scott was a child of wealth and a family law firm, though the firm was not as old as Coudert Brothers. And Scott's grandfather had come to the United States from Scotland, not France. Scott's father lived in a mansion near Valley Forge, but maintained a rental home in Philadelphia's 14th Ward, where he was the Republican leader. He served many years in the General Assembly and two terms in the US House, leaving for a failed race for lieutenant Governor.⁸⁰

Hardie Scott had a brief military career, enlisting in September 1942 only to be discharged for deafness, which had been caused when his horse had fallen on him during a steeplechase. The tenure was so brief that he omitted it in his congressional biography. Five years later, while a member of the House, the military gave him a World War II Victory Medal anyway. In 1941 he made a run for a term as judge of common pleas court but failed in the primary to get the nomination. In 1944 the Republican leaders in three Philadelphia wards, including his father's, agreed to back him for a legislative seat, but then Scott withdrew.⁸¹

Despite this track record, when he opted to run for the House in 1946, 18 of the 19 Republican ward leaders of the Third Congressional District slated him for the nomination. Despite the presence of two other contenders on the May 21 primary ballot, he received 94% of the vote.⁸² The District was downtown Philadelphia. In the 1940s the black population would grow from 13% to 19% and the foreign-born, with Poles, Russians, and Irish making up about half, would fall from 16% to 11%. The average median household income in 1949 would be \$2341.

The Democratic incumbent, Michael Bradley, in the House since 1937, chose not to run for reelection. In 1948 Pres. Truman would make Bradley the Collector of Customs for the port of Philadelphia. The Democrats chose Albert Townsend as their candidate. In civilian life he was in sales and advertising, but

⁸⁰ *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, December 10, 1945; November 5, 1999. 1930 Census schedule, Chester County, Pennsylvania. 1940 Census schedule, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Chester Times*, December 10, 1945.

⁸¹ U.S. World War II Army Enlistment Records. *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, September 10, 1941; February 19, July 27, 1944; May 25, 1947.

⁸² *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, February 6, May 23, 1946.

as late as October 1946 he was still in the Army, which was a handicap on campaigning. Scott won the election with 62%. Democrat Bradley had carried the District in 1944 with 58%.⁸³



James Scoblick

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



William Crow

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Paul Dague

Source: Pocket Directory (1953)



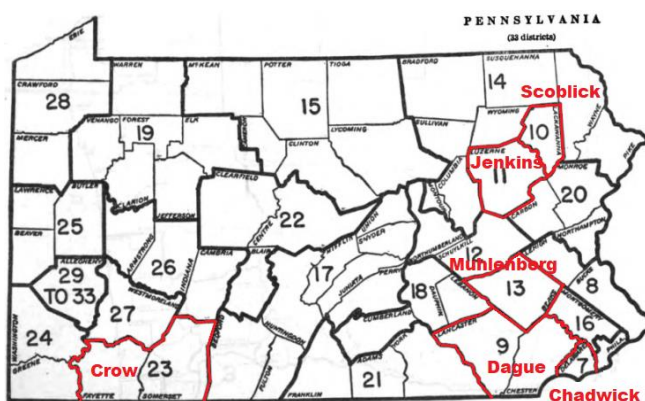
Wallace Chadwick

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Frederick Muhlenberg

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Source: Congressional Directory (1948)



Mitchell Jenkins

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov

James Scoblick also had the advantage of a retiring Democratic incumbent. John Murphy, in the House since 1943, was nominated by President Truman in May 1946 to the bench in the middle district of Pennsylvania. Murphy resigned from the House on July 17 and was sworn in as judge the following day. A special election to fill the vacancy was set for the regular election date in November, and Scoblick was the unchallenged Republican nominee for both elections.⁸⁴

Scoblick's background differed from Scott's. His parents were immigrants from Italy, and they became wholesale grocers along with Scoblick and his brothers. Scoblick, 32 in 1941, missed the War since he had four minor children. In 1945 he ran as a Republican for tax collector of Archbald Borough but lost. But in

⁸³ *The Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, March 4, October 11, 1946.

⁸⁴ *Harrisburg Telegraph*, May 8, 1946. *The Altoona Tribune*, July 19, 1946. *The Bradford Era*, May 22, 1946.

1946 he defeated Democrat Frank Murray, Scranton's director of public works, with 51% to become a US representative.⁸⁵

The Tenth District was Lackawanna County in northeastern Pennsylvania's Poconos. Scranton was the largest city, but was declining. Its 1940 population of 140,000 would shrink to 126,000 in 1950. The District lost 45,000 people in the same period. Much of this was due to the decline of its coal mines, where employment dropped by one-third over the decade. In the meantime, manufacturing employment doubled, with fairly low-paid apparel industries the largest component. The 14% foreign-born share of the population fell to 11% in 1950, with Italians, Poles, and Austrians predominating. Median family income in 1949 would be \$2811.

Buell Snyder, the Democratic Representative from Pennsylvania's Twenty-Third Congressional District since 1933, announced in February 1946 that he would not run again. A few days later he died. William Crow was reported to be the choice of county Republican leaders for the interim post, but then one of the two chairs declared his support for Carl Hoffman, twice a previous candidate for the House. The District Republican Committee picked Hoffman for the unexpired term, but endorsed Crow for the regular election. Hoffman was elected to the House in the special election on May 21, a strong indication of potential Republican success in November. The primary for the regular election was the same day and Hoffman did not enter for the seat.⁸⁶

The Twenty-Third District consisted of two counties in the State's "black country," a region of bituminous coal production and iron and steel foundries and of strong Democratic loyalties since the advent of the Great Depression.⁸⁷ Coal mining provided the largest part of the jobs in the District, though the share would drop from 34% in 1940 to 27% in 1950. The District was a warren of small towns; Uniontown was the largest with 21,000 people. Most of the population was in the Pittsburgh and Johnstown metropolitan areas. Foreign born population was less than 10%. Average median family income in 1949 would be \$2553.

Crow was the son of a lawyer, legislator, interim US Senator, and nine-year head of the Pennsylvania Republican Party. The son, also a lawyer, failed at a run for the General Assembly in 1932, the County shifting from the Republicanism of his father's era to its new Democratic loyalty. He, himself, took New Deal employment for 17 months as commander of a Civilian Conservation Corps camp. In 1937 he won a special election to become Uniontown's Mayor and won again in 1939. The newspapers opined that he was independent of the Republican organization but also relying on the continuing power of his father's name. Already in the reserves, his mayoralty was terminated when he was called to active duty in the Army in June 1941 and spent the War in ordnance in the Pacific. He was separated in January 1946 as a colonel.⁸⁸

Overcoming a challenger for the Republican nomination for the House in 1946, he won the November election by six points over Democrat John Rankin. A local paper considered Rankin "an incorrigible stepchild" of the Democratic organization "because of his left-wing tendencies." He had served on the

⁸⁵ 1930 Census schedule, Lackawanna County, Pennsylvania. *Standard-Sentinel*, April 16, 1948. James P. Scoblick stone, St. Thomas Aquinas Cemetery, Archbald, Pennsylvania. *The Progress*, January 2, 1947. *Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader*, *the Evening News*, July 23, 1946.

⁸⁶ *The Courier* (Connellsville), February 22, March 2 & 11 & 13, 1946. *The Evening Standard*, March 13, 1946. *Somerset Daily American*, May 22, 1946.

⁸⁷ Phillips, 129, 133-4.

⁸⁸ *Congressional Record*, February 18, 1923, 3919. *The Morning Herald* (Uniontown), May 18, 1946; March 28, 1947. *The Courier* (Connellsville), November 5, 1937.

County Commission for four terms and it was claimed that the organization endorsed him for the House to get him off the Commission. It might be presumed that Rankin received little Party support and that Crow's election was a fluke, but then Hoffman had won the special election in May. In fact, Rankin carried Fayette County, the home of both him and Crow, while Crow took the other county in the District.⁸⁹

Scoblick and Crow had conquered Democratic districts, while Dague and Chadwick held on to Republican districts, both in the greater Philadelphia area.

Paul Dague's Ninth Congressional District consisted of Chester and Lancaster counties, the latter known for its Amish population, which constituted at most 14% of religious membership in 1936. Journalist John Gunther alleged that Lancaster was the second richest agricultural county in the country. Though the Amish were known for their expansive and productive farming, manufacturing wages in the mid-1940s was twice farm income in the County and in the District. Gunther found the town of Lancaster "a flourishing industrial town" with the biggest stockyards east of Chicago.⁹⁰ Both farm income and manufacturing employment were varied. Average median family income in 1949 would be a nice \$3346.

Roland Kinzer, who had been the Republican Representative since 1930 through the heart of the Democratic New Deal, chose to retire at age 73. Dague, 48 but white-haired, the son of a farmer and himself the Sheriff of Chester County, filed to replace him. He had organization support and no primary opposition. Dague himself, by virtue of service in the Marines during the First World War, was the State head of the Republican Veterans League, an official division of the Republican State Committee. In November Dague defeated Democrat Edgar Campbell, a "political unknown," by 45 points.⁹¹

Wallace Chadwick was an attorney in Delaware County, in partnership at one time with a future Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. Born in Indiana in 1884, his father relocated the family in 1890 to run the New Chester Water Company. In June 1945 the Governor appointed the son to fill a vacancy as the President Judge of the County Orphans' Court. He announced his candidacy for election to the full ten-year term, but the County Republican organization, known as the War Board, refused its endorsement and its candidate defeated Chadwick by 2000 votes in the primary.⁹²

Chadwick's dander was up and he began circulating petitions which were required for one to appear on the primary ballot for the Seventh District House seat. "I offered myself, as a candidate for Congress, partly because I wanted a return bout with McClure," he would say, referring to John McClure, head of the War Board. James Wolfenden, a leader of the War Board and US Representative since 1928, had announced after his 1944 victory that he would not run in 1946, but equivocated before making his coming retirement official on February 13, 1946. The War Board backed a Federal labor conciliator since 1922 named James Dewey for the seat. On its face, Dewey was a curious choice. His job had kept him on the road, and he had not been politically active. He said himself that although he had lived in Chester for 35 years, he rarely visited it. The attraction may have been Dewey's well publicized recent success in

⁸⁹ *Somerset Daily American*, May 22, 1946. *The Morning Herald* (Uniontown), January 29, March 28, May 23, 1947.

⁹⁰ The last year the US Census published church membership statistics was for 1936. The figure given here is for Mennonite membership, of which the Census listed 21 separate bodies. The Old Order Amish, probably the most conservative in terms of its rejection of modern conveniences, was only one of these, though other groups also provided grist for tourist photographs. Gaustad, 138. Gunther (1947), 627, 629.

⁹¹ *Indiana Evening Gazette*, December 30, 1946. *Somerset Daily American*, March 8, 1952. *The Bradford Era*, May 22, 1946. *The Daily News* (Huntingdon), July 1, 1946. *The Evening News*, September 17, 1946.

⁹² *Chester Times*, April 7, July 3, 1945; August 19, 1969. BrightHalf.

settling the 114-day strike of the United Auto Workers against General Motors. Or perhaps it was having the same last name as the 1944 and future 1948 Republican presidential candidate.⁹³

The War Board, of course, had its slate of candidates from state house to dog house beyond the House race, but so did the Independent Republican Committee, which supported Chadwick. Chadwick made inflation his primary issue, but his fourteen-point program also included support for his slate's gubernatorial candidate and objection to the "political subserviency and incompetency which has been so obvious for eighteen years under the McClure political machine." Chadwick also labeled himself "a liberal and a progressive" and supported price controls.⁹⁴

Chadwick, described as "white-thatched," won the May 21 primary by 283 votes over Dewey. A third candidate, Morris Fussell, a lawyer and returning vet, took 1139 votes. It was alleged that Fussell had some dark support from the McClure associates. The Independents claimed two of the three legislative seats from the County as well. It was bannered that McClure suffered his first defeat since 1936. Surely, the death by heart attack of Dewey's wife on April 14 did not help his campaign, even if it might have provided sympathy for his candidacy.⁹⁵

Delaware County was increasingly suburban Philadelphia, its population increasing from 311,000 in 1940 to 414,000 in 1950. The median family income in 1949 would be \$4139, even as 37% of its employment was in manufacturing.

Chadwick's victory in November was a given in the single-county District, despite the personal antipathy of the War Board and the candidate's own sidelining for a week due to grippe. From his self-declared liberalism of the primary he pivoted to an attack on the New Deal but did declare support for Truman's Full Employment Bill. The War Board backed Chadwick, if only in the context of the general Republican slate. Democrat Vernon O'Rourke, a Swarthmore College professor, ran for the House a third time, previously while on a destroyer in the Pacific. His 33% was sixteen points below his absentee showing in 1944, an indication not only that local Republicans could unite, but that 1946 was a very good Republican year.⁹⁶

Jenkins and Muhlenberg got to face Democratic incumbents in their districts.

Frederick Muhlenberg was from Reading, a city of 100,000 in Berks County, another single-county district, the Thirteenth. The incumbent, Daniel Hoch, an 80-year-old newspaperman, first went to the House in 1942 after taking the Democratic nomination away from the six-year incumbent. Democrats had a 22,000 person edge in registration in the County, which may not have seemed the most likely place to displace a Democrat, but then Hoch received only 54% in the presidential election year of 1944. Hoch was old, but the man would live to 94. The District was a manufacturing one, which could mean Labor, but the bulk was in lower-wage textile industries. Still, the median family income in 1949 would be \$3392.⁹⁷

Muhlenberg turned 59 in 1946, not quite elderly, but he was described as "weathered." He was an architect and had spent four years on the Reading City Council, but was defeated in 1937. He was an infantry captain in the First War, receiving a purple heart and a Distinguished Service Cross. Remaining in

⁹³ *Chester Times*, February 12 & 13 & 14, March 7, April 14, 1946; April 23, 1948. *Mount Carmel Item*, March 14, 1946.

⁹⁴ *Chester Times*, April 17, May 8 & 10 & 15, 1946, September 4, 1947.

⁹⁵ *The Progress*, December 11, 1946. *Chester Times*, February 18, May 31, June 1, 1946. *Mount Carmel Item*, May 22, 1946.

⁹⁶ *Chester Times*, June 14, September 11 & 26, November 1 & 4, 1946.

⁹⁷ *The Pittsburgh Press*, October 30, 1946.

the reserves, he was brought back into the Army in December 1940 but spent his Second War in the States. His biggest asset may have been his name, “for generations ... a household word” in the County according to one paper. His father was a physician, but his great-great-grandfather was a Representative and Senator and his great-great-granduncle, also Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, was the first Speaker of the US House of Representatives. Five Muhlenbergs had served in Congress, though none since 1854.⁹⁸

The current Muhlenberg had the Republican nomination without opposition and then took on Hoch, an ardent New Dealer. Concerns about prices and price control as well as other Federal controls led to Democratic factionalism and ultimately to the defeat of the incumbent by fourteen points, with a ten-time Socialist candidate taking 4%. The *Pottstown Mercury* thought it “the most glaring upset of the election.”⁹⁹

Mitchell Jenkins was from Trucksville, Pennsylvania, an unincorporated settlement outside the cluster of municipalities surrounding Wilkes-Barre. His father was an attorney in the County, Luzerne, and had made an attempt at the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania in 1914. Jenkins was also an attorney, had run for the Republican nomination for district attorney, and had made a feint for the Republican nomination for the State Senate. Like Muhlenberg, he saw service in both wars with the National Guard bridging the gap. Reversing Muhlenberg, he spent the First War in the States and the Second War overseas in India.¹⁰⁰

The Republican organization put Jenkins forward as their candidate for the seat of one-term Democratic Rep. Daniel Flood. Jenkins had no primary opposition. Fishbait Miller, longtime House Doorkeeper, would later describe Flood’s dress as “fancy waistcoats, two-color shoes, and fancy ties and, at times, a cape,” all with a “pencil thin mustache.” He may not have affected the full attire by 1946, but he was pictured at the time as having a distinctive moustache. He and Jenkins fought a bitter campaign. Jenkins traded heavily on his War service, not only to point out Flood’s lack of service but to speak knowledgeably of southern Asia and the need for American internationalism and foreign aid. He advocated the end of price controls other than for rent and “a drastic reduction” in governmental expenditures. He presented the Truman Administration as bungling but not corrupt or socialistic.¹⁰¹

The Eleventh District was largely metropolitan by Census standards, but the biggest city was Wilkes-Barre, whose population would fall from 86,000 in 1940 to 77,000 in 1950. Coal mining, which had employed far more than manufacturing in 1940, would slip behind in 1950. The District’s population fell by 50,000 between the two censuses. Median family income would be \$2863 in 1949, appreciably lower than in Muhlenberg’s District.

Labor supported Flood, but Flood had removed a Republican incumbent from the seat and Jenkins returned the favor. The win, however, was by a bare 1843 votes and presaged close elections ahead.

⁹⁸ *The Morning Call*, October 10, 1947. *Reading Times-News*, August 26, 1915. *Reading Times*, November 4, 1937. *The Pittsburgh Press*, October 30, 1946.

⁹⁹ *Pottstown Mercury*, May 22, November 6, 1946.

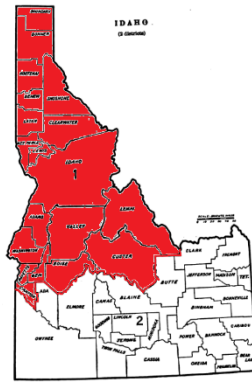
¹⁰⁰ *The Evening News*, October 14, 1932. *Pittston Gazette*, September 18, 1935. *The Plain Speaker*, March 17, 1936. *Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader*, June 18, 1919.

¹⁰¹ *Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader*, the *Evening News*, March 11 & 12, October 21 & 31, November 2 & 5, 1946. Miller as told to Leighton, 20-1. *The Plain Speaker*, May 22, 1946.

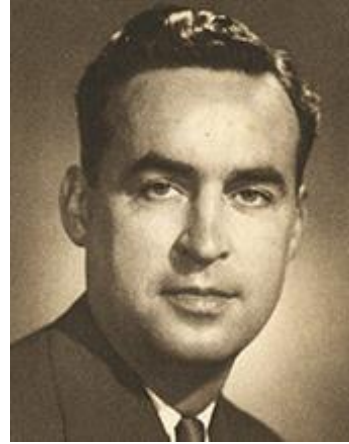


Abe Goff

Source: Wikipedia.org

Idaho 1st Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory 1948



Edward Devitt

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov

Minnesota 4th CD

Source: Congressional Directory 1948

Abe Goff and Edward Devitt also eked out bare majorities against Democratic incumbents in Idaho and Minnesota, respectively.

Goff came to a House candidacy in a roundabout fashion. Elected as a County prosecutor four times from 1926 to 1932 and losing a nonpartisan race for a district judgeship in 1934, he ran for the Republican nomination for the US Senate in 1940. He came in second out of seven in the special primary but nevertheless 47 points behind the winner, the appointed incumbent John Thomas, who had had an earlier stint in the Senate. The special primary behind him, Goff then became in 1940 the Republican candidate for an Idaho Senate seat, which he won.¹⁰²

The War then interfered. Having served in the reserves since 1923, the Army called him up in August 1941. He held various legal posts in Africa, the Middle East, London, and Washington. Goff, described as rangy and tall, declared his candidacy for the House by telegram from his posting in Washington and faced no opposition in the June 12 primary. In August he finally returned to Idaho on terminal leave.¹⁰³

Idaho's First Congressional District was the northern part of the State. Gunther observed that "the northern panhandle differs so drastically from the south (Sanborn's District) that it is virtually two states," that it takes 23 hours by rail to get from Moscow in the north to the capital of Boise and requires a trip through Washington and Oregon. Spokane, Washington, was the focus of the north, and wheat, timber, and silver mining was its commercial blood.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, in 1945 the average income per farm was \$4099. Although the District's nineteen counties would gain population slightly over the 1940s, the farm population would decline from 37% of the total to 26% and mining employment would fall from 9% to 6%. Manufacturing did not make up for these drops, increasing from 12% to only 15%. Average median family income in 1949 would be \$2889.

Goff was born in Washington State, where his father and brother with "a flourishing real estate and insurance business" remained. Goff lived in Moscow, barely inside Idaho from Washington.¹⁰⁵

Democrat Compton White, 69, had represented the District since 1933. White made a campaign pitch for the proposed Columbia Valley Authority, a Tennessee Valley Authority doppelganger, noting that if he were reelected he would be chair of the new Public Lands Committee and in charge of the CVA and similar

¹⁰² "Biographical Note," Goff Papers. *Idaho State Journal*, July 30, 1950. *The Post-Register*, July 17, 1934; August 25, 1937; August 25, November 10, 1940.

¹⁰³ *The Spokane Daily Chronicle*, November 7, 1946. *The Post-Register*, April 30, June 3, 1946.

¹⁰⁴ Gunther (1947), 113.

¹⁰⁵ *Pullman Herald*, July 2, 1920.

matters, such as crop irrigation. White had a collection of bad press: *The Salt Lake Tribune* opined that his chairship of the old Irrigation Committee had produced nothing and that his chairship of Coinage, Weights and Measures had done nothing for silver mining. Columnist Drew Pearson, a usual supporter of Democrats, wrote that White's "main distinction during many years of mediocre service in Congress was inserting in the Congressional Record tedious articles on silver." Whether his constituents read the papers or not, challenger Goff managed a win by 817 votes.¹⁰⁶

St. Paul, Minnesota, had a Representative from the State's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party. Frank Starkey was no conservative; for twelve years he had been a vice president of the State Federation of Labor, was a power in successive Farmer-Labor Party State administrations, and he was only 54 years old. Ramsey County had been the Fourth Congressional District since 1934; it was represented by a Republican until Starkey unseated him in 1944. The County was a white, native-born, wealthy, state capital city; in 1949 the median family income would be \$3753.¹⁰⁷

The Republican who took on Starkey in 1946 was Edward Devitt, 35, a native of St. Paul. His father was a railroad round-house foreman, but Edward had married the daughter of a physician. Edward was admitted to the bar in 1935 and in the same year was elected a municipal judge in East Grand Forks. In 1939 he returned to St. Paul to work for the State until October 1942 when, despite two minor children, he enlisted in the Navy. In December 1944 Devitt survived a kamikaze hit upon the destroyer *Caldwell* in the Battle of the Philippines and spend six months in hospital burned about the face, hands, and legs.¹⁰⁸

Out of the Navy in February 1946, he filed for the July 8 primary. Much later it would be written that Devitt represented "the emerging liberal wing of the Republican Party under the leadership of ... governor ... Harold Stassen." Even later, future Gov. Elmer Andersen, remembered as "a moderate Republican," would be credited with Devitt's election. Devitt won the primary over five other candidates with 38% of the vote, twice the support of the nearest rival. Devitt also took the general election, getting 51% of the vote.¹⁰⁹

Raymond Burke had a better win than Goff and Devitt against a Democratic incumbent. Burke was from Hamilton, Ohio, in 1946 a town of about 50,000, but it was around 20 miles north of Cincinnati and 30 miles southwest of Dayton, which was the largest city in the Third Congressional District. According to his entry on Wikipedia, Burke had been orphaned at six and raised by grandparents, his grandfather being a blacksmith. In 1906 Burke went to Miami University near Hamilton to teach geography and geology but also to be director of music, this last on which his local fame rests. He organized their glee club and composed their alma mater and fight songs. He soon entered business, and from 1926 to 1954 he was an insurance agent. His political career also began about this time. In 1925 Burke ran for election to a charter commission in Hamilton. In 1928 he became Mayor and served until 1940. From 1942 to 1946 he was a State Senator.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ *The Post-Register*, October 2, 1946. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, August 4, 1946. Drew Pearson, December 28, 1946.

¹⁰⁷ Haynes, 30-1.

¹⁰⁸ "Collection Historical Note," Devitt Papers. *The Bismarck Tribune*, March 20, 1940; January 8, 1945; January 8, 1949. Marcelle Terese Devitt, Minnesota Birth Index. Timothy Patrick Devitt stone, Resurrection Cemetery, Mendota Heights, Minnesota.

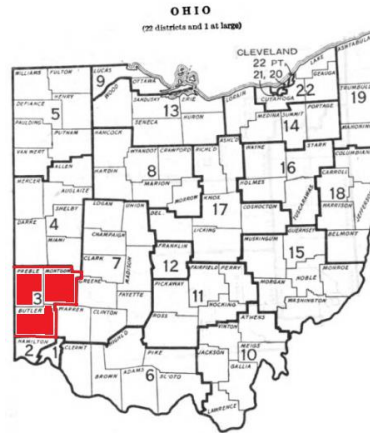
¹⁰⁹ Jenkins, 288. Biography by Thomas Boyd, inserted by Rep. Collin Peterson (D MN) in *Congressional Record*, September 27, 2013, H5891. *Minnesota Manual* (1947).

¹¹⁰ "Raymond H. Burke," Wikipedia.org. MUGleeClub.org. *The Hamilton Daily News*, November 7 & 8, 1925.



Raymond Burke

Source: BioGuide.Congress.Gov

Ohio 3rd Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory 1948

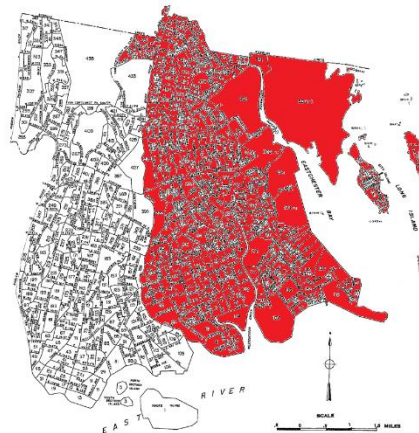
In 1946 the 65-year-old Burke ran for the US House. Endorsed by the District Republican organization, he won the May 7 primary with 73% of the vote. The Democratic incumbent was Edward Gardner, who had defeated the incumbent Republican in 1944, who had beaten a Democrat in 1942. Clearly, the District was in play and Burke managed a four-point win. A noteworthy but not worthy observation about Burke's candidacy is that he was endorsed by fascist Gerald L.K. Smith and his American Christian Nationalists.¹¹¹

The Third District had substantial growth during the 1940s, going from 439,000 to 570,000 constituents. Dayton's rate of growth was slower, but it would have 244,000 people in 1950. The District had much heavy industry and as a result a Labor component that balanced more conservative interests and led to the District's partisan competitiveness. Average median family income in 1949 would be \$3401.¹¹²



David Potts

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov

The Bronx 26th Cong. Dist.

Source: 1940 Census

Weaker than Goff, Devitt, and Burke was the victory of David Potts in the Bronx but with a healthy margin against the incumbent Democrat. Rep. Peter Quinn was another first term but who succeeded

¹¹¹ *The Daily Times* (New Philadelphia), January 25, 1946. *The Dayton Herald*, May 8, 1946. *The Circleville Herald*, October 17, 1946.

¹¹² *The Evening Independent*, March 11, 1946.

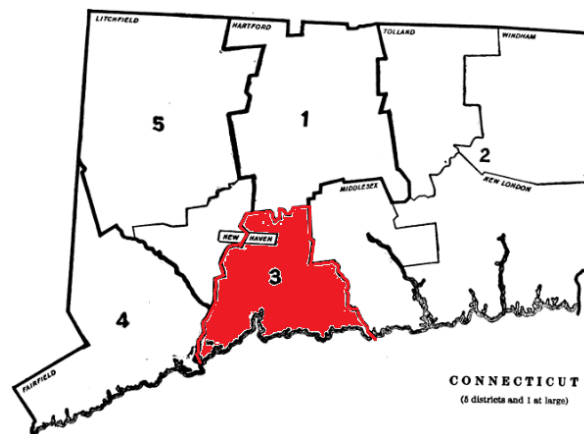
a retiring Democrat who had served since 1927. Republican chances seemed slim, though Quinn's 56% victory in 1944 was not overwhelming if still substantial.

The Twenty-sixth Congressional District was the part east of the Bronx River, less densely populated than the other three districts in the Borough. Still, there were 328,000 people in the District in 1940 and would be 394,000 in 1950. The ethnic populace that had moved north, largely in the 1920s, had not yet displaced the older stock of the District. The foreign-born population of the District was 28% in 1940, lower than the 35% in the rest of the borough. Italians were 33% of the foreign born in the District and only 11% in the rest of the borough, and there was a strong Russian, largely Jewish, component of 20%. Those born in the Republic of Ireland were only 7% of the foreign born in the District. By 1950 this would shift a bit as the Russian share fell to 17% and the Irish share increased to 8%. The average median household income in 1949 would be \$3669. The Twenty-Sixth had a better claim by income to "silk-stocking" than Coudert's Seventeenth, with an average income 27% higher, and 23% of its census tracts would show average incomes over \$4000, compared to 9% of Coudert's.

Potts' parents were born in Ireland. His father had kept a saloon in Manhattan. David, perhaps surprisingly, was Episcopalian. He was also an attorney who had run unsuccessfully for the Legislature in 1944. In 1946, the choice of the Republican organization and unchallenged in the primary, he took on Quinn. He had help. In 1944 Quinn had both the Democratic and American Labor nominations. Now, with the falling out between the parties, he had an American Laborite opponent. In reaction to the pro-Soviet drift of the ALP, there was a leftist anti-Soviet Liberal Party which also mounted a candidate against Quinn. The result was a plurality for Potts, who won the seat with 44% of the vote against Quinn's 37%.¹¹³



Ellsworth Foote
Source: FindAGrave.com



Connecticut 3rd Cong. Dist.
Source: Congressional Directory 1948

Connecticut's Third District was another see-saw district, represented in 1946 by Democrat James Geelan, who had unseated Republican Ranulf Compton in 1944, who had displaced a Democrat in 1942, who had served since 1935. The District was the southeastern two-thirds of New Haven County including the City. The foreign-born population had been 18% of the total in 1940 with Italians being by far the

¹¹³ 1910 Census schedule, New York County, New York. PoliticalGraveyard.com. *The New York Times*, August 21, 1946.

largest component. Gunther opined that parts of New Haven had “practically the texture of an Italian town.”¹¹⁴ The median household income in 1949 would be \$3309. Heavy manufacturing paid the wages.

Ellsworth Foote was another orphan, his parents both dying in 1907 when he was nine. Three years later Ellsworth was in the home of his uncle George Foote. Ellsworth’s father was listed in the census as a farmer, and his uncle was listed as a poultry manager. Ellsworth became a lawyer and was an elected judge of probate for the north Branford district from 1938 to 1946. He was nominated as the Republican candidate in the Third Congressional District when former representative Compton dropped out in the face of Foote’s challenge.¹¹⁵

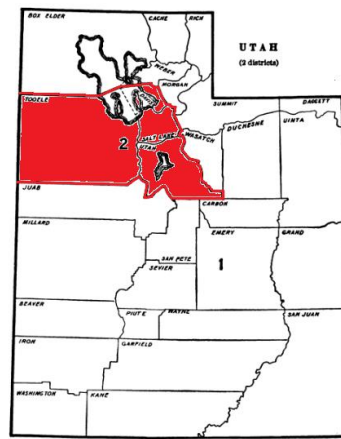
And incumbent Geelan was another Labor endorsee who bit the dust in 1946, with Foote winning an impressive 59%. Foote is the fifth and last Connecticut member of the Class of ’46 the reader has met in these pages. In summary, per a Massachusetts newspaper, “A Republican landslide unequaled in Connecticut since the 1920s today gave the party complete control of the state’s six House seats in Congress and sent Gov. Raymond E. Baldwin to the U.S. Senate. Four Democrat congressmen ... were ousted in the GOP triumph.” They were defeated by William J. Miller, Horace Seely-Brown, Foote, and Sadlak. “In retaining, by greatly increased pluralities, the two seats they now hold, the Republicans sent” John Davis Lodge and James Patterson to succeed Republicans “who declined to run again.”¹¹⁶

William Dawson won by evicting a seven-term Democrat in the Second District of Utah. Twenty-five of Utah’s counties were in the First District while the other four, including the cities of Provo and Salt Lake City were in the Second. The capital would grow from 150,000 to 182,000 during the 1940s, while the District increased from 294,000 to 402,000. Despite the relative urbanization of the District, farm income in the mid-1940s was 58% of manufacturing wages. The latter was focused on primary metal manufacturing dependent on the mining industry, which along with construction contributed three-fourths as many jobs as manufacturing. Agriculture was diverse and farm tenancy was very low, only 8% in 1945. Average median family income would be \$3360 in 1949.



William Dawson

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)



Utah 2nd Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

¹¹⁴ Gunther (1947), 464.

¹¹⁵ Frank Foote and Ellen A. Bishop Foote stones, Bare Plain Cemetery, North Branford, Connecticut. 1900 & 1910 Census schedules, New Haven County, Massachusetts. *Manchester Evening Herald*, September 14 & 16, 1946.

¹¹⁶ *The Hartford Courant*, October 25, 1946. *The Berkshire Evening Eagle*, November 6, 1946. Miller had served in the House previously.

Dawson, “black-mustached and dapper,” was Utah born and Mormon. Like Burke, he lost his father early, in Dawson’s case before his birth, but his mother endured and managed the family farm. William Dawson became a lawyer and was elected County prosecutor in 1926, when 22 years old. In 1935 he became Mayor of Layton and in 1940 a legislator. His father had been a capital-P Populist, active in the 1890s People’s Party, but Dawson was a Republican, described during his legislative service as “an aggressive and able rough-and-tumble debater ... fond of ‘needling’ the majority party.”¹¹⁷

Dawson ran for the nomination for the House seat against Lee Taylor and Arlin Davidson. Taylor was a Salt Lake City attorney who had never run for office before, but was the grandson of a former president of the Latter-day Saints denomination. Davidson was a contractor and the only veteran of the three. On July 9 Taylor led the primary ballot with 46% and Dawson trailed with 38%. Utah was a rare non-Southern state in having a primary run-off, which Dawson won on August 20 with 57%.¹¹⁸

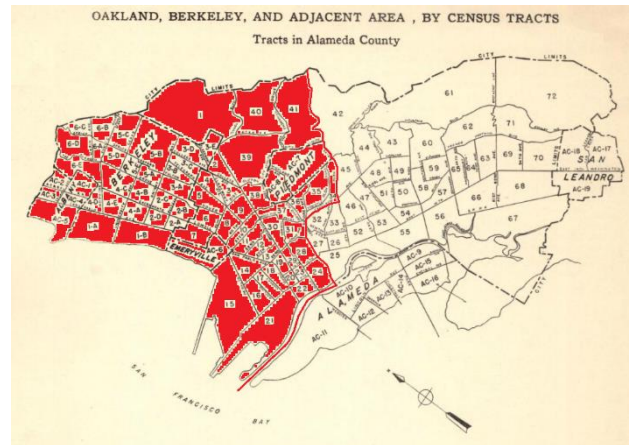
Will Robinson was the incumbent, 68 years old, while Dawson would turn 43 on election day. Both candidates ran rather moderate but partisan campaigns in which Labor was a primary issue. Robinson had Labor support, and Dawson’s approach to the matter was to seek controls on the breadth of strikes without vilifying them. *The Ogden Standard-Examiner* thought that Robinson was a shoo-in, but Dawson carried all four counties, though with just a five-point margin overall.¹¹⁹

Three other Republicans, John Allen, Charles Russell, and George MacKinnon won Democratic seats in which the incumbent did not run again.



John Allen

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)



Oakland and Berkeley, California 7th Cong. Dist.

Source: 1940 Census

John Tolan, who had represented the California Seventh Congressional District since 1935, chose to retire in 1946 “to get reacquainted with his family” but would die on June 30, 1947, at age 70. John Allen would replace him in the 80th Congress. Allen’s father had been an elected City justice in Oakland, an elected justice of the peace, and an elected district attorney. He was appointed a superior court judge by

¹¹⁷ *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, November 6, December 28, 1946. *The Post-Register*, January 29, 1947. 1920 Census schedule, Davis County, Utah. *The Salt Lake Herald*, October 4, 1890. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, November 10, 1946.

¹¹⁸ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, May 29, September 5, 1946. *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, June 23, 1946.

¹¹⁹ *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August 12, October 11 & 22, November 2 & 4 & 5 & 7, 1946. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, September 20, October 11 & 17 & 18 & 29, 1946.

the governor and served for 21 years. In this position he was the judge who declared Frederick Noonan legally dead on the request of his widow. Noonan had disappeared with aviator Amelia Earhart 353 days earlier. The son became an attorney as well and was elected to the Oakland Board of Education and served twenty years. He also was a Naval seaman in the First World War and was called to active duty in 1942 in the Pacific.¹²⁰

Allen, 46, was the only Republican to file for the open House seat, though the two Democratic candidates cross-filed, as did Allen. Patrick McDonough, 58, was owner of a steel company, but had begun as a boilermaker's apprentice and was an active supporter of Labor. Ruth Kingman, 45, had worked with her husband in the YMCA in China and Japan. She was the executive secretary of the Fair Play Committee during the Second World War that worked to mitigate the forced relocation of people of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast to internment camps. Allen and McDonough emerged from the June 4, 1946, primary with their respective nominations. It was reported that the House seat was not high on the Republican opportunity list, but Allen had a decisive victory, winning in November by twelve points.¹²¹

The Seventh District included the northern third of Oakland plus the four adjacent towns of Berkeley, Albany, Piedmont, and Emeryville. Population changes over the 1940s were significant. The proportion of white foreign-born would drop from 21% to 9% and, while declines during that decade were common given the restrictions on travel due to the War, the change in the Seventh District was unusually large. In part, this may have been due to the large increase in the black population over the period, from 4% to 18%, which likely was associated with an outmigration of foreign-born. The University of California at Berkeley, the largest in the nation, contributed substantially to the population of the District. Enrollment increased from 17,000 to 22,000 over the decade, and government employment, much of it by the University, in 1950 would be 19% of the overall employed labor force. Overall, the District was affluent, with an average median household income in 1950 of \$3311.¹²²

Democrat Berkeley Bunker represented Nevada in the House from 1945 to 1947, but where he really wanted to be was in the Senate. He had been appointed to fill a vacancy in the upper house and served there from November 1940 until December 1942, having failed to get the nomination in 1942 to continue. Then in 1944 he took the House nomination away from incumbent Democrat Maurice Sullivan and won the election going away with 63%. He gave up the House seat, though, in 1946 to try again for the Senate. He managed to get the nomination but then lost that Democratic seat in November, getting only 45% of the vote.

There were only 110,000 people in Nevada in 1940; it would increase substantially to 160,000 in 1950. This was the fewest of any state in both years and was thus the House district with the smallest number of constituents. Reno was the biggest city, with 21,000 in 1940 and 32,000 in 1950. Silver mining was the leitmotif of Nevada politics, but apart from mining and its casino and associated tourism industry, Nevada was agricultural with cattle being the overwhelming contributor to farm and ranch income. Mining

¹²⁰ *The Modesto Bee and News-Herald*, April 5, 1946. *Oakland Tribune*, December 19, 1891; December 23, 1896; December 1, 1898. *Woodland Daily Democrat*, March 15, 1926. *San Mateo Times and Daily News-Leader*, June 3, 1947. *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, June 21, 1938. *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, June 24, 1938.

¹²¹ *California Statement of Vote*, June 4, 1946. *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, October 6, 1945; August 26, 1951. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, May 27, 1947. List of U.S. Citizens, S.S. Shinyo Maru from Shanghai, arriving San Francisco, Marcy 21, 1927. Wollenberg. *The Modesto Bee and News-Herald*, January 18, 1946.

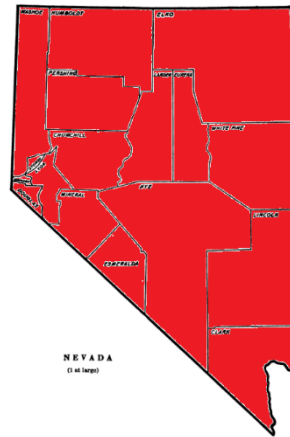
¹²² UniversityOfCalifornia.edu/about-us/information-center/historical-enrollment. Gunther (1947), 63.

employment, in fact, declined precipitously over the 1940s and by 1950 would be half that of agricultural employment. Median family income in 1949 would be \$3613. The mean farm income in 1945 was \$6801.¹²³



Charles Russell

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Nevade At-large Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory 1948

Charles Russell was Nevada-born to a “ranching family,” but in his case that meant that his father was a paid manager of the holdings of large corporate tracts in one of the State’s extensive counties. The disjunction between family income and farm income indicated the export of much of Nevada’s agricultural as well as mining and gaming proceeds. Even the State’s land is not its own, the vast majority being that of the country as a whole.¹²⁴

Russell married the daughter of a politician, who was elected in succession county officer, prosecutor, and judge. Russell became a newspaperman and was soon running for office himself. Three terms in the lower house of the Legislature were followed by two in the upper house and a run for the Federal House. He had almost sought the House in 1944 but instead took his second State Senate victory, and his candidacy for the national body in 1946 seemed inevitable.¹²⁵

He drew an opponent for the Republican nomination, but that opponent, Bruce Harrison, ran as a Republican only because he could not get a third party, Veterans’ Anti-strike Party, on the ballot. Russell, 42, announced a “progressive” platform in his own words but seems to have differed from Harrison primarily in his willingness to entertain Labor support. Despite its lack of statutory support for unionization, Labor was consequential in Nevada thanks to mining and the need to attract workers to the desert to support the tourist industry. Russell won the September 3 primary with 73%.¹²⁶

The Democratic candidate was Malcolm McEachin, 43, twice elected Secretary of State. A Labor leader announced as an independent but then bowed out with an endorsement of Russell. Overall though, Labor largely took a pass, liking Russell but not his party in the on-going national debate over strikes and Labor’s power. A factor in this House campaign as in other states where House candidates ran statewide at the same time as Senate races, was that the former was overshadowed by the latter. McEachin had the advantage in name recognition, but Russell seems to have out-campaigned him. A bitter campaign for the

¹²³ Gunther (1947), 82.

¹²⁴ Glass, 8. *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 11, 1929. Gunther (1947), 6.

¹²⁵ *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 29, 1945; November 6, 1971. *Nevada State Journal*, July 29, 1945.

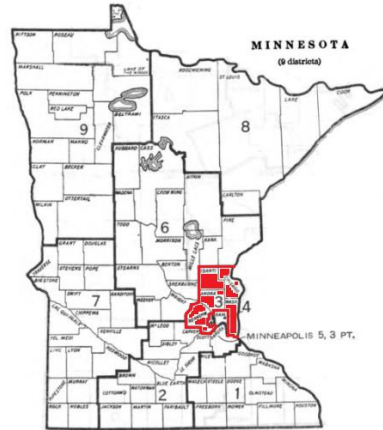
¹²⁶ *Nevada State Journal*, May 24, September 22, 1946. *Reno Evening Gazette*, July 3, August 17, 1946. Wier, 99-100.

Democratic Senate nomination and the general trend of the 1946 elections worked for Russell and he emerged the winner with 59%.¹²⁷



George MacKinnon

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Minnesota 3rd Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory 1948

The Third Congressional District of Minnesota opened up on the death of Democrat William Gallagher. A street sweeper for Minneapolis until his retirement in 1942, he had run many times for office, but never had a win until his election to the House in 1944 over the two-term Republican incumbent. Gallagher was renominated in the July 8, 1946, primary and then died on August 13 at age 71.¹²⁸

The decision of the previous Republican incumbent not to run again held wide the door, and eight Republicans entered the lists for the nomination. The first to file was Walter Quist, a mortician, who also operated a farm. He had served on Minneapolis non-elective boards. Clifford Swanson, an Alderman, followed. George MacKinnon was next. Then came John Alexander, who was elected to the House for a single term in 1938, failing for renomination in 1940; Gerald Patsey, a milk company sales manager; Angus McQueen, former County Republican Chair; Alderman Oscar Lund; and George Dupont.¹²⁹

MacKinnon, 40, was the son of a Great Northern Railroad official and became an attorney employed by Investor's Syndicate. He served in the Minnesota House from 1935 until he enlisted in the Navy in April 1942 and then spent four years as an operations officer with Naval aviation in the Atlantic. He was on terminal leave when he filed for the House. His first child would arrive in October, in the midst of the campaign. While the Party leadership did not appear clearly to define a candidate for the House nomination, MacKinnon was their choice for State attorney general if that incumbent moved on.¹³⁰

There seems to have been little difference on issues among the primary candidates, judging from their responses to a League of Women Voters survey that all responded to other than Swanson, who announced he was withdrawing from the contest. MacKinnon and Quist received endorsements from a Voters Information League. Swanson remained on the ballot and placed sixth, while MacKinnon took the

¹²⁷ *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 3, July 1 & 20, September 21, 1946. *Nevada State Journal*, October 20, November 3, 1946; June 6, 1948.

¹²⁸ *Minneapolis Star-Journal*, November 10, 1944.

¹²⁹ *Minneapolis Star-Journal*, January 6 & 26, March 13 & 28, 1946. *Minnesota Manual* (1947).

¹³⁰ MacKinnon, 1-2. "Biographical Note," MacKinnon Papers. *The Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, October 8, 1946.

nomination with 25% of the vote, besting the second place Quist by 1500 votes. Even the last place contender got 5%, indicating a vote widely scattered and without harsh contention.¹³¹

Such was not the case in the general election. On August 18, the District Committee chose Roy Wier to replace the late Gallagher as the DFL nominee. Wier was 58 and a union organizer, and like MacKinnon had served in the Minnesota House, where they overlapped for four years. In 1939 he moved to the Minneapolis Board of Education. The two had competed against each other twice for their seats in the officially nonpartisan Legislature. In their District were two seats and all candidates ran in a single primary to winnow the field down to four in a general election. Both MacKinnon and Wier had won each of the two battles. In 1934 Wier was on top by 592 votes and in 1936 it was MacKinnon's turn by 249 votes.¹³²

Their third meeting in 1946 was in a larger district with larger issues, but the characterization in the 1934 race of MacKinnon as conservative and Wier as "definite Farmer-Labor" still held. Wier's election strategy was to emphasize the differences between the two, pointing to their voting behavior in the Legislature. MacKinnon, on the other hand, emphasized their similarities, while running against the CIO-PAC. He then upped the ante by charging that Wier had "active communist support," which he tied to the CIO-PAC. The charge was not off-base. The Farmer-Labor Party had a significant communist element, the State director of the CIO-PAC was a communist and had played a role in the nomination of Wier. While Wier was "no left-winger" according to the *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, he did align himself with the dissident Henry Wallace wing of the national Democratic Party, resulting in the noteworthy endorsement of President Truman's foreign policy by the Republican candidate, while the DFL candidate backed away from it.¹³³

The Third District was largely suburban. Minneapolis was a metropolis with a little over 500,000 people, yet John Gunther found it "a quite effervescent town religiously, and one with strong tinges of anti-Semitism."¹³⁴ The Third District included the northern third of the City, Hennepin County outside the City, and four other counties. The District population would increase by 108,000 during the 1940s with 78,000 of that in Hennepin outside the City, which by 1950 would be 36% of the total. The City contributed 44%, and the outer counties 20%. A significant foreign-born population was heavily Scandinavian. The outer counties were agricultural and substantially dairy counties. Average median household income in 1949 would be \$3353.

Wier carried the City and therefore Hennepin County by a few hundred votes, but MacKinnon took the outer counties by about 5000. His 51% beat Wier's 47%, while a Socialist Workers candidate took the rest.¹³⁵

Dayton Phillips was the only Southern Republican in the Class of '46 and one of only two Southern Republicans in the 80th House – both from Tennessee, a result of a substantial weight of hereditary Republicans in the Tennessee mountains and an alleged *modus vivendi* between Republican and Democratic leaders to maintain two one-party systems in the State.¹³⁶

¹³¹ *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, July 5 & 7, 1946.

¹³² *The Minneapolis Tribune*, June 23, 1934; June 21, November 3 & 5, 1936. *The Minneapolis Star*, November 9, 1934. *Minneapolis Star-Journal*, August 19, 1946.

¹³³ *Minneapolis Star-Journal*, September 13 & 27, November 1, 1946. *The Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, September 25 & 29, October 20 & 26, 1946. For the fight over communism within the DFL, see Solberg, 111-24.

¹³⁴ Gunther (1947), 279.

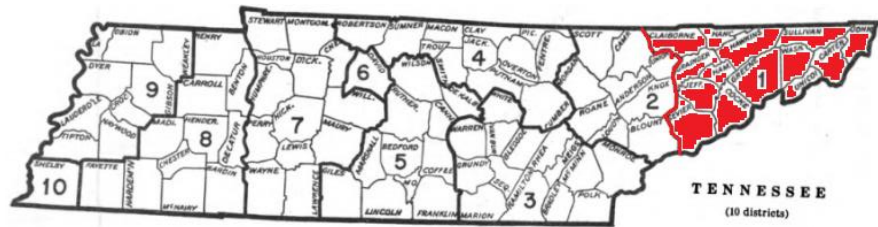
¹³⁵ *Minneapolis Star-Journal*, November 9, 1946.

¹³⁶ Heard, 108.



Dayton Phillips

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov

Tennessee 1st Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory 1948

The First Congressional District became available with the retirement of Rep. Carroll Reece. Although Reece had been elected Chair of the Republican National Committee on April 1, 1946, he kept his House seat until the end of the term. Reece had held the seat since 1921 with the exception of one term when he was denied renomination by a Republican county prosecutor. The major issue had supposedly been the revitalization of the First World War effort to build a nitrate plant and dam to power the plant at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River in Alabama. Reece supported private development of the site and opposed proposals for continuation of the original government project. It is perhaps more likely that Reece's loss in 1930 had much to do with fallout from the 1929 collapse of the stock market, but Muscle Shoals would become a major stimulus to the development of the Tennessee Valley Authority by the Roosevelt Administration.¹³⁷

The First District included the fourteen most easterly counties of Tennessee, six of them lining the Appalachian heights that define the border with North Carolina. The counties to the northwest lay largely in the Great Valley that stretches from Canada to Alabama, a rolling trough between the Blue Ridge and the Valley and Ridge Province to the west. A district of small farms, averaging 54 acres and \$961 in income per, the biggest town was Johnson City with about 27,000 people. Certainly, more people worked in agriculture, but manufacturing employment was nearly as numerous, and manufacturing wages doubled farm income. The chemical industry was predominant. Average median family income in 1949 would be a poor \$1606.

As soon as Reece took the national Chair and before he had decided what to do about his House seat, contenders started popping up. John Kilgo clearly had the pole position and announced his candidacy on April 8. He was 45, an attorney and legislator, and was the Republican nominee for governor in 1944, running "as though he were interested in winning," according to political scientist Alexander Heard, who thought that differentiated him from the usual statewide Republican candidate in Tennessee. Joseph Wolfenbarger, 55, twelve years an elected County prosecutor, was said to be closer to Reece. The "angular" Dayton Phillips, 36, whose farmer father died with Phillips was one, had also been a county

¹³⁷ Bowers, 52-8, 89-90.

prosecutor as well as a district prosecutor, but his career was interrupted by the War. He had spent three and a half years in Europe and collected five battle stars.¹³⁸

The *Nashville Tennessean* thought the race for the nomination was neck and neck among the three. It found that the Reece organization was “in the main” but not universally backing Wolfenbarger. Phillips was described as “Lincolnesque,” had the support of a number of newspapers, and was a “natural-born orator, a liberal Republican with some distaste for organizations in the political sense,” the only veteran in the race, and endorsed by Labor. On August 1, primary day, the *Kingsport News* thought the contest “devoid of issues” and was between Kilgo and Wolfenbarger. The more distant newspaper was the better prognosticator. Phillips took about 46% of the vote with Kilgo second and the lesser known Wolfenbarger a distant third.¹³⁹

Reece had had an opponent in November only five times out of thirteen, and Phillips kept the average low, being elected to the House without opposition.

Kingland Macy in New York was a true political professional. He was Chair of the Suffolk County Republican Committee from 1926 to 1951 and had been Chair of the State Republican Committee from 1930 to 1934. As such, he had been instrumental in the investigation and removal of James Walker as Mayor of New York City. He had made and removed speakers of the New York Assembly. He was appointed to a twelve-year term on the Board of Regents for the University of the State of New York and appointed to an unexpired term in the State Senate. His elective positions were more limited: to the State Convention to ratify the 21st Amendment to the US Constitution, to the 1938 State Constitutional Convention, and in fall 1945 to the State Senate in a special election. He had also failed to get the State Party’s support for a State Senate seat in 1940 and for the US Senate in 1944.¹⁴⁰



Kingsland Macy
Source: FindAGrave.com



New York 1st Cong. Dist.
Source: Congressional Directory 1948

¹³⁸ *Nashville Tennessean*, April 7 & 9, July 21, 1946. Heard, 105. *The Jackson Sun*, May 23, November 6, 1946. *Kingsport News*, July 25, 1946; June 13, 1948. Avery Phillips stone, Lindy Richardson Cemetery, Shell Creek, Tennessee. 1910 Census schedule, Carter County, Tennessee.

¹³⁹ *Nashville Tennessean*, July 21, 1946. *Kingsport News*, August 1 & 3, 1946. There were also two very minor candidates in the race.

¹⁴⁰ *The New York Times*, January 15, 1946; July 16, 1961. Brown, 300. McCash, 154. Richard Smith, 551.

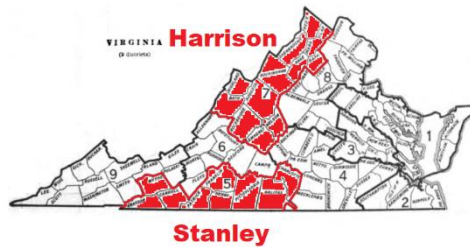
Very wealthy, he started out in tea importing and wholesaling, the family business, but it was as a stock broker, banker, and owner of eight weekly newspapers in Suffolk County that he continued to prosper. His father had branched from tea into insurance, railways, and banking. Kingsland's mother's father, Oliver Carter, was a banker, his wife's father, Henry Dick, a developer on Long Island as well as a sugar refiner.¹⁴¹

The First Congressional District consisted of Suffolk County and the southeastern 40% of Nassau County. Nassau is the county immediately to the east of the City and Suffolk takes in the rest of Long Island. The population of the District would explode from 271,000 in 1940 to 441,000 in 1950. But while both Nassau and Suffolk were increasingly developed, the latter continued as a major agricultural county. It was 28th in the entire country in 1944 in the value of farm products sold, predominantly vegetables and potatoes. The two counties had a significant foreign-born population, 17% in 1940 and 13% in 1950, primarily German and Italian. In 1949 the median family income would be \$3411 in Suffolk and \$4524 in Nassau, but income in the First District in Nassau was likely lower as it did not include the North Shore of "entrenched privilege and luxury of a type growing increasingly rare in the Western world," per John Gunther.¹⁴²

The Republican incumbent was Edgar Sharp, who had taken the newly defined District in 1944. He was 70 and reportedly retired due to ill health. He would die two years later. From the first report that Sharp might resign, Macy was said to be his replacement. Indeed, once the Nassau Republican organization concurred with his Suffolk one, Macy faced no opposition for the nomination. And he faced virtually no opposition in the election; Democrat Eugene O'Neill took just 21% and the American Labor candidate only 2%.¹⁴³



Thomas Stanley
Source: *Pocket Directory* (1951)



Virginia 5th & 7th Cong. Dists.
Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)



Burr Harrison
Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)

Four Democrats, Thomas Stanley, Burr Harrison, Georgia Lusk, and Hugh Meade, took vacant Democratic seats in the 1946 elections. Stanley and Harrison from Virginia filled seats vacated by

¹⁴¹ McCash, 146, 153. *The Pittsburgh Press*, June 29, 1901. *Brooklyn Life and Activities of Long Island Society*, July 24, 1931.

¹⁴² Gunther (1947), 538.

¹⁴³ *The Easthampton Star*, April 18, 1946. *The New York Times*, June 4, 1946. *The County Review*, August 15, 1946.

Representatives who became Senators. The seats were vacated early and the new Representatives were elected officially to the 79th Congress though were not sworn in until the new 80th House convened.

The resignation of Thomas Burch of Virginia's Fifth District on May 31, 1946, to take an appointment to a vacant Senate seat kicked off the State's special election season. Sen. Carter Glass, vacated his seat by death on May 28 but had not answered a Senate roll call since June 1942 due to incapacitation. A former Secretary of the Treasury and a co-author of the Glass-Steagall Act which largely secured the banking system until its 1999 replacement, Glass was also an anti-New Dealer and white supremacist. Burch, 75, who had announced before Glass' death that he was retiring at the end of his House term, was not nominated by the subsequent State Democratic Convention to contest for the Senate seat in November, the Byrd Organization wanting Rep. Howard Smith, but the Convention revolted in favor of Rep. Willis Robertson.¹⁴⁴

Thomas Stanley declared for Burch's House seat the day Burch announced his coming retirement but was challenged for the Democratic nomination by Lindsey Moore, 51, a legislator, lawyer and resident of the District's most populous county. Stanley, 56, had served in the General Assembly since 1930 and was currently in his sixth year as Speaker of the House of Delegates. His day job was as president of Stanley Furniture Company, a manufacturer, and lord of the mill village of Stanleytown. He lived in an English Tudor style house of 27 rooms and 11 bathrooms "on top of a beautifully landscaped hill ... surrounded by several hundred acres of rolling grazing land and woods." His father was a farmer and local politician, but Thomas had married into the Bassett Furniture Company in 1918. Still, what Stanley really wanted was to be governor, and Sen. Byrd had turned him down in 1941 in favor of Colgate Darden and in 1945 for William Tuck.¹⁴⁵

The Fifth Congressional District, sprawled along the North Carolina border, included four piedmont counties, two foothills counties, and three gerrymandered Republican counties beyond the Blue Ridge. Despite its upcountry nature, nearly a fourth of the population was African American. Textile manufacturing employed more than the furniture industry, and manufacturing in the aggregate was about three-quarters larger than farm income, the latter relying heavily on tobacco. Average median family income in 1949 would be \$1896.

The District Democratic Committee decided to nominate by primary, an uncommon event in Virginia, where nominations were often by convention. This indicates the Committee was badly divided in its loyalties and that the organization was neutral. Moore campaigned for road and school improvements, which in any state other than parsimonious Virginia would have sounded neutral. Stanley's reputed "iron hand" as Speaker in supporting that organization-backed frugality should have thrown organization support and the nomination to him, and it finally did on August 6 with 69% of the vote.¹⁴⁶

There was a Republican opponent on November 5 for the election to fill the House vacancy and for the full term, Stanley winning the one by 75% and the other by 74%.

Robertson's election to complete Glass's Senate term resulted in the former's resignation from the House on November 5 and the election of Burr Harrison to replace him. The Seventh District Democratic Committee chose conventionally to nominate through convention, pun intended. Unlike at least three other contenders for the vacant seat, Harrison did not announce a candidacy but "expressed appreciation

¹⁴⁴ Heinemann, 234. *The Staunton News-Leader*, March 23, 1946. Key (1949), 24-5.

¹⁴⁵ *Daily Press*, March 24, April 7, May 5, 1946. *The Bee*, August 3, 1946; October 8, 1953; July 11, 1970. Brynildssen. *Martinsville Bulletin*, November 25, 2007. Hill Studio, 48. Heinemann, 270-1, 319.

¹⁴⁶ Key (1949), 27. Wilkinson, 51. *Suffolk News-Herald*, August 8, 1946.

for his friends' interest," a nod to the concept of the office choosing the man. Nevertheless, Harrison entered the September 28 Convention at Staunton with 99 pledged votes, more than any of the other six contenders, but fewer than the 129 needed. But his lead was such that the others dropped out, and Harrison was chosen on the first ballot.¹⁴⁷

Harrison was 42, a lawyer, and had held elected offices as commonwealth's attorney (i.e. county prosecutor and a Byrd organization foot soldier) and legislator and was currently the elected judge of the Seventeenth Circuit. His father, also a lawyer, had been a legislator and judge, as well as a member from 1916 to 1921 and 1923 to 1929 of the US House of Representatives. He had also been a newspaper publisher in association with the father of Sen. Harry Byrd, who was his law partner.¹⁴⁸

The mountainous Seventh District was in far north Virginia and included a small collection of Republican counties and independent cities. The varied manufacturing produced wages equivalent to the farm income from apples, chickens, and cattle. Sen. Byrd's orchards alone supplied 1% of US apple production. The average median family income in 1949 would be \$2164.¹⁴⁹

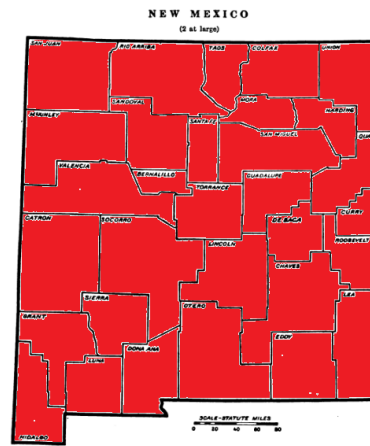
Harrison's father lost his House seat twice to Republicans, and a challenge to the son by Republican Karl Jenkins was not to be taken lightly. Despite a "vigorous campaign" by Jenkins, however, Harrison won the special election and regular election on November 5 by 63% and 62%, respectively.¹⁵⁰

Members of the House from certification, Stanley and Harrison despite being unable to be sworn until the 80th Congress, still got a leg-up in the seniority standings.



Georgia Lusk

Source: BioGuideCongress.gov



New Mexico At-large Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory 1948

Georgia Lusk, one of the two women in the Class of '46, was as much a professional politician as Macy, though her métier was in winning elections rather than in influencing them. She won two elections as the school superintendent of Lea County, New Mexico, and four times as the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Born to George and Mary Witt, ranchers, in 1893, she married a sheep rancher in 1915, only to have him die four years later, leaving her with two sons and pregnant with a third. She had taught school for a year before marriage, but after her husband's death it fell to her to run the family ranch while

¹⁴⁷ *The Bee*, September 18 & 26 & 28, 1946. *The Farmers' Advocate*, October 4, 1946.

¹⁴⁸ *The Bee*, May 9, 1935.

¹⁴⁹ Gunther (1947), 705.

¹⁵⁰ *Kingsport News*, November 6, 1946.

also managing the County and then the State schools. She had a hiatus of two years when she lost her first run at the State job and another of eight years on reaching the two term-limit on that job.¹⁵¹

She returned for her second two-terms as State Superintendent in 1943 when her youngest son was 22 and all three were in military service. The oldest would die on March 9, 1943, in a mid-air collision over San Diego Bay. Term-limited again in 1946, she ran for the House. New Mexico had two representatives and had elected both at large since the second one was acquired via the 1940 census. Democrat Antonio Fernandez, first elected in 1942, was running again, while Democrat Clinton Anderson, who had taken office in 1941, was appointed by new Pres. Truman to be his Secretary of Agriculture. Truman sent the appointment to the Senate on May 24, 1945, and the Senate confirmed it on June 1. Anderson resigned from the House on June 30. The special election to fill the vacancy would not be held until November 5, 1946, sixteen months later and the same date as the regular election for the 80th Congress.¹⁵²

No one jumped into contention for the Democratic nomination for the open seat until Lt. Gov. James “Jawbone” Jones announced in January, 1946. “Sweet and motherly” Lusk with her graying hair, rimless spectacles, and “elfin smile” announced on March 14. Secretary of State Cecelia Tafoya Cleveland announced on April 1. Attorney and Second War veteran Paul Tackett filed on April 22. Former legislator and former President of State Young Democrats Paul Case, two days short of his Army discharge, filed on April 23. By May 6, Joe Martinez, former secretary to Sen. Dennis Chavez, had filed, and on that date County school superintendent and Second War veteran J.L. Burke filed.¹⁵³

The *Santa Fe New Mexican* analyzed the race as of May 14:

Like most everything else in this first postwar primary the Democratic congressional race is snafu. ... Favorites are Fernandez and Jones but they are both slipping. Fernandez was nominated twice by narrow margins with the support of Sen. Dennis Chavez and the state administration. This year neither Chavez nor the state administration are doing very much for the Santa Fe and Raton lawyer and labor is making a concentrated attack on his voting record. Jawbone Jones, most popular and widely known of the candidates, has little solid support and his opponents are cutting in on him in many localities. Paul Case, one of the three veterans ..., is coming forward rapidly. Backed by the A.T. Hannett contingent of the party, Case is specializing on tieups with his old political compadres in the northern and southern part of the state and an intelligent publicity campaign. Georgia Lusk is making a strong bid and her opponents should remember that she whipped the organization candidate when nominated for school superintendent in 1942. Many of the Chavez crowd are working in her behalf. Joe Martinez, a former secretary of Senator Chavez, is responsible for much of the confusion in the race. He, without much hope of nomination, cuts in on Fernandez, Cleveland and Case, and every now and then pops up in the company of Senator Chavez, leaving the locals thinking that he is the senator's man. What Cecelia Cleveland will do remains to be seen. She is a good politician and has a smart poppa. Candidate Burke appears to be one of those school-teacher candidates we get in every election in the belief that their largely unregistered educational colleagues can elect them. There is, however, a hope for the Jal superintendent: He and Georgia Lusk are the only residents of eastern New Mexico in the race. The situation may clear up when and if the Dempsey and Chavez factions show their preference for Congress.

Hannett, a close associate of Sen. Chavez, had been Governor in the 1920s and was ending his ten years as Democratic National Committeeman in 1946. Gov. John Dempsey was challenging Chavez for

¹⁵¹ *Women in Congress*, 255. O'Dea and Schwenken.

¹⁵² *Carlsbad Current-Argus*, February 16, 1969. *Las Vegas Daily Optic*, March 10, 1943. *Congressional Record*, May 24, 1945, 4968; June 1, 1945, 5445. *Clovis News-Journal*, February 5, 1946.

¹⁵³ *Albuquerque Journal*, January 15, April 2 & 24 & 27, May 7 & 26, 1946. *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August 22, 1947. *The Williamsport Sun*, January 10, 1947. *Clovis News-Journal*, March 15, 1946. *Las Cruces Sun-News*, April 22, 1946. *Alamogordo News*, May 16, 1946. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 4 & 6 & 24, 1946.

renomination. The CIO-PAC endorsed Lusk and Martinez in the race. Sen. Carl Hatch and Secretary Anderson endorsed Fernandez. One newspaper called Lusk “a stout, pleasant woman” who “steered away from any form of feminist movement in her campaign.”¹⁵⁴

On June 4, incumbent Fernandez led the balloting with 25,091 votes, but in second place was Lusk with 16,622, topping third place Jones by 1237 votes.¹⁵⁵

New Mexico had last elected a Republican to the House in 1928 for a single term, but the general election was no runaway for the Democrats. Earl Douglas and Herman Baca were the Republican nominees. New Mexico was the one State with two official languages, English and Spanish, and the candidates in both parties reflected that dualism. John Gunther contended the State was 37% “Spanish.” The old Spanish mountain settlements before the Mexican-American War came with New Mexico into the Union and had not been greatly augmented by subsequent immigration from Mexico. Indians were 6% of the population, but New Mexico did not allow Indians on reservations to vote. Farm income was four-and-a-half times that of manufacturing wages. Cattle and sheep ranches made it seem that livestock was all there was on the farm, but crop sales, largely cotton, sorghum, and alfalfa, were only a little less than livestock sales. Median family income would be \$2653.¹⁵⁶

Douglas, about 67, was the Republican leader in the State House and like Burke and Lusk, a school superintendent. Baca, 49, was a veteran of both world wars and, like Lusk, had lost a son to the second one. Price controls were attacked by the two Republicans, while Lusk supported them. It did not help the Democrats that Gov. Dempsey, having lost the Democratic primary to incumbent Sen. Chavez, sulked until two days before the election when he finally endorsed the ticket. It also did not help that Labor remained hostile to Fernandez. But the two Democrats emerged victorious, with Lusk leading Fernandez by 1178 votes. Fernandez beat Douglas, the closest Republican, by 4723 votes.¹⁵⁷

Maryland’s Second Congressional District consisted of three counties between the City of Baltimore and Pennsylvania as well as almost all of the area annexed by the City in 1918 and the northeast corner of the pre-1918 City. In 1940, 57% of the population had been in the City, and an additional 29% was in Baltimore County, which surrounds the City. In 1950 the City proportion would drop to 49% and Baltimore County’s would rise to 36%. The City population actually increased by 60,000, but the number in Baltimore County grew by 115,000. The Second District, limited to the perimeter in the City, was not ethnic or black Baltimore. The foreign born in the District had been only 6% of the total in 1940 and would be far less in 1950, and the black proportion would fall from 10% in 1940 to 5% thanks to the suburban growth. Gunther found Baltimore to be “one of the pleasantest cities in America.” The average median household income of the District in 1949 would be a healthy \$3525.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ *Albuquerque Journal*, May 21, June 1, 1946; March 19, 1966. Roybal, 115-6. *Las Cruces Sun-News*, November 6, 1946.

¹⁵⁵ OurCampaigns.com.

¹⁵⁶ Gunther (1947), 887, 893. Mexican-born New Mexicans in 1950 would be only 1.4% of the population and had been only slightly higher in 1940.

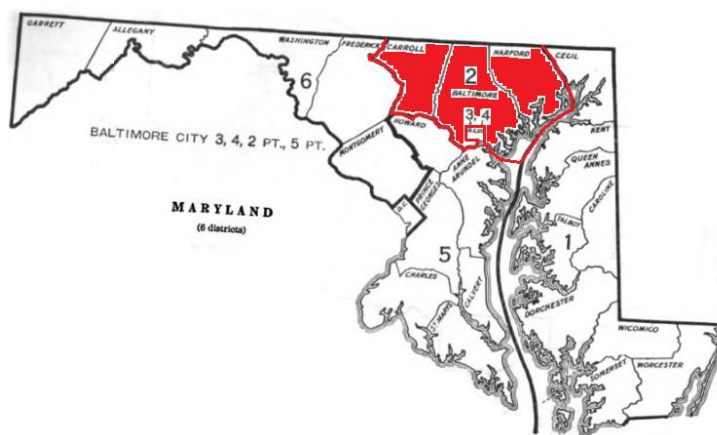
¹⁵⁷ *Albuquerque Journal*, February 8, July 2, October 13, 1946; February 17, 1947. Major Herman Gilbert Baca, Report of Interment, Santa Fe National Cemetery. *Las Cruces Sun-News*, October 10, 1946. *Las Vegas Daily Optic*, September 20, 1946. *Clovis News-Journal*, September 16, 1946.

¹⁵⁸ Arnold. Gunther (1947), 639.



Hugh Meade

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov

Maryland 2nd Cong. Dist. (Baltimore City shown is pre-1918)

Source: Congressional Directory 1948

Democrat Streett Baldwin had represented the District since 1943 and got ambitious in 1946, making a run for the nomination for governor. Democratic primary success at the State level meant finding a candidate who was repugnant neither to the Eastern Shore traditionalists nor to the Baltimore New Dealers. Baldwin, who began his campaign “with a blistering attack on the CIO Political Action Committee” was not that man. The State Democratic organization ran two candidates against him, a conservative named Millard Tawes to reduce Baldwin’s Eastern Shore vote and the desired winner, Preston Lane, a banker and industrialist with “a record of consistent support for national” Democratic candidates. The strategy worked in that Baldwin lost and Lane narrowly won.¹⁵⁹

Democrat Claude Hanley, 46, a suburban lawyer, former legislator, and First World War veteran, announced for the House seat and attacked Baldwin for absenteeism in January before Baldwin made public his run for governor. Hugh Meade, “big, blond and friendly,” joined the contest on April 4. Meade was born in New Jersey to a railway freight agent but had lived in Baltimore since age 16. He was a lawyer and Second World War veteran. His service was brief, only seventeen months. He had six children and wrote that he was drafted, making him one of the few in that situation. Meade worked as a secretary for states rights Democratic Gov. Albert Ritchie, and when Ritchie lost to the New Deal Republican Harry Nice in 1934, Meade went to the State House. After two years he departed for an appointive job with the city and then a job as an assistant State attorney general. In 1946 Meade was 39.¹⁶⁰

Hanley aligned himself with gubernatorial candidate and national Democrat Lane. Sen. Millard Tydings sponsored Herbert Grymes, 54, of the City, an attorney, former legislator, and veteran of both wars, for the House seat; Grymes backed conservative Tawes. Meade backed anti-CIO candidate Baldwin for the governorship, who returned the favor. Four other candidates filed. Meade won the primary on June 24, followed by Hanley and Grymes.¹⁶¹

The Republican candidate was David Harry, 66, from one of the out counties, a legislator in the 1920s, a dairy farmer and founder of the Maryland Dairymen’s Co-Operative Association. In the campaign, Meade attacked the tax-exemption accorded to co-operatives, labeling it unfair to business, and hitting Harry where it hurt. Rep. Baldwin was reelected to the House in 1944 with 57% of the vote. Meade

¹⁵⁹ Fenton (1957), 175, 178, 196.

¹⁶⁰ *The Baltimore Sun*, April 23, 1944; January 15, April 5, 1946; April 27, 1956. *The Salisbury Times*, January 31, 1947. New Jersey Census schedule 1915, Morris County. Fenton (1957), 179-81.

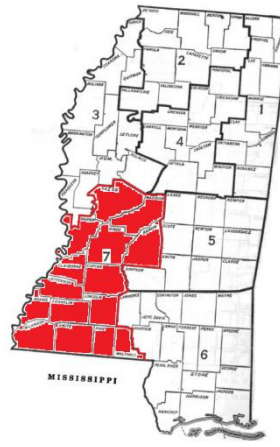
¹⁶¹ *The Baltimore Sun*, April 7, 1946; June 7, 1987. *The News*, April 15, 1946. *The Morning Herald* (Hagerstown), April 16, June 26, 1946. *The Daily Mail*, April 22, 1946. *Evening Star*, April 16, 1946.

managed 52% in a Republican year, carrying the City by 7900 and Baltimore County by 2700, but losing the outer counties by 4600.¹⁶²



John Bell Williams

Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)



Mississippi 7th Cong. Dist.

Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

Among the fifteen Democrats who displaced Democratic incumbents to join the Class of '46 were Laurie Battle of Alabama, George Smathers of Florida, and Otto Passman of Louisiana (previously in Chapter Two), Don Wheeler of Georgia, Monroe Redden of North Carolina, Preston Peden of Oklahoma, and Joe Evins of Tennessee (discussed in Chapter Three), Glen Johnson and Toby Morris of Oklahoma, Bryan Dorn of South Carolina, and Porter Hardy of Virginia above, and John Bell Williams of Mississippi and Henderson Lanham, Prince Preston, and James Davis of Georgia.

John Bell Williams was one of the two most obviously injured veterans to join the 80th House. In March 1943 he had lost his left arm below the elbow while ferrying a B-52 over British Guiana on the trans-Atlantic route to Africa. The crash also mangled his left leg. He was the only survivor of a crew of five. Discharged in April 1944, he had already been appointed to a vacant position as the prosecutor of Hinds County, Mississippi. The next month he was elected to fill the rest of the term. He was unopposed, which makes him the least professional of the political professionals of the Class. The year was a busy one for the attorney, who had practiced law but 19 months between the bar and enlistment. He also had married on October 12, 1944.¹⁶³

Williams' father was a pharmacist in Raymond, where John Bell practiced briefly, but the big town in Hinds County was Jackson, the State capital, which had 62,000 people in 1940 and would have 98,000 in 1950. John Gunther observed that Jackson was a curious town, possessing "a handful of impeccably shining skyscrapers, rising straight out of a bunch of Negro hovels and poor-white slums."¹⁶⁴ Hinds was the richest county in the Seventh Congressional District with a median family income of \$2293 in 1949. The average for the fifteen counties in the District would be \$1273. There were more black folks than white ones in the District, 56% in 1940, but the black population would fall by 17,000 in 1950 while the white population would increase by 31,000. Farm income and manufacturing wages were nearly identical in the mid-1940s. Agricultural wealth, if it could be so termed when average farm income in 1945 was

¹⁶² *The Baltimore Sun*, November 5, 1946; December 13, 1955. *Maryland Manual 1948-1949*.

¹⁶³ *Clarion-Ledger*, June 9, 1943; April 9, May 17, 1944; August 22, 1946; March 27, 1983.

¹⁶⁴ *Clarion-Ledger*, October 22, 1944; November 21, 1953. Gunther (1947), 800.

\$871, came from cotton, while furniture was the major share of industrial production. Tenant farms were 58% of the total.

Daniel McGehee, 62, had held the seat since 1934 when he took the Democratic nomination from the incumbent. He was nominated uncontested in 1940 and 1944. On July 2, 1946, the Representative faced three primary opponents. That same date, Sen. Theodore Bilbo had four challengers for the nomination, who held him to a bare majority; it seemed that dissension was in the air.¹⁶⁵

Stewart Broom, 63, a former law partner of Bilbo's, was the first to file against McGehee. C.A. Sullivan, 37, a former executive with DuPont, a Second World War vet, who called himself a "liberal Democrat," filed 47 days later. Williams, 27, filed five days after that, the last possible day. The three challengers were active campaigners while McGehee largely remained in Washington. If newspaper stories and candidate ads are any indication, Williams was the most active and Sullivan the least. Certainly, Williams advertised the most complete platform.¹⁶⁶

On the central issue in Mississippi political campaigns, at least three of the candidates were aligned.

- Williams "promised to 'fight ... the damnable laws before Congress aimed at robbing the Southland of its true traditions of white supremacy and a white man's government.'" Item 14 on his platform was the protection of white supremacy, opposition to the Fair Employment Practices Commission, anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation, and for fair freight rates.¹⁶⁷
- McGehee declared himself against the Fair Employment Practices Commission and the anti-poll tax bill and for the impeachment of the Supreme Court for its ruling that segregation laws did not apply to interstate travelers.¹⁶⁸
- Broom declared "that this is a white man's country and would remain so, since the 'white race is a superior race, made so by God's decree and both races recognize that superiority.'" ¹⁶⁹

Thus proving V.O. Key's assertion that, "On the surface at least, the beginning and the end of Mississippi politics is the Negro."¹⁷⁰

McGehee led the primary but with only 39% of the vote. Williams was in second place with 35%. Outworking the other candidates may have been critical, or perhaps it was the recurring references to "John Bell Williams, the one-armed veteran of WWII" in the newspapers. There would be a run-off on August 27, and the statement that ended the previous paragraph would not be proven wrong.¹⁷¹

McGehee hit the ground and quickly accused Williams of "attempting to ride into office on the 'purge plan' of the CIO Political Action Committee, a Soviet Russian fifth column." This discovery of communists in the woodpile did not appreciably distract from the other inhabitants of that domain. McGehee described the CIO-PAC as a "social equality loving organization composed of reds, pinks and membership of the Society for Advancement of the Colored Race." In the meantime, Williams took the relative high road of listing all the votes on major legislation that McGehee had missed. Perhaps this is why Gunther decided that Williams "won a congressional seat ... on a liberal platform" and then went on to say that

¹⁶⁵ *Mississippi Blue Book, July 1, 1933 to July 1, 1935. Mississippi Blue Book, July 1, 1935 to July 1, 1937. Mississippi Blue Book, July 1, 1937 to July 1, 1939. Mississippi Blue Book, July 1, 1939 to July 1, 1941. Mississippi Blue Book, July 1, 1941 to July 1, 1943. Mississippi Blue Book, July 1, 1943 to July 1, 1945. Mississippi Blue Book 1945-1949.*

¹⁶⁶ *Clarion-Ledger*, March 12, April 20, May 12 & 19, June 16 & 21 & 22 & 30, 1946; January 19, 1955. *McComb Enterprise-Journal*, June 26 & 28, 1946. *The Delta Democrat-Times*, May 3, 1946.

¹⁶⁷ *Clarion-Ledger*, May 12, 1946.

¹⁶⁸ *Clarion-Ledger*, June 16, 1946. The Supreme Court case was *Morgan v. Virginia*, 328 U.S. 373 (1946).

¹⁶⁹ *Clarion-Ledger*, June 22, 1946

¹⁷⁰ Key (1949), 229.

¹⁷¹ *Mississippi Blue Book 1945-1949.*

“Negroes voted in the primaries in some number for the first time.” While indeed the two candidates were both vehemently denying they wanted the Negro vote and accusing the other of seeking it, one Jackson paper reported that less than 300 black folks voted in Jackson in the primary. There would have been fewer if any in the other, more rural counties. That the candidates would eschew this massive electorate may be surprising to the reader. It might also astonish to learn that the CIO shunned endorsing either McGehee or Williams.¹⁷²

Williams won the run-off rather handily with 59% of the vote. There was no opposition in November. He would then go on to compile a voting record less liberal than McGehee’s had been according to one analysis.¹⁷³

If it seems that Mississippi politics was roiling in 1946 without benefit of Republicans, the situation in Georgia was even more striking. Henderson Lanham, Prince Preston, and James Davis were all from the Peach Tree State and all ousted incumbent Democrats. Preston was from the agricultural southeast, Lanham from the more industrial northwest, and Davis from the urban Atlanta area. Preston and Davis were veterans, the former from the Second and the latter from the First World War. Preston was 38, Davis 51, and Lanham 57. Preston’s father worked for a medical company, Lanham’s was a merchant, and Davis’ was an attorney. Lanham and Davis were Methodists, but Preston was Baptist. What they had in common was that they were all lawyers, had all been or were legislators, and that they wanted to become national representatives.¹⁷⁴



Henderson Lanham

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



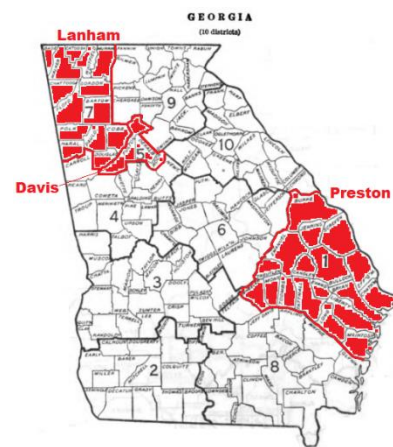
Prince Preston

Source: Pocket Directory (1953)



James Davis

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Georgia 1st, 5th, & 7th CDs

Source: Congressional Directory (1948)

Not only was Lanham’s father a “prominent merchant” in Rome, Georgia, but an active candidate in the City’s government. The son followed the father into Rome’s politics and legislative service, and in 1946 was the prosecutor of the judicial circuit. Rome was the biggest town in the Seventh Congressional District with about 29,000 people, but both the Atlanta and Chattanooga metropolitan areas impinged, making

¹⁷² *McComb Enterprise-Journal*, August 12 & 15 & 20, 1946. *Clarion-Ledger*, July 4, August 6 & 13 & 21, 1946. Gunther (1947), 201.

¹⁷³ Voteview.com.

¹⁷⁴ 1930 Census schedule, Bulloch County, Georgia. *The Atlanta Constitution*, August 12, 1920. 1900 Census schedule, Heard County, Georgia. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* 1960, 36, the annual editions henceforth referenced as *CQ Almanac*.

the District in 1950 officially 27% metropolitan. Manufacturing, largely in textiles and apparel, claimed 39% of the labor force, and in the mid-1940s manufacturing wages were five times that of farm income. The War brought major industrial employment to the District. A Bell aircraft plant at Marietta had employed as many as 28,000, but no longer. The black population was low and dropping, from 12% of the total in 1940 to 7% in 1950. The average median family income would be \$1919.¹⁷⁵

Malcolm Tarver had represented the area in the House since 1927 and was now only 60 years old. His service was noteworthy in his determined hostility to the New Deal's Farm Security Administration. Agriculture may not have been the keystone of the Seventh District economy, but there were still 23,000 hill country farms for whom the price supports of the FSA could be a lifesend. A growing labor organization in the District was also a factor, and Tarver was targeted by the CIO. Lanham said, "Mr. Tarver has been in Washington too long. Two decades in that city would make it impossible for a man to realize he was looking backward." Tarver indeed remained in Washington during the campaign and took 1600 more votes in the July 17 primary than Lanham, but Georgia had a pseudo-electoral-college system that awarded county unit votes, and Lanham beat Tarver two-to-one. Tarver, being the chair of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture, the defeat attracted national attention. There was no Republican candidate in November.¹⁷⁶

Prince Preston got out of the Army in October 1945 with five battle stars from the European war. He had volunteered despite having a minor child. He was almost immediately elected a City judge in Statesboro, Georgia, but then did not take the bench, deciding to up the ante by running for the House, which he said was "an ambition he has held since he received his law degree." The First District's metropolis was Savannah, which would grow from 96,000 people to 120,000 over the 1940s, and which had built 106 cargo ships for the government during the War. Many people find Savannah charming, but Gunther thought it a "mummy."¹⁷⁷ By 1950 manufacturing would be only 17% of overall employment in the eighteen-county District, but in the mid-1940s manufacturing wages and farm income were almost dead even, though agricultural employment was 26%. Cotton was the biggest producer, though tobacco was also significant. Tenant farms were 53% of the total. Average median family income in 1949 would be a miserable \$1113. The proportion of the population black was 44% in 1940 and 41% in 1950

The incumbent was Hugh Peterson, 47, in the House since 1935 and well-connected genetically. He was a cousin of former and yet to be Gov. Eugene Talmadge, and his wife was the sister of Sen. Richard Russell. He drew two opponents for renomination, Preston, chubby, bald, and mustached, and a Savannah coal dealer named Charles Cochran. A week before the July 17, 1946, primary, United Press opined that Peterson did not have "major opposition." The CIO was said to be active in the race, and Peterson accused Preston of being their candidate. Preston denied any connection, saying he had "very little use for that organization." Nevertheless, Labor in Savannah was reported to favor Preston because of Peterson's anti-union views. Preston, however, focused on agricultural issues in his campaign.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ *The Atlanta Constitution*, January 23, 1894; February 24, 1910; January 20, 1912. Gunther (1947), 659.

¹⁷⁶ *Tri-County News*, August 9, 1946. *Corvallis Gazette-Times*, May 20, 1946. *The Odessa American*, July 25, 1946. *The Atlanta Constitution*, July 25, 1947. *Georgia Register 1945-1950*.

¹⁷⁷ Averitt, 34. *The Atlanta Constitution*, July 24, 1946.

shipbuildinghistory.com/shipyards/emergencylarge/southeastern.htm. Gunther (1947), 724.

¹⁷⁸ *The Emporia Gazette*, February 14, 1947. Tuten. *The Courier* (Connellsville), February 12, 1948. *The Atlanta Constitution*, July 17 & 24, 1946. *Times Record*, July 11, 1946.

Cochran barely scratched, taking 4% of the primary vote, while Peterson got a bare majority. But, once again, the county unit system weighed in, and Preston, trailing by six points in the popular vote, had the same number of county units as Peterson. The outcome depended on Bryan County where Peterson's lead was but three votes. Preston demanded a recount and the results gave him the County by six votes and its two county units and the victory. It is worth noting that Bryan's voters cast 1489 ballots, and 37,556 were counted in Chatham County, the home of Savannah. Bryan County had two unit votes and Chatham had six. Peterson carried Chatham by 9715 votes. There was no November opponent.¹⁷⁹

The play of the county unit system was an even greater subversion of democratic practice in Georgia's Fifth District. There were three counties in the District: Rockdale had 7724 people in 1940 and two unit votes, DeKalb counted 86,942 and Fulton had 392,886, each with six units. If the county unit system were used, and that was up to the District Democratic Committee, Rockdale's voters, less than 2% of the District, could determine the winner.

The District would grow from 488,000 in 1940 to 618,000 in 1950. Atlanta would increase, less aggressively, from 302,000 to 331,000. Gunther described "a very lively entrepot and distributing and mercantile center," with a busy airport and the fourth largest insurance business in the nation. Its "2,500 factories ... turn out something like 150 million dollars worth of goods a year." He noted that its "Coca-Cola millionaires" lived not far from "some of the worst Negro (and white) slums in the nation."¹⁸⁰ Suburban DeKalb was the richer county with median family income of \$3539 in 1949; the average of the three counties would be \$2695. The black population would fall from 29% to 26% over the 1940s.

Democrat Robert Ramspeck had represented the District in the House since 1929, but he resigned effective the last day of 1945 to become executive vice president and lobbyist of the Air Transport Association, a trade group. A special election to fill the vacancy on February 12, 1946, resulted in a victory for Helen Douglas Mankin over seventeen men, winning by 710 votes over Ramspeck's former secretary and current executive secretary and lobbyist for the Railroad Association of Georgia. Freight rates were a major issue in the contest. Mankin also had CIO support, but the victory was epic in that Mankin, among all the candidates, had sought black votes and was able to receive them, as this was a special *election* and not a Democratic primary wherein black citizens were not allowed to vote. Georgia was still fighting the 1944 Supreme Court decision in *Smith v. Allwright* that outlawed the white primary. Black votes made the difference in the crowded field. The Georgia white primary was ruled unconstitutional less than two months later.¹⁸¹

A new vote loomed soon on July 17; the Democratic primary, now no longer limited to whites, was constrained by the use of the county unit system. The 22,765 registered black voters in Fulton County could be easily outpolled by the 2859 registered white voters in Rockdale County.¹⁸²

Mankin, 49, an ambulance driver in France in the First World War, an Atlanta lawyer, and a State legislator since 1936, intended to hold on to the seat. Wyman Lowe, 41, a Second War vet and teacher filed, but the real opposition was James Davis, who had been a district judge since 1934. Eugene Talmadge first appointed Davis to the bench, and Davis remained a supporter. Talmadge weighed in on Mankin, complaining in his campaign for the Democratic nomination for Governor about "the spectacle of Atlanta

¹⁷⁹ *Georgia Register 1945-1950*. "Finding Aid," Preston Papers.

¹⁸⁰ Gunther (1947), 783.

¹⁸¹ *The Anniston Star*, February 13, 1946. Spritzer and Bergmark, 110.

¹⁸² Voter registration statistics are from *Georgia Register 1945-1950*, which also gives 220 black registrants in Rockdale. Spritzer and Bergmark, 113, reports 24,137 black registrants in Fulton County at the time of the primary.

Negroes sending a Congresswoman to Washington.” He named her “the Belle of Ashby Street,” the black precinct that had voted so heavily for her.¹⁸³

Mankin won the popular vote by ten points over Davis, getting 52% with Lowe getting 7%, but she carried only Fulton County and lost the county unit vote. There was no Republican candidate in November, but Mankin ran again as a write-in, with a suit to invalidate the county unit system dismissed by a Federal panel. She did well for a write-in, winning an official 38%. She contested the victory to the House, but HRes 552 was finally adopted on April 27, 1948, dismissing it. Davis had long ago been seated as Representative of the Fifth District.¹⁸⁴

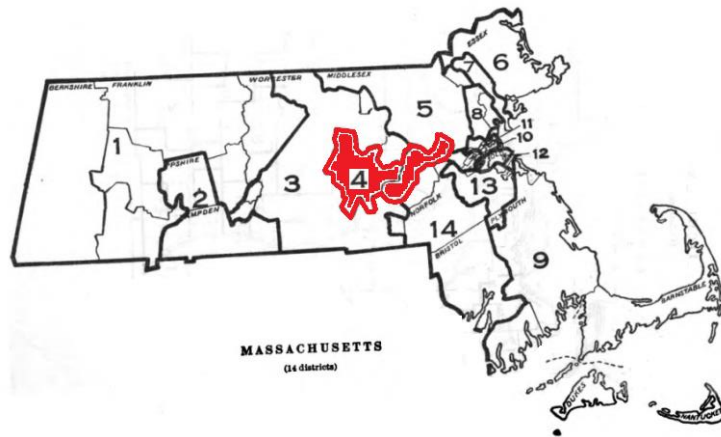
One should note that while Southern politicians adamantly supported white supremacy, the overwhelmingly white electorate of the Fifth District of Georgia voted substantially for the more racially liberal candidate.

The year 1946 was undoubtedly a strong Republican year, but in all American elections, from the White House to the doghouse, you win some and you lose some. Three Democrats, John Blatnik of Minnesota who we have already met in Chapter Two, and Harold Donohue of Massachusetts and John Carroll of Colorado displaced Republican incumbents.

Donohue, who would turn 45 on primary day in 1946, was born of Irish immigrants in Worcester, Massachusetts, where he lived the rest of his days. His father was a laborer, and Harold was listed in the 1920 Census as a steam fitter plumber’s helper, but in 1925 was a law school graduate. He practiced in Worcester the remainder of his working life, including through his congressional tenure. There was an interruption due to the Second World War with service in the Navy for 37 months. He served as a Worcester City Councilman and an Alderman for nine years.¹⁸⁵



Harold Donohue
Source: *Pocket Directory* (1953)



Massachusetts 4th Cong. Dist.
Source: *Congressional Directory* (1948)

In 1946 the Fourth Congressional District incumbent was Republican Pehr Holmes, 65, who had ridden out the Depression, New Deal, and War in the seat since 1931. Worcester was the west end of the

¹⁸³ *Women in Congress*, 246. *The Index-Journal*, September 12, 1962. *The Atlanta Constitution*, February 26, 1950. *The Daily Times-News* (Burlington), September 26, 1956.

¹⁸⁴ *The Anniston Star*, August 26, 1946. *The Dothan Eagle*, October 28, 1946. *Women in Congress*, 247.

¹⁸⁵ 1920 Census schedule, Worcester County, Massachusetts. *CQWR*, August 10, 1974, 2133-9. Worcester had both a Board of Councilmen and a Board of Aldermen with different functions. *Worcester Manual*.

District that extended to Waltham in the east. The City, with 194,000 people in 1940 and 203,000 in 1950 was the center of its own metropolitan area. Waltham and four other towns fell into the Boston metro area. The District was overwhelmingly metropolitan and urban. The economy was diverse, apart from its tiny agricultural and extractive sectors, and the average median household income of its three urban centers would be \$3229 in 1949. The foreign-born population was a large 19% of the total in 1940 and was diversely west European in origin.

Donohue, the Democratic Chair of Worcester County, won his Party's nomination for the House easily over two opponents and proceeded to upset Holmes. Labor made a hard run at unseating the incumbent, who had dispatched a number of previous Democrats supported by the Unions, thanks to the Republican proclivities of the smaller towns. Donohue's win was attributed to his "organizing ability" and to his repeatedly asking, "When was the last time you saw Mr. Holmes?" The margin was official at 1184 votes, Donohue missing a majority thanks to the presence of a Prohibition Party candidate. Holmes contested the loss, but the lame duck Democratic House quickly disposed of the challenge on December 23.¹⁸⁶

John Carroll's father was an ice peddler in Denver. The son spent seven years as a Denver policeman, which ended with his admission to the bar. At this point Carroll became an active politico, working as the Denver campaign manager in Edward Costigan's successful Senate campaign in 1930 and managing the failed primary run of Josephine Roche for the governorship in 1934. In 1936 he himself was elected the Denver prosecutor. In 1940 he failed to get the Democratic nomination for governor but carried Denver. In between all these efforts Carroll held patronage jobs and practiced a little law. In 1943, despite a minor child and a general assumption he would run for mayor, he enlisted in the Army and saw service through the European Theatre with military government. On September 10, 1946, he won the Democratic primary for the First Congressional District with 66%.¹⁸⁷



John Carroll

Source: BioGuide.Congress.gov



Colorado 1st Cong. Dist.

Source: Congressional Directory 1948

The District consisted of Denver, a city independent of other counties. During the 1940s the population would grow from 322,000 to 416,000, partly from annexations. Denver was the largest city

¹⁸⁶ *The Berkshire Evening Eagle*, October 17, 1946. *Massachusetts Election Statistics 1946*. *El Paso Herald-Post*, November 7, 1946. *The Sun* (Lowell), December 29, 1974. *Nashua Telegraph*, December 24, 1946.

¹⁸⁷ 1910 Census schedule, Denver, Colorado. "Biographical / Historical," Carroll Papers. *The Greeley Daily Tribune and the Weld County Republican*, April 10, 1936; January 29, 1941. *Colorado Abstract of Votes 1946*.

between Kansas City and San Francisco. John Gunther called it not only “one of the half-dozen richest in the nation,” but “probably the most self-sufficient, isolated, self-contained and complacent city in the world.” The median family income in 1949 would be \$3554.¹⁸⁸

The incumbent representative was Republican Dean Gillespie. Denver had not sent a Republican to the House since 1932, but Gillespie won a special election on March 7, 1944, to replace a Democrat who had died. Gillespie was then returned with 52% in the regular election in 1944 in counterpoint to Denver’s 51% for Pres. Roosevelt. Gillespie was no Republican New Dealer, and Carroll’s recognized leadership of “progressive democrats” in the State made for a clean-cut decision between the two. The Democrat took 52% to join the House. The new Representative was described as “husky, humorless, handsome” and “a reliable and sound thinker.”¹⁸⁹

One feels the need to identify some common characteristic that explains the unseating of three Republicans in the midst of an overwhelming Republican tide, but to a large part it was likely the uniqueness of the individual contests and candidates. Donohue and Carroll had lengthy political careers and connections and Blatnik lesser ones. The Republican incumbents in Minnesota and Denver had seats that were less than secure, based on their showings in 1944, but Donohue’s opponent had a pretty safe 56% of the vote then. The one thing that is common to the three is that the districts of these three men began a long period of Democratic reliability with the 1946 elections. Blatnik and Donohue would serve many many years in the House; although Carroll voluntarily departed soon, his seat was taken by another Democrat who served until 1971. It seems that 1946 was simply an inflection point for their constituents, to adopt Democratic representation.

The 53 practicing politicians elected in November 1946 were all to some extent on a track to a campaign for Congress. Still, most people elected to the local school board do not throw their hats in the greater ring, even if they might fantasize of it.

Eight had previously run for the House; another four had been Congressional staff. Fifteen were back from the War, and at least four of these were at loose ends. A minimum of thirteen had support of the dominant political organizational, and another eight had no opposition in getting the nomination. Still, seven did not show any of these characteristics. To a large extent, the ambition that impels one to run for a school board, if successful, has a tendency to propel one to higher electoral levels. After all, the school board is constrained by the municipality or the county, the local government by the state, the state by the Federal government. Ambition compels some to higher office for personal edification and a larger role in defining policy.

¹⁸⁸ Gunther (1947), 224.

¹⁸⁹ *The Greeley Daily Tribune and the Weld County Republican*, December 4, 1934; March 8 & 9, 1944. *Time*, November 18, 1946. *The Times Recorder*, February 3, 1947.