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Cover: Cumberland Gap, ca. 1862. The Filson Historical Society

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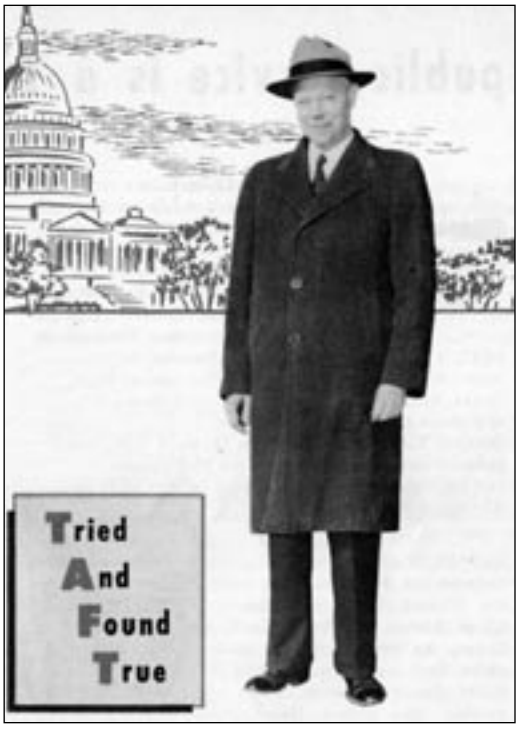
Addition through Division:
Robert Taft, the Labor Vote, and the Ohio Senate Election of 1950

Michael Bowen

In 1950, the Ohio senatorial election had potentially groundbreaking implications for the two-party system and the dominant governing ideology in Washington. The congressional races of that year marked the third election cycle since the end of World War II, and the battle lines between liberal supporters of the New Deal and conservatives who opposed all or parts of it were clearly delineated. Each party had a conservative and liberal wing whose adherents differed on crucial policy positions, including aid to Europe, budget deficits, tax rates, and pursuit of subversives in the federal government. In 1946, conservative Republicans had won an overwhelming congressional majority, but two years later incumbent president Harry Truman had recaptured the White House on a liberal Democratic platform. For the Ohio Senate race, the contest revolved principally around organized labor and federal labor policy. The *New York Times* declared that the race was larger than the individual candidates, arguing that voters would choose between continuing the New Deal or rolling it back, between a struggle for a coalition-style government in which labor would have sizable influence or a political system that ignored unions and their members altogether.[1] Observers, therefore, saw the contest as a referendum between two ideologies of government and two competing political philosophies.



1950 Taft campaign piece. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library

The identity of the candidates added to the sense of importance. Incumbent Robert A. Taft, known as "Mr. Republican," served as the titular leader of the conservative wing of the Republican Party and drew heavy fire from both national labor leaders and Democratic politicians for co-authoring one of the most controversial pieces of legislation of the postwar period—the Taft-Hartley Act. New Deal Democrats and union officials rejected Taft-Hartley as a "slave labor" law and sought to repeal it as quickly as possible. Therefore, labor portrayed Taft as public enemy number one. The Democrats ran State Auditor Joseph Ferguson, the son of a coal miner from the southern

Ohio town of Shawnee. He was a rather unremarkable candidate who had no experience in national affairs, labor relations, or foreign policy. However, during his thirteen-year tenure at the Ohio capital, Ferguson had built a strong political organization that received tremendous support from organized labor.[2] Pundits viewed Ferguson as a threat to the entrenched Republican and, in the final weeks of the campaign, many saw the race as too close to call.[3] A union-assisted Democratic victory over Taft would send shockwaves throughout the American political landscape and solidify New Deal liberalism as the dominant postwar political ideology.

From the start, Taft adopted an aggressive and innovative approach, running on a more inclusive platform than in years past. The staples of his conservative philosophy—laissez-faire economics, anti-communism, and limited government—appeared as usual in his campaign rhetoric, but he also made direct appeals to the normally Democratic union members and to African Americans. This tactic marked a radical change in campaign strategy for Taft at a time when the political climate favored conservatives. Ultimately, appealing directly to workers helped Taft score an overwhelming victory against the CIO and its liberal allies, and this effort also revealed an inherent weakness in the Democratic New Deal coalition. While Taft was no friend to labor unions and saw them as impediments to the free market economy, his plan took advantage of discontent among rank and file workers and allowed him to score an important victory for conservatism in America.

Taft for Senator decal. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library

Taft's successful campaign highlights an overlooked aspect of American political history. The literature on the postwar period claims that the New Deal coalition remained a stable force until the backlash to the Civil Rights movement drew working-class voters and southerners to the Republican Party. According to Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, "When Ronald Reagan assumed office in January of 1981, an epoch in the nation's political history came to an end. The New Deal, as a dominant order of ideas, public policies, and political alliances, died."[4] Other historians have echoed this theme and pinpointed the beginning of the conservative movement and the collapse of the Democratic organization to the candidacies of either Barry Goldwater or George Wallace.[5] More recent works have contended that there were fissures and shifting allegiances within the New Deal coalition from the 1930s through the 1960s, but the majority of these studies argue that the

lack of cohesion should be attributed to racial tensions. Kari Frederickson's work on the Dixiecrats highlights the most visible conflict within the Democratic Party over civil rights initiatives.[6] Thomas Sugrue's *Origins of the Urban Crisis* details racial tensions and working-class resentment in postwar Detroit and illustrates how local officials thwarted federally-mandated programs in order to maintain racially homogenous neighborhoods.[7] The 1950 Ohio senatorial race should be considered important because it raises questions about the role of class in the coalition's effectiveness after World War II. The election's result also illustrates a successful effort to separate rank and file workers politically from union leadership.

Taft and his fellow conservatives entered the 1950 election with a great deal of uncertainty. In 1948, the liberal wing of the GOP had suffered a devastating national defeat at the hands of Truman, but Republicans still hoped that they could repeat their congressional victory of 1946. In April 1946, the conservative wing had secured control of the party apparatus, and by November it controlled the first Republican majorities in the Senate and the House since 1928. Conservative Republicans had made anti-communism central to the campaign, even going so far as to label Secretary of Commerce and former Vice-President Henry Wallace as the "Whirling Dervish of Totalitarianism" and to claim that the CIO's Political Action Committee (PAC) was created by socialists and supported only "Red" candidates. Along with this, rhetoric conservatives wrote a coherent platform that called for tax reductions, an end to price controls, housing reform, and changes in labor law. In the end, these political tactics gave the Republican Party majorities in both houses in November.[8]

With Taft in full control of the party organization, the Congressional leadership of the Eightieth Congress pushed a heavily conservative agenda. By far the most important piece of legislation passed by the Republican majority was the Taft-Hartley Labor Act. Authored by Taft and Representative Fred Hartley of New Jersey, the bill reversed several key principles of the New Deal-era Wagner Act by permitting states to outlaw all forms of union security, by prohibiting secondary boycotts, and by allowing states to create "right to work" laws. The law also required selected union officials to sign an affidavit confirming that they were not members of the Communist Party. Otherwise they would lose access to the services of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), making their organizations vulnerable to raids from rival unions. These measures reinforced government regulation of labor unions and arguably placed organized labor on an equal footing with management in dealings with the NLRB.[9]

While conservative Republicans and a majority of business interests—including the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce—supported the Taft-Hartley Act, organized labor did not. In

testimony before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, the major unions bitterly opposed the key provisions of the act. The Taft-Hartley "slave labor" law, as CIO officials termed it, was a call to arms for organized labor and forced the unions to increase their political activity. Labor leaders immediately called for its repeal and launched an extensive campaign through the PAC and the AFL's Labor League of Political Education (LLPE) to garner support on Capitol Hill. For the next decade their efforts continued but to no avail. The threat of Taft-Hartley, however, did draw organized labor further into politics and gave it an emotionally charged issue with resonance.[10]

The CIO's zealous campaign to repeal Taft-Hartley spilled over from the halls of Congress into Taft's 1950 reelection campaign. The Ohio Democratic Party was in no condition to mount an effective campaign alone and its leadership welcomed the support of organized labor, as assistance was not readily forthcoming from the national party. In early January, state party officials held a summit in Columbus to discuss potential nominees and make recommendations before the May primaries. Yet they took no firm public stand. Democratic National Committee Chairman William Boyle publicly claimed that the national headquarters would neither interfere in the Ohio race nor make any recommendations. Reporters, however, speculated that he had successfully blocked Cleveland mayor Thomas Burke from becoming the Party's front-runner. State Auditor Joseph Ferguson appeared to be in the lead for the nomination, but party officials and supporters still held out hope that Governor Frank Lausche, a conservative-leaning Democrat, would enter the race. Pundits, however, correctly assumed that Lausche had his sights set on re-election and would not take on Mr. Republican in November. [11]

On his way to the Democratic summit, Boyle also met with CIO leaders in Cincinnati to discuss the upcoming election. Although the Ohio Democratic Party was in disarray, the Political Action Committee had focus and determination. Its national leadership made defeating Taft its primary mission and even went so far as to call Ohio the number one battleground state in the congressional elections. Boyle met with national CIO-PAC head Jack Kroll, a leader in the Cincinnati labor movement, to discuss registration drives and precinct organizations. Kroll commented that Ohio was the most important state in the November campaigns. Boyle, however, made more moderate statements and appeared to be distancing himself publicly from the CIO-PAC.[12]

Despite a less than stellar endorsement from the national party, labor organizations continued their unabashed campaign against the Republican Senator. A few days earlier, both the CIO and the AFL had released scorecards for congressmen and senators, rating them on their voting activity relating to union issues. The most important issue was the Taft Labor Bill of 1949, which proposed a few minor amendments to Taft-Hartley but largely kept the bill intact. The AFL pamphlet claimed, "No Senator who voted for this bill

can be considered a friend of labor."[13] Organized labor had declared war on Robert Taft and intended to fight to the end.

Taft had prepared for the onslaught from labor well before the Democratic Party chose its candidate. In early campaigning in 1949, Taft had often mentioned that his opponent would be the "tool of avaricious labor leaders" and the "fair-haired boy of the Fair Deal." Taft campaign manager Willis Gradison predicted that the national AFL convention, scheduled to take place in Cincinnati in mid-1950, would become a forum for Taft's opponents. Union officials and regular Democratic politicians alike tied Taft to the labor issue and rallied against Taft-Hartley in speeches in Ohio and across the country. In his State of the Union Address, Truman called for the repeal of Taft-Hartley and a return to the labor relations system of the 1935 Wagner Act. Taft responded by claiming that the "message [was] full of inconsistencies. It expands on the extraordinary results in this country of liberty and a free system at the same time that it advocates measures which would destroy freedom—special privileges to labor union bosses, the compulsory medical plan, the Brannan farm controls and increased taxes." [14] The repeal of Taft-Hartley was clearly the top priority of the Democrats and the unions in 1950.

L. D. Warren, editorial cartoonist for The Cincinnati Enquirer, *poked fun at the CIO-PAC's support for the 1950 Democratic senatorial candidate, Joe Ferguson. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cininnati Historical Society Library*

The political climate that year, however, did not favor labor unions and the election appeared ripe for an easy Taft victory. The year 1950 began as John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers became mired in a marathon strike against the coal industry. Closer to home, the *Cincinnati Enquirer,* the most prominent newspaper in Taft's home city, reported on labor relations on a daily basis and almost always cast unions in a bad light. It ran a daily column called "Inside Labor," which often used the terms "reds" and "commies" in its headlines. A March column, for example, told of "subversive activities which use lefty labor fronts to control many of [Hawaii's] strategic industries."[15]

During 1950, another topic in the news— Communism—favored conservatives like Robert Taft. On February ninth, McCarthyism emerged as a political force when Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy proclaimed that he had a secret list of 205 Communists who worked in the State Department. The Communist-in-government issue was nothing new to American politics, of course, but McCarthy promoted it in such a sensational way that the public could not ignore it. Taft's hometown of Cincinnati was especially susceptible

to fears of a communist around every corner. From January through March, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* contributed to McCarthy's effort by running a series of six weekly articles by James Ratliff that claimed Communist agents had infiltrated virtually every organization and social institution in Cincinnati, and detailed their methods of subversion. Such familiar targets as the Progressive Party and labor unions were mentioned, along with local charities and schools. The headline for the final article read, "Communists tread warily in religion, schools. Moves made to Combat Ism—FBI is handicapped by Rules." Then, in July, the House Un-American Activities Committee made a stop in Cincinnati to investigate Ratliff's charges. What transpired was a festival of name-calling, innuendo, and smear tactics, confirmed in the newspapers with letters from local citizens who expressed outrage at Communist infiltration in the plants, unions, and schools of Cincinnati.[16] When McCarthyism came to Ohio, Taft was poised to capitalize on it and win a third term to the United States Senate.

The final major issue during the contest focused on foreign policy, specifically America's role in the world as a whole. Prior to World War II, Taft had been an ardent isolationist. He had been the most prominent political spokesman of the America First movement, and had done everything in his power to keep the United States from becoming involved in international entanglements. Although he had softened his rhetoric as a member of realities of the postwar world, Taft had trouble escaping his isolationist past. At the outset, this issue appeared to have little to do with the campaign. But that changed on June 25 when North Korea invaded South Korea. Taft initially supported the Truman administration's commitment to fighting communism on the Korean peninsula, but as the election drew closer he began to fall back to his isolationist position. His biographer, James T. Patterson, believes that he was "caught amid his anti-communist militancy about Asia, his lifelong hostility toward extensive overseas involvement, and his partisan opposition to Truman." With American soldiers fighting overseas, however, anything but a firm commitment to the war could injure Taft at the polls. He therefore acknowledged that he had to support the war effort. But he hoped that by highlighting administration mistakes leading up to the war he could politicize the issue to his advantage. Taft, however, remained vulnerable to charges of isolationism from the other side, although he did manage in the end to downplay the foreign policy aspect of the campaign. In sum, the anti-labor, anti-communist, and anti-isolationist politics that dominated the nation in 1950 proved crucial to Taft's election campaign.[17]

Taft could have easily ridden these issues to victory, but he did not. Instead of running a stereotypical conservative campaign, Mr. Republican chose to run on a more-inclusive platform that appealed to organized labor and African Americans. This strategy seems surprising in hindsight, as both groups

have remained a key part of the liberal Democratic camp through the end of the twentieth century. Taft and his advisors, however, saw an opportunity to broaden both the appeal of the party and to divide the New Deal coalition. Perhaps Taft had in mind lessons learned from Thomas Dewey's failed presidential campaign in 1948 in which he lost the election while running on a platform that, according to conservatives, closely resembled that of the New Deal—a political program they derisively labeled "Me-Tooism." An anonymous New Yorker put it succinctly when he told GOP Chairman B. Carroll Reece, "Dewey is looked upon by thinking people in this state as the New Dealer in the Republican Party and is a CARBON COPY of F.D.R."[18] Taft recognized that Dewey's strategy had been flawed, but realized that blacks and trade unionists could be attracted by issues other than those at the core of the New Deal. He therefore synthesized his conservative political beliefs with Dewey's broader effort to win the support of African Americans and organized labor.

The year 1950 marked a crossroads for the Republican Party and its campaign efforts. Beginning in 1944, the party had begun to utilize more modern campaign methods when RNC Chairman (and future Eisenhower Attorney General) Herbert Brownell oversaw the creation of expanded publicity and research departments at the RNC's headquarters in Washington. In 1946, when Reece and his fellow conservatives took control of the party machinery, they used these initiatives to promote a strictly conservative platform in their successful 1946 Congressional campaign. But, in 1948, the Dewey organization was once again the dominant faction, and instead of accentuating the differences between the Republican and Democratic platforms, Dewey and running-mate Earl Warren chose to speak of an America unified under a GOP administration that would promote prosperity and progress. They made few specific policy comments and regularly assured the public that the Republican Party would indeed capture the White House. Truman, on the other hand, ran an aggressive campaign that labeled the conservative-dominated Eightieth Congress as the "do-nothing Congress" and argued that it supported the wealthy and the corporations at the expense of the average American. Dewey, who had nothing to do with the Republican legislative program, did little to refute these charges and Truman's aggressive posture helped bring on the most shocking upset in American political history.[19]

In the aftermath of Dewey's defeat, conservatives in the Republican Party mounted a full attack on their liberal colleagues. The RNC held its first post-election meeting on January 27, 1949, at the Fontenelle Hotel in Omaha, Nebraska. Here in the conservatives' home territory, the Midwest, Taft supporters challenged the chairman hand-picked by Dewey, Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, as well as Herbert Brownell who had served as the Dewey-Warren campaign manager, on their ineffective and defensive tactics. The

most vocal of the pro-Taft forces, including Utah Governor J. Bracken Lee and Indiana Senator Homer Capeheart, argued that the party's publicity machinery and its platform should be used to highlight the differences between the principles of the GOP and the Democratic Party. Nebraska Senator Kenneth Wherry said, "There are those who say we should revitalize the party by turning to the radical left and by out-promising the New Dealers. A 'me-too' policy is the road to ruin for our party and for our nation . . . It would be an abject desertion of the traditional American principles."[20] At the tension-filled meeting, the Dewey-wing of the party seemed willing to accept the legislative accomplishments of the Eightieth Congress and listen carefully to the concerns of the conservative wing. They succeeded in swinging enough moderates to turn back a call for Scott's resignation by a vote of fifty-four to fifty. The results showed the depth of the split in the party, but also allowed conservatives to have more bargaining power with party liberals than they had had in 1948 when Dewey's New York contingent ran the national organization with virtually no assistance from other partisans.[21]

Conservatives successfully lobbied for an increased share of membership on the Executive Committee of the RNC and also held sway over the creation of a new declaration of objectives. This document took nearly five months to craft and was released to the public on May 2, 1949. It made clear that the GOP opposed any extension of the federal bureaucracy or creation of new regulatory agencies, any tax increases, and supported every effort to fight totalitarianism. A subsection of the document dealt with the role of the RNC in the 1950 and 1952 elections, and made the party's first objective: "Acquainting the American people via radio, press, and forum, with meaning of these aims and what we are doing to achieve them."[22] In short, Republicans would use the party's machinery to carve out clear policy distinctions between themselves and the Democratic Party, and promote these differences at every opportunity.

To Taft, the leader of the Congressional Republicans and chief architect of Republican strategy in the Senate, adhering to the statement of objectives meant campaigning on his record and his legislative accomplishments. Taft had been the most forthright and visible GOP operative in Washington, and therefore promoting party principles gave him an opportunity to trumpet his personal accomplishments as well as the record of the Eightieth Congress. He also made every effort to spread the Republican message outside the traditional affluent-to-middle-class base of the party. And he pursued the labor vote vigorously in the 1950 election, partially to offset the efforts of the CIO-PAC.

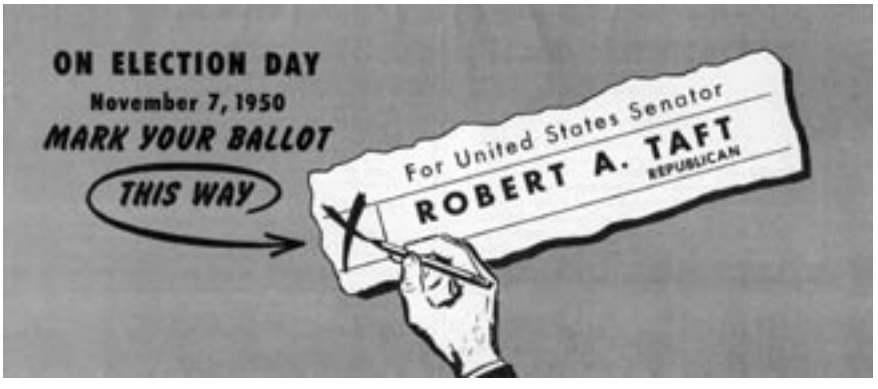
Taft's work on the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and his experience as the target of union wrath had taught him several key lessons. Most important, Taft realized that there was a disjuncture between union officials and the rank and file. In the three years since Taft-Hartley, he had

received numerous letters from concerned union members decrying the evils of supposedly corrupt union bosses and their support for programs that did not operate in the best interest of the average working man. One worker at a Ford plant in California questioned why he should be out of work because a few men decided to strike. Another proclaimed that Taft had put America first instead of pressure groups like the correspondent's own union. Taft responded to one CIO member with a letter stating that he had "heard from many other members of labor unions who . . . do not agree with the arbitrary positions taken by those who now control the top labor organizations."[23] He used this divide to make appeals to the general membership while attacking the union bosses and their political efforts.

Senator Taft with potential voters. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library

Taft promoted the Taft-Hartley Act to union members as a positive good rather than a "slave labor" law. Numerous workers had written to praise the Ohioan for his role in creating the bill and espoused its benefits. One CIO member from Lima, Ohio, was grateful to receive a financial report from his union for the first time since joining in 1916. A General Motors employee from Pontiac, Michigan, thought the cooling-off clause upheld the right "at all time to protect the nation's destiny and toss in jail any union Big Shot that jeopardizes the nation's welfare." Taft consistently argued that the bill allowed unions to thrive and did not take away any of their power to represent their members. In the first of a series of radio and platform speeches, Taft claimed that the law protected the rank and file by outlawing the closed shop, thus giving them a voluntary right to be represented by their union, barring secondary boycotts, and preventing jurisdictional strikes. He also noted that unions had thrived under the law, citing Department of Labor statistics that showed a rise in union membership since 1947. Taft forcefully argued, "Nobody has been enslaved. No union has been busted. No human being's rights have been violated." "All these facts add up to one thing," he continued, "Taft-Hartley is good for the unions and good for our workingmen and good for our country. It is making our democracy work better."[24] This message appealed both to unionists who had achieved substantial gains under Taft-Hartley as well as to a general public which feared additional labor stoppages.

Taft also made a point to explain the law to unionists. Since its creation, critics and supporters alike contended that the law was very complex and needed a good deal of clarification. The Republican Party had produced a steady stream of literature that promoted its benefits and spelled out its provisions, including a pamphlet entitled: "Before and After: The Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947." It claimed that Taft-Hartley was a bill of rights for all Americans and that it actively promoted cooperation between unions, business, and government. A more forceful endorsement came in July 1950, as a former vice-president of the United Electrical Workers testified before HUAC in Cincinnati that the Taft-Hartley act enabled the UEW's members to overthrow the union's communist leadership. Nearly a month later, Taft penned a newspaper column claiming that the heads of the CIO and the AFL, as well as the Truman administration, had politicized the bill rather than working to amend it. He concluded by saying, "Today, however, it is a better issue on my side than theirs."[25] In taking such a proactive stance on Taft-Hartley, Taft diffused the most potent issue in the CIO-PAC's arsenal.



Portion of a 1950 Taft campaign brochure. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library

While Taft was able to divide rank and file workers from the leadership, many of his other efforts to woo labor proved much less successful. The Taft campaign organized workers into a Labor League for Taft, essentially a public relations vehicle supervised by Ohio newspaperman Gene Carr. After the primary defeat of 1948, sympathetic members of the labor press had encouraged the Senator to form a pressure group to counter the CIO-PAC and the American Federation of Labor's Labor League for Political Education. On August 29, 1949, Taft therefore encouraged Tom Colosimo, editor of a small independent publication titled *The Steelworkers' News* and an openly-partisan Republican, to create a labor committee on the Senator's behalf. Little came of this effort, however, as union newspapers, no matter how small, could not work actively for Taft without political and economic repercussions.[26] The Taft committee members then took it upon themselves to create a body of unionists who would campaign actively for their candidate and against the CIO-PAC position. An undated memo circulated to campaign staff claimed that Taft was held in high esteem by the general union membership, and it argued that an organization of workers campaigning for Taft would encourage undecided laborers to support his candidacy. More important, it would "throw confusion into the opposing camp and in itself would be a diversionary device which would take a lot of

the time and attention away from the Senator."[27]

The Labor League for Taft was organized over the summer and a formal announcement was made at a rally on August 13 in Columbus. Willis O. Hall of the AFL Brotherhood of Operative Potters was elected chairman at the event. Over two hundred workers attended, most from the building trades and smaller unions. The larger unions, such as the autoworkers and the steel workers, had only token representation. A press release accompanying the function claimed that the men did not represent their unions, and supported Taft because he had always "fought to protect the working man from the abuse of unfair employers or dictatorial union bosses and to safeguard [their] jobs." Those present were charged with establishing local Labor League committees in their hometowns and signing up a total of 200,000 members by election day. They likely fell far short of their membership goals, as a press release dated September 28 claimed a membership of just over ten thousand. The group, however, generated a good deal of publicity material and gave the appearance of a large Taft following among organized workers. They published a short newsletter titled *Buckeye Labor News* and provided a well-funded but numerically weaker alternative to the CIO-PAC. The Taft organization was obviously pleased with the LLFT's performance, as it was subsequently recreated in Wisconsin during the 1952 presidential primary.[28]

Taft also used the Taft-Hartley issue to reach out to African American voters, another major component of the Democratic New Deal coalition. One of the most bitterly contested aspects of the act was prohibition of the closed shop. Prior to Taft-Hartley the closed shop made union membership a necessity for employment. It prevented management from establishing a rival company union, guaranteeing that existing organizations would remain in power. Taft promoted outlawing this provision as a positive benefit to African Americans when he rightly claimed that an open shop would prevent discriminatory hiring practices perpetuated by labor organizations. The flyer stated, "*Under the closed shop* there is no way you can get a job unless you first become a member of the union. But you know many unions don't take in colored workers at all. Other unions put colored workers in second-class Jim Crow locals." The text also claimed that the Taft-Hartley law was the only piece of civil rights legislation that dealt with employment and went on to say: "Bob Taft has proven to be our *real friend*."[29]

The closed shop campaign flyer was one in a series of handbills that the pro-Taft Ohio Colored Voters Committee distributed. Two others are notable for articulating Taft's stand on social legislation. The first, titled "Taft: A Real Friend of Ours," highlighted the Senator's support for an increased minimum wage, federal funding for education, and the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Act. These measures, of course, could be considered "civil rights" legislation only in the broadest sense, but the poster pointed out

that these measures all benefited African Americans. One issue that did have direct racial implications was the Republican drive to prevent the seating of Mississippi Senator Theodore Bilbo in 1947, a topic that had salience in the African American press because it struck a blow at the southern Democratic establishment. The flyer proclaimed that Taft had taken a principled stand to keep Bilbo out of the Senate even though it meant that newly elected Republican senators were delayed as well. The second campaign flyer centered on Taft's support of civil rights legislation. It argued that, while the liberal wing of the Democratic Party favored the issue, the leadership knew full well that its own Southern delegation in the House and Senate would overrule any change. Taft, by contrast, should be considered a benefactor to African Americans because of his single vote for the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) and his consistent support for anti-poll tax bills and efforts to prevent filibusters on civil rights measures. In truth, Taft's record was less impressive than he depicted, and he often worked in concert with the southern delegation to prevent passage of the FEPC. The flyer did not make any false assertions. Instead, it put a positive, though somewhat misleading, spin on Taft's civil rights record.[30]

Taft also made a favorable impression on segments of the African American press. The Cleveland *Call and Post*, one of the most influential black newspapers in the state, gave Taft ringing endorsements throughout the campaign. It also highlighted the divisive campaign rhetoric of the labor unions. An editorial on September 23 claimed, "Under the leadership of the CIO-PAC . . . programs have been put into action especially designed and calculated to poison the minds of the Negro voters against Senator Taft." The October 28 edition linked Taft to progress on civil rights legislation and predicted that, if Ferguson were elected, a further entrenchment of the Democratic Party would bolster the Southern bloc. Taft also campaigned through the paper, placing seven advertisements in the two issues preceding the election, compared to one from Ferguson.[31]

Ultimately, the Ohio Colored Voters Committee campaign and the endorsement of the Cleveland *Call and Post* proved unsuccessful. During the campaign, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People denounced Taft for his anti-FEPC stance. Since the issue came to the fore in 1946, he had been against creation of a compulsory FEPC to root out workplace discrimination. He contended that it overstepped the powers of the Federal government. A firm proponent of laissez-faire policies, Taft sponsored a bill that created a permanent FEPC but one limited to an advisory role. The NAACP supported his opponent, and on Election Day the Democratic contender won every majority black district in the state.[32]

Although futile, appealing to African American voters was a marked departure from Taft's previous senatorial runs and his 1948 presidential pri-

mary campaign. The GOP had made limited efforts to attract black voters back into the party after World War II, and most of these maneuvers came from the liberal, Dewey wing. And in 1946 Taft himself had been somewhat reluctant to campaign for the African American vote. He confided to a supporter that he would help the Republican National Committee in any way he could but he did not think the project "very hopeful." Nearly a year before the 1947 primary, a supporter told Reece, "The general impression is that the Negroes are very much in favor of Mr. Dewey on account of the FEPC law having been passed in the State of New York." This confirmed Taft's suspicions and in 1948 he made virtually no effort to win over black voters. By 1950, however, Taft and his campaign managers had obviously changed their minds and actively pursued African-American support. In the 1952 presidential primary, the Senator devoted even more time and energy to winning the black vote. He appointed Mississippi National Committeeman Perry Howard, an African American and a conservative Republican since the administration of Warren G. Harding, to address the "negro question."[33] The loss of the black vote to Ferguson apparently did not faze Taft who now saw the African American community as a possible source of backing for the GOP in future elections.

While the immediate response of the African American community was disappointing, Taft's more inclusive election strategy did reward the incumbent with increased support from the white working class. Ferguson did little to hinder Taft's efforts, as he and his labor backers played their roles assigned by the Taft campaign—Ferguson as a puppet of labor and the unions themselves as outside agitators—with great aplomb. The election campaign was widely regarded as one of the bitterest in Ohio history and saw some of the most intense mudslinging of the postwar period. From the outset, virtually every prominent labor leader came out against Taft. The AFL began its anti-Taft drive on January 21 at the dedication of their new state headquarters in Columbus. AFL President William Green and Minnesota Senator Hubert H. Humphrey spoke out against Taft and the Ohio GOP in general. Green proclaimed that Taft was the "champion of the anti-labor cause" and that it was labor's "solemn duty to make him the former champion this November." He continued the refrain on February 1 by linking Taft with the Taft-Hartley bill and claiming that the defeat of the former would lead to the repeal of the latter. The CIO got into the act early on as well. CIO-PAC director Jack Kroll, headquartered in Cincinnati, used his proximity to attack Taft often. In late January, he closed a constitutional convention of the Ohio CIO Council by saying that the Senator was full of double talk, and he urged every citizen of the state to vote against Taft. From that point forward, virtually every major labor convention featured a diatribe against Taft and Taft-Hartley. CIO leaders

Jacob Potofsky and Philip Murray attacked Taft at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America convention in May, and Green denounced the Senator again in July and August.[34]

The labor press also vigorously employed anti-Taft rhetoric. The *CIO News*, the national press organ of the organization, ran unflattering news stories on the Senator in nearly every issue leading up to the campaign. On June 3, the paper ran an election report on the Buckeye State which was essentially a campaign speech written by Kroll. He claimed, "Behind the symbol of State Auditor Ferguson are other realities—the realities of a better and brighter world for the people of Ohio and of our whole country." The August 28 edition ran five articles on the campaign, including a favorable review of an anti-Taft comic book and an assessment of Taft's foreign policy stance—which was determined to be favorable to Korean aggression. On September 4, a story on a ruling by the state Attorney General allowing assistance to blind voters ran with the headline: "Taft forces may go to courts to keep 1000s from polls."[35]

Family photograph included in 1950 Taft campaign brochure. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library

Beyond these polemical flourishes, the CIO mounted serious grassroots efforts to mobilize their membership to vote and support Ferguson. The *CIO News* reported that the Ohio CIO-PAC central committee and the state CIO Council, also headed by Kroll, were planning the "most dynamic registration drive" ever. Their mission was "the registration of every eligible voter, regardless of political affiliation, in the areas where registration is required." In April, two hundred eighty-five members attended a registration and campaign workshop sponsored by the state PAC. Organizers discussed the central issues of the election and effective techniques for voter activation and mobilization. The national meeting of the PAC, held in June, reaffirmed these goals and pledged unwavering support for "candidates for public office . . . who share our belief in a truly liberal America," and urged every CIO member to give money to the campaign and vote on election day.[36] The 1950 campaign marked one of the most effective and determined campaigns in CIO history, and Ohio was its central focus.

Taft was, of course, not running against the unions, but they would likely have put up more of a fight than his opponent. The Ohio Democratic Party had fallen into obvious disarray by 1950. After Boyle's visit to the state early in the primary season, seven candidates filed petitions to run in the

May primary, but none were especially appealing to the voting public. The *New York Times* noted that, in Cleveland, there was more buzz on the street about the opening of the musical "South Pacific" than the upcoming primary. The clear front-runner was Ferguson, and other entrants included Toledo Mayor Michael DiSalle and Western Reserve University Professor Henry Busch. Ferguson had held his post for thirteen years and had a formidable political organization, which he used to distribute campaign literature and keep his name in the public spotlight. He took advantage of his position and rolled to a 51,000 vote plurality on May 2. From there, he wasted no time preparing for November. He met with President Harry Truman on May 26 to discuss gaining support from the national committee and made the brash statement that he would defeat Taft by 250,000 votes. He pledged to campaign with great zeal and take his message to the rural and poor urban areas of the state.[37]

Ferguson was the epitome of a weak candidate. He had name recognition from his tenure as State Auditor but little else. He received a very unfavorable reaction from the press for his folksy ways and his comical appearance that lasted throughout the campaign. On September thirtieth, Ferguson lashed out at journalists who, he claimed, were biased in favor of Taft. He complained that editorial cartoons ridiculed his lack of a college education, and he charged that the overall pro-Taft slant of the Ohio press was un-American. And indeed cartoonists often depicted him as a small child with his gapped teeth and large eyeglasses as his most prominent features. But in truth, the caricatures of Ferguson were no more unflattering than those depicting any other politician. On the campaign trail, Ferguson also made several blunders that showed his ignorance of national issues. When asked what he would do about Korea, Ferguson is said to have replied, "I'll carry that county too."[38] Ferguson was lambasted in the press, but there is little to indicate that his treatment was undeserved or harsher than that given to any other candidate.

Even more unfortunate for Ferguson was the response from Democratic Governor Frank Lausche. Also up for re-election in 1950, Lausche shocked the political world when he refused to endorse Ferguson while attending the Governors' Conference in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, on June 19. When asked whom he would support in the fall, the governor responded that he would vote for the candidate who would most ably serve the nation. Press accounts indicate that Lausche commonly expressed a disdain for Ferguson and believed that removing Taft, the Republican standard-bearer in the Senate, would weaken the opposition and the two-party system. Syndicated columnist Arthur Krock noted that Lausche had committed the "most flagrant" political heresy and likely angered his own party and its key constituent group, organized labor. President Truman,

addressing the Governors' Conference on June 22, took a shot at Lausche when he told the Democratic contingent that the duty of the party was to elect "real Democrats" if they were to succeed. He pledged his support for Ferguson and the entire Democratic ticket. Lausche, however, did not respond to Truman's pressure and never made a declaration of support for either senatorial candidate. Some pundits attributed this to the governor's independent nature, but others saw it as a sign of Ferguson's deficiencies as a candidate.[39]

A few other Democrats also backed Taft, including a prominent state senator from Cleveland who said that a Ferguson victory would be "a black eye to Ohio and an insult to the intelligence of the Buckeye State." More commonly, Democrats openly protested their candidate's lack of campaign organization. He had a strong campaign apparatus that excelled in direct-mail campaigning, but he apparently lacked any notion of how to use his group effectively for stump appearances. In one instance, he arrived in Toledo, completed a radio address, and left town before local party leaders even knew of his intentions to visit the city. The Democratic challenger also had a tough time appealing to union members who bankrolled a large portion of his campaign. The *New York Times* reported that the rank and file was largely apathetic to Ferguson about his poor presence, his lack of education, and his nonexistent record of support for labor. Unnamed union officials quoted in the story blamed a lack of interest in Ferguson for the poor showings at union registration drives throughout the state, and they predicted that most of those opposed to Taft simply would not vote.[40]

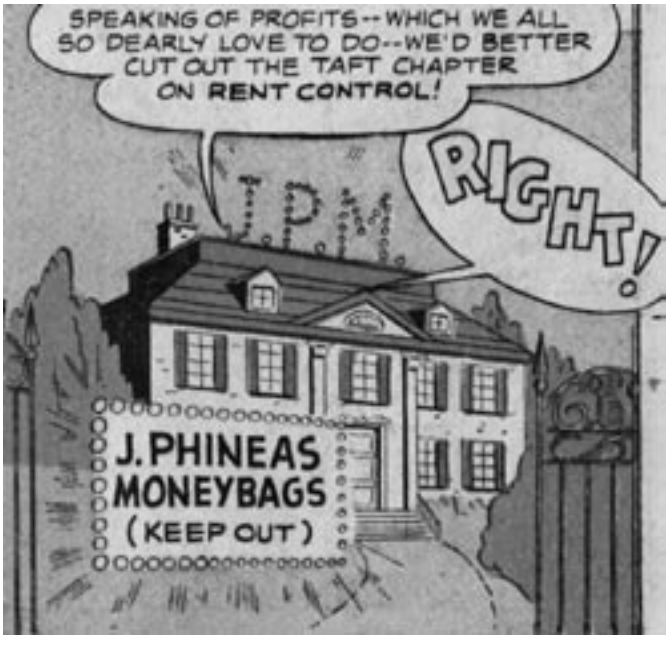
Front cover of comic book distributed by the United Labor League of Ohio. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library

By contrast, Taft proved to be a very skillful campaigner. He spent most of the spring and summer months of 1950 in Washington working on legislative business, but he often discussed politics with the media. When he did so he stressed Communism and price control measures as the key topics. In an interview with the *New York Times* in March, he stated that the principal issue of the campaign was "Liberty vs. Socialism." This paralleled the 1946 slogan advocated by B. Carroll Reece, "Communism vs. Republicanism." But Taft insisted that the issue was larger than just communism in general or communists in government. He argued that Truman's economic program "actually calls for about as much socialism as the Labor program in Great Britain," and he insisted that slashing the deficit was a better economic program than increased spending.[41]

After nearly a year of preparation and unofficial campaign tours, Taft for-

mally launched his re-election drive on August 28. Once in the field, he shifted his focus and made the labor issue his top priority, largely in response to the negative press and voter backlash caused by the influence of the CIO-PAC. While Taft busied himself with an intense two-month campaign, Ferguson was virtually absent. He only made one or two speeches a day owing to his poor public speaking ability. Taft, on the other hand, often made four or five.

Ferguson, however, did succeed in campaigning through the postal service. He used the combined apparatus of the labor unions and his own Democratic organization to distribute hundreds of thousands of flyers, pamphlets, and other pieces of literature directly to the voters of Ohio, especially in the rural areas. Perhaps the most controversial was a comic book distributed by the United Labor League of Ohio. Titled "The Robert Alphonso Taft Story—It's on the Record," the book depicted Taft as the puppet of special interests and Ferguson as a true man of the people. The story took place in the home of "J. Phineas Moneybags—Chairman of the Local Taft Campaign Committee" as he made a movie of Taft's career. In editing his magnum opus, Moneybags cut out Taft's opposition to price controls, his isolationist stand on foreign policy, and the Taft-Hartley Act because these measures worked against the interest of the average citizen. The message was unmistakably clear. Taft called the book defamatory, but the United Labor League distributed 1.5 million copies throughout the state.[42] In the direct-mail department, Ferguson scored an overwhelming victory.



One panel from the comic book distributed by the United Labor League of Ohio. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library

Taft made a much better showing at his many stops throughout the Buckeye State. He proved to be an energetic and relentless campaigner. He also was fearless. At Youngstown, a group of union workers in the boiler room of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company walked off the job to protest a scheduled appearance by the Senator. They complained specifically of being a captive audience for Taft, and their walkout forced a work stoppage that affected about 1,500 workers. His advisers recommended that he call off the appearance, but Taft pressed on. As he arrived and met a group of workers picketing at the front gate, he leaned out of his car window and calmly gave them a "hello there, fellows." Once inside, many of the remaining workers greeted Taft and pledged their support. Taft's reputation as a strong candidate was not lost on Ferguson, who was reluctant even to meet the incumbent face-to-face. On September 7,

Ferguson declined an invitation to debate Taft in Cleveland. He claimed that he could not change his schedule to attend the function, but others speculated that he did not want to put on a bad performance next to Taft.[43]

Throughout the campaign, the Democrats and their union allies predicted a landslide victory while Taft and his organization simply said that it would be a close race. The day before the election, Taft told reporters that he hoped to win by thirty thousand votes. The press had the contest too close to call as late as October, believing that increased numbers of registered voters and energetic union activity gave Ferguson a chance. While the challenger's weakness as a candidate had become obvious on the campaign trail, the state and national media believed that the increased presence of the CIO-PAC would overcome his deficiencies. Ferguson took a less conservative position. After telling Truman and the national media that he would win the election by a quarter-of-a-million votes in May, Ferguson later raised that figure to 350,000. Democratic National Chairman William Boyle told reporters in late August that Ferguson would win with no problem. The Truman administration did its part to help the Democrat in September when it sent presidential adviser Averell Harriman to denounce Taft. He attacked the senator on his foreign policy position, but apparently did little to attract Ohio voters.

Senator Taft on Election Day. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library

When all the votes were counted, Taft won by 431,184, the second largest plurality in Ohio history to that time. This figure is important for two reasons. First, Taft's margin of victory far outpaced Republican numbers in the previous few elections, demonstrating both his personal appeal and the approval of his platform and campaign rhetoric. In 1948, for example, Ferguson had won re-election to the state auditor's post by nearly 300,000 votes while Thomas Dewey failed to carry the state in the Presidential election. Taft had managed only a 17,000 vote majority in his first re-election campaign in 1944. In fact, the 1950 results were an anomaly in Taft's career. Continually saddled with the charge that he was a stiff, dull political figure lacking popular appeal, Taft scored a landslide victory that surprised even his most ardent supporters. While the political climate of 1950 was more favorable to Republicans and his opponent failed to mount a formidable public campaign, Taft was also attacked more aggressively by state and national partisans than ever before. The fierce campaign and get-out-the-vote drive waged by the CIO-PAC were

unparalleled in Ohio's history. Taft's sizable margin of victory testifies to the appeal of a fiscally conservative platform to Ohio voters in an election cycle where a stark contrast existed between candidates.[44]

Second, the results exposed tensions and fundamental differences between labor leaders, the Democratic organization, and the average union member. Taft exploited these divisions to the fullest. The vote totals were partially due to the challenger's poor showing on the campaign trail, but the effectiveness of the Republican campaign to win over organized labor, especially the rank and file, should not be understated. Taft estimated that the Democratic challenger carried 60 percent of the labor vote. While this number is purely conjecture from the candidate, Taft did win all of the larger industrial counties in the state. In all, Taft carried 84 of 66 counties, losing only a handful of smaller coal and steel counties. The margin of victory in each of the three largest manufacturing centers was more than Taft's statewide count in 1944.[45] He was the first Republican to win the Democratic stronghold of Cuyahoga County in the 20th century and the last to do so until the year 2000—this despite the fact that the CIO mobilized eight hundred election-day workers, the largest force assembled to that date by the federation in any major city nationwide. The election of 1950 was the culmination of a three-year campaign to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act in which the major labor federations mustered all of their political resources and leverage. Their Ohio campaign surpassed any previous effort by organized labor to defeat an opponent. Losing Cuyahoga County and winning only an estimated 60 percent of union voters could in no way be considered a victory for labor, as their all-out assault could not even secure their strongest political bases. While Taft likely would have won reelection regardless, his efforts to attract the labor vote resulted in the staggering number of votes he received.[46]

Robert Taft won the 1950 campaign by 431,184 votes. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library

Union leaders and the press seized on this fact. AFL President William Green blamed the Taft re-election on a mass defection of union members at the polls. He told the press that he "can't understand what it was that caused Taft to win in Ohio." The landslide victory was certainly attributable to the labor issue. Taft had mounted a highly organized and well-executed campaign to counter the CIO-PAC drive, and to make the CIO-PAC effort a topic in and of itself. He also was acutely aware of the disjuncture between labor leaders and the

rank and file, a fact he exploited to the fullest. Samuel Lubell, in a work reprinted from the *Saturday Evening Post*, concluded that "many workers seized upon Taft's candidacy to voice a protest against their own union chiefs." The *Cincinnati Enquirer* noted that the unions made a mistake by "advertising" the fact "that they were going to use nationwide resources to single out and defeat one Senator in one state. For multitudes of Ohioans that created a new issue. They did not want Ohio to have a senator who would answer to labor organizations in Washington rather than to the citizens of Ohio."[47]

In a contest between liberalism and conservatism, Taft won a victory against the dominant New Deal consensus. One of the most consistently liberal constituencies, organized labor, contributed and campaigned more than ever before against their arch-nemesis, but was able to muster support of only sixty percent of union members.[48] Such a poor showing in a highly mobilized effort indicates that, while the union officials were most assuredly in the Democratic camp, a sizable portion of the membership with equal conviction was not committed to every aspect of the liberal platform. This also highlights the saliency of the conservative agenda, as forty percent of labor voters chose to vote against the position of union officials and in favor of a candidate who sought to limit federal bureaucracy, reduce taxes, and give an advantage to the business community in labor negotiations. The Taft-Hartley Act was the most important issue in the union arsenal and, in a campaign waged directly against its chief architect, the union drive could only net six out of every ten union votes.

The most significant aspect of the Ohio Senatorial Election of 1950 was not Ferguson's poor performance or even the massive anti-Taft commitment from organized labor. It was Senator Taft's willingness to reach out to constituent groups thought to be firmly tied to the Democratic Party. Events surrounding the election created a political climate favorable to a conservative Republican. Charges of Communist subversion in the State Department made a salient issue, especially with the subject hitting close to home during HUAC's trip to Cincinnati during the summer. Even with such a seemingly easy victory on the horizon, Taft made a concerted effort to broaden his appeal to African Americans and organized labor. His attempt to strengthen his political base in Ohio by dividing the rank and file from union leaders foreshadowed similar campaign tactics in the 1952 presidential primary, testifying to their success in the Senatorial race. Taft's active pursuit of two central elements of the New Deal coalition illustrates his willingness to expand beyond his traditionally conservative constituency and to broaden the appeal of the Republican Party, both key elements in a larger attempt to gather a national majority around a conservative agenda.

1. *New York Times*, August 11, 1950.
2. James T. Patterson, *Mr. Republican: A Biography of Robert A. Taft* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972), 456.
3. *New York Times*, October 15, October 23, 1950.
4. Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), ix.
5. See, for example, Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Kurt Schuparra, *Triumph of the Right: The Rise of the California Conservative Movement, 1945-1966* (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998); Dan T. Carter, *Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995); and Thomas Rynre and Mary Edsall, *Chain Reaction: The Importance of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991).
6. Kari Frederickson, *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).
7. Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
8. Michael Bowen, "Communism vs. Republicanism: B. Carroll Reece and the Congressional Elections of 1946," *Journal of East Tennessee History* 73 (2001): 39-52.
9. R. Alton Lee, *Truman and Taft-Hartley: A Question of Mandate* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1966).
10. Robert Zieger, *The CIO: 1935-1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 248-52; James Caldwell Foster, *The Union Politic: The CIO Political Action Committee* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1975), 1-15.
11. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 10, 1950.
12. Ibid., January 15, 1950.
13. Quotation from *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 1, 1950.
14. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 4, 1950; memo, Willis Gradison to Taft, November 18, 1950, Political File—1950 Campaign, Box 304, Robert Alphonso Taft Papers, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as Taft Papers); and *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 5, 1950. Quotation from *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 1, 1950. See also Arthur Herman, *Joseph McCarthy: Re-Examining the Life and Legacy of America's Most Hated Senator* (New York: Free Press, 2000).
15. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 14, 1950.
16. Quotation from Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 241; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 19, August 5, 1950.
17. Patterson, *Mr. Republican*, 454-55.
18. "Pro Bono Publico" to B. Carroll Reece, Political File—1948 Campaign—B. Carroll Reece, Box 240, Taft Papers.
19. Dewey's overconfidence is evident in his public addresses. A favorite rhetorical device of the governor and his speechwriters was to refer to the future under "your next administration." At a speech in Albuquerque on September 22, 1948, he stated, "I can assure you that your next Administration will face this tax problem and meet it so that the energy and initiative of our people will be encouraged and released." Speech, Thomas Dewey, Albuquerque, New Mexico, September 22, 1948, Special File, Box 1285, Folder Thomas Dewey—1944-1948, Taft Papers. See also speeches from September 27, 1948 and October 14, 1948 in same folder; and Zachary Karabell, *The Last Campaign: How Harry Truman Won the 1948 Election* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000).
20. Press Release, May 2, 1949, in Paul L. Kesaris, ed., *Papers of the Republican Party* (Frederick, Md.: University Publications of America, 1987), reel 8 (hereafter cited as GOP Papers).
21. *Report of the Meeting of the Republican National Committee*, January 27, 1949, GOP Papers, reel 8.
22. Ibid.
23. H.H. Nicholson to Taft, August 8, 1949, Box 304, Charles A. Adams to Taft, July 31, 1949, Box 304, Taft to W. H. McMullen, January 9, 1950, Box 304, Taft Papers.
24. Lee Crain to Taft, undated, Box 240, Joe E. Dash to Taft, July 24, 1949, Box 304, speech, "Overall Speech on Republicans and Labor," Box 307, Taft Papers.
25. Pamphlet, "Before and After: The Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947," Box 240, Taft Papers; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 22, August 15, 1950.
26. In an undated letter likely written in 1949, Taft told Don L. Fernandez, editor of the *Tri-County Labor Press*, "I know [supporting me] was a difficult position for a labor paper to take, but I feel that the result of the election showed that you represented at least as many union labor members as did the so-called leaders of labor unions." Taft to Don L. Fernandez, undated, Box 307, Taft Papers.
27. Memo, undated, Box 683, Taft Papers.
28. Quotation from *Cincinnati Enquirer*, August 14, 1950; press release, Labor League for Taft, September 28, 1950, Box 298, memo, Anonymous to Taft, February 5, 1952, Box 455, Taft Papers.
29. Undated campaign flyer, Box 303, Taft Papers.
30. Ibid.
31. Cleveland *Call and Post*, October 28, November 4, 1950.
32. Patterson, *Mr. Republican*, 448, 471.
33. Taft to Paul W. Walter, May 31, 1946, Box 879, Josiah T. Rose to B. Carroll Reece, undated, Box 240, Perry Howard to Taft, November 23, 1951, Box 458, Taft Papers.
34. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 22, 30, 1950; *New York Times*, February 2, May 16, 17, July 19, August 10, 1950.
35. CIO *News*, July 3, August 28, September 4, 1950.
36. CIO *News*, March 27, May 15, June 19, 1950.
37. *New York Times*, May 27, 1950.
38. Ibid., October 1, 1950; Wooster *Daily-Herald*, May 4, 1950, quoted in Patterson, *Mr. Republican*, 457.
39. *New York Times*, June 20, 22, 23, 25, October 23, 1950.
40. Ibid., August 8, 13, October 14, 1950.
41. Ibid., March 5, July 15, 1950.
42. Ibid., August 29, September 17, 1950; Patterson, *Mr. Republican*, 459-60.
43. *New York Times*, August 30, September 8, 1950.
44. Republican National Committee Research Division, *The 1950 Elections: A Preliminary Analysis,* November 1950. Copy in Box 126, Folder RNC Publications (7), Herbert Brownell Papers, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library (hereafter cited as Brownell Papers); Patterson, *Mr. Republican*, 471.

45. Taft lost Belmont, Jefferson, Lawrence, and Pike counties while polling majorities of 45,000 in Cincinnati, 42,000 in Columbus, and 22,000 in Cleveland. He also carried Toledo by 15,000, Akron by 6,000 and Youngstown by 3,500. RNC Research Division, *The 1950 Elections*.
46. Election data for each Ohio Senate race can be found at: http://dewine.senate.gov/ohio_senators.htm
47. *New York Times*, August 31, October 15, 23, September 20, November 15, 17, 1950; Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (New York: Doubleday, 1956), 204; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, November 10, 1950.
48. Patterson, *Mr. Republican*, 471.