



## What was the biggest factor in President Truman successfully winning the election of 1948? Was it due to his campaign strategy, the failure of his opposition, or public support for his actions of 1948?



Source Information: written by Clay Bauske, Museum Curator, Harry S Truman Presidential Library

In early 1948, Harry Truman prepared to run for President in his own right. Few people gave him any chance of reaching his goal. The economic difficulties of reconversion and popular perceptions of him as unrefined and blunt had hurt his popularity.

His inconsistencies on the Palestine issue contributed to a

sense that he wasn't up to his job. The Republican Congress had rejected almost all of his proposals for domestic reform. And it wasn't yet clear that his foreign policy initiatives in Europe would succeed.



To make matters worse, support within his own party was disintegrating. Southern Democrats became enraged when he began supporting civil rights for African Americans. Led by South Carolina governor (and later U.S. Senator) Strom Thurmond, the Southerners broke away and established the States' Rights Party, also known as the "Dixiecrat" faction. Truman was attacked by the left wing of his party because of his policy towards the Soviets, which they regarded as aggressive and provocative. Franklin Roosevelt's former Vice President Henry Wallace and his followers established the Progressive Party.

Down in the polls and under fire within his own party, Truman alone remained confident of his victory. On the morning after the election, Americans rose to news of the most surprising comeback in presidential election history. In Missouri, Truman learned of his victory at 4:00am, when a Secret Service agent woke him. Later that day 40,000 people jammed the town square in Independence to salute their native son.

How did he do it? The election was a cliffhanger; the President won without getting a majority of the popular vote, pulling together just enough of the old New Deal coalition to squeak through. His civil rights program attracted black and liberal voters. Farmers rewarded his backing of price supports and other benefits. Labor backed his attacks on the Republican's anti-union record. Urban machines delivered the cities. And despite the defection of the "Dixiecrats," he still held on to several Southern states. Truman's upset was the highlight of a Democratic sweep, as the party won back control of Congress as well.

Lyons Poll data, ca. September 1948. Truman Papers, President's Secretary's Files. Polls.

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Speaking of polls, here are the results of the Lyons Poll of 3 Middle Western States. The two checks were made 30 days apart and covered a cross-section of 6700 people in each state, scientifically done in the best poll manner.

NORTH DAKOTA

30 Days Ago

Dewey 46  
Truman 36  
Wallace 8  
Undecided 10

Today

Dewey 44  
Truman 43  
Wallace 5  
Undecided 8



SOUTH DAKOTA

Dewey 48  
Truman 37

Dewey 46  
Truman 45

ILLINOIS

Dewey 44½  
Truman 37½  
Wallace 8  
Undecided 10

Dewey 44  
Truman 45½  
Wallace 3½  
Undecided 7

1

## Hook - Letter from Lucille

From the personal collection of Kay A. Chick, referenced in

Chick, Kay A. "Historical Letters: Integrating History and Language Arts." Middle Level Learning 29 (2007): 2-5. Web.

November 8, 1948.

Dear Mother and all,

With the big upset last week, I am disgusted with myself for not having gotten a letter off to you before this. Last week just went before I realized it.

People are still talking, and no doubt will for a long time to come still be talking about the presidential election of 1948. It was the most amazing and startling turn of events. I, for one, was not even going to listen to the election returns, but when I heard that Truman was leading in both <sup>electoral</sup> ~~electoral~~ and popular votes at 10:00 election night I began listening. It was so exciting as reported over the radio that neither Mrs. Reed nor I could go to bed. I have never heard anything like it. In fact, it became more exciting as the returns came in between 1:00 and 3:00 a.m. Wed., that we could not tear ourselves away from the radio. At five o'clock I could not stay up any longer, and since Truman was leading with 291 electoral votes I went to bed, of course it was not even certain then.

All the poll takers and reporters have tried to explain why. The reasons are many-fold but quite obvious. First, as to the poll takers, they did not take into consideration the undecided vote which as statisticians they should have considered in their statistical analysis. Dewey made no definite statements on anything; Truman did. Truman talked to

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the farm groups and they were told what a Republican administration would do. The Republicans were smug and confident and sat on their heels while Truman alone went out and campaigned even without his party backing him. I talked with people just the evening before the election and found that most were confused and truthfully did not know who they would vote for the next day. Clearly this was one time in history when no candidate was a worthy one. No wonder people were confused and undecided. A good many potential Wallace voters evidently swung over for Truman too and that made some difference.

Well, it is over, except for the talking. Maybe the people are right. After what could have been accomplished by a Rep. president and a Dem. congress? No one believed the man could do it. Maybe he has ability never seen, at least let us hope for it; or at least that a young Congress with good men will lead us right.

You know, in the years of my life that I have been old enough to know and realize things, there have been two events outstanding. The attack on Pearl Harbor (which if it be true, a few knew would happen before the event did) and this election results (which no one could foresee) are the two amazing ones.

Had a letter from Arthur last Wed., I guess it was, and am forwarding the snapshot of him that he sent in it.

## Source 1

### Charles Ross interview with Collier's Magazine

Note: Charles Ross served as Truman's Press Secretary from September 1945 to December of 1950, when he died. He had attended school in Independence, MO with both Harry and Bess Truman.

Source Information: Ross, Charles G. "How Truman Did It." *Collier's* 25 Dec. 1948: 13+. Print.



Charles Ross is entitled to share in this victory smile. For the President's press secretary was one of the few faithful who sincerely believed his boss could do it

## How Truman Did It

VERTICAL FILE

By CHARLES G. ROSS

Press Secretary to the President

The talk at that staff session turned to the coming campaign, and the President said decisively, "We are going to win. I expect to travel all over the country and talk at every whistle stop. We are going to be on the road most of the time from Labor Day to the end of the campaign. It's going to be tough on everybody, but that's the way it's got to be. I know I can take it. I'm only afraid that I'll kill some of my staff—and I like you all very much and I don't want to do that."

I don't believe it stretches the truth to say that the election was won then and there.

I intend to write here only about that part of the campaign which I personally saw—the President's part, and that of the staff who traveled with him. There were other vital phases, of course, such as the hard, effective campaigning of Senator Barkley; the work of the Democratic National Committee under the capable direction of Senator J. Howard McGrath; the brilliant job done by organized labor. Others can tell of these activities with greater authority.

It was the President's own idea to wage this kind of fight. There were no deep-laid schemes, no devious plans, nothing that could be called, in the language of the political analysts, "high strategy." The President's strategy was to go out all over the country and talk to the people in plain terms about the issues as he saw them.

If he ever had any doubts about winning, he kept them to himself. He inspired us all to believe that he would win.

#### Ross Questions

1. Who was the author of the document? (Circle the author's name and who they are)
2. When was the document written? (Underline the date)
3. Who was the intended audience?
4. Identify the strategy that Ross indicates that the Truman group used to win.
5. This document might not give me the whole picture because .....

Using the following code, mark evidence that would support one of the factors leading to the win.

TCS=Truman Campaign Strategy

OC=Opposition Candidates

PS= Public Support

## Source 2

### Collier's Opinion on Henry Wallace

Note: *Collier's* was a weekly American magazine of "fiction, fact, sensation, wit, humor, news" which ran from 1895 to January 5, 1957. *Collier's believes...* is an editorial in the magazine.

Source Information: "Henry Wallace Is the Voice of Russia." *Collier's* 2 Oct. 1948: 90. Print.

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# Collier's believes ...



## HENRY WALLACE is the voice of Russia

NO ONE WOULD have guessed a few years ago that by 1948 Henry Agard Wallace would have become the Russian-endorsed candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Few would have guessed that there would be a Russian candidate. Fewer still that Henry Wallace would be cast for the role.

A curious situation has developed. Not since George Washington was President and Citizen Genêt presumed to put French interests in the Revolutionary War above what President Washington regarded as American interests has any foreign power been so deeply involved in American affairs. The opposition between American ideas and Russian Communist doctrines, however, has become the principal cleavage in the world today.

In contrast to Russia, the United States is definitely the home of the free and the chief hope of all other people who aspire to remain free or to win freedom. Consequently, the issues being argued during this Presidential campaign are actually a world debate that is of concern everywhere. Henry Wallace, born sixty years ago this October 7th, has somehow come to be the Russian spokesman in this struggle.

Of the fact that Henry Wallace is the voice of Russia there can be little doubt. Communists claim him as their hope, and not without reason. Again and again he has made Russian opinions his own without even understanding the meaning

of the words he used. His attack on Bernard M. Baruch and the Atomic Energy Commission was merely one example in a long record. In the atomic-bomb discussion Henry Wallace first agreed to correct misstatements he had made concerning the Baruch report and later refused to do so on the ground that the man who had written his (Wallace's) comment was in Europe and could not be reached. On many other occasions both in what he said and in what he refrained from saying Henry Wallace acted as a puppet for the Communists.

The Philadelphia convention that nominated him for the Presidency was manipulated by known Communists. Wallace himself frankly admitted that he would accept the support of the Communists. Not everybody who votes for Wallace in November will be a Communist, but up to now his campaign has been directed along Communist lines.

This is indeed a strange development. Henry Wallace's father was Secretary of Agriculture in the Republican Cabinet of Warren Gamaliel Harding. Henry Wallace was born in Iowa, in rich country. He inherited a prosperous publishing business from his father. He was a lively editor in his own right. When he went to Washington in 1933, he was backed by Republicans as well as by Democrats.

Somewhere along the line Henry Wallace strayed from the common sense that is so abundantly distributed in Iowa. First he picked up with curious economic doctrines such as creating artificial scarcities, killing little pigs and what not, as a way of producing abundance and prosperity for the multitudes.

Then he fell into the habit of hating political

opponents and rivals. Hate does not wear well, and soon by virtue of his hatreds and doubtless of his ambitions, Henry Wallace had shed his old friends and associates. By the time he finished his one term as Vice President he was the loneliest man in the Senate side of the Capitol.

Then came the disappointment of not being renominated as Vice-President and the feud with Harry S. Truman, senator, Vice-President and President. To oppose President Truman, Henry Wallace has had to oppose the American foreign policy approved both by Democrats and Republicans.

Henry Wallace became the spokesman of Russia because Harry S. Truman and Thomas E. Dewey united in expressing and in upholding a bi-partisan foreign policy which happens to be in the great American tradition.

It is tragic that a once so promising American should permit himself to be the spokesman of Russian Communist imperialism at such a time in world history. Henry Wallace is paying the heavy price of hatred and unrestrained ambition.

He will poll a considerable vote in November. Some experienced observers think he may get as many as 7,000,000 votes. But he will neither defeat Mr. Truman nor elect himself. If President Truman is not elected Henry Wallace will not have caused his defeat.

Meanwhile, Henry Wallace will have destroyed the remnants of faith in him and friendship for him that have survived from his simpler Iowa days. It is a dreadful thing to earn the contempt of a majority of one's fellow citizens. Henry Wallace is doing that by failing to think and speak and act as an American in a time of national and of world crisis. . . . W. L. C.

## Glossary

**Communism**- a type of government and philosophy. Its goal is to form a society where everything is shared equally. All people are treated equally and there is little private ownership. In a communist government, the government owns and controls most everything including property, means of production, education, transportation, and agriculture.

## Collier's on Wallace Questions:

1. Who was the author of the document? (Circle the author's name and who they are.)
2. When was the document written? (Underline the date)
3. Highlight words that illustrate how the author feels about Wallace.
4. This article is an editorial, which expresses the author's opinion. Who do you think this author voted for in the 1948 election? Why do you say that?

Using the following code, mark evidence that would support one of the factors leading to the win.

TCS=Truman Campaign Strategy

OC=Opposition Candidates

PS= Public Support

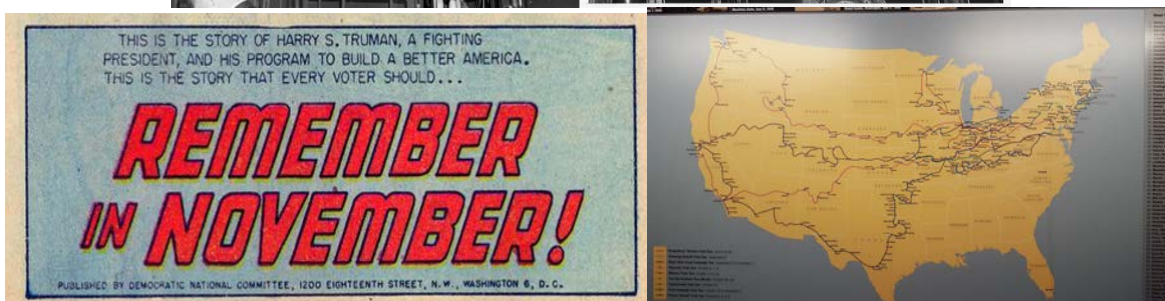


### Source 3

## Whistle Stop Campaign

Note: A whistle stop or whistle-stop tour is a style of political campaigning where the politician makes a series of brief appearances or speeches at a number of small towns over a short period of time. Originally, whistle-stop appearances were made from the open platform of an observation car or a private railroad car.

**Source Information:** <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/photographs/view.php?id=59134> President Harry S. Truman (left) and Margaret Truman (right) wave from the back of the campaign train. From the Scrapbooks of Matthew Connolly, Volume 4. **Accession Number: 64-182-02**, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/photographs/view.php?id=3750> President Truman, Mrs. Truman and Margaret stand on the back of their train during a campaign visit to Idaho. **Accession Number: 59-315**, [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/1948campaign/large/docs/documents/index.php?documentdate=1948-00-00&documentid=3&studycollectionid=Election&pagenumber=1](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/1948campaign/large/docs/documents/index.php?documentdate=1948-00-00&documentid=3&studycollectionid=Election&pagenumber=1) The Story of Harry S. Truman, ca. 1948. Offprint Collection. 1091: The Story of Harry S. Truman.



#### Whistle Stop Questions:

1. Make observations (annotations) next to each document.
2. Who was the intended audience?
3. What conclusions can you make about Truman's campaign from these sources?
4. Do you think the whistle stop campaign was a good strategy? Why/why not?

Using the following code, mark evidence that would support one of the factors leading to the win.

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## Source 4

### Frank McNaughton editorial on Thomas Dewey

Note: Frank McNaughton was a journalist for the United Press. McNaughton was among the press members who traveled with Thomas Dewey as he crossed the country by rail campaigning as the Republican presidential candidate in 1948.

Source Information: Frank McNaughton to Don Bermingham, "Dewey XXI--Campaign Train", October 1, 1948. McNaughton Papers, McNaughton Reports File. October, 1948.



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TO DON BERMINGHAM  
FROM FRANK MC NAUGHTON

OCTOBER 1, 1948  
RAWLINS, WYOMING

DEWEY XXII

IT IS MY CONCLUSION THAT TOM DEWEY WILL NOT BE AN INSPIRING  
PRESIDENT, BUT THAT HE CAN AND <sup>is</sup> OUT TO BE ELECTED. HE HAS KEPT  
HIS SPEECHES GENERALIZED (EXCEPT FOR LAST NIGHT IN SALT LAKE CITY  
TABERNACLE) FOR THE VERY REASON THAT HE HAS NO NEED OF BEING  
SPECIFIC. I BELIEVE THAT IF THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF GIVING THE  
AMERICAN PEOPLE A DETERMINATION AND MOBILIZING THEM IN THE UNITY  
DEWEY HAS HAMMERED AT, IT WILL HAVE TO BE THE REPUBLICANS THAT DO IT.

BENEATH DEWEY' PLEASANT EXTERIOR, THERE IS DISCERNIBLE A HARD-  
NESS THAT MAY BE EXACTLY WHAT WE NEED IF IT DOESN'T GO TOO FAR.  
HE HAS AN ELEMENT OF PERSONAL PIQUE WHICH MAY CAUSE HIM A GREAT DEAL  
OF TROUBLE. HE LET IT TO ME UPPERMOST AT SPOKANE WHEN ONE OF THE  
STAGEHANDS KEPT THE MUSIC GOING VIA LOUDSPEAKER AFTER DEWEY WAS  
READY TO SPEAK. "WOULD SOMEONE PLEASE CHOKO OF THE MAN  
WHO IS KEEPING UP THAT MUSIC?" DEWEY ASKED WITH EVIDENT DISPLEASURE.  
IT WAS SMALL BUT SIGNIFICANT. THIS PETULANCE MAY COST HIM HEAVILY  
IN THE WHITE HOUSE, WHEN HE STARTS DEALING WITH CONGRESSMEN AND  
SENATORS HE CAN'T CONTROL.

THERE IS DISCERNIBLE IN HIS ACCEPTANCE OF GIFTS A LACK OF FEELING  
FOR THE OFFERINGS. HE HAS YET TO TRY ON A HAT OR WAR BONNET. HIS  
STAFF SOMETIMES HAS A LOW boiling POINT. A CHANCE REMARK BY A TAXI  
DRIVER, THAT THE PRESS OUGHT TO GIVE TRUMAN AND THE POOR PEOPLE  
A BREAK, SET ONE MAN'S FACE CRIMSON. BROUGHT THE ACID

FRANK MC NAUGHTON WIRE                      DEWEY XXII                      PAGE 2  
RETORT HE' LIKE TO BET THE DRIVER ANY AMOUNT ON THE ELECTION.

RELUCTANCE TO MIX WITH THE MOBS AFTER A SPEECH IS DELIVERED,  
THE ABRUPT RETURN TO SECLUSION OF THE TRAIN, DISPLAY A CHILL WARMED  
OVER ONLY BY THE OFFICIAL CHARM TURNED ON BEFORE THE DELIVERY.

DEWEY'S PRESCRIPTION FOR DEALING WITH RUSSIA SOUNDS OMINOUS;  
IT IS ONE THING TO BE FIRMAND EVEN HARD WITH UNDERLINGS YOU CAN FIRE;  
QUITE ANOTHER TO TELL UNCLE JOE HE'S GOT TO STOP HERE AND NOW  
HIS BLUFFING. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT DEWEY MIGHT BE TOO HARD AND RUTHLESS  
A NEGOTIATOR. I WONDER IF HE KNOWS HOW TO GIVE AT STRATEGIC POINTS.  
WHICH IS VITAL IN NEGOTIATION. BUT HE CAN LEARN; LET'S HOPE  
HE LEARNS FAST ENOUGH.



## **Glossary**

**Seclusion**- to isolate; shut off; keep apart:

**Ruthless**- without pity or compassion; cruel; merciless:

## **Dewey Questions**

1. Who was the author?
2. Is he a reliable source? Why/why not?
3. This document might not give me the whole picture because .....
4. What else would you want to know from this author?

**Using the following code, mark evidence that would support one of the factors leading to the win.**

**TCS=Truman Campaign Strategy**

**OC=Opposition Candidates**

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## Source 5 Clifford's Strategy

Note: Zachary Karabell is an American author and historian. This excerpt is from his book *The Last Campaign: How Harry Truman Won the 1948 Election*. In this excerpt Karabell explains the campaign strategy that Truman followed, which was created by Clark Clifford, White House counsel.

**Source Information:** Karabell, Zachary. *The Last Campaign: How Harry Truman Won the 1948 Election*. New York: Knopf, 2000. Print. Pages 192-193

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Truman's advisers evaluated the situation carefully. They spent weeks coming up with a rough blueprint for victory, and then implemented it. Once again, Clifford's was a potent and acute voice. He summarized the thinking of the campaign staff in an August 17 memo for the president. "The first objective" he began, "is to win a large majority of the 15,000,000 independent voters who overwhelmingly followed the liberal leadership of the Democratic Party in the last four elections." In order to do this, Truman should continue the drumbeat about the miserable 80th Congress and then link Dewey to it. "The second objective is to win support from three large groups...which can swing the election...: workers, veterans, and Negroes. This does not mean that farmers, small businessmen, and other groups should be overlooked....The third objective it to cut through all party lines by showing that the President's policy has kept the nation on a road leading to peace, and that changes in this policy may lead to war." During speeches and interviews, Truman should, Clifford advised, point to the dismal legacy of the Republican presidents in the 1920's and to the current Republican record on labor and the party's reluctance to embrace an internationalist foreign policy. Clifford also underscored the importance of seventeen states where the 1944 margin of victory was slim. These states, including New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, and Wisconsin, shaped Truman's itinerary for the fall. Clifford recommended three major tours, beginning with the Midwest and a Labor Day speech in Detroit, then heading west and finally to the East, including a swing through rural New York State and a speech in Harlem. The one question was whether he should venture south at all, and as of mid-August, many of his advisers, watching the States' Rights campaign unfold, were inclined to write off the Deep South entirely. Finally, Clifford strongly recommended that "a trained observer should precede the President at every stop he is scheduled to make. This man should prepare a brief on the town the President is scheduled to visit, explaining the local issues of importance and how they tie into national issues.... This man should start his circuit at least two weeks before the President's tour begins."

### Clifford's Strategy Questions

1. Who was the author of the document? (Circle the author's name and who they are.)
2. When was the document written? (Underline the date)
3. The author is trying to convince me.....
4. I do/don't trust this document because.....

Using the following code, mark evidence that would support one of the factors leading to the win.

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## Source 6

### 1948 Timeline of Decisions, Actions, and Orders: See Attached Timeline

Note: 1948 was a leap year, the Winter Olympics were held in Switzerland, and it was the year of the most surprising presidential election in U.S. history. President Truman had signed Executive Order 9981 which desegregated the military; the Marshall Plan sending aid to U.S. allies in Europe began; the Soviet Union blockaded West Berlin, leading to the U.S. and its allies dropping supplies to those in need; Truman controversially recognized the state of Israel; and housing, inflation, and a “do nothing” congress were just some of the issues making news.

**Source Information: Secondary source, created by Adriane New**

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#### Glossary

**Executive Order 9981**- an executive order issued on July 26, 1948, by President Harry S. Truman. It abolished racial discrimination in the United States Armed Forces and eventually led to the end of segregation in the services.

**Recognition of the state of Israel**-the diplomatic recognition of the State of Israel, which was established by the Israeli Declaration of Independence on 14 May 1948.

**“Do Nothing” Congress**- President Truman nicknamed it the "Do Nothing Congress" and, during the 1948 election, campaigned as much against it as against his opponent, Thomas Dewey. The 80th Congress passed several significant pro-business bills, the Taft–Hartley Act, but it opposed most of Truman's Fair Deal bills. Truman's campaign strategy worked, and the Republicans lost 9 Senate seats and 73 seats in the House, allowing the Democrats to begin the 81st Congress.

**Marshall Plan**- The Marshall Plan (European Recovery Program, ERP) was an American initiative to aid Western Europe, in which the United States gave over \$12 billion in economic support to help rebuild Western European economies after the end of World War II. The plan was in operation for 4 years beginning April 8th 1948. The goals of the US were to rebuild war-devastated regions, remove trade barriers, modernize industry, make Europe prosperous again, and prevent the spread of communism.

**Berlin Airlift**- (24 June 1948 – 12 May 1949) supplies were carried to the people of West Berlin. Aircrews from the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the South Africa flew over 200,000 flights in one year, providing to the West Berliners up to 8,893 tons of fuel and food each day. The Soviets didn't disrupt the airlift for fear this might lead to open conflict. It succeeded. On May 12, 1949, the USSR lifted the blockade of West Berlin. The Berlin Blockade served to highlight the competing ideological and economic visions for postwar Europe.

**Special session**- a period when the body convenes outside of the normal legislative session. This most frequently occurs in order to complete unfinished tasks for the year (often delayed by conflict between political parties), such as outlining the government's budget for the next fiscal year, during an economic downturn in order to cut the budget, to address special topics, or emergencies such as war or natural disaster. In the USA, Article II, Section 3 of the United States Constitution gives the President of the United States the power to "on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses or either of them." Presidents have exercised this power 46 times to recall only the Senate and 28 times to recall both Chambers of Congress, most recently by Truman in 1948.

**Blockade-** An effort to cut off supplies, war material or communications from an area by force, either in part or totally.

**Timeline Questions**

1. Make observations (annotations) on the timeline.
2. What conclusions can you make about the year 1948?
3. How might some of President Truman's decisions influenced voters?

**Using the following code, mark evidence that would support one of the factors leading to the win.**

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## Source 7

### Collier's Editorial on Strom Thurmond

Note: *Collier's* was a weekly American magazine of "fiction, fact, sensation, wit, humor, news" which ran from 1895 to January 5, 1957. *Collier's believes...* is an editorial in the magazine.

Notes on Strom Thurmond: Although relatively progressive as a governor, with a platform that included aid to black educational institutions, fair wages for women and rent control, Strom Thurmond was opposed to his party's Civil Rights program and led the walkout of the Southern Democrats at the 1948 convention.

Source Information: "Dixie had no corner on bigotry." *Collier's* 4 Dec. 1948: 90. Print.



## Collier's believes...

**D**XIE HAS NO CORNER ON BIGOTRY: NORTHERN talk about Southern bigotry is mostly mistaken. Political opinion in Dixie appears to be divided about as it is elsewhere. Radicals such as Senator Pepper of Florida, conservatives such as Senator Byrd of Virginia or Senator George of Georgia are quite as representative of their constituencies as are the Talmadges of Georgia or the Longs of Louisiana.

This past campaign was a good test of Southern sentiment. What it proved among other things is the fine quality of journalistic leadership in the South. Newspapers do not swing elections, South, West or North, but newspapers can, and often do, express the ideas that ultimately prevail. The entire nation can take comfort in the character of the journalistic leadership provided by the larger Southern papers this past six months.

The peculiar issue presented in the South this year arose out of President Truman's civil rights program. Southerners generally opposed that. The politicians organized the Dixiecrat party and many violent and ill-considered statements were made in the course of the campaign. But not by the important newspapers.

Take Georgia, for instance. Atlanta has two newspapers. The Constitution in the morning and the Journal in the afternoon. Both are liberal, intelligent influences. The opposition to President Truman's civil rights program was very strong in Georgia and the Ku Klux Klan is not dead. Neither Dixiecrats nor Klan—not that they are the same—got any help from the Atlanta papers, nor from the larger papers elsewhere in the South.

The policy of these Southern journalists is to advocate the improvement of the facilities made available to Negroes. Their goal is equal treatment but not a mingling or merging of the races. Actually not many people, white or colored, favor a mixture of races. Certainly the Californians do not advo-

cate intermarriage between the Japanese and Chinese and the American stock. Nor do the Japanese and the Chinese. Some intermarriage occurs in California and some intermingling occurs in the South. But in neither region is racial mixture an announced objective of any important political group.

That point marks a difference between Northern and Middle Western policy and Southern policy. Southerners think the issue practical and immediate. In much of the North and West it is remote and unreal. The intelligent Southerners urge the removal of any vestiges of discrimination. Wright Bryan of the Atlanta Journal recounts with pride the success of the local board of education in improving Negro schools and Negro teacher salaries.

Atlanta and Richmond, Virginia, newspapers, among others, opposed the formation of a political policy merely to oppose President Truman's civil rights program. Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, called it "the Dixiecrats' dead-end street." Not that he and many other liberal leaders, South, West or North, oppose a new emphasis on State rights. State and local self-government is sought by many of the most intelligent liberals everywhere. The Southerners do not want to confuse State rights with racial bigotry.

For example, the Richmond, Virginia, Times-Dispatch edited by the liberal Virginius Dabney had this to say while the election was still to be voted: "Unfortunately many of those inclined to vote for Thurmond in protest against Mr. Truman's proposed invasion of State rights will be dissuaded from doing so because they do not wish to add their vote to a total that will be regarded by Northerners as an accurate index of racial bigotry in the South."

Douglas S. Freeman, editor of the Richmond News-Leader, and the famous biographer of the Confederate idol, Robert E. Lee, was quite as outspoken in opposing the Dixiecrats. So far as the

newspapers are concerned nobody of influence in the South is trading on racial prejudice.

Politicians, however, frequently rush in where editors scorn to tread and the South has its quota of those who fish in troubled waters.

Yes, the Talmadges have a gift for getting themselves elected in Georgia. The late Huey Long's family can still amass votes in Louisiana. None of the politicians, however, is any more nimble than James Curley of Boston or Frank Hague of Jersey City.

You would not think of Mayor Curley, or Congressman Curley (the former Governor Curley got himself both offices at the same time), as the perfect spokesman for Massachusetts. Nor would Frank Hague be considered a fair reflection of the mind and character of New Jersey. No more is Herman Talmadge typical of present-day Georgia. Nor do Earl Long and his nephew, Huey's son, tell the visitor much about the ideas, ideals or faith that Louisianians hold.

The fact is, as so often happens, the successful politicians do not reflect the ideas that are now, by leaders of thought, approved in Southern states. There is usually a lag between a new public opinion and elections.

What the liberal leaders in the South need most from the North and West is understanding. Economically the South is rich and prospering. Educationally it is alert and well organized as the students of football scores will tell everybody. Politically it is ripe for an abandonment of the cleavages that were set by reconstruction policies 80-odd years ago.

Of course the North has the right to criticize the South and the East has the right to criticize the West and the West has the right to speak contemptuously of all other sections. For the present, however, we shall do well to seek understanding and to find ways of solving common problems in sympathy rather than in anger. . . .

W. L. C.



## Glossary

**Progressive-** favoring or advocating [progress](#), change, improvement, or reform, as opposed to wishing to maintain things as they are, especially in political matters:

## Questions

1. Who was the author of the document? (Circle the author's name and who they are.)
2. When was the document written? (Underline the date)
3. Highlight words that illustrate how the author feels about Thurmond.
4. This article is an editorial, which expresses the author's opinion. Who do you think this author voted for in the 1948 election? Why do you say that?

**Using the following code, mark evidence that would support one of the factors leading to the win.**

**TCS=Truman Campaign Strategy**

**OC=Opposition Candidates**

**PS= Public Support**

**Source 8**  
**Memoirs by Harry S. Truman**

**Source information:** Truman, Harry S. *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman: Years of Trial and Hope (2 Vols.)*. New York: Doubleday, 1956. Print.

Note: President Truman recalls his election campaign in 1948.

On September 17, I began an extended tour. I had warned my staff and the reporters who prepared to make the trip with me that I was going out to win the election. "I'm going to fight hard," I told Senator Barkley. "I'm going to give them hell." We would be on the road most of the time for the next six weeks, getting up at all hours to make stops at any place where people wanted to see me.

At first the critics referred to my tour as a "one-man circus" and called it less efficient and less dignified than the campaign being put on by the Republicans. But as the crowds grew larger and larger and more people flocked to my train than showed up around the Dewey train, our opponents began to get worried.

...the technique I used at the whistle stops was simple and straight-forward. There were no special "gimmicks" or oratorical devices. I refused to be "coached." I simply told the people in my own language that they had better wake up to the fact that it was their fight.

...I talked to them as human being with real needs and feelings and fears. I talked to them about their jobs, their homes, and the cost of living. I treated them not like crowds of people but like businessman, tenant farmers, housewives, married veterans, laboring men, teachers -individuals with interests for whom I, as President had a genuine concern.

...As the campaign gathered speed, I stepped up my schedule of the whistle stops. In all, I traveled about 31,700 miles and delivered more than three hundred speeches - 356, to be exact. I was used to hard work, and my job was cut out for me. I campaigned for thirty-five days and averaged about ten speeches every day. On one single day I delivered sixteen speeches.

**Questions**

1. Who was the author of the document? (Circle the author's name and who they are.)
2. When was the document written? (Underline the date)
3. This document might not give me the whole picture because....
4. Based on the background information, I understand this document differently because....
5. What question would you have for this author?

**Using the following code, mark evidence that would support one of the factors leading to the win.**

**TCS=Truman Campaign Strategy**

**OC=Opposition Candidates**

**PS= Public Support**

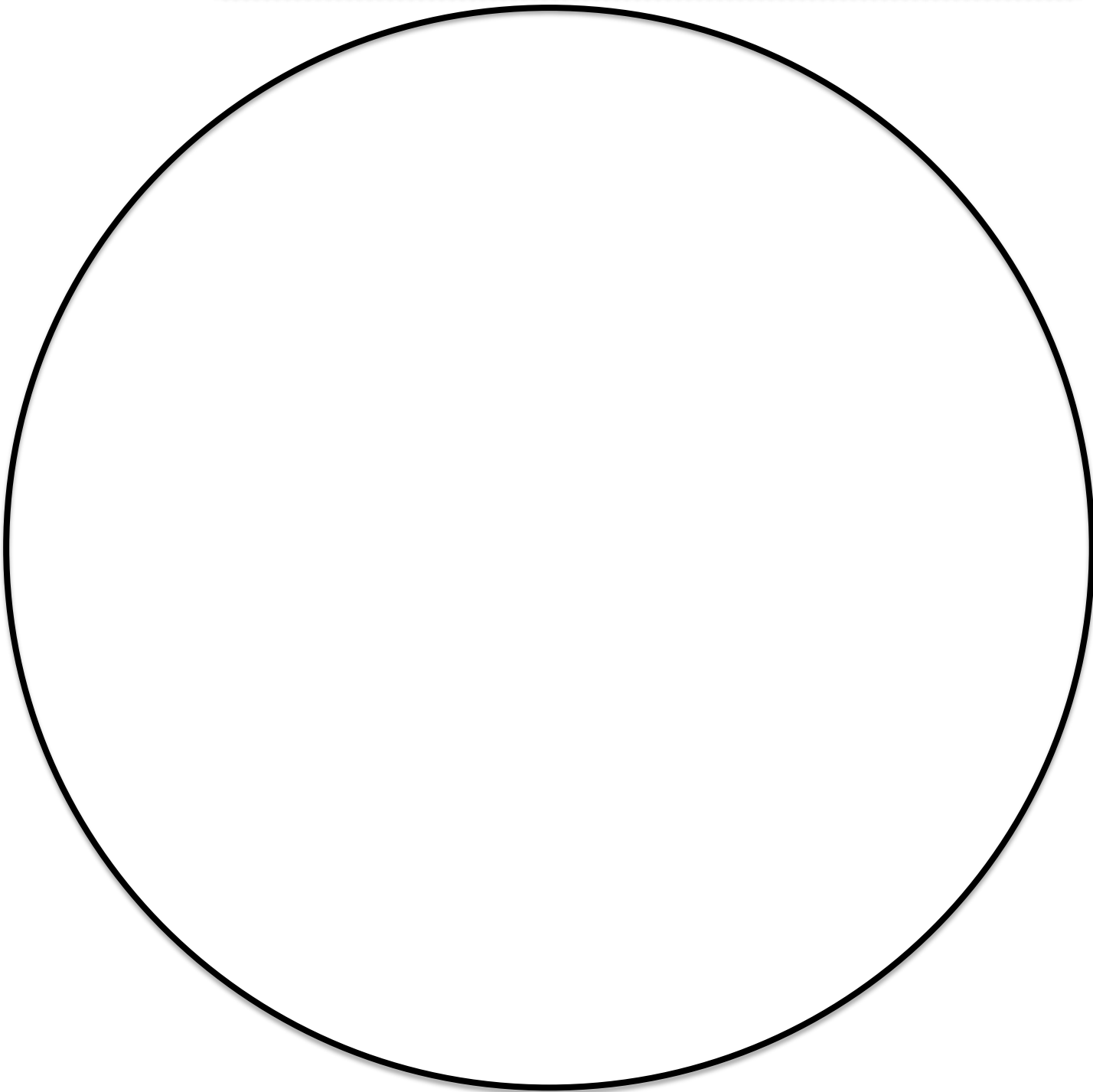
# Election of 1948



**How to:**

**Think** – what was the biggest factor in President Truman successfully winning re-election in 1948?

**Do** - Split your pie chart into sections giving the most important the greater space & explain your decision.



What do you think will be the largest factor in the presidential election of 2016?

# How did you decide what to wear today?



**How to:**

**Think** – what was the biggest factor in your choice of clothing today?

**Do** - Split your pie chart into sections giving the most important the greater space & annotate/explain

