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## Michael V. Disalle in Ohio politics: 1950-1962

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MICHAEL V. DISALLE, IN OHIO POLITICS  
1950-1962

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of History

and the

Faculty of the Graduate College

University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

University of Nebraska at Omaha

by

Diana Draur

May, 1986

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Accepted for the faculty of the Graduate College,  
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## Introduction

Ohio, an agricultural and industrial state, is basically a conservative Republican state.<sup>1</sup> Yet in 1958, Michael V. DiSalle, a liberal Democrat who had been closely associated with President Harry Truman's Fair Deal, was elected governor for the first four-year term legislated in the history of the state.<sup>2</sup> Two years earlier the Ohio newspapermen at their gridiron show "buried" Mike DiSalle because he had lost three previous statewide elections, one for Governor and two for the United States Senate.<sup>3</sup> These men had not studied the history of Ohio politics. This thesis plans to discuss the circumstances and actions that made DiSalle's election not only possible but probable.

Several secondary sources that touch on the nature of Ohio politics such as John H. Fenton's Midwest Politics and Samuel Lubbell's The Future of American Politics were used. Sources that mention Michael V. DiSalle's statewide career are more rare, but John Howard Kessel's and Joe Hoover Bindley's dissertations shed light on the elections of 1952 and 1956.

Primary materials such as newspapers, correspondence, and interviews will be used to discuss each DiSalle statewide election from 1950 to 1958. In doing so, it will become clear what conditions were operative for victory and which for defeat. It is also hoped that the author,

DiSalle's youngest daughter, may contribute something of value to the biographical material available on her father.

To begin it is necessary to survey the historical development of, and constituent groups in, the Republican and Democratic parties in Ohio, and the extent to which these groups have changed or remained the same. There are many facets to the study of the Ohio political complexion. Several major questions to include are what conditions made Ohio a conservative Republican state, what issues motivated the electorate and how national concerns affected the Ohio political scene. Additional aspects to consider are statewide issues, conflicts between leading personalities, the economic and social climate of the times, style of campaigning employed, the financing available to the candidates, the influence of special interest groups such as labor and agricultural blocs, the degree of voter apathy or enthusiasm, the extent and partisanship of newspaper coverage, the relative strengths of the two party organizations in the state, and the size of voter registration.

After examining the components of Ohio politics, Michael DiSalle's statewide political races will be discussed beginning with his unsuccessful campaign for the Senate against Joseph T. Ferguson in the 1950 Democratic Senatorial primary.<sup>4</sup> The final chapter will cover his career from 1962, when he left the governor's mansion, until his death in 1981.

## CHAPTER 1

### OHIO'S POLITICAL COMPLEXION

The Republican party in Ohio has a solid base going back to the early settlement of Ohio by Whig party members from Virginia, Kentucky, and New England. These people settled in areas of Ohio known as the Virginia Military District or the Ohio Company, the Seven Ranges, and the Western Reserve. Through the years, their basic beliefs were strengthened by political circumstances such as the Civil War, their support of Abraham Lincoln and the Union, William McKinley's crusade against William Jennings Bryan's free silver heresy, and Robert Taft's struggles against governmental authority growing out of the New Deal and World War II.

These basic Republican groups were joined in 1896 by selected former Democrats, some of whom were small town businessmen who opposed Bryan's free silver policy which they thought threatened the economy and their livelihood.<sup>5</sup> Other groups who joined the GOP in response to McKinley's broader popular appeal and gold and tariff policies were those German liturgicals who were opposed to inflation and some factory workers afraid of losing their jobs due to the "Democratic" depression of 1893. The latter group, however,



remained only temporarily in the Republican party, returning to the Democratic party in 1932 and 1936.<sup>6</sup>

By 1918, a large majority of the German population, both liturgical and pietist joined the Republican party. This was due in part to President Woodrow Wilson's leading the United States into World War I against Germany. Not only had these German-Americans wished not to have their adopted country at war with the Fatherland, they and other German-Americans resented having their loyalty to the United States questioned or being pressured by some of the "patriotic" Democratic county chairmen to mortgage real estate to purchase war bonds. These German-Americans were not unpatriotic, but their dislike of Russia, and American super-patriotic harassment made them less than sympathetic to the Democratic party. This alienation was reenforced in December, 1941, when a predominantly Democratic Congress under a Democratic President again declared war on Germany.<sup>7</sup>

Another group of citizens who joined the Republican party were those rural Democrats of Anglo-Saxon Southern ancestry who could not abide the presidential candidacies of Catholics Al Smith and John Kennedy. Members of this same group also rejected Franklin Roosevelt's liberal New Deal policies which they believed resulted in too much power being in the hands of the federal government. They chaffed under taxes and control. By 1960, fifty-four of Ohio's

eighty-eight counties were considered Republican because they had given a majority of votes to Republican candidates in all the presidential elections from 1940-1960.<sup>8</sup> Map I identifies these counties and indicates the great extent to which the Republican party was composed of western Ohio corn-belt farmers, German-Americans, descendents of the Whigs, large and small businessmen, and Anglo-Saxon protestants.<sup>9</sup>

By contrast the Democratic party in Ohio received its strength from two principal sources. The oldest of these dated back to the Civil War and included the supporters of Clement L. Vallandigham, Democratic candidate in 1863 for Governor of Ohio on a Copperhead platform. He was already in exile from Ohio when he became a candidate. Although he lost the election, he managed to receive 187,492 votes and to win eighteen counties. Twelve of these remained among the twenty-one most Democratic counties in the state outside of northern and northeastern Ohio, 1940-1960.<sup>10</sup> Map II indicates the enduring Democratic outlook among the Copperheads and their descendents.

The newer source of Democratic strength dated from the Great Depression and included the many foreign-born citizens from southern and eastern Europe and their descendents who had settled primarily in northern and northeastern Ohio. These people were attracted to the jobs available in the steel and rubber industries. Originally, this Western

Republican Counties in Presidential  
Elections, 1940-1960



Historic Democratic Counties Outside

Northern Ohio, 1940-1960



Reserve area had been safely Republican, but the needs created by industrialization changed the type of population, and the Depression and its aftermath changed party affiliations. Here were thousands of poor, misunderstood, jobless immigrants caught in a system they did not understand, being neglected by their employers and the state government. Where were they to turn? President Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal remained the single friendly element during this whole period by providing jobs in the public sector and assorted aid programs to ease them over the difficult economic times. Roosevelt and the Democratic party became associated in their minds with food, jobs, and dignity as human beings. This shift in political allegiance took place in the large northern metropolitan areas due to the locations of the factories which established themselves near the shipping lanes of Lake Erie.<sup>11</sup>

Thus after 1932, the Ohio Democratic Party was composed of urban liberals, eastern and southern Europeans, Catholics, Negroes, and some of the descendents of Vallandigham's supporters voting as their forebearers had. They were united in a party that offered a place to the disinherited, minority segments of the state's population. In time descendents of Vallandigham's supporters identified themselves less as disinherited citizens and more as loyal Democrats, but this did not occur until the late 1930s and

1940s when the Democratic party was captured by the big city elements.<sup>12</sup>

All studies of the composition of the two major parties in Ohio indicate that the Republican Party was composed of a more homogenous grouping than the Democrats. What effect then did this have on the actual operations of the parties? In Ohio, a great deal. The Republican party tended to be well financed, tightly organized, and highly cooperative. Republicans thought this organization to be necessary because an unpublished Louis Harris Poll in 1958 stated that they were the minority of the Ohio voting population. The poll said 42 percent of the electorate considered themselves Democrats, 31 percent Republican, and 27 percent Independent.<sup>13</sup> However, upon examination of the registered voters, 36 percent were Republican, 35 percent Democrat, and 29 percent Independent. These declarations of party indicated that the political scene in Ohio was less clearly Republican than the actual voting behavior suggested.<sup>14</sup>

The Republican party was a party led primarily by Ohioans who had achieved financial success and were therefore persons who held the positions of power and authority in their communities. They had risen to the top in their various fields and wanted to maintain these positions and prosper in them. One very important way to protect their status would be to have a state government sympathetic to their concerns. To do this they supported

the party of their choice with good financing, time, loyalty, and devotion.<sup>15</sup> They were also practical, hardheaded, realistic businessmen who knew about organization and the value of the dollar. As a result, they could attract able candidates to run for the various offices because the candidates knew they could count on strong state party support for their campaigns.

Knowing that their main political strength was in only one large metropolitan area, Cincinnati (Hamilton County) in southern Ohio, the Republicans had to have a cohesive statewide party with the ability to draw together the other areas of the state. Strong Republican county organizations had to be formed and encouraged in the cornbelt, and in the medium sized cities and small towns. If this could not be done, the large northern metropolitan areas could carry the state with their large Democratic populations.<sup>16</sup> Democratic victory would not only mean the loss of power, but the loss of statewide patronage that the Republicans needed to provide jobs for the party faithful.

To accomplish these ends, the Republicans set up a strong Republican state committee and, in 1950, selected Ray Bliss as State Chairman. Bliss had just successfully finished managing the Taft senatorial campaign of 1950. This appointment was to prove one of the wisest choices the Republican party ever made. In 1965, his reputation had grown so great, especially in regard to organization and

financing, that Bliss was selected National Republican Chairman.<sup>17</sup> All aspects of Republican party strategy originated in state headquarters. Literature, financing, authorization came from Columbus to the county chairmen, and, if a county chairman delivered the vote, he received all the speakers, literature and funds that he needed. For the most part, the Republicans did a good job of taking care of their own. Occasionally, a county chairman in a Democratic district would not receive adequate aid, but that was the unusual case.<sup>18</sup>

Another Republican strength resulted from the fact that most often the Republican primaries were uncontested. This made it possible to eliminate bitter primary battles, concentrate funds and volunteer personnel on the general elections, and generally benefit from greater cohesiveness.

Given this picture, what did the Republican party leaders perceive to be their most advantageous course of action? They decided that they must do all within their considerable power to maximize the vote in the rural areas, Cincinnati, and the smaller cities, and at the same time minimize the Democratic majority in the more industrialized and populous metropolitan areas of northeastern Ohio. One way to minimize the Democratic vote was to be very careful to keep any issues out of the campaigns that would solidify the opinion of the middle and lower class voters behind a cause they perceived as favorable to their underdog status.



Another was to keep divisive issues safely off the ballot.<sup>19</sup> State Chairman Bliss believed the candidates should take a very positive approach in regard to building up Ohio, and that they should stay away from attacks on personality. Another important strategy was to use maximum effort to get out the Republican vote.<sup>20</sup>

Due to their excellent organization, the Republicans were always grooming candidates for the higher offices. They usually examined the outstanding Republican state legislators to see what potential they might have and what talents they might bring to the lesser elective state offices such as Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, and State Auditor. Once a good party man had attained one of these offices, his performance, statewide voter appeal, and willingness to run for Governor would be assessed. If he proved capable, he was often urged by the state committee to run, and he was promised its considerable backing and support.<sup>21</sup>

The Democratic party, on the other hand, was run in a totally different manner. It was a loose conglomerate of medium sized city organizations, several large metropolitan organizations, county organizations, and a few rural county organizations, all of which perceived themselves to have little in common. The leaders in the large metropolitan areas did not feel the need to relinquish control of their territories to a statewide organization because they already

benefited from considerable city and county patronage. In addition, party funds that originated in the county stayed there and this practice was not challenged by the state chairman.<sup>22</sup> Due to the Democratic population distribution, no one Democratic leader possessed enough electoral strength to dominate the party statewide. This added to the fragmentation because each chose to be chief in his area instead of being subordinate to another. Few Democrats gave high priority to the development of a strong, statewide organization.<sup>23</sup> Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), the only predominantly Democratic county which could have rivaled the Republican political power of Hamilton County (Cincinnati), had two rival Democratic organizations which not only split the county but made it difficult for statewide candidates to campaign there.<sup>24</sup>

Part of this disorganization can be traced to the fact that many diverse groups composed the Democratic party. There were the rural conservatives dating from Civil War days, urban low income groups, labor unions, political liberals, many diverse ethnic groups, Negroes, and many independent political organizations.<sup>25</sup>

Ordinarily, it would be expected that the presence of labor organizations within a party structure would be an asset. In Ohio, however, this did not prove true for the Democratic party. The labor unions in Ohio were weak compared to the unions in other industrial states such as

Michigan and Pennsylvania. Ohio unions were many and diverse. Rubber, steel and oil industries were located in northeastern Ohio, but there were many more small industrial plants scattered throughout the state. Mining operations were located in southeastern Ohio.<sup>26</sup> John Gunther wrote that Ohio was a nucleus for seventy percent of all industrial activity in the nation and first in an extraordinary variety of products and enterprises.<sup>27</sup> This led to a similar situation among unions as existed among the medium sized or large urban Democratic organizations. No single union could dominate the movement on a statewide basis, nor did any one union have the financial resources to extend its influence much beyond the objectives of the local membership, which usually included no concerns beyond wages, hours, and benefits.<sup>28</sup>

John H. Fenton states that the unions also lacked strong intellectual leadership because the rubber and steel industries did not attract the most highly educated group of laborers. Therefore many of the labor leaders in Ohio were of the hard bitten school who looked with suspicion on liberals and had little in common with them. As a consequence, the liberal Democrats did not have enthusiastic union support, and the unions did not have much support beyond their membership.<sup>29</sup>

One of the most disastrous forays of union involvement in Ohio politics was the Taft-Ferguson senatorial campaign.

It was an example of labor waging a very unsophisticated campaign against Taft. Ferguson wished that labor had approached the campaign in a much less aggressive manner.<sup>30</sup> But it can also be said in defense of the unions that they faced a strong cultural bias against aggressive unionism in Ohio.<sup>31</sup>

The individualistic city and county organizations and the noncohesiveness of organized labor resulted in the Democratic primaries usually being quite colorful. In 1956, there were five Democratic candidates for Governor and in 1958, there were seven.<sup>32</sup> In 1958, Mike DiSalle won the primary, in which the Democratic vote was fragmented according to each candidate's city of residence, as each city supported its local son. Two of the 1958 primary contestants came from Cleveland, the mayor and the county engineer. This type of division often led to bitter primaries and to wounds that were hard to heal by November election time.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to the above points, it is necessary to discuss the role former Governor Frank J. Lausche and his mentor Governor Vic Donahey played in the Democratic party in Ohio. Traditionally, it had been the duty of the Democratic nominee for Governor to name the State Chairman. This gave the nominee considerable say in how the party would be organized. Vic Donahey paid little attention to building a strong party in the 1920s and Frank Lausche,

twenty years later, adopted the same approach. Lausche evidenced a strong tendency toward political independence which was deepened by his years in Cleveland politics where a political independent was more highly valued than a party regular. An example of this independence was particularly painful for Ferguson in 1950 when Lausche would not endorse him and seemed to endorse Taft, albeit in an offhand manner.<sup>34</sup> On a television program in 1956, Lausche revealed that he did not vote for Taft.<sup>35</sup> Under Lausche's chairman, Eugene Hanhart, the personnel at the Democratic state headquarters consisted of three persons: an assistant to the chairman, a secretary, and a receptionist.<sup>36</sup> In comparison, at this same time, the Republican state headquarters had fifty-four full time employees.<sup>37</sup>

Lausche had tremendous ability to attract voters across party lines due to his fiscal conservatism, his stands against racketeering and bossism, and for his charismatic mother, hearth, home, and country image.<sup>38</sup> Listening to one of his speeches was like listening to the political counterpart of Billy Graham; often Lausche was moved to tears.<sup>39</sup>

Frank Lausche was an immensely popular Governor who won five terms and was considered unbeatable by members of both parties. He was also the first Catholic son of an Eastern European immigrant to be elected Governor in Ohio.

Lausche's control of the party chairman lasted twelve years, which is a considerable amount of time to have a weak organization. In 1955, Ray T. Miller of Cleveland who had a long standing feud with Lausche, organized a group known as the "Northern Ohio Democratic Chairmen." All the members were dissatisfied with Lausche and wanted to return the Democratic party to the control of Democrats.<sup>40</sup> This, however, did not harm Lausche because in 1956, he won the election for United States Senator by a healthy margin, beating all the Democratic candidates in the field.<sup>41</sup> Not surprisingly, he did well among the conservative Civil War Democrats who voted along the lines of true Southern Democrats. But he was also able to draw well in normally Republican counties which gave credence to his conservative label.<sup>42</sup> Lausche's type of politician held great appeal in Ohio. He knew his audience and he gave them what they wanted.<sup>43</sup>

In exploring the roots and organizations of both parties in Ohio, it has become clear that the Republican party had the stronger organization, better financing, and a better hold on the voting population. Yet, the Democratic party despite its impoverished organization, attained great strength in the Cleveland, Akron, Dayton, and Youngstown metropolitan areas and managed to help elect Democrats to the presidency and more consistently won success in gubernatorial campaigns.<sup>44</sup> To determine why this was

possible, it is necessary to take a closer look at the electorate and at the issues that determined their choice of candidates.

Fenton stated in his book Midwestern Politics that party platform issues were not a decisive element in Ohio's elections.<sup>45</sup> This statement is generally true, but there were certain matters that had a marked influence upon the electorate. They might not be issues as Fenton described them, but to the electorate they were the stuff that determined which candidate was elected. The Ohio voters favored governmental non-interference, a stable economic climate, peace, anti-communism, low taxes, and an end to organized crime. They were for capital punishment, good jobs, controlled labor unions, and better highways.<sup>46</sup>

This outlook derived support from the middle class myth which celebrated a blend of Horatio Alger and the rugged individualist attitudes associated with the frontier. The virtues associated with the myth were honesty, thrift, steadiness, caution, and freedom. Often the candidates perceived to embody these qualities won election. (There is much to be said for Wilfred Binkley's comment that voting is a non-logical process.)<sup>47</sup> The existence of these strong psychological attitudes in the Ohio electorate played into the hands of the Republican upper income groups because they were then allowed to pursue their business ventures with little interference by government and often with its

cooperation. Many low income people, because they did not associate the myth with their economic self interest, also voted for the conservative candidate whether Republican or Democrat.<sup>48</sup> The following is a part of an interview with a service repairman from Berea, Ohio.

The big things now are the cost of living and the changes in prices. They should hold the money situation down all around. With me, I'm lucky on unemployment, but with some it's tough. The government should build better highways and keep things going. I'm worried about the situation in the Middle East. There's no telling when war will break. I'll vote for Bricker. People respect him. I do feel strong about one more thing. They should raise old age security. No, I've not heard the Democrats have raised social security and as far as I know, Bricker is for good wages for the working man.<sup>49</sup>

Lubell wrote in 1952 that many of the low income people shifted to Eisenhower because of inflation attributed to the spending on the Korean War, because of the war itself, and because their loved ones had been called to fight.<sup>50</sup> These sentiments would be in agreement with the above statement. Although there was an economic component to the voting decisions of the lower income voter, he himself did not perceive the connection between the Democratic programs and how they could aid him financially. Only the overall condition of the economy was considered.

What contributed to these attitudes among the lower income voters? Several reasons have been suggested. First, they were not well informed by their unions. Second, they were not given balanced information by the state's



Republican oriented newspapers. And third, the working class population was quite diffuse and distributed throughout many medium sized cities. One writer stated that this led to the social isolation of the worker in lower-middle income neighborhoods. Or, more concretely put, the situation existed wherein the accountant lived next door to the factory worker and the postal worker. With no common grounds for communication between laborer, government employee and white collar worker, most of their conversation was about the weather or the baseball team.<sup>51</sup> Therefore a class consciousness did not exist. Their primary interest remained home, family, and TV. They did not perceive government programs as affecting their pocketbooks in a similar manner. In smaller mining communities there was more uniformity of thought and union solidarity, but the few miners could not offset the larger number of isolated workers in the medium sized metropolitan areas.<sup>52</sup>

Many Ohio farmers, on the other hand, appreciated the financial aid legislated for them under Democratic auspices, and voted their economic self interest according to the way they perceived the national economic scene. Basically conservative and primarily interested in a stable economy, farmers gratefully remembered what the Democratic policies of the Depression had helped them achieve. They also, in threatening economic times, did not want a government in power that would eliminate Depression policies such as price

supports and other agricultural aids. One of the more surprising turn of events in 1948 was farmer support for Harry Truman. To them, Thomas Dewey seemed more threatening because of his promise to do a "great house cleaning" in Washington. The memories of the Depression were too fresh and the farmer wanted to retain the Democratic programs. To the farmer, the status quo was the answer in 1948.

Two years later attitudes toward Truman had changed due to the outbreak of the Korean War which had caused double digit inflation and required the recall of reservists. For the farmer, the war provided a more balanced economy in regard to supply and demand, especially as opposed to the lopsided effects of the Depression. As a result, the farmer was less dependent on government aid and began to question whether the cost of government aid did not outweigh its benefits. The farmer saw that his inflated dollars bought less and therefore, he would need more of them for his various operations in the future.

To the Ohio farmer, having to deal with higher land prices and the expense of farm equipment was a real handicap. One young farmer tried to start farming on his own three times. Each time he tried, costs were up and he needed to find more capital. Going into debt was not considered safe because another depression was anticipated. Yet the attitudes of the farmer depended on just how difficult the Depression had been on him. If he had been

hit hard during the Depression, he tended to favor government aid. If not touched too greatly, he favored ending government support.<sup>53</sup>

What did all this mean to the Ohio farmer and how did it affect his vote for governor? Although only 10.7 percent of Ohio population was classified rural farm in 1950, the state ranked eighth in the United States in 1951 total farm value of agricultural commodities.<sup>54</sup> The majority of Ohio farmers were prosperous and lived in the cornbelt that included north central and all of western Ohio with the exception of the counties bordering the Ohio River. This type of farmer tilled rich, fertile land, used modern farming equipment, depended heavily on the latest scientific research regarding farm management, had running water, electricity, and hired help. The 1954 standard of living index for cornbelt farmers was 24 percent higher than the average for United States farmers. This standard of living put these farmers in the category of successful businessmen with large capital investments and good relationships with banks. The typical cornbelt farmer was very self assured and self reliant and had not suffered a great deal during the Depression. His tendency was to vote against price and crop support programs and to identify restrictions on freedom exclusively with government. As he saw it, government taxed away a large part of his earnings and provided little in return save restrictions and control.

These restrictions were identified with the New Deal and the Democratic party. Included in this conservative Republican area were 28 counties that were solidly Republican.<sup>55</sup> One exception to this general trend was the 1948 presidential election when Ohio farmers voted for Harry Truman.<sup>56</sup>

A discussion of the rural vote would not be complete without mentioning the role of the small town. Before the automobile and rural electrification, the farmer was very dependent on the town nearest him. He had to cart his product to market by horse and wagon and had to get supplies, credit, and legal assistance there. Often the townspeople looked down on him as inferior, uncultured, and foreign-born because he retained his ethnicity longer. Therefore the farmer believed it necessary to support the politics of the town which was generally Republican, because he was dependent on the services there. However, by the late 1930s, things began to change, and much of this was due to programs started during the Depression by the Democrats. At times the farmer felt more inclined to vote Democratic while the town voted Republican.<sup>57</sup> This meant that for the first time the Republicans had to compete for the farmers' vote. Now that the farmer had achieved a better standard of living and the townspeople recognized their interdependence with him, the townspeople had to consider the farmers' needs and wishes when going to the polls.

In Ohio, traditional basic small town attitudes had changed somewhat by the late 1930's and 1940's to the extent that many of the towns attracted industry. The small towns of the western cornbelt area and of rural north central Ohio promised good sources of labor, inexpensive cost of living, good transportation for raw materials to the towns and shipping of the finished products to the large metropolises on the shores of the Great Lakes. These factors would indicate the possibility of an even greater Democratic shift except for the fact that the towns did not attract as large a population of foreign born as did the northern Ohio cities. Nor did they attract much of a Negro population. The workers in the factories were generally from the surrounding farms and small towns. They were also stable and well educated people who brought with them their basically conservative and Republican attitudes. As a result, the unions in their industries were weak, did not attract many members, and could do little in politics because they only had the resources to handle the bread and butter issues of their local union. Without strong unions to challenge it, the power structure in the small towns remained in the hands of the business community. The Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, and other business organizations got together to discuss issues that affected the community. Therefore, their opinions were the ones the people heard in the cafes and throughout the town on a

regular basis. In addition, the banker was one of the regular faces that met for coffee with the other citizens and was known more as a friend. His opinions were respected and heeded. If a loan was needed, he was the one to whom the people turned. Therefore, the business attitudes were well entrenched in Ohio's small towns, especially in the cornbelt areas.<sup>58</sup>

After examining the various forces at work in Ohio's rural areas, it would seem that prosperous, stable economic times would favor a Republican candidate as well as inflationary times. But the Democratic candidate would be more likely to win when depression or recession prevailed.

How then did foreign affairs affect the choice of a candidate? Earlier it was mentioned (page 4) that the German-American population, which was a farming population, tended to leave the Democratic party after World War I. This group was anti-British, anti-Russian, anti-League of Nations, and after World War II, anti-United Nations. It was a segment of the population that has been termed isolationist and it was joined by others who were anti-war, suspicious of foreigners, anti-militaristic, and reluctant to have their sons drafted.<sup>59</sup> Since the Democratic party had been in power during both World Wars, it had become associated in people's minds as the party of war, thanks in part to Republican propaganda which emphasized this point. Therefore, the Republican party could exploit this

resentment or isolationistic feeling and rally these elements to their cause.<sup>60</sup> In addition, since this group was anti-Russian, World War II era agreements such as Potsdam and Yalta were severely criticized and blamed for the rise of Communism.<sup>61</sup> Many Catholics joined this group because they feared the atheistic nature of Communism. Added to these basic anti-war feelings as 1950 rolled around was Truman's intervention in the Korean War. The cold war had been in progress for five years and then the action in Korea began. At first Truman's action was well received, but as time went on many people thought their sons or relatives were fighting the wrong war against the wrong enemy. Then inflation began to get out of hand and taxes went up. For many, a sense of frustration with the government and the cold war became paramount.<sup>62</sup> There was a strong degree of patriotism but no satisfactory outlet. Many thought that the United States was pouring too much money into the Marshall Plan and other aid programs to foreign nations. An Ohio farmer from Knox County wished America could get back to the American way of living.

Both political parties were anti-Communist, but the Democratic party was generally perceived as soft on Communism partly because of Roosevelt's deference to Stalin during and after World War II, and partly because of the social welfare programs begun under the New Deal. It was also considered the party of too much government spending,

especially in regard to foreign aid, and therefore inflationary.<sup>63</sup> Political fears of inflation brought stiffened opposition to government spending, which evidenced itself in anti-New Deal, anti-Democratic voting. It also lifted the political prestige of business which was associated in the voter's mind with economy and opposition to government. Inflation strengthened feelings of isolationism and feelings against large scale aid to Europe. The strong feelings against inflation and war favored Republican victory. For the Democrats the fear of depression strengthened the pressures for government action. It lifted the political prestige of labor, while weakening the influence of business. Therefore, fear of depression favored Democratic victory.<sup>64</sup>

Another element involved in forming political opinion would be the strength and bias of the newspapers in the various Ohio communities. As a general rule, the newspapers in Ohio were conservative. Many of them considered themselves independent, but their actual endorsements of political candidates tilted the balance in favor of Republicanism. In the Taft-Ferguson campaign, Taft had the support of all but a few of the newspapers. Not only did he have their endorsements, but in a study of nineteen selected newspapers, the amount of space given to Taft as opposed to Ferguson was 77.7 percent to 22.3 percent. In addition, the Columbus Dispatch and the Cincinnati Enquirer printed



statements that were detrimental to Ferguson because they were stated in a way that suggested he was supported by the Communists.<sup>65</sup>

What effect did this political bias have on the electorate and on the candidates? Most of the candidates and the party regulars sought newspaper support. Frank Lausche had excellent newspaper support, and, in his case, it seemed to have been beneficial.<sup>66</sup> DiSalle considered newspaper endorsements as positive assets to his electoral possibilities.<sup>67</sup> Ray Bliss suggested that a successful candidate for statewide elective office needed the endorsement of a majority of the larger newspapers of the state in order to win.<sup>68</sup> In actuality, although no one turned down a newspaper endorsement, in the cases of several Democrats, such as Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman in 1948, it was not necessary to have heavy newspaper endorsements to win. This was particularly true in presidential and gubernatorial elections. Endorsements for minor state offices were more important due to the unfamiliarity of the electorate with the candidates. In these cases the newspapers provided a helpful guide.

Yet, it would be fallacious to assume that the papers had no influence. The economic news, national news, farming news, and other issues of great concern to the electorate were disseminated in part by this medium. Therefore, as in the Taft-Ferguson case, when the newspapers considered labor

to be acting in an inappropriate, threatening manner, the news on the candidates was slanted to support Taft and minimize Ferguson.<sup>69</sup>

The statement by Charles W. Smith, Jr., sums up the power of the press as evidenced in Ohio politics.

The Press, whether or not it attempts to exert its influence through news columns or editorials or both, is not powerful enough to win its readers when such propoganda runs counter to their habits, prejudices,<sup>70</sup> class loyalties, or economic interests.

On different occasions, statewide issues would be presented to the electorate that would have an electrifying effect. This was the case in the gubernatorial election of 1958 in which the candidates were almost eclipsed by the statewide battle over the right-to-work issue. This campaign and issue will be discussed in the third chapter. Typically contests were between candidates who proposed to do the same types of things for the state. The methods they intended to use were rarely publicly discussed. For example, in the case of DiSalle and O'Neill in 1956, it was difficult to tell they belonged to different parties when reading their platforms. Each planned to improve the state education and mental health programs, highways, and to increase aid to the aged.<sup>71</sup> This campaign will also be discussed in Chapter III.

In summary, Ohio's electorate was basically conservative and therefore Republican. The Republicans

controlled a larger geographic area than the Democrats. The newspapers were Republican and the Ohio State Republican party was a well organized, well financed power with which to deal. By contrast, the Democrats were located primarily in the northeastern, highly populated and highly industrialized parts of the state. They were not well organized, not well financed, and did not have a strong union base to support them. The issues that were important to the electorate were generally national issues related to foreign affairs and economics. Statewide, economic conservatism was as important as were highway building, personalities, and the protection of hearth and home.

## FOOTNOTES: Chapter I

<sup>1</sup>Thomas A. Flinn, "The Outline of Ohio's Politics," Western Political Quarterly, 13 (1960), p. 702; Joe Hoover Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior in Ohio," (Unpublished Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh 1959).

<sup>2</sup>John H. Fenton, "Ohio's Unpredictable Voters," Harpers (October, 1962), p. 65.

<sup>3</sup>Ray Dorsey, "DiSalle Delights in Keeping Tabs on Rhodes," Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 19, 1964; John Howard Kessel, "Road to the Mansion; A Study of the 1956 Gubernatorial Campaign in Ohio," (Unpublished Dissertation, Columbia University, 1958), p. 171.

<sup>4</sup>Jack Kenneth Paquette, "A Study of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign in Ohio, with Special Emphasis on Newspaper Coverage of the Campaign," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Ohio State University, 1951), p. 53.

<sup>5</sup>John H. Fenton, Midwest Politics, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966), pp. 120-123.

<sup>6</sup>Richard J. Jensen, Grass Roots Politics; Parties, Issues and Voters 1854-1983, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983), pp. 9-12.

<sup>7</sup>Samuel Lubell, The Future of American Politics, (New York: Harper and Bros., 1951) p. 139; Jensen, Grass Roots Politics, p. 11; Jensen, Grass Roots Politics, pp. 9-10.

<sup>8</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, pp. 123-125.

<sup>9</sup>Wilfred E. Binkley, American Political Parties, Their Natural History, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), p. VII; Jensen, Grass Roots Politics, p. XIII.

<sup>10</sup>Flinn, "The Outline of Ohio Politics," p. 705; Neal R. Peirce and John Keefe, The Great Lakes States of America, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1980), p. 301.

<sup>11</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, p. 130.

<sup>12</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, pp. 128-132.

<sup>13</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, p. 117 and p. 133.

<sup>14</sup>Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior in Ohio," p. 286; Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 240-250.

<sup>15</sup>Paquette, "A Study of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign in Ohio," p. 57; Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 38.

<sup>16</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, pp. 133-137; Peirce, The Great Lakes States, p. 300; Kessel, Road to the Mansion, p. 161.

<sup>17</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, p. 133.

<sup>18</sup>Kessel, Road to the Mansion, pp. 200-316; Frank Kane, "Ohio Democrats Still Look Like Divided Organization," Toledo Blade, Michael V. DiSalle clippings.

<sup>19</sup>Flinn, "The Outline of Ohio Politics," p. 721.

<sup>20</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, p. 117.

<sup>21</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 44-54.

<sup>22</sup>Kane, "Ohio Democrats Still Look Like Divided Organization."

<sup>23</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, pp. 137-141; Malcolm E. Jewell and David M. Olson, American State Political Parties and Elections, (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1982), p. 54 and p. 77.

<sup>24</sup>Kane, "Ohio Democrats Still Look Like Divided Organization,"; Ray Dorsey, "Post-Primary View If DiSalle Is Victor," Cleveland Plain Dealer, Michael DiSalle Clippings in the author's files; Richard L. Maher, "Kennedy Gives Ray T. Miller Big Lift," Michael DiSalle clippings.

<sup>25</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, p. 132.

<sup>26</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, p. 139.

<sup>27</sup>John Gunther, Inside U.S.A., (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), p. 442.

<sup>28</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, p. 139.

<sup>29</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, p. 140.

<sup>30</sup>Paquette, "A Study of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign in Ohio," pp. 64-65.

<sup>31</sup>Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior in Ohio," pp. 269-271.

<sup>32</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 181.

<sup>33</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, pp. 138-139.

<sup>34</sup>Paquette, "A Study of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign in Ohio," p. 84.

<sup>35</sup>New York Times, January 9, 1956, p. 13.

<sup>36</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 102-104 and p. 164.

<sup>37</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 300-316.

<sup>38</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 165-166.

<sup>39</sup>Author's impressions.

<sup>40</sup>Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior in Ohio," pp. 202-203.

<sup>41</sup>Fenton, "Ohio's Unpredictable Voters," p. 62.

<sup>42</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, pp. 141-142; Fenton, "Ohio's Unpredictable Voters," p. 62.

<sup>43</sup>Fenton, "Ohio's Unpredictable Voters," p. 62.

<sup>44</sup>Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior in Ohio," pp. 213-222.

<sup>45</sup>David Arnold Johnston, "Politics and Policy in Ohio: A Study of Equal Rights, Pollution Control, and Unemployment Compensation Legislation," (Unpublished Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1972), abstract Vol. 133 at UNO; Fenton, Midwest Politics, p. 153.

<sup>46</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, p. 153.

<sup>47</sup>Binkley, American Political Parties, p. VII.

<sup>48</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, p. 153; Peirce, The Great Lakes States, p. 307; Jensen Grass Roots Politics, p. 4; Samuel Lubell, "Ike Seen Benefiting from Rivals Split," Toledo Blade, October 28, 1952, p. 4;

<sup>49</sup>Fenton, "Ohio's Unpredictable Voters," p. 63.

<sup>50</sup>Lubell, "Ike Seen Benefiting," Oct. 28, 1952, p. 4.

<sup>51</sup>Alvin Silverman, "17% Turnout Expected at Polls in Ohio," Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 30, 1950, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup>Fenton, "Ohio's Unpredictable Voters," pp. 63-64; Everett Carll Ladd, Jr. with Charles D. Hadley, Transformations of the American Party System, Political Conditions from the New Deal to the 1970's, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1975), pp. 105-111.

<sup>53</sup>Lubell, The Future of American Politics, pp. 165-166.

<sup>54</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 5 and 6.

<sup>55</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, pp. 124-125.

<sup>56</sup>Lubell, The Future of American Politics, pp. 167-168.

<sup>57</sup>Lubell, The Future of American Politics, pp. 171-175.

<sup>58</sup>Fenton, Midwest Politics, pp. 125-127.

<sup>59</sup>Lubell, The Future of American Politics, pp. 129-157 and pp. 216-220.

<sup>60</sup>John W. Bricker, "Political Forum, Toledo Blade, October 30, 1952, p. 4; "Political Forum," Toledo Blade, October 31, 1952, p. 4.

<sup>61</sup>Paul Block, Jr., "Eisenhower Avoids Direct Reference to McCarthyism Issue,"; Thomas P. Reynders, "Governor Asserts His Party Actually More Conservative," Toledo Blade, October 4, 1952; John M. Hightower, "Keystone Issue Is Foreign Policy; Here's Background," Cleveland Plain Dealer, Michael V. DiSalle Papers, Ohio Historical Society, Inc., Columbus, Ohio. (All items from the DiSalle Papers are in the author's files.)

<sup>62</sup>Ernest Havemann, "War and Politics," Life, July-August, 1950, Vol. 29, pp. 100-110.

<sup>63</sup>Samuel Lubell, "Cities, Not Farm Belt, Expected to Decide Election," Toledo Blade, October 9, 1952, p. 3.

<sup>64</sup>Lubell, The Future of American Politics, pp. 129-157 pp. 216-220; Lubell, "Dilemmas Haunting Undecided Voter Include War; Fear of Depression," Toledo Blade, October 17, 1952, p. 8.

<sup>65</sup>Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior in Ohio," pp. 262-267; Paquette, "A Study of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign in Ohio," pp. 110-128.

<sup>66</sup>Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior in Ohio," pp. 262-267.

<sup>67</sup>Personal Interview with Antoinette DiSalle Watkins, February, 1984.

<sup>68</sup>Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior in Ohio," p. 262.

<sup>69</sup>Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior in Ohio," pp. 262-267; Paquette, "A Study of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign," pp. 110-128.

<sup>70</sup>Paquette, "A Study of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign in Ohio," p. 127.

<sup>71</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 330-331 and pp. 221-223.



## CHAPTER II

### THE SENATORIAL CAMPAIGNS OF 1950 AND 1952, AND THE OFFICE OF PRICE STABILIZATION

Mike DiSalle chose 1950 as the year to enter statewide politics. Toledo, a more conservative community than Cleveland, had responded well to Democrat DiSalle's brand of politics and to his governing ability. The next three years would bring significant changes in his career. He would make two attempts to win one of the Ohio seats in the United States Senate and would spend thirteen months on the national scene as Director of the Office of Price Stabilization. DiSalle would, from this point on, be clearly identified with the liberal branch of the Democratic party. This meant that the ideals he espoused followed the liberal tradition whose advocates maintained a strong belief in human reason and human dignity. Liberals were committed to freedom, equal justice, and equal opportunity and rejected the argument that man is a prisoner of tradition. They also believed that human intelligence has the power to restructure society. In addition, liberals distrusted power and privilege; had an emotional sympathy for the exploited and underprivileged; and believed that enlightened social or economic policies could rehabilitate even the lowest elements of society. DiSalle's identification with liberalism appealed to some Ohio voters but, given the

conservatism of the majority of voters, was on balance a handicap in statewide elections.<sup>1</sup>

The 1950 Democratic senatorial primary campaign followed the usual pattern for Ohio primaries. There were seven candidates: Joseph T. Ferguson, Dr. Henry M. Busch of Cleveland, Mayor Michael V. DiSalle of Toledo, Walter A. Kelley from Cincinnati, John Martin from Steubenville, State Senator Edward Welsh of Dayton, and William D. White from Newark. The contest quickly became a two-man race between Joe Ferguson and Michael DiSalle. Ferguson was well known throughout the state having served as State Auditor for fourteen years, and DiSalle was better known locally for having been active in Toledo politics since 1932, including a term in the state legislature in 1936. Only one of the other five candidates had ever been elected to public office.<sup>2</sup>

Who were the two leading candidates? Michael DiSalle was born in New York City in 1908, the son of Italian immigrants. When Mike was three, his father, Anthony DiSalle, moved the family to Toledo, Ohio, in order to become foreman in a factory. At the age of five when Mike started school, he still could not speak English. Every day on the way home from school he was chased and beaten by the Irish boys in the mixed Irish, Italian, and black Toledo neighborhood whose Italian section was just three blocks long. Out of these difficult experiences came Mike's

determination to learn English, to become thoroughly American, to read voraciously, and to succeed.<sup>3</sup>

DiSalle's teachers had a profound effect on him, especially Rose Carter his third grade teacher with whom he corresponded for the next fifty years. That DiSalle always admired her is evident from his tribute to her in a letter he sent to his daughter, Antoinette, in 1976.

She was the first one to take me to the zoo. I had become a very excited reader of anything I could get my hands on at the time. I would go to the library and get three books--go home and read--take them back and get three more. But, one night . . . I was reading on the stoop from the back porch and left my book there when I went to bed. It rained that night and the book was destroyed. When I took it back to the library, they fined me seventy-nine cents which was like seventy-nine million at the time. But, I didn't say anything and Miss Carter soon noticed I wasn't reading and kept me after school one day and asked me what the problem was. When I told her, she marched me right down to the library . . . paid the seventy-nine cents and got my<sub>4</sub> card back so that I could start reading again.

His fifth grade teacher, Margaret Wheeler, after scolding Mike for reading a book he had hidden inside his math book, sent him out of the room but told the class that one day he "would be a very important man." During the fifth grade, DiSalle decided he was going "to West Point, serve my country, and then come back to Toledo and run for public office." He also aspired to be President of the United States. He realized two of these ambitions, serving his country and holding elective offices in Toledo. Good

experiences with teachers continued throughout his school years.

From childhood, Mike heard his father tell him that America was the land of opportunity. Although Anthony DiSalle wanted his son to become an engineer in order to take over his business, he soon recognized that Mike's interests were in history and government. Furthermore, he was sympathetic because he had for some time been involved in politics. As a result, Mike entered Georgetown University and pursued a degree in law, graduating in 1930. This entailed much sacrifice on the part of the elder DiSalle who by now had seven children.<sup>5</sup>

After the Depression hit, Mike and his new wife, Myrtle, in 1931 sold their business, Lightning Delivery Service, in Washington, D.C., and moved back to Toledo to help his family. Two years later, DiSalle ran for clerk of the Toledo municipal court and lost. From 1933 to 1935, he worked as assistant district attorney for the Home Owner's Loan Corporation but resigned in 1935 to run for the Ohio House of Representatives.<sup>6</sup> This time he was elected and distinguished himself as one of the outstanding young legislators of the session who won recognition by his colleagues and members of the Statehouse Correspondents Association. Then in 1938, he ran for the State Senate and lost. Returning to Toledo, he served as assistant city law director until 1941 when he was elected to the Toledo City

Council. In 1944, he was elected vice-Mayor.<sup>7</sup> During his two-year term in office, there was much labor unrest, some of it violent. DiSalle was instrumental in solving the labor problems due to his promotion and implementation of a Labor-Management committee. This Board involved labor, management, and interested citizens in the settlement of labor disputes. Many other cities adopted this plan, which brought recognition to Toledo and to Mike DiSalle.<sup>8</sup> In 1946, DiSalle ran for the United States Congress and lost. His loss was attributed to the fact that he had taken two especially unpopular stands, one in regard to city finance and the other in regard to the labor unrest. As vice-Mayor he proposed a one percent city payroll tax to retire a large city debt. His refusal to evade unpopular issues and his willingness to involve himself in controversial action despite possible negative consequences to his political career were characteristic of the man and would later at times adversely affect his chances of winning elective office.<sup>9</sup>

In 1947, Mike DiSalle won election as Mayor of Toledo, the first Democrat to do so in sixteen years. While holding this position, he was chosen by his peers to serve as first president of the Ohio Association of Municipalities. He was also elected chairman of the Advisory Board of the United States Conference of Mayors.<sup>10</sup>

Frank Kane, a Toledo newsman, fondly recollected in 1981 DiSalle's tenure as Mayor.

(It) was colorful, sharp, and out of the ordinary . . . . He had policy making boards and citizens committees to advise him, but generally their recommendations came out pretty much as Mr. DiSalle had wanted them in the first place.

During one of the city's periodic fights over a new airport site, Mr. DiSalle was the only man on council voting against the popular choice. In a few weeks, all his eight colleagues had lined up behind him.<sup>11</sup>

Besides his work in making Toledo debt-free and establishing a new airport, DiSalle persuaded the citizens of Toledo of the necessity for a Clean Air Act. Toledo was one of the first cities to control industrial pollution. Another controversial position he espoused was the establishment of a city swimming pool in the black neighborhood. After a difficult struggle, this pool was finally built.<sup>12</sup>

DiSalle's interests were international as well. In 1948 he began promoting the "Letters for Democracy" campaign regarding elections in Italy between the Christian Democrats and the Communists. This effort began as a simple family discussion and ended in 10 million letters from the United States being sent to Italy. Many believed that this campaign added significantly to the defeat of the Italian communists that year. Robert Taylor, President of the Motion Picture Alliance For The Preservation of American Ideals, wrote:

. . . I congratulate you on the letter writing campaign which you are inaugurating in Toledo. There is certainly no better way to tell

the people in foreign lands about the wonderful benefits of our Democracy than by having them hear it direct from their friends and relatives over here.<sup>13</sup>

With his long career of public service and his strong interest in international affairs, no one was surprised that Mike DiSalle chose to run for the United States Senate, even against a proven vote getter like Joe Ferguson and even if the Republican opponent in the fall would be the distinguished and well-known incumbent, Robert A. Taft. Because Taft had won election in 1944 against a relatively unknown Democrat by the slim margin of 17,000 votes, Ohio Democrats thought he could be defeated in 1950.<sup>14</sup>

Joe Ferguson's beginnings were equally as humble if not more so than Mike DiSalle's. He was born in Shawnee, Ohio, in 1892, one of four children of a coal miner, butcher, and mule breaker. His father was injured on the job and became incapacitated for life. As a result, Joe had to start work very young, and his schooling was limited. He taught himself accounting and later made a living in Shawnee as a newspaper circulation manager and as a bookkeeper for various coal companies in the area. By the age of 22, his skill as an accountant had improved to the extent that he passed the state civil service examination and in 1914 was hired by the Ohio Industrial Commission as a payroll auditor. In 1928, he ran for his first elective office, Auditor of State, but failed to obtain the Democratic

nomination. After three unsuccessful attempts to become Treasurer of State, Ferguson ran for State Auditor and won in 1936.<sup>15</sup>

As auditor, Ferguson set out to make his name a household word and his job a springboard to higher offices. Part of his job required him to dispatch annually 3,000,000 state pension and relief checks each bearing the signature, "Joseph T. Ferguson." He organized a Columbus, Ohio, softball team named "Ferguson's State Auditors." At Christmas time, he mailed out 150,000 greeting cards displaying photographs of himself, his wife, and their eight children. All such endeavors, coupled with his memory for names and faces, his frequent trips into all sections of the state, and his honesty in office help explain his great vote getting ability. In 1948, he won Ohio's favorite son nomination to the Democratic National Convention.<sup>16</sup>

One very serious drawback to Ferguson's desire to achieve higher public office was his notoriously poor command of the English language. His phraseology and grammar were that of the poorly educated man he was. He also had a habit of bouncing from one foot to the other while speaking, which led to the not very flattering nickname of "Jumping Joe." None of this mattered a great deal as Auditor of State, yet when Ferguson came onto the political stage as a possible opponent to the educated,



urbane Robert Taft, the differences between them were quite marked.<sup>17</sup>

Mike DiSalle had an uphill fight all the way. This was his first statewide race. How was he to build an organization, and get name recognition and the funding necessary to campaign on a statewide basis? Ferguson already had an organization and plenty of name recognition throughout the state. The state Democratic party under Lausche's leadership chose not to endorse any of the candidates. As noted earlier, Lausche actually favored Senator Taft.<sup>18</sup> He also made it difficult for the Democratic candidates to start campaigning, because he chose to delay the announcement of his decision not to run well into the winter of 1949. No regular Democrat wanted to run against Lausche. Taft began his campaign early in the fall.<sup>19</sup>

To begin with, DiSalle chose Mayor Thomas A. Burke of Cleveland as his statewide campaign manager.<sup>20</sup> This decision was to aid in winning votes in the large metropolitan area of Cleveland, and also to utilize Mayor Burke's political expertise.<sup>21</sup> Understanding that as many Ohio Democrats as possible would have to be contacted, the DiSalle for U.S. Senate Committee began to collect names of possible supporters. Contacts with known friends were made in the different counties, and each contact was asked to send in names of persons they thought might support

DiSalle's candidacy. From these preliminary lists, a card file was prepared. Each person received a letter asking him or her for support and asking for more names, "to build our campaign."<sup>22</sup> This was a slow process. In the meantime, DiSalle continued to travel throughout the state, putting in very long days according to his custom.<sup>23</sup> Money was at a premium.<sup>24</sup>

Organized labor leaders were quite anxious to defeat Taft because of Taft-Hartley and for his conservatism. They had tried to persuade Murray D. Lincoln, President of the Ohio State Farm Bureau, to enter the race against Taft. Being unsuccessful in the attempt, they chose not to endorse any candidates who had entered the Democratic primary.<sup>25</sup> This decision eliminated a very important source of funding for all the candidates.

The best DiSalle could do was to stump the state as much as possible and to concentrate his campaign in the large metropolitan areas toward the end of the primary. He concentrated on national issues and not on personalities.<sup>24</sup> Meeting the press and people resulted in a quite unexpected turn of events. Toward the end of the campaign, some of the state's leading newspapers, such as the Cleveland Plain Dealer, The Cleveland Press, the Cincinnati Post, and the Toledo Times, endorsed DiSalle for the Democratic nomination for the Senate. They made it clear that they would endorse Senator Taft in the fall, but that they were interested in

seeing a man of DiSalle's intelligence and interest in national and international affairs oppose Senator Taft just in case Taft should lose.<sup>27</sup> The differences between Mike DiSalle and Joe Ferguson were becoming apparent to many Ohioans.

The election arrived, and Joe Ferguson was victorious, winning by a margin of 41,684. Why did Ferguson win? The reason given by the majority of the newspapers was that Ferguson's name was well known throughout the state, and DiSalle's was not. Other important reasons were voter apathy and the split in the vote caused by the numerous Democratic candidates. If more Democrats had voted, the chances for a DiSalle victory would have been greater. Yet for his first try at statewide campaigning, DiSalle won an impressive total of 105,508 votes with most of his votes coming from Lucas County (Toledo) and Cuyahoga County (Cleveland). His next closest rival was 52,413 votes behind.<sup>28</sup>

After his defeat, DiSalle returned to his job as Mayor of Toledo in conjunction with a part-time law practice. But this arrangement did not last. Within eight months, President Harry Truman asked DiSalle if he would accept the job of Federal Director of Price Administration, a position that thirty men refused. DiSalle was in a quandry. Should he take such an unpopular federal position? Would it end his political career? After all, he would be attempting to

regulate wages and prices, therefore potentially opposing both business and labor. Yet the country was in difficult economic times due to the increased government spending on the Korean War. More money was earmarked for defense in the spring of 1951, which would aggravate already spiraling inflation. Economists sent out warnings and housewives complained. President Truman had to find someone for the job.<sup>29</sup>

Why did DiSalle say yes? An article in the Christian Science Monitor put it in these terms after explaining about Mike's father and the sacrifices he made to help Mike through school.

The Director of Price Stabilization wasn't fooling then. You could see that the outward symbols, the cold white shaft of the Washington Monument towering over Temporary E, the majestic columns of the Lincoln Memorial standing serenely in the distance mean something to this official Washington newcomer.

You get the impression, without his ever saying so, that Mike DiSalle wants to serve the public--all the people--the best he knows how.<sup>30</sup>

The thirteen months DiSalle spent as Director of Price Stabilization were full and exacting. First, he had to learn exactly what the job entailed. Second, he had to build a staff in Washington and in field offices across the country. Third, he had to deal with Congress, big labor, big business, small business, the consumer, and the press. The last mentioned seemed to like Mike from the beginning. If it did not always like his programs or agree with him,

it respected his sense of humor in tight spots, his devotion to his work, his willingness to stand for his principles no matter what the cost, and his desire to be as fair as possible to all sides in a dispute.<sup>31</sup>

Three of the most formidable groups that DiSalle had to deal with were the Council of Industrial Organizations (CIO), the cattle feeders, and the cotton bloc. In each instance, he held onto his idea of an across-the-board wage freeze and price freeze respectively, and ended gaining their respect. And, in the case of the C.I.O. and cattle feeders, he earned their applause as well.<sup>32</sup> In regard to cotton, The Dayton Daily News Washington correspondent said, "For the first time in modern history, the cotton bloc in Congress has met a man who stood firm against its concentrated assault and emerged with head unbowed and purpose unchanged."<sup>33</sup>

Many debated the efficacy of price controls. In July 1951, Congress passed a bill which lacked most of the additional anti-inflationary powers President Truman requested.<sup>34</sup> It is generally accepted that the price stabilization program of the Korean War period was not effective.<sup>35</sup> DiSalle, however, believed he had done a very good job with the limited authority he had been granted.<sup>36</sup>

Having gained national popularity and having established a strong reputation, Mike DiSalle resigned from the Office of Price Administration to run for the United

States Senate in 1952 against Senator John W. Bricker.<sup>37</sup> He had wanted to run for Governor of Ohio, but Frank Lausche was not yet ready to leave that office.<sup>38</sup>

This campaign would be different from the campaign waged in 1950. DiSalle now had name recognition and a more extensive network of contacts. But before he could challenge Bricker, he had to win the primary. Winning the primary was not considered a problem.<sup>39</sup> DiSalle was opposed by three other men: State Representative James M. Carney of Cleveland, George L. Marks of Cleveland, and John W. Donahey of Hudson. Carney was the hand-picked candidate of Ray Miller, the Chairman of the Cuyahoga County Democratic party. Marks was the national commander of the Polish War veterans and Donahey was the son of the late A. Vic Donahey, a very popular Governor and Senator from Ohio.<sup>40</sup> Both Carney and Donahey could have proven detrimental to the DiSalle candidacy. Carney's candidacy split the vote in Cuyahoga, the largest Democratic stronghold in Ohio, and Donahey was a well-respected name. But DiSalle, besides his thirteen months in Washington, had one very important endorsement going for him even before he filed for the nomination. Governor Frank Lausche encouraged DiSalle to make the race and told the press that DiSalle "has been a good mayor and civic leader in Toledo. In a noteworthy way he has filled an impossibly difficult position as a Federal price stabilizer."<sup>41</sup> This relationship remained cordial

throughout the entire campaign, with Lausche actively supporting both DiSalle and Democratic presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson. In addition, Mayor Thomas A. Burke of Cleveland agreed to support DiSalle as he had done in 1950.<sup>42</sup> The state was set for a DiSalle victory. When the votes were in, DiSalle had defeated his closest opponent, Carney, by 112,528 votes. Approximately 100,000 more votes were cast in the 1952 Democratic Senatorial primary than were cast in 1950. Marks received 32,089, and Donahey 109,592.<sup>43</sup>

With the start of the primary, John Bricker and Mike DiSalle began immediately to treat each other as general election opponents. They were two candidates in this presidential election year in whom the political philosophies of Democrat and Republican were clearly defined. This confrontation in itself was an exception to the rule in 1952.<sup>44</sup> When told that DiSalle had entered the race, Bricker said:

I have opposed the consistently excessive spending, the inefficiency, Communistic, and left-wing entanglements of the New Deal, and the program which has brought confusion and war. I hope a Truman supporter will be nominated by the Democrats so that the issue will be clear-cut and the result decisive. Mr. DiSalle meets these requirements."<sup>45</sup>

Who was John W. Bricker? He was the son of a farmer, born in 1893, in Madison County. When he entered Ohio State University, his residence became Columbus, Ohio. He began

political life in 1920 as solicitor of Grandview Heights. Public life appealed to him, and in 1923 he became an assistant attorney-general. In 1929 he served on the Public Utilities Commission of Ohio. In 1932 and 1934, he was elected attorney general, the only Republican elected on a state-wide basis in these years.<sup>46</sup> Then in 1936, Bricker decided to seek the Republican nomination for Governor despite the hostility of Edward Schorr, State Republican Chairman. This hostility of the party leaders toward him gave him the opportunity to raise the issue of bossism and assured him of the position as head of the state ticket. (As noted earlier, stands against bossism were extremely popular with the Ohio electorate.) Throughout the state, 1936 was a Democratic year. Though he ran well ahead of the Republican ticket and gained a substantial following in metropolitan areas, Bricker lost the election.<sup>47</sup> In 1938, he was elected Governor for the first of three terms, running on a program that was against corruption in government, especially in the Highway Department. In office, he streamlined the Highway Department and managed to balance the budget. These were both highly popular with the electorate. Some would question how they were accomplished.<sup>48</sup> By 1944, Governor Bricker was selected as Ohio's favorite son candidate for the presidency. However, Governor Dewey defeated him for the nomination and Bricker was induced to take the vice presidential nomination.



Following the 1944 defeat, Bricker practiced law for two years and reentered public life in 1946 when he ran for and won election to the United States Senate.<sup>49</sup>

While in the Senate, he served on the Banking and Currency Committee which kept an eye on DiSalle's activities as price stabilizer, and he was on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. He was the personification of the Republican Old Guard. He believed that United States membership in the United Nations imperiled every American's individual liberties and proposed an amendment to the Constitution to protect these liberties. Bricker believed that Franklin D. Roosevelt had begun to lead the country into socialism. He deplored federal spending and believed that the federal bureaucracy was honeycombed with disloyal employees.<sup>50</sup> He was reactionary and isolationist.<sup>51</sup> In Ohio, he had many things going for him. He was known as "Honest John" Bricker and as the "darling" of the farmers.<sup>52</sup> In addition, his political philosophy meshed very well with that of conservative Democrats and conservative Republicans in Ohio.

In the Senatorial race, DiSalle had his work cut out for him and he was excited about it. After a year of battling with Senator Bricker and the Banking and Currency Committee, DiSalle believed he had a great deal of ammunition with which to campaign.<sup>53</sup> Also, among Washington, D.C., newsmen and the political scientists polled in 1952, Bricker was not well respected. The

political scientists ranked him 86th out of 95 senators, and the newsmen ranked him 96th, "last in ability and last in value to the nation."<sup>54</sup> DiSalle thought that if he could educate the Ohio citizenry to see the Bricker he and others in Washington had come to know, he could win the election.<sup>55</sup>

Campaign strategy was planned in many conversations with friends and family. DiSalle would visit every county at least once. There would be ample campaign literature, bumper stickers, billboards, and posters. Fund raising was done by direct mail, newspaper, and television. The mailing lists were increased in a manner similar to that employed in the 1950 campaign, and by taking names from filing petitions.<sup>56</sup>

DiSalle started his campaign by writing to Senator Bricker concerning the need to keep expenses down. He suggested forming a joint campaign expenditure committee that would clear all funds spent on both campaigns and that after the election would disclose publicly how much money was spent and on what items.<sup>57</sup> This letter was never answered.<sup>58</sup> Campaigning was very expensive, and DiSalle did not have unlimited funds nor many wealthy benefactors to ask for contributions. In 1950, Ferguson had spent \$276,667.84 and Taft \$466,021.28. DiSalle disclosed his planned budget of \$165,000, and issued a statement saying that the campaign would be financed by friends and that he would accept no funds from persons with special interests to serve. This

provision would eliminate organized labor which had contributed heavily to the Ferguson campaign. DiSalle believed it essential that public officials be able to govern freely without having to return favors to campaign contributors. The average cost of a senatorial campaign in the early 1950's in a large state was \$250,000.<sup>59</sup>

How did DiSalle plan to keep within this budget? In August he wrote a newspaper column for the Post-Hall Syndicate explaining how it was being done. Until September, he had no public relations man, no campaign director, and no advertising expert. His staff consisted of three daughters and his law partner's son. Campaigning was a family affair.<sup>60</sup> After school started, he hired several professionals, but this was for the last two months of campaigning.<sup>61</sup> DiSalle kept salaries down to \$10,700. In September a close friend, Robert K. Proctor, became campaign chairman.<sup>62</sup> Money remained a problem until the end of the campaign.<sup>63</sup> Senator Bricker did not have this concern because he had wealthy and influential benefactors throughout the United States such as Col. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune and because he had a well-financed, well-run state Republican organization on which he could rely.<sup>64</sup> Bricker's job was made easier by the fact that as Senator he was already getting television and newspaper coverage. He also received the majority of Ohio newspaper endorsements.<sup>65</sup>

DiSalle held fast to his belief that an informed Ohio electorate was the answer to victory. He chose to spend the majority of his budget on television and radio. The television format chosen was the talkathon. The programs were called "Face to Face with Ohio," and they were planned for the large metropolitan areas toward the end of the campaign. DiSalle spent up to three hours answering the unscreened questions of the television audience which were conveyed to him by telephone. These programs were popular but expensive. One in Dayton alone cost \$3,000, \$1,000 of which was paid by donations given during the telecast. Most of the questions were personal or concerned with international issues.<sup>66</sup> These latter issues would prove to be of primary importance in the outcome of the election.<sup>67</sup> DiSalle wanted to debate Bricker in each county in the state, but Bricker did not accept the invitation.<sup>68</sup> This arrangement would have been another way to get the issues before the people.

What were the issues? Bricker said that the Democratic administration was leading the United States into socialism and damaging the free enterprise system; that taxes needed to be reduced and he would do so in voting against many federal expenditures including defense spending; that the Korean War was a mistake; that the Truman administration had allowed corruption in its government; and that General

Eisenhower needed a Republican Senate to accomplish all the plans he had for the good of America.<sup>69</sup>

DiSalle thought that Bricker would not be an effective Senator because he was too right wing to be helpful to General Eisenhower and definitely not compatible with Democratic presidential candidate Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson. He also charged that Bricker was isolationist and lacking in foresight in his position on foreign affairs and that his opposition to foreign aid actually allowed the Communists to get a foothold in some underdeveloped nations. He contended that Bricker was no friend of the free enterprise system and that he had allowed personal business affairs to dictate his voting in the Senate. DiSalle and Bricker agreed that any corruption or Communism found in government should be eliminated.<sup>70</sup>

Stevenson and DiSalle believed in many of the same political principles. During and after the 1952 Democratic National Convention their friendship developed. Because Stevenson recognized the importance of campaigning in populous states like Ohio and DiSalle believed it would aid his efforts for election as well, Stevenson came to Ohio in early October. He drew much smaller crowds than had Eisenhower, but this was an exciting time for Ohio Democrats, despite the disappointingly small turnout.<sup>71</sup>

On November 4, 1952, Bricker was reelected Senator from Ohio by a vote of 1,878,961 to 1,563,330. Approximately

three and one half million votes had been cast in the largest voter turnout Ohio had ever seen.<sup>72</sup> Across the nation registration was high, as there was a great deal of voter interest in this presidential election year. In defeat, DiSalle received 37,000 fewer votes than Stevenson but 111,000 more votes than Truman did in carrying Ohio in 1948 and 349,000 more votes than Ferguson obtained in losing to Taft in 1950. Ohioans cast 582,000 more votes for United States Senator in 1952 than they did in 1950, with the Democratic candidates' share being 349,000 and the Republican's 233,000.<sup>73</sup> Moreover because Eisenhower ran first in the state, Lausche second, and Bricker third, many observers perceived that Bricker's popularity had diminished. His support in Cleveland, Akron, and Youngstown was less in 1946 and he lost Toledo. Bricker's strength was concentrated in the central part of the state. Despite his improved showing over Ferguson, DiSalle only won eight counties; and as Table I below indicates, his total vote did not reach that received by Senator Taft in the lower voter interest year of 1950.<sup>74</sup> Because Ohio Republicans appeared to have the unwavering support of 1,500,000 voters, Democratic victories were difficult to achieve in any statewide contest.<sup>75</sup>

Table I. Ohio Presidential and Senatorial Votes,  
1946-1952.<sup>76</sup>

1946 Senatorial Vote		Total Vote
John W. Bricker	R. 1,275,774	2,343,862
James W. Huffman	D. 947,610	
1948 Presidential Vote		
Thomas E. Dewey	R. 1,445,684	3,138,463
Harry S. Truman	D. 1,452,791	
1950 Senatorial Vote		
Robert A. Taft	R. 1,645,643	2,987,424
Joseph T. Ferguson	D. 1,214,459	
1952 Presidential Vote		
Dwight D. Eisenhower	R. 2,100,391	3,749,828
Adlai E. Stevenson	D. 1,600,367	
Senatorial Vote		
John W. Bricker	R. 1,878,961	3,749,828
Michael V. DiSalle	D. 1,563,330	

Politically, 1952 was an interesting year. For twenty years the Democrats had held the presidency. "Time for a change," was the major Republican slogan. When General Dwight D. Eisenhower accepted the Republican nomination for president, it looked as if he would win easily until the relatively unknown Democrat, Adlai Stevenson, began courting the electorate with his cogent speeches and winning personality.<sup>77</sup> It was not until the last week in October that political writers began predicting an Eisenhower victory.<sup>78</sup>

For reasons not obvious before the election, registration was high. According to what had usually happened nationally since 1932, this appeared to improve Democratic chances for victory. But high Ohio registration

had not helped Ferguson in 1950, nor had low registration prevented a Truman victory in 1948.

For whatever reason, the eligible voters of 1952 registered in record numbers. Political prognosticators did not know exactly what to make of the phenomenon primarily because there were a number of unanswered questions.<sup>79</sup> A very popular Republican sought the presidency. Because the Negro was a relative newcomer to the northern cities, many wondered how he would vote. For a time after the Civil War, he had voted Republican. Would the farmer swing back to the Republican party after his turn to the Democrats in 1948? The southern Democrats began to be disenchanted with their party in 1948 over civil rights, which led to Alabama Senator Albert Sparkman's choice as Vice-Presidential running mate in 1952.<sup>80</sup> How would they vote in 1952? There were also those who questioned the wisdom of selecting a military man as president, and those who feared a depression. In addition, the party platforms differed little on principle, as had been anticipated by both major parties considering Eisenhower for their standard bearer.<sup>81</sup>

But the 1952 election was also affected by the Korean War, inflation, and an excessive fear of Communist infiltration in government which had been magnified by Senator Joe McCarthy's Senate hearings. In this climate of fear, the issues that turned the tide in favor of the Republicans were their promise to end the war as soon as



possible and bring the young soldiers home, their promise to stabilize the economy, and their ability to convince the American people that the Democratic party was soft on Communism. One Ohio farmer said, "The Democrats are the only party that ever did anything for us farmers, I'd vote for Stevenson if it wasn't for the corruption and the Korean War."<sup>82</sup> Eisenhower charged in a speech in Milwaukee:

. . . that Communism contaminated every section of the Government, insinuated itself in our public schools, our public forums, some of our news channels, some of our labor unions, poisoning two whole decades of our national life, of Administration leaders."<sup>83</sup>

In the end, the issues of war, inflation, and Communism decided the election. Many Democrats switched to Eisenhower as did the large majority of independents.<sup>84</sup> Many low income people switched their usual party allegiance to the Republicans because Korean War induced inflation was destroying their pay checks and hopes of saving.<sup>85</sup> Some Polish-Americans who were strongly Democratic even shifted allegiance out of resentment over the triumph of Communism in Poland they attributed to F.D.R. and to Truman. The only traditionally Democratic voters' group that resisted the "I-Like-Ike" trend were the Negroes.<sup>86</sup>

This was the political climate in which the Ohio Senatorial campaign was fought. Yet, there was another situation that occurred in Ohio and several other states such as Wisconsin, Utah, and Indiana that could have worked

in Mike DiSalle's favor. This was the ideological split in the Republican party between the moderates led by Eisenhower and the right wing, reactionary Old Guard. Senator Bricker was one of the latter. When Eisenhower accepted the nomination for President, he pledged to lead "a great crusade for freedom in America and freedom in the free world . . . to build a sound foundation for sound prosperity for all here at home and for a just and sure peace in our world."<sup>87</sup>

Bricker, on the other hand, worked to destroy price and rent controls, to curtail the expansion of public power and flood control programs, and to squelch civil rights legislation for the South. Many were the issues supported by Eisenhower and opposed by Bricker:

Table II. Eisenhower Positions Opposed by Bricker.

Eisenhower	
Selective Service	Bricker voted no
General Marshall Secretary of Defense	Bricker voted no
More forces in Europe	Bricker voted no
More troops in April, 1951	Bricker voted no
Mutual Security Act	Bricker voted no
Advocated 58 Air Force Groups	Bricker wanted 48 Groups
Japanese Security Pact	Bricker opposed
Arms for allies in event of Soviet attack	Bricker opposed
For European relief	Bricker opposed
Military aid to NATO	Bricker opposed
Voice of America	Bricker opposed
Point Four Program	Bricker opposed

DiSalle, on the other hand, favored Eisenhower's international program.<sup>88</sup> Why then did Bricker win? Early

in the campaign, Eisenhower made an effort to unite the moderate and Old Guard factions of the Republican party. At times he sounded like Robert Taft himself.<sup>89</sup> As he traveled around the country, he managed not to become involved in the controversies surrounding such Old Guard supporters as Joseph McCarthy and John Bricker.<sup>90</sup> Some of his early supporters began to question their choice until toward the end of the campaign the more moderate "Ike" reasserted himself.<sup>91</sup>

Bricker also moderated his speeches to approach more closely Eisenhower's program. By the end of October, he sounded like his next of kin. Eisenhower called for a Republican Congress, and Bricker recognized that as to his advantage. In an article he wrote for the Toledo Blade, he used Eisenhower's name sixteen times. Each time he related how he supported Eisenhower's positions. "However, I am in substantial agreement with General Eisenhower on major issues. Our differences are those of method and detail, not of principle. I want to help General Eisenhower in the great task ahead." He added

I am in complete agreement with General Eisenhower that foreign military and economic aid programs must not be permitted to bankrupt America. If we fail, the whole free world fails with us.

General Eisenhower and I are also in substantial agreement on domestic issues. In the Senate, I would give him my complete co-operation in returning our government to a sound economic and sound moral basis.<sup>92</sup>

Bricker had everything going for him. He had a long history of success in Ohio politics. He represented honesty and frugality in government to many Ohio voters, and he could read the political signs, which he did with consummate skill.

DiSalle gave these reasons for his loss.

Supporting factors were general impressions that a change was needed . . . Communism issue was effective . . . There was a general impatience with the situation in Korea . . . party in power's program leads to controversy, creation of animosities which eventually erupt in the building of many powerful anti-forces.<sup>93</sup>

The Toledo Blade stated, "The Toledoan again was frustrated as he was in his congressional race of 1946 by running in a Republican year."<sup>94</sup>

In Ohio, all the conditions were right for a Republican victory. The economy was inflationary, there was an unpopular war in progress, and the Democratic administration was perceived as corrupt and soft on Communism. It would have been most unusual for a Democrat associated with Truman's Fair Deal to have won in 1952.

After his defeat, DiSalle decided to return to the practice of law while continuing to help make the Democratic party a responsible minority party. Most observers thought he meant only on a statewide basis, but what DiSalle had in mind was the position of Democratic national chairman.<sup>95</sup> There were many months of maneuvering. DiSalle counted on the support of the then titular head, Stevenson, to secure

the position for him. But in the end, political realities forced the outcome. Paul Butler of Indiana was chosen because he was less controversial in the South than DiSalle. Butler did not have the strong position on civil rights for which DiSalle was known, and this was a very explosive issue for the Democrats in 1954.<sup>96</sup>

Because DiSalle long awaited the party's decision on who would be its chairman, he didn't run for the Senate in 1954 against Thomas A. Burke, his former campaign chairman. By 1955, DiSalle and Burke were again being mentioned as possible primary opponents for the U.S. Senate in 1956. The Ohio Democrats were still waiting for Governor Lausche to decide whether or not he would enter the race.<sup>97</sup> He had been unaffected by State Chairman Eugene Hanhart's defeat in his attempt to win reelection to the party's state central committee in 1952. Lausche asserted that, "The state chairman has never meant anything to me. It has been generally proven to me that they can produce nothing. Some governors may need state chairmen."<sup>98</sup> Lausche made it clear that party and party concerns influenced him little. This attitude facilitated his ability to appeal to all voters but did not help his relationship with DiSalle. Their friendship had been strained for a number of years, but especially since the 1952 Democratic National Convention. They were cordial to each other but only because they bore

the same party label and wanted their party and its candidates to succeed.<sup>99</sup>

This was the weakened condition of the Ohio Democratic party when Lausche finally decided to run for the Senate in 1956. DiSalle accepted the challenge to rebuild the Ohio State Democratic party in conjunction with his first attempt to be elected Governor. This was to prove quite an undertaking.<sup>100</sup>

## FOOTNOTES - Chapter II

<sup>1</sup>Hamby, Alonzo L., Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism, (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1973), p. XIII; DiSalle's choice of party was firmly Democratic because of his admiration for Franklin D. Roosevelt, personal interview, Antoinette DiSalle Watkins, April, 1986.

<sup>2</sup>Jack Kenneth Paquette, "A Study of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign in Ohio, with Special Emphasis on Newspaper Coverage of the Campaign," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Ohio State University, 1951), pp. 52-54.

<sup>3</sup>Author's personal correspondence and conversations with Mr. DiSalle and Mrs. Myrtle E. DiSalle; Michael V. DiSalle to Antoinette DiSalle Watkins, August 24, 1976; September 9, 1976; September 30, 1976, Appendix B, pp. 166-178.

<sup>4</sup>Michael V. DiSalle to Antoinette DiSalle Watkins, September 9, 1976, Appendix B; the information and quotations in the following paragraphs are from the same letter.

<sup>5</sup>Victor Ullman, "Oh, How You'll Hate Him," Saturday Evening Post, 233, (March 17, 1951), pp. 30-31; Anthony DiSalle originally Republican because his early ears in the United States were under Theodore Roosevelt's presidency; "Expendable Man Isn't Scared." Business Week, Feb. 17, 1951, pp. 42-43.

<sup>6</sup>Ullman, "Oh, How You'll Hate Him."

<sup>7</sup>John Howard Kessell, "Road to the Mansion: A Study of the 1956 Gubernatorial Campaign in Ohio," (Unpublished Dissertation, Columbia University, 1958), p. 170.

<sup>8</sup>Washington Post, December 17, 1950. Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, Michael V. DiSalle Papers.

<sup>9</sup>Ullman, "Oh, How You'll Hate Him." DiSalle's position was vindicated, because Toledo turned from a city with a debt of \$18 million in 1946, to debt-free by 1950; Appendix A, pp. 142-145.

<sup>10</sup>Ullman, "Oh, How You'll Hate Him."

<sup>11</sup>Frank Kane, "Courage and A Good Laugh, DiSalle's Long, Colorful Political Career Had Roots In Multi-Ethnic 'Irish Hill' Area," Toledo Blade, Sept. 7, 1981, p. 30.

<sup>12</sup>Author's impressions and conversations with Mr. DiSalle.

<sup>13</sup>Robert Taylor to Michael V. DiSalle, March 26, 1948, Lena DiSalle Watson's Scrapbook; Appendix A, p. 146.

<sup>14</sup>Paquette, "A Study of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign in Ohio," pp. 8 and 9; Appendix A, pp. 147-150.

<sup>15</sup>Paquette, "A Study of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign in Ohio," p. 9.

<sup>16</sup>Paquette, "A Study of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign in Ohio," p. 10.

<sup>17</sup>Paquette, "A Study of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign in Ohio," p. 11.

<sup>18</sup>W. H. Lawrence, "Democrats Deny Apathy Over Taft," New York Times, Jan. 19, 1950.

<sup>19</sup>Paquette, "A Study of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign in Ohio," p. 50.

<sup>20</sup>"Candidates in Last Effort to Pierce Public Apathy," Toledo Blade, April 28, 1950.

<sup>21</sup>Author's impressions.

<sup>22</sup>DiSalle Papers, lists of names on varied types of stationery, Appendix A, pp. 147-150.

<sup>23</sup>Wall Street Journal, December 5, 1950, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>24</sup>The campaign financial records are kept on file only for two years. See Baldwin's Ohio Revised Code, 1953, p. 67; author's impressions.

<sup>25</sup>Lawrence, "Democrats Deny Apathy," New York Times, January 10, 1950.

<sup>26</sup>Alvin Silverman, "Top Candidates Ride Down Homestretch in Crucial County Drive," Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 29, 1950, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup>W.H. Lawrence, "Ferguson Favored in Ohio's Primary," New York Times, April 29, 1950.



<sup>28</sup>George F. Jenks, "Ferguson Gains Big Lead in Race Against Mayor." Toledo Blade, May 3, 1950, p. 1; "Let's Put Mike DiSalle Over," Toledo Blade, April 28, 1950, p. 1; "Vote Figure Complete in Ohio Primary," Toledo Blade, May 3, 1950, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup>Ullman, "Oh, How You'll Hate Him."

<sup>30</sup>Christian Science Monitor, March 8, 1951, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>31</sup>Ullman, "Oh, How You'll Hate Him"; The Lutheran Standard, August 18, 1951, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>32</sup>"Critics Face DiSalle and Applaud," Chicago Sun Times, and "The Black Thirteenth," Journal of Commerce, November 6, 1951, DiSalle Papers; Appendix A, pp. 151-154.

<sup>33</sup>"Cotton Is Not a Commodity, It's a Theology," Dayton Daily News, March 9, 1951, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>34</sup>"President Expected to OK Controls Bill, But Blast It As Weak," Toledo Blade, July 31, 1951, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup>Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron, The United States, The History of a Republic, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1957), p. 746.

<sup>36</sup>Author's impressions; George Zielke, "DiSalle Is the Symbol of Price Control Fight," Toledo Blade, July 7, 1951.

<sup>37</sup>Christian Science Monitor, February 23, 1952, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>38</sup>"Expendable Man Isn't Scared," Business Week, February 17, 1951, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>39</sup>Douglas Smith, "DiSalle Expected to Announce for U.S. Senate Today," Columbus Citizen, January 22, 1952.

<sup>40</sup>"DiSalle and Three File in Senate Contest," New York Times, February 7, 1952.

<sup>41</sup>"Lausche Endorses DiSalle for the Senate," New York Times, January 22, 1952; Lausche was running for governor, DiSalle for the Senate. Lausche had nothing to lose by the endorsement.

<sup>42</sup>"DiSalle and Three File."

<sup>43</sup> Sherrod Brown, Ohio Voting Statistics, 1981-1982, p. 292.

<sup>44</sup> Ellen D. Ellis, "The Two Party System in the Crucible," Current History, 22, (February, 1952), pp. 75-79.

<sup>45</sup> Charles E. Egan, "DiSalle to Enter Race for Senate," New York Times, January 24, 1952, p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> "DiSalle Struggles to be City's First U.S. Senator," Toledo Blade, Nov. 2, 1952, p. 3.

<sup>47</sup> Joe Hoover Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior in Ohio," (Unpublished Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1959), pp. 127-130.

<sup>48</sup> Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior," pp. 134-140.

<sup>49</sup> "DiSalle Struggles to be City's First Senator."

<sup>50</sup> "DiSalle Struggles to be City's First Senator"

<sup>51</sup> Potomacus, "The Education of John Bricker," New Republic, 1561, (Oct. 30, 1944); "A Cause for the Right," New Republic, 126, (May 5, 1952), p. 7; Richard L. Maher, "Political Paradox," The Nation, Oct. 4, 1952, p. 299.

<sup>52</sup> John H. Fenton, "Ohio's Unpredictable Voters," Harper's, (October, 1962), p. 62.

<sup>53</sup> Author's impressions.

<sup>54</sup> "Knights and Knaves in Eisenhower's Great Crusade," New Republic, 127 (July 28, 1952), p. 14; Drew Pearson, 9:00 p.m. on ABC Television, Sept. 28, 1952, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>55</sup> M. D. Portman, "DiSalle Pledges Real Fight for Bricker's Senate Seat," The Columbus Citizen, Feb. 16, 1952; author's impressions.

<sup>56</sup> "Costly Campaigning," Washington Post, Sept. 3, 1952, DiSalle Papers; author's impressions.

<sup>57</sup> Mike DiSalle to Senator Bricker, May 15, 1952, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>58</sup> Labor Day Press Release, Sept. 1, 1952, DiSalle Papers.

59 "Costly Campaigning."

60 All the children were expected to work on campaigns. Somehow we just knew that's the way it was. DiSalle's brothers and sisters helped when they could. We were raised very much in the Italian tradition which includes a strong sense of family.

61 Post-Hall Syndicate, Inc., release, Sept. 1, 1952, DiSalle Papers.

62 "Costly Campaigning."

63 A.A. Haddad to Jack Sulligan, March 29, 1952; Cye Landy to Mike DiSalle, Oct. 20, 1952, DiSalle Papers.

64 Labor Day Press Release, Sept. 1, 1952, DiSalle Papers; John Fenton, Midwest Politics, p. 132-136.

65 Bindley, "Analysis of Voting Behavior," p. 264; Toledo Blade, Nov. 2, 1952, full page Bricker advertisement, "Ohio Needs John Bricker."

66 Press Release, Dayton, Ohio, Oct. 8, 1952, DiSalle Papers.

67 John M. Hightower, "Keystone Issue Is Foreign Policy, Here's Background," Cleveland Plain Dealer, DiSalle Papers.

68 Michael V. DiSalle to John Bricker, May 15, 1952, DiSalle Papers; Labor Day Press Release, Sept. 1, 1952, DiSalle Papers.

69 "Political Forum," Toledo Blade, Oct. 3, 1952, and Oct. 30, 1952.

70 M.D. Portman, "DiSalle Pledges Real Fight For Senate Seat."; "Political Forum," Toledo Blade, Oct. 3, 1952; press releases, Sept. 30, 1952; Sept. 1, 1952; June 12, 1952, DiSalle Papers.

71 Thomas P. Reynders, "Ike Charges Democrats Pro-Red; Stevenson Says GOP Blocks Social Gains," Toledo Blade, Oct. 4, 1952, p. 1.

72 Sherrod Brown, Election Statistics, 1981-82, p. 291.

73 David Lawrence, "Stay-at-Home Voters Hold Key," 1954, DiSalle Papers.

74 Bindley, "Analysis of Voting Behavior," p. 182-183.

<sup>75</sup>Elie Abel, "Big New City Vote Paces Race in Ohio," N.Y. Times, Oct. 27, 1952, p. 13.

<sup>76</sup>Sherrod Brown, Ohio Election Statistics, 1981-1982, pp. 298, 296, 294, 291.

<sup>77</sup>"The Middle Road for America," The Toledo Blade, editorial, Oct. 17, 1952, p. 20 and Walter Lippman, "Eisenhower Rated Better Check Against Troubled Times," Toledo Blade, Oct. 25, 1952, editorial page.

<sup>78</sup>Samuel Lubell, "Ike Seen Benefitting From Rivals' Split," Toledo Blade, Oct. 28, 1952, p. 4.

<sup>79</sup>"The Big Registration," Toledo Blade, editorial, p. 20. It is significant to note that Lausche despite his endorsement of two liberal Democrats won an impressive victory.

<sup>80</sup>Everett Carl Ladd, Jr., and Charles D. Hadley, Transformations of the American Party System, pp. 135-137; Harold R. Bruce, "Racial Religions, and Sectional Interests in the 1952 Election," The Annals of the American Academy, Sept. 1952, pp. 141-147.

<sup>81</sup>Ellen D. Ellis, "The Two Party System in the Crucible," Current History, 22 (Feb. 1952), pp. 75-79.

<sup>82</sup>Samuel Lubell, "Ike Seen Benefitting From Rivals' Split."

<sup>83</sup>Paul Block, Jr., "Ike Charges Democrats Pro-Red," Toledo Blade, Oct. 4, 1952, p. 1.

<sup>84</sup>"Republican Appeal to Independents Held Greater," Toledo Blade, Oct. 18, 1952, p. 3.

<sup>85</sup>Lubell, "Ike Seen Benefitting," p. 4.

<sup>86</sup>Brady Black, "Negroes Alone in Resisting I-Like-Ike Trend," Nov. 23, 1952, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>87</sup>"Knights and Knaves in Eisenhower's Great Crusade."

<sup>88</sup>"The Middle Road for America," Toledo Blade, editorial, Oct. 17, 1952, p. 20; Walter Lippman, "Eisenhower Rated Better Check Against Troubled Times," Toledo Blade, Oct. 25, 1952, editorial page.

<sup>89</sup>"Knights and Knaves in Eisenhower's Great Crusade."

<sup>90</sup>Paul Block, Jr., "Eisenhower Avoids Direct Reference to McCarthyism Issue," Toledo Blade, Oct. 4, 1952, p. 1.

<sup>91</sup>"The Middle Road for America," and Walter Lippman, "Eisenhower Rated Better Check."

<sup>92</sup>John W. Bricker, "Political Forum, Republican," Toledo Blade, Oct. 30, 1952, p. 4.

<sup>93</sup>Michael V. DiSalle, telegram, Nov. 5, 1952, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>94</sup>George F. Jenks, "GOP Carries Ohio by Big Majority In Heavy Ballot," Toledo Blade, Nov. 5, 1952, p. 2.

<sup>95</sup>Thomas Vail, "Burke-DiSalle Battle Looms for the Primary," Cleveland News, April 16, 1955.

<sup>96</sup>Authors Impressions; personal interview with Antoinette DiSalle Watkins.

<sup>97</sup>Vail, "Burke-DiSalle Battle."

<sup>98</sup>Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior," p. 183.

<sup>99</sup>Author's Impressions.

<sup>100</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 244.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGNS OF 1956 AND 1958

Until December 22, 1955, there was only one announced candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial primary, Robert W. Rieder. Then on Christmas Day, 1955, Governor Frank J. Lausche decided to run for the United States Senate. Four more men entered the gubernatorial race: Mike DiSalle, Oscar L. Fleckner, Youngstown Mayor Frank X. Kryzan, and Judge John E. Sweeney. While each man had local support, DiSalle had an edge statewide. All, however, were hampered by getting a late start in organizing and campaigning. C. William O'Neill, the Republican front runner, had been working at his candidacy for eight months.<sup>1</sup>

What were the relative strengths and weaknesses of these candidates? Rieder was from Ottawa County, a rural Democratic stronghold along the shore of Lake Erie immediately to the east of DiSalle's home county, Lucas. In 1954 Rieder had run for secretary of state and lost. He blamed his defeat on his lack of support from the state Democratic organization and on Lausche's lack of party leadership. Embittered against Lausche, Rieder had chosen to run for Governor primarily to campaign against him. But circumstances changed when Lausche announced for the Senate.

Rieder had served three terms in the Ohio state legislature, the last term as minority whip. In addition, he was the publisher of the weekly Ottawa County News. He knew many newsmen and this helped him with press relations. However, Port Clinton, the largest town in Ottawa County, was a very small town of only 5,541 citizens. Rieder had a very small population base from which to operate. Even with a skeleton statewide organization, Rieder faced a difficult race.<sup>2</sup>

Mayor Kryzan of Youngstown, highly esteemed in his hometown, was not well known in the rest of the state. He was a big, handsome man who looked like a governor, but his duties as mayor limited the time available to campaign outside of Youngstown. Kryzan also had inadequate press and financial backing. His lack of a statewide organization further hurt his chances in the primary.<sup>3</sup>

Fleckner also had his work cut out for him. He had been city manager of Springfield, Ohio, during 1947 and 1948. His only other public service had been as Director of Liquor Control for two years in Lausche's cabinet. After this experience he returned to private life to become secretary-treasurer of the Shoe Corporation of America in 1953. He always maintained an interest in public service and was anxious to "make representative democracy work." He was an idealistic man but, like Kryzan, was little known outside of his home area. He had no press support and no

statewide organization. In his favor was the fact that he knew businessmen who would help financially. But his expenses would be higher than an opponent who could command substantial volunteer help.<sup>4</sup>

The last candidate to enter the race was Cleveland Municipal Judge John E. Sweeney. In 1940, he had run for secretary of state and won, but was defeated in 1942. Following that set back, Governor John Bricker appointed him to the State Board of Liquor Control. In 1943, he was elected to the bench of the Cleveland Municipal Court and was re-elected in 1949 and 1955. Sweeney's main strength was that he was the only gubernatorial candidate from Cleveland and Cuyahoga County, the city and county with the largest Democratic vote. He also had some statewide support due to his service as secretary of state and his two earlier statewide campaigns. Another asset was his name, the one among those of the five candidates most familiar to and easily recognized by the voters.<sup>5</sup>

DiSalle brought to the race good press support, better finances than most of the candidates, the rudiments of a statewide organization, and good relations with organization Democrats throughout the state due to his having helped out many of them between campaigns. Of all the candidates, he was the best known because of his two Senate campaigns and his term as National Director of the Office of Price Stabilization. Until Sweeney entered the race, observers



predicted an easy win for DiSalle, but Sweeney's hold on the Cleveland vote changed the situation somewhat.<sup>6</sup>

This was of little concern to DiSalle. He believed that with four times as many Democratic votes cast outside of Cuyahoga County as in that county, he could be satisfied with a stand-off in Cleveland as long as he picked up enough votes elsewhere. He also believed that he would win the primary without too many problems.

DiSalle began his campaign after announcing his candidacy on January 3, 1956. His first act was to call all the Democratic county chairmen to tell them personally of his decision. Second, he put his petitions in the mail, and also mailed copies of his formal announcement of candidacy so that they would be delivered to the county chairmen the day of his announcement. Third, he released his decision to run to the press. In the announcement, he wisely tried to appeal to the Lausche faction of the party and to the party regulars. The statement said, "Emphasis must be placed on the fact that programs begun under the Lausche administration will be completed without disruption of continuity." It continued, "I pledge myself to an untiring effort to produce unity within the Democratic party in Ohio."<sup>7</sup>

DiSalle's 1956 campaign was more extensive and professional than any he had earlier undertaken, primarily because of his experience in two previous statewide elections and his greater financial resources. Thanks in

large part to the great respect and notoriety he had acquired as Truman's price stabilizer and as U.S. Senatorial candidate, DiSalle had increased not only his income from practicing law but the numbers of his clients and of persons willing to contribute to his political war chest.<sup>8</sup>

In laying the ground work for his planned trip through the eighty-eight counties in Ohio, DiSalle contacted a Toledo advertising agency, Jensen Advertising, and had it mail a questionnaire to all of the village clerks in Ohio. This requested the names and party affiliations of all village officials. The questionnaire yielded the names of two thousand Democrats in rural areas. This gave DiSalle the names of many potential rural supporters uncontacted in the past because their identity had been unknown. He planned to visit these citizens as much as possible in the first few months of the campaign to begin to gather support for the general election.<sup>9</sup> He thought it would be wise to contact these voters as soon as possible because many political writers thought that the Republicans were going to lose some of the farm vote in 1956.<sup>10</sup>

Never before had DiSalle used an advertising agency in primary campaigns and had only used one for two months in the general election of 1952. For the 1956 campaign, he secured the services of the Ohio Advertising Agency whose personnel regularly handled the account of the Democratic

party in Ohio. This agency assigned Peter Roper to travel with DiSalle and to handle public relations for him.<sup>11</sup>

Before DiSalle could begin traveling, a campaign headquarters had to be established. He installed Robert Reese, a personal friend and small businessman, as supervisor of the Toledo based operation which consisted of two permanent employees, DiSalle's son Mickey and a secretary. There were several part-time volunteer assistants: Ted Whidden, a young lawyer, DiSalle's four daughters, Antoinette (Toni) 26, Barbara 24, Connie 19, Diana 16, and two other young women.<sup>12</sup>

As campaign chairman, DiSalle chose Carl H. Schwyn, president of a small town bank and vice-president of the Board of Trustees of Bowling Green State University. Schwyn was known for his money raising abilities and was on the Board of Directors of the Federal Farm Credit Administration, Director of the Federal Land Bank, and the Bank of Cooperatives. He had many other business affiliations and was a member of the Farm Bureau while living and working on his own 1000-acre farm in Wood County.<sup>13</sup>

The first mailing to go out from the new DiSalle-for-Governor Headquarters was a letter to everyone who signed a DiSalle petition. The letter thanked them for signing and asked them if they would participate further in the campaign. If so, they were asked to sign a card and return it to headquarters. These people formed the membership of

the DiSalle-for-Governor committee and were the recipients of literature and invitations to various personal appearances of the candidate. They were also asked to recruit more members for the committee.<sup>14</sup>

The eighty-eight county tour began on February 14. DiSalle told Roper in what general area he wished to appear and Roper scheduled visits. The first people Roper contacted were those associated with radio stations and occasionally television stations. In rural areas radio was still the most used media. Once the radio broadcasts by DiSalle were scheduled, Ted Whidden laid out the candidate's itinerary. A typical day included five or six appearances in adjoining counties. The county chairmen were always contacted and asked for their cooperation and support. Only one refused. The day often started with a coffee hour and a visit with the editor of the local paper. Lunch was usually in an adjoining county, mid-afternoon would be in another county for a meeting with local political leaders. Then these leaders were asked to join DiSalle at the radio station for his five p.m. appearance. The radio programs had a "Meet Mike DiSalle" format in which local citizens asked questions and Mike answered them. This format was chosen to emphasize DiSalle's best assets; his ability to deal forthrightly with the issues, his skill with words, and his honesty.<sup>15</sup>

After the broadcast, another automobile trip would take DiSalle's party to yet another county for a dinner meeting.

Then DiSalle would go to a newsstand, shake a few more hands and later sit down with the local political leaders to discuss their problems. By the time of the May primary, DiSalle had visited all eighty-eight counties, made twelve television appearances, and taken part in thirty-seven radio programs. To do this he traveled about 15,000 miles by car and plane.<sup>16</sup>

Lest the impression be given that DiSalle neglected the big cities in the early campaign, he also visited Cleveland twice, Youngstown, Dayton, Canton and Akron. But from April 1 on the emphasis changed to spending most of his time in the counties casting over 60 percent of the Democratic primary vote, with emphasis on Cuyahoga. At this point he only visited rural counties occasionally.<sup>17</sup>

To aid DiSalle's campaign in Cleveland, the Miller organization sent him a mimeographed list of scheduled ward meetings. An aide in Cleveland went over the list and determined the best possible route for DiSalle to take in order to attend the largest number of ward meetings in any given night. In this way DiSalle was able to appear at about twenty of the thirty-three meetings.<sup>18</sup>

At this time Cleveland also had a large ethnic community known as "the cosmos."<sup>19</sup> To reach this group DiSalle inserted advertisements in all the ethnic and foreign language papers. These groups usually voted Democratic. The ads were run for two weeks prior to the

election. The papers, following common practice, also ran publicity on DiSalle. Concurrently, Headquarters purchased time on behalf of DiSalle on the Cleveland Sunday foreign language broadcasts. On the two Sundays preceding the primary, a dozen foreign language stations urged their listeners to vote for Mike DiSalle. Efforts were made to cover as much of Cleveland as possible.<sup>20</sup>

In conjunction with his tireless campaign efforts, DiSalle had the endorsement of all but two of the Democratic county organizations that endorsed candidates including Judge Sweeney's home county, Cuyahoga. The only two he lost were Rieder's county, Ottawa, and Kryzan's county, Mahoning. The one DiSalle saw as most significant was the unanimous endorsement of the Trumbull county organization which was right next door to Kryzan's home base. If Kryzan had been able to extend his influence, it would have been there. By the time the endorsements were in, DiSalle had slightly over 40 percent of the state's Democratic vote pledged to him. No other candidate had anything more than a home-county endorsement.<sup>21</sup>

In addition twenty-two newspapers throughout the state endorsed DiSalle as their choice for Democratic candidate for Governor. These included the Cleveland News, the Toledo Blade, a small paper--the Celina Standard, and the Youngstown Vindicator in Kryzan's hometown. No other candidate received any newspaper backing.<sup>22</sup>

The highlight of the campaign for DiSalle was the non-partisan testimonial dinner given for him in Toledo on April 3, 1956. Over nine hundred tickets were sold at twenty-five dollars per plate. The actual crowd was larger than that with the overflow being directed to two separate dining areas and some people having to be turned away for lack of space.<sup>23</sup> That afternoon the Toledo Blade had predicted a crowd of one thousand. In a very complimentary editorial, its editors praised DiSalle for serving the best interests of all the people and called for his election as Governor of Ohio.<sup>24</sup>

DiSalle was very touched by the outpouring of support by so many of his fellow citizens. He put aside his prepared text and reminisced about his career and the satisfactions of public life.<sup>25</sup> However, his text contained many of the principles and policies that he planned to follow if elected. For example, he stated that he believed "the Governor must be a strong executive as well as a leader of thought among the people of the state which he seeks to govern." With this established, he proceeded to advocate recommendations made earlier in 1948 that would improve the efficiency of state government. One of the most important was the establishment of an overall planning group at cabinet level, thereby anticipating the needs of the state in an organized and not a haphazard way. Other areas of concern he mentioned were: the need to adjust Unemployment

Insurance and Workmen's Compensation, help for agriculture in the fields of education, research, and service; the need to solve the shortage of teachers; higher salaries for state employees; improvement in the field of mental health; better law enforcement; and better labor-management relations.<sup>26</sup>

How would these programs be financed? Ohio's economy had been expanding. On the basis of a projection of the increase in tax revenue Ohio had enjoyed in the past decade, and with a \$400 million bond issue that had already been voted, DiSalle thought there would be, "almost 2 billion dollars more for the next ten-year period over that which had been available for the last ten years." DiSalle optimistically asserted that, "there is no need for us to be second in any field, and with your help and understanding we will not be second."<sup>27</sup> This dinner not only provided the candidate with much personal satisfaction but added \$17,925 to the campaign fund, more than Sweeney and Rieder together spent on their entire campaigns.<sup>28</sup>

DiSalle's organization undertook its last big effort to get votes by direct mail. Five hundred thousand copies of a campaign folder bearing the title, "Ohio needs Mike DiSalle as Governor," were sent to individual voters. There was another item in the direct mail effort intended as a word-of-mouth campaign for DiSalle on election eve. These were sent to the DiSalle-for-Governor committee on May 1. A post script added, "This letter is going only to committee



members. We are depending on you by personal contact and telephone to get out the vote."<sup>29</sup> With his work done to this point, Mike DiSalle went home to await the outcome.<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile, how were the other four candidates progressing? Each ran into the problem of limited financing. The fact that none were front runners kept donations down. Moreover, all had very limited bases of operations. Sweeney seldom left Cleveland. Rieder's anti-Lausche stand did not help him in a state that idolized the five-term Governor. Kryzan concentrated on television and didn't do well. Oscar Fleckner's campaign never got off the ground.<sup>31</sup> In an already very apathetic election climate, these men had little chance of winning. On election eve voters of Columbus were asked who were the candidates for Governor from both parties. Of every fifteen people interviewed, seven could not name any candidate and no one could name all of them. O'Neill was recalled by seven persons, DiSalle by five; Brown by three; Rieder by two; Fleckner by two; Sweeney by one; and Kryzan by none.<sup>32</sup>

When the votes were counted May 8, 1956, Mike DiSalle had won, getting a 57.5 percent majority of the 487,497 votes cast. He also carried eighty-five of the eighty-eight counties in the process.<sup>33</sup> The results were as follows:

Michael V. DiSalle	279,831
John W. Sweeney	106,071
Robert W. Rieder	41,224
Frank X. Kryzan	37,290
Oscar L. Fleckner	23,081 <sup>34</sup>

It is noteworthy that DiSalle ran significantly better in the ten ranking hog-producing centers of the state. In these counties his margin of victory was 61.5 percent instead of the average 57.5 percent. Hog prices were down. This change was the basis for the rural revolt that Mike DiSalle thought was going to sweep Ohio back into the Democratic column in November.<sup>35</sup> As already mentioned, national political forecasters had earlier noted this trend.<sup>36</sup> The results of the primary were very encouraging. Mike knew it would be a difficult campaign, but he was ready.<sup>37</sup>

The Republican primary was a contest between two people, Attorney General C. William O'Neill, and Lieutenant Governor John W. Brown. From the beginning O'Neill was considered the frontrunner. What was it that gave him the edge? Bill O'Neill was born in Marietta, Ohio, in 1916, the son of a lawyer. Through his early years he was exposed to the law and to lively political discussions at home. In High School O'Neill was an accomplished debater who led his team to the state championship in 1934. His success in debate persuaded local Republican leaders to tap him to

speak for the party in 1932 while he was still in high school. He continued this service as party spokesman through his college years. One of the men he spoke for was State Senator Vernon Metcalf, who encouraged O'Neill after his graduation from college in 1938 to run for the state legislature. Because he ran a very energetic campaign, O'Neill won the Republican primary. From there, he easily went on to the statehouse because Washington County was solidly Republican.<sup>38</sup>

In Columbus O'Neill was chosen as a member of the very important finance committee due to the influence of Senator Metcalf. He proceeded to demonstrate that he was worthy of the position by being conscientious and cooperative. Soon his colleagues recognized him as an outstanding legislator. O'Neill was re-elected in 1940, 1942, 1944, and 1946, during which time he completed law school and served time in the army overseas during World War II. In 1946 he was considered the man most likely to become Speaker of the House. To achieve this end, he campaigned all over the state with the result that when a Republican majority was returned to the House, his colleagues chose him as Speaker. At the age of thirty, he was the youngest Speaker of the House in Ohio's history. In this position he acquitted himself quite well.<sup>39</sup>

Throughout his years in public office Bill O'Neill had very often represented positions favorable to business and

had therefore gained solid financial backing. He had twice been elected as the outstanding member of the Ohio General Assembly by the State House Correspondents Association and as a result enjoyed good press relations. In addition, when he had wanted to run for Congress in 1948, he deferred to the state Republican leadership in order to enhance party harmony by not getting into a divisive primary battle with two other opponents. So when State Chairman Ray Bliss started looking for a candidate for Attorney General, O'Neill was in a very strong position. This also was a good year in which to make a first state-wide campaign. The Republicans were out in force to support Senator Robert Taft. They were so successful that only Governor Lausche and Lieutenant Governor Nye, among the Democrats, were able to retain office. Thus began six years in which O'Neill retained and strengthened his statewide position in Ohio politics. As early as 1952, he was asked to run for governor, but he wanted to solidify his position as Attorney General and declined. This decision was to prove very wise.<sup>40</sup>

John W. Brown was also a young man of 42, but in comparison to O'Neill he was a newcomer to politics and he was not as educated. Brown was the son of a Scots immigrant who had not been able to attend college due to family difficulties related to the depression. He succeeded in his first attempt to win public office, when in 1949, he was

elected Mayor of Medina, Ohio, a small community of five thousand people. After his re-election to a second term, he decided in December of 1951, to seek the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor. His success in winning nomination and election in 1952 was attributed to the fact that his name was Brown, one easy to remember and a popular name in Ohio politics; in addition 1952 was a Republican year. Once in office, Brown worked hard and applied himself to learning about state government so that when he ran in 1954 and won, he was convinced he won because of the good job he had done. But when he announced his candidacy for governor in 1956, he had little regular Republican support. All but one of the State Senators came out for his opponent. He had little newspaper or financial support. The only noticeable advantages that he had were his appearance which was quite good and his name.<sup>41</sup>

How did Bill O'Neill approach the Republican primary? He wanted to contact as many of the regular Republican voters as he could and to gear his campaign to reach as many independents as possible. First he had his administrative assistant obtain as complete a list of voters as possible from each county. Each name and address from these lists were typed on three gummed labels, thereby assuring readiness for three direct mailings. Next, O'Neill established campaign headquarters in Cleveland and Columbus, and chose loyal and reliable men to head his campaign in

Cincinnati, Youngstown, Toledo, and Canton. His staff made by far the most strenuous efforts in Cleveland due to the strong independent tendency there. Third, "Citizens-for-O'Neill" clubs were organized "to enlist workers at the grass roots level, in each precinct." Seventy thousand letters were sent out to prospective members. Other clubs were formed, approximately seven in all and including a Legislators for O'Neill committee. Groups of county officials were approached and formed into clubs such as the county prosecutors, county clerks, and sheriffs. O'Neill believed that people in clubs worked harder for a candidate because they did not want to be associated with a losing effort.<sup>42</sup>

On O'Neill's fortieth birthday in February, he was honored at a giant rally in Marietta. Virtually every Ohio Republican politician of consequence attended. To make sure that this event was not forgotten by the press, a bus was chartered to bring in newspaper correspondents from Columbus. This support was indicative of the official endorsements O'Neill received from the Republican county organizations. By the time of the primary he had obtained thirty-seven endorsements. Among the metropolitan counties Franklin (Columbus), Stark (Canton), Mahoning (Youngstown), and Cuyahoga (Cleveland) joined the O'Neill bandwagon.<sup>43</sup> In addition, every Ohio newspaper that made an endorsement did so in favor of Bill O'Neill.<sup>44</sup>

Metropolitan Cleveland was the area in which O'Neill spent most of his campaign time, with his greatest efforts concentrated at ward dinners. Between March 16 and May 3, nineteen such dinners were held. The precinct workers arrived at dinner around six. O'Neill men registered the workers and gave them slips of paper bearing their names and address. They were led to a receiving line to meet the candidate and to have their pictures taken shaking hands with him. Next they joined the dinner line. After eating they listened to a five minute talk by O'Neill on the fine prospects of Ohio in general and the Republicans in particular. O'Neill did not speak on issues until September, 1956, in the general election.<sup>45</sup> On their way out, the workers received another handshake and two pieces of literature, one with reprints from favorable editorials, and another with a seven-by-nine inch photograph of the candidate with a facsimile autograph. These dinners were handled in a very orderly fashion and the workers were on their way home by eight p.m.<sup>46</sup>

The photographs taken of O'Neill with each precinct worker at every dinner turned out to be one of O'Neill's most effective campaign devices. After being coated, each photograph was reproduced on a post card. Then the photograph was mounted and mailed to the precinct worker. About the middle of April, fifty of the post cards, with a list of O'Neill's accomplishments on the front and the

picture in the back, were sent to each worker. Under the picture were the words: "Meet My Friend, Bill O'Neill, who is best qualified to be Governor of Ohio." Five hundred calls were received at O'Neill Headquarters from workers who had sent out their fifty cards and wanted more. This was an expensive, time consuming enterprise, but a very effective one.<sup>47</sup>

Columbus was the only other metropolitan center in which O'Neill's campaign even began to approach the intensity of his Cleveland effort. Previously, O'Neill had never campaigned in Columbus. Because he had the Franklin county organization's endorsement his thrust was to reach the non-politicians. Eight committees were formed. They were: woman's, speakers', public relations, political relations, finance, endorsements, advisory, and the "Bill O'Neill Days" committee. All avenues were covered. On the "Bill O'Neill Days," the candidate and his wife attended fourteen coffee hours. O'Neill added luncheons, receptions, and dinners to the already packed schedule. These efforts reaped great rewards.<sup>48</sup>

The above mentioned major metropolitan efforts combined with an extensive direct mail campaign and a well planned, well-timed mass media program resulted in the overwhelming victory of Bill O'Neill. Percentagewise O'Neill had 72.5 percent of the Republican votes cast for Governor.<sup>49</sup> In mid-April, one of Brown's workers said, "We started with



no organization, no backers, and no money. We haven't lost an inch." May 8, his statement still held true. Brown was never really in the race.<sup>50</sup> Out of a total of 587,773 Republican votes cast, O'Neill received 425,947 and Brown received 161,826.<sup>51</sup> One Ohio newspaper called the O'Neill campaign "one of the most thorough primary gubernatorial campaigns in Ohio political history."<sup>52</sup>

Was it possible for DiSalle to win against such a formidable opponent in the general election? The primary, which had not attracted a great deal of public attention, saw more Republicans voting than Democrats. O'Neill spent \$62,447.34, while DiSalle spent \$37,632.95<sup>53</sup> This greater voter turnout and funding appeared to give O'Neill the edge over DiSalle. Yet, Ohio had elected Democratic governors. Both candidates were strong and well-liked. A lot would depend on the climate of the national economy and what was happening in foreign affairs.<sup>54</sup>

The first thing DiSalle did in his quest for the governorship was to begin rebuilding and unifying the Democratic party. Invitations were sent to all the county chairmen, members of the state central committee, all nominees for state office, and all candidates who were defeated in the primary to meet in Columbus for a "Unity Banquet." Next a new salaried Democratic state chairman was selected. DiSalle chose William L. Coleman who had been chairman of his home county, Union, for eight years.<sup>55</sup>

Coleman immediately began an extensive program of contacting all the county chairmen and working out plans for cooperation between the state and county organizations. Eleven members were chosen from each county who were responsible to the state committee; one in charge of the campaign of each person running for state office and one for the national ticket. New headquarters were located, a statewide registration drive organized, a finance committee established, and a Democratic state convention planned.<sup>56</sup> All this took a great deal of time and effort due to the fact that there had been little party organization work in the last twelve years under Lausche's leadership.<sup>57</sup>

With the programs in operation at state headquarters, DiSalle felt free to begin his campaign trips. These resembled the primary activities in most cases with the addition of visits to county fairs, appearances before service clubs, and a series of teas. By the end of the campaign, DiSalle had visited each county three more times.<sup>58</sup> His major areas of concentration were in the nineteen counties which Lausche had carried three or more times. Together these counties cast two-thirds of the vote in Ohio. They were: Cuyahoga, Hamilton, Franklin, Summit, Lucas, Montgomery, Stark, Mahoning, Trumbull, Butler, Lorraine, Jefferson, Belmont, Scioto, Lake, Tuscarawas, Portage, Ross, and Greene.<sup>59</sup>

The addition of teas to campaigning was to help activate Democratic women's groups throughout the state and to give women a chance to meet and to know their candidates. Mike DiSalle believed that women ought to be included and encouraged to be active in all areas of civic life. He had not always thought this way, but as his daughters matured, family discussions convinced him of this need. DiSalle was also aware of the growing importance of women's votes.<sup>60</sup>

After having talked with Senator John Kennedy about the teas that the Kennedy family held in 1952, in Massachusetts, DiSalle put his oldest daughter, Antoinette (Toni), in charge. Eighteen teas were planned and coordinated from Toledo. None of this could have been accomplished without the enthusiastic and energetic cooperation of the women in the congressional districts in which they were held.<sup>61</sup> As word of the teas spread throughout the state, attendance at them grew. In Cleveland 8,000 women passed through the receiving line. Altogether the DiSalle family and several of the state candidates' wives, shook hands with 22,400 women. The teas were well received.<sup>62</sup>

In addition to the use of this new approach, DiSalle also used the more conventional support committees, Republicans for DiSalle, "Mayors for Mike," and Independent Business and Professional Men's Committee for DiSalle. This last committee was especially important in fund raising,

including a television spectacular on which Governor Lausche endorsed the candidate.<sup>63</sup>

The rural county visits of the campaign were interrupted by the Democratic National Convention. Questions arose as to who would lead the Ohio delegation. It became clear that Ohio Democrats regarded DiSalle more highly than they did Lausche or Senator Thomas Burke. At the convention DiSalle was the person whose support was sought by the national leaders. Because DiSalle and the Ohio delegation chose to support Tennessee Senator Estes Kefauver for vice-president as opposed to John F. Kennedy, DiSalle was given the honor of placing Kefauver in nomination for the Vice-Presidency.

DiSalle was very pleased with his role in the convention and believed it would help his political fortunes in Ohio. Both Stevenson and Kefauver came to Ohio to campaign with him.<sup>64</sup>

It is also noteworthy that in this campaign DiSalle accepted the endorsement, financial support and campaign workers from the CIO. This was the first time he had received any such significant aid from organized labor. But the role of the CIO was kept very low key as its track record in Ohio politics was not good.<sup>65</sup> DiSalle made it clear that this involvement did not bind him in any way to the CIO. He said, "I have made no commitments, and have no understandings, implied or otherwise." The AFL endorsed O'Neill. DiSalle believed O'Neill received the AFL

endorsement because when DiSalle was Mayor of Toledo he had battled William Presser of the teamsters when Presser attempted to unionize juke box machines in Toledo.<sup>66</sup>

Television was one important medium that DiSalle hoped to use more extensively but could not. A television effort had been planned the last weekend before the election, yet had to be canceled due to lack of funds. Another effort that was eliminated for the same reason was additional direct mailing. DiSalle did less mailing in the general election than in the primary.<sup>67</sup> DiSalle spent \$82,178.98, a little more than two times his expenses in the primary and half of his projected budget for the 1952 senatorial contest. Shortage of funds seriously restricts every candidate's chance of winning an election.<sup>68</sup>

O'Neill had no problems financially. \$235,847.04 was spent on his behalf.<sup>69</sup> As we examine the type of campaign he conducted, it will be obvious how this money was used. He spent four times as much money on television as did DiSalle, seven times as much on printing, four times as much on postage, twice as much on headquarters maintenance, and five times as much on meeting expenses.<sup>70</sup> O'Neill started his campaign with \$150,000 from the well-organized Republican state organization, approximately \$70,000 more than DiSalle had for the entire campaign.<sup>71</sup>

Yet, O'Neill did not sit back and allow others to do the work for him. He planned a very well integrated and

very efficient campaign. One newsman said, ". . . for covering every possibility for corralling a stray vote, none was in a class with Billy the Kid."<sup>72</sup> How did he do this? He planned his campaign in three phases. Phase one, starting in the middle of July, consisted in a series of tent meetings--one in each non-metropolitan congressional district. At these meetings the same technique with pictures and post cards was followed as had been done at the Cleveland ward dinners during the primary. These meetings were run with clockwork precision by a specially trained team out of Columbus. Phase two was built around a campaign caravan which hit every rural county in the state during the month of August. A typical day started with a coffee hour, followed by luncheon in another county, two afternoon meetings, and then dinner. Always a photographer was present to take polaroid pictures and distribute them to the guests. Fifty such meetings were held and, like DiSalle's teas, these grew in popularity as time went on.<sup>73</sup>

Phase three brought the O'Neill campaign to the big cities during the months of September and October. Here, television was used extensively. O'Neill hired a professional agency to produce television openers of thirty minutes which were used once in selected cities. But then, five, five minute spots were created discussing O'Neill's views for the needs of Ohio. These were used more often and supplemented with twenty second and ten second spots.

O'Neill's staff discerned that these brief advertisements would attract more attention, cause less viewer distress, and keep O'Neill's name in front of the public. These were well received.<sup>74</sup>

In addition to the television effort, O'Neill attended as many as nine meetings per day in Cleveland and managed to get to the metropolitan areas as well. This phase of the campaign was handled much the same as it had been in the primary.<sup>75</sup> It is noteworthy that Bill O'Neill was able to mail 2,000,000 pieces of campaign literature, 450,000 in Cleveland alone while DiSalle sent only 150,000. This was bound to have an effect in familiarity with the name alone.<sup>76</sup>

O'Neill's program for Ohio was much like Mike DiSalle's. The major difference was the second point in his speech on September 12, 1956, at the Republican State convention. He stated, "We prefer individual action in solving problems to government action."<sup>77</sup> This was part of the Republican philosophy of the day. O'Neill also espoused highway building, teamwork in government, improvements in the field of mental health, old age assistance, aid to education, conservation, better law enforcement, and more equitable distribution of state aid to local governments.<sup>78</sup>

Although there were few policy differences between the two candidates, the newspapers favored O'Neill. The Associated Press made a survey of an unstated number of Ohio

newspapers. Of the 101 replies, 58 classified themselves Republican, 31 as Independent and 12 as Democratic. Of these 101, eighty-eight made endorsements. Seventy-nine of these were for O'Neill and nine for DiSalle.<sup>79</sup> Nothing negative was said about either man. O'Neill's eighteen years in state government were mentioned by some as the reason they chose him. DiSalle's chances for endorsement were slim given the preponderance of Republican papers in the state.<sup>80</sup>

November 6, 1956, O'Neill was elected by a huge majority. The official tabulation was 1,984,988 to 1,577,103.<sup>81</sup> O'Neill carried eighty-three of Ohio's eighty-eight counties.<sup>82</sup> DiSalle did not even carry Cuyahoga county.<sup>83</sup> He did, however, run ahead of Stevenson by 62,552 votes.<sup>84</sup> The only Democrat to win a major state office in 1956 was Lausche and his plurality was the smallest it had been in six contests.<sup>85</sup>

At the beginning of the campaign, no one in Ohio predicted such an overwhelming Republican victory. Eisenhower's health was bad and it was not certain that he could make the race. Contributions to the Ohio Republican treasury were smaller than usual. There seemed to be a great deal of voter apathy.<sup>86</sup> DiSalle believed that the Democratic registration drive secured his victory.<sup>87</sup> Yet, in the final analysis, Eisenhower won by a larger margin in Ohio than he had in 1952. His farm vote increased by



3.5 percent, his Negro vote by 10.2 percent, and his labor vote by 4.7 percent.<sup>88</sup>

This tremendously lopsided victory was consistent with the fact that 1956 was obviously a Republican year. No conditions obtained that would favor Democratic victory. There was some dissatisfaction among certain farm groups as noted earlier, but it wasn't enough to swing the country toward the Democrats in this presidential year.<sup>89</sup> Farmer discontent was even less evident in Ohio. Between April and November, hog prices dropped only slightly, ameliorating the fears that the hog producers had from the sharp drops in 1955. Other farm income was up 3 percent during the first ten months in 1956. Many areas of the economy showed increases in wages. The only weak spot in Ohio's economy was in the profitability of small business.<sup>90</sup> Small business problems would be significant in the years to come, but had not yet had widespread impact.

In addition, there were two serious trouble spots in foreign affairs, the revolution in Hungary and the unstable situation in the Middle East. Lubell reported:

Repeatedly in my talks with typical voters across the country I have heard them explain their intentions to vote for President Eisenhower with the curt remark, 'the Democrats always get us into wars.' No other one comment, in fact, has been voiced more often through the whole campaign." Ohioans were no exception.<sup>91</sup>

O'Neill most likely would have won in this year of little inflation, inflammatory world situation, and stable

if small economic growth, but his lopsided victory was definitely assured, when on October 29, 1956, England, France, and Israel attacked Egypt and seized the Suez Canal. President Eisenhower quickly announced that the United States would stay out of the conflict and invited the United Nations to arbitrate the dispute. Many people were encouraged by this action and believed that Eisenhower would continue to take measures to keep the country out of war. Many voters in districts previously leaning toward Stevenson reversed themselves and swung toward Eisenhower.<sup>92</sup>

On the afternoon of October 29, 1956, in Columbus, while newsmen waited for a news conference with DiSalle and Vice-Presidential candidate Estes Kefauver, another reporter walked into press headquarters and said, "Forget all about this, boys. We've got another war. Israel has attacked Egypt and is sixty-five miles inside the border now." With that, the news of the Suez Crisis became the news of the day. This was the atmosphere when the voters went to the polls.<sup>93</sup>

Losing the 1956 election was very difficult for Mike DiSalle. He really had believed that 1956 was his year. He had waged the most sophisticated campaign of his political life, was well-known, well-liked, and had a good personal organization behind him. At this point the Ohio newsmen "buried" him at their gridiron show. Would he run again?<sup>94</sup> One thing was definite: he planned to continue his efforts

at rebuilding the Democratic party in Ohio which he did in 1957 in conjunction with his law practice and a bit of golf.<sup>95</sup>

As DiSalle's time for deciding whether or not to run for Governor in 1958 drew nearer, things were looking good for the Democrats. Besides 1958 being an off year election, the Republicans had run into some political setbacks. Eisenhower's administration was charged with allowing the United States to get behind in defense, especially in regard to missiles. The Russians had sent up Sputnik and we would have to struggle to pull abreast of them. Economically, the country was in a recession, desegregation was an issue, and in some states an explosive labor issue, right-to-work was on the ballot.<sup>96</sup> DiSalle decided to try again.

In one of his earliest campaign letters he wrote:

Now, as you well know, the political pendulum is swinging in our favor. This is our year of opportunity. Working together again . . . building on the tremendous foundation established during the 1956 campaign . . . we will win a great victory in both the<sup>97</sup> May primaries, and the November elections.

History was also on DiSalle's side. Since the election of the first governor of Ohio, voters displayed a greater fondness for once-beaten candidates than they had for governors seeking a second term. The record showed that a party nominee, after one defeat, had been elected 85 percent of the time when he ran again in the general election.

Included in this list of once-beaten candidates were such names as John W. Bricker, Frank Lausche, and Vic Donahey.<sup>98</sup>

When the time for declaring candidacy arrived, seven Democrats announced their intention to seek the 1958 gubernatorial nomination. They were: DiSalle, Anthony Celebrezze, Mayor of Cleveland; Albert S. Porter, Cuyahoga county engineer and Ray Miller's nominee; Maynard E. Sensenbrenner, Mayor of Columbus; Mrs. Vivienne L. Suarez, housewife from Upper Arlington, a suburb of Columbus; Robert N. Gorman of Cincinnati, former judge of the Ohio Supreme Court; and Clingan Jackson, a Youngstown newspaper man.<sup>99</sup>

Only one of these candidates seemed to pose a threat to the DiSalle candidacy. Anthony Celebrezze was an independent from Cleveland much in the mold of Burke and Lausche. He had the powerful backing of the Scripps Howard newspapers and the strong support of the Cleveland Press.<sup>100</sup>

The fact that Miller chose to run a candidate of his own made the race in Cuyahoga County an interesting one. Would the Porter candidacy damage the Celebrezze or DiSalle vote? DiSalle decided to make visits to each county concentrating on being the top candidate in as many counties as possible and striving to be no more than second in the others.<sup>101</sup>

Again as in 1956, DiSalle set up his main campaign headquarters in Toledo. As Campaign Director he chose

Maurice (Maury) Connell, a trusted friend and an accomplished public relations man. Michael E. DiSalle, the candidate's twenty-one year old son, became Connell's assistant. These two men and a secretary were the only paid members of the staff. For the most part, young DiSalle managed the office and Connell traveled with the candidate. When time permitted, DiSalle's daughters worked and occasionally his sisters, Mary DePrisco and Lena Watson.<sup>102</sup>

The 1958 primary DiSalle conducted much the same as he had done the one in 1956. He mainly concentrated on well-planned visits to the counties, direct mailing, and the judicious use of radio broadcasts. DiSalle campaigned in Cuyahoga county, but he told Connell that he was not concerned about losing that county to the factions competing there, because he believed he had enough strength in the rest of the state to win. In 1952, DiSalle had lost Cuyahoga, but won the nomination.<sup>103</sup> In addition, he had two very loyal workers in Cleveland Bernie Friedman and Sid Hess whom he could always count on to set up rallies and ward meetings.<sup>104</sup>

Meanwhile the other candidates were handicapped by either having small statewide organizations or none, little money, and little or no newspaper backing, except as already mentioned in the case of Celebrezze. Sensenbrenner, something of an evangelical politician, tried to suggest that Ohio needed a Christian governor. This tactic did not

work for him, but it did cause, in part, DiSalle's decision to change his image. Until the 1958 campaign, much had been made by the press of DiSalle's short, pudgy stature (Mr. 5 X 5), his cigars, mustache, loud ties, and his non-Brooks Brothers suits. He did not look like your stereotypical white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant. Parts of Southern Ohio, with which Columbus had close ties, retained their traditional southern prejudices against foreigners, city folk, and Catholics. DiSalle gave up his cigars, shed thirty pounds, shaved his mustache, bought tasteful striped ties, and wore tailored blue, grey, and brown suits.<sup>105</sup>

In the first two months of the primary DiSalle concentrated on what he would like to do for the state of Ohio and on the poor state of the economy. He said that, "The Bureau of Labor Statistics has recently announced that unemployment in Ohio is reaching a new post-depression peak." To remedy this situation he suggested that:

The Governor . . . should immediately call to Columbus legislative leaders of both parties representing the public, and leaders of management and labor, for the purpose of discussing the present situation and the possibility of expanding and supplementing unemployment compensation.

He then suggested that, "After the preliminary meeting the legislature must be called to receive the recommendations of this joint group."<sup>106</sup> In March O'Neill, who had had a heart attack January 22, 1958, said he had been released from doctors care. This was DiSalle's signal to begin attacking

O'Neill's record as governor; especially his practices and policies to which the press had objected.<sup>107</sup> Some of these reflected the governor's indecision in reversing a raise in salaries for department heads; withdrawing his recommendations to remove the \$65 ceiling on old age assistance; delaying appointing a State Office Building Commission; and delaying appointment of a mental hygiene and correction director. Other shortcomings included failing to clear up the legality of Charles M. Noble's appointment as highway chief; and offering no concrete proposals to help the unemployed.<sup>108</sup> O'Neill, as an incumbent governor who had not lived up to his promises, appeared vulnerable to DiSalle who expected to emphasize this weakness in appealing to the Ohio voters.

His eye on the November election, DiSalle paid little attention to his six opponents in the May, 1958, Democratic primary.<sup>109</sup> This tactic was to prove wise for when the votes were counted, May 6, 1958, DiSalle had won. The factionalism in Cuyahoga county had reduced his vote but not enough to make a difference. The final tally was: DiSalle 242,830; Celebrezze 140,453; Porter 108,498; Gorman 57,694; Sensenbrenner 53,350; Jackson 35,175; and Suarez 6,928. The number of Democratic electors voting was recorded at 677,988.<sup>110</sup> This brought much joy to Ohio Democrats because for the first time in many years their votes in the primary exceeded those of the Republicans.<sup>111</sup> Total Democratic

voters in 1958 were even greater than Republican votes cast in the 1956 primary.<sup>112</sup>

What of the Republican primary? Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati, younger brother of the late Senator Robert A. Taft, entered the gubernatorial primary as a stand-by candidate in case Mr. O'Neill could not make the race. Taft chose not to make a vigorous race because of the circumstances surrounding his entering. O'Neill was restrained by his health and the demands of office. Until late April, O'Neill's personal organization did the campaigning with some aid from the state organization. There was a strain in this relationship due to O'Neill's distancing himself from the state organization during his tenure in office. As soon as he could, O'Neill made some major speeches in key sections of the state. He emphasized what he considered his accomplishments in the last two years as Governor. These were: "living within the state budget without increased taxes; an extensive program of highway building; and major steps forward in the construction of mental hospitals, penal institutions and correctional facilities."<sup>113</sup>

But, O'Neill clearly was not so strong a candidate as he had been in 1956. Taft received a heavier vote than anyone expected. This was interpreted as evidence of disenchantment with the Governor. The returns gave O'Neill 346,660 and Taft 198,173. Most unforeseen was the fact that



approximately 83,700 fewer voters turned out for this primary than in 1956. Barring any significant change in the political climate, victory looked very possible for the Democrats.<sup>114</sup>

The Republicans nationally and state-wide were well aware of their underdog status. What could they do to counteract this trend? They decided to move to the right, away from the moderate Eisenhower stance back toward the traditionally conservative Republican position. By doing so, they hoped to at least salvage the regular Republican vote.<sup>115</sup>

Ohio, Washington, California, Idaho, Colorado and Kansas had a right-to-work law on the ballot.<sup>116</sup> This measure was generally proposed by business interests and in Ohio also by the Chamber of Commerce.<sup>117</sup> Bricker and Bliss objected, Bricker predicted if right-to-work was, "on the ballot the Republicans might lose the legislature, the governor's chair, and some seats in Congress." The proponents claimed that this, "issue would attract as many additional conservative voters to the Republican party as working men to the Democratic party."<sup>118</sup> Bliss, as stated earlier, believed in keeping divisive issues out of campaigns. His and Bricker's opinions were ignored as the electoral battle began.

Right-to-work was the slogan applied to a constitutional amendment which would outlaw union shops.

This meant that no worker would be required to join a union if that was his choice. States where union shops were legal required workers to join the union, usually 30 to 60 days after being hired if the contract so stated. Opponents of the right-to-work law strongly believed that it would weaken the bargaining power of unions and that workers who had not joined a union would receive the benefits of collective bargaining without paying dues.<sup>119</sup> At a time in Ohio history when unionism was just beginning to gain widespread acceptance and some managers were still trying to hold the line against it this was an explosive issue.<sup>120</sup>

June and July passed in the Ohio gubernatorial campaign before the right-to-work issue received the required number of petition signatures and was put on the ballot. During these months, DiSalle ran his campaign much the same as he had in the 1956 general election. There were two committees added to the established ones, Dollars for DiSalle and the Michael V. DiSalle for Victory Club. "Dollars" brought in money and names. Each person who donated was asked to submit five more names for the committee. This worked quite well and increased the treasury and the mailing list. Those who donated ten dollars and up became members of the Victory Clubs and received credit card size membership cards. Connell said most of the donations came in \$10, \$25, and \$50 increments. There were few big checks.<sup>121</sup>

Due to the fact that the tide was running in favor of the Democrats more money was available. DiSalle was able to do more television spots in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus and he did a small telethon. In addition, he adopted on a limited scale the O'Neill technique of taking pictures with people at rallies and sending them to them as a way of advertising.<sup>122</sup> The number of teas was reduced to six because two of DiSalle's daughters now were married and had children and the youngest was leaving for college.<sup>123</sup>

DiSalle raised several other issues in conjunction with those he defined in the primary. He attacked O'Neill's spending in the field of mental health by questioning whether the funds appropriated were being put to the most effective use. DiSalle also assailed O'Neill's highway program, charging that the state lagged behind other states in interstate and expressway construction. In a positive vein, the Democratic candidate supported the proposed constitutional amendment to allow metropolitan federations in place of forced annexations.<sup>124</sup>

In late August, the right-to-work measure received the required number of signatures to be placed on the November ballot. By early September, DiSalle stated his opposition to the amendment and referred to it very little after that. He believed that the issue was so divisive that if he were to be elected governor he wanted to "become the force around which all elements in Ohio can gather for the purpose

of building a better state."<sup>125</sup> To assure those people who were concerned about labor abuses, DiSalle outlined a nine point legislative program to clean up union corruption. He also said that he had not received and would not accept funds from labor for the 1958 campaign. Yet organized labor endorsed the DiSalle candidacy.<sup>126</sup>

How did O'Neill address the right-to-work issue? Until early October, the Republican gubernatorial candidate did not discuss it. From June through September he concentrated his campaign in rural Ohio as he had done in 1956. But this year instead of caravans and tent meetings, he scheduled eleven well-attended picnics at two dollars per plate.<sup>127</sup> His program was much the same as in 1956 with the additional emphasis on "a sound fiscal policy with a low tax burden and more industrial growth."<sup>128</sup>

When O'Neill moved into the cities, he increasingly used television to complement his appearances at luncheons, teas, and dinner meetings.<sup>129</sup> Many of the latter functions were geared to the theme, "Accomplishments with Economy." To supplement these efforts O'Neill's forces planned twelve press conferences at which he promised to answer all questions.<sup>130</sup> This irked the statehouse correspondents because O'Neill had only seen them six times since August and had answered "no comment" to at least eight basic questions.<sup>131</sup> Tensions in dealing with the press are

usually not beneficial to a candidate. He had already lost three major newspaper endorsements.<sup>132</sup>

Then in early October, O'Neill came out strongly for the right-to-work law against the advice of leading Republicans and some of his closest associates. One powerful Republican said, "This is not a political issue and we should not be involved in it. He's alienating every Republican who is against this amendment, without winning a single Democrat who is for it." A New York Times reporter quoted a registered Republican who said, "I'm going Democratic for the first time in my life. Bricker's for the right-to-work amendment and so's O'Neill. Neither will get my vote."<sup>133</sup>

What made O'Neill change his "no comment" position? He had three reasons. He believed he was running behind DiSalle who opposed right-to-work; he believed that supporters of this issue (No. 2) would win by a narrow margin and thus concluded that he would gain votes by supporting the amendment; and many businessmen had refused to contribute to his campaign unless he did support it.<sup>134</sup>

On the first point O'Neill was correct; by mid-August DiSalle was beginning to show a slight edge over O'Neill. The Scripps-Howard Bureau had taken polls at selected county fairs and at the Ohio State Fair which showed DiSalle picking up O'Neill votes. Since these were primarily rural Republican areas the switch was quite significant.<sup>135</sup>

By the time the ballots were counted DiSalle had defeated O'Neill by 454,386 votes, 26,501 more than O'Neill had beaten him in 1956.<sup>136</sup> What accounted for this tremendous reversal? First, the economy in Ohio was still suffering from the recession. Second, O'Neill had not lived up to his 1956 promises and had alienated many regular Republicans and some of his independent supporters. Third, the right-to-work issue was very explosive and very unpopular among most Ohioans.<sup>137</sup>

What was it about right-to-work that caused so many voters to cross party lines? Here it is important to emphasize the fact that the proponents of the amendment had chosen a very bad year to bring this issue before the voters. They thought the recession and union scandals would work for them.<sup>138</sup> In reality, the recession worked against them. Many people, both urban and rural were so concerned about diminishing wages or uncertain employment that they opposed having their collective bargaining powers weakened or eliminated. This aided labor in its intensive campaign against right-to-work.<sup>139</sup>

To fight right-to-work, Ohio labor put forth a tremendous effort. First, the various groups within labor pulled together to present a unified front to the Ohioans for Right-to-Work.<sup>140</sup> Next they got together with labor leaders from other states, notably California, to plan strategy. Professional advertising men were hired and it

was decided to publicize famous people who would state their opposition to right-to-work. In Ohio an effective piece of literature showed a picture of Robert A. Taft and a statement he made in 1947 which said:

Mr. President, this amendment, as I understand proposes to abolish the union shop . . . I think it would be a mistake to go to the extreme of absolutely outlawing a contract which provides for a union shop requiring all employees to join the union.<sup>141</sup>

To appeal to their pocketbook there was special literature for housewives: "Don't let them shrink your shopping bag." For the unemployed: "Special interests back of 'right-to-work' are costing you \$20 a week."

Of course all this cost money, but labor was well supplied by donations from unions outside of Ohio and from contributions from union membership. Economists Glenn W. Miller and Stephen B. Ware put the total at \$1,378,824 as opposed to \$776,923 spent by the supporters of the amendment.<sup>142</sup>

One of the most effective and impressive efforts of this campaign was that by volunteer union members and their wives in registering voters, making person to person contacts, and distributing leaflets.<sup>143</sup> Additional workers did telephoning, direct mailing, and distributing literature at shopping centers, fairs, and elsewhere.<sup>144</sup>

This massive union effort combined with widespread dissatisfaction with the Republican party, perceived as that

of big business or of monied folk resulted in right-to-work being defeated by a vote of 2,001,512 to 1,106,324. This was a more lopsided margin than anyone had suspected. Labor received important additional support from the six Catholic Bishops of Ohio, the Protestant Ohio Council of Churches' General Assembly, the Synagogue Council of America, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In fact Fenton demonstrates very effectively that in most predominantly Catholic precincts right-to-work was soundly defeated. Most surprising was the number of farmers who opposed Issue 2. In general it was not the wealthy farmers who rejected it but those who worked both on the farm and at an industrial job.<sup>145</sup>

The issue of right-to-work was perceived by the voters of Ohio as an attempt by the wealthy to take advantage of those not so fortunate, of the well-to-do against the common man, or the rich over the poor.<sup>146</sup> This perception spelled absolute defeat for the Ohio Republicans in 1958.

In this non-presidential year the voters of Ohio were pretty much in tune with the rest of the nation. The Democrats increased their margin in Congress and picked up four governorships. Right-to-work was defeated in five of the six states where it was an issue. The only contest that went against the Democratic tide was in New York where Nelson A. Rockefeller defeated Governor Averell Harriman.<sup>147</sup>



The Republicans' strategy of returning to a more conservative position did not help them and there were no overriding foreign issues that polarized voter opinion as there had been in 1956.<sup>148</sup> The Democrats appeared to be recipients of a number of protest votes, and some of these were contradictory. The vote was against the Eisenhower administration's fiscal policies, right-to-work proposals, farm policy, and segregation and desegregation. The basic issue was dissatisfaction with the Republican administration and the hope that a change would "make things different."<sup>149</sup>

Newly elected Mike DiSalle was ecstatic. This was his do-or-die year. All the years of struggle and loss were behind him. Even Geauga County, a very Republican County, had given him a majority. He would hold his new office for four years because Ohio had voted in 1954 to permit its chief executive a four year term. Moreover, most of the state office holders were now Democrats as was the state legislature for the first time in ten years. DiSalle looked forward to the challenge of building a better future for Ohio and to working for at least two years with a cooperative legislature. The people of Toledo demonstrated to him their affection and gratitude before he departed for the Governor's mansion in Columbus. DiSalle's close associates and family rejoiced in his success. Former President Truman expressed great relief at Mike's victory. Truman had wondered if Mike could ever win in Ohio after he

had served as Price Stabilizer. DiSalle's immigrant parents were proud beyond belief. Mike's dream had finally been realized.<sup>150</sup>

For a few months he could rest, experience contentment, and do some of the preparation necessary to take office. He had enormously enjoyed being a Democrat in a Democratic year.<sup>151</sup>

## FOOTNOTES - Chapter III

<sup>1</sup>John Howard Kessel, "Road to the Mansion: A Study of the 1956 Gubernatorial Campaign in Ohio," (Unpublished Dissertation, Columbia University, 1958), pp. 168-178; Interview with Peter Roper, Executive Director of Michael V. DiSalle's 1956 campaign, March, 1984; personal interview with Antoinette DiSalle Watkins, girl-Friday of the 1956 campaign; and author's impressions.

<sup>2</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 168-169; This entire chapter is corroborated by personal interviews with Peter Roper, Antoinette D. Watkins, Constance DiSalle Bloomer, Michael E. DiSalle, Myrtle E. DiSalle (the candidate's wife), Barbara DiSalle Lindskold, and author's impressions.

<sup>3</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 173-175.

<sup>4</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 175-177.

<sup>5</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 177-179.

<sup>6</sup>"Enter the 'Big Politeesh'," Newsweek, 47, (January 26, 1956), pp. 25-26; Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 177.

<sup>7</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 181-183.

<sup>8</sup>Author's impressions.

<sup>9</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 184-186.

<sup>10</sup>Samuel Lubell, "Eisenhower Should Win Fairly Easily With Vote In Big Cities Major Factor," Toledo Blade,

<sup>11</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 186. October 29, 1956, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 186.

<sup>13</sup>Press Release from DiSalle Headquarters, Feb. 12, 1956, (all items mentioned from the DiSalle Papers are in the author's files). Michael V. DiSalle Papers, Ohio Historical Society, Inc., Columbus, Ohio.

- <sup>14</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 186-187.
- <sup>15</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 190-192.
- <sup>16</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 191-192.
- <sup>17</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 224.
- <sup>18</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 224.
- <sup>19</sup>Neal R. Peirce, The Megastates of America, (New York: W.W. Norton Inc., 1972), pp. 321-322.
- <sup>20</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 224-225.
- <sup>21</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 217-219.
- <sup>22</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 220.
- <sup>23</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 220-221.
- <sup>24</sup>"A Civic Celebration," Toledo Blade, April 3, 1956, p. 18.
- <sup>25</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 221; Author's impressions.
- <sup>26</sup>Text of speech for Nonpartisan Civic Dinner, April 3, 1956, DiSalle Papers; Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 222-223.
- <sup>27</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 223.
- <sup>28</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 227-231.
- <sup>29</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 225-226.
- <sup>30</sup>Author's impressions.
- <sup>31</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 243.
- <sup>32</sup>Columbus Dispatch, May 9, 1956, p. 1A.
- <sup>33</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 232.
- <sup>34</sup>Sherrod Brown, Secretary of State, Ohio Election Statistics, 1981-1982, p. 286.
- <sup>35</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 235-236.

<sup>36</sup>Samuel Lubell, "The Voters Speak," Toledo Blade, Oct. 30, 1956, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup>"Victory Pleases Mike and Family," The Columbus Citizen, May 9, 1956, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 25-29.

<sup>39</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 29-32.

<sup>40</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 32-67.

<sup>41</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 86-92.

<sup>42</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 106-108.

<sup>43</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 121-122.

<sup>44</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 127.

<sup>45</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 229.

<sup>46</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 128-130.

<sup>47</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 130.

<sup>48</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 131-134.

<sup>49</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 148.

<sup>50</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 115.

<sup>51</sup>Sherrod Brown, Ohio Election Statistics, 1981-1982, p. 286.

<sup>52</sup>Ed Heinke, "O'Neill Works As Usual, Plans Only Brief Rest," The Columbus Citizen, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 144; Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 230.

<sup>54</sup>Author's impressions. Kessel puts a great deal of emphasis on the importance of campaign techniques in winning an election. I would place my emphasis more on the political climate, but I would not discount the types of campaigns run.

<sup>55</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 250-254.

<sup>56</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 255-256; "DiSalle Plans 3 Area Visits During Campaign," Dayton Daily News, Summer 1956, Author's personal clipping.

<sup>57</sup>Thomas L. Stokes, "Bulter Criticizes a Democrat," The Washington Star, May 3, 1956, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>58</sup>Personal Interview with Pete Roper, March, 1984.

<sup>59</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 262.

<sup>60</sup>"DiSalle Plans 3 Area Visits During Campaign," Summer, 1956, The Dayton Daily News, Author's personal clipping; personal interview with Antoinette DiSalle Watkins, February, 1984; Appendix A, pp. 155-157.

<sup>61</sup>Reed Smith, "DiSalle Family Serves 2,000 at Tea With Ease," The Canton Repository, Oct. 3, 1956, personal clipping; Senator John F. Kennedy came to Toledo to campaign for DiSalle in 1956.

<sup>62</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 264-266.

<sup>63</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 270-287.

<sup>64</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 267-268; Author's impressions; Lausche was finally defeated in 1968 in a Democratic primary by John J. Gilligan, a liberal Democrat.

<sup>65</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 274-277.

<sup>66</sup>DiSalle indicated that the AFL endorsed O'Neill, because O'Neill promised "serious consideration" of the union wants as state industrial relations director. Jerry Poston, "Lausche, Burke, Celebrezze Back DiSalle's Union Blast," Dayton Daily News, Oct. 25, 1956, p. 22.

<sup>67</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 290-293.

<sup>68</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 292-297.

<sup>69</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 351.

<sup>70</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 295 and 351.

<sup>71</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 310.

<sup>72</sup>Alvin Silverman, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Sept. 9, 1956, p. 4B.

<sup>73</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 318-329.

- <sup>74</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 318-336.
- <sup>75</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 336-346.
- <sup>76</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 346.
- <sup>77</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 330.
- <sup>78</sup>C. William O'Neill, "Political Forum," Toledo Blade, Oct. 30, 1956, p. 4.
- <sup>79</sup>Columbus Dispatch, Nov. 2, 1956, p. 14A.
- <sup>80</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 359-361.
- <sup>81</sup>Sherrod Brown, Ohio Election Statistics, 1981-1982, p. 285.
- <sup>82</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 351.
- <sup>83</sup>"Here's Summary of Votes In City and Suburbs," Cleveland paper, DiSalle Papers.
- <sup>84</sup>Brown, Ohio Election Statistics 1981-1982, p. 285.
- <sup>85</sup>Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior in Ohio," p. 202.
- <sup>86</sup>Bindley, "An Analysis of Voting Behavior in Ohio," p. 197.
- <sup>87</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 268.
- <sup>88</sup>Richard Kirkpatrick, "Three Factors Influenced Ike's Landslide In Ohio." Cincinnati Enquirer, Dec. 2, 1956.
- <sup>89</sup>Samuel Lubell, "Adlai Has Lost Effort to Keep 'War Party' Label off Democrats," Toledo Blade, Oct. 23, 1956, p. 3.
- <sup>90</sup>Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," pp. 364-366.
- <sup>91</sup>Lubell, "Adlai Has Lost Effort."
- <sup>92</sup>Lubell, "Adlai Has Lost Effort."
- <sup>93</sup>"Fear of War Involvement Produces G.O.P. Landslide," The Canton Forum, Nov. 9, 1956, p. 1; "President Takes 58% of Popular Vote, in 3% Gain," Toledo Blade, Nov. 7, 1956, p. 1; Kessel, "Road to the Mansion," p. 389.

<sup>94</sup> Author's impressions.

<sup>95</sup> Michael V. DiSalle to Senator John F. Kennedy, Nov. 16, 1956, DiSalle Papers. DiSalle's law partners supported all of his ambitions. They were Merritt W. Green I, Moe Okun, Ned Thomas, Abe Haddad, Thomas Lynch and James Nestroff.

<sup>96</sup> "Campaign's Odd Turns Set Parties On New Paths to 1960," Business Week, Nov. 1, 1958, pp. 26-28; Samuel Lubell, "Democrats Got Benefits of Protest Votes," Toledo Blade, Nov. 7, 1958, p. 2.

<sup>97</sup> "Dear Friend and Fellow Worker," Campaign letter, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>98</sup> Leo Baron, "History on DiSalle's Side If He Wins In Primary," The Cincinnati Post, March 13, 1958, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>99</sup> Personal Interview with Maurice (Maury) Connell, Campaign Director of DiSalle's 1958 Campaign, February 1986; Damon Stetson, "DiSalle, O'Neill Victors in Ohio," The New York Times, May 7, 1958, p. 25.

<sup>100</sup> Personal Interview with Eugene "Pete" O'Grady, strong supporter of DiSalle in the 1958 general election, February, 1986.

<sup>101</sup> Personal Interview with "Pete" O'Grady.

<sup>102</sup> Personal Interview with Maury Connell; personal interview with Michael E. DiSalle, assistant campaign director in 1958, February, 1986.

<sup>103</sup> Ted W. Brown, Secretary of State, Ohio Election Statistics, 1952, p. 120.

<sup>104</sup> Personal Interview with Maury Connell.

<sup>105</sup> Personal Interview with Maury Connell; Author's impressions; Correspondence from Edward Harvey, DiSalle Papers. DiSalle tried to upgrade his image to increase his appeal to the voters.

<sup>106</sup> Press Release, February 15, 1958, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>107</sup> Dick Kirkpatrick, "O'Neill Caught on Ground by DiSalle Volley," Cincinnati Enquirer, March 9, 1958, DiSalle Papers.



<sup>108</sup>"DiSalle Rips At O'Neill 'Indecision'," Cincinnati Times-Star, March 5, 1958, DiSalle Papers; personal interview with Edward "Ted" Stowell, DiSalle Campaign Director, 1962, March, 1984.

<sup>109</sup>Author's impressions; personal interview with Maury Connell.

<sup>110</sup>Sherrod Brown, Ohio Election Statistics, 1981-1982, p. 284.

<sup>111</sup>"DiSalle vs. O'Neill: A Fight Shapes Up In Ohio," U.S. News and World Report, 44 (May 16, 1958), p. 20.

<sup>112</sup>Sherrod Brown, Ohio Election Statistics, 1981-1982, p. 287.

<sup>113</sup>Damon Stetson, "DiSalle, O'Neill Victors in Ohio," The New York Times, May 7, 1958, p. 25; Appendix A, p. 158.

<sup>114</sup>Sherrod Brown, Election Statistics, p. 284 and p. 287; "Ohio," Time, 72 (Oct. 6, 1958), p. 18.

<sup>115</sup>"The President Will Campaign for Hard-Pressed Republicans," U.S. News and World Report, 45 (Oct. 17, 1958), p. 61; George F. Jenks, "Debacle Vindicates GOP Leaders Who Tried to Keep Issue 2 Off Ballot," Toledo Blade, Nov. 5, 1958, p. 2; Appendix A, pp. 159-162.

<sup>116</sup>"'Right to Work' One Win 5 Losses," U.S. News and World Report, 45 (Nov. 14, 1958), p. 112.

<sup>117</sup>Jenks, "Debacle Vindicates GOP Leaders."

<sup>118</sup>John H. Fenton, "The Right-to-Work Vote In Ohio," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 3 (Aug., 1959), pp. 241-242; Bricker's stand did not express a stand on principle, but it expressed political expediency.

<sup>119</sup>Lester Velie, "How Unions Wield Political Power," Readers Digest, 74 (Feb. 1959), pp. 47-52.

<sup>120</sup>Everett Carl Ladd, Jr. with Charles D. Hadley, Transformation of the American Party System, p. 108-110; Wayne Phillips, "Survey Finds Ohio Divided Over 'Right-to-Work' Issue," New York Times, Oct. 29, 1958, p. 1.

<sup>121</sup>Personal Interviews with Pete O'Grady, Maury Connell, and Michael E. DiSalle.

<sup>122</sup>Personal Interviews with Michael E. DiSalle and Maury Connell.

<sup>123</sup>Personal Interview with Michael E. DiSalle.

<sup>124</sup>Michael V. DiSalle, "Political Forum," Toledo Blade, Oct. 31, 1958, p. 3; "DiSalle Urges Cooperation Between Cities and Suburbs," Toledo Blade, Oct. 14, 1958, p. 5.

<sup>125</sup>"DiSalle Charges Secret Parley," Toledo Blade, Oct. 21, 1958, p. 2; personal interview with Maury Connell.

<sup>126</sup>Clair Stebbins, "Labor Plan Offered by DiSalle," Columbus Dispatch, Sept. 25, 1958, DiSalle Papers; personal interview with Maury Connell.

<sup>127</sup>Dick Kirkpatrick, "Maine Vote Prompts Re-evaluation In Ohio," Cincinnati Enquirer, Sept. 14, 1958, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>128</sup>O'Neill Outlines 7-Point Program," Toledo Blade, Nov. 1, 1958, p. 2.

<sup>129</sup>Wayne Phillips, "Survey Finds Ohio Divided Over 'Right-to-Work' Issue," New York Times, Oct. 29, 1958, p. 1.

<sup>130</sup>Dick Kirkpatrick, "O'Neill Opens Campaign Meeting Series Tomorrow," Cincinnati Enquirer, Sept. 15, 1958, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>131</sup>Robert Vincent, "O'Neill Irks Scribes," Ohio State Journal, Sept. 15, 1958, DiSalle Papers.

<sup>132</sup>Phillips, "Survey Finds Ohio Divided."

<sup>133</sup>Phillips, "Survey Finds Ohio Divided."

<sup>134</sup>Fenton, "The Right-to-Work Vote In Ohio," p. 243.

<sup>135</sup>Kirkpatrick, "Maine Vote Prompts Reevaluation."

<sup>136</sup>Sherrod Brown, Election Statistics, p. 283 and p. 285.

<sup>137</sup>Fenton, "The Right-to-Work Vote In Ohio," pp. 241-253.

- 138 Phillips, "Survey Finds Ohio Divided."
- 139 Glenn W. Miller and Stephen B. Ware, "Organized Labor in the Political Process: A Case Study of the Right-to-Work Campaign in Ohio," Labor History, 4 (Winter, 1963), pp. 51-67.
- 140 Miller and Ware, "A Case Study," pp. 51-67.
- 141 United Organized Labor of Ohio, "Taft Literature," DiSalle Papers.
- 142 Miller and Ware, "A Case Study," p. 63.
- 143 Lester Velie, "How Unions Wield Political Power," pp. 47-52.
- 144 Miller and Ware, "A Case Study," Labor History, p. 60.
- 145 Fenton, "The Right-to-Work Vote In Ohio," p. 241; "Dems Gain Four Governors," Detroit Free Press, Nov. 6, 1958, p. 25.
- 146 Miller and Ware, "A Case Study," pp. 51-67; Fenton, "The Right-to-Work Vote In Ohio," p. 253.
- 147 James Reston, "National Election Picture: Democratic Tide Is Strong," New York Times, Nov. 5, 1958, p. 1.
- 148 "National Campaigns Fail To Develop Strong Issue," Toledo Blade, Nov. 1, 1958, p. 1.
- 149 Samuel Lubell, "Democrats Got Benefits of Varied Protest Votes," Toledo Blade, Nov. 7, 1958, p. 2.
- 150 Author's impressions, "Hundreds Pour Into DiSalle Home To Take Part In Victory Jubilation," Toledo Blade, Nov. 5, 1958, p. 1; "Vote By Counties," Toledo Blade, Nov. 5, 1958, p. 3. I personally did not want to live in the Governor's Mansion. I was happy to be away at college most of the time; Appendix A, pp. 163-164.
- 151 Author's impressions.

CHAPTER IV  
EPILOG AND CONCLUSION

Not long after his inauguration on January 12, 1959, on a beautiful, sunny winter day, Governor Mike DiSalle became aware of the many difficult demands of his job and of the poor condition of state finances.<sup>1</sup> The World War II surpluses had been spent, many programs had been neglected, and the population of Ohio, especially that of school age children, was increasing.<sup>2</sup> How were the needs of the people to be met?

DiSalle now realized why O'Neill had increased pay for state employees and then reversed his decision and why many of O'Neill's other fiscal policies made sense. The Republican Governor had been trying to balance the budget with inadequate state revenues. The origin of this shortage of funds could be traced back to the Lausche years. Part of Lausche's appeal to the Ohio electorate was the fact that he did not raise taxes and appeared to be very frugal. But Lausche had held the line on taxes only by providing inadequate services to Ohioans in education, welfare, criminal justice, and mental health.<sup>3</sup>

Among the eleven leading industrial states, Ohio ranked ninth in total outlays for health programs. In welfare, Ohio spent \$18.32 per capita compared to a national figure

of \$20.60. In education, Ohio ranked thirty-second in per capita expenditures among the 48 states. Its record in higher education was even worse. Compared to states like Michigan and California, with which Ohio should have been competitive, Ohio spent only 50 percent as much state revenue on higher education, and ranked 42nd in the nation in per capita college and university expenditures<sup>4</sup>

For a man like DiSalle, who believed strongly in the need for good education at all levels, the situation was unacceptable. In 1931 and 1932 he had taught at Toledo Central Catholic High School, and three of his daughters were teachers.<sup>5</sup> He was a compassionate man who believed strongly in state programs to help the less fortunate.<sup>6</sup> As he spent more time in the Governor's office, he became acutely aware of the deplorable condition of the state's mental hospitals and of the inadequate prison and detention facilities.<sup>7</sup> He entered office believing that there were adequate funds to run state government, but now he had to find ways to obtain more money if he were to achieve even a small part of the program he thought best for the people of Ohio.

After weighing the various means of increasing state revenue, DiSalle decided to ask the legislature to pass a 1 percent excise tax on cigarettes, gasoline, and liquor. The legislature agreed.<sup>8</sup> So many people reacted negatively to these taxes, that by the time of the Ohio legislative

elections in 1960, the Republicans and the conservative press had convinced a majority of the people of Ohio that DiSalle was fiscally irresponsible and Ohioans must elect a Republican legislature. Not only did they elect a Republican legislature, but they also picked Richard Nixon over John F. Kennedy as their Presidential choice. Many political writers attributed this in part to DiSalle's unpopularity. From this point on DiSalle met opposition to many of his programs and for the funding he thought necessary to achieve them.<sup>9</sup> There were charges and counter charges all of which did little to improve Mike's popularity. It is generally accepted that public quarreling among political leaders does not appeal to the electorate.

Peirce and Keefe wrote:

The first postwar Ohio Governor to make a serious effort to make Ohio government responsive to growing education, mental health, and welfare needs was Michael V. DiSalle. . . . But to achieve just a few modest reforms and meet rising state costs, DiSalle had to raise taxes for the first time in twenty years. . . . DiSalle lacked political finesse,<sup>10</sup> the taxes backfired against him seriously . . . .

In addition, DiSalle began attacking certain newspapers and journalists who he believed gave him a bad press, including the Columbus Dispatch and Paul Block, editor of the Toledo Blade.<sup>11</sup>

These were not the only ways in which DiSalle stirred public controversy. The governor was the last person from whom an individual could seek commutation of the death

sentence. After extensive investigation of the eleven such appeals that came before him, he commuted five of them.<sup>12</sup> These five decisions turned public opinion against him in those parts of the state where the crimes in question had been committed.<sup>13</sup> On March 8, 1960, DiSalle clearly stated his beliefs opposing capital punishment in a twenty page paper presented to the Ohio Legislative Service Commission.<sup>14</sup> Any doubts that the Ohio citizenry might have had regarding his stand on the death penalty were removed.

As early as November 1959, some political writers were suggesting that DiSalle was not acting like a man who planned to run for a second term.<sup>15</sup> Few Ohioans were surprised when on October 20, 1961, DiSalle announced he would not seek the nomination of the Democratic party for governor. He contended that he could better promote his program for meeting the needs of Ohio unencumbered by political office.<sup>16</sup> This was a very difficult decision for DiSalle. There was speculation that he had been offered a cabinet post by President Kennedy. Maury Connell said it was an ambassadorship.<sup>17</sup>

But in January 1962, a draft DiSalle committee had convinced the Governor to change his mind and make the race. Many Democrats thought that he would be the strongest candidate available and that he was the man best able to continue the programs he had initiated as Governor.<sup>18</sup>

Opposition in the primary came from Attorney General Mark McElroy of Cleveland, Ray T. Miller's man, and Alexander G. Metrakos from Lakewood, a suburb of Cleveland. Metrakos ran on a platform advocating legalized gambling to solve the state's financial problems. He was not considered a serious contender.<sup>19</sup> McElroy was. He had power and money behind him. Most observers thought DiSalle would win, but few thought it would be as close as it was. McElroy lashed out at Mike for being indecisive and for raising taxes.<sup>20</sup> DiSalle defended his programs and steered clear of making an issue of personalities.<sup>21</sup> On May 8, 1962, DiSalle won by a margin of slightly over 50 percent of the 692,235 votes cast.<sup>22</sup> This demonstrated a dissatisfaction among Democrats for Mike DiSalle similar to that expressed by Republicans for O'Neill in 1958.<sup>23</sup> The outlook for DiSalle in November was not bright.

The Republican nominee was State Auditor, James A. Rhodes. Rhodes was the son of a coal miner who had risen from a disadvantaged background just as DiSalle had. He was two years older and had started his political career in Columbus politics at about the same time DiSalle started his in Toledo. After service on the Columbus Board of Education, he was elected city auditor in 1939 and then mayor in 1943. Twice he ran for governor and was defeated, first in the 1950 primary and then by Lausche in the 1954 general election. In 1952 he won election as state auditor



and held that position for ten years. By the time he ran against DiSalle in 1962, he had an established statewide reputation.<sup>24</sup>

The 1962 campaign was the most unpleasant DiSalle ever undertook. He knew he was fighting for his political life. When Rhodes had campaigned against Lausche, he had attacked him personally and lost. Those advising DiSalle thought if he could "goad Rhodes into coming out swinging," DiSalle could revive the image Rhodes created in the 1954 gubernatorial election and therefore gain the advantage.<sup>25</sup>

DiSalle and his aides planned their strategy. DiSalle said, "the campaign with Rhodes will be a different type of campaign."<sup>26</sup> Many charges questioning Rhodes integrity were leveled. Some were proven and some were not. DiSalle was quoted in the Dayton Daily News as saying, "This isn't the way I like to campaign, but a man's integrity is important in an election."<sup>27</sup> Rhodes never took the bait. Ray Bliss devised a strategy to put DiSalle on the offensive, to have Rhodes concentrate on the issue of jobs that was uppermost in the voters minds, to stay out of all but one debate, to bring his family into the campaign, and to "stay out of the gutter." Rhodes took his advice.<sup>28</sup>

This was to prove very wise. Rhodes won the election by an overwhelming majority, 1,836,432 to 1,280,521; 101,525 more votes than DiSalle had defeated O'Neill by in 1958.<sup>29</sup> For sixteen of the next twenty years, Rhodes was Governor of

Ohio, losing only once to a liberal Democrat, John J. Gilligan in 1970, after scandal had shaken the Rhodes administration.<sup>30</sup>

DiSalle had gambled in attacking Rhodes' character and lost. 1962 was an off-year election when the Democrats and President Kennedy enjoyed popularity nationwide.<sup>31</sup> Kennedy scheduled several trips into Ohio to campaign for the Democrats including one trip for DiSalle's fifty-fourth birthday. But even the Kennedy magic could not save the election.<sup>32</sup> In Ohio many Democrats chose not to vote.<sup>33</sup> Observers of this election gave different reasons why the Ohio Democrats lost so heavily. Time magazine gave Bliss the credit for the GOP sweep of the state.<sup>34</sup> Others mentioned the general Democratic dissatisfaction with DiSalle.<sup>35</sup> Fenton contended that there was no Democratic party organization in Ohio and that DiSalle had also lost "because he developed a public image as a man who raised taxes. State Auditor James A. Rhodes, on the other hand, had projected an image of the protector of the state's funds."<sup>36</sup> DiSalle, widely known for his sense of humor, said at a news conference when told of the Time article, "I think I should at least be given part of the credit."<sup>37</sup>

A reporter for the Dayton Daily News put it succinctly, "It's hard to imagine a Democrat being elected governor of Ohio in any normal year unless a substantial number of Republicans either support him or sit on their hands because

they're mad at the GOP candidate."<sup>38</sup> There was no recession in 1962 and no national or state issue that would alter the normal political climate of Ohio.<sup>39</sup> In addition, DiSalle had committed several grave political errors. He had raised taxes, spoken strongly against capital punishment, quarreled with the Republican legislature, attacked the newspapers, and attacked his opponent personally. In retrospect he never had a chance in 1962.

Immediately after the election, DiSalle publicly revealed his disappointment, especially in his ungracious concession speech to Rhodes.<sup>40</sup> But, before long he was back to his usual form, as one reporter observed:

Attendance at the press conferences has not fallen off noticeably since the governor's defeat.

Reporters have been absorbed in the change in DiSalle since the election. A grim and determined candidate has given way to a relaxed and once more genial executive. It may have occurred to Mike that after January 14, his troubles will be few indeed.<sup>41</sup>

Upon leaving office, DiSalle resumed law practice, first in Columbus and then in 1966, in Washington, D.C. But law was only part of his activity. Within three years he wrote two books, one on capital punishment, The Power of Life Or Death, which went into three editions, and the other on the Vice-Presidency, Second Choice. He taught political science at the University of Massachusetts; served as chief executive of a new housing development near Washington, D.C.; was Chairman of the Board of Paramount International

Coin Corporation; had interests in insurance, newspaper, and radio ventures; and kept his hand on the political pulse in Ohio and nationwide.<sup>42</sup> In 1967, President Johnson designated him as one of eight members of the Panel of Arbitrators and the Panel of Conciliators of the International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes.<sup>43</sup>

When Robert F. Kennedy ran for President in 1968, DiSalle actively campaigned; at the same time he supported Senator John Glenn in Ohio. His last years were spent in Washington, D.C., primarily practicing law and doing whatever behind the scenes work he could do for his fellow Democrats. He died September 15, 1981, while in Pescara, Italy, visiting with relatives and doing research on his family roots. He was survived by his wife, five children, twenty-six grandchildren, and one great grandchild, Michael V. DiSalle III. Governor James A. Rhodes attended the funeral.<sup>44</sup>

### Conclusion

At the beginning of this study I suggested that if certain conditions were operative, a liberal Democrat could be elected in the normally conservative Republican state of Ohio. An examination of the statewide political career of Mike DiSalle was chosen to illustrate this point.

Conditions generally favoring Democratic victories were a depression or a recession, times of relatively little

international tension, low inflation, statewide issues perceived by the middle and lower class voters as detrimental to their somewhat tenuous positions, a candidate who embodied the middle class myth by blending the qualities of Horatio Alger and the rugged individualism associated with the western frontier, and a candidate perceived as totally dedicated to the protection of hearth and home.

In the four statewide, general elections in which Mike DiSalle participated, only 1958 met these conditions. The circumstances operating against his election to the Senate in 1952 were the Korean War, inflation, fear of communism, and Bricker's reputation as being very honest and frugal in government.

The gubernatorial election of 1956 pitting DiSalle against O'Neill did not involve any personality issues, but the Republican tide was running high behind a popular incumbent President. The economy appeared stable, inflation was just a little high, and there were two dangerous international crises occurring, the Suez crisis and the Hungarian revolution. The main reason for the favorable Republican climate was the international scene.

By 1958 O'Neill was perceived as indecisive by the electorate; there was a recession; the explosive right-to-work issue was on the ballot; and there was no international issue that polarized opinion against the

Democrats as the party of war. DiSalle had never appeared to the Ohio electorate as a candidate opposed to their basic cultural beliefs. All the criteria for a liberal Democrat to win were met.

But by 1962 the economy had stabilized, and there was no issue on the ballot perceived as detrimental to the middle and lower classes. Moreover Mike DiSalle was considered indecisive, a spendthrift, and dangerous to hearth and home.<sup>45</sup> The only condition that might have favored his victory was the fact that President Kennedy was considered to have handled the Cuban Crisis quite well. But DiSalle had hit Ohioans pocketbooks through taxes, and had shown signs that his personality did not meet middle class expectations. The climate was generally not suited to his re-election.

In summary, conditions through the 1950's were only once favorable for a liberal Democratic victory in Ohio, and that was in 1958. Had Mike DiSalle lived in a state like Minnesota or Michigan, where citizens tended to vote liberal Democratic, his political career might have been altogether different.

FOOTNOTES - Chapter IV

<sup>1</sup>"Governor's Chief Worries Financial," Toledo Times, Jan. 20, 1959.

<sup>2</sup>"State on Upstream Course Needs DiSalle at Helm," Dayton Daily News, Oct. 18, 1962, p. 32; Appendix A, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup>Neal R. Peirce and John Keefe, The Great Lakes States of America, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1980), p. 304.

<sup>4</sup>William Hessler, "Ohio Ranks As Highly Developed State But Seems Willing to Remain Backward," Cincinnati Enquirer, 1962, Michael DiSalle clippings--at times, dates and pages not available; These are in the author's files.

<sup>5</sup>Author's impressions.

<sup>6</sup>"Mike 'Undecided' On Seeking Second Term Hits GOP 'Callousness' In First Debate." Ohio Demofacts, Sept., 1961, p. 1; Frank Kane, "In Columbus Two Big Steps Have Been Taken," 1962, Michael DiSalle clippings.

<sup>7</sup>"Unbottling the News," Newsweek, 54 (Nov. 2, 1959), p. 57; Peirce and Keefe, The Great Lakes States, p. 304.

<sup>8</sup>"Predicts Defeat of Governor DiSalle," Columbus Dispatch, July 29, 1962.

<sup>9</sup>"Ohio's Vital Primary," Columbus Evening Dispatch, May 6, 1962, p. 34A.

<sup>10</sup>Peirce and Keefe, The Great Lakes States, p. 304.

<sup>11</sup>"DiSalle Continues Attacks On Press," 1962, Michael DiSalle clippings; "Text of DiSalle Election Statement," The Dayton Daily News, Nov. 7, 1962, p. 43.

<sup>12</sup>Wayne Lynch, "Strong Foe of Death Penalty Calls Ban 'Great Step'." The Miami Herald, July 6, 1962.

<sup>13</sup>"Predicts Defeat of Governor DiSalle,"; "Ohio's DiSalle," N.Y. Times, Jan. 21, 1962, p. E5.

<sup>14</sup>Governor Michael V. DiSalle, "Study of Capital Punishment," presented to the Ohio Legislative Service Commission, March 8, 1960, Author's files.

<sup>15</sup>"Unbottling the News."

<sup>16</sup>Howard Thompson, "Despite Draft Move, Odds Are Against DiSalle's Running Again," Columbus Dispatch, Michael DiSalle clippings. Many of us believed DiSalle was equivocating at this point. His years as Governor had been a disappointment and it certainly did not look as if he could win.

<sup>17</sup>Personal Interview with Maury Connell, Director of the 1958 DiSalle Campaign, Feb., 1986.

<sup>18</sup>"Ohio's DiSalle."

<sup>19</sup>"Spotlight on DiSalle In Primary Election," Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 22, 1962, p. 8AA.

<sup>20</sup>"DiSalle-McElroy Fight Highlights Primary Election," 1962, Michael DiSalle clippings.

<sup>21</sup>Michael Maloney, "No Softening Seen in McElroy-DiSalle Feud," Cincinnati Enquirer, 1962, Michael DiSalle clippings.

<sup>22</sup>Howard Thompson, "McElroy Topped In Close Demo Battle," Columbus Evening Dispatch, May 9, 1962, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup>"The Parties Choose Their Men," Columbus Evening Dispatch, May 9, 1962, p. 2B.

<sup>24</sup>"For Governor, DiSalle-McElroy Fight Highlights Primary Balloting," Spring, 1962, Michael DiSalle clippings.

<sup>25</sup>Walter Rybeck, "Bad Advice Hurt Mike, Aide Says," Dayton Daily News, Nov. 6, 1962, p. 4; Author's impressions.

<sup>26</sup>Howard Thompson, "DiSalle Promises Fiery Fall Campaign Against Rhodes," Columbus Evening Dispatch, May 9, 1962, p. 26B.

<sup>27</sup>Howard Hall, "Angry Mike Rips Rhodes Integrity," Dayton Daily News, Oct. 30, 1962, p. 10. Rhodes was guilty of the misuse of \$54,000 of campaign funds, but allegations that he illegally charged the state rental fees for adding machines were never proven.



- <sup>28</sup>Ray Dorsey, "How Bliss Remade Rhodes," Cleveland Plain Dealer, Fall, 1962, Michael DiSalle clippings.
- <sup>29</sup>Sherrod Brown, Ohio Election Statistics, 1981-1982, p. 283 and p. 279.
- <sup>30</sup>Peirce and Keefe, The Great Lakes States, p. 308-309.
- <sup>31</sup>Lyle C. Wilson, "Kennedy Upsets GOP's Big Cuba Campaign Issue," Columbus Dispatch, Oct. 24, 1962, p. 8A.
- <sup>32</sup>Ray Dorsey, "3,000 Roar for DiSalle at Party Dinner," Cleveland Plain Dealer, Jan. 7, 1962.
- <sup>33</sup>Bill Kagler, "Stay-Home Voters Cut Into Democrats," Cincinnati Enquirer, Fall, 1962, Michael DiSalle clippings.
- <sup>34</sup>"DiSalle Believes He Had a Part in Rhodes' Win," Youngstown Vindicator, Dec. 1, 1962.
- <sup>35</sup>Kagler, "Stay-Home Voters."
- <sup>36</sup>Donald Sabath, "No Democratic Party In Ohio, Forum Told," Cleveland Plain Dealer, Nov. 18, 1962; Dr. John H. Fenton, personal interview, March, 1986.
- <sup>37</sup>"DiSalle Believes He Had a Part in Rhodes Win."
- <sup>38</sup>Dick O'Hara, "Mike's Campaign Target: GOP Assembly or Rhodes?" Dayton Daily News, July 22, 1962.
- <sup>39</sup>"Strong Party Trends Apparently Missing," Columbus Evening Dispatch, Oct. 23, 1962, p. 16A.
- <sup>40</sup>"Text of DiSalle Election Statement," Dayton Daily News, Nov. 7, 1962, p. 43.
- <sup>41</sup>Dick O'Hara, "Gentleman Jim Still Silent Type," Dayton Daily News, Nov. 24, 1962.
- <sup>42</sup>Frank Kane, "3 Years After Defeat, DiSalle Busier Than Ever," Toledo Blade, Oct. 10, 1965.
- <sup>43</sup>Press Release, Office of the White House Press Secretary, Sept. 20, 1967, Michael DiSalle memorabilia.
- <sup>44</sup>Author's impressions; personal interview with Barbara DiSalle Lindskold, Feb., 1986.
- <sup>45</sup>DiSalle's stand against the death penalty was in part responsible for Ohioans viewing him as dangerous to hearth and home.

APPENDIX A

Manuscript and Published Materials  
That Illustrate Aspects of  
Michael V. DiSalle's Career

1946 Campaign Brochure for U.S. Congress  
Four pages (pp. 142-145).  
(Refer to page 40 in the text.)

142

**FOR EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION  
ELECT**

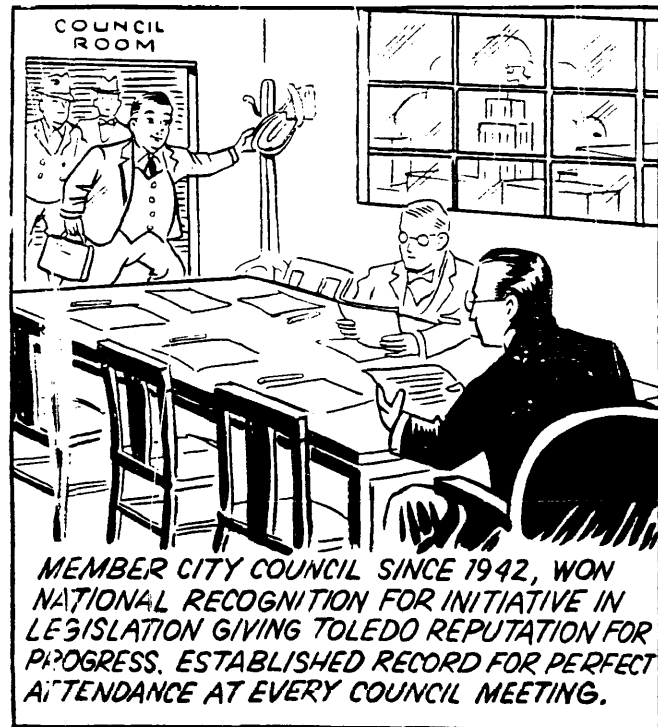
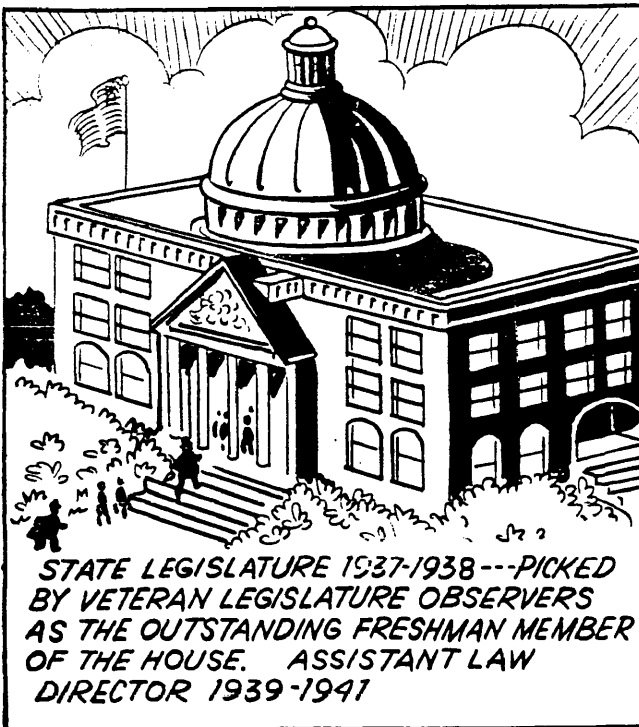
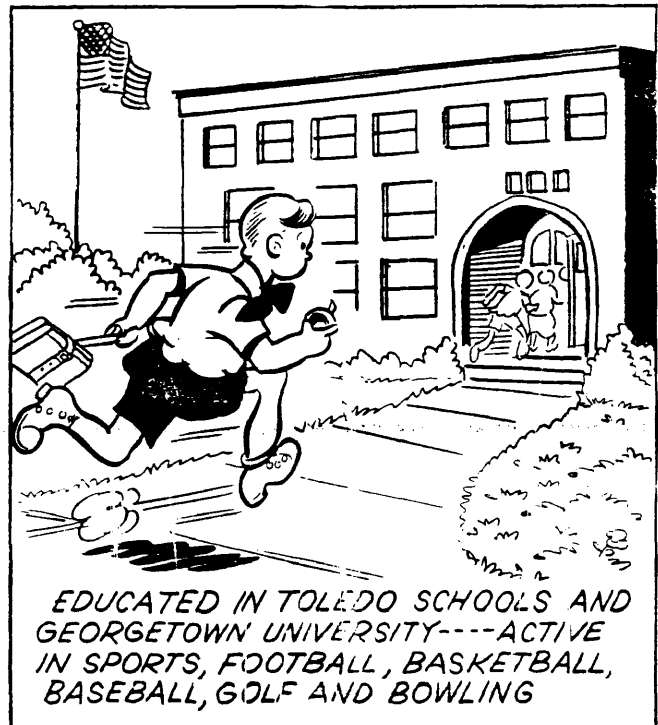
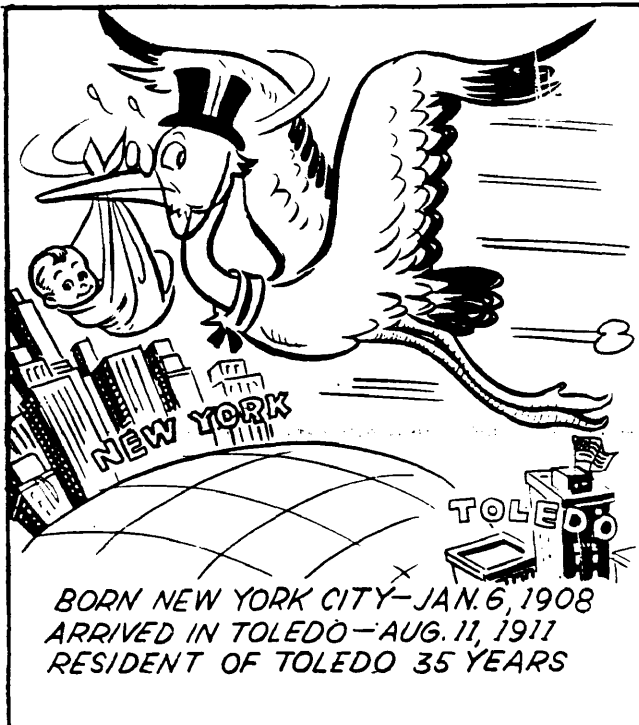
# Michael V. DiSalle

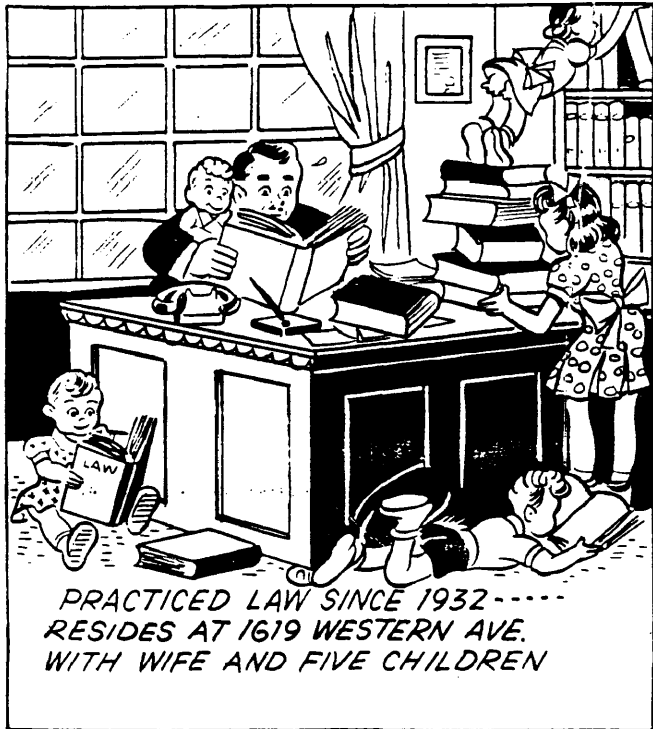


**REPRESENTATIVE TO CONGRESS**

**NINTH OHIO DISTRICT**

**DEMOCRATIC TICKET**





PRACTICED LAW SINCE 1932-----  
RESIDES AT 1619 WESTERN AVE.  
WITH WIFE AND FIVE CHILDREN



ASSISTANT DISTRICT COUNSEL H-O-L-C 1933-1935  
AIDED IN SAVING THOUSANDS OF HOMES FROM  
FORECLOSURE---ACTIVE IN ALL COMMUNITY AND  
CIVIC UNDERTAKINGS--SERVES ON NUMEROUS  
COUNCIL AND CIVIC COMMITTEES



VICE MAYOR OF TOLEDO -----NOTED  
FOR INDEPENDENT THOUGHT AND ACTION,  
AN EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATIVE-----  
SELECTED AS TOLEDO'S OUTSTANDING  
YOUNG MAN FOR THE YEAR 1943



SUPPORTED BY MEMBERS OF BOTH PARTIES,  
INDEPENDENT VOTERS AND VETERANS  
IN CAMPAIGN FOR CONGRESS.

DiSalle Seeks To Restore Schools

# Toledo, OH

# DiSalle Elected

FINAL

## A DECADE OF SERVICE

TOLEDO NEWS-BEE—"Mr. DiSalle takes his job, rather than himself, seriously, is a hard worker in committee, and a hard and fearless fighter on the floor.

COLUMBUS CITIZEN—"What interests politicians of both parties is whether Toledoans will flock to the banner of Mr. DiSalle in view of his businesslike handling of municipal affairs, or permit those aggrieved to finish him off politically. Is Toledo ready to reward a public official who does his duty courageously? Does it mean political death to abandon inaction and to antagonize strong groups, or is Toledo ready for an office holder who is politically unafraid."

TOLEDO TIMES—"Michael V. DiSalle has been one of the most fearless and outspoken Councilmen to serve Toledoans in many years. He is a true spokesman for the people's interests."

TOLEDO BLADE—"I believe all good citizens were impressed with the letter recently printed in The Blade and signed by several well known Toledo men representing the South Side Civic Council. It was written to commend Councilman Michael V. DiSalle who as the letter says, has brought to Council a wholesome brand of common sense and a knowledge of the people's needs."

DETROIT, MICHIGAN—"The Civic Searchlight—"Because of his keen interest in finding solution of public problems, Michael V. DiSalle, vice-Mayor of Toledo, came to Detroit and without costs for his services, addressed the annual meeting of the "Detroit Citizens League". We hope the health of Mr. DiSalle continues excellent. Some day Detroit may produce a man able and willing to do here what he has done in Toledo."

## DiSalle Backed For Congress

### Vice Mayor May Take Party's Indorsement

Michael V. DiSalle, Toledo's vice Mayor, is being considered as a candidate at the party convention in May.

## DiSalle Favo

## DiSalle Gets Law Position

### Takes Post Vacated by Harvey Straub

## DiSalle Enters Congress Race

### Thorough Discussion Of Issues Promised

Vice Mayor Michael V. DiSalle today accepted, "with a deep sense of gratitude," the invitation from the Lucas County Democratic Party to become a candidate for Congress from the 9th District.

## Outlook Study DiSalle

# TOLEDO BLADE

City's Great Newspaper

# DiSalle Is Reelected To Council

## DiSalle Tells Club City at Crossroads

### Year's Work Likely To Council

Vice Mayor DiSalle today announced that he will urge the council to pass a resolution on the Dec. 28 meeting before the council takes of...

File for Congress Committee—A. Barry, Secretary.

## DiSalle To Leave Tonight For Homeland Of Parents



TOLEDO TIMES - Aug. 18, 1949 - Times Photo

### Mayor Packs For European Tour Daughters Diana, 9, and Antoinette, 13, help

Mayor Michael V. DiSalle, whose "Letters for Democracy" idea helped defeat the Communists in the 1948 Italian elections, last night packed his luggage for his first visit to Italy. New York City where he will be met by his wife for the return trip to Toledo. Vice Mayor Jerome Jesionowski will take over the mayor's office during his absence.

And although the primary purpose of his visit will be slightly different, he admitted that he is interested in getting a first-hand impression of "how the contest is going along now."

Mayor DiSalle will visit the homeland of his parents, who came to the United States 48 years ago, as a U.S. Conference of Mayors delegate to the International Union of Cities.

FF

Cleveland O  
Jan 31

Dear Marie

Will do  
all I can to see that  
Mr Michael V. DiSalle  
gets in. You will  
know how I love Mr  
Taft. We can well do  
will out him in Washington

The girls so far  
in our store promised to  
do there part in trying  
to keep Taft out.

Dear Marie how  
have you ben? Why have  
you not been in Cleo?



Fred. Leis - Miller City ✓ O  
 Hugh. Darling - Continental O  
 Clint. Bahl - North Creek O  
 Geo. Ridgley - Pemberville O  
 Kenneth Duman - Woodville O  
 Ralph Johnson - Gibsonburg O  
 Fred Barnes - Elmore E  
 Joe Haynes - McClain E  
 Clyde. Bunn - Napoleon E  
 Dean Corbin - 145 Livingston Ave., Findlay, O.  
 Mr. & Mrs. Harry Dwyer - 221 East 3rd St.  
 Columbus, Ohio.  
 Mr. John Clark Jr. - East Palestine, Ohio  
 Mr. Charles Dwyer - East Palestine, Ohio

The names on these lists are all  
 supposed to be Democrats.

Charles Rice Caldwell Ohio ✓  
 Terrance Smith Caldwell Ohio  
 Walter Johnson Caldwell Ohio

Mr. George Hart  
 11 1/2 W. Franklin St.  
 Columbus Ohio

John Feere - North Baltimore O  
 E. A. Hefner - Pleasant Bend O.  
 Elmer Jacobs - Luckey .. O.  
 B. L. Katon - Grand Rapids O.  
 Walter Meyers - Holgate .. O.  
 E. J. Persons - Port Clinton O.  
 Glenn Martin - Findlay O.  
 Leo Hefner - Lima O.  
 Ken. Middleton - McClure O.  
 Clifford Clark - North Baltimore O

**COMMITTEE TO**

*Elect*  
**MICHAEL V. DISALLE**  
**U. S. SENATOR**



February 14, 1950

Mrs. Rose M. Moser  
1518 E 128th St  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Moser:

Our mutual friend, Carl Sylvester of Cleveland, Ohio indicated that you might be interested in my candidacy for the U. S. Senate. I appreciate the fact that I have permission to write you. This campaign must be a people's campaign. People interested in securing for Ohio true democratic representation in the Nation's capital. It is with this thought in mind that I am accepting the suggestion of writing you and soliciting your support. With your help and the others who have already indicated their willingness, a very little work on the part of each will add up to a final and smashing victory. May I count on you?

Sincerely,

P.S. You can indicate your willingness by sending in the two enclosed cards.

- 1 - Willingness to serve on the committee does not entail much work.
- 2 - Names of friends and relatives in Ohio will help us to build our campaign.

Thanks -- MVD

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1951

Dear Mike,

I'm sending you a piece  
I tore out of the NY Times Magazine  
It gave me a lift

There are so many stuffed shirts  
in government that I sometimes  
wish I could use a molar on them.  
You know what happens when you stick  
one of them into an old bull that's  
covered the report is loud and the  
wind whistles - but the bull usually  
comes down to size and we pass  
keep sticking them.

Sincerely, Harry Truman

(refer to pages 47-48 in the text.)

OFFICE OF PRICE STABILIZATION  
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1951

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR

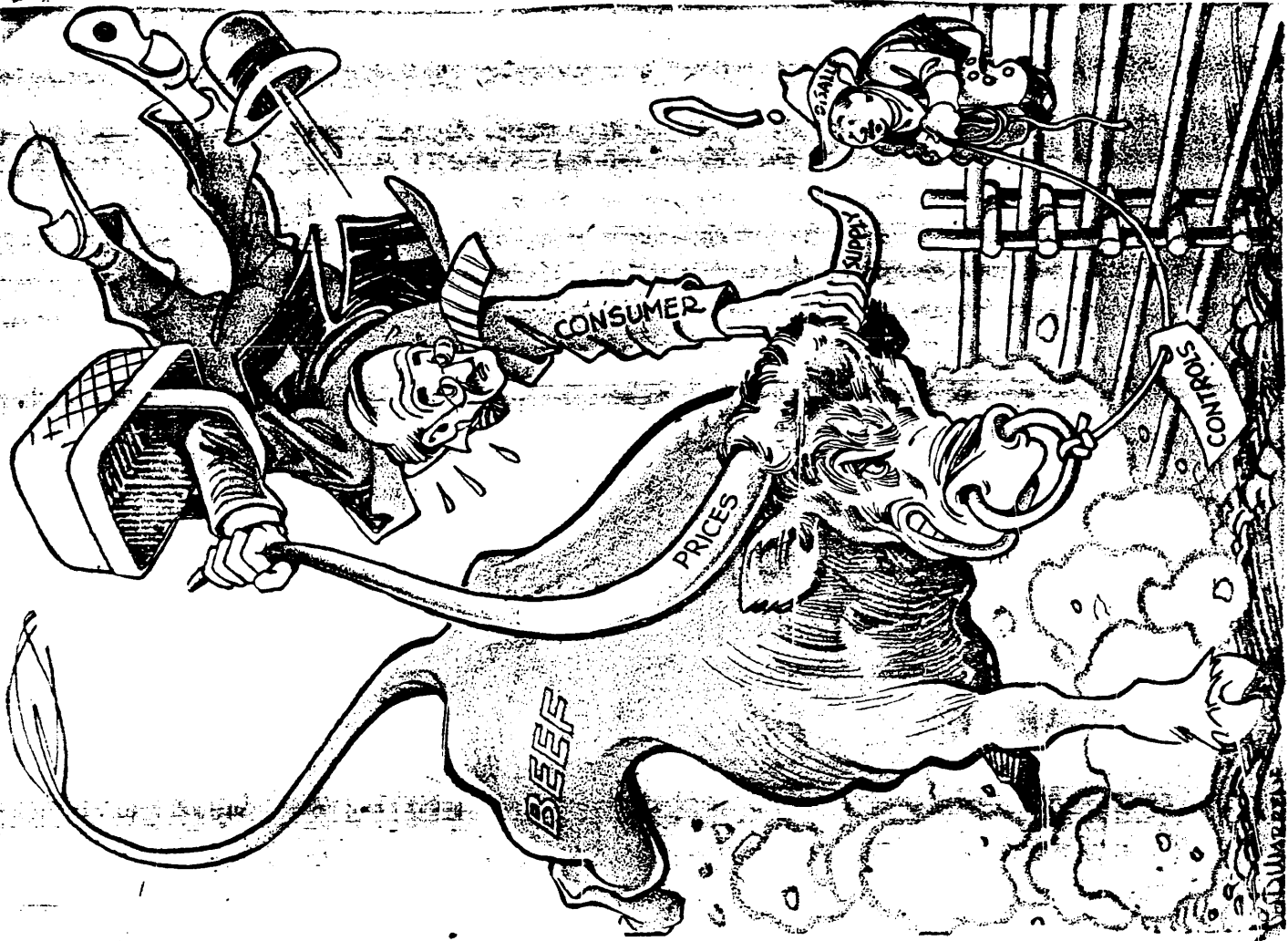
Dear Mr. President:

In your long tenure of public office,  
you no doubt at some time or other have  
had the feeling that the above would  
waste the effort. But something always  
happens to dispel that feeling. Yours of the  
this morning together with your kind phone  
call on Thursday will always be remembered  
as real contributions for any effects I  
might have expended on the job.

Your kind consideration of others  
will always explain the general loyalty of  
the people who know you best.

Gratefully and sincerely,  
Michael V. DiSalle

P.S. I still don't think Milton Berle  
would be Director of Price Stabilization  
M

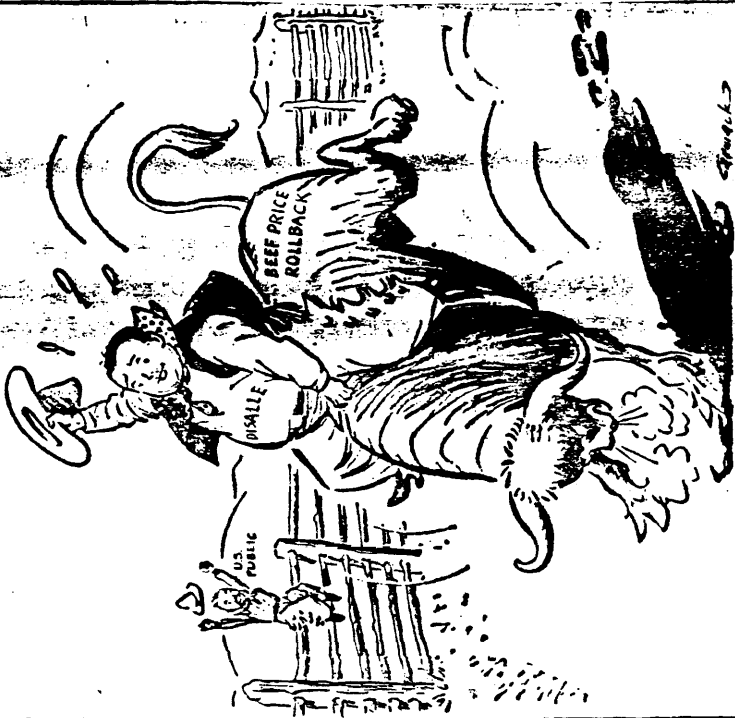


# Cartoons Of The Week

A Selected Group Of Outstanding

Pen And Ink Stories

ICLEDA SUM. BLADE MAY 27-1951



OPERATION HANG-ON-FIGHT-PLEASE  
—Carmaek in the Christian Science Monitor.

**MEAT:**

### DiSalle the Prophet

Last week, Price Boss Mike DiSalle, who dislikes roundabout statements, made several flat predictions to the joint Congressional committee which oversees the mobilization program. If the predictions pan out, DiSalle will be applauded as a successful price administrator. If they are wrong, the price boss will undoubtedly reopen his law office in Toledo.

Just back from listening to the protests of Midwest cattle producers, directed at his beef price rollback, DiSalle stepped in front of the committee on Friday night, and announced: "There is not a black market in beef today." The price chief went on: The U.S. "won't need rationing" in the "foreseeable future."

Committee members questioned DiSalle for two hours, and, as usual, the pudgy price boss, while maintaining his good humor, refused to hedge at any point. The committee wanted to know what had happened to "the lost and vanishing cattle" newspapers had been talking about. Said DiSalle: "There are no lost cattle . . . We know who bought it and where it has gone . . . There hasn't



DiSalle: Still good-humored, still firm

Newsweek

injunction provisions of the Hart-Charney

- 1) Excerpt from an advertisement placed in several newspapers.
  - 2) Napkin used at campaign teas and other functions.
- (Refer to pages 92-99 in the text.)

**Elect MIKE DI SALLE Governor of OHIO the Buckeye State**



**ABOUT YOU AND OHIO**

ONE OF A SERIES . . . . .

by  
**Mike DiSalle**

**A GOVERNOR'S RESPONSIBILITY**

The idea of a governor being a mere ceremonial chief of state cutting ribbons to open new bridges and digging the first spadeful of earth to start a new building is as outmoded as planning a wagon trail from Columbus to Cincinnati.

The job today for the man who is chosen as principal representative of all the people of his state calls for formulation of a responsible program to benefit the public, the ability and drive to carry it out and the flexibility to consider new ideas for meeting public emergencies, both economic and social.

As the link between public need and administration, a governor has the duty of winning cooperation of the legislature for enactment of measures aimed to promote the growth and welfare of Ohio and its people.

In times of stress a governor's role is clear-cut. He must be certain that state laws are adequate to provide aid for the jobless in cooperation with management and other government agencies while our free economy rebounds. He must cooperate with established private industry to effect a return to full production. He must promote establishment of new industries in the state for more jobs and diversification.



(Front)



(Back)

**THE DI SALLE FAMILY**—Standing, left to right: Son Mickey and daughter-in-law Jean, Mrs. Myrtle DiSalle, Mike, daughter Connie (Mrs. Tom Bloomer), and son-in-law Tom Bloomer. Seated, left to right: Daughters Toni, Diane, and Barbara.

Dear Friend:

We are extremely grateful to you for your kindness during the campaign. We hope that you will enjoy having this picture of the family as a token of our friendship.

Many people have asked us as to what they can do to help in the campaign. So in answer to this question we offer the following suggestions:

1. By telephone, letter or in person, contact the members of your family, your friends and neighbors, the people you trade with, and those you work with.
2. Above all make sure that everyone exercises the fine American privilege of voting.

If this is done we will have a great victory on Nov. 6th.

Thanking you for your kindness, I am, on behalf of my family and myself,

Sincerely,

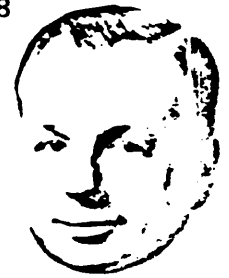
*Mike Di Salle*  
FOR GOVERNOR

X	MICHAEL V. DI SALLE DEMOCRAT
---	---------------------------------

1958 Gubernatorial Campaign  
Letter  
(Refer to pages 109-113 in the text.)

158

Headquarters 808 Madison Ave. Toledo 4, Ohio CHerry 3-1291



FOR

Dear Friend and Fellow Worker:

In 1956 we worked hard together to conduct one of the most intensive campaigns in Ohio history. Despite record spending by our opponent, and President Eisenhower's record-breaking majority, we succeeded in convincing 1,557,000 Ohio voters of the justice of our cause. It was your work that made this wonderful showing possible.

Now, as you well know, the political pendulum is swinging in our favor. This is our year of opportunity. Working together again . . . building on the tremendous foundation established during the 1956 campaign . . . we will win a great victory in both the May primaries and the November elections.

I want you to share this victory with me, and so I am inviting you, and your friends whom you think might be helpful, to become Charter Members of the DiSalle for Governor Club.

Immediately upon receipt of the enclosed card, we will return your certificate of membership, and inscribe your name on our Master Roll in Toledo.

Thank you again for your past efforts. I am looking forward to having you with me in our victorious 1958 campaign.

Kindest personal regards - sincerely,

*Michael V. DiSalle*

BEST for Governor of Ohio

BEST for the state we're in!

**BEWARE THE QUIRK  
IN 'RIGHT-TO-WORK'**

**(It SHRINKS your income)**

The 'Right-to-Work' Amendment is  
opposed by:

The six Catholic Bishops in Ohio

The Ohio Council of Churches

Leading Jewish Rabbis

25 City Councils

The Ohio Fraternal Order of Police

The Ohio Fraternal Order of Eagles

The Ohio Disabled American Veterans

Stark County Ministerial Alliance and  
scores of other prominent Ohio groups  
and community leaders

**VOTE NO!**

**On Issue No. 2**

For additional copies of this pamphlet write to

**UNITED ORGANIZED LABOR  
of OHIO**

85 E. Gay St., Columbus 15, Ohio



**Beware the Quirk  
in  
'Right-to-Work'**

The proposed amendment to  
Ohio's constitution that would  
drain your purse.

you know  
 's the woman who pays . . . pays for the  
 shoes and clothes and *stretches* those dollars  
 to keep the grocery bag filled.

Usually it's the woman who has to figure  
 ways of getting by with the weekly allotment  
 of cash. As your family's dollar stretcher,  
 you know what it would mean to you if  
 your breadwinner's wages were cut.

*Right now there's a big business plot afoot*  
 to do just that. It comes cloaked in the in-  
 nocent-sounding title of a "Right-to-Work"  
 amendment to our state's constitution, issue  
 No. 2 on the November ballot.

Before we get into what the amendment  
 does, let's look at what it does.

In the Southern states where a "Right-to-  
 Work" law is in force, the typical house-  
 wife has less than \$2 to spend for each \$3  
 available to the typical Ohio homemaker.

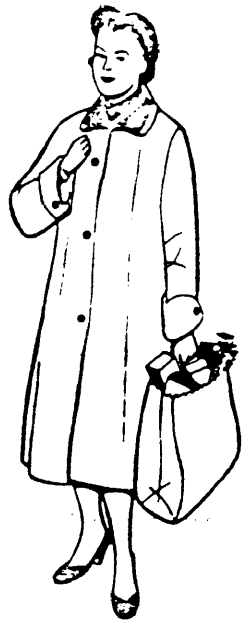
Official government figures show that last  
 year the typical Ohio family had an income  
 of \$2,154 for each member of the family.  
 The average per capita income in the South-  
 ern "Right-to-Work" states was only \$1,361  
 . . . or less than two-thirds the average for  
 the Buckeye State.

The chart below shows how much you  
 likely would have had to spend—for each  
 dollar you spend now—if you resided in one  
 of those "Right-to-Work" states. In Ala-

	Per Capita Average Dollar Income of Mrs. Southern 'Right-to-Work' Homemaker in 1957	For Each \$1 Mrs. Ohio Homemaker had, Mrs. Southern 'Right-to-Work' Homemaker had only —
Alabama	\$1,229.00	57 cents
Arkansas	1,088.00	51 cents
Florida	1,762.00	82 cents
Georgia	1,450.00	65 cents
Mississippi	904.00	45 cents
North Carolina	1,305.00	61 cents
South Carolina	1,133.00	53 cents
Tennessee	1,317.00	61 cents
Virginia	1,647.00	76 cents

(Authority: U.S. Bureau of Census and U.S. Dept. of Commerce)

Don't  
 let them  
 shrink your  
 shopping  
 bag!



abama, for example, a housewife has to try  
 to do with 57 cents what you do with a  
 dollar.

Imagine trying to hold your family to-  
 gether with a third or more cut from your  
 budget!

How can an innocent-sounding amend-  
 ment do that to you? Easy. The only "right"  
 involved in the "Right-to-Work" amendment  
 is giving unscrupulous employers the "right"  
 to bring in anti-union help.

The amendment would deny the right of  
 employers and working folks to agree on  
 any real form of union security. The sole  
 objective of the "Right-to-Work" amend-  
 ment is to weaken unions. *Once that hap-  
 pens, wages tumble.*

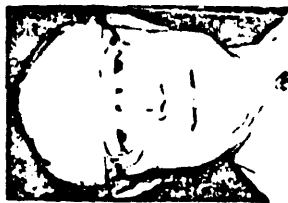
If wages fall, Ohio homemakers simply  
 will have fewer dollars to spend.

You can protect your family's income by  
 telling women you know what the "Right-  
 to-Work" amendment really is and by urg-  
 ing them to

**VOTE NO**  
**ON ISSUE No. 2**  
*the trick-titled*  
**'RIGHT-TO-WORK' AMENDMENT**

### EVEN TAFT OPPOSED 'R-T-W'

Ohio's famed arch-conservative, Senator Robert A. Taft, spoke against amending the Taft-Hartley Act to make into federal law what the so-called "Right-to-Work" forces now seek to make a part of Ohio's constitution. In 1947, Senator Taft said:



*"Mr. President, this amendment, as I understand, proposes to completely abolish the union shop... I think it would be a mistake to go to the extreme of absolutely outlawing a contract which provides for a union shop requiring all employees to join the union."*

### SET UP FOR SHEFFERMAN

Issue 2 (so-called "Right-to-Work") is an open invitation to professional union busters like Nathan Shefferman. McClellan Subcommittee records show he already has been at work in this state. This amendment would make their union-busting relatively easy.

The unscrupulous employer would encourage workers not to pay dues. "You get the same benefits without paying, don't you?" they'd say.

The unscrupulous employer would screen new employees, hiring only those who indicated they would not join the local union. (This means every person who has ever belonged to a union would have more trouble finding a job.)

As the local union lost strength, it would lose the ability to negotiate. Soon local unions would be fighting for their lives. Some wouldn't make it.

Under the Shefferman pattern, agitators

would move in, stir up trouble inside the plant. They would play one group of workers against another. Their goal: persuade a majority to go against the local union, call for a Taft-Hartley election and vote it out of existence.

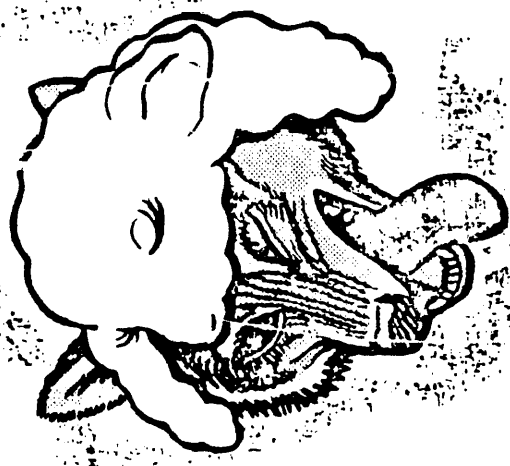
In the past the Shefferman type of operator often placed local unions in a position where they had to strike to keep their self respect. Issue 2 can bring a lot of that.

### TURN BACK THE ATTACK

The U. S. Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers and their cohorts have made Ohio the next target for their compulsory open shop campaign.

These national forces want to deny Ohio employers and employees the right to make their own decisions about what goes in their contract. Their goal now, as 20 years ago, is to destroy trade unions.

Ohio has nothing to gain by falling for their slick slogan. But Ohio working folks can lose the progress made over many decades. You can help turn back this attack on Ohio wage earners. Just



## Like a Wolf in Sheep's Clothing

They're using the phrase  
"Right-to-Work" to trick

Ohio voters.

# VOTE NO!

## On Issue 2

(trick-titled 'Right-to-Work')

For additional copies of this pamphlet write to

UNITED WORKERS OF AMERICA  
CINCINNATI  
85 E. Gay St., Columbus 15, Ohio

**T**HE SAME big business forces which fought social security and minimum wage laws now propose to "save" Ohio's working people from themselves with an amendment to the state's constitution designed to weaken and ultimately destroy their local unions.

They wrap this gift in trick slogans like "Right-to-Work" and "Freedom of Choice." That's like putting Christmas paper on a sledge hammer. Their amendment would knock apart the more than 4,000 Ohio labor-management agreements which now contain the union shop.

Instead of protecting any "rights," it would deny Ohio employers and employees the right to agree to the union shop as the basis of a stable relationship. Instead of giving the job hunter freedom to choose between union and non-union conditions, it would make the old, discredited open shop compulsory.

SINCE THESE big business forces are spending vast sums to confuse the issue, let's set it straight: *Issue 2* (the trick-titled "Right-to-Work") does only one thing—outlaw the union shop.

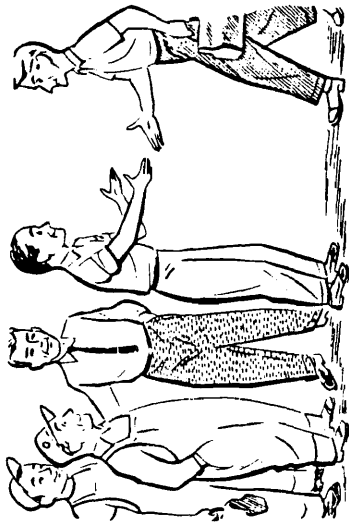
This ban would be made a part of Ohio's Constitution. It would be almost impossible for the voters of Ohio to get at it in order to correct this mistake.

**THEY FIGHT PROGRESS**

The chief sponsors of Issue 2 are the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers. Over the years they have resisted almost all legislation which can benefit most of us.

They fought Social Security, unemployment compensation, minimum wage laws. Years ago they even fought child labor laws. (In their view a child had a "right to work" 14 hours a day.)

Now, by sponsoring Issue 2, they are campaigning *against* the public interest again.



**FACTS OF INDUSTRIAL LIFE**

Every local union is required by the Taft-Hartley Act to give equal service to everyone in the bargaining unit. Members and non-members must get the same benefits.

Most working people naturally resent having their dues dollars go to get benefits for free loaders. They feel that everyone sharing in union-won gains should pay his share of the costs of keeping their local union operating just as everyone receiving community services must pay community taxes.

Working folks figure that if their local union bargained only for members, everyone would join anyway so it's only fair that joining the local union be made one of the many conditions of employment.

**MANY EMPLOYERS** feel the same way. They say every employee should have an equal voice and vote in union decisions. They point out having a handful of free loaders can cause tensions in a plant.

That's why more than 80% of all contracts in Ohio contain union shop clauses.

All give the employer the right to hire whom he pleases. But they provide that after a new employee passes his trial (probationary) period he must cooperate with his fellow workers by joining the union.

*The union shop is merely an extension of*

**Their Votes Speak**

The union shop issue already has been voted on by the people most immediately affected—Ohio working folks. Between 1947 and 1951, they could not have a union shop unless they first approved it in a government-conducted secret ballot election. Here are the results:

- ★ The National Labor Relations Board held 3,292 union shop elections in Ohio.
- ★ Ohio workers approved the union shop for their plants in 3,194 of these elections... a winning percentage of 97%.
- ★ 538,449 valid ballots were cast.
- ★ 476,257 votes were for the union shop, a winning percentage of 88.3%.
- ★ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

The results in Ohio, and throughout the nation, were such an overwhelming endorsement of the union shop that Congress decided just holding these elections was a waste of the taxpayers' money. Accordingly it dropped this section from the Taft-Hartley Act.

Anti-union forces are now asking you to vote to deny workers the right to what their votes so clearly show they desire.

*the American principle of majority rule to the places where the majority of Americans work.*

Many clergymen speak out for the union shop. They say it is a way for each man to meet his moral obligation to every other man with whom he works.

Besides, it removes the temptation to be a chisele.

Newspaper clipping about campaign headquarters,  
 Toledo Blade, Nov. 23, 1958.

(Refer to page 117 in the text.)

**Business Booming At DiSalle Toledo Headquarters**

**Connell Directs  
 Busy Staff Of 14**

Toledo, temporarily and unofficially, became the state capital with opening here recently of the headquarters of Governor-elect DiSalle.

His staff took over a suite at the Hotel Secor two days after the Nov. 4 election. There, a staff of 14 works long hours assisting Mr. DiSalle to make the transition from candidate to officeholder.

Directing the operation while Mr. DiSalle was vacationing was Maurice Connell, 43, for many years the right hand of the governor-elect.

The staff also includes Mrs. Toni Watkins, one of the DiSalle daughters, and two of his sisters, Mrs. Mary DiPrisco and Mrs. Lena Watson.

**Inauguration Jan. 12**

Duties of the headquarters staff are about equally divided between wrapping up loose ends of the campaign and taking care of details of the upcoming DiSalle administration which officially begins Jan. 12, Inauguration Day.

A good deal of the work now involves answering by letter thousands of congratulatory messages. Mr. DiSalle reads every congratulation before its reply goes out, Mr. Connell said.

Each week dozens of persons find their way to the six-room suite which overlooks Jefferson Ave. Almost all want jobs for themselves or for friends or relatives.

So confident was DiSalle campaign headquarters of the election result that job application forms were ordered printed in advance of the election, in anticipation of the flood of job-hunters.

**Four Telephone Lines**

Four telephone lines were set up in the headquarters and are constantly tied up with calls from newspapermen, job applicants and party leaders.

Mr. Connell has much the same function and responsibility he had during the campaign — detail man.

He is certain to become one



**PHONES NEVER STOP RINGING AT DISALLE OFFICE**

Sharon Ann Brown, receptionist, Mrs. Watkins and Mr. Connell answer queries

of the new governor's key administrative aids in Columbus — possibly holding the top post of administrative assistant, or executive secretary, now held by Charles P. Wylie under Governor O'Neill.

**Back In Washington**

Governor-elect DiSalle, who returned last night from Washington, will take over one of the rooms in the headquarters

to draft his legislative program, prepare his address to the Legislature and his acceptance speech, and to confer with party leaders who will be streaming into Toledo now that he has returned.

Mr. DiSalle has turned down all requests for speaking engagements for the next six months.

He will not be a "ribbon-cutting" governor, he said.









APPENDIX B

Letters from Michael V. DiSalle  
in 1976 to his daughter,  
Antoinette DiSalle Watkins,  
(Refer to pages 37-39 in the text.)

August 24, 1976

Dear Toni:

This is my first attempt at trying to answer all of your questions. I don't think I'll cover them all at this session but perhaps after you have received the letter you may let me know whether this is what you were looking for.

Number One deals with people influencing me and how. You ask about my father, mother, teachers and friends.

I have to say that in the early years the kind of friends I had wouldn't be the kind that would influence me--it was more my influencing them. Of course, your grandfather and grandmother were great influences since they seemed to have instincts about what was right and what was wrong, what was good for me and what was bad, who were my friends that might cause me problems and who were friends that would not.

My father was a constant reader and writer. He was Acting Counsel <sup>Gen. Enr.</sup> ~~General~~ for Italy in the Toledo area. He was active politically as a Republican. He was an orator in Italian and a very impressive one. He was a correspondent for an Italian/American newspaper and wrote beautifully.

My mother was a person who instinctively knew what the social graces were. As you know, she had a limited education in Italy. Elementary school was five years for girls then and she had a year or two of convent school but she had never had contact with important people socially and yet, no matter who came to the house (they could have been governors, senators or presidents or people high up in the Sons of Italy), she would set a table and handle a meal as beautiful as any I have ever seen. Her dinners were

perfect in the manner in which they were cooked and served. Of course, my father always believed in course dinners--never liked the idea of putting everything on the table. But, they both encouraged my reading and I was an avid reader. Both took a deep interest in what I was doing in school.

I remember once when I was in the 8th grade and of course the teacher was also the principal of the school. We were having choir practice and she accused me of talking. Well, I hadn't and she brought me in front of the room and I had to either apologize or go home. So, I told her I had nothing to apologize for and went home. It didn't take long for my father to bring me back to school the next day and he tapped the principal on her habit and said, "Listen here, Nun, if Mike said he didn't talk, he didn't talk, and I am not going to make him apologize." So, they reached a compromise. The teacher took me back and made me sit in front of her desk and which I was occupying with a girl. Even at the age of 12 or 13, I didn't feel this was bad punishment. The girl and I became quite friendly and I could hardly wait until I got out of school so that I could carry her books home for her.

There is no question they were both strict disciplinarians. Being the oldest, I had to break a lot of ice. Sports were something they didn't understand and when I was in high school and participating in athletics, I had to do it without saying much about it around the house, because when my father saw me reading the sports page, he would take the paper out of my hand and say I was wasting my time.

Toni

3

As you know, there was very little money in those days but regardless I never remember going to school without a hot breakfast, coming home to a hot lunch and having a full dinner. The clothes were largely those my mother was able to patch and repair. My father cut our hair, fixed our shoes and when I went to school with his haircuts, I had to fight my way back since they really looked like something that was done with a bowl. I am not certain I was happy when summer came but there was something to look forward to because our hair was clipped by him almost entirely bald so that he wouldn't have to do it again until fall.

But, both of them were great examples and when other people were getting relief, they would rather do without.

My father's deep interest in government and politics of course was very influential in developing my interest. In fact, there were only six of us and my father applied for citizen papers and I must have been ten or eleven years old. He went before the judge to be questioned and my father was asked who the President of the United States was. He said "Thomas Woodrow Wilson" and the judge said, "You know, I had forgotten the President's name was Thomas" because at that time he was known generally as Woodrow Wilson.

When my father came to this country at the age of fourteen, Theodore Roosevelt was President. My father was really impressed with him and that is why later he considered himself a Republican.

I remember one Columbus Day, when a man by the name of Sam Young was running for reelection as judge and my father was the chairman of the affair and the judge kept after him, saying he would like my father to take

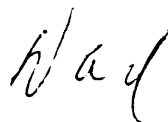
Toni

4

him around and introduce him. Well, my dad didn't like him because he was a prohibitionist and yet the judge was very persistent so my father couldn't get away and he began introducing him to people. In English, he would say, "This is Judge Sam Young; he is running for reelection" and in Italian he would say "don't vote for him because he is a dry". I don't think Sam Young ever knew what happened to him when he didn't make it.

I think I will stop now and in the next epistle I will talk to you about teachers and their influence.

Love,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Dad".

MICHAEL V. DiSALLE  
ATTORNEY AT LAW

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1709 NEW YORK AVENUE, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 872-8323

September 9, 1976

Mrs. Robert E. Watkins  
1206 - 12th Loop  
Kirtland AFB, E.  
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87116

Dear Toni:

Continuing with Question One - Teachers Influence: Someone was looking after me when I went to school since I had great experiences with several teachers.

First of all, my parents tried to get me to St. Patrick's School but I was five years old and couldn't speak a word of English and they didn't accept me, so I went to public school--Jefferson was its name. It was located on Jefferson Avenue in Toledo where the YMCA now stands. It was then an old school. My first grade teacher was Miss Morris and she was as kind as she could be. However, it took me a long time to develop any understanding of what was going on. Some of the kids were very mean and I was pushed around a lot and called names which fortunately I did not understand, but Miss Morris would try to make up for it. There was a very attractive second grade teacher who used to come in and sit on my desk and start playing with my hair which produced an automatic flush on my part. She used to think that was cute, and I used to think she was, but I really didn't know why. I never did know what happened to her and I don't have any recollection of my second grade teacher, but my third grade teacher was Rose Carter who I corresponded with for 50 years. She was in a rest home in Bryan, Ohio when I was Governor and passed away at that time.

I don't know how anyone could have taken a deeper interest in anyone than she did me. She would take me home with her after school. She took me to the country--it was the first time I had ever seen a cow, the first time I had ever had a glass of pasteurized milk and fresh butter. She had friends who were caretakers at Fort Meigs and had a farm there, who raised their own produce and cows, did their own milking. It was quite an experience for a youngster of seven who had never been in the country and who had faint recollections of a busy New York City. I say faint because I remember my



mother going to work and dropping me off at a nursery school which was fenced in with iron or steel fence and crying all the time I was there. I also remember from the fourth story where we lived, going downstairs to get, not ice cream but Italian ice and getting right back. There also is a very faint recollection of being frightened. I had been out walking with my mother and dad and got loose from them somehow and got lost and found myself with a bunch of young people who must have thought I was cute because they sang for me and danced and finally I heard my father's whistle and he showed up.

But, back to Rose Carter. She was the first one to take me to the zoo. I had become a very excited reader of anything I could get my hands on at the time. I would go to the library and get three books--go home and read--take them back and take three more. But, one night when we were living on Avondale Avenue, I think the address was 364, I was reading on the stoop from the back porch and left my book there when I went to bed. It rained that night and the book was destroyed. When I took it back to the library, they fined me 79 cents which was like 79 million at that time. But, I didn't say anything and Miss Carter soon noticed I wasn't reading and kept me after school one day and asked me what the problem was. When I told her, she marched me right down the library, which was not too far, paid the 79 cents and got my card back so that I could start reading again. But, we never lost touch no matter where I was or what I was doing.

My fourth grade teacher was Margaret Melink and of course I didn't know who her parents were. She later in life became Mrs. Harold Anderson of Maumee. A friend of mine, Paul Grimes, and I skated to her house on Robinwood Avenue. I later learned that her father was very wealthy and founder of the Melink Safe Company. But she and I got to be awfully good friends. In fact, in 1916, I was eight years old and Charles Evans Hughes was running for President against Woodrow Wilson when Miss Melink conducted a poll. She and I were the only ones for Hughes. I guess it was because my father, although as yet not a citizen, fancied himself as a Republican and Hughes was his favorite at the time. It was in the fourth grade when Miss Melink conducted a spelldown in history and after I won it, she took me to Miss Carter's third grade class so that Miss Carter could point to me as an example of what could happen. It was a very proud day, especially for the two teachers.

About that time, I think the school lines were changed because a new school had been built between Nebraska and Vance Streets called Gunckel School, so I went there for the fifth grade. My teacher's name was Margaret Wheeler. She used to spend a lot of time with me but she caught me one day reading a book that I had inside my arithmetic book. She came up behind me and gave me a light crack on the head with her clicker and sent me out of the room until I could come back and concentrate on math. But while I was gone, she told the class that some day I would be a very important man.

It was during the fifth grade that she assigned us a composition about what we wanted to be when we grew up. At that time I said I wanted to go to West Point, serve my country, and then come back to Toledo and run for public office. Of course I was a little ambitious because I concluded that it was within my grasp and of any American boy to become President of the United States. As you know, I didn't make it.

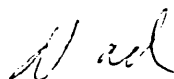
I kept in touch with Miss Wheeler for a number of years although the next year we transferred to parochial schools and I started in the sixth grade at St. Patrick's. My teacher was Sister Mary Loretta, not only for the sixth but also seventh grade. She was also a very encouraging person, although I began to have problems with her because even though she liked my poetry and my written work and book I was writing, she didn't feel that I was devoting enough time to math and catechism although it was here that I made my First Communion.

In the seventh grade, the same trend was there. The Superintendent of Catholic Schools visited the grade one day and Sister Loretta became a great admirer of mine again because he asked a number of questions and she only had one pupil who knew the answers. Especially one that dealt with Thomas Jefferson and his relationship with Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton and I was able to tell him about the duel and Hamilton's death and he kept asking other questions in the historical vein of the country and this is where my reading stood me in good stead.

The eighth grade teacher was Sister Mary Austin. I had some minor problems with Sister Austin but I ran into her again at Central. She was just a fine person and the fact that she had some problems with me in the eighth grade did not carry over. In fact, during that year I was getting a lot of honors. We used to have monthly awards--green was first, of course, at St. Patrick's and then there was a white ribbon and blue ribbon. Every month, I seemed to wind up with one of the ribbons which was an incentive to continue working.

At that time, we took a scholarship test for St. John s High School and much to my surprise I was awarded a scholarship. I think it was as much a surprise to Sister Austin, but it was not a full scholarship and my father was in no position to send me to a private school of that nature so I went to Central where the annual tuition was \$10. I don't know how long it was before that was paid. But, we will get into high school at another writing. Further, I will try to cover some of the incidents of the neighborhoods during the grade school days (at least, all that I want you to know).

Love,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "A. A. A.", written in dark ink.

MICHAEL V. DISALLE

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September 30, 1976

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Dear Toni:

It was awfully good visiting with you and getting a chance to be alone with you. You're doing a great job and you know, those of us who believe that there are rewards do become a little depressed at times but it's always good to remember that there is always something awaiting down the road and for you there is just no question that it is there.

This time, am going to try to review the places in which we lived. I have given you just a little bid about New York because, after all, I don't recall too much about it, but moving to Toledo was an experience with impact. My father had gone ahead and found a house on Indiana Avenue. It was in the 300 block between Division and Fifteenth Street. Evidently, he had difficulty finding a place and this one was available at a reasonable rental in those days but it should have been. There was no water, no lights of any kind, not even the gas lighting of that day. My father was getting gas and water into the house but it had not been completed when we arrived so our lights were oil lamps and you had to go out to get water. Coming from New York where we had everything to Toledo certainly was startling at least. Of course, your grandmother didn't like the idea of moving out West anyway and with three children she certainly wasn't very happy. She cried practically all the time, it seemed to me, for months so this didn't make my father's task any easier. He still had to get up and go to work every day and worked at night trying to get these things completed. But, finally, there was gas, there was water, and he decided he wanted to raise chickens so he began building a chicken coop in the back yard--sort of a large one with wire fencing, and he wasn't very good at that sort of thing. He hit himself in the head with a hatchet and of course there was a lot of blood. He finally got it built and there were chickens, and I guess he found out there was a little more work to farming than he had realized. Perhaps, he had never seen a farm, let alone worked on one.

Toni - 9/30/76

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In those days he worked steadily alright but he might get on a street-car early in the morning getting out to a place he was working, carry his lunch and then he would come home because in cold weather there wasn't enough gas to operate the polishing jacks on which he worked.

The nights were fun though. We had boarders and there were always card games where the stakes were wine and beer instead of money and they managed to have a lot of fun singing and dancing. At the corner of Division and Indiana, there was a fire station. Of course the rigs were horse drawn at that time so Nick and I thought we would like to have the fire engine come so we set fire on the landing inside the house and fortunately my mother smelled the smoke and decided to put out the fire before the fire engine got there and also decided to put Nick and I out of the house. I was three and a half or four then and Nick was fifteen months younger but I was afraid-- I didn't want to go out into that cold cold world. I was on the porch crying while Nick was saying, "Come on Mike, let's go." But, after we were properly frightened and punished, we were permitted to come back in.

I don't know exactly when we moved to the next house -- it was on Melburn Avenue in the Auburndale section of Toledo and I think my father moved out there because he wanted to be closer to his work. In fact, I think it was within walking distance of the Toledo Scale Company where I think he worked at that time. We didn't live there too long--that year, Uncle Louis was born. He was then the fifth boy in a row. I think you know the first boy was named Mike and died of complications of pneumonia, measles and other things. My mother was pregnant with me at the time and I was named

Toni 9/30/76

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Mike to replace the Mike that had gone on. So, when Louis was born, my father was really upset--he had wanted a girl. As Louis grew up, he had blond hair and my mother kept it in curls. He gave early indications of being so irascible and irrepressible--I will tell you more about that later at another house.

We then moved back to Illinois Street which was just a block from the first house on Indiana. It was also in the 300 block and this is where Mary was born. This was the house where my mother demonstrated some real pioneer spirit. Of course, Mary was born at home. The next day, a pipe burst in the basement and water was filling up the basement. Certainly none of us were old enough to be able to do anything about it. Mrs. Mucci was there and she didn't know anything about it so your grandmother got up, went down the basement with her nightgown on, waded through the water, turned it off and came upstairs, got dressed and didn't go back to bed again. After all, she should have gotten up and done something--she had already been in bed a day.

When my father found out the child was a girl, he went all over the neighborhood early in the morning, knocking on doors and windows telling everyone it was a girl. Incidentally, that was next door to the house where the Kellys lived. John Kelly and his brother were young men then, going to high school at St. John's. Across the street was Mary Boyle Burns already married to John.

We weren't there too long when your grandfather had a chance to buy a house at 364 Avondale Avenue which was a block over from Illinois Street.

Toni - 9/30/76

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Incidentally, I might tell you Illinois Street - the name was changed to John R Street and if you know it at all, this is how you would know it. The house on Avondale was the first house my father bought and it was a nice house. I remember it had five bedrooms, three upstairs and two down--one bath, of course; two living rooms as was the custom in those days, one for the family and one for company; a large dining room; a large kitchen; and a sort of attached barn where my father later started working nights to make extra money when I started to go to college. It was where he fixed our shoes and cut our hair--he was better at fixing shoes than cutting hair.

It was a big house to keep and again we had boarders. That's when Big Mike came from New York to Toledo to live with us. There was a man called Turk or Frank or other who was Albanian but spoke Italian, and one or two others I don't recall, and Silvio DiFilippo who came to live with us at that time. He worked at one of the hotels where he did wallpapering and painting and of course did it at home too. He was artistically bent and also (artist, i. e.) painted/and was a friend of the family for many many years.

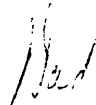
My mother used to do all the laundry--there were no washing machines. There was a scrub-board or washboard, and ironing was done with an iron that was heated on the stove, The stove was not gas operated--it was operated with coal and wood. There was only one heating stove in the house and that was in the family living room--later, my father got a little gas stove in the dining room. It was in that house where we got the first telephone which was a party line, of course, and the first victrola which was a Victor with a horn

as a speaker. Also, we got a player piano with a lot of Italian music. We lived in that house from the time I was in the fifth grade until my second year in college when we moved to Wayne Street. You said you remembered the house on Wayne Street so I won't go into details on that.

What really made everyone of those houses a home was the love and patience and care of my mother and father. My father never made much money in those days--the most he made was when we lived on Avondale Avenue. He got to where he was making one dollar an hour, forty dollars a week, and even in those days it was difficult to raise seven children. But, of course, I never remember them going out to dinner or going to a movie. The sole recreation was within the family or with close friends like the Mucci's, DePrisco's and the Forte's, and that was a lot of fun. There was so much laughter and of course they had to entertain themselves with games, singing - which they didn't do very well but they did very loudly - old Italian songs, romantic in many instances, but they were joyful days. The families would feud, most of it was from being jealous of each other and wanting to do better than the other, lying about their children as to how good they were and how well they were doing. There was a lot of pride and the kind of hard work that we don't understand any more.

I think we will call a halt here. The next time I will try to answer your question about what effect it had on me, the neighborhoods and the houses.

Love,



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