The Liberal Heartland

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A Political History of the Postwar American Midwest

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In the Shadow of FDR and Harry Truman

Missouri's Liberal Senatorial Turn, 1950–1987

JON E. TAYLOR

In 1940 Harry S. Truman won a close Senate reelection primary by appealing to a broad coalition of Missouri constituents that had come to be part of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal coalition, which included rural, union, women, African American, and immigrant voters.[1] That November, Missouri voters went to the polls and supported Truman for the Senate and, surprisingly, Republican Forrest Donnell for governor. Donnell ran an anti-machine campaign against Democratic candidate Lawrence McDaniel and prevailed by a mere 3,613 votes, making Donnell the state's first Republican governor since 1933.[2] Four years later, in 1944, FDR tapped Harry Truman to serve as his running mate, and Donnell, who had finished his term as governor, won election to the US Senate. Truman went on to become president after Franklin Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945, and while Truman became the leader of the national Democratic Party, in Missouri he was anything but the Democratic leader. Missouri voters continued to toggle between the liberalism of the New Deal and candidates like Harry Truman, who embraced the New Deal, but who were still tainted by machine politics.[3]

Missouri served as an important proving ground as to whether the New Deal coalition that Franklin Roosevelt created, and which Harry Truman drew upon for his 1940 Senate primary and general election victories, could work in a border state. Democratic party leaders put Truman on the Democratic ticket in 1944 to appeal to labor and to African

American voters, but the question remained whether he could hold that coalition together in the post–World War II period and even expand the coalition during his presidency. The true test of this coalition occurred in the 1946 midterm elections.[4]

In 1946 Missouri voters went to the polls and elected Republican James P. Kem to the US Senate over the Democratic-endorsed and Truman-supported Frank P. Briggs. President Truman also suffered the loss of a Kansas City congressional seat, when Republican candidate Albert Reeves Jr.—son of federal judge Albert Reeves Sr., who had presided over a number of vote fraud cases that resulted in the destruction of the Pendergast machine in the 1930s—defeated Truman-supported candidate Enos Axtell.[5] Missouri political historian Thomas F. Soapes noted that Republicans won nine of thirteen Missouri congressional seats, including one in Kansas City and two in St. Louis, and expanded their control over the Missouri state legislature. Furthermore, he argued that Missouri Republicans had performed well because of low voter turnout and they had cut the Democratic margin of victory in the state's African American urban centers because African American voters had either stayed home or supported Republican candidates. Soapes also noted that labor was upset at Truman's proposal to draft all striking railroad workers into the armed forces and that Missouri's farmers had outright rejected Truman's farm policies. Soapes concluded, "The 1946 elections in Missouri were unanimously interpreted as a rejection of the national leadership and platform of the Democratic party."[6]

Nationally, the 1946 midterm elections returned Republican control to both houses of Congress for the first time since 1930.[7] Many of the same factors that were at work in Missouri were also at play nationally. Truman's decision to ask for the resignation of progressive Democrat Henry A. Wallace shortly before the midterm elections angered Democratic progressives and dampened Democratic enthusiasm. The reconversion from a wartime to a peacetime economy had brought economic challenges to Americans, and they rejected the Truman's administration poor handling of reconversion.[8]

After the 1946 midterm elections Harry Truman moved to the left, and he broadened the base of the Democratic Party specifically with the civil rights initiatives that he had taken with his appointment of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and with his decision to issue Executive Order 9980 in 1948, which ended a segregated military.[9] However, Truman's move to the left on civil rights was tempered by the fact that in March 1947 he issued Executive Order 9835 establishing a permanent loyalty program, which challenged American civil liberties within the context of

the Cold War and forced a revision to New Deal liberalism to include a commitment to anticommunism, which threatened civil liberties in the Cold War. Truman embraced the loyalty program, which put him at odds with some liberals, but he completely rejected a more extreme loyalty program established by the McCarran Act of 1950 when he vetoed the law. The measure became law despite his veto, and subsequent presidents and congressional leaders continued to carry out an internal anticommunist security program into the 1970s.[10]

The Cold War also forced a reevaluation in America's role in the world. Truman, who had embraced internationalism in the Senate, supported internationalism while president when he advocated for America's entry into the United Nations and drafted and implemented the Cold War containment policy. Not all Missourians were immediately on board with this new role, as they had supported isolationist Republican US senators like Forrest Donnell and James Kem prior to 1950.[11]

This chapter explores how Senators Hennings, Symington, Long, and Eagleton embraced New Deal liberalism with their support of civil rights and voting rights measures during their respective terms in office, and how these senators supported and challenged the Cold War liberal consensus that developed under President Truman and his successors as they waged anticommunist campaigns at home and abroad.[12] Senators Hennings and Long, while supportive of some anticommunist measures, vociferously condemned elements of the domestic internal security program that threatened American civil liberties. The chapter concludes by examining how Senators Symington and Eagleton struggled to reconcile their support of Cold War liberalism with America's involvement in Vietnam.

Thomas Hennings Jr. served three terms in the US House, elected in 1934, 1936, and again in 1938; prior to that, he served as assistant circuit attorney for six years in St. Louis, where he prosecuted felony cases. As a member of Congress, he served on the Foreign Affairs Committee and on a House investigative committee that examined campaign expenditures. Hennings advocated for neutrality in the lead-up to World War II and successfully sponsored a bill that led to the suppression of the sale of marijuana. He cosponsored the anti-lynching law, which never passed but earned him the endorsement from the Black press in St. Louis. He also hired African Americans to work on his congressional staff.[13] The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* concluded: "His record on major measures has been a progressive one, and he has voted with the [Roosevelt] administration on certain bills and against it on others."[14]

Hennings left politics in 1940 and successfully ran for circuit attorney of St. Louis but took a leave of absence in 1941 to serve in the US Navy.

He contracted influenza in 1943 and received a medical discharge. He returned to St. Louis and resumed work as circuit attorney, leaving that position in 1945 to enter private law practice. When Franklin Roosevelt asked Harry Truman to serve as his running mate in 1944, Hennings was the frontrunner for the appointment to replace him in the Senate, but the appointment went to Frank P. Briggs. In 1950 Hennings sought election to the US Senate, but Truman instead endorsed Emery Ellison. The president told confidant Harry Easley: "Tom Hennings was in the House for about six years when I first came here and he did not do much work. His war record will not bear the examination of a microscope and anyway I'd like very much to have at least one Senator here for two years who could be personally friendly to the first President from Missouri."[15] The press speculated that Truman favored Ellison because he thought he could capture the rural Missouri vote and Hennings could not. Another view speculated that Truman supported Ellison to pay a political debt he owed to James M. Pendergast, who attempted to rebuild his uncle's [Tom Pendergast] political machine against increasing pressure from Kansas City Democratic rival Charles Binaggio, who had endorsed Hennings.[16]

When Hennings ran for the US Senate in 1950, African Americans made up 7.5 percent of voters in Missouri and were an important constituency in the state. Hennings touted the primary endorsements from the predominately African American Eleventh and Nineteenth Wards of St. Louis, and President Truman did come around to support him in the general election, but the Republicans tried to make Truman's lack of support in the primary a campaign issue in the general election. On November 3, 1950, candidate Hennings told the Twenty-Fourth Ward Democratic Club: "I welcome the endorsement of the head [President Truman] of my party. I've had the indorsement since last August and as far as I'm concerned there never has been any question about it."[17] On November 4, 1950, President Truman came to St. Louis and spoke at a large Democratic gathering at the Keil Auditorium, where he told the crowd: "Here in Missouri we are going to elect Tom Hennings to the Senate; and we are going to send a Democratic delegation to the House of Representatives from Missouri."[18]

From 1951 until he died in 1960, Senator Hennings was the most influential and outspoken Missouri politician on civil liberties and civil rights. Prior to Hennings's election to the US Senate, in 1947 Truman issued Executive Order 9835, which created a loyalty program and established loyalty review boards for federal employees. When Hennings campaigned in 1950, he did not condemn the program. It was only after he got into office that he expressed misgivings. Despite Hennings's criticism of Truman's

Figure 1.1. Senator Thomas Hennings speaking at the Missouri Democratic Ham Breakfast at the Missouri State Fair in Sedalia, Missouri, August 18, 1951. Courtesy of Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Accession #96-472-12.

policy, in 1952 Truman told a political confidant: "Tom has turned out to be an excellent Senator and has been very cooperative with me."[19]

In 1953 the Democratic Party leadership appointed Hennings to the Subcommittee on Civil Rights, which was part of the Judiciary Committee; however, the subcommittee was renamed the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights after 1955. The loyalty program continued under President Dwight Eisenhower's administration when he issued Executive Orders 10450 and 10865, and it was through the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights that Hennings challenged Eisenhower's executive orders. Senator Hennings argued that these internal security measures violated free speech and due process under the law because the enforcement of internal security created a new administrative criminal law apparatus, in violation of the Bill of Rights.[20]

Senator Hennings's Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights introduced four separate bills in 1956 and again in 1957 that would have strengthened voting rights protections in federal elections and primaries, created a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice, provided

federal protection for members of the armed forces who were physically assaulted, and created a federal anti-lynching law.[21] He participated in the Civil Rights Caucus and served as the secretary of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee. As a member of the Civil Rights Caucus, he favored the elimination of Rule 22, which required a two-thirds majority vote for cloture on bills and which he saw as an impediment to the passage of civil rights legislation, and he cast his vote in favor of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and the Civil Rights Act of 1960.[22]

Hennings took on Senator Joseph McCarthy as a member of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration and served as a member of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections. As a member of that subcommittee, he investigated McCarthy's role in the Maryland senatorial election of 1950; when the committee released its report, Hennings was serving as chair of the committee. According to Donald J. Kemper, "the responsibility for McCarthy's decline rested with no single senator. . . . Nevertheless, it must be noted that Hennings made singular contributions to McCarthy's ultimate fall."[23]

After Hennings died on September 13, 1960, the Missouri State Democratic Convention named Edward V. Long as its choice for the US Senate. Governor James Blair accepted that decision and appointed Long to fill out Hennings's term, which began on September 23, 1960, and ended on November 8, 1960, when Missouri voters elected him to complete the remaining two years of Hennings's term. After serving the remaining two years, Long successfully ran for a full six-year term in 1962.[24]

Like Senator Hennings, Senator Long focused on civil rights and civil liberties. In February 1963, Long voted to change Senate Rule 22, but the attempt to reduce the number of senators required for cloture was defeated again. At the 1964 Democratic National Convention, Long supported reforms that would have made it possible for more Black participation in future Democratic Party conventions. Long cast his vote in favor of the Civil Right Acts of 1964 and 1968 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In 1966 Long published the book *The Intruders: The Invasion of Privacy by Government and Industry*, in which he argued that technological advances threatened individual privacy and that federal laws needed to be passed in order to prevent abuses of civil liberties. He even proposed a bill that would have made postal surveillance of mail a federal crime.[25]

Life magazine conducted an expose of his Senate record and accused him of trying to prevent the prosecution of Teamsters leader Jimmy Hoffa, who had been convicted on federal charges. The article also accused Long of using federal funds to pay his housekeeper and to pay rent on the law office he ran in Bowling Green, Missouri. A Senate committee investigated

those charges and he was cleared of any wrongdoing, but the accusations tarnished his 1968 reelection bid and he lost to Democrat Thomas F. Eagleton in the Democratic primary; Eagleton went on to win in the November general election.[26]

The Senate careers of Hennings and Long overlapped with their colleague Stuart Symington. When Symington ran for the US Senate in 1952, Truman did not endorse him in the Democratic primary even though Symington had served with distinction in the Truman administration. Truman first met Symington when Truman was chair of the Senate Investigative Committee. Symington, then president of the St. Louis–based Emerson Electric Company, had led the effort to integrate its workforce and obtained war contracts to build rotating gun turrets that were used on military aircraft in World War II. When Truman became president in 1945, he asked Symington to become chair of the Surplus Property Administration, which oversaw the disposition of surplus property generated from World War II contracting. In 1946 President Truman appointed him assistant secretary of war for air, and he became a key advocate to establish the air force as a separate and independent branch of the military. Truman appointed Symington as the nation's first secretary of the air force on September 18, 1947, a position he held until he resigned on April 24, 1950, over differences he had with the president about the level of funding for the new branch of the armed services, but not before he had taken steps to comply with Truman's EO 9980, which required the military to integrate. Truman then appointed Symington chair of the National Security Resources Board, which he held for a short time before becoming chair of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation—the last position he held in the Truman administration prior to running for the US Senate in 1952.[27]

Symington wrote to President Truman on March 11, 1952, and informed him that he planned to file for election to the US Senate. Truman did not respond, but instead put his infamous "File it" notation on it. Truman later told one political confidant that he was concerned about Symington's lack of political experience and that Symington's chances for election might be diminished because like Symington, Senator Hennings was from St. Louis, and he doubted "if the State would be willing to have two Senators from Saint Louis at the same time." The president told another confidant: "I was a little slow in getting around to the Senatorial situation for I had at one time thought I might run for it myself but I changed my mind."[28]

Symington announced that he would run for election to the US Senate on March 20, 1952. His biographer, James Olson, noted that he faced an uphill battle to win the Democratic primary. He was not from Missouri, having only relocated from New York to St. Louis in 1938 to work

took back the majority in the Senate and a Democrat was installed as chair of the Senate Armed Services Committee. It was Symington who took charge of a subcommittee to determine where the United States stood with its nuclear missile development. He was concerned that the Soviets had overtaken the United States in its production of long-range nuclear weapons and wanted to explore this issue.[36]

Symington developed a national profile, and some supporters suggested he seek the Democratic nomination for the presidency in 1956. Harry Truman, however, endorsed Averell Harriman. It was a surprising endorsement because according to James C. Olson, "Harriman was even less popular in the South than [Adlai] Stevenson," the Democratic frontrunner going into 1956. Olson wrote that of the Democratic candidates mentioned, "Symington seemed to be in the best position to consolidate the southern and northern big-city wings of the Democratic party." Senator Thomas Hennings nominated Symington at the convention, but Stevenson won on the first ballot.[37]

Harry Truman endorsed Averell Harriman, governor of New York, in a press conference held prior to the Democratic National Convention. Truman explained that he was concerned that the Democratic Party was "becoming a caretaker Party" and that Adlai Stevenson was becoming more moderate in his views. Truman continued:

> President Franklin Roosevelt was not a moderate—as some are now suggesting—in 1940 he was even prepared to decline the nomination when the convention threatened to abandon the progressive and liberal principles of government for which his Administration stood. . . . I am shocked that any liberal Democrat would advocate or encourage the abandonment of the New Deal and the Fair Deal as out of date when there are many millions of people who are in urgent need of creative, forward looking social purposes of the New Deal and Fair Deal. The destruction of this social philosophy is the aim of the conservatives and reactionaries of both parties.[38]

In 1956, Symington chaired the finance committee of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee and campaigned on behalf of Senate Democrats across the United States. The Democrats captured a slight majority in the Senate, which allowed Lyndon Johnson to become Senate majority leader. Johnson told Symington, "I don't know of anyone who worked harder than Stu Symington or anyone who was more effective. It took days and nights of sustained effort, and you came through with a top-notch performance that meant the difference between victory and defeat in many states."[39]

Symington continued to attack the Eisenhower administration over its

at Emerson, and then quickly went to work in Washington, DC. He therefore had little interaction with outstate Missouri voters, which he would need to capture to win any political contest. However, Symington defeated his Democratic primary opponent, J. E. "Buck" Taylor, who Truman had endorsed, by a two-to-one margin in the primary and then faced off against Republican incumbent and prominent Kansas City attorney James P. Kem.[29] Kem had bitterly opposed the Truman administration and remained staunchly isolationist in his views opposing the nation's entry into NATO and the Marshall Plan. In contrast, Symington supported both.[30] Symington conducted a campaign that continued to focus on meeting as many Missourians as he possibly could, and in November 1952 he prevailed over his Republican challenger and won in a landslide by earning the votes of more than one million Missourians.[31]

Unlike Harry Truman, who had arrived in the US Senate in 1935 as the "Senator from Pendergast," Symington arrived with a national reputation. He had already well-established relationships with Senate minority leader Lyndon B. Johnson and with the incoming president, Dwight Eisenhower. Symington received Johnson's support to serve on the Armed Services Committee and an appointment on the Committee on Governmental Operations, where he engaged in combat, as had Senator Hennings, with the committee's chair, Senator Joseph McCarthy.[32] McCarthy had come to Missouri to campaign on behalf of Kem and had accused Symington of being a "Communist sympathizer."[33]

It was difficult to accuse Symington of being a communist sympathizer given Symington's role in the Truman administration as secretary of the air force, but when McCarthy began accusing the US State Department of harboring communists and when one of the counselors McCarthy hired claimed that Protestant clergy were the largest single group supporting communist organizations, Symington could no longer remain silent. All three Democratic members of the committee resigned in protest over McCarthy's remarks. Eventually the three senators returned to the committee, and when the Democrats won back majority control of the Senate in 1954, a Democrat replaced McCarthy as chair and Symington turned his energies to serving on the Armed Services Committee. Truman told Symington: "I think McCarthy's mind ought to be picked to the bottom, if there is any bottom to it. I don't think he ought to get away with smearing everybody else when he never told the truth in his life."[34]

As a member of the Armed Services Committee, Symington became an open critic of Eisenhower's decision to slash the defense budget and continued to advocate for a strong air force, but Congress implemented the cuts.[35] Symington's concerns gained some traction when the Democrats

Figure 1.2. President Lyndon Johnson seated (on left) with former President Harry Truman, signing the Medicare Act into law at the Harry S. Truman Library, July 30, 1965. Standing, from left: Missouri Senator Edward Long, Missouri Senator Stuart Symington, Missouri Governor Warren Hearnes, Montana Senator Mike Mansfield, Lady Bird Johnson, Vice President Hubert Humphrey, and Bess Truman. Courtesy of Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Accession #66-63.

Richard Nixon's direction of US military assets in neighboring Cambodia. Symington became acting chair of the Armed Forces Committee in 1970, and under his chairmanship the committee explored how the CIA had illegally surveilled Daniel Ellsberg, a Department of Defense employee who had been involved in releasing the Pentagon Papers to the press at the direction of the White House.[44]

Senator Symington sought reelection in 1970 and defeated Republican candidate Jack Danforth by a mere 43,000 votes, his smallest margin of victory. In his last Senate term he focused on reducing defense expenditures

lack of funding for air power and for its farm policies. Symington's criticisms of Eisenhower's lack of funding for air power gained new life after the Soviets successfully launched Sputnik in 1957. As a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, he supported President Eisenhower's decision to reorganize the Department of Defense, but he continued to criticize Eisenhower for not funding American defense; that underfunding collectively began to be referred to as a "missile gap" between the United States and the Soviet Union. Symington made the "missile gap" a campaign issue in his successful reelection campaign in 1958, and Missourians reelected him by the widest margin for any candidate that had ever run for statewide office.[40] His appeal for a strong national defense resonated with Missouri voters, and he also supported the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. When Eisenhower wanted to dismantle the New Deal fixed price supports for agriculture, he criticized Eisenhower's farm policies and Ezra Taft Benson, Eisenhower's secretary of agriculture, who was tasked with carrying out those policies.[41]

Symington's national profile was on the rise, and in 1959 he began to explore a run for the presidency. Symington checked all the boxes for Harry Truman, much like Averell Harriman had in 1956, and Truman endorsed his candidacy. Symington announced that he would be a candidate on March 24, 1960, but his biographer noted, "his candidacy failed to generate much enthusiasm in liberal circles." Symington placed third in the delegate voting, behind frontrunner John F. Kennedy and second-place finisher Lyndon Johnson.[42]

Symington won reelection to a third Senate term in 1964 at the same time that the United States was beginning to get mired in Vietnam and President Johnson pushed his Great Society to the forefront, which included a commitment to expanding civil rights and health care. Symington supported all of Johnson's Great Society measures relating to civil rights, including the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and Medicare and Medicaid. Initially he supported the war in Vietnam by casting a vote in favor of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, but after taking a trip to Vietnam in September 1967, he drafted "A Proposal Looking toward Peace in Vietnam" that called for a cease-fire and a negotiated peace. His proposal resulted in a break with President Johnson and strained his relationship with his former boss, Harry Truman, who never made a strong outspoken statement against US involvement in Vietnam.[43]

In 1969 Senator J. William Fulbright, who chaired the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, appointed Symington to chair the Subcommittee on US Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad. The subcommittee did not examine America's role in Vietnam; however, it did explore

about numerous arrests for reckless and dangerous driving, which were never proven, but the damage was done. George McGovern asked Eagleton to resign from the ticket, and he did.[48]

Eagleton continued his work in the Senate, where he played an important role in supporting the War Powers Act of 1973, and he faced his first reelection campaign in 1974. Missouri voters were not concerned about the revelations about his mental health, and so the November election featured a rematch between Eagleton and his Republican challenger, Thomas Curtis, who he defeated by more than 354,000 votes. His biographer noted that in the next ten years he served, his Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) ranking from 1975 to 1979 "ranged from 72 percent to 50 percent," which indicated that the "country had become more conservative." In 1978, as chair of the Senate Subcommittee on Aging he wrote the Older Americans Act, which among other programs, resulted in the creation of the Meals on Wheels program. Despite this national and Missouri trend toward conservatism, Missourians reelected Eagleton again in 1980 in the Republican wave that brought Ronald Reagan to power and ushered in Republican control of the Senate for the first time since 1954.[49]

Not surprisingly, Harry Truman, who had died in December 1972, made a brief appearance in Eagleton's 1980 reelection campaign. Eagleton's Republican opponent, Gene McNary, asserted in the campaign that if Truman were alive today, he would be a Republican. Senator Eagleton asked Harry Truman's daughter, Margaret Truman Daniel, to answer McNary's charge. She told McNary: "Senator Eagleton, [*sic*] is the kind of peoples' Democrat that Harry Truman would have been eager to endorse. Thus, I am afraid that you cannot have the Truman endorsement for the Republican party in 1980."[50]

Eagleton spent his last Senate term opposing President Reagan's supply-side theory of economics, which created budget deficits and resulted in cuts to existing social welfare programs. His ADA voting record in his last term increased to 80 to 90 percent over his previous term of 50 to 72 percent. In 1982 he drafted the "Confession of an Unreconstructed Roosevelt New Dealer," in which he stated: "I am an unreconstructed Roosevelt New Dealer and proud of it."[51]

This chapter examined the senatorial careers of Thomas Hennings Jr., Edward V. Long, Stuart Symington, and Thomas Eagleton within the context of the New Deal liberalism of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and the transition to the Cold War liberalism that developed under Truman and subsequent presidents. These senators supported the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964, and 1968 as well as the Voting Rights Act of 1965.[52] While Senators Hennings and Long were concerned about the threat to

and international peace. His biographer observed: "During his first term he had been recognized as a superhawk; in his last he was a leading Senate dove."[45] But Symington was not the only Missouri senator who expressed concern about America's involvement in Vietnam.

In 1968 newly elected Thomas F. Eagleton joined Symington in the Senate. Like Hennings and Symington, Eagleton was from the St. Louis area; unlike them, he had served in two Missouri state offices: as attorney general from 1960 to 1964, and as lieutenant governor from 1965 to 1968. Eagleton announced that he would be a candidate for the US Senate on September 11, 1967, and a few days after the announcement he publicly stated that the United States should halt its bombing campaign of North Vietnam. A week later, Senator Symington gave Eagleton some cover when he too questioned the US role in Vietnam. Eagleton's Democratic primary challengers, incumbent Edward V. Long and True Davis, had been indifferent about America's role in Vietnam. In the fall he faced Republican challenger Thomas B. Curtis and defeated him by a narrow margin of 51 percent over Curtis's 49 percent. Nationally, Richard Nixon became president, and for the first time since 1928, except for the 1952 and 1956 Eisenhower victories in Missouri, a Republican won the state—by a mere 20,488 votes over Democratic presidential challenger Hubert Humphrey.[46]

Senator Eagleton arrived in Washington as a member of the Democratic Party's liberal wing. He served on the District of Columbia Committee and on the Public Works Committee, where he was vice-chair of the Environmental Subcommittee. His biographer, James Giglio, noted that he "played a key role in the implementation of the National Environmental Policy Act" and drafted the 1970 Clean Air Act amendments, which strengthened the 1967 Clean Air Act, followed by the Clean Water Act in 1972. In the area of civil rights, he opposed the Nixon administration's attempt to weaken the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and voted to approve a strengthened extension of the law. He supported labor and Missouri agriculture by advocating for federal subsidies for cotton producers.[47]

Like his senior colleague from Missouri, Stuart Symington, Eagleton focused much of his time on foreign policy and defense issues, which included opposition to the Vietnam War and Nixon's handling of that war. Eagleton's outspokenness caught the attention of many, and in 1972 he made the short list to become George McGovern's running mate, and McGovern selected him. Tom Eagleton's mental health became the subject of intense scrutiny, and he participated in a press conference where he revealed hospitalizations for exhaustion and depression and that he had participated in electric shock therapy. Then stories emerged in the press

of being in rural America is understanding that relationships really do matter."[54] Despite Shivers's call to build relationships, in November 2022 the urban-rural divide was on full display as conservative Republican Eric Schmitt defeated Democratic candidate Trudy Busch Valentine by 13 percentage points, and in Missouri counties with a population of under 50,000 people, Schmitt held Valentine to around 20 percent or under.[55]

NOTES

1. For more on the New Deal and its legacy, see William E. Leuchtenburg, *The FDR Years: On Roosevelt and His Legacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

2. Matthew C. Sherman, "'The Most Serious Senator': A Reconsideration of Forrest C. Donnell of Missouri and the North Atlantic Treaty," *Missouri Historical Review* 101, no. 2 (January 2007): 78–98.

3. For more on Truman's ties to the Pendergast machine, see Lyle Dorsett, *The Pendergast Machine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); Robert H. Ferrell, *Truman and Pendergast* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999); Lawrence H. Larsen and Nancy J. Hulston, *Pendergast!* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997).

4. For Harry Truman and the 1940 Senate election and the presidential election of 1944, see Jon E. Taylor, *Freedom to Serve: Truman, Civil Rights, and Executive Order 9981* (New York: Routledge, 2013). For more on the Democratic expansion into the border states and the South, see William E. Leuchtenburg, *The White House Looks South: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Lyndon B. Johnson* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

5. See Brian Burnes, "New Film Documents Legendary KC Ballot Theft Case," November 19, 2021, https://flatlandkc.org/arts-culture/new-film-documents-legendary-kc-ballot-theft-case/.

6. Thomas F. Soapes, "Republican Leadership and the New Deal Coalition: Missouri Republican Politics, 1937–1952" (PhD diss., University of Missouri, Columbia, 1973), 117–119.

7. Alonzo Hamby, *Man of the People: A Life of Harry S. Truman* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 384; Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 105.

8. Alonzo Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 120–145.

9. For Truman's civil rights record and the integration of the military, see Taylor, *Freedom to Serve*; William C. Berman, *The Politics of Civil Rights in the Truman Administration* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1970); Richard M. Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939–1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969); Raymond H. Geselbracht, ed., *The Civil Rights Legacy of Harry S. Truman* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2007); Michael R. Gardner, *Harry S. Truman and Civil Rights: Moral Courage and Political Risks* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 2002); Carol Anderson, *Eyes off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1955* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

civil liberties posed by internal security programs, they were willing to tolerate some anticommunist measures. Senator Symington, who initially embraced US involvement in Vietnam as part of his Cold War liberalism, became disillusioned with Harry Truman's Cold War liberalism that included the containment policy, which led to US involvement in Vietnam. Senator Eagleton joined Senator Symington in this transition away from supporting Cold War liberalism when Eagleton clearly identified with the New Deal liberalism of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and not Harry Truman's Cold War liberalism when he ran for reelection in 1980.[53]

The election of Missouri senators Jack Danforth in 1976 and Kit Bond in 1986 signaled the end of a successive line of Democratic senators that followed in the shadow of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. Initially Harry Truman had a difficult time supporting Democratic Senate candidates like Hennings and Symington because they were essentially Democratic newcomers and they did not have a strong connection to Missouri's machine politics, but Missouri voters taught Truman a bitter lesson by rejecting the old machine-affiliated candidates when they supported Senators Hennings, Long, Symington, and Eagleton.

Missouri Republican Senators Danforth and Bond, who took the place of Symington and Eagleton respectively, were seen as moderates, as were Democratic Senators Mel and Jean Carnahan and Claire McCaskill, who came after them. What had changed in Missouri after Senator Eagleton left office in 1987? Missouri senatorial politics from 1950 to 1987 revolved around local politics, and Missouri voters supported candidates that worked for their urban and rural interests. Harry Truman's Senate campaigns of 1934 and especially 1940 reflected this, as Truman campaigned across the state in urban and rural areas—those folks mattered to him and he knew he was accountable to them. Even though Senator Symington was not a native Missourian, he worked hard to cultivate relationships with urban and rural Missourians, as had Eagleton. Local politics mattered to Missouri voters, but in the period after 1987 local politics became nationalized as the Republican Party made cultural and economic issues central to their campaigns, and the Democratic Party and the candidates who once dominated the state began to focus their campaigns more narrowly on specific issues and on specific areas and constituencies within the state. In the areas that Democrats ceded to Republicans, personal relationships were replaced with Missourians establishing relationships with national conservative media outlets like Fox News. Jeff Roe, Republican strategist, recently mentioned this trend, but 2022 Missouri state Democratic Senate candidate Ayanna Shivers noted that one of the antidotes to this is to focus on the importance of building relationships. She said: "Part

10. On the internal security program, see Eleanor Bontecou, *The Federal Loyalty-Security Program* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1953); Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Jonathan Bell, *The Liberal State on Trial: The Cold War and American Politics in the Truman Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

11. For Donnell's isolationism, see Sherman, "The Most Serious Senator." For Kem's isolationism, see James C. Olson, *Stuart Symington: A Life* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 232.

12. For more on Cold War civil rights, see Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011). For more on anticommunism and Cold War liberalism, see Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Vital Center* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949); Alonzo L. Hamby, *Liberalism and Its Challengers: From F.D.R. to Bush*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); H. W. Brands, *The Strange Death of American Liberalism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001); Jennifer A. Delton, *Rethinking the 1950s: How Anticommunism and the Cold War Made America Liberal* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

13. John Kyle Day, "Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr. of Missouri: Political Champion of the Black Freedom Struggle," *Missouri Historical Review* 114, no. 3 (April 2020): 188–189.

14. "Records of Circuit Attorney," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 3, 1940.

15. For quote, see Harry S. Truman to Harry Easley, June 26, 1950, President's Secretary's Files, Missouri: Harry Easley Folder, Harry S. Truman Library.

16. See Donald J. Kemper, *Decade of Fear: Senator Hennings and Civil Liberties* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965) 11–19.

17. Quoted in "Hennings 'Welcomes' Truman's Indorsement," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 3, 1950.

18. Harry Truman, November 4, 1950, speech, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-kiel-auditorium-st-louis.

19. For Truman's loyalty program, see Kemper, *Decade of Fear*, 78–79. Also see Eleanor Bontecou, *The Federal Loyalty-Security Program* (Ithaca: NY: Cornell University Press, 1953). For quote, see Harry S. Truman to Dr. W. L. Brandon, January 22, 1952, President's Secretary's Files, Dwight D. Eisenhower Folder, Harry S. Truman Library.

20. Kemper, *Decade of Fear*, 100.

21. See *Congressional Record*, Proceedings and Debates of the 85th Congress, First Session, Vol. 103, Part I, 347–349.

22. For biographical information, see "Hennings Is Dead; Missouri Senator," *New York Times*, September 14, 1960; on Hennings's participation in the Civil Rights Caucus and as a member of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee, see John Kyle Day, *Southern Manifesto: Massive Resistance and the Fight to Preserve Segregation* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2014), 38–41. Also see Kemper, *Decade of Fear*.

23. For quote, see Kemper, *Decade of Fear*, 72. For a different view of the impact of the Hennings report, see Thomas C. Reeves, *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy: A Biography* (New York: Stein & Day, 1982), 411–416.

24. See Michael E. Meagher, "Edward V. Long," in Lawrence O. Christensen,

William E. Foley, Gary R. Kramer, and Kenneth H. Winn, eds. *Dictionary of Missouri Biography* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 498–500.

25. Meagher, "Edward V. Long," 499.

26. Meagher, "Edward V. Long," 499–500.

27. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 194–231.

28. For the Symington letter and "File it," see Stuart Symington to Harry Truman, March 11, 1952, President's Secretary's Files, Stuart Symington Folder, Harry S. Truman Library. For the first quote, see Harry Truman to Dr. W. L. Brandon, February 11, 1952, and Harry Truman to Dr. W. L. Brandon, May 9, 1952, President's Secretary's Files, Truman Library.

29. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 244–245.

30. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 232.

31. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 248.

32. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 253–254.

33. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 276.

34. Harry Truman to Symington, June 14, 1954, in Stuart Symington [1 of 4] Folder, Box 116, Post Presidential Papers, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum.

35. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 297–304.

36. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 309–310.

37. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 323–324.

38. Handwritten speech by Harry S. Truman dated August 15, 1956, in Adlai E. Stevenson [1 of 2] Folder, President's Post Presidential Papers, Box 116, Harry S Truman Library.

39. Quoted in Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 318.

40. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 326–337.

41. For defense, see Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 326–337; for civil rights votes, see https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes/85-1957/s105; for agriculture, see Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 338–347.

42. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 348–360. For quote, see 355.

43. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 377–391.

44. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 392–405.

45. Olson, *Stuart Symington*, 416.

46. See James N. Giglio, *Call Me Tom: The Life of Thomas F. Eagleton* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011) 62–82.

47. Giglio, *Call Me Tom*, 83–93.

48. Giglio, *Call Me Tom*, 105–133.

49. Giglio, *Call Me Tom*, 134–161.

50. Giglio, *Call Me Tom*, 173.

51. Giglio, *Call Me Tom*, 181.

52. For the data on the votes, see https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes/.

53. For more on liberalism in the 1970s and beyond, see Bruce Schulman and Julian E. Zelizer, eds., *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Amanda L. Izzo and Benjamin Looker, eds., *Left in the Midwest: St. Louis Progressive Activism in the 1960s and 1970s* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2022); Nicholas F. Jacobs and Sidney M. Milkis, *What Happened to the Vital Center: Presidentialism, Populist Revolt, and the Fracturing of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022).

54. "Democrats Once Controlled Northern Missouri Then Local Politics Went National," St. Louis Public Radio, October 27, 2022, https://news.stlpublicradio.org/government-politics-issues/2022-10-27/democrats-once-controlled-northeast-missouri-then-local-politics-went-national.

55. Jason Hancock, "Five Takeaways from Missouri Election Night 2022," *Missouri Independent*, November 9, 2022, https://missouriindependent.com/2022/11/09/five-takeaways-from-missouri-election-night-2022/; Jason Rosenbaum, Sarah Kellogg, and Rachel Lippmann, "9 Takeaways from Missouri's Election that Produced Wins for Both Parties," St. Louis Public Radio, November 9, 2022, https://news.stlpublicradio.org/government-politics-issues/2022-11-09/9-takeaways-from-missouris-election-that-produced-wins-for-both-parties.