August 2, 1973

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Paul H. (Tony) Holmes entitled "The American Party in Tennessee--1968-1971: A History of Its Development and A Portrait of Its Leadership." I recommend that it be accepted for nine quarter hours of credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in College Teaching, with a major in Political Science.

Lee S. Greene
Major Professor

We have read this thesis and
recommend its acceptance:

Arnold A. Elliott

David H. Stephenson Jr

Accepted for the Council:

Hilton A. Smith
Vice Chancellor for
Graduate Studies and Research

THE AMERICAN PARTY IN TENNESSEE--1968-1971: A HISTORY OF ITS DEVELOPMENT AND A PORTRAIT OF ITS LEADERSHIP

A Thesis

Presented to

the Graduate Council of

The University of Tennessee

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts in College Teaching

---

by

Paul H. (Tony) Holmes

December 1973

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Special appreciation is extended to my wife who has shared our home with this thesis for more than three of our eight years of marriage. Thank you, Bonnie, for your grace, tolerance, and encouragement. Perhaps now we can spend more time in the garden and rafting, and, of course, eating pizza.

Special appreciation is also extended to my professors in The University of Tennessee Department of Political Science and the "old" School of Journalism, now the College of Communications.

Finally, I would be the dullard that I always thought they suspected I was if special gratitude and appreciation were not expressed to professors Lee S. Greene and W. C. Tucker. As their colleagues at The University of Tennessee and across the South and the nation have known for a long time, these two distinguished professors combine the sternest and most direct academic criticism with sincere concern for the welfare and education of their students. I have been fortunate in receiving their professional concern and guidance, their teachings, and their aid in finding numerous part-time jobs and teaching assistantships that were so necessary in financing my years at the University. I express my gratitude to these accomplished academicians and writers.

1117396

ABSTRACT

More than four out of every ten Tennesseans (44 percent) who went to the polls in the 1968 presidential election cast their lots with a dark horse, third party candidate. Alabama Governor George C. Wallace, running on the American Party ticket, finished a strong second in the statewide polling, receiving 425,237 votes. The winner in Tennessee, Republican Richard Nixon, received 474,086 votes, defeating Wallace by a margin of 48,848 votes. Democratic candidate Hubert H. Humphrey, running for the Presidency while serving as Vice President, finished last in the polling, receiving 352,834 votes.

Nationally, Governor Wallace received more than 13 percent of the popular vote. Not since the 1924 candidacy of Robert M. LaFollette had a third party candidate received a higher percent of the popular votes cast. Running on the Progressive party ticket, LaFollette captured more than 16 percent of the popular vote. LaFollettte did not receive as many electoral college votes, however, as Wallace: 13 compared to 45. One has to backstep into history more than a half a century to the 1912 election in which former President Theodore Roosevelt garnered 88 electoral votes on his Progressive ("Bull Moose") ticket to find a third party candidate who received more votes in the electoral college than did George Wallace.

Several works have been written about Governor Wallace. Very little has been written about the American party which he represented in 1968. The literature is particularly sparse concerning the party's activities

and followers in Tennessee, both in 1968 and since. The little that has been written in these areas has appeared in somewhat unrelated and abbreviated form in newspapers and magazines.

One of the major purposes of this study was to obtain as much information about the Tennessee branch of the party and its leadership as possible through the utilization of at-length personal interviews, telephone calls, and statewide distribution of a six-page questionnaire especially prepared for American party officers in the state.

The performance by Governor Wallace and his supporters leads to much speculation and to many questions concerning Tennessee politics and the voters of the Volunteer State. For example: Who were the people who voted for Wallace? Were they Democrats, or were they Republicans? To what degree, if any, were Wallacites organized in 1968? How organized was the party during the 1970 elections? Why did the party's candidates fair so poorly in the 1970 Tennessee elections? Are Wallace's supporters now organized across Tennessee? Is the Wallace movement a continuation of a pattern of southern sectionalism in the views of the party's leaders? Why did voters bolt from the parties of their parents and vote for a third party candidate in 1968? What did the people who voted for Wallace hope to achieve? What were their political goals? Is the Wallace movement of 1968 sui generis, or may parallels and comparisons be noted between the southern-based movement and previous third party movements in this country? Who are the leaders of the party in Tennessee and what are their beliefs?

The purpose of this study was to examine some of these questions through contact with the party's leadership such as the party's state chairman and other statewide party officials, state executive committee members, county chairmen, and influential members in the campaigns and elections of 1968 and 1970. Questionnaires were sent to the 90 top ranking and most active party leaders in Tennessee, all of whom classified themselves as members of the American party. The essential point of differentiation between "members" and "nonmembers" that this phraseology assumes was a personally announced and confirmed self-identification with the party and its goals. All persons who returned the questionnaires, 53.4 percent of the total sample, confirmed party membership and actually held office when contacted or had done so recently.

American party leaders participating in this study were from a wide variety of backgrounds. They shared a common bond of party leadership but they were conspicuously unalike in many other important respects. Disregarding the party bond, the trait that emerged as even perhaps more overriding and common was a pronounced sense of independence. As noted in Chapter V, a large number of the respondents are political and social mavericks--or, as they would prefer to be called, "political independents." Consequently, the statistical profile, or "average" party leader's profile presented in Chapter V, although a composite of 24 separate social and political characteristics, should be viewed as "average" only in a statistical sense.

Insofar as strictly statewide elections are concerned, the phrase "American Independent Party" contains the two mutually exclusive words

"independent" and "party." One of the major findings of this work, and one that is fundamental to many of the other findings, is that Tennessee American party members are too independent to overlook divisive differences, personal preferences, and points of view to form an effective political party in statewide elections. Compromise being a critical cohesive substance of American political parties, the continued reverence for independent action could lead to the disappearance of the American party in the state.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	TENNESSEE: POLITICS, PARTIES, PATTERNS, AND PERSONALITIES PRIOR TO THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN PARTY	14
	Introduction	14
	The Traditional Old South: Regionalism, Sectionalism, and a Desire for Independence	28
	Race and "The Place of the Negro" in Tennessee Politics	34
	Personalities and Machine Politics in the Twentieth Century	39
	Democrats and Republicans: 1930's-1970's	45
III.	THE AMERICAN PARTY IN TENNESSEE: A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, 1964-1971	56
	Introduction	56
	The First Presidential Primaries: Wisconsin, Indiana, and Maryland	61
	The 1968 Knoxville Convention: American Party Formed in Tennessee	64
	1969: Death or Survival?	78
	Dallas: February 3, 1969	79
	The Davis Campaign in Tennessee: February-March, 1969	80

CHAPTER PAGE

The Louisville Meeting: February 22-23, 1969 84

Tennessee: The March, 1969, Meeting 88

American Party Formed in Cincinnati, Ohio, May, 1969 89

March-October, 1969: Plans for A Tennessee Convention 92

October 24-25, 1969: The Nashville Convention 101

1970: Party Attempts To Be An Influence in State Elections 107

June 11, 1970: Four Top Party Officers Voted Out of Office 111

IV. AMERICAN PARTY CANDIDATES DURING THE STATEWIDE ELECTIONS OF 1970 125

Introduction 125

1970 Elections Mark A First in the History of the Tennessee American Party 132

Candidate Douglas Lylburn Heinsohn and His Campaign for the Tennessee Governorship 141

Gubernatorial Candidate Doug Heinsohn, His Father, A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., and Conservative Causes 152

Dr. Cecil Edwin Pitard and His Campaign for the United States Senate 156

Platforms of Gubernatorial and Senatorial American Party Candidates During the 1970 Elections 166

CHAPTER PAGE

Current politicians and political parties 168

Size and scope of the federal government 171

Role of the federal government in public welfare programs 176

Federal income tax and additional taxes 177

Public schools, busing, and prayer 180

Law and order, student unrest, and federal gun controls 184

American foreign policy: Viet Nam and communism . . 189

Spiritual and moral crisis facing America today . . . 194

V. PROFILE OF AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS IN TENNESSEE 198

Sex 202

Marital Status 204

States of Birth 206

Number of Years Lived in Tennessee 208

Age 208

Approximate Population of Town or City in Which Respondents Grew Up or Attended High School 210

Educational Background 213

Military Service Background 215

Year Joined the American Party 217

Party Affiliation Prior to Joining the American Party 220

Party Identification of Fathers 220

CHAPTER PAGE

Member(s) of Immediate Family (Spouse and Children) Belonging to the American Party 224

Responses to the Question "Speaking Only of Your County, What Party (Democratic or Republican) Do You Think is Most 'Hurt' by the Presence of the American Party?" 226

Responses to the Question "What Party (Democratic or Republican) in Tennessee Do You Think is Most 'Hurt' by the Presence of the American Party?" 228

Political Heroes of American Party Leaders 230

Presidents Most Admired by American Party Leaders . . . 238

Personal Relationships of American Party Leaders in Tennessee to George Wallace of Alabama 243

American Party Leaders' Memberships in Clubs and Organizations 245

Familiarity of Tennessee American Party Leaders With Their Candidates for Governor and Senator During the Elections of 1970 248

Leaders Rate Party's Chances of Capturing 1970 Senate Seat 252

Leaders Rate Party's Chances of Capturing 1970 Governorship 255

American Party Leaders Rate Senatorial Candidates . . . 259

CHAPTER PAGE

American Party Leaders Rate Gubernatorial Candidates 268

BIBLIOGRAPHY 272

APPENDIXES 298

A. STATEMENT OF METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES CONCERNING THE USE OF THE MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE 299

B. AMERICAN PARTY QUESTIONNAIRE 322

C. CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN PARTY OF TENNESSEE 328

D. AMERICAN PARTY STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES 337

E. PRINCIPLES OF THE AMERICAN PARTY OF TENNESSEE 342

F. THE COMPOSURE OF THE GRAND DIVISIONS OF TENNESSEE 344

G. CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS OF THE AMERICAN PARTY, KNOX COUNTY 346

VITA 347

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
I.	Voter Returns in the 1970 Gubernatorial Election by Party, Candidate, and Percentage of Popular Votes Received	129
II.	Voter Returns in the 1970 Senatorial Election by Party, Candidate, and Percentage of Popular Votes Received	130
III.	Distribution of Popular Vote in 1970 Gubernatorial Election by Candidate and Congressional District	137
IV.	Distribution of Popular Vote in 1970 Senatorial Election by Candidate and Congressional District	138
V.	States of Birth of Leaders of the American Party in Tennessee	207
VI.	Responses by American Party Leaders to the Question "How Many (Total) Years Have You Lived in Tennessee?"	209
VII.	Ages of American Party Leaders	211
VIII.	Responses by American Party Leaders to the Question "What is the Approximate Population of the City, Town, or Community in Which You Grew Up and/or Attended School?"	212
IX.	Educational Background of American Party Leaders	214

TABLE PAGE

X. Responses by American Party Leaders to the Question "Speaking Only of Your County, What Party (Democratic) or Republican) do You Think is Most 'Hurt' by the Presence of the American Party?" 227

XI. Responses by American Party Leaders to the Question "What Party (Democratic or Republican) in Tennessee do You Think is Most 'Hurt' by the Presence of the American Party?" 229

XII. Responses by American Party Leaders to the Question "Whom do You Feel is the Greatest Living Politician or Political Figure Alive in America Today?" 232

XIII. American Party Leaders' Responses to the Question "Which President in America's History do You Most Admire?" . . 239

XIV. Responses by American Party Leaders to the Question "Have You Ever Personally Met Former Alabama Governor George Wallace?" 244

XV. Responses by American Party Leaders to the Question "What Clubs or Organizations do You Belong to?" 246

XVI. Responses by American Party Leaders to the Questions "Have You Ever Met Dr. Cecil Pitard, American Party Candidate for the U.S. Senate? If so, How Many Times?" 249

TABLE PAGE

XVII. Responses by American Party Leaders to the Questions "Have You Ever Met Douglas L. Heinsohn, American Party Candidate for Governor? If so, How Many Times?" 251

XVIII. Responses by American Party Leaders to the Question "What Chance Do You Think Your Party Has to Capture the Contested U.S. Senate Seat in the Upcoming November Elections?" 253

XIX. Responses by American Party Leaders to the Question "What Chance Do You Think Your Party Has to Capture the Governorship of Tennessee in the Upcoming November Elections?" 254

XX. Rating of Democratic and Republican Party Candidates by American Party Leaders 269

XXI. Questionnaire Response Rate 313

XXII. The Counties in Each of the Three Grand Divisions in Tennessee 344

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
1.	Breakdown of the Wallace Vote by Counties	74
2.	Breakdown of the Counties That Voted for Wallace in 1968 in Terms of Party Competition in Presidential Elections	77
3.	Questionnaire Respondents by Percentage and Sex	203
4.	Marital Status of Respondents by Percentages	205
5.	Percentage Responses to the Question "Have You Ever Served in the Active Armed Services of the United States?"	216
6.	Percentage Responses to the Question "When (Approximately) Did You Join the American Party?"	218
7.	Percentage Responses to the Question "What Political Party, if Any, Did You Belong to Prior to Joining the American Party?"	221
8.	Percentage Responses to the Question "To What Political Party Did Your Father Belong?"	222
9.	Percentage Responses to the Question "How Many Members of Your Immediate Family (Spouse and Children) Consider Themselves to be Members of the American Party?"	225
10.	A Comparison of the Johnson and Goldwater Vote in Tennessee During the 1964 Presidential Election	235

FIGURE PAGE

11. Voter Support for Senator Strom Thurmond, Dixiecratic Candidate, in the 1948 Presidential Election 237

12. Percentage Responses to the Question "If You Could Not Vote for Pitard in the Upcoming November Election, Who Would You LIke to See Win the Race for U.S. Senator?" . . 261

13. Percentage Responses to the Question "If You Could Not Vote for Heinsohn in the Upcoming November Election, Who Would You Like to See Win in the Race for Governor?" . . . 264

14. Brock-Gore Vote Contrasted in the 1970 Senatorial Election 267

15. Categorization of Participating and Nonparticipating Counties 315

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The formation of a third party has been aptly described as a "quixotic tactic"[1] in American politics. Numerous practical arguments may be made against such political behavior. To begin with, the odds against winning elections in the name of the party are great. The rewards and spoils are few. The romantic and sometimes visionary aura which so frequently provides the driving force and intensity identified with third party movements wanes and dies in the face of continuing, and frequently certain, defeats at the polls.

Additional factors within the political system further deter the growth and success of third parties, including the massive increasing

[1]V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964), p. 281. A pronounced tone of agreement pervades third party literature. See Howard P. Nash, Jr., Third Parties in American Politics (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959); William B. Hesseltine, The Rise and Fall of Third Parties: From Anti-Masonry to [Henry A.] Wallace (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948); William B. Hesseltine, Third-Party Movements in the United States (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1962); Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Knopf, 1955); M. S. Stedman, Jr., and S. W. Stedman, Discontent at the Polls (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950); John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1961); Hugh A. Bone, American Politics and the Party System (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1965); K. M. Schmidt, Henry A. Wallace: Quixotic Crusade 1948 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1960); David A. Shannon, The Socialist Party of America (New York: McMillan, 1955); Thomas H. Greer, American Social Reform Movements (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1949).

costs associated with modern campaigns and elections at both the state and national level, the practice of single-member plurality election of congressmen, and the difficulties encountered in obtaining sufficient political leadership and talent. Third parties frequently have difficulty in recruiting the workers necessary to stage massive campaigns. Effective organization on a large scale may meet with failure in the midst of internecine strife and political and personal secretarianism within the party ranks.[2]

Because of a combination of some, or perhaps all, of the above factors America is a country with a strong two-party tradition.[3] Approximately three-fourths of the American voters identify with one of the major parties.[4] In addition, American voters exhibit a pronounced tendency to follow and carry on previous family party affiliations. Approximately three-fourths of the voters identify with the party of their parents.[5]

Although Americans have traditionally distrusted any third party that has shown signs of gaining popularity and power,[6] literally hundreds

[2]Bone, op. cit., p. 130ff.

[3]Hesseltine, Third Party Movements in the United States, op. cit., p. 8.

[4]Fred I. Greenstein, The American Party System and the American People (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 31; Gerald Pomper, Elections in America (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1968), p. 71; Bone, op. cit., p. 489; C. Peter Magrath, Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., and Jay S. Goodman, The American Democracy (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969), p. 197.

[5]Key, op. cit., p. 214; Magrath, Cornwell, and Goodman, op. cit., p. 239.

[6]Henry Steele Commager, "What's the Use of Third Parties?" Senior Scholastic, LIII (October 27, 1948), p. 7.

of third parties have appeared in the nation's colorful political history. Few of the groups held national campaigns and competed for the presidency. Perhaps as few as a "bare half-dozen" have influenced national elections.[7]

Notwithstanding the difficulties and obstacles facing minor parties in the United States, such parties appear in virtually every presidential campaign.[8] Twice in approximately the past two decades third parties have carried various southern states in the contest for the nation's highest office. In 1948 the States' Rights Democratic Party (more commonly known as the "Dixiecrats"), under the leadership of the Democratic governor of South Carolina, J. Strom Thurmond, although unable to make impressive national gains, managed to win the vote in four states in the Deep South (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina). Soon after the 1948 election V. O. Key, Jr., wondered if perhaps the "Dixiecrat" movement did not constitute or symbolize "the dying gasp of the Old South."[9] Two decades later, however, under the leadership of still another Democratic governor, George C. Wallace of Alabama, the South made yet another "gasp," a greater and more intense effort than that of 1948, and once again a third party carried five southern states including three previously carried by the "Dixiecrats" (Louisiana, Mississippi,

[7]Hesseltine, Third Party Movements in the United States, op. cit., p. 3.

[8]Key, op. cit., pp. 254, 278.

[9]V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics (New York: Vintage Books, 1949), p. 671.

and Alabama), in addition to Arkansas and Georgia. The effort marked the "first noteworthy intrusion on a two-party system in twenty years."[10]

The movements of neither governors Thurmond nor Wallace captured the popular vote in Tennessee. Thurmond carried only two counties in all of Tennessee. In stark contrast, Wallace finished a strong second in 1968, receiving 425,237 votes. More than four of every ten voters (44 percent) who went to the polls cast their lots with Wallace. The winner in Tennessee, Republican Richard Nixon, received 474,086 votes, defeating Wallace by a margin of 48,849 votes. Democratic candidate Hubert H. Humphrey, running for the presidency while serving as Vice-President, finished last in the polling, receiving 352,834 votes.

The Wallace performance in Tennessee, surprising as it was to many, was somewhat disappointing to the candidate himself. Prior to the election he had voiced confidence that he would carry Tennessee in the November 5th election.[11]

Nationally, Wallace received more than 13 percent of the popular vote. Not since the 1924 candidacy of Robert M. LaFollette had a third party received a higher percent of the popular votes cast. Running on the Progressive party ticket, LaFollette captured more than 16 percent of the popular vote. LaFollette did not receive as many electoral college

[10]Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, Jerrold G. Rusk, and Arthur C. Wolfe, "Continuity and Change in American Politics: Parties and Issues in the 1968 Election," The American Political Science Review, LXIII (December, 1969), p. 1083.

[11]"The Wallace Phenomena," U.S. News & World Report, LXV (August 26, 1969), p. 31ff; "Wallace's Future: Again in '72?" U.S. News & World Report, LXV (November 18, 1968), p. 14.

votes, however, as Wallace: 13 compared to 45. One has to backstep into history more than half a century to the 1912 election in which President Theodore Roosevelt garnered 88 electoral votes on his Progressive ("Bull Moose") ticket to find a third party candidate who received more votes in the electoral college than did George Wallace.[12] To add a final word of perspective concerning the Wallace "success" of 1968, it could be noted that in the previous election of 1964 a field of six minor party candidates received less than .5 percent of the total popular vote.[13]

The performance by Wallace and his supporters leads to much speculation and to many questions concerning Tennessee politics and the voters of the Volunteer State. For example: Who were the people who voted for Wallace? Were they Democrats, or were they Republicans? To what degree, if any, were Wallacites organized in 1968? Are his supporters organized across Tennessee now? Is the Wallace movement a continuation of a pattern of southern sectionalism in the views of the party's leaders? * Why did voters bolt from the parties of their parents and vote for a third party candidate in 1968? What did the people who voted for Wallace hope to achieve? What were their political goals? Is the Wallace movement of 1968 sui generis, or may parallels and comparisons be noted between the southern-based movement and previous third party

[12]Converse, Miller, Rusk, and Wolfe, loc. cit.; "Wallace's Showing Vs. Other 'Third Men'," U.S. News & World Report, LXV (November 18, 1968), p. 15; "Third Parties in U.S. History," Senior Scholastic, XCII (September 27, 1968), p. 15.

[13]Magrath, Cornwell, and Goodman, op. cit., p. 231ff.

uprisings? Does the movement follow any pattern or theory of third party movements in this country? Who are the leaders of the party in Tennessee today? The purpose of this study is to examine some of these questions through contact with the party's leadership such as the party's state chairman and other statewide party officials, state executive committee members, county chairmen, and influential members in the campaigns and elections of 1968 and 1970.

State and local politics, including political parties, are the base of the American political system, although the national system and the national political parties are more often the focus of political observers.[14] To be sure, numerous works have been written concerning various aspects of Tennessee politics.[15] Yet in the midst of a rapidly

[14]William Goodman, Inherited Domain: Political Parties in Tennessee (Knoxville: The Bureau of Public Administration, The University of Tennessee, 1954), p. vii.

[15]Although numerous additional works could be cited, some of the more comprehensive studies include Lee S. Greene and Robert S. Avery, Government in Tennessee: Structure and Politics (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1966); Jack E. Holmes, Walter N. Lambert, and Nelson M. Robinson, The Structure of County Government in Tennessee (Knoxville: The Bureau of Public Administration, The University of Tennessee, 1966); for an excellent bibliography see William J. McCoy, "The Tennessee Political System: The Relationship of the Socioeconomic Environment to Political Processes and Policy Outputs" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, August, 1970); Goodman, loc. cit.; James Chester Coomer, Jr., "The Growth and Development of the Republican Party in Tennessee: 1948-1966" (unpublished Master's thesis, Georgia State College, Atlanta, 1968); Leonard G. Ritt, "Presidential Voting Patterns in Appalachia: An Analysis of the Relationship Between Turnout, Partisan Change, and Selected Socioeconomic Variables" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, December, 1967); William Buchanan and Agnes Bird, Money as a Campaign Resource (Princeton: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1966); Michael J. Diamond, "The Negro and Organized Labor as Voting Blocs in Tennessee, 1960-1964" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, December, 1965); Caleb Perry

growing body of literature pertaining to state politics, the subarea concerning third party efforts in Tennessee has been little explored.[16] Although several works have been written about George Wallace,[17] very little has been written about the American party which he represented in 1968. The literature is particularly sparse concerning the party's activities and followers in Tennessee. The little that has been written in these areas has appeared in somewhat unrelated and abbreviated form in newspapers and magazines. The purpose of this study, therefore, will be to obtain as much information about the Tennessee branch of the party and its leadership as possible through the utilization of at-length personal interviews, telephone calls, and statewide distribution of a

Patterson, The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865 (New York: Negro Universities Press, Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1968); Mingo Scott, The Negro in Tennessee Politics and Governmental Affairs, 1865-1965: The Hundred Years Story (Nashville: Rich Printing Co., 1965); Jennings Perry, Democracy Begins at Home: The Tennessee Fight on the Poll Tax (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott Company, 1944); Stanley J. Folmsbee and Robert E. Corlew, History of Tennessee, Vols. I and II (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1960); Norman L. Parks, "Tennessee Politics Since Kefauver and Reece: A 'Generalist' View," Journal of Politics, XXVIII (February, 1966), pp. 144-168.

[16] McCoy, op. cit., p. 242. Since this study was begun three Vanderbilt scholars have begun analyzing and comparing Wallace support among rural and urban dwellers; see William M. Berenson, Robert D. Bond, and J. Leiper Freeman, "The Wallace Vote and Political Change in Tennessee," Journal of Politics, XXXIII (May, 1971), pp. 515-520.

[17] The quality of the works in this area varies greatly. One of the best is Marshall Frady, Wallace (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1968); Bill Jones, The Wallace Story (Northport, Alabama: American Southern Publishing Company, 1966); for a brief description of some of the policy positions taken by Governor Wallace see Hear Me Out (New York: Droke House Publisher, Inc., 1968. Distributed by Grosset and Dunlap, New York); George Wallace: A Rebel and His Cause (New York: Universal Publishing and Distributing Corp., 1968).

six-page questionnaire prepared especially for American party officers in the state.

The Wallace phenomenon merits study for several additional reasons. Although the Alabama governor did not win the presidential election, or even succeed in having the outcome of the election decided by the House of Representatives, his candidacy may be viewed as a success in other respects. The major political parties had legitimate cause to worry about the Wallace effort. His candidacy created the possibility that a deadlock would occur in the electoral college. Since 1968 major efforts of reforming the electoral college system have resulted.[18] The Wallace challenge to two-party government was so seriously viewed by the major parties that a proposal was especially designed in 1968 to insure that should the contest have to ultimately be decided in the House of Representatives only the Democratic or Republican party candidate would be found the winner. A bipartisan measure was proposed in Congress which called for both major parties to agree in advance of the election to support the presidential nominee receiving the most popular votes.[19] The major parties were faced with persuasive reasons for concern. In the face of all the obstacles facing third parties mentioned above Wallace organizers were active in every state.[20]

[18]Converse, Miller, Rusk, and Wolfe, loc. cit.

[19]"The Wallace Phenomena," op. cit., p. 32.

[20]"Win or Lose--What's Ahead for Wallace's Party," U.S. News & World Report, LXV (October 14, 1968), p. 40.

This study makes no attempt to describe the complete Wallace phenomenon throughout the nation, or even throughout the South and Deep South.[21] The intent of the thesis is to provide a description of the party and its structure in Tennessee as a third party. No attempt is made to study third parties in general.[22]

"Ultimately," writes Key, "the concern of the student of politics must center on the operation of the state apparatus in one way or another."[23] Consequently, researchers in the area of third and minor

[21]For an analysis of the Wallace phenomena in the 1968 election see Converse, Miller, Rusk, and Wolfe, op. cit., pp. 1083-1105; for works of a wider and more general scope pertaining to the South, southerners, and southern politics see W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Vintage Books, 1941); Alexander A. Heard, A Two-Party South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952); Key, Southern Politics, op. cit.; C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South: 1877-1913; Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (eds.), A History of the South, Vol. IX (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951); Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, "The Concept of Party Image and its Importance for the Southern Electorate," in M. Kent Jennings and L. Harmon Ziegler (eds.), The Electoral Process (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), pp. 139-174; Bernard Cosman, Five States for Goldwater: Continuity and Change in Southern Presidential Voting Patterns (University: University of Alabama Press, 1966); Allan P. Sindler (ed.), Change in the Contemporary South (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1963); Dewey W. Grantham, Jr. (ed.), The South and the Sectional Image: The Sectional Theme Since Reconstruction (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1967); Avery Leiserson (ed.), The American South in the 1960's (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1964); Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966); Harvey Zeidenstein, "The South Will Not Rise Again Through Direct Election of the President, Polsby and Wildavsky Notwithstanding," Journal of Politics, XXXI (August, 1969), pp. 808-811.

[22]Sources which offer excellent information in the area of third parties in the political life of the United States may be found in the first footnote.

[23]V. O. Key, Jr., "The Politically Relevant in Surveys," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Spring, 1960), pp. 54-61.

parties face certain difficulties in their work. As earlier noted, national politics has attracted the greatest amount of attention, and it is in the area of national politics that the greatest volume of data has been amassed for the researcher.

In observing party structure at the state and local level one also runs into an additional difficulty. As Greene and Avery have noted, the operations within the party structure in Tennessee present only a "half-visible government."[24] One of the purposes of this thesis will be to outline the American party structure and to make it more visible by tracing its organization and development during its formative years.

Whenever one studies politics at either the state or national level the subject of financing usually calls for some analysis and consideration. Surprising as it may appear, a strong case has been made that money does not win elections in Tennessee and is not the critical factor in elections. Buchanan and Bird concluded in 1966: "There is no correlation between amount spent and votes received, and there is a negative correlation between number of votes and cost per vote."[25] Consequently, one has to turn elsewhere, to other areas and motivations, and in some measure to history and tradition, in attempting to understand the Tennessee voter.

[24]Greene and Avery, op. cit., p. 66.

[25]Buchanan and Bird, op. cit., p. 86; for related research in this area see McCoy, op. cit.

The scope and limitations of the research should be made clear from the outset. Of the four categories of research--exploratory, descriptive, explanatory, and predictive[26]--this work would most accurately be described as exploratory and descriptive. One hesitates to say his work is exploratory for such admission may be viewed as saying one has created an end product that has in some quarters gained a reputation as being essentially worthless or negative. Nevertheless, the work must, in some measure, be so described in that the research is in an area in which little if anything has been written. The work is descriptive in that it attempts to answer the question, "What?" The work does not deal in more than a superficial fashion, with the possible exception of Chapter V, the final chapter, with "Why?" questions as would an explanatory study.[27] It is not suggested here that the study is either explanatory or predictive,[28] although it is certainly more closely related to explaining than predicting. Given the complex nature of the data with which they deal, few social science researchers undertake predictive studies. The perils are too numerous.[29] Prophesying social

[26]McCoy, op. cit., p. 20; Claire Selltiz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (revised edition; Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), Chapters III and IV; Robert T. Golembiewski, William A. Welsh, and William J. Crotty, A Methodological Primer for Political Scientists (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Company, 1969), p. 444.

[27]Ibid., p. 20ff; Eugene J. Meehan, The Theory and Method of Political Analysis (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1965), p. 89ff.

[28]For excellent distinctions in these terms see McCoy, op. cit., pp. 20-23; Claire Selltiz et al., loc. cit.; Golembiewski et al., loc. cit.

[29]McCoy, op. cit., p. 20.

truths or the unfolding events of the future, particularly political events, is a most hazardous undertaking.

Descriptive studies are often used as starting points for further research.[30] Hopefully, this study will be the starting point for a better understanding of the American party of Tennessee and its members and for further research in the area of third party politics in Tennessee. For example, the research design and the questionnaire and interview sample as well as the methodological procedures employed in this study[31] could be expanded in future research to include a wider and more comprehensive area than a single state and the leadership of more than a single political party. A comparative study could be conducted in the future by comparing the findings concerning American party leaders and their beliefs and attitudes as revealed in this study to the beliefs and attitudes of party leaders of other parties in other states.[32]

This study is primarily a single research case, although some effort has been made to note parallels and contrasts between the American

[30]Ibid., p. 21; Eugene J. Meehan, Contemporary Political Thought: A Critical Study (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1967), p. 10.

[31]A detailed description of the methodological procedures employed in this research, particularly concerning the use of the mail questionnaire, may be found in Appendix A.

[32]Examples of such studies include Gerald W. Johnson, Politics, Party Competition and the County Chairman in West Virginia (Knoxville: The Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, 1970); Gerald Pomper, "New Jersey County Chairmen," The Western Political Quarterly, XVIII (March, 1965), p. 196ff; Samuel C. Patterson, "Characteristics of Party Leaders," The Western Political Quarterly, XVI (June, 1963), pp. 332-352.

party and previous third party movements. A primary reason for designing the study in this fashion is to hopefully present a better understanding of the Tennessee voter. This is not to say an attempt has been made to trace a direct, genealogical-type link of continuity which connects the American party with former minority political movements or third parties of the past (such as the "Dixiecrat" revolt of 1948). At the same time a populistic tenor, emphasis, appeal, and ideology of the American party may be noted throughout the work, most notably in the last chapter. This direction in research was felt necessary for two reasons: first, one finds it difficult to read of the earlier Populists' movement of the turn of this century and to read about the American party of 1968 without becoming aware of strong and obvious similarities and parallels which may be drawn; secondly, although the American party will here be viewed as sui generis in some respects, throughout the work an assumption made some time ago by Key in his study of third party movements has been assumed in this work as well: "each minor-party episode should not be treated as an isolated event unconnected with what followed or preceded."[33] Therefore, in Chapter II the historical context of the Tennessee political scene prior to and including the period in which the American party began in 1968 and the political context in which the party operates today will be the focus of attention.

[33]Key, Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, p. 267.

CHAPTER II

TENNESSEE: POLITICS, PARTIES, PATTERNS, AND PERSONALITIES PRIOR TO THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN PARTY

I. INTRODUCTION

Tennessee is a border state. Traditionally, the state's political system has not always been attuned to and in harmony with the political systems, currents, and patterns of the Deep South states of Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana.[1] This fact frequently surprises outsiders, particularly since the strong presidential showing of Governor George Wallace in 1968. Tennessee's divided support of the Confederate cause has also been widely publicized.

Within the state numerous areas are exceptions to statewide generalizations, however, for the political system includes a disparate variety of subsystems, most notably the three Grand Divisions of East, Middle, and West Tennessee mentioned in the state's constitution.[2] Historically, these divisional lines have been noticeably real as well as cartographic in the political and social life of the state and they remain so today.

[1]V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics (New York: Vintage Books, 1949), pp. 58,81, 664-675; Lee S. Greene and Robert S. Avery, Government in Tennessee: Structure and Politics (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1966), p. 54.

[2]Article VI, Section 2.

For example, the Supreme Court of the state must be composed of five members, "of whom not more than two shall reside in any one of the grand divisions."[3] In addition, the high court meets in Knoxville, Nashville, and Jackson, representing respectively the East, Middle, and Western Grand Divisions.[4] Although the court may sit divided, it cannot sit "in different Grand Divisions at the same time."[5] Also in recognition of the Grand Division concept, whenever possible the general assembly draws legislative and Congressional district lines in ways to insure grouping together counties in the same Grand Division.[6]

The state is further subdivided into 95 counties. The average land area per county is approximately 440 miles.[7] According to the 1970 census, Tennessee had a population of 3,838,777 and ranked eighteenth among the states in population.[8] The state has 41,366 square miles and ranks thirty-fourth in land area.[9]

[3]Ibid.

[4]Greene and Avery, op. cit., p. 25.

[5]Article VI, Section 2.

[6]William Goodman, Inherited Domain: Political Parties in Tennessee (Knoxville: The Bureau of Public Administration, The University of Tennessee, 1954), p. 5; for a breakdown of Tennessee's 95 counties by Grand Divisions see Appendix F.

[7]Daniel R. Grant and H. C. Nixon, State and Local Government in America (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1968), p. 411.

[8]Ibid., p. 23.

[9]Luman H. Long (ed.), The 1971 World Almanac and Book of Facts (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1970), p. 457ff.

In socioeconomic terms the state's population is a varied mixture. Counties of low and high economic levels are found in all major regions.[10] While national studies show that high status and high turnout are positively related,[11] W. J. McCoy's recent study of Tennessee has indicated that "the obverse is clearly the finding. High status is related to low turnout, while low status is related to high turnout."[12] Another of McCoy's major findings was the conclusion that "the data on Tennessee fail to support the notion that political behavior in Tennessee is influenced very much by socioeconomic characteristics."[13]

Consequently, in attempting to explain Tennessee politics in general, and the role and political influence of the American party in specific, one must turn elsewhere, to cultural, personal, and historical influences, for possible information. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, will be to review briefly some of the more influential and notable party trends, historical patterns and consistencies, and political personalities within the state during the twentieth century.

[10]William J. McCoy, "The Tennessee Political System: The Relationship of the Socioeconomic Environment to Political Processes and Policy Outputs" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, August, 1970), p. 83.

[11]Lester Milbrath, Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics? (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 116.

[12]McCoy, op. cit., p. 206.

[13]Ibid., p. vi.

Tennessee appears to be one of the principal areas of the South in which political change is occurring.[14] Old patterns and party preferences are breaking down in several areas, resulting in the short run in a new statewide party alignment. This development may result in a new party alignment for many years to come. A trend of two-partyism of an increased intensity, for example, now seems to be developing in the former Democratic bastions of Shelby, Davidson, and Madison counties,[15] three of the state's most populated and politically influential counties. This development is quite a departure from the past, for party preferences in most counties have long been established. It is frequently noted that political party alignments have remained much the same during the twentieth century as they were about the time of the Civil War. These partisan alignments have remained sufficiently constant in geographical location to justify describing this facet of Tennessee politics an "Inherited Domain."[16] But today the inheritance of the past is becoming diluted and less predictable and powerful. The legacy now being formed for the future need not necessarily be that of the past.

The state's political history has been characterized by strong, overriding Republican sentiment in East Tennessee with support for the Democratic party coming from Middle and West Tennessee. In the two

[14]Alexander A. Heard, A Two-Party South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), p. 24; Malcolm Moos, Politics, Presidents, and Coattails (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), p. 62.

[15]McCoy, op. cit., p. 212.

[16]Goodman, loc. cit.

latter areas several counties have supported the Republican party, constituting a few "islands of Unionist loyalty."[17] For more than one hundred years these sectional divisions have been stronger than other potential lines of political cleavage.

> This sectional realignment in Tennessee [following the Civil War] obfuscated any relationship of class to partisan preference. The aggregate data covering this period indicated clearly that no matter whether a county was composed of big farmers, small farmers, commercial interests, or whatever; if it were located west of the Cumberland plateau, it was almost surely democratic, and if it were east of this line, it was Republican. And for all practical purposes partisan preferences in Tennessee remain the same today, although they may be in the process of eroding to some extent.[18]

In terms of traditional party competition Tennessee is not easily classified. Depending upon the categories devised for classifications, the state could be termed either a one-party or a modified one-party Democratic state,[19] but the classifications would be limited and, perhaps, even somewhat misleading and contrived since the governor and the state's two senators are now all Republicans. Since the Civil War the state has not been, as frequently heard in political discussions, a traditional one-party state in the mold of the Deep South. Some parts of the state have been Republican since the Civil War while other parts have been traditionally Democratic.[20] Although the Democrats have

[17] Ibid., p. 7.

[18] McCoy, op. cit., p. 207.

[19] Ibid., p. 222.

[20] This observation appears again and again in the literature concerning Tennessee political parties. See Greene and Avery, loc. cit.; McCoy, loc. cit.; Key, loc. cit.; Heard, loc. cit.; James Chester Coomer, Jr., "The Growth and Development of the Republican Party in Tennessee:

usually been strong enough to win a majority in state elections, in recent years there has been an erosion of the party's strength, particularly noticeable in 1966, 1968, and 1970.

In local elections Tennessee has been more a two-party than a one-party state. While Middle and West Tennessee are usually governed by Democrats on the local level, East Tennessee is almost always governed by Republicans.[21] Customarily, East Tennessee has two Congressional seats. Republicans conventionally rule in the East while Democrats rule in the Middle and Western Grand Divisions and control the governor's office.[22]

Coomer, in apparent reference to the Eisenhower presidential victories of 1952 and 1956, has made specific mention of this unusual behavior as it existed during the period of the 1950's:

> One of the many dichotomies of Tennessee politics was that in the traditional Democratic areas of the state the voters cast eighty per cent of their vote for the Republican presidential candidate and at the same time, or in the next "off-year" election cast two percent of their vote for the state Republican candidate.[23]

At the present time Tennessee is a three-party state, particularly in elections at the statewide and national level. To be sure there are still only two major parties, the Democratic and Republican, but the

1948-1966" (unpublished Master's thesis, Georgia State College, Atlanta, 1968).

[21]Key, op. cit., p. 75.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Coomer, op. cit., p. 97.

critical condition for classification as a multiparty system now exists: two or more parties compete for statewide and national offices with a fair chance to win.[24] In 1968 there was strong competition for the presidency by three parties. In the off-year statewide elections of 1970 competition was very keen between the two major parties, and the American party offered additional token opposition for the posts of governor and senator.

Democrats are clearly not as plentiful in the South as they once were. The one-party Democratic South, the old "Solid South," has been breaking down for five decades or more.[25] Voter preferences now vary from state to state and election to election.[26]

In 1962 Greene and Avery noted that although Tennessee was not a one-party state a general pattern had emerged which favored the Democratic party, excepting, as mentioned earlier, East Tennessee.[27] Until recently this Democratic edge has constituted a pattern in state politics.[28]

[24]Maurice Duverger, Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State, trans. Barbara and Robert North (London: Methven, 1954), pp. 206-280.

[25]Philip E. Converse, Aage R. Clausen, and Warren E. Miller, "Electoral Myth and Reality," American Political Science Review, LIX (June, 1965), pp. 321-336.

[26]Harvey Zeidenstein, "The South Will Not Rise Again Through Direct Election of the President, Polsby and Wildavsky Notwithstanding," Journal of Politics, XXXI (August, 1969), pp. 808-811.

[27]Greene and Avery, op. cit., p. 48.

[28]Goodman, op. cit., p. 30; see also "Historically Demo," The Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 25, 1970, p. G-4.

Until 1970 Tennesseans had not elected a Republican governor since 1920. Only two governors in the twentieth century have been Republicans. (The first was Ben W. Hooper, elected in 1910; the second was Alfred A. Taylor, elected in 1920.) When Winfield Dunn was inaugurated in 1971 he was the first Republican governor in half a century of Tennessee politics.

Senator Howard Baker, elected to the United States Senate in 1966, was the first Tennessee Republican to sit in that body since Reconstruction.[29] Until recently Democrats, supported largely by agricultural interests,[30] were elected over Republicans in the general statewide elections "as a matter of course."[31]

As mentioned briefly earlier, it has not been unusual to find a Republican county in a predominantly Democratic section of the state (e.g., Carroll and Henderson Counties in West Tennessee) or to find a Democratic county in a predominantly Republican section of the state (e.g., Anderson County in East Tennessee). The pattern is easier to comprehend with an understanding of the traditional role of county governments within the larger scheme of Tennessee politics. Within the state, county governments serve as the political centers of governmental activity for many Tennesseans. It is not unusual for a citizen

[29]"Historically Demo," loc. cit.

[30]William E. Cole and Ruby Sparkman Johnson, The Tennessee Citizen (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1960), p. 167.

[31]Ibid., p. 169.

to identify himself as being a native of, say, Marshall County rather than identify himself as being from the town of Lewisburg, Chapel Hill, or Farmington. It is through the county governments that most of the political and commercial day-to-day problems arise and business is settled.[32]

In contrast to the state's usually-Democratic record in statewide elections, Tennessee has not voted for a Democratic presidential candidate but once since the voters supported President Harry Truman in 1948. The single exception was the 1964 election when President Lyndon Johnson carried the state while running against Senator Barry Goldwater.[33] To put Democratic presidential support in perspective, Tennesseans have only supported Democratic presidential candidates in two elections (1948 and 1964) in the seven presidential contests since Franklin Roosevelt last won the office in 1944.

Tennesee has changed quite a bit since Reconstruction when the Republicans were irreverently branded as the "Damned Radicals."[34] Immediately after the Civil War Unionists (Republicans) gained control of

[32]Jack E. Holmes, Walter N. Lambert, and Nelson M. Robinson, The Structure of County Government in Tennessee (Knoxville: The Bureau of Public Administration, The University of Tennessee, 1966); p. viff; Greene and Avery, op. cit., pp. 216-232.

[33]Shirley Hassler, Fifty Years of Tennessee Elections: 1916-1966, compiled under direction of Joe C. Carr (publisher and date of publication not given).

[34]W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Vintage Books, 1941), p. 123.

the state. Their sometimes severe reprisals created a long-lived anger in Confederate (Democratic, by and large) Middle and West Tennessee[35] which in some instances has been passed from generation to generation and exists to this day.

The East Tennessee affinity for the more conservative of the major political parties goes back in some measure as far as the old Whig party, even prior to the Civil War. Intrastate party struggles between Jacksonian Democrats and Whigs were acute between 1835 and 1860. These sectional disagreements and struggles were evident at the outbreak of the Civil War when, in some measure, the differences became frozen. Prior to the Civil War the Whigs controlled a majority of East Tennessee counties. In Middle Tennessee Democrats controlled a majority of the counties. During the period West Tennessee was more divided than Middle and East Tennessee as, in some ways, it remains today. While Democrats controlled a majority (seven) of the counties, the Whigs controlled five counties.[36] As will be noted later in this chapter, this rough East-West coalition of political parties and forces in opposition to the Middle Grand Division may have been the first alignment of this nature but it was not to be the last.

The Republican party in Tennessee, which could be viewed in the early 1960's as an "apparent permanent minority,"[37] is now on the

[35]Key, op. cit., p. 76.

[36]Coomer, op. cit., pp. 4-7; see also Franklin Nichols, The Disruption of American Democracy (New York: Coller Books, 1962), p. 252.

[37]Greene and Avery, op. cit., p. 54.

ascendancy in the state. The party has succeeded in overcoming both the "Damned Radical"-type stigma long attached to Republicanism in the South as well as its own organizational and internal problems. Republicans have long argued that past state election laws worked in favor of the Democrats and in some instances Republican arguments charged outright fraud.[38] Some of the charges were probably well founded. To be sure, part of the continuing success of the Democratic party could be attributed to the emotional forces which grew out of the Civil War. (Roughly speaking, these forces encouraged and fostered the "vote-as-you-or-your-ancesters-shot" philosophy, and encouraged continued intrastate divisions.) Not all of the roots of Democratic successes, however, could be traced to such open and obvious sources. For example, in 1946 it was reported by an editor of the strongly Democratic Nashville Tennessean that both state and federal employees were pressured into "contributing" three hundred thousand dollars in campaign funds for various candidates. Also contributing to the "donations" were "liquor dealers, the road contractors, [and] insurance brokers."[39] Still, even during this heyday of the Democratic party, Republicans were successful in maintaining a

[38]Heard, op. cit., p. 87ff.

[39]Jennings Perry, "Rebellion in Tennessee," Nation, CLXII (August 10, 1946), p. 147; this charge against the party by the Tennessean is particularly interesting in light of the newspaper's recent and present-day role within the Democratic party. For several years the newspaper has been one of the party's major supporters within the state. According to one source, the Tennessean is "the major center of power in the liberal wing of the party." See Kefauver and Reece, "A 'Generalist' View," Journal of Politics, XXVIII (February, 1966), pp. 144-168.

sizable party vote,[40] and frequently held the balance of power between feuding factions of the Democratic party,[41] as they did from time to time in the state legislature.[42] It should also be recalled that in presidential elections Tennesseans have consistently voted for Republicans to a greater degree than any other southern state.[43] (An obvious example here would be the election of 1920. Tennessee voted for Warren Harding although other states in the South, including the border states of North Carolina and Virginia, voted Democratic. In a visual presentation of that presidential vote Tennessee appears as an island of Republicanism quite literally surrounded by states that voted Democratic.)[44]

The dogged tenacity of East Tennesseans to vote Republican has been noted,[45] although the persisting loyalty and intensity of the allegiance is still not fully understood. A tale told frequently by present natives of the East Tennessee town of Gatlinburg may illustrate the region's new

[40]Green and Avery, op. cit., p. 55; Comer, loc. cit.; also see Leonard G. Ritt, "Presidential Voting Patterns in Appalachia: An Analysis of the Relationship Between Turnout, Partisan Change, and Selected Socioeconomic Variables" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1967).

[41]Key, op. cit., p. 61.

[42]Cole and Johnson, op. cit., p. 169.

[43]Heard, op. cit., p. 263.

[44]V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, & Pressure Groups (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964), p. 236ff.

[45]Heard, loc. cit.; Coomer, loc. cit.; Greene and Avery, loc. cit.; McCoy, loc. cit.; Ritt, loc. cit.

toward Democrats. Years ago, before the town received its present name, there was a family of Gatlins living in the community. The family, as the tale goes, was quite well known in the area for it was the only family of Democrats in the entire settlement or for additional miles around. One day the head of the Gatlin clan was approached by a local group of community-conscious citizens who desired to protect the settlement's reputation. The visitors made a straightforward proposition: If the Gatlins would kindly leave the Republican area, the group was empowered to name the community after the family in honor of the occasion and in repayment for the favor. The Gatlins obliged, and although Gatlinburg still retains its Democratic name as a result, the town's Republican "nature" has been preserved to this day.

In a more serious light, the East Tennessean's inclination and receptivity toward the Republican party and its candidates is frequently attributed to the intrastate dispute over slavery prior to the Civil War. East Tennessee did not have a single county in 1860 with a slave population of 25 percent or more. In contrast, West Tennessee had 11 such counties and Middle Tennessee had 14.[46] East Tennessee, in support of this explanation, fought with the Union; both Middle and West Tennessee fought with the Confederacy.[47] East Tennessee twice voted against secession prior to the Civil War. Although the sentiments in Middle and

[46]Goodman, op. cit., p. 5.

[47]Key, Southern Politics, p. 59; Greene and Avery, op. cit., p. 17; Philip M. Hamer (ed.), Tennessee: A History, 1673-1932 (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1933), Chapter XXXIV.

West Tennessee were more divided than in East Tennessee, both sections, by and large, voted to fight with the South.[48] All Grand Divisions, however, contained maverick counties that were out of tune with respective divisional trends. In East Tennessee Meigs, Monroe, Polk, Rhea, and Sullivan supported separation. In Middle Tennessee only Fentress, Macon, and Wayne opposed separation. In West Tennessee Carroll, Decatur, Hardin, Henderson, and Weakley opposed separation.[49] Of the 63 counties comprising Middle and West Tennessee, all but eight sided with the Confederacy during the War.[50] After the War allegiance to one's ancestors in Middle and West Tennessee meant loyalty to the Democratic party.[51]

Today the greater parts of West and Middle Tennessee remain more closely related to the culture of the South than does East Tennessee.[52] Even recently West Tennessee has been viewed as an extension of the Mississippi Delta in its views on segregation.[53] V. O. Key, Jr., referred to Tennessee's western counties as "but northward projections

[48]Goodman, op. cit., p. 6.

[49]Greene and Avery, loc. cit.; Hamer, loc. cit.

[50]McCoy, op. cit., p. 230; Stanley J. Folmsbee, Robert E. Corlew, and Enoch L. Mitchell, Tennessee: A Short History (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1969), pp. 312-328.

[51]Gerald H. Gaither, "The Negro in the Ideology of Southern Populism: 1889-1896" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, August, 1967), p. 60.

[52]McCoy, op. cit., p. 28.

[53]William Buchanan and Agnes Bird, Money as a Campaign Resource (Princeton: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1966), p. 13.

of Mississippi."[54] In the area of Memphis it is common even today to hear the city somewhat more than jokingly referred to as the "largest city in Mississippi." West Tennessee's social structure and rural economics has also created an identification with the Deep South.[55]

II. THE TRADITIONAL OLD SOUTH: REGIONALISM, SECTIONALISM, AND A DESIRE FOR INDEPENDENCE

As a border state Tennessee is influenced by both the North and South. Traditional ties are being frequently challenged by conflicting demands of the present. The political life of the state is a mixture of cross currents, pressures, and traditions. On the one hand are those influences associated with West Tennessee, the Democratic party, and the Old South. In contrast are the influences associated with East Tennessee, Unionism, and the more moderate racial stance taken by the state in the past few decades.

Debates and arguments centering on the rights of individual states within the American federal system are as old as the nation itself.[56] These arguments are still alive in many parts of the South today. Regionalism has been evident in the voting behavior of the South for many years,[57] and has been an influential factor in the historical political

[54]Key, Southern Politics, p. 59.

[55]Greene and Avery, loc. cit.

[56]Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man: The Social Basis of Politics (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960), p. 173; Grant and Nixon, op. cit., p. 30.

[57]C. Peter Magrath, Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., and Jay S. Goodman, The American Democracy (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969), p. 230.

thought of Tennessee. Time after time southern states have combined the power of their Congressional delegations in Washington in opposition to external national "meddling" and interference in state matters.[58]

The South has become known as "the region with the most distinctive character and tradition."[59] It has long since been noted that tradition, along with caste, race, and poverty, have been influential on the southern mind.[60] In some parts of the South, including particular areas of Tennessee, there has developed what might be termed a tradition for tradition. In comparison to some of the Deep South states, in Tennessee some of the historically strongest traditions vary from section to section and even from county to county.

Key has written that "Great crises often mold behavior into a durable pattern. Southern sectionalism bears the imprint of the trauma of history."[61] Tennessee was one of the 11 states of the defeated Confederacy and, in some ways, the state still bears the imprint of its association with the South during the Civil War. Today, however, Tennessee is not a state of the Deep South and it differs from the Old South in significant ways. For example, the density of Negroes in relation to the state's total population is less than the density of Negroes in the states of the Deep South. To use categories devised by Matthews and Prothro and

[58]Key, Southern Politics, p. 668.

[59]Ibid., p. ix.

[60]Ibid., p. 664.

[61]Key, Parties, Politics & Pressure Groups, p. 239.

related to the concentration of southern Negroes, Tennessee may be classified as one of the six states of the Peripheral South. This group, which includes Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia, as well as Tennessee, "are less distinctively southern than the Deep South States."[62] Matthews and Prothro offer several justifications for the distinctions they make between the Deep South and the Peripheral South:

> The average (mean) proportion of Negroes in the counties of the Deep South . . . is 37 per cent, compared with 20 per cent for counties of the Peripheral South.
>
> In political terms, too, the two subregions differ markedly; for example, the average county vote for the Dixiecratic candidate for president in 1948 was 57 per cent for Deep South counties but only 12 per cent for the Peripheral South counties. The five states of the Deep South "seceded" from national preferences (along with Arizona) to vote for Barry Goldwater in 1964 while all six states of the Peripheral South stayed with the Union and L.B.J. These and other differences are sufficiently acute to justify a carefull look at the two subregions.[63]

The reliability of the categories drawn by Matthews and Prothro may also be viewed as meaningful when it is noted that all five of the Deep South states voted for Wallace in 1968, while every one of the Peripheral South states with the exception of Arkansas voted for the major traditional parties. In a sense, the voting behavior of the Deep South states during the elections of 1964 and 1968 may be viewed as two more attempts

[62]Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc., 1966), p. 169ff.

[63]Ibid.

for independence from the national body politic. The precedent for such a desire for independence by the southern states has long been established. The constitution of the Confederacy specifically mentioned that each state would and could act "in its sovereign and independent character."[64] This characteristic desire for individualism by southerners has been noted elsewhere.[65]

Traditionally, many Tennesseans have shared the desires for "independence." And, once again, the precedent is an old one. In one instance eighteenth century pioneers in the area of what is now considered part of East Tennessee established the State of Franklin as an independent commonwealth,[66] free of the "outside" control of the government of North Carolina. A somewhat related distrust of control by an "outside" authority still exists in parts of Tennessee today. W. J. Cash has written at great length of this standing desire for independence, concluding

> . . . the dominant trait of this [southern] mind was an intense individualism--in its way, perhaps the most intense individualism the world has seen since the Italian Renaissance and its men of "terrible fury."[67]

One of the central themes found in Cash's work is that a feeling has existed in America's history that the South is and has been

[64]Grant and Nixon, op. cit., p. 30ff.

[65]Cole and Johnson, op. cit., p. 46.

[66]For a lengthy account of this action see Noel B. Gerson, Franklin: America's "Lost State" (New York: Crowell-Collier Press, 1968); Greene and Avery, op. cit., p. 9; Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 79-94.

[67]Cash, op. cit., p. 32.

"different" from the remainder of the nation.[68] For example, there has been a popular conviction among both southerners and "outsiders" that the South is "Uncle Sam's other province."[69] connected geographically to the mainland but at the same time somewhat out of step, remote, and distant. In recent years the southern response to this wider nationally-held attitude has bordered on open defiance of federal laws in some parts of the South. This strong southern defensive response has frequently been evident in the self-assertive language of some of George Wallace's campaign speeches. This quality also characterized the speeches of American party candidates during the Tennessee campaigns of 1970.

The essence of this independent and defiant response is that the South knows how to run its own affairs and would prefer that the federal government refrain from exercising certain of its powers in the area. The South does not want to be told what to do. Its citizens will not be patronized like upstart, independent children. Interestingly, this independence of spirit and distrust of authority has also been detected and documented in young southern children. Subcultural Appalachian children, in particular, are hostile to all authority figures including the President of the United States.[70]

[68] Ibid., p. viii.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Fred I. Greenstein, "More on Children's Images of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Winter, 1961), pp. 648-654; Fred I. Greenstein, "Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," American Political Science Review, LIX (December, 1969), pp. 934-943; Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

In Tennessee the desire for geographical independence may also be found in the form of intrastate sectionalism. It has become a truism to say the South, in general, has become known for expressions of independence, but within the South, Tennessee specifically has become known as an outstanding example of continuing intrastate sectionalistic tendencies.[71] Numerous factions within the state are distrustful of each other. For example, there has been a continuing political rivalry between the state's rural and urban interests.[72] How well a person is liked and how much he may be trusted depends in part upon his local origins and sympathies.

A "friends and neighbors" quality is also evident in Tennessee politics,[73] a general nativistic feeling or understanding between persons from the same town, area, or even the same Grand Division. This is particularly noticeable in athletic competition or whenever threat, attack, or reproach is relayed through the person or symbol of an "outside" town, area, or Grand Division. Historically, the composition of the state's population has lent itself to the arousal of such feelings. The percentage of the state's foreign-born citizens, as in the remainder of the South in general, has been relatively low compared to the rest of the nation.[74]

[71]Key, Politics, Parties, & Pressure Groups, p. 243ff.

[72]Greene and Avery, op. cit., p. 66.

[73]McCoy, op. cit., p. 213; Key, Southern Politics, Part I.

[74]Jack E. Holmes, Politics in New Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967), p. 9.

III. RACE AND "THE PLACE OF THE NEGRO" IN TENNESSEE POLITICS

One finds it difficult to write or talk about the South and its history without commenting upon the topic of race. The subject has been said to "overshadow all other factors conditioning the politics"[75] of the region. Race and the problems related to race have in some ways been central to southern politics for well over one hundred years and in some quarters remain so today. Although the subject has remained before the public for a long time, the views toward Negroes have been undergoing change in recent years.

In 1910 approximately 85 percent of the American Negroes lived in the 11 states of the Confederacy. By 1960 the percentage had decreased to about 50 percent.[76] Obviously, the impact of the Negro on the politics of Tennessee, as well as on the politics of other southern states, has been substantial, although Tennessee has become known for "a considerably higher degree of freedom from preoccupation with the race question" than the states of the Deep South.[77] (This development is somewhat ironic considering that the Ku Klux Klan was founded by a famous Confederate general in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1865.)[78]

[75]Key, Southern Politics, p. 664.

[76]Matthews and Prothro, op. cit., p. 449.

[77]Key, Southern Politics, p. 664.

[78]General Nathan Bedford Forrest; see Joseph H. Parks and Stanley J. Folmsbee, The Story of Tennessee (Norman, Oklahoma: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1963), pp. 256-259; Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 360-364.

Negro voter registration is higher in Tennessee than in the other southern states.[79] Matthews and Prothro have concluded that their exhaustive findings in a wide study of Negroes in recent southern politics

> . . . support the conclusion that the political systems for the Deep South and the Peripheral South are functionally different for Negro participation. If the levels of participation by whites in the two subregions were also markedly different our problem would be much broader. But no such contrast exists in levels of white participation. The two subregions differ only in regard to the political roles of Negroes.[80]

The role of the Negro in the field of politics, particularly the subfield of third party politics, has not attracted the attention of political writers and analysts[81] to the degree that, say, general participation in the sociological system has attracted sociologists, historians, and novelists. Nevertheless, it is still possible to piece together a fairly visible picture of the political activity and influence of Negroes in the political system of Tennessee in recent years. Negroes were voting in parts of Tennessee long before the white primary was abolished elsewhere.[82] By the 1940's they had developed a habit of voting for the Democratic party.[83] During the same period Negroes were

[79]Matthews and Prothro, op. cit., p. 173.

[80]Ibid., p. 171.

[81]Haynes Walton, Jr., The Negro in Third Party Politics (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1969), p. i.

[82]Heard, op. cit. p. 195ff.

[83]Ibid., p. 228.

also participants in Republican politics, serving as both state committeemen and as delegates to the national party conventions.[84] Although it may not be frequently realized in other sections of the state, Negroes were serving on the Nashville city council as elected members during the early 1950's.[85]

In the last few decades there has been a Democratic bias among southern Negro voters, and the preference is not expected to change soon. In some cases the Negroes' view of the Republican party is clearly hostile.[86]

White attitudes toward the Negro vary from location to location within the state. According to one source, the race question has been responsible for driving whites in West Tennessee into the Republican party.[87] The observation, at least so far as the evidence of this study is related, may be a reliable one. As noted in Chapter V, however, not all persons leaving the Democratic party in West Tennessee (and in other parts of the state as well) are joining Republican ranks. Many of those who have left the Democratic party have dropped out of the political system entirely or turned to the American party, a party perceived by the

[84]Ibid., p. 229.

[85]Ibid., p. 218.

[86]Matthews and Prothro, op. cit., p. 391; for related insights see Michael Jerome Diamond, "The Negro and Organized Labor as Voting Blocs in Tennessee, 1960-1964" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, December, 1965).

[87]David Halberstam, "The End of a Populist," Harper's, CCXLII (January, 1971), p. 39.

"switchers" as being more conservative in desired areas than either of the two major parties. More accurately, the American party in the past few years has been, and is at this time, in the process of serving as a stopover place for conservative Democrats changing their political affiliation to the Republican party. One could speculate that should the American party prove only relatively temporary, the party's disappearance could perhaps hasten the transference process of conservative Democrats to Republican ranks within the state.

Traditionally, the American Negro has aligned with liberal rather than conservative factions in political life.[88] It seems to follow that if the Republican party is perceived by Negroes as being more conservative than the Democratic party, one would expect black voters to identify with the Democratic party. This has been the case.[89] This identification places the Negro and the conservative American party at opposite ends of the political spectrum. Tennessee Negroes leaned toward the Republican party prior to the presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, but "the New Deal drew them preponderantly into the Democratic ranks."[90]

In 1950 only 16.1 percent of Tennessee's population was Negro, although the proportion had been as high as 26 percent in 1880.[91] By 1960, the proportion of Negroes in the state had increased to 16.6

[88]Key, Southern Politics, pp. 74, 670.

[89]Ibid., p. 74.

[90]Ibid.

[91]Cole and Johnson, op. cit., p. 56.

percent.[92] The black population is not evenly distributed across the state, however. The Negro vote is potentially much more important in some Tennessee elections than in others. In 1960, for example, there was a much higher concentration of Negroes in West Tennessee than in either of the two other Grand Divisions. West Tennessee had more than twice as many Negroes as Middle Tennessee and more than three times as many Negroes as East Tennessee. In 1960 West Tennessee contained 58.6 percent of all the Negroes in the state. In contrast, Middle Tennessee contained 24.8 percent of Tennessee Negroes, while East Tennessee accounted for only 16.6 percent. Shelby County in West Tennessee accounted for 40 percent of the state's entire Negro population.[93] As noted in more detail on page 237, Chapter V, in 1948 Shelby was one of the two counties (the other being neighboring Fayette County) carried by the "Dixiecrats." The Dixiecrat platform, it will be recalled, included a plank supporting "segregation of the races."[94]

In 1966-1967 the percentage of Tennessee's Negroes in school with whites was 31.7 percent. A review of the 11 southern and border states reveals that only Texas had a higher percentage (47.3 percent). Tennessee stands out as quite a contrast in this category when compared with the five Deep South states. For example, in Alabama during the same period the percentage of Negroes attending school with whites was 4.7 percent;

[92] Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, op. cit., p. 573.

[93] Greene and Avery, op. cit., p. 6.

[94] Walton, op. cit., p. 78.

in Georgia the figure was 9.9 percent; in Louisiana 3.5 percent; in Mississippi 3.2 percent; and in South Carolina 6.0 percent of the state's Negroes were attending schools with whites. The average percentage for the entire 11-state southern area during the period was 16.8 percent.[95]

IV. PERSONALITIES AND MACHINE POLITICS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Participation in the political system of Tennessee has not always been possible for all the state's citizens, no matter what their color. The poll tax was not declared illegal until 1953, although for effective purposes the tax was restricted greatly by general assembly action in 1949 and again in 1951.[96] Poll taxes passed in 10 southern states between 1899 and 1903 disfranchised many of the supporters of populism, a brand of politics popular in large sections of the area during the period. The poll tax was influential on the political climate that later developed in the South, for it disfranchised many poor whites as well as blacks. According to one analysis, the tax "cut the heart out of the Populist movement and made the Southern wing of the Democratic Party so reactionary that the party has had a split personality ever since."[97]

Precisely how many potential voters were disfranchised by the tax is not known. Certainly there were numerous people in the South at the

[95]Grant and Nixon, op. cit., p. 557.

[96]Greene and Avery, op. cit., p. 57.

[97]Henry A. Wallace, "Third Parties and the American Tradition," New Republic, CXVIII (January 19, 1948), p. 14.

time, only a few years after the Reconstruction, one could ill afford paying to vote when other financial demands presented more continuing problems. An account in 1946 observed that "the votes of one-tenth of the adult population" sufficed in electing candidates to political office. According to this account, the poll tax (referred to as "a fine for voting") kept the vast majority of Tennesseans away from the polls.[98]

Certainly the period of disfranchisement was not inconsequential. Tennesseans have a history of supporting the strong, personable leader of the populistic variety. In the state's history individual politicians have attracted a hard core of faithful followers who tried to convince a majority of the state's voters of the candidate's worth. The practice has added a fairly high degree of personalism to the state's political atmosphere, but at the same time the practice has also led to a noticeable amount of intraparty factionalism.[99]

Candidates have also been responsible for forming their own personal organizations in the various counties, as well as at higher state levels.[100] This dependence upon the candidates to create their own organizations and to shoulder so much of the work sometimes carried out by parties in other states has possibly stimulated the development of political machines which have from time to time emerged in various locations in the state. During the 1930's machines were successful in gaining

[98]Perry, loc. cit.

[99]Goodman, op. cit., p. 31.

[100]Ibid., p. 24ff.

power in several states, including Tennessee. In Tennessee the machines were controlled from the top by strong, influential leaders who retained their powers without successful opposition until the grassroots revolt in McMinn County in 1946.[101]

Sheriff Burch C. Biggs also ran Polk County, adjacent to McMinn County in the southeastern corner of the state, by force for quite some time during the 1940's.[102] In both counties sheriffs acted more in accordance with personal whim and manipulation of physical force than along professional or legal guidelines in running the politics of the two areas. The pattern was broken in August 1946 when the people rebelled openly against an office of the law. Local citizens, led by decorated World War II veterans, literally wrecked machine plans for another "nice, quiet, machine-made election" in the McMinn County seat of Athens.[103] The "Battle of Athens," as the armed revolt became known, against the McMinn County machine of State Senator Paul Cantrill was the first successful rebellion against a branch or affiliate of the much more powerful, Memphis-based machine of "Boss Crump."[104]

In comparison to the wide and penetrating power of Edward Crump, Cantrill's power was limited and fleeting. Crump ("Ed," or more usually

[101]Perry, loc. cit.

[102]Ibid.

[103]Ibid.; for a more detailed account of this rebellion see Theodore H. White, "The Battle of Athens, Tennessee," Harper's, CXCIV (January, 1947), pp. 54-61; Heard, op. cit., p. 88ff.

[104]Perry, loc. cit.

"Boss Crump," or the "Red Snapper") probably came as close to any in Tennessee politics during the period between 1860 and the 1950's to being the one dominant leader in the state. To this day he remains the most complete picture of a state boss that Tennessee has had in this century. His influence was felt during three decades. From the 1920's through the period of about 1948 his influence was felt in the highest levels of state government.[105] In 1946, for example, incumbent United States Senator Kenneth D. McKellar was frequently referred to as "Boss Crump's aged flunky."[106] McKellar, first elected to the Senate in 1916, was victorious in six consecutive senatorial elections. He was not defeated until the 1952 Democratic primary. In that battle a young candidate, Albert Gore, staged an intense, statewide campaign in his efforts to overcome the personal influence of Crump.[107] In one sense, when McKellar was defeated, Crump suffered as well. One of the results of the contest was to reduce Crump's real as well as his symbolic power in the state, although his power was not completely broken at the time of his death in 1954.[108] During the height of his power, a period of

[105]Goodman, op. cit., pp. 35-37; Key, Southern Politics, p. 71.

[106]Perry, loc. cit.; Senator McKellar's successor, Albert Gore, has since described the Crump-McKellar relationship as Crump being the boss and McKellar being his "Lieutenant." See Albert Gore, Let The Glory Out: My South and Its Politics (New York: The Viking Press, 1972), p. 44.

[107]Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 546, 574; for a personalized account of the campaign and election see Gore, op. cit., pp. 77-84.

[108]Greene and Avery, op. cit., p. 51.

almost twenty years, Crump was one of the most powerful figures in Tennessee politics. Although he never held any of the higher elective offices in the state, in one account he was reported to have been quite influential in the selection of the state's governors and senators.[109]

In light of the previous coalitions between East and West Tennessee it is interesting to note that Crump's support was stronger in some areas of the state than in others. In Middle Tennessee the Democratically-oriented Nashville Tennessean, a newspaper with a great deal of political influence in that area of the state, was a bitter critic of Crump.[110] There is not as much inconsistency in the behavior as might appear on the surface. Although both Middle and West Tennessee have traditionally been strong Democratic strongholds, the Democratic voters in the two areas are of a different mold. The support given to Crump in the two areas merely stands out as evidence of the difference in Middle and West Tennessee Democrats. Crump was a Democrat but Middle Tennesseans never supported him as strongly as West Tennesseans. Middle Tennessee was the source of Crump's sternest opposition.[111] Crump's support came primarily

[109]Joseph Bruce Gorman, "Senator Estes Kefauver and the 1952 New Hampshire Democratic Presidential Primary" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, August, 1964), p. 6. In 1946 President Franklin Delano Roosevelt personally invited Crump to visit Washington, D.C., for political discussions. During Crump's visit President Roosevelt requested that Crump oppose Senator McKellar's reelection bid. Crump refused. For an account of this exchange see William D. Miller, Mr. Crump of Memphis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964,) p. 306; Key, Southern Politics, p. 71.

[110]Buchanan and Bird, loc. cit.; Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell op. cit., p. 491.

[111]Heard, op. cit., p. 264ff.

from an alliance between West and East Tennesseans,[112] an unusual arrangement considering the Democratic history of the former and the Republican history of the latter.[113]

This is not to say that Crump was given 100 percent support in every county in West and East Tennessee. His influence varied from area to area and was more important in some elections than in others. For example, Crump supported Governor Strom Thurmond in the South Carolinian's bid for the presidency in 1948.[114] Crump's endorsement helped Thurmond carry two West Tennessee counties, including Shelby, Crump's home base. The endorsement did not carry the same influence in East Tennessee, however. Thurmond, running on the Dixiecratic ticket, did not carry a single East Tennessee county. So in terms of the 1948 presidential election it would have to be concluded that Crump's influence was certainly limited. Thurmond received only one Tennessee electoral vote and that was cast by a bolting maverick.[115]

An interesting point related to the election of 1948 and to the distribution of the votes cast for Thurmond is the geographic distribution of the state's Negro population at the time. Negroes constituted 17.4 percent of the state's population in the most recent census prior

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Ibid.; Gore, op. cit., pp. 66-71.

[115] Heard, op. cit., p. 25.

to the 1948 election. Most of the Negroes lived in West Tennessee in the area of Shelby and immediately surrounding counties. Thurmond, therefore, was strongest in counties with the most Negroes and weakest in the counties with fewest Negroes.[116]

V. DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS: 1930'S-1970'S

The elections of 1948 and 1968 were exceptional in Tennessee politics. Third parties rarely play a noticeable or influential role in the state's political life.

The Democratic party ruled on the national (presidential) level from the early 1930's through the early 1950's. With Democrats sitting in the White House a situation existed which provided an advantage to the state's Democrats in the form of party patronage and support. During the period Tennessee had two powerful Democratic senators in Congress.

In retrospect, although the period appears in some ways as the Democratic Hour, it cannot be said that it was absent of party competition. During the 1940's Tennessee was known for a greater degree of party competition than the more southern states,[117] although East Tennessee was controlled by Republicans and Middle and West Tennessee provided Democratic strongholds in local elections.[118]

[116]Ibid., p. 263ff; Magrath, Cornwell, and Goodman, op. cit., pp. 45-47.

[117]Heard, op. cit., pp. 15, 263.

[118]Key, Southern Politics, p. 59.

In national politics the New Deal appealed to southerners. One reason it was said to do so was that "the Roosevelt administration left touchy southern problems alone."[119] Apparently, the "touchy southern problems" evolved more specifically around the Negro. Sweeping civil rights legislation, particularly concerning the Negro, was not passed until several years after the New Deal. Notwithstanding the somewhat "big government" image of the New Deal, the Roosevelt administrations somehow managed not to become so distasteful to southern Democrats that the party's strength in the South would be damaged.[120]

Between 1946 and 1964 the Tennessee Republican Party elected no candidates in either senatorial or gubernatorial elections.[121] During the decade of the 1940's the Democratic Crump was still quite influential. Perhaps it is for this reason that the 1948 senatorial election has been described as one of the most important in Tennessee's entire history.[122] In 1948, only two years after the uprising against Crump-aligned forces in Athens, Estes Kefauver staged yet another successful challenge to the

[119]James T. Patterson, "The Failure of Party Alignment in the South, 1937-1939," Journal of Politics, XXVII (August, 1965), p. 611; even Senator Gore, an early Roosevelt supporter, has written: "One can say, in fact, that Roosevelt was tender-footed about any question involving racism. He did not even recommend an antilynching bill. As a politician, he realized that he had to have the legislative help of Southerners to enact his economic reform programs--which were his top priorities." See Gore, op. cit., p. 50.

[120]Patterson, loc. cit.

[121]Emmette S. Redford and others, Politics and Government in the United States (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965), p. 185.

[122]Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, op. cit., p. 543.

influence of machine politics in the state by defeating a Crump-backed candidate.

The challenge came from within the Democratic party itself. To many Republicans the election represented only one Democratic faction replacing another. In the meantime, Republicans, although unable to win any of the state's highest offices, were able to maintain their power base in the First and Second Congressional districts of East Tennessee.[123] The party remained unsuccessful in its attempts to organize on a statewide basis. One of the major reasons for the party's lack of success during the period, according to Coomer, was that no room or place existed within party ranks except at the very lowest levels for potential new members who wished to participate actively. Party reins were held tightly by oldtimers and party pros who were suspicious of newcomers.[124]

Between 1945 and 1965 the growing strength of Republicans in presidential elections became increasingly evident in Tennessee as it did in other parts of the South. In Tennessee the party mounted strong opposition in the presidential election of 1948. The Republican party's residential candidates carried the state in 1952, 1956, 1960, lost narrowly in 1964, and won again in 1968.[125] In 1968 the voters elected the first Republican senator since the Civil War. Later, in 1970, the Republican star continued to rise when the party elected a second Republican senator and the state's first Republican governor in 50 years. Gains,

[123]Coomer, op. cit., p. 7; Goodman, op. cit., p. 42.

[124]Coomer, op. cit., p. 8.

[125]McCoy, op. cit., p. 232.

although evident, remained modest in local and congressional elections during the two decades between 1945-1965.[126]

Why the apparent and sudden change of the 1960's following decades of Democratic tradition? The explanation heard frequently today is that the Democratic party became too liberal for the majority of Tennessee voters. It would appear that if the charge is so, the types or dimensions of "liberalism" being charged are along lines other than economic or racial. For example, former Democratic Senators Gore and Kefauver were both quite liberal on economic matters, as was former Democratic Governor Frank Clement.[127] In fact, all three have been described as being sometimes radical on economic matters.[128] Yet each of these three men was elected three times in statewide elections. Senator Gore was originally elected to the senate in 1952, reelected in 1958, reelected again in 1964, and defeated in 1970. Senator Kefauver was originally elected in 1948, reelected in 1954, reelected again in 1960, and died in 1963 before his term had expired. Governor Clement was first elected in 1952, reelected in 1954, and reelected again in 1962. It was not until the 1960's that Clement lost a statewide election during an unsuccessful bid for a seat in the United States Senate.

Compared to some of the leaders of the Deep South states, these three well-known politicians of the twentieth century were rather

[126]Matthews and Prothro, op. cit., p. 369ff.

[127]Halberstam, op. cit., p. 36.

[128]Ibid.

moderate on the question of race.[129] Kefauver, while a congressman, amassed a notable and outstanding record as a liberal.[130] Both Senators Gore and Kefauver became known for their political independence.[131] For example, in 1952 Senator Kefauver ran against incumbent President Harry Truman, also a Democrat, in the New Hampshire primary and won.[132] The independence exhibited by the two senators did not prevent them from rising in their party's hierarchy, however. After the first round of ballots were cast during the 1952 Democratic party convention in Chicago Kefauver led all candidates in the nomination for the presidency,[133] although Adlai Stevenson finally captured the nomination on the third ballot.[134] In 1956 Kefauver was successful in capturing his party's nomination for the vice-presidency on the first ballot.[135] On the same ballot Gore finished third in the voting.[136]

[129]Ibid.

[130]Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, op. cit., p. 544; Jack Anderson and Fred Blumenthal, The Kefauver Story (New York: The Dial Press, 1956).

[131]Gorman, loc. cit.

[132]Ibid.

[133]Neal R. Peirce (ed.), Politics in America: 1945-1966 (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1967), p. 103.

[134]Ibid.

[135]Ibid.

[136]Ibid; for an account of the major roles three Tennesseans (Senators Gore and Kefauver and Governor Frank Clement) played in the 1956 Democratic Convention see Gore, op. cit., pp. 88-96.

Although Democrats had a hold on the state's highest offices during the 1950's, they were not beyond the danger of defeat,[137] particularly in national elections. With the single exception of the election of 1964, Tennessee has been a Republican state in every presidential election since 1952. The behavior is somewhat surprising in light of the fact that until fairly recently Tennessee had not voted for a Republican presidential candidate since 1928.

In statewide elections noticeable change began to occur during the 1960's. Republicans began to taste victory. The appeal of Senator Barry Goldwater in the South in 1964, although the Republican candidate did not carry Tennessee, may have been instrumental in creating a new trend in southern politics. The heavy Goldwater vote in the South indicated a willingness among southern voters to look for a new home in national politics, a more comfortable home in the more conservative of the two major parties.[138] Although Goldwater's candidacy was, in some respects, a failure in that he did not win the presidency, in another respect his strategy to win the South to the Republican side was a success. In Tennessee Republican party gains were greatest in former Democratic strongholds in the western part of the state, particularly in the area of Memphis,[139] the state's most populated city. The gains partially offset losses elsewhere. (As will be noted later, it is

[137] Goodman, op. cit., p. 31.

[138] Converse, Clausen, and Miller, op. cit., p. 328.

[139] Coomer, op. cit., p. 83.

in West Tennessee that the present American party claims its greatest strength.)

The 1964 presidential voter breakdown by area lends some credulity to Coomer's observation that in recent years Republicanism has moved across the state from its one-time East Tennessee center.[140] In moving "across" the state, however, the largest part of Middle Tennessee was somehow bypassed.

In attempting to explain the spread of Republicanism to West Tennessee it could be noted that West Tennesseans have become known to be more responsive to conservative elements of the Republican party,[141] than the more liberal-minded Middle Tennesseans. The increased strength of the Republicans in West Tennessee had pronounced effects on state politics. For the first time in a century in 1964 Republicans vied for statewide offices across Tennessee. The party attempted to win two United States senate seats,[142] six of nine congressional seats, the office of public service commissioner of Democratic Middle Tennessee, in addition to the presidency. In 1960, although a presidential election year, only 20 Republican headquarters were opened in the entire state. By 1964 the number had increased almost five times and had grown to 97.[143]

[140]Ibid., p. 107.

[141]Ibid., p. 106.

[142]A second seat had to be filled as a result of the 1963 death of Senator Estes Kefauver.

[143]Coomer, op. cit., p. 77.

Between the two elections Republicanism was seen to be growing in the state's large urban centers. Coupled with traditionally Republican East Tennessee support, by the mid-1960's the Republicans had a strong statewide party base and representation in all areas of Tennessee.[144]

By 1966 statewide politics were intensely competitive.[145] Howard Baker made history in that year when he became the first Republican ever elected to the United States Senate from Tennessee.[146] Since 1966, the party's strength has continued to grow. In large measure, the growth of the party has been at the expense of the Democratic party. One example may help to illustrate the declining support given the Democratic party in recent years. Prior to his defeat for reelection in 1970, although it was little noted during the campaign, Democratic Senator Albert Gore's popularity and support had been rapidly declining in previous elections. A study of voting returns reveals a sharp and continuous decline in Gore's support since 1958. As the Republicans were on the rise, Gore's strength was on the decline. In 1952, for example, Gore received an amazing 78 percent of the popular votes.[147] In his 1958 campaign for reelection he was swept back into office with more than 80 percent of the votes cast.[148] The overwhelming support given

[144]Ibid., p. 72.

[145]Buchanan and Bird, op. cit., p. 85.

[146]Joe Hatcher, "Can Republicans Play it Straight?" The Nashville Tennessean, April 26, 1970, p. 2B.

[147]Peirce, op. cit., p. 108.

[148]Ibid., p. 111.

Gore in 1958 was a high-water mark in his career that he was never again to receive. Between 1958 and 1964 Gore's popularity faded noticeably. In 1964, running against Republican Dan H. Kuykendall, Gore's percentage of the popular vote (53.6 percent) dropped 27 percent below his 1958 support. Compared to his support in previous elections, Gore was clearly in trouble in 1964. He had been seriously challenged, unlike in his previous elections, and although he won in 1964, he garnered only 53.6 percent of the votes.[149] In 1970 the percentage of votes cast for Gore continued to decline. He was narrowly defeated by Congressman Bill Brock of Chattanooga.

The string of nationally-known, multiterm, Democratic senators has been broken. In addition, for the first time in half a century a Republican governor was elected to sit in Nashville. Although the Democrats have managed to retain control of the state legislature, a realignment and shifting in the supremacy of political power seems to have occured at the state level in Tennessee since the 1960's. The Democratic Hour has ended, perhaps to begin anew in the future. Perhaps not.

Democrats are not as plentiful in the South today as they once were. In 1968 Hubert Humphrey became the first Democratic presidential candidate in the twentieth century to capture only one southern state.[150] The day when the Democratic party "spoke for" the South and "formed the

[149]Ibid., p. 114.

[150]Nelson Poynter (ed.), CQ Guide to American Government (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, Spring, 1969), p. 1.

bedrock" of the party[151] is history. The historical allegiance of the South to the Democratic party was not very strong during the 1960's.

As the unsuccessful 1960 senatorial bid of Senator Gore has indicated, the time has now passed when incumbent Democratic Senators such as McKellar, Kefauver, and Gore could safely assume that a basically Democratic majority of Tennesseans would return them to office. During the statewide elections of 1970 Tennesseans turned out in record numbers and gave winning margins to Republican candidates. The elections may have been indicative of a new party alignment in Tennessee along somewhat ideological lines. To one who followed the 1970 campaigns the appeals of the candidates, particularly the senatorial candidates, appeared highly ideological. Democratic candidates, in most instances, appeared as more liberal than their Republican counterparts. Senator Gore, in particular, spent much of his time trying to defend his liberal voting record. It is worth noting that in ideological elections it is not unusual for voter turnouts to be consistently higher than in contests in which ideologies are not so clearly divided.[152]

Given a clear choice between the ideologies of "liberalism" and "conservatism" in other than economic and racial matters, events of recent years seem to indicate that the majority of Tennesseans will support the more conservative of the two major parties' candidates at the polls. This is particularly true when Democrats are divided into

[151]Key, Politics, Parties, & Pressure Groups, p. 239.

[152]Converse, Clausen, and Miller, op. cit., p. 328.

liberal and conservative factions with the liberal faction's candidate winning the nomination in the party primary. If Democrats unify behind one candidate in future elections rather than divide themselves into liberal and conservative wings of the party, and if the party selects candidates who appear as moderate or slightly conservative in their platform appeals, perhaps the party can recapture some of the offices to which it has been the traditional heir. If Democrats refuse to adopt such a strategy, the party so long dominant in southern history can plan to face severe competition and perhaps continuing defeat at the polls.

CHAPTER III

THE AMERICAN PARTY IN TENNESSEE: A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, 1964-1971

I. INTRODUCTION

On October 28, 1964, at 8:00 p.m. followers of George Wallace met in the Knoxville Municipal Coliseum to hear a speech by the noted Alabama Governor and states' rights advocate. The afternoon weather report predicted "showers" and "light rain."[1] By the time of the speech it was pouring quite heavily.

The speech did not receive expensive or widespread publicity, although small advertisements appeared in the city's two daily newspapers on the day of the address.[2] The brief advertisements invited all to "Come and bring a neighbor" to "Hear" and "See" the well-known Alabama Governor. The title of the speech was "Current Issues," and there was no admission charge.[3]

The estimated 3,500[4] persons who turned out to "see" and "hear" George Wallace were in good spirits in spite of the heavy rain. Although

[1]"Jo Jo Says: Look for Rain," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 28, 1964, p. 1.

[2]Ibid., p. 29; political advertisement, Knoxville Journal, October 28, 1964, p. 6.

[3]Ibid. In fact, Governor Wallace had no prepared speech. Based on a statement by Governor Wallace, personal interview, October 28, 1964.

[4]Estimates of the size of the crowd varied from article to article. The figure cited here is the most common estimate. See Powell Lindsay,

it was Wednesday, the crowd was in a relaxed and jubilant Friday- or Saturday-night mood. Numerous confederate and American flags hung in conspicuous locations throughout the huge hall, and the band played "Onward Christian Soldiers" and "America the Beautiful" as the crowd awaited the Governor's appearance.

About 8:04, following a brief delay, Wallace appeared on stage. As he slowly approached the microphone and podium he snapped salutes and broad smiles of acknowledgement and apparent recognition to particular individuals in the standing, shouting, applauding crowd. The greeting was tumultuous, and the audience remained standing for several minutes. The emotional reaction to the Governor's entrance was unmistakably one of deep empathy, respect, and admiration.

"I think that shakes the liberals," Wallace said, stepping to the microphone.[5] The crowd chuckled briefly before again breaking into applause.

"I wouldn't get out in this weather even to hear myself speak,"[6] Wallace said, almost as if talking to himself. Once again, the crowd

"Wallace Warns U. S. 'Takeover' Is Near: Says Courts Are Becoming All-Powerful," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 29, 1964, p. 37; Ray Rogers, "Wallace Speaks Against Centralized Government," Knoxville Journal, October 29, 1964, p. 10; Tony Holmes, "An Evening with George Wallace," The Orange and White [former University of Tennessee student newspaper], November 3, 1964, p. 4.

[5]Holmes, loc. cit.

[6]Ibid. Many of the details cited here are taken from notes written during an interview with Governor Wallace just prior to his speech and from a story written a few days later pertaining to the interview and the speech.

chuckled. The Governor appeared as happy to see the crowd as his followers were to see him.[7]

Those in attendance came to hear a political speech. They heard one. And during his speech Wallace made it clear that he associated his politics more with the political right than with the political left.[8] He attacked the news media, especially the press; he attacked the Federal courts, especially the Supreme Court; he criticized "liberals," opponents of states' rights, high taxes, "left wingers," and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[9]

The speech had a distinct tone of challenging defiance. "We're not bigots; we're not biased; and we're not prejudiced. I'll tell you where the prejudice is," Wallace told the crowd, pausing, about to reveal a secret, "it's on the left winger side."[10] The crowd roared.

The crowd was relatively small and insignificant compared to the population of the state. The cheers soon subsided. But support for Governor Wallace has increased many-fold since that night in 1964. In retrospect, it was most difficult to know at that time that Wallace's visit to Knoxville was a prelude, and more probably deliberate groundwork, to the later formation of the American party in Tennessee. Studying the events of the evening in retrospect, however, it now appears

[7]Prior to the speech Wallace appeared to be in very good spirits and he expressed a good deal of satisfaction backstage at the size and spirit of the Coliseum crowd. Personal interview, October 28, 1964.

[8]Holmes, loc. cit.

[9]Ibid.; Lindsay, loc. cit.

[10]Holmes, loc. cit.

likely that the Wallace visit was made in planned preparation for the fulfillment of Wallace's more ambitious political goals.

Few persons in the Municipal Coliseum on the night of October 28, 1964, knew the man whom Wallace introduced as "the Paul Revere of 1964."[11] He was W. E. Michael, a prominent Sweetwater, Tennessee, attorney and a close friend to Wallace.[12] As noted later in this chapter, Michael was eventually to become quite useful in a legal capacity in helping the "Wallace movement" get on the ballot in Tennessee in 1968 as an official political party.[13]

[11]Lindsay, loc. cit.

[12]Based on personal correspondence between Mrs. Dorothy W. MacMillan, personal secretary to the presently-ailing Mr. Michael, and the writer, December 5, 1970; based on personal correspondence between J. A. Hundley, one-time American party state chairman, and Oliver Wright, Sr., the party's original state chairman, March 6, 1969; "George Wallace On State Ballot: Qualifies In Tennessee With 90,000 Signatures On 3rd Party Petition," Chattanooga Times, August 29, 1968, p. 12.

[13]According to numerous ranking party officials, past and present, Michael is an authority on the development of the early American party in Tennessee. Michael was employed by Wallace as a constitutional lawyer during the 1968 campaign. The Sweetwater attorney advised the movement as to how it could become a legal party in the state. He was with Joe Fine, Wallace campaign coordinator, when Fine turned in a 90,000-name petition to the Secretary of State enabling Wallace to get on the ballot. At the time Michael was a state representative and was, interestingly, seeking reelection on the Republican ticket. See "George Wallace On State Ballot: Qualifies In Tennessee With 90,000 Signatures On 3rd Party Petition," Chattanooga Times, August 29, 1968, p. 12; Michael is quite knowledgeable in constitutional matters and is the author of The Age of Error, published in 1957. The work, as described by Michael in a personally-autographed copy sent to Senator Estes Kefauver, April 9, 1957, "deals with the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the school segregation cases." The work makes a strong appeal for states' rights and is highly critical of the Supreme Court's rulings concerning integration, including Brown v. Board of Education. The work is also a highly-charged attack against communism, miscegenation, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. See W. E. Michael, The Age of Error (New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1957), pp. 22,

Newspaper accounts of the evening devoted little attention to Michael or, for that matter, even to Wallace's visit. The Knoxville Journal ran a story of the rally on page 10. The Knoxville News-Sentinel ran a short article about the meeting on the bottom of page 37.[15]

In fairness to these newspapers it should be recalled that at the time of Wallace's visit his "movement" was just beginning to develop outside of Alabama. Given his rapid rise to national notoriety few now recall that George Wallace was not even elected Governor of Alabama until 1962.[16] By the time of his Knoxville visit in 1964, however, the Alabama Governor had been noticeably active and vocal in taking his strong states' rights and anti-big government message to the North. When he arrived in Knoxville he was fresh from three presidential primaries in which he had made strong and, to many, shocking and surprising showings. By the time Wallace visited the largest city in East Tennessee on that rainy October night in 1964 he had cause to be perhaps as confident as he had ever been in his life. He was seriously considering forming a third party.

29, 34-37, 86, 100ff, and 126-30; see also Joe C. Carr, (ed.), Tennessee Blue Book: 1967-68 (Nashville: Rich Printing Company, 1967), p. 38.

[14]Rogers, loc. cit.

[15]Lindsay, loc. cit.

[16]Wallace did, however, make an unsuccessful bid for the Alabama Governorship in 1958. He lost to Democrat John Patterson. See "The Life of George Wallace," U. S. News & World Report, LXV (October 28, 1968), 45.

II. THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES: WISCONSIN, INDIANA, AND MARYLAND

In attempting to find or select the specific year that George Wallace hinted publicly of national political aspirations, 1964 stands out as the most evident choice. In that year he entered presidential primaries in Wisconsin, Indiana, and Maryland, although prior to that time he had never run for public office outside of Alabama. The three states were not part of the Deep South and only Maryland could be considered a border state.

Wallace entered his first presidential primary in Wisconsin. Although he campaigned for only two weeks,[17] he received 266,136 votes in the April 7 election. The Alabama Governor captured almost 38 percent of the votes cast.[18] Campaigning on a strong states' rights platform, Wallace received more than one of every three votes. The outcome was somewhat surprising; prior to the contest one poll predicted that he would be lucky to receive 25,000 votes.[19]

[17]"How Wallace Explains His Big Vote in Wisconsin," U. S. News & World Report, LVI (April 20, 1964), 34.

[18]Ibid.; "Wisconsin Primary," U. S. News & World Report, LVI (June 1, 1964), 61; "Wallace's Wisconsin--264,100 Votes," Newsweek, LXIII (April 20, 1964), 33ff; "What Wallace Vote Proved in North," U. S. News & World Report, LVI (June 1, 1964), 29-32; "The Wallace Vote: The Candidate's Own Story," U. S. News & World Report, LVI (June 1, 1964), 63; "Wallace: 'Welcome Home You Living Doll'," Newsweek, LXIII (June 1, 1964), 18; "After Wisconsin--New Turn in Politics," U. S. News & World Report, LVI (April 20, 1964), 31-33; "How Wallace Explains His Big Vote in Wisconsin," U. S. News & World Report, LVI (April 20, 1964), 34.

[19]"After Wisconsin--New Turn in Politics," U. S. News & World Report, LVI (April 20, 1964), 31-33; "How Accurate Are Polls in '64 Elections?" U. S. News & World Report, LVI (June 1, 1964), 30.

In May, 1964, almost exactly one month after the Wisconsin election, Wallace entered the Indiana presidential primary. Although his showing was not as strong in Indiana as in Wisconsin, his share of the vote in the Hoosier state was more than inconsequential. Campaigning on his now-famous "Stand Up For America" slogan,[20] he received 172,646 votes,[21] almost 30 percent of the Democratic ballots cast.[22]

Two weeks later, on May 19, Wallace entered the Maryland presidential primary and received 212,068 votes,[23] more than 42 percent of the total votes cast.[24] He carried 16 of the state's 23 counties.[25]

Encouraged by his showings in the three primaries, on June 7, 1964, less than one month after the Maryland primary, Wallace announced that he would campaign for the presidency of the United States. His announced objective was to campaign in every state in which he could have his name placed on the ballot.[26]

The Alabama Governor eventually withdrew from the 1964 presidential race but not before outlining the strategy that he was to follow in his 1968 presidential bid. In 1964 he announced publicly his feeling that

[20]Gordon Englehard, "Wallace in Indiana," Nation, CLIC (May 4, 1964), 451-453.

[21]"What Wallace Proved in the North," loc. cit.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.; "The Wallace Vote: The Candidate's Own Story," loc. cit.

[26]"Governor Wallace: Third Party Candidate?" U. S. News & World Report, LVI (June 22, 1964), 33.

if he could win the electoral votes of perhaps as few as six states he could possibly cause the presidential election to be thrown into the House of Representatives.[27]

The early "Wallace movement" of 1964, later to provide the nucleus for the American party, made no great national gains outside of Alabama between 1964 and 1968. In 1966 Wallace himself had to fight to retain political control of his own state. After four years in the Governor's chair Wallace was prevented by the state's constitution from succeeding himself and the state legislature refused to amend the document. Driven by a combination of political necessity, a desire to retain political control of the state's governorship, and his desire to retain his "winner" reputation, Wallace spent a large portion of 1966 campaigning for his wife's election to the governor's office. Once Mrs. Wallace was elected she appointed her famous husband as her primary aide. As a result of the 1966 election Wallace retained his usual base of operations in Montgomery from which he could launch still another campaign for the presidency in 1968.

[27]Ibid.

III. THE 1968 KNOXVILLE CONVENTION: AMERICAN PARTY FORMED IN TENNESSEE

The American party[28] was officially formed in Tennessee during a convention in Knoxville, August 29, 1968.[29] Governor Wallace arrived at the airport at 12:16 p.m. and began what was described at the time as his "first campaign visit to Knoxville and East Tennessee."[30]

[28]There is quite a bit of understandable confusion concerning the name of the American party. As will be noted throughout this work the party has gone by different names during various periods and locations. In some areas the movement has been commonly known as the American Independent party. In other areas (Tennessee is an example) the movement is known more simply as the American party. In some states supporters of the party go by still other names. In 1968 Wallace ran under the banner of the American Independent Party, although at least six different names were used for his movement in various states. To further confuse the question there is an entirely unrelated movement known as the New American Party which has nothing to do with the Wallace effort. The New American Party is California-based and was formed in 1964. The group contains a very limited membership. For clarification see G. Anthony Wedge, N. A. P.: New American Party (Pasadena: Geddes Press Printers, 1968); Constitution of the American Party of Tennessee, Section I; "Wallace Group Ends Sessions, Forms No Party," Chattanooga Times, February 3, 1969, pp. 1, 5; "The Wallace Phenomena," U. S. News & World Report, LXV (August 26, 1968), 32; Leo Ely, West Tennessee Grand Division Vice Chairman American Party of Tennessee, personal interview, October 15, 1970.

[29]The occasion did not mark the first time a third party had been organized in Tennessee or, for that matter, in the city of Knoxville. The National States' Rights party was founded in Knoxville during the early 1950's. The organization, still alive, calls for segregation and the preservation of states' rights. See "Minor Party Candidates," Senior Scholastic, LXXXV (September 23, 1964), 85. The States' Rights party ran candidates in the presidential elections of 1960 (Orval Faubus and John G. Crommelin) and 1964 (John Kasper and J. B. Stoner). In both elections the party's showing was insignificant in Tennessee as it was elsewhere. Historical Review of Presidential Candidates From 1788 to 1968 (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1969), p. 21.

[30]"Wallace Proclaims He'll Be President," Knoxville News-Sentinel, August 29, 1968, p. 1.

The Governor's day was busy and productive. He had previously announced his candidacy for the presidency on February 8, 1968,[31] and one of the major purposes of the Knoxville visit was to attend a dinner being held in his honor. The dinner was a fund-raising success. Four hundred and forty-three dinners, each priced at $25, were served.[32] Wallace was pleased with the turnout, and during the supper he told his followers that he had raised his largest crowds in Tennessee.[33]

Later in the evening a "Wallace for President" rally was held in the same Municipal Coliseum that the Governor had visited in October, 1964. During the 1968 visit, however, the number in attendance was estimated to be 6,700,[34] almost twice as many as had gathered to hear the Governor during his previous visit. As in 1964, the crowd's response to Wallace's 1968 speech was lively and receptive. The Governor's speech was interrupted by applause on 38 occasions.[35]

In long-range terms, August 29, 1968, was a momentous day in the history of the American party in Tennessee. Nevertheless, procedural

[31]"Wallace Proclaims He'll Be President," Knoxville News-Sentinel, August 29, 1968, p. 1.

[32]"Wallace Heads 3d-Party Slate," Facts on File, XXVIII (February 8-February 14, 1968), 54.

[33]"6700 Cheer as Wallace Rips Record of GOP," Knoxville News-Sentinel, August 30, 1968, p. 1.

[34]Ibid.

[35]"Wallace Calls For An End To Violence," Nashville Banner, August 30, 1968, p. 6.

details concerning the elections of statewide officials which followed the 1968 Wallace speech remained points of controversy in many quarters of the Tennessee branch of the party for several years.

Many who attended the meeting felt that the primary purpose of the gathering was simply to show public support for George Wallace. Others in the movement, people close to Wallace, attached more significance to the occasion, however. Prior to the meeting Joe Fine, Wallace's 1968 national campaign coordinator, referred to the gathering as the "state convention" of a new party to be formed by Wallace supporters.[36] Fine explained that Tennessee law required a party to hold a state convention in order to run for national office or to participate in statewide elections,[37] and that the Knoxville meeting would suffice in fulfilling the requirement.

The Knoxville rally did, in fact, serve the purpose of a state convention. Following a short speech by Wallace, Richard Smith, a member of the Governor's staff, organized the coliseum crowd into a "convention." Thereupon, the convention promptly nominated Wallace as the new party's presidential nominee.[38] The selection of statewide officers was conducted in a few minutes. Oliver Wright, Sr., a successful Knoxville

[36]"George Wallace On State Ballot: Qualifies in Tennessee With 90,000 signatures on 3rd Party Petition," loc. cit. Knoxville newspapers did not advertise the meeting as anything more than a speech.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Griffith, loc. cit.; "6700 Cheer as Wallace Rips Record of GOP," loc. cit.; "Wallace Calls For An End To Violence," loc cit.; "George Wallace on State Ballot: Qualifies in Tennessee With 90,000 Signatures On 3rd Party Petition," loc. cit.

businessman, was selected by attending "delegates" as state chairman of the new party.[39] Boyd Cox, also of Knoxville, was chosen as the party's first state secretary.[40] Wright and Cox, along with party electors also selected during the convention,[41] constituted the original leadership of the Tennessee branch of the party.

The point of controversy arising out of the party's first convention stemmed from the procedures employed in the selection of the original officers. After more than one year later James L. Doyle, Shelby county party chairman, was still critical of the procedures employed in the selection of the first officers. Doyle expressed doubts that Wright, the state chairman, was selected in accordance with proper guidelines.[42] Furthermore, the Shelby county chairman leveled an even stronger criticism at the selection of one of the party's original state co-chairmen.

[39]Ibid.; also based on personal correspondence between J. A. Hundley and Oliver Wright, Sr., March 6, 1969.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid.

[42]William B. Street, "Game of 'Chairs' Leaves Question--Who's Going To Fall Off?" Memphis Commercial Appeal, October 24, 1969, p. 21. The doubts expressed by Doyle have been expressed by others. According to one person who was present during the voting the entire evening was designed to get favorable people in positions of leadership. According to this account, anyone suggested for a post would have been accepted. No one voted against the suggested appointments. All present either voted their approval or they abstained. "I could have voted either way," said one person in attendance. "Ostensibly, I was a delegate on the floor. Procedural details during the election were less than formal." Statement by Thomas J. Mattingly, Jr., graduate student in political science, University of Tennessee, personal interview, June 14, 1971.

Doyle questioned whether the official was selected in accordance with any guidelines at all.[43]

To be sure, the procedures questioned by Doyle did lend themselves to controversy. Newspaper and interview accounts of the convention seem to be in agreement that the meeting was primarily a political rally to express support for Wallace. A secondary purpose of the meeting, unknown beforehand to many who attended, was to ratify the plans of Wallace by calling the Knoxville rally a statewide party convention so the American party could appear on the ballot in Tennessee in 1968.

As for the elections which occurred during the convention, newspaper accounts of the meeting do not explain how Wright and Cox were elected. In fact, the accounts are confusing and contradictory. For example, the Knoxville News-Sentinel reported that Oliver Wright, Sr., was "elected" to his post.[44] In contrast, the Knoxville Journal said that both Wright and Cox were "named" to their positions.[45] Both newspaper accounts, as noted before, were brief. The stories were also incomplete and vague concerning many points, and clearly wrong or mistaken about others. For example, a story in the News-Sentinel said that Wright was "elected" to his post but the newspaper did not outline either the time or the procedures of the election.[46] The same account of the meeting also

[43]Street, loc. cit.

[44]"6700 Cheer as Wallace Rips Record of GOP," loc. cit.

[45]Griffith, loc. cit.

[46]"6700 Cheer as Wallace Rips Record of GOP," loc. cit.

states that Wright was merely introduced to the audience,[47] implying that he must have been elected prior to the convention. The Knoxville Journal reported that both Wright and Cox were named permanently to their posts in the party.[48] It is most doubtful that either of the men were named or elected as permanent officers for, as will be noted later in this chapter, both men held their positions for only one year.

Actually, it makes no difference whether the first party officials were "selected" or "elected." Technically speaking, at the time of the events no agreed-upon party procedures had even been established for the selection of statewide officers. The point that does matter now is that the officers were chosen by some method and they were accepted by others in the Wallace movement as party officials. After their selection the officers became active in behalf of their party's presidential candidate[49] and later became active and instrumental in helping organize the American party across Tennessee.

The original officers acted in a dual capacity. First, and most important, the men were campaign aides to George Wallace. Their duties in that capacity were generally directed toward encouraging Tennesseans to vote for Wallace in 1968. Secondly, and of less importance, the early officers were party leaders. Obviously, the latter role was not taken

[47] Ibid.

[48] Griffith, loc. cit.

[49] The efforts by these early officers to organize the party across Tennessee will be noted in detail later in the chapter.

too seriously, for the party the officers represented was not yet organized across Tennessee. In fact, the "party" was a very loose knit organization held together by little more than George Wallace himself.

George Wallace founded the American party.[50] And in Tennessee--and one would certainly suspect elsewhere, particularly in southern and border states--the Alabama Governor relied upon personal friends in his early efforts to organize the party. Any effort to separate the early "American party" from Wallace's personal campaign for the presidency in 1968 would be strained and contrived. In most cases early officers of the Tennessee branch of the party were appointed by either Wallace himself or by his close aides. The early officers were not so much American party officials as personal friends and campaign aides for Wallace.[51] To charge, as Doyle did in 1969, that one of Wallace's 1968 state co-chairmen was selected by questionable procedures was to charge that Wallace, the party's founder, did not have the right to appoint one of his own campaign aides.

George Wallace was the only candidate who ran on the American party ticket in Tennessee in 1968.[52] The primary purpose of the "party" was

[50]"Wallace Party Put On Notice: Affidavit From Massey Needed To Qualify House Hopeful," Chattanooga Times, February 22, 1969, p. 5; "The Wallace Victory--Meaning For 1972?" U. S. News & World Report, LXVIII (June 15, 1970), 22.

[51]According to his biographer, Wallace has a low regard for formal political organization. As Frady notes, organizations, machine-like expectancy, institutionalized procedures, and the mechanical aspects of politics do not matter as much to Wallace as do passion and people. See Marshall Frady, Wallace (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1968), p. 12.

[52]"American Has Several in Race," Knoxville News-Sentinel, August 2, 1970, p. G-14.

to get his name on the ballot.[53] In accordance with state law, the Wallace movement needed the signatures of 57,197 Tennesseans in order to appear on the presidential ballot.[54] Although the objective facing the party was of no small proportion, the goal was far surpassed when a statewide campaign for support resulted in more than 90,000 signatures.[55] Working under the direction and legal assistance of attorney W. S. Michael[56] volunteer Wallacites were active in all of Tennessee's 95 counties.[57]

The second-place finish by Wallace in Tennessee in 1968 was surprising in several respects. Although he campaigned in the state's four largest cities,[58] he made no attempt to conduct a saturation campaign

[53]Eventually Wallace's name appeared on the ballot in Tennessee as it did in all other states. "Third Party Scare--What It Means," U. S. News & World Report, LXIV (June 17, 1968), 56.

[54]"George Wallace On State Ballot: Qualifies in Tennessee With 90,000 Signatures On 3rd Party Petition," loc. cit.

[55]Ibid.; "Wallace Proclaims He'll Be President," loc. cit.

[56]Ibid. Michael's connection with the American party, according to his own account, "has been in a purely legal capacity." It was at the personal request of George Wallace that Michael agreed to work as an attorney in resolving the legal complexities involved in qualifying the American party as a legally-organized organization in Tennessee. Michael actually filed the 90,000 signatures with the Secretary of State. He stresses, however, that his services were in the area of preparing, obtaining, and filing the petitions and in certifying them whenever necessary. The actual work of obtaining the petitions, according to Michael, was carried out by volunteer workers across the state. Information based on personal correspondence between Mrs. Dorothy W. Macmillan, secretary to W. E. Michael, and the writer, December 5, 1970.

[57]"George Wallace On State Ballot: Qualifies In Tennessee With 90,000 Signatures On 3rd Party Petition," loc. cit.

[58]"Riot Control Gets Praise of Wallace," Nashville Banner, August 29, 1968, pp. 1, 14.

across the entire state. His party was still a paper party in many respects and lacked the organization and party pros who could "deliver the vote." A large portion of those active in Wallace's behalf were volunteers and political amateurs. Still, the Wallace appeal was a personal one. His style was engaging, informal, and "folksy" and directed to the common or "little" man. There was a strong undercurrent of populism evident in his speeches.[59]

The issues during the campaign were highly emotional. A Gallup poll identified the four major national problems during the period as Viet Nam, race relations, crime and lawlessness, and the high cost of living.[60] The intensity of voter emotions concerning these problems was pronounced;[61] a clear majority of Democrats and independents had come to oppose President Johnson's approach to the issues several months prior to the election. The President's record was clearly unpopular with the voters.[62] Prior to the election forecasters projected that

[59]Phillip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, Jerrold G. Rusk, and Arthur C. Wolfe, "Continuity and Change in American Politics: Parties and Issues in the 1968 Election," American Political Science Review, LXIII (December, 1969), 1102; for more information concerning the populistic appeal of Wallace see Seymour M. Lipset and Earl Raab, The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1970 (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), pp. 338-377, 398-427. As former Senator Albert Gore has written: "Wallace . . . was a Populist on tax and economic issues. As governor of Alabama, he had favored new deal-type economic programs, provided they did not promote segregation." See Albert Gore, Let the Glory Out: My South and Its Politics (New York: The Viking Press, 1972), p. 208.

[60]C. Peter Magrath, Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., and Jay S. Goodman, The American Democracy (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969), p. 243; Converse, Miller, Rusk, and Wolfe, op. cit., pp. 1084-1086, 1095.

[61]Converse, Miller, Rusk, and Wolfe, op. cit., pp. 1084-1086, 1095.

[62]Ibid.

Wallace could receive as many as 15 million votes,[63] and that he would also probably run for the presidency again in 1972.[64]

Wallace received approximately 13 percent of the nation's popular votes in 1968.[65] His strongest support had a distinctly regional flavor. More than half of Wallace's votes came from the Deep South.[66] The Alabama Governor did not capture more than 10 percent of the vote in a single nonsouthern state.[67]

Within Tennessee the sectional divisions that have divided the state since the Civil War[68] were clearly reflected in the pattern of the voter returns. Although Wallace received 34 percent of the Tennessee popular vote,[69] his appeal was clearly more effective in Middle and West Tennessee than in the heavily Republican eastern section of the state.

As noted in Figure 1, analysis of the voter returns by county and Grand Division reveals that Wallace did very well in traditionally

[63]"Win or Lose--What's Ahead for Wallace's Party," U. S. News & World Report, LXV (October 14, 1968), 40.

[64]"The Wallace Phenomenon," U. S. News & World Report, LXV (August 26, 1968), 31.

[65]Nelson Poynter, (ed.), CQ Guide To American Government (Washington: D. C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, Spring, 1969), p. 1; Converse, Miller, Rusk, and Wolfe, op. cit., p. 1102.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Poynter, op. cit. In this example, Arkansas is included as a southern state.

[68]These divisions were mentioned in some detail in Chapter II; see also Stanley J. Folmsbee, Robert Corlew, and Enock L. Mitchell, History of Tennessee, Vol. I (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1960), p. 3.

[69]Poynter, op. cit., p. iv.

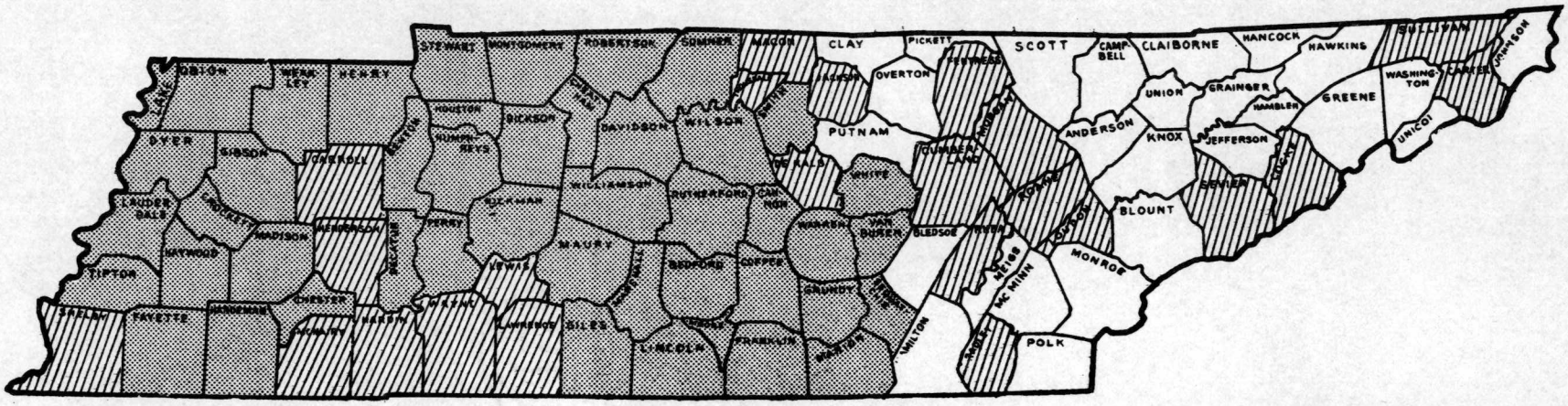


Figure 1. Breakdown of the Wallace vote by counties.

Democratic areas of Middle and West Tennessee. In West Tennessee he carried 16 counties and finished second in the remaining five.[70] In Middle Tennessee Wallace finished first in all but 12 counties. In eight of the 12 counties carried by one of the other presidential candidates Wallace finished with the second greatest number of votes. In only four counties (Clay, Pickett, Overton, and Putnam) in Middle Tennessee did Wallace finish third in the three-man race.

The pattern of voter returns in East Tennessee stands out in marked contrast to voting results in Middle and West Tennessee. Wallace carried only two counties (Hamilton and Marion) in all of East Tennessee. (Although he carried Marion county by a safe margin, his margin of victory over Republican Richard Nixon in Hamilton county was only 2,778 votes out of a total county vote of almost 85,000.) Only in 10 East Tennessee counties was Wallace successful in capturing even the second greatest number of votes. In the remaining 20 counties included in the Grand Division Wallace finished last in the number of votes received.

The apparent imperviousness of the traditionally Republican counties of the state to the Wallace appeal is more strongly underlined when the counties that voted for Wallace are studied in terms of recent traditional

[70]"West Tennessee" as used here appears in the conventional sense and refers to all counties West of the Tennessee River. Strictly speaking the Grand Division of West Tennessee includes Perry county on the Eastern side of the Tennessee River. See William J. McCoy, "The Tennessee Political System: The Relationship of the Socioeconomic Environment to Political Processes and Policy Outputs" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, August, 1970), pp. 309-310.

party competition in presidential elections.[71] As seen in Figure 2, Wallace did not carry a single one-party Republican county in all of Tennessee. In contrast, in counties classified as two-party competitive Wallace did much better, carrying 12 counties. The primary sources of Wallace successes were to be found in those counties classified as one-party Democratic. Of the 47 counties which Wallace carried across the state, 35 have been classified as one-party Democratic in presidential elections.

Risking understatement, it can be said that traditionally Republican East Tennessee was not "Wallace Country" in 1968. Should the Alabama Governor choose to run for the presidency again in the future, he could not ignore his poor showing in East Tennessee during his last campaign. If Wallace plans to carry Tennessee during a future election he may be forced to give some consideration to possibly increasing his appeal in East Tennessee for, as the 1968 voting returns may suggest, Wallace may have come very close to maximizing his political appeal in the state's two other Grand Divisions. In further evaluation of Wallace's future chances of winning the Tennessee vote it must be recalled that the strong showing by Wallace in 1968 was achieved with a hasty campaign and very little formal party organization. Since that time party leaders have taken additional steps designed to better organize the American party across Tennessee than it was during the first year of its existence.

[71]The classifications used here to differentiate counties in accordance to types of party competition are those developed for Tennessee's counties by William J. McCoy. The classifications were based on a study of voter returns during presidential elections between 1956 through 1968. See McCoy, op. cit., p. 98.

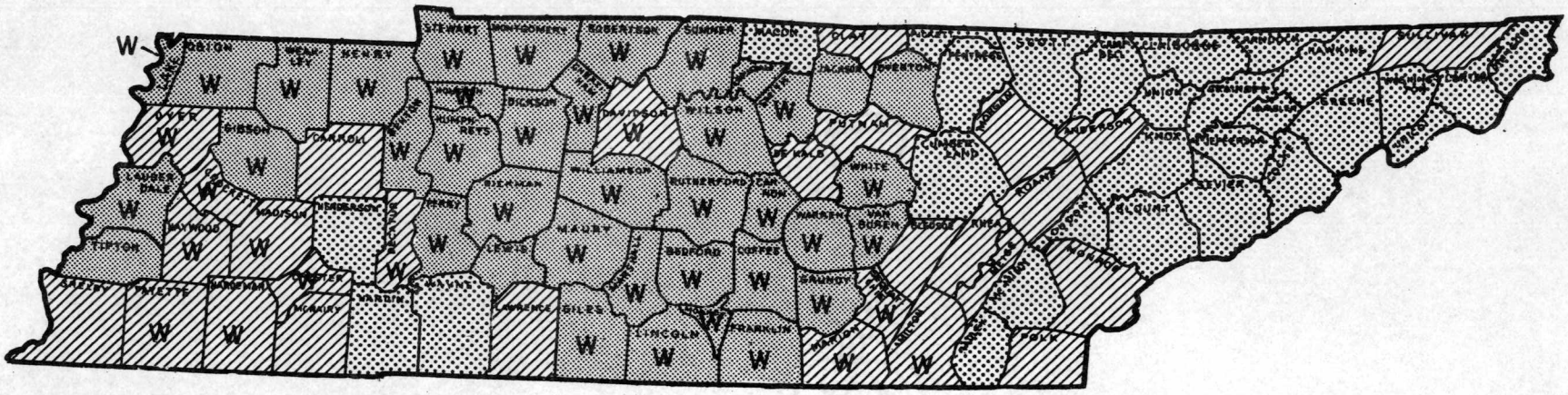


Figure 2. Breakdown of the counties that voted for Wallace in 1968 in terms of party competition in presidential elections.

IV. 1969: DEATH OR SURVIVAL?

The question facing the supporters of the American party after the defeat of Wallace in 1968 was "Can our movement survive?" In some respects the third party's showing in the election was both encouraging and discouraging. The election returns could be, and were, interpreted in various fashions. While many Tennessee Wallacites were openly discouraged by the Governor's loss in the state, numerous others were encouraged by the 10 million votes that Wallace received across the country. Those encouraged by the Wallace performance wanted to continue building the party and prepare for the presidential election of 1972.

Wallace encouraged the optimistic group of his followers. His post-election comments emphasized that he did not intend to disband his supporters. Only a few days after his defeat he explained that one of the major purposes of his campaign had been achieved, for the presidential bid had established a launching pad and a precedent for future campaigns. Wallace speculated that perhaps his movement could serve as a stimulating or catalytic agent for a lasting conservative party in the future.[72] As for the future of his own party Wallace noted: "it belongs to the people who organized it. I'm not the only leader. There are many people who can lead and will lead. I think we will hold our organization together."[73]

[72]"Wallace Looks Ahead," New York Times, November 6, 1968, p. 1.

[73]"Interviews With Winners and Losers," U. S. News & World Report, LXV (November 18, 1968), 79; for further expressions of this theme see "Win or Lose--What's Ahead for Wallace's Party," op. cit., p. 41; "George Wallace Tells His Plans: Interview With a Candidate," U. S. News & World Report, LXIV (June 17, 1968), 58.

Even prior to the 1968 election Wallace made it known that he was thinking beyond the 1960's. His objective was to form a permanent party that would eventually replace one of the two major parties. Soon after the 1968 election various groups of Wallace supporters around the country began planning the organization of a new party held together, hopefully, by well-known conservative principles, and by more than a desire to see George Wallace elected president of the United States. A number of meetings were held around the country by various Wallace supporters in 1969 in attempts to create a new permanent third party through the fusion of diverse minor parties that supported Wallace in 1968. One of the first meetings of this nature was held in Dallas, Texas.

V. DALLAS: FEBRUARY 3, 1969

On February 3, 1969, Wallace supporters from an estimated 32 states[74] met in Dallas to discuss the feasibility of creating a new national conservative party. The meeting was organized by a California group of Wallace supporters,[75] and delegates called the meeting the Association of George C. Wallace Voters.[76] Although the group was unsuccessful in creating a new party, attending delegates began organizing a tentative national party structure. A steering committee, composed of representatives of all states present, was appointed to act as a continuing, guiding

[74]"Wallace Group Ends Session, Forms No Party," Chattanooga Times, February 3, 1969, p. 1.

[75]Ibid.

[76]"Wallacites Organize," Facts on File, XXIX (March 6-March 12, 1969), 135.

force for the group. The purpose of the action was to authorize the party to be led by a national organization on an interim basis until the "party" could be more fully and permanently formed. According to a spokesman for the Association, Wallace approved of the Dallas effort, and some of the delegates said they had been encouraged by Montgomery to attend. Wallace was not present for the meeting although he sent several members of his staff to observe the effort.[77]

The Dallas meeting lasted only one day and insofar as the history or development of the American party goes, the session was influential only in that it reflected a continuing desire among several prominent conservatives to build on the loosely-organized Wallace movement of 1968. Approximately 250 delegates attended,[78] although no one from the Tennessee branch of the party was present. Among those attending were prominent radio commentator Dan Smoot and editor Kent Courtney,[79] both well-known activists for conservative causes.

VI. THE DAVIS CAMPAIGN IN TENNESSEE: FEBRUARY-MARCH, 1969

American party activity in Tennessee during the early months of 1969 was restricted primarily to a West Tennessee election to fill a

[77]"Wallace Group Ends Session, Forms No Party," loc. cit.; "Wallace Group Forms A Party," Chattanooga Times, February 24, 1969, p. 3.

[78]"Wallacites Organize," loc. cit.

[79]Ibid.

vacant seat in the Eighth Congressional District. The campaign and election were interesting in several respects. The seat itself had a colorful history. At one time Davy Crockett represented the area in Congress.[80] In 1969 William James ("Bill Jim") Davis was a candidate for the seat on the American party ticket,[81] and his role in the outcome of the election could not be taken lightly. Wallace carried the 14-county district in 1968,[82] and Davis was a personable and well-known local insurance man.

Davis and other members of his staff appealed to Wallace early in the campaign to come to Tennessee to help in behalf of the American party candidate. Surprisingly, Wallace accepted. His visit to the district marked the first time that he had campaigned for a candidate in a local election,[83] as well as the first time that he had campaigned for a candidate other than himself outside of the state of Alabama.[84] The visit also marked the Alabama Governor's first political speech since the 1968 election.[85]

[80]Martin Waldron, "Wallace Man Is Defeated in Tennessee Congressional Election," New York Times, March 26, 1969, p. 16.

[81]Ibid.; "Election Tuesday Stirs Tennessee: Congressional Vote to Show How 2 Parties Shape Up," New York Times, March 23, 1969, p. 50.

[82]Ibid.

[83]Ibid.; personal correspondence between Tom Turnipseed, Staff Member, Wallace Headquarters, Montgomery, Alabama, and the writer, October 26, 1970.

[84]Personal correspondence between Tom Turnipseed, Staff Member, Wallace Headquarters, Montgomery, Alabama, and the writer, October 26, 1970.

[85]"Election Tuesday Stirs Tennessee: Congressional Vote to Show How 2 Parties Shape Up," loc. cit.

Davis ran into some problems in February in getting his name on the ballot on the American party label but the roadblocks were overcome without too much difficulty.[86] By early March the election had created a great deal of excitement. The contest was expected to show if the usually-Democratic area had recovered from the loss to Wallace in 1968 and, if so, whether or not the district would return to the Democratic column.[87]

The seat had formerly been held for many years by Robert A Everett, a well-known Democrat.[88] The election brought about by Everett's death featured a crowded, 10-man field; but the major contenders figured to be the Democratic nominee, Edward Jones, a Yorkville farmer, and Republican state representative Leonard Dunavant, a former state agricultural commissioner.[89] Republican party strength had been increasing in the state for some time. For the first time in Tennessee history Republicans controlled the state House of Representatives.[90] The G. O. P. had also won the state's 11 electoral votes in 1968. The 1969 West Tennessee

[86]"Wallace Party Put On Notice: Affidavit From Massey Needed To Qualify House Hopeful," loc. cit.

[87]"Election Tuesday Stirs Tennessee: Congressional Vote to Show How 2 Parties Shape Up," loc. cit.

[88]Ibid.; "Wallace Man Is Defeated in Tennessee Congressional Election," loc. cit.

[89]"Election Tuesday Stirs Tennessee: Congressional Vote to Show How 2 Parties Shape Up," loc. cit.

[90]Ibid.

election offered the party an opportunity for still further gains in the state.

The Republican party national headquarters was obviously interested in the contest. House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford personally visited the district in behalf of Dunavant. Representative Rogers Morton of Maryland, the National Republican party chairman, also campaigned for Dunavant as did Tennessee's junior Senator Howard H. Baker.[91]

Jones, the Democratic candidate, refused campaign offers by nationally prominent Democratic figures, apparently feeling that such visits would do more harm than good in the conservative area of the state.[92]

Davis, the American party candidate, ran on a somewhat populistic platform, campaigning on many of the same issues used previously by Wallace in carrying the district. The campaign literature distributed by the American party headquarters promised that if Davis were elected he would "place the people first," "oppose additional taxes," "work for highway funds" for the area, and "work for local school control."

Davis was a county chairman for Wallace in 1968 and voters in his hometown of Covington knew where he stood politically. Much of his appeal had a Wallace-like regional tone. His campaign literature charged

[91]Ibid.; "Tennessee Election," Facts on File, XXIX (March 26-April 2, 1969), 186.

[92]"Election Tuesday Stirs Tennessee: Congressional Vote to Show How 2 Parties Shape Up," loc. cit.

that a large portion of West Tennessee had "been ignored by political leaders in Nashville." The "Stand-Up-For-West Tennessee" slogan used by Davis during the campaign was reminiscent of the 1968 Wallace slogan.[93]

Davis was defeated by Democrat Edward Jones by a two-to-one margin. However, the American party candidate received more votes than Republican Dunavant and the other candidates in the field.[94] The loss was not the political death of Davis. As noted in Chapter IV, a 1970 campaign by the West Tennessean was successful.

VII. THE LOUISVILLE MEETING: FEBRUARY 22-23, 1969

Additional indication that members of the Wallace movement were attempting to keep their effort alive and active during the early months of 1969 could also be seen in still another meeting of various conservative groups in Louisville, Kentucky, on February 22-23. The city provided an attractive setting for the conference. Many of the citizens of Louisville gave strong support to Wallace in 1968. During his drive for the presidency Wallace held a fund-raising dinner in the city,[95] and at one point during his campaign there were three Wallace campaign headquarters active in Louisville.[96]

[93]Campaign literature passed out by the Davis headquarters.

[94]Waldron, loc. cit.; "Tennessee Election," loc. cit.

[95]"Wallace Seeks Place in Debates," Knoxville News-Sentinel, August 31, 1968, p. 3.

[96]"Wallace's Army: Coalition of Frustration," Time, XLII (October 18, 1968), 15-20.

Like the Dallas meeting held earlier in the month, the purpose of the Louisville session was to try and organize a national conservative party.[97] Wallace, although invited, did not attend.[98]

The Louisville group, a coalition of delegates from an estimated 26 states, called itself the

> National Committee of the Autonomous State Parties Known as the American Independent Party, the American Party, the Independent Party, the Conservative Party, the Constitution Party, the Courage Party and Other Political Parties as Desire to Affiliate With This National Committee.[99]

A spokesman for the group stressed that the gathering was "an emerging coalition of autonomous groups on a state level."[100] Although approximately 176 delegates were present for the meeting[101] no record or account has been found which indicates that Tennessee had attending representatives.

The group expressed a "great respect for Mr. Wallace," but at the same time emphasized that the purpose of the meeting was to create a political party that could survive with or without the governor's leadership.[102] To use the phraseology of the delegates, the object of the

[97]"Wallace Group Ends Session, Forms No Party," loc. cit.; "Wallace Group Form A Party," loc. cit.; "Wallacites Organize," loc. cit.

[98]"Wallace Group Forms A Party," loc. cit.

[99]Ibid.

[100]"Delegates Like Political Party Minus Tie-Up," Chattanooga Times, February 23, 1969, p. 1.

[101]Ibid.

[102]"Wallacites Organize," loc. cit.

meeting was to create a party that would survive the loss of Wallace, "if necessary."[103]

A rudimentary platform was drafted during the session. The group called for repeal of the federal income tax, withdrawal from the United Nations, and an "all out war" in Southeast Asia unless North Viet Nam halted all aggression within 30 days.[104]

There was some overlap in the delegates who attended the Dallas and Louisville conventions. Many of those present in Louisville had attended the Dallas meeting[105] earlier in February. Nevertheless, pronounced tensions, perhaps jealousies, between the leaders of the two groups were also evident. For example, a few days after the Louisville meeting a spokesman for the Dallas group spoke derogatorily of the Kentucky delegates, saying the group had "a pretty damn high nut content."[106]

Little action was taken during the Louisville meeting which had a long-range effect on the party's development. William K. Shearer of Los Angeles, acting chairman for the group, "offered a loose collection of bylaws as the prelude to a new constitution."[107] He also delivered a verbal barb to the leadership of the Dallas group when he told the press that the purpose of the Louisville meeting was to form the third party

[103]Ibid.; "Delegates Like Political Party Minus Tie-Up," loc. cit.

[104]"Wallace Group Forms A Party," loc. cit.

[105]"Wallacites Organize," loc. cit.

[106]Ibid.

[107]"Delegates Like Political Party Minus Tie-Up," loc. cit.

that the Texas group had been unsuccessful in establishing.[108] Notwithstanding intention and rhetoric, after all had been said and done, more was said than done during the Louisville session. A nationally-organized third party with an active, full-time leadership, permanently headquartered was yet to be created.

Perhaps one of the most significant observations to be made concerning the Kentucky meeting was that many of the persons who gave strong and loyal support to Wallace in 1968 also expressed the view that the Alabama Governor was not the sole source of potential leadership for the still yet-to-be-formed party. One account of the proceedings makes particular mention of the group's intentions and feelings on this subject:

> Throughout the day the tenor of Shearer's and others' remarks was that there is no time to be lost waiting for Wallace to decide whether to run again in 1972.
> 'If we wait for three years for the people in Montgomery to do something and they decide not, then we've had it . . .'[109]

A similar independence of spirit reflected by many of the delegates to the Louisville convention has also been evident among various factions of Wallace supporters in Tennessee since 1968. This is not to say that Wallace has lost control of his own creation. As noted in more detail in Chapter V, there is no doubt that most American party leaders in Tennessee have the utmost respect and admiration for Governor Wallace.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid.

Still, it is not uncommon to hear that Wallace is using the party primarily to further his own personal ambitions and that his concern for the party's development goes no further than a selfish concern for his own political future. Although many of the party's leaders in Tennessee possess autographed pictures of the Alabama Governor, it is not unusual to hear Wallace referred to as "The Great White Father." The reference is usually made half seriously and half jokingly. At other times, however, the reference is underlined by a distinct tone of sarcasm.

VIII. TENNESSEE: THE MARCH, 1969, MEETING

The "conventions" held in Dallas and Louisville in February, 1969, did not have either long-range or permanent effect on the organization of Wallace followers in Tennessee. No organizational structure of consequence was active in the state between the presidential election of 1968 and the following spring.

During March, 1969, a step toward organization was taken when 23 representatives from approximately 12 Middle Tennessee counties met in Nashville "to discuss the future of the American party" in the state.[110] The small group, acting more out of personal concern for the party than in an official capacity, formed a list of recommendations designed to stimulate and undergird the survival of the movement.[111] The recommendations were forwarded to the acting state chairman, Oliver Wright, Sr.,

[110]Based on personal correspondence between J. A. Hundley of Columbia, Tennessee, and Oliver Wright, Sr., of Knoxville, March 6, 1969.

[111]Ibid.

in Knoxville during the same week. An additional copy of the suggestions, two type-written pages, were also personally carried to George Wallace in Montgomery the same week by W. E. Michael of Sweetwater. The recommendations were not overly specific and the general call was for a "coordination of efforts on a statewide basis."[112]

The fact that the Tennessee branch of the party had not been active since the 1968 campaign was made evident in the correspondence to the acting chairman. To cite from the March 6 letter:

> We recommend that the officers elected at the mass state convention in Knoxville on August 29, 1968, proceed to organize the party at the county and district levels and that the state chairman, Oliver Wright, Sr., call a state convention to be held not later than July 15, 1969, for the purpose of adopting state party by-laws and election of state party officials.[113]

The request, as later events indicated, was instrumental in the development of the American party in Tennessee. Interestingly, the letter containing the suggestions and proposals was signed by Joe Hundley of Columbia, Tennessee. Hundley, a prominent Middle Tennessee accountant, was subsequently elected party chairman during a convention proposed by his own suggestion.[114]

IX. AMERICAN PARTY FORMED IN CINCINNATI, OHIO, MAY, 1969

After two unsuccessful attempts in Dallas and Louisville, on May 4, 1969, it was announced in Richmond, Virginia, that the American

[112]Ibid.

[113]Ibid.

[114]Hundley's election will be outlined at a later point in the chapter.

Independent party had fused with several other minor parties that had also endorsed Wallace during his presidential bid in 1968. As a result of the fusion the American party was formed.[115] The new party united the Wallace party, the Courage party, and the old state-level American party under one banner. The action occurred during the weekend of April 27-28 in Cincinnati, Ohio,[116] although Richmond, Virginia, was named as the party's new national headquarters.[117]

The new headquarters was to be entirely separate from the Montgomery base of the original Wallace movement, although the two centers would maintain close lines of communication and cooperate in numerous ways.[118] The eventual relationship between the two groups was to be a close one. A Tennessee party official describes the present relationship in this

[115]"Wallace Party Merges With Several Others," New York Times, May 5, 1969, p. 22.

[116]Ibid.

[117]Ibid.

[118]The fact that the American party, founded by Wallace should have its national headquarters in Richmond, Virginia, rather than in Montgomery, Alabama, confuses many followers of the party and its activities. Nevertheless, the two centers are, at least in a physical sense, separate. During the period in which this research was being conducted the "Wallace movement" was centered in Montgomery, as it always has been. The address of the headquarters was The Wallace Campaign, P.O. Box 1972, Montgomery, Alabama, 36103. The Richmond address was The National Headquarters, American Party, P.O. Box 1976, Richmond, Virginia, 23216. Information based on personal correspondence between Alexander Hudgins, Executive Director of the American Party National Headquarters and the writer, November 2, 1970; personal correspondence between Tom Turnipseed, Staff Member of the Wallace Campaign, and the writer, October 26, 1970; personal correspondence J. A. Hundley and Oliver Wright, Sr., March 6, 1969; statement by Leo Ely, West Tennessee Grand Division Vice Chairman, personal interview, October 15, 1970.

way: "The American party is the action arm of the Wallace movement, although the two groups are not one and the same."[119]

One hundred and sixty delegates from 38 states attended the Cincinnati convention. Indicating, perhaps, a degree of independence from Wallace, the first national convention elected T. Coleman Andrews, Jr., as the party's first national chairman.[120]

Removing any doubts of the legitimacy of the new creation in the eyes of his followers, Wallace formally sanctioned the American party

[119]Statement by Leo Ely, personal interview, October 15, 1970.

[120]"Wallace Party Merges With Several Others," loc. cit. This is not to imply that Andrews is not a well-known political figure in his own right, however. In 1969 the American Independent Party endorsed Andrews in his bid for election as Virginia's governor. Although very few present-day American party members and followers of Wallace are aware of the fact, Andrews' father, T. Coleman Andrews, Sr., was at one time a United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue and a third party candidate for the presidency. Andrews, Sr., ran on the States' Rights ticket in 1956. The party ran Thomas H. Werdel as its vice-presidential candidate. The campaign was not successful as the party received only 111,176 votes nationwide, and its percent of the vote in Tennessee was insignificant although the party received 19,820 votes. Andrews, Sr., has long been identified with conservative causes. In 1963 he attended the Fifth Human Events conference in Washington, D.C., a gathering of nationally-prominent conservatives. Also in attendance at the meeting was A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., of Tennessee, the father of the American party's 1970 gubernatorial candidate, Douglas Heinsohn. At the time of the Human Events Conference T. Coleman Andrews, Sr., was a national council member of the John Birch Society. Numerous sources offer expansions upon the overlapping membership of some of the organizations mentioned here. See Historical Review of Presidential Candidates From 1788 to 1968 (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1969), p. 20; Fifty Years of Tennessee Elections: 1916-1966, compiled by Shirley Hassler under the direction of Joe C. Carr (publisher and date of publication not given); Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, Danger on the Right (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 202.

during the latter part of May. He referred to the new group as "the official arm" of his Montgomery-based, third-party movement.[121]

X. MARCH-OCTOBER, 1969: PLANS FOR A TENNESSEE CONVENTION

Between the Spring and Fall of 1969 Oliver Wright, Sr., of Knoxville, acting American party chairman, worked with several others in the state who had been active in behalf of Wallace in 1968 in preparing plans for a statewide party convention. The recommendations formulated by Hundley and the 12 Middle Tennessee representatives had called for the party to hold a convention not later than July. By July, however, a convention had not been held although Wright and others had made plans for a mass meeting to be held in Nashville in late October. The purpose of the gathering, in keeping with the suggestions by the Middle Tennessee group, would be to adopt party by-laws and elect statewide party officials. One week before the announced Nashville convention, however, several members of the Shelby county branch of the party decided to hold their own "state convention" and elect statewide officers. Press announcements of the two proposed conventions, scheduled only one week apart, created a great deal of confusion within party ranks. Numerous charges and counter-charges were made before the matter was resolved.

Apparently dissatisfied that a convention had not yet been called, the Shelby county party chairman scheduled a Memphis meeting for

[121]"American Party is Granted Official Sanction by Wallace," New York Times, May 27, 1969, p. 17; "Wallace Backs Christian Crusade," Facts on File, XXIX (July 31-August 6, 1969), 494.

October 17-18.[122] The West Tennessee convention was scheduled to meet only a few days prior to the convention called for by Wright. The call for the Memphis meeting rankled numerous party members, both inside and outside of Tennessee. The session was quickly denounced as a "rump convention" by both state party officials and a Wallace spokesman in Montgomery.[123] Fear of possible denouncement apparently made little difference to James Doyle, the Shelby County chairman, however. Obviously working around the official state party leadership, the Shelby county chairman was successful in organizing the West Tennessee meeting, and during the session a complete slate of new statewide party officials was elected.[124] Ironically, one of the first objectives of the newly-elected officers, according to their own account, was to "cement the party."[125] In fact, the rump convention--and it must be so labeled--could not have been more effective in dividing the party. As a result

[122]For accounts of the Memphis meeting see James Chisum, "Wallace Urged to be Active Leader," Memphis Commercial Appeal, October 18, 1969, p. 14; William B. Street, "Dissensions Cloud Election of American Party," Memphis Commercial Appeal, October 23, 1969, p. 32; "American Party Hurt by Strife; Split into Two Segments--Memphis, Nashville Both Host Parleys," Chattanooga Times, October 19, 1969, p. A-15; "American Party Names Officers, Hopes for Unity," Memphis Commercial Appeal, October 19, 1969, p. 12; William B. Street, "Game of 'Chairs' Leaves Question--Who's Going to Fall Off?" loc. cit.

[123]"American Party Hurt by Strife: Split into Two Segments--Memphis, Nashville Both Host Parleys," loc. cit.

[124]"American Party Names Officers, Hopes for Unity," loc. cit.

[125] Ibid.

of the meeting, for example, the party had two state chairmen,[126] each with his own following. Even the timing of the Memphis convention was awkward. The Memphis wing of the party was in a period of factionalism,[127] and press coverage of the meeting brought to public attention the intraparty squabbling. The Memphis branch of the party was divided and could not present a unified effort in its obvious attempt to obtain control of the party's state leadership. At one point during the period Shelby county had two county chairmen, each contesting for control of the county organization. One of the factions planned to attend the state convention in Nashville the following week[128] while the opposing group planned to boycott the Middle Tennessee gathering.[129] At one point the dispute within the Shelby county organization became so heated that a newly-elected treasurer refused to attend a business session saying that he was "too disgusted with the situation" to attend.[130]

[126]Otis Grey, elected during the Memphis convention, and Oliver Wright, Sr., previously elected to the post in 1968. William B. Street, "Game of 'Chairs' Leaves Question--Who's Going to Fall Off?" loc. cit.

[127]Ibid.; James Chisum, "Wallace Urged to be Active Leader," loc. cit.; William B. Street, "Dissensions Cloud Election of American Party," loc. cit.

[128]"American Party Names Officers, Hopes for Unity," loc. cit. William B. Street, "Game of 'Chairs' Leaves Question--Who's Going to Fall Off?" loc. cit.

[129]Street, loc. cit.

[130]Claude Turner of Memphis. Mr. Turner cooperated in this study and forwarded many of the pamphlets that he has written in behalf of George Wallace. For an account of Turner's refusal to attend the business session see Street, loc. cit.

Notwithstanding these divisive factors, the organizers of the Memphis convention were serious in their attempts to capture control of the party. Attempts were made to gain legitimacy for the meeting through the attendance of well-known national conservatives. Several well-known guest speakers were invited to attend; and, although several were present for the session, Governor Wallace was conspicuously absent. Dan Smoot, well-known conservative radio and television editorialist from Texas, did, however, visit the meeting and made an address to the attending delegates.[131]

The announcement by some of the group's leaders that they expected to take 77 delegates to the Nashville convention the following week[132] was surprising considering that the Memphis meeting was shunned by many of the state's recognized party leaders and actives.[133] Even prior to the meeting it was reported by the Memphis press that the gathering was not expected to draw the same delegates as the state convention to be held in Nashville the following week.[134]

Divisions within the state branch of the party were clearly evident during October, 1969, and a great deal of the intraparty disagreement centered around two questions. First, "Who should control the Tennessee

[131]Chisum, "Wallace Urged to be Active Leader," loc. cit.

[132]"American Party Names Officers, Hopes for Unity," loc. cit.

[133]Ibid.

[134]Street, "Game of 'Chairs' Leaves Question--Who's Going to Fall Off?" loc. cit.; William B. Street, "Wallace's 1970 Aims May be Key to American Party Split," Memphis Commercial Appeal, October 17, 1969, p. 25.

branch of the American party?" Secondly, "How dependent upon Wallace and the Alabama party should the Tennessee branch be?" According to the national party grapevine the word was passed during 1969 to "keep the lid on the party movement" in all states except Alabama.[135] In October one party official was also quoted as saying that if an American party member wanted to be a candidate for office in 1970 the person "should run either as a member of one of the other parties or as a plain independent" rather than seeking the office under the banner of his own party.[136]

Several members of the Memphis-based group were obviously displeased with the rumored instructions and with the outside interference. The Memphis group announced that the profits from their convention's banquet would be deliberately earmarked for the 1970 campaign fund for American party candidates in Tennessee.[137] Convention registration fees--$18 per person and $28 per couple--were to go into the state party's treasury.[138]

[135]Street, "Wallace's 1970 Aims May be Key to American Party Split," loc. cit.; "American Party Hurt by Strife: Split into Two Segments--Memphis, Nashville Both Host Parleys," loc. cit.; "Arkansas Party Split on Ouster," New York Times, December 28, 1969, p. 26.

[136]Street, "Wallace's 1970 Aims May be Key to American Party Split," loc. cit. In numerous discussions with members of the American party in Tennessee it became evident that some of them did not like the fact that Wallace ran for governor of Alabama in 1970 on the Democratic rather than the American party label. Their feelings were ultimately reduced to a single question: "If Wallace is not going to run on the American party label--and if he does not want other candidates to run on the label--what will the party's future be without candidates?"

[137]Street, loc. cit.

[138]Ibid.

There were other points of disagreement between the Memphis and Montgomery wings of the party that further divided Shelby county party members. One faction of the Memphis branch of the party felt that Montgomery was attempting to dictate policy to Tennessee,[139] and that Wallace and his staff were deliberately trying to keep the Tennessee branch of the party at a low level of activity in state politics. Members of this faction felt that Montgomery was trying to keep the Tennessee branch of the party subservient to the personal interests and ambitions of Wallace.[140] In an opposing camp were those who did not view the motives of Wallace and his staff in such selfish and Machiavellian terms.[141]

One of the primary characteristics of the Memphis convention was its independent and maverick-like tone. Wallace was publicly criticized for not assuming a more active leadership role in the development of the American party[142] outside of Alabama. One speaker even went so far in his criticism of Wallace as to hint that if the Alabama Governor did not increase his efforts in the party's behalf, the party would be forced to take action against him. In the critic's words "George Wallace is going to have to get out of the high grass or we're going to run him out."[143]

[139]Street, "Game of 'Chairs' Leaves Question--Who's Going to Fall Off?" loc. cit.

[140]Ibid.; Street, "Wallace's 1970 Aims May be Key to American Party Split," loc. cit.

[141]Street, "Game of 'Chairs' Leaves Question--Who's Going to Fall Off?" loc. cit.

[142]Chisum, "Wallace Urged to be Active Leader," loc. cit.

[143]Ibid.

The criticism did not end there. James Doyle, Shelby county chairman, told the delegates that the central issue facing the Tennessee branch of the party was whether the party was "going to be run by Tennesseans or whether it is going to be a tool of George Wallace."[144] Specifically, Doyle told the delegates, "Montgomery does not want an American party except on paper."[145] The Shelby county chairman said he disagreed with Montgomery and called for a strong branch of the American party in Tennessee.

Numerous accounts indicate that Wallace does not desire strong state organizations of the party except in Alabama. According to one source, Wallace has personally requested that the party not become active except during presidential elections.[146] According to another source, there has also been disagreement between Memphis and Montgomery concerning the state leadership of the party in Tennessee. At one time a dispute arose between the two groups when the Tennessee faction persuaded a well-known country singer, Doyle Wilburn, to accept the state party's chairmanship. According to a spokesman for the Memphis faction, Montgomery was against the practice of "getting big names" for state posts and Wallace sent the word to reprimand the Tennessean responsible for the idea.[147]

[144]"'Wallace' Party Begins Sessions: Second State Convention of American Party is Opened at Capital," Chattanooga Times, October 25, 1969, p. 9.

[145]Street, "Dissensions Cloud Election of American Party," loc. cit.

[146]"American Party Hurt by Strife: Split into Two Segments--Memphis, Nashville Both Host Parleys," loc. cit.

[147]Street, "Dissensions Cloud Election of American Party," loc. cit.

Some of the more outspoken leaders of the Memphis convention made it clear that in the future George Wallace would not be the only leader of the Tennessee American party. And at one point the Shelby county chairman called for a state party completely independent of Wallace. Further stressing the growing struggle for power within the party, one of the meeting's featured speakers, Jim Johnson of Arkansas, called a press conference to give his views of the national party movement and "to deal with matters vital to the national movement."[148]

If there was a dispute between Montgomery and Memphis in 1969--and few can doubt that there was--developments since that time indicate that Montgomery survived the quarrel with its powers intact. First of

[148]Street, "Wallace's 1970 Aims May be Key to American Party Split," loc. cit.; Johnson's outspokenness during the Memphis meeting was somewhat characteristic. Johnson himself is somewhat symbolic or characteristic of several of the more colorful American party supporters around the country. Although Johnson is from Arkansas, he has been linked with the American party in Tennessee on several occasions. He is a continuing source of both support and disagreement within the party. At one time he was an Arkansas Supreme Court Justice. In 1968 he was a very active supporter of Wallace. Since that time, however, James D. Johnson (sometimes known as "Justice Jim") has been critical of the Alabama Governor on various occasions. According to one account Johnson was literally kicked out of the Arkansas branch of the party and charged with trying to turn the state's American party vote to Richard Nixon.

Johnson has been active in politics as a candidate as well as a supporter and has been defeated in races for governor of Arkansas and for a seat in the United States Senate. At one point in his career he was also thinking of running for governor of Arkansas on the Republican ticket. See John Bennett, "Seemingly More Independent Than Party," Memphis Commercial Appeal, October 26, 1969, p. 2; Street, "Game of 'Chairs' Leaves Question--Who'd Going to Fall Off?" loc. cit.; Chisum, "Wallace Urged to be Active Leader," loc. cit.; "Arkansas Party Split on Ouster," loc. cit.

all, the Memphis convention was almost immediately denounced by politically stronger Tennessee party leaders. James Doyle, organizer of the meeting, incurred the wrath of the party leaders who organized the Nashville convention the following week.[149] Finally, and perhaps even more revealing, less than one week after the Memphis meeting Doyle was voted out of his post as chairman of the Shelby county group.[150]

In retrospect, the Memphis "convention" was a failure in almost every respect. The convention elected officers who never gained official recognition and acceptance in their own state, much less in Montgomery and Richmond. Furthermore, the meeting publicized the political rift between the Montgomery and Memphis factions and emphasized the instability of the coalition. Finally, the convention was flatly denounced ("rump convention") by Montgomery. One of the primary purposes of the meeting was to capture the state party's leadership, yet Doyle himself lost even his comparatively insignificant county chairmanship as a result of his effort. Doyle's ouster was probably one of the major developments of the two-day meeting. Working against the apparent desires of Wallace and the Montgomery faction of the party, Doyle was unsuccessful in capturing the party leadership in Tennessee. In contrast, less than one week later a different group of American party members met for still another statewide convention in Tennessee. The latter group, led by

[149]"American Party Plans Session for 8 Tonight," Memphis Commercial Appeal, October 22, 1969, p. 17.

[150]Street, "Dissensions Cloud Election of American Party," loc. cit.

recognized party leaders, received the blessing of George Wallace, as well as that of the official national party chairman, T. Coleman Andrews, Jr. The Nashville convention fulfilled its preannounced goals. In doing so, it also retained control of the party within the state.

XI. OCTOBER 24-25, 1969: THE NASHVILLE CONVENTION

On October 22, 1969, the recognized leaders of the American party in Tennessee announced that the party would meet in Nashville October 24-25 for its first "recognized" state convention.[151] The announcement appeared as an obvious attempt to emphasize that the meeting in Memphis the previous week was not recognized by the party's national and state leadership as an officially-sanctioned convention. Additional emphasis of the maverick quality of the Memphis meeting also came from Montgomery where Tom Turnipseed, a former Alabama state senator and a ranking Wallace aide, joined in denouncing the meeting, calling it a "rump convention."[152]

The announced purpose of the Nashville convention was "to set up a permanent party organization" in Tennessee.[153] The fact that Wallace sanctioned the affair and agreed to address convention delegates by telephone[154] added a pronounced tone of legitimacy to the proceedings.

[151] "Wallace to Address Convention," Nashville Tennessean, October 22, 1969, p. 9.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid.

[154] Ibid.

The agenda for the meeting was a full one, including the adoption of statewide organization procedures, the drafting of a statement of ideological principles, and the elections of state officials and national delegates. Prior to the meeting state chairman Oliver Wright, Sr., and state party secretary, Boyd Cox, announced that they would not be candidates for reelection.[155] By the time of the convention there was a good deal of interest among party leaders as to who would fill the posts, especially that of state chairman. James C. Davis of Covington, the former candidate for the Eighth Congressional District seat only a few months before, was believed by many to be a top contender for the post.[156] The fact that Wallace had campaigned personally for Davis in the previous contest publicized that Davis could attract special attention from the party's founder and leader. Several others were known to be interested in the post, however, and the election stimulated a good deal of interest.

Delegates began arriving early on Friday, October 24. According to one account, 371 delegates were present for the Friday night session.[157] Tom York of Nashville, the registration and entertainment chairman, reported that at least 500 delegates were on hand for the Friday night session and that as many as 800 delegates were expected for Saturday's

[155] Ibid.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Wendell Rawls, Jr., "Wallace Says South in Focus," Nashville Tennessean, October 25, 1969, p. 20.

business session.[158] Still another estimate of the number in attendance supports York's estimation.[159]

Precise figures of the number of delegates could be debated, for recollections vary from source to source. But the precise number of delegates is of minor importance. By all accounts the convention was the largest gathering of American party members to deliberately meet for the expressed purpose of "setting up" a permanent party organization in the state since the Knoxville meeting in 1968. (And, as noted earlier, there is some doubt that all who attended the Knoxville meeting knew that they would be attending a statewide party convention.)

T. Coleman Andrews, Jr., American party national chairman, was the featured speaker at the Friday night session. His presence reiterated the legitimacy of the convention. The keynote address by Andrews was received with a warm response. His speech outlined the American party position on a number of goals and issues familiar to most of the delegates: God, the Constitution, law and order, respect of country and flag, human rights, property rights, freedom of choice, good manners, personal hygiene, prayer in schools, protection of life, limb, and property, and states' rights.[160] Andrews also briefed the delegates on the progress being made by other branches of the party around the nation.

[158]"Delegates Hear Wallace 'Pep Talk'," Memphis Commercial Appeal, October 25, 1969, p. 3.

[159]"'Wallace' Party Begins Sessions: Second State Convention of American Party is Opened at Capital," loc. cit.

[160]Rawls, "Wallace Says South in Focus," loc. cit.

He emphasized the growing power of the third-party movement, noting that the party had "going organizations in 35 of the 50 states."[161]

Unlike the leaders of the Memphis meeting, heads of the Nashville convention supported Wallace. In his keynote address Andrews said that the American party had a lot of possible candidates "it could run for the presidency, although George Wallace was still the best for the party."[162]

As previously publicized, Wallace placed a special call to the delegates, and his brief statement encouraged listeners who wanted the party to field candidates in future elections. Wallace told the group that he would again be a candidate for the presidency in 1972 unless an "honorable" end to the war in Viet Nam existed by that time.[163] Wallace also said he would again be a candidate unless certain additional changes could also be made by the Nixon administration prior to 1972. In outlining specific conditions pertaining to his possible candidacy Wallace called for an end to an inflationary economy, a return to law and order, a more equitable tax structure, a halting of student unrest, and a return of control of public school systems to the states.[164] During the remainder of his address Wallace noted that his party had come very close to carrying Tennessee in 1968, and he added that the party would

[161] Ibid.

[162] Ibid.

[163] Ibid.

[164] Ibid.

have carried the state "if President Nixon had not begun to follow our platform."[165]

One of the purposes of the Nashville meeting was to organize the party for the 1970 elections as well as for the potential, and perhaps expected, presidential bid by Wallace in 1972.[166] Since Wallace received more than 10 percent of the Tennessee vote in 1968, American party candidates were qualified to have their candidates' names placed on Tennessee ballots in 1972.[167]

The Friday night session was an active one. During the first evening there was much speculation about the elections to be held the following day and about the possible candidates, American party or otherwise, that the party might support during the 1970 elections. One rumor was that the party would support Republican Bill Brock for the United States Senate. When questioned about the matter, however, registration chairman Tom York responded that no official decision had been made to support Brock. Upon further questioning by newspaper reporters

[165]Ibid.

[166]Wendell Rawls, Jr., "New Party Eyes Legislative Seats," Nashville Tennessean, October 26, 1969, p. 6A.

[167]The de facto organization of a political party in Tennessee does not allow the new group to compete in the state's elections. A party has to receive 10 percent of the votes cast in a previous presidential election in order to compete in statewide contests. In the past the Southern states have been reported to present the greatest difficulty in allowing new parties a place on the ballot. See Morton S. Goldstein, "The New Party and the Ballot," New Republic, LXXXVII (June 3, 1936), 99-100; "American Party Hurt by Strife: Split into Two Segments--Memphis, Nashville Both Host Parley," Chattanooga Times, October 19, 1969, p. A-15.

York also said that he did not know anything about the rumor that Joe Hundley of Columbia would be offered by the party's nominating committee for the state chairmanship.[168]

A few hours later, during the convention's meeting the following day, Hundley was elected state party chairman.[169] York was elected vice chairman and Dr. Cecil Pitard of Knoxville was elected party secretary.[170] The party also elected a 36-man state executive committee, four delegates from each of the state's nine congressional districts.[171]

During the Nashville meeting a constitution was also adopted.[172] The document outlined the party's structure, aims, and goals. In many ways the document was an expansion of the list of recommendations previously drafted by the 12 American party county leaders earlier in the Spring of 1969 and forwarded to the acting state chairman.[173] And as noted in more detail in Chapter IV, the constitution was composed of many of the same ideas expressed by Wallace during his 1968 campaign. The document[174] was later to be the source of many of the political

[168]Rawls, "Wallace Says South in Focus," loc. cit.

[169]Rawls, "New Party Eyes Legislative Seats," loc. cit.

[170]Ibid.

[171]Ibid.

[172]Statement by Dr. Cecil Pitard, Chairman American Party of Tennessee, personal interview, December 4, 1970.

[173]Based on an item-by-item comparison of the two documents and on personal correspondence between J. A. Hundley and Oliver Wright, Sr., March 6, 1969.

[174]A copy of the Constitution of the American Party of Tennessee may be found in Appendix C.

issues stressed by American party candidates in Tennessee during their 1970 campaigns.

XII. 1970: PARTY ATTEMPTS TO BE AN INFLUENCE IN STATE ELECTIONS

The American party of Tennessee was more highly and efficiently organized during the early months of 1970 than ever before. A nucleus of party leaders were elected the previous year, and during the early months of 1970 the officials were preparing to move toward the fulfillment of the party's political goals. One of the more salient goals of the party was to be a factor in the November statewide elections.

During the early months of 1970 the party did not announce whether or not it would run its own candidates or adopt an alternative strategy of throwing the party's support to conservative candidates from other parties. If the party decided to run its own candidates for the state's governorship and for the senate seat held by liberal Democrat Albert Gore, the candidates would, more than likely, be selected by the party's governing body, the state executive committee. The most obvious choices for the races would have been the state's highest-ranking party officials, the chairman, vice-chairman, and party secretary. Chairman Joe Hundley left no doubt that he was available as a candidate for the governorship. He had been actively speaking to various groups since the early part of the year. On February 30, 1970, Hundley made a visit to Knoxville. The trip was a fund-raising venture in behalf of the American party. A banquet was held and the meeting was open to the public. Handout sheets

advertising the visit indicated that the American party was toying with the idea of running its own candidate for the state's governorship, and that as of February Hundley was the apparent choice for the race. Referring to Hundley, the handout read: "After hearing him, you may decide you want him for your next governor and that you, too, have the courage to Stand Up For America."[175]

During the early months of 1970 the party appeared unified and committed to the goal of becoming an influential third party within Tennessee. In April members of the executive committee met in Nashville and reelected the ranking incumbent officers.[176] At the same time, Leo Ely of Jackson, E. S. Kestner of Nashville, and R. N. Enloe of Chattanooga were elected by the executive committee as representatives of the state's three Grand Divisions.[177] All officials were elected to two-year terms.[178]

The question of whether or not the party would run its own candidates in November was not on the committee's agenda, although Chairman Hundley urged those present "to give consideration to running candidates for state House and Senate seats."[179] As for the statewide elections,

[175]The speech was not very well publicized although tickets for the banquet could be purchased through the Knoxville American party headquarters and various other locations in Knox county. Tickets were also sold in nearby Middlesboro, Kentucky, and Cumberland Gap, Tennessee.

[176]"American Party Raps Charges Leveled by Gore," Nashville Tennessean, April 25, 1970, p. 9.

[177]"American Party Calls for Gore, Hooker Defeat," Nashville Tennessean, April 26, 1970, p. 8-A.

[178]Ibid.

[179]Ibid.

Hundley told the group that the party was still undecided whether or not it would nominate its own candidates.[180] During the meeting the chairman delivered strong attacks against incumbent Senator Albert Gore and against the potential Democratic gubernatorial nominee, John J. Hooker, Jr., of Nashville.[181] Following the verbal barrage by Hundley the executive committee adopted resolutions calling for the defeat of both Gore and Hooker.[182]

The Hundley attack against Gore was particularly harsh:

> Julius Caesar had his Brutus--Jesus Christ had his Judas. Tennessee has its albatross too--Senator Albert Gore. This is a conservative state and we need a United States senator who will vote our convictions, not Massachusetts', not New York's, not New Jersey's, but Tennessee's.[183]

A dispute between Senator Gore and American party leaders had been smouldering for some time prior to the Nashville meeting. The point of

[180] "American Party Raps Charges Leveled by Gore," loc. cit. There is, however, some disagreement on what the party had decided by this point. One source indicated that the party had chosen not to field candidates for governor and United States senator. See "Won't Run Candidate: American Party Asks for Defeat of Gore, Hooker," Chattanooga Times, April 26, 1970, p. A-17. Numerous ranking party officials have said since that time, however, that the party did not officially decide against running its own candidates in 1970. Statements by Leo Ely, personal interview, October 15, 1970; by R. E. ("Bud") Whedbee, personal interview, November 4, 1970; by Dr. Cecil Pitard, personal interview, November 18, 1970.

[181] "American Party Calls for Gore, Hooker Defeat," loc. cit.; "Won't Run Candidate: American Party Asks for Defeat of Gore, Hooker," loc. cit.

[182] During the same meeting the executive committees formally endorsed the gubernatorial candidacy of George Wallace in Alabama. Ibid.

[183] Ibid.

contention arose when Senator Gore told the Tennessee Young Democrats that one faction of the Republican party was trying to "infiltrate and take over the leadership and policy of the American party in Tennessee."[184] The allegation infuriated several American party leaders. Hundley denied Gore's charge that Republicans were making substantial inroads into the party's leadership. "There's not a word of truth in it," Hundley told the executive committee.[185] Hundley added that the American party was not being "infiltrated by either Republicans or Democrats."[186]

The meeting of the executive committee in Nashville in April, 1970, lasted two days and the session was comparatively mild and calm. It was perhaps as a result of the prevailing quest for unity that one of the major questions brought before the group was never clearly resolved. When the delegates adjourned the party was still undecided whether or not it would field candidates in November. The subject was to plague and divide the party in the months that followed for by the time of the meeting intraparty support for running candidates in November had grown substantially. The inclination was particularly noticeable among some of the more influential members of the executive committee. At the same

[184]"American Party Raps Charges Leveled by Gore," loc. cit. The charge by Gore is interesting in light of the fact that Dr. Cecil Pitard of Knoxville, then party secretary, was later to become party chairman as a result of an unusual meeting of the state executive committee in Nashville in June, 1971. During the elections of 1970 Dr. Pitard's own campaign literature noted that he was at one time a "Republican official."

[185]"Won't Run Candidate: American Party Asks for Defeat of Gore, Hooker," loc. cit.

[186]Ibid.

time, the party's chairman and one or two other ranking officials had adopted more of a wait-and-see attitude toward the matter.

There was a growing feeling of impatience among several executive committee members between the Spring and Summer of 1970. By the beginning of early Summer the tensions between the party's leadership, in one camp, and the group's governing body (executive committee) in another, were about to lead to open party warfare.

XIII. JUNE 11, 1970: FOUR TOP PARTY OFFICERS VOTED OUT OF OFFICE

William B. Hesseltine, an avid observor of American third parties, once referred to the old Whig party as a "party of organized incompatifility."[187] The description would have been appropriate for the American party in Tennessee during the early Summer of 1970.

The party was rife with factionalism. The surface appearance of unity which existed during the latter months of 1969 and the early months of 1970 had disappeared. One faction wanted the party to field candidates in the upcoming elections. A rival faction, led by the party's chairman, wanted the organization to endorse the more conservative Democratic and Republican candidates. The views of the two groups grew increasingly incompatible and compromise was not selected as a solution to the disagreement. As November approached the two factions held steadfast to their respective, and conflicting, election plans.

[187]William B. Hesseltine, Third-Party Movements in the United States (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1962), p. 12.

Newspaper accounts fed intraparty rumors and discord. On May 10, 1970, political columnist Joe Hatcher of the Nashville Tennessean reported that the American party had decided against fielding candidates and that the group would join with Republicans to defeat Democratic candidates.[188] According to Hatcher, Wallace's defeat in Alabama's Democratic gubernatorial primary election (forcing a runoff) was felt by one faction of the Tennessee branch of the party to have put a damper on the desirability of fielding candidates in Tennessee.[189] Furthermore, it was not legally necessary for the party to run its own candidates in 1970 in order to be qualified on the state's presidential ballots in 1972.[190] Nevertheless, several persuasive members of the state executive committee, active supporters of Wallace in 1968, felt that the party must run for office in 1970 or else face the task of reforming the movement's entire political machine in 1972.[191] One high-ranking party official later explained the logic of the position in this way: "We had to run somebody or the party would have been dead.

[188]Joe Hatcher, "June 2 Runoff May be George Wallace's Last Stand," Nashville Tennessean, May 10, 1970, p. 2B; this report was supported by Dana-Ford Thomas, "Heinsohn's Candidacy," Knoxville News-Sentinel, May 24, 1970, p. F-6.

[189]Hatcher, loc. cit.

[190]"American Party Hurt by Strife: Split into Two Segments--Memphis, Nashville Both Host Parleys," loc. cit.

[191]Based on a statement by Leo Ely, Douglas Heinsohn's 1970 campaign manager in Tennessee, personal interview, October 29, 1970.

Joe [Hundley, the party chairman] didn't want to run for office or for anybody else to run for office."[192]

Additional reasons existed for wanting to run for office, not the least of which was the fundamental desire for political battle. The American party qualified to run for the posts when Wallace received more than the required 10 percent of the presidential votes cast in the state in 1968.[193] Furthermore, the party's constitution, adopted in October, 1969, stated specifically that the object of the party was to be "active in all the activities associated with the functioning of a moral and legal political party."[194] Winning elections is the major objective of most political parties, and many supporters of the American party felt that if their movement were to survive it should at least make some effort to win statewide elections.

Between November, 1968, and the Spring of 1970, the state legislature removed all remaining legal obstacles which might have potentially prevented the American party from holding its own primary.[195] One political observer explained the somewhat puzzling action by the state legislature--at the time composed of Democrats and Republicans--in the following terms:

> Neither party wanted to be known as the one that blocked the way to a clear choice among the Tennessee electorate. After all, if they alienated the American party members by denying

[192]Statement by R. E. ("Bud") Whedbee, East Tennessee Grand Division vice chairman of the American party, personal interview, October 29, 1970.

[193]"American Party Hurt by Strife: Split into Two Segments--Memphis, Nashville Both Host Parleys," loc. cit.

[194]Section 2.

[195]John Haile, "It's Hard to Run on the American Party Ticket," Nashville Tennessean, May 29, 1970, p. 18.

them a primary, then it was likely they would return the favor by voting for the other party in the general election.[196]

With legal restrictions out of the way several members of the American party saw the 1970 elections as an opportunity to activate and test the party's election machinery. The contests would also offer the party the opportunity to try to establish a pattern of party participation in the state's political system and would also help publicize the movement as a continuing third force in Tennessee politics.

As the summer approached it appeared more and more likely that one faction of the party would run candidates in the elections. The question facing this group was, "How do we get our candidates on the ballot when the party's leadership is against the action?" According to state law, minor party candidates may be nominated by caucus, mass meetings, or petition.[197] Either of the three methods may be utilized in qualifying a candidate to have his name appear on election ballots.[198]

On May 17, 1970, Douglas Heinsohn of Sevierville announced in Memphis that he would be a candidate for governor on the American party ticket.[199] His announcement did not mean that the intraparty dispute had been settled, however. A few days after the announcement it was reported that a majority of the members of the American party's executive

[196]Ibid.

[197]Lee Seifert Greene and Robert Sterling Avery, Government in Tennessee: Structure and Politics (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1966), p. 6; Tennessee Code Annotated, 2-801ff.

[198]Ibid.

[199]"3rd Party Hopeful in Governor's Race," Nashville Tennessean, May 17, 1970, pp. 1, 10A.

committee were opposed to Heinsohn's candidacy.[200] To confuse matters, the state chairman announced that the party had decided not to put up candidates.[201] "Instead," said Hundley, "we are dedicating ourselves to electing to office those candidates now running whom we think will best serve the people."[202]

Why the disagreement between Heinsohn and Hundley? If the American party did not intend to field candidates, how did Hundley explain the announcement by Heinsohn?

> I don't believe Mr. Heinsohn has been active in our party. He was present at our [April] convention, and I met him briefly then. He did not meet with our executive committee, and has no endorsement from our party. I know there are some people in the party who are disappointed that we did not put up candidates for governor and the Senate. I suspect that some of these have encouraged Mr. Heinsohn to run.[203]

To be certain, Heinsohn held no party post when he announced his candidacy for the governorship. In fact he had never held a party office.[204] He had, however, assisted in the Wallace campaign of 1968, and was once reported to have been chairman of the American party in Sevier county.[205] And, as noted in some detail in the following chapter,

[200]Haile, loc. cit.

[201]Dana-Ford Thomas, "AIP Dangles Support," Knoxville News-Sentinel, May 19, 1970, p. 10; Dana-Ford Thomas, "Heinsohn's Candidacy," Knoxville News-Sentinel, May 24, 1970, p. F-6.

[202]Ibid.

[203]Ibid.

[204]Statement based on personal correspondence between Douglas Heinsohn and the writer, December 9, 1970.

[205]"Heinsohn, Pitard Get on Ballot?" Nashville Tennessean, June 29, 1970, p. 9.

his credentials as a staunch conservative were beyond question. As for the other charges by Hundley, Heinsohn responded that he was running for the post at the request of many American party members. He also said that he intended not only to run a token race but that he was going to conduct a statewide campaign along traditional county lines.[206]

Throughout May Hundley persisted in denying the legitimacy of Heinsohn's candidacy under the American party banner. "The truth of the matter is," Hundley told the press, "Heinsohn is a John Birch Society candidate, not the American party's."[207]

Heinsohn had been reported to be a lifetime member of the John Birch Society in other accounts of his background,[208] although he personally reported that he had resigned the post in 1962.[209] Expanding further on his political sympathies prior to his announcement of candidacy, Heinsohn told newsman that prior to joining the American party he had always "voted for the man and the issue, not the party."[210]

[206]"3rd Party Hopeful in Governor's Race," loc. cit.

[207]Thomas, "Heinsohn's Candidacy," loc. cit.

[208]Bill Jennings, "American Party's Heinsohn 'on Side of the Individual'," Johnson City Press-Chronicle, July 23, 1970, p. 1.

[209]"3rd Party Hopeful in Governor's Race," loc. cit. Perhaps some credulity was added to Heinsohn's statement during his 1970 campaign for governor when a John Birch Society leader, Tom Anderson, leveled a strong, almost personal, attack against Heinsohn. Anderson, a John Birch Society national councilman, publicly endorsed the Republican gubernatorial candidate. Continuing his statement, Anderson said that although he was a personal friend of Heinsohn's, "he was surprised when Heinsohn said publicly he was not a racist." For a lengthy account of Anderson's charges see John Warnecke, "Birch Society Leader Endorses Brock, Dunn," Nashville Tennessean, October 30, 1970, p. 11.

[210]"3rd Party Hopeful in Governor's Race," loc. cit.

The Heinsohn-Hundley dispute continued throughout May and early June. Legal doubts were raised in late May as to whether or not the American party could hold a primary.[211] Some of the party's officers said there was really no need to do so since the party had nominated no candidates.[212] The party's state chairman announced to a weekly newspaper in West Tennessee that the party definitely would not hold a primary.[213]

The Hundley announcement added an increased intensity to the running dispute. A West Tennessee party member was angered by the chairman's statement and forwarded the newspaper's account to Dr. Cecil Pitard in Knoxville.[214] Dr. Pitard, as state secretary, was not empowered to call a meeting of the state executive committee. In order for a special meeting to be called it had to be requested by a quorum (majority) of executive committee members.[215] Pitard, at the same time, was near the center of the party's communications. He had the addresses of executive committee members. Upon receiving the clipping from West Tennessee the party secretary drafted a petition calling for a special meeting of the executive committee. The object of the session would be to discuss the question of whether or not the party would or would not run its own

[211]Thomas, "AIP Dangles Support," loc. cit.

[212]Ibid.

[213]Based on a statement by Dr. Cecil Pitard, personal interview, November 18, 1970.

[214]Ibid.

[215]Ibid.; American Party Constitution, Section V.

candidate in November. Twenty-three members of the 36-man executive committee affixed their signatures to the petition and the document was returned to Dr. Pitard. Upon receiving the petition Dr. Pitard called for a meeting of the executive committee on the night of June 11, 1970, in Nashville.[216]

In the meantime, Dr. Pitard had joined Douglas Heinsohn in submitting qualifying petitions to the party's leadership asking that the documents be approved and that the two men be endorsed as American party candidates.[217] E. S. Kestner, the executive committee chairman, and Preston Loveless, the executive committee secretary, refused to accept the petitions in the party's behalf.[218] The petitions were filed prior to a June 4 deadline and the rejections by Kestner and Loveless[219] caused a heated response by Heinsohn, Pitard, and their supporters.

By the night of the June 11 special session of the executive committee in Nashville tempers were running high. In fact, feelings were so strong and conflicting that attending American party members met in two antagonistic groups in the same hotel. Party leaders (with the exception of Dr. Pitard) met in the ballroom of the Noel Hotel while

[216]Based on a statement by Dr. Cecil Pitard, personal interview, November 18, 1970.

[217]Ibid.

[218]Ibid.; John Haile, "Lentz Refuses to End Fight Over Party Lead," Nashville Tennessean, June 16, 1970, p. 5.

[219]These two men rejected the petitions in their official party capacities as chairman and secretary of the party's primary board; John Haile, "American Party Showdown Near," Nashville Tennessean, June 13, 1970, p. 2.

the Pitard-Heinsohn executive committee supporters held their session in the hotel's Green Room, several floors above the rival meeting.[220] Each of the two groups extended invitations to the opposing group to attend its "official" meeting. Offers were rejected. Tempers sparked openly. A spokesman for one of the groups went out of his way to send word by party messenger that the opposing faction could "go to hell."[221]

Messengers shuttled back and forth between the two meetings for some time. When the party's leadership rejected the offer by executive committee members to attend the upstairs session in the Green Room, the party's ruling body promptly voted the officers out of office.[222] Voted out of office were Joe Hundley, chairman, Tom York, first vice chairman, E. S. Kestner, executive committee chairman, and Preston Loveless, executive committee secretary, all of Nashville.[223] Of the four, only York was present, and the session was held over his protest.[224] York charged that quorum was not present.[225] Since the meeting was held

[220]Based on a statement by R. E. ("Bud") Whedbee, East Tennessee Grand Division vice chairman of the American Party, October 29, 1970.

[221]Ibid.

[222]Ibid.; John Haile, "American Party Group Ousts 4 Top Officers," Nashville Tennessean, June 12, 1970, p. 1; Haile, "Lentz Refuses to End Fight Over Party Lead," loc. cit.; based on a statement by Leo Ely, personal interview, October 29, 1970.

[223]Ibid.

[224]Haile, "American Party Group Ousts 4 Top Officers," loc. cit.

[225]Ibid.

in executive session,[226] no newsmen or outsiders were present to either support or deny York's report. Predictably perhaps, several committee members who were present during the vote later contended that quorum was present.[227] York remained in the meeting only long enough for the roll-call. As he left he contended that many of those present were not members of the party's executive committee.[228] Others in attendance said later that all present and voting were bona fide committee members.[229]

According to one account of the evening, before the officers were voted out of office they offered a last minute compromise proposal, indicating that the petitions of Heinsohn and Pitard would be certified if the executive committee would not take action against the party's leaders.[230] Apparently, the offer was made too late.

[226]Ibid. The meeting was closed to the public. According to an official in attendance, "The meeting was not open to the public because it was an executive session. You don't open executive sessions to the public; neither of the other parties open their executive sessions to the public. The press was offered the opportunity to talk with executive committee members after the meeting." Statement by Leo Ely, personal interview, October 29, 1970.

[227]Statements by Dr. Cecil Pitard, personal interview, November 18, 1970; by Leo Ely, personal interview, October 29, 1970; by W. E. ("Bud") Whedbee, personal interview, October 29, 1970.

[228]Haile, "American Party Group Ousts 4 Top Officers," loc. cit.

[229]Statements by Dr. Cecil Pitard, state chairman, personal interview, November 18, 1970; by Leo Ely, West Tennessee Grand Division vice chairman, personal interview, October 29, 1970; by W. E. ("Bud") Whedbee, East Tennessee Grand Division vice chairman, personal interview, October 29, 1970.

[230]Haile, "American Party Group Ousts 4 Top Officers," loc. cit.

Following the ouster of the officers the executive committee immediately elected new leaders. Dr. Cecil Pitard, the former party secretary who had organized the special session, was elected to replace Hundley.[231] Pitard was also elected chairman of the executive committee and chairman of the party's primary board.[232] Jack Kershaw, a Nashville attorney, was elected first vice chairman,[233] and Mrs. Bryan Melton of Chattanooga was elected to replace Pitard as party secretary.[234] The new officers immediately pledged that they would certify the Heinsohn and Pitard petitions.[235]

The June 11 Nashville meeting cleared the way for the American party to field candidates in 1970; furthermore, the newly-elected officers left little related to the party's official posture to chance. Douglas Heinsohn of Sevierville, working closely with the new leaders, took further precautionary measures to insure that the party would support its own candidates in November. Working through his attorney, Jack Kershaw (also the American party's newly-elected first vice chairman), Heinsohn carried the dispute over getting his name on the party's ballot to the courts. The acting judge ruled that the case be "continued

[231]Ibid. In the new capacity Dr. Pitard would be empowered to approve the petitions previously filed by Heinsohn and himself.

[232]Ibid.

[233]Ibid.

[234]Ibid.

[235]Ibid.

indefinitely"[236] as the two feuding party factions appeared capable of settling the matter. More important, the judge earlier ruled that the names of the candidates should be placed on the ballot "unless party officials [could] show cause why they should not be placed on it."[237]

With the judge's ruling, and with the election of a slate of sympathetic officers, the matter was finally settled: the old officers could no longer prohibit Heinsohn and Pitard from running. The "obstacles" were simply voted out of office.[238]

Although York, one of the ousted officers, had called the Nashville session of June, 1970, a "kangaroo court" and compared the session to a "three ring circus,"[239] immediately following the meeting two of the remaining ousted officials began to temper and to compromise their former positions. Two days after the meeting Kestner and Loveless said they would be willing to ratify the petitions.[240] In explaining the reversal, Loveless told the press "There is a possibility that we were legally wrong" in rejecting the petitions.[241]

[236]Haile, "Lentz Refuses to End Fight Over Party Lead," loc. cit.

[237]Haile, "American Party Group Ousts 4 Top Officers," loc. cit.

[238]Ibid.; also based on statements by Dr. Cecil Pitard, state chairman, personal interview, November 18, 1970; by Leo Ely, personal interview, October 29, 1970; by R. E. ("Bud") Whedbee, personal interview, October 29, 1970. According to all interview accounts, the leaders were not "kicked out" of the party; they were removed ("defrocked") from their official posts.

[239]Haile, "American Party Showdown Near," loc. cit.

[240]Ibid.

[241]Ibid.

If a mistake was made by the ousted officials, it was political as well as legal. To that point the battle over the matter had been fierce. The overture by Loveless fell on deaf ears. The newly-elected officers controlled the party's governing body and they announced that they no longer recognized the old leadership. According to the newly-elected officers, they would begin preparing for the November elections.[242]

A few days later Heinsohn's campaign manager, Leo Ely, told the press, "Our candidates are on the ballot and I think the public should understand that. Some of them don't because of all this confusion."[243]

The argument ended. The echoes lingered through the 1970 elections. The "defrocking" or "dethronement" of the old leaders wracked havoc on the party's organization in the Fifth and Sixth Congressional Districts of Middle Tennessee. Following the Nashville meeting there was a jockeying for political positions in the two districts. The leadership positions remained "up for grabs."[244]

As to who constituted the legitimate leaders of the American party in Tennessee, there could be little doubt after the Nashville meeting. Heinsohn and Pitard appeared on the party's election ballots in November, and the newly-elected officers were recognized by the American party's national headquarters.[245]

[242]Haile, "American Party Group Ousts 4 Top Officers," loc. cit.

[243]"Heinsohn, Pitard Get on Ballot?" loc. cit.

[244]Statement by Leo Ely, personal interview, October 29, 1970.

[245]Based on personal correspondence between Alexander Hudgins, Executive Director of the American Party, National Headquarters, and the writer, November 2, 1970.

By the end of June, 1970, the way had been cleared for the party to field its first candidates in statewide Tennessee elections. Chapter IV is devoted to the campaigns of those candidates for the offices of governor and senator.

CHAPTER IV

AMERICAN PARTY CANDIDATES DURING THE STATEWIDE ELECTIONS OF 1970

I. INTRODUCTION

Political forecasters predicted a record turnout for the off-year, statewide elections of 1970[1] and their pre-election forecasts were on the mark. A Nashville reporter predicted that perhaps the turnout could be as high as 900,000.[2] Election day reports indicated a heavy turnout across the state,[3] even heavier than projected. On September 3rd more than one million Tennesseans went to the polls. The heavy polling surpassed all previous turnouts in off-year elections in the state.[4]

As noted in Chapter II, political alignments had been in an apparent state of flux in statewide elections during the late 1960's and it was not exactly clear which party the majority of the electorate would support

[1]"Voter Turnout Across State is Heavy," Knoxville News-Sentinel, November 3, 1970, p. 1.

[2]Bill Rawlins, "State Vote is Nixon Policy Test," Knoxville News-Sentinel, November 1, 1970, p. 1.

[3]"Voter Turnout Across State is Heavy," loc. cit.; Bob Poe, "Heavy Turnout at Polls Here," Chattanooga News-Free Press, November 3, 1970, p. 1.

[4]"It's Gov. Dunn, Sen. Brock," Knoxville News-Sentinel, November 4, 1970, p. 1.

in 1970. A great deal of conjecture and speculation was evident during the closing days of the campaigns.

On November 1st, two days prior to the election, a well-known political columnist and a follower of Tennessee politics for many years, predicted that a Democratic surge in the closing days of the campaigns would be sufficient to insure the elections of Democratic candidates for the offices of governor and senator.[5] On the same day a wire service reporter in Washington, D.C., removed from the Tennessee political scene, wrote that incumbent Senator Albert Gore's chances of re-relection looked good.[6]

Many pre-election forecasts noted that the American party could be a factor in the elections. Immediately preceding the election a Memphis-based observer predicted that the party's candidates "could have substantial bearing on the outcome."[7] According to the projection, Douglas Heinsohn was expected to pick up votes from Winfield Dunn and Dr. Cecil Pitard's total was expected to eat into the Bill Brock vote.[8] The predictions were credible, for as noted in Chapter III even prior to the primaries the executive committee of the American party took a strong anti-Democratic position and passed a resolution denouncing the

[5]Dana-Ford Thomas, "Predicts Demo Surge," Knoxville News-Sentinel, November 1, 1970, p. F-8.

[6]Walter R. Mears, "GOP's Hope is to Keep Present Congress Ratio," Knoxville News-Sentinel, November 1, 1970, p. F-9.

[7]William B. Street, "Pointers for Poll Watchers Outline Decisive Areas," Memphis Commercial Appeal, November 3, 1970, p. 1.

[8]Ibid.

candidacies of Democratic candidates Albert Gore and John Jay Hooker. It could be supposed that the American party, in keeping with the organization's denouncements, would not support Democrats during the elections. In keeping with this position, it seemed to follow that the votes received by American party candidates would presumably detract from Republican totals.

Prior to the primaries the state chairman of the American party, Joe Hundley of Columbia, was particularly harsh in his pre-election criticisms of Gore,[9] the incumbent Democratic senator. Gore also indicated that he was not taking American party opinion lightly. At one point during his campaign, for example, the Tennessee senator attended a meeting of the party's executive committee. The visit was unannounced beforehand and surprised many of the party's leaders. The senator received a cool reception.[10]

The overture by Gore was not as unexplainable as it might appear to the former senator's more liberal followers. In fact, and this point is more strongly made in Chapter V, it could have been politically unwise for Gore not to try and capture some of the 1968 Wallace voters, for a large number of them were formerly Democrats. Furthermore, like Wallace, the Tennessee senator had also earned the reputation of a southern populist, particularly concerning economic matters. There were also

[9]"American Party Calls for Gore, Hooker Defeat," Nashville Tennessean, April 26, 1970, p. 8-A.

[10]American party state executive committee news release, May 22, 1970; also based on statement by Leo Ely, former American party vice chairman, Western Grand Division, personal interview, June 23, 1971.

additional topics upon which Gore could possibly agree with American party supporters. Like Wallace, Gore opposed Eastern intellectuals, the influence of huge financial power centers in political processes, and special tax benefits for the rich.[11]

In 1968 Wallace became known for his appeal to the "little man," the farmer, the pickup truck driver, the man in the street. During his 1970 campaign Senator Gore also made a conscious effort to appeal to this potentially large bloc of Wallace supporters. For example, at a Gore rally in Knoxville on October 26th the senator pulled out his fiddle and joined musicians for a few country songs.[12] The populistic, "I'm-just-one-of-the-boys"-type appeal was shining through.

After the ballots were counted it became evident that many of the pre-election political pundits were wrong. Gore's momentum during the closing days of his campaign, if he did gain momentum, was not of the magnitude needed for a victory. Furthermore, support given to gubernatorial and senatorial American party candidates was inconsequential in the final election outcomes. This is not to say, however, that support withheld from American party candidates by those persons who voted for Wallace in 1968 was not a critical factor in the 1970 elections. The loyalty of the 1968 Wallace voter simply was not transferable to American party candidates in the 1970 elections. As noted in Tables I and II Republican party candidates would have won the election even if

[11]David Halberstam, "The End of a Populist," Harper's, CCXLII (January, 1971), 37.

[12]Georgiana Vines, "Candidates Jazz up Issues with Rhetoric," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 27, 1970, p. 1.

TABLE I

VOTER RETURNS IN THE 1970 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION BY PARTY, CANDIDATE, AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULAR VOTES RECEIVED

Party	Candidate	Popular Votes	Percentage
Republican	Winfield Dunn	541,379	51 plus
Democratic	John J. Hooker	489,057	46 plus
American	Douglas Heinsohn	24,041	2 plus
Total		1,054,477	

TABLE II

VOTER RETURNS IN THE 1970 SENATORIAL ELECTION BY PARTY, CANDIDATE, AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULAR VOTES RECEIVED

Party	Candidate	Popular Votes	Percentage
Republican	Bill Brock	534,239	51 plus
Democratic	Albert Gore	499,357	49 plus
American	Cecil Pitard	11,240	-1
Total		1,044,836	

the Democratic candidates had received all the votes cast for American party candidates. Neither Heinsohn, who received almost 2 percent of the vote in the gubernatorial contest,[13] nor Dr. Pitard, who received less than 1 percent of the vote in the senatorial election,[14] received sufficient support to amount to a balance of power between Democratic and Republican candidates. Republican Winfield Dunn's margin of victory over Democrat John J. Hooker in the gubernatorial election--more than 50,000 votes--was more than twice the number of votes received by Heinsohn (24,041). Representative Bill Brock's margin over Gore in the senatorial contest was well over 41,000 votes, or more than four times the number of ballots received by American party candidate Pitard.[15]

In attempting to analyze the political power of American party voters during the 1970 elections it becomes evident at this point that whatever influence they may have had, the influence was not to be found in their votes cast for American party candidates. Such votes were inconsequential in the election outcome. One question that arises, then, is "Which party other than their own, if any, did American party voters support in the 1970 elections?" More interestingly, perhaps, is to

[13]Larry Daughtrey, "Dunn, Brock Victorious: 1st GOP Governor Since '20," Nashville Tennessean, November 4, 1970, p. 1.

[14]Wayne Whitt, "52% Vote Puts Brock in Senate," Nashville Tennessean, November 4, 1970, p. 1.

[15]Figures cited here were taken from Fred Travis, "Republican Tide--Tennessee to Have 2 GOP Senators--Newest to Follow Grandfather," Chattanooga Times, November 4, 1970, p. 1; see also "Dunn, Brock Win Election--50-Year Demo Hold Broken," Knoxville Journal, November 4, 1970, p. 1.

phrase the question in another fashion and ask "Did American party voters support Republican candidates in sufficiently large numbers to insure the defeat of Democratic candidates?"

Although these questions cannot be answered with precision-like certainty, explanations can be formulated from questionnaire responses to related questions by American party leaders who were active during the 1970 elections. Several possible answers are explored in some detail in Chapter V. First, however, the American party candidates, their platforms, and their performances during the 1970 elections will be studied in more detail.

II. 1970 ELECTIONS MARK A FIRST IN THE HISTORY OF THE TENNESSEE AMERICAN PARTY

Notwithstanding the poor showing by both Heinsohn and Pitard the 1970 elections marked a first in the history of the American party's development in Tennessee. For the first time in the movement's history the party ran candidates in statewide elections.[16] One of the party's previously announced goals had been to eventually replace one of the two major parties in the state[17] but until 1970 the Tennessee branch of the

[16]"Senate Race Gets Latest Attention," Knoxville Journal, November 2, 1970, p. A-16.

[17]Based on statement by George Don Rymer, 1970 Campaign Manager for Dr. Cecil Pitard, personal interview, October 20, 1970.

party had not been actively concerned with either local or statewide elections.[18]

The party's poor showing in 1970 could have possibly been avoided had the membership been organized and unanimous in its support for Heinsohn and Pitard. To the contrary, the party was divided and some of the members publicly refused to support party candidates. Furthermore, Democratic and Republican candidates made strong appeals for support to the American party leadership.

Democrats were hoping to return the 1968 Wallace voters in West Tennessee's Seventh and Eighth Congressional Districts to Democratic ranks. The logic in the Democratic camp was that East Tennessee would, as usual, vote Republican and that Middle Tennessee would be the most fertile section of the state for the Democrats. Therefore, according to this notion, West Tennessee would be the critical and determining region in the state's elections.[19]

At the same time, Republicans were not content to write off West Tennessee, and their successes were substantial in the area. During the 1970 campaign the G.O.P. made an open appeal to conservative Democrats for their votes[20] although Wallace carried both the Seventh and Eighth Congressional Districts in 1968. During the 1970 elections, however,

[18]Based on statement by R. E. ("Bud") Whedbee, former American party vice chairman, East Tennessee Grand Division, personal interview, October 7, 1970.

[19]John Parish, "That's Politics," Jackson Sun, November 2, 1970, p. 1.

[20]Rawlins, loc. cit.

erosion from the American party ranks was evident even at the higher leadership levels. The chairman of the Seventh Congressional District, for example, openly supported the Republican gubernatorial candidate. In addition, Bill Huckaba, the American party chairman of Madison county, joined in supporting Republican Dunn's drive for the governorship.[21] Furthermore, even prior to the primary it was reported by the press that several members of the American party's executive committee, in addition to some of the party's county organizations, were working through the Republican party for the defeat of both Gore and Hooker.[22]

The intraparty rebellion within American party ranks was open and unmistakable. At one point during the campaign George Smith, Tipton county chairman, wrote to American party gubernatorial candidate Heinsohn and actually requested that Heinsohn withdraw from the race. Smith's letter made it clear that the Tipton county organization had discussed and voted on the issue and was going to support the Republican candidate in November: "Our people feel that Dr. Dunn's views are conservative enough to merit our support. Another factor that cannot be overlooked--he is from West Tennessee and this has strong appeal to residents of Tipton county."[23]

[21]"Dunn Committee is Formed," Jackson Sun, November 2, 1970, p. 13-A.

[22]Desertions from American party ranks were evident as early as May; see John Haile, "It's Hard to Run on the American Party Ticket," Nashville Tennessean, May 29, 1970, p. 18. Erosion of American party support, particularly at the leadership level, is examined in more detail in the following chapter.

[23]Based on personal correspondence between George Smith, Tipton county American party chairman, and Douglas Heinsohn, American party gubernatorial candidate, August 28, 1970.

The request made by the Tipton county group was rather unusual, particularly considering the history of the West Tennessee area. Since 1968 the area has been one of the strongholds of the American party. Wallace received more votes in Tipton county in 1968 than the combined ballots cast for both the Democratic and Republican candidates. Furthermore, Tipton county was the home of William ("Bill") Davis, the American party candidate who finished second during his March, 1969, bid for the Eighth Congressional District seat in the national Congress. Even more recently, the 1970 election returns indicated quite clearly that the American party in that area of the state could still marshall a majority vote for a candidate who met with its approval. For example, the American party ran candidates for 11 seats in the state's legislature in 1970.[24] In only one instance, a significant exception, was the party successful. In West Tennessee William ("Bill") Davis won a state senate seat in the 27th District; the district included Tipton, Dyer, Crockett, Haywood, and Lauderdale counties.[25]

[24]"Big Turnout Predicted for Election," Jackson Sun, November 2, 1970, p. 1; based on statement by R. E. Whedbee, personal interview, November 4, 1970; "American has Several in Race," Knoxville News-Sentinel, August 2, 1970, p. G-14.

[25]This unusual contest made news across Tennessee well before the election. Incumbent Democrat Geroge Gracey died in early October while running a strong campaign against Davis. Gracey's name, however, remained on the ballot as his death came after the last legal date the ballot could be changed. Although Davis was given a good chance to win this election beforehand, during the days immediately preceding the balloting there was an unexpected movement to vote for Gradey; for related accounts see Randolph Schmid, "Dead or Alive Choice Faces Voters in 27th," Nashville Tennessean, October 20, 1970, p. 6; "5 Counties Ponder Ballot Choice Because of Death of Candidate," Chattanooga Times, October 30, 1970, p. 4; Rawlins, loc. cit.; Bill Rawlins, "Tennessee Election to Reach Moment of Truth Tuesday," Jackson Sun, November 1, 1970, p. 12; also based on statements by Leo Ely, personal interview, October 29, 1970.

In contrast to the support given to Davis in 1970, neither Heinsohn nor Pitard carried a single county in the same District. The voter returns indicated that many persons in the area who had been loyal to the American party in 1968, and who also supported Davis in 1969 and again in 1970, voted a split ballot in the statewide elections of 1970. Davis received the support of the party's voters but Heinsohn and Pitard did not. To view the returns in another way, factors other than party labels appeared to be the critical considerations within American party ranks in the 1970 elections.

An examination of voter returns in the 1970 elections in both the governor's and senator's races indicates that party loyalty was much stronger and more consistent in both the Democratic and Republican parties than in the American party. As noted in Tables III and IV when the voter returns of the respective nine Congressional Districts are examined the percentage variations between support for Democratic and Republican party candidates for the offices of governor and senator are not nearly so great or lopsided as the percentage variations given to American party candidates.

Heinsohn's totals were greater than Pitard's in every District. When the ballots of all the state's Districts are added, Heinsohn received more than twice as many votes as Pitard. In only the First and Ninth Districts were the totals of the two candidates even approximately the same. Heinsohn's totals were twice (or very nearly so) as great as Pitard's in the Second, Fourth, Seventh, and Eighth Districts. Heinsohn received almost three times as many votes as Pitard in the Third District,

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULAR VOTE IN 1970 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION BY CANDIDATE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Dunn (Republican)	Hooker (Democrat)	Heinsohn (American)	District	Carried By
78,347	39,048	1,407	First	Dunn
73,955	40,706	2,003	Second	Dunn
64,809	47,496	2,034	Third	Dunn
54,072	64,962	2,728	Fourth	Hooker
60,305	67,004	2,681	Fifth	Hooker
44,295	73,176	3,176	Sixth	Hooker
56,130	55,494	2,373	Seventh	Dunn
45,885	53,012	3,243	Eighth	Hooker
63,401	48,219	4,390	Ninth	Dunn
541,379	489,057	24,041		

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULAR VOTE IN 1970 SENATORIAL ELECTION
BY CANDIDATE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Brock (Republican)	Gore (Democrat)	Pitard (American)	District	Carried By
77,885	38,198	941	First	Brock
68,492	45,687	1,045	Second	Brock
66,753	46,199	743	Third	Brock
51,251	68,452	1,075	Fourth	Gore
54,812	75,183	599	Fifth	Gore
42,216	75,407	838	Sixth	Gore
62,212	54,982	1,048	Seventh	Brock
50,307	47,427	1,439	Eighth	Brock
60,311	47,822	3,512	Ninth	Brock
534,239	499,357	11,240		

and in the Sixth District Heinsohn received fully three times as many votes as his fellow American party running mate. Finally, in one Congressional District, the Fifth, Heinsohn received almost five times as many votes as Pitard.

Compared with the votes cast for Democratic and Republican party candidates it would appear that American party support was associated more closely with personalities than, say, a factor such as party-line voting. For example, in the Democratic party neither Gore nor Hooker received more votes than the other in every single District. Hooker received more votes than Gore in the First, Third, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Districts. Gore outpolled Hooker in the Second, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Districts. In contrast to the pattern that developed in the American party, in the Democratic party the number of votes for the two major candidates was frequently the same from district to district. That is, in not a single Congressional District did either of the two candidates even approximate doubling--much less tripling or quadrupling--the vote for his running mate.

Similar observations may be made concerning the votes received by Republican candidates, Brock and Dunn, although Dunn clearly lead the G.O.P. ticket. Notwithstanding Dunn's leadership, Brock's support was greater than Dunn's in the Third, Seventh, and Eighth Districts. Dunn's support was stronger than Brock's in the remaining six Congressional Districts. Although Dunn led the Republican ticket in twice as many Districts as his running mate, his margin over Brock was frequently narrow. The consistency, in percentage terms, in the number of votes

cast for both American party candidates was far greater in the number of votes cast for both Republican candidates than in the number of votes cast for American party candidates. Neither Dunn nor Brock, for example, came near receiving twice as many votes as the other in any of the state's nine Districts.

The consistent and evident leadership of Heinsohn on the American party ticket was particularly surprising considering that at the time of the election Dr. Pitard was the state chairman. Heinsohn held no official post in the party.

In attempting to explain Heinsohn's leadership on the party's ticket it should be noted that although the two candidates ran under the same banner, their campaigns were operated separately. The two candidates did not campaign together and their efforts were not coordinated.[26] In fact, one drew the impression during the campaign that tensions existed between supporters of Heinsohn and supporters of Pitard. The tensions were never fully in the open and officially the party supported both candidates. The party's support was more "official" than real, however. In fact, the party did not support the two equally.

The campaign appeals by Heinsohn and Pitard were similar in many respects. The content of the candidates' speeches was quite similar concerning many points although the styles of the two varied greatly. Throughout their campaigns both men stressed the theme that the United States of America is in the process of losing its worldwide leadership in many fields. Specifically, the country is going from bad to worse

[26]Bob Poe, "AP Governor Candidate Heinsohn Raps U. S. Bureaucracy in Kickoff," Chattanooga News-Free Press, July 15, 1970, p. 13.

and is now in the throes of political, moral, religious, and ethical degeneracy. Both candidates stressed that the country must be salvaged and that it cannot be saved by either of the two major parties. The Democratic and Republican parties are impotent and equally inefficient in the face of the task. More importantly, the two major parties are responsible for the country's deplorable condition.[27] Presented with this unfortunate situation, and given the belief that there are no substantial differences between the Democratic and Republican parties in Tennessee,[28] American party candidates urged the voters to bring an end to the two major parties' control of the state's political machinery. Although Heinsohn and Pitard agreed on these basic points, all of which are fundamental to previously-expressed American party doctrine, an examination of the two candidates and their 1970 campaigns reveals significant differences in the two and their efforts and strategies to capture two of the highest offices in the state.

III. CANDIDATE DOUGLAS LYLBURN HEINSOHN AND HIS CAMPAIGN FOR THE TENNESSEE GOVERNORSHIP

The gubernatorial campaign of 1970 marked Douglas Lylburn Heinsohn's entry into politics[29] as a candidate, although according to his own

[27]This theme is popular in American party ranks; see Vines, loc. cit.

[28]Ibid.; see also "Heinsohn Averse to Consulting Bar," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 27, 1970, p. 15.

[29]Jerry Thompson, "Self-Reliance His Answer, Heinsohn Says," Nashville Tennessean, July 31, 1970, p. 4.

account he had "screamed and hollered about what the politicians are doing to us" all his adult life.[30]

At the time of his announcement of candidacy Heinsohn admitted that he was not a professional politician. Like many in the American party, Heinsohn disliked the use of the word "politician." Once during his campaign Heinsohn told a Union City audience of his contempt for professional politicians: "I am unlike other politicians in that I am not a politician and I do not like politicians. I would like to be a statesman."[31]

Ideologically, Heinsohn can best be described as a staunch conservative who prefers to support political leaders on the basis of personal and ideological beliefs rather than along strictly partisan lines. He supported Senator Barry Goldwater for President in 1964 and George Wallace for the same post in 1968.[32] In some respects, the American party gubernatorial candidate was reminiscent of Barry Goldwater. Both men ran somewhat unconventional campaigns and both emphasized conservative and strongly independent principles. Once during his campaign Heinsohn, sounding a bit like Goldwater in 1964, said he would refuse to compromise his conservative principles to get votes.[33]

[30]Craven Crowell, "Heinsohn Deplores Socialism Slide," Nashville Tennessean, July 31, 1970, p. 4.

[31]"Candidate Airs Views," Union City Daily Messenger, September 18, 1970, p. 1.

[32]Candidate's campaign literature, November, 1970.

[33]Ibid.

Heinsohn's conservative ideology cut across party lines. He could identify with Democrats and Republicans alike if the necessary conservative principles were evident in the candidates' public statements. For example, Heinsohn stated prior to the Democratic primary that his ideology was somewhat similar to that of conservative Democratic gubernatorial hopeful Robert L. Taylor.[34] At the same time he also noted that Republican gubernatorial hopeful Bill Jenkins, later defeated in the Republican primary, shared an ideology similar to his own. Heinsohn also noted that he had known Republican Bill Brock of Chattanooga for a long time and that it would be "fine" if Brock were to win his party's nomination for the contested senate seat.[35] The overriding consideration, Heinsohn noted, was not so clearly partisan loyalty but to "go to work on the so-called liberals in the primaries."[36] Heinsohn left no room for doubt in his public statements that the "liberals" included gubernatorial Democratic hopefuls Stanley Snodgrass and John J. Hooker, as well as Senator Albert Gore.

Charges and counter-charges between "liberal" and "conservative" wings of the respective parties were frequent during the preprimary period. Prior to the Democratic primary Taylor made his conservative position clear. On May 13, 1970, Taylor, a descendant of one former

[34]Poe, loc. cit.

[35]Candidate's campaign literature, November, 1970; this is one example of the lack of coordination between the campaigns of American party gubernatorial and senatorial candidates.

[36]Candidate's campaign literature, November, 1970.

Tennessee governor and a relative of still a second Tennessee governor, said he was "far to the right" of all Democratic candidates for governor but most notably Hooker and Snodgrass. At the same time Taylor strongly rejected the platform of the Democratic National Committee.[37] Taylor's attacks on Snodgrass continued into the following month. Typical of Taylor's position was the charge that Snodgrass, Democratic campaign manager for Hubert Humphrey in 1968, was an "ultra-liberal . . . unfit to act in the best interest of the people of Tennessee."[38]

During the earliest days of the campaign Heinsohn was viewed by his opponents and the press as an unknown factor. At one point the press described him as an "imponderable."[39] To be sure, Heinsohn broke many of the stereotypes of candidates for such high office. In some ways he was a noticeably private man; he was unconventional; and he was, as noted earlier, a political novice. At the same time, it was obvious that he was not a political clown, running on a lark. He was articulate and well-educated. He was serious in both manner and appearance. Unlike most of the other serious candidates for the governorship, however, Heinsohn was not well known across Tennessee prior to the campaign. He was a self-employed owner of a small Knoxville business. Prior to his announcement for governor he had made no attempts to publicize or draw

[37]"I'm Farthest Right: Taylor," Nashville Tennessean, May 14, 1970, p. 31.

[38]"Taylor Says Snodgrass Left Winger," Nashville Tennessean, June 16, 1970, p. 1ff.

[39]Larry Daughtrey, "Campaigns for Fall Election Promise Lively Politicking," Nashville Tennessean, August 9, 1970, pp. 1-B, 3-B.

attention to himself. Even his wife noted during her husband's drive for the governor's chair that Heinsohn was not a professional politician, and both she and the Heinsohn children, unlike some of the more well-known political families during 1970, deliberately managed to stay out of the campaign spotlight.[40]

Heinsohn's bid for high political office was an uphill fight from the outset. In October Leo Ely, Heinsohn's campaign manager, noted that during the candidate's visits across the state Heinsohn was encountering several disbelievers. Several voters, inside and outside American party ranks, refused to take Heinsohn's candidacy seriously.[41] Many voters expressed the belief that although the American party candidate meant well, he could not capture the governorhsip.[42]

In July even Heinsohn made the rather uncommon political move of acknowledging that his chances of election were slim.[43] Rather than dropping out of the race, however, he intensified his efforts. He made it clear that he was most serious about his candidacy[44] and expressed an

[40]Martha Jane Silvey, "Mrs. Heinsohn: Now She is All-American," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 12, 1970, p. A-12.

[41]Based on statement by Leo Ely, personal interview, October 15, 1970.

[42]Ibid.

[43]"Heinsohn Says He Will Criticize Administration," Chattanooga Times, July 15, 1970, p. 1ff.

[44]Based on statements by Douglas Heinsohn, personal interview, October 16, October 20, 1970.

ambitious desire to "get into every village, town, and county before election day."[45]

Following the election it was evident that Heinsohn had conducted an energetic statewide campaign. His Knox county headquarters was open almost constantly from September through early November. On several occasions the office was a flurry of activity, visitors coming and going, incoming and outgoing telephone calls, mailing, and the like. A noticeable majority of well wishers who stopped by to pick up literature or just to "talk politics" were strongly anti-Gore and anti-Democratic party in their expressions.

The campaign, operated on a severely limited budget, was conducted entirely by volunteer help. Although Heinsohn had several fulltime members on his staff, his campaign included no paid employees. After the election a campaign staffer described the situation in these terms: "We paid none of our employees--not one across the state; the printer even did our campaign work for absolute cost."[46]

The shortage of funds became more and more obvious as the campaign progressed. Expenditures included travel, postage, printing, and Wide Area Telephone Service in the Knoxville campaign headquarters.[47] Additional expenditures were restricted to the barest necessities. A

[45]John Vass, "Governor Candidate Heinsohn Sees Education as Most Important Issue," Chattanooga News-Free Press, August 28, 1970, p. 1.

[46]Based on statements by R. E. Whedbee, personal interviews, October 26, October 29, 1970, and November 4, 1970.

[47]Based on statement by R. E. Whedbee, personal interview, November 4, 1970.

few political bumper strips were printed, although there were insufficient funds to purchase campaign buttons so commonly associated with statewide Tennessee elections. "We just don't have the money that these other parties have,"[48] a campaign organizer explained of the shortage.

Surprisingly, more local American party "professionals" (office holders, county chairmen, and other officials) volunteered their services and labor to Heinsohn's campaign than to Pitard's. This lopsided support for Heinsohn was particularly evident in the operation and staffing of the candidate's respective state headquarters in Knoxville.

Both Heinsohn and Pitard requested, either directly or through their staffs, that Governor George Wallace visit Tennessee in late summer and the early fall and campaign actively in their behalfs. The original requests met with the following response from Wallace's Alabama campaign headquarters: "Since Governor Wallace is involved in his own race for Governor here in Alabama he will be unable to participate in races in other states this fall."[49]

The response by Wallace was not as surprising as it may have at first appeared to Tennessee American party candidates and supporters. In fact, the Alabama governor was in a somewhat awkward position when it came to campaigning for candidates outside of Alabama. Although Wallace had personally campaigned for Bill Davis in West Tennessee in 1969, over

[48]Based on statement by R. E. Whedbee, personal interview, October 7, 1970.

[49]Based on personal correspondence between Tom Turnipseed, Staff, The Wallace Campaign, and the writer, October 26, 1970.

the years the Alabama had criticized "outsiders" who "meddle" in matters that are esssentially state and local in nature. Wallace, in addition to perhaps not wanting his name linked to a losing American party candidate, may have feared that had he campaigned in Tennessee, charges of outside interference could have been made against him in future Alabama contests.

In any event, Wallace's refusal to "get involved" in Heinsohn's campaign was only temporary. A few days before the election the Alabama governor sent a personal note of endorsement and thanked Heinsohn for his help in the 1968 presidential election.[50] The endorsement, although welcomed, came too late to be of much help.

Heinsohn continued carrying his message to the voters. During the closing days of the campaign Heinsohn's staff was busy trying to raise television advertising funds.[51] The effort met with only partial success. Although television advertising funds were limited throughout his campaign, Heinsohn did appear on radio and television in the state's four largest cities, in addition to television appearances in the Tri-Cities (Kingsport, Johnson City, and Bristol) area of East Tennessee.[52]

Support for Heinsohn's candidacy by the state's newspapers, most notably the large dailies, was nonexistent. During the closing days of

[50]Based on personal correspondence between Governor George Wallace and Douglas Heinsohn, October 21, 1970.

[51]Based on statement by R. E. Whedbee, personal interview, October 29, 1970.

[52]Based on statement by Leo Ely, personal interview, October 29, 1970.

the campaign it was not unusual to find the names of both Heinsohn and Pitard missing from newspaper articles concerning the campaigns.[53]

Democratic and Republican candidates also usually ignored Heinsohn and Pitard in scheduling public debates, although Heinsohn's campaign manager, Leo Ely, sent telegrams to the nominees of the major parties requesting that American party candidates be included in all plans for public debate.[54] The press made only small mention of the requests.

A few days prior to the election Republican candidate Winfield Dunn received the support of six of the state's eight metropolitan daily newspapers. In addition, the Republican candidate received the support of two of the state's four black weekly newspapers. A study of political endorsements by the state's largest newspapers revealed that Dunn was supported by the two largest newspapers in West Tennessee, one of the two largest newspapers in Middle Tennessee, and three of the four largest newspapers in East Tennessee.[55] Symbolic of the American party's failure to win newspaper support was the fact that although the party's gubernatorial campaign headquarters was in Knoxville, the party did not receive the endorsement of either of the city's two daily newspapers. The

[53]Examples are far too numerous to mention in their entirety; see Nick Thimmesch, "The Tide has Turned in Gore's Senate Bid: Return of the Populist," Nashville Tennessean, October 21, 1970, p. 15; "Hooker Rates the Mandate, Says Chattanooga Times," Nashville Tennessean, October 25, 1970, p. 14; Dana-Ford Thomas, "Images for Senate, by Park Avenue," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 25, 1970, p. F-6; "Hooker Can Meet His Pledges," Chattanooga Times, October 30, 1970, p. 18.

[54]"Hooker and Dunn Set Debate for Oct. 23," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 17, 1970, p. 3.

[55]For names and locations of these newspapers see John Parish, "That's Politics," Jackson Sun, November 2, 1970, p. 13; political advertisement, Jackson Sun, November 2, 1970, p. 3.

Knoxville News-Sentinel surprised a few of its readers when it supported a split ticket and recommended Senator Albert Gore, a Democrat, for reelection, and Winfield Dunn, a Republican, for election to the governor's chair.[56]

Surprising only a few, if any, of its readers the Knoxville Journal was more predictable. The newspaper endorsed the Republican ticket from top to bottom and was highly critical of the American party for even fielding candidates in the November elections. The newspaper expressed confidence that the third party would not do well in the elections[57] and further speculated that the function of the American party was "clearly . . . that of aiding John J. Hooker, Jr., and Albert Gore."[58] Although the prediction was "clearly" wrong, the speculation was not completely without merit; the Journal's position reflected widespread East Tennessee resentment toward both the American and Democratic parties. And, of course, the Journal's projection that the American party would not do well in the November elections[59] was on the mark.

As mentioned earlier, criticism of Heinsohn's campaign also came from within American party ranks. Some of the party's leaders opposed Heinsohn's candidacy because of his affiliation with the John Birch

[56]"N-S Recommends," Knoxville News-Sentinel, November 3, 1970, p. 1.

[57]"Costly Uncontested Primary," Knoxville Journal, October 6, 1970, p. 4.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid.

Society.[60] Although Heinsohn announced on the opening day of his campaign that he had resigned an official position in the organization in 1962,[61] the one-time John Birch Society affiliation remained a source of controversy during his bid for the governor's office. Apparently many observers felt that he had not disassociated himself with the Society. One of the Knoxville newspapers was quick to label the American party candidate's politics as "ultraconservative,"[62] a word which has been frequently used to describe the political views of the John Birch Society.

To be sure, Heinsohn was seasoned in the philosophy of the Society. According to his own account he was very active in the Society's educational activities for several years. In that capacity he helped to coordinate the work of the organization in ten states. Nevertheless, he also emphasized during his campaign that he did not subscribe to such tactics commonly associated with the John Birch Society as calling former President Dwight Eisenhower a communist and "going about looking for reds under the beds."[63] Notwithstanding Heinsohn's statements, the John Birch Society continued to serve as a source of criticism from within as well as outside American party ranks. A great deal of the criticism was probably based as much on Heinsohn's father, A. G. Heinsohn, Jr.,

[60]Haile, loc. cit.

[61]Press release from the campaign headquarters of the candidate, May 17, 1970.

[62]Stan DeLozier, "Governor's Race Marked by Variety of Political Approaches," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 25, 1970, p. G-4.

[63]Press release from the campaign headquarters of the candidate, May 17, 1970.

now of Sevierville and Gatlinburg, and his association with the John Birch Society as with Heinsohn's own former association with the group.

IV. GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE DOUG HEINSOHN, HIS FATHER, A. G. HEINSOHN, JR., AND CONSERVATIVE CAUSES

In order better to understand some of the criticisms of Heinsohn's candidacy, particularly criticisms which arose questioning the candidate's conservative credentials, the criticisms themselves should be more closely examined. Even the most cursory examination reveals that bedrock conservatism has been a way of life for the last two, and perhaps even more, generations of Heinsohns. As noted above, much of the criticism of Doug Heinsohn's candidacy was probably reinforced by the fact that the candidate's father, A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., had also been long identified with the John Birch Society,[64] in addition to numerous other conservative causes.[65] In fact, A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., is one of the Society's top leaders,[66] a member of the National Council of the organization.[67] At

[64]Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1970 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970), pp. 75, 311, 285n; see also Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, Danger on the Right (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 27, 168; William Buchanan and Agnes Bird, Money as a Campaign Resource (Princeton: Citizen' Research Foundation, 1966), pp. 34, 36, 39.

[65]For examples see Forster and Epstein, op. cit., pp. 27, 168, 170, 195, 202, 274, 279, 280; see also A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., "Free Lunch and Boobus Americanus," American Opinion, VII (June, 1966), 85; Craven, loc. cit.; Harold P. Poeschel, It is High Time: The Case for a New Party (Short Hill, N.J.: Independent Publishers, Inc., 1963), p. 7ff.

[66]Forster and Epstein, op. cit., pp. 27, 168.

[67]Ibid., p. 168; Lipset and Raab, op. cit., p. 311.

one time he was also one of the Society's directors.[68] The elder Heinsohn's conservative ties do not, however, end here. He is well-known in national conservative circles as an activist in various patriotic causes and he is the author of two books (One Man's Fight for Freedom and Anthology of Conservative Writing in the United States: 1932-1960)[69] that describe his conservative philosophy and his personal resistance to anti-American forces. His conservatism is so pronounced and activistly oriented that at least one source has conferred upon the East Tennessean the status as a member of "Who's Who of the American Far Right."[70]

The elder Heinsohn's pronounced disgust for communism has been evident for many years, as has his criticism of the presidential and party leadership of the United States since, roughly speaking, Franklin D. Roosevelt's first term. He has been an outspoken critic of the centralization of power in Washington, D.C., and what he describes as the "Roosevelt-Truman-Eisenhower new deal, fair deal, and modern Republican cicanery."[71] For many years the conservative spokesman has encouraged the creation of a new party and criticized the "atheistic-socialistic-communistic yoke imposed upon us [the American people] by the faithless, unprincipled, politicians in control of both parties."[72]

[68]Buchanan and Bird, loc. cit.

[69]Craven, loc. cit.; during WWI Heinsohn served in the military as a Spad aviater. He flew with Eddie Rickenbacker in the German theatre; see "Flew with Eddie," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 25, 1970, p. G-3.

[70]Forster and Epstein, op. cit., p. 168; Craven, loc. cit.

[71]Poeschel, loc. cit.

[72]Ibid.

The East Tennessean's name has also been reportedly linked with such rightest-oriented organizations as Manion Forum and the National Economic Council.[73] Furthermore, his financial support for conservative causes has been evident on both the national and state levels for several years. For example, in 1964 the Ada Hearne Foundation of Sevierville, Tennessee, was reported to be "the outlet for contributions by A. G. Heinsohn, Jr." to "Right Wing groups."[74] Heinsohn's affiliation with the organization is put into better perspective once it is realized that even as early as 1959, the foundation reportedly gave "a major portion" of its annual giving to "rightest-oriented causes."[75] To cite from one account:

> During 1959, for instance, Heinsohn's very modest Ada Hearne Foundation made total contributions of a little over $20,000. Almost $15,000 of that total went to the American Economic Foundation and the Christian Freedom Foundation . . . , $1,000 each went to Harding College [a small school in Searcy, Arkansas, controlled by the Church of Christ], the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, and to the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship--the latter a major source of funds in recent years for Human Events. Against this, some $200 went to Knoxville Symphony Society, $100 to Smith College [a small independent college in Northampton, Massachusetts], $500 to a Baptist school, and another $1,500 to two churches.[76]

At the same time, A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., has also reportedly supplemented "his individual contributions with advertisements placed in Right

[73] Forster and Epstein, op. cit., p. 195.

[74] Ibid., p. 273ff.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

Wing publications under the names of the companies in which he is a principal--Spindale and Cherokee Mills."[77]

Heinsohn has also been noticeably active in state as well as national affairs. Although it has not been documented in this study, it seems safe to presume that he was one of the most ardent financial supporters of his son's campaign for the governor's office in 1970.[78] An East Tennessee industrialist and a man of financial means, A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., gave financial backing to Prentice Cooper in 1958 when Cooper ran against Gore in the latter's first successful bid for a seat in the United States senate.[79] During the Gore-Cooper contest for the Democratic nomination Heinsohn purchased a large advertisement in a Knoxville newspaper which was very critical of Gore and associated the Tennessean with "foreign interests" and "socialist government."[80] Gore was noticeably affected by Heinsohn's activities. During the campaign the congressman frequently referred to the East Tennessee industrialist as one of Cooper's financial backers and a hard-core member of his sternest opposition.[81]

[77]Ibid., p. 279ff; Lipset and Raab, loc. cit.

[78]Both the American party gubernatorial and senatorial campaigns were financed through voluntary contributions. The national party organization did not contribute funds to the Tennessee campaigns. On June 11, 1970, the state branch of the party raised $346.00 when the hat was passed for campaign contributions during a meeting of the state executive committee in Nashville; based on the Corrected and Approved Minutes of State Executive Committee Meeting of June 11, 1970; also based on statement by Leo Ely, personal interview, June 23, 1971.

[79]Buchanan and Bird, op. cit., pp. 34, 36, 39.

[80]Ibid.

[81]Ibid.

V. O. Key, Jr., has noted that independents whose parents were independents "tend to be independents in high degree."[82] The observation certainly appears applicable to A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., long-time independent supporter of conservative causes, and his son, Douglas L. Heinsohn, American party candidate for his Tennessee governorship in 1970. To charge, as did some of his critics during the campaign, that Doug Heinsohn was a newcomer and a novice in conservative personal circles was to reveal ignorance of the man's political roots and his personal life.

V. DR. CECIL EDWIN PITARD AND HIS CAMPAIGN FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE

Dr. Cecil Edwin Pitard, an ear, eye, nose, and throat specialist from Knoxville, had been visably active in local politics prior to his campaign for a seat in the United States Senate, although the senatorial bid marked his first attempt to win statewide public office. His first campaign met with failure in 1963 when the East Tennessee physician staged an unsuccessful effort to win a seat on the Knoxville City Board of Education.[83] His past support for conservative causes, most notably for the American party in 1968, had also been well publicized prior to the 1970 elections.[84]

[82]V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, & Pressure Groups (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964), p. 214.

[83]Betsy Morris, "Mrs. Pitard: No Speaker but She's Office Helpmate," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 27, 1970, p. 6; "Three Bid for Votes in Senate Campaign," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 25, 1970, p. G-8.

[84]"Three Parties in Race for Office Held by Gore," Knoxville News-Sentinel, August 2, 1970, p. G-8.

Dr. Pitard's rise within the American party was rapid. He was elected the party's original state secretary during a statewide convention on October 24-25, 1969.[85] He was reelected to the post during the party's statewide convention in Nashville, April 24-25, 1970.[86] On June 11, 1970, less than two months later, he was elected chairman of the American party of Tennessee,[87] the party's highest post within the state. Pitard retains the state chairmanship and is also a member of the influential national Resolutions Committee of the American party, an honor he shares with, among others, Kent Courtney,[88] national chairman of the Conservative Society of America. Pitard was one of only four members of the national American party who campaigned for a seat in the United States Senate in 1970.[89]

Prior to joining the Wallace movement in 1968 Pitard was active in the East Tennessee Republican party. At one time he was a Knox County

[85]Based on personal correspondence between Leo Ely and Cecil Pitard, to the Honorable Joe Carr, Tennessee Secretary of State, October 27, 1969.

[86]Based on statement by Cecil Pitard, personal interview, November 18, 1970.

[87]Based on Corrected and Approved Minutes of State Executive Committee Meeting of June 11, 1970; also American party state executive committee news release, June 11, 1970.

[88]Based on statement by Cecil Pitard, personal interview, November 18, 1970.

[89]During the campaign Pitard thought he was the only American party candidate in the United States running for a seat in the United States Senate. He discovered during a nationwide American party convention in Memphis, November 13-14, 1970, however, that American party candidates ran for the Senate in at least three additional states. According to Pitard, the Michigan branch of the party ran "almost a complete slate" of candidates in 1970. Personal interview, November 18, 1970.

G.O.P. official.[90] He was born in Jackson, Mississippi, although he had lived in Knoxville for twenty years prior to his campaign[91] and had also attended the University of Tennessee medical school at Memphis.[92] He is a veteran and a member of the Church of Christ.[93]

Notwithstanding his somewhat activistic political background, Pitard, like Heinsohn, did not exactly fit the mold of the stereotyped politician. And, like Heinsohn, he perplexed political observers who tried to analyze his actions. An article appeared in a Memphis newspaper on the day of the elections and referred to the Knoxville physician as an "imponderable."[94]

During his brief and very limited campaign Dr. Pitard baffled many voters and struck others as a mixture of quixotic and puzzling behavior. He was not a forceful speaker. His delivery was very slow, deliberate, and unemotional. He was soft-spoken, almost shy. He announced no ambitious campaign plans. His travels while seeking election would be more appropriately referred to as a campaign footpath than a trail. His television time was limited. His speaking engagements were few. According

[90]Based on statement by Cecil Pitard, personal interview, July 30, 1971.

[91]Morris, loc. cit.

[92]Based on statement by Cecil Pitard, personal interview, July 30, 1971.

[93]Morris, loc. cit.

[94]"Voters Decide Issues Today in Torrid Tennessee Contests," Memphis Commercial Appeal, November 3, 1970, p. 1.

to his own estimate, he spent a total of only 15 days on the campaign trail, and he dreaded most of them.[95]

Pitard, frankly, did not enjoy the speech making and "politicking" long associated with being a statewide political candidate. Following the election he noted that he had not particularly wanted to be one of Tennessee's senators and that he would rather enjoy occupying his "own little political sphere and practice medicine." His only reason for running for office, he explained, was that "someone from our party had to run."[96] According to Pitard, it was necessary for the American party to field candidates in 1970 in order to prepare the organizational machinery for the 1972 elections. For this reason, he felt it necessary for the names of the American party and its candidates to appear on the ballots, regardless of how poor the party might do in November.

After succeeding in getting his name and party on the ballot Dr. Pitard, according to his own account, personally tried "for two or three months" to persuade a fellow party member to make the race in his place. The only stipulation he made concerning a possible stand-in was that the replacement must agree to complete the campaign. According to Pitard, he made this single stipulation only because he felt the American party's image could possibly be damaged if two candidates (himself and his replacement) withdrew from the same senate race prior to the election.[97] When a

[95]Based on statement by Cecil Pitard, personal interview, November 18, 1971.

[96]Based on statement by Cecil Pitard, personal interview, November 11, 1970.

[97]Ibid.

replacement could not be found, Dr. Pitard remained in the race, resigned to whatever might happen.

From the day of his announcement until the day of the election Dr. Pitard's campaign was a center of inactivity. The effort may well have been the biggest noncampaign in the history of Tennessee politics. In retrospect, it is surprising that the Knoxville physician received more than 11 thousand votes.

Pitard was not supported by a single newspaper in the entire state.[98] He did not receive the support of a single radio or television station in the state, although the candidate later noted that a few radio and television stations publicly endorsed and supported candidates during the 1970 elections.[99] The senatorial candidate purchased no television time although "a few county organizations" purchased brief "spot" radio and television announcements in his behalf.[100]

Central to Pitard's token "statewide campaign" was the fact that he had no money and very little party support in the form of manpower, political skills, and additional resources. According to the candidate's own figures, the cost of his entire campaign was about $5,000. Of that sum, Pitard personally spent less than $4,000.[101]

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.; Bill Castell, "Pitard and Black Militants in Accord on Segregation," Chattanooga Times, October 29, 1970, p. 3.

Campaign literature was produced by volunteer workers and was printed on private "basement presses."[102] "Very few" campaign headquarters were opened.[103] The bulk of candidate's publicity came from radio and television news coverage. Pitard estimated after the election that the American party received "about $200,000 to $250,000" worth of free television time as a result of news coverage. In this respect Pitard viewed his campaign as successful for it popularized the continuity of the American party and kept the name of the organization before Tennessee voters.[104]

The Knoxville physician explained his small vote by saying that many of the voters across Tennessee, American party members as well as Democrats and Republicans, withheld their support because they were afraid that if they voted for Pitard Republican Bill Brock could not win the Senate seat held by liberal Democratic Senator Albert Gore. According to this explanation, Brock was viewed as the second-most conservative candidate, and he could not win the election without support from fellow conservatives in the American party.[105] As noted in the following chapter, there was evidence supporting Pitard's explanation. Noticeable

[102]Based on statement by Cecil Pitard, personal interview, November 11, 1970.

[103]Ibid.

[104]Ibid.; this conclusion could, no doubt, be debated, for Democratic and Republican party candidates received much more "free" publicity and news coverage from the campaign than did the American party candidates. The observation also does not deal with the question "What harm did the campaigns of 1970 do the American party by stigmatizing the party with defeat?"

[105]Ibid.

numbers of American party voters apparently crossed party lines during the election of 1970 and supported Brock.

Nevertheless, Pitard refused to withdraw from the election. Like Heinsohn before him, Pitard requested the assistance of Governor Wallace of Alabama. Wallace refused. The response from the Alabama Governor's headquarters was the same as that sent to Heinsohn earlier: "Since Governor Wallace is involved in his own race for Governor here in Alabama he will be unable to participate in races in other states this fall."[106]

Pitard accepted the refusal as understandable and explained Wallace's action to the press in the following manner: "He refused and told me that he is involved in his own campaign in Alabama and that if he came here he would be duty bound to go into other states and campaign."[107]

The refusal by the Alabama Governor was, perhaps, understandable considering that Wallace had serious competition in his bid for re-election to Alabama's governorship. And Pitard would probably have thought nothing more about the matter had not Wallace, as noted earlier, later supported Doug Heinsohn, the 1970 American party's candidate for governor of Tennessee. Pitard, in contrast, did not later receive an endorsement of support from Wallace.[108]

[106]Personal correspondence between Tom Turnipseed, Staff, The Wallace Campaign, and the writer, October 26, 1970; also based on statement by Cecil Pitard, personal interview, November 11, 1970.

[107]Castell, loc. cit.

[108]Based on statement by Cecil Pitard, personal interview, November 18, 1970.

Pitard's state headquarters in Knoxville opened about October 12,[109] only two or three weeks prior to the election. The little campaigning he did prior to the opening of the headquarters was through his Knoxville medical office. During the campaign boxes and sacks of campaign literature could be seen in his medical office.

The campaign was run entirely by volunteer workers and at times there were not enough staffers to even simulate the operation of a statewide campaign headquarters. On some days the office closed early; on other days it never opened. During late October it was not unusual to find the headquarters closed on successive weekdays.

Pitard's campaign coordinator had not been active in the American party for two years prior to the election, and during the campaign he was employed fulltime elsewhere and could be of only limited assistance in the Pitard effort.[110] "Party pros," defined here as those persons active in Tennessee in behalf of Wallace in 1968, were conspicuously absent as parttime helpers at Pitard's headquarters.

Unlike Heinsohn's campaign headquarters, Pitard's office did not have Wide Area Telephone Service which could be used to coordinate statewide efforts. Telephone calls were kept to a minimum. The few calls that were made were paid for by either private contributions or by limited campaign funds.

[109]Ibid.

[110]Based on statement by George Don Rymer, Pitard's Campaign Coordinator, personal interview, October 14, 1970.

Pitard had no campaign buttons and only in the latter stages of the race did his headquarters distribute bumper stickers. Opposition candidates flooded the state with both buttons and bumper stickers.[111]

In late October it was not unusual for newspaper accounts of the senate race to omit even mentioning Pitard's name.[112] Nevertheless, Pitard continued his campaign, carrying what he described as "the same hardline American party line to every audience" he addressed.[113] More often than not, the audiences were nonresponsive to his appeal. On at least one occasion when all three of the senatorial candidates spoke before the same audience of about 2,000 persons, Pitard "did not have any apparent supporters."[114]

The American party senatorial candidate campaigned in Tennessee's four largest cities, although not frequently and not for long periods. Between October 20-24 Pitard made his major campaign thrust through select parts of East Tennessee and into Middle and West Tennessee with

[111]No candidate for the office of the United States Senator or for the office of governor in either primary, convention, or election is supposed to spend more than $25,000 in the state of Tennessee. This sum includes "all amounts expended on his behalf by others" as well as funds personally spent. Candidates, however, frequently spend more; see Lee Seifert Greene and Robert Sterling Avery, Government in Tennessee: Structure and Politics (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1966), p. 65; most who followed the 1970 senatorial and gubernatorial campaigns of the Democratic and Republican party candidates would probably conclude that all the major candidates violated the state law pertaining to campaign expenditures.

[112]Thomas, loc. cit.

[113]Based on statement by Cecil Pitard, personal interview, November 11, 1970.

[114]Vines, loc. cit.

scheduled stops in Nashville, Chattanooga, Memphis, Jackson, Camden, Paris, Dresden, Martin, Union City, Sunbright, Tiptonville, Richley, Dyersburg, Trenton, Milan, and McKenzie.[115]

Press coverage of Pitard's visits was minimal and the lack of coverage served to widen the rift between the candidate and the news media. Since early in his campaign Pitard had been critical of the news media for not carrying his press releases in certain areas of the state.[116] At one point he accused the Hamilton County Herald of not accepting paid political advertising from the American party although the newspaper reportedly accepted political advertising from the Democratic and Republican parties.[117]

The rift between Pitard and the news media continued when a television network refused to invite Pitard to participate in a nationally-televised debate between the Democratic and Republican candidates. Pitard was not invited to attend the session although he had personally written letters and sent telegrams requesting that, as a candidate of the party which received the second-most votes in Tennessee in 1968, he be invited to attend along with Brock and Gore.[118] Pitard's requests went unanswered and the network did not explain why the American party candidate was not

[115]Press release from the campaign headquarters of the candidate, October, 1970.

[116]Ibid.

[117]Ibid.

[118]Ibid.

invited. Evidently, the network felt that he was not a serious challenger for the post.

VI. PLATFORMS OF GUBERNATORIAL AND SENATORIAL AMERICAN PARTY CANDIDATES DURING THE 1970 ELECTIONS

The American party in Tennessee, as represented by its major candidates and their campaign platforms of 1970, was a party of dissent. The platforms of both the party's gubernatorial and senatorial candidates were composed, for the most part, of eight planks, all of which were highly critical of current American political life. In large measure, the platforms were composites of American party doctrine as outlined by George Wallace in his 1968 presidential campaign, the American party Statement of Principles, and the Principles of the American Party of Tennessee.

The candidates were highly critical of the political status quo and of several trends perceived as harmful to the country's present and future well being. The tones of the campaign speeches by Heinsohn and Pitard were reproving in nature and the content of their releases to the press were similar in their criticism of current political life. In style, however, the approaches of the two candidates varied greatly.

According to his own account, Heinsohn ran "on the same platform that George Wallace rode to a second-place finish in Tennessee's 1968 presidential campaign."[119] Heinsohn's campaign style was also somewhat

[119]"Heinsohn Says 'Vote Conviction'," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 29, 1970, p. 2.

reminiscent of Wallace. Like Wallace, Heinsohn was outspoken in his dissent. He spoke firmly, intensely, and with confidence. At times he was noticeably pessimistic in his analysis of America's future given the country's present course. His campaign took on a mission-like quality from time to time. On other occasions, however, Heinsohn's speeches revealed a sense of humor; the candidate frequently used humorous catch phrases that reminded one of Wallace. Heinsohn had a good speaking voice and the conviction to speak forcefully. Earlier in his career he had graduated with honors from the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee. He held a master's degree from the University of Tennessee and had "completed all necessary work for his Ph. D. in philosophy and languages at the University of Salamanca in Spain."[120]

In contrast, Dr. Pitard's style was more subdued, less dramatic, and less emotional. Like Heinsohn, Pitard used many of the same strong words used by Wallace in 1968. Coming from Heinsohn the words sounded natural. Coming from Pitard the same strong words sounded out of place and character. There was a noticeable contrast between Pitard's mild physical appearance and the strong ideas he expressed. His presence did not express the almost over-confidence of Wallace. Pitard had neither a defiant presence or manner. He was mild, gentlemanly, just another man on the street, perhaps a neighbor.

The criticisms expressed by Heinsohn and Pitard were aimed generally toward the failure of federal and state governments; more specifically

[120]Press release from the campaign headquarters of the candidate, October, 1970.

the topics of dissent could be reduced to eight general categories. The platforms of the two candidates were built largely around the following subjects: (1) current politicians and political parties, (2) size and scope of the national government, (3) welfare system, (4) federal income tax and additional taxes, (5) public schools, including busing and prayer, (6) law and order in America, (7) national foreign policy and the federal government's behavior vis-a-vis international communism, and (8) the spiritual and moral condition of the country, particularly the national government.

Current Politicians and Political Parties

One of Heinsohn's major campaign themes was that national traditional values have been disregarded by opportunistic politicians in the name of political expediency and for personal gain. The criticism appeared again and again in the candidate's speeches and press releases. To reduce the criticism to a more manageable and specific charge, the two major parties have led the nation down the road to socialism and are incapable of leading the way back.[121] So continuous was this charge by Heinsohn that one political observer wrote that the American party candidate's entire campaign was built around it. According to this view, Heinsohn's campaign was "based primarily on criticism of [the] failure of the Democrats and Republicans to recognize the Communist conspiracy in the United States."[122]

[121]Ibid.; John Vass, "Dunn Rapped by Heinsohn," Chattanooga News-Free Press, August 23, 1970, p. 1.

[122]John Parish, "50-Year Democratic Monopoly of Governor's Mansion Faces Serious Threat Tuesday," Jackson Sun, November 1, 1970, p. 8-C.

In keeping with the Wallace precedent, Heinsohn charged that the voter "has had enough" of the present behavior of the major parties.[123] In 1968 Wallace called the two parties "Tweedleedee and Tweedledum"; in 1970 Heinsohn referred to them as the Bobbsey twins.[124]

In comparing and contrasting the major parties Heinsohn agreed with Wallace that there was "not a dime's worth of difference" between the two.[125] He was noticeably critical of both parties and their "grab bag promises" to the public.[126] In Heinsohn's view both major parties were too liberal. He criticized their liberal legislation,[127] and called for a "house cleaning of ultra-liberal socialists" in government.[128]

Heinsohn's campaign was also characterized by a somewhat economically populistic appeal aimed in the direction of the "little man." The appeal was most evident when he attacked "rich and super-rich, fat-cat country club Republicans,"[129] although his criticisms of financial abuses and privileges were not restricted to the G.O.P. Heinsohn also criticized

[123]Press release from the campaign headquarters of the candidate, October, 1970.

[124]"Heinsohn Averse to Consulting Bar," loc. cit.

[125]Political advertisement, Jackson Sun, November 1, 1970, p. 17; political advertisement, Jackson Sun, November 2, 1970, p. 7.

[126]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, October, 1970.

[127]Ibid.

[128]Ibid.

[129]Wendell Rawls, Jr., "Heinsohn Says His Campaign A Selling Task," Nashville Tennessean, November 2, 1970, p. 1.

civic clubs and churches and accused both of not meeting their obligations of "relieving the plight of poor people, sick people, and poverty stricken children."[130]

Heinsohn's most vehement criticisms, however, were reserved not for institutions but for "weak-kneed politicians."[131] His abhorrence of what he termed the "political animal" was more than clear:

> The political animal is a reprehensible creature--he has no morals, he has no constancy. He is a jelly fish of valour, a veritable gutless wonder.
>
> He will not fly in the face of demagoguery, for he is a demagogue. He will lie and cheat and steal. He will not leave the nest of his fellow party politicians for he lacks the imagination and courage to make his own home. May God, wisdom and common sense deliver us from this ignominious beast. Let us first turn to God and then to statesmen who will lead us by intelligent persuasion and moral example.[131]

Pitard, like Heinsohn and Wallace, also criticized current politicians. His campaign literature also expressed the belief that "there is not a dime's worth of difference between the Washington Democrats and the Washington Republicans."[133] Pitard frequently referred to the two major parties as a single "Demo-Republican party."[134] He viewed both parties as far too liberal and his campaign literature made self references to the "only truly Conservative Constitutionalist" in the senate

[130] Ibid.

[131] Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, October, 1970.

[132] Frank Sutherland, "Heinsohn Hits Foes' 'Trickery'," Nashville Tennessean, September 29, 1970, p. 10.

[133] Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[134] "'Opportunity Here,' Dr. Pitard Advises," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 30, 1970, p. 8.

race.[135] In contrast to Heinsohn, Pitard did not think it would be "fine" if Republican Brock won anything, much less a seat in the senate. Brock was far too liberal for Pitard.[136] Throughout the campaign the American party senatorial candidate criticized Brock's congressional voting record.

Size and Scope of the Federal Government

American party doctrine opposes "big government" and calls for government's reduction at "all levels."[137] Heinsohn and Pitard charged that the federal government in particular had grown far too large, and both considered the growth to have been at the expense of states' rights in the decision-making political process.

Heinsohn, like Wallace in 1968, campaigned against the centralization of power and decision making in Washington.[138] The American party gubernatorial candidate voiced concern "that the working man is overlooked and overgoverned by the bureaucracy of big government."[139] According to Heinsohn, it is false hope to look to the government to solve all the nation's problems; the American party candidate advocated "reduction of

[135]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[136]Ibid.; as noted in detail in Chapter V, Dr. Pitard disagreed with many of his fellow American party members on this point. That is, many party members actively supported Brock during the campaign.

[137]American Party Statement of Principles, Appendix D.

[138]Parish, "50-Year Democratic Monopoly of Governor's Mansion Faces Serious Threat Tuesday," loc. cit.

[139]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

the size, scope, and control of government."[140] In Nashville he told an audience that individual responsibility was the key upon which survival of our political system rests.[141] Heinsohn promised that if he were elected he would work for the return of "power and responsibility of decision to the individual and to local control."[142]

Heinsohn also criticized current governmental fiscal practices and bureaucrats who subtract their "brokers fee for handling charges" from public funds.[143]

Much of the thrust of Heinsohn's campaign was directed against "power hungry, money hungry" politicians who "cannot be trusted."[144] He criticized federal revenue sharing, charging that the plan "would

[140]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, May 17, 1970.

[141]"Heinsohn Advocates Telling Polluters to Stop or Close," Nashville Tennessean, July 6, 1970, p. 5; reliance upon individual responsibility as an answer to national problems is one of the fundamental principles and tenets of the John Birch Society. "The Society 'must be self-reliant. There are no grants from a Ford Foundation there, no government subsidies; . . .'"; Lipset and Raab, op. cit., p. 249; see also E. Merrill Root, "Our Frontier," American Opinion, XI (October, 1968), 31.

[142]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, June 18, 1970.

[143]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[144]"Heinsohn Hits at 'Greedy' Politicians," Knoxville Journal, October 16, 1970, p. 7.

turn the state over to Washington."[145] He labeled the program a planned intrusion into the affairs of the individual states.[146]

The American party gubernatorial candidate also criticized the practice of experimentation by big government. He was critical of the federal government making decisions that could be made more effectively at the local level. In keeping with this position he opposed the use of flouride in public water without a public vote on the question.[147]

Heinsohn was neither alone nor original in his attacks against the federal government. The Principles of the American Party of Tennessee,[148] written at the time of the party's organization in the state, warned against the power of an ever-growing government and called for a restructuring of federally-operated programs in order to give more power to the states.[149] The Principles are also highly critical of governmental interference in private lives.[150]

During his senate campaign Dr. Pitard was also critical of bureaucrats who have usurped the right to tell local politicians how to run their affairs.[151] His campaign literature called for government "by the

[145]Dana-Ford Thomas, "Hooker-Dunn in Verbal Free-for-all," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 23, 1970, p. 1ff.

[146]Bill Preston, Jr., "'Welfare Bum' Plan Must End, Says Heinsohn," Nashville Tennessean, October 21, 1970, p. 2.

[147]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[148]See Appendix E.

[149]Ibid., paragraph 4.

[150]Ibid.

[151]Vines, loc. cit.

people" rather than by Washington bureaucrats.[152] The antibig-government theme stressed by both Heinsohn and Pitard was a continuation of the Wallace protest of 1968 when the Alabama governor announced that one of the major goals of his presidential bid was to marshall support for the "little people" who were suspect of "big government."[153]

In some measure the charges by both Heinsohn and Pitard were as old as the tensions between individual states and the federal government. There was a marked states' rights appeal in Pitard's speeches and announcements. Like Heinsohn, Pitard supported returning powers to the states and reducing the size and scope of the powers of the federal government.[154] Pitard synthesized the rebellious position of many past and present states' rights advocates when he observed that "Everything the federal government gets into, it messes up."[155] Pitard's continuing message was that "the direction of government" needs to be changed.[156] In Nashville he called for a cleansing of "our house of the chaff and legalized theft, and oppression that has sprung up over the past 50 years."[157]

[152]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[153]"Win or Lose--What's Ahead for Wallace's Party," U.S. News & World Report, LXV (October 14, 1968), 40.

[154]"Pitard Asks Return to Constitution," Knoxville Journal, October 26, 1970, p. 9; press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970; "Three Bid for Votes in Senate Campaign," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 25, 1970, p. G-2; Morris, loc. cit.

[155]Costell, loc. cit.

[156]"Opportunity Here, Dr. Pitard Advises," loc. cit.

[157]"Pitard Asks Return to Constitution," loc. cit.

Although the anti-big-government protest made by American party candidates was usually of either a general or blanket nature, specific charges against the federal government have been an integral part of American party doctrine for many years. The party, for example, has long criticized "forced housing" and defended the right of private property owners "to own, rent, and dispose of privately owned property with no infringement by the local, state, or federal government, or any appointive authority."[158]

The American party has also criticized the actions of the federal government in other related areas. For example, party doctrine calls for the federal government to refrain from interfering "in the operation of private clubs."[159] Two additional widely-publicized criticisms by the party in recent years have also centered on the operation of the country's courts, particularly the Supreme Court,[160] and against the Federal Reserve System. Party doctrine denounces the present structure and influence of the Federal Reserve System and calls for "the return of the authority for coining the money to the Congress of the U.S.A. as outlined in the U.S. Constitution."[161]

[158] American Party Statement of Principles.

[159] Ibid.

[160] Ibid.; press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[161] American Party Statement of Principles.

Role of the Federal Government in Public Welfare Programs

American party candidates also criticized the operation of public welfare programs and proposed federal legislation that could eventually lead to a guaranteed annual income to all qualified citizens.[162] Heinsohn charged that government welfare rolls could be trimmed through personal hard work and "self-reliance"[163] on the part of individual recipients. In any case, he suggested that welfare should immediately be taken out of the public sphere and that future welfare functions should rest with churches and other private religious groups.[164] He opposed public welfare as it is presently operated because he said the system fosters what he termed "welfare bums."[165]

Heinsohn did not, however, campaign against the concept of welfare per se. He said the practice could possibly be justified in particular instances but not as a widespread governmental practice. He promised the voters that if he were elected he would take "welfare bums off the dole,"[166] and his campaign literature expressed strong dissatisfaction with current government-sponsored poverty programs.[167]

[162]Pitard's stand on this issue was in keeping with the position taken by Wallace in 1968; see "What the Candidates Stand For," U.S. News & World Report, LXV (October 28, 1968), 48-50.

[163]Thompson, loc. cit.

[164]Preston, loc. cit.; "Doug Heinsohn Says Morality is Major Need," Chattanooga Times, October 30, 1970, p. 5.

[165]Ibid.

[166]Ibid.

[167]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

The criticisms of welfare programs made by Heinsohn in 1970 were, once again, not new. Similar suggestions have been made by other members of the American party for many years. For example, the party's national goals, announced by George Wallace during his 1968 presidential campaign, included support for the "hard-working, tax-paying, not on relief" citizens of the country.[168] In addition, American party doctrine also criticizes the establishment of a "guaranteed annual income at the expense of taxpayers."[169]

Like Wallace and Heinsohn, Pitard was also highly critical of the public welfare system. His solution to welfare problems was simple: abolish all welfare programs.[170] He pledged that if he were elected part of his efforts would be directed toward keeping the federal government out of the welfare business.[171] In keeping with the stand taken by Heinsohn, Pitard also criticized all plans to establish any form of guaranteed annual income.[172]

Federal Income Tax and Additional Taxes

The nation's tax system also attracted the critical attention of both Heinsohn and Pitard. Heinsohn, who supported the lowering of all

[168]"Win or Lose--What's Ahead for Wallace's Party," loc. cit.

[169]American Party Statement of Principles.

[170]"Candidates List Priority of Issues," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 25, 1970, p. G-7; "New Changes Ahead?" U.T. Daily Beacon, January 27, 1971, p. 5; "Can Nixon Bail Out the States?" U.S. News & World Report, LXX (January 25, 1971), 17ff.

[171]Morris, loc. cit.; "'Undecided' Could Swing Vote--Pitard," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 29, 1970, p. 10; press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[172]"Three Bid for Votes in Senate Campaign," loc. cit.

taxes,[173] was particularly critical of the federal income tax. The "graduated income tax idea," Heinsohn said, "was dreamed up by our Communist enemies years ago."[174]

Unlike many current politicians, Heinsohn did not view federal "revenue sharing" as a solution to the fiscal problems facing state and local governments. The American party gubernatorial candidate campaigned against the Federal Revenue Sharing Act and said the measure, if passed, would induce "Tennessee to tax and tax and tax the income earners."[175]

Pitard, like Heinsohn, also criticized the nation's fiscal policies. He was particularly critical of "excessive taxation."[176] Picking up the old Wallace adage, Pitard told the voters that Americans were "sick and tired of high prices and taxes."[177]

Pitard also criticized the federal income tax and called for its repeal.[178] He referred to the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution,

[173]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, October 8, 1970.

[174]"Heinsohn Says Dunn Wants Tax," Chattanooga News-Free Press, September 4, 1970, p. 3.

[175]"Heinsohn Questions Tax Stand," Knoxville Journal, October 1, 1970, p. 2.

[176]"Three Bid for Votes in Senate Campaign," loc. cit.; "Pitard Asks Return to Constitution," loc. cit.

[177]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, October 4, 1970.

[178]"Three Bid for Votes in Senate Campaign," loc. cit.; "'Undecided' Could Swing Vote--Pitard," loc. cit.

the so-called "Income Tax Amendment," as the "Slave Act of 1913."[179] He called the federal income tax unfair and rigid and said the tax works against the poor while exempting the rich. Pitard promised that if he were elected he would support the passage of a resolution now pending in Congress known as the Liberty Amendment. The resolution calls for the repeal of the federal income tax.[180] (Although legislatures in seven states have endorsed the proposed amendment, Tennessee's legislature has not joined the movement.)[181]

The positions taken by Heinsohn and Pitard concerning taxes, particularly the federal income tax, were consistent with previously expressed American party ideology and action. The party has been on record for some time as being against federal income tax and has also called for its repeal.[182] The position is, in fact, only a small part of a larger party proposal for "a reduction of the level of taxation on the working people of the na-tion."[183] One-time national party chairman, T. Colemen Andrews, Jr., has specifically suggested that the federal income tax be abolished.[184]

[179]"Dr. Pitard Advocates the Repeal of the Federal Income Tax Law," Chattanooga Times, October 2, 1970, p. 12.

[180]Ibid.; for more information concerning the Liberty Amendment see Lipset and Raab, op. cit., pp. 249, 294ff; see also Forster and Epstein, op. cit., p. 205.

[181]"Dr. Pitard Advocates the Repeal of the Federal Income Tax Law," loc. cit.

[182]American Party Statement of Principles, loc. cit.

[183]Ibid.

[184]For brief review of the article entitled "Abolish the Income Tax," see Forster and Epstein, op. cit., p. 205.

George Wallace, the party's founder, has also called for tax reform that might result in "some tax reduction to the middle class of our country."[185] At the state level the Tennessee branch of the party has also gone on record against constantly rising prices in the face of excessive taxation.[186]

Public Schools, Busing, and Prayer

Few, if any, topics are more central to American party ideology than public schools and the manner in which they are operated. The topic goes to the heart of the states' rights controversy. The American party's position in this continuing controversy is clear: the party's Statement of Principles calls for "the return to the local school authorities" the final judgment concerning questions of how public schools should be operated.[187]

Both Heinsohn and Pitard expressed strong reservations during their campaigns over how the nation's schools are being operated. Heinsohn said that if he were elected to the state's governorship, education would be one of the top priorities of his administration.[188] At the same time, he emphasized that there would be some changes made in the state's educational system. For example, he supported more local control over

[185]"Wallace Backs Christian Crusade," Facts on File, XXIX (July 31-August 6, 1969), 494.

[186]Principles of the American Party of Tennessee, Appendix E.

[187]American Party Statement of Principles.

[188]"Candidates List Priority of Issues," loc. cit.

schools, the institution of a freedom of choice program for school attendance, and required courses on the meaning and intent of the Constitution.[189] Heinsohn's platform called for local control of merit pay raises for teachers and for providing local school authorities with the power to dismiss unruly students and teachers.[190] Students attending public schools, according to Heinsohn, should be required "to be civil, polite, and clean."[191] As part of their required educational training students would be taught the dangers in the use of drugs.[192]

Heinsohn opposed busing schoolchildren to obtain racial balances in public schools.[193] Like Wallace, Heinsohn viewed the practice as an intrusion on civil rights.[194]

The American party gubernatorial candidate also criticized teaching sex education in public schools.[195] One of his campaign speeches was particularly critical of SIECUS, an organization active in promoting sex

[189]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, July 22, 1970.

[190]Ibid.

[191]Ibid.

[192]"Doug Heinsohn Says Morality is Major Need," Chattanooga Times, October 30, 1970, p. 5.

[193]Ibid.; "Heinsohn Says 'Vote Convictions'," loc. cit.

[194]Ibid.; for Wallace's position in 1968 see "What the Candidates Stand For," loc. cit.

[195]Rawls, loc. cit.

education. The American party candidate charged that the organization's leadership was composed of "under-oath Communists."[196]

Heinsohn also took issue with the Supreme Court's ruling concerning prayer in public schools. He underlined his position on the subject by telling the press "God has a place in our schools."[197]

Pitard, like Heinsohn, included "quality education" as one of the objectives of his proposed administration. Also in keeping with positions taken by Heinsohn, Pitard opposed busing of schoolchildren[198] and defended prayer in public schools.[199]

Once again, the positions taken by Heinsohn and Pitard were in keeping with previously recorded American party doctrine. The party had long been on record in support of the "return of voluntary prayer and Bible reading in our public schools."[200] In fact, the positions taken by American party candidates on questions of public education were not unique to either the party or to Tennessee. In Tennessee, as in other states, particularly southern states, emotions concerning such topics as

[196]Bob Poe, "AP Governor Candidate Heinsohn Raps U.S. Bureaucracy in Kickoff," Chattanooga News-Free Press, July 15, 1970, p. 13; American party doctrine teaches that sexual education should be taught in the home by the family. The party strongly opposes "the amoral and allegedly progressive programs such as those sponsored by SIECUS and other groups and other programs." See American Party Statement of Principles, loc. cit.

[197]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, July 22, 1970.

[198]"Three Bid for Votes in Senate Campaign," loc. cit.

[199]Ibid.

[200]American Party Statement of Principles, loc. cit.

busing and prayer have been running high for some time. Within the past few years there has even been some discussion among several leaders of the Tennessee branch of the American party concerning the creation of more private schools in Tennessee as an alternative to current public education and federal guidelines. Segregation has been said to be a stimulant in the creation of these new schools.[201]

Should the Tennessee American party decide to push for more private schools in the state, the party will not have to look far for guidelines and examples. Since 1969 the American party of Alabama has been notably active in the creation of private schools. In fact, Wallace's personal campaign staff has provided leadership in establishing the new schools. The efforts by the Alabama party, as noted in the newspaper excerpt below, have met with notable success:

> The Wallace campaign, an organization designed to keep George C. Wallace ready for possible gubernatorial or presidential races, has branched out into the education field.
>
> The campaign staff in Montgomery is devoting much of its time to helping to start private schools in the state to avoid advancing integration.
>
> A top Wallace aide said Wednesday he spends much of his time speaking to groups interested in starting private institutions.
>
> Tom Turnipseed, who left his job as executive director of the South Carolina Private School Association, joined the Wallace movement in 1967 and toured the country getting the former governor's name on state ballots. However, he is now putting his experience in S.C. to use in Alabama.
>
> He said he felt the Wallace campaign already had helped about 15 groups establish schools.[202]

[201]"'White Academies' in the South--Booming Despite Obstacles," U.S. News & World Report, LXX (April 19, 1971), 75-77.

[202]"Wallace Campaign Turns Efforts to Establishing Private Schools," Memphis Commercial Appeal, October 16, 1969, p. 3.

(3) endorses "more severe penalties for criminals convicted of crimes,"[206] and (4) calls for a "thorough investigation of the conspiratorial causes of campus disorders, civil riots and revolution."[207]

American party candidates for the offices of governor and senator took positions that were in close keeping with the wider guidelines in the Statement of Principles. For example, Doug Heinsohn said law and order would be one of the top priorities of his administration if he were elected.[208] He campaigned for strict enforcement of the laws;[209] denounced riots, rape, murder, pornography, drug abuse, arson, and police review boards;[210] he also criticized a soft line approach toward law-breakers by the courts and was highly critical of what he termed "namby-pamby judicial decrees."[211]

Heinsohn criticized gun controls and denounced firearm registration.[212] He advocated strong support for local police, independent of

[206] Ibid.

[207] Ibid.

[208] "Candidates List Priority of Issues," loc. cit.

[209] "Heinsohn Says 'Vote Conviction'," loc. cit.

[210] Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[211] Ibid.

[212] Ted Knap, "Demos to Keep Senate--S-H Says," Knoxville News-Sentinel, November 1, 1970, p. C-1; "Doug Heinsohn Says Morality is Major Need," loc. cit.

federal control and "unhampered by the second guessing of civilian boards" of review.[213]

In a press release, September 25, 1970, Heinsohn promised that if he were elected he would make Tennessee a "model state" by ridding it of "lawless and anarchist elements."[214] He emphasized his intentions of maintaining order on college and university campuses.[215] He opposed student radicalism and campus agitators. He said students should be controlled and required to meet predescribed standards of personal hygiene and courtesy. At the same time, he called for strong enforcement of "dope and narcotics laws"[216] in order to maintain control over the so-called "drug culture" frequently associated with university communities.

Heinsohn's campaign literature promised that if he were selected he would, if necessary, personally lead national guardsmen onto Tennessee college campuses to put down violence.[217] He recommended a "full-scale investigation" of the activities of "radicals" on Tennessee's college and univeristy campuses.[218] During the campaign a spokesman for Heinsohn

[213]"Heinsohn Opposed to Police Curb," Knoxville Journal, August 20, 1970, p. 19.

[214]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, September 25, 1970.

[215]"Doug Heinsohn Says Morality is Major Need," loc. cit.

[216]DeLozier, loc. cit.

[217]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[218]"Heinsohn Asks Probe of Radicals," Chattanooga News-Free Press, August 27, 1970, p. 1.

told a University of Tennessee audience that he thought revolutionaries should be put down.[219] The spokesman was highly critical of the turmoil on the nation's campuses, including a 1970 campus disturbance at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville.[220]

The stand taken by American party senatorial candidate Pitard was similar to the position taken by Heinsohn. Pitard, like Heinsohn, made a strong and clear call for "law and order."[221] In keeping with the Wallace position of 1968,[222] Pitard also campaigned against riots and revolutionaries.[223] In one instance the American party candidate told a large University of Tennessee audience, comprised largely of students, that rioters should be shot.[224] Throughout his campaign the American party candidate refused to make overtures to the newly-franchised 18- to 21-year-old voters. To the contrary, he campaigned against lowering the voting age to 18.[225]

Pitard also criticized the "hippie" movement and its subcultural isolationism. His campaign literature proclaimed that the "hippie code

[219]Richard Rosser, "Separate Students--Jenkins," U-T Daily Beacon, October 22, 1970, p. 1.

[220]Ibid.; also based on statement by R. E. Whedbee, personal interview, October 9, 1970.

[221]"Three Bid for Votes in Senate Campaign," loc. cit.

[222]"Win or Lose--What's Ahead for Wallace's Party," loc. cit.

[223]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[224]Vines, loc. cit.

[225]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

has been broken."[226] According to Pitard's interpretation and translation of the code, the "hippie" communication system contained surprising ingredients. For example, the currently-popular peace symbol of the "broken cross," popularized in earlier years by Sir Bertrand Russell and his nuclear disarmament supporters and in more recent years by American protesters against the Viet Nam war, was a sign of the Devil.[227] Pitard also charged that the Greek letter Omega was a symbol of the Devil, as well as a symbol of resistance against society.[228]

A strong anti-federal-gun-control plank was also included in Pitard's platform.[229] He opposed all types of gun control legislation and suggested than all existing gun control laws be repealed.[230] Throughout his campaign he criticized Albert Gore and Bill Brock for their support of gun control legislation.[231] Pitard's message: "When guns are outlawed, outlaws will have guns."[232] The American party candidate promised that if he were elected he would "work for repeal of the 1968 gun control act."[233]

[226]Ibid.

[227]Ibid.

[228]Ibid.

[229]Ibid.; "Three Bid for Votes in Senate Campaign," loc. cit.

[230]"Pitard Attacks Opponents' Vote for Gun Control," Knoxville Journal, September 30, 1970, p. 6.

[231]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[232]Ibid.

[233]Ibid.

American Foreign Policy: Viet Nam and Communism

Another issue upon which American party candidates took a strong stand during the campaigns of 1970 was national foreign policy, particularly as the policy related to the conduct of a limited war in Southeast Asia and the country's response to international communism. The arguments made by Heinsohn and Pitard in 1970 have been central to American party doctrine for several years.

First of all, it should be understood that the American party views communism as a sort of political syphillis--a combination political movement and social disease--that is on the verge of infecting America. The party believes that an international communist conspiracy is the "greatest threat to the sovereignty of the United States of America."[234] The party sees only insignificant differences between communism on the one hand and collectivism and socialism on the other. Of course, the organization opposes collectivism and socialism.[235]

American party doctrine supports an American foreign policy that opposes unilateral disarmament, disarmament treaties, and "common projects with the Soviet Union."[236] The American party Statement of Principles calls for the United States to withdraw from the United Nations and "related institutions such as the World Bank, the World Court, and the World Health Organizations."[237]

[234] American Party Statement of Principles, loc. cit.

[235] Ibid.

[236] Ibid.

[237] Ibid.

The party also called for an unmistakable American victory in Viet Nam.[238] More precisely, the party denounced limited wars. The party's official position is that once the United States enters a war

> . . . there is no substitute for victory; therefore the American party adopts as a primary tenet of policy that whenever the United States becomes involved in any way, we shall use the full force of our military, economic, and financial power to achieve victory as quickly as possible over the enemy.[239]

During their 1970 campaigns both Heinsohn and Pitard strongly supported party doctrine concerning foreign affairs and the American response to international communism. Heinsohn criticized America's foreign policy, calling it a national plan that has resulted in getting the country involved in "no-win wars."[240] Heinsohn also campaigned against the Viet Nam war, saying that it was immoral for a President of the United States to draft men to fight an undeclared war. He suggested that if American men continued to be drafted to fight in Southeast Asia, a commitment should be made by our government to win the war.[241]

In some respects, Heinsohn's criticism of the conduct of the war in Viet Nam was reiminiscent of the foreign policy stand taken by George Wallace in 1968. Like Wallace, Heinsohn was critical of pseudo-intellectuals who claimed to know how to properly conduct the war.

[238]Ibid.

[239]Ibid.

[240]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[241]Sutherland, loc. cit.

According to Wallace, if the truth were known, the "pseudo-intellectuals" could not even "park their bicycles straight," much less plan a victorious strategy for the Southeast Asian war.[242]

Heinsohn's criticism of the United States position vis-a-vis the communist countries of the world was even more pronounced than his critique of the operation of the Viet Nam war. His father-in-law was reportedly killed in Spain in 1938 by communists,[243] and the American party gubernatorial candidate campaigned against letting communists take over the government in the United States without meeting resistance from patriotic Americans.[244] During his bid for the governorship Heinsohn was highly critical of "ultra-liberal socialists,"[245] socialists, and Marxists.[246] He advocated expelling "Marxist-minded revolutionary teachers."[247] A similar message was expressed by a member of his staff when a University of Tennessee audience was told that if Heinsohn were

[242]George Wallace, A Rebel and His Cause (New York: Universal Publishing and Distributing Corp., 1968), p. 35; "What the Candidates Stand For," loc. cit.; the position taken by Heinsohn was in close keeping with the Wallace stand of 1968. In one study 67 percent of the Wallace voters in 1968 supported a hard line in Viet Nam even if such policy called for an invasion of North Viet Nam; see Philip E. Converse and others, "Continuity and Change in American Politics: Parties and Issues in the 1968 Election," American Political Science Review, LXIII (December, 1969), 19.

[243]DeLozier, loc. cit.; press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[244]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[245]Ibid.

[246]Vass, loc. cit.

[247]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, July 22, 1970.

elected the new governor would "do something about Marxist oriented professors teaching at U-T."[248]

Heinsohn vowed that if he were elected he would "do every legal thing possible" to close the controversial Highlander Folk School in Knoxville. In one speech he promised to "turn over every rock in this bed of reds, pinks and punks to see if infractions of state law have been committed."[249] His criticisms of the school did not, however, end there:

> It is common knowledge around Knoxville that a great deal of the pro-Communist activity and agitation that disturbs the orderly process of education at our University in Knoxville has its roots in the organized Marxist planning that goes on at Highlander.[250]

Pitard, like Heinsohn, was critical of American foreign policy. In contrast to Heinsohn, however, Pitard's attacks were more general than specific, although he was quite critical of the conduct of the war in Viet Nam. Generally speaking, Pitard campaigned on the theme that the American people are "sick and tired of seeing the country go down."[251] While America is "going down," communism is on the rise and poses a serious threat to the American way of life.[252] Communism has to be

[248]Rosser, loc. cit.

[249]"Heinsohn Vows to Try to End Highlander School," Nashville Tennessean, September 15, 1970, p. 12.

[250]Ibid.

[251]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[252]Ibid.

stopped now,[253] as do plans for a community of nations, a "world government," and all other schemes and proposals that might reduce the sovereignty of the United States.

Pitard also criticized American aid to foreign countries and was particularly harsh in his protest against the United States trading with its enemies.[254] The American party senatorial candidate warned of communist subversion in America and to support his charge he referred to similar warnings by former F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover.[255] He was highly critical of Senators J. W. Fulbright and Albert Gore and the past positions the two men have taken concerning America's behavior toward admitted communistic countries.[256] Like Heinsohn, Pitard criticized the operation of the war in Viet Nam and he called for an end to the war and a "peace through victory."[257] In further keeping with his strong anti-communistic philosophy, Pitard supported "teaching of the value of freedom and the forces which would destroy it" in public schools.[258]

[253]Ibid.

[254]"Three Bid for Votes in Senate Campaign," loc. cit.

[255]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[256]Ibid.; 1970 was not the first year in which communism became a heated topic in senatorial campaigns in Tennessee. For example, on June 10, 1948, E. H. Crump of Memphis ran an advertisement in the Memphis Press-Scimitar that called senatorial candidate Estes Kefauver a "darling of the communists." See V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics (New York: Vintage Books, 1949), p. 58.

[257]"Pitard Repeats War Criticism," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 20, 1970, p. 9.

[258]"Three Bid for Votes in Senate Campaign," loc. cit.

Spiritual and Moral Crisis Facing America Today

Religion, morals, and reverence for God were major points of focus in the campaigns of both Heinsohn and Pitard in 1970. Both men were and remain active in churches, and their campaigns reflected their church teachings. Pronounced tones of fundamentalistic Christian doctrine were evident in the positions taken by both candidates. Both candidates voiced the opinion that more religion should be incorporated in the political sphere of American life.

During his candidacy Heinsohn was a lay leader and subdeacon in the Anglican Church.[259] In his younger years he considered entering the priesthood.[260] He reportedly prays before every meal, including those eaten in public places.[261]

In the announcement of his candidacy Heinsohn said that America is in need of "a spiritual rebirth and revival."[262] At the same time he said "The individual must turn back his face to God. Without this spiritual renaissance," he warned, "our efforts court failure."[263]

[259]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, May 17, 1970.

[260]Pat Fields, "Candidate Doug Heinsohn 'Independent' in More Ways Than Political," Knoxville Journal, July 30, 1970, p. 12.

[261]Crowell, loc. cit.

[262]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, May 17, 1970.

[263]Ibid.

Throughout his campaign the American party gubernatorial candidate called for a "reverence for God."[264] Many of his press releases ended with the closing "For God, State, and Country."

According to Heinsohn's own account, one of the major purposes of his campaign was to "find a way to introduce spiritual values" in American life.[265] He told a Chattanooga audience that the country was in need of a "spiritual renaissance."[266] Later in his campaign he called for a return to morality.[267] His own moral guide, he told a Chattanooga Rotary Club was "two rule books": The Constitution and the Holy Bible.[268] On another occasion the candidate told a Nashville crowd that "the fundamental issue underlying all issues in the governor's race" was morality.[269]

The accent on morality in American life was also evident in other aspects of Heinsohn's campaign. In October he campaigned against

[264]Crowell, loc. cit.

[265]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, July 22, 1970.

[266]Charles Pennington, "Spiritual Renewal Needed in Nation, Heinsohn Says," Chattanooga Times, September 8, 1970, p. 9.

[267]"Doug Heinsohn Says Morality is Major Need," loc. cit.

[268]Wendell Rawls, Jr., "Heinsohn Sees Post-Election Student Strife," Nashville Tennessean, October 30, 1970.

[269]"Heinsohn Says Morality is Issue," Knoxville News-Sentinel, November 1, 1970, p. A-10.

abortion.[270] "We believe in teaching a strong moral and spiritual doctrine to the young,"[271] explained a member of Heinsohn's staff.

The religious and moralistic positions taken by Heinsohn were in close keeping with fundamental American party doctrine. The American party Statement of Principles is characterized by a pronounced moral tone. The document deals in great length with such topics as prayer, morals, decency, God, and Divine Providence.[272] The Principles emphasize that the nation's young people should receive strong moral teachings.[273]

Pitard's campaign, like Heinsohn's, reflected party doctrine concerning morality in government. Pitard's platform contained some of the same planks that the Knoxville physician supported when seeking a seat on the Knoxville City Board of Education in 1963. In both the 1963 and 1970 campaigns the Knoxville physician supported "more emphasis on spiritual and moral values."[274] His 1970 platform contained a plank calling for support of God and Country.[275] Finally, Pitard's platform called for America to "move forward to a new era of opportunity and growth both spiritually and economically."[276] Like Heinsohn, Pitard

[270]"Doug Heinsohn Says Morality is Major Need," loc. cit.

[271]Based on statement by R. E. Whedbee, personal interview, October 13, 1970.

[272]American Party Statement of Principles, loc. cit.

[273]Ibid.

[274]"Three Bid for Votes in Senate Campaign," loc. cit.

[275]Ibid.

[276]"Pitard Asks Return to Constitution," loc. cit.

called upon the voters for a "spiritual revival"[277] and a return to "Christian government."[278] According to Pitard, America could begin her road to recovery by electing "God-fearing men to Congress."[279]

[277]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

[278]"Senate Aspirants Clash at Capital," Knoxville News-Sentinel, October 21, 1970, p. 2.

[279]Press release from campaign headquarters of the candidate, November, 1970.

CHAPTER V

PROFILE OF AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS IN TENNESSEE

Insofar as strictly statewide elections are concerned, the phrase "American Independent Party" contains the two mutually exclusive words "independent" and "party." Tennessee American party leaders, in particular, are too independent to overlook divisive differences, personal preferences, and points of view to form an effective political organization in statewide elections. Compromise being a critical cohesive in American political parties, the continued reverence for independent action will probably lead to the disappearance of the American party in the state.

As noted in Chapter I, Governor George Wallace finished a strong second behind Richard Nixon in Tennessee during the 1968 presidential election. Without Wallace's personal leadership the Tennessee American party finished a poor third in the 1970 elections.

In this chapter the personal popularity of George Wallace among Tennessee American party leaders will be noted. It will also be noted that the voters for George Wallace in 1968 viewed the candidate in very personal and special terms. Wallace supporters saw no political alternatives to the Alabama Governor. To be sure, in 1968 Wallace ran as a dark horse but in the view of his supporters the rewards of his victory, if it had been forthcoming, were viewed as sufficient to merit bucking the national tide. Although he was a long shot to capture the

presidency, his Tennessee supporters felt that there was at least a fighting chance to carry the state and provide a much-desired symbolic victory in Tennessee.

The political situation in Tennessee in 1970 was different than in 1968. Wallace was not on the ballot in 1970. Without the impetus of his personal leadership party voters, and more importantly perhaps, the party's leaders, found more than acceptable alternatives to American party candidates for the senate seat and the governor's chair. Judging from discussions and questionnaires received from American party leaders in the state, these one-time Wallace supporters voted for and supported Republican candidates in 1970.

The party's leaders, a strong majority of whom had met George Wallace, did not have the faith in their 1970 candidates that they had in the Alabama Governor in 1968. Although the 1968 Wallace voters viewed Wallace's possible election as uphill, the risk of "throwing away" votes by supporting him was somewhat offset by the candidate's fighting chance for election, particularly for a victory in Tennessee. In contrast, in 1970, the possibility of "throwing away" votes by supporting American party Tennessee candidates was viewed more as a certainty than a risk. Consequently, the voters who supported Wallace in 1968, at least the majority of those represented in this study, chose to be pragmatic in 1970. Rather than risk "throwing away" their votes the party's leaders examined Democratic and Republican party candidates and selected and supported those viewed as most deserving.

A review of the backgrounds, attitudes, and political views of those 1970 Tennessee American party leaders may aid in understanding the condition of the American party in the state and the motivations of the party's leaders at that time.

American party leaders participating in this study were from a wide variety of backgrounds. They shared a common bond of party leadership although they were conspicuously unalike in many other important respects. Disregarding the party bond, the trait that emerged as perhaps even more overriding and common was a pronounced sense of independence. As noted in this chapter, a large number of the respondents are political and social mavericks--or, as they would prefer to be called, "political independents." Consequently, the statistical profile, or "average" party leader profile, drawn in this chapter, although a composite of 24 separate social and political characteristics should be viewed as "average" only in a statistical sense.

The 24 subjects pertaining to the political and social life selected for analysis in attempting to draw a profile of American party leaders and in analyzing questionnaire responses include:

1. Sex.
2. Marital status.
3. State of birth.
4. Number of years lived in Tennessee.
5. Age.
6. Approximate population of town or city in which respondent grew up or attended high school.

7. Educational background.
8. Military service background.
9. Previous political party affiliation.
10. Father's political affiliation.
11. Members of immediate family (spouse and children) belonging to the American party.
12. Major party (Democratic or Republican) viewed as most "hurt," or damaged, by the presence of the American party in the respondent's home county.
13. Major party (Democratic or Republican) viewed as most "hurt," or damaged, by the presence of the American party in Tennessee.
14. Most admired American President.
15. Greatest living American politician or political figure.
16. Number of times met Governor George Wallace, if applicable.
17. Memberships in clubs and organizations.
18. Number of times met Dr. Cecil Pitard, 1970 American party candidate for the U.S. Senate, if applicable.
19. Number of times met Douglas L. Heinsohn, 1970 American party candidate for governor, if applicable.
20. Response to the question, "What chance do you think your party has to capture the contested U.S. Senate seat in the upcoming November 1970 election?"
21. Response to the question, "What chance do you think your party has to capture the contested governorship in the upcoming November 1970 election?"

22. Response to the question, "If you could not vote for Dr. Cecil Pitard, the American party candidate, in the upsoming election, who would you like to see win the race for the U.S. Senate?"
23. Response to the question, "If you could not vote for Douglas Heinsohn, the American party candidate, in the upcoming election, who would like to see win the race for governor?"

A category-by-category analysis of the respondents to questions pertaining to the above topics will provide a more comprehensive understanding of the "average" American party leader in Tennessee, his or her background, motivations, and past and present political views. Additional analysis of questionnaire responses has been made but due to both time and space limitations, these conclusions have been included with the above categories whenever possible.

I. SEX

As noted in Figure 3, more than 82 percent of the respondents were male and approximately 17 percent of the respondents were female. Many of the female respondents served in the higher leadership positions, most notably as members of the state executive committee. Generally speaking, female officials tended to be either members of the state executive committee or other statewide officials (for example, delegates to the national convention), rather than in county positions. Women on the state executive committee were frequently wives of committeemen. No responses were received from women who were county chairmen.

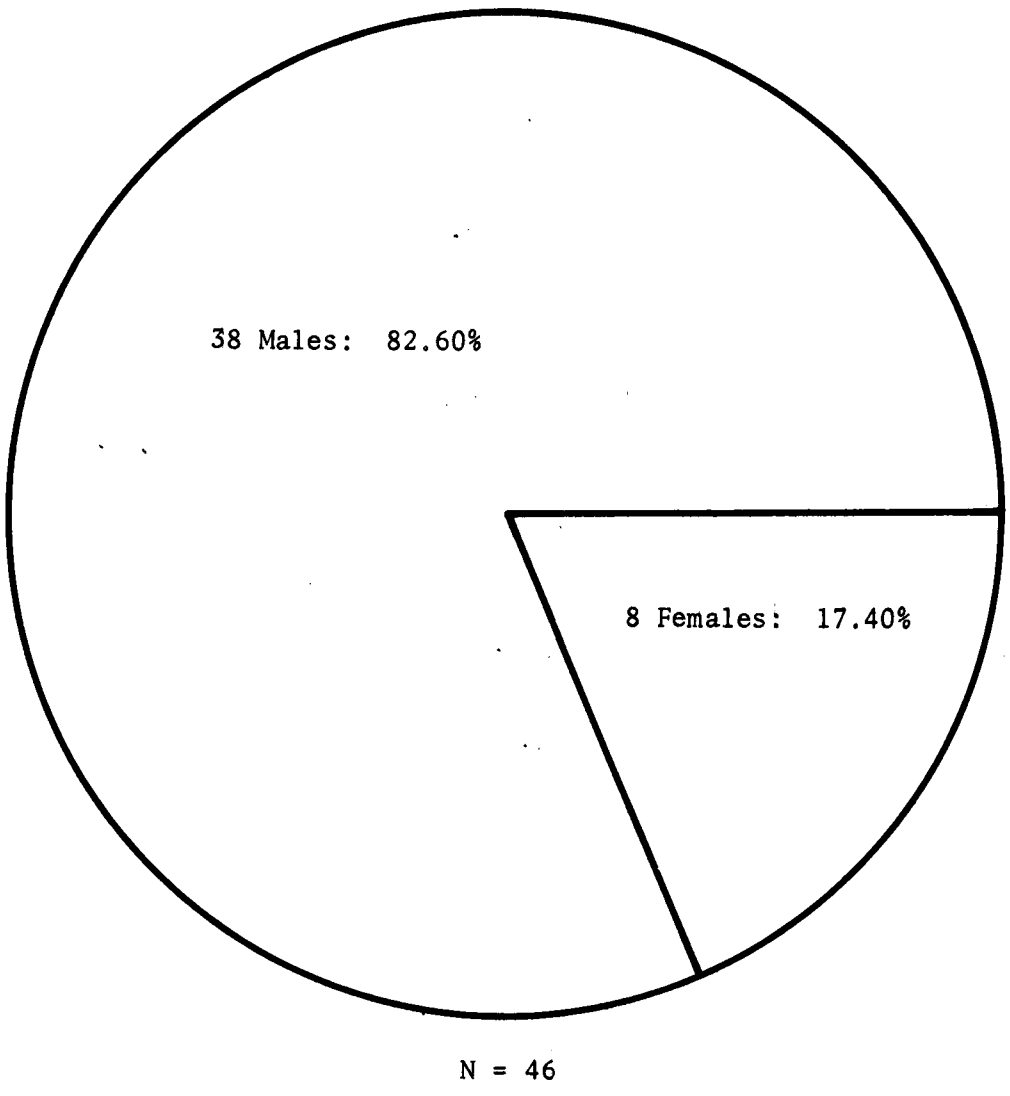


Figure 3. Questionnaire respondents by percentage and sex.

Whenever husbands and wives were both party officials, either both or neither tended to return completed questionnaires. Only rarely did one or the other respond. Perhaps more significantly, and in keeping with previous survey findings,[1] responses of husband and wife tended to be very similar.

The frankness and bluntness of some of the females was somewhat surprising, particularly in light of southern and American political party traditions in which males have tended to be major spokesmen. Following an analysis of the questionnaires used in this study, however, it must be concluded that female respondents were as outspoken and intense in their responses as their male counterparts.

II. MARITAL STATUS

As noted in Figure 4, there was a pronounced stability to the respondents' marriages. All were married, and only one was separated.

This finding is somewhat surprising considering the national divorce rate[2] and that most of the respondents were middle-aged. A few were quite elderly. Still, almost 98 percent of the respondents were married, none divorced, and only slightly more than 2 percent (one person) reported being separated.

[1]John A. Ballweg, "Husband-Wife Response Similarities on Evaluative and Non-Evaluative Survey Questions," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXIII (Summer, 1969), 249-254.

[2]George E. Delvey (managing ed.), The 1973 Edition: The World Almanac and Book of Facts (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association), p. 952.

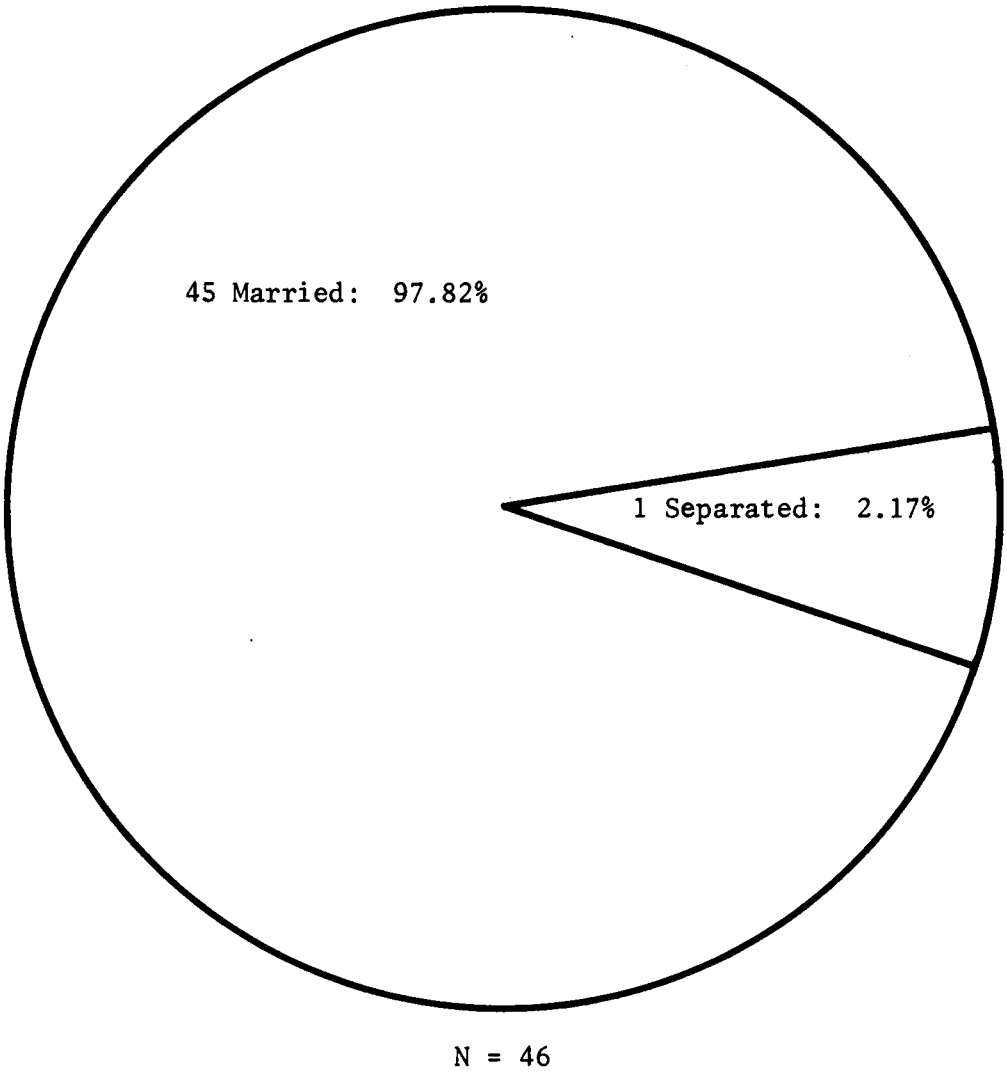


Figure 4. Marital status of respondents by percentages.

The finding is also interesting in light of a conversation with a high-ranking party official during the latter part of 1971, about the time that Governor Wallace married his second wife. At the time several party officials were quite critical of the marriage on the grounds that the widowed Alabama Governor should not have married a divorcee.[3]

III. STATES OF BIRTH

The leadership of the American party in Tennessee is highly nativistic. Well over half of the respondents (more than 60 percent) were born in Tennessee. More than seven times as many respondents were born in Tennessee than in the next most commonly mentioned state (Mississippi). Only one person, born in Canada, was born outside the United States.

As noted in Table V, most of the respondents not born in Tennessee were born in what are usually referred to as southern or border states. Of the 12 states mentioned, six could be so classified. These states (Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Louisiana) were the birthplaces of more than 80 percent of the respondents.

The party leaders were not very mobile. More than 60 percent (those born in Tennessee) live in the state of their birth. If these respondents had moved from the state during their lives (and most indicated they had not, excluding periods of military service) they had returned. Less than 40 percent of the respondents live outside the

[3]Based on statement by R. E. ("Bud") Whedbee, former American party vice chairman, East Tennessee Grand Division, personal interview, October 7, 1970.

TABLE V

STATES OF BIRTH OF LEADERS OF THE AMERICAN PARTY IN TENNESSEE

State of Birth*	Percentage Respondents	Number of Respondents
Tennessee	60.86	28
Mississippi	10.86	5
Alabama	4.34	2
Kentucky	4.34	2
Kansas	4.34	2
South Carolina	2.17	1
Arkansas	2.17	1
Louisiana	2.17	1
Michigan	2.17	1
Oklahoma	2.17	1
Massachusetts	2.17	1
Canada	2.17	1
		46**

*Total states named: 12.

**N = 46.

states of their birth. Twelve of the eighteen respondents not born in Tennessee were born in the neighboring states of Mississippi, Alabama, Kentucky, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Only six of the party leaders, or little more than 13 percent, listed their birthplaces as outside the southern or border states.

IV. NUMBER OF YEARS LIVED IN TENNESSEE

Once again, analysis of the data indicates that American party leadership is highly nativistic. As noted in Table VI, almost 90 percent of the respondents have lived in Tennessee more than 10 years, although only 60 percent of the respondents were born in the state. Almost three-quarters (about 74 percent) have lived in the state for more than 30 years. More than eight out of ten (more than 82 percent) have lived in Tennessee more than 20 years.

In keeping with a policy not to reveal his age, one respondent refused to reveal the number of years he had lived in Tennessee. During field research it was discovered that he was between 50 and 70 years of age and had been living in the state most of his life.

V. AGE

Generally speaking, Tennessee American party leaders were not sensitive about their ages. Whereas four persons refused to reveal their memberships in clubs and organizations (see page 246), only one person refused to reveal his age.

TABLE VI

RESPONSES BY AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS TO THE QUESTION "HOW MANY (TOTAL) YEARS HAVE YOU LIVED IN TENNESSEE?"

Years	Percentage	Number
-10	10.86	5
10-19	4.34	2
20-29	8.69	4
30-39	21.73	10
40-49	23.91	11
50-59	21.73	10
60-69	4.34	2
70 plus	2.17	1
No response-- "Personal"	2.17	1
		46*

*N = 46.

As may be seen in Table VII, a strong majority, more than 59 percent, of the officials are between 30 and 50 years. The greatest percentage of leaders in any single 10-year category were between 41 and 50 years. More than 30 percent of the respondents were in this group.

More than 39 percent of the respondents were 50 years or older. Of this group, 13 percent were older than 60 years. The oldest respondent was 71.

Approximately one-quarter (little more than 26 percent) of the respondents were about the same age (50 to 60 years) as Governor Wallace.[4] The youngest respondent was 33.[5] In most instances the younger officials, those between 31 and 40 years, were serving at the county level. Older respondents held positions at the state or regional level.

VI. APPROXIMATE POPULATION OF TOWN OR CITY IN WHICH RESPONDENTS GREW UP OR ATTENDED HIGH SCHOOL

Almost 80 percent of the respondents grew up and attended high school in either small or medium-sized towns.[6] As noted in Table VIII,

[4]Governor Wallace was born August 25, 1919.

[5]Ironically, perhaps, the youngest respondent voiced strong support for raising the voting age to 30; he strongly opposed lowering the voting age to 18 years. The respondent said voters should not be permitted use of the franchise unless they could meet specified mental requirements and had proper character references.

[6]The distinctions made here between small towns (population less than 2,500), medium sized towns (population between 2,500 and 100,000), and large cities (population of more than 100,000) are those used in tabulation of the national census.

TABLE VII

AGES OF AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS

Born Between		Percentage	Number
1941-1950	21-30 years	0.00	0
1931-1940	31-40 years	28.26	13
1921-1930	41-50 years	30.43	14
1911-1920	51-60 years	26.06	12
1900-1910	61-71 years	13.04	6
No response	"Personal"	2.17	1
			46*

*N = 46.

TABLE VIII

RESPONSES BY AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS TO THE QUESTION "WHAT IS THE APPROXIMATE POPULATION OF THE CITY, TOWN, OR COMMUNITY IN WHICH YOU GREW UP AND/OR ATTENDED SCHOOL?"

Size of Community, Town, or City	Percentage	Number
Less than 2,500*	34.78	16
2,500-100,000	43.47	20
More than 100,000	19.56	9
No response	2.17	1
		46**

*Includes those persons who responded "rural."

**N = 46.

of this group far more than one-third (more than 43 percent) came from small towns and rural communities.

Large city backgrounds were most rare among American party leaders. Less than one-fifth (about 19 percent) grew up and attended school in metropolitan areas of populations of more than 100,000. Memphis, Tennessee, was the city named most often by the small group of party leaders who grew up in metropolitan areas.

VII. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

In keeping with their nonconformity in other areas, the leaders in the American party in Tennessee do not conform to the frequently heard stereotype of "Know Nothings" or "uneducated rednecks." A substantial number of the respondents were college graduates and several held graduate degrees.

More than nine out of ten had finished high school. Less than 9 percent were not high school graduates. By and large, those who had not completed high school were found in lower-ranking county positions rather than in statewide leadership positions.

As noted in Table IX, although more than one-third (about 39 percent) of the respondents terminated their formal educations after completing school, more than 26 percent of the party leaders held college degrees. Of this number, more than 15 percent held graduate degrees and an additional 2.17 percent had taken post-graduate courses. Several of the respondents held law degrees and one was a licensed physician.

TABLE IX

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS[a]

Highest Level Finished	Percentage	Number
Did not finish high school[b]	8.69	4
High school graduate	39.13	18
"Some" college	26.06	12
College degree	8.69	4
"Some" graduate work	2.17	1
Graduate degree[c]	15.21	7
		46[d]

[a]The question answered by the respondents was "What is the highest grade in school which you completed?

[b]Includes all respondents who did not finish high school, regardless of the year in school at the time respondents dropped out.

[c]Does not include one respondent who reported that he held a Ph. D. in "common sense."

[d]N = 46.

Twenty-four of the 46 respondents (more than 56 percent) had pursued their formal educations to some extent since graduating from high school. Although one might hypothesize on the selectivity of the sample,[7] the findings, are nevertheless, surprising in light of popular stereotypes. Still, it is assumed here that the respondents were better educated than a similarly representative sample of rank-and-file American party supporters across the state.

VIII. MILITARY SERVICE BACKGROUND

As noted in Figure 5, more than seven out of ten (almost 73 percent) of the male respondents had served in the armed forces. In addition to those who reported active service, two of the leaders who had not served on active duty were employed in critically related military positions during World War II. One of these was in the state guard and the other an aviation cadet flight instructor.

Of those who had served in the military, almost 54 percent served during World War II. About 7 percent served during both World War II and the Korean War. Only a comparatively smaller group, little more than 11 percent, served on active duty after the Korean War.

[7]The point can be made that the respondents were the party's leaders and probably more formally educated than the party's rank and file supporters. If this is true, the sample would not reflect party-wide norms. See Marjorie N. Donald, "Implications of Nonresponse for the Interpretation of Mail Questionnaire Date," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Spring, 1960), 99-114.

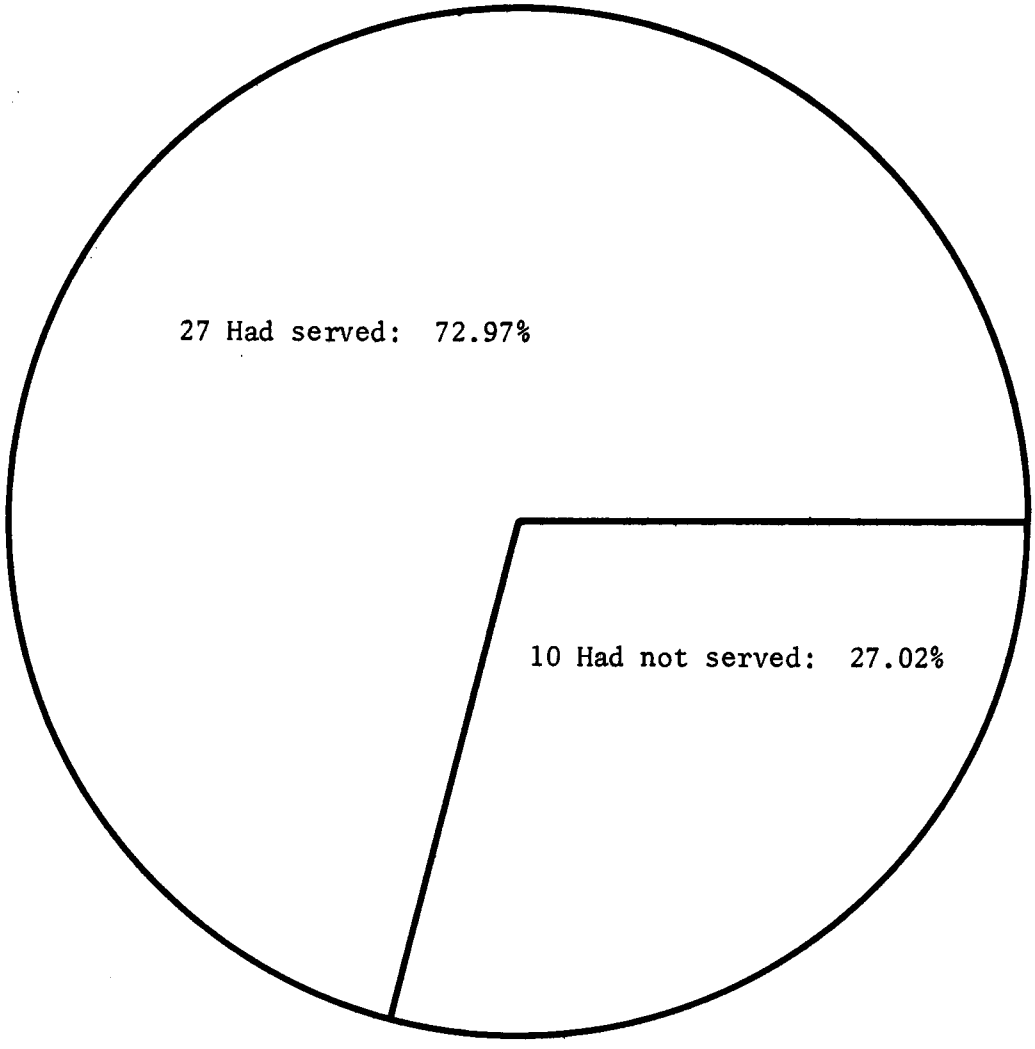


Figure 5. Percentage responses to the question "Have you ever served in the active armed services of the United States?"

*Excludes all (8) female respondents and one male respondent who viewed the question as "too personal" to answer.

Several of the respondents were in the military between 5 and 10 years and one, a professional soldier, served more than 30 years.

All the major military branches were mentioned almost equally by the respondents.

IX. YEAR JOINED THE AMERICAN PARTY

"Joining" the American party in Tennessee during 1968 and 1969 was not a very formal affair. A Wallace bumper strip, a "Stand Up For America" button in the lapel, a visit to a local rally, or even a generalized dissatisfaction with the two major parties, was more likely than not one's "initiation" into the party. Joining the party was more of a personal commitment than a formal or public act.

As noted in Figure 6, more than three-quarters (more than 78 percent) of the respondents in this study have identified with the American party since 1968, the year that Governor George Wallace made his second bid for the presidency. The party has picked up some support at the leadership levels since that time but only very little. Slightly more than 17 percent of the party's leaders joined the party after 1968.

Few of the respondents had risen to the top of the party's hierarchy who were not active in the 1968 Wallace campaign. Although about 15 percent of the respondents joined the party during 1969, little more than 2 percent joined the party during 1970.

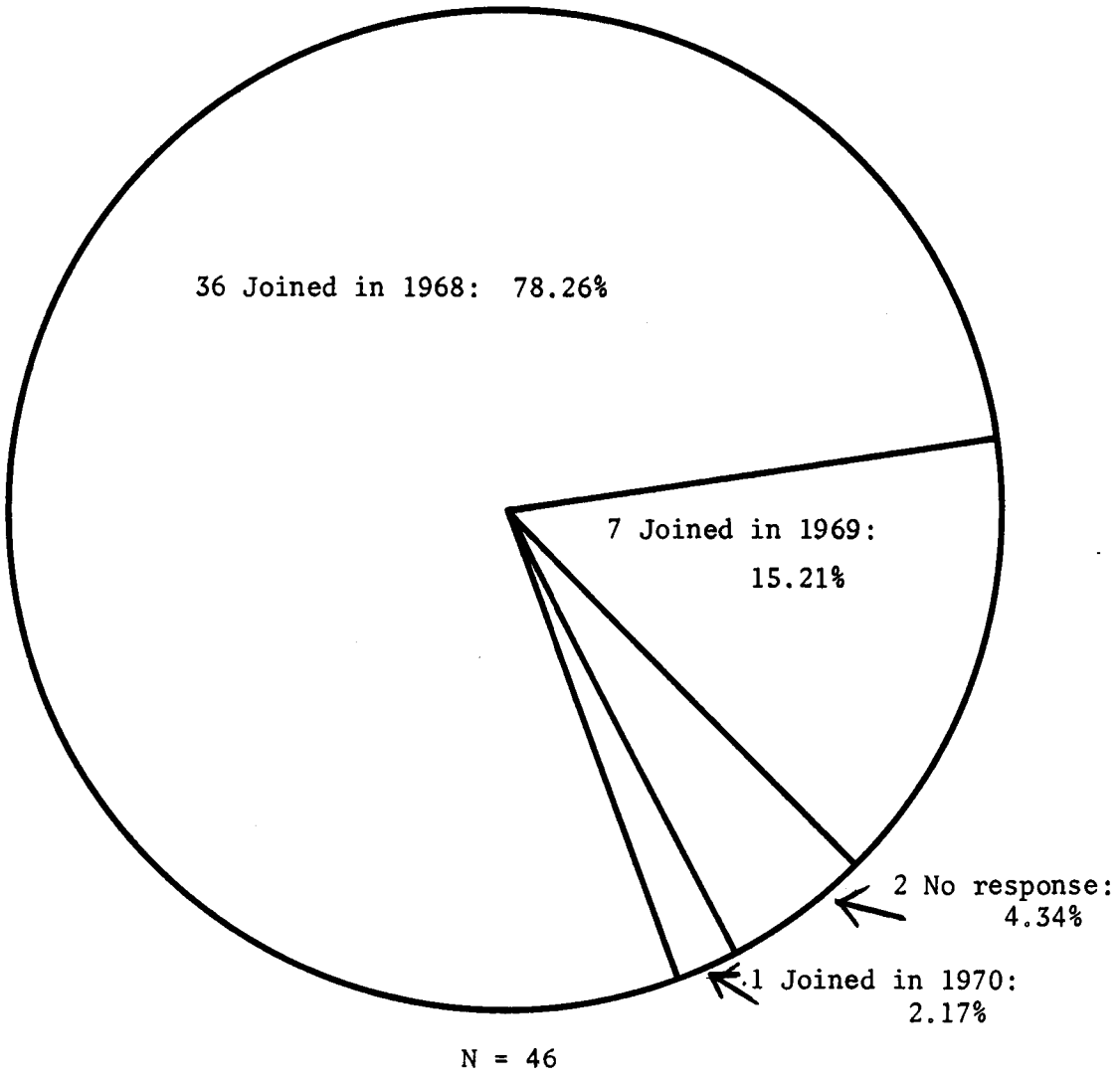


Figure 6. Percentage responses to the question "When (approximately) did you join the American party?"

Leaders who were early party members expressed considerable pride in their early membership. The following samples are indicative of that pride.

1. An east Tennessee official reported that he "joined the party at its inception."
2. Another east Tennessean said he joined the party in 1968 "when the party was the 'Wallace Stand Up For America Committee'."
3. A west Tennessee official wrote that he "believed in the American party since it began."
4. Another west Tennessean noted that he was "one of the first" to join the party in 1968.
5. A respondent from middle Tennessee stated that "I helped organize the party in 1968."
6. A west Tennessean reported that he joined the party "when Wallace organized" the movement.
7. An east Tennessean said he "worked actively in the Wallace Presidential campaign in 1968."
8. A middle Tennessean said "I helped establish the American party in Tennessee."

Although several respondents were uncertain of the precise date they joined the party, they recalled that it was during the Spring of 1968, during the earliest days of the Wallace movement.

X. PARTY AFFILIATION PRIOR TO JOINING THE AMERICAN PARTY

A strong majority of more than 56 percent of the respondents were Democrats prior to joining the American party (see Figure 7). In contrast, only about 17 percent of the American party leaders reported being former Republicans.

XI. PARTY IDENTIFICATION OF FATHERS

According to numerous surveys, men tend to identify with the party of their fathers.[8] In some measure, American party leaders are examples of this tendency. Nevertheless, it should be noted that a large number of the respondents indicated that prior to joining the American party they had not been as loyal to the Democratic party as had been their fathers. As noted in Figure 8, almost three-fourths (more than 71 percent) of the respondents' fathers were Democrats. In comparison, only about 56 percent of the respondents viewed themselves as former Democrats. An erosion from Democratic party ranks from one generation to the next is obvious between American party leaders and their fathers.

A similar erosion from republican ranks from one generation to the next is also evident from the respondents' recollections of their

[8]V. O. Key, Jr., "The Politically Relevant in Surveys," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Spring, 1960), 54-61; Fred I. Greenstein, The American Party System and the American People (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), pp. 31-32; Robert E. Lane and David O Sears, Public Opinion (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 18-21; Gerald M. Pomper, Elections in America: Control and Influence in Democratic Politics (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1968), pp. 71-73; William H. Flanigan, Political Behavior of the American Electorate (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1968), pp. 33-35.

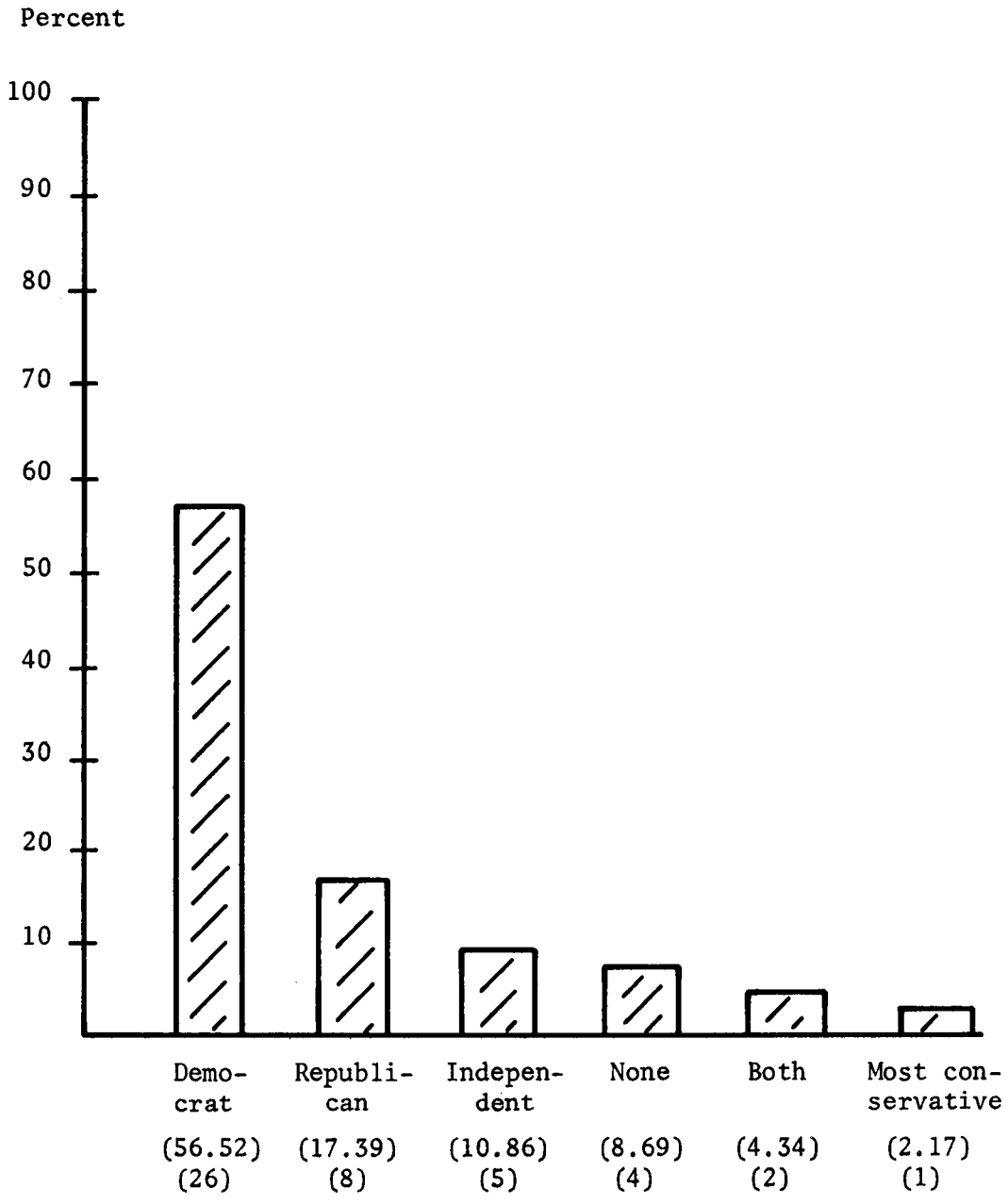


Figure 7. Percentage responses to the question "What political party, if any, did you belong to prior to joining the American party?"

Note: N = 46.

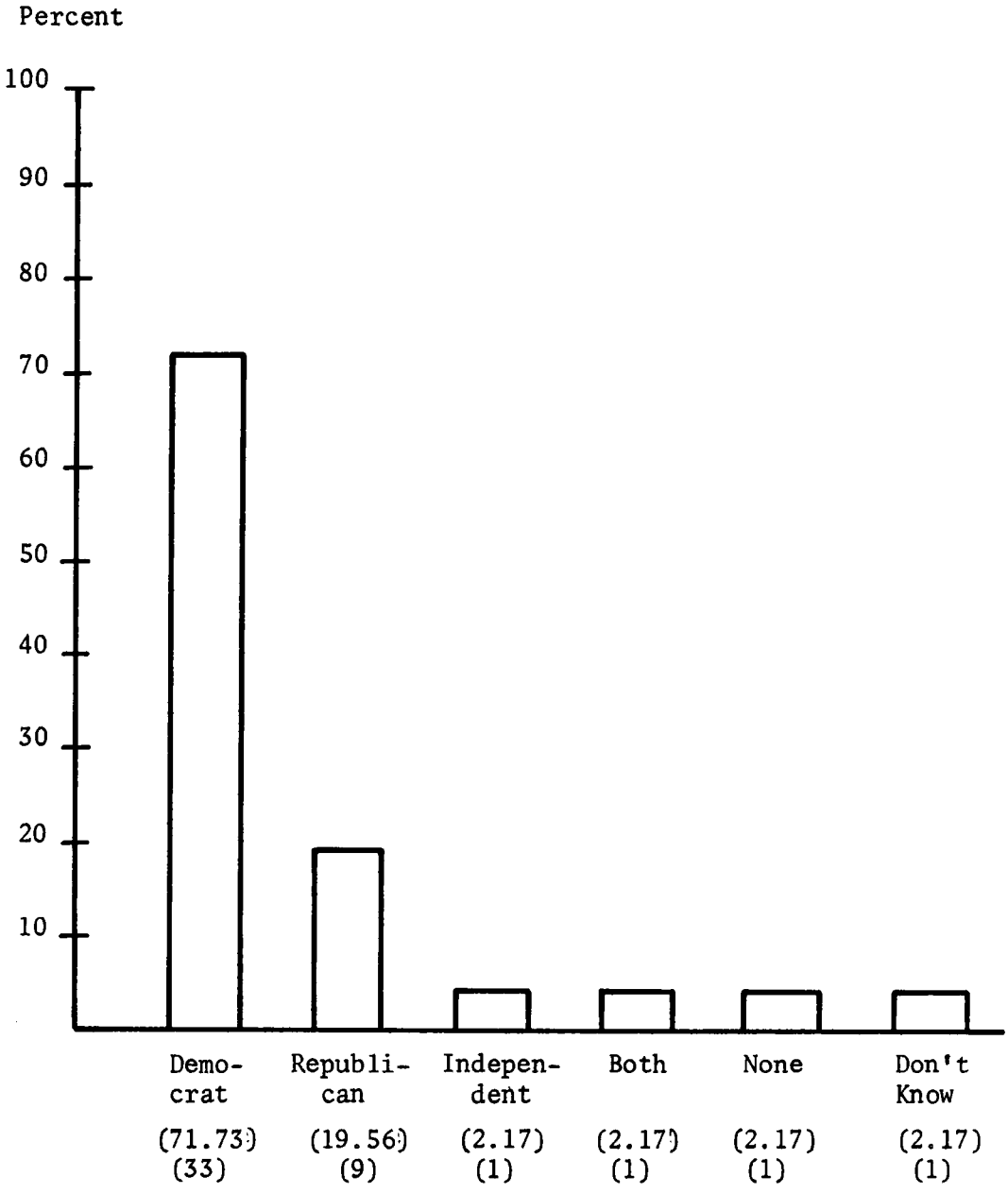


Figure 8. Percentage responses to the question "To what political party did your father belong?"

Note: N = 46.

previous political affiliations and those of their fathers. In percentage terms, however, this erosion is not of the magnitude as that from the Democratic party. For example, while more than 17 percent of the respondents viewed themselves as former Republicans, only about 19.56 percent of the party leaders noted that their fathers had also been Republicans. In other words, insofar as a preference for the Republican party is concerned, there is only a variation of slightly more than 2 percent from one generation to the next. In contrast, the erosion from the Democratic party from one generation to the next was more than seven times as great. Whereas more than 71 percent of the respondents' fathers were Democrats, only about 56 percent of the respondents reported membership in the same party.

It should be noted that while only one person (approximately 2 percent of the respondents) reported that his father was an independent voter, almost 11 percent of the respondents so classified themselves prior to joining the American party. Consequently, while there was considerable desertion from Democratic ranks, and lesser desertion from Republican ranks, the number of independent voters increased significantly from one generation to the next.

In general terms, it may be concluded that the party identification of the fathers was passed to a majority of the sons and daughters in this sample. At the same time, the party identification passed from the father to the offspring was not of life-long standing. There was substantial erosion from Democratic ranks from one generation to the next and a far lesser erosion from Republican ranks during the same period.

In contrast, the percentage of families represented in this survey who viewed themselves as independents increased markedly.

XII. MEMBER(S) OF IMMEDIATE FAMILY (SPOUSE AND CHILDREN) BELONGING TO THE AMERICAN PARTY

In keeping with loyalty data on traditional American parties,[9] American party membership, at least insofar as the respondents of this study are concerned, tends to "run in the family." As noted in Figure 9, 42 of the 46 respondents (more than 91 percent) reported that at least one member of their immediate family (spouse or child) was also an American party member. Only two respondents, little more than 4 percent, reported that no immediate member of their families were party members. Of the two respondents who refused to answer the question, one explained that the question was "too personal."

In listing members of the family who belonged to the party the spouse was usually the only member of the family reported by party leaders. Frequently, however, three or four children, both male and female, were also listed as members. In one instance 11 close relatives were reported to be party supporters. In another instance, a west Tennessee official reported that his "eight children are all dedicated to the cause of Americanism." Still another west Tennessean said that his "wife, mother, and father, and my whole family, plus 90 percent of Crockett county" were members of the American party.

[9] Ibid.

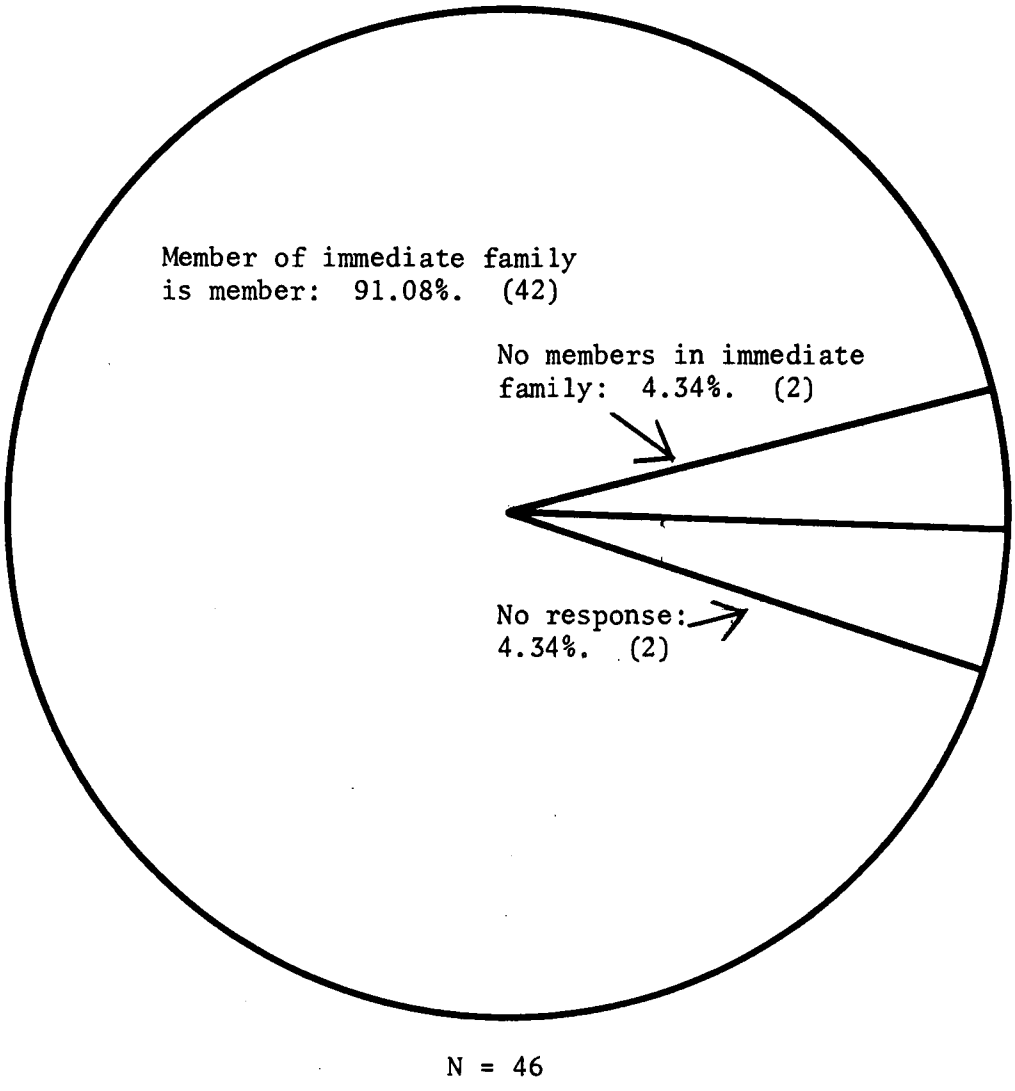


Figure 9. Percentage responses to the question "How many members of your immediate family (spouse and children) consider themselves to be members of the American party?"

It is not known how many of the respondents' children were below voting age. From the information offered it is suspected that many were. In light of the ages of the respondents it can also be assumed that many of their children were of voting age. For example, in some instances it was noted that spouses of children were active in the party.

Several of the respondents noted that their parents were also members of the American party.

XIII. RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION "SPEAKING ONLY OF YOUR COUNTY, WHAT PARTY (DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN) DO YOU THINK IS MOST 'HURT' BY THE PRESENCE OF THE AMERICAN PARTY?"[10]

As noted in Table X, by far the largest number of respondents (more than 52 percent) said that the American party did more harm to the Democratic than to the Republican party in their home counties. Only 10 percent of the respondents said that the Republican party was most "hurt" by the presence of the American party.

These responses are quite interesting when compared with the former political affiliations of the party leaders. As noted earlier, 56 percent of the respondents were one-time Democrats. Approximately 52 percent of the respondents viewed the Democratic party as most hurt by the

[10]Some difficulty was encountered in analyzing responses to this question. The word "hurt" was not defined and it is possible that some of the respondents identified the term in different ways. Generally speaking, the majority of party leaders answering the question interpreted it to mean "Which major party is most damaged (in whatever fashion) by the presence of the American party?"

TABLE X

RESPONSES BY AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS TO THE QUESTION "SPEAKING ONLY OF YOUR COUNTY, WHAT PARTY (DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN) DO YOU THINK IS MOST 'HURT' BY THE PRESENCE OF THE AMERICAN PARTY?"

Responses	Percentage	Number
Democratic	52.17	24
Republican	10.86	5
"American party is the balance of power in my county."	10.86	5
"Both parties 'hurt' equally."	10.86	5
"Both parties are helped by the American party."	2.17	1
"Neither party 'hurt' by presence of American party."	6.52	3
No response	6.52	3
		46*

*N = 46.

presence of the American party in their home counties. About 17 percent of the respondents were former Republicans. About 11 percent of the respondents reported that the Republican party was most "hurt" by the presence of the American party in their home counties.

Although a more sophisticated treatment of the data would have to be made to substantiate the point, it could be hypothesized that the respondents answered the question in terms of "From which major party did the American party attract most of its present members?" Responding from this point of view, the party leaders viewed their own realignment, and perhaps that of other members of their families and their close friends, as possibly damaging to their former party.

XIV. RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION "WHAT PARTY (DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN) IN TENNESSEE DO YOU THINK IS MOST 'HURT' BY THE PRESENCE OF THE AMERICAN PARTY?"

As noted in Table XI, between four and five times as many respondents answered that the Democratic party was more hurt by the presence of the American party than was the Republican party. While almost 61 percent of the respondents felt that the Democratic party was the most damaged, only about 13 percent felt the GOP to be the most negatively affected by the American party's presence. More respondents tended to think that the Democratic party was hurt more at the statewide level (almost 61 percent) than in their own home counties (approximately 52 percent). More respondents also tended to think that the Republican party was hurt

TABLE XI

RESPONSES BY AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS TO THE QUESTION "WHAT PARTY (DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN) IN TENNESSEE DO YOU THINK IS MOST 'HURT' BY THE PRESENCE OF THE AMERICAN PARTY?"

Responses	Percentage	Number
Democratic	60.86	28
Republican	13.04	6
"American party is the balance of power in Tennessee."	6.52	3
"Both parties 'hurt' equally."	10.86	5
"Both parties are helped by the American party."	2.17	1
"Neither party 'hurt' by presence of American party."	2.17	1
No response	4.34	2
		46*

*N = 46.

more at the statewide level (slightly more than 13 percent) than in their own home counties (almost 11 percent).

While three of the respondents (about 6 percent) felt that neither of the two major parties were hurt by the presence of the American party in their home counties, only one party leader (2.17 percent) felt that neither of the two major parties were damaged by the American party at the state level.

Although more than 10 percent of the respondents felt that the American party was the balance of power in their home counties, only slightly more than 6 percent viewed the party in a similar role at the statewide level. It could be noted, however, that this "balance of power" view of the party's influence was voluntarily offered and not suggested as an alternative response to the question. In fact, there is probably a much higher percentage of the respondents who actually view the American party as a balance of power both within their home counties as well as across the state. A west Tennessean expressed this thought quite straightforwardly: "The American party can throw its votes to either party and that party will win."

XV. POLITICAL HEROES OF AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS

According to a popular Alabama saying of recent years, "An atheist is someone who does'nt believe in George Wallace." The great majority of American party leaders in Tennessee hold a comparable reverence for the American party founder.

George Wallace is the overwhelming favorite as the greatest living politician or political figure alive in America today among Tennessee American party leaders. As noted in Table XII, more than 60 percent of the respondents agreed on his selection. Although 19 different persons were named by the respondents as being the greatest living politician or political figure in America today, none of the figures named came close to equaling Wallace's popularity. Wallace received seven times as many votes for the honor as his nearest competitor, Georgia's former Governor Lester Maddox. Symbolic of the sentiment of American party leaders in Tennessee, perhaps, one respondent who selected Wallace as the outstanding living political figure added that the "Honorable Lester Maddox is a close second."

Surprisingly, a sizable percentage of the American party leaders, more than 17 percent, responded that America has no great living politicians or political leaders today. Evidently, these respondents felt that at this time the country is not producing top-notch leaders. If one single finding in this thesis can describe the alienation and dissatisfaction with current national politics among Tennessee American party leaders, it appears to be the more than 17 percent of the leadership who have no political heroes, not even George Wallace.

A large majority of the persons named as America's greatest living political figures are personalities usually classified as political conservatives. There is also a marked preference for southern political leaders which may reflect the respondents' backgrounds. (As noted earlier, a large majority of the respondents were born and grew up in the

TABLE XII

RESPONSES BY AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS TO THE QUESTION "WHOM DO YOU FEEL IS THE GREATEST LIVING POLITICIAN OR POLITICAL FIGURE ALIVE IN AMERICA TODAY?"

Person Named	Percent of Respondents Who Named	Number of Respondents
George C. Wallace[a]	60.86	28
"There is none."[b]	17.39	8
Lester Maddox	8.69	4
Harry S Truman	6.52	3
John C. Rarick[c]	6.52	3
Strom Thurmond	4.34	2
John C. Stennis	2.17	1
Barry Goldwater	2.17	1
John Bell Williams	2.17	1
John H. Rousselot[d]	2.17	1
John J. Williams[e]	2.17	1
Gordon Browning	2.17	1
Robert Welch	2.17	1
Dan Smoot	2.17	1
Ronald Reagan	2.17	1
John C. Tower	2.17	1
Bill Brock	2.17	1
Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	2.17	1

TABLE XII (continued)

Person Named	Percent of Respondents Who Named	Number of Respondents
Richard Russell[f]	2.17	1
Lyndon B. Johnson	2.17	1
		62[g]

[a]Includes one respondent who wrote "I think Wallace has what it takes but I am skeptical of his intentions."

[b]Responses in this category were much the same in negative tone and attitude and reflected a belief that there are no great American leaders today. A general sampling of the responses: "I don't know any great ones"; "I have no political heroes today"; "There are no great ones--a few fairly good ones."

[c]Congressman from Louisiana.

[d]Congressman from California.

[e]Former Senator from Delaware; now deceased.

[f]Former Senator from Georgia; now deceased.

[g]N = 46. This is the number of respondents who answered the question; the number of persons named totals 62 as some of the respondents named more than one political figure.

South.) Well over half of the 19 persons named as outstanding political leaders were from either southern or border states.

Surprising to some, perhaps, Senator Barry Goldwater, a well-known Arizona conservative, was named by only one respondent. It should, therefore, be clarified at this point that although the followers of Goldwater and Wallace might be generally thought of as a like-minded political group, commonly referred to as "conservatives," the Tennessee voters who supported the two candidates were from geographically different parts of the state. A county-by-county analysis of votes cast for Goldwater during 1964 and for Wallace in 1968 indicates that where one of the candidates received strong support the other was notably weak. Support for the two candidates varied greatly from county to county and from region to region. For example, Goldwater did very well in east Tennessee; Wallace did notably poorly in the region. As noted earlier (see Figure 1, page 74) Wallace did very well in middle Tennessee during 1968. As may be seen in Figure 10, Goldwater did noticeably poorly in middle Tennessee during 1964.

A comparison of voter support for Goldwater and Wallace west of the Tennessee River reveals a similarly contrasting pattern. The two candidates carried the same counties in only five instances (Chester, Madison, Crockett, Haywood, and Fayette counties). Twenty-one counties comprise that portion of Tennessee west of the Tennessee River.

In geographic terms at least the Wallace and the Goldwater support did not come from the same areas in Tennessee.

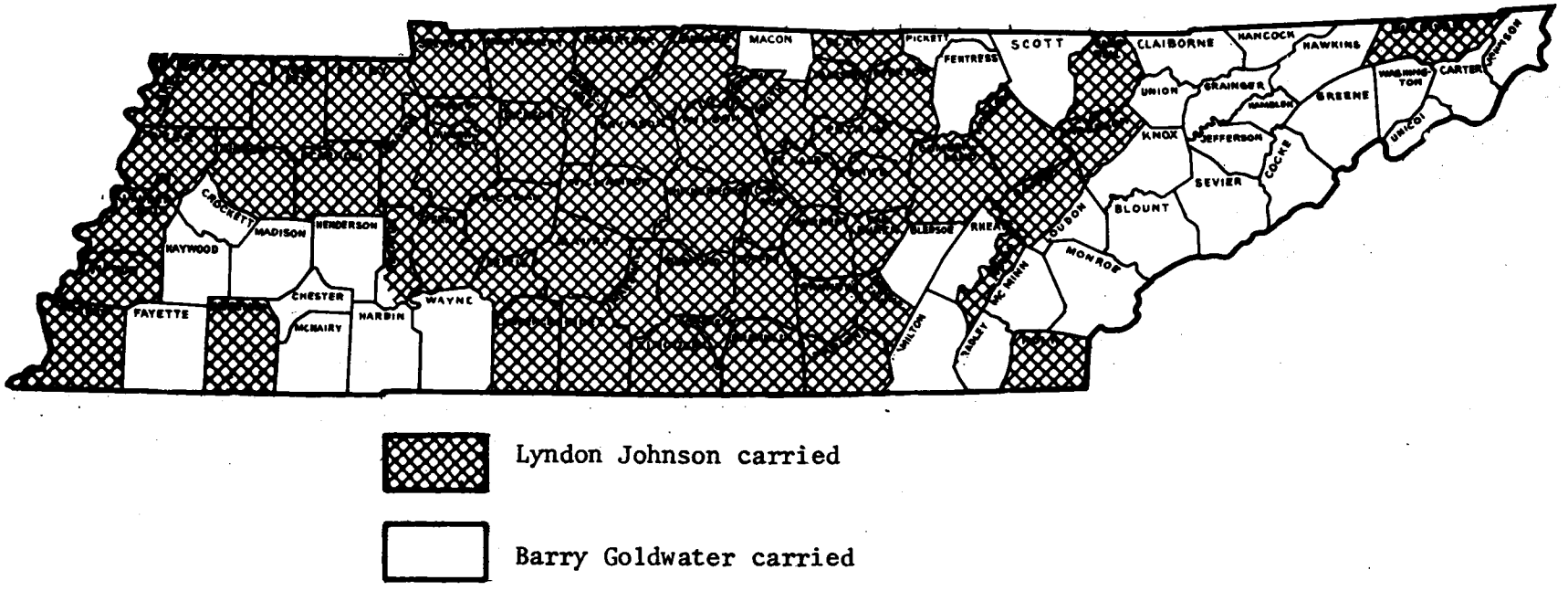
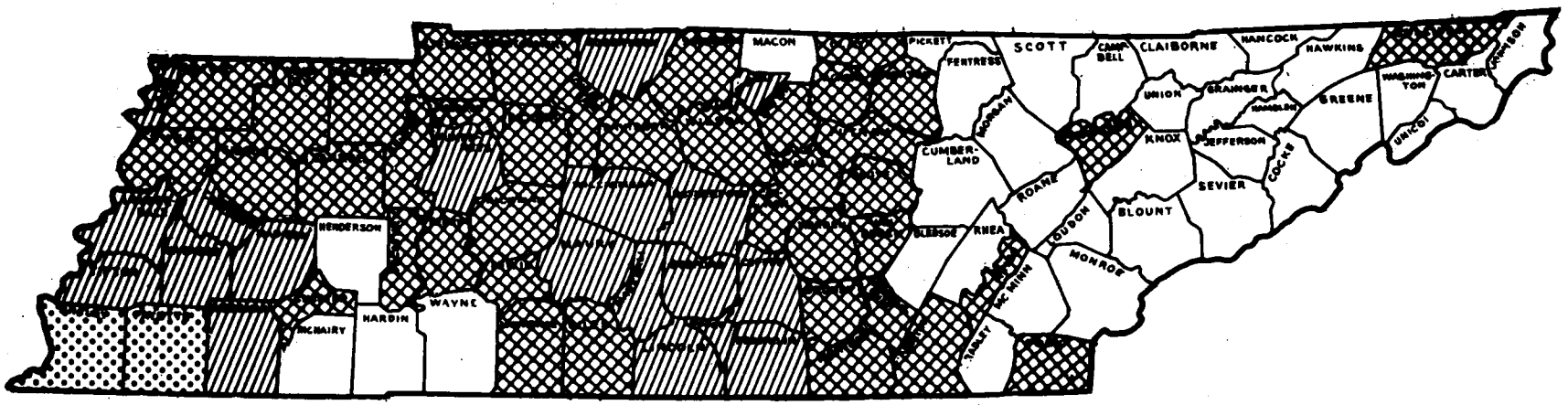


Figure 10. A comparison of the Johnson and Goldwater vote in Tennessee during the 1964 presidential election.

The popularity of Senator Strom Thurmond, present Republican Senator from South Carolina, among Tennessee American party leaders is interesting in several respects. The esteem that the party's leaders hold for the southern senator could reflect a fond recollection of Thurmond's leadership of the strongly states' rights oriented "Dixiecratic" ticket in the 1948 presidential election. This supposition may gain a bit of credulity when it is recalled that a majority of the respondents were one-time southern Democrats (as was Senator Thurmond) and are strongly oriented toward the states' rights position today. The ages of the respondents, discussed earlier in this chapter, may also lend support to this position.

The parallel between the Thurmond support in Tennessee during the 1948 presidential election and the Wallace vote in 1968 are much closer than the Goldwater vote in 1964 and the Wallace vote in 1968. As noted in Figure 11, a close look at the Thurmond vote indicates that like Wallace 20 years later the Dixiecratic candidate did much better in middle and west Tennessee than he did in east Tennessee. Both third party candidates did notably poorly in east Tennessee. Wallace did not carry but one county in all of east Tennessee. Thurmond did not carry a single county in that region of the state. He did not even finish as high as second in any of the east Tennessee counties.

Before turning to another topic, it should also be noted that the list of political figures named by the American party leaders is interesting in light of a name that it does not include. Although President



States' Rights Candidate Thurmond carried

States' Rights Candidate Thurmond finished second

Voted for democratic candidate

Voted for Republican candidate

Figure 11. Voter support for Senator Strom Thurmond, Dixiecratic candidate, in the 1948 presidential election.

Richard Nixon headed the annual Gallop Poll listing of the men most admired by Americans during January 1970,[11] he did not receive a single mention from American party leaders. The same Gallop Poll found George Wallace to be the eighth most admired man in the nation.

XVI. PRESIDENTS MOST ADMIRED BY AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS

When asked to select the president in American history whom they most admire, the respondents tended to select one of the country's earliest leaders. This preference for presidents of the past was most pronounced. As noted in Table XIII, of the 10 presidents mentioned (including Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy), George Washington received more than twice as many votes as the second-most mentioned president, Tennessean Andrew Jackson. More than one-third of the respondents (almost 35 percent) selected the nation's first president as the most admirable.

Thirty of the 46 respondents (more than 65 percent) selected a president of the 18th or 19th centuries, while only 16 of the party's leaders (almost 35 percent) selected a president of this century. President Nixon, in his first term of office when the survey was made, was not named by a single respondent, although as noted earlier, a Gallop Poll taken during January 1970 revealed that he was the man most admired by all Americans.[12]

[11] Facts on File, 1970, XXX, mdxxx (Feb. 19-25, 1970), 6.

[12] Ibid.

TABLE XIII

AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS' RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION "WHICH PRESIDENT IN AMERICA'S HISTORY DO YOU MOST ADMIRE?"

President	Percent Respondents Who Named	Number of Respondents Who Named
George Washington	34.78	16
Andrew Jackson	15.21	7
Thomas Jefferson	13.04	6
None mentioned[a]	10.86	5
Harry S Truman	10.86	5
Franklin D. Roosevelt	10.86	5
Theodore Roosevelt	8.69	4
Abraham Lincoln	8.69	4
Jefferson Davis[b]	6.52	3
Herbert Hoover	2.17	1
John F. Kennedy	2.17	1
		57[c]

[a]No preference was indicated by the people completing these five questionnaires.

[b]President of the Confederacy.

[c]N = 46. This is the number of respondents who answered the question; the number of votes cast for various presidents totals 57 as some of the respondents named more than one person.

Almost one-fourth of the respondents (almost 24 percent) selected a 20th century Democratic president as the most admired. The selection was probably reflective of the large percentage of respondents who were Democrats prior to joining the American party. Of the 20th century presidents named, three were Democrats (Harry Truman, Franklin Roosevelt, and John Kennedy) and two were Republicans (Theodore Roosevelt and Herbert Hoover).

The relatively high percentage of respondents (almost 11 percent) who named Franklin Roosevelt as the most admired president is somewhat surprising considering Roosevelt's present-day identification with "big government," government intervention (particularly economic) into private lives, and welfare-type legislation and programs. However, the selection should be interpreted with both the ages and the former party identifications of the respondents in mind. Many of the respondents vividly recall the Depression and many were former Democrats, who more than likely, voted for Roosevelt.

Interestingly, and unexpectedly, three of the respondents (more than 6 percent) named Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, as the most admired president in America's history. This probably reflects the southern upbringing of the respondents, cited elsewhere in this chapter as well as an identification with what is very generally referred to as the "southern way of life." The votes for Davis may also reflect a reverence for southern tradition, as symbolized by the Confederacy. Governor Wallace makes frequent references in his speeches to such symbols of the Confederacy as General Robert E. Lee and the

Confederate flag.[13] Wallace has also made a well-known reference to Jefferson Davis during an inaugural address[14] in Montgomery, Alabama, the symbolic headquarters of both the Confederacy and the American party.

In further examining the votes for Davis, it should also be noted that from the technical standpoint the question was not "Which President of the United States do you most admire?" The question asked was "Which President in America's history do you most admire?" Although a small point, it could be important. Given the exact phrasing, one could technically answer the inquiry with "Jefferson Davis." At the same time, to choose Davis was to select him before any of the presidents of the United States.

Five of the respondents (almost 11 percent) did not list a president they most admired. In most instances, the question was not left blank but rather filled in with a general statement concerning philosophy. This rate of non-response was unusually high sonsidering the short-answer nature of the question and could reflect several things. First, perhaps the ommission was made because of the difficulty one might have in making a single choice. Second, the actions could also be interpreted in light of the percentage of party leaders (more than 17 percent) who said that there are no great political leaders in America today. To be

[13]Marshall Frady, Wallace (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1968), p. 26.

[14] George Wallace: A Rebel and His Cause (New York: Universal Publishing and Distributing Corp., 1968), p. 46.

sure, these are separate issues but both could reflect a distrust in the nation's political leadership.

Although it was not requested, the respondents frequently added remarks to accompany their choices, usually short explanations of why they selected the presidents they did. At times, however, these remarks were hightly critical of presidents who had not been selected. The sampling below, although not exhuaustive, is fairly typical of the remarks.

1. A west Tennesean who selected George Washington added that "most of the rest have been for the North."
2. A middle Tennessean who selected Truman added that the selection "was made with mixed emotions." No further clarification was added.
3. Still another west Tennessean who did not select a president as one he "most admired" added: "The least to be admired and the biggest mistake was Eisenhower. Several others have been damn little better."
4. Another respondent who did not select a "most admired" president explained. "I do not know anything about any before Roosevelt. From Roosevelt on they have been pretty bad."[15]
5. A west Tennessee respondent who selected George Washington added: "He had a good grasp of the philosophies of government, economics, and the principles of freedom for the most people."

[15]Evidently the "Roosevelt" referred to is Franklin D. Roosevelt, elected for the first time in 1932.

6. An east Tennessean who selected Theodore Roosevelt added: He "realized who was in control of our country and started the Bull Moose party."
7. Finally, a middle Tennessean who selected Andrew Jackson as his first choice qualified the selection by adding: "I do feel that Jackson's handling of Indian affairs and particularly the Cherokee is a shameful blot on American history."

Although his name does not appear in Table XIII, page 239, Andrew Johnson also received the attention of one middle Tennessean who made it plain that Johnson was not his first choice but added the following note: "There is also a bit of admiration in my heart for (of all people) Andrew Johnson. Reason? If not for him, I feel the South would have suffered more after the War Between the States."

XVII. PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS OF AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS IN TENNESSEE TO GEORGE WALLACE OF ALABAMA

As noted in Table XIV, the relationship between the leaders of the the Tennessee American party and its founder and national leader Governor George Wallace is a highly personal one. Although only two of the respondents were born and reared in Alabama, more than two-thirds of the party leaders have meet Wallace and 10 percent of the latter group has met the Alabama Governor five or more times. Thirty-one of the 46 respondents had met Wallace. Only 15 had not. Two of those who had not met the Alabama Governor noted that they had either "been in his presence" or "corresponded with him by mail."

TABLE XIV

RESPONSES BY AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS TO THE QUESTION "HAVE YOU EVER PERSONALLY MET FORMER ALABAMA GOVERNOR GEORGE WALLACE?"

Number Times Met Wallace	Percentage	Number
None*	32.61	15
1	17.39	8
2	13.04	6
3	19.56	9
4	6.52	3
5 or more	10.86	5
		46**

*Two respondents in this category replied:
"Never met--but been in his presence."
"Never met--but we're close friends by mail."

**N = 46.

In light of the large number of respondents who view Wallace as the greatest living political figure (more than 60 percent), and the number of Tennessee party leaders who view their relationship with the Alabama Governor as a personal one, it seems probable that the personality of George Wallace is tantamount to the survival of the American party, and could be the critical cement that holds the party together.

XVIII. AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS' MEMBERSHIPS IN CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Generally speaking, the great majority of American party leaders did not have overriding reservations about revealing their memberships in clubs and organizations. At the same time, although there was an unusually high response rate to the other questions in this survey, the rate of nonresponse for the question concerning American party leaders' memberships in clubs and organizations was unusually high. There were several questions in the survey that one, two, or three persons would not answer. Of the 34 questions included in the questionnaire the question pertaining to memberships in clubs and organizations was the only question that four persons would not answer. Therefore, it could be concluded that respondents hold their memberships in clubs and organizations as more private than any topic covered by the questions.

As noted in Table XV, membership mentioned most frequently by the party leaders was that in a civic club or organization. More than 67 percent of the respondents belonged to a wide variety of such organizations as the Optimist Club, Civitan, Rotary, Kiwanis, and the Lions.

TABLE XV

RESPONSES BY AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS TO THE QUESTION "WHAT CLUBS OR ORGANIZATIONS DO YOU BELONG TO?"

Club or Organization	Percentage	N
Civic organization (Optimist Club, Civitan International, Rotary Club, Kiwanis, etc.)	67.44	42[a]
Professional organization (American Medical Association, American Nurses Association, etc.)	40.47	42
Masons, Shriners, Scottish Rite	28.23	34[b]
Church	38.09	42
Military (retired, veteran, or reserve)	29.04	34
John Birch Society	16.66	42
Police and auxiliary police	11.76	34
Historic and patriotic societies	7.14	42
Citizens' councils	7.14	42
National Rifle Association	7.14	42
Liberty Lobby	4.76	42
Conservative Society of America	2.38	42
Respondents who are members in some (any) organization other than the American party	93.69	

[a]The number in the sample varies from organization to organization. It was not applicable to consider female respondents as members in some of the organizations. When the sample indicated above is 34 the 8 female respondents were excluded from the original total along with four males who did not respond to the question.

[b]When the above sample is 42 it includes all male and female respondents excepting the four males who did not answer the question.

The second most frequently mentioned membership was in a professional group (such as medical and nursing societies and military organizations). About 40 percent of the respondents listed membership in a professional club or organization.

More than 38 percent of the party leaders listed membership in a church. A listing of church membership was not specifically requested in the questionnaire and some of the respondents may not have equated church ties as belonging to a "club or organization." Several of the respondents also noted that they had been previous church members but that they had stopped attending for "political reasons."

Far more than a third (more than 40 percent) of the male respondents were members of the Masons, Scottish Rite, or Shriners. Almost another third (more than 29 percent) of the male respondents belonged to military organizations of various types, including retirement, veteran, or inactive reserve. Although the percentage of male party leaders belonging to military organizations may appear unusually high, it should be recalled that more than 70 percent of the respondents served in the armed forces.

Reflecting, perhaps, the strong "law and order" theme commonly associated with the American party, more than one in ten (more than 11 percent) of the male respondents belonged to the police or the auxiliary police.

Of the 42 respondents who answered the question concerning memberships in clubs and organizations, almost 17 percent were members of the John Birch Society. This percentage could be significant because even in light of the high nonresponse to the question, the number of American

party leaders in Tennessee who belong to the John Birch Society approaches one out of every five or six party leaders. As noted in some detail in Chapter IV, party leaders are seriously divided on what official position the party should publicly take toward the John Birch Society. So seriously has this point been debated within the party that it became one of the chief issues during Douglas Heinsohn's bid for the governorship in 1970. As the party faces future state elections this point will more than likely continue to be devisive.

XIX. FAMILIARITY OF TENNESSEE AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS WITH THEIR CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR AND SENATOR DURING THE ELECTIONS OF 1970

In assessing the degree of familiarity or acquaintance between American party leaders in Tennessee and their candidates for the senate and for governor during the elections of 1970, the leaders were asked the number of times they had met the two men running for office. In light of the large percentage of party leaders who reported having met Governor George Wallace, it was somewhat surprising to discover that a sizeable portion of the state's leaders in Tennessee had never met their own state chairman, who was also the party's candidate for the United States Senate during the 1970 elections. As noted in Table XVI, seven of the 46 respondents, about 15 percent, had never met Dr. Cecil Pitard. Although the candidate had met more than 61 percent of the party's leaders on either "numerous" or "several" occasions, he had met an additional 15 percent only once or twice.

TABLE XVI

RESPONSES BY AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS TO THE QUESTIONS "HAVE YOU EVER MET DR. CECIL PITARD, AMERICAN PARTY CANDIDATE FOR THE U.S. SENATE? IF SO, HOW MANY TIMES?"

Number Times Met Pitard	Percentage	Number
1	4.34	2
2	10.86	5
3	2.17	1
4	2.17	1
5	0.00	0
6	4.34	2
"None"	15.21	7
"Numerous"	52.17	24
"Several"	8.69	4
		46*

*N = 46.

More surprising was the finding that Douglas Heinsohn, the party's gubernatorial candidate, was known by more party leaders than the party's chairman. As noted in Chapter IV, Heinsohn was not a party official either prior to or during the 1970 campaign. Pitard had been a statewide official from the earliest days of the party's development in Tennessee. Nevertheless, only six of the respondents had never met Heinsohn. Seven had never met Dr. Pitard.

As noted in Table XVII, although Heinsohn had met more officials than Pitard, he had met them fewer times. Heinsohn met many of the state's party leaders for the first time during the 1970 campaign. As noted in Chapter IV, Heinsohn's campaign was far more energetic than Pitard's. Heinsohn campaigned aggressively across the state while Pitard did little to attract voters to the American party. It is to the credit of Heinsohn's active campaign and his staff that he received more than twice as many votes as Pitard in the election. Prior to the campaign Pitard was far better known among party leaders than Heinsohn. For example, in comparison to Pitard, Heinsohn had met only 16 of the 46 officials either "several" or "numerous" times. Pitard, on the other hand, had met 28 of the respondents an equal number of times. And, whereas Pitard had met about 15 percent of the officials only once or twice, Heinsohn had met 20 percent of the party's leaders once or twice. Many of these meetings occurred during the campaign.

TABLE XVII

RESPONSES BY AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS TO THE QUESTIONS "HAVE YOU EVER MET DOUGLAS L. HEINSOHN, AMERICAN PARTY CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR? IF SO, HOW MANY TIMES?"

Times Met	Percentage	Number
"None"	13.33	6
1	11.11	5
2	8.88	4
3	11.11	5
4	8.88	4
5	2.22	1
"Several"	6.66	3
"Numerous"	28.88	13
		45*

*N = 45. Excludes the questionnaire of Douglas Heinsohn.

XX. LEADERS RATE PARTY'S CHANCES OF CAPTURING 1970 SENATE SEAT

As noted in Table XVIII, American party leaders were notably pessimistic about their party's chances of winning a United States Senate seat in 1970. No false optimism was evident in their appraisals of Dr. Pitard's chances of defeating Democratic incumbent Albert Gore or the strong Republican challenger and eventual winner Bill Brock.

More precisely, a large majority of more than 58 percent of the party's leaders felt that Pitard had no chance to win the senate seat. Little more than 15 percent of the respondents viewed his chances of winning as even "Good" or "Fair." Not a single respondent said that Pitard had an "Excellent" chance to win.

Pitard's support among the party's leaders was not as strong as support for his gubernatorial running mate, Douglas Heinsohn. While 58 percent of the respondents indicated that Pitard had no chance of winning, 8 percent less, or about 50 percent of the respondents, said that Heinsohn had no chance of winning.

As noted in Tables XVIII and XIX, Pitard's chances of winning ("Good" and "Fair" categories) were viewed as lower than Heinsohn's chances in the same categories. Among party leaders Pitard's chances of winning were rated as "Good" in only little more than 6 percent of the cases. In comparison, more than 10 percent of the party's leaders reported that Heinsohn's chances of winning were "Good."

TABLE XVIII

RESPONSES BY AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS TO THE QUESTION "WHAT CHANCE DO YOU THINK YOUR PARTY HAS TO CAPTURE THE CONTESTED U.S. SENATE SEAT IN THE UPCOMING NOVEMBER ELECTIONS?"

Projection	Percentage	Number
Excellent	0.00	0
Good	6.52	3
Fair	8.69	4
Poor	19.56	9
None	58.69	27
No response	6.52	3
		46*

*N = 46.

TABLE XIX

RESPONSES BY AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS TO THE QUESTION "WHAT CHANCE DO YOU THINK YOUR PARTY HAS TO CAPTURE THE GOVERNORSHIP OF TENNESSEE IN THE UPCOMING NOVEMBER ELECTIONS?"

Projection	Percentage	Number
Excellent	0.00	0
Good	10.86	5
Fair	15.21	7
Poor	17.39	8
None	50.00	23
No response	6.52	3
		46*

*N = 46.

More than 8 percent of the party leaders felt Pitard's chances of winning were "Fair." In comparison, more than 15 percent of the respondents, or almost twice as many, felt Heinsohn's chances of winning were "Fair."

In analyzing both the 1970 election returns and the responses of American party leaders, it becomes apparent that Pitard's control over the state party's formal organization, at least insofar as that control was reflected in turning out the vote for the party's candidate for the senate, was clearly weak, almost even absent. This is particularly true in light of the fact that as a senatorial candidate, Pitard did not conduct a serious campaign.

Pitard ran for the office without the faith of his party's leaders. This is interesting considering that Pitard gained control of the party's highest post during a dispute over the question of whether or not the party should run its own candidates in Tennessee in 1970. Although Pitard won the chairmanship, he did not win the unreserved and undivided support of his party's leaders, nor the massive statewide American party voter support that Governor Wallace attracted during the 1968 presidential election.

XXI. LEADERS RATE PARTY'S CHANCES OF CAPTURING 1970 GOVERNORSHIP

Douglas Heinsohn, American party candidate for Governor of Tennessee during 1970, like Cecil Pitard, was clearly rejected by more than a majority of the party's leaders during the campaign. Still, the party

heads were substantially more optimistic about Heinsohn's chances of winning than they were about Pitard's. As noted in Table XIX, page 254, more respondents viewed Heinsohn's chances as "Fair" than Pitard's chances in the same category (15 percent compared to 8 percent). Fewer respondents viewed Heinsohn's chances as "Poor," compared to Pitard's chances (17 percent compared to 19 percent). Finally, when projecting the Pitard-Heinsohn vote, fewer respondents felt Heinsohn had no chance at all (50 percent compared to almost 59 percent).

Although the party heads did not project that either Pitard or Heinsohn would win in November, the respondents appeared to have much more faith in Heinsohn than in their state chairman. As noted in Chapter IV, perhaps this faith was reflected in the statewide popular votes for the two candidates. Heinsohn received more than twice as many votes as Pitard. It is suspected that although Heinsohn held no formal position in the party, he gained informal support among both the party's leaders and its rank-and-file during his travels around the state.

To make the point another way: When the party's leaders saw Heinsohn campaigning, they concluded that he was serious and devoted, regardless of what the election outcome might be. At the same time, and in marked contrast, when party leaders and supporters saw that Dr. Pitard, the party's state chairman, was not actively campaigning, it was assumed by potential supporters that he was either "running for the hell of it," or, as the candidate later explained, that he was running only to insure that the party's name and candidate appeared on the senatorial ballot.

Whatever the reasons behind Pitard's reluctance to campaign, it is suspected that his reluctance did more harm than good in the eyes of the party's statewide leadership.

Dissatisfaction with both Pitard's and Heinsohn's decisions to seek office under the banner of the American party was frequently expressed by party leaders. Several of the respondents credited the two candidates with further splitting the party's organization in the state.

The criticisms listed below, although not exhaustive, indicate both the severity and the emotional flavor of the charges made against Heinsohn and Pitard. Although at times complimentary, the general critical and negative tone is unmistakable.

1. Following the election a middle Tennessee official noted that "the American party could be the party of the future. But first the radical right must go." Apparently the reference was to Heinsohn's association with the John Birch Society.

2. Following the election a west Tennessean, an American party county official, wrote:

> Most of our county organization supported Dunn and Brock. We felt it unwise to field American party candidates. The 1970 [statewide American party] convention felt it unwise and voted to not field candidates. Mr. Heinsohn and Dr. Pitard saw fit to run without the support of the delegates of the 1970 state convention. I believe Mr. Heinsohn and Dr. Pitard are dedicated to our cause but their decision to make the race for governor and senator was most unwise in my decision.

3. Prior to the election a middle Tennessean viewed the election in these terms:

> I'll vote for Brock. I will not vote for either Heinsohn or Pitard. Neither of the two men have a chance for victory! They will only embarrass the party. Without the leadership of George Wallace the American party will not be a formidable power. There are those within the party who seek a personal gain rather than party gain or gain for our nation. I fear these people almost as much as I do the opposition. Some people had rather lead one person than to help lead two.

4. With the election but a few days away a west Tennessean wrote: "I might say I'll vote for Brock and Dunn out of my party." Following the election, the same man wrote:

> I voted for Winfield Dunn because I knew him and trusted in him. I could not trust Mr. Hooker as the head of my state. I felt Mr. Heinsohn and Pitard did not have a chance. I did not want my party to field a candidate in these races--these men were unheard of statewide. My slogan was Gore no more. I've had enough of Mr. Gore voting his convictions--if he had any--and leaving the will of his people to suffer. We elected a senator we thought but instead we had a Great White Haired God who knew everything except how the people in Tennessee were going to vote in 1970 for the U.S. Senate.

5. An east Tennessee county official was more considerate of the positions taken by American party candidates. After the election she wrote (of Pitard): "He lacked cooperation from the news media. If he had proper coverage people would have a knowledge of his intelligence and sincerity."

Additional post-election comments and reflections were equally harsh in their criticisms of Heinsohn and Pitard. Although the criticism varied, one unifying theme was evident in all: Heinsohn and Pitard could not win; therefore, they should not have run. To paraphrase a strong underlying feeling among American party leaders: "The art of politics is winning elections. Since the American party can not win,

our people should support those candidates who are in closest keeping with our party's point of view."

A sampling of additional post-election comments illustrates this point:

1. A west Tennessee official wrote that he supported Brock over Pitard. "I was Brock's campaign manager here." Although the same man supported Dunn, he added he only did so because "He was the lesser of two evils."

2. A west Tennessean wrote: "I voted for Brock. The American party did not want to field candidates."

3. Still another west Tenneseee official wrote:

> I don't think fielding candidates for governor and senator helped the party any. Yet I have the utmost respect for Mr. Heinsohn and Dr. Pitard. The American party wasn't ready for this in the state of Tennessee. The two items that were voted and approved by party members [in the state convention] were that Tennessee didn't want John J. Hooker and Albert Gore. The best was to go with Dunn and Brock.

4. From the opposite end of the state an East Tennessean viewed the election in these terms: "I felt we had no chance because of division and lack of organization."

XXII. AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS RATE SENATORIAL CANDIDATES

One of the most interesting findings that resulted from an analysis of questionnaire responses concerned the preferences of American party leaders' choices of candidates for the offices of senator and governor once American party candidates were removed as alternatives. Not given the option of supporting their own party's candidates, American party

leaders found Republican candidates for these offices far more acceptable than Democratic candidates. This preference was significant and readily noticeable in the sometimes very strong views expressed by the respondents. As noted below, American party leaders frequently--and perhaps more often than not--preferred Republican candidates, particularly Bill Brock, more than American party candidates for the same positions. The receptivity to the Republican party candidate for the Senate was much stronger than for the Republican gubernatorial candidate. In the gubernatorial contest more American party leaders saw Douglas Heinsohn, American party standard bearer, as the only suitable candidate in the race. As noted earlier, Heinsohn was far more attractive as a candidate to party leaders than was Cecil Pitard; whereas more than 67 percent of the respondents said they could support an alternative (Brock) in the senatorial race if they could not support Pitard, only 50 percent said they could support an alternative (Dunn) if they could not support Heinsohn. In addition, only about 22 percent of the respondents said they could not support a Republican in the Senate race. In contrast more than 39 percent reported that if they could not support Heinsohn in the gubernatorial race, they would not support anyone.

In the Senate race it was difficult to determine which of two factors was the stronger: the unpopularity of incumbent Democratic Senator Albert Gore, or the popularity of Republican candidate, Representative Bill Brock. As noted in Figure 12, although more than 56 percent of the respondents were former Democrats, only slightly less than 11 percent reported that they would support Gore over Brock. And the few who did prefer Gore revealed formerly strong Democratic ties

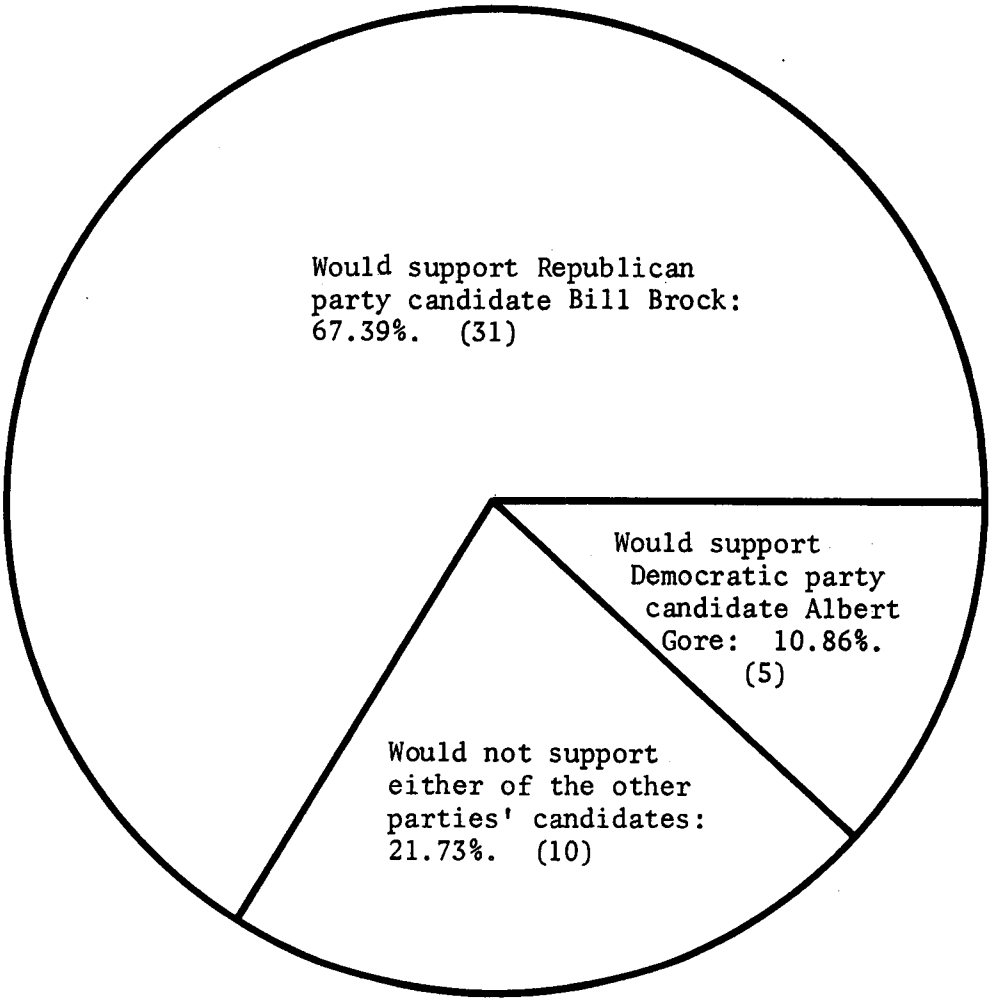


Figure 12. Percentage responses to the question "If you could not vote for Pitard in the upcoming November election, who would you like to see win the race for U.S. Senator?"

and anti-Republicanism. For example, an east Tennessean who preferred Gore and John J. Hooker, his Democratic running mate for the governor's chair, over Brock and Dunn, explained that he would "never support a Republican for anything." A similar Democratic bias was also noted in the responses of others who preferred Democratic more than Republican candidates. A Memphian wrote that although he had no strong preference in the gubernatorial race, he supported Gore in the senate race. This preference, although not without qualification, reflected a strong dislike for the Republican party. In the words of the west Tennessean, "It's not that I specially want him[Gore]. But the Republican party is the deceptive party."

Still, even limited support for Gore was in strong contrast to the overall mood expressed by the bulk of American party leaders. Many of the respondents were highly critical of the incumbent senator. One middle Tennessean's caustic remark was particularly representative of the tone of most American party leaders concerning Gore. Who would he support if not the American party candidate? "Anything but Gore."

As noted later, notwithstanding the critical remarks about Gore, the Democratic senator was more popular among American party leaders than his gubernatorial running mate, John J. Hooker.

Two of the more than 21 percent of the respondents who said that they supported neither Gore nor Brock, said they had taken the position because both candidates were too liberal. As one of the respondents phrased it: "One is about as liberal as the other." To be sure, this attitude was not shared by the majority of American party leaders.

In most instances, Brock was viewed as an attractive alternative to Pitard; in many cases he was seen as a more attractive candidate. He was by far more acceptable than Gore. As noted in Figure 12, more than two-thirds of the American party leaders reported that they would rather support Brock than Gore. It should be recalled that only slightly more than 17 percent of the respondents were former Republicans.

This overwhelming support for Brock might not have been quite so surprising if he had been a well-known senatorial incumbent who had been in the office for many years. Brock, however, was elected to the House of Representatives for the first time in 1962 and in 1970 was making his first bid for a senate seat. He was, however, well known in the state, particularly in east Tennessee where he held his seat in the House, and his campaign was more than adequately financed.

The percentage of respondents who reported that they could support neither Dunn nor Hooker in the gubernatorial race (more than 39 percent) was substantially higher than the number who reported that they could support neither Brock nor Gore in the senate race. (See Figure 12, page 261, and Figure 13.) This could suggest that Brock was viewed as more conservative than Dunn, and thereby a more attractive and suitable senatorial candidate. Remarks by the respondents seem to support the view that Brock was certainly more compatible than Gore with the philosophy of the American party.

Although not specifically requested, many American party leaders proudly announced that they intended to vote for Brock and that they were active in the Republican's campaign. One of the respondents who

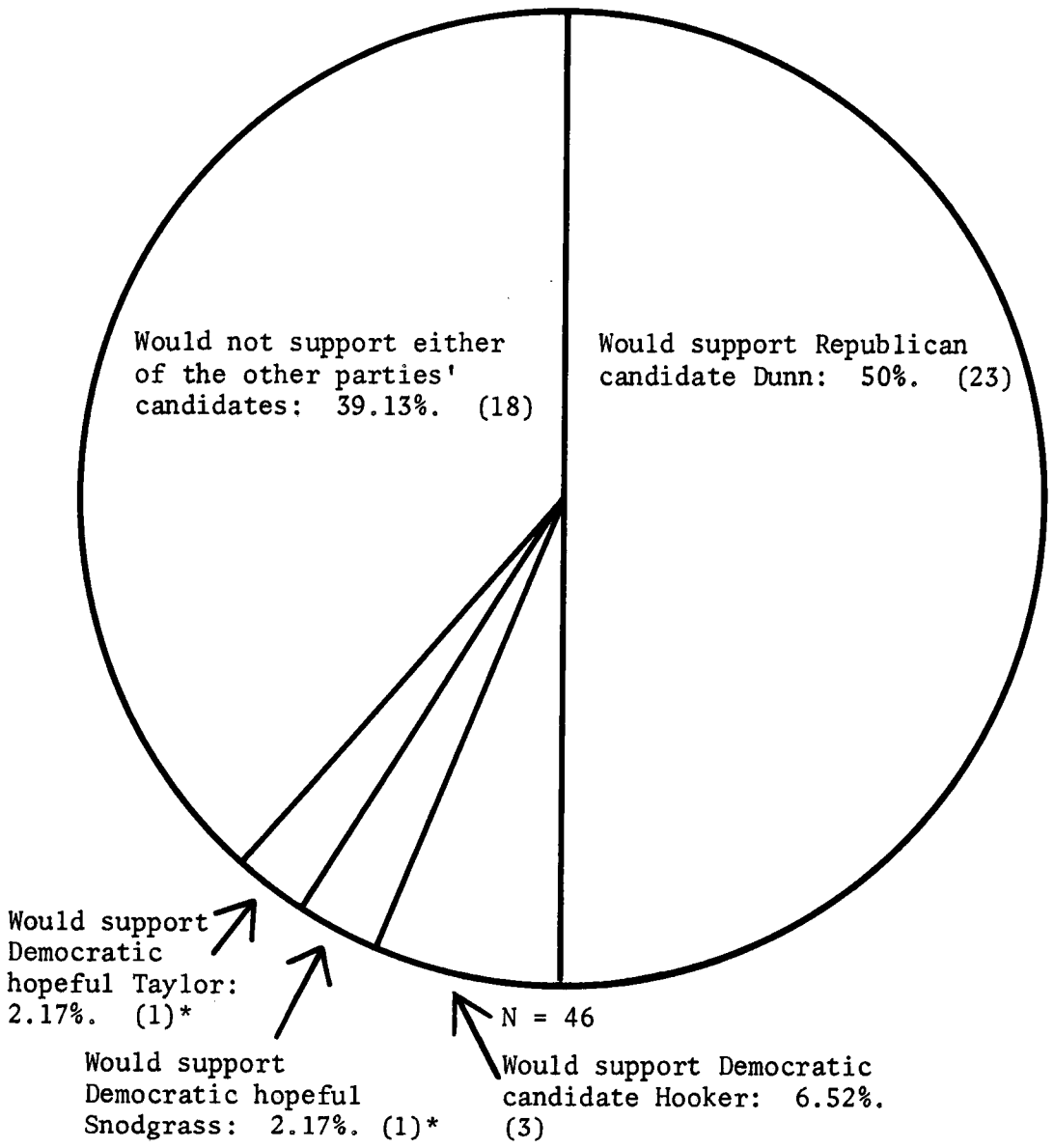


Figure 13. Percentage responses to the question "If you could not vote for Heinsohn in the upcoming November election, who would you like to see win in the race for Governor?"

*These two respondents would have apparently written in the names of these two candidates.

took this position explained that he "would not vote for Pitard" and "not vote for Heinsohn." The official added: "Neither of these two men [Pitard and Heinsohn] have a chance of victory."

A Chattanooga respondent who shared a similar point of view refused to reveal senatorial and gubernatorial preferences but at the same time made it clear that he would not vote for American party candidates. Why this lack of consideration for his party's candidates?

> I could not vote for either Heinsohn or Pitard because I felt and still feel that they were instrumental in wrecking what little party organization that we did have in the state by not following the instructions of the party's legal convention.

Another west Tennessean who supported Brock wrote: "I voted for [conservative Democrat Bob] Taylor in the primary. I managed his campaign in Hardeman county, which he carried. I voted for Dunn in the general election."

An east Tennessean who strongly supported Dunn in the gubernatorial race added that she supported Brock over Gore only "by a hair" in the senatorial race. Still another east Tennessean who reported that he voted for both Brock and Dunn added the following qualification: "With either Brock or Dunn I fear for the people of Tennessee. I believe both candidates will be controlled by the national Republican party and the bureaucrats in Washington, D.C."

It should also be noted that support for Brock varied in the three grand divisions of Tennessee. American party followers who may have voted for him in 1970 were not necessarily the same voters who supported George Wallace in 1968. Voting return patterns varied substantially in

the two elections. As noted in Figure 14, Brock was far more popular in east and west Tennessee than in middle Tennessee. In this respect, his popularity can be contrasted with that of George Wallace in the 1968 presidential election. (See Figure 1, page 74, in Chapter III.)

The coalitions formed by Wallace and Brock were composed of voters in different grand divisions of the state. With the exception of only five counties, Brock carried both east and west Tennessee. In contrast, the Republican candidate carried only four counties in middle Tennessee. Like Brock, Governor Wallace carried west Tennessee. In contrast to the Republican candidate, Wallace also carried middle Tennessee. Brock could not carry traditionally Democratic middle Tennessee. Wallace could not carry traditionally Republican east Tennessee. Both candidates carried west Tennessee.

If patterns can be drawn from the returns in the 1968 presidential race and the 1970 senatorial race, those patterns appear to include the following:

1. The majority of east Tennesseans voted Republican and not even the strong personality and candidacy of Governor George Wallace could change that.
2. The majority of middle Tennesseans voted Democratic in the 1970 senatorial contest but in the 1968 race the strong, independent candidacy of Governor Wallace wooed them away from their tradiditional Democratic allegiance.
3. The majority of west Tennesseans voted for the candidates they viewed as having the best chances of defeating Democrats.

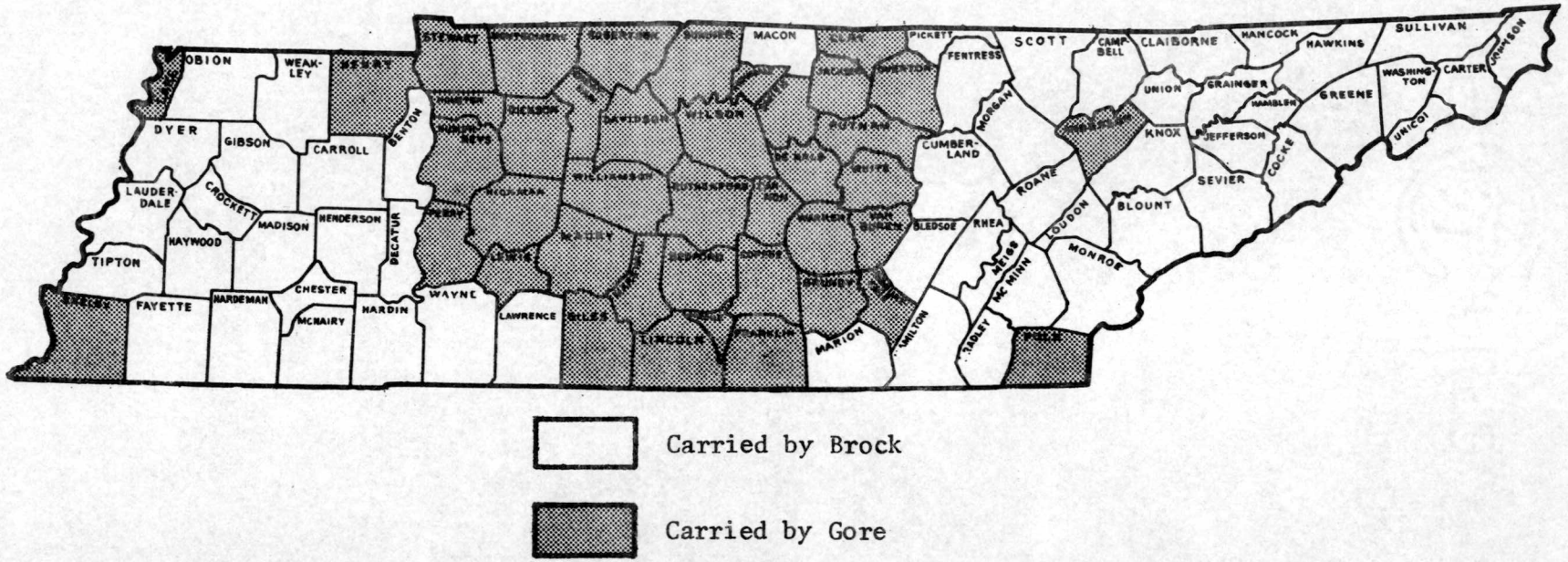


Figure 14. Brock-Gore vote contrasted in the 1970 senatorial election.

In light of these trends, prospects for the Democratic candidates in both the eastern and western grand divisions appear gloomy. Middle Tennesseans have shown their preference for Democratic candidates except when challenged by a strong independent candidate such as Governor George Wallace.

XXIII. AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS RATE GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATES

Winfield Dunn, Republican candidate for governor, although less popular among American party leaders than his senatorial running mate, Brock, was more clearly favored than Democratic candidate John J. Hooker. As noted in Table XX and Figure 13, page 264, 50 percent of the respondents reported that they preferred to support Dunn while only slightly more than 6 percent reported that they preferred to support Hooker.

Republicans Brock and Dunn were far more popular among the American party leaders than Democrats Gore and Hooker. Brock was far more popular than Dunn, and both of the Republicans were more popular than Gore and Hooker. Hooker was the least popular among the candidates.

The only respondent to favor Dunn and not favor Brock was from Dunn's hometown of Memphis. Several of the American party leaders from Memphis who reported that they had supported Brock noted that they were less than enthusiastic about Dunn. Several noted that they would rather support Dunn than Hooker only because "Dunn was the lesser of two evils."

A large number of the American party leaders, more than 39 percent, emphasized their support for American party candidate Heinsohn by noting that if they could not support him, they would not support either a

TABLE XX

RATING OF DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTY CANDIDATES BY AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS

Candidate	Party	Election	Percentage Favoring
Brock	Republican	Senatorial	67.39
Dunn	Republican	Gubernatorial	50.00
Gore	Democratic	Senatorial	10.86
Hooker	Democratic	Gubernatorial	6.52
Taylor	Democratic	Gubernatorial	2.17
Snodgrass	Democratic	Gubernatorial	2.17

Note: N = 46.

Republican or a Democrat for the governor's chair. Ostensibly, these leaders would not have voted in the 1970 gubernatorial contest.

Several of those who said they would not support either Dunn or Hooker openly supported Brock in the senatorial race. One of the respondents who said he had supported Brock said he could support neither Dunn nor Hooker because it "makes no difference" which of the two were elected.

A strong Heinsohn backer who supported Brock in the senatorial contest said that if Heinsohn did not win, he did not care who did. He added: "I would fear for our own state and country with either Dunn or Hooker . . . no difference--still controlled by national party."

Several of the respondents who said that they could not support either Dunn or Hooker said that both candidates were either inept or too liberal. As noted in the sampling of responses below, both Dunn and Hooker were held in disrepute by several American party leaders.

1. A west Tennessean who said he supported the election of Brock in the senate added: "You can flip a coin on Hooker and Dunn--both liberals."
2. A Chattanooga respondent who also said he could support Brock said of Hooker and Dunn: "They're both too bad to vote for--either one. Dunn has no backbone and Hooker is inept."
3. An east Tennessean who supported Brock made the following observation concerning the Democratic and Republican gubernatorial candidates: "The incapable Mr. Hooker and the Republican puppet, Mr. Dunn, are equally appealing."

The frequent cynicism of American party candidates toward all candidates other than Douglas Heinsohn can most aptly be reflected in an observation by a single respondent. As the east Tennessean put it: He could vote for Brock without too many reservations. But before he would vote for either Dunn or Hooker, he would vote for Mickey Mouse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS

Allen, R. R. Tennessee Books: A Preliminary Guide. Knoxville, Tenn.: No publisher given, 1969.

Anderson, Jack, and Fred Blumenthal. The Kefauver Story. New York: The Dial Press, 1956.

Bartley, Numan V. From Thurmond to Wallace: Political Tendencies in Georgia, 1948-1968. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970.

Bean, Louis. How to Predict Elections. New York: Knopf, 1948.

Bell, Daniel (ed.). The Radical Right. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963.

Bone, Hugh A. American Politics and the Party System. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1965.

Buchanan, William, and Agnes Bird. Money As A Campaign Resource. Princeton, N.J.: Citizen's Research Foundation, 1966.

Campbell, Angus, et. al. The American Voter: An Abridgment. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964.

Campbell, Mary Emily Robertson. The Attitudes of Tennesseans Toward the Union, 1847-1861. Washington, D.C.: Vantage Press, 1961.

Carr, Joe C., Secretary of State (ed.). Tennessee Blue Book: 1967-1968. Nashville: Rich Printing Company, 1967.

Carr, Robert K., et. al. American Democracy in Theory and Practice. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963.

Cash, W. J. The Mind of the South. New York: Vintage Books, 1941.

Cole, William E., and Ruby Sparkman Johnson. The Tennessee Citizen. Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1960.

Cosman, Bernard. Five States for Goldwater: Continuity and Change in Southern Presidential Voting Patterns. University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1966.

Crotty, William J. (ed.). Approaches to the Story of Party Organization. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1968.

Dahl, Robert. Pluralist Democracy in the United States: Conflict and Consent. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1967.

Duverger, Maurice. Political Parties. Translated by Barbra and Robert North. London: Methven, 1954.

Fenton, John H. Politics in the Border States. New Orleans: Hawser Press, 1957.

Flanigan, William H. Political Behavior of the American Electorate. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1968.

Folmsbee, Stanley J, Robert E. Corlew, and Enoch L. Mitchell. History of Tennessee, Vols. I and II. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1960.

Folmsbee, Stanley J., Robert E. Corlew, and Enoch L. Mitchell. Tennessee: A Short History. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1969.

Forster, Arnold, and Benjamin R. Epstein. Danger on the Right. New York: Random House, 1964.

Frady, Marshall. Wallace. New York: The World Publishing Company, 1968.

George Wallace: A Rebel and His Cause. New York: Universal Publishing and Distributing Corp., 1968.

Gerson, Noel B. Franklin: America's "Lost State." New York: Crowell-Collier Press, 1968.

Golembiewski, Robert T., William A. Welsh, and William T. Crotty. A Methodological Primer for Political Scientists. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969.

Goodman, William. Inherited Domain: Political Parties in Tennessee. Knoxville: The Bureau of Public Administration, The University of Tennessee, 1954.

Gore, Albert. Let the Glory Out: My South and Its Politics. New York: The Viking Press, 1972.

Grant, Daniel R., and H. C. Nixon. State and Local Government in America. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1968.

Grantham, Dewey W., Jr. (ed.). The South and the Sectional Image: The Sectional Theme Since Reconstruction. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1967.

Greene, Lee Seifert, and Robert Sterling Avery. Government in Tennessee: Structure and Politics. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1966.

Greenstein, Fred I. The American Party System and the American People. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.

Greenstein, Fred I. Children and Politics. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.

Greer, Thomas H. American Social Reform Movements: Their Pattern Since 1865. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949.

Hamer, Philip M. (ed.). Tennessee: A History, 1673-1932. 4 Vols. New York: No publisher, 1933.

Hassler, Shirley (comp.). Fifty Years of Tennessee Elections: 1916-1966. Compiled under the direction of Joe C. Carr. No publisher, no date.

Haynes, Fred E. Third Party Movements Since the Civil War With Special Reference to Iowa: A Study in Social Politics. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1961.

Haynes, Walton, Jr. The Negro in Third Party Politics. Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1969.

Heard, Alexander A. A Two-Party South. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952.

Hesseltine, William B. The Rise and Fall of Third Parties: From Anti-Masonry to [Henry] Wallace. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948.

Hesseltine, William B. Third-Party Movements in the United States. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1962.

Hicks, John D. The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party. Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1961.

Historical Review of Presidential Candidates from 1788 to 1968. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1969.

Hofstadter, Richard. The Age of Reform. New York: Knopf, 1955.

Holcombe, Arthur N. The Political Parties of To-Day: A Study in Republican and Democratic Politics. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1924.

Holmes, Jack Ellsworth. Politics in New Mexico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967.

Holmes, Jack E., Walter N. Lambert, and Nelson M. Robinson. The Structure of County Government in Tennessee. Knoxville: The Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, 1966.

Jennings, M. Kent, and L. Harmon Zeigler (eds.). The Election Process. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966.

Jewell, Malcom E., and Lee S. Greene. The Kentucky and Tennessee Legislatures. Lexington, Ky.: Department of Political Science, 1967.

Johnson, Gerald W. Politics, Primary Competition and the County Chairman in West Virginia. Knoxville: The Bureau of Public Administration, The University of Tennessee, 1970.

Jones, Bill. The Wallace Story. Northport, Ala.: American Southern Publishing Company, 1966.

Key, V. O., Jr. Politics, Parties & Pressure Groups. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964.

Key, V. O., Jr. Southern Politics. New York: Vintage Books, 1949.

Kendall, Wilmore, and George W. Carey (eds.). Liberalism Versus Conservatism. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1966.

Kipnis, Ira. The American Socialist Movement 1897-1912. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.

Knox, John Ballenger. The People of Tennessee: A Study of Population Trends. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1949.

Kurtz, Seymour (editor-in-chief). The New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac, 1970. New York: The New York Times, 1969.

Lane, Robert E., and David O. Sears. Public Opinion. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964.

Leiserson, Avery (ed.). The American South in the 1960's. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1964.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. Agrarian Socialism. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. Political Man: The Social Basis of Politics. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Earl Raab. The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1970. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

Long, Luman H. (ed.). The 1971 World Almanac and Book of Facts. New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1970.

Magrath, C. Peter, Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., and Jay S. Goodman. The American Democracy. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969.

Matthews, Donald R., and James W. Prothro. The Concept of Party Image and Its Importance for the Southern Electorate. In Jennings M. Kent and L. Harmon Zeigler (eds.), The Electoral Process. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

Matthews, Donald R., and James W. Prothro. Negroes and the New Southern Politics. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966.

Meehan, Eugene J. Contemporary Political Thought: A Critical Study. Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1967.

Meehan, Eugene J. The Theory and Method of Political Analysis. Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1965.

Michael, W. E. The Age of Error. New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1957.

Michels, Robert. Political Parties. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: The Free Press, 1962.

Milbrath, Lester. Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics? Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

Miller, William D. Mr. Crump of Memphis. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964.

Moos, Malcom. Politics, Presidents, and Coattails. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969.

Morlan, Robert L. Political Prarie Fire: The Non-Partisan League, 1915-1922. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955.

Mosca, Gaetano. The Ruling Class. Translated by Hannah D. Kahn. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1939.

Nash, Howard P., Jr. Third Parties in American Politics. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959.

Nichols, Franklin. The Disruption of American Democracy. New York: Collier Books, 1962.

Noyes, John Humphrey. History of American Socialisms. Originally published in 1870 by an unknown publisher. Republished New York: Hillary House Publishers, Ltd., 1961.

Parks, Joseph N., and Stanley J. Folmsbee. The Story of Tennessee. Chattanooga: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1952.

Patterson, Caleb Perry. The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865. New York: Negro Universities Press, Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1968.

Peirce, Neal R. (ed.). Politics in America: 1945-1966. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1967.

Perry, Jennings. Democracy Begins at Home: The Tennessee Fight on the Poll Tax. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott Company, 1944.

Poeschel, Harold P. It Is High Time: The Case for a New Party. Short Hill, N.J.: Independent Publishers, Inc., 1963.

Pomper, Gerald. Elections in America. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1968.

Porter, Kirk H., and Donald Bruce Johnson (comps.). National Party Platforms: 1840-1960. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1961.

Poynter, Nelson (ed.). CQ Guide to American Government. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, Spring, 1969.

Redford, Emmette S., et. al. Politics and Government in the United States. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965.

Rossiter, Clinton. Parties and Politics in America. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, Signet Book Edition, 1964.

Rozwenc, Edwin C., and John C. Matlon. Myth and Reality in the Populist Revolt. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1967.

Schmidt, K. M. Henry A. Wallace: Quixotic Crusade 1948. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1960.

Scott, Mingo. The Negro in Tennessee Parties and Governmental Affairs, 1865-1965; The Hundred Years Story. Nashville: Rich Printing Co., 1965.

Selltiz, Claire, et. al. Research Methods in Social Relations. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

Shannon, David A. The Socialist Party of America. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955.

Sharkansky, Ira. Regionalism in American Politics. Indianapolis, Ind.: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1969.

Sindler, Allan P. (ed.). Change in the Contemporary South. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1963.

Smothers, Frank (ed.). The Book of the States: 1968-1969. Chicago: The Council of State Governments, 1968.

Sorauf, Frank J. Party Politics in America. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968.

Stedman, Murray S., Jr., and Susan W. Stedman. Discontent at the Polls: A Study of Farmer and Labor Parties--1827-1948. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950.

Strong, Donald. Urban Republicanism in the South. University: Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1960.

Thayer, George. The Farther Shores of Politics: The American Political Fringe Today. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967.

Wallace, George. Hear Me Out. New York: Droke House Pub., Inc., 1968. Distributed by Grosset and Dunlap, New York.

Walton, Hanes, Jr. The Negro in Third Party Politics. Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1969.

Wedge, G. Anthony. N.A.P.: New American Party. Pasadena: Geddes Press Printers, 1968.

Woodward, C. Vann. Origins of the New South 1877-1913. Vol. IX of A History of the South. Edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1951.

B. PERIODICALS

Abcarian, Gilbert, and Sherman M. Stange. "Alienation and the Radical Right," Journal of Politics, XXVII, iv (November, 1965), 776-96.

"After Wisconsin--New Turn in Politics," U.S. News & World Report, LVI (April 20, 1964), 31-33.

Alutto, Joseph A. "A Note on Determining Questionnaire Destination in Survey Research," Social Forces, XLVIII (December, 1969), 251-52.

"American Party Statement of Principles," The Conservative Journal (August-September, 1969), 7.

Bachrack, Stanley D., and Harry M. Scoble. "Mail Questionnaire Efficiency: Controlled Reduction of Nonresponse," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXI (Summer, 1967), 265-71.

Ballweg, John A. "Husband-Wife Response Similarities on Evaluative and Nonevaluative Survey Questions," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXIII (Summer, 1969), 249-54.

"Can Nixon Bail Out The United States?" U.S. News & World Report, LXX (January 25, 1971), 17-18.

"Can There Be a New Party?" New Republic, XLI (November 26, 1924), 3-5.

Champion, Dean J., and Alan M. Sear. "Questionnaire Response Rate: A Methodological Analysis," Social Forces, XLVII (March, 1969), 335-39.

Commager, Henry Steele. "Third Parties and the Party System," Senior Scholastic, IIL (May 13, 1946), 20.

Commager, Henry Steele. "What's the Use of Third Parties?" Senior Scholastic, LIII (October 27, 1948), 7.

"Congress," Facts on File, XXX (February 19-25, 1970), 106.

Converse, Philip E., Warren E. Miller, Jerrold G. Rusk, and Arthur C. Wolfe. "Continuity and Change in American Parties: Parties and Issues in the 1968 Election," American Political Science Review, LXIII (December, 1969), 1083-1105.

Converse, Philip E., Aage R. Clausen, and Warren E. Miller. "Electoral Myth and Reality," American Political Science Review, LIX, ii (June, 1965), 321-36.

Courtney, Kent. "Who Is A Conservative?" The Conservative Society of America, XIV (Undated).

Cromie, Leonard J. "Multi-Party System," New York Times Magazine, (June 15, 1952), 58-59.

Crotty, William J. "The Social Attributes of Party Organizational Activists in a Transitional Political System," Western Political Quarterly, XX (September, 1957), 669-81.

Crotty, William J. "The Utilization of Mail Questionnaires and the Problem of a Representative Return Rate," Western Political Quarterly, XIX (March, 1966), 44-53.

Donald, Marjorie N. "Implications of Nonresponse for the Interpretation of Mail Questionnaire Data," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Spring, 1960), 99-114.

Duncanson, J. P. "The Average Telephone Call is Better Than the Average Telephone Call," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXIII (Spring, 1969), 112-16.

Englehart, Gordon. "Wallace in Indiana," Nation, CIIC, cxcviii (May 4, 1964), 451-53.

"Election and Third Parties," Christian Century, XLIX (December 7, 1932), 1495-97.

"Failure of Minor Parties," Current History, XXXII (April, 1930), 81-85.

Ferriss, Abbott C. "A Note on Stimulating Response to Questionnaires," American Sociological Review, XVI (1951), 247-49.

Frost, Richard T. "Stability and Change in Local Politics," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Summer, 1961), 221-35.

"George Wallace Tells His Plans," U.S. News & World Report, LXIV (June 17, 1968), 58.

Goldstein, Morton S. "The New Party and the Ballot," New Republic, LXXXVII (June 3, 1936), 99-100.

"Governor Wallace: Third Party Candidate?" U.S. News & World Report, LVI (June 22, 1964), 33.

Greenstein, Fred I. "Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," American Political Service Review, LIX (December, 1960), 934-43.

Greenstein, Fred I. "More on Children's Images of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Winter, 1961), 648-54.

Gullahorn, John T., and Jeanne E. Gullahorn. "Increasing Returns From Non-Respondents," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIII (Spring, 1969), 19-21.

Halberstam, David. "The End of A Populist," Harper's, CCXLII (January, 1971), 35-45.

Heinsohn, A. G., Jr. "Free Lunch and Boobus Americanus," American Opinion, VII (June, 1966), 85.

Hill, Peter P. "Third Parties in a Two Party System," New Republic, CLIX (July 27, 1968), 9-10.

"How Accurate Are Polls in '64 Elections?" U.S. News & World Report, LVI (June 1, 1964), 30.

"How Wallace Explains His Big Vote in Wisconsin," U.S. News & World Report, LVI (April 20, 1964), 34.

"Interviews With Winners and Losers," U.S. News & World Report, LXV (November 18, 1968), 79.

Kephart, William M., and Marvin Bressler. "Increasing the Responses to Mail Questionnaires: A Research Study," Public Opinion Quarterly, (Summer, 1958), 123-32.

Key, V. O., Jr. "The Politically Relevant in Surveys," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Spring, 1960), 54-64.

Lane, Robert E. "The Politics of Consensus in an Age of Affluence," American Political Science Review, LIX (December, 1965), 874-95.

Levine, Sol, and Gerald Gordon. "Maximizing Returns on Mail Questionnaires," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXII (Winter, 1958-59), 568-75.

"The Life of George Wallace," U.S. News & World Report, LXV (October 28, 1968), 45.

Longworth, Donald S. "Use of Mail Questionnaires," American Sociological Review, XVIII (June, 1953), 310-13.

Manniche, Erik, and Donald P. Hayes. "Respondent Anonymity and Data-Matching," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXI (Fall, 1957), 384-88.

Mayer, Charles S., and Robert W. Pratt, Jr. "A Note on Nonresponse in a Mail Survey," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXX (Winter, 1966-67), 637-46.

"Minor Parties: Little But Often Important," Senior Scholastic, XXXVII (October 28, 1940), 5-6.

"Minor Party Candidates," Senior Scholastic, LXXXV (September 23, 1964), 17.

"Minor Party Candidates," Senior Scholastic, XCIII (September 27, 1968), 14.

Nichols, Robert C., and Mary Alice Meyer. "Timing Postcard Follow-Ups in Mail-Questionnaire Surveys," Public Opinion Surveys, XXX (Summer, 1966), 306-07.

Parks, Norman L. "Tennessee Politics Since Kefauver and Reece: A 'Generalist' View," Journal of Politics, XXVIII (February, 1966), 144-68.

Patterson, James T. "The Failure of Party Realignment in the South, 1937-1939," Journal of Politics, XXVII, iii (August, 1965), 602-17.

Patterson, Samuel C. "Characteristics of Party Leaders," Western Political Quarterly, XVI (June, 1963), 332-52.

Pelz, Donald C. "The Influence of Anonymity on Expressed Attitudes," Human Organization, XVIII (Summer, 1959), 88-91.

Perry, Jennings. "Rebellion in Tennessee," Nation, CLXIII (August 10, 1946), 147.

Pomper, Gerald. "New Jersey County Chairmen," Western Political Quarterly, XVIII (March, 1965), 196-97.

"Rights of Minor Parties Need to be Clarified," Christian Century, LVII (October 9, 1940), 1237.

Root, E. Merrill. "Our Frontier," American Opinion, XI (October, 1968), 31.

Suchman, E. A., and B. McCandless. "Who Answers Questionnaires?" Journal of Applied Psychology, XXIV (1940), 758-69.

Tallent, Norman. "A Note on an Unusually High Rate of Returns For a Mail Questionnaire," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIII (Winter, 1959-60), 579-81.

"Tennessee Election," Facts on File, XXXIX (March 26-April 2, 1969), 86.

"Third Parties in U.S. History," Senior Scholastic, XCIII (September 27, 1968), 15.

"Third Parties, Two Kinds," Christian Century, XLIX (October 19, 1932), 1262-64.

"Third Party in 1948," Senior Scholastic, LI (January 5, 1948), 5.

"Third Party Line-Up," Current History, XLVII (October, 1937), 11-12.

"Third Party Movement Trys Its Wings," Christian Century, LII (July 17, 1935), 932.

"Third Party Scare--What It Means," U.S. News & World Report, LXIV (June 17, 1968), 56.

Tittle, Charles R., and Richard J. Hill. "The Accuracy of Self-Reported Data and Prediction of Political Activity," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXI (Spring, 1967), 103-06.

Villard, O. G. "New Party Now?" Christian Century, LIX (December 30, 1942), 1618-20.

"Wallace Backs Christian Crusade," Facts on File, XXIX (July 31- August 6, 1969), 494.

"Wallace Heads 3d-Party Slate," Facts on File, XXVIII (February 8-February 14, 1968), 54.

Wallace, Henry A. "Third Parties and the American Tradition," New Republic, CXVIII (January 19, 1948), 12-14.

"The Wallace Phenomenon," U.S. News & World Report, LXV (August 26, 1968), 31ff.

"The Wallace Victory--Meaning for 1972?" U.S. News & World Report, LXVIII (June 15, 1970), 22.

"The Wallace Vote: The Candidate's Own Story," U.S. News & World Report, LVI (June 1, 1964), 63.

"Wallace: 'Welcome Home You Living Doll'," Newsweek, LXIII (June 1, 1964), 18.

"Wallace's Army: Coalition of Frustration," Time, XLII (October 18, 1968), 15-20.

"Wallace's Future: Again in '72?" U.S. News & World Report, LXV (November 18, 1968), 14.

"Wallace's Showing Vs. Other 'Third Men'," U.S. News & World Report, LXV (November 18, 1968), 15.

"Wallace's Wisconsin--764,100 Votes," Newsweek, LXIII (April 20, 1964), 33ff.

"Wallacites Organize," Facts on File, XXIX (February 22-23, 1969), 135.

"What the Candidates Stand For," U.S. News & World Report, LXV (October 28, 1968), 48-50.

"What Wallace Vote Proved in North," U.S. News & World Report, LVI (June 1, 1964), 29-32.

"'White Academies' in the South--Booming Despite Obstacles," U.S. News & World Report, LXX (April 19, 1971), 75-77.

White, Theodore H. "The Battle of Athens," Harper's, CXCIV (January, 1947), 54-61.

"Why Wallace Withdrew--In the Governor's Own Words," U.S. News & World Report, LVII (August 3, 1964), 56-58.

"Win or Lose--What's Ahead for Wallace's Party," U.S. News & World Report, LXV (October 14, 1968), 40.

"Wisconsin Primary," U.S. News & World Report, LXI (June 1, 1964), 61.

Zeidenstein, Harvey. "The South Will Not Rise Again Through Direct Election of the President, Polsby and Wildavsky Notwithstanding," Journal of Politics, XXXI, iii (August, 1969), 808-11.

C. NEWSPAPERS

Atlanta Journal and Constitution. Wasson, Don F., "Wallace Independent Action in '72?" (November 15, 1970), p. 2-D.

Chattanooga News-Free Press. "Heinsohn Asks Probe of Radicals" (August 27, 1970), p. 1.

_____. "Heinsohn Says Dunn Wants Tax" (September 4, 1970), p. 3.

_____. Poe, Bob, "AP Governor Candidate Heinsohn Raps U.S. Bureaucracy in Kickoff" (July 15, 1970), p. 13.

_____. Poe, Bob, "Heavy Turnout at Polls Here" (November 3, 1970), p. 1.

_____. Vass, John, "Dunn Rapped by Heinsohn" (August 23, 1970), p. 1.

_____. Vass, John, "Governor Candidate Heinsohn Sees Education as Most Important Issue" (August 28, 1970), p. 1.

Chattanooga Times. "American Party Hurt by Strife; Split Into Two Segments--Memphis, Nashville Both Host Parleys" (October 19, 1969) p. A-15.

_____. Castell, Bill, "Pitard and Black Militants in Accord on Segregation" (October 29, 1970), p. 3.

_____. "Delegates Like Political Party Minus Tie-Up" (February 23, 1969), p. 1.

_____. "Doug Heinsohn Says Morality Is Major Need" (October 30, 1970), p. 5.

_____. "Dr. Pitard Advocates the Repeal of the Federal Income Tax Law" (October 2, 1970), p. 12.

_____. "5 Counties Ponder Ballot Choice Because of Death of Candidate" (October 30, 1970), p. 4.

_____. "George Wallace on State Ballot: Qualifies in Tennessee With 90,000 Signatures on 3rd Party Petition" (August 29, 1968), p. 12.

_____. "Heinsohn Says He Will Criticize Administration" (July 15, 1970). p. 1ff.

_____. "Hooker Can Meet His Pledges" (October 30, 1970), p. 18.

_____. Pennington, Charles, "Spiritual Renewal Needed in Nation, Heinsohn Says" (September 8, 1970), p. 9.

_____. Travis, Fred, "Republican Tide--Tennessee to Have 2 GOP Senators--Newest to Follow Grandfather" (November 4, 1970), p. 1

_____. "Wallace Group Ends Sessions, Forms No Party" (February 3, 1969), pp. 1, 5.

_____. "Wallace Group Forms a Party: Quit NATO and Abolish Income Tax Two Aims of Confederation" (February 24, 1969), p. 3.

_____. "'Wallace' Party Begins Sessions: Second State Convention of American Party is Opened at Capital" (October 25, 1969), p. 9.

_____. "Wallace Party Put on Notice: Affidavit From Massey Needed to Qualify House Hopeful" (February 22, 1969), p. 5.

_____. "Won't Run Candidate: American Party Asks For Defeat of Gore, Hooker" (April 26, 1970), p. A-17.

Jackson Sun. "Big Turnout Predicted for Election" (November 2, 1970), p. 1.

_____. "Dunn Committee is Formed" (October 22, 1970), p. 13-A.

_____. Parish, John, "50-Year Democratic Monopoly of Governor's Mansion Faces Serious Threat Tuesday" (November 1, 1970), p. 8-C.

_____. Parish, John, "That's Politics" (October 29, 1970), p. 1.

_____. Parish, John, "That's Politics" (November 2, 1970), pp. 1, 3, 13.

_____. Political Advertisement (November 1, 1970), p. 17.

_____. Political Advertisement (November 2, 1970), p. 7.

_____. Rawlins, Bill, "Tennessee Election to Reach Moment of Truth Tuesday" (November 1, 1970), p. 12.

_____. Segroves, Gerald, "Wallace Says He Tells People What They Want to Hear"(August 30, 1968), p. 11.

Johnson City Press-Chronicle. Jennings, Bill, "American Party's Heinsohn 'on Side of the Individual'" (July 23, 1970), p. 1.

Knoxville Journal. "Costly Uncontested Primary" (October 6, 1970), p. 4.

_____. "Dunn, Brock Win Election--50-Year Demo Hold Broken" (November 4, 1970), p. 1.

_____. Fields, Pat, "Candidate Doug Heinsohn 'Independent' In More Ways Than Political" (July 30, 1970), p. 12.

_____. Griffith, Ralph, "Wallace Attacks GOP, Calls for Their Defeat Before 6700 Persons" (August 30, 1968), p. 1ff.

_____. "Heinsohn Hits at 'Greedy' Politicians" (October 16, 1970), p. 7.

_____. "Heinsohn Opposed to Police Curb" (August 20, 1970), p. 19.

_____. "Heinsohn Questions Tax Stand" (October 1, 1970), p. 2.

_____. "Knox Area Train Organized" (February 3, 1971), p. 15.

_____. "Pitard Asks Return to Constitution" (October 26, 1970), p. 9.

_____. "Pitard Attacks Opponents' Vote for Gun Control" (September 30, 1970), p. 6.

_____. Political Advertisement (October 28, 1964), p. 6.

_____. Rogers, Ray, "Wallace Speaks Against Centralized Government" (October 29, 1964), p. 10.

_____. "Senate Race Gets Latest Attention" (November 2, 1970), p. A-16.

Knoxville News-Sentinel. "American Has Several in Race" (August 2, 1970), p. G-4.

_____. "Candidates List Priority of Issues" (October 25, 1970), p. G-7.

_____. Delozier, Stan, "Governor's Race Marked by Variety of Political Approaches" (October 25, 1970), p. G-4.

_____. "Flew With Eddie" (October 25, 1970), p. G-3.

_____. "Heinsohn Averse to Consulting Bar" (October 27, 1970), p. 15.

_____. "Heinsohn Says Morality Is Issue" (November 1, 1970), p. A-10.

_____. "Heinsohn Says 'Vote Conviction'" (October 29, 1970), p. 2.

_____. "Here's Governor Vote" (November 4, 1970), p. 9.

_____. "Here's Senate Vote" (November 4, 1970), p. 9.

_____. "Historically Demo" (October 23, 1970), p. G-4.

_____. "Hooker and Dunn Set Debate for Oct. 23" (October 17, 1970), p. 3.

_____. "It's Gov. Dunn, Sen. Brock" (November 4, 1970), p. 1.

_____. "Jo Jo Says: Look for Rain" (October 28, 1964), p. 1.

_____. Knap, Ted, "Demos to Keep Seat--S-H Says" (November 1, 1970), p. C-1.

_____. Lindsay, Powell, "Wallace Warns U.S. 'Takeover' Is Near: Says Courts Are Becoming All-Powerful" (October 29, 1964), p. 37.

_____. Mears, Walter R., "GOP's Hope Is to Keep Present Congress Ratio" (November 1, 1970), p. F-9.

_____. Morris, Betsy, "Mrs. Pitard: No Speaker, but She's Office Helpmate" (October 27, 1970), p. 6.

_____. "N-S Recommends" (November 3, 1970), p. 1.

_____. "'Opportunity Here', Dr. Pitard Advises" (October 30, 1970), p. 8.

_____. "Pitard Repeats War Criticism" (October 20, 1970), p. 9.

_____. "Pitard Says He Was GOP Poll Watcher" (November 4, 1964), p. 19.

_____. Rawlins, Bill, "State Vote Is Nixon Policy Test" (November 1, 1970), p. 1.

_____. "Senate Aspirants Clash at Capital" (October 21, 1970), p. 2.

_____. Silvey, Martha Jane, "Mrs. Heinsohn: Now She Is All-American" (October 12, 1970), p. A-12.

_____. "6700 Cheer as Wallace Rips Record of GOP" (August 30, 1968), p. 1.

_____. Thomas, Dana-Ford, "AIP Dangles Support" (May 19, 1970), p. 10.

_____. Thomas, Dana-Ford, "Heinsohn's Candidacy" (May 24, 1970), p. F-6.

_____. Thomas, Dana-Ford, "Hooker-Dunn in Verbal Free-for-all" (October 23, 1970), p. 1ff.

_____. Thomas, Dana-Ford, "Images for Senate, by Park Avenue" (October 25, 1970), p. F-6.

_____. Thomas Dana-Ford, "Predicts Demo Surge" (November 1, 1970), p. F-8.

_____. "Three Bid for Votes in Senate Campaign" (October 25, 1970), pp. G-2, G-8.

_____. "Three Parties in Race for Office Held by Gore" (August 2, 1970), p. G-8.

_____. "'Undecided' Could Swing Vote--Pitard" (October 29, 1970), p. 10.

_____. Vines, Georgiana, "Candidates Jazz up Issues with Rhetoric" (October 27, 1970), p. 1.

_____. "Voter Turnout Across State is Heavy" (November 3, 1970), p. 1.

_____. "Wallace Proclaims He'll Be President" (August 29, 1968), p. 1.

_____. "Wallace Seeks Place in Debates" (August 31, 1968), p. 3.

_____. "Washington Calling: Demos Seek Revenue-Sharing Alternative" (January 31, 1971), p. F-9.

Memphis Commercial Appeal. "American Party Names Officers, Hopes for Unity" (October 19, 1969), p. 12.

_____. "American Party Plans Session for 8 Tonight" (October 22, 1969), p. 17.

_____. Bennett, John, "Seemingly More Independent Than Party" (October 26, 1969), p. 2, Section 6.

_____. Bennett, William, "Wallace Power Is Mystical but Real" (September 18, 1968), p. 37.

_____. Chisum, James, "Wallace Urged to Be Active Leader" (October 18, 1969), p. 14.

_____. "Delegates Hear Wallace 'Pep Talk'" (October 25, 1969), p. 3.

_____. Street, William B., "Dissensions Cloud Election of American Party" (October 23, 1969), p. 32.

_____. Street, William B., "Game of 'Chairs' Leaves Question--Who's Going to Fall Off?" (October 24, 1969), p. 21.

_____. Street, William B., "Pointers for Poll Watchers Outline Decisive Areas" (November 3, 1970), p. 1.

_____. Street, William B., "Wallace's 1970 Aims May Be Key to American Party Split" (October 17, 1969), p. 25.

_____. "Voters Decide Issues Today in Torrid Tennessee Contests" (November 3, 1970), p. 1.

_____. "Wallace Campaign Turns Efforts to Establishing Private Schools" (October 16, 1969), p. 3.

Nashville Banner. "Riot Control Gets Praise of Wallace" (August 29, 1968), pp. 1, 14.

_____. "Wallace Calls For An End to Violence" (August 30, 1968), p. 6.

Nashville Tennessean. "American Party Calls For Gore, Hooker Defeat" (April 26, 1970), p. 8-A.

_____. "American Party Raps Charges Leveled by Gore" (April 25, 1970), p. 9.

_____. Crowell, Craven, "Heinsohn Deplores Socialism Slide" (September 27, 1970), pp. 2, 13.

_____. Daughtrey, Larry, "Campaigns for Fall Election Promise Lively Politicking"(August 9, 1970), pp. 1-B, 3-B.

_____. Daughtrey, Larry, "Dunn, Brock Victorious: 1st GOP Governor Since '20" (November 4, 1970), p. 1.

_____. Gallop, George, "First Profile of the Wallace Vote" (October 13, 1968), p. 10.

_____. Haile, John, "American Party Group Ousts 4 Top Officers" (June 12, 1970), p. 1.

_____. Haile, John, "American Party Showdown Near" (June 13, 1970), p. 2.

_____. Haile, John, "It's Hard to Run on the American Party Ticket" (May 29, 1970), p. 18.

_____. Haile, John, "Lentz Refuses to End Fight Over Party Lead" (June 16, 1970), p. 5.

_____. Hatcher, Joe, "Can Republicans Play It Straight" (April 26, 1970), p. 2B.

_____. Hatcher, Joe, "June 2 Runoff May Be George Wallace's Last Stand" (May 10, 1970), p. 2B.

_____. "Heinsohn Advocates Telling Polluters to Stop or Close" (July 6, 1970), p. 5.

_____. "Heinsohn, Pitard Get on Ballot" (June 29, 1970), p. 9.

_____. "Heinsohn Vows to Try to End Highlander School" (September 15, 1970), p. 12.

_____. "Hooker Rates the Mandate, Says Chattanooga Times" (October 30, 1970), p. 14.

_____. "I'm Farthest Right: Taylor" (May 14, 1970), p. 31.

_____. Lerner, Max, "Wallace and Lemay: The Overkill Team" (October 9, 1968), p. 10.

_____. Preston, Bill, Jr., "'Welfare Bum' Plan Must End, Says Heinsohn" (October 21, 1970), p. 2.

_____. Rawls, Wendell, Jr., "Heinsohn Says His Campaign a Selling Task" (November 2, 1970), p. 1.

_____. Rawls, Wendell, Jr., "Heinsohn Sees Post-Election Student Strife" (October 30, 1970), p. 1.

_____. Rawls, Wendell, Jr., "New Party Eyes Legislative Seats" (October 26, 1969), p. 6A.

_____. Rawls, Wendell, Jr., "Wallace Says South in Focus" (October 25, 1969), p. 20.

_____. Schmid, Randolph, "Dead or Alive Choice Faces Voters in 27th" (October 20, 1970), p. 6.

_____. Sutherland, Frank, "Heinsohn Hits Foes' 'Trickery'" (September 29, 1970), p. 10.

_____. "Taylor Says Snodgrass Left Winger" (June 16, 1970), p. 1ff.

_____. Thimmesch, Nick, "The Tide Has Turned in Gore's Senate Bid: Return of the Populist" (October 21, 1970), p. 15.

_____. "3rd Party Hopeful in Governor's Race" (May 17, 1970), pp. 1, 10A.

_____. Thompson, Jerry, "Self-Reliance His Answer, Heinsohn Says" (July 31, 1970), p. 4.

_____. "Wallace to Address Convention" (October 22, 1969), p. 9.

_____. Warnecke, John, "Birch Society Leader Endorses Brock, Dunn" (October 30, 1970), p. 11.

_____. White, William, "What Makes Wallace Run" (October 6, 1968), p. 11.

_____. Whitt, Wayne, "52% Vote Puts Brock in Senate" (November 4, 1970), p. 1.

New York Times. "American Party is Granted Official Sanction by Wallace" (May 27, 1969), p. 17.

_____. "Arkansas Party Split on Ouster" (December 28, 1969), p. 26.

_____. "Election Tuesday Stirs Tennessee: Congressional Vote to Show How 2 Parties Shape Up" (March 23, 1969), p. 50.

_____. Waldron, Martin, "Wallace Man Is Defeated in Tenn. Congressional Election" (March 26, 1969), p. 16.

_____. "Wallace Looks Ahead" (November 6, 1968), p. 1.

_____. "Wallace Party Merges With Several Others" (May 5, 1969), p. 22.

U.T. Daily Beacon. "New Changes Ahead?" (January 27, 1971), p. 4.

_____. Rosser, Richard, "Separate Students--Jenkins" (October 22, 1970), p. 1.

U.T. Orange & White. Holmes, Tony, "An Evening With George Wallace" (November 3, 1964), p. 4.

Union City Daily Messenger. "Candidate Airs Views" (September 18, 1970), p. 1.

D. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Ely, Leo. Campaign Manager for gubernatorial candidate Douglas L. Heinsohn and West Tennessee Grand Division Vice Chairman of the American Party of Tennessee, October 15, 1970.

_____. October 29, 1970.

_____. November 4, 1970.

_____. December 11, 1970.

_____. June 23, 1971.

Heinsohn, Douglas L. American party gubernatorial candidate, October 16, 1970.

_____. October 20, 1970.

Mattingly, Thomas J., Jr. University of Tennessee political science graduate student, June 14, 1971.

Pitard, Dr. Cecil. American party senatorial candidate, November 11, 1970.

_____. November 18, 1970.

_____. December 4, 1970.

_____. December 11, 1970.

_____. July 30, 1971.

Rymer, George Don. Campaign Manager for senatorial candidate Dr. Cecil Pitard, October 14, 1970.

_____. October 20, 1970.

_____. October 21, 1970.

_____. October 29, 1970.

Wallace, Governor George. October 28, 1964.

Whedbee, R. E. ("Bud"). East Tennessee Grand Division Grand Chairman of the American Party of Tennessee, October 7, 1970.

_____. October 9, 1970.

_____. October 13, 1970.

_____. October 14, 1970.

_____. October 26, 1970.

_____. October 29, 1970.

_____. November 4, 1970.

_____. December 26, 1970.

_____. February 2, 1971.

E. CORRESPONDENCE

Personal correspondence between J. S. Hundley and Oliver Wright, Sr., March 6, 1969.

Personal correspondence between Leo Ely and Dr. Cecil Pitard to the Honorable Joe Carr, Tennessee Secretary of State, October 27, 1969.

Personal correspondence between George Smith, Tipton County American Party Chairman, and Douglas Heinsohn, August 28, 1970.

Personal correspondence between Governor George Wallace and Douglas Heinsohn, October 21, 1970.

Personal correspondence between Tom Turnipseed, Staff Member Wallace Headquarters, Montgomery, Alabama, and the writer, October 26, 1970.

Personal correspondence between Alexander Hudgins, Executive Director of the American Party, National Headquarters, Richmond, Virginia, and the writer, November 2, 1970.

Personal correspondence between Mrs. Dorothy W. MacMillan, secretary to W. E. Michael, and the writer, December 5, 1970.

Personal correspondence between Douglas L. Heinsohn and the writer, December 9, 1970.

F. UNPUBLISHED THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

Coomer, James Chester, Jr. "The Growth and Development of the Republican Party in Tennessee: 1948-1966." Unpublished Master's thesis, Georgia State College, Atlanta, 1968.

Diamond, Michael Jerome. "The Negro and Organized Labor as Voting Blocs in Tennessee, 1960-64." Unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, December, 1965.

Gaither, Gerald H. "The Negro in the Ideology of Southern Populism, 1889-1896." Unpublished Master's thesis, The Univeristy of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1967.

Gorman, Joseph Bruce. "Senator Estes Kefauver and the 1952 New Hampshire Democratic Primary." Unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1964.

McCoy, William J. "The Tennessee Political System: The Relationship of the Socioeconomic Environment to Political Processes and Policy Outputs." Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1970.

Pinckney, Thomas Marion, Jr. "Third Parties and the Philippine Party System." Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1971.

Ritt, Leonard G. "Presidential Voting Patterns in Appalachia: An Analysis of the Relationship Between Turnout, Partisan Change, and Selected Socioeconomic Variables." Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1967.

G. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

American Party Constitution.

American Party Statement of Principles.

Campaign literature passed out by the Bill Davis headquarters.

Campaign literature passed out by Douglas L. Heinsohn's campaign headquarters.

Campaign literature passed out by Dr. Cecil Pitard's campaign headquarters.

Constitution and Bylaws of the American Party, Knox County.

Constitition of the American Party of Tennessee.

Corrected and approved minutes of State Executive Committee Meeting, June 11, 1970.

Principles of the American Party of Tennessee.

Tennessee Code Annotated.

H. PRESS RELEASES

Press release from the campaign headquarters of candidate Douglas L. Heinsohn, May 17, 1970.

American Party State Executive Committee news release, May 22, 1970.

American Party State Executive Committee news release, June 11, 1970.

Press release from the campaign headquarters of candidate Douglas L. Heinsohn, June 18, 1970.

Press release from the campaign headquarters of candidate Douglas L. Heinsohn, July 22, 1970.

Press release from the campaign headquarters of candidate Douglas L. Heinsohn, September 25, 1970.

Press releases from the campaign headquarters of candidate Dr. Cecil Pitard, October, 1970.

Press release from the campaign headquarters of candidate Dr. Cecil Pitard, October 4, 1970.

Press release from the campaign headquarters of candidate Douglas L. Heinsohn, October 8, 1970.

Press releases from the campaign headquarters of candidate Dr. Cecil Pitard, November, 1970.

Press releases from the campaign headquarters of candidate Douglas L. Heinsohn, November, 1970.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

STATEMENT OF METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES CONCERNING THE USE OF THE MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE

I. INTRODUCTION

The data in this study were gathered primarily through the employment of the survey research techniques of mail questionnaire and field and telephone interviews. These methods were particularly suited to the research in Chapter V, although generous portions of information appearing in all chapters were derived in large part either directly or indirectly from party members in the form of responses to survey-type questions.

The techniques employed were selected for several reasons. The questionnaire and the interviews allowed for a communication with, and a proximity to, the subject that would not have been possible through secondary research into the literature concerning the American party in Tennessee. The use of the questionnaire also allowed for a relatively high degree of quantification of responses in systematic form.

The universe to be studied was scattered across a wide area: the State of Tennessee. Personally contacting each individual whose responses appear in this study could have been more difficult, time-consuming, and expensive. Previous research indicates that under similar conditions

the use of the mail questionnaire has been less time-consuming and less expensive.[1]

One of the major shortcomings in using the mail questionnaire is the well-known difficulty in insuring a high response from the population.[2] If this danger can be overcome, however, the questionnaire may well serve the data-gathering function for the technique has been used to obtain both extensive and highly complicated data.[3]

II. SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE

When the research design was being formulated the original intention was to limit the scope of this study only to American party county chairmen, much in the manner of previous studies of major party county chairmen in other states. It was not known during the earliest stage, however, that the party was not organized at the county level across Tennessee. As will be noted in detail in Chapter V, the party is organized in only approximately one-quarter of the state's counties.

[1]William M. Kephart and Marvin Bressler, "Increasing the Responses to Mail Questionnaires: A Research Study," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXII (Summer, 1958), 123; William J. Crotty, "The Utilization of Mail Questionnaires and the Problem of a Representative Return Rate," Western Political Quarterly, XIX (March, 1966), 44-53.

[2]Marjorie N. Donald, "Implications on Nonresponse for the Interpretation of Mail Questionnaire Data," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Spring, 1960), 99; Sol Levine and Gerald Gordon, "Maximizing Returns on Mail Questionnaires," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXII (Winter, 1958-1959), 568; Donald S. Longworth, "Use of Mail Questionnaires," American Sociological Review, XVIII (June, 1953), 310.

[3]Donald, op. cit., p. 111.

In order that this study might reflect a portrait of the party's leadership across the entire state rather than be limited to only those counties in which the party is organized, the scope of the study was expanded to include additional members of the party's leadership hierarchy, including members of the state executive committee, candidates for public office, statewide party officials, and other selected influential members.

The compilation of a list of members to be subsequently contacted as potential questionnaire respondents was accomplished only with some difficulty. For example, one of the few party officials who had access to leadership rolls and rosters was suspicious of the motives behind the research. In addition, some of the party's leaders had private telephone numbers. Reliable addresses of these and a few other persons were difficult to obtain.

Not being an American party member, nor having access to a listing of the party's state, regional, and county officers, an original listing had to be compiled. The state party chairman was contacted and he did not have a copy of American party county chairmen,[4] although he offered to provide a listing of state executive committee members. While awaiting the list seven of the state's largest circulation daily newspapers (two each in Memphis, Nashville, and Knoxville, and one in

[4]As strange or suspicious as this sounds it is not without precedent in Tennessee politics. During the late 1940's, for example, a Republican candidate for governor discovered that the G.O.P. state headquarters was also lacking a list of all his party's county chairmen. See Alexander A. Heard, A Two-Party South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), p. 104.

Jackson) were searched for all data concerning party officials, particularly for persons outstandingly active during the 1968-1970 period. In this way a listing was compiled which included state as well as local party officials. Additional names were obtained from the staff of American party gubernatorial candidate Douglas Heinsohn. His staff had a comprehensive listing of influential members in numerous counties across the state. During the same period approximately 75 or 80 long-distance telephone calls to all Grand Divisions of the state were made with the help and cooperation of the East Tennessee Grand Division vice chairman of the party. These calls netted numerous additional names of prospective respondents.

After some delay a listing of the names of state executive committee members was obtained from the state chairman. Only one address--and not any of the names--appeared on his list that had not previously been obtained through newspaper research. The names obtained through newspaper stories and field interviews, added to those provided by Heinsohn's staff, provided an original pool of 115 names of persons either believed, or known, to be active in the party in some leadership capacity. After further study into the roles, activities, and functions of these members the original list was trimmed to include only the 90 most active party members. The reduced list, for example, included at the statewide level only active, or acting, county officials. The highest-ranking members contacted in the study were the state chairman, Dr. Cecil Pitard of Knoxville, and the party's gubernatorial candidate, Douglas Heinsohn of Gatlinburg. At the lesser levels in the party's hierarchy only persons

who held some official title were contacted. No effort was made to contact rank-and-file members.

Questionnaires were then sent to the 90 party leaders, all of whom classified themselves as members of the American party. The essential point of differentiation between "members" and "nonmembers" that this phraseology assumes was a personally announced and confirmed self-identification with the party and its goals. All persons who returned the questionnaires confirmed party membership and actually held office when contacted or had done so recently.

The population selected for this study, therefore, was a state and local sample exclusively. Although no study of party leadership outside of Tennessee was attempted, the Wallace headquarters in Montgomery, Alabama, was contacted, as was the national American party headquarters in Richmond, Virginia, in order to learn of the national party's official goals and the relationship between the national party and the various state branches of the party. In addition, the Conservative Society of America in Pineville, Louisiana, and the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade in Long Beach, California, were contacted in obtaining background information concerning party support and possible overlapping membership and leadership between the American party and two well-known conservative organizations.

III. CONSTRUCTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Prior to devising the questionnaire background information concerning the party and its leadership was obtained. In this way an attempt was

made to define the potential or actual limits and limitations of the proposed questionnaire, as well as the types of questions to be included. Such presurvey steps have proven advantageous in previous use of the mail questionnaire.[5] An attempt was also made to become acquainted with several party members in order to assess the feasibility of the study, the mood of the party's membership, and of the degree of, or lack of, receptivity of members to strangers asking questions concerning political beliefs.

The first draft of a six-page questionnaire was prepared following many of the suggestions found in the literature concerning the use of mail questionnaires in the social and behavorial sciences.[6] The form

[5]Levine and Gordon, op. cit., p. 575.

[6]Kephart and Bressler, op. cit., pp. 123-132; Crotty, loc. cit.; Donald, op. cit., pp. 99-114; Levine and Gordon, op. cit., pp. 568-575; Longworth, op. cit., pp. 310-313; V. O. Key, Jr., "The Politically Relevant in Surveys," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Spring, 1960), 54-61; Dean J. Champion and Alan M. Sear, "Questionnaire Response Rate: A Methodological Analysis," Social Forces, IIIL (March, 1969), 335-339; Abbott C. Ferriss, "A Note on Stimulating Response to Questionnaires," American Sociological Review, XVI (1951), 247-249; Stanley D. Bachrack and Harry M. Scoble, "Mail Questionnaire Efficiency: Controlled Reduction of Nonresponse," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXI (Summer, 1967), 265-271; Joseph A. Alutto, "A Note on Determining Questionnaire Destination in Survey Research," Social Forces, IIL (December, 1969), 251ff; John T. Gullahorn and Jeanne E. Gullahorn, "Increasing Returns from Non-Respondents," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIII (Spring, 1969), 119-121; Charles S. Mayer and Robert W. Pratt, Jr., "A Note on Nonresponse in a Mail Survey," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXI (Fall, 1957), 384-388; Robert C. Nichols and Mary Alice Meyer, "Timing Postcard Follow-Ups in Mail-Questionnaire Surveys," Public Opinion Surveys, XXX (Summer, 1966), 306ff; Donald C. Pelz, "The Influence of Anonymity on Expressed Attitudes," Human Organization, XVIII (Summer, 1959), 88-91; Norman Tallent, "A Note on an Unusually High Rate of Returns for a Mail Questionnaire," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIII (Winter, 1959-1960), 579-581; Charles R. Tittle and Richard J. Hill, "The Accuracy of Self-Reported Data and Prediction of Political Activity," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXI (Spring, 1967), 103-106.

contained 34 questions designed to reveal previous party affiliation, past and present political activity, membership in clubs and organizations, as well as political motivations and attitudes.[7] Some of the questions called for detailed and multiple responses. Most questions, however, allowed for short, straightforward, and undetailed responses. The number of open-ended questions was restricted in order to make the responses more manageable and less ambiguous.

The questionnaire was critiqued in consultation with two professors knowledgeable in the techniques of survey research. The suggestions by the two, both members of the University of Tennessee Department of Political Science, were helpful in refining and sharpening the form. Some questions were thrown out while others were added. For example, questions concerning personal income had to be given special consideration because of the complexities existent in this area of research. On the one side, voting studies have shown that "income is positively correlated with political participation."[8] On the perhaps conflicting side, as noted in Chapter II, the effects of income and finances in the Tennessee political milieu can be overestimated. In addition, one has to be careful when assessing the role of income and finances in survey studies for other reasons. Income data have gained the rather questionable reputation of being "always suspect."[9] In light of the above

[7]A copy of the questionnaire appears in Appendix B.

[8]Lester Milbrath, Political Participation: How and Why do People Get Involved in Politics? (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 120.

[9]Richard T. Frost, "Stability and Change in Local Politics," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Summer, 1961), 225.

factors, and for an additional reason mentioned in the pretest section that follows in this Appendix, questions concerning personal income which appeared in the original draft were not included in the final questionnaire.

Anonymity was offered as a suggestion to potential respondents in completing and returning the questionnaires. Members were informed in the cover letter which accompanied the forms that their names would not be used in the study, excepting mentions of information readily accessible to the public, unless personal permission was granted. A very large majority of those responding, however, not only offered their full names but also added cover letters, notes, suggestions, and expansions upon topics mentioned in the questionnaire.

A primary reason anonymity was suggested was that an assumption was made that perhaps respondents would speak more freely anonymously than they would if they knew that they could be identified or quoted by name. An additional reason anonymity was suggested was that respondents tend to be more self-critical and unfavorable in their anonymous relevations[10] than they do when personal identifications must be made.

Anonymity was also preserved in the analysis of the returned forms, although the practice presented distracting minor problems in processing and analyzing the data. The problems in a study of this rather narrow scope were resolved rather easily, although in a study of wider dimensions

[10]Pelz, op. cit., p. 88.

and a much larger sample the difficulties arising from the practice of anonymity would have been more considerable.[11]

IV. PRETESTING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was pretested with the cooperation of two statewide party officials (two of the three Grand Division vice chairmen), one county chairman, and two headquarters workers active in the 1970 campaigns. (One of the latter was subsequently identified as a state official.) Time involved in completing the form in the pretest ranged from fifty minutes to an hour and twenty minutes.

Following suggestions resulting from the pretest a few changes were made in the questionnaire. The wording of some questions was changed to be more precise and less staunched so as to insure increased clarity of understanding between researcher and respondent. Additional space for responses was added following some of the open-ended questions. One of the vice chairmen suggested that questions concerning personal income be omitted as he felt the questions would be viewed as intrusions of privacy, would not be answered, and could possibly serve only in alienating potential respondents who might otherwise complete the form.

V. MAILING PROCEDURES

The research was conducted under conditions and circumstances which, in light of available survey research information, were not ideal. Several

[11]Manniche and Hayes, loc. cit.

negative factors were "givens." Although the factors were unfavorable, they were also, unfortunately, uncontrollable. The sample list, for example, was compiled in October and November, 1970, in the midst of a busy statewide campaign and election. With few outstanding exceptions, the officers who would have been the most helpful in providing names of influential party leaders were submerged in almost around-the-clock campaign activity. To make a bad situation worse, after the sample was determined the questionnaires were necessarily mailed during the holiday periods of Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Years.

No advance letter preceded the mailing of the questionnaire, although such groundwork has proven fruitful in other studies.[12] The forms arrived unannounced for all such an arrival implies--an intrusion. The reasons for not writing an advance letter resulted from time and mechanical limitations involved. For example, after deciding a cover letter would suffice in explaining the purpose of the questionnaire, a second decision was made not to use a multiproduced cover letter. Thereupon, rather lengthy individually-typed letters had to be prepared to accompany 90 questionnaires.

Previous research indicates that whenever the sanction of a leader of a group being studied is received, the respondent rate tends to be higher than if the sanction had not been granted.[13] Not being a member of the American party, nor at any point during the research claiming

[12]Bachrack and Scoble, loc. cit.

[13]Crotty, op. cit., p. 53.

membership, sanction for the study by the party could be received only in part. However, personal endorsements in the form of cover letters from ranking party officials were received. In one instance a personable letter was obtained. It was originally hoped that the personal endorsement of the study would accompany the questionnaire and, thereby, possibly increase the response rate. Research into the party interactions and inter-relations among members, however, revealed that the endorsement would have, in an unknown number of cases, actually created problems (for reasons discussed at some length in Chapter III). There was some evidence, although not conclusive, that suggested the endorsement--although such endorsements by persons identified with the group being studied usually increases the response rate[14]--may have, if used, actually resulted in a negative response. In the face of this potentially dangerous result the letter was not used.

Whenever the prestige of an institution associated with mail survey research study is high, the return rate is also usually high.[15] The identification between the person conducting the research in this instance, a graduate student, and the University of Tennessee, probably had a mixed effect judging from the responses received.

The questionnaires were forwarded by ordinary first class mail. No special postage was used in either the original wave or in the successive followups, although in most cases the more expensive the postage (e.g.,

[14]Levine and Gordon, op. cit., p. 568.

[15]Crotty, loc. cit.

air mail or special delivery), the higher the return rate.[16] Expensive mailing procedures have been successful in the past in impressing potential respondents of the importance of the research. This has been particularly true in the use of special delivery mailing.[17] Nevertheless, due to severe financial limitations expensive mailing procedures could not be utilized in this study.

Potential respondents were contacted in their private homes as information which might have supplied professional addresses was not available from either state party sources or from newspapers. The return rate discussed in the following section may have possibly been increased if the forms could have been sent in care of business addresses. Only a few studies involving the use of mail questionnaires report response rates above 50 percent whenever individuals were contacted in their private homes.[18] It is not unusual for such studies to be based on a 25 percent response. The low response rate appears to reflect a feeling of "resentment against intrusion" which must be overcome in contacting individuals in their private homes.[19]

In some instances questionnaires were sent to both husband and wife--both being party officials. In most cases either both or neither returned the forms. In almost all cases the responses obtained, even those

[16]Champion and Sear, op. cit., p. 336.

[17]Gullahorn and Gullahorn, op. cit., p. 121.

[18]Mayer and Pratt, op. cit., p. 637.

[19]Ibid.; see also Alutto, loc. cit.

concerning a wide range of possible opinions, were identical, or very nearly so, within the family.[20]

Motivations to respond to the questionnaire could not be optimized in this study, although rewards of varying kinds have been successful in inducing response in previous studies.[21] Very little was, or could be, offered in the way of reward to those who cooperated. For example, it was not possible to offer all who cooperated in the study a completed copy of the work although several requests were made for copies during the gathering of data. No incentives other than an original cover letter were used although incentives such as prizes have been successful in the use of mail questionnaires in previous research.[22] The single motivation utilized in this study that might in some fashion be considered a "reward" was brief mention in the cover letter that very little research had been conducted concerning the American party in Tennessee and that one of the purposes of this study was to remedy the situation somewhat.

VI. FOLLOWUP PROCEDURES

The questionnaires were followed up twice and in both instances an attempt was made to create a "band wagon" reaction among those who had

[20]This result is in close keeping with previous research concerning husband and wife responses in mail surveys. See John A. Ballweg, "Husband-Wife Response Similarities on Evaluative and Non-Evaluative Survey Questions," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXIII (Summer, 1969), 249-254.

[21]For a listing of possible rewards see Kephart and Bressler, loc. cit.

[22]Champion and Sear, op. cit., p. 335.

not yet responded. As outlined in Table XXI, limited success was achieved in the first followup and less in the second. Mention of the busy holiday season was made in both followups in order to relate an awareness and understanding why some persons had not previously responded. The first followup was a simple postcard, mailed approximately two weeks after the initial wave. The second followup was a new and different cover letter and a second copy of the questionnaire. In retrospect, a better result might have been achieved had the first followup been mailed sopner than two weeks after the original.[23] Yet the physical task of mailing almost insured that working alone two weeks would be required to prepare and mail the questionnaires.

Some experimenting, as suggested by previous research,[24] was conducted during the mailing process. The experimenting was conducted in an attempt to better understand the subtleties of survey research through the use of the mail questionnaire. In the experimentation a fraction of the universe was divided on the basis of various types and colors of stamps used in mailing in order to see if a differential rate of response could be detected between letters carrying ordinary stamps and letters carrying patriotic commemorative stamps. The result of the limited experimentation was inconclusive as no significant pattern emerged.

No deadlines were established for returning the forms, although in previous studies deadlines have been found useful.[25] It was not felt

[23]Nichols and Meyer, loc. cit.

[24]Kephart and Bressler, op. cit., p. 132.

[25]Ferriss, loc. cit.

TABLE XXI

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE RATE

Response by Wave	Number Returned	N Per Mailing	Percent Response
First Mailing	20	90	23.2
Followup	16	70	18.6
Second Mailing and Second Followup	10	54	11.6
Total	46		53.4

Note: N's = 86. Excludes:

1 person who died before completing the questionnaire although he had offered cooperation.

1 person who responded by letter through a private secretary offering some information but was too ill to complete the lengthy questionnaire.

1 person who returned a partially completed questionnaire too incomplete to use.

1 person who was never located due to several inaccurate mailing addresses.

that deadlines would increase returns and that they might, to the contrary, limit responses in light of possibly existing pressures and other deadlines of the holiday season.

VII. RESPONSE AND NONRESPONSE

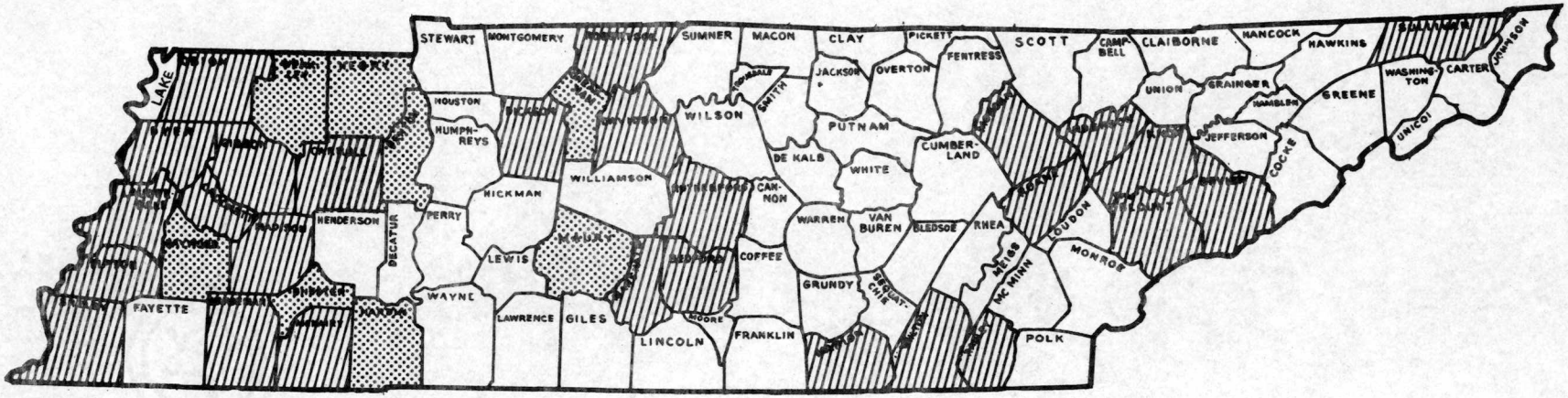
As Table XXI reveals, of the total population contacted in this study 53.4 percent responded and cooperated.[26] Although the response is not a total reflection of the universe, the result more nearly approximates a reflection of a total than a zero universe.

An attempt was made to receive a sample of respondents from all of the Grand Divisions of the state. Representatives in 34 of the state's 95 counties were contacted, representing an overwhelming majority of the counties in which the party was organized and active at the time of the research.[27] Responses were received from 26 of the counties contacted. In only eight counties were known active members contacted without response.

Responses varied from one geographical area to the next and from one Grand Division to the other. In East Tennessee questionnaires were sent to party officials in nine counties with responses being received from all. In Middle Tennessee members from eight counties were contacted and responses were received from six of the eight. Finally, in West Tennessee--the area of the state in which the party is most active--

[26]For a more complete breakdown of response and nonresponse by individual county and Grand Division see Figure 15.

[27]Ibid.



West Tennessee (11)

Carroll	Madison
Crockett	McNairy
Dyer	Obion
Gibson	Shelby
Hardeman	Tipton
Lauderdale	

Middle Tennessee (6)

Bedford
Davidson
Dickson
Marshall
Robertson
Rutherford

East Tennessee (9)

Anderson	Roane
Blount	Sevier
Bradley	Sullivan
Hamilton	
Knox	
Marion	

Figure 15. Categorization of participating and nonparticipating counties.

responses were received from representatives of 11 of the 17 counties contacted.

The return was encouraging in light of several factors, not the least of which was one of the strongly acclaimed beliefs of the potential respondents. The American party clearly opposes "invasion of privacy."[28] Still another reason for satisfaction is that it is not unusual for mail questionnaire returns to run as low as 7 to 10 percent. Yet still more important to the reliability and accuracy of the sample, it has been concluded that whenever a return rate of less than 50 percent is relied upon as a base for conclusive research "serious methodological questions can be raised as to the validity of the study."[29]

From a different standpoint, while the return rate was satisfactory in some respects it was not as high as originally hoped for. Previous studies, although all of major rather than minor party leaders and all in other states, resulted in higher returns.[30]

[28]American Party Statement of Principles, p. 7. (See Appendix D.)

[29]Longworth, op. cit., p. 310.

[30]There are several good studies in this area. See Gerald Pomper, "New Jersey County Chairmen," Western Political Quarterly, XVIII (March, 1965), 196ff; Gerald W. Johnson, Politics, Party Competition and the County Chairman in West Virginia (Knoxville: The Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, 1970); Samuel C. Patterson, "Characteristics of Party Leaders," Western Political Quarterly, XVI (June, 1963), 332-352; William J. Crotty, "The Social Attributes of Party Organizational Activists in a Transitional Political System," Western Political Quarterly, XX (September, 1957), 669-681.

VIII. NONRESPONSE ANALYSIS

For several reasons only a limited effort has been made to make inferences concerning nonrespondents. First, telephone or personal contacts, or both, are frequently necessary for nonresponse analysis. The cost involved with such followup procedures in this work would have been prohibitive. Secondly, the thesis was designed and intended to be a portrait of the party's leaders as offered by participants rather than forced from them by the researcher through high pressure methods or emotional appeals which could have perhaps increased the return rate.

Although no in-depth attempt was made to analyze the factors accounting for nonresponse, several related factors in this study may be mentioned along with suggestions, whenever applicable, for improving response rates in future studies. The rather elederly age on nonrespondents may have been a factor accounting for some degree of nonresponse. This factor is mentioned while keeping in mind the ages of several elderly respondents. (For a breakdown of respondents by age see Chapter V, page 211.) What, if anything could have been done in overcoming this factor other than additional travel and interviewing, is not known.

Another factor which may have contributed to nonresponse is one which faces many social science researchers. This has been described as a "generalized, articulate hostility toward social survey research, which is perceived as an invasion of privacy and a denial of American individualism."[31]

[31]Bachrack and Scoble, op. cit., p. 269.

Identification with a group being studied or polled by mail questionnaire is said to be related to high response rates by those polled.[32] The identifications of some party leaders with their party, as noted in detail in Chapters III and IV, is at this time ambivalent or mixed at best and rather lukewarm or outright unstable at worst. Party loyalties were perhaps not as strong during the research period as they had been in the presidential election year of 1968, the highwater mark in the party's support, activity, and influence to this point.

Response rates tend to be higher when respondents are in some way associated with the organization or person sponsoring the study.[33] In this study such identification would have been most difficult. In order to protect the objectivity and integrity of the study and all persons involved, very little was done in order to fruther or encourage an identification between party and researcher.

Return rates tend to be high when respondents are particularly interested in the content areas outlined or covered in the questionnaire.[34] A broader-based and more intensive pretest may have revealed more interesting questions that could have been included in the questionnaire.[35]

[32]Donald, op. cit., pp. 99-114.

[33]Ibid., p. 100.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Crotty, "The Utilization of Mail Questionnaires and the Problem of a Representative Return Rate," op. cit., p. 53.

No attempt was made to differentiate between early and late respondents. The degree to which the seasonal factor affected some respondents more than others is not known although the time of year during which mail questionnaires are sent out has been shown to have an effect on the return rate.[36] It was felt that the seasonal factor had a negative effect on the return rate in this instance.

The responses may have been higher had the study been conducted under the auspices of the party itself. In a few instances the study was viewed with strained tolerance and suspicion by a few party officials who identified the researcher only as an "outsider."

As noted earlier, the followup procedures employed in almost all cases included only mail contact. As the return rate reached more than 53 percent following the third wave by mail, it was felt that a fourth wave follow-up (consisting of planned personal long-distance telephone calls) would not justify the cost involved in obtaining additional sample data, although fourth wave measures such as telephone calls have been used in previous surveys with a good deal of success.[37] In one study 50 percent of those persons originally contacted did not respond to mail followup although 97.2 percent of the sample cooperated when telephoned.[38]

[36]Levine and Gordon, op. cit., p. 574.

[37]Donald, op. cit., pp. 101-104.

[38]E. A. Suchman and B. McCandless, "Who Answers Questionnaires?" Journal of Applied Psychology, XXIV (1940), 758-769; for related research and support see J. P. Duncanson, "The Average Telephone Call is Better Than the Average Telephone Call," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXIII (Spring, 1969), 112-116.

There may even be differences in response in calling once and calling twice.[39]

Judging from the personal contacts that were made in the study, further contacts might have also proven fruitful. All who were personnally contacted cooperated to some degree and in only one instance did a contacted person not complete a copy of the questionnaire.[40]

The questionnaire was rather lengthy. Perhaps a higher response could have been achieved by the use of a shorter form. Originally it was expected that the longer form would not yield as high a response as a shorter form,[41] although the longer form was selected as it offered offsetting critical advantages which were felt necessary to the study.

Finally, it should be noted that the mail questionnaire might have yielded a higher response in the hands of a more experienced survey researcher. Although using the technique of survey research for the first time provided insights into the use of a new tool, several subtle aspects of the questionnaire's use could have probably been handled more proficiently by a more experienced researcher resulting perhaps in a more productive return.

[39] Duncanson, loc. cit.

[40] In this isolated instance the person offered to complete the form at a later date but at the time it was not practical to wait for one additional questionnaire before analyzing the data.

[41] Champion and Sear, op. cit., p. 336.

IX. INTERVIEWS

Approximately 25 or 30 personal interviews were conducted during the research. The number then had to be restricted as the sessions entailed a good deal of travel and expense. Within the scope of this research, recognized and less expensive methods of data collection[42] were not only available but also comfortably adaptable.

Interviews varied in both length and content. During the final research phase some of the sessions lasted no more than fifteen minutes. In contrast, many of the initial interviews consumed four or five hours. When beginning the research it was felt that the more information that could be obtained in the interviews, the easier it would be to understand the party, its history, and its peculiarities. In the final days of the research an interview more frequently centered on a particular question, subject, topic, or single point of information.

[42]For example, mail questionnaires are usually less expensive, as are telephone calls and telegrams; see Levine and Gordon, op. cit., p. 575.

APPENDIX B

AMERICAN PARTY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. When did you receive the office in the American party that you now hold? (date and year) _____

2. Is the post you now hold appointive or is it elective? _____
If appointive, what party officer (by title) made the appointment?

_____

3. What political party, if any, did you belong to prior to joining the American party? _____

4. What public elective offices or positions have you previously held outside the American party? _____

_____

_____

5. Present and past offices held in the American party include:

_____

_____

_____

6. To what political party did your father belong? _____

_____

7. When (approximately) did you join the American party? _____

_____

8. To what clubs or organizations do you belong? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(If more space is needed please use reverse side of this sheet.)

9. How many members of your immediate family (spouse and children) consider themselves to be members of the American party? (If more space needed use reverse side of this sheet.)

_____
(Relatiohsip to you)

_____
(Relationship to you)

_____
(Relationship to you)

_____
(Relationship to you)

10. What do you feel are the main reasons you joined the American party?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. What are the primary goals of the American party in Tennessee as you see them?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(If more space is needed please use reverse side of this sheet.)

12. Of the American party's goals, which do you think the party has been most effective in meeting or fulfilling in Tennessee?

_____

_____

_____

_____

13. Have you ever attended a statewide American party convention?

_____ If so, how many? _____

_____ _____
(Location) (Date)

_____ _____
(Location) (Date)

_____ _____
(Location) (Date)

14. Have you ever served in the active armed forces of the United States? _____ Approximate dates of service and duty if applicable.

_____

15. What is the date of your birth? _____

16. Where is the place of your birth? _____
(City, town, or community)

_____
(State)

17. What is the approximate population of the city, town, or community in which you grew up (and/or attended school)? _____

18. How many years (total) have you lived in Tennessee? _____

19. What are your present occupations? _____

_____

_____

20. What is the highest grade in school which you completed? _____

---

21. At the present time are you: (Circle correct response)

A. Married C. Separated

B. Single D. Divorced

22. Which party (Democratic or Republican) in Tennessee do you think is most "hurt" by the presence of the American party? _____

23. Speaking only of your county of the state what party (Democratic or Republican) do you think is most "hurt" by the presence of the American party? _____

24. What chance do you think your party has to capture the governorship of Tennessee in the upcoming November election? (Circle correct response.)

A. Excellent C. Fair E. None

B. Good D. Poor

25. What chance do you think your party has to capture the contested U.S. senate seat in the upcoming November election? (Circle correct response.)

A. Excellent C. Fair E. None

B. Good D. Poor

26. Have you ever met Douglas L. Heinsohn, American party candidate for governor? _____ If so, how many times? _____

27. Have you ever met Dr. Cecil Pitard, American party candidate for the U.S. senate? _____ If so, how many times? _____

28. If you could not vote for either candidates Heinsohn and Pitard in the upcoming November election, who would you like to see win the race for U.S. senator? _____
Who would you like to see win the race for governor? _____

---

29. Have you ever personally met Alabama Governor George Wallace? _____ If so, approximately how many times?

_____

30. Which President in America's history do you most admire? _____

_____

31. Whom do you feel is the greatest living politician or political figure alive in America today? _____

_____

32. What do you feel are the most important issues facing America today?

_____

_____

_____

_____

What do you believe should be done about each of the issues you listed or mentioned above? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(If additional space is needed please use reverse side of this form or additional paper.)

33. What do you feel are the most important issues facing the state of Tennessee today? _____

_____

_____

_____

What do you believe should be done about each of the issues you listed or mentioned above? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(If additional space is needed please use reverse side of this form or additional paper.)

34. On the reverse side of this questionnaire, would you please add any comments that you would like to make concerning the position and the role of the American party county chairman?

APPENDIX C

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN PARTY OF TENNESSEE

Section 1 NAME

The name of our party is the American Party of Tennessee

Section 2 Object

The American Party of Tennessee shall engage in all the activities associated with the functioning of a moral and legal political party. It shall review the performance of its public office holders and shall insist that they live up to the platform on which they ran, and to the principles of the American Party of Tennessee.

The American Party shall protect in so far as it can, each American Citizen in his right to life and liberty. It shall promote progress and well-being and prosperity of the country by firm adherence to the Constitution of the United States, and a reduction of the level of taxation on the working people of this Nation.

It shall adhere to its Statement of Principles.

Section 3 OUTLINE OF ORGANIZATION

We hereby establish in each county a County Executive Committee with officers to serve us and to protect our freedom at the County level.

We hereby establish in each Congressional District, a District Executive Committee with officers to serve us and to protect our freedom at the District Level.

We hereby establish in our State a State Executive Committee with officers to serve us and to protect our freedom at the State level.

We hereby select National Committeemen and National Committeewomen, and National Convention Delegates to serve us, and to protect our freedom at the National level.

Section 4 MEMBERS

Any qualified and registered voter in the State of Tennessee who supports the Principles of the American Party may become a member on affirming his support of the Constitution of the United States of America, and the Constitution of the American Party of Tennessee.

Section 5 STATE CONVENTIONS

Regular Delegated State Conventions shall be scheduled to meet in February, March, or April in even years beginning in 1970 in some central location in the state, the time and place of such convention shall be provided for by the State Executive Committee either at its regular meeting or at any special meeting.

The purpose of the regular delegated state convention is to elect officers, National Committeemen and Committeewomen, Delegates to the National Convention (in proper years), and to transact such other business as is fitting and proper.

The State Executive Committee may call Special Delegated State Conventions as it may find necessary provided there is a 20 day written notice of the convention to all state, district, and county officers, and to all state convention delegates and alternates, said notice to include the purpose(s) of the convention.

A quorum shall be a majority of the counties with delegations accredited by the State Credentials Committee.

Business of the Convention shall be conducted by Roberts Rules of Order.

Section 6 Delegates to the State Convention

Delegates to the State Convention shall be elected at the Regular County Conventions. The number of delegates allowed each County shall be based on the vote for the Party in the County at the last Presidential or General State-wide Election. They shall serve until replaced at the next Regular County Convention. (See County Organization, Section 15)

Section 7 State Officers

Officers shall be elected at the Regular Delegate State Convention to be held in even years beginning in 1970. Officers serving at the time of the adoption of this Constitution shall continue to serve until replaced in 1970.

Nomination shall be by nominating committee if the Executive Committee of the State so directs, and by nominations from the floor. Election shall be by majority vote, with run-offs when necessary.

Officers shall be:
Chairman
First Vice-Chairman
Vice-Chairman - Eastern Grand Division of the State of Tennessee
Vice-Chairman - Middle Grand Division of the State of Tennessee
Vice-Chairman - Western Grand Division of the State of Tennessee
Secretary
Treasurer
Chaplain
Sergeant(s)-at-Arms (the number at the discretion of the Chairman)

Officers shall be installed at the time of election and shall serve until replaced. Vacancies occurring in the officers shall be filled for the unexpired term by the State Executive Committee.

Section 8 Duties of the Officers

Chairman: The duties shall be those usual for the office as defined in Robert's Rules of Order. It shall be his duty to carry out the decisions of the Delegated State Conventions, and the State Executive Committee, and at all times to act in the best interest of his Nation, his State, and the Members of the American Party.

The First Vice Chairman shall have the usual duties of a vice-chairman, and shall in addition serve as State Co-ordinator for the party.

Each Grand Division Vice-Chairman shall be responsible to the State Delegated Convention, the State Executive Committee, and the State Chairman for the efficiency of the party in his Grand Division. He shall aid in the proper organization of all counties in his Grand Division. He shall serve as regional co-ordinator in State-wide elections. He shall submit reports to the State Executive Committee, the State Chairman, and the State Delegated Convention on request.

The Secretary shall keep the party records, and minutes of the meetings of the State Executive Commiteee, and Conventions, and shall send due notice of State Party activities to its various sub-divisions.

The Treasurer shall have the usual duties of a treasurer, and shall be bonded at the expense of the State Party, for an amount set by the State Executive Committee, and shall render accounting of funds at intervals set by the State Executive Committee.

The Chaplain shall attend the spiritual needs of the Party, and act as advisory to policies and statements of the Party concerning God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit.

The Sergeant(s)-at-Arms shall maintain order and tranquility in and about meetings of members or delegates of the American Party. He shall be authorized to deputize such assistants as he may require.

Section 9
State American Party Executive Committee
(and State Primary Election Commission)

Four (4) State Executive Committee members shall be elected in each Congressional District of the State. Two members shall be men and two members shall be women. The State Executive Committee thus elected shall constitute the State Primary Election Commissioners for the American Party in the State of Tennessee.

The State Executive Committee Members in office at the time of the adoption of this Constitution shall continue in office, and shall perform all the duties of the State Executive Committee authorized by law, and under the provisions of this Constitution until after the primary elections of 1970, and will serve until the newly elected members take office September 15 or as soon thereafter as they are qualified according to the State Election Laws. The State Election Committee Members shall be elected thereafter according to State Law applicable at the time. Present law specifies a term of 4 years.

Should the State Law not apply for any reason, State Executive Committee Members shall be elected every 4 years at the Regular Delegated Congressional District Conventions beginning in 1970, and will take office on election.

Vacancies occurring in the State Executive Committee during the term of office will be filled for the un-expired term by the State Executive Committee which shall elect a member of the American Party from the Congressional District in which the vacancy occured.

The State Executive Committee is responsible for the operation of the American Party of Tennessee between Conventions, and is answerable to the members of the American Party throughout the State thru the delegates to the State, and District Party Organizations. It is responsible for the release of all statements over the name of the American Party of Tennessee, and shall exercise the oversight over the Party and its Officers in the State. It shall consult with, and advise the smaller units of the Party over the state, and shall formulate such forms, and party procedures, and plans as will expedite the work of the party from the ward and precinct thru the state level.

The State Executive Committee shall issue Call and Rules to the County Executive Committees and officers, giving the date of the County Conventions, and the details of the business needing to be transacted to meet the requirements of the State, such as formula for determining the number of Delegates to be elected to the State Convention, the date(s) of the Regular Delegated State Convention, etc.

The State Executive Committee is charged with the responsibility for the purity and morality of the party, its members, and its officers, and its public office holders. To this purpose it shall establish an ethics committee which shall audit the performance of members of the American Party who hold public office, to make sure that each office holder is adhering to the platform on which he ran, and to the Principles of the American Party. If it should appear that an office holder is failing in his duty to uphold the high standards expected of all persons holding membership in the American Party, the State Executive Committee shall investigate all sides of the issue, with all parties being heard. If failure is shown, a delegation is to counsel with the office holder, and attempt to persuade him to abide by his Platform and the Party Principles, and to raise his general performance to a high standard of excellence in the office which he holds. If he will not reform, the State Executive Committee shall take action against him.

The State Executive Committee may request the District and County organizations to establish ethics committees which may report to the State Ethics Committee, or direct to the State Executive Committee should they be of the opinion that some action should be taken.

The State Executive Committee has the authority to expell for just cause, members of the American Party of Tennessee, and to issue public statements to that effect.

In its function as the American Party State Primary Election Commission, the State Executive Committee shall follow the State Election Laws. Among other duties listed is that of selecting and appointing County Boards of Primary Election Commissioners, consisting at present of five (5) commissioners for each county in the State, on or before the first Monday in May of the even years (2-807). These members are to be nominated and certified as known members of the party by the County Executive Committee.

Section 10 Other State Committees

The State Delegated Conventions, the State Executive Committee, and the State Chairman may set up from time to time, such committees as are needful for the functioning of the Party, with the exception that the State Convention Nominations Committee shall be elected by the State Executive Committee only.

Section 11 National Committeemen and Women

Two National Committeemen and two National Committeewomen shall be elected at the Regular Delegated State Convention, and shall serve until replaced at the next Regular Delegated State Convention.

If more than two National Committeemen and two National Committeewomen are permitted by the National Party, such number shall be elected.

Alternates if permitted shall be elected.

Section 12 Delegates to the National Convention

Two Delegates and two Alternate Delegates to the National Convention shall be elected from each Regular Congressional District Convention. There shall be one man and one woman delegate, and one man and one woman alternate delegate. They shall be elected at the Regular District Delegated Convention in 1970, and thereafter at the convention falling in Presidential Election Years. They shall serve until replaced.

If the quota for delegates to the National Convention is greater than that supplied by the Congressional District Delegated Conventions, the excess number shall be elected by the Regular Delegated State Convention. Two Delegates and two Alternate Delegates shall be elected at the Regular Delegated State Convention in 1970 as detailed above, and shall serve until replaced by the Regular Delegated State Convention falling in Presidential Election Years.

Vacancies occuring shall be filled by election by the District Executive Committees or the State Executive Committee depending on the Convention making the original election.

Section 13 Presidential Electors

The Regular Delegated District Convention in each District, in the year of election of Presidential, and Vice-presidential Electors, shall elect one elector from their district to appear on the State-wide ballots. He shall be certified to the State Executive Committee which shall add his name to the two at-large Presidential Electors elected at the Regular Delegated State Convention the same year, and place them in nomination with the Chairman of the Board of Election Commissioners of each county (2-1205).

Should State Law conflict with this section, the State Law shall be followed.

Section 14 District Organization

There shall be a District Organization in each of the Congressional Districts of the State, except in the case where a single county comprises a Congressional district, it may elect to have the County Organization serve as both the County and District Organizations.

It is the duty of the District Organization to co-ordinate the work of, and to work with the counties comprising its District during local and Congressional campaigns, and to work with the State Party and serve as co-ordinator within its district with respect to State-wide Campaigns in state and national elections.

A regular Delegated Congressional District Convention shall be held within 4 weeks of the County Conventions, on call of the District Executive Committee, or the District Chairman, and shall elect officers, and conduct such other business as is proper and needful. It shall elect two (2) State Executive Committee Members starting in 1970, unless such election would conflict with State Law, in which case the State Law will be followed. All terms of office shall be two (2) years, and terminate with the election of new officers, except for Delegates to the National Convention, whose terms shall be for 4 years, and whose election shall be at the Regular Delegated Convention falling in National Election years.

The District Party Organization shall consist of officers, executive committee members, and delegates.

The election of District Delegates, and District Executive Committees is outlined in the County Organization Section 15.

The District Organization may adopt By-laws if it so desires.

In Presidential Election Years, the Regular Delegated District Convention shall elect two (2) Alternates to the National Convention. One Delegate and One Alternate shall be men, and one Delegate and one Alternate shall be women. The term shall be 4 years, and they shall serve until replaced.

It shall be the duty of the District Executive Committee and the officers to initiate the organization of any un-organized counties within their district. It shall further the work of the Party in its District.

It has the responsibility to offer advice and assistance to candidates running for office in the district, and in the counties comprising the congressional district.

Parliamentary Authority shall be Robert's Rules of Order.

Section 15 County Organization

Counties may be organized by either of the following methods: Mass Meetings, or Delegated County Conventions.

Mass meetings of all qualified voters in the respective county who subscribe to the Principles of the American Party may be convened with due notification of the time and place of such meeting by a paid political advertisement in a newspaper of general place of such meeting by a

paid political advertisement in a newspaper of general circulation in the county involved at least ten (10) days prior to the date of such meeting. If there is no newspaper within the county, then notice may be given within the county by public posters at least one (1) of which shall be at the Court House door, notifying the general public of said meeting at least ten (10) days prior to said meeting. The Mass County Meeting shall elect a new executive committee, and officers, and four (4) Congressional District Executive Committee Members, two of which shall be men, and two women. Delegates to the Congressional District Convention, and to the State Convention shall be elected in number computed by the Call and Rules issued by the State Executive Committee. The Date of the County Mass Meeting shall be set according to the Call and Rules. The Mass County Meeting shall be held, if possible, in some public place.

Delegated County Conventions are held by first calling Ward and Precinct, or Civil District Conventions with public notice given as above, to meet in some public place, the voting place if possible. Precinct officers are elected, and delegates to the Delegated County Convention are elected in number according to the formula given by the County Executive Committee. The County Delegated Convention is then convened at the date and place determined by the County Executive Committee, and the county officers, District Executive Committee members and delegates, and the Delegates to the State Convention are elected as above.

Special Delegated County Conventions may be called by the County Executive Committee or by the County Chairman, with the notice to all officers and members at least 7 days in advance, with the purpose of the convention being stated.

Section 16
Continuity of Terms of Present Officers, Delegates, Committeemen and Women

Upon adoption of this Constitution, all officers, delegates, committeemen, and committeewomen holding office under the "Organizational and party Procedures of the American Party of Tennessee" shall continue in office until replaced according to the procedures in this Constitution, whether they hold their positions in the precincts, wards, civil districts, counties, congressional districts, state organization, or as delegates to the National Convention, or National Executive Committee.

Section 17 Parliamentary Authority

Robert's Rules of Order shall be the parliamentary authority at all meetings at all levels of the party.

Section 18 Amendments

This Constitution may be amended provided written notice is sent of all proposed changes with the call for the Regular, or Special Delegated Conventions. A 2/3 vote of the delegates present and voting being necessary for adoption.

APPENDIX D

AMERICAN PARTY STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES[1]

In order to establish the American Party of the U.S.A., to set forth the documents stating our principles to which all people of good character and moral decency may subscribe, to affirm our reliance and faith in the divine creator, to work together in harmony, to put into effect the concepts of our founding fathers those ideas which will achieve these benefits, we do set forth this statement of principles.

The American Party affirms that the purpose of the existence of this political party is to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States of America against all enemies, domestic and foreign.

The American Party of the U.S.A. shall address itself to:

(1) Restoring a sense of and a devotion to decency among all men.

(2) Encouraging the individual to become more responsible to God, Family, Self, Country, and State.

(3) Restoring the Sovereignty of the states as defined by the Constitution of these United States.

(4) Restoring the Sovereignty of the people of the states.

[1]This Statement of Principles is presented in its entirety. The Statement "was presented to the National Committee of the American Party by S. R. Abramson, chairman of the Committee on Statement of Principles, and adopted unanimously, on Saturday, May 3, 1969, in Cincinnati, Ohio." For one of the complete early printings of these Principles see The Conservative Journal, August-September, 1969, p. 7.

(5) Instituting a sense of loyalty to the ideas of liberty within the Constitution of these United States of America.

(6) A recognition that rights cannot be transferred among people nor transgressed by the state.

TAXES AND FINANCES

We favor the adoption of the "Liberty Amendment" to repeal the federal graduated income tax.

We favor the abolition of the Federal Reserve System and the return of the authority for coining the money to the Congress of the U.S.A. as outlined in the U.S. Constitution.

SCHOOLS

We favor the return of schools to the local school authorities in accordance with constitutional principles.

We favor the return of voluntary prayer and Bible reading in our public schools.

HOME

We favor the preservation of the home and family as the principal source of human sexual education and unalterably oppose the amoral and allegedly progressive programs such as those sponsored by SIECUS and other groups and other programs which violate the sanctity of the home, such as sensitivity training and others.

We oppose the invasion of our privacy by the questions proposed to be asked by the 1970 census takers.

WELFARE

We affirm that there can be no civil rights without property rights.

We oppose any guaranteed annual income at the expense of taxpayers.

LAW AND ORDER

Equal rights belong to a law-abiding citizen.

We propose a review of the judicial system with a view toward imprisonment and removal from society of repeat violators.

Civil disorders and revolution for any reason cannot be condoned.

We oppose a federal or national police force in any form and therefore favor efforts to support our local police, to keep them independent, and free of federal subsidy.

We uphold the right of law-abiding citizens to keep and bear arms without restriction in accord with the original meaning of the Second Amendment of the Constitution.

We favor more severe penalties for criminals convicted of crimes.

We advocate a thorough investigation of the conspiratorial causes of campus disorders, civil riots, and revolution.

INSTITUTIONS

We favor a free and open market as a means of price stabilization rather than to continue inflation through Government control.

We uphold the rights of the local, state, or federal employees to be free of compulsory, political contributions.

We oppose any change in the Electoral College.

We urge the restoration of the freedom of the press by breaking up monopolies in the newspapers, radio, and television.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

We oppose forced housing.

We believe in the constitutional right to own, rent, and dispose of privately owned property with no infringement by the local, state, or federal government or any appointive authority.

We oppose any interference by government in the operation of private clubs.

COST OF GOVERNMENT

We urge the physical and financial reduction of all levels of government.

COMMUNISM

We have cause to believe that the greatest threat to the sovereignty of the U.S.A. exists in the form of the International Community Conspiracy and as such it must be defeated by all freedom-loving Americans. We also oppose any of the other forms of tyranny including Collectivism, Socialism, Fascism, Nazism. We therefore recommend appropriate steps to render these powers ineffective.

We establish as a cardinal principle opposition to any elected or appointed official who supports and/or votes for aid to Communist countries.

FOREIGN POLICY

We are opposed to unilateral disarmament and any related projects such as disarmament treaties and common projects with the Soviet Union.

We advise that the U.S.A. break off all diplomatic, cultural, or trade relations with any and all Communist governments.

We urge that the U.S.A. resign from the United Nations and remove our support, moral, physical, or financial, from any of the related isntitutions such as the World Bank, the World Court, and the World Health Organizations.

Whereas, in war there is no substitute for victory; therefore the American Party adopts as a primary tenet of policy that whenever the United States becomes involved in any war, we shall use the full force of our military, economic, and financial power to achieve victory as quickly as possible over the enemy.

* * * * *

Upon these principles and with firm reliance on Divine Providence, the American Party offers the voters a clear and definite choice.

APPENDIX E

PRINCIPLES OF THE AMERICAN PARTY OF TENNESSEE

It is the natural order of things for government to gain ground and for individual liberty to yield. This gaining of ground by government is made at heavy cost to the earnings and liberty of the individual, and at the cost of constantly rising prices for everything he buys. As demonstrated by government within our lifetime, this process brings with it, not a furtherance of well-being of the country, nor an increase in law and order, but rather a decrease thereof.

It is the sense of the American Party that the primary duty of government is the protection of each citizen in his life, liberty, and earnings from all enemies, foreign and domestic. That given secure freedom of opportunity, and freedom from excessive taxation and interference on the part of government, the vast majority of Free American Citizens can and will provide for themselves and their own.

To this end, we propose to promote freedom by the orderly elimination of all government services which are not worth their cost in money or freedom to our people, and by directing the schools to teach strong moral doctrine to the younger generation.

Further, the history of liberty is a history of the limitation of central governmental power, not the increase of it. When we resist, therefore, the concentration of power in the federal government, we are resisting the process of death, because a concentration of power in

central government is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties. For this reason, we propose to break up the concentration of power in the federal agencies, and permit the people to exercise the right to govern themselves, and to run their own institutions on the state and local level--the preservation of Liberty demanding it. This we propose to do in a lawful and orderly fashion, so help us God.

Patriotism means loyalty to the Constitution of the United States of America, not loyalty to the president, or any other officeholder, or to any political party. In fact, it is unpatriotic not to oppose the president, or any other officeholder, or any political party to the exact extent by which he, or it, fails to uphold the Constitution, either by ommission or commission.

APPENDIX F

THE COMPOSURE OF THE GRAND DIVISIONS OF TENNESSEE*

TABLE XXII

THE COUNTIES IN EACH OF THE THREE GRAND DIVISIONS IN TENNESSEE

East	Middle	West
Anderson	Bedford	Benton
Bledsoe	Cannon	Carroll
Blount	Cheatham	Chester
Bradley	Clay	Crockett
Campbell	Coffee	Decatur
Carter	Davidson	Dyer
Claiborne	DeKalb	Fayette
Cocke	Dickson	Gibson
Cumberland	Fentress	Hardeman
Grainger	Franklin	Hardin
Greene	Giles	Haywood
Hamblen	Grundy	Henderson
Hamilton	Hickman	Henry
Hancock	Houston	Lake
Hawkins	Humphreys	Lauderdale
Jefferson	Jackson	McNairy
Johnson	Lawrence	Madison
Knox	Lewis	Obion
Loudon	Lincoln	Perry**
McMinn	Macon	Shelby
Meigs	Marion	Tipton
Monroe	Marshall	Weakley
Morgan	Maury	
Polk	Montgomery	
Rhea	Moore	
Roane	Overton	
Scott	Pickett	
Sevier	Putnam	
Sullivan	Robertson	
Unicoi	Rutherford	
Union	Sequatchie	
Washington	Smith	
	Stewart	
	Sumner	
	Trousdale	

TABLE XXII (continued)

East	Middle	West
	Van Buren	
	Warren	
	Wayne	
	White	
	Williamson	
	Wilson	

*The Grand Division breakdown used here was drawn from William J. McCoy, "The Tennessee Political System: The Relationship of the Socio-economic Environment to Political Processes and Policy Outputs" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, 1970), pp. 309-310.

**Perry county's placement in West Tennessee is oftentime confusing. It is in its entirety east of the Tennessee River, whereas the remaining 21 counties in this division are west of the Tennessee River. In 1835, when the legislature by enactment first named the counties in each Grand Division, Perry county had area on both sides of the Tennessee River. In 1845, the part of Perry county west of the river became Decatur county, but the legislature has never seen fit to redesignate Perry county as a part of Middle Tennessee. Consequently, in this study Perry county is considered a part of West Tennessee. For the history of legislative designation of counties in each division see Joseph N. Parks and Stanley J. Folmsbee, The Story of Tennessee (Chattanooga, Tenn.: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1952), p. 14.

APPENDIX G

CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS OF THE AMERICAN PARTY, KNOX COUNTY

The American Party of Knox County shall consist of persons who reside in said county who shall subscribe to the principles of said party.

The American Party, Knox County, shall engage in all the acitivities associated with the functioning of a legal political party.

The balance of the Constitution and By-laws of the American Party, Knox County shall consist of the applicable parts of Robert's Rules of Order, with the following officers:

Chairman

Vice-Chairman

Executive Vice-Chairman

Secretary

Treasurer

These officers shall be elected at the organizing meeting March 1, 1969, and thereafter at a time interval which shall be laid down by the Constitution and by-laws of the Tennessee State American Party.

VITA

Paul H. Holmes, better known as Tony, was born in Tennessee and attended public schools in his native state and in Utah. In 1957 he was vice president of the graduating class at Forrest High School in Chapel Hill, Tennessee.

Following high school he joined the U. S. Army and served for three years as a personnel administration specialist at four continental and two Korean posts. He received a Letter of Commendation for his work in the personnel section of the 3rd U. S. Army Missle Command at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

Following military service he attended The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, where he had a double major in political science and journalism and a minor in sociology. He was selected as Sigma Delta Chi's Outstanding Graduate in Journalism in 1965. While an undergraduate, the middle Tennessean received awards in national writing competition and is a member of several academic honorary societies and fraternities in both political science and journalism.

In 1965 he married the former Bonnie McIntyre of Cape Coral, Florida. In that same year the Tennessee native was employed by the U. S. Public Health Service. Following two-and-one-half years as an epidemiologist, patient interviewer, and field representative in South Carolina with that agency, he returned to graduate school at Knoxville in 1967 as a Ford Foundation scholarship holder. He taught political science at

The University of Tennessee for three years while working toward a graduate degree. He expects to receive a Master of Arts in College Teaching with a graduate major in political science and a minor in history in 1973 and continue working toward a Ph. D. in political science.

The Tennessee native is a former part-time correspondent with the Associated Press, guest columnist with a daily South Carolina newspaper, reporter and columnist with The University of Tennessee student newspapers, and assistant editor of a weekly Tennessee newspaper. His news stories, articles, and photographs have appeared in state, regional, and national newspapers, newsletters, and magazines.

In 1971 he was employed as a writer and editor by the Tennessee Valley Authority's Office of Tributary Area Development, a position he has held since that time.