

A Pennsylvania Newspaper Publisher in “Gideon’s Army”: J.W. Gitt, Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party of 1948

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A jubilant Harry S. Truman waving the *Chicago Daily Tribune's* premature front-page headline “Dewey Defeats Truman” is the election image probably recalled most by Americans, whether from voting memory or history texts. Final vote tallies from the November 2, 1948, election revealed that Truman had carried 28 states against Thomas E. Dewey’s 16. (“Dixiecrat” J. Strom Thurmond won the electoral votes of four Southern states.)¹ Much more obscure but equally memorable 1948 photographs derive from the third-party campaign of the man Truman had unseated to become Roosevelt’s final vice president, those of the Progressive Party and its candidate, Henry A. Wallace. The photos show a rarity in U.S. politics of the time—the integration of party supporters, both by gender and by race. For instance, at the nominating convention in Philadelphia that summer, women numbered almost a third of the delegates, and black representation was numerous even in delegations from the South.² Wallace’s candidacy often has been minimized because he failed to do nearly as well as expected when he announced it. He did not carry a single state. Some researchers, however, have concluded that Wallace’s Progressive campaign foreshadowed the civil rights and women’s movements of the next two or three decades.³

The third party’s foremost supporter in 1948 was a native Pennsylvanian and newspaper publisher who gave public voice to the concerns of many Americans often shut out of the mainstream media. His private voice was said to be the most influential in convincing Henry Agard Wallace, Franklin D. Roosevelt’s agriculture secretary and third-term vice president, that he should take his “peace platform” to the nation on the Progressive Party ticket. He was Josiah William Gitt, publisher of *The Gazette and Daily*, the morning newspaper in York, Pennsylvania. Located in the conservative south-central part of the state, it was known as a champion of the underdog. It was to become even more widely known as the only commercial daily in the county fully to support Wallace’s candidacy. J. W. (“Jess”) Gitt committed not only his paper’s editorial and news columns to the Progressives’ campaign, but donated his own time and money to party activities. Indeed, throughout the

1948 campaign, he was chairman of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania, a post to which he had been elected at the founding convention in York that March.

This article examines the relationship between the newspaper publisher who lived his entire life in York County and the cabinet officer and vice president who served longer than any other member of Franklin D. Roosevelt's original New Deal Cabinet. They were born only four and a half year apart—Gitt on March 28, 1884, in Hanover, Pennsylvania, and Wallace on October 7, 1888, on a farm in Adair County, Iowa. Both were descendants of Scottish Protestants who had settled in northern Ireland before immigrating to the new world. Gitt's ancestors came directly to south-central Pennsylvania in 1741. Wallace's stopped off in western Pennsylvania in 1823 before moving on to Iowa. Both men claimed a grandfather who was a minister. Gitt's maternal grandfather, the Rev. Abraham Koplin, was a liberal minister in the German Reformed Church. Wallace's paternal grandfather ("Uncle Henry") was forced to leave the Presbyterian ministry due to ill health. He then became a prosperous farmer-landlord and founded a popular farm newspaper in Des Moines with two sons.

Henry A. Wallace, who was graduated from Iowa State University in 1910 with a bachelor of science degree, took over as editor of *Wallace's Farmer* in 1921 when his father, Henry C., was appointed secretary of agriculture in President Warren G. Harding's cabinet. The son held a life-long interest in solving agricultural problems, particularly in developing methods to hybridize seed corn. Unlike Gitt's long line of family Democrats, Wallace's family remained progressive Republicans until Henry A. finally switched his registration to Democrat in the 1936 presidential campaign, four years after being sworn in as Roosevelt's secretary of agriculture. He assumed an editorship for the second time, of the *New Republic* magazine in New York, in December 1946 after his departure from President Truman's cabinet. One year later, he would announce his own quest for the presidency. For Wallace, journalism seemed mainly to have been an avocation when he was not involved with politics or agricultural experiments.⁴

For Gitt, on the other hand, journalism was a calling. After receiving a bachelor's degree in 1904, at age 20, from Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, he attended the University of Pennsylvania law school. He returned to York to read law with a local firm, and was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1908. Defending clients he knew to be guilty bothered the young lawyer, however. In 1915 he purchased *The York Gazette*, his Uncle Harry Gitt's nearly bankrupt morning newspaper for which he was a junior court reporter. (The paper traced its lineage to 1795 with the founding of a Ger-

man weekly, *Die York Gazette*.) In 1918, along with his senior law partner Allen C. Wiest, Gitt purchased *The York Daily*, the morning paper of the York Dispatch Company. By then, he had controlling interest in the business and combined the two newspapers into *The Gazette and Daily*.⁵ In October 1970, at the age of 86, Gitt sold his strike-bound newspaper, but retired the *Gazette* part of its name.⁶ (The new paper eventually became the *York Daily Record*.) In the early 1970s, a year or two before his death, he explained to an interviewer: "I got to writing editorials, and I never did go back (to practicing law)."⁷

The Gazette and Daily would bring J. W. Gitt national, even international, recognition. Yet he never was tempted to move from York County to a big city such as New York or Washington, where some felt his influence as a publisher would have been greater. All his life, Gitt made his home either in the town of Hanover or in "the house on Hershey Hill" between Hanover and Abbottstown, built in 1926 by him and his wife, the former Elizabeth Moul, another native Hanoverian whom he married in 1913. They raised one son and three daughters there.⁸

Even in his lifetime, Gitt often was characterized as "one of the last of the personal journalists." In a tribute in *The New York Times* at the time of his death in October 1973, James Higgins, the paper's assistant editor and chief editorial writer from 1950 to 1970, wrote: "Readers of *The Gazette and Daily* felt that they were not dealing with printed words but with a human being, Jess Gitt."⁹ When asking his boss for guidelines in writing the editorials, Higgins recalled, he was told that if he subscribed to the principles in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights (the First Amendment, in particular), and the Sermon on the Mount, he would do all right. "Those are the fundamentals on which my editorial policy is based," Gitt said.¹⁰ Insisting his family had been Jeffersonian democrats "from way back," Gitt told an interviewer that the two major influences in his life had been his mother, Emma Koplin Gitt, a 1877 graduate of Allentown, Pennsylvania, Female College, "and Charles Dickens' novels of social injustice." (His father had died when Jess was only 12.)¹¹

The Gazette and Daily became not only J. W. Gitt's "voice," but his alter ego. Its motto, printed at the top of page one, stated: "The news all the time, without fear or favor, bias or prejudice." Although the morning newspaper rarely surpassed 40,000 in circulation, it overtook the conservative afternoon paper, *The York Dispatch*, in the outlying areas of York County because not only was home delivery possible the same day but it also had excellent county and sports coverage. Gitt's newspaper could be described as "tabloid" in size only, having reduced from full size during World War II to save newsprint. The first

three pages comprised a mix of local, national and international news. The "center spread" became known for its outspoken staff-written editorials (and for a syndicated columnist such as Drew Pearson) and for its "op. ed." page, which contained articles on national and international issues specifically written for *The Gazette and Daily* or reprinted from other liberal sources. (During the McCarthy Era, that page often printed the work of writers blacklisted elsewhere.) Influence on its readers is difficult to judge, although some Yorkers have said they were "liberalized" through the paper's coverage of foreign affairs and, in the 1960s, the anti-Vietnam War and pro-civil rights movements. Gitt preferred to think of himself as "just a stubborn Pennsylvania Dutchman" like the majority of his readers. Whatever those readers thought of it, *The Gazette and Daily* every morning but Sunday got their blood flowing, and often their tempers rising, by criticizing their government's local and national policies as well as giving them the latest hog prices and high school football scores.¹²

"Jess" Gitt was no more a "Communist" than the other residents of York County who liked to throw that epithet at him. In fact, he was against monopoly control of all types, whether by private business or by the state. Like other progressives, he felt that government should regulate large corporations and make them work in the public interest. Editorially, Gitt continually warned about the dangers inherent in the growth of monopolies. He probably had long thought of himself as a "progressive capitalist," although he did not begin to define that term editorially until the 1948 presidential campaign. "The right to think for oneself is one of the most precious of human privileges" began one of his early editorials setting forth his ideas on progressivism.¹³

When the post World War II Soviet-American alliance turned into a "cold war" Gitt continued to express the belief that the United States had to maintain "peace with Russia" in order to prevent World War III. On the national political scene, he felt compatible with Henry Wallace. Although Gitt was familiar with the former vice president's writings and speeches, the first documented evidence of the York publisher making any personal connection with the politician occurred in April 1946 when Wallace stopped in York on a cross-country speaking tour. He addressed the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner of the Men's Democratic Society of York, of which Gitt was a prominent member. "Progressive sentiment is rising throughout the country," Wallace told a reporter for *The Gazette and Daily*. "The American people are always progressive, but sometimes when they get a bit of money they get fat and lazy." By 1946, Wallace was Truman's secretary of commerce, a post he had been given as a consolation prize after being dumped in 1944 as Roosevelt's fourth-

term running-mate. Disillusioned with his new boss and the Democratic Party in general, however, Wallace left Washington to present his own views to the American people through public speeches across the country.¹⁴

Achieving peace through the United Nations and prosperity through the government's control of big business were the goals of both Wallace and Gitt. Neither was opposed to capitalism *per se*, but both envisioned "progressive capitalism" which, they thought, would allow more people to share in the nation's wealth. Indeed, the political ideals and aims of the two men were so finely meshed that it is no wonder Gitt became Wallace's most ardent media supporter—so much so that he was sometimes criticized even by his own staff members for allowing his newspaper to become "a house organ of the Progressive Party and its candidate."¹⁵

From 1946 through the summer of 1950, when both men resigned from the Progressive Party, *The Gazette and Daily* carried news stories about the party's most famous candidate and its other activities. Sometimes the paper reprinted Wallace's speeches in full, such as his so-called "Madison Square Garden Speech" delivered on September 12, 1946, which resulted in Truman's request for Wallace's resignation as secretary of commerce a week later.¹⁶ Titled "The Way to Peace," the speech triggered a controversy when Truman later claimed he had never approved it although Wallace insisted the president had. Deemed too pro-Soviet by Wallace's detractors, the original speech had contained several criticisms of the Soviet Union. Those were softened on the spot by Wallace when he realized how pro-Soviet was the Garden crowd of 20,000, or at least so it seemed from the most loudly responsive members of the audience. Wallace struck at Truman's "get tough" policy by stating, "The tougher we get, the tougher the Russians will get." He proposed that each nation respect the other's sphere of influence while working for a lasting peace through the United Nations, which would control all atomic weapons and all the world's air bases.¹⁷

Several years later, Wallace told Curtis MacDougall, a Northwestern University journalism professor and the historian of the Progressive Party, that he had decided to accept the presidential candidacy on the Progressive ticket because "peace was the overpowering issue of the times."¹⁸ Three months after Wallace's forced resignation from Truman's Cabinet on September 20, 1946, he accepted the editorship of the *New Republic*, the opinion magazine founded in 1914 by Bull Moose Progressives.¹⁹ Wallace resigned his final position with the *New Republic*, that of contributing editor, in July 1948, just before the Progressive Party nominated him for the presidency.²⁰

Exactly when Wallace began to see himself as a potential third-party candidate is

Courtesy of Mrs. Elizabeth M. Gitt



Henry A. Wallace, left, and J. W. Gitt, at the Progressive Party Convention, Philadelphia, July 1948.

unclear. In December 1946 he appeared as featured speaker at the organizational meeting of the Progressive Citizens of America (PCA), formed by a merger of two popular-front groups, the National Citizens Political Action Committee (NC-PAC) and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (ICCASP).²¹ In early January 1947, J. W. Gitt was informed that he had been elected to the PCA's national board of directors. Signed by co-chairmen Jo Davidson and Frank Kingdon, the letter said, "The independent progressives must close ranks if the principles of democracy are to be translated into constructive national policy." It called for "progressive victory in the 1948 elections."²²

An exchange of letters between Gitt and Wallace that January showed a concern about the founding of another organization one week after the PCA—the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), which stated in its first policy paper: “We reject any association with Communists or sympathizers with Communism in the United States as completely as we reject any association with Fascists or their sympathizers.”²³ The PCA, on the other hand, felt it could use Communist Party members to its advantage in organizing drives. In a few years time, however, both Gitt and Wallace would come to believe what anti-Communists had been saying all along—that the Communists were destroying the Progressive Party.

With an eye toward the 1948 election, the York publisher attempted to persuade Wallace to become part of PCA by sending him a copy of his January 22, 1947, editorial, “What Progressives Can Do.” Gitt said progressives should “refuse to be diverted or divided by the enemy drawing Red herring across the trail.” Gitt later sat on the Progressive platform committee, but in this editorial he outlined his own platform:

Stand for and fight for a more equitable distribution of the products of the soil and the factory; a foreign policy which will encourage peace and goodwill and not act as a partner of reaction in protecting itself against a better distribution of wealth and income abroad; protect labor in its right to bargain on equal terms with capital and toward that end preserve and continue the Wagner Labor Relations Act without amendment or emasculation; put into practice the American ideal of the equality of man; destroy monopoly and put an end to restraint of trade and the maintenance of high prices by either open or tacit agreement; secure full employment and make it a national policy; do the planning necessary to make full employment continuous, with minimum wages high enough to enable those who labor to secure for themselves and their families a high standard of living; provide at government expense an education for every one who desires it in proportion to the individual's capacity to absorb and not in accord with ability to pay; provide old age pensions high enough to enable those too old to work to live a happy life in their declining years; and see to it that unemployables for physical reasons have enough to maintain them in good circumstances.²⁴

The editorial evidently impressed Wallace because a month later he wrote a letter praising Gitt to journalist and media critic George Seldes in which he expressed concern that a diversionary tactic was being used against the Progressives. From his office at the

New Republic, Wallace wrote to the publisher of the weekly newsletter *In Fact* :

I have long been impressed by the courage and intelligence of J. W. Gitt. He is a real asset to the progressive cause. The reactionaries are trying to conduct a preventive war against the progressives by calling them communists. This causes them to fight among themselves, and thus the reactionaries are able to win without furnishing any constructive program of their own whatsoever.²⁵

Gitt's growing involvement with the Progressive movement led to red-baiting of the York publisher and his newspaper. Because his ancestors had settled in the area before the Revolutionary War, Gitt could hardly be labeled an "outsider." However, as publisher of *The Gazette and Daily*, he was often attacked by those who could not understand that to defend the right of Communists to express their ideas did not mean that one had to hold membership in the Communist Party, U.S.A.²⁶ In spite of those criticisms, Gitt was respected in York County as the skilled golfer and businessman he was. He founded Hanover Country Club (actually located in Abbottstown) and was a member of more than two dozen golf clubs, including Augusta National in the mid-1950s, at the same time as Dwight D. Eisenhower. He won several tournaments and received certificates from *Golf Digest* for "shooting his age" while in his 70s. His board memberships included that of the York Corporation, a nationally known manufacturer of refrigeration units.

* * *

If the American liberal-left had ever hoped to build a united front, that dream was dashed in the aftermath of Truman's urgent address to Congress on March 12, 1947. Later known as the "Truman Doctrine," the President set forth a series of proposals offering long-range economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey. In describing a growing Soviet threat to those two countries, Truman distanced himself even further from those who insisted upon cooperation with the Soviet Union in order to maintain world peace. The CP viewed the Truman Doctrine as "unabashed imperialism." The PCA saw the proposal as leading the United States toward war. The ADA, at first silent, finally gave its endorsement on March 30, thus aligning that organization with Truman's foreign policy.²⁷ Liberals and left-liberals within Congress—most notably Democratic Senators Claude Pepper of Florida and Glen Taylor of Idaho, both strong Wallace supporters—expressed some opposition. (Taylor would become Wallace's running-mate in the '48 campaign.) Even

some conservatives saw it as the beginning of long-range American military support abroad that could only grow.²⁸

On the day after Truman's speech before Congress, Henry Wallace addressed the nation on NBC Radio and dubbed his former boss's speech "a turning point in American history."²⁹ He condemned support of a reactionary regime in Greece, expansion of U.S. military aid, and by-passing of the United Nations. "We must give the common man all over the world something better than communism," Wallace said. "I believe we have something better than communism here in America. But President Truman has not spoken for the American ideal."³⁰

The Gazette and Daily gave Wallace's speech front-page coverage and Gitt was one of the many to write congratulatory letters to Wallace. His remarks were a preliminary to the Progressive campaign to come:

It seems to me that the whole future of humanity is hanging in the balance and that a resort to force by reaction to beat off communism will sooner or later put an end to civilization as we know it.

Lining up with reaction can come to no good. Personally I am so firmly convinced that reaction is attempting to commit suicide and carry us with it, that it seems imperative to me that all of us who do know better must speak out fearlessly and regardless of possible present political results. Somehow or other we have got to head off this ignorant and dangerous international policy.

And may I say that like you I am certainly not a communist or fellow traveler or anything of the kind.³¹

In April 1947 Gitt received a letter from Montgomery Ostrander, executive director of PCA's Eastern Pennsylvania Chapter in Philadelphia, requesting that he address members in State College, Pennsylvania.³² Gitt replied: "I am very much in sympathy with PCA and I am willing to do anything that I reasonably can to further its purposes. Except to make public speeches or devote a whole lot of time to it." He said *The Gazette and Daily* took all his time and he could "do more good through the paper than by attempting to do something that I am less well fitted to do."³³

Gitt often used his newspaper as an excuse to avoid speaking in public, but those who knew him said the more probable reason was shyness. Writing letters and editorials was a more comfortable means of expounding his views in attempting to create political change. Nevertheless, he was soon to find out that his publicly expressed political beliefs would

force him to spend more and more time with the PCA, and even to speak on occasion.

The year 1947 was devoted to building the third party. Progressives saw Truman's foreign policies leading to a heightening of world tensions which could lead to another war. They were searching for a candidate who would work toward maintaining peace, rather than escalating a "get tough" stance with Russia. Henry Wallace was becoming more and more the favored candidate, especially after his speaking tour of European nations that April during which he openly opposed Truman's program of aid to Greece and Turkey. Upon his return to the United States, Wallace reported that the Europeans greeted the Truman Doctrine "with fear because they regard it as a step leading toward war."³⁴

As honorary chairman of the PCA's York branch, Gitt asked Wallace to speak in York at a pre-Labor Day rally. Wallace replied that he could not fit the invitation into his already packed speaking schedule—instead, he sent a message to the rally through Ostrander.³⁵ Wallace's speeches that fall, highly critical of U.S. foreign policy, began calling for voters to back him by electing progressive candidates in 1948. Even though those speeches sounded like a campaign tour, Wallace had not yet announced his candidacy or affiliated with the new party. Several old friends and supporters—such as Michael Straight, *New Republic* publisher, and Frank Kingdon, an original PCA co-chairman who had resigned to run for the U.S. Senate on the Democratic ticket in New Jersey—tried to warn him against a third-party campaign. "You won't have a Gideon's army to support you," Kingdon told Wallace in early December, providing the catch-phrase for the ensuing Progressive Party campaign.³⁶

According to Curtis MacDougall, Henry Wallace "definitely made up his mind to run for the Presidency on a third party ticket" on December 2, 1947, at a small gathering in the New York studio of sculptor Jo Davidson, the other original PCA co-chairman. J. W. Gitt was not present then, but he was on December 17 when a subcommittee met with Wallace in his New York hotel to tell him about the vote of the PCA's executive committee two days earlier requesting him to run. Along with Gitt, this subcommittee consisted of C. B. "Beanie" Baldwin, former head of the New Deal's Farm Security Administration, who was to become Wallace's campaign manager, John Abt, the party's general counsel, Mrs. Elinor Gimbel, Lillian Hellman, Harold Young, Michael Nisselson and James Imbrie. This gathering represented the first chance Wallace had to declare his definite willingness to run. They urged him to announce his candidacy by the end of the year from Chicago, "the middle of the country." MacDougall described a final scene:

When Wallace raised the question of the possible vote he would

receive, Gitt replied, "It makes no difference how many votes you get. You are in honor bound to run." In the opinion of many who were "close to the top" at the time—the insistent urging of Josiah Gitt was a strong factor in causing Wallace to decide to run. It was Gitt whom Wallace asked to walk back to the *New Republic* office with him, at the conclusion of the meeting, for further conversation on the important decision he had made.³⁷

Wallace finally announced his candidacy on the Progressive Party ticket in a national radio broadcast from Chicago on December 29, 1947. In an editorial for the *New Republic*, titled "Why I Choose to Run," he tried to answer those who feared an involvement in the campaign from the far left. "Many of my friends who have supported my decision argued in advance that it was dangerous, because the Communists wanted it. But I have never believed in turning from a principled position because it happened to win the support of others with whom you have important disagreements."³⁸

Wallace would lose much liberal support over the Communist issue. The ADA's national leadership issued a statement that a third party "would mean a retreat from American responsibility abroad, directly serving the world-wide interests of the Communist party."³⁹ Lawrence Lader in his book, *Power on the Left*, has observed that "it became popular to call the Communist party the driving force" behind the Progressive Party, but concludes "the evidence is scanty." He points out that "the old Roosevelt coalition, particularly the labor and liberal vote, was so fearful of putting Governor Thomas Dewey in the White House that they would stick to the Democrats."⁴⁰

It would take a publisher with an independent streak equal to Wallace's to endorse the new party. According to Cedric Belfrage in his book, *The American Inquisition, 1945-1960*, "out of some 1,800 commercial dailies, two and a quarter published Wallace's viewpoints fully and without distortion." The two were *The Gazette and Daily* and the *New York Star*, even though the latter finally endorsed Truman. The one-quarter was Ted Thackrey in the *New York Post*, who was permitted a pro-Wallace column by his publisher-wife in an otherwise anti-Wallace paper. All other major New York dailies backed Thomas E. Dewey for President. Thus, the Communist *Daily Worker* in New York and the independently owned *Gazette and Daily* in York became the only two newspapers in the country to support Wallace throughout his campaign.⁴¹

As the year 1948 progressed, the York publisher received many personal letters from readers of *The Gazette and Daily* asking why they should vote for Wallace. In one reply,

Gitt insisted that Wallace's election was "not beyond the realm of possibility." He also saw support for Wallace at the polls as "a protest against the bipartisan policy which is leading us to war and depression." Whether Gitt actually believed Wallace had any chance of winning but only said that to boost voter support is arguable. At least he hoped for "a large vote" for Wallace because, as he explained to Mrs. S. Nevas of Ocean Gate, New Jersey, "Even if he does not win, it will scare the older parties very badly and have a very good and wholesome restraining effect upon their undemocratic actions."⁴²

Wallace's second appearance in York as a speaker was on March 7, 1948, when he gave the keynote address for the "Pennsylvania People's Convention." According to *Common Sense*, a four-page newspaper published by Gitt for the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania, "an historic independent party for Pennsylvania" was formed at the convention, with headquarters at 221 North Second Street, Harrisburg. More than 2,500 delegates from all over the state elected J. W. Gitt as their chairman "by acclamation."⁴³ Gitt had been chairman of the temporary Pennsylvania Progressives for Wallace committee. He was to become, according to MacDougall, "the heaviest donor to the Progressive coffers."⁴⁴

In his keynote address at that founding state convention, Wallace spoke about Gitt's influence on his decision to run for the presidency. "Josiah Gitt is my idea of a truly fine American," he said, and then explained:

I would like to tell you a little story about Jess Gitt and the kind of American he is. You have all read in your newspapers, unless you confine yourselves to the *York Gazette* -you have all read that in making this fight I was responding to the pleas of some allegedly 'shady characters.'

Well, of all the allegedly unsavory characters who urged this course upon me, none made such an impression as that fine American, Jess Gitt. Early last December I talked with Jess Gitt in New York. He was with some other folks who came to ask me to run as an independent candidate. They wanted me to help in building a new political party. Some of these people put the proposition in a purely personal sense. Maybe they thought it was flattering. They said it was up to me whether or not we would have a new party.

But not Jess Gitt. He put it differently. He said: "Look here, I'd like you to run. I think it would help, *but*, whether *you* run or not, there's going to be a new party. The times and conditions demand it."

With Jess Gitt this was no question of personalities. He knew the

The Weather

Eastern, Pennsylvania —
lightly cloudy, a little cooler
with a few snow flurries.

The Gazette and Daily

The news of the first official
race in the history of the
state.

Vol. 121—No. 19595

York, Pa., Monday Morning, March 8, 1948—Thirty-Two Pages

Price 5c—20c a Week

Wallace Gives Priority To Civil Rights

New Pennsylvania
Progressive Party
Is Formed In York

Third party born as delegates
work six hours to elect offi-
cers, pass constitution and by-
laws and approve campaign
platforms. J. W. Gitt elected
chairman.

A third party for Pennsylvania
was born yesterday in William
Penn Senior High school.
More than 2,500 cheering and
whistling delegates representing
over 300,000 people from all parts
of the state packed down during
the six hours of feverish activity
and unanimously elected officers,
passed a constitution and by-laws,
approved a state and national plat-
form and started a campaign to
raise funds.

J. W. Gitt, publisher of The
Gazette and Daily, and head of the
temporary Wallace committee was
named chairman of the new-
named Progressive Party by accla-
mation.

Other officers elected were
Thomas Fitzgerald, Pittsburgh,
secretary, and Ben Quinton Jack-
son, Philadelphia, treasurer. Fitz-
gerald is regional vice president
of the United Electrical Workers
union (CIO). Ben Jackson is a
pastor of Mt. Zion Church, Phila-
delphia.

It was announced after the con-
vention that more than \$25,000
had been received by party in
cash and pledges from delegates
during the convention.

Most of the money came in \$1
bills but some organizations made
black donations ranging up to sev-
eral hundred dollars.

Chairman Gitt announced that
the financial goal of the Progress-
ive party is \$250,000.

Membership To Be Issued
The constitution provides for
general membership cards to be is-
sued by the state committee.
Twenty-five cents of every dollar
remains in the state while the
money was raised, 25 cents re-
mains in the congressional dis-
trict or city and 50 cents goes to
the state committee.

The constitution of the new
party, to serve at least until the
election in November, was based
on constitutions governing three
parties in many other parts of the
country.

The constitution set up a state
committee, supreme governing
body of the party between con-
ventions and a state executive
committee which, between state
committee meetings, is empowered
to administer the affairs of busi-
ness and carry on the work and
activities of the party.

The state committee consists of
state committee members.
(Continued on Page Thirt)

York Fitting Site
For Birth Of Pa.
Progressive Party

Henry A. Wallace yester-
day drew a comparison be-
tween the Continental Con-
gress and the new Penn-
sylvania Progressive party in
present-day York.

Concluding the prepared
address, he said:

"You might remember that
we live in the town of
York that the Continental
Congress found a refuge more
than a century and a
half ago, and that the table
you undertake here today
can be every one of our
ancestors' as those of us
I have confidence that we
shall not fail."



—Photo by The Gazette and Daily

WALLACE GREEN CROWD—Henry A. Wallace, standing before
the picture of Franklin D. Roosevelt, while politics he pledges to carry
on, waves at the cheering delegates at the convention. Wallace was
given a standing ovation which lasted several minutes.

Prominent Americans Fear Industry
May Swallow Waters, Land, Forests

Washington, March 7 (UP)—
Forty-two prominent Americans
said today they fear that private
industry may gobble up America's
waters, lands and forests.

Because of this fear they drew
up a declaration of belief. They
called it their "Conservation
Credo of an American."

The announcement listed such
names as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt,
Mrs. George Norris, widow of the
late senator from Nebraska, Wil-
liam Green, president of the
American Federation of Labor,
Louis Brandeis, justice, Chester
Davis, president of the St. Louis
Federal Reserve bank, and Harry
Stewart, former undersecretary of
the interior.

This pronouncement comes at
this time, said Morris L. Cooke,

engineer, author and former chair-
man of the Mississippi Valley
committee, "because we are in
danger of losing possession of that
great natural heritage which The-
odore Roosevelt and his crusading
forester, Gifford Pinchot, secured
to us and which Senator George
Norris and Franklin Roosevelt de-
veloped so extensively for our
national programs."

The conservation field covered
includes: Atomic energy, water,
waterpower resources, river basin
development, flood control, electric
power, public lands and
parklands, forest, soil conservation,
reclamation and utility regulation.
None of the signers now holds
government office, the announce-
ment said.

3rd Party Candidate Says
He Won't Drop From Race

Enthusiastic crowd of nearly 3,000 at William Penn
Senior High school interrupts Wallace with bursts
of applause at almost every sentence as he declares
civil rights must be number one objective if U. S.
is to have peace and declares flatly that he is in
presidential race to stay, all rumors to the contrary.

(Complete text of Wallace address on pages 14 and 15.)

Henry A. Wallace yesterday placed the preservation
of American civil liberties "first and foremost" as an abso-
lute necessity for "changing our present war policies to
peace policies."

Before a cheering, whistling, stamping throng of close
to 3,000 delegates and guests from all over Pennsylvania

DeGaulle Urges
U. S. Military Aid

American aid to Europe must
extend to "the fields of de-
fense," French general says,
calling for anti-Russian orga-
nization of 250,000,000 men.

Compiegne, France, March 7 (UP)—
Gen. de Gaulle declared today
American aid to Europe must ex-
tend to "the fields of defense" as
well as the economic support pro-
vided in the Marshall plan.

He made the statement in a
speech here calling upon France
to lead an organization of West-
ern European nations in joining
with the United States to oppose
Communism and the spread of
Soviet influence.

De Gaulle said a rally of his
organization might have the
French People's Party that such
support of 250,000,000 men.

It is necessary that the efforts
of the old Europe and those of
America be joined to put our poor
world back on its feet," he said.

This means without any doubt
that the United States lead us
large and prolonged help in the
economic field. They use the
initiative and I hail with no em-
barassment their clear-sighted
generosity.

"But it is clear that their sup-
port should be spread at the same
time to the fields of defense in as
precise and explicit a manner as
the Marshall plan does on credit
and imports."

For the first time De Gaulle
said categorically that the Amer-
ican people must have their place
in a "Free States of Europe."

Wallace made it clear yesterday
that he was not dropping from the
presidential race to stay.

The rumor that he "would with-
draw from this fight if the Demo-
cratic party discarded President
Truman" was "a lie," he said, "a
resemblance to fact."

Many times during the address,
the new party's standard-bearer
was forced to pause for spontane-
ous demonstrations of approval
from the delegates who jam-packed
the auditorium and overflowed
into the gymnasium. His speech,
scheduled to last a scant 45 min-
utes, was interrupted by more than
an hour and 15 minutes by con-
stant bursts of audience approval
which came at the end of almost
every sentence.

Wallace made press
today in the William Penn Senior
High school auditorium, one of the
most forthright he has given.
He didn't mince his words, and he
touched on all the principal issues
that the past few weeks have
raised.

Assault Un-American Committee
As for the House Un-American
committee's indictment of Dr. Ed-
ward T. Weir, Wallace said the
committee was not interested in
science. "They were interested
in frightening all scientists into
silence."

"With public funds this commit-
tee of democracy-hating congress-
men is subverting and impeding
American freedom."

He questioned President Tru-
man's sincerity in backing a "civil
rights" program and challenged
Truman—together with Republi-
cans Taft, Stans, Vandenberg
and Dewey—to join him on a trip
through the South, addressing
large unoppressed meetings in
every major city.

"Such a trip will do more to ad-
vance the cause of human freedom
the world over than all the billions
you (Truman) have given to the
Army and Navy."

Civil liberties, Wallace said,
must be the number one objective
if America is to have peace.

"Those who would support for
evil policies will find that we are
standing strong against the idea
that the word 'peace' is subser-
vience."

The Taft-Hartley act already is
being used by the administration
to suppress democratic action of
the labor movement, he charged.

He cited the government's use of
the bill to enjoin a strike far
higher up at the Oak Ridge
Tennessee, Carbide and Carbon Chem-
ical Corporation.

"This Federal action under
the Taft-Hartley is only a start,"
told the convention delegates.

He attacked other heavy com-
panies that today are spreading
the propaganda of the Commu-
nist movement.

"Big Sugar Empire"

"The men have raised the
rally of 'Red,' Communism,"
and 'Social' men's worried about
(Continued on Page Thirteen)



Front page of The Gazette and Daily on March 8, 1948, after Henry Wallace addressed a large crowd in York,
gathered to establish the Pennsylvania Progressive party.

facts. They added up to the need for a new political alignment in America. He was determined to help get that new alignment, whether Henry Wallace said "yes" or Henry Wallace said "no."

I like Jess Gitt. And I think Jess and you and I are getting that new alignment.⁴⁵

A "new party" alternative was something Jess Gitt had been thinking about since the early 1930s. He had met with some of his close friends in Washington in 1931 to discuss the possibility of a third party.⁴⁶ Gitt never gave his unqualified support to the New Deal, not because he thought it was too radical but because, for him, it was too conservative. In the early 1970s, he explained:

Franklin Roosevelt stopped too short. He didn't go far enough. If I had been him, I would have at least taken over the public utilities; it would have been a cinch at the time. F. D. R. was very severely criticized later by some people for having saved the capitalistic system. He did save it, for the monopolists, but the big shots were too dumb to know it.

They crucified him, called him all kinds of names.⁴⁷

A dozen years after the 1931 meeting, Gitt worried about "the reign of monopolists" in two long letters to an old friend in Washington present at that meeting, attorney Huston Thompson. "It seemed to me that the President pretty much sold us down the river when he turned over War Production to the monopolists and vested interests," Gitt wrote in a letter dated February 5, 1943.⁴⁸ In a second letter to Thompson dated February 10, 1943, Gitt expressed his concern about "world monopoly":

In defeating fascists we are acquiring fascism. The whole trouble is that we liberals have lost sight of the ultimate ends. We have been too well satisfied with present results which in themselves are useless or nearly so from the long term standpoint. We are further from a League of Nations or any other type of collective security than in 1918. What the big business shots want, of course, is world monopoly and unless there is a decided change for the better we are more than likely to come out of this war with that kind of fascism in control.⁴⁹

With views such as those, and because of his earlier attempts to start a third party, it should have been no surprise when the York publisher became actively involved in the post-war "new party." Thus, when the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania became the host for the national founding convention in Philadelphia, July 22-25, 1948, the man who

The Weather

Eastern Pennsylvania — Cloudiness and warmer followed by scattered showers.

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The Gazette and Daily

The news all the time without fear or favor, bias or prejudice.

York, Pa., Monday Morning, July 26, 1948 —Thirty-Two Pages

Price 5c—20c a Week

Wallace Pleads For One World

York Youth, 20, Drowns In River While Swimming

Robert Eugene Emenheiser, son of Mr. and Mrs. William H. Emenheiser, 858 East King street, goes under while swimming with girl near Murphy's Hollow. Second drowning in three days.

A 20-year-old war veteran who had been swimming with a companion was drowned about 5 o'clock last evening in the Susquehanna river three-fourths of a mile south of Murphy's Hollow. He was Robert Eugene Emenheiser, son of Mr. and Mrs. William H. Emenheiser, of 858 East King street. It was the second drowning of York county in the Susquehanna river within the past three days. Friday afternoon, John Emenheiser, 10, of Red Lion Road was drowned at the YMCA's camp Mingo, near Indian Spring. Emenheiser was swimming in the water near Murphy's Hollow about two miles south of Virginia's state line with an unidentified girl when he went under. He was 20 years old. He said the girl struggled with the girl as he began to go under but she could not help him.

Group On Outing Emenheiser and another youth had been on an outing in the county with four girls one of whom the girl with whom he had been swimming. Sell stated that one of the girls, his daughter, Peggy Sell, 17, of 1136 North meadow street, had returned with the other youth. Emenheiser, 20, of 858 Highland avenue, Zone, received 21 minutes, attempting to find the drowned youth and, finally, with the aid of other unidentified youth located the body in 12 feet of water, about 50 feet from where he sank. Sell said that the group gave a line of rescuing him, they faced the body in a direct motor and took it to the Murphy's Hollow landing, where it could be picked up by a hearse.

Girl Gains At Harnburg The three other girls, who had been guests at the luncheon of Wade Kelly, of Harnburg, Murphy's Hollow, were identified by Sell as Lavette McArthur, 17, of 1136 North meadow street, and Larry H. Seal, 18, of Harnburg.

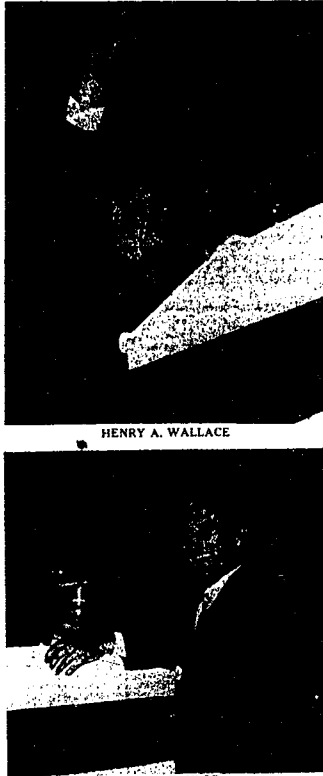
Sell said that the entire group ate dinner at the Zone one before going swimming. Sell said he would continue the investigation today and 12c, Joyce C. Myers, of the York sub-station, state police, said he would interview the girls today.

Nervous Overlooked Young Emenheiser, who attended Finney Davis Junior High school, served one and one-half years in the army with the 25th Signal Corps, spending 14 months in Okinaka, Japan. He was an expert technician fourth grade.

A number of Yorkshire Evangelical United Brethren church members at Sunday school, he was a member of the football team there and was employed at the Dentist Supply company.

In addition to his parents, he is loved by three brothers, William Albert Emenheiser, James Roy Emenheiser and Jack Emenheiser, and a sister, Louise Emenheiser, all at home. His paternal grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Emenheiser, Red Lion Rd. 2, and maternal grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Emenheiser, 2111, 2113 East King street. Funeral arrangements are incomplete.

Wallace And Taylor Accept



New Big Four Conference Reported To Be In Making

Berlin, July 25 (AP)—America's expressed willingness to negotiate top advisors on Russia and Germany only.

Following today's meeting of many met here tonight to map new moves in the Berlin crisis, top-level American diplomats from Washington, Moscow and London, they held a press conference.

Reports which could not be confirmed by official sources said President Truman, together with the chiefs of state for Britain and France, were planning a direct approach to Prime Minister Stalin.

Gen. Lucius D. Clay, U. S. military governor for Germany who just returned from Washington, indicated there had been a shift in the U. S. position on the Berlin issue, bringing it into line with the British and French positions.

He said the U. S. is prepared to negotiate on all of Germany but not under duress, by direct reference to the Russian blockade of Berlin. In their first note to Russia, the western powers

Progressives' Standard-Bearer Says Human Rights Come First

30,000 jam Shibe park to hear Wallace accept new party's nomination for president. Charges Berlin crisis was caused by industrialists and declares U. S. would have nothing to lose by withdrawing its troops "in a search for peace." Says if he "were president there would be no crisis in Berlin today." Declares Roosevelt vision of peace and security smashed by vested interests with result we have one world frozen in fear.

(Test of Wallace Acceptance Speech on Page 6)

(Special to The Gazette and Daily)

Philadelphia, July 25—Henry Agard Wallace last night accepted the new Progressive party's nomination for president of the United States before more than 30,000 people in Shibe park.

In his first address as the party's official candidate, Wallace charged that the Berlin crisis was caused by "the industrialists who helped Hitler and financed his fascism" and said the United States would have nothing to lose by withdrawing its troops "in search for peace."

"The peace of the world is far too fragile to be shuttled back and forth through a narrow air corridor," he said.

The huge crowd which literally shook the stands at Shibe park with shouting and singing was probably the largest that ever attended a political meeting. Making the occasion doubly exciting and significant was the fact that each member of the audience paid from 60 cents to \$2.64 for admission.

On top of this, the crowd shelled out \$50,000 in response to a money-raising appeal by William Gallmer, New York radio commentator and journalist, to finance radio time for the party's standard-bearer.

Termining American policy in Germany, "a child born of lost for power and profit," the former vice-president accused Wendell Willkie, Secretary of the Interior, and John Foster Dulles of shaping American policy for private profit. "The crowd bowed loudly at the mention of the names."

"The Great Betrayal" After Franklin D. Roosevelt's death, Wallace said "the banking house boys" and "the oil well diplomats" took over the government in what he called "the great betrayal."

In Hyde Park they buried our president—and in Washington they buried our dreams for peace and security in one world where all men could live in peace, Wallace said.

Instead, he said, the nation is now in a state of "one world frozen in one fear."

The former vice-president of the United States under Roosevelt declared: "Yes, I am committed and I am confident the new party will commit itself to the principle of using our democratic process to the end that all men may enjoy the benefits made possible by modern science."

In the two years following the death of Roosevelt, Wallace asserted, "the people who planned for living were snared out of Washington, and the ghosts who plan for destruction were invited in."

"In marched the generals—and out went the men who had built the TVA and the Grand Coulee—the men who had planned social security and built the nation—the men who had dug the farmer out of the dust bowl and the workman out of the sweatshop."

The former vice president related how 150 years ago Thomas Jefferson led in formation of a new party—the Democratic party.

"A party founded by a Jeffersonian in the arms of a Truman."

He told of another new party formed four years and seven years ago—the Republican party.

"The party of a Lincoln has been reduced to the party of a Dewey."

To Rock Real Freedom The Progressive party, he said, has captured the heart of the American people and the party of Jeffersonianism.

(Continued on Page Thirty-Three)

Front page of The Gazette and Daily, July 26, 1948, reporting on proceedings of the Progressive party's national convention in Philadelphia.

hated making speeches found himself forced to do so as host chairman. Gitt welcomed the 3,240 delegates and alternates, plus more than 8,000 visitors.⁵⁰ In a brief speech, he received the most applause when he said:

We are not going to be diverted from our historically necessary task by fear or timidity because of hysteria whipped up by reaction, or smoke screens or loud whispers created or circulated by unscrupulous influences which would have one believe that love of peace and liberty and following the dictates of one's conscience is not in the American tradition.⁵¹

The press covering the convention had looked for an excuse to "cry red" and found it when the convention, after half an hour of loud debate, rejected an amendment to the party platform submitted by three delegates from Vermont. The resolution, if passed, would have helped put a stop to rumors that the platform committee was controlled by Communists or fellow travelers. It read: "Although we are critical of the present foreign policy of the United States, it is not our intention to give blanket endorsement to the foreign policy of any nation."⁵² Gitt told MacDougall he sat on the platform committee throughout the discussion on the Vermont resolution, hoping it would pass but doing nothing about it. "I guess I lost my nerve," Gitt said. Wallace later told MacDougall, "I thought nothing of it at the time. It became important later in the newspapers."⁵³

The issue of Communist support in the Wallace for President movement damaged Wallace's credibility with voters. Wallace himself went no further in repudiating Communist support for the Progressive Party candidates than a brief statement within a speech he made at Center Sandwich, New Hampshire, on June 28, 1948:

I'm never going to say anything in the nature of Red-baiting. But I must say this: if the Communists would run a ticket of their own this year, we might lose 100,000 votes but we would gain 3 million. I know if the Communists really wanted to help us, they would run their own ticket this year and let us get those extra votes.⁵⁴

That statement was not reported in the press until five days later, at which time Gitt wrote to Wallace: "You seem to have handled the matter about as I thought it should be handled."⁵⁵

The Communist Party did not run a ticket of its own in 1948 and if Wallace seemed unperturbed about Communist influence within his own campaign, there were those who did worry—Gitt among them. He and writer Louis Adamic visited Wallace at his Farvue Farm in South Salem, New York, to explain why. Years later, Wallace told a *Chicago Daily*

News reporter, "They said they had it from British sources that the Communists actually wanted to keep the vote for me as low as possible to show the world a reactionary influence in America. I couldn't believe it at the time."⁵⁶

In January 1956, Wallace sent a letter to Gitt asking him to "write out your recollections of the visit of yourself and Louis Adamic to me in the late summer or early fall of 1948." Specifically, he wanted to know "just what Adamic felt were the real sentiments of the Communists vis-a-vis the Progressive Party and me personally in the 1948 campaign." He had begun the letter with high praise for Gitt: "A man like you is so rare in times like these that the only strain on my conscience is that I did not speak strongly enough about your contributions to genuine, old-fashioned Americanism."⁵⁷

Gitt wrote his recollections on January 24, 1956, but did not mail the letter until July, with a note apologizing for failed earlier attempts. He said, "I have always wound up coming to the conclusion that it is a long story that is practically impossible to reduce to writing. Louis felt that the Communists were cutting your throat politically. He was very much upset about it, as was I."⁵⁸ He enclosed his original reconstruction of that 1948 meeting. Because his comments are basic to understanding the controversy within the Wallace for president movement, a few key paragraphs follow:

As nearly as I can remember, Louis was much distressed about the manner in which your campaign was being run. He had the feeling that there had been a tremendous sentiment in your favor earlier in the campaign, which was not being properly developed, because the Communists' real aim was to use you for their purpose which did not include any particular desire to have you successful.

Louis thought they were far more anxious to control the party after the election than to see you get a big vote. He was constantly "needling" me to induce you to make a change in the management of the Progressive party for that reason. . . .

What he sensed was that the Communists were not really for you, were sabotaging the movement on the lower levels at least, and were not cooperating with the people like him and me who were all for Wallace irrespective of all other political considerations. . . .

I am not so sure history will not prove Louis to have been right, and that we would have been better off had we listened more sympathetically to him. . . .⁵⁹

Wallace's prompt response to Gitt, dated July 10, 1956, disclosed the deep personal bitterness he had come to feel about an issue many believed he had refused to deal with satisfactorily during the 1948 campaign. He observed, "What a shambles the Communists made out of a movement which would have been a strong and helpful influence in American life!"⁶⁰

In the years after the Progressive Party's overwhelming defeat at the polls on November 2, 1948, both Gitt and Wallace came to believe that a major reason for that defeat was the Communist support they had received at the time. Wallace won only 1,157,063 votes, or 2.38 percent of the national total and 11,969 votes less than Thurmond's States' Rights Party. Pennsylvanians gave Wallace 55,161 votes, or 1.47 percent of the total cast for presidential candidates. That placed the Keystone State at number 18 in the list of 45 states with Wallace on the ballot (between Connecticut and Ohio).⁶¹ Wallace received a mere 1,976 votes in York County; Truman garnered 32,110 votes and Dewey, 32,501.⁶²

Gitt was besieged with letters asking what went wrong. One of his most succinct replies went to a former Palestinian newspaperman, Shabatai Tabachnik, who had recently spent six months at *The Gazette and Daily* before being called to serve in Israel's army:

What I make out of the last election is that Wallace raised a lot of issues that enabled Truman to win. People were not ready to vote as liberal as Wallace was, but went for Truman in spite of his bad handling of foreign policy, which, it seems to me, the people did not understand. Wallace's bad showing was due to red baiting, mishandling of news on the part of most of the press, and lack of knowledge of just what our foreign policy was.⁶³

The York publisher also received many letters lauding him for his role in the Wallace campaign. Most of the letters tried to look to the future with optimism, such as that written a week after the election by Reba and Frank Lincoln of Philadelphia:

Through your own great personal effort and that of your paper, we have created a new Progressive Party recognized in 45 states and very favorably looked upon by war torn Europe and Asia. Our party has provoked Mr. Truman to come out for Civil Rights and against the Taft Hartley Act. We have stymied Republican reaction.

We have all felt it a great privilege and honor to be guided by your honesty and sincerity, and we are deeply grateful to you. With hope that our third party may yet become the first party. . . .⁶⁴

Gitt's reply also showed optimism: "Personally I am not discouraged. Our party stands for certain definite principles which have my own hearty approval and for which I must continue to work."⁶⁵

In 1949 Gitt attempted to hold together the pieces of the new party. When Wallace later said that the Communists had made "a shambles" of the Progressive movement, he implied that the mere presence of Communists working within the new party had made it more open to harassment. Not only known Communists, but many persons of liberal-left political persuasion suffered job losses and intimidation throughout the late 1940s. MacDougall noted in his conclusion to *Gideon's Army*: "The longer a person stuck to his Progressivism, the more likelihood there was that the price he would ultimately pay would be greater. Whereas the Dixiecrats of 1948 were welcomed back into the Democratic fold with everything forgiven, no such generous attitude prevailed toward the Progressives."⁶⁶

Many Progressives voted for Truman and not Wallace, while remaining members of the Progressive Party. The estimated number was set at seven to ten million by Rexford Guy Tugwell, an original New Dealer who also was a member of the Wallace for President committee.⁶⁷ The staff of Gitt's own newspaper at the time was a case in point. The reporter who covered the 1948 Progressive Party convention, David Lachenbruch, recalled: "Most *Gazette and Daily* staffers, at least among the outsiders, were for Wallace, but many of them got cold feet and voted for Truman because they were afraid of Dewey. The election taught me that it doesn't work to vote for the lesser of two evils."⁶⁸

The Gazette and Daily continued to run news items about the Progressive Party and Wallace's speeches, especially his addresses at peace rallies throughout the country in the spring of 1949. James Higgins, soon to become the paper's assistant editor and chief editorial writer, sent stories by cable from the Wallace tour. In a letter to the paper's editor, Charles M. Gitt (J. W.'s son), Higgins said, "The meetings of what I consider to be the great people of America are moving beyond belief. . . . The hope of the world is in the cheers that respond to him."⁶⁹

Before setting out on his speaking tour, Wallace had testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee against the North Atlantic Treaty Organization pact: "Two years ago when President Truman announced the Truman Doctrine of containing Russia and Communism at every point, I predicted that it would cause us to bleed from every pore."⁷⁰ After his nation-wide speaking tour, Wallace went to live permanently at his Farvue Farm in South Salem, New York. When Robert F. Wagner retired from the U.S. Senate on June 27, 1949, some Wallace supporters attempted to convince him to make a bid for that

seat. But he refused to enter the New York senatorial race between Herbert Lehman and John Foster Dulles. According to Norman D. Markowitz, "Wallace felt increasingly isolated in the third party and remained in it only out of a sense of loyalty to the surviving non-Communist Progressives."⁷¹

At the Progressive Party's convention in February 1950, Wallace called for a stronger stand on the Communist issue and stressed the need for the delegates (only half the number in 1948) to spread the word that the party membership was largely non-Communist.⁷² But the following summer, Wallace was presented with an issue which provided him with the most respectable way out of the party—as it did for Gitt.

That issue was the Korean War. Fighting broke out in Korea between the North and the South on June 25, 1950. Two days later the United Nations Security Council labeled North Korea as the aggressor and called for meeting the "attack" with armed resistance. Member nations were to "furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area."⁷³

The question of who was to blame for starting the Korean War deepened the widening chasm between Communist and non-Communist supporters within the Progressive Party, as journalist I. F. Stone pointed out in *The Hidden History of the Korean War*. "Whether on June 25 the North attacked without provocation or went over to the offensive after an attack from the South, the attempt to pick that tempting plum solved many political problems on the anti-Communist side."⁷⁴ It certainly presented a solution to Wallace's political problem, no matter how heart-breaking the decision must have been. According to Markowitz, "The Korean crisis permitted him to directly challenge the Communists within the party over an issue of foreign policy."⁷⁵

Meanwhile, Gitt already had published several editorials about the "Korean crisis," as the first one on June 28, 1950, was titled. (By then, many of the editorials were being written by Higgins, who said he refused to write any about Korea because he did not hold the position that North Korea and Russia were responsible for the outbreak of fighting.⁷⁶) Gitt's faith in the United Nations as a peace keeper and his anguish that Russia had done something to upset world peace was clearly evident. "We sincerely hope that the United States, whatever any other nation may do, will firmly stand back of the United Nations and insist that the dispute be adjusted through United Nations offices," he wrote.⁷⁷

Two days later, an editorial appeared in *The Gazette and Daily* blaming the Russians: "Only the naive or gullible individuals will believe for an instant that North Korea would

be acting without the consent of Russia. . . . One can only hope that out of this crisis all of us may learn enough to do the things, including the support of the United Nations, that are so imperative if we humans are to avoid chaos and worse."⁷⁸

The Progressive Party's executive committee called an emergency session for July 6, 1950, at which Wallace became even more estranged from the other party leaders. He objected to the executive committee's resolution criticizing the Security Council's call for armed resistance in Korea and opposing any U.N. action until the Soviet delegation returned to the Security Council. (The Soviets had been boycotting the Security Council to protest the U.N.'s refusal to seat the People's Republic of China.) After considerable negotiation, the two sides remained stale-mated and on July 15, along with the Progressive Party's official resolution, Wallace issued his own statement:

With the world divided as it has been since 1945, I have long believed and often publicly stated that the U.S. should fight if Russian troops moved in strength into Turkey. Further Russian expansion in the Near East would over-balance the world and I have made my views known to press conferences and to the State Committee on Foreign Relations. With world affairs having reached their present pass, I believe the only safety for the U.S. and the U.N. is to continue their efforts to push the North Koreans north of the 38th parallel.

I say this fully realizing how many times even the conservative press of the U.S. has called attention to the dictatorial and corrupt methods used by Syngman Rhee's South Korean government. But the U.S. has been forced by unwise actions on the part of both Russia and the U.S. to take a stand. The U.N. also, because Korea is peculiarly a creation of the U.N., has been forced to take a stand. Again I say that under such conditions I stand by my country and the U.N.⁷⁹

Wallace resigned from the Progressive Party on August 8, 1950, when it became clear to him that the executive committee would stand behind its resolution. Gitt resigned several weeks before Wallace, although his official letter of resignation has not been found.⁸⁰ His correspondence refers to it, as in a mid-August reply to a Progressive Party member, Dr. Marion Hathaway of Silver Lake, New Hampshire:

You will no doubt be surprised to learn that I beat you to it by several weeks. My resignation went in about a week or two before Wallace's. Frankly, with a pretty certain knowledge of what Wallace was

likely to do.

I thoroughly agree with your letter in general and do hope that something will arise to take the place of the Progressive Party and that we will be found working together again.⁸¹

Obviously upset about his decision to leave the Progressive Party, Gitt had written a month earlier to Alice F. Liveright of Philadelphia, a party member who had inquired if rumors about his resignation were true: "May I say that I have never done anything that I can remember that was more difficult than this. . . . I hope you understand that I am still as much of a liberal as I ever was. I am not the kind of liberal who can set aside his principles when it becomes apparent to him that someone else is attempting to use him."⁸²

Wallace had actually tried to talk Gitt out of resigning from the Progressive Party, even though he noted, "I know exactly how you feel." In a letter dated July 11, 1950, he told Gitt, "The boys want me to urge you to withdraw your resignation. Jim Imbrie especially wants you back in the fold. Jim doesn't realize how temporary the present truce is between the PP leaders and myself. They are sincere and I am sincere but we just don't believe the same things now that our country has blundered into war. I am for my country and the UN."⁸³

At the core of both men's resignations was fear of Communist domination of the party. It was a factor Gitt did not like to acknowledge publicly, but he did so in a letter to a Progressive Party ward organizer in Philadelphia, Rebecca P. Elliott, dated August 31, 1950: "I am still very much upset that I found it necessary to sever myself from the party which I did only after I had mulled the matter over in my mind for many months and had come to the conclusion that there was no longer any outside chance that it could be kept free of communist domination."⁸⁴

Gitt's disassociation from the Progressive Party undoubtedly was the most painful event of his professional life up to that time. In 1950 he was 66 years old and could have retired, but he had too much pride in his newspaper for that. His personal correspondence diminished dramatically after his resignation as state chairman and party member. He also began to leave more of the editorial writing to Higgins, although he continued to publish his views in signed "Food for Thought" columns which he wrote intermittently until he sold the paper in October 1970, three years before his death on October 7, 1973, at age 89.⁸⁵

With *The Gazette and Daily* available to present his voice to the public, J. W. Gitt retired less from public life than did his political idol. Henry Wallace spent more and more

time on his farm in upstate New York and ventured out only infrequently to make statements in front of boards and commissions. He died far from the public eye on November 18, 1965, at age 77.⁸⁶

* * *

Both the York newspaper publisher and the national politician experienced the Progressive Party campaign of 1948 as the political highlight of their lives. Each felt a tremendous emotional deflation after the party suffered its disastrous defeat at the polls in 1948, and then two years later when it was dealt another crippling blow by the inner-party struggles over the Korean War.

Thelma Dale Perkins, who associated for several years with the Progressive Party, assessed the contributions of J. W. Gitt: "My over-all impression of Jess was that he was really one of the great people of that time and an unsung hero that people did not know a great deal about. He took very courageous stands with the paper and the fact that he even stayed with us as long as he did until the Korean War meant that he was really a very forthright and honest and decent human being."⁸⁷

Zalmon H. Garfield, state director of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania from 1949 to 1952, also reflected on the York publisher and his role in the 1948 campaign: "If ever there was a prototypical tough-talking, heart-of-gold kind of guy, it was Jess. He was properly situated in the heart of Pennsylvania Dutch country. He came through as a wonderfully direct, honest kind of person and, from my political point of view, was an extraordinary man." Did he think J. W. Gitt really believed Henry A. Wallace could be elected president? The man who successfully managed two campaigns for Pennsylvania's Governor Milton Shapp in the 1970s thought back over more than 40 years and then replied: "He probably did think so. We all got swept away with the enthusiasm of the time."⁸⁸

Notes

"JWG" below refers to the J. W. Gitt Papers on deposit in the Historical Collections, Pattee Library, the Pennsylvania State University, University Park (two large boxes—Box 1 with 28 files, and Box 2 with 21 files). These are photocopies of the original material retained in the Gitt home, Hanover.

"HAW" below refers to the Henry A. Wallace Papers on deposit in the Special Collections at the University of Iowa Library, Iowa City. Several libraries, including Penn State's, own the microfilm collection of 67 reels. (References below include reel number, then item number.)

The University of Iowa Library also holds the Progressive Party Records (PPR), deposited by Curtis D. MacDougall, and the C. B. Baldwin Papers (CBB), deposited by his widow. The PPR in particular verify J. W. Gitt's key role in the Progressive Party, both as publicist through his newspaper, and as financial mainstay of the Pennsylvania party headquarters in Harrisburg and other offices throughout the state (Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, mainly).

Also see: Mary A. Hamilton, "A Voice in the Wilderness," *Pennsylvania Heritage*, vol. xviii, no. 4 (Fall 1992), pp. 4-11; and Mary Allienne Hamilton, "A Progressive Publisher and the Cold War: J. W. Gitt and The Gazette and Daily, York, Pennsylvania, 1946-1956," (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1980). A biography of J. W. Gitt by this author is in progress.

1. David McCullough, *Truman* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), p. 710. The photo is on an unnumbered page facing page 289.
2. McCullough, *Truman*, p. 645, and Progressive Party Records, Special Collections, University of Iowa Library, Iowa City.
3. Pat Sullivan, "Proud Days: Henry Wallace's Campaign for the Presidency," *Southern Exposure*, 12 (February 1984): 94-98. Also, Wallace's speech, "Reclaiming the New South," p. 120.

4. See: Norman D. Markowitz, *The Rise and Fall of the People's Century: Henry A. Wallace and American Liberalism, 1941-1948* (New York: The Free Press, 1973), pp. 9-11; and "Henry A. Wallace Chronology," *Guide to a Microfilm Edition of the Henry A. Wallace Papers at The University of Iowa* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Libraries, 1974), pamphlet, pp. 7-8. (That chronology lists the family-run paper as *Wallaces' Farmer*.) Also, Edward L. Schapsmeier and Frederick H. Schapsmeier's two-volume study published by Iowa State University Press, *Henry A. Wallace of Iowa: The Agrarian Years, 1910-1940* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1968) and *Prophet in Politics: Henry A. Wallace and the War Years, 1940-1965* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1970).

5. Saul Miller, "150 Years Old and Still Fighting," *PM Sunday Magazine*, July 7, 1946, p. 7.
6. Robert C. Maynard, "Gazette Sheaths Its Stinger," *The Washington Post*, November 15, 1970, p. B-3.
7. McKinley C. Olson, *J. W. Gitt's Sweet Land of Liberty* (New York: Jerome S. Ozer, Publisher Inc., 1975), p. 9 (a compilation of Gitt's editorials, though by no means comprehensive).
8. Two pamphlets: *The Gitt Family* (family-printed, n.d.) and *The Men of Nineteen Four of Franklin and Marshall College, compiled for their 25th anniversary* (Lancaster, Pa., 1929); and many conversations with Mrs. Gitt, who celebrated her 103rd birthday on August 9, 1993, in that same house.
9. James Higgins, "Good-by, Mr. Gitt," *The New York Times*, December 22, 1973, p. 25.
10. James Higgins, "A Reporter Reflects: The York Gazette and Daily," *Nieman Reports*, 3 (Autumn 1974): 19.
11. Olson, *J. W. Gitt's Sweet Land of Liberty*, p. 11.
12. From the personal knowledge of the author, who was a reporter for *The Gazette and Daily* from 1963 to 1966.
13. "Crossing T's, Dotting I's," *The Gazette and Daily*, April 30, 1947, p. 16. Gitt fits almost perfectly into the "profile of a progressive" drawn from

a survey of 260 leaders of the Progressive Party of 1912, where editors and lawyers dominated in rural areas. He also possessed the proselytizing zeal of that earlier era. See: Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), pp. 144-155.

14. "Defeat Reaction or Suffer Chaos, Wallace Warns Here," *The Gazette and Daily*, April 29, 1946, p. 1.

15. Interview with Walt Partymiller, *The Gazette and Daily's* cartoonist.

16. "War-With-Russia Talk Is 'Criminal'," *The Gazette and Daily*, Sept. 14, 1946, p. 17. (Also: JWG, box 1, file 2).

17. Markowitz, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 181-193, and Melvyn Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 138-139. For Truman's reaction to this speech, see McCullough, *Truman*, pp. 513-517. Also see John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1914-1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972).

18. Curtis D. MacDougall, *Gideon's Army* (3 vols.; New York: Marzani & Munsell, 1965), 1:81. (See JWG, box 2, file 20, for complete speech.)

19. Charles Forcey, *The Crossroads of Liberalism: Croly, Weyl, Lippmann and the Progressive Era, 1900-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

20. "Henry A. Wallace Chronology," p. 8.

21. Mary Sperling McAuliffe, *Crisis on the Left, Cold War Politics and American Liberals, 1947-1954* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1978), p. 5.

22. JWG, January 7, 1947.

23. McAuliffe, *Crisis on the Left*, p. 7.

24. "What Progressives Can Do," *The Gazette and Daily*, January 22, 1947, p. 16.

25. JWG, February 27, 1947.

26. "Josiah Gitt was among the few Americans of some stature who stood up with Wallace in defiance of red-baiting," said Cedric Belfrage and James Aronson, *Something to Guard: The Stormy Life of the National Guardian 1948-1967* (New York: Co-

lumbia University Press, 1978), p. 13. (The first issue of the *National Guardian* was run off on the presses of *The Gazette and Daily* in the fall of 1948, but Gitt felt it was "a bit too red" and backed out of supporting future issues although he did uphold his original investment.)

27. McAuliffe, *Crisis on the Left*, pp. 22-30.

28. Ibid., pp. 30-31.

29. Richard J. Walton, *Henry Wallace, Harry Truman, and the Cold War* (New York: The Viking Press, 1976), p. 145. (For substantial quotation, see pp. 145-148.)

30. Ibid., p. 148.

31. Ibid., pp. 149-150. (Also: HAW, March 15, 1947, 43-524.)

32. JWG, April 21, 1947.

33. JWG, April 22, 1947.

34. "Europeans Fear Truman Doctrine, Wallace Declares," *The Gazette and Daily*, May 1, 1947, p. 1.

35. JWG, July 3, 1947, and August 13, 1947.

36. Markowitz, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 257-258. (See: "The Story of Gideon," MacDougall, *Gideon's Army*,

1:3, and Book of Judges, the Bible, chapters 6-8.)

37. MacDougall, *Gideon's Army*, 1:243-244. (See: Chapter 12, "The Decision to Run.")

38. Henry Wallace, *Stand Up and Be Counted! Why I Choose to Run* (New York: New Republic publishing, 1947), pamphlet.

39. Markowitz, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 258-259.

40. Lawrence Lader, *Power on the Left, American Radical Movements Since 1946* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), pp. 34-35.

41. Cedric Belfrage, *The American Inquisition 1945-1960* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1973), p. 80.

42. JWG, July 16, 1948.

43. "New Pennsylvania Progressive Party Is Formed in York," *Common Sense*, 1 (March 1948): 1. (JWG, box 1, file 1.) The Historical Society of York County has eight issues, March through September 1948. It also has *The Gazette and Daily* on microfilm.

44. MacDougall, *Gideon's Army*, 3:831.

45. "Text of Wallace Talk Before Pa. Progressive

- Party," *Common Sense*, 1 (March 1948): 2-3. (JWG, box 2, file 20).
46. JWG, June 1, 1948.
47. Olson, J. W. *Gitt's Sweet Land of Liberty*, p. 59.
48. JWG, February 5, 1943. Thompson was U.S. assistant attorney general, 1913-1918, then was appointed by Wilson to the Federal Trade Commission, serving as chairman twice during a seven-year term. His law firm of Bright, Thompson and Mast often represented the federal government. Mrs. Gitt recalled that her husband met Thompson during World War I "when he went to Washington to find out why so many boys were being drafted from the Hanover area in comparison with the rest of Pennsylvania."
49. JWG, February 10, 1943.
50. MacDougall, *Gideon's Army*, 2:506. Also see Reuven Frank, "1948: Live . . . From Philadelphia . . . It's the National Conventions," *The New York Times Magazine*, April 17, 1988, p. 37. (The 1948 presidential conventions were the first to be televised live; the three parties agreed to hold their conventions in the same city, Philadelphia, "where the coaxial cable meets the Schuylkill," according to Frank.)
51. MacDougall, *Ibid.*, p. 509.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 571.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 578.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 427.
55. *Ibid.*
56. MacDougall, *Gideon's Army*, 1: 280.
57. JWG, January 2, 1955, *sic* (obviously a new year's mistake and should be dated 1956).
58. HAW, January 24, 1956, 50-344.
59. *Ibid.*
60. JWG, July 10, 1956. Adamic was mysteriously shot to death on September 5, 1951, in his burning farmhouse, Riegelsville, N.J., a few days before publication of his book, *The Eagle and the Roots*. (MacDougall, *Gideon's Army*, 1: 281.) Gitt, Wallace and others questioned the reported "suicide."
61. MacDougall, *Gideon's Army*, 3: inside front and back covers. Also: Karl M. Schmidt, *Henry A. Wallace: Quixotic Crusade 1948* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1960), pp. 331-335.
62. James McClure, "Election Season: York Countians, Gazette weathered past political storms," *York Daily Record*, October 25, 1992, p. G-7.
63. JWG, December 29, 1948.
64. JWG, November 11, 1948.
65. JWG, November 17, 1948.
66. MacDougall, *Gideon's Army*, 3: 865. MacDougall himself was active in the Progressive Party. He tried to run for the U.S. Senate on the party's ticket, but Illinois was one of three states in which the party did not appear on the ballot. The others were Nebraska and Oklahoma. (Schmidt, p. 332.)
67. *Ibid.* Tugwell had been Wallace's Undersecretary of Agriculture. His article, "Progressives and the Presidency," was published in the April 1949 issue of *The Progressive* magazine, which endorsed Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate, in the 1948 election. Its editor, Morris Rubin, often explained that his magazine grew out of the LaFollette movement and was not connected with Wallace's party. MacDougall, *Gideon's Army*, 1: 291-292.
68. Interview, New York, November 20, 1978.
69. JWG, May 12, 1949.
70. Markowitz, *Rise and Fall*, p. 306.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*, p. 308.
73. I. F. Stone, *The Hidden History of the Korean War* (New York: Monthly Review Press, Second Modern Reader Paperback Edition, 1971), p. 133.
74. Stone, *Hidden History*, p. 43.
75. Markowitz, *Rise and Fall*, p. 310.
76. Interview, Martha's Vineyard, Mass., August 6, 1979, and subsequent conversations, including Boston, August 5-7, 1991.
77. "The Korean Crisis," *The Gazette and Daily*, editorial, June 28, 1950. (JWG, box 1, file 4).
78. "The Peace of the World," *The Gazette and Daily*, editorial, June 30, 1950. (JWG, box 1, file 4).
79. Henry A. Wallace, "Personal Statement on the Korean Crisis," *The Gazette and Daily*, July 18, 1950, p. 17.
80. A letter from Curtis MacDougall dated August

10, 1978, two interviews with Zalmon Garfield, who took over the leadership of the Pennsylvania Progressives from Gitt, and this author's own search of the Progressive Party Records and the C. B. Baldwin Papers in the University of Iowa Library all failed to turn up Gitt's letter of resignation from the party.

81. JWG, August 14, 1950.

82. JWG, July 11, 1950.

83. HAW, July 11, 1950, 46-626. (Imbrie had been chairman of the New Jersey Independent Citizens Committee, a PCA affiliate.)

84. JWG, August 31, 1950. (Gitt was never precise in spelling "communism" and "communist" with a small "c" or a capital "C".)

85. *The Gazette and Daily's* sale was prompted by labor and financial problems and the rapidly de-

clining health of the owner's son and editor of the paper, Charles M. Gitt, who subsequently died one year before his father.

86. "Henry A. Wallace Chronology" and various readings about Wallace.

87. Interview with Thelma Dale Perkins, Somers, NY, September 30, 1989 (national campaign manager for the 1952 vice-presidential candidate, Charlotta Bass, African-American publisher of the *California Eagle*. Presidential candidate in the party's last national campaign was San Francisco attorney Vincent Hallinan, nominated while in jail on contempt stemming from defense of longshoremen's leader Harry Bridges. They received 140,000 votes.)

88. Interviews with Zalmon H. Garfield, San Francisco, July 13, 1990, and June 11, 1991.