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The Republican Party and Economic Development in the South

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THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH

BY
Charles L. Kennedy
B.A., St. Francis College, 1959

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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in the Graduate School of
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THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH

Charles L. Kennedy, B.A.
Department of Political Science
The University of New Mexico, 1968

The purpose of this study is to examine the relation between the growth of the Republican party and the degree of economic development in three Southern states from 1950-1962. Basically, the approach consists of accumulating and comparing the data on a county by county basis to determine if a meaningful relation exists between the two variables.

The South is introduced and the boundaries of this geographical entity for the purpose of this paper are established. The need for selecting certain states as indicators is explained and the method by which the three particular states were selected is explained.

The pivotal point of the Southern political system, namely race-relations, is examined. Certain conditions that appear to have altered the traditional view of race-relations are examined. As the economic development of the region is one of these conditions, the reasoning for the substitution of economic development for race-relations is presented. The progress that has been made in the field of economic development is further explored.

Several previous studies relative to party competition and economic development are summarized.

The variables that have been selected to measure the degree of economic development are explained. The sources and definitions of the data are presented.

The views of several writers speculating on the possibility of G.O.P. growth in the South in light of the region's recent economic development are presented. The evidence of this recent growth is submitted to render some corroborating testimony.

The nature of the political data is then interjected. The method of the approach and the justification for its use are explained.

The political systems of the three selected states are examined. A background sketch of certain significant developments in the political setting of each state is presented. The factional content of the Democratic party is analyzed to determine if a relation exists between the sources of factional strength and the major areas of Republican support.

The growth of the Republican party during the period 1950-1962 is described. The hypothesis is tested.

The conclusions obtained from the analysis of the hypothesis in each particular state are analyzed and explained.

The significance of the results is speculated upon and projected.

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CHAPTER I

THE SOUTH AND A ONE PARTY SYSTEM

"If institutions do not change, it is because men do not change. . . .The saying that character is destiny applies to peoples as well as to individuals."[1]

The South is defined in the 1949 edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica as a "large area of the United States which presents certain distinctive characteristics."[2]

Three of these distinctive characteristics are the dominance of the region's political system by a single political party for nearly a century, the importance of the racial question to the region's political system, and the sumultaneous condition of the general economic backwardness of the region in relation to the rest of the country.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the relation between the terms party competition and economic development in this most singular region.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE SOUTHERN POLITICAL SYSTEM

The term South, for the purposes of this paper, means the eleven states of the Confederacy. The South, for purposes of analysis, is generally divided into two categories: The Deep South and The Peripheral States. The states that are considered the Deep South are Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Caro-

lina. The Peripheral States are Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. As Warren E. Miller points out in "One Party Politics and the Voter", it is a great misconception ". . .that one-party politics is a problem unique to the Southern states."[3] He points out that the politics of the South have been in many respects the politics of the nation. The South, however, is the largest geographical entity where this unique situation exists. As V.O. Key stated, "they are the only eleven states that meet the test of partisan consistency."[4] They are the only states that did not vote Republican in the presidential elections from 1876-1944 more than twice.

RANNEY-KENDALL CLASSIFICATION

Austin Ranney and Wilmoore Kendall devised a three-dimensional scheme for the classification of American political parties. "In classifying the 48 state party systems, the first step was to compile the results of all elections since 1914 (inclusive of 1952, only) in each of the states for three offices - President of the United States, United States Senator, and Governor."[5] The three categories were two-party states, modified one-party states, and one-party states. The one-party states were defined ". . . as those in which the second party has won less than 25% of all elections and has also won over 30% of the vote in less than 70% of all elections and has won over 40% of the vote in

less

less than 30% of all elections."[6] Of the ten states that fulfill this description, Vermont is the only non-southern state. All of the Black Belt States, the hard-core Democratic areas, meet the qualifications for the one-party state. Tennessee and North Carolina, resting on the fringe of the South, are the only Southern deviants.

THE SOUTH IN THE RANNEY-KENDALL CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

Table I

STATE	Total of ALL ELECTIONS			%of Second party Wins	% of Elections with party over 30% of the vote	% of Elections with Second party vote over 40%
	Rep. Wins	Dem. Wins	Third Party Wins			
Alabama	0	32	1	3.0	18.1	6.0
Arkansas	0	43	0	0.0	13.9	2.3
Florida	2	32	1	8.6	19.9	5.7
Georgia	0	44	0	0.0	4.4	2.2
Louisiana	0	32	1	3.0	6.9	4.6
Mississippi	0	32	1	3.0	6.0	3.0
South Carolina	0	32	1	3.0	6.0	6.0
Texas	2	41	0	4.6	16.2	6.9
Virginia	2	34	0	5.5	41.6	11.1
North Carolina	1	33	0	3.0	79.4	30.0
Tennessee	4	40	0	9.0	72.6	34.0

The table includes all elections for Senator, Governor, and President from 1914-1952.

Source: Austin Ranney and Wilmoore Kendall, "The American Party Systems," American Political Science Review, XLVIII, No. 2 (June, 1959), p. 482.

Joseph A. Schlesinger developed a five-tiered classification system for American political parties. His scheme focuses on the gubernatorial and presidential elections from 1870-1950,[7] the overall degree of competition between the parties for the office, and the cyclical character of that competition. His conclusions are similar to those of Key and Ranney and Kendall. The divisions are: competitive states, cyclical competitive states, one-party cyclical states, one-party predominant states, and one-party states. The entire South and Vermont are the only states that are classified as one-party states.

Regardless of the system of classification, the clear consistency of southern politics has been one of allegiance to the Democratic Party. V.O. Key wrote in Southern Politics in State and Nation, "If the critical element in the southern political system has been solidarity in national politics, there is logic in defining the political South - as it is here defined - in terms of consistency to the Democratic party nationally."[8] Since the purpose of this paper is to explore a crack in this wall of solidarity, manifested by the development of the Republican Party, it is logical to examine the South as a one-party system.

THE MODIFIED RANNEY-KENDALL CLASSIFICATION

It must be remembered that although the South has

been virtually incorporated as a one-party system, there are many facets to the nature of this system from state to state. "The coin of southern politics has two sides: on one is seen the relations of the South as a whole with the rest of the nation; on the other, the political battle within each state."[9] In terms of the one-party South per se, there is no South, but there are many Souths. The political cultures within each state vary greatly. To properly understand the one-party system in the South, each of the states should be studied separately. Although the southern states have much in common, there is much that is unique.

In order to differentiate the one-party systems in the South, a modified version of the Ranney-Kendall system has been adapted. This system consists of seven levels of classification. This system considers only the viability of a second party, and this means only the development of the Republican Party in the South; third-party movements and independent voting strength have been excluded, as their inclusion would bias the results of the major consideration.

The criteria for this test are naturally drawn to a much narrower scope than the Ranney-Kendall test in order to obtain a more precise differentiation in the

political systems of the Southern states. As with the Ranney-Kendall test, the results for the offices of President of the United States, Governor, and United States Senator are compiled; the time span is from 1950-1962. The seven classes are: two-party, marginal two-party, modified two-party, transitional two-party, modified one-party, marginal one-party, and pure one-party.

A modified two-party system exists when the second party (which means the Republican Party in every case) fulfills all four of the following conditions. It has won 20% of the elections; it has won 20% or the vote 40% of the time; it has won 30% of the vote 30% of the time; and it has won 40% of the vote 20% of the time.[10] A transitional two-party system fulfills any three of these conditions. A modified one-party system fulfills any two of these conditions. A marginal one-party system fulfills only one of these conditions. A pure one-party system is unable to meet any of the qualifications.

The results from Table Two show that Florida, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia would be classified as modified two-party systems. North Carolina misses this category because the Republicans were unable to carry the state in any election, even though there exists a solid

MODIFIED RANNEY-KENDALL CLASSIFICATION OF THE SOUTH

Table 2

The Table contains the results for the Presidential, Gubernatorial, and Senatorial elections during the period 1950-1962.

STATE	TOTAL ELECTIONS	Rep. Wins	Dem. Wins	% of Rep. Wins	% of Rep. Wins OVER 20%	% of Rep. Wins OVER 30%	% of Rep. Wins OVER 40%	CONCLUSION
Alabama	11	0	11	0.0	54.5	36.4	18.2	C
Arkansas	13	0	13	0.0	53.8	23.1	15.4	D
Florida	11	3	8	27.3	72.7	45.5	36.4	A
Georgia	12	0	12	0.0	25.0	25.0	0.0	E
Louisiana	11	1	10	9.1	45.5	18.2	18.2	D
Mississippi	10	0	10	0.0	30.0	10.0	0.0	E
North Carolina	12	0	12	0.0	91.7	91.7	33.3	B
South Carolina	13	0	12*	0.0	30.8	23.1	23.1	D
Texas	14	3	11	21.4	57.1	42.9	35.7	A
Tennessee	11	3	8	27.3	54.5	36.4	27.3	A
Virginia	10	3	7	30.0	60.0	60.0	40.0	A
TOTAL	128	13	114*	10.2	50.0	35.2	21.9	B

KEY TO CONCLUSION:

AAA - Two-Party
AA - Marginal Two-Party
A - Modified Two-Party
B - Transitional Two-Party
C - Modified One-Party
D.- Marginal One-Party
E - Pure One-Party

* In the 1956 Senatorial election, Strom Thurmond, a former Governor, became the first person in American History to win a state-wide election by means of the write-in vote, when he defeated Edgar A. Brown. The Republicans did not contest the election. Brown was nominated by the

State Democratic Committee. Thurmond ran as an Independent, but pledged to support the Democratic Party. Thurmond received 63.2% of the vote; Brown received 32.8%.

Source: America Votes, R.M. Scammon, Ed. Government Affairs Institute. New York: Vol. 1, 1956; Vol. 2, 1957; Vol. 3, 1958; Vol. 4, 1960; Vol. 5, 1962.

foundation of Republican support. As the five Peripheral States comprise the top two categories, the Black Belt States are firmly embeddened in the bottom three categories.

Although a five-tiered classification is sufficient to differentiate between the various state political systems in the South, it does not supply an adequate explanation of differences when the focus shifts to the county by county analysis, as will be the case when each of the three states are considered separately (See Chapters Four, Five, and Six). For instance, in examining the Republican Party in Florida, it would be a grave injustice to categorize the Republican Party in Sarasota and Dade counties as being equal in strength. Therefore, it is necessary to use the additional classification of two-party and marginal two-party systems. Only counties that are classified as modified two-party would be eligible for this additional classification. A two-party system fulfills the following four criteria entirely. It has won 35% of the elections; it has won

40% of the vote 60% of the time; it has won 50% of the vote 50% of the time; and it has won 60% of the vote 40% of the time. A marginal two-party system fulfills only three of these conditions.

The full results of the county by county analysis for each of the three states may be found in Appendix Seven.

THE SELECTION OF THE STATES

The states selected as indicative of the South are Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. One of the essentials that has to be considered in the process of selecting the certain states as indicators is the number of counties in each state. Since this study is a county by county analysis, it is most imperative to select states wherein the accumulation of data can be kept within reasonable bounds. The initial concern in the selection process is to achieve some form of balance between geographical considerations (i.e., Peripheral and Black Belt States) and political considerations (i.e., the higher versus the lower Republican states). Since the five states of the Peripheral area are also the five states where the Republican Party could be ranked as either Modified of Transitional Two-Party, and the states of the Black Belt are classified as Modified,

Marginal, and Pure One-Party states; the need for geographical consideration, per se, is eliminated. Thus, working within the framework of keeping the data manageable, it appears that the states should be selected in the following manner: one each from the Modified Two-Party and Pure One-Party states, and one from the grouping of the middle three classifications (transitional two-party, modified one-party, and marginal one-party).

Of the four states that are classified as Modified Two-Party (Florida, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia), Florida is selected because it has the smallest number of counties. The two pure One-Party states, Georgia and Mississippi, are rejected, because the Republican opposition, during this particular time span, has been negligible to the point of insignificance. Moving to the next highest category, Marginal One-Party, South Carolina is selected over Louisiana and Arkansas because it has the least number of counties. The selection of a third state, indicative of the middle ground, presents a problem, since there are no clear indications as to the proper line of division. A high degree of arbitrariness is necessarily involved. Louisiana is finally selected, even though it is classified as a Marginal One-Party state, the same as South Carolina. There are two reasons involved

in this decision. First, Louisiana has a smaller number of parishes (counties). Secondly, a study by Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro renders an interesting key to the selection. Part V of their study, "Political Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South", is a consideration of the degree of competition within the Democratic party.

"The extent to which the Democratic party divides into two partylike factions, or tends instead toward splintered factionalism, is suggested by the following figures on the percentage of the total vote polled jointly by the two highest candidates for governor, in the initial Democratic primaries (excluding run-offs) held in each election year between 1948 and 1960".[11]

BIFACTIONAL CONTENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN THE SOUTH

Table 3

	Median Per Cent
Virginia	100.0
Tennessee	95.8
Georgia	94.7
South Carolina	89.8
Arkansas	81.5
North Carolina	77.9
Texas	69.3
Florida	60.5
Louisiana	58.6
Alabama	58.1
Mississippi	44.4

The above is the percentage of the total vote for the office of Governor polled by the two highest candidates in the Democratic primary during the period 1948-60.

Source: Donald R. Matthews and James W. Rrothro, "Political Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South", American Political Science Review, LVII, No.2 (June 1963), p. 361.

Of the two states previously selected, South Carolina has one or two major factions, whereas the low percentage score of Florida causes it to be considered multi-factional. It was decided to select a state that is similar in factionalism, but opposite in the classification of the Republican Party. With the two previous reasons taken into consideration, Louisiana is chosen because it meets these qualifications in comparison with Florida.

Thus, the study will focus upon the states of Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida in the testing of the hypothesis.

SUMMARY

The South was defined and classified for the extent of this study as being the eleven states of the Confederacy. The Ranney-Kendall classification was used to demonstrate the extent of one-party politics in the state political systems. In order to obtain a more precise differentiation in the political systems of the Southern states, a modified version of the Ranney-Kendall classification was devised and applied.

This modified test was used to select three states indicative of the South. With this criteria, two states were selected; it was necessary to inject the factor of

factionalism to select the third state.

Now that the three states involved in testing the hypothesis have been selected; it is necessary to turn to the variables involved in the hypothesis.

It must be remembered that this study is examining the political system of the South in accordance with three distinctive characteristics of the region: the predominance of the Democratic party, the race question, and the relative backwardness of the economy.

As Chapter One has been devoted to examining the first of these characteristics, the position of the Democratic party; race relations and the extent of economic development will be examined in Chapter Two.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter One

1. Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (New York: Doubleday, 1960), p. 31.

2. Edgar T. Thompson, "The South and the Second Emancipation," Change in the Contemporary South (Durham: Duke University Press, 1963), p. 93.

3. Warren E. Miller, "One Party Politics and the Voter," American Political Science Review, L. No. 3 (Sept., 1956), p. 707.

4. V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949), p. 11.

5. Austin Ranney, "The American Party Systems," American Political Science Review, XLVIII, No. 2 (June 1959), p. 482.

6. Ibid., p. 484.

7. The percentages for the Southern states were computed for the post-Reconstruction period rather than from 1870.

8. Key, op. cit., p. 10.

9. Ibid., p. 11.

10. Non-contested elections were included in the data.

11. Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, "Political Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South," American Political Science Review, LVII, No. 2 (June, 1963), p. 361.

CHAPTER II

RACE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

THE RACE QUESTION

> In its grand outlines the politics of the South revolves around the position of the Negro. It is at times interpreted as a politics of free trade, as a politics of agrarian poverty, or as a politics of planter and plutocrat. Although such interpretations have a superficial validity, in the last analysis the major peculiarities of Southern politics go back to the Negro. Whatever phase of the southern political process one seeks to understand, sooner or later the trail of inquiry leads to the Negro.[1]

Probably the greatest singular characteristic of the South has been the practice not only of *de facto*, but also of *de jure* segregation of the Negro. Edgar T. Thompson wrote, "The South...is that part of the nation which is race-bound: race is the chief axis around which Southern life and thought has revolved for at least a hundred and fifty years."[2] Thompson then elaborated upon the particular brand of Southern race relations, "The very human need for some principle of certainty in a world of flux has led to an unending search for some sort of spiritual or cultural anchor without which we cannot hold on to what we have and to what we are or think we are. We have to understand our deep emotional involvement in race in this context."[3]

The South has achieved its principle of certainty

by anchoring its emotional involvement with race to the policies of the Democratic party on the national, state, and local levels.

ELIMINATION OF THE RACE QUESTION

But the winds of discontent in this unique partnership began to appear in the 1950's. Donald S. Strong speculated on the causes of the decline in the degree of consistency to the Democratic party on a national level.

> In the seven years following 1941, the Negro became of increased importance to the Democratic party in presidential politics. The great migration of the Negro from the South to Northern metropolitan areas, a migration that had begun in World War One, was greatly accelerated during World War Two and the immediate postwar years. The census of 1950 was to discover that increase of nearly 10 percentage points since the 1940 census. . .These areas were also pivotal states in the electoral college. . . President Truman proposed to Congress the enactment of a 10-point civil rights program - the use of the powers of Congress to create a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, abolish segregation elections, and make lynching a federal crime. The fact that these proposals stood little chance of enactment by Congress is immaterial. The significant fact is that a Democratic President proposed to Congress the enactment of laws to improve the status of the Negro.[4]

As a consequence of this lack of continued support for Southern racial policy by the national Democratic party, Allan P. Sindler forecast a trend that ". . . Southerners were given the opportunity to react to presidential politics without the one-party commitment imposed by racial anxieties."[5]

Sindler's forecast was echoed in the article, "Durable Republicanism in the South", by Donald S. Strong, "...when the Democratic party ceased to be the champion of white supremacy, Southern whites began to act like Americans and vote in harmony with what they perceive to be their economic interest."[6]

This paper intends to explore the possibility that in the decade of the 50's the South experienced a rapid increase of economic development which has led to a change in the underlying assumptions and rules that govern the political system. This change in the basic political culture is reflected by a more competitive party system, measured by the growth of the Republican party.

In an attempt to give order to the region's politics, Strong's thesis of substituting economic interest for race relations will be further examined to determine if it helps to bring elucidation upon the region's politics.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH

This new involvement with economic interest is rooted in the recent economic development in the South, which was born in the period of turmoil at the conclusion of World War Two. The war brought new industry to the South: aluminum reduction plants in East Tennessee;

ship construction in Portsmouth, Charleston, Mobile, Pascalouga, and New Orleans; iron and steel in Birmingham; oil and synthetic rubber in Baton Rouge; petroleum, tin, and chemicals in Texas; and the power installation at Oak Ridge near Knoxville, Tennessee.

The Southern increase in economic development has been phenomenal in comparison to the rest of the nation. The South has labored under the stigmata of being a highly undeveloped region in the most prosperous nation in the world. In an article entitled, "The South as a Developing Area", William H. Nichols demonstrated the remarkable progress the South has been making in economic development.[7]

The following Tables, are extracted from Nichols' article.

In Table One, Nichols compares the percentage of the population employed in manufacturing of the South with the non-South.

RELATIVE MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT, TOTAL

Table 1

Year	South	Non-South	Per Cent of South as of Non-South
1930	14.5%	25.7%	56%
1940	14.8	27.2	54
1950	18.4	29.0	63
1960	21.3	29.4	72

Source: William H. Nichols, "The South as a Developing Area", The American South in the 1960's, Avery Leiserson, Ed. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), p. 26-36.

In Table Two, the percentage of the population of the South and non-South residing in urban areas are compared.

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION URBAN

Table 2

Year	South	Non- South	South as of Non-South
1900	18.0%	50.0%	36%
1930	34.1	64.4	52
1940	36.7	65.7	56
1950	44.0	65.8	67
1960	57.7	74.4	78

Source: William H. Nichols, "The South as a Developing Area", The American South in the 1960's, Avery Leiserson, Ed. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), p. 26-36.

In Table Three, the income payments per capita of the South and non-South are compared.

PER-CAPITA INCOME PAYMENTS

Table 3

Year	South	Non-South	South as of Non-South
1929	$ 623	$1,336	46.7%
1939	665	1,290	51.6
1948	1,200	1,860	64.5
1959	1,652	2,391	69.1

Source: William H. Nichols, "The South as a Developing Area," The American South in the 1960's, Avery Leiserson, Ed. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), p. 26-36.

Nichols used the indicatiors of industrialization,

(relative manufacturing employment) urbanization (percentage of total population urban), and wealth (per capita income payments) to measure the degree of economic development in the South.

It is evident from a perusal of the preceding Tables, that the South has been experiencing a period of relatively rapid economic development, but is still not as economically developed as the rest of the nation.

Nichols concluded:

> . . .the forward looking, progressive and dynamic forces which Southern industrial-urban development has created will erode away the blind sectionalism, the negative and defensive states' rights doctrines, the disinterest in general social and economic betterment, and the race extremism which have so long diverted Southern energies from constructive channels.
>
> The non-economic factors which historically have shackled the South's economic progress are at last in full retreat. The recent sound and fury emerging from the South can be easily misunderstood. It clearly represents the death throes, not the renaissance, of those Southern traditions, which are inconsistent with the region's industrial-urban development.[8]

PARTY COMPETITION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

If these non-economic factors that have traditionally shackled the South are in retreat in view of the recent economic progress, it is logical to return to Strong's thesis that the South will be free to vote in harmony with its economic interest. In other words, these conditions will be reflected by an increase in party

competition in the political systems of the region.

There have been several studies examining the relation between party competition and economic development.

In "A Taxonomic Approach to State Political Party Strength", Joseph Golembiewski established a positive relation between states having a two-party system and various MEDIANS indices of economic development such as : 1) percent of urban population - 1950, 2) total median income - 1949, 3) the coefficient of industry - 1949, and 4) the median school years - 1950.[9]

Heinz Eulau formed a positive relation between competitive party systems and metropolitan and urban areas in a county by county analysis of Ohio.[10]

However, a similar study on the relation of party competitiveness and urbanization in Iowa by David Gold and John R. Schmidhauser failed to establish a positive relation.[11]

Phillips Cutright applied the Eulau-Gold and Schmidhauser test to a selection of ten states and found a positive relation to exist in each state between high urbanization and high party competitiveness. He disputed the Gold and Schmidhauser findings because Iowa has few urbanized counties and even fewer counties with a high degree of party competitiveness.[12]

Using the variables of wealth, industrialization, urbanization, and education, Richard E. Dawson and J.A. Robinson also found a positive relation to exist between the degree of economic development and party competition.[13]

SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET. IN HIS BOOK, POLITICAL MAN,

In his book, Political Man, Seymour Martin Lipset found a positive relation to exist between economic development and democracy in several European and South American countries. Lipset used the variables of wealth, industrialization, urbanization, and education to measure economic development. Lipset, of course, was examining the relation of economic development with democracy, which is a much broader topic than the intention of this study and the previous five studies; nevertheless, party competition was one of the indicators used to measure democracy.[14]

There is a definite degree of optimism concerning the application of the hypothesis to ~~the three~~ Southern states, since five of the six studies show a definite relation to exist between economic development and party competition. The major problem at this point concerns the selection of the variables and their indicators in order to obtain a precise measure of economic development.

Since the variables and indicators of economic development in these six studies are quite similar, it was decide to adapt the method of just one writer and

apply his approach to this study.

THE DATA

The criteria of economic development are the same four indicators used by Seymour Martin Lipset in his study, Political Man: wealth, education, industrialization, and urbanization.[15] The primary need at present is to establish exactly what is meant by each of these four terms. All of the data was obtained from the U.S. Census of the Population, volume 1: "Characteristics of the Population," published in 1960 by the Bureau of the Census.

The indice selected as indicative of wealth will be the median family income.

> Income is the sum of money received in 1959 from the following: Wages or salary; net income for loss from self-employment; net income or loss from rents, or receipts from roomers or boarders; royalties; interest, dividends, and periodic income from estates, trust funds, and annuities; social security benefits; pensions; veterans' payments, Armed Forces allotments for dependents, unemployment insurance, and public assistance or other government payments; and contributions for support from persons who are not members of the household, such as alimony. The figures represent the amount of income received before deductions for personal income taxes, social security, bond purchases, union dues, etc.
>
> Family income represents, as a single amount the combined income of the head of the family and all other members of the family 14 years old and over. Although the time period covered by the income statistics is calendar year 1959, the composition of families relates to April, 1960. Thus, on the one hand, family income does not

include amounts received by persons who were members of the family during all or part of the calendar year 1959 if these persons no longer resided with the Family in April 1960. On the other hand, family income includes amounts reported by related persons who did not reside with the family during 1959 but who were members of the family in April, 1960.

Family 'median income' is the amount of income which divides the distribution of familis into two equal groups--one having incomes above the median and the other having incomes below the median.[16]

MEDIAN

The median school years will be the indice of education. This refers to the amount of school years completed by the population 25 years old and over.

Data refer to the highest grade (or year) of regular school completed....Regular schooling is schooling that may advance a person toward an elementary school certificate or high school diploma, or a college, university, or professional degree. Schooling generally regarded as not regular includes schooling given in nursery schools; in the on-the-job training; and through correspondence courses....Approximate equivalent grades were used for persons whose highest grade of attendance was in a foreign school system, whose highest level of schooling was measured by 'readers,' or whose training by a tutor was regarded as qualifying under the definition for regular schools.

The median number of school years completed is the value which divides the population group into two equal parts--one-half having completed more, and the other half less, schooling than the median.[17]

MEDIAN

Indice for industrialization will be capital expenditures. A difficulty here is the capital expenditures are only measured for the current year, a county

of high industrialization might have made a great deal of capital expenditures the previous year, which adequately covered the possibility for additional capital expenditures in the following year; thus, it would score lower in degree of industrialization than it normally should. Nevertheless, the ranking of the counties in order of industrialization measured by capital expenditures, showed no noticeable deviations from the rankings of the other three variables.

> The figures represent expenditures made during 1958 for permanent additions and major alterations to manufacturers' plants, as well as for new machinery and equipment purchases that were chargeable to fixed-asset accounts and were a type for which depreciation accounts are ordinarily maintained. Expenditures for machinery and equipment include those made for replacement purposes, as well as for maintenance and repairs charged as current operating expenses, expenditures for land, and expenditures made by owners of plants and equipment leased to reporting manufacturers.[18]

The indice selected to measure urbanization will be the percentage of people residing in urban areas.

> The urban population comprises all persons living in (a) places of 2,500 inhabitants or more incorporated as cities, boroughs, villages, and whether in (b) the densely settled urban fringe, incorporated or unincorporated, of urbanized areas; (c) towns in New England and townships in New Jersey and Pennsylvania which contain no incorporated municipalities as subdivisions and which have either 25,000 inhabitants or more, or a population 2,500 to 25,00 and a density of 1,500 persons or more per square mile; (d) counties in states other than the New England states New Jersey, and Pennsylvania that have no incorporated municipalities within their boundaries and have a density of 1,500 persons or more per square mile; and (e) unicorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more.[19]

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SUMMARY

The race question was examined and eliminated from further consideration. Although this question might render the most logical explanation to the political system of this region, it was elminated in order to test the Strong thesis of the importance of economic development to the political system.

Evidence was presented to demonstrate the recent economic development.

Several studies were introduced to demonstrate that a condition of high party competitiveness exists in the more economically developed areas.

The indicators of economic development were defined.

It is now necessary to examine the political systems of the three states selected as indicators so that the relation between party competition and economic development may be examined and tested.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter Two

12 V.O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949), p. 11.

13 Edgar T. Thompson, "The South and the Second Emancipation", Change in the Contemporary South (Durham: Duke University Press, 1963), p. 96.

14. Thompson, op. cit., p. 113.

15. Donald S. Strong, "Durable Republicanism in the South" Change in the Contemporary South (Durham: Duke University Press, 1963), p. 176.

16. Allan P. Sindler, "Some trends, Judgments, and Questions", Change in the Contemporary South (Durham: Duke University Press, 1963), p. 233.

18. Strong, op., cit., p. 175.

17. Nichols included Kentucky, Delaware, Maryland, and The District of Columbia as part of the South; this would tend to inflate the figures for the South, as these states have a higher degree, on the average, of economic development.

18. William H. Nichols, "The South as a Developing Area", The American South in the 1960's. Avery Leiserson, Ed. (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1964), p. 40.

20. Joseph Golembiewski, "A Taxonomic Approach to State Political Party Strength". Western Political Quarterly, XI No. 3 (Sept., 1958), p. 494-513.

21. Heinz Eulau, "The Ecological Basis of Party Systems: The Case of Ohio", Midwest Journal of Political Science, IV, No. 1 (Feb., 1960) p. 62-75

22. David Gold and John Schmidhauser, "Urbanization and Party Competition: The Case of Iowa", Midwest Journal of Political Science, IV No. 1 (Feb. 1960), p. 552-64.

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12. Phillips Cutright, "Urbanization and Competitive Party Politics", Journal of Politics, XXV, No. 3. (August, 1963), 552-64.

13. Richard E Dawson and J.A. Robinson, "Inter-party Competition, Economic Variables, and Welfare in the American States," Journal of Politics, XXV, No. 2 (May, 1963), p.265-89.

14. Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, (New York: Doubleday, 1960).

15. The indices of wealth were: per capita income, thousands of persons per doctor, persons per motor vehicle, telephones per 1,000 persons, and newspaper copies per 1,000 persons.

The indices of industrialization were percentages of males in agriculture and per capita energy consumed.

The indices of education were: percentage literate, primary education enrollment per 1,000 persons, and higher education enrollment per 1,000 persons.

The indices of urbanization were: percent in cities over 100,000, and percent in metropolitan areas.

The greater part of this data was obtained from International Urban Research, the University of California, Berkeley, California. Other pertinent information may be obtained from various publications of the Statistical Office of the United Nations: National and Per Capita Income in Seventy Countries, A Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation, Statistical Yearbook, and Demographic Yearbook; also the World Survey of Education published by UNESCO

16. US Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1962) p. XX-XXI.

17. Ibid., p. XXI

18. Ibid., p. XXVII.

19. Ibid., p. XIX-XX.

CHAPTER III

THE POLITICAL SCENE

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE G.O.P.

Several writers have speculated on the topic that the economic development of the South has been conducive to the growth of the G.O.P.

Samuel Lubell:

> The strongest single force for political change in Dixie Land today is the newly developing urban middle class who, by northern standards would be classed conservative...From this middle class are coming the strongest pressures for two-party politics. The liberals, feeling themselves weak, are actually hugging the one-party system with might and main.[1]

V. O. Key:

> The development of industry and trade in a region hitherto more completely dedicated to agriculture has had and will continue to have a far reaching influence in several directions...Concurrently with the growth of the number of urban workers, there are coming into being, of course, industrial and financial interests that have a fellow feeling with Northern Republicanism. A continuing growth of industry and a continued leftward veering of the Democratic Party nationally would place a greater and greater strain on the Democratic loyalties of Southern business.[2]

Samuel duBois Cook:

> The G.O.P. no longer depends on traditional Republicans in the hills and mountains--the bearers of the legacy of Unionist sentiments. Modern Southern Republicanism is a creature of the region's growing industrialization and urbanization. The cities and suburban areas are the chief sources of strength. Paradoxically, Southern Republicanism, which stresses the philosophy of conservatism, is the product of revolutionary industrial and techno-

> logical change. In the cities and suburbs are the rising middle classes--as well as the regions' big business leadership and corporate industrial interests--which are increasingly dissatisfied with the liberalism of the national Democratic Party.[3]

Theodore H. White saw the Republican revolt as initiated by the growth of industries and urban areas. The emergence of a new middle-class, who are repelled by the red-neck leaders of the Democratic party, increases the possibility of the growth of the Republican Party in the South.

In his study of the 1952 presidential election, Samuel Lubell concluded, "If one separates where Ike was strongest from where he was weakest, county by county and ward by ward in each of the eleven Southern states, the striking fact that emerges is how distinctly the vote stratifies along impersonal economic and racial lines. . . .Even more spectacular was the Republican outpouring in the Southern cities, which was where the economic protest centered."[4]

The forecasts of Strong and Sindler seem to have correctly captured the reaction of the South to the recent economic development that the South has undergone.

THE GROWTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The reaction of the South seems to have certainly produced significant results in the three presidential

elections held during the time span of this study. In Florida, the Republicans won the Presidential election all three times. In these elections, the average Republican vote was 54.6 per cent; the average amount of counties won was 27 of a total of 67.[5] In Louisiana, the Republicans were victorious in 1956, when President Eisenhower received 53.3 per cent of the vote and captured 45 of 64 parishes (counties). The average Republican vote for the three elections was 43.0 per cent; the Republicans won an average of 28 of the parishes.[6] The Republicans nearly emerged victoriously in the State of South Carolina in 1952 and 1960 when they received 49.3 per cent of the vote and captured 25 of the 46 counties and 48.8 per cent of the vote and 21 counties, respectively. Although the Republican Party only received 25.2 per cent of the vote and won only two counties in the 1956 election; an independent slate of electors, pledged to Eisenhower, received 30.4 per cent of the vote and won 21 counties. For the three election, the Republicans received an average of 41.1 per cent of the vote and won an average of 15.7 counties.

It should be expected that such great Republican shows of strength on the presidential level should be reflected somewhat in Senatorial and Gubernatorial elections. This has not been the case. The Sindler article pointed

out a crucial distinction, "The critical difference in the alleged parallel is that the supporters of Presidential Republicans are dissatisfied with the national Democratic party but are often quite satisfied with a continuance of Democratic control of state and local government."[8]

Prior to the 1952 election in Louisiana, John T. Carpenter of Shreveport offered a resolution that would place state-wide candidates under the traditional rooster emblem on the ballot; whereas the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket would appear under the national donkey emblem. The motion was defeated 56-34. Nevertheless, this is an example of a move designed to make it easier for voters to break from tradition and vote for a Republican Presidential candidate.[9]

The Republicans contested only three of five Senatorial contests in Florida and received an average vote of 27.5 per cent. The Republicans won only one county, Pinellas; this occured in the 1950 election when John P. Booth ran against the incumbent, George A. Smathers. Booth received 23.7 per cent of the total vote. The Republicans received a 28.7 per cent average vote and a victory average of three counties per election, as they contested all five gubernatorial contests. In Louisiana, the Republicans contested three of the five senatorial

elections; they received an average vote of 19.0 per cent and captured an average of 2.3 parishes (counties). Republican candidates were entered in two of the three gubernatorial races; they failed to win a single parish and only received an average vote of 10.5 per cent. In South Carolina, the Republicans failed to field a candidate in any of the four gubernatorial elections. They contested two of the six senatorial elections, both against the late Senator Olin D. Johnston. They received an average vote of 30.3 per cent and captured an average of 4.5 counties.

This material furnishes additional evidence to the phenomenon of 'presidential republicanism'; namely, that the voters in the South will break with tradition on the national level but remain within the Democratic party in state elections.

A DURABLE REPUBLICANISM

Since a significant change in voting patterns has occured on the level of national politics, it is conceivable that this tendency could spread to state and local elections.

The statistics previously presented on the differences in the size of the vote for the three offices fail to account for an important distinction. They do not

show whether the vote has any consistency in pattern. A careful analysis of the vote on a county by county basis shows that there is an extremely high correlation of consistency in the rank of the vote of the county in the state.

The procedure for this analysis is to determine the average vote in each county for each of the three offices. The counties are ranked in order of attachment to the Republican Party. The highest Republican county is ranked number one, and the ranking continues in a descending manner. The various elections within each state are compared according to their rank per county. The Rank-Average-Rank (RAR) is also tabulated for each county. The RAR merely consists in ranking the average of the average rank for the three elections in each county.[10]

The Spearman coefficient-correlation test is applied to validate the similarities in the rankings. With this test, a correlation of +.700 or -.700 is considered to constitute a meaningful relation. Using the +1.0 to -1.0 scale, the following correlations are derived:

SPEARMAN TEST APPLIED TO THE RELATION OF PRESIDENTIAL, SENATORIAL, AND GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS IN LOUISIANA, FLORIDA, AND SOUTH CAROLINA (1950-1962).

Table 1

OFFICE	Louisiana	Florida	S.C.	Ave.
President-Senate	.613	.938	.897	.816
President-Governor	*	.909	*	*
Senate-Governor	*	.938	*	*

*Insufficient data to include consideration of elections for Governor

Number of elections: Louisiana - 11
Florida - 11
South Carolina - 13

Source: America Votes, R.M. Scammon, Ed. Government Affairs Institute, New York: Vol. 1, 1956; Vol. 2, 1957; Vol. 3, 1958; Vol. 4, 1960; Vol. 5, 1962.

The high degree of correlation indicates that the Republican vote is not without a foundation. The areas of Republican strength in presidential elections are comparable to the areas of strength in senatorial and gubernatorial elections, although the latter, naturally, are on a much lower scale. But this seems to indicate that the Republicans have a point of departure; there exists a base-vote which can be depended upon. Since the areas that have demonstrated the greatest tendency to deviate from traditional voting patterns on the three levels of election are the same, it should logically follow that the Republicans should eventually manifest a comparable degree of support in non-presidential elections.

An exception is found in the case of Louisiana, which only has a correlation of .613, which places it below a meaningful relation. From the available data, this cannot be explained. In all probability, this can be accounted for by the machinations of parish bosses such as Leander Perez of Plaquemines. Eisenhower received 93.0 per cent of the vote in 1952 in Plaquemines Parish (which showed the greatest degree of deviation) and 81.2 per cent of the vote in the 1956 election. Whereas, Kennedy received 87.2 per cent of the vote in the 1960 election.

THE DATA

There are many factors that influence the vote of a particular person: tradition, localism, economic motivation, religion, nationality, race, sex and undoubtedly many others. As stated previously, the factor of economic development is selected to see if it helps to bring more understanding of the region's political system. It is analyzed to see if this factor is acquiring increased importance as a major determinant of voting behavior in the South, and if it creates a situation conducive to the growth of the Republican Party.

There are several methods of determining a reliable measurement of G.O.P. growth in the South: victories and non-victories in elections on various levels, total

popular votes, number of primaries and elections contested, the seriousness of the campaigns, the proliferation of active political organizations, and/or the number of permanent headquarters with full-time staffs. The total popular vote is the variable used to measure relative party strength, since this factor has been used in all previously mentioned studies involving the strength of political parties.

The levels of the elections are the Presidential, Senatorial and Gubernatorial contests. This gives an adequate cross-sampling of elections on various levels and the differences that are involved. A consideration of only one or two of these levels is not acceptable as an adequate indicator, since it would fail to consider the vast differences between the national politics and the state politics of both major parties.

The voting returns are analyzed on a county by county basis in the states of Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina. This period (1950-1962) is selected, since it was during this time that the Republican Party began to experience a rapid increase in its voting strength in the South; simultaneously, the South began its process of economic development.

The counties are ranked according to their average Republican vote, with each contest accorded equal weight.

The average for the rankings is tabulated, and the Rank-Average-Rank (RAR), as explained earlier, is determined. This RAR is analyzed in comparison with the different indices of economic development. The Spearman Test is employed to determine the exact correlation between the different variables.

Since it is possible to rank the counties in order of their Republican vote, the Spearman Test is selected to test the hypothesis. If there are great fluctuations in the data per county for the different variables, the Spearman Test would be inapplicable as the even drop in the rankings would not account for broad fluctuations in the actual data. Since the data has a relatively even rate of decline from the highest to the lowest county, this inadequacy of the Spearman Test does not lead to any erroneous conclusions.

The Test is quite simple to apply:

> The principle behind Spearman's measure is very simple. We compare the rankings on the two sets of scores by taking the difference of ranks, squaring these differences and then adding, and finally manipulating the measure so that its value will be +1.0 whenever the rankings are in perfect agreement, -1.0 if they are in perfect disagreement, and zero if there is no relationship whatsoever. If we symbolize the difference between any pair of ranks as D_i ; we then find the value of $\sum_{i=1}^{N} D_i^2$ and compute r_s (the correlation) by means of the formula: $r_s = 1 - \frac{6\sum_{i=1}^{N} D_i^2}{N(N^2-1)}$

11

The election returns for the years 1950-1962 are obtained from the America Votes series, published in 1956, 1957, 1958, 1960, 1962, and 1964 by the Government Affairs Institute in New York.

The results of the Spearman Test are presented in Chapters Four, Five, and Six.

SUMMARY

Several statements by various noted authors were introduced to demonstrate that an increase in economic development would be conducive to the growth of the Republican party. Evidence was submitted showing the actual gains the Republican party made during the 1950-62 period. It was evident that the phenomenon of 'presidential republicanism' exists in the South, but it was demonstrated that, nevertheless, a certain foundation of support exists which could develop into a durable source of strength. The method of analyzing the data was explained.

The following three chapters will consist of applying and testing the hypothesis in the three selected states.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER THREE

1. Samuel Lubell, Future of American Politics (New York: Harper, 1952), p. 112-13.

2. V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949), p. 673.

3. Samuel duBois Cook, "Political Movements and Organizations", The American South in the 1960's, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), p. 151.

4. Samuel Lubell, Revolt of the Moderates (New York: Huper, 1956), p. 171.

5. See Appendix 1.

6. See Appendix 2.

7. See Appendix 3.

8. Allan P. Sindler, "Some Trends, Judgments, and Questions", Change in the Contemporary South (Durham: Duke University Press, 1963), p. 237.

9. John N. Popham, "Louisiana's Votes to go to Stevenson", New York Times. Aug. 21, 1952, p. 10.

10. For the rank per office and the RAR, see Appendix 4.

11. Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1960), p. 317.

CHAPTER IV

"LOUISIANA: THE SEAMY SIDE OF DEMOCRACY"[1]

BACKGROUND

The study by Matthews and Prothro, classified the Democratic Party in Louisiana as multifactional. This is true to a certain extent, but it is certainly not the multi-factionalism that exists in a state such as Florida. The main theme of the factional contest in Louisiana centers on the Long Faction, which will usually receive 40% of the vote in the first primary; this faction is opposed by the anti-Long faction, which consists of various other groups, who run their own candidates, united only by the sentiment of defeating the Long organization. This has been the case ever since The Kingfish, Huey P. Long, sui generis, was elected Governor of the Pelican State in 1928, after being narrowly defeated in 1924. Huey rode the wave of a red-neck directed, anti-establishment, emotional oratory to victory:

> Where are the institutions to care for the sick and disabled? Evangeline wept bitter tears in her disappointment, but it lasted through only one lifetime. Your tears in this country, around this oak, have lasted for generations. Give me the chance to dry the eyes of those who still weep here.[2]

Based on his share-the-wealth program, Huey Long wrested control from the vested oligarchies and established a virtual dictatorship over Louisiana politics that enabled the Long family to dominate the political system

up to the present time. Longism did not die with Huey's assasination in 1935. Much of his program was adopted by the conservatives, with the promise of administering it better. In the 1940 campaign for Governor, the conservative leader, Sam Jones, ". . .did not whisper when he remarked, 'My pappy was for Huey.'"[3] His brother, Earl K. Long, was elected Lieutenant-Governor in 1936; Earl become Governor in 1939 when Governor Richard Leche resigned due to a public outcry against the financial scandals involving his administration. Earl was re-elected Governor in 1948 and again in 1956.[4] In 1960, Earl Long ran third in a six-man race for Lieutenant-Governor. "His poor showing apparently resulted from his escapades last summer before and after his confinement in three mental institutions."[5] Earl returned triumphantly in September when he defeated the incumbent, Harlod McSween, for the Congressional seat in the Eight Congressional District.[6] But the "last of the red hot papas,"[7] died a few days after his election.

The son of Huey, Russell B. Long, was first elected to the Senate in a special election in 1948; he has been re-elected in 1950, 1956, and 1962.

The fourth Long to become involved in Louisiana politics was George S. Long, who won the Eight Congressional District when he defeated Mayor Carl B. Close

of Alexandria. Close was supported by the Governor-Elect, Robert F. Kennon, a Circuit Judge, who was defeated by Earl Long in 1948. Two late arrivals on the political scene are both cousins of Russell Long. Gillis Long was elected to fill the seat left vacant by Earl Long's death. Speedie Long defeated Gillis for the Democratic nomination in 1962 in an inter-Long battle for domination of the Long organization.

As factions vie for domination, so do factions of factions. Earl Long emerged as the leader of the Long faction, but the rise of the son of Huey brought not the run of glorious summer but the winter of discontent within the Long Organization.

The first challenge came in the 1952 election. The hand-picked successor to Earl Long was a former District Judge, Carlos G. Spaht. The other leading candidates were Robert F. Kennon, a Circuit Judge, and Hale Boggs, Representative for the Second Congressional District. The important point in this election was an attempt to forge a new political alliance. "The leading protagonists are three young lawyers who hold high political office and have joined hands in an avowed determination to blueprint a new political structure for Louisiana. In their efforts to attain this goal they have had to call for a reshuffling of past loyalties and

keeping clear of religious and sectional taboos, rural and urban differences."[8]

The three leading actors were: Russell Long, deLesseps S. Morrison, the Mayor of New Orleans and the head of the anti-Long forces in the state's largest city; and Hale Boggs, who was challenging the myth that no resident of New Orleans or Roman Catholic could be elected Governor.

The top two places for the run-off primary went to Spaht and Kennon, with the former coming in first. Five of the defeated candidates pledged their support to a coalition behind Kennon. They were Boggs, William J. Dodd, James McLemore, Dudley J. LeBlanc, and Lucille May Grace. Morrison also promised his support to the coalition. Senator Long retired from active competition in the campaign with a statement that he was "...proud of the battle we waged. My duties as a US Senator for the people of Louisiana require me to return to Washington."[9]

In a record high vote in the run-off election of February 19, Judge Kennon, the poor-man's candidate, emerged victorious. He directed his campaign to the liberals, independents, and "...the people in the forks of the creeks."[10] The defeat was interpreted as a rebuke of Long's welfare state. "His administration increased

taxes 50%, expanded charity hospital service, increased old-age pensions and voted a veteran's bonus."[11] The people revolted against the free-handed administration of these programs and the burdensome tax increases. Earl Long made the most heinous of political faux pas,". . . to pay for the poor man's pension he was willing to tax the poor man's beer."[12] During the remainder of Earl Long's life, there were no overt battles for control of the organization. After his demise, the conflict was renewed with Earl's wife attempting to stave off the challenge of Russell.

An important element in the factional contests is the race question. This approach was greatly noticable in the 1960 campaign, when Jimmie H. Davis, "The Louisiana Balladeer,"[13] perfected it to victory. This marked a great shift from the approach of Earl Long, who certainly was no racial demagogue. Earl did quite well among the Negro voters and only used an emotional appeal based on racial prejudice as a last resort in times of desperation. Dependent upon the actions of Russell Long, it appears that the possibility of a wide cleavage within the Long organization has been created.

Russell Long was dealt another defeat, this time in the Eighth Congressional District. His cousin and political ally, Gillis Long, the incumbent, was defeated in the Democratic primary by McKeithen--supported by

Speedie Long, another cousin.

This development exceeds the limits of this paper, however, the nature of the factions and the sources of their support should be examined.

The nature of the voting content is readily noticeable by a brief examination of two primary elections. In the 1940 campaign, the results of the first primary were as follows:

Sam H. Jones	154,936
Earl K. Long	226,385
J. H. Morrison	48,243
H. V. Moseley	7,595
J. A. Noe	116,564 [14]

The result of the run-off primary resulted in a victory for Jones, who received 284,437 votes; Long, 265,403. A leading factor in the success of the anti-Long forces was the memory of the financial scandals in the Leche administration.

The results of the 1956 primary produced somewhat similar results:

Earl K. Long	375,754
deLesseps S. Morrison	173,290
Fred T. Preaus	89,348
Francis C. Grevenberg	55,649
James M. McLemore	43,371 [15]

This election marked a triumphant return for Earl Long. He accomplished a rarity in Louisiana politics by receiving a majority on the first ballot. It also avenged the loss of the Governor's Chair in 1952, as

Governor Kennon's candidate finished a distant third.

It is substantially correct to label the Democratic party in Louisiana as multifactional, but a true understanding of the nature of the factionalism will elude the inquirer, in search of understanding, if it is not recognized that the system is dominated to a great extent by unifactionalism.

The hard-core Long areas have traditionally been the northern and the Florida parishes. The strongest support comes from the parishes in the northwest, which were dominated by the Populists in the 1896 election. "The heavy vote in the so-called northwestern hill parishes evidently parallels that for progressive candidates in other southern states in the highland countries, with relatively few Negroes, many small farmers, a Populist background, and, further back, restrained enthusiasm for the Civil War."[16]

The major sources of anti-Long strength tend to be the cities, even the small urban areas tend to be somewhat anti-Long. Although this tends to be the case, one must venture carefully with this speculation, as V. O. Key pointed out, "An embarrasing feature of the theory that urbanism has anything to do with opposition to Longism is that the two are not everywhere related."[17]

An interesting development to constantly bear in mind is the relation of the state factions to the National Democratic party; since the seeds for possible Republican growth were planted by the National Democratic party, when the question of racial segregation became incompatible with the policies of the national Democratic party.

It is the Long faction that has constantly endeavored to remain withing the confines of the Democratic umbrella. The Longs have expressed indigenous indignation at premature frontal assaults on the Democratic party. The Long organization gave neither moral nor financial support to the Dixiecrats in 1948. In the 1952 and 1956 presidential elections, Governor Kennon supported Eisenhower; whereas, the Longs remained loyal to Adlai Stevenson. Their support, however, was much more lukewarm in 1956, when President Eisenhower captured the state by polling 53.3% of the vote. Although the political personality of Eisenhower played a great role in the election, "...the major factor was the lack of work for Mr. Stevenson by the party."[18]

RELATION OF FACTIONALISM TO THE G.O.P.

If the modified Ranney-Kendall classification were applied to the parishes of Louisiana; there would be five modified two-party parishes (Bossier, Caddo,

La Salle, Lincoln, and Morehouse); six transitional two-party parished (Chaiborne, De Soto, Ouachita, Tensas, Union, and Winn); seven modified one-party parishes (Beauregard, Bienville, Franklin, Jackson, Natchitochees, Rapids, and Webster); eight marginal one-party parishes (Calcasieu, Caldwell, Concordia, East Baton Rouge, Grant, Jefferson, Lafayett, and Orleans); and the map containing the parishes may be found in Appendix 1.

Twenty of these twenty-six parishes are located in the northern portion of the state; the eleven parishes that constitute the top two categories are situated in the more northern portion of the state.

As V. O. Key pointed out, the main areas of Long support were in the north and in the Florida counties; the anti-Long forces tended to be strongest in the urban areas. But Key was careful to hedge this statement, as he pointed out that it was not everywhere the case.

In order to test the relation between urbanization and anti-Long strength, a block-diagram is constructed and the Kendall Q Test is applied to determine the significance of the relation.[19]

"This measure can only be used in a 2 X 2 table and is defined as:

$$Q = \frac{ad - bc}{ad + bc}$$

where a,b,c, and d refer to the cell frequencies."[20]

A score of ± .70 constitutes a significant relation in this test.

RELATION OF ANTI-LONG STRENGTH
TO URBANIZATION

Table 1

Anti-Long Strength		LOW	HIGH
LOW		A: 26	B: 15
HIGH		C: 12	D: 11

Urbanization

Sources: Data on anti-Long strengh compiled from: V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949.

Data on urbanization compiled from: US Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, D.C.; US Government Printing Office, 1962

In Table 1, Quadrants B and D represent the parishes of high urbanization, those with over 40% of the people residing in urban areas. Of these 26 parishes, only 11, Quadrant D, are areas of traditional anti-Long support; whereas, 15 parishes, Quadrant B, have a relatively high degree of urbanization but are not centers of anti-Long support. Of the 23 parishes where anti-Long support prevails, 12 of these parishes, Quadrant C, have less than 40% of the people living in urban areas.

The Kendall Q Test shows a correlation of only +.23, which means the relation is only very slight and

certainly not statistically significant. There does appear to be a relation if an extremely strict criteria of urbanization is applied: a parish having an incorporated city of more than 25,000. There are seven such parishes in Louisiana: Caddo (Shreveport), Ouachita (Monroe), Rapids (Alexandria), Calcasieu (Lake Charles), East Baton Rouge (Baton Rouge), Lafayette (Lafayette), and Orleans (New Orleans). Only Calcasieu and Orleans parishes do not qualify as anti-Long areas, and Orleans is an area of traditional Long support. So a relation between urbanization and anti-Long strength appears to exist at the apex of the political pyramid. But as one approaches the mainstream of Louisiana urbanization, this relation becomes quite tenuous.

In order to determine if the traditional factional competition has any effect on the strength of the Republican Party, the areas of Long support and anti-Long support are compared to Republican support. A block-diagram is used to demonstrate the existence of any significant relationship and the Kendall Q Test is applied.

RELATION OF REPUBLICAN STRENGTH
TO LONG STRENGTH

Table 2.

Long Strength		Low	High
Low	A	24	B 16
High	C	14	D 10

Republican Strength

Sources: Data on Long strength compiled from: V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949.
Data on Republican Strength compiled from: R. M. Scammon, Ed. America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1-1956; Vol. 2-1957; Vol. 3-1958; Vol. 4-1960; Vol. 5-1962.

RELATION OF REPUBLICAN STRENGTH
TO ANTI-LONG STRENGTH

Table 3.

Anti-Long Strength		Low	High
Low	A	26	B 16
High	C	12	D 10

Republican Strength

Sources: Data on anti-Long strength compiled from: V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949.
Data on Republican strength compiled from: R.M. Scammon, Ed. America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1-1956; Vol. 2-1957; Vol. 3-1958; Vol. 4-1960; Vol. 5-1962.

The Kendall Q Test shows a correlation of +.04 for Table 2 and +.15 for Table 3. This signifies that

no relation exists between the areas of Republican strength and the areas of traditional factional support. The Republican growth shows no discrimination as to where it may receive votes. The Republican party has received support from Long, anti-Long, factional neutral areas.

Since the purpose of this study is to explore the relation between economic development and party competition, the Rank-Average-Rank of the parishes in economic development is interjected into the relation of Republican strength and factional strength. As the question of factionalism seems to bear absolutely no relation to Republican strength, the purpose of this particular exploratory procedure is to determine the interplay of economic development, factional strength, and Republican strength. Only the top twenty parishes on the RAR scale are injected.

These ranks are placed in their appropriate quadrant in the block diagram and the Kendall Q Test is applied.

RELATION OF REPUBLICAN STRENGTH TO LONG STRENGTH BASED ON RAR OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Table 4

Long Strength		Low Republican Strength	High Republican Strength
Low		A: 5	B: 11
High		C: 3	D: 1

Sources: Data on Long strength compiled from: V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation, New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949.

Data on economic development compiled from: US Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1962

Data on Republican strength compiled from: R.M. Scammon, Ed. America Votes, Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1-1956; Vol. 2, 1957; Vol. 3, 1958; Vol. 4-1960; Vol. 5-1962.

RELATION OF REPUBLICAN STRENGTH TO ANTI-LONG STRENGTH: BASED ON RAR OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Table 5

Anti-Long Strength		Low Republican Strength	High Republican Strength
Low		A: 7	B: 7
High		C: 1	D: 5

Sources: Data on Long strength compiled from: V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949

Data on economic development compiled from: US Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1962.

Data on Republican strength compiled from: R. M. Scammon, Ed. America Votes, Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1-1956; Vol. 2-1957; Vol. 3-1958; Vol. 4-1960; Vol. 5-1962.

In Table 4, the Republican Party is rated high (according to the modified Ranney-Kendall classification) in 12 (Quadrants B and D) of the 20 highest parishes according to the degree of economic development. There are only 4 parishes (Quadrants C and D) where Long support corresponds with economic development. The only parish that has a high degree of Long support, Republican strength, and economic development is Orleans parish (Quadrant D).

The correlation from the Kendall Q Test is -.74, which means a significant negative Republican strength and Long strength when the variable of economic development is inserted.

From Table 4, it is obvious that Republican support correlates much more closely with economic development than the source of Long support.

In Table 5, the Republican Party scores high in 12 (Quadrants C and D) where anti-Long support corresponds with economic development. The correlation from the Kendall Q Test is +.67, which is very close to being a significant relation. From Table 5, it is obvious that Republican support correlated much more closely with economic development than the source of anti-Long support.

It was developed earlier that the base of Republican support bore no relation to the factional content of Democratic contests. It now appears evident that Republican strength has a much closer relation to

economic development than does the nature of the strength of the competing factions.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

It is necessary to focus upon the particular activities of the Republican party during the 1950-62 period. Its existence could probably be best characterized as subsistence politics, except for presidential elections; nevertheless, the state organization is beginning to flex its muscles and field candidates for the various offices.

The major function of the state organization has been to serve as a patronage dispenser when the Republicans were in control of the executive branch of the national government and to field delegates to the national nominating convention. Seldom were serious candidates entered in elections; the Eisenhower election in 1952 marked the advent of the beginning of more concerted and concentrated efforts to obtain Republican votes. The major force in the state Republican organization was John Minor Wisdom, a Republican national Committeeman. As the Republicans began to make serious gains in the presidential elections in Louisiana, Wisdom came under serious attack by fledgling Republicans, especially after the Eisenhower victory in 1956. His opponents contend that, "...he has discouraged a two-party system

because he is fearful of losing his grip on party members."[21]

The major impact of the party has been the role they would play at the national conventions. In the primary election on January 15, 1952, the Eisenhower slate, led by John Minor Wisdom, was elected over the Taft delegates, led by John E. Jackson. This touched off a bitter fight that was to have important national implications. The primary was held only in New Orleans, because that was the only area where the Republicans were organized. The Republican Central Committee unexpectedly held the primary void because "...not all precincts in New Orleans had the required election commissioner, and Republicans in the state's other parishes...were not entitled to vote."[22]

The Eisenhower supporters took the case to court because, "Under the Louisiana election laws the Central Committee of any party must certify with the Secretary of State the winners in its primary election, whose names are then placed on the general election ballot."[23] More important, it would determine which slate of delegates would represent Louisiana at the Convention. After hearing the appeal, the District Court dispatched a notice to appear before the Court to N. B. James, Chairman of the Republican Central Committee to determine whether the committee should be forced to certify the winners of the primary.[24] On February 15, District

Judge G. Caldwell Herget granted a petition for a writ of mandamus against the Taft-dominated Central Committee requiring that it promulgate the primary returns. This decision was upheld on February 29 by the First District Court of Appeals.[25] Along with the contested delegation in Texas, this enabled Eisenhower to sweep to a first-ballot victory over Taft at the Convention.

Although Eisenhower came fairly close to victory in Louisiana in the general election, the other Republican candidates were doomed to dismal defeat. Nevertheless, the effort was made. Harrison Bagwell and Mrs. Violet B. Allen were the Republican candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor; in addition, there were eleven candidates from New Orleans for the state legislature.

The Republicans finally drew blood in the 1956 election when President Eisenhower captured the state. An impressive showing was also made by two candidates for Congress (the fact that there were two candidates was impressive in itself). George R. Blue received 35.5% of the vote in the Second Congressional District and Calhoun Allen, Jr. received 31.9% of the vote in the Fourth Congressional District against Overton Brooks.[26] Minus the added attraction of a national campaign, the Republicans fielded only one candidate for the House of

Representatives in the 1958 election.

In the 1960 election, the Republicans fielded their most impressive slate, at least in quantity. An important fact to bear in mind is that the Gubernatorial elections are not held simultaneously with the Presidential elections. This is a state constitutional device that easily enables Democratic voters to remain loyal to the state organization, but show discontent with the national party. The immediate and ultimate effect of this device mitigate to hinder the Republican Party; as the state candidates must campaign minus the luster of attachment to a national candidate, whom the Louisiana voters are prepared to vote for. In the gubernatioial election, held on April 18, the Republican candidate, Francis C. Grevemberg, received 17.0% of the vote against Jimmie H. Davis. In the Senatorial election, George W. Reese received 20.2% against Allen J. Ellender. In the contests for seats in the House of Representatives, the Republicans fielded six candidates. Otto Passman, Fifth Congressional District, and Earl K. Long, Eighth Congressional District, were the only Democrats not bothered by the pestilence of opposition. The Republicans fielded three major candidates in the 1962 elections: Taylor W. O'Hearn of Shreveport received 24.4% of the vote against Russell Long; David Green of New Orleans, ex-chairman of the States-Rights Party, received 32.8%

of the vote in the Second Congressional District; and Mrs. Dorothy Lewis of Alexandria received 36.0% of the vote in the Eighth Congressional District.

THE RELATION OF PARTY COMPETITION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The comparison of the source of Republican strength with the factional content of the Democratic party show no relation. However, when the variable of economic development is inserted, it appears that a positive relation might exist between the variables of Republican strength and economic development, since the Republican strength seems to correlate more with economic development than either the Long or anti-Long factions of the Democratic party.

This statement does not move any mountains in the quest for an ordered understanding of this particular political system, nor does it answer the major hypothesis of this study. Therefore, a more precise means of examining the hypothesis is necessary.

A restatement of the theme of this study should be useful at this moment: the extent of a competitive party system in the South has a direct and positive correlation to economic development. Party competitiveness is measured by the growth of the Republican party. Economic development is measured by the indicators of wealth, industrialization, urbanization, and education.

In order to obtain a precise measure of the correlation, the Spearman Coefficient-Correlation Test is applied.

CORRELATIONS OBTAINED FROM THE SPEARMAN TEST: RELATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WITH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (1950-1962)

Table 6

Rank	Indicator of Economic Development	Results in Louisiana
1	Education	.446
2	Urbanization	.266
3	Industrialization	.214
4	Wealth	.058
	RAR: Economic Development	.297

Sources: Data on economic development compiled from: US Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1962.

Data on Republican party compiled from: R. M. Scammon, Ed. America Votes, Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1-1956; Vol. 2-1957; Vol. 3-1958; Vol. 4-1960; Vol. 5-1962.

The findings show a slight positive relation exists with each indicator, but it can not be considered significant (a score of $\pm$ .700 shows significance in the Spearman Test). Education comes closest to being significant, whereas wealth has an almost meaningless relation. Urbanization, industrialization, and the RAR of economic development occupy the middle-ground and produce almost similar results.

It appears that other factors have to be considered if one is seeking to raison d'etre of the political

situation in Louisiana.

SUMMARY

A background sketch of certain significant developments in the state's political system was presented. This section centered mainly around Huey P. Long and his particular impact upon the political situation in Louisiana - namely, the emergence of the factional content within the Democratic party: the Long faction and the anti-Long faction.

The question of the relation of factionalism with the Republican party was examined and no significant relation was found to exist. However, by injecting the variable of economic development, it appeared that the Republican party would correlate more closely with economic development than either of the competing factions.

The developments of the Republican party during the 1950-62 period were examined.

The major hypothesis of the study was applied and tested. The results showed that no significant relation existed between the strength of the Republican party and the four indicators of economic development. Of the four indicators, education came closest to producing a significant relation.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter Four

1. V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949), p. 156.

2. Ibid., p. 159

3. Ibid., p. 167.

4. Louisiana law prevents the Governor from succeeding himself.

5. Claude Sitton, "Louisiana Votes in Run-Off Today," New York Times, Jan. 9, 1960. p. 11.

6. This district is comprised of the parishes of Avoyelles, Grants, LaSalle, Natchitochees, Rapides, Sabine, Vernon, and Winn.

7. "Earl K. Long Dies in Louisiana: 3 Time Governor Was 65", New York Times, Sept. 6, 1960, p. 1.

8. John N. Popham, "Tuesday Primary Arouses Louisiana", New York Times, Jan. 13, 1952, p. 60.

9. "Support of Kennon Gains in Louisiana", New York Times, Jan. 9, 1952, p. 39.

10. "Earl Long Regime Toppled by Jurist", New York Times, Feb. 22, 1952, p. 20.

11. "Foe of Long Wins Louisiana Run-Off", New York Times, Feb. 21, 1952, p. 17.

12. "Setback for Longs", New York Times, Feb. 23, 1952 p. 26.

13. "Louisiana Balladeer: Jimmie Houston Davis", New York Times, Jan. 11, 1960, p. 30.

14. Key, op. cit., p. 174

15. "Earl Long Victor in Louisiana Vote", New York Times, Jan. 19, 1956, p. 37.

16. Key, op. cit., p. 179-80.

Footnotes (con'd)

17. Ibid., p. 178

18. "Democrats Split in Louisiana Primary", New York Times, Nov. 11, 1956, p. 62.

19. It is not possible to apply the Spearman Test, since the source of the data on the Long and anti-Long parishes, V. O. Key's Southern Politics in State and Nation, does not contain any rankings of the parishes. Thus, it is not possible to apply the Spearman Test.

20. Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1960) p. 231.

21. Op. cit., "Democrats Split in Louisiana Primary", p. 62.

22. "Taft Backers Void Louisiana Primary", New York Times, Jan. 31, 1952, p. 19.

23. "Eisenhower Slate in Louisiana Fight", New York Times, Feb. 2, 1952, p. 8.

24. Ibid. p. 8.

25. "Eisenhower Backers Win Louisiana Fight", New York Times, March 1, 1952, p. 7.

26. The Second Congressional District is comprised of the parishes of Jefferson, St. Charles, St. James, St. Orleans; The Fourth Congressional District, lists the parishes of Bienville, Bossier, Caddo, Claiborne, DeSoto, Red River and Webster.

CHAPTER V

"SOUTH CAROLINA: THE POLITICS OF COLOR"[1]

BACKGROUND

South Carolina was the first state to secede from the Union and enlist in the Confederacy in 1860 because of the questions of slavery and states' rights; the Gamecock State continues to serve in the forefront of opposition to the proponents of a strong national government and the champion of those who favor segregation of the races.

The prevalence of the race question serves as a Gibraltar of opposition to the possibility of the growth of the Republican Party. Race has been a prevalent and continued theme of South Carolina politics. V. O. Key pointed out that "...the politicians of South Carolina--and Mississippi--have put the white supremacy case most bitterly, most uncompromisingly, most vindicative."[2] The state campaigns are characterized by the candidates' competing in fervor in opposition to Civil Rights programs. The intensity of the race question keeps people mired in the web of tradition and is reflected on the political scene by continued adherance to the Democratic Party. On the possibility of party competition developing, V. O. Key wrote, "The recurrence of the cleavage between Plain and Piedmont makes it clear

that a basis exists for a bipartisanism, which, however, cannot develop because of racism."[3]

Another dominant political theme for these modern sons of John C. Calhoun has been of fervant espousal of political oratory. There has been great opposition to the national Democratic Party on this issue as well as on the race question. South Carolina played a dominant role in the Dixiecratic movement in 1948. In 1950, James F. Byrnes announced his intention to run for Governor of South Carolina. Byrnes had already established quite a personal political heritage. He was a former Representative, Senator, party whip for the New Deal, Supreme Court Justice, assistant-president to Franklin Delano Roosevelt as head of industrial mobilization in World War II, and most recently Secretary of State to Harry S. Truman. When Truman first became President, Byrnes was the first person that he sent for. Byrnes became the chief adviser to the President; but as Truman overcame initial feelings of inadequacy, he no longer depended on Byrnes. The small rift that developed grew into a wide chasm and culminated in Byrnes' resignation. Byrnes announced that his candidacy would "...serve as national symbol of opposition to President Truman's Fair Deal Program."[4] Byrnes announced the reason for his campaign, "...the trend of political events

caused me to express my views of policies affecting the state and nation...We are going down the road to statism... there is danger that the individual...will soon be an economic slave in the galley of the state."[5] One of the important features of the Byrnes' campaign was summarized by Arthur Krock, "(It) will invest that office with qualities of leadership for 'regular' Democrats which the Dixiecrat movement of 1948 did not possess."[6]

It was becoming evident that the Southern Democrats had finished their flirtation with separatist movements. They were going to work within the framework of their traditional home, the Democratic Party. Nor were the leaders avid about joining the ranks of the Republican Party. The Mississippi representative of the three-member States' Rights Executive Committee, W. W. Wright of Jackson, said, "...there was not a 'Chinaman's chance' for conservative Southern Democrats to join the Republican Party. The rank and file Southern voter never would vote Republican."[7]

The new strategy of the Southern Democratic leaders was to work within the framework of the Party, and in this manner, to try and make their influence felt. They would express discontent by a failure to work for the national party in presidential elections. But on the state level, they realize that it could be tantamount to political suicide to adhere to actions that tend to

weaken the efficacy of the state organization. "Thus the results of the Southern primaries appear to point to the end of a separatist State Rights movement. The feeling is that Southerners now think they can best fight their Civil Rights battle inside their traditional Democratic Party."[8]

Mr. Wright had confidence in the loyalties of rank and file Southern voters. But this fact, that the voters are either overtly or covertly encouraged by the politicians to support the Republican candidate in presidential elections, could lead to a permanent separation from traditional voting behavior. The manifestation of this tendency would be an increase of support for Republican candidates on the state level.

There are two factors in the South Carolina political culture that preclude this possibility from the near future. One is the dominance of the racial issue, "When the going gets rough, when a glimmer of informed political self-interest begins to well up from the masses, the issue of white supremacy may be raised to whip them back into line."[9]

The other factor is the low degree of actual economic advancement in the state. The census of 1960 showed that South Carolina stands far behind the average for the rest of the nation. This means that relatively

few people would have advanced to the point of acquiring new economic interests. Since economic change has been minimal, traditional modes of behavior remain dominant. Translated into the political system, the changes will not be as measurable as in the other states. The degree of inter-party competition will remain slight; the growth of the Republican Party will not be as pronounced as in Louisiana and Florida, because the political culture has not been influenced by a high degree of economic development, nor has the traditional pattern of race relations seen significant changes.

RELATION OF FACTIONALISM TO THE G.O.P.

A certain factional situation does exist in South Carolina. It is commonly referred to as the Piedmont versus the Low Country. The Piedmont is the manufacturing area to the northwest, which has a relatively strong labor orientation; the Low country is essentially the coastal areas, which has a large percentage of Negroes. There does exist, however, a high degree of fluidity among the two sections. There have been high degrees of fluctuation in certain elections. Even in Key's description, there is an overlap of six counties, who fit into both categories: Chester, Lee, Horry, Aiken, Saluda, and Newberry. A map of South Carolina containing the counties may be found in Appendix Two.

As Key stated, "...practicing politicians hesitate to attribute significance to a correlation between a popular vote and geographic, economic, or social factors."[10]

Nevertheless, a certain degree of consistency does exist. The northwest region is also the more economically developed region of the state.

If the theme of this paper is correct, this is where the Republicans should have demonstrated their greatest degree of advance. However, this is countered by the fact that the politicians who have dominated this area, such as Olin D. Johnston, have been fairly loyal to the national Democratic party; whereas, the politicians of the coastal area, such as Strom Thurmond, are constantly fermenting resistance to the national Democrats.

There are 22 counties that are classified as pure one-party counties. Of the 24 counties where the Republicans would be considered strong (remember the use of this word in this context is relative), 13 are included in the classification of marginal one-party politics, only one step beyond the nadir of Republican support. To show the extent of the enervated Republican strength: only 1 county (Charlestown) could be considered in the marginal two-party class, and only 4 (Beaufort, Aiken, Pickens, and Greenville) meet the qualifications for the transitional two-party class.

RELATION OF PIEDMONT TO REPUBLICAN PARTY

Table 1

Piedmont Strength		Low Republican strength	High Republican strength
Low		A 9	B 18
High		C 13	D 6

Sources: Data on Piedmont strength compiled from: V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation. New York: Alfred S. Knopf Co., 1949.
Data on Republican strength compiled from: R. M. Scammon, Ed. America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1-1956; Vol. 2-1957; Vol. 3-1958; Vol. 4-1960; Vol. 5-1962.

The Kendall Q Test shows a correlation of -.63. This almost establishes a significant negative relation between the two variables. A partial explanation for this poor showing of the Republican Party was offered by V. O. Key, the Piedmont was "...a compact area potentially the basis for a political grouping with a labor orientation."[11] As the Republican Party is not generally considered to be the favorite friend of labor, this explanation seems to suffice.

Since a negative relation exists between these two variables, it is expected that a positive relation will be formed between the variables of the strength of the Low Country and the strength of the Republican party.

RELATION OF THE LOW COUNTRY TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Table 2

The Low Country Strength		Low	High
	Low	A 11	B 10
	High	C 11	D 14

Republican Strength

Sources: Data on the Low Country strength compiled from: V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation. New York: Alfred A Knopf Co., 1949.
Data on Republican strength compiled from: R. M. Scammon, Ed. America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1-1956; Vol. 2-1957; Vol. 3-1958; Vol. 4-1960; Vol. 5-1962.

The Kendall Q Test produces a correlation of +.17, which shows a positive relation to exist but so slight as to contain no significance.

It would be expected that when our controled variable of economic development is interjected, the Piedmont will correlate most highly with the areas of economic development than the Low Country, since it was stated that the areas of economic development are predominantly in the northwest portion of the state. What we are concerned with, however, is how the Republican Party compares to the Piedmont and Low Country when economic development is included.

RELATION OF REPUBLICAN PARTY TO
PIEDMONT: BASED ON RAR
OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Table 3

Piedmont Strength

Low	A 1	B 5
High	C 8	D 6
	Low	High

Republican Strength

Sources: Data on economic development compiled from: US Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1962

Data on Piedmont strength compiled from: V.O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation, New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949.

Data on Republican strength compiled from: R.M. Scammon, Ed. America Votes, Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1-1956; Vol. 2-1957; Vol. 3-1958; Vol. 4-1960; Vol. 5-1962.

RELATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TO THE
LOW COUNTRY: BASED ON RAR
OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Table 4

The Low Country Strength

Low	A 8	B 7
High	C 1	D 4
	Low	High

Republican Strength

Sources: Data on economic development compiled from: US Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1962

Data on Piedmont strength compiled from: V.O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation, New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949.

Data on Republican strength compiled from: R.M. Scammon, Ed. America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1-1956; Vol. 2-1957; Vol. 3-1958; Vol. 4-1960; Vol. 5-1962.

Based on the top 20 counties of economic development, the Piedmont faction relates higher by corresponding in 14 counties, whereas the Republican Party scored high in 11 of these counties. There are 6 counties in which economic development is high, where the Republican Party and the Piedmont faction are similarly high. The Kendall Q Test produces a correlation of -.74.

As evidenced by Table 4, the Low Country faction scores high in only 4 areas, where economic development is high, whereas the Republican party has 11 such counties. The only 4 counties where the Low Country faction corresponds with high economic development are also counties of high Republican strength. The Kendall Q Test produces a correlation of +.64.

Of further interest, of the 9 counties where the Republican Party is low, the Piedmont is high in eight. The reverse is the case in the comparison with the Low Country; of the 9 counties where the Republican Party is low, so is the Low Country in each case.

The figures indicate that the Piedmont faction has the closest correlation with high economic development;

whereas, the Low Country has an almost negative relation. The Republican strength is somewhere in the middle. Table 3 indicates that the Republican Party has demonstrated some strength in areas of economic development, but the Republicans also demonstrated strength in certain sections, especially in the Low Country, that are not areas of high economic development. Thus, these preliminary findings tend to indicate that the degree of economic development does not provide an adequate explanation toward understanding the growth of the Republican Party in South Carolina.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

As indicated earlier, the Republican Party in South Carolina is considered a marginal one-party state, the same as Louisiana. One difference is that the Republicans were able to win one election in Louisiana, whereas they were continually whitewashed in South Carolina. Of the 13 elections during the period of 1950-62, the Republicans only contested 5 of them: 3 presidential and 2 senatorial. In 3 of these elections, the Republicans came remarkably close to victory: Eisenhower received 49.3% of the vote in 1952; Nixon received 48.8% of the vote in 1960; and in 1962, William D. Workman, a staunch conservative and author of The Case For The South, a defense of segregation, received 42.8% against Senator Olin D. Johnston. In the 1956 election the

Republican slate of electors received only 25.2%, but an independent slate of electors received 30.4% of the vote. Of greatest significance is the fact that the only 2 non-presidential elections contested by the Republicans were against Johnston, whose strength is situated in the Piedmont. Thus the Republicans relied on the malcontented Democrats of the Low Country for support, which is also the area of low economic development. Thus, it appears that no correlation between Republican support and economic development exists.

In the 1952 presidential election, Eisenhower was greatly aided by the active campaign support of Governor James F. Byrnes, who entered the foray as the champion of an anti-Truman crusade. After the near Eisenhower victory, Byrnes stated, "Today we are out of the bag for any political party and we don't intend to get back in the bag."[12] This was a warning to the national Democratic party that they could never again depend always and all ways on Southern support; if this support was desirable and desired, policies would have to be adopted that would be more amenable to the South. On the possibility of this vote becoming a permanent feature, "The Governor said only future developments would determine whether the independent Democrats of the South will align themselves with the Republicans of the North either under the name of Republican Party or under a new

name."[13] It should be noted that Byrnes was the only major Democrat in South Carolina, who overtly avowed his support for Eisenhower. But as all old politicians eventually fade away, this initial impetus given to further Republican influence in South Carolina politics by this White Knight would only be of a transient nature unless new crusaders became enamored with the trumpet of political battle and raise the G.O.P. standard.

1962 may have marked a new era for the Republican party. In the largest Republican convention in the state's history, 700 delegates, all white, from 34 counties nominated William D. Workman. "Senator Barry Goldwater was the keynote speaker at the one-day convention in Township Auditorium in Columbia, which was bedecked with Confederate flags...."[14] An important development was the fact that business recognized the serious potential in Workman's candidacy and contributed heavily to his campaign. This limited the effectiveness of both Democratic candidates in the primary; as the big money, normally canalized in their direction, was channeled into the raging river of Republican opposition.

THE RELATION OF PARTY COMPETITION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The same process for the analysis that was used in the last chapter will be used in this chapter, so there

should be no need to delve into a verbose and repetitious description of the manner of handling the data.

CORRELATIONS OBTAINED FROM THE SPEARMAN TEST:
RELATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
WITH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
(1950-1962)

Table 5

Rank	Indicator of Economic Develpoment	Results in So. Carolina
1	Education	.212
2	Industrialization	.050
3	Wealth	.020
4	Urbanization	-.072
RAR:	Economic Development	-.015

Sources: Data on economic development compiled from: US Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1962.

Data on Republican party compiled from: R.M. Scammon, Ed. America Votes, Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1-1956; Vol. 2-1957; Vol. 3-1958; Vol. 4-1960; Vol. 5-1962.

The Spearman Test shows absolutely no relation between economic development and the Republican party. The correlations of South Carolina have a lower score than Louisiana. One factor that stands out in both the Louisiana and South Carolina cases is that education correlates most closely with the Republican party.

SUMMARY

A background sketch of certain significant developments in the state's political system was presented.

This section dealt mainly with the importance of the related concerns of the race question and the cry of states' rights to the state's political system.

The factional content of the Democratic party (Piedmont versus the Low Country) was examined. The question of the relation of factionalism with the Republican party was analyzed. It was discovered that the Republican party has a nearly significant negative relation with the Piedmont, but no relation with the Low Country. The interjection of the variable of economic development established a significant negative relation between the Republican party and the Piedmont and it also showed a nearly positive relation between the Republican party and the Low Country.

This meant that the Republican party does not do well in the more economically developed areas of the state, namely the Piedmont; but has done well in the more economically developed areas of the Low Country, but not the Low Country as a whole.

The preliminary findings would indicate a refutation of the hypothesis.

The developments of the Republican party during the 1950-62 period were examined.

The major hypothesis of the study was applied and tested. The results showed that no significant relation existed between the strength of the Republican party and

the four indicators, education came closest to producing a significant relation.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter Five

1. V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949) p. 130

2. Ibid., p. 130

3. Ibid., p. 142

4. John N. Popham, "Primaries To Test South's Party Ties," New York Times, Jan. 2, 1960, p. 12

5. "Byrnes Will Seek Governor's Chair", New York Times. Jan. 15, 1950, p. 1.

6. Arthur Krock, "Truman-Byrnes Break Holds Political Threat," New York Times, Jan. 29, 1950 IV, p. 2

7. W. H. Lawrence, "Southern Democrats Renew Their Battles," New York Times, Jan. 29, 1950, IV, p. 7.

8. "Setback for Dixiecrats," New York Times, July 16, 1950.

9. Key, op. cit., p. 131

10. Ibid., p. 137.

11. Ibid., p. 138.

12. John N. Popham, "Vote Margin Thin in South Carolina," New York Times, Nov. 8, 1952, p. 5.

13. John N. Popham, "Warning on Party Issued by Byrnes," New York Times, Dec. 5, 1952, p. 14.

14. Claude Sitton, "Senate Race is on in South Carolina", New York Times, March 18, 1952, p. 53.

CHAPTER VI

"FLORIDA: EVERY MAN FOR HIMSELF"[1]

BACKGROUND

The political system of Florida has been characterized as one of unorganized politics; the content of the Democratic party was one of total multifactionalism. The reason for this was the dispersion of large urban areas throughout the state, which leads to political localism, as the city becomes the hub about which the surrounding area must revolve. There are five of these geographically and economically diverse counties: Escambia (Pensacola), Duval (Jacksonville), Pinellas (Sarasota), Hillsborough (Tampa), and Dade (Miami and Miami Beach). This has caused the political system to be characterized by a multiplicity of state factions, a dispersion of party leadership, and a discontinuity of the grouping of voters into factions. Due to these factors, "Campaigns are fought between what appear to be new factions formed around new candidates for each campaign. They are essentially personal factions of unorganized politics."[2] The fact that political support is determined by factors of personality rather than solidly embeddened in an institutional foundation causes the base of political support to be of a more transient nature. This

limits the chance for complete domination of a political system by a single unit, since it lacks the major virtue of partisan politics that is a bedfellow of institutionalization of leadership. V. O. Key described this virtue, "Institutionalization of political leadership in a party system carries with it virtual immortality."[3] As this wall of virtual immortality, which existed to varying degrees, has been crumbling or at least cracking in other Southern states; Joshua's horn is beginning to be heard in Florida. The nature of the Florida political system has a built-in light, whereby the Republican Party might be able to find its own way. V. O. Key described the situation, "...the kaleidoscopic alteration of voter-groupings that can develop within the one-party system magnifies the confusion through which the voter must find his way."[4] Thus, there will be no great loyalties to traditional voting behaviors, which facilitates the efforts of the Republican Party to establish itself as a major force in Florida politics.

One of the findings of V. O. Key was that the Florida political scene was permeated by a powerful strain of liberalism; this was evidenced by the two elections of Senator Claude Pepper, who had served in the Senate for 13 years before he was defeated in 1950 by Representative George Smathers. Pepper, an old-style Southern orator,

had been a stalwart supporter of the New Deal and Fair Deal.

This liberal strain, if not in full retreat, has certainly been in decline during the period 1950-62. This was first evidenced when Pepper was defeated in the Democratic primary in 1950. Smathers seized the initiative in the campaign and constantly forced Pepper on the defensive. Smathers accused Pepper of being pro-Negro, pro-Communist, and pro-Labor. Smathers constantly rubbed salt into an old Pepper political wound, based on the belief that, "...naming a Communist-front organization a day will keep Claude Pepper away from the U.S. Senate."[5]

In this battle that caused a record registration of 1,006,650 Democrats, Smathers emerged victorious. It was inevitable that his victory would be "...construed as a setback for Administration prestige because Senator Pepper has been a New Deal and Fair Deal stalwart."[6]

Guy George Gabrielson, the Republican State Chairman, naturally saw the result as, "...a rebuke to President Truman and a trend away from the President and the New Deal."[7] Smathers, who was supported by the conservative and anti-administration elements in Florida, equally as naturally, rejected any trend toward Republicanism. Authur Krock appraised the election:

> The wing of the Democratic party that supports President Truman's so-called Fair Deal program

> could take little comfort from the Florida result except to note truthfully that local, regional, and personal factors blurred the surface aspect that Democratic voters had repudiated major items in the program.[8]

In 1958, Pepper challenged Senator Spessard L. Holland in the Democratic primary, but he was defeated again.

In the 1960 primary campaign, Farris Bryant, a staunch advocate of states' rights, defeated Doyle E. Carlton, a moderate segregationist. Other evidence of the domination of the Florida Democratic party was the effort of the state organization and nearly all candidates to disassociate themselves from the campaign of John F. Kennedy; this includes Senator Smathers, who was an usher in Kennedy's wedding.

But this is only one phase of the Democratic party in Florida and it is certainly not all inclusive. Personality continues to play a major role in Florida politics and any tendency to establish a conservative-liberal basis must be considered in this light.

Even ths trend to conservatism experiences periods of fluctuation. In 1962, the State Democratic Chairman, Milligan, saw his choice emerge the victor in the contest for Orange County Democratic Chairman against a Bryant-Smathers endorsed candidate. Milligan repeatedly attacked Bryant for his failure to endorse the Kennedy-Johnson ticket in 1960.

This conservatism could serve as a catalytic agent to the Republican Party in Florida as it increases the sense of alievation from the national Democratic party and makes it easier for the voter to change his traditional voting nature.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN FLORIDA

The major cause of this political conservatism is the high rate of economic development. The "South's most northern state,"[10] has undergone a fantastic rate of economic development during the decade of the fifties and the years of the early sixties. As the economy of Florida has been growing, so has the population. Russell Baker commented on the state's political system, "The Yankee immigration and the big business boom have turned the state into one of the nation's political oddities."[11] This increase in population due to immigration has been described by V. O. Key as leading "...towards a politics without form and without issue."[12] The lack of form to the political system decreases the automatic magnetic attraction to the Democratic party, that exists in other states due to the rock of tradition. As many of these immigrants are wealthy people who have chosen the Sunshine State as their land of retirement, and their voting inclinations would tend to be Republican, this helps solidify the base upon which the Republican party must

build.

Big Business had indeed been flourishing. From 1950 to 1960: wealth has increased 98.1%, education 13.5%, industrialization 15.4%, and urbanization 8.4%. The major sources of wealth are the citrus orchards, new manufacturing activities, and the phosphate mines. Seventy per cent of the current world's phosphate supply is found north and east of Tampa near Lakeland (Polk County). But the description of economic development in Florida has to include the words pluralistic, heterogeneous, and diverse. The major growth has been in the area of light industrial activity. "It has spearheaded the growth of industries whose finished products are simple to ship by air--items made from light metals, spun glass or plastics; clothing, especially summer or sports wear; electronic components and aircraft supplies."[13]

This diversity of the economy plays an important role in the political culture of the state. As. V. O. Key emphasized, "With weak political organization and leadership, vocational and economic groups...probably take on more electoral importance."[14] As the nature of the political system is diverse, so is the economic system. Whether the former precedes the latter is not important here. The important factor is that the two systems are identical. The very diversity eradicates any monolith

upon which the people must depend. The lack of cohesion in the economic system; its continual change and perpetual progress portend a similar flow of developments in the political system.

Another important feature of the state's economy is the importance of tourism. The leaders, both political and economic, are very solicitous of any indications of the development of racial unrest and turmoil. "For Florida has a high stake in stability. Five million tourists each year represent a one billion dollar trade."[15] A stability in race relations helps calm the raging waters of a politics based upon segregation and channel these waters into the placid streams of a politics based on economic interest. If the voter is free to vote his economic interest, so runs the theme of this paper, the Republican party will make gargantuan strides and the political system of Florida will assume a more competitive nature.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

V. O. Key stated that, at best, Florida could be described as "imperfect sectionalism."[16] The vote in the Democratic primaries indicated that quite frequently the pattern resembled a situation of the rural north against the urban south. He was quite hesitant to attribute any real significance to this development, as there was

no consistent appearance.

Presently, there appear to be two significant relations that revolve around this north and south division: economic development and the Republican Party.

RELATION OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN FLORIDA TO THE STRENGTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Table 1

Northern Florida

Low	A 28	B 6
High	C 5	D 28
	Low	High

Southern Florida

Sources: All data compiled from: R. M. Scammon, Ed., America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1-1956; Vol. 2-1957; Vol. 3-1958; Vol. 4-1960; Vol. 5-1962.

RELATION OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN FLORIDA TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Table 2

Northern Florida

Low	A 24	B 11
High	C 9	D 23
	Low	High

Southern Florida

Sources: All data compiled from: US Bureau of the Census. County and City DAta Book. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1962.

In order to determine if there is any significance in a division of Florida into northern and southern sections either economically of politically, block-diagrams are constructed and the Kendall Q Test is applied. In Table 1, the modified Ranney-Kendall classification is used to divide the Republican party into areas of low and high. All counties classified as pure one-party politics constitute low Republican areas and the remaining are considered to be high Republican areas. The division of Florida into north and south was arbitrarily set with the major consideration being the inclusion of the entire panhandle area in the north. The division line places the southern limit of the north at Levy, Alachua, Putnam, and St. John's counties. From Table 1, it is obvious that a definite relation exists between the Republican party and the section of Southern Florida. The Kendall Q Test shows a signigicant positive correlation of .92.

The same grographical division is followed in comparing the relation between the sections of northern and southern Florida with economic development. Since the breakdown of the Republican party into two categories produced a 34-33 split, the same split is used to determine counties of high and low economic development based on the RAR of economic development. The Kendall Q Test shows a positive correlation of .67, which is very

close to being significant. Thus, it appears that there will definitely be a significant positive correlation between economic development and the Republican party in Florida.

The commencement of a durable Republicanism probably began in 1952 when General Eisenhower carried the state; this was the first time that a Republican had won in Florida since 1928. The seeds of enthusiasm were planted in the bosoms of state Republican leaders. In 1954, the Florida Republican Executive Committee, still enamored with the charisma of generalissimoism asked General James A. Van Fleet to run for Governor on the Republican ticket. After a month of indecision, Van Fleet politely declined. The Republicans finally nominated J. Tom Watson of Tampa. Watson had been State Attorney General and a Democratic State Senator; this turn-coat politician had been an unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1948. Watson, a staunch states' rightist, died before the general election. Nevertheless, he still received 70,000 votes, 19.5% of the total.

Backed by the national party, the state organization began to seize the initiative and get out the Republican vote. Emboldened by their gains in the public opinion polls, the Republicans concentrated their efforts and resources on the First and Seventh Congressional districts.[17]

The Republicans attempted to capitalize on their strength in Sarasota county by running Ernest B. (Smoky) Sutton for the House in the Seventh Congressional District. Sutton was defeated in the general election, but he still received 44.5% of the vote.

The rising young star of the Republican Party in Florida appears to be William C. Cramer. In 1950, Cramer made local political history when he became the first Republican since Reconstruction to be elected in the Florida House of Representatives from Pinellas County. Cramer was defeated in his first attempt to win a seat in Congress by only 1,836 votes (0.7%) in the 1952 election. Speaking on his defeat, Cramer stated, "The voters were so enthused about Mr. Eisenhower as a Presidential candidate that they overlooked the importance of strengthening his Congressional control so that his program would be assured of success."[18] In the 1954 election Cramer, again made history, as he defeated the incumbent, Courtney Campbell, by garnering 50.7% of the vote. Cramer received 51,853 votes, approximately 10,000 more than there are registered Republicans in his district. This helps demonstrate a simple fact of Southern politics, "...thousands of Republicans are registered as Democrats in order to participate in Democratic primaries."[19] This also helps explain the reason why conservative Democratic candidates have

been in the ascendency over their more liberal opponents.

There were other developments that were indicative of a grass-root support for the G.O.P.:

> St. Petersburg, Sarasota, and Orlando voters elected 6 Republicans to the State Legislature, giving the G.O.P. a total of 7, 2, more than the previous high in 1953.
> Ten counties of Florida's 67 had G.O.P. opposition for Democratic candidates, a record total. In Pinellas (St. Petersburg) Republicans won 13 local races from school board to State Legislator. The G.O.P. also dominated Sarasota County balloting.[20]

But re-election in 1956 would be no easy matter; Cramer would have to produce. "The First Congressional District includes two predominantly urban counties, Hillsborough (Tampa) and Pinellas (St. Petersburg), and two mostly rural counties, Hernando (Brookville) and Pasco (Dade City). Mr. Cramer's hopes are slim in Hillsborough, Pasco, and Hernando, where the voter lists are top heavy with Democrats."[21] The National Republican Party, showing the foresight that was eventually to evolve into Meade Alcorn's Operation Dixie in 1957, made little effort to help Cramer broaden his base of support.

This support enabled Cramer to compile an astronomical list of accomplishments during his term as a novice-congressman:

an 11 million, 5-year improvement program for Tampa harbor, which had been sought for nearly two decades;

new post offices for St. Petersburg and Dade City;

a 3-year Department of the Interior study of the Red Tide, a fish-killing plague in the Gulf of Mexico;

a 2-year study of the sponge industry, extremely vital to the economy of Harbor Springs;

and the completion of the Intracoastal Waterway between Fort Myers and Tampa Springs.

Since the politicians worst enemy is the lack of favorable publicity, Cramer has taken certain steps to keep his constituents informed of his activities. Each week he reports to his constituents in a 15 minute program on 13 radio stations and 3 television stations; in addition, he mails out more than 5,000 biweekly newsletters.

Cramer has been re-elected every year, increasing his margin at each election. It is difficult to oust an incumbent, even a Republican in Dixie.

The annihilation of Stevenson by Eisenhower in 1956 helped to underscore Republican strength. It also was indicative of the means chosen by Southern Democrats to express their discontent with the policy of the national Democratic party. It was generally conceded that a major cause of the Stevenson defeat was "...the reputed failure of...Holland...Smathers...Collins to put a full effort into the campaign."[22]

After an off-year in 1958, when they contested only three Congressional seats, the Republicans produced a determined effort in the 1960 elections. The most impressive performance was recorded by George C. Petersen, who received 40.2% of the vote in the gubernatorial race. "Political observers were at a loss to explain the unusually large Republican vote in the Governor's race and in state cabinet races generally."[23] There was ample evidence that Florida was climbing onto the threshold of two-party competition:

Nixon defeated Kennedy, marking the third consecutive time that Florida has gone Republican in presidential elections;

the impressive performance of Petersen;

eight Republicans were elected to the State Legislature;

Crammer's third consecutive re-election the the House of Representatives;

there were candidates in five of the eight Congressional contests;

four Republicans for state office polled over 420,000 votes;

and the Republicans contested 20 of 21 races in Pinellas County, 21 of 22 races in Sarasota County; and 10 of 11 races in Manatee County.

In addition the ratio of registration figures continued to decline. In 1950, the Democrats enjoyed a 9-1 ratio. By 1960, there were 338,340 registered Republicans as opposed to 1,655,407 registered Democrats.

Republican growth continued in 1962. Of the twelve Congressional Districts, ten were contested by Republican candidates. In the First Congressional District, William C. Cramer was re-elected for the fourth time. Republican eyes were smiling at the result in the Eleventh Congressional District, Orlando and Cape Kennedy, as Edwin J. Gurney defeated the Democratic incumbent, John A. Sutton; both candidates were considered conservative. Also, the Republicans actually witnessed a contest in three primaries for Congressional Districts.

THE RELATION OF PARTY COMPETITION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

As mentioned previously, it was strongly felt that Florida would show a definite correlation between economic development and party competition.

Of the 67 counties in Florida, 34, are considered above the condition of pure one-party politics. There are 4 marginal one-party counties and 7 modified one-party counties. There are 4 transitional two-party counties and 10 modified two- party counties. This is the

highest level of classification that either South Carolina or Louisiana obtained, and only 1 county (Charleston) in South Carolina was considered to have a modified two-party system. The Republicans continued to reap hay in the Florida sunshine as 6 counties (Palm Beach, Manatee, Osceola, Orange, Brevord, and Volusia) are classified as marginal two-party counties. The pinnacle is reached in 3 counties. Pinellas, Sarasota, and Broward may be considered pure two-party counties. A map containing the counties may be found in Appendix 3.

The application of the Spearman Test to the hypothesis produces the following results:

CORRELATIONS OBTAINED FROM THE SPEARMAN TEST: RELATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WITH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (1950-1962)

Table 3

Rank	Indicator of economic development	Results in Florida
1	education	.752
2	urbanization	.639
3	wealth	.555
4	industrialization	.547
RAR:	economic development	.722

Sources: Data on economic development compiled from: US Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1962.

Data on Republican party compiled from: R. M. Scammon, Ed. America Votes, Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1-1956; Vol. 2-1957; Vol. 3-1958; Vol. 4-1960; Vol. 5-1962.

So in every case, a definite positive correlation exists. However, education is the only variable that is considered to have a significant relation, exceeding $\pm$ .700.

The use of the RAR of economic development, which permits a control of fluctuations of the variables per county and gives the mean rank of the counties, shows a correlation of .722. Thus, a significant positive relation exists in Florida between the variables of party competition and economic development.

SUMMARY

A background sketch of certain significant developments in the state's political system was presented. This section dealt mainly with the multi-factional content of the Democratic party. Because this multi-factionalism is of a very fluid nature, there was no comparison between the sources of strength of the Republican party, economic development, and the northern and southern sections of Florida. A significant positive relation between the Republican party and the counties of southern Florida was found to exist. The variables of economic development and sectionalism also showed a positive relation between economic development and the counties of Southern Florida, but not quite high enough to be considered significant.

The major hypothsis of the study was applied and tested. The results produced different results than those of Louisiana and South Carolina. A positive correlation existed in every case; although not quite strong enough to be considered significant, except for education. The RAR of economic development, however, established a significant positive correlation.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter Six

1. V.O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949), p. 82.

2. Ibid., p. 101.

3. Ibid., p. 103.

4. Ibid., p. 105.

5. W. H. Lawrence, "Smathers Echoes Dewey's Campaign", New York Times, April 8, 1950, p. 14.

6. W. H. Lawrence, "Pepper Test Leads in Tuesday Voting," New York Times, April 30, 1950, p. 49

7. "Truman is Silent on Pepper Defeat," New York Times May 4, 1950, p.22.

8. Arthur Krock, "Washington Appraises the South's Primaries," New York Times, May 7, IV, p. 3.

9. Russell Baker, "Florida Primary Election a Real Political Anamaly," New York Times, May 20, 1964, p. 30.

10. Claude Sitton, "Run-Off in Florida Tuesday to be Test for Civil Rights," New York Times, May 20, 1964, p. 30

11. Baker, op, cit.

12. Key, op. cit., p. 86.

13. Gene Smith, "Sunshine State Now Making Hay," New York Times, March 19, 1956, p. 39.

14. Key, op. cit., p. 100.

15. Peter Kihiss, "Florida," New York Times, March 13, 1956, p. 4 (Special Section)

16. Key, op. cit., p. 92.

Footnotes con'd:

17. The First Congressional District is comprised of Hernando, Hillsborough, Pasco, and Pinellas Counties. The Seventh Congressional District contains DeSoto, Hardee, Highlands, Manatee, Polk, and Sarasota Counties.

18. John N. Popham, "G.O.P. Bears Down to Win in Florida", New York Times, Oct. 9, 1954, p. 7.

19. "Two-Party Systems Gains in Florida", New York Times, Nov. 7, 1954, p. 58.

20. Ibid.

21. "Democrats Seek Foe For Cramer", New York Times, Nov. 7, 1954, p. 58.

22. "Eisenhower Lead Grows in Florida," New York Times, Oct. 29, 1956, p. 35.

23. "Nixon Turns Back Rival in Florida," New York Times, Nov 9, 1960, p. 11.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

THE APPROACH

The purpose of this study was to examine the relation between the growth of the Republican party in the South during the period 1950-1962 and its relation to economic development.

The states of Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida were selected as indicative of the South. The period 1950-62 was selected since it was during this period that both economic development and the fortunes of the Republican party began to increase. The strength of the Republican party was measured by the percentage of votes received in all contested elections for President, U.S. Senator, and Governor during the 1950-62 period. The degree of economic development was measured by the indicators of wealth (median family income), education (median school years), industrialization (capital expenditures), and urbanization (percentage residing in urban area).

The counties in each state were ranked according to both variables and the Spearman Coefficient-Correlation Test was applied to determine the significance of the findings.

RELATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WITH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN LOUISIANA, SOUTH CAROLINA, AND FLORIDA (1950-62): CORRELATIONS OBTAINED FROM THE SPEARMAN TEST.

Table 1

Rank	Indicator of economic devp't	La.	South Caro.	Fla.	Average
1	education	.446	.212	.752	.470
2	industrialization	.214	.050	.547	.270
3	urbanization	.266	-.072	.639	.268
4	wealth	.058	.020	.555	.211
	RAR: economic development	.297	-.015	.722	.336

Sources: Data on economic development compiled from: US Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1962.

Data on Republican party compiled from: R. M. Scammon, Ed., America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1-1956; Vol. 2-1957; Vol. 3-1958; Vol. 4-1960; Vol. 5.1962.

The only significant positive relation was evident with the variables of education and the RAR of economic development in Florida. There was a very slight correlation in Louisiana, and absolutely none in South Carolina. Of the four indicators of economic development, education scored highest in each particular state.

THE STATES REVISITED

Louisiana: Although the Democratic party in Louisiana had previously been classified as having multifactional content,[1] it became evident that Louisiana politics could be best understood if considered bifactional

(Long and anti-Long). The Long faction has been characterized by a degree of moderateness on the race question, a stronger sense of loyalty to the national Democratic party, and its major source of support in the more northern and rural parishes of the state. The anti-Long faction has tended to emphasize the race question, has shown a willingness to deviate from the national Democratic party, and considers the more urbanized areas as it basic source of support.[2]

The Kendall Q Test was applied to determine if a relation existed between the sources factional support and the source of Republican support. It was expected that a stronger positive relation would exist between Republican support and anti-Long support, because the anti-Long faction had shown a greater tendency to break from the national Democratic party and its major areas of support were supposedly the more urbanized parishes. This did not prove to be the case, however. The Kendall Q Test produced a correlation of .04 between the Republican party and the Long faction and a correlation of .15 between the Republican party and the anti-Long faction. In both cases, no relation exists. The difference between the two correlations is so slight that no real difference can be determined.

The variable of economic development was included in the examination of the relation between Republican

support and factional support. The Kendall Q Test produced a correlation of -.74 between the Republican party and the Long faction when only the top 20 parishes based on the RAR of economic development were considered and a correlation of .67 between the Republican party and the anti-Long faction.

The fact that a significant negative relation exists between the Republican party and the Long factions means that the Republican support is centered in more economically developed areas than the Long support. The nearly significant relation between the Republican party and the anti-Long faction means that both variables have a certain relative source of support in the more economically developed areas. Thus, it was expected that the Spearman test would show a positive correlation between economic development and the Republican party.

A positive correlation was evident with each variable, but not strong enough to constitute any significance.

Thus, it is not possible to explain the growth of the Republican party in Louisiana solely in terms of economic development.

South Carolina: The factional content of the Democratic party in South Carolina has been divided into the factions of the Piedmont and the Low Country. The Piedmont faction has been characterized by a pro-labor

orientation, a greater degree of loyalty to the national Democratic party, less emphasis on the race question, and its source of support in the more industrialized sections of the mountain country. The Low Country has been characterized by a greater tendency to emphasize the question of states' rights, to deviate from the policies of the national Democratic party and to emphasize the race question, and relies on the less industrialized regions of the state as its major source of support.

It appeared that reasons would exist for justifying Republican strength in either section: The Piedmont because this is the section of the greatest economic development or the Low Country because of the tendency to deviate from the national Democratic party. The application of the Kendall Q Test produced a correlation of -.63 between the Republican party and the Piedmont faction and .17 between the Republican party and the Low Country faction. Thus, a nearly significant negative relation exists between the Republican party and the Piedmont, but no significant relation exists between the Republican party and the Low Country. When the relation of these variables is examined involving the top 20 counties of economic development, the Republican party and the Piedmont produce a significant negative relation of -.74 and the Republican party and the Low Country have a nearly significant relation of .64. This means

that the Republican party has done extremely poor in the more economically developed areas of the Piedmont, but has done relatively well in the more economically developed areas of the Low Country. From these results it was expected that little or no relation would be evident when the Spearman Test was applied to measure the relation between economic development and the Republican party in South Carolina.

The application of the Spearman Test produced even less positive correlations than the Louisiana case. Thus, the strength of the Republican party in South Carolina cannot be explained in terms of economic development.

Florida: The factional content of the Democratic party in Florida was not compared with the Republican party because of the fluid multi-factional content of the Democratic party. Instead the variable of sectionalism was contrasted with the Republican party and economic development. The state was arbitrarily divided into a northern and southern section and the Kendall Q Test was applied to determine the degree of correlation between the variables. Economic development showed a positive correlation of .67 with the southern section of the state; whereas the Republican party showed a correlation of .92 with the southern section of the state. From this data, it is obvious that the southern section of the state is

much more economically developed, and the Republican party has obtained an overwhelming proportion of its strength from the southern section. From this limited appraisal, it appeared that a significant positive correlation between economic development and the Republican party would exist.

This proved to be the case. The RAR of economic development showed a significant positive correlation of .722. Of the four indicators of economic development, however, only education produced a significant correlation; although the other three indicators came close to approximating a level of significance.

EXPLANATION

The question at this point is why a significant relation was evident in Florida, a slight relation in Louisiana, and absolutely none in South Carolina. Phillips Cutright seems to have captured the essence of this phenomenon, "...before the urbanization effect can take hold a state may also have had to attain a certain level of manufacturing employment, religious heterogeneity, or other 'third factors' which may be necessary for party competition to become institutionalized rather than 'a will-of-the-wisp' phenomenon."[2]

This seems to be the most logical conclusion in view of the differences in the degree of economic

development and extent of party competitiveness ascertained in the study of Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. The use of the following tables should help to determine Cutright's point.

AVERAGE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN LOUISIANA, SOUTH CAROLINA, AND FLORIDA AND THE NATION FOR THE YEAR 1960.

Table 2

State	Wealth	Education	Industrial-ization	urban-ization
Louisiana	$4,272	8.8	$164,044	63.3%
South Carolina	3,821	8.7	75,159	41.2
Florida	4,722	10.9	120,789	73.9
National	5,560	10.6	181,705	69.9

Source; Data Compiled from: US Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1962.

COMPARISON OF AVERAGE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN LOUISIANA, SOUTH CAROLINA, AND FLORIDA TO THE NATIONAL AVERAGE FOR THE YEAR 1960.

Table 3

State	Wealth	Education	Industrial-ization	Urban-ization
Louisiana	-23%	-17%	-10%	-9%
South Carolina	-31	-18	-59	-41
Florida	-25	+3	-34	+6

**A plus sign (+) indicates that the state average is above the national average; whereas, a minus sign (-) indicates that the state falls below the national average.

The precise figures of economic development per county in Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana may be found in Appendix 5; the rank of the counties according to economic development may be found in Appendix 6.

Source: Data Compiled from: US Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1962.

It is obvious from Table 3 that the South, as indicated by the three selected states, lags behind the rest of the nation in economic development. In only two cases, education and urbanization in Florida, is the national average exceeded.

Of the three states, Florida comes closest to equaling the average economic development of the nation and Florida is the only state that showed a significant relation between the variables contained in the hypothesis of this paper. Louisiana lags behind the national average on all four indicators of economic development but not to such great degrees as in South Carolina, and a positive relation, although not significant, is evident in Louisiana. South Carolina lags extremely far behind the national average of economic development and showed a slightly negative relation between economic development and party competition.

Thus, this study concludes in agreement with Cutright that the hypothesis in all probablilty is valid but only if a certain level of economic development has been reached. The precise degree of this level will have to be the subject of future studies. Another possibility for future study stems from the fact that education stood out in every state as having the highest correlation with party competition.

The portent of this study is that as the South continues to develop economically, so will the potential for an increase in support for the Republican party.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter Seven

1. Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, "Political Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South", American Political Science Review, LVII, No. 2, (June, 1963), p. 361.

2. It should be remembered that V. O. Key in Southern Politics in State and Nation hesitated to draw a definite conclusion on the relation of urbanization and areas of anti-Long strength.
   This proposition was tested by means of the Kendall Q Test and a slight positive correlation of .23 was established; this does not constitute a significant relation.

3. Phillips Cutright, "Urbanization and Competitive Party Politics," Journal of Politics, XXV, No. 3 (August, 1963), p.562.

APPENDIX 1

Population, percentage vote, and average vote for the presidential, senatorial, and gubernatorial elections contested in Louisiana.

County	Congressional District	Population	% Republican Vote for President 1952	% Republican Vote for President 1956	% Republican Vote for President 1960	% Republican Vote for Senator 1950	% Republican Vote for Senator 1960	% Reputlican Vote for Senator 1962	% Republican Vote for Governor 1960	Average Republican Vote for President (1950-1962)	Average Republican Vote for Senator (1950-1962)	Average Republican Vote for Governor (1950-62) "Only 1 Election"
Acadia	7	49,931	41.5	40.0	17.3	7.4	12.8	8.7	17.1	32.8	9.6	17.1
Allen	7	19,867	28.0	50.5	27.0	3.2	12.1	11.7	11.2	35.2	9.0	11.2
Ascension	6	27,927	33.2	40.9	13.3	5.7	11.3	8.3	13.4	29.1	8.4	13.4
Assumption	3	17,991	42.4	55.2	18.2	7.4	14.7	9.1	15.1	37.4	10.4	15.1
Avoyelles	8	37,606	36.0	44.5	12.7	1.0	7.1	17.2	11.4	31.1	8.4	11.4
Beauregard	7	19,191	44.2	52.7	40.8	-	25.4	20.0	10.3	45.9	15.1	10.3
Bienville	4	16,716	53.1	48.9	39.7	7.1	19.1	44.2	1.9	45.6	23.5	1.9
Bossier	4	57,622	57.8	49.0	39.3	8.7	21.9	52.8	5.1	48.7	37.8	5.1
Caddo	4	223,859	65.7	60.3	54.3	28.8	29.9	64.7	11.4	60.1	41.1	11.4
Calcasieu	7	145,475	41.2	51.5	27.2	15.6	16.8	24.1	24.6	34.0	18.8	24.6
Caldwell	5	9,004	45.3	35.2	35.1	5.4	23.9	29.7	2.8	38.5	19.7	2.8
Cameron	7	6,909	40.5	40.2	13.8	2.7	8.6	7.1	8.5	31.5	6.1	8.5

County	CD	Pop	Pres 52	Pres 56	Pres 60	Sen 50	Sen 60	Sen 62	Gov 60	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov "only 1"
Catahoula	5	11,421	39.8	46.9	45.5	3.3	18.7	26.2	3.9	44.1	16.1	3.9
Claiborne	4	19,407	64.6	53.6	34.7	14.9	19.6	52.3	1.6	51.0	28.9	1.6
Concordia	5	20,467	47.0	39.7	30.3	6.8	24.3	28.6	4.6	39.0	19.9	4.6
DeSoto	4	24,248	57.8	53.3	36.1	14.7	20.3	48.9	3.3	49.1	28.0	3.3
E Baton Rouge	6	230,058	46.0	56.7	31.5	15.5	17.4	23.8	24.6	43.6	18.9	24.6
E Carroll	5	14,433	45.2	30.8	29.4	5.0	16.9	49.5	1.2	35.2	23.8	1.2
E Feliciana	6	20,198	46.2	37.5	16.2	5.9	9.0	18.9	3.4	33.3	11.3	3.4
Evangeline	7	31,639	41.8	38.2	11.3	1.9	7.6	7.2	6.0	30.4	5.6	6.0
Franklin	5	26,088	36.3	32.7	33.1	4.1	20.7	41.7	3.7	34.0	22.2	3.7
Grant	8	13,330	35.3	46.1	32.3	8.7	22.2	30.3	4.1	37.9	20.4	4.1
Iberia	3	51,657	58.4	63.4	23.0	12.7	19.0	12.9	22.9	48.3	14.9	22.9
Iberville	6	29,939	32.8	47.0	15.9	4.3	11.5	10.3	18.9	31.9	8.7	18.9
Jackson	5	15,828	36.4	54.3	43.9	8.6	27.6	30.5	3.7	44.9	22.2	3.7
Jefferson	2	208,769	46.9	57.2	27.5	7.4	23.8	23.2	24.9	43.9	18.1	24.9

County	CD	Pop	Pres 52	Pres 56	Pres 60	Sen 50	Sen 60	Sen 62	Gov 60	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov "only 1"
Jefferson Davis	7	29,825	49.0	62.9	25.8	9.7	19.0	17.7	23.1	45.9	15.5	23.1
Lafayette	3	84,656	50.1	57.1	26.7	12.2	23.1	20.0	27.2	48.0	18.4	27.2
Lafourche	3	55,381	40.9	60.3	18.2	4.5	12.9	8.8	23.2	39.8	40.9	23.2
LaSalle	8	13,011	45.8	61.6	55.3	9.2	31.2	50.2	3.2	54.2	30.3	3.2
Lincoln	5	28,535	60.5	59.2	54.1	18.3	31.9	49.7	5.2	57.9	33.3	5.2
Livingston	6	26,974	28.6	37.2	14.4	2.6	9.9	12.6	4.3	26.7	8.4	4.3
Madison	5	16,444	64.3	27.2	33.3	9.3	16.3	58.7	1.3	41.6	28.1	1.3
Morehouse	5	33,709	46.1	35.7	53.4	11.3	26.8	55.3	5.6	45.1	31.1	5.6
Natchitoches	8	35,653	44.5	55.5	36.3	6.6	21.4	32.6	6.2	45.4	20.2	6.2
Orleans	1-2	627,525	48.7	56.5	26.8	17.4	24.1	16.8	24.7	44.0	19.4	24.7
Ouachita	5	101,663	47.5	46.8	54.6	21.7	31.3	41.6	8.9	49.6	31.5	8.9
Plaquemines	1	22,545	93.0	81.2	13.8	.8	6.0	3.8	6.2	62.7	3.5	6.2
Pointe Coupee	6	22,488	45.9	45.0	16.4	3.5	13.8	7.4	12.8	35.8	8.2	12.8
Rapides	8	111,351	41.8	53.8	34.3	11.7	23.1	32.6	10.7	43.3	22.5	10.7

Louisiana Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 52	Pres 56	Pres 60	Sen 50	Sen 60	Sen 62	Gov 60	Ave. Pres.	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov "only 1"
Red River	4	9,978	29.8	37.0	21.2	4.1	15.3	42.6	1.2	29.3	21.7	1.2
Richland	5	23,824	39.7	29.9	35.6	7.2	19.8	40.8	3.1	35.1	22.6	3.1
Sabine	8	18,564	38.3	50.5	41.1	5.8	19.1	25.4	4.9	43.3	16.8	4.9
St. Bernard	1	32,186	51.7	50.5	13.1	.9	12.3	12.5	8.9	38.4	8.6	8.9
St. Charles	2	21,219	28.8	57.9	20.9	5.3	14.1	13.5	24.6	35.9	11.0	24.6
St. Helena	6	9,162	39.6	32.3	16.4	2.5	17.2	11.6	7.4	29.7	10.4	7.4
St. James	2	18,369	38.5	49.2	11.7	2.1	9.1	7.3	17.4	32.3	6.2	17.4
St. John the Baptist	2	18,439	23.5	50.6	10.3	4.1	9.4	9.5	17.0	28.1	7.7	17.0
St. Landry	7	81,493	52.7	51.6	15.2	10.3	13.5	11.9	11.7	39.8	11.9	11.7
St. Martin	3	29,063	43.6	42.7	12.1	4.8	8.2	11.3	17.6	32.8	8.1	17.6
St. Mary	3	48.833	51.0	61.5	27.6	11.9	20.2	11.4	16.7	46.7	14.5	16.7
St. Tammany	6	38,643	44.6	51.9	25.8	5.7	23.2	16.0	18.1	40.8	15.0	18.1
Tangipahoa	6	59,434	46.9	51.7	22.9	5.0	16.0	13.9	12.6	40.5	11.6	12.6

Louisiana Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 52	Pres 56	Pres 60	Sen 50	Sen 60	Sen 62	Gov 60	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov "only 1"
Tensas	5	11,796	50.5	35.0	42.2	5.0	15.6	48.2	2.4	42.6	22.9	2.4
Terrebonne	3	60,771	47.5	64.8	23.7	4.2	16.4	11.6	39.9	45.4	10.7	39.9
Union	5	17,624	48.0	40.5	29.6	6.7	31.8	35.6	3.5	46.0	24.7	3.5
Vermilion	3	38,855	42.4	44.6	14.9	8.7	10.0	9.9	19.9	34.0	9.5	19.9
Vernon	8	18,311	35.7	49.8	32.3	3.6	19.7	16.5	4.8	39.3	13.3	4.8
Washington	6	44,015	24.7	38.3	16.2	3.6	13.0	11.6	10.6	26.4	9.4	10.6
Webster	4	39,701	43.1	48.7	40.9	6.6	18.8	55.9	1.9	44.2	23.8	1.9
W Baton Rouge	6	14,796	35.5	44.7	12.4	27.5	12.1	10.5	14.9	30.9	16.7	14.9
W Carroll	5	14,177	40.7	25.1	30.6	6.7	18.4	40.4	3.1	35.5	22.0	3.1
W Feliciana	6	12,395	64.3	56.4	22.0	10.6	14.4	32.3	4.9	47.6	19.1	4.9
Winn	8	16,034	46.5	49.6	44.9	8.9	27.8	38.9	4.2	47.0	25.2	4.2

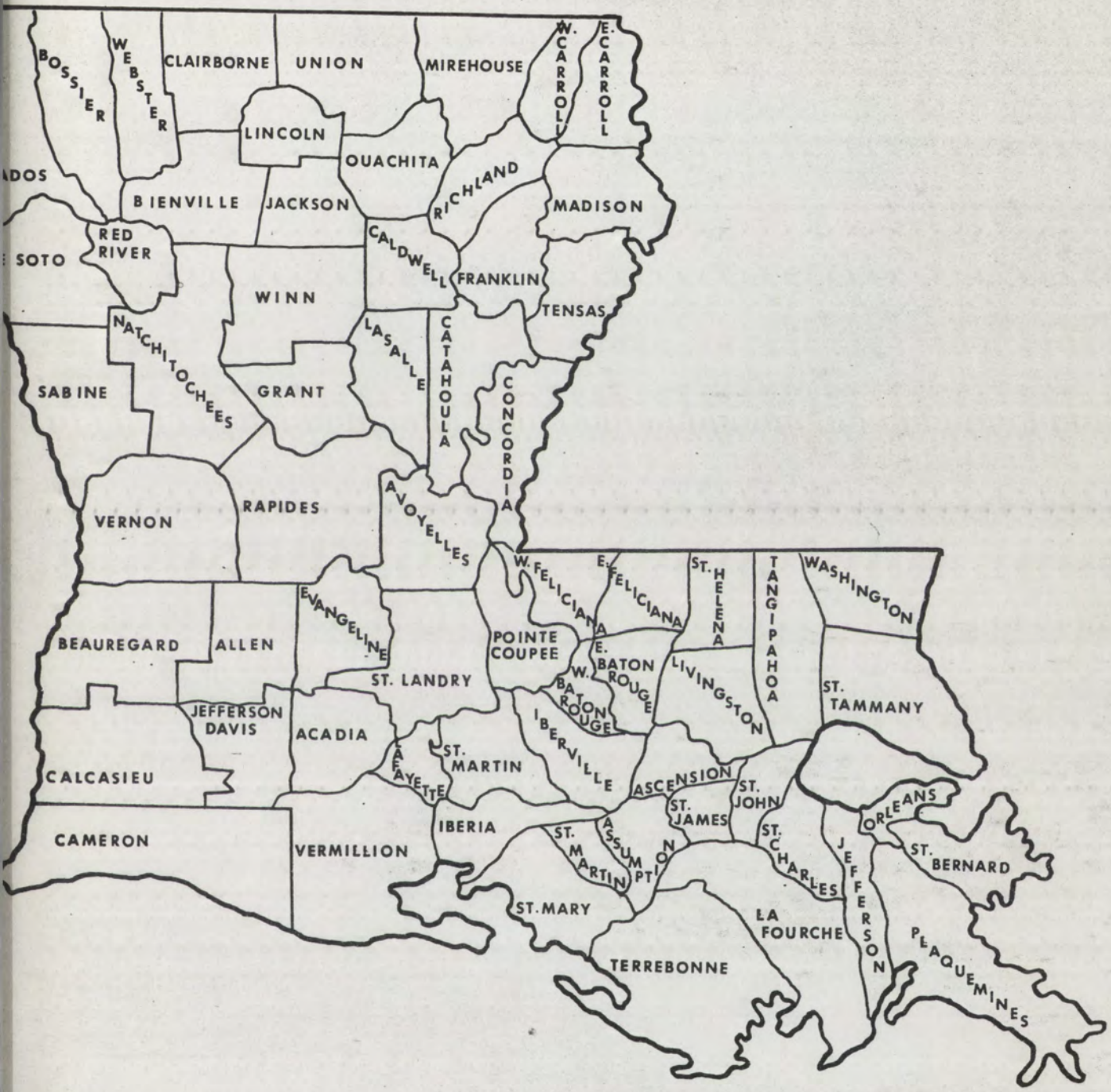
GOVERNOR

	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
1960	F. C. Grevemberg	Jimmie H. Davis	17.0%	80.5%
1956	--	Earl K. Long	--	100.0
1952	Harrison G. Bagwell	Robert F. Kennon	4.0	96.0
1948	--	Earl K. Long	--	100.0

SENATOR

	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
1962	Taylor W. O'Hearne	Russell B. Long	24.4%	75.6%
1960	George W. Reese	Allen J. Ellender	20.2	79.8
1956	--	Russell B. Long	--	100.0
1954	--	Allen J. Ellender	--	100.0
1950	Charles S. Gerth	Russell B. Long	12.3	87.7
1948	--	Allen J. Ellender	--	100.0
1948s	Clem S. Clarke	Russell B. Long	25.0	75.0

Source of Data: R. M. Scammon, ed. America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1 - 1956, Vol. 2 - 1957, Vol. 3 - 1958, Vol. 4 - 1960, and Vol. 5 - 1962.



LOUISIANA

scale: 1 inch to 39 miles

0 10 20 40 80
30 60

APPENDIX 2

Population, percentage Republican vote, and average Republican vote for the presidential, senatorial, and gubernatorial elections contested in South Carolina.

County	Congressional District	Population	% Republican Vote for President 1952	% Republican Vote for President 1956	% Republican Vote for President 1960	% Republican Vote for Senator 1956	% Republican Vote for Senator 1962	Average Republican Vote for President (1950-1962)	Average Republican Vote for Senator (1950-1962)
Abbeville	3	21,417	25.9	9.5	21.6	4.3	18.3	19.0	11.3
Aiken	2	81,038	49.6	50.4	61.6	23.2	59.1	53.9	41.2
Allendale	1	11,362	63.1	19.9	60.4	9.4	41.5	47.8	25.5
Anderson	3	98,478	22.3	14.8	21.7	12.4	20.9	16.3	16.7
Bomberg	2	16,274	65.2	17.4	64.5	12.9	42.8	49.0	27.9
Barnwell	2	17,659	29.1	17.3	58.1	6.4	47.7	34.8	27.1
Beaufort	1	44,187	59.1	37.8	52.9	16.7	42.0	49.9	27.4
Berkeley	1	38,196	59.2	28.2	48.8	18.9	38.6	45.4	28.8
Calhoun	2	12,256	74.4	12.4	61.4	6.8	58.2	49.3	32.5
Charleston	1	216,382	66.9	29.9	63.9	34.2	53.7	53.6	44.0
Cherokee	5	35,205	21.6	18.5	22.5	8.2	18.7	20.9	13.5
Chester	5	30,888	49.4	21.4	28.0	10.6	25.9	32.9	18.5
Chesterfield	5	33,717	27.6	15.9	23.6	7.5	21.2	22.4	14.4
Clarendon	1	29,490	68.5	8.4	56.0	10.1	50.2	44.3	30.2
Colleton	1	27,816	59.2	15.7	56.2	10.8	42.5	43.5	26.2
Darlington	6	52,928	37.7	22.5	42.8	19.7	44.8	34.3	32.3
Dillon	6	30,584	48.3	10.5	35.2	7.1	26.8	31.3	17.0
Dorchester	1	24,383	73.1	15.7	59.9	17.5	48.8	49.6	33.2
Edgefield	3	15,735	68.9	25.3	63.1	7.0	58.1	52.4	32.6
Fairfield	5	20,713	50.3	19.6	48.7	16.7	41.2	39.5	29.0
Florence	6	84,438	49.5	19.0	48.8	11.6	40.9	39.1	26.3
Georgetown	6	34,798	63.1	24.2	48.1	16.7	39.9	45.1	28.3
Greenville	4	209,776	54.4	39.5	61.8	24.7	55.6	51.9	40.2

South Carolina Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 1952	Pres 1956	Pres 1960	Sen 1956	Sen 1962	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen
Greenwood	3	44,346	47.1	16.6	36.0	8.9	34.3	33.1	21.6
Hampton	1	17,425	67.5	17.5	62.6	6.2	49.4	48.5	27.8
Horry	6	68,247	45.3	13.4	38.6	7.2	36.9	32.4	22.1
Jasper	1	13,237	55.7	31.7	51.9	20.2	43.3	46.4	31.8
Kershaw	5	33,585	58.9	28.2	52.2	19.3	47.7	42.7	33.5
Lancaster	5	39,352	38.2	24.3	34.3	6.4	29.3	32.3	17.9
Laurens	4	47,609	47.9	20.7	42.0	9.2	37.3	36.9	23.3
Lee	6	21,832	64.3	10.1	46.6	12.7	39.3	40.3	26.0
Lexington	2	60,726	53.4	20.7	61.0	14.9	48.1	45.0	31.5
McCormick	3	8,629	48.0	11.7	33.8	6.5	35.5	31.2	21.0
Marion	6	32,014	59.0	13.2	40.7	8.9	39.1	37.6	24.0
Marlboro	6	28,529	47.6	18.1	33.3	10.7	25.2	33.0	18.0
Newberry	3	29,416	54.7	20.8	47.5	9.6	41.1	41.0	25.4
Oconee	3	40,204	33.5	19.0	30.4	13.5	23.4	27.6	18.5
Orangeburg	2	68,559	62.4	21.2	57.4	17.3	53.8	47.0	35.1
Pickens	3	46,030	51.9	40.8	62.3	24.2	50.3	51.7	37.3
Richland	2	200,102	64.2	30.0	53.9	43.8	49.9	52.7	46.9
Saluda	3	14,554	46.7	14.9	48.4	8.8	36.4	33.3	22.6
Spartanburg	4	156,830	31.4	26.7	35.2	16.6	29.1	31.1	22.9
Sumter	2	74,941	70.1	22.5	63.9	9.8	58.6	52.2	34.2
Union	4	30,015	26.1	22.0	27.5	11.2	25.7	25.2	18.5
Williamsburg	6	40,932	66.1	8.8	60.6	10.3	46.8	45.2	28.6
York	5	78,760	41.3	30.4	38.8	12.6	37.2	26.8	24.9

Source of Data: R. M. Scammon, ed. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1 - 1956, Vol. 2 - 1957, Vol. 3 - 1958, Vol. 4 - 1960, and Vol. 5 - 1962.

SOUTH CAROLINA

scale: 1 inch to 31 miles

0 10 20 40 60 80 100

APPENDIX 3

Population, percentage Republican vote, and average Republican vote for the presidential, senatorial, and gubernatorial elections contested in Florida.

County	Congressional District	Population	% Republican Vote for President 1952	% Republican Vote for President 1956	% Republican Vote for President 1960	% Republican Vote for Senator 1950	% Republican Vote for Senator 1958	% Republican Vote for Senator 1952	% Republican Vote for Governor 1954	% Republican Vote for Governor 1956	% Republican Vote for Governor 1960	Average Republican Vote for President (1950-1962)	Average Republican Vote for Senator (1950-1962)	Average Republican Vote for Governor (1950-1962)
Alachua	8	74,074	58.5	53.5	52.0	15.0	20.6	20.4	6.7	20.0	29.1	54.7	18.7	18.6
Baker	8	7,363	22.0	20.2	21.3	5.7	2.1	5.7	3.8	15.4	4.4	21.2	4.5	7.9
Bay	3	67,131	35.4	36.4	33.9	10.8	10.4	16.0	2.8	11.9	12.9	35.3	12.4	9.2
Bradford	8	12,446	29.7	34.0	30.9	9.6	10.8	12.8	4.9	22.0	9.8	31.5	11.1	12.2
Brevard	5	111,435	61.9	71.8	60.4	21.9	30.3	29.7	12.6	31.3	50.3	64.7	27.3	31.4
Broward	6	333,946	69.1	72.2	58.8	32.8	33.8	40.2	23.3	31.3	51.2	66.7	35.6	35.3
Calhoun	3	7,422	24.4	24.6	28.5	4.0	3.8	7.0	--	11.1	4.0	29.2	4.9	5.0
Charlotte	6	12,594	58.8	63.1	60.9	19.3	28.3	38.5	11.0	23.1	44.2	60.9	28.7	29.4
Citrus	5	9,268	47.9	50.4	51.8	14.8	15.5	20.6	7.3	21.9	27.1	50.0	17.0	18.8
Clay	2	19,535	49.1	53.7	48.0	16.6	24.1	23.0	10.2	26.1	25.2	50.3	21.2	20.5
Collier	6	15,753	59.6	59.7	60.7	10.1	32.3	26.3	3.6	19.2	38.0	56.7	22.9	20.2
Columbia	8	20,077	38.7	36.1	36.2	6.0	6.4	8.4	4.4	22.6	8.9	37.0	6.9	12.0

Florida Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 1952	Pres 1956	Pres 1960	Sen 1950	Sen 1958	Sen 1952	Gov 1954	Gov 1956	Gov 1960	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov
Dade	4	935,047	56.8	55.4	42.3	20.7	34.3	26.3	18.7	24.9	43.0	51.5	27.1	28.9
DeSoto	7	11,683	41.2	48.4	50.1	19.8	12.0	14.2	3.0	17.0	20.6	46.6	15.3	13.5
Dixie	8	4,479	34.8	29.0	28.7	4.3	4.8	5.1	2.2	18.9	4.9	30.8	4.5	8.6
Duval	2	455,411	48.3	50.1	45.7	19.5	18.3	20.8	.2	21.4	24.9	48.0	19.5	15.5
Escambia	3	173,829	37.3	37.2	38.8	10.9	8.3	22.2	6.2	8.9	16.1	37.8	14.0	10.4
Flagler	5	4,566	51.3	41.4	31.3	15.4	10.6	16.1	10.1	20.2	18.6	41.3	14.0	16.3
Franklin	3	6,576	33.0	37.3	33.8	4.5	8.3	17.0	2.9	10.6	13.1	34.7	9.9	8.9
Gadsden	3	41,989	40.4	36.6	46.2	3.0	2.3	13.4	2.3	9.1	4.6	41.1	6.9	5.3
Gilchrist	8	2,868	16.4	12.9	24.9	5.9	4.0	7.4	.7	10.7	3.3	18.1	5.8	4.9
Glades	6	2,960	39.7	47.7	44.4	15.4	8.5	9.1	6.1	16.2	16.7	43.9	11.0	13.0
Gulf	3	9,937	21.7	24.1	21.9	6.2	4.9	8.4	1.2	6.9	4.3	22.6	6.5	4.1
Hamilton	8	7,705	31.2	23.7	33.0	6.1	7.2	8.1	2.2	16.4	17.6	29.3	7.1	12.1
Hardee	7	12,370	46.6	45.7	53.0	19.2	9.6	11.4	5.0	19.7	24.2	48.4	13.4	16.3
Hendry	6	8,119	46.6	51.6	44.4	12.0	8.7	15.0	6.1	17.3	13.6	47.5	11.9	12.3

Florida Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 1952	Pres 1956	Pres 1960	Sen 1950	Sen 1958	Sen 1952	Gov 1954	Gov 1956	Gov 1960	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov
Hernando	1	11,205	53.7	46.4	48.0	12.6	11.4	24.6	6.1	25.6	25.9	49.4	16.2	19.2
Highlands	7	21,338	51.9	60.2	58.3	29.8	27.9	31.0	12.1	25.9	38.3	56.8	29.6	25.4
Hillsborough	1	397,788	52.2	52.0	44.0	20.7	18.3	22.6	14.9	19.7	29.6	49.4	20.5	21.4
Holmes	3	10,844	27.7	29.2	34.3	5.2	5.1	14.8	2.8	18.0	6.7	30.4	8.4	9.2
Indian River	6	25,309	65.9	70.5	61.1	23.6	30.1	38.2	12.5	27.2	45.6	65.8	24.0	27.8
Jackson	3	36,208	29.5	29.9	32.2	4.9	3.9	14.6	.7	9.7	7.7	30.5	7.8	6.0
Jefferson	3	9,543	36.2	30.7	34.7	5.1	4.7	9.8	--	17.5	4.6	33.9	6.5	7.4
Lafayette	8	2,889	21.5	15.1	27.2	5.6	3.4	4.0	.5	13.2	3.7	21.3	4.3	7.1
Lake	5	57,383	70.6	70.8	72.4	20.8	26.5	35.4	17.8	35.2	47.4	71.3	27.6	34.7
Lee	6	54,539	59.1	62.6	65.3	16.3	26.4	33.4	7.5	25.3	40.1	62.3	25.4	24.3
Leon	3	74,225	41.2	49.0	46.5	9.2	14.1	20.4	.1	12.3	19.6	45.6	14.6	10.7
Levy	8	10,364	34.7	33.7	33.2	6.5	6.9	10.4	4.0	19.7	7.6	33.9	6.9	10.4
Liberty	3	3,138	18.6	21.4	22.0	4.5	3.4	6.6	1.4	23.4	4.7	20.7	4.8	9.8
Madison	8	14,154	42.7	32.9	35.6	4.6	5.2	7.0	2.3	15.6	5.0	37.1	5.6	7.6

Florida Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 1952	Pres 1956	Pres 1960	Sen 1950	Sen 1958	Sen 1952	Gov 1954	Gov 1956	Gov 1960	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov
Manatee	7	69,168	66.4	68.6	65.1	29.0	39.5	36.8	16.3	31.4	50.8	66.7	35.1	32.8
Marion	5	51,616	51.2	50.9	49.4	12.0	16.9	20.0	7.5	26.2	21.4	50.5	16.3	18.4
Martin	6	16,932	64.6	68.3	58.1	20.1	27.6	37.1	12.3	28.6	44.6	63.7	28.2	28.5
Monroe	4	47,921	37.3	43.5	32.9	16.9	16.7	15.3	6.9	19.9	22.9	37.9	16.3	16.6
Nassau	8	17,189	40.8	38.2	33.7	10.8	6.8	10.7	3.0	15.1	11.9	37.6	9.4	10.0
Okaloosa	3	61,175	30.5	32.7	36.2	6.1	9.3	14.9	2.4	9.1	16.5	33.1	10.1	9.3
Okeechobee	6	6,424	38.0	40.8	35.9	8.0	4.8	8.5	4.0	10.2	11.4	38.2	7.1	8.5
Orange	5	263,540	71.1	72.0	71.0	27.0	32.1	30.8	23.6	38.3	57.9	71.4	30.0	39.9
Osceola	5	19,019	62.2	65.2	68.3	27.9	33.4	35.5	22.8	38.7	53.5	65.2	32.3	38.3
Palm Beach	6	228,106	67.7	71.3	60.3	28.4	36.5	38.3	32.9	35.9	52.0	66.4	34.3	40.3
Pasco	1	36,785	56.2	56.5	55.2	23.8	25.0	33.9	18.2	28.1	44.0	56.0	27.6	30.1
Pinellas	1	374,665	71.3	72.5	63.7	51.0	39.8	41.3	38.6	38.8	58.3	69.2	44.0	45.2
Putnam	8	32,212	51.7	56.3	48.7	13.4	15.9	20.1	2.8	25.1	19.5	52.2	16.5	15.8
Polk	7	195,139	51.6	55.9	56.3	20.2	22.3	25.4	10.5	21.5	35.5	54.9	20.3	22.5

Florida Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 1952	Pres 1956	Pres 1960	Sen 1950	Sen 1958	Sen 1952	Gov 1954	Gov 1956	Gov 1960	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov
St. Johns	5	30,054	50.2	51.9	42.5	21.0	17.3	29.9	56.3	6.5	23.7	50.2	20.7	17.1
St. Lucie	6	39,294	62.7	66.3	54.2	26.9	27.2	31.4	19.4	33.8	38.4	61.1	28.5	30.5
Santa Rosa	3	29,547	28.5	31.5	35.9	8.4	5.1	19.2	2.0	10.5	13.0	32.0	10.9	8.5
Sarasota	7	76,895	70.7	73.3	70.7	41.9	42.3	35.7	34.1	35.3	60.8	71.6	40.0	43.4
Seminole	5	54,947	60.0	65.1	64.6	17.3	23.9	28.5	.7	26.8	47.8	63.2	23.2	25.1
Sumter	5	11,869	31.6	31.3	33.0	9.7	7.4	12.7	3.7	21.7	12.1	32.0	10.3	12.5
Suwannee	8	14,961	36.3	24.9	35.5	3.9	5.9	6.5	1.3	20.9	6.5	32.2	5.4	9.6
Taylor	8	13,168	29.4	28.5	38.8	8.6	4.8	6.5	1.5	15.8	4.2	32.2	6.6	7.2
Union	8	6,043	21.7	18.5	24.8	5.2	3.4	5.4	4.1	16.7	4.2	21.7	4.6	8.3
Volusia	5	125,319	62.5	63.4	54.8	26.7	33.0	36.6	33.1	37.4	51.0	60.2	32.1	40.5
Wakulla	3	5,257	24.2	26.8	24.9	2.8	2.9	10.3	.4	16.1	5.3	25.3	5.3	7.3
Walton	3	15,576	29.5	33.2	29.0	8.0	7.4	17.0	3.4	15.1	9.5	30.6	10.8	9.3
Washington	3	11,249	32.8	32.0	37.0	8.1	6.0	19.3	2.3	12.7	12.5	33.9	11.1	9.2

Florida Cont.

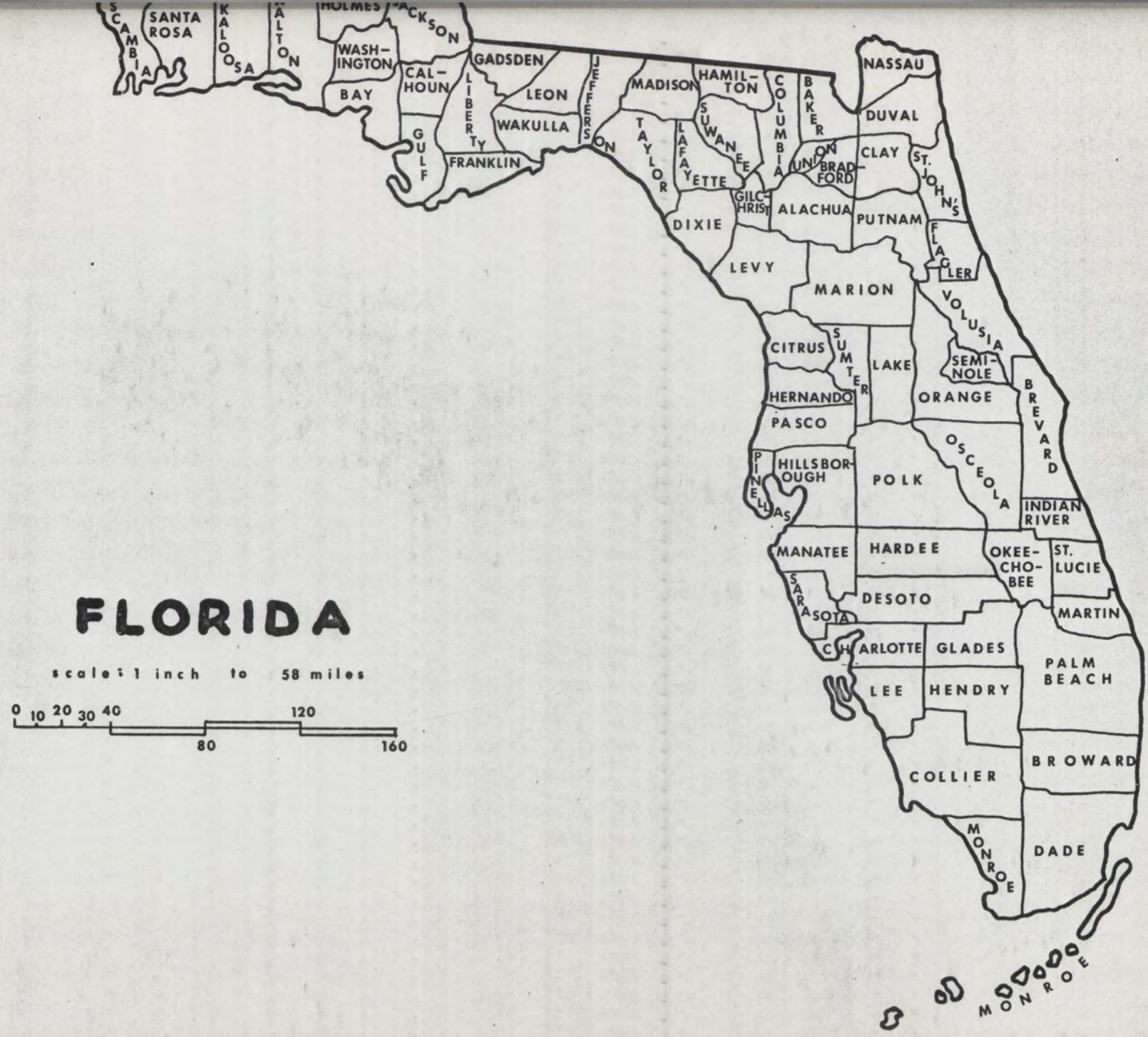
GOVERNOR

	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
1960	George C. Petersen	Farris Bryant	40.2%	59.8%
1956	W. A. Washburne	Leroy Collins	26.3	73.7
1954	J. Tom Watson	Leroy Collins	19.5	80.5
1952	Harry S. Swan	Dan McCarty	25.2	74.8
1948	Bert Lee Acker	Fuller Warren	16.6	83.4

SENATOR

	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
1962	Emerson H. Rupert	George A. Smathers	30.0%	70.0%
1958	Leland Hyzer	Spessard L. Holland	28.8	71.2
1956	--	George A. Smathers	--	100.0
1952	--	Spessard L. Holland	--	100.0
1950	John P. Booth	George A. Smathers	23.7	76.3

Source of Data: R. M. Scammon, ed. America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1 - 1956, Vol. 2 - 1957, Vol. 3 - 1958, Vol. 4 - 1960, and Vol. 5 - 1962.



FLORIDA

scale: 1 inch to 58 miles

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80 160

APPENDIX 4
RAR of the counties according to support of Republican Party in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida

Louisiana

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Acadia	52	51	48	NONE
Allen	50	44	51	
Ascension	60	61	55	
Assumption	46	40	46	
Avoyelles	57	56	55	
Beauregard	23	15	36	
Bienville	11	17	14	
Bossier	3	8	2	
Caddo	1	2	1	
Calcasieu	42	47	29	
Caldwell	32	37	25	
Cameron	61	55	62	
Catahoula	28	23	34	
Claiborne	6	5	7	
Concordia	30	36	24	
DeSoto	7	7	9	
East Baton Rouge	25	26	28	
East Carroll	26	44	12	
East Feliciana	49	50	43	
Evangeline	63	58	63	
Franklin	36	47	18	
Grant	31	39	22	
Iberia	20	9	38	
Iberville	55	54	52	
Jackson	15	21	18	

Louisiana Cont.

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Jefferson	26	25	31	NONE
Jefferson Davis	21	15	35	
Lafayette	16	10	30	
Lafourche	44	33	52	
LaSalle	3	4	6	
Lincoln	2	3	3	
Livingston	62	63	55	
Madison	13	30	8	
Morehouse	9	20	5	
Natchitochees	17	18	23	
Orleans	21	24	26	
Ouachita	3	6	4	
Plaqueminec	36	1	64	
Pointe Coupee	53	42	58	
Rapids	18	27	17	
Red River	43	60	21	
Richland	32	46	16	
Sabine	29	27	32	
St. Bernard	48	38	54	
St. Charles	44	41	44	
St. Helena	54	59	46	
St. James	58	53	61	
St. John the Baptist	64	62	60	
St. Landry	39	33	41	
St. Martin	56	51	59	
St. Mary	24	13	39	
St. Tammany	38	31	37	
Tangipahoa	39	32	42	
Tensas	18	29	15	
Terrebonne	34	18	45	
Union	9	14	11	

Louisiana Cont.

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Vermilion	51	47	49	NONE
Vernon	41	35	40	
Washington	58	64	50	
Webster	12	22	12	
West Baton Rouge	47	57	33	
West Carroll	34	43	20	
West Feliciana	13	11	27	
Winn	8	12	10	

South Carolina

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Abbeville	46	45	46	NONE
Aiken	1	1	3	
Allendale	21	13	27	
Anderson	44	46	43	
Bamberg	14	11	21	
Barnwell	28	30	23	
Beaufort	11	8	16	
Berkeley	16	16	18	
Calhoun	10	10	11	
Charleston	1	2	2	
Cherokee	44	44	45	
Chester	35	35	37	
Chesterfield	43	43	44	
Clarendon	18	20	15	
Colleton	24	21	25	
Darlington	23	31	12	
Dillon	43	38	42	
Dorchester	8	9	9	
Edgefield	7	4	10	
Fairfield	22	25	17	
Florence	25	26	24	
Georgetown	20	18	20	
Greenville	4	6	4	
Greenwood	33	33	35	
Hampton	16	12	22	
Horry	34	36	34	
Jasper	12	15	13	

South Carolina Cont.

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Kershaw	13	22	8	NONE
Lancaster	39	37	41	
Laurens	31	28	31	
Lee	25	24	26	
Lexington	15	19	14	
McCormick	38	39	36	
Marion	29	27	30	
Morlboro	37	34	40	
Newbeery	27	23	28	
Oconee	39	41	37	
Orangeburg	9	14	6	
Pickens	5	7	5	
Richland	1	3	1	
Saluda	32	32	33	
Spartanburg	35	40	32	
Sumter	5	5	7	
Union	41	42	37	
Williamsburg	19	17	19	
York	30	29	29	

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Alachus	24	21	26	26
Baker	64	65	65	57
Bay	39	44	37	49
Bradford	40	54	39	38
Brevard	10	10	15	10
Broward	3	5	3	7
Calhoun	64	60	62	65
Charlotte	13	15	10	13
Citrus	26	27	27	25
Clay	22	25	21	22
Collier	20	19	20	23
Columbia	44	43	52	40
Dade	19	23	16	14
DeSoto	33	33	32	34
Dixie	54	55	65	52
Duval	30	31	25	33
Escambia	38	40	34	42
Flagler	34	36	34	30
Franklin	48	45	46	52
Gadsden	52	37	52	64
Gilchrist	66	67	58	66
Glades	37	35	41	35
Gulf	63	62	56	67
Hamilton	50	59	50	39
Hardee	31	30	36	30
Hendry	35	32	38	37
Highlands	15	17	9	17
Hillsborough	23	28	23	21
Holmes	53	58	48	49

Florida Growth Rate Cont.

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Indian River	14	7	18	16
Jackson	58	57	49	63
Jefferson	56	46	56	59
Lafayette	67	64	67	62
Lake	8	3	13	8
Lee	17	13	17	19
Leon	36	34	33	41
Levy	45	46	52	42
Liberty	60	66	63	45
Madison	55	42	59	58
Manatee	6	5	4	9
Marion	27	24	29	27
Martin	12	11	12	15
Monroe	32	39	29	29
Nassau	41	41	47	44
Okaloosa	46	49	45	47
Okeechobee	47	38	50	54
Orange	3	2	8	5
Osceola	7	9	6	6
Palm Beach	5	7	5	4
Pasco	16	19	13	12
Pinellas	2	4	1	1
Polk	21	20	24	20
Putnam	28	22	28	32
St. Johns	25	26	22	28
St. Lucie	11	14	11	11
Santa Rosa	50	52	42	54
Sarasota	1	1	2	2
Seminole	17	12	19	18
Sumter	41	52	44	36

Florida Growth Rate Cont.

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Suwannee	59	50	60	46
Taylor	57	50	55	61
Union	62	63	64	56
Volusia	9	16	7	3
Wakulla	61	61	61	60
Walton	49	56	43	47
Washington	43	46	39	49

Source of Data: R. M. Scammon, ed. America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1 - 1956, Vol. 2 - 1957, Vol. 3 - 1958, Vol. 4 - 1960, and Vol. 5 - 1962.

APPENDIX 5

Indicators of Economic Development per County in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida in 1960.

County	Wealth (Median Family Income)	Education (Median School Years)	Industrialization (Capital Expenditures)	Urbanization (Percentage Residing in Urban Areas)
Acadia	3,128	6.6	265	55.8
Allen	3,335	7.6	676	33.3
Ascension	3,877	7.8	168	33.4
Assumption	2,817	5.4	461	--
Avoyelle	2,159	7.1	234	25.1
Beauregard	3,148	8.5	211	37.5
Bienville	2,586	7.9	317	15.2
Bossier	4,568	11.3	456	66.0
Caddo	4,964	10.8	6,047	80.8
Calcasieu	5,167	10.2	121,782	73.9
Caldwell	2,430	8.0	442	--
Cameron	4,466	7.9	2,018	--
Catahoula	2,103	7.3	336	31.2
Claiborne	2,868	8.6	1,860	15.4
Concordia	3,266	8.1	966	43.4
DeSoto	2,680	7.5	7,594	24.1
East Baton Rouge	5,830	11.9	40,172	85.1
East Carroll	2,065	6.7	104	40.1
East Feliciana	2,749	7.2	84	--
Evangeline	2,149	6.0	39	33.0
Franklin	2,094	7.2	70	17.0
Grant	2,701	8.1	68	--
Iberia	4,329	7.5	1,704	67.0
Iberville	3,125	6.8	--	25.7

Louisiana Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Jackson	3,683	8.8	--	24.3
Jefferson	6,001	10.9	14,710	94.1
Jefferson Davis	3,795	7.7	90	62.9
Lafayette	4,483	8.9	1,044	55.6
Lafourche	4,330	6.7	735	41.5
LaSalle	3,433	8.8	317	--
Lincoln	3,477	10.7	190	60.0
Livingston	3,825	8.4	196	22.2
Madison	2,190	6.7	128	57.2
Morchouse	3,248	7.9	1,561	45.1
Natchitoches	2,382	7.4	135	39.1
Orleans	4,807	9.0	8,856	100.0
Ouachita	4,367	9.8	3,689	79.2
Plaquemines	5,127	8.1	680	34.5
Pointe Coupee	2,386	6.2	137	17.6
Rapides	3,783	9.1	1,271	52.6
Red River	2,304	7.0	28	--
Richland	2,286	7.3	29	27.6
Sabine	2,816	8.0	1,215	17.0
St. Bernard	6,028	10.1	2,834	66.0
St. Charles	5,289	8.9	17,143	22.1
St. Helena	2,111	7.8	25	--
St. James	3,659	7.3	903	17.8
St. John the Baptist	4,079	7.0	--	47.9
St. Landry	2,480	5.9	332	35.3
St. Martin	2,518	5.2	372	33.6
St. Mary	4,686	7.8	1,700	59.4
St. Tammany	3,868	8.8	474	33.9
Tangipahor	2,917	8.0	2,969	35.7
Tensas	1,683	7.1	--	--
Terrebonne	4,831	7.4	580	52.1

Louisiana Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Union	2,890	8.3	195	15.5
Vermilion	3,354	6.2	353	40.4
Vernon	2,788	8.3	23	25.6
Washington	3,924	8.7	--	55.8
Webster	4,055	9.0	2,933	48.4
West Baton Rouge	4,037	7.5	168	39.2
West Carroll	2,155	8.1	48	--
West Feliciana	2,459	7.2	114	--
Winn	2,777	8.0	362	43.8

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Abbeville	3,641	8.3	1,770	37.3
Aiken	4,913	9.5	1,484	36.6
Allendale	2,188	7.4	81	27.4
Anderson	4,191	8.6	3,643	10.1
Bamberg	2,380	7.9	140	38.7
Barnwell	3,266	8.5	--	41.3
Beaufort	3,597	9.9	121	14.3
Berkeley	3,367	7.7	334	16.0
Calhoun	1,766	7.7	--	--
Charleston	4,518	10.1	9,916	73.5
Cherokee	3,686	7.6	570	43.2
Chester	3,700	7.8	--	32.2
Chesterfield	2,811	7.6	325	15.3
Clarendon	1,445	7.1	454	13.1
Dolleton	2,462	7.8	275	19.5
Darlington	3,231	8.1	--	24.8
Dillon	2,356	7.3	562	20.2
Dorchester	3,031	8.3	546	14.9
Edgefield	2,595	8.4	194	18.3
Fairfield	2,730	7.3	564	16.8
Florence	3,232	8.5	1,432	36.5
Georgetown	3,160	7.6	1,066	43.7
Greenville	4,754	9.9	7,400	63.7
Greenwood	4,175	8.7	1,544	49.2
Hampton	2,487	7.5	1,192	--
Horry	3,019	8.7	386	24.0
Jasper	2,401	6.7	46	--
Kershaw	3,538	8.3	2,242	20.4
Lancaster	4,482	8.3	--	36.2

South Carolina Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Laurens	4,145	8.1	1,005	36.8
Lee	1,680	7.3	56	16.4
Lexington	4,461	9.3	1,552	44.8
McCormick	2,639	7.6	--	--
Marion	2,307	7.9	321	41.9
Marlboro	2,465	7.4	1,201	24.4
Newberry	3,341	8.6	513	37.0
Oconee	3,721	8.1	1,436	21.5
Orangeburg	2,603	8.2	846	20.2
Pickens	4,503	8.4	2,032	23.8
Richland	4,572	10.9	2,244	69.4
Seluda	2,965	9.0	134	2.0
Spartanburg	4,228	8.5	4,933	36.1
Sumter	3,267	9.3	683	40.2
Union	4,115	7.8	1,331	34.0
Williamsburg	1,631	7.4	115	9.5
York	4,318	8.6	2,011	52.0

Florida-1960

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Alachua	4,471	11.5	1,911	49.6
Baker	3,227	8.3	149	36.3
Bay	4,413	11.1	1,140	65.0
Bradford	3,797	8.8	344	38.6
Brevard	6,123	12.1	1,401	54.1
Broward	4,996	11.9	5,460	96.6
Calhoun	2,673	8.2	123	--
Charlotte	3,918	10.8	189	58.7
Citrus	3,217	9.3	21	--
Clay	4,202	10.2	354	35.1
Collier	4,673	10.7	15	50.0
Columbia	3,607	8.8	194	47.1
Dade	5,348	11.5	17,904	95.6
DeSoto	3,542	9.2	166	50.4
Dixie	3,210	8.3	72	--
Duval	5,345	10.8	13,218	85.2
Escambia	5,174	10.7	--	73.7
Flagler	3,375	8.9	--	--
Franklin	2,699	8.6	21	47.1
Gadsden	2,866	7.5	219	44.2
Gilchrist	2,563	8.6	--	--
Glades	3,625	7.8	--	--
Gulf	4,858	9.6	--	42.2
Hamilton	2,687	7.7	63	--
Hardee	3,602	8.8	260	27.6
Hendry	4,127	8.9	--	38.4
Hernando	3,338	8.9	127	29.5

Florida Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Highlands	3,735	9.5	201	61.0
Hillsborough	4,616	10.1	10,545	79.8
Holmes	2,137	8.0	64	--
Indian River	4,218	10.9	269	48.8
Jackson	2,865	8.5	233	19.8
Jefferson	2,714	8.1	105	--
Lafayette	3,342	8.4	33	--
Lake	3,680	10.3	700	47.3
Lee	4,286	10.8	412	49.3
Leon	5,173	11.9	491	64.9
Levy	2,886	8.5	139	--
Liberty	3,277	8.5	196	--
Madison	2,614	8.0	163	22.9
Manatee	3,814	10.2	523	62.1
Marion	3,572	9.5	932	32.4
Martin	4,295	10.6	49	28.3
Monroe	4,660	10.9	577	70.9
Nassau	4,465	9.0	1,031	42.3
Okaloosa	4,901	12.1	62	49.2
Okeechobee	4,096	9.2	10	45.9
Orange	5,222	11.8	11,053	77.8
Osceola	3,368	9.6	149	58.8
Palm Beach	4,784	11.3	2,047	82.8
Pasco	3,307	8.9	--	30.4
Pinellas	4,359	11.1	7,533	91.1
Polk	4,476	9.7	6,874	61.8
Putnam	3,959	9.4	2,185	34.2
St. Johns	4,149	10.5	139	49.1
St. Lucie	4,211	10.0	420	64.3
Santa Rosa	4,692	10.2	--	13.9

Florida Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Sarosota	4,688	11.6	1,722	68.4
Seminole	4,446	11.0	840	49.1
Sumter	3,023	9.0	--	--
Suwannee	2,767	8.3	117	43.7
Taylor	3,844	8.4	--	61.0
Union	3,379	8.3	37	--
Volusia	4,114	11.5	1,215	61.4
Wakulle	2,783	8.2	--	--
Walton	3,138	8.6	132	33.9
Washington	2,662	8.4	58	28.1

Source of Data: U. S. Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962.

APPENDIX 6
Rank of Variables for Economic Development and RAR
per County in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida.

Louisiana

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Acadia	35	57	36	14	34
Allen	31	38	22	37	26
Ascension	21	34	42	36	31
Assumption	40	63	26	53	49
Avoyelles	56	50	37	42	49
Beauregard	34	19	38	30	24
Bienville	47	31	34	52	42
Bossier	11	2	27	8	8
Caddo	7	4	7	4	4
Caldasieu	5	6	1	6	3
Caldwell	52	27	28	53	40
Cameron	13	31	11	53	20
Catahoula	60	44	32	53	53
Claiborne	39	18	12	27	26
Concordia	32	23	18	23	26
DeSoto	46	39	6	44	32
East Baton Rouge	3	1	2	3	1
East Carroll	62	54	48	26	52
East Feliciana	44	47	50	53	54
Evangeline	58	61	54	38	61
Franklin	61	47	51	49	60
Grant	45	23	52	53	45
Iberia	16	39	13	7	14
Iberville	36	53	59	40	56
Jackson	26	14	59	43	34
Jefferson	1	3	4	2	2
Jefferson Davis	24	37	49	10	23

Louisiana Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Lafayette	12	12	17	16	10
Lafourche	15	54	20	24	22
LaSalle	29	14	34	53	30
Lincoln	28	5	41	11	16
Livingston	23	20	39	45	25
Madison	55	54	46	13	43
Morehouse	33	31	59	21	36
Natchitochees	53	42	45	29	44
Orleans	9	10	5	1	5
Ouachita	14	8	8	5	7
Plaquemines	6	23	21	33	15
Pointe Coupee	49	58	44	48	58
Rapides	25	9	15	17	12
Red River	63	51	56	53	63
Sabrine	41	27	16	49	47
St. Bernard	2	7	10	8	6
St. Charles	4	12	3	46	11
St. Helena	59	34	57	53	59
St. James	27	44	19	47	33
St. John the Baptist	17	51	59	20	38
St. Lordry	50	62	33	32	47
St. Martin	48	64	29	35	46
St. Mary	10	34	14	12	13
St. Tammany	22	14	25	34	19
Tangipohon	37	27	24	31	62
Tensas	64	60	59	53	64
Terrebonne	8	42	23	18	17
Union	38	21	40	51	39
Vermilion	30	58	31	25	36
Vernon	42	21	58	41	41

Louisiana Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Webster	18	10	9	19	9
West Baton Rouge	19	39	42	28	26
West Carroll	57	23	53	53	51
West Feliciana	51	47	47	53	56
Winn	43	27	30	22	18

South Carolina

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Abbeville	17	19	9	14	11
Aiken	1	5	12	17	7
Allendale	42	39	38	23	40
Anderson	10	11	3	4	4
Bamberg	39	27	34	13	29
Barnwell	23	14	41	11	21
Beaufort	18	3	36	39	23
Berkeley	20	32	29	36	34
Calhoun	43	32	41	43	44
Charleston	4	2	1	1	1
Cherokee	16	34	22	9	19
Chester	15	29	41	22	25
Chesterfield	30	34	30	37	37
Clarendon	46	45	27	40	43
Colliton	37	29	32	32	35
Darlington	25	24	41	24	30
Dillon	40	42	24	30	39
Dorchester	27	19	25	38	27
Edgefield	34	17	33	33	33
Fairfield	31	42	23	34	35
Florence	24	14	14	18	13
Georgetown	26	34	18	8	23
Greenville	2	3	2	3	2
Greenwood	11	9	11	6	8
Hamton	35	38	17	43	38
Horry	28	9	28	26	22
Jasper	38	46	40	43	46
Kershaw	19	19	6	29	15

South Carolina Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Lancaster	6	19	41	19	20
Laurens	12	24	19	16	14
Lee	44	42	39	35	41
Lexington	7	6	10	7	5
McCormick	32	34	41	43	41
Marion	41	27	31	10	27
Marlboro	36	39	16	25	31
Newberry	21	11	26	15	15
Oconee	14	24	13	28	18
Orangeburg	33	23	20	30	25
Pickens	5	17	7	27	10
Richland	3	1	5	2	3
Saluda	29	8	35	42	31
Spartanburg	9	14	4	20	9
Sumter	22	6	21	12	12
Union	13	29	15	21	17
Williamsburg	45	39	37	41	45
York	8	11	8	5	6

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Alachua	17	7	14	24	13
Baker	50	56	36	40	44
Bay	20	11	13	11	11
Bradford	35	44	25	38	36
Brevard	1	1	11	21	5
Broward	7	3	7	1	2
Calhoun	63	60	42	53	62
Charlotte	32	16	33	20	23
Citrus	51	35	53	53	52
Clay	26	24	24	41	27
Collier	13	19	55	23	26
Columbia	39	44	32	31	38
Dade	2	7	1	2	1
DeSoto	42	36	34	22	34
Dixie	52	56	45	53	58
Duval	3	16	2	4	4
Escambia	5	19	57	8	20
Flagler	44	40	57	53	52
Franklin	61	47	53	31	50
Gadsden	56	67	29	34	48
Gilchrist	66	47	57	53	64
Glades	38	65	57	53	59
Gulf	9	30	57	36	32
Hamilton	62	66	47	53	65
Hardee	40	44	27	49	40
Hendry	28	40	57	39	42
Hernando	46	40	41	46	43
Highlands	36	32	30	17	27
Hillsborough	15	27	4	6	9
Holmes	67	63	46	53	67
Indian River	24	14	26	29	22

Florida Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Jackson	57	50	28	51	47
Jefferson	60	62	44	53	63
Lafayette	46	53	52	53	57
Lake	37	23	18	30	24
Lee	23	16	23	25	19
Leon	6	3	21	12	9
Levy	55	50	38	53	54
Liberty	49	50	31	53	45
Madison	65	63	35	50	61
Manatee	34	24	20	14	21
Marion	41	32	16	44	33
Martin	22	21	50	47	35
Monroe	14	14	19	9	12
Nassau	18	38	15	37	24
Okaloosa	8	1	48	26	18
Okeechobee	30	36	56	33	39
Orange	4	5	3	7	3
Osceola	45	30	36	19	31
Palm Beach	10	10	9	5	5
Pasco	48	40	57	45	49
Pinellas	21	11	5	3	8
Polk	16	29	6	15	15
Putnam	31	34	8	42	27
St. Johns	27	22	38	27	27
St. Lucie	25	28	22	13	17
Santa Rosa	11	24	57	52	37
Sarasota	12	6	10	10	7
Seminole	19	13	17	27	16
Sumter	54	38	57	53	55
Suwannee	59	56	43	35	51

Florida Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Taylor	33	53	57	17	41
Union	43	56	51	53	56
Volusia	29	7	12	16	14
Wakulla	58	60	57	53	65
Walton	53	47	40	43	45
Washington	64	53	49	48	60

Source of Data: U. S. Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962.

APPENDIX 7

Classification of Counties According to Modified Ranney-Kendall Classification in Louisiana, South Carolina, & Florida

Louisiana

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Acadia	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
Allen	1	10	0	9.1	27.3	9.1	9.1	E
Ascension	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	9.1	E
Assumption	1	10	0	9.1	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
Avoyelles	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	9.1	E
Beauregard	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	27.3	27.3	C
Bienville	2	8	1	18.2	36.4	26.4	27.3	C
Bossier	4	7	0	36.4	45.5	36.4	27.3	A
Caddo	3	7	1	27.3	54.5	36.4	36.4	A
Calcasieu	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	18.2	18.2	D
Caldwell	1	9	1	18.2	45.5	27.3	9.1	D
Cameron	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
Catahoula	2	9	0	18.2	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
Claiborne	3	7	1	27.3	36.4	36.4	27.3	B
Concordia	0	9	2	0.0	45.5	27.3	9.1	D
DeSoto	2	8	1	18.2	45.5	36.4	27.3	B

Louisiana Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Total Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
East Baton Rouge	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	27.3	18.2	D
East Carroll	0	10	1	0.0	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
East Feliciana	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	9.1	E
Evangeline	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	9.1	E
Franklin	0	10	1	0.0	45.5	26.4	9.1	C
Grant	1	9	1	9.1	45.5	27.3	9.1	D
Iberia	2	9	0	18.2	36.4	18.2	18.2	E
Iberville	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	9.1	E
Jackson	2	9	0	18.2	45.5	36.4	18.2	C
Jefferson	1	10	0	9.1	54.5	18.2	18.2	D
Jefferson Davis	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	18.2	18.2	E
Lafayette	2	9	0	18.2	54.5	18.2	18.2	D
Lafourche	1	10	0	9.1	27.3	18.2	18.2	E
LaSalle	3	8	0	27.3	45.5	45.5	36.4	A
Lincoln	3	8	0	27.3	45.5	45.5	36.4	A
Livingston	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	9.1	0.0	E
Madison	2	7	2	18.2	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
Morehouse	3	8	0	27.3	45.5	36.4	27.3	A
Natchitochees	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	36.4	18.2	C
Orleans	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	18.2	18.2	D
Ouachita	2	9	0	18.2	54.5	45.5	36.4	B
Plaquemines	2	9	0	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.2	E

Louisiana Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Pointe Coupee	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
Rapides	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	26.4	18.2	C
Red River	0	10	1	0.0	36.4	18.2	9.1	E
Richland	0	10	1	0.0	36.4	27.3	9.1	E
Sabine	2	9	0	18.2	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
St. Bernard	2	9	0	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
St. Charles	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	9.1	9.1	E
St. Helena	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	0.0	E
St. James	1	10	0	9.1	18.2	18.2	9.1	E
St. John the Baptist	1	10	0	9.1	18.2	9.1	9.1	E
St. Landry	2	9	0	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
St. Martin	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
St. Mary	2	9	0	18.2	36.4	18.2	18.2	E
St. Tammany	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	18.2	18.2	E
Tangipahoc	1	10	0	9.1	27.3	18.2	18.2	E
Tensas	3	8	0	27.3	36.4	36.4	27.3	B
Terrebonne	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
Union	2	9	0	18.2	45.5	45.5	27.3	B
Vermilion	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
Vernon	1	10	0	9.1	27.3	27.3	9.1	E
Washington	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E

Louisiana Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Webster	2	8	1	18.2	36.4	36.4	36.4	C
West Baton Rouge	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	18.2	9.1	E
West Carroll	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
West Feliciana	2	9	0	18.2	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
Winn	2	9	0	18.2	45.5	36.4	27.3	B
TOTAL	1	10	0	18.2	45.5	18.2	18.2	D

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Abbeville	0	13	0	0.0	15.4	0.0	0.0	E
Aiken	3	10	0	23.1	38.5	30.8	30.8	B
Allendale	2	11	0	15.4	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
Anderson	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	0.0	0.0	E
Bamberg	2	11	0	15.4	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
Barnwell	1	12	0	7.7	23.1	15.4	15.4	E
Beaufort	3	11	0	23.1	30.8	30.8	30.8	B
Berkeley	1	12	0	7.7	30.8	23.1	15.4	E
Calhoun	3	10	0	23.1	23.1	23.1	23.1	C
Charleston	3	10	0	23.1	38.5	30.8	23.1	A
Cherokee	0	13	0	0.0	15.4	0.0	0.0	E
Chester	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	7.7	7.7	E
Chesterfield	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	0.0	0.0	E
Clarendon	3	10	0	23.1	23.1	23.1	23.1	C
Colleton	2	11	0	15.4	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
Darlington	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	23.1	15.4	E
Dillon	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	15.4	7.7	E
Dorchester	2	11	0	15.4	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
Edgefield	3	10	0	23.1	30.8	23.1	23.1	C
Fairfield	1	12	0	7.7	23.1	23.1	23.1	D

South Carolina Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Florence	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
Georgetown	1	12	0	7.7	30.8	23.1	15.4	E
Greenville	3	10	0	23.1	38.5	30.8	23.1	B
Hampton	2	11	0	15.4	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
Horry	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	23.1	7.7	E
Jasper	2	11	0	15.4	38.5	30.8	23.1	C
Kershaw	2	11	0	15.4	30.8	23.1	23.1	D
Lancaster	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	15.4	0.0	E
Laurens	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	23.1	15.4	E
Lee	1	12	0	7.7	23.1	23.1	15.4	E
Lexington	2	11	0	15.4	30.8	23.1	23.1	D
McCormick	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	23.1	7.7	E
Marion	1	12	0	7.7	23.1	23.1	15.4	E
Marlboro	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	15.4	7.7	E
Newberry	1	12	0	7.7	30.8	23.1	23.1	D
Oconee	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	15.4	0.0	E
Orangeburg	3	10	0	23.1	30.8	23.1	23.1	D
Pickens	3	10	0	23.1	38.5	30.8	30.8	B
Richland	2	11	0	15.4	38.5	38.5	30.8	C
Saluda	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	23.1	15.4	E
Spartanburg	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	15.4	0.0	E
Sumter	3	10	0	23.1	30.8	23.1	23.1	C

South Carolina Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Union	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	0.0	0.0	E
Williamsburg	2	11	0	15.4	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
York	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	30.8	7.7	D
TOTAL	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	23.1	23.1	D

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Alachua	3	8	0	27.3	63.6	27.3	27.3	B
Baker	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	0.0	0.0	E
Bay	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	0.0	E
Bradford	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	18.2	0.0	E
Brevard	4	7	0	36.4	72.7	54.5	36.4	AA
Broward	4	7	0	36.4	81.8	72.7	45.5	AAA
Calhoun	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	0.0	0.0	E
Charlotte	3	8	0	27.3	63.6	45.5	36.4	A
Citrus	2	9	0	18.2	54.5	27.3	27.3	C
Clay	1	10	0	9.1	63.6	27.3	27.3	C
Collier	2	9	0	18.2	54.5	45.5	27.3	B
Columbia	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	27.3	0.0	E
Dade	2	9	0	18.2	72.7	36.4	27.3	B
DeSoto	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	27.3	27.3	D
Dixie	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E
Duval	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	27.3	17.3	C
Escambia	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	27.3	0.0	E
Flagler	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	26.3	18.2	E
Franklin	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	0.0	E
Gadsden	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	18.2	E

Florida Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Gilchrist	0	11	0	0.0	9.2	0.0	0.0	E
Glades	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	18.2	E
Gulf	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	0.0	0.0	E
Hamilton	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	18.2	0.0	E
Hardee	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	27.3	27.3	D
Hernando	1	10	1	9.1	54.5	27.3	27.3	C
Highlands	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	45.5	27.3	A
Hillsborough	2	9	0	18.2	54.5	27.3	27.3	C
Holmes	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E
Indian River	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	54.5	36.4	A
Jackson	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E
Jefferson	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	0.0	E
Lafayette	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	0.0	0.0	E
Lake	3	8	0	27.3	63.6	45.5	27.3	A
Lee	3	8	0	27.3	63.6	45.5	36.4	A
Leon	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	27.3	27.3	D
Levy	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	0.0	E
Liberty	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	0.0	0.0	E
Madison	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	9.1	E
Manatee	4	7	0	36.4	72.7	63.6	36.4	AA

Florida Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Marion	3	8	0	27.3	54.5	27.3	27.3	B
Martin	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	45.5	36.4	A
Monroe	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	27.3	9.1	E
Nassau	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	9.1	E
Okaloosa	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	0.0	E
Okeechobee	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	9.1	E
Orange	4	7	0	36.4	81.8	63.6	36.4	AA
Osceola	4	7	0	36.4	81.8	63.6	36.4	AA
Palm Beach	4	7	0	36.4	81.8	72.7	36.4	AA
Pasco	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	45.5	36.4	A
Pinellas	5	6	0	54.5	81.8	81.8	54.5	AAA
Polk	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	36.4	27.3	A
Putnam	2	9	0	18.2	45.5	27.3	27.3	C
St. Johns	2	9	0	18.2	54.5	27.3	27.3	C
St. Lucie	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	54.5	27.3	A
Santa Rosa	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	18.2	0.0	E
Sarasota	4	7	0	36.4	81.8	81.8	54.5	AAA
Seminole	3	8	0	27.3	63.6	36.4	36.4	A
Sumter	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	27.3	0.0	E
Suwannee	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E

Florida Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Taylor	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E
Union	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	0.0	0.0	E
Volusia	4	7	0	36.4	81.8	72.7	36.4	AA
Wakulla	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	0.0	0.0	E
Walton	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E
Washington	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	0.0	E
TOTAL	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	45.5	36.4	A

Source of Data: R. M. Scammon, Ed. America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1 - 1956, Vol. 2 - 1957, Vol. 3 - 1958, Vol. 4 - 1960, and Vol. 5 - 1962.

APPENDIX 1

Population, percentage vote, and average vote for the presidential, senatorial, and gubernatorial elections contested in Louisiana.

County	Congressional District	Population	% Republican Vote for President 1952	% Republican Vote for President 1956	% Republican Vote for President 1960	% Republican Vote for Senator 1950	% Republican Vote for Senator 1960	% Reputlican Vote for Senator 1962	% Republican Vote for Governor 1960	Average Republican Vote for President (1950-1962)	Average Republican Vote for Senator (1950-1962)	Average Republican Vote for Governor (1950-62) "Only 1 Election"
Acadia	7	49,931	41.5	40.0	17.3	7.4	12.8	8.7	17.1	32.8	9.6	17.1
Allen	7	19,867	28.0	50.5	27.0	3.2	12.1	11.7	11.2	35.2	9.0	11.2
Ascension	6	27,927	33.2	40.9	13.3	5.7	11.3	8.3	13.4	29.1	8.4	13.4
Assumption	3	17,991	42.4	55.2	18.2	7.4	14.7	9.1	15.1	37.4	10.4	15.1
Avoyelles	8	37,606	36.0	44.5	12.7	1.0	7.1	17.2	11.4	31.1	8.4	11.4
Beauregard	7	19,191	44.2	52.7	40.8	-	25.4	20.0	10.3	45.9	15.1	10.3
Bienville	4	16,716	53.1	48.9	39.7	7.1	19.1	44.2	1.9	45.6	23.5	1.9
Bossier	4	57,622	57.8	49.0	39.3	8.7	21.9	52.8	5.1	48.7	37.8	5.1
Caddo	4	223,859	65.7	60.3	54.3	28.8	29.9	64.7	11.4	60.1	41.1	11.4
Calcasieu	7	145,475	41.2	51.5	27.2	15.6	16.8	24.1	24.6	34.0	18.8	24.6
Caldwell	5	9,004	45.3	35.2	35.1	5.4	23.9	29.7	2.8	38.5	19.7	2.8
Cameron	7	6,909	40.5	40.2	13.8	2.7	8.6	7.1	8.5	31.5	6.1	8.5

Louisiana Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 52	Pres 56	Pres 60	Sen 50	Sen 60	Sen 62	Gov 60	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov "only 1"
Catahoula	5	11,421	39.8	46.9	45.5	3.3	18.7	26.2	3.9	44.1	16.1	3.9
Claiborne	4	19,407	64.6	53.6	34.7	14.9	19.6	52.3	1.6	51.0	28.9	1.6
Concordia	5	20,467	47.0	39.7	30.3	6.8	24.3	28.6	4.6	39.0	19.9	4.6
DeSoto	4	24,248	57.8	53.3	36.1	14.7	20.3	48.9	3.3	49.1	28.0	3.3
E Baton Rouge	6	230,058	46.0	56.7	31.5	15.5	17.4	23.8	24.6	43.6	18.9	24.6
E Carroll	5	14,433	45.2	30.8	29.4	5.0	16.9	49.5	1.2	35.2	23.8	1.2
E Feliciana	6	20,198	46.2	37.5	16.2	5.9	9.0	18.9	3.4	33.3	11.3	3.4
Evangeline	7	31,639	41.8	38.2	11.3	1.9	7.6	7.2	6.0	30.4	5.6	6.0
Franklin	5	26,088	36.3	32.7	33.1	4.1	20.7	41.7	3.7	34.0	22.2	3.7
Grant	8	13,330	35.3	46.1	32.3	8.7	22.2	30.3	4.1	37.9	20.4	4.1
Iberia	3	51,657	58.4	63.4	23.0	12.7	19.0	12.9	22.9	48.3	14.9	22.9
Iberville	6	29,939	32.8	47.0	15.9	4.3	11.5	10.3	18.9	31.9	8.7	18.9
Jackson	5	15,828	36.4	54.3	43.9	8.6	27.6	30.5	3.7	44.9	22.2	3.7
Jefferson	2	208,769	46.9	57.2	27.5	7.4	23.8	23.2	24.9	43.9	18.1	24.9

Louisiana Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 52	Pres 56	Pres 60	Sen 50	Sen 60	Sen 62	Gov 60	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov "only 1"
Jefferson Davis	7	29,825	49.0	62.9	25.8	9.7	19.0	17.7	23.1	45.9	15.5	23.1
Lafayette	3	84,656	50.1	57.1	26.7	12.2	23.1	20.0	27.2	48.0	18.4	27.2
Lafourche	3	55,381	40.9	60.3	18.2	4.5	12.9	8.8	23.2	39.8	40.9	23.2
LaSalle	8	13,011	45.8	61.6	55.3	9.2	31.2	50.2	3.2	54.2	30.3	3.2
Lincoln	5	28,535	60.5	59.2	54.1	18.3	31.9	49.7	5.2	57.9	33.3	5.2
Livingston	6	26,974	28.6	37.2	14.4	2.6	9.9	12.6	4.3	26.7	8.4	4.3
Madison	5	16,444	64.3	27.2	33.3	9.3	16.3	58.7	1.3	41.6	28.1	1.3
Morehouse	5	33,709	46.1	35.7	53.4	11.3	26.8	55.3	5.6	45.1	31.1	5.6
Natchitoches	8	35,653	44.5	55.5	36.3	6.6	21.4	32.6	6.2	45.4	20.2	6.2
Orleans	1-2	627,525	48.7	56.5	26.8	17.4	24.1	16.8	24.7	44.0	19.4	24.7
Ouachita	5	101,663	47.5	46.8	54.6	21.7	31.3	41.6	8.9	49.6	31.5	8.9
Plaquemines	1	22,545	93.0	81.2	13.8	.8	6.0	3.8	6.2	62.7	3.5	6.2
Pointe Coupee	6	22,488	45.9	45.0	16.4	3.5	13.8	7.4	12.8	35.8	8.2	12.8
Rapides	8	111,351	41.8	53.8	34.3	11.7	23.1	32.6	10.7	43.3	22.5	10.7

Louisiana Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 52	Pres 56	Pres 60	Sen 50	Sen 60	Sen 62	Gov 60	Ave. Pres.	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov "only 1"
Red River	4	9,978	29.8	37.0	21.2	4.1	15.3	42.6	1.2	29.3	21.7	1.2
Richland	5	23,824	39.7	29.9	35.6	7.2	19.8	40.8	3.1	35.1	22.6	3.1
Sabine	8	18,564	38.3	50.5	41.1	5.8	19.1	25.4	4.9	43.3	16.8	4.9
St. Bernard	1	32,186	51.7	50.5	13.1	.9	12.3	12.5	8.9	38.4	8.6	8.9
St. Charles	2	21,219	28.8	57.9	20.9	5.3	14.1	13.5	24.6	35.9	11.0	24.6
St. Helena	6	9,162	39.6	32.3	16.4	2.5	17.2	11.6	7.4	29.7	10.4	7.4
St. James	2	18,369	38.5	49.2	11.7	2.1	9.1	7.3	17.4	32.3	6.2	17.4
St. John the Baptist	2	18,439	23.5	50.6	10.3	4.1	9.4	9.5	17.0	28.1	7.7	17.0
St. Landry	7	81,493	52.7	51.6	15.2	10.3	13.5	11.9	11.7	39.8	11.9	11.7
St. Martin	3	29,063	43.6	42.7	12.1	4.8	8.2	11.3	17.6	32.8	8.1	17.6
St. Mary	3	48.833	51.0	61.5	27.6	11.9	20.2	11.4	16.7	46.7	14.5	16.7
St. Tammany	6	38,643	44.6	51.9	25.8	5.7	23.2	16.0	18.1	40.8	15.0	18.1
Tangipahoa	6	59,434	46.9	51.7	22.9	5.0	16.0	13.9	12.6	40.5	11.6	12.6

Louisiana Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 52	Pres 56	Pres 60	Sen 50	Sen 60	Sen 62	Gov 60	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov "only 1"
Tensas	5	11,796	50.5	35.0	42.2	5.0	15.6	48.2	2.4	42.6	22.9	2.4
Terrebonne	3	60,771	47.5	64.8	23.7	4.2	16.4	11.6	39.9	45.4	10.7	39.9
Union	5	17,624	48.0	40.5	29.6	6.7	31.8	35.6	3.5	46.0	24.7	3.5
Vermilion	3	38,855	42.4	44.6	14.9	8.7	10.0	9.9	19.9	34.0	9.5	19.9
Vernon	8	18,311	35.7	49.8	32.3	3.6	19.7	16.5	4.8	39.3	13.3	4.8
Washington	6	44,015	24.7	38.3	16.2	3.6	13.0	11.6	10.6	26.4	9.4	10.6
Webster	4	39,701	43.1	48.7	40.9	6.6	18.8	55.9	1.9	44.2	23.8	1.9
W Baton Rouge	6	14,796	35.5	44.7	12.4	27.5	12.1	10.5	14.9	30.9	16.7	14.9
W Carroll	5	14,177	40.7	25.1	30.6	6.7	18.4	40.4	3.1	35.5	22.0	3.1
W Feliciana	6	12,395	64.3	56.4	22.0	10.6	14.4	32.3	4.9	47.6	19.1	4.9
Winn	8	16,034	46.5	49.6	44.9	8.9	27.8	38.9	4.2	47.0	25.2	4.2

GOVERNOR

	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
1960	F. C. Grevemberg	Jimmie H. Davis	17.0%	80.5%
1956	--	Earl K. Long	--	100.0
1952	Harrison G. Bagwell	Robert F. Kennon	4.0	96.0
1948	--	Earl K. Long	--	100.0

SENATOR

	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
1962	Taylor W. O'Hearne	Russell B. Long	24.4%	75.6%
1960	George W. Reese	Allen J. Ellender	20.2	79.8
1956	--	Russell B. Long	--	100.0
1954	--	Allen J. Ellender	--	100.0
1950	Charles S. Gerth	Russell B. Long	12.3	87.7
1948	--	Allen J. Ellender	--	100.0
1948s	Clem S. Clarke	Russell B. Long	25.0	75.0

Source of Data: R. M. Scammon, ed. America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1 - 1956, Vol. 2 - 1957, Vol. 3 - 1958, Vol. 4 - 1960, and Vol. 5 - 1962.

APPENDIX 2

Population, percentage Republican vote, and average Republican vote for the presidential, senatorial, and gubernatorial elections contested in South Carolina.

County	Congressional District	Population	% Republican Vote for President 1952	% Republican Vote for President 1956	% Republican Vote for President 1960	% Republican Vote for Senator 1956	% Republican Vote for Senator 1962	Average Republican Vote for President (1950-1962)	Average Republican Vote for Senator (1950-1962)
Abbeville	3	21,417	25.9	9.5	21.6	4.3	18.3	19.0	11.3
Aiken	2	81,038	49.6	50.4	61.6	23.2	59.1	53.9	41.2
Allendale	1	11,362	63.1	19.9	60.4	9.4	41.5	47.8	25.5
Anderson	3	98,478	22.3	14.8	21.7	12.4	20.9	16.3	16.7
Bomberg	2	16,274	65.2	17.4	64.5	12.9	42.8	49.0	27.9
Barnwell	2	17,659	29.1	17.3	58.1	6.4	47.7	34.8	27.1
Beaufort	1	44,187	59.1	37.8	52.9	16.7	42.0	49.9	27.4
Berkeley	1	38,196	59.2	28.2	48.8	18.9	38.6	45.4	28.8
Calhoun	2	12,256	74.4	12.4	61.4	6.8	58.2	49.3	32.5
Charleston	1	216,382	66.9	29.9	63.9	34.2	53.7	53.6	44.0
Cherokee	5	35,205	21.6	18.5	22.5	8.2	18.7	20.9	13.5
Chester	5	30,888	49.4	21.4	28.0	10.6	25.9	32.9	18.5
Chesterfield	5	33,717	27.6	15.9	23.6	7.5	21.2	22.4	14.4
Clarendon	1	29,490	68.5	8.4	56.0	10.1	50.2	44.3	30.2
Colleton	1	27,816	59.2	15.7	56.2	10.8	42.5	43.5	26.2
Darlington	6	52,928	37.7	22.5	42.8	19.7	44.8	34.3	32.3
Dillon	6	30,584	48.3	10.5	35.2	7.1	26.8	31.3	17.0
Dorchester	1	24,383	73.1	15.7	59.9	17.5	48.8	49.6	33.2
Edgefield	3	15,735	68.9	25.3	63.1	7.0	58.1	52.4	32.6
Fairfield	5	20,713	50.3	19.6	48.7	16.7	41.2	39.5	29.0
Florence	6	84,438	49.5	19.0	48.8	11.6	40.9	39.1	26.3
Georgetown	6	34,798	63.1	24.2	48.1	16.7	39.9	45.1	28.3
Greenville	4	209,776	54.4	39.5	61.8	24.7	55.6	51.9	40.2

South Carolina Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 1952	Pres 1956	Pres 1960	Sen 1956	Sen 1962	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen
Greenwood	3	44,346	47.1	16.6	36.0	8.9	34.3	33.1	21.6
Hampton	1	17,425	67.5	17.5	62.6	6.2	49.4	48.5	27.8
Horry	6	68,247	45.3	13.4	38.6	7.2	36.9	32.4	22.1
Jasper	1	13,237	55.7	31.7	51.9	20.2	43.3	46.4	31.8
Kershaw	5	33,585	58.9	28.2	52.2	19.3	47.7	42.7	33.5
Lancaster	5	39,352	38.2	24.3	34.3	6.4	29.3	32.3	17.9
Laurens	4	47,609	47.9	20.7	42.0	9.2	37.3	36.9	23.3
Lee	6	21,832	64.3	10.1	46.6	12.7	39.3	40.3	26.0
Lexington	2	60,726	53.4	20.7	61.0	14.9	48.1	45.0	31.5
McCormick	3	8,629	48.0	11.7	33.8	6.5	35.5	31.2	21.0
Marion	6	32,014	59.0	13.2	40.7	8.9	39.1	37.6	24.0
Marlboro	6	28,529	47.6	18.1	33.3	10.7	25.2	33.0	18.0
Newberry	3	29,416	54.7	20.8	47.5	9.6	41.1	41.0	25.4
Oconee	3	40,204	33.5	19.0	30.4	13.5	23.4	27.6	18.5
Orangeburg	2	68,559	62.4	21.2	57.4	17.3	53.8	47.0	35.1
Pickens	3	46,030	51.9	40.8	62.3	24.2	50.3	51.7	37.3
Richland	2	200,102	64.2	30.0	53.9	43.8	49.9	52.7	46.9
Saluda	3	14,554	46.7	14.9	48.4	8.8	36.4	33.3	22.6
Spartanburg	4	156,830	31.4	26.7	35.2	16.6	29.1	31.1	22.9
Sumter	2	74,941	70.1	22.5	63.9	9.8	58.6	52.2	34.2
Union	4	30,015	26.1	22.0	27.5	11.2	25.7	25.2	18.5
Williamsburg	6	40,932	66.1	8.8	60.6	10.3	46.8	45.2	28.6
York	5	78,760	41.3	30.4	38.8	12.6	37.2	26.8	24.9

Source of Data: R. M. Scammon, ed. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1 - 1956, Vol. 2 - 1957, Vol. 3 - 1958, Vol. 4 - 1960, and Vol. 5 - 1962.

APPENDIX 3

Population, percentage Republican vote, and average Republican vote for the presidential, senatorial, and gubernatorial elections contested in Florida.

County	Congressional District	Population	% Republican Vote for President 1952	% Republican Vote for President 1956	% Republican Vote for President 1960	% Republican Vote for Senator 1950	% Republican Vote for Senator 1958	% Republican Vote for Senator 1952	% Republican Vote for Governor 1954	% Republican Vote for Governor 1956	% Republican Vote for Governor 1960	Average Republican Vote for President (1950-1962)	Average Republican Vote for Senator (1950-1962)	Average Republican Vote for Governor (1950-1962)
Alachua	8	74,074	58.5	53.5	52.0	15.0	20.6	20.4	6.7	20.0	29.1	54.7	18.7	18.6
Baker	8	7,363	22.0	20.2	21.3	5.7	2.1	5.7	3.8	15.4	4.4	21.2	4.5	7.9
Bay	3	67,131	35.4	36.4	33.9	10.8	10.4	16.0	2.8	11.9	12.9	35.3	12.4	9.2
Bradford	8	12,446	29.7	34.0	30.9	9.6	10.8	12.8	4.9	22.0	9.8	31.5	11.1	12.2
Brevard	5	111,435	61.9	71.8	60.4	21.9	30.3	29.7	12.6	31.3	50.3	64.7	27.3	31.4
Broward	6	333,946	69.1	72.2	58.8	32.8	33.8	40.2	23.3	31.3	51.2	66.7	35.6	35.3
Calhoun	3	7,422	24.4	24.6	28.5	4.0	3.8	7.0	--	11.1	4.0	29.2	4.9	5.0
Charlotte	6	12,594	58.8	63.1	60.9	19.3	28.3	38.5	11.0	23.1	44.2	60.9	28.7	29.4
Citrus	5	9,268	47.9	50.4	51.8	14.8	15.5	20.6	7.3	21.9	27.1	50.0	17.0	18.8
Clay	2	19,535	49.1	53.7	48.0	16.6	24.1	23.0	10.2	26.1	25.2	50.3	21.2	20.5
Collier	6	15,753	59.6	59.7	60.7	10.1	32.3	26.3	3.6	19.2	38.0	56.7	22.9	20.2
Columbia	8	20,077	38.7	36.1	36.2	6.0	6.4	8.4	4.4	22.6	8.9	37.0	6.9	12.0

Florida Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 1952	Pres 1956	Pres 1960	Sen 1950	Sen 1958	Sen 1952	Gov 1954	Gov 1956	Gov 1960	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov
Dade	4	935,047	56.8	55.4	42.3	20.7	34.3	26.3	18.7	24.9	43.0	51.5	27.1	28.9
DeSoto	7	11,683	41.2	48.4	50.1	19.8	12.0	14.2	3.0	17.0	20.6	46.6	15.3	13.5
Dixie	8	4,479	34.8	29.0	28.7	4.3	4.8	5.1	2.2	18.9	4.9	30.8	4.5	8.6
Duval	2	455,411	48.3	50.1	45.7	19.5	18.3	20.8	.2	21.4	24.9	48.0	19.5	15.5
Escambia	3	173,829	37.3	37.2	38.8	10.9	8.3	22.2	6.2	8.9	16.1	37.8	14.0	10.4
Flagler	5	4,566	51.3	41.4	31.3	15.4	10.6	16.1	10.1	20.2	18.6	41.3	14.0	16.3
Franklin	3	6,576	33.0	37.3	33.8	4.5	8.3	17.0	2.9	10.6	13.1	34.7	9.9	8.9
Gadsden	3	41,989	40.4	36.6	46.2	3.0	2.3	13.4	2.3	9.1	4.6	41.1	6.9	5.3
Gilchrist	8	2,868	16.4	12.9	24.9	5.9	4.0	7.4	.7	10.7	3.3	18.1	5.8	4.9
Glades	6	2,960	39.7	47.7	44.4	15.4	8.5	9.1	6.1	16.2	16.7	43.9	11.0	13.0
Gulf	3	9,937	21.7	24.1	21.9	6.2	4.9	8.4	1.2	6.9	4.3	22.6	6.5	4.1
Hamilton	8	7,705	31.2	23.7	33.0	6.1	7.2	8.1	2.2	16.4	17.6	29.3	7.1	12.1
Hardee	7	12,370	46.6	45.7	53.0	19.2	9.6	11.4	5.0	19.7	24.2	48.4	13.4	16.3
Hendry	6	8,119	46.6	51.6	44.4	12.0	8.7	15.0	6.1	17.3	13.6	47.5	11.9	12.3

Florida Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 1952	Pres 1956	Pres 1960	Sen 1950	Sen 1958	Sen 1952	Gov 1954	Gov 1956	Gov 1960	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov
Hernando	1	11,205	53.7	46.4	48.0	12.6	11.4	24.6	6.1	25.6	25.9	49.4	16.2	19.2
Highlands	7	21,338	51.9	60.2	58.3	29.8	27.9	31.0	12.1	25.9	38.3	56.8	29.6	25.4
Hillsborough	1	397,788	52.2	52.0	44.0	20.7	18.3	22.6	14.9	19.7	29.6	49.4	20.5	21.4
Holmes	3	10,844	27.7	29.2	34.3	5.2	5.1	14.8	2.8	18.0	6.7	30.4	8.4	9.2
Indian River	6	25,309	65.9	70.5	61.1	23.6	30.1	38.2	12.5	27.2	45.6	65.8	24.0	27.8
Jackson	3	36,208	29.5	29.9	32.2	4.9	3.9	14.6	.7	9.7	7.7	30.5	7.8	6.0
Jefferson	3	9,543	36.2	30.7	34.7	5.1	4.7	9.8	--	17.5	4.6	33.9	6.5	7.4
Lafayette	8	2,889	21.5	15.1	27.2	5.6	3.4	4.0	.5	13.2	3.7	21.3	4.3	7.1
Lake	5	57,383	70.6	70.8	72.4	20.8	26.5	35.4	17.8	35.2	47.4	71.3	27.6	34.7
Lee	6	54,539	59.1	62.6	65.3	16.3	26.4	33.4	7.5	25.3	40.1	62.3	25.4	24.3
Leon	3	74,225	41.2	49.0	46.5	9.2	14.1	20.4	.1	12.3	19.6	45.6	14.6	10.7
Levy	8	10,364	34.7	33.7	33.2	6.5	6.9	10.4	4.0	19.7	7.6	33.9	6.9	10.4
Liberty	3	3,138	18.6	21.4	22.0	4.5	3.4	6.6	1.4	23.4	4.7	20.7	4.8	9.8
Madison	8	14,154	42.7	32.9	35.6	4.6	5.2	7.0	2.3	15.6	5.0	37.1	5.6	7.6

Florida Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 1952	Pres 1956	Pres 1960	Sen 1950	Sen 1958	Sen 1952	Gov 1954	Gov 1956	Gov 1960	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov
Manatee	7	69,168	66.4	68.6	65.1	29.0	39.5	36.8	16.3	31.4	50.8	66.7	35.1	32.8
Marion	5	51,616	51.2	50.9	49.4	12.0	16.9	20.0	7.5	26.2	21.4	50.5	16.3	18.4
Martin	6	16,932	64.6	68.3	58.1	20.1	27.6	37.1	12.3	28.6	44.6	63.7	28.2	28.5
Monroe	4	47,921	37.3	43.5	32.9	16.9	16.7	15.3	6.9	19.9	22.9	37.9	16.3	16.6
Nassau	8	17,189	40.8	38.2	33.7	10.8	6.8	10.7	3.0	15.1	11.9	37.6	9.4	10.0
Okaloosa	3	61,175	30.5	32.7	36.2	6.1	9.3	14.9	2.4	9.1	16.5	33.1	10.1	9.3
Okeechobee	6	6,424	38.0	40.8	35.9	8.0	4.8	8.5	4.0	10.2	11.4	38.2	7.1	8.5
Orange	5	263,540	71.1	72.0	71.0	27.0	32.1	30.8	23.6	38.3	57.9	71.4	30.0	39.9
Osceola	5	19,019	62.2	65.2	68.3	27.9	33.4	35.5	22.8	38.7	53.5	65.2	32.3	38.3
Palm Beach	6	228,106	67.7	71.3	60.3	28.4	36.5	38.3	32.9	35.9	52.0	66.4	34.3	40.3
Pasco	1	36,785	56.2	56.5	55.2	23.8	25.0	33.9	18.2	28.1	44.0	56.0	27.6	30.1
Pinellas	1	374,665	71.3	72.5	63.7	51.0	39.8	41.3	38.6	38.8	58.3	69.2	44.0	45.2
Putnam	8	32,212	51.7	56.3	48.7	13.4	15.9	20.1	2.8	25.1	19.5	52.2	16.5	15.8
Polk	7	195,139	51.6	55.9	56.3	20.2	22.3	25.4	10.5	21.5	35.5	54.9	20.3	22.5

Florida Cont.

County	CD	Pop	Pres 1952	Pres 1956	Pres 1960	Sen 1950	Sen 1958	Sen 1952	Gov 1954	Gov 1956	Gov 1960	Ave. Pres	Ave. Sen	Ave. Gov
St. Johns	5	30,054	50.2	51.9	42.5	21.0	17.3	29.9	56.3	6.5	23.7	50.2	20.7	17.1
St. Lucie	6	39,294	62.7	66.3	54.2	26.9	27.2	31.4	19.4	33.8	38.4	61.1	28.5	30.5
Santa Rosa	3	29,547	28.5	31.5	35.9	8.4	5.1	19.2	2.0	10.5	13.0	32.0	10.9	8.5
Sarasota	7	76,895	70.7	73.3	70.7	41.9	42.3	35.7	34.1	35.3	60.8	71.6	40.0	43.4
Seminole	5	54,947	60.0	65.1	64.6	17.3	23.9	28.5	.7	26.8	47.8	63.2	23.2	25.1
Sumter	5	11,869	31.6	31.3	33.0	9.7	7.4	12.7	3.7	21.7	12.1	32.0	10.3	12.5
Suwannee	8	14,961	36.3	24.9	35.5	3.9	5.9	6.5	1.3	20.9	6.5	32.2	5.4	9.6
Taylor	8	13,168	29.4	28.5	38.8	8.6	4.8	6.5	1.5	15.8	4.2	32.2	6.6	7.2
Union	8	6,043	21.7	18.5	24.8	5.2	3.4	5.4	4.1	16.7	4.2	21.7	4.6	8.3
Volusia	5	125,319	62.5	63.4	54.8	26.7	33.0	36.6	33.1	37.4	51.0	60.2	32.1	40.5
Wakulla	3	5,257	24.2	26.8	24.9	2.8	2.9	10.3	.4	16.1	5.3	25.3	5.3	7.3
Walton	3	15,576	29.5	33.2	29.0	8.0	7.4	17.0	3.4	15.1	9.5	30.6	10.8	9.3
Washington	3	11,249	32.8	32.0	37.0	8.1	6.0	19.3	2.3	12.7	12.5	33.9	11.1	9.2

Florida Cont.

GOVERNOR

	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
1960	George C. Petersen	Farris Bryant	40.2%	59.8%
1956	W. A. Washburne	Leroy Collins	26.3	73.7
1954	J. Tom Watson	Leroy Collins	19.5	80.5
1952	Harry S. Swan	Dan McCarty	25.2	74.8
1948	Bert Lee Acker	Fuller Warren	16.6	83.4

SENATOR

	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
1962	Emerson H. Rupert	George A. Smathers	30.0%	70.0%
1958	Leland Hyzer	Spessard L. Holland	28.8	71.2
1956	--	George A. Smathers	--	100.0
1952	--	Spessard L. Holland	--	100.0
1950	John P. Booth	George A. Smathers	23.7	76.3

Source of Data: R. M. Scammon, ed. America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1 - 1956, Vol. 2 - 1957, Vol. 3 - 1958, Vol. 4 - 1960, and Vol. 5 - 1962.

APPENDIX 4

RAR of the counties according to support of Republican Party in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida

Louisiana

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Acadia	52	51	48	NONE
Allen	50	44	51	
Ascension	60	61	55	
Assumption	46	40	46	
Avoyelles	57	56	55	
Beauregard	23	15	36	
Bienville	11	17	14	
Bossier	3	8	2	
Caddo	1	2	1	
Calcasieu	42	47	29	
Caldwell	32	37	25	
Cameron	61	55	62	
Catahoula	28	23	34	
Claiborne	6	5	7	
Concordia	30	36	24	
DeSoto	7	7	9	
East Baton Rouge	25	26	28	
East Carroll	26	44	12	
East Feliciana	49	50	43	
Evangeline	63	58	63	
Franklin	36	47	18	
Grant	31	39	22	
Iberia	20	9	38	
Iberville	55	54	52	
Jackson	15	21	18	

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Jefferson	26	25	31	NONE
Jefferson Davis	21	15	35	
Lafayette	16	10	30	
Lafourche	44	33	52	
LaSalle	3	4	6	
Lincoln	2	3	3	
Livingston	62	63	55	
Madison	13	30	8	
Morehouse	9	20	5	
Natchitochees	17	18	23	
Orleans	21	24	26	
Ouachita	3	6	4	
Plaqueminec	36	1	64	
Pointe Coupee	53	42	58	
Rapids	18	27	17	
Red River	43	60	21	
Richland	32	46	16	
Sabine	29	27	32	
St. Bernard	48	38	54	
St. Charles	44	41	44	
St. Helena	54	59	46	
St. James	58	53	61	
St. John the Baptist	64	62	60	
St. Landry	39	33	41	
St. Martin	56	51	59	
St. Mary	24	13	39	
St. Tammany	38	31	37	
Tangipahoa	39	32	42	
Tensas	18	29	15	
Terrebonne	34	18	45	
Union	9	14	11	

Louisiana Cont.

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Vermilion	51	47	49	NONE
Vernon	41	35	40	
Washington	58	64	50	
Webster	12	22	12	
West Baton Rouge	47	57	33	
West Carroll	34	43	20	
West Feliciana	13	11	27	
Winn	8	12	10	

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Abbeville	46	45	46	NONE
Aiken	1	1	3	
Allendale	21	13	27	
Anderson	44	46	43	
Bamberg	14	11	21	
Barnwell	28	30	23	
Beaufort	11	8	16	
Berkeley	16	16	18	
Calhoun	10	10	11	
Charleston	1	2	2	
Cherokee	44	44	45	
Chester	35	35	37	
Chesterfield	43	43	44	
Clarendon	18	20	15	
Colleton	24	21	25	
Darlington	23	31	12	
Dillon	43	38	42	
Dorchester	8	9	9	
Edgefield	7	4	10	
Fairfield	22	25	17	
Florence	25	26	24	
Georgetown	20	18	20	
Greenville	4	6	4	
Greenwood	33	33	35	
Hampton	16	12	22	
Horry	34	36	34	
Jasper	12	15	13	

South Carolina Cont.

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Kershaw	13	22	8	NONE
Lancaster	39	37	41	
Laurens	31	28	31	
Lee	25	24	26	
Lexington	15	19	14	
McCormick	38	39	36	
Marion	29	27	30	
Morlboro	37	34	40	
Newbeery	27	23	28	
Oconee	39	41	37	
Orangeburg	9	14	6	
Pickens	5	7	5	
Richland	1	3	1	
Saluda	32	32	33	
Spartanburg	35	40	32	
Sumter	5	5	7	
Union	41	42	37	
Williamsburg	19	17	19	
York	30	29	29	

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Alachus	24	21	26	26
Baker	64	65	65	57
Bay	39	44	37	49
Bradford	40	54	39	38
Brevard	10	10	15	10
Broward	3	5	3	7
Calhoun	64	60	62	65
Charlotte	13	15	10	13
Citrus	26	27	27	25
Clay	22	25	21	22
Collier	20	19	20	23
Columbia	44	43	52	40
Dade	19	23	16	14
DeSoto	33	33	32	34
Dixie	54	55	65	52
Duval	30	31	25	33
Escambia	38	40	34	42
Flagler	34	36	34	30
Franklin	48	45	46	52
Gadsden	52	37	52	64
Gilchrist	66	67	58	66
Glades	37	35	41	35
Gulf	63	62	56	67
Hamilton	50	59	50	39
Hardee	31	30	36	30
Hendry	35	32	38	37
Highlands	15	17	9	17
Hillsborough	23	28	23	21
Holmes	53	58	48	49

Florida Growth Rate Cont.

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Indian River	14	7	18	16
Jackson	58	57	49	63
Jefferson	56	46	56	59
Lafayette	67	64	67	62
Lake	8	3	13	8
Lee	17	13	17	19
Leon	36	34	33	41
Levy	45	46	52	42
Liberty	60	66	63	45
Madison	55	42	59	58
Manatee	6	5	4	9
Marion	27	24	29	27
Martin	12	11	12	15
Monroe	32	39	29	29
Nassau	41	41	47	44
Okaloosa	46	49	45	47
Okeechobee	47	38	50	54
Orange	3	2	8	5
Osceola	7	9	6	6
Palm Beach	5	7	5	4
Pasco	16	19	13	12
Pinellas	2	4	1	1
Polk	21	20	24	20
Putnam	28	22	28	32
St. Johns	25	26	22	28
St. Lucie	11	14	11	11
Santa Rosa	50	52	42	54
Sarasota	1	1	2	2
Seminole	17	12	19	18
Sumter	41	52	44	36

Florida Growth Rate Cont.

County	RAR of Republican Support	Rank Per Election		
		President	Senator	Governor
Suwannee	59	50	60	46
Taylor	57	50	55	61
Union	62	63	64	56
Volusia	9	16	7	3
Wakulla	61	61	61	60
Walton	49	56	43	47
Washington	43	46	39	49

Source of Data: R. M. Scammon, ed. America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1 - 1956, Vol. 2 - 1957, Vol. 3 - 1958, Vol. 4 - 1960, and Vol. 5 - 1962.

APPENDIX 5

Indicators of Economic Development per County in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida in 1960.

County	Wealth (Median Family Income)	Education (Median School Years)	Industrialization (Capital Expenditures)	Urbanization (Percentage Residing in Urban Areas)
Acadia	3,128	6.6	265	55.8
Allen	3,335	7.6	676	33.3
Ascension	3,877	7.8	168	33.4
Assumption	2,817	5.4	461	--
Avoyelle	2,159	7.1	234	25.1
Beauregard	3,148	8.5	211	37.5
Bienville	2,586	7.9	317	15.2
Bossier	4,568	11.3	456	66.0
Caddo	4,964	10.8	6,047	80.8
Calcasieu	5,167	10.2	121,782	73.9
Caldwell	2,430	8.0	442	--
Cameron	4,466	7.9	2,018	--
Catahoula	2,103	7.3	336	31.2
Claiborne	2,868	8.6	1,860	15.4
Concordia	3,266	8.1	966	43.4
DeSoto	2,680	7.5	7,594	24.1
East Baton Rouge	5,830	11.9	40,172	85.1
East Carroll	2,065	6.7	104	40.1
East Feliciana	2,749	7.2	84	--
Evangeline	2,149	6.0	39	33.0
Franklin	2,094	7.2	70	17.0
Grant	2,701	8.1	68	--
Iberia	4,329	7.5	1,704	67.0
Iberville	3,125	6.8	--	25.7

Louisiana Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Jackson	3,683	8.8	--	24.3
Jefferson	6,001	10.9	14,710	94.1
Jefferson Davis	3,795	7.7	90	62.9
Lafayette	4,483	8.9	1,044	55.6
Lafourche	4,330	6.7	735	41.5
LaSalle	3,433	8.8	317	--
Lincoln	3,477	10.7	190	60.0
Livingston	3,825	8.4	196	22.2
Madison	2,190	6.7	128	57.2
Morchouse	3,248	7.9	1,561	45.1
Natchitoches	2,382	7.4	135	39.1
Orleans	4,807	9.0	8,856	100.0
Ouachita	4,367	9.8	3,689	79.2
Plaquemines	5,127	8.1	680	34.5
Pointe Coupee	2,386	6.2	137	17.6
Rapides	3,783	9.1	1,271	52.6
Red River	2,304	7.0	28	--
Richland	2,286	7.3	29	27.6
Sabine	2,816	8.0	1,215	17.0
St. Bernard	6,028	10.1	2,834	66.0
St. Charles	5,289	8.9	17,143	22.1
St. Helena	2,111	7.8	25	--
St. James	3,659	7.3	903	17.8
St. John the Baptist	4,079	7.0	--	47.9
St. Landry	2,480	5.9	332	35.3
St. Martin	2,518	5.2	372	33.6
St. Mary	4,686	7.8	1,700	59.4
St. Tammany	3,868	8.8	474	33.9
Tangipahor	2,917	8.0	2,969	35.7
Tensas	1,683	7.1	--	--
Terrebonne	4,831	7.4	580	52.1

Louisiana Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Union	2,890	8.3	195	15.5
Vermilion	3,354	6.2	353	40.4
Vernon	2,788	8.3	23	25.6
Washington	3,924	8.7	--	55.8
Webster	4,055	9.0	2,933	48.4
West Baton Rouge	4,037	7.5	168	39.2
West Carroll	2,155	8.1	48	--
West Feliciana	2,459	7.2	114	--
Winn	2,777	8.0	362	43.8

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Abbeville	3,641	8.3	1,770	37.3
Aiken	4,913	9.5	1,484	36.6
Allendale	2,188	7.4	81	27.4
Anderson	4,191	8.6	3,643	10.1
Bamberg	2,380	7.9	140	38.7
Barnwell	3,266	8.5	--	41.3
Beaufort	3,597	9.9	121	14.3
Berkeley	3,367	7.7	334	16.0
Calhoun	1,766	7.7	--	--
Charleston	4,518	10.1	9,916	73.5
Cherokee	3,686	7.6	570	43.2
Chester	3,700	7.8	--	32.2
Chesterfield	2,811	7.6	325	15.3
Clarendon	1,445	7.1	454	13.1
Dolleton	2,462	7.8	275	19.5
Darlington	3,231	8.1	--	24.8
Dillon	2,356	7.3	562	20.2
Dorchester	3,031	8.3	546	14.9
Edgefield	2,595	8.4	194	18.3
Fairfield	2,730	7.3	564	16.8
Florence	3,232	8.5	1,432	36.5
Georgetown	3,160	7.6	1,066	43.7
Greenville	4,754	9.9	7,400	63.7
Greenwood	4,175	8.7	1,544	49.2
Hampton	2,487	7.5	1,192	--
Horry	3,019	8.7	386	24.0
Jasper	2,401	6.7	46	--
Kershaw	3,538	8.3	2,242	20.4
Lancaster	4,482	8.3	--	36.2

South Carolina Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Laurens	4,145	8.1	1,005	36.8
Lee	1,680	7.3	56	16.4
Lexington	4,461	9.3	1,552	44.8
McCormick	2,639	7.6	--	--
Marion	2,307	7.9	321	41.9
Marlboro	2,465	7.4	1,201	24.4
Newberry	3,341	8.6	513	37.0
Oconee	3,721	8.1	1,436	21.5
Orangeburg	2,603	8.2	846	20.2
Pickens	4,503	8.4	2,032	23.8
Richland	4,572	10.9	2,244	69.4
Seluda	2,965	9.0	134	2.0
Spartanburg	4,228	8.5	4,933	36.1
Sumter	3,267	9.3	683	40.2
Union	4,115	7.8	1,331	34.0
Williamsburg	1,631	7.4	115	9.5
York	4,318	8.6	2,011	52.0

Florida-1960

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Alachua	4,471	11.5	1,911	49.6
Baker	3,227	8.3	149	36.3
Bay	4,413	11.1	1,140	65.0
Bradford	3,797	8.8	344	38.6
Brevard	6,123	12.1	1,401	54.1
Broward	4,996	11.9	5,460	96.6
Calhoun	2,673	8.2	123	--
Charlotte	3,918	10.8	189	58.7
Citrus	3,217	9.3	21	--
Clay	4,202	10.2	354	35.1
Collier	4,673	10.7	15	50.0
Columbia	3,607	8.8	194	47.1
Dade	5,348	11.5	17,904	95.6
DeSoto	3,542	9.2	166	50.4
Dixie	3,210	8.3	72	--
Duval	5,345	10.8	13,218	85.2
Escambia	5,174	10.7	--	73.7
Flagler	3,375	8.9	--	--
Franklin	2,699	8.6	21	47.1
Gadsden	2,866	7.5	219	44.2
Gilchrist	2,563	8.6	--	--
Glades	3,625	7.8	--	--
Gulf	4,858	9.6	--	42.2
Hamilton	2,687	7.7	63	--
Hardee	3,602	8.8	260	27.6
Hendry	4,127	8.9	--	38.4
Hernando	3,338	8.9	127	29.5

Florida Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Highlands	3,735	9.5	201	61.0
Hillsborough	4,616	10.1	10,545	79.8
Holmes	2,137	8.0	64	--
Indian River	4,218	10.9	269	48.8
Jackson	2,865	8.5	233	19.8
Jefferson	2,714	8.1	105	--
Lafayette	3,342	8.4	33	--
Lake	3,680	10.3	700	47.3
Lee	4,286	10.8	412	49.3
Leon	5,173	11.9	491	64.9
Levy	2,886	8.5	139	--
Liberty	3,277	8.5	196	--
Madison	2,614	8.0	163	22.9
Manatee	3,814	10.2	523	62.1
Marion	3,572	9.5	932	32.4
Martin	4,295	10.6	49	28.3
Monroe	4,660	10.9	577	70.9
Nassau	4,465	9.0	1,031	42.3
Okaloosa	4,901	12.1	62	49.2
Okeechobee	4,096	9.2	10	45.9
Orange	5,222	11.8	11,053	77.8
Osceola	3,368	9.6	149	58.8
Palm Beach	4,784	11.3	2,047	82.8
Pasco	3,307	8.9	--	30.4
Pinellas	4,359	11.1	7,533	91.1
Polk	4,476	9.7	6,874	61.8
Putnam	3,959	9.4	2,185	34.2
St. Johns	4,149	10.5	139	49.1
St. Lucie	4,211	10.0	420	64.3
Santa Rosa	4,692	10.2	--	13.9

Florida Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization
Sarosota	4,688	11.6	1,722	68.4
Seminole	4,446	11.0	840	49.1
Sumter	3,023	9.0	--	--
Suwannee	2,767	8.3	117	43.7
Taylor	3,844	8.4	--	61.0
Union	3,379	8.3	37	--
Volusia	4,114	11.5	1,215	61.4
Wakulle	2,783	8.2	--	--
Walton	3,138	8.6	132	33.9
Washington	2,662	8.4	58	28.1

Source of Data: U. S. Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962.

APPENDIX 6
Rank of Variables for Economic Development and RAR per County in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida.

Louisiana

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Acadia	35	57	36	14	34
Allen	31	38	22	37	26
Ascension	21	34	42	36	31
Assumption	40	63	26	53	49
Avoyelles	56	50	37	42	49
Beauregard	34	19	38	30	24
Bienville	47	31	34	52	42
Bossier	11	2	27	8	8
Caddo	7	4	7	4	4
Caldasieu	5	6	1	6	3
Caldwell	52	27	28	53	40
Cameron	13	31	11	53	20
Catahoula	60	44	32	53	53
Claiborne	39	18	12	27	26
Concordia	32	23	18	23	26
DeSoto	46	39	6	44	32
East Baton Rouge	3	1	2	3	1
East Carroll	62	54	48	26	52
East Feliciana	44	47	50	53	54
Evangeline	58	61	54	38	61
Franklin	61	47	51	49	60
Grant	45	23	52	53	45
Iberia	16	39	13	7	14
Iberville	36	53	59	40	56
Jackson	26	14	59	43	34
Jefferson	1	3	4	2	2
Jefferson Davis	24	37	49	10	23

Louisiana Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Lafayette	12	12	17	16	10
Lafourche	15	54	20	24	22
LaSalle	29	14	34	53	30
Lincoln	28	5	41	11	16
Livingston	23	20	39	45	25
Madison	55	54	46	13	43
Morehouse	33	31	59	21	36
Natchitochees	53	42	45	29	44
Orleans	9	10	5	1	5
Ouachita	14	8	8	5	7
Plaquemines	6	23	21	33	15
Pointe Coupee	49	58	44	48	58
Rapides	25	9	15	17	12
Red River	63	51	56	53	63
Sabrine	41	27	16	49	47
St. Bernard	2	7	10	8	6
St. Charles	4	12	3	46	11
St. Helena	59	34	57	53	59
St. James	27	44	19	47	33
St. John the Baptist	17	51	59	20	38
St. Lordry	50	62	33	32	47
St. Martin	48	64	29	35	46
St. Mary	10	34	14	12	13
St. Tammany	22	14	25	34	19
Tangipohon	37	27	24	31	62
Tensas	64	60	59	53	64
Terrebonne	8	42	23	18	17
Union	38	21	40	51	39
Vermilion	30	58	31	25	36
Vernon	42	21	58	41	41

Louisiana Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Webster	18	10	9	19	9
West Baton Rouge	19	39	42	28	26
West Carroll	57	23	53	53	51
West Feliciana	51	47	47	53	56
Winn	43	27	30	22	18

South Carolina

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Abbeville	17	19	9	14	11
Aiken	1	5	12	17	7
Allendale	42	39	38	23	40
Anderson	10	11	3	4	4
Bamberg	39	27	34	13	29
Barnwell	23	14	41	11	21
Beaufort	18	3	36	39	23
Berkeley	20	32	29	36	34
Calhoun	43	32	41	43	44
Charleston	4	2	1	1	1
Cherokee	16	34	22	9	19
Chester	15	29	41	22	25
Chesterfield	30	34	30	37	37
Clarendon	46	45	27	40	43
Colliton	37	29	32	32	35
Darlington	25	24	41	24	30
Dillon	40	42	24	30	39
Dorchester	27	19	25	38	27
Edgefield	34	17	33	33	33
Fairfield	31	42	23	34	35
Florence	24	14	14	18	13
Georgetown	26	34	18	8	23
Greenville	2	3	2	3	2
Greenwood	11	9	11	6	8
Hamton	35	38	17	43	38
Horry	28	9	28	26	22
Jasper	38	46	40	43	46
Kershaw	19	19	6	29	15

South Carolina Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Lancaster	6	19	41	19	20
Laurens	12	24	19	16	14
Lee	44	42	39	35	41
Lexington	7	6	10	7	5
McCormick	32	34	41	43	41
Marion	41	27	31	10	27
Marlboro	36	39	16	25	31
Newberry	21	11	26	15	15
Oconee	14	24	13	28	18
Orangeburg	33	23	20	30	25
Pickens	5	17	7	27	10
Richland	3	1	5	2	3
Saluda	29	8	35	42	31
Spartanburg	9	14	4	20	9
Sumter	22	6	21	12	12
Union	13	29	15	21	17
Williamsburg	45	39	37	41	45
York	8	11	8	5	6

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Alachua	17	7	14	24	13
Baker	50	56	36	40	44
Bay	20	11	13	11	11
Bradford	35	44	25	38	36
Brevard	1	1	11	21	5
Broward	7	3	7	1	2
Calhoun	63	60	42	53	62
Charlotte	32	16	33	20	23
Citrus	51	35	53	53	52
Clay	26	24	24	41	27
Collier	13	19	55	23	26
Columbia	39	44	32	31	38
Dade	2	7	1	2	1
DeSoto	42	36	34	22	34
Dixie	52	56	45	53	58
Duval	3	16	2	4	4
Escambia	5	19	57	8	20
Flagler	44	40	57	53	52
Franklin	61	47	53	31	50
Gadsden	56	67	29	34	48
Gilchrist	66	47	57	53	64
Glades	38	65	57	53	59
Gulf	9	30	57	36	32
Hamilton	62	66	47	53	65
Hardee	40	44	27	49	40
Hendry	28	40	57	39	42
Hernando	46	40	41	46	43
Highlands	36	32	30	17	27
Hillsborough	15	27	4	6	9
Holmes	67	63	46	53	67
Indian River	24	14	26	29	22

Florida Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Jackson	57	50	28	51	47
Jefferson	60	62	44	53	63
Lafayette	46	53	52	53	57
Lake	37	23	18	30	24
Lee	23	16	23	25	19
Leon	6	3	21	12	9
Levy	55	50	38	53	54
Liberty	49	50	31	53	45
Madison	65	63	35	50	61
Manatee	34	24	20	14	21
Marion	41	32	16	44	33
Martin	22	21	50	47	35
Monroe	14	14	19	9	12
Nassau	18	38	15	37	24
Okaloosa	8	1	48	26	18
Okeechobee	30	36	56	33	39
Orange	4	5	3	7	3
Osceola	45	30	36	19	31
Palm Beach	10	10	9	5	5
Pasco	48	40	57	45	49
Pinellas	21	11	5	3	8
Polk	16	29	6	15	15
Putnam	31	34	8	42	27
St. Johns	27	22	38	27	27
St. Lucie	25	28	22	13	17
Santa Rosa	11	24	57	52	37
Sarasota	12	6	10	10	7
Seminole	19	13	17	27	16
Sumter	54	38	57	53	55
Suwannee	59	56	43	35	51

Florida Cont.

County	Wealth	Education	Industrialization	Urbanization	RAR
Taylor	33	53	57	17	41
Union	43	56	51	53	56
Volusia	29	7	12	16	14
Wakulla	58	60	57	53	65
Walton	53	47	40	43	45
Washington	64	53	49	48	60

Source of Data: U. S. Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962.

APPENDIX 7
Classification of Counties According to
Modified Ranney-Kendall Classification
in Louisiana, South Carolina, & Florida

Louisiana

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Acadia	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
Allen	1	10	0	9.1	27.3	9.1	9.1	E
Ascension	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	9.1	E
Assumption	1	10	0	9.1	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
Avoyelles	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	9.1	E
Beauregard	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	27.3	27.3	C
Bienville	2	8	1	18.2	36.4	26.4	27.3	C
Bossier	4	7	0	36.4	45.5	36.4	27.3	A
Caddo	3	7	1	27.3	54.5	36.4	36.4	A
Calcasieu	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	18.2	18.2	D
Caldwell	1	9	1	18.2	45.5	27.3	9.1	D
Cameron	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
Catahoula	2	9	0	18.2	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
Claiborne	3	7	1	27.3	36.4	36.4	27.3	B
Concordia	0	9	2	0.0	45.5	27.3	9.1	D
DeSoto	2	8	1	18.2	45.5	36.4	27.3	B

Louisiana Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Total Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
East Baton Rouge	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	27.3	18.2	D
East Carroll	0	10	1	0.0	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
East Feliciana	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	9.1	E
Evangeline	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	9.1	E
Franklin	0	10	1	0.0	45.5	26.4	9.1	C
Grant	1	9	1	9.1	45.5	27.3	9.1	D
Iberia	2	9	0	18.2	36.4	18.2	18.2	E
Iberville	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	9.1	E
Jackson	2	9	0	18.2	45.5	36.4	18.2	C
Jefferson	1	10	0	9.1	54.5	18.2	18.2	D
Jefferson Davis	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	18.2	18.2	E
Lafayette	2	9	0	18.2	54.5	18.2	18.2	D
Lafourche	1	10	0	9.1	27.3	18.2	18.2	E
LaSalle	3	8	0	27.3	45.5	45.5	36.4	A
Lincoln	3	8	0	27.3	45.5	45.5	36.4	A
Livingston	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	9.1	0.0	E
Madison	2	7	2	18.2	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
Morehouse	3	8	0	27.3	45.5	36.4	27.3	A
Natchitochees	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	36.4	18.2	C
Orleans	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	18.2	18.2	D
Ouachita	2	9	0	18.2	54.5	45.5	36.4	B
Plaquemines	2	9	0	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.2	E

Louisiana Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Pointe Coupee	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
Rapides	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	26.4	18.2	C
Red River	0	10	1	0.0	36.4	18.2	9.1	E
Richland	0	10	1	0.0	36.4	27.3	9.1	E
Sabine	2	9	0	18.2	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
St. Bernard	2	9	0	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
St. Charles	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	9.1	9.1	E
St. Helena	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	0.0	E
St. James	1	10	0	9.1	18.2	18.2	9.1	E
St. John the Baptist	1	10	0	9.1	18.2	9.1	9.1	E
St. Landry	2	9	0	18.2	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
St. Martin	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
St. Mary	2	9	0	18.2	36.4	18.2	18.2	E
St. Tammany	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	18.2	18.2	E
Tangipahoc	1	10	0	9.1	27.3	18.2	18.2	E
Tensas	3	8	0	27.3	36.4	36.4	27.3	B
Terrebonne	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
Union	2	9	0	18.2	45.5	45.5	27.3	B
Vermilion	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2	E
Vernon	1	10	0	9.1	27.3	27.3	9.1	E
Washington	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E

Louisiana Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Webster	2	8	1	18.2	36.4	36.4	36.4	C
West Baton Rouge	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	18.2	9.1	E
West Carroll	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
West Feliciana	2	9	0	18.2	36.4	27.3	18.2	E
Winn	2	9	0	18.2	45.5	36.4	27.3	B
TOTAL	1	10	0	18.2	45.5	18.2	18.2	D

South Carolina

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Abbeville	0	13	0	0.0	15.4	0.0	0.0	E
Aiken	3	10	0	23.1	38.5	30.8	30.8	B
Allendale	2	11	0	15.4	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
Anderson	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	0.0	0.0	E
Bamberg	2	11	0	15.4	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
Barnwell	1	12	0	7.7	23.1	15.4	15.4	E
Beaufort	3	11	0	23.1	30.8	30.8	30.8	B
Berkeley	1	12	0	7.7	30.8	23.1	15.4	E
Calhoun	3	10	0	23.1	23.1	23.1	23.1	C
Charleston	3	10	0	23.1	38.5	30.8	23.1	A
Cherokee	0	13	0	0.0	15.4	0.0	0.0	E
Chester	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	7.7	7.7	E
Chesterfield	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	0.0	0.0	E
Clarendon	3	10	0	23.1	23.1	23.1	23.1	C
Colleton	2	11	0	15.4	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
Darlington	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	23.1	15.4	E
Dillon	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	15.4	7.7	E
Dorchester	2	11	0	15.4	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
Edgefield	3	10	0	23.1	30.8	23.1	23.1	C
Fairfield	1	12	0	7.7	23.1	23.1	23.1	D

South Carolina Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Florence	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
Georgetown	1	12	0	7.7	30.8	23.1	15.4	E
Greenville	3	10	0	23.1	38.5	30.8	23.1	B
Hampton	2	11	0	15.4	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
Horry	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	23.1	7.7	E
Jasper	2	11	0	15.4	38.5	30.8	23.1	C
Kershaw	2	11	0	15.4	30.8	23.1	23.1	D
Lancaster	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	15.4	0.0	E
Laurens	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	23.1	15.4	E
Lee	1	12	0	7.7	23.1	23.1	15.4	E
Lexington	2	11	0	15.4	30.8	23.1	23.1	D
McCormick	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	23.1	7.7	E
Marion	1	12	0	7.7	23.1	23.1	15.4	E
Marlboro	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	15.4	7.7	E
Newberry	1	12	0	7.7	30.8	23.1	23.1	D
Oconee	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	15.4	0.0	E
Orangeburg	3	10	0	23.1	30.8	23.1	23.1	D
Pickens	3	10	0	23.1	38.5	30.8	30.8	B
Richland	2	11	0	15.4	38.5	38.5	30.8	C
Saluda	0	13	0	0.0	23.1	23.1	15.4	E
Spartanburg	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	15.4	0.0	E
Sumter	3	10	0	23.1	30.8	23.1	23.1	C

South Carolina Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Union	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	0.0	0.0	E
Williamsburg	2	11	0	15.4	23.1	23.1	23.1	D
York	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	30.8	7.7	D
TOTAL	0	13	0	0.0	30.8	23.1	23.1	D

Florida

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Alachua	3	8	0	27.3	63.6	27.3	27.3	B
Baker	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	0.0	0.0	E
Bay	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	0.0	E
Bradford	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	18.2	0.0	E
Brevard	4	7	0	36.4	72.7	54.5	36.4	AA
Broward	4	7	0	36.4	81.8	72.7	45.5	AAA
Calhoun	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	0.0	0.0	E
Charlotte	3	8	0	27.3	63.6	45.5	36.4	A
Citrus	2	9	0	18.2	54.5	27.3	27.3	C
Clay	1	10	0	9.1	63.6	27.3	27.3	C
Collier	2	9	0	18.2	54.5	45.5	27.3	B
Columbia	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	27.3	0.0	E
Dade	2	9	0	18.2	72.7	36.4	27.3	B
DeSoto	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	27.3	27.3	D
Dixie	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E
Duval	1	10	0	9.1	45.5	27.3	17.3	C
Escambia	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	27.3	0.0	E
Flagler	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	26.3	18.2	E
Franklin	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	0.0	E
Gadsden	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	18.2	E

Florida Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Gilchrist	0	11	0	0.0	9.2	0.0	0.0	E
Glades	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	18.2	E
Gulf	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	0.0	0.0	E
Hamilton	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	18.2	0.0	E
Hardee	1	10	0	9.1	36.4	27.3	27.3	D
Hernando	1	10	1	9.1	54.5	27.3	27.3	C
Highlands	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	45.5	27.3	A
Hillsborough	2	9	0	18.2	54.5	27.3	27.3	C
Holmes	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E
Indian River	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	54.5	36.4	A
Jackson	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E
Jefferson	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	0.0	E
Lafayette	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	0.0	0.0	E
Lake	3	8	0	27.3	63.6	45.5	27.3	A
Lee	3	8	0	27.3	63.6	45.5	36.4	A
Leon	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	27.3	27.3	D
Levy	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	0.0	E
Liberty	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	0.0	0.0	E
Madison	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	9.1	E
Manatee	4	7	0	36.4	72.7	63.6	36.4	AA

Florida Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Marion	3	8	0	27.3	54.5	27.3	27.3	B
Martin	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	45.5	36.4	A
Monroe	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	27.3	9.1	E
Nassau	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	9.1	E
Okaloosa	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	0.0	E
Okeechobee	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	9.1	E
Orange	4	7	0	36.4	81.8	63.6	36.4	AA
Osceola	4	7	0	36.4	81.8	63.6	36.4	AA
Palm Beach	4	7	0	36.4	81.8	72.7	36.4	AA
Pasco	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	45.5	36.4	A
Pinellas	5	6	0	54.5	81.8	81.8	54.5	AAA
Polk	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	36.4	27.3	A
Putnam	2	9	0	18.2	45.5	27.3	27.3	C
St. Johns	2	9	0	18.2	54.5	27.3	27.3	C
St. Lucie	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	54.5	27.3	A
Santa Rosa	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	18.2	0.0	E
Sarasota	4	7	0	36.4	81.8	81.8	54.5	AAA
Seminole	3	8	0	27.3	63.6	36.4	36.4	A
Sumter	0	11	0	0.0	36.4	27.3	0.0	E
Suwannee	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E

Florida Cont.

County	Total Republican Wins	Total Democrat Wins	Third Party Wins	% of Two-Party Wins	% of Elections With Second Party Over 20%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 30%	% of Elections With Second Party Over 40%	Conclusion
Taylor	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E
Union	0	11	0	0.0	18.2	0.0	0.0	E
Volusia	4	7	0	36.4	81.8	72.7	36.4	AA
Wakulla	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	0.0	0.0	E
Walton	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	9.1	0.0	E
Washington	0	11	0	0.0	27.3	27.3	0.0	E
TOTAL	3	8	0	27.3	72.7	45.5	36.4	A

Source of Data: R. M. Scammon, Ed. America Votes. Government Affairs Institute. New York: MacMillan, Vol. 1 - 1956, Vol. 2 - 1957, Vol, 3 - 1958, Vol. 4 - 1960, and Vol. 5 - 1962.

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