

Martha H. Tharrington. RICHARD TILLMAN FOUNTAIN AND THE GUBERNATORIAL PRIMARY OF 1932 IN NORTH CAROLINA. (Under the direction of Dr. Joseph F. Steelman) Department of History, East Carolina University, July, 1974.

The purpose of this study is to examine the North Carolina Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1932 from the viewpoint of Richard Tillman Fountain, one of the candidates. His personal papers and newspaper accounts of the election indicated that Fountain hoped to become Governor of North Carolina by impugning the O. Max Gardner administration.

Fountain was born in Edgecombe County on February 15, 1885. After graduation from the University of North Carolina with a law degree, he became an attorney in Rocky Mount. He entered the Democratic primary for North Carolina House of Representatives in 1918, was elected, and served in the legislatures of 1919, 1921, 1923, and 1925. In 1927 he was elected Speaker of the House. His primary achievement as a legislator was the creation of the Eastern Carolina Industrial Training School for Boys in Rocky Mount. In 1928 he won nomination as Lieutenant Governor in a field of three candidates. His next goal was to be elected governor.

Fountain began his campaigning during the legislative session of 1929 by undermining the influence of Governor O. Max Gardner in the Senate, over which he presided. During the next legislature, Fountain adamantly attacked the Gardner depression policies. Governor Gardner had set a goal of economy and efficiency in government operations because the national depression was severely limiting tax revenue and other income for the state. The governor believed efficiency could be achieved by combining state boards and agencies, by allowing the state to take over or support some county functions, and by spending more wisely. Fountain feared

that centralizing power would reduce the rights of the people to choose their elected officials and to make decisions in government.

The gubernatorial campaign of 1932 was vigorous and bitter. John C. B. Ehringhaus, Allen J. Maxwell, and Fountain sought the Democratic nomination. Ehringhaus from Elizabeth City had the tacit approval of Governor Gardner and the support of the Democratic establishment. He received campaign contributions from the large business interests in North Carolina such as utility and tobacco corporations. Many of the urban newspapers endorsed his candidacy and expressed editorially their agreement with the continuation of Gardner programs. Maxwell, as Commissioner of Revenue, entered the primary with the mistaken notion that he had the support of the governor. He campaigned on a program of retrenchment. He urged the voters to support a reduction of public spending and a decrease in state services. Fountain, on the other hand, campaigned primarily against the Gardner centralization policies and the Democratic establishment. He opposed Gardner efforts to obtain a short ballot because it would deny the voters the opportunity to elect some of their officials. He opposed the Gardner ideas of consolidating government agencies because he felt it gave the new organizations too much power. He characterized himself as the "People's Candidate" and actively sought the votes of those hurt economically by the depression. Fountain had almost no support from state newspapers or monied interests. His campaign was hampered by poor organization and by lack of funds.

However, when the primary votes were counted, Fountain had run second in the field to Ehringhaus. He requested a second election which he lost by thirteen thousand votes. Nevertheless, Fountain had overcome substantial

handicaps to run as well as he did. He proved to North Carolina Democrats that it was possible to attack the incumbent establishment and win votes. Likewise, he demonstrated that a man could still campaign with limited funds and media coverage.

RICHARD TILLMAN FOUNTAIN
AND THE GUBERNATORIAL PRIMARY
OF 1932 IN NORTH CAROLINA

A Thesis

Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of History
East Carolina University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in History

by

Martha H. Tharrington

July 1974

**B. Y. JOYNER LIBRARY
EAST CAROLINA UNIV.**

RICHARD TILLMAN FOUNTAIN
AND THE GUBERNATORIAL PRIMARY
OF 1932 IN NORTH CAROLINA

by

Martha H. Tharrington

APPROVED BY:

SUPERVISOR OF THESIS

Joseph F. Steelman

CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Lala Carr Steelman
Henry C. Jensen

Charles L. Price

DEAN OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

Joseph A. Boyette

517362

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Grateful appreciation is extended to Dr. Joseph F. Steelman for directing the research on this thesis. His patience and suggestions have made its completion possible. Additional acknowledgment is given to Dr. Lala C. Steelman and Dr. Henry C. Ferrell for their timely criticism and comments. A special thanks is given to Mr. Donald Lennon for making the resources of the East Carolina Manuscript Collection available to the author. Finally, appreciation is given to my husband, Norman Tharrington, for his co-operation and encouragement in completing the thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE TWENTIETH CENTURY DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN NORTH CAROLINA	1
II. THE GARDNER-FOUNTAIN SPLIT	7
III. CANDIDATES AND ISSUES, 1932	30
IV. THE PRIMARY BATTLE	50
V. THE RUNOFF CAMPAIGN	93
APPENDIXES	111
APPENDIX A: THE CANDIDATES	112
CHART B: THE FOUNTAIN PLATFORM	116
CHART C: ELECTION RESULTS--FIRST PRIMARY	118
MAP D: FIRST DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, 1932	123
CHART E: DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM--JUNE 16, 1932	124
CHART F: ELECTION RESULTS--SECOND PRIMARY	125
MAP G: SECOND DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, 1932	130
BIBLIOGRAPHY	131

CHAPTER I

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN NORTH CAROLINA

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Senator Furnifold M. Simmons controlled most of the machinery of the Democratic party in North Carolina.¹ In 1898 Simmons organized the Democrats to fight the Republicans and Populists. His skill was so effective that he became United States Senator in 1900 and retained that post until 1930, even after the ratification of the seventeenth amendment. Senator Simmons and his followers supported the winning candidates in all North Carolina gubernatorial campaigns during his terms in the Senate except the primary of 1908. In that convention, William W. Kitchin received the nomination despite the support Simmons gave to the candidacy of Locke Craig.²

However, by 1928, the Simmons organization was beginning to need change. It was starting to disintegrate because of the actions of the senator himself. Simmons was strongly opposed to the Democratic party's presidential nominee, Alfred E. Smith.³ Although Simmons refused to vote for either Smith or Herbert Hoover,⁴ he openly urged his followers

¹Elmer L. Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension in North Carolina, 1928-1936, Vol. XLIV of The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science (Chapel Hill, 1962), 3, hereinafter cited as Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension.

²V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York, 1949), 212, hereinafter cited as Key, Southern Politics.

³Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 3.

⁴Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 12.

to vote for the Republican nominee.⁵ This break with the national Democrats marked the end of Simmons' effectiveness as the leader of North Carolina Democrats. His power had been built upon the support of personal followers in each North Carolina county.⁶ With his bolt from the Democratic party the followers were confused. They did not know whether to remain loyal to the man or to the party. As a result of this Democratic chaos and because of Simmons' support, Hoover received North Carolina's electoral votes.

In the gubernatorial election of 1928, however, the Democrats were victorious. Oliver Max Gardner, who supported the national Democratic ticket,⁷ defeated his Republican opponent, Herbert F. Seawell, by over 70,000 votes.⁸ Gardner, as president of the North Carolina Farmers' State Convention, had campaigned for the national and state Democratic candidates in 1924. After the election he continued speaking tours of the state with full press coverage. In the Democratic convention of 1926, the only obstacle in the path of Gardner's goal to become Governor of North Carolina was ex-Governor Cameron Morrison who had indicated a weak desire to run again. However, by 1928, Morrison was no longer interested in serving on the state political level and Gardner ran unopposed for the Democratic nomination,⁹ the only Democrat to do so.¹⁰

⁵Key, Southern Politics, 212.

⁶Key, Southern Politics, 213.

⁷Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 15.

⁸Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 47.

⁹Joseph L. Morrison, Governor O. Max Gardner (Chapel Hill, 1971), 46-47, hereinafter cited as Morrison, Gardner.

¹⁰News and Observer (Raleigh), February 16, 1947, hereinafter cited as News and Observer.

The election of 1928 marked a change in North Carolina politics and was important for the future of the Democratic party in North Carolina. No longer did Senator Simmons control the Democratic party organization; no longer did he have the support of party leaders.¹¹ Instead, a new organization was in the making. It was to be formed by Governor Gardner and nicknamed the "Shelby Dynasty" for Gardner's hometown. It ruled North Carolina politics for the next decade with active participation in the gubernatorial elections of 1932 and 1936, and with tacit approval of the victors in 1940 and 1944.¹² However, the "Shelby Dynasty" and the Simmons machine were different in two important ways--in organization and in control. The Gardner machine kept its power through elective and appointive state offices, particularly in the highway and revenue departments,¹³ whereas Senator Simmons maintained a county by county organization of his followers. Moreover, after Governor Gardner left office to practice law in Washington, D. C., he did not concern himself with state politics. Instead, he left the party control to his followers. Simmons, on the other hand, directed North Carolina politics from his Senate office. Both Simmons and Gardner realized that the ultimate political power in North Carolina came from the support of large business and financial interests.¹⁴

¹¹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 19.

¹²Key, Southern Politics, 213. The victors were as follows:

1. 1932—J. C. B. Ehringhaus
2. 1936—Clyde R. Hoey (Gardner's brother-in-law)
3. 1940—J. Melville Broughton
4. 1944—R. Gregg Cherry.

¹³Key, Southern Politics, 213.

¹⁴Key, Southern Politics, 213.

In 1930, Senator Furnifold M. Simmons did not receive the support of North Carolina Democrats. Instead, they punished him by electing Josiah W. Bailey to the post Simmons had held for thirty years. The campaign became "a war of campaign pamphlets."¹⁵ Bailey seized the initiative by criticizing Simmons' stand in the national election of 1928 and by alleging that Simmons worked with the Republicans. For example, Bailey railed that Simmons ". . . supported Hoover and is responsible, therefore, for 'Hoover Prosperity.' . . . It will be difficult to make progress against the Republican Party with one at the head of the Democratic ticket who supported Hoover and Hoover prosperity."¹⁶

On the other hand, Simmons charged Bailey with party irregularity. He declared that Bailey had not supported the Democratic party position in the White Supremacy campaigns of 1898 and 1900. Bailey freely admitted that he had been an Independent early in his political career and that he had served on the Board of Agriculture under a Republican administration.¹⁷ Late in the campaign Simmons accused Bailey of fighting against the income tax¹⁸ and inferred that Bailey preferred a tax on land. This tax, of course, would be heavier for farmers.

Each candidate accused the other of seeking the votes of blacks. However, at the end of the campaign, each realized the primary issue was

¹⁵Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 36.

¹⁶Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 37.

¹⁷Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 38.

¹⁸Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 40-41.

party regularity. In a political pamphlet entitled "Can North Carolina Afford the Price?" John D. Langston stated: "The sole issue . . . is whether the Democratic electorate will punish Senator Simmons because he did not support Alfred E. Smith for President."¹⁹

In an election that drew almost 330,000 voters to the polls, the Democrats indeed punished Senator Simmons and nominated Josiah Bailey by a margin of almost 68,000 votes. Simmons was able to carry only sixteen North Carolina counties.²⁰ An era was over. No longer would the Simmons organization control North Carolina state politics.

Why did Simmons lose? In later years, Simmons attributed his defeat to the stand taken in the election of 1928. He justified his position by stating that he could not support a presidential nominee who was connected with Tammany Hall or who favored the repeal of prohibition. He also felt that the new, complex Australian ballot caused many voters to mismark their ballots, which were thrown out.²¹ Elmer Puryear maintains that poor campaign organization and the economic depression also contributed to the defeat of Simmons.²²

The election of 1930 led Democrats to believe that bolting the party was political suicide. Moreover, that election strengthened the Gardner machine.

¹⁹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 36.

²⁰Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 44.

²¹J. Fred Rippey (ed.), F. M. Simmons, Statesman of the New South, Memoirs and Addresses (Durham, 1936), 66.

²²Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 44-46.

The new leadership growing out of the will to discipline Simmons had successfully gained control of the party organization and election machinery, had defeated the old master, and had become a cohesive force strong enough to withstand the assaults of all insurgents who might rise to challenge its right to govern the state. With the organization perfected and its ability to win elections demonstrated, the only question remaining to be answered was who would be its leader. Who would be the new Simmons?²³

That question would be answered during the Gardner administration. Governor Gardner would suggest laws, make appointments, and recommend solutions to increase the power of his "machine." He would lead the state during the Great Depression, yet encourage the expansion of state services. He would attempt to adopt sound business practices to provide more efficient state government at less cost. By enlarging the power of state government at the expense of local governments, Gardner increased the strength of his "machine." At the same time, his ideas did not please all North Carolinians. Many of the rural people feared too much government control. Local politicians were angered that some of their powers were being taken away. Thus, the years of Gardner's term were to be years of conflict and controversy within the Democratic party.

²³Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 46.

CHAPTER II

THE GARDNER-FOUNTAIN SPLIT

Governor Oliver Max Gardner, unopposed for the Democratic nomination in 1928, campaigned on a platform calling for the expansion of public services. He wanted to continue state support for a six-months school term, lengthening the term if possible, and to increase maintenance on state highways through the imposition of an additional penny per gallon tax on gasoline. Gardner also campaigned for the passage of the Australian ballot, for a workmen's compensation program, and for the reduction of the property tax.¹

In 1928 Richard Tillman Fountain of Rocky Mount was elected Lieutenant Governor from a field of three candidates. His opponents were John Langston and William H. S. Burgwyn of Northampton County, former President pro tempore of the North Carolina Senate. Fountain and Gardner varied widely in their political philosophies. Fountain believed that the people should have control of government and its expense, whereas Gardner felt that the government should provide for the welfare of the people. These opposing convictions led to numerous conflicts while the two served as the executive officers of the state. Since the Governor of North Carolina has no veto power, the Lieutenant Governor as president of the Senate has the power to block the Governor's legislative plans by making committee appointments and controlling Senate debates.

On January 11, 1929, Governor Gardner outlined his legislative program in his Inaugural Address. For the most part, he reiterated his campaign

¹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 47-48.

promises. He stated that few new laws were needed, but he hoped to see the General Assembly pass the secret ballot and a workmen's compensation law. He asserted that the General Assembly should increase the equalizing fund to provide a state-wide school term of eight months.² He suggested that counties could become more efficient if they standardized county laws. The Governor recommended that no new road bonds be issued but he suggested that the state increase its amount of road maintenance. He proposed a penny per gallon increase in the gasoline tax to 5¢ per gallon to finance this program. These extra funds added to the gasoline tax would have a dual purpose. First, the revenue would be used to maintain county lateral roads. Thereafter the counties could reduce their property taxes since these funds were used to construct and maintain county roads. Governor Gardner made no other specific recommendations regarding state taxation policies in his inaugural message.³

The 1929 General Assembly did not enact all of Gardner's proposals. The legislators voted to continue the six-months school term rather than to extend it. They also defeated a bill to initiate a short ballot. The purpose of this bill was to eliminate a goodly number of state officials for which the electorate voted. The legislature raised the tax on gasoline and legalized the secret ballot. Lieutenant Governor Fountain had opposed both the short ballot and the secret ballot bills.⁴

²At this time, North Carolina financed a six months school program. However, some of the larger and wealthier school units extended the term to eight months at their own expense.

³Edwin Gill (ed.), Public Papers and Letters of Oliver Max Gardner, Governor of North Carolina, 1929-1933 (Raleigh, 1937), 5-17, hereinafter cited as Gill, Gardner Papers.

⁴Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 48-54.

The autumn of 1929 brought many problems to the state of North Carolina. The economic depression caused by the crisis in the stock market brought financial troubles to almost every North Carolina taxpayer before the next legislature met. The state and also counties had undertaken a vast expansion of public services during the prosperous 1920's. The costs of government had doubled and tripled during the decade. Under the administrations of Thomas W. Bickett, Cameron Morrison, and Angus W. McLean, North Carolina provided financial support for a six-months school term, for new road construction, for school buildings, for public welfare services, and for charitable institutions.⁵ With the onset of the Great Depression Governor Gardner could either reduce taxes and services or attempt to maintain the level of state involvement in public services. He chose to undertake a program to promote governmental efficiency and thereby reduce costs. Yet he hoped to maintain public services at their 1929 level. He ignored the popular demand for a special session of the General Assembly to consider the problems of taxation although more than 150,000 parcels of property were advertised for sale in 1930 for non-payment of taxes.⁶

Instead Governor Gardner employed the Brookings Institution of Washington, D. C. to study the state and county government system in North Carolina. The Brookings report made several recommendations favorable to Gardner's plans to centralize state and county governments in order to promote economy and efficiency. The report recommended the elimination

⁵George B. Tindall, "Business Progressivism: Southern Politics in the Twenties," South Atlantic Quarterly, LXII (January, 1963), 92-106.

⁶Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 60.

of ten elective administrative positions in the state, retaining only the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Auditor as elective posts. Secondly, the report recommended the reduction of state agencies from ninety-two to only fourteen. The Brookings Institute also favored the abolition of all county boards and commissions except the boards of county commissioners.⁷

The legislative session of 1931 promised to be one of the most lively and divisive in the history of North Carolina. The members were in sharp conflict. Some followed Gardner completely; some opposed the Brookings report; and some adopted a wait-and-see attitude. Lieutenant Governor Fountain was in the camp of those opposed to the Brookings report. Several political observers felt that the 1931 General Assembly would provide a platform for Fountain if he chose to run for governor in 1932.⁸

Governor Gardner made his recommendations to the legislature through his biennial message delivered on January 9, 1931. The entire program was designed for one purpose--the reduction of property taxes.⁹ Because of the financial crisis, Gardner suggested that the Assembly issue no bonds for any capital improvements. He recommended a general 10 per cent salary cut for all government officials and employees, except those who had taken a salary reduction after December, 1929, and those who were paid less than \$50 per month. He also proposed another penny per gallon increase in the gasoline tax. This would make the tax 6¢ per gallon. Coupled with the increase, Gardner recommended that the state take over full maintenance

⁷Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 61.

⁸Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 61.

⁹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 62.

of county roads and that a State Highway Commission of five members be established to oversee the road system. He explained that state operation of the roads would reduce property taxes and tax only those persons who actually used the state's highways. He asserted: "Of one conclusion I am absolutely certain: taxes on property must be reduced."¹⁰ Gardner urged the legislature to postpone the quadrennial revaluation of property until 1933. He felt that the Great Depression provided no standard for ascertaining property values. In addition, the revaluation would cost the counties approximately \$1,000,000 which they could hardly afford.¹¹

Taking three suggestions from the Brookings report, Gardner recommended the creation of a central purchasing agency to fulfill state contracts, the consolidation of the University of North Carolina, North Carolina State College, and the North Carolina College for Women into one institution, and the appointment, not election, of the Commissioner of Labor, the Commissioner of Agriculture, and the members of the Corporation Commission.¹² He also recommended removing some power from the counties by placing restrictions on their ability to borrow funds¹³ and by consolidating some counties into larger, more efficient governmental units.¹⁴

Gardner hoped that the General Assembly could provide an eight-month school term at less expense than the six-month term. He further recommended

¹⁰Gill, Gardner Papers, 27-34.

¹¹Gill, Gardner Papers, 35-36.

¹²Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 62-63.

¹³Gill, Gardner Papers, 41.

¹⁴Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 63.

that the sixty-hour work week be reduced to fifty-five hours, that children were not to be hired for labor until they had completed at least the sixth grade, and that the Department of Labor be reorganized.¹⁵ He suggested that a new Central Prison be erected to house the state's worst criminals and that prisoners sentenced for more minor offenses pay part of the costs of their confinement at district camps through work on the state road system.¹⁶

On January 10, 1931, Governor Gardner delivered his budget message to the General Assembly. He told the legislators that North Carolina had experienced a deficit of approximately \$4,000,000 from the 1929 budget. He urged the legislature to reduce spending as much as possible. The budget he recommended to the lawmakers would bring about a deficit of almost \$1,250,000 in spite of a 10 per cent cut in all state salaries.¹⁷

Lieutenant Governor Fountain was very much opposed to Gardner's messages to the legislature. He felt that Gardner's attempts to consolidate government was an effort to build a powerful political machine. One of the first legislators to open fire on the Gardner plans was I. T. Valentine, of Spring Hope,¹⁸ who would become one of Fountain's chief workers in the election of 1932.

Through Senate committee appointments, Fountain had an ample opportunity to block Governor Gardner's plan. The Governor exerted pressure on

¹⁵Gill, Gardner Papers, 43, 45.

¹⁶Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 62.

¹⁷Gill, Gardner Papers, 49-50.

¹⁸Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 66.

Fountain to appoint Lee L. Gravely of Nash County or William M. Hendren of Forsyth County as chairman of the Senate Committee on Reorganization. Although Hendren was placed on the committee, Fountain appointed William R. Lovill of Watagua County, an opponent of the short ballot, as chairman.¹⁹ The majority of the committee members, likewise, were opposed to governmental reorganization. An editorial in the News and Observer described Fountain's actions as "the first overt act of war."²⁰

Governor Gardner decided to make the proposed road bill the primary test of his power. Failure, of course, would be a disaster for the remainder of his program²¹ while success could lead to the passage of other proposals. The highway bill was introduced by Wilson County Representative Henry Groves Conner, Jr., the chairman of the House Road Committee.²² The highway bill that Gardner recommended had several major provisions. The first was an increase of the gasoline tax by one penny per gallon. Another recommendation involved the creation of a five-member State Highway Commission to administer all state and county roads. In an effort to appease opponents of his bill, Gardner suggested that all revenue from the tax on license plates and the gasoline tax be used for the following purposes: operating and overhead expenses of the State Highway Commission; principal and interest on present highway debt (including assumption

¹⁹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 66.

²⁰News and Observer, January 24, 1931.

²¹Morrison, Gardner, 84.

²²Gill, Gardner Papers, 255.

of county debts); maintenance of present state roads; maintenance of county roads; and new roads.²³

Lieutenant Governor Fountain was opposed to the state takeover of county roads. He offered no opposition to the increase on the gasoline tax. However, he felt that the additional revenue should be returned to the various counties.²⁴

To gain support for his road program, Gardner appealed to the people through a radio address from Raleigh on February 9. He explained his program in detail. "The only clients I represent are the 3,000,000 citizens of North Carolina," he stated in a bid for popular support.²⁵ He told his audience that North Carolina annually spent more money on roads than on educational facilities.²⁶ He felt that state operation of the roads would provide equal standards for roads in all sections.²⁷ To eliminate fears that local power was being usurped, Gardner reminded his listeners that the county commissions would actually have increased powers since they would function as the go-between from community to state levels on road matters.²⁸ He continued:

There is no desire and no purpose on the part of the State to break down local self-government. There is every interest and every purpose to improve the services afforded the local

²³Gill, Gardner Papers, 258.

²⁴Morrison, Gardner, 85.

²⁵Morrison, Gardner, 85.

²⁶Gill, Gardner Papers, 261.

²⁷Gill, Gardner Papers, 263.

²⁸Gill, Gardner Papers, 266.

communities, to maintain these services at the lowest possible cost to the taxpayers of the State, and to maintain these services on the highest plan of efficiency which a strong body with adequate funds, organization, and personnel can supply.²⁹

In concluding his speech, Gardner stated:

If those of you hearing me, who believe in my policies, and have faith in my leadership as I try to direct your affairs in this critical hour, will stand up and fight, we are going to win a great victory for tax reduction, for the right of the little man to win, and for the right of the big and little county of North Carolina to enjoy the blessings of state maintained roads.³⁰

Gardner anticipated that the road bill would reduce county property taxes in the amount of \$6,000,000.³¹ Therefore, he appealed to the property owners to let the people who actually used the roads pay for them through the gasoline tax.³² The Gardner strategy was successful. A key political editorial entitled "All Public Roads Should Be in a State System Supported by the Gasoline Tax" was written by Josephus Daniels for the News and Observer³³ and carried considerable weight in the campaign. The citizens of North Carolina responded to the radio address and the editorial with their support for the proposed road bill.

The Gardner bill passed with only minor changes. The state took over maintenance of county roads, created a seven-member State Highway Commission, and increased the gasoline tax a penny per gallon. In addition, the

²⁹Gill, Gardner Papers, 267.

³⁰Gill, Gardner Papers, 268.

³¹Gill, Gardner Papers, 267.

³²Gill, Gardner Papers, 257-258.

³³Morrison, Gardner, 85.

road bill created district camps for prisoners who were employed on the roads.³⁴

The next major objective of the Gardner program was university consolidation. Although there was much opposition to the measure, Gardner believed that it would pass the legislature. He laid his plans carefully by inviting Governor Harry Byrd of Virginia and Governor Al Smith of New York to speak before the General Assembly on governmental reorganization within their states.³⁵ At the Smith address, one reporter described Fountain as "the only member of the audience that never once smiled."³⁶ The evening of the Smith speech, March 2, 1931, Governor Gardner again appealed to the people through a radio speech. He praised Governor Smith's efforts in achieving governmental centralization in New York. He told his audience that university consolidation would help the state higher educational system to progress. As he envisioned the new program, there would be a one-hundred member board of trustees to administer all three institutions. "Our institutions are supported out of one treasury. Is there any valid reason why they should not be under one executive management and one board of control?" The proposed consolidation would not eliminate old traditions at the University of North Carolina, at North Carolina State College, or at the North Carolina College for Women. Instead, consolidation would provide a more efficient and economical higher education structure.

³⁴Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 65.

³⁵Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 66.

³⁶News and Observer, March 3, 1931.

Programs would not be duplicated at each institution. Then, money could be made available to develop programs in new areas of expansion.³⁷

These Gardner proposals were enacted by the General Assembly.³⁸ Gardner's biographer describes him as a "superior general" and as a person with a superb sense of political timing. Although most observers believed the university consolidation bill had no chance, the bill passed with practically no opposition. Gardner later recalled that this act was the most significant piece of legislation passed while he was governor.³⁹

The next measure that Gardner placed before the legislature was a proposal to create a Central Purchasing Agency to award state contracts. He had told the legislature this agency would save the government \$400,000 annually.⁴⁰ In addition to creating the Central Purchasing Agency, the General Assembly also established a personnel commission to supervise all state employees.⁴¹

The next plank in the Gardner program was a measure to create a banking commission. Again, Gardner used the radio to explain to North Carolinians the purposes and provisions of the Seawell Bill as it was known in the legislature. The bill was designed to establish a commission to supercede the Corporation Commission.⁴² A commissioner of banks, to be

³⁷Gill, Gardner Papers, 275-281.

³⁸Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 67.

³⁹Morrison, Gardner, 87.

⁴⁰Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 67.

⁴¹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 67-68.

⁴²Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 68-69.

appointed by the governor with Senate consent, was to assume the banking powers of the Corporation Commission and the chief bank examiner. His salary was to be determined by the Advisory Budget Commission. An Advisory Commission composed of the attorney-general, the state treasurer, and three unpaid laymen was to establish policy. However, the Commissioner of Banks would have the power to prosecute all violators of banking laws. Gardner believed that the Corporation Commission was "in effect a public utility commission" that did not investigate the growing number of bank failures. He believed that it already had enough work to do without supervising banks. Therefore, he urged the people to support the Seawell Bill.⁴³ It passed the General Assembly and Gardner appointed Representative Gurney P. Hood, a strong supporter of the measure, as the first Commissioner of Banks.⁴⁴

Gardner now felt the time was appropriate to introduce a modified short ballot which the Brookings report had recommended. He proposed to make appointive the offices of Commissioner of Agriculture, Commissioner of Labor and Printing, Commissioner of Insurance, and members of the Corporation Commission.⁴⁵ Fountain outspokenly opposed the measure and was able to gain enough support to have the bill tabled.⁴⁶ He believed the short ballot concentrated too much power in appointive state officials. He wanted to continue to let the voters choose most of their representatives

⁴³Gill, Gardner Papers, 282-285.

⁴⁴Morrison, Gardner, 88.

⁴⁵Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 69.

⁴⁶Morrison, Gardner, 89.

rather than to allow a governor freedom to select them from his friends and political supporters. However, Gardner was able to reorganize the Department of Agriculture and to take away the printing duties from the Department of Labor.⁴⁷ Several years later in recalling his retreat from the short ballot, Gardner told Governor Clyde R. Hoey, "I let the General Assembly lick me a few times and thereby I was able to bring it in line with what I really wanted to do."⁴⁸

Another example of his retreating from the General Assembly was the bill to call a constitutional convention. The measure passed by only one vote in the House of Representatives and was headed for almost certain defeat in the Senate where Fountain opposed it. Gardner decided to withdraw gracefully by appointing a commission to study the problems and to make recommendations to be submitted to the voters. Likewise, the Governor decided to withhold any bill to consolidate the counties as he had suggested in his biennial message.⁴⁹

Governor Gardner regained the initiative with the passage of the Local Government Act. This act formed a Local Government Commission to supervise the financial affairs of the counties. As a consequence of the depression many counties had defaulted on their bonds. They were unable to pay either interest or principal. The County Government Advisory Commission was abolished and replaced by a nine-member Local Government Commission. Six members were to be appointed by the Governor and three were

⁴⁷Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 70.

⁴⁸Morrison, Gardner, 89.

⁴⁹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 70-71.

ex officio. The duties of this commission were to control the issuance and sale of local bonds.⁵⁰ Governor Gardner believed the law would take away "from local units the power to endanger further the interests of the taxpayers."⁵¹

The General Assembly then moved on its own initiative without Gardner's approval. It passed the controversial McLean Bill for the support of public education. This measure provided for a uniform six-months school term to be maintained by the state from revenues other than from ad valorem taxation. The school law carried no appropriations with it⁵² and therein lay the conflict. The issue of taxation kept the 1931 legislature in session for 141 days.⁵³ After passing the McLean Bill, the legislature had two choices. It could raise almost \$12,000,000 from new sources of revenue or it could do away with public education. The Gardner administration was committed to reducing taxes.⁵⁴ However, the governor remained neutral throughout the school controversy.⁵⁵ The voters also demanded both tax reduction and a state-supported school system. The News and Observer carried on its masthead during the meetings of the "Long Parliament" the Gardner slogan, "Taxes on Property Must Be Reduced!"⁵⁶ For days the

⁵⁰Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 71.

⁵¹Morrison, Gardner, 87.

⁵²Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 72.

⁵³Morrison, Gardner, 89.

⁵⁴Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 72.

⁵⁵Gill, Gardner Papers, 58.

⁵⁶Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 73.

legislators argued about financing the McLean Bill. They confronted the task of reconciling conflicts that involved the reduction of taxes and the location of new sources of revenue.

Two means for financing the schools were proposed. Representative Nere E. Day of Onslow County introduced a general sales tax proposal. The measure placed a tax of from one-twentieth of one per cent to one per cent on total sales. He hoped to raise between \$5,000,000 and \$6,000,000 in new revenues. In the Senate, John W. Hinsdale of Wake County sponsored a luxury tax measure. His bill, designed to raise between \$6,500,000 and \$9,000,000, placed up to a 20 per cent tax on tobacco, playing cards, candy, gun, cars, and admissions to theaters and amusements.⁵⁷ Powerful lobbies supported each measure in person and through the mails. In general, the large corporations favored the sales tax instead of a luxury or corporation tax. Merchants opposed the sales tax. Laborers and farmers favored the luxury tax instead of a general sales tax. The newspapers and the general public were badly divided. The Charlotte Observer opposed both taxes. The Winston-Salem Journal opposed the sales tax while the Wilmington Morning Star opposed the luxury tax. The News and Observer took a firm stand in support of the luxury tax.⁵⁸

In the legislature, opinion towards taxation was likewise divided. In general, the House of Representatives supported some type of sales tax measure whereas the Senate, led by Lieutenant Governor Fountain, was opposed to the sales tax. Fountain believed the sales tax burdened the

⁵⁷News and Observer, January 27, 1931.

⁵⁸Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 75-76.

poorer people more than a luxury tax. The luxury tax brought in revenue from non-essential items whereas a general sales tax would tax essential merchandise. In fact, tempers and opinions became so heated that the joint Finance Committee was dissolved.

On March 10, 1931, the House Finance Committee approved a general sales tax measure. The bill also imposed a 5 per cent consumers' tax upon small users of electricity and all customers of telephone, telegraph, and gas companies. However, the House eliminated the tax on electricity and gas producers, but passed a general sales tax of one-half of one per cent on all sales up to \$10,000 and one per cent on sales over \$10,000. The tax was to be paid by merchants.⁵⁹ The House bill had no chance in the Senate where the sales tax was opposed by Lieutenant Governor Fountain. Many of the Gardner supporters commenced to urge the governor to request that the McLean Bill be repealed. In this way the hassle would be resolved and no new taxes would be enacted. However, Gardner preferred to remain neutral a while longer.

On March 21, Allen J. Maxwell, the Commissioner of Revenue and head of the Tax Commission, publicly urged repeal of the McLean Bill. In opposing the general sales tax, he suggested a compromise to the legislature. He requested that the Assembly increase the equalizing fund from \$6,500,000 to \$10,000,000. He maintained that the additional revenue could be raised by increasing income, franchise, and license taxes.⁶⁰

⁵⁹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 75-76.

⁶⁰Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 79.

On March 24, Governor Gardner finally revealed his ideas to the General Assembly in a special message. He stated that he had remained neutral on the school question and had offered no support or no opposition when the legislature was debating the McLean Bill. However, he told his audience that he could see no possible way of financing the McLean measure. Objecting to a luxury tax and a sales tax, Gardner believed that the only just tax principle was based on the ability to pay.⁶¹ He recommended to the General Assembly "that so much of the purpose of the McLean school bill as cannot be carried out without a sales tax be eliminated from its scope and purpose."⁶² He concluded:

I am ready to stand on this record and as the leader of my party in this critical hour, I accept the responsibility and will go forward against all opposition in the next campaign confident of the approval of this great majority of the citizens of this State.⁶³

After the Gardner speech, the Senate formally rejected the House revenue bill by a thirty-six to eight vote. It also defeated the Hinsdale luxury tax bill by a closer vote, twenty-six to twenty-four. If there had been a tie, it was understood that Fountain would vote in favor of the luxury tax.⁶⁴

Thus, the General Assembly was still in turmoil. The McLean Bill was law, but the legislature had not yet found a suitable method of financing it. The Senate took the initiative by passing a bill incorporating

⁶¹Gill, Gardner Papers, 58-60.

⁶²Morrison, Gardner, 90.

⁶³Gill, Gardner Papers, 67.

⁶⁴Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 82-83.

Maxwell's suggestions for increasing the equalizing fund by raising income, license, and franchise taxes. However, the House did not concur.⁶⁵

At this point a ten-member joint committee was appointed to come to terms on the revenue question. Three of its members supported the luxury tax, three supported the sales tax, and four opposed both taxes. After the conference committee had begun sessions, two representatives who favored the sales tax were added. The conference committee remained deadlocked and would accept no compromise. In an effort to obtain an agreement, Lieutenant Governor Fountain added two more members to the committee. One was Grady Rankin of Gaston County who supported the equalizing fund; the other was John A. Pritchett of Bertie County who favored the luxury tax.⁶⁶ Finally, on April 29, the conference committee reported favorably on a luxury tax bill.⁶⁷

On May 1, 1931, the House passed the conference revenue bill on third reading by a margin of sixty-two to thirty-four. However, the Senate proved recalcitrant. It defeated the measure by one vote, twenty-three to twenty-four. Friends of the McLean Bill and the luxury tax charged that several senators had been bribed to vote against the luxury tax bill.⁶⁸

Governor O. Max Gardner tired of the waiting game. On May 5, he appealed to the General Assembly to come to terms on the revenue question. He noted in a special message that the legislature had met for 120 days

⁶⁵Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 82.

⁶⁶Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 83-84.

⁶⁷Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 84.

⁶⁸Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 85-86.

without conclusive revenue decisions. He appealed to the Assembly to come to some kind of agreement. In addition, the Governor reminded the legislative members of the necessity for some ad valorem taxes to support the current expenses of the school budget.⁶⁹

On May 11, Senator Hallett S. Ward of Beaufort County introduced a resolution to investigate efforts to bribe senators. Lieutenant Governor Fountain appointed the following senators to an investigation committee: Pritchett, Fabius Haywood of Cabarrus County, Ward, William Lovill of Watauga County, and Kemp B. Nixon of Lincoln County. William N. Reynolds was accused of trying to influence Senator Hinsdale to give up his support for the luxury tax. However, Reynolds was never called before the investigating committee. Likewise, J. J. Hatch, a Goldsboro attorney, was alleged to have offered money to another Goldsboro lawyer, J. Faison Thompson, to influence Senator Hugh Dortch. Dortch allegedly was offered \$2,500 for a present vote, or \$3,500 for a negative vote. On May 26, the investigating committee reported there was "no competent testimony" to support the bribery charges.⁷⁰

Meanwhile, the revenue deadlock continued. On May 12 the House removed its instructions to the conference committee and on the next day, the Senate followed suit. On May 18, the joint committee reported a new revenue proposal. This bill accepted the six months school term provision of the McLean Bill, but stated that no more than \$16,500,000 could be used to operate the schools. It retained the 15¢ ad valorem property tax and

⁶⁹Gill, Gardner Papers, 71-75.

⁷⁰Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 86-87.

increased license and franchise taxes. Again, the measure failed in both the House and Senate.⁷¹

Finally, the impasse was overcome. On May 21, Senator Francis Clarkson of Mecklenburg County who had supported the luxury tax, voted to accept the conference report. Other legislators followed his lead. The House accepted the revenue bill on third reading by a forty-one to twenty-three margin, and the Senate voted favorably, twenty-three to sixteen.⁷²

The revenue bill passed by the 1931 General Assembly was a victory for Governor Gardner and the opponents of the luxury tax. It increased corporation taxes, through the corporation income tax and franchise taxes, by almost 50 per cent. It retained the 15¢ ad valorem tax on over-valued property and postponed property revaluation. The revenue bill marked the end of the "Long Parliament." On May 27, 1931, the General Assembly adjourned after a record 141 days in session.⁷³

The record of the General Assembly of 1931 became the focal point of the gubernatorial campaign of 1932. All three Democratic candidates based their platforms on its actions. Throughout its long sessions, groups in both houses had opposed Governor Gardner's recommendations. The critics "felt that the governor was bent on centralizing the government in order to build up a political machine through which to select his successor."⁷⁴

⁷¹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 88-89.

⁷²Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 89.

⁷³Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 90.

⁷⁴Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 91.

Governor Gardner was highly pleased with the actions of the 1931 legislature. In a radio address he stated, "I would say that their main effort was to reinterpret the functions and services of government in conformity with changed economic conditions."⁷⁵ He remarked that the consolidation of the University was an outstanding achievement. "No more fundamentally progressive policy has been established by the work of any legislature in this State since 1900."⁷⁶ The governor reported that the members of the 1931 legislature "were not quitters" since they received no compensation after the first sixty days of the session and praised them for remaining at the job until a suitable revenue bill was passed.⁷⁷ Governor Gardner stated that the acts passed by the General Assembly were divided into four primary categories. The laws they passed were designed to clarify the relationship between state and local governments, to promote governmental efficiency, to remove strains on property taxation, and to reduce the costs of government.⁷⁸ Gardner concluded, "The General Assembly of 1931 will go down in history as one of the great general assemblies of North Carolina."⁷⁹

Gardner, however, made enemies in the 1931 General Assembly. After the session ended, the Governor appointed eleven of his political lieutenants to administrative posts in the state government.⁸⁰ Among the key

⁷⁵Gill, Gardner Papers, 299.

⁷⁶Gill, Gardner Papers, 300.

⁷⁷Gill, Gardner Papers, 299.

⁷⁸Gill, Gardner Papers, 301-312.

⁷⁹Gill, Gardner Papers, 312.

⁸⁰Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 91.

legislators appointed were Edwin B. Jeffress as chairman of the State Highway Commission, Gurney P. Hood as Commissioner of Banks, Edwin Gill as Gardner's private secretary, and Tyre Taylor as executive counsel. A non-legislative appointment was A. S. Brower as director of the Bureau of Purchase and Contract.⁸¹

After the 1931 legislative session adjourned, Gardner began to consolidate the state government. The State Highway Commission took over 45,000 miles of roads on July 1, 1931.⁸² On that date, the consolidation of the University of North Carolina also became reality, and several agencies authorized by the General Assembly became operative.

Economic conditions continued to worsen. Joseph Morrison believed that Gardner's bitterest task as governor was to watch economic conditions deteriorate and not be able to take action to prevent the depression.⁸³ Resisting pressure to call a special session of the legislature to deal with financial problems, Gardner remarked,

If we were to call a special session of the legislature with a primary (election) just ahead and with men in North Carolina who are willing to fan our people into a fury in order to gain political office, God alone knows what would happen if we were to undertake to write laws, with no power of veto on my part, for the future of this State.⁸⁴

Thus, in 1931 the two major issues of the next gubernatorial campaign were set. Legislative actions and economic conditions would be the primary

⁸¹Morrison, Gardner, 92.

⁸²Morrison, Gardner, 93.

⁸³Morrison, Gardner, 99.

⁸⁴Morrison, Gardner, 101-102.

topics for candidates' speeches. The consolidation of state government would have advocates and critics. Methods of combatting the depression would be proposed by each candidate. What remained in 1931 was the announcement of candidacies.

CHAPTER III
CANDIDATES AND ISSUES, 1932

While Governor Gardner was worrying about the depression and its effects upon North Carolina, Richard Tillman Fountain of Rocky Mount began his campaign to succeed Gardner as governor. Fountain, a native of Edgecombe County, first entered North Carolina politics in the election of 1916. At that time he supported Elijah L. Daughtridge for governor through speeches and newspaper advertisements.¹ The candidate was a Rocky Mount native, but he lost to Thomas W. Bickett of Franklin County. In May, 1918, Fountain announced his candidacy for the office of Representative from Edgecombe County,² which he won without opposition. He successfully supported Dennis G. Brummitt for Speaker of the House of Representatives.³ Representative Fountain ran for a second term in 1920⁴ and was again the winner. In 1920, O. Max Gardner requested Fountain to support him in his bid for governor by writing, "The influence that would go out from the convention will either help or hurt my candidacy for the nomination for governor."⁵ Elected for a third term in the House, Fountain was recognized by this time as a leader in the Democratic party. He introduced

¹Richard Tillman Fountain Papers, East Carolina Manuscript Collection, East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina, hereinafter cited as Fountain Papers.

²Richard T. Fountain to Edgecombe County Board of Elections, May 11, 1918, Fountain Papers.

³Richard T. Fountain to Dennis G. Brummitt, June 11, 1918, Fountain Papers.

⁴Richard T. Fountain to James Pender, February 17, 1920, Fountain Papers.

⁵O. Max Gardner to Richard T. Fountain, March 10, 1920, Fountain Papers.

House Bill 97 during the 1923 session. This bill, which was passed, created a training school for boys in eastern North Carolina. This school, located in Fountain's home town of Rocky Mount, became a home for juvenile delinquents, and now has named a building on its campus for Fountain. In the 1923 session of the legislature, Fountain actively supported a Charlotte attorney, Edgar W. Pharr, for Speaker of the House.⁶ He wrote numerous letters to his political friends urging them to vote for Pharr who was elected. In 1924, Fountain supported both the victorious Angus W. McLean for Governor⁷ and Dennis G. Brummitt for Attorney-General.⁸

After he was elected for a fourth term as Representative of Edgecombe County, Fountain decided to seek the speakership for himself. In late 1926, he began a letter-writing campaign to gather support. He stated, "I have been in the Legislature as representative from Edgecombe since 1919, and feel that I have gained sufficient experience to qualify me for this position."⁹ He had two strong competitors in Nat Townsend of Dunn and Henry Groves Connor, Jr. of Wilson. In December, 1926, Fountain was optimistic about the race. He wrote to his close friend George A. Younce, "I feel as you do that the situation is getting better all the time. I

⁶Richard T. Fountain to Thomas C. Bowie, December 4, 1923, Fountain Papers.

⁷Angus W. McLean to Richard T. Fountain, June 11, 1924, Fountain Papers.

⁸Dennis G. Brummitt to Richard T. Fountain, June 23, 1924, Fountain Papers.

⁹Richard T. Fountain to N. B. McDevitt, November 13, 1926, Fountain Papers.

have a lot of friends who have recently become very active."¹⁰ Fountain was elected as Speaker. In 1928, he decided not to seek re-election to the House, but instead, he entered the race for the office of Lieutenant Governor. His opponents were John D. Langston, supported by Senator Simmons, and William H. S. Burgwyn, supported by Gardner.¹¹ In the primary held on June 4, 1928, Fountain polled 84,477 votes. Second with 68,480 votes was Langston and Burgwyn received 62,866 votes.¹² Langston had received the support of Senator Furnifold M. Simmons' personal secretary, Frank A. Hampton. In a letter to Fountain, Hampton stated:

Of all men in the State who could have been brought into this race, John Langston is one of the very few who would absolutely have compelled my support. I have, heretofore, as you know, felt heartily in favor of your candidacy and have intended to support you whole-heartedly for the nomination.¹³

Langston was eligible to call for a second primary since Fountain had not garnered a clear majority of the votes, but he decided not to do so.

In the general election, O. Max Gardner defeated Republican Herbert F. Seawell and Fountain was elected Lieutenant Governor. Gardner wrote Fountain recommending appointments to Senate committees. He wanted

¹⁰Richard T. Fountain to George A. Younce, December 6, 1926, Fountain Papers.

¹¹News and Observer, July 4, 1928.

¹²A. R. Newsome, (ed.), North Carolina Manual, 1929 (Raleigh, 1929), 400.

¹³Frank A. Hampton to Richard T. Fountain, January 21, 1928, Fountain Papers.

Fountain to place some Gardner supporters on the Finance, Election Laws, Education, and Roads committees.¹⁴

During the 1929 session of the legislature, Gardner and Fountain had different opinions on the proposed Broughton-Johnson Bill to provide a secret ballot. This bill had the support of the governor. Women's clubs and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union deluged the legislators with telegrams expressing approval of the bill. However, Lieutenant Governor Fountain objected to the complicated procedures within the bill. He wrote a concerned citizen:

I am afraid some of the statements through the Press have put me in an improper light. I have never objected to any person having absolute privacy in voting. I have always stood for this, but I feel that our ballot should be simplified and not tied up with a great many details and technicalities, which would make it impossible for a person without special training to vote. Of course you understand I am only the presiding officer and do not have a vote unless there is a tie, and in this position no one can complain of my fairness.¹⁵

In other letters Fountain attempted to clarify his position. For example, he wrote, "The only thing I have advocated is that we should have a ballot that would be understood, and that would not deny the right to vote to any person for want of a higher education."¹⁶ Likewise, Fountain wrote, "One paper in the State said a man without education should

¹⁴O. Max Gardner to Richard T. Fountain, December 31, 1928, Fountain Papers.

¹⁵Richard T. Fountain to J. C. Critz, January 30, 1929, Fountain Papers.

¹⁶Richard T. Fountain to Frank S. Harrell, February 2, 1929, Fountain Papers.

not be allowed to vote any more than a 'bob tail monkey! I do not believe the best thought of the State will agree with this."¹⁷

After the secret ballot became law, some people began to mention Fountain as a gubernatorial candidate in the next election. In May, 1929, an editorial in the Elizabeth City Independent predicted higher ambitions for the lieutenant governor. The editorialist maligned Fountain by writing:

The most disturbing cloud on the horizon of North Carolina politics at this time is the gubernatorial candidacy of R. T. Fountain of Rocky Mount. Here is a fat-headed, mealy-mouthed, pussy-footing nonentity without a single characteristic to commend him to the serious consideration of any thoughtful North Carolinian; and yet he is one of the greatest vote getters that North Carolina politics has produced.

The next State election is yet a long way off, but it promises to be a lively one.¹⁸

The Greensboro Daily News, which was never friendly to Fountain, cast further doubts on Fountain's integrity. In an October, 1929 editorial the newspaper stated that the followers of the Simmons machine were those who were boosting Fountain for the next governor of North Carolina.¹⁹ The Evening Telegram of Rocky Mount, likewise, did not support its own hometown candidate. An editorialist wrote that Fountain refused to take a position on major issues and would support no faction within the Democratic party.²⁰

¹⁷Richard T. Fountain to A. C. Owens, February 2, 1929, Fountain Papers.

¹⁸Elizabeth City Independent, May 17, 1929, hereinafter cited as Independent.

¹⁹Greensboro Daily News, October 30, 1929.

²⁰Rocky Mount Evening Telegram, November 1, 1929.

In late 1929 the Elizabeth City Independent began sending up trial balloons in favor of John C. B. Ehringhaus for governor. This newspaper stated that Ehringhaus would be a worthy successor to Gardner and a man who could raise sufficient funds to finance a gubernatorial campaign. The newspaper predicted that as a corporation lawyer, Ehringhaus could draw upon contributions from wealthy corporation interests within the state.²¹

Throughout 1930, Fountain was mentioned as a possible candidate for governor. He received some unexpected support from Cleveland Gardner, a Shelby attorney, who wrote, "I am deeply grieved, humiliated, and disgusted to feel that there is an organized effort by some of our public officials and leaders of the State to turn the government over to our big corporations."²²

The year 1931 marked Lieutenant Governor Fountain's emergence as a candidate for the governor's office. He worked hard throughout the 1931 General Assembly to block Governor Gardner's centralization proposals. For example, W. E. Hooks, chairman of the Pitt County Democratic Executive Committee, wrote to Fountain an assessment of the legislature's work on Gardner's road bill:

The people generally are in favor of this measure because of the tax reduction they think they will get on their real estate holdings. But for this fact I think they would oppose taking the roads from the Counties. . . . They are strongly in favor of the McLean Bill.²³

²¹Independent, December 27, 1929.

²²Cleveland Gardner to Richard T. Fountain, December 2, 1930, Fountain Papers.

²³W. E. Hooks to Richard T. Fountain, March 14, 1931, Fountain Papers.

Fountain's correspondence from the people during the 1931 Assembly indicated that many were opposed to the Gardner laws. He received much praise during and after the session for his opposition to Gardner policies. For example, in a letter that reads like a campaign speech, C. C. Boone, a retired government employee from Black Mountain, wrote:

To make virtual wards of the citizens of the state is to destroy, as I see it, practically all initiative and incentive that has hitherto developed our leaders in governmental affairs. Not a democracy, but an unlimited monarchy this will be, with but one question arising: Who will be the Czar?²⁴

Who would be the next Czar? Fountain, encouraged by his friends to overthrow the Gardner machine, formally announced his candidacy for the office of Governor of North Carolina in July of 1931. He entered the race during the severest economic depression in the state's history. At the time Fountain announced, Governor O. Max Gardner was attempting to replace Senator Furnifold M. Simmons as leader of the state's Democratic party.²⁵

Political columnists forecast the entrance of several other candidates into the gubernatorial race. There was considerable speculation concerning Attorney-General Dennis G. Brummitt. Brummitt was characterized as an "insurgent Democrat."²⁶ He had tried to obtain taxes on foreign corporations to reduce the property tax in behind-the-scenes maneuvers during the 1931 legislature.²⁷ Another possible candidate was John Christoph

²⁴C. C. Boone to Richard T. Fountain, July 3, 1931, Fountain Papers.

²⁵Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 92.

²⁶Hugh T. Lefler, History of North Carolina (New York, 1956), II, 775, hereinafter cited as Lefler, History of North Carolina.

²⁷Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 93.

Blucher Ehringhaus, a lawyer from Pasquotank County.²⁸ Ehringhaus apparently was the choice of Governor Gardner as he received the open support of Tyre Taylor, Gardner's private secretary. Ehringhaus, not a member of the 1931 General Assembly, was opposed to new taxes.²⁹ Josephus Daniels, editor of the News and Observer, was frequently mentioned in political circles as a successor for Gardner. Allen Jay Maxwell, Commissioner of Revenue, was another possible candidate.³⁰

J. C. B. Ehringhaus announced his candidacy officially in August, 1931, and Allen J. Maxwell, believing he had the support of Governor Gardner, entered the race in September.³¹ Although Lindsay C. Warren had been mentioned and ex-Governor Angus McLean expressed interest in making the race, the Democratic primary for Governor was between Fountain, Ehringhaus, and Maxwell.³² According to Elmer Puryear, "it would be up to the voters of the Democratic Party to place the stamp of approval or rejection upon the Gardner administration in the forthcoming primary."³³

The platforms of the three contenders expressed their views. Ehringhaus was the first to state his opinions. He fully endorsed the Gardner administration, proposed a balanced budget, and requested a revaluation of property. The lawyer believed the state should further consolidate its agencies

²⁸Lefler, History of North Carolina, II, 775.

²⁹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 93.

³⁰Lefler, History of North Carolina, II, 776.

³¹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 93-94.

³²For brief biographies of the three candidates, refer to Appendix A.

³³Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 91.

and supervise spending by local governments. He believed the short ballot was not an issue and that the state should remove the fifteen cents ad valorem property tax as quickly as possible. Ehringhaus wanted neither a sales tax nor a luxury tax. In addition, the candidate felt that the state should fully develop agricultural and industrial resources. In a plank designed to win support from the small farmers, Ehringhaus wanted a constitutional amendment to classify farms to achieve favorable legislation for owners of less than fifty acres of land.³⁴

Fountain, characterized as the "little man's" candidate, favored the McLean Bill requiring a six-months public school term, government economy, repudiation of the short ballot, the abolition of the ad valorem property tax, a balanced budget, and abolition of several of the Gardner agencies. He also opposed a general sales tax.³⁵

Maxwell's platform stated that there was only one issue in the 1932 election—taxation and the reduction of public spending. He believed that the state should reduce the salaries of legislators, increase non-resident fees at state colleges, control state debt, eliminate extravagances in public education, and make the state's prisons self-sufficient. He also wanted to remove the state property tax and revalue property. He opposed both the luxury tax and the sales tax.³⁶

After the issuance of their respective platforms, the candidates began their campaigns. However, the campaign ran slowly until the new

³⁴Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 96-98.

³⁵For a complete statement of the Fountain platform, see Appendix B.

³⁶Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 96-98.

year. Education leaders opposed Maxwell because of his extreme economy measures. Thus, Fountain tried to woo the support of educators by proposing a balanced budget, but not at the expense of the public schools. Ehringhaus tried to convince the voters that he was not the administration candidate and that he was not backed by corporate interests.³⁷

The supporters of Richard T. Fountain included very few well-known politicians. Although Josephus Daniels agreed with Fountain's views, both he and the News and Observer remained officially neutral in the contest. Fountain often received a hostile press because of his dislike of the Gardner administration. His disparagers included William T. Bost of the Greensboro Daily News. Bost's wife, the chairman of the State Welfare Commission, held a responsible and well-paying post in the Gardner administration. M. R. Dunnagan, a Raleigh correspondent for out-of-town papers, also wrote columns unfavorable to Fountain. The reporter received \$108.75 for personal services in the Ehringhaus report of campaign expenditures. Billed as the "little man's" candidate, Fountain had the general backing of labor and education. For example, he received the support of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Superintendent of Transylvania County Schools, and several small businessmen.³⁸ John H. Blount worked with the Merchants' Association in trying to win its support for Fountain.³⁹

³⁷Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 98-99.

³⁸John E. Baumberger to Richard T. Fountain, September 7, 1931; S. P. Verner to Richard T. Fountain, September 19, 1931; T. J. Marriner to Richard T. Fountain, September 18, 1931; T. A. Williams to Richard T. Fountain, September 24, 1931; and Marx S. Nathan to Richard T. Fountain, October 1, 1931, Fountain Papers.

³⁹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 100.

J. C. B. Ehringhaus, on the other hand, had the active support of big-name politicians such as Edwin B. Jeffress, chairman of the State Highway Commission, Governor Angus D. McLean, and Lindsay C. Warren. The Raleigh Times and the Greensboro Daily News were active boosters of the Ehringhaus candidacy while the Charlotte Observer offered him weak support. These urban newspapers wished to continue the status quo. As a corporation lawyer, Ehringhaus received the endorsement of the major tobacco and power industries.⁴⁰

The third candidate, Allen J. Maxwell, was a conservative. He received a more favorable press than Fountain and was often mentioned as the second-choice candidate after Ehringhaus. Political columnists believed that Maxwell could gain the votes of the defeated candidate if he were involved in a run-off primary.⁴¹

After Fountain entered the race, he received many letters from ordinary people pledging their support. For example, Stanley S. Wohl, a former Pennsylvania Democrat, wrote:

I am happy to say that I have been openly for you since your efforts, strength and influence brought about the defeat of the short ballot in the General Assembly early this Spring. You refused to be stampeded by the so-called expert advice offered in person by Hon. Alfred E. Smith and Harry F. Byrd. It may fit the Party organizations in their States, but not North Carolina where the considerations are so totally different.⁴²

The eastern North Carolina manager of the Pan-American Life Insurance

⁴⁰Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 99.

⁴¹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 100-101.

⁴²Stanley S. Wohl to Richard T. Fountain, July 29, 1931, Fountain Papers.

Company, A. T. Lott, wrote from Greensboro:

I feel the people of North Carolina would be committing a great crime to reject you since you are so familiar with the 'rotteness' that exists in the present administration with a school boy in charge of the high office of Executive Council (sic), or legal advisor to the Governor, and with a 40% interest pawn shop banker as head of our present banking system.⁴³

The entrance of J. C. B. Ehringhaus into the race for Governor brought favorable comments from the press. For example, the High Point Enterprise stated "the Gardner sympathies are with Ehringhaus and would have been with Maxwell had Ehringhaus stayed out." The article continued:

His (Ehringhaus) entry disposes of that conjecture (Ehringhaus supporters moving to another candidate) and assures a sharper cleavage between two political schools of thought than Brummitt and Fountain, making the race a duel, would have forced.⁴⁴

J. C. Baskervill, a Raleigh correspondent for afternoon daily newspapers, analyzed the situation of Fountain and Ehringhaus in the race. He believed that Fountain was much better known throughout the state than Ehringhaus. He wrote that Ehringhaus would need much publicity and travel to win. According to Baskervill, "few persons can be found, aside from those in his immediate section, who think Ehringhaus has much chance of winning the nomination." Baskervill speculated that Maxwell should be more of a competitor against Fountain than Attorney-General Brummitt would have been. He also stated that Fountain was flirting with the power companies and anti-luxury tax groups to gain their confidence.⁴⁵ Baskervill quoted the Fountain position on the Local Government

⁴³A. T. Lott to Richard T. Fountain, August 2, 1931, Fountain Papers.

⁴⁴High Point Enterprise, August 16, 1931.

⁴⁵Gastonia Daily Gazette, August 17, 1931.

Act:

I feel that the Local Government Act, while it contains many good features, is a good deal like locking the stable door after the horse has been stolen. . . . I believe in the county as the local government unit, because there must be some means for carrying out governmental functions in every community and because it affords the best means for getting individuals interested in government and for giving them training in government.⁴⁶

The News-Herald of Morganton actively supported Ehringhaus after he entered the campaign. The editor wrote, "We honestly believe that of the candidates or possible candidates mentioned Mr. Ehringhaus is the best man from every standpoint to lead the Democratic State ticket next year."⁴⁷ The same issue of the newspaper contained a condensation of an address Allen J. Maxwell had made before the Selma Kiwanis Club on August 16, 1931 in which he defended the activities of the 1931 General Assembly, particularly the state assumption of responsibility for operation of the schools and roads which would result in reducing the costs of government. He also defended the Local Government Act by stating:

The Local Government Commission is purely a service organization, operated at state expense, to serve the local government units in North Carolina, and to give protection to their taxpayers.⁴⁸

The Elizabeth City Advance, strongly favorable to the candidacy of its local son, suggested that Maxwell not enter the race. It described Maxwell and Ehringhaus as similar in their views and as appealing to the same groups of people. Both offered their support of the Gardner

⁴⁶Edenton News, August 12, 1931.

⁴⁷Morganton News-Herald, August 20, 1931.

⁴⁸Morganton News-Herald, August 20, 1931.

administration. The Advance editor refuted a Charlotte News suggestion that Ehringhaus would not have run if Maxwell had announced his candidacy first. The editor also inferred that Ehringhaus, not Maxwell, had the full support of Governor Gardner,⁴⁹ an inference that would become more obvious as the campaign progressed.

While Maxwell was suggesting that sectional taxpayers associations work to reduce taxes,⁵⁰ Ehringhaus was pleased with the support that the press had given his candidacy. He released a press statement as follows:

I am particularly pleased with the response of the press of state and the editorial comment upon my candidacy. From Asheville to Wilmington, there have been expressions of commendation and approval and not a single note of unfriendliness. I could not have asked for anything better.⁵¹

Fountain continued his tactics of blasting the Gardner administration. In a speech before the Ahoskie Kiwanis Club on August 23, he urged the repudiation of centralization. He stated that "we have gone mad over this business of centralization" and added that "building good citizenship can be accomplished only by permitting the people to exercise the right of the ballot." The candidate asserted that centralization of government permitted too much power in the hands of a few individuals and did not give the voters much choice in electing state officials. Fountain believed the voters should choose as many of their governing agents as possible, so that they would respond to the wishes of the people.⁵²

⁴⁹Elizabeth City Advance, August 20, 1931.

⁵⁰Winston-Salem Journal, August 23, 1931.

⁵¹Greensboro Daily News, August 23, 1931.

⁵²News and Observer, August 24, 1931.

At the same time, Ehringhaus continued to gain support from the press. The Gazette of Gastonia publicly supported his nomination⁵³ and J. C. Baskervill began to give preliminary endorsement to him. From observations of Guilford, Forsyth, and Yadkin counties, Baskervill conveyed the impression that Ehringhaus was the man to beat. Although he admitted that Fountain had strength in the rural areas of the Piedmont, the columnist suggested that Fountain take a definite stand on the major issues.⁵⁴

Fountain, however, was gaining commitments from some Gardner office-holders. Dr. A. M. McCuiston, medical director of Caswell Training School in Kinston, complained of the centralization of state government. He wrote:

There is a lot of straightening out needed at Raleigh; there are too many bureaus. And when you disagreed with the Brookings Institute I knew you were on the right track. Why do we have to hire out of state people to show us how to manage our own affairs? Why does a budget bureau have to run every State Institution?⁵⁵

Senator Samuel H. Hobbs of Clinton agreed with Fountain by writing:

A little power has turned Gardner's head. That Brookings Report would not know Democracy; and its advocates, parading under the name of Democracy, have 'Hamiltonianism' skinned a mile.⁵⁶

Political advice was offered to Fountain by almost every one of his correspondents. An Asheville citizen who was chairman of the North Carolina Board of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen,

⁵³Gastonia Daily Gazette, August 27, 1931.

⁵⁴Winston-Salem Sentinel, August 27, 1931.

⁵⁵Dr. A. M. McCuiston to Richard T. Fountain, August 29, 1931, Fountain Papers.

⁵⁶S. H. Hobbs to Richard T. Fountain, September 4, 1931, Fountain Papers.

John E. Baumberger, wrote Fountain to continue to favor the luxury tax as the "lesser of two evils." He encouraged Fountain to gain the support of labor by advising:

The powers that be know that labor can not endorse Maxwell because he is to (sic) close to the present Governor and as Eringhouse (sic) has endorsed the present administration, it will be impossible to endorse him. . . . I find the representatives of the big corporations in this section backing Eringhouse (sic).

I am going to try and pave the way so that the officials of the State Federation of Labor in this section will be for you when they assemble for the purpose of endorsing some one for governor.

I trust you will not endorse any sales tax and thereby perchance destroy your chance for endorsement by the entire labor bodies of the state.

Revaluation of all property and repeal of the special privilege (sic) revaluation act of 1931 will be a vote getting issue or platform.

I believe that to advocate that the commissioner of Labor office should be filled by a bona fide worker and not by an employer of labor, will strengthen your position with the labor organizations.⁵⁷

Edney Ridge, an associate of radio station WBIG in Greensboro, advised Fountain to concentrate on only two or three major issues and in particular to denounce the Brookings Report. "Give the power trust the devil in the cities, and the tobacco trust hell in the country," Ridge wrote. He also noted that Fountain held the advantage with the voters since he condemned the Gardner machine.⁵⁸ George A. Younce, an attorney from Greensboro, advised Fountain to continue to speak out against the short ballot.⁵⁹

⁵⁷John E. Baumberger to Richard T. Fountain, September 7, 1931, Fountain Papers.

⁵⁸Edney Ridge to Richard T. Fountain, September 7, 1931, Fountain Papers.

⁵⁹George A. Younce to Richard T. Fountain, September 8, 1931, Fountain Papers.

In September, 1931, Fountain commenced to receive reports on his strength in various sections of the state. Mack M. Jernigan, chairman of the Harnett County Democratic party, wrote that all three candidates had support from Harnett County voters.⁶⁰ D. Emerson Scarborough, a Rockingham lawyer, was more optimistic in his appraisal. He wrote that Fountain and Maxwell had more strength in his area than did Ehringhaus. He suggested that Fountain gain the support of textile workers by writing:

In this vicinity there is a strong agitation for a reform in our labor laws so as to prevent the industries from working their employees for over ten hours a day. As you know, we have the most backward labor laws of any industrial State in America.⁶¹

Editors in the middle eastern counties were trying to drum up votes for Fountain. An article in the Graphic of Nashville characterized Fountain as a "man of native grit and ability," with interest in his fellow man, a person who believed in equality and self-government, and an "uncanny judge of human nature."⁶² T. A. Williams, the owner of a cotton gin in Battleboro, encouraged Fountain. He wrote that most of the people in his area had originally favored Ehringhaus. However, he noted a gradual turn toward Fountain because the voters did not like Ehringhaus' association with Gardner and with the large power companies.⁶³

⁶⁰Mack M. Jernigan to Richard T. Fountain, September 10, 1931, Fountain Papers.

⁶¹D. Emerson Scarborough to Richard T. Fountain, September 17, 1931, Fountain Papers.

⁶²Nashville Graphic, September 10, 1931.

⁶³T. A. Williams to Richard T. Fountain, September 24, 1931, Fountain Papers.

In mid-September, 1931, newspaper correspondent, J. C. Baskervill rated the possible candidates for governor in the order of his preference. He placed Attorney-General Dennis Brummitt at the head of the list, closely followed by Ehringhaus, with Fountain running third. He did not rate Maxwell at all,⁶⁴ but did express grudging admiration for Maxwell's views. He stated that "Maxwell does not hesitate to call a spade a spade and to say exactly what he thinks about taxes and taxation in North Carolina." However, he added that "Maxwell is already being accused of being too blunt and too direct in his views and in the manner in which he expresses them."⁶⁵

In a radio speech delivered on Raleigh station WPTF on September 29, 1931, Allen J. Maxwell scored high taxes and reiterated his stand against the sales tax and the luxury tax. He called the sales tax "capitalistic in principle, difficult, irritating, and expensive in administration and objectionable in its detrimental effects"⁶⁶ and blamed tobacco problems on the collapse of foreign markets. He said, "The Eastern North Carolina tobacco farmer has almost entirely lost his foreign market due to a combination of foreign production and excessive taxes by foreign countries." The candidate strongly urged North Carolina legislators to levy no taxes on tobacco.⁶⁷ Maxwell urged industrial development for eastern North Carolina. At the same time, he would reduce taxes as governmental

⁶⁴Rocky Mount Evening Telegram, September 16, 1931.

⁶⁵Salisbury Post, September 29, 1931.

⁶⁶Winston-Salem Journal, September 30, 1931.

⁶⁷Winston-Salem Journal, October 1, 1931.

efficiency was increased. "We must lighten the tax load on industry as well as property." Maxwell continued:

More taxes is not a remedy for too much taxes. The tax bill in North Carolina is too big. The tax boosters taxspenders overdid the job when we all thought we were rich and when they multiplied the state's tax bill four times within 10 years. Why not recognize our trouble for what it is and tackle it at its source? We must get back to earth again and in sound reason and sober judgment readjust the cost and scope of government to fit the times as we now know them to be.⁶⁸

In his speech, Maxwell approved tuition increases at state colleges for out-of-state students. He felt that tuition rates should reflect the costs of services.⁶⁹ However, the Greensboro Daily News disagreed with Maxwell on out-of-state students' tuition. This newspaper argued that North Carolina students would be penalized for attending schools elsewhere by increases in their tuitions. Furthermore, according to the editorial, out-of-state students spent their money in North Carolina, not their home states.⁷⁰ Maxwell also angered educators by stating that teachers in both public schools and colleges should increase their class loads.⁷¹

After the Maxwell speech, the Goldsboro News-Arrow reprinted an editorial from the Lenoir News-Topic. The comment, critical of Fountain, is as follows:

Lucky Mr. Fountain! He could not beat Mr. Ehringhaus alone, and he couldn't beat Mr. Maxwell alone. But with each of them

⁶⁸Hendersonville News-Times, September 30, 1931.

⁶⁹Winston-Salem Journal, September 30, 1931.

⁷⁰Greensboro Daily News, October 12, 1931.

⁷¹Winston-Salem Journal, September 30, 1931.

splitting the vote of the other he stands today the most dangerous candidate in the field. He lets the others fight over issues while he fights for the handshake.⁷²

Meanwhile, J. C. Baskervill, indirectly supporting Ehringhaus, commented that many voters were discontented because Maxwell and Fountain were campaigning while holding public office. He particularly scored Maxwell for remaining Commissioner of Revenue at an annual salary of \$6,750. He noted that Fountain's salary as Lieutenant Governor was \$700 every two years.⁷³

An editorial in the Evening Telegram of Rocky Mount was highly critical of the Fountain campaign. The editor did not approve of Fountain because of Fountain's independence and his refusal to take orders from others.⁷⁴ He criticized Fountain's speaking ability and called attention to his refusal to take a stand on certain issues such as ad valorem taxation for public schools. The editor concluded that "a real battle is brewing, we should say."⁷⁵

A real battle was brewing. Each of the candidates had announced his platform. Each had begun the campaign trail by making speeches and public appearances even though the election was more than eight months away. The next months would be filled with charges and countercharges as the election grew closer, and each candidate attempted to win the most votes in the primary.

⁷²Goldsboro News-Argus, October 3, 1931.

⁷³Edenton News, October 5, 1931.

⁷⁴Mrs. Richard T. Fountain, personal interview with the author at her home in Rocky Mount, North Carolina, August 13, 1971.

⁷⁵Rocky Mount Evening Telegram, October 8, 1931.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRIMARY BATTLE

The 1932 campaign for Governor of North Carolina began in earnest in October, 1931. Lieutenant Governor Richard T. Fountain opened the attack on the Gardner "machine" when he made his first major radio speech from the studio of WPTF in Raleigh on October 13, 1931. He explained his platform more fully to the radio audience. He stated that North Carolina needed more revenue to combat the depression. However, he noted that land was a liability until the condition of agriculture improved. He saw the need for increased taxation of intangible property such as stocks and bonds and for the reduction of real estate taxes. He told his audience that the state system of franchise taxes should be overhauled and that "the income tax is the fairest tax." He agreed with the quadrennial re-valuation of land and affirmed that it was the state's duty to provide a six-months school term. He also felt that vocational courses should be added to school curricula to help students prepare for jobs since many could not afford college because of the depression. Objecting to the mandatory consolidation of counties, Fountain warned the listeners that centralization gave the governor too much power. Appealing to the working man, he wanted labor to share in any industrial prosperity.¹

To override the influence of the Fountain speech, J. C. Baskervill devoted a column to the growing strength of Ehringhaus in the middle and western Piedmont counties.² The Winston-Salem Sentinel ignored the speech.

¹Radio Address, WPTF Radio, October 13, 1931, Fountain Papers.

²Wilson Times, October 16, 1931.

Instead, the editor commented that the election of 1932 was in sharp contrast to the election of 1928. In 1928, North Carolina voters were concerned with the national presidential election; in 1932, they were too wrapped up in the state gubernatorial and senatorial races to bother with national politics.³ Almost 350,000 North Carolinians had voted for Hoover in 1928 whereas about 380,000 voted in the June, 1932 primary.⁴

In October, 1931, ex-Senator O. B. Eaton of Winston-Salem predicted that the candidate who spent the most money in the race would win it. He said, "The man who hasn't the money himself, or friends to put it up, is wasting his time to make the race."⁵

Fountain continued to receive encouraging reports from his friends.

Marx S. Nathan, a Wilmington businessman, wrote in late October:

There has never been such a feeling of resentment as to the present administration that I can remember heretofore. Some of the former Governors may have made a few mistakes, but the present administration is being thoroughly cussed from most every angle.⁶

In the meantime, columnist J. C. Baskervill continued to try to build up support for Ehringhaus. In one article he noted that the contest was between Ehringhaus and Fountain. He dismissed Maxwell by saying that he was not running well in the Piedmont where he expected to receive his greatest support. He added that Ehringhaus was gaining strength in the

³Winston-Salem Sentinel, October 14, 1931.

⁴Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, North Carolina, The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill, 1963), 571, 575.

⁵News and Observer, October 18, 1931.

⁶Marx S. Nathan to Richard T. Fountain, October 29, 1931, Fountain Papers.

East while Fountain appeared to be losing followers because of his non-committal approach to the campaign.⁷ In another column, Baskervill wrote that school teachers, "one of the most powerful political organizations in the state," were aligned with Ehringhaus. According to the columnist, the teachers could not support Fountain because of his activities as chairman of the Board of Equalization. In the same manner, they could not support Maxwell because of his attacks on the University of North Carolina and his proposal for strict economy in the public schools.⁸

In early November the Edenton News noted that Fountain had predicted that school buses would not be able to travel over county roads by the end of winter because of poor highway maintenance. Fountain desired the return to county maintenance supported by county taxes. The News agreed with Gardner that the Fountain statement was false and added that state maintenance was more efficient and less expensive.⁹ In a speech in Lumberton on November 4, Fountain launched a tirade against taxation and the Brookings Report. For the first time, he concurred with Gardner's proposal to use an ability-to-pay principle of taxation such as the income tax. He again noted his opposition to the short ballot by asking, "How can you hope to have a democracy and keep the people interested in a democracy unless you give them something to do?"¹⁰

⁷Concord Tribune, October 31, 1931.

⁸Fayetteville Observer, November 4, 1931.

⁹Edenton News, November 4, 1931.

¹⁰Dunn Dispatch, November 6, 1931.

J. C. Baskervill continued in November, 1931, to attack Fountain. He stated that both Maxwell and Ehringhaus supporters wanted Josephus Daniels, editor of the News and Observer, to enter the gubernatorial race in order to divide the Fountain strength.¹¹ He also wrote that the Simmons machine was becoming active in the East again to give Fountain moral support.¹² On November 9, 1931, the columnist stated that a speech made in Faison by Josephus Daniels took him out of the race. He wrote that the speech was "a tirade against the 1931 general assembly."¹³ The next day Baskervill speculated that former Governor Angus McLean would run again with the support of Josephus Daniels. The writer believed that McLean would draw his support from teachers, from farmers, and from easterners.¹⁴

Meanwhile, the Daily News of Greensboro continued to malign Fountain's candidacy. A comment said, "Mr. Fountain tells an audience at Vass that it is the little things that count. Little things like a shake of the hand, a pat on the back or a kiss for the baby?"¹⁵

Columnist Baskervill quelled rumors that Maxwell was withdrawing from the race. He believed Maxwell would remain in the contest until its conclusion.¹⁶ The commentator continued, however, to build up the Gardner administration and his support of Ehringhaus. He devoted a column to

¹¹Concord Tribune, November 6, 1931.

¹²Hendersonville News-Times, November 7, 1931.

¹³Edenton News, November 9, 1931.

¹⁴Edenton News, November 10, 1931.

¹⁵Greensboro Daily News, November 15, 1931.

¹⁶Henderson Dispatch, November 25, 1931.

Gardner's appraisal of the 1931 legislature. Gardner said:

It is probably true that a good many people are still dissatisfied with what the 1931 general assembly did, but I am satisfied that some day the people of the state will regard it as one of the most outstanding legislatures this state has ever had, since in the face of hard times and depression it was able to lower the property taxes on the rank and file of the taxpayers a total of \$12,000,000 and increase the taxes on those better able to pay sufficiently to make up the difference. In fact, the franchise and income tax rate levied by this state on the larger corporations is now higher than in almost any other state. It is only necessary to look at the tax schedules imposed by the 1931 general assembly to convince even the most skeptical that it was not afraid to put the taxes on big business and corporations.¹⁷

During December Baskervill criticized all three candidates. He castigated Fountain for offering no definite program for the future, but then admitted that Ehringhaus, likewise, had promoted no remedies for the state's financial problems. At the same time, the journalist questioned whether Maxwell's readjustment program would meet the needs of the state.¹⁸

The slow pace of the campaign lagged even more during the Christmas and New Year holidays. The candidates appeared to disregard politics until February, 1932. However, Governor O. Max Gardner used the lull to publicize his centralization programs. He wrote an article entitled "One State Cleans House" for the Saturday Evening Post dated January 2, 1932. This article reiterated his views on the 1931 North Carolina legislature for a national audience. He told the readers that almost every bill during the session was debated with two thoughts in mind--the cost to government and the reduction of property taxes. In the article Governor Gardner confined

¹⁷Hertford News, December 5, 1931.

¹⁸Charlotte News, December 9, 1931.

himself to a discussion of four laws which the General Assembly had passed. He said, "Each (law) was revolutionary, but each was designed to meet the situation prevailing under changed economic conditions."¹⁹ The first radical act that Gardner discussed was the road bill. "During the past ten years the counties had invested \$125,000,000 in roads, and \$100,000,000 of this stood on the books in the form of bonded debt." The state took over road maintenance and abolished over 175 county and township road boards. According to Gardner, "The law cut the annual cost of road maintenance \$2,250,000. . . and abolished the property-tax levy for roads."²⁰

The Local Government Act was the second measure cited in the article. It created the Local Government Commission to approve and sell all county bonds and notes. Gardner noted that counties could still sell bonds rejected by the Local Government Commission if the voters approved of the bond issue. Gardner felt that the Local Government Commission would obtain lower interest rates than those received by individual counties or townships.

The third issue was consolidation of the University of North Carolina. Gardner told the readers that this act broadened educational opportunity and provided more services at less cost. Finally, Gardner discussed the school bill. He reiterated his opposition to the sales tax and the luxury tax. "The sales tax is a perversion of the equitable basis of taxation." Gardner believed that the increase in franchise taxes and income taxes, the reduction of school budgets, and the continuance of the ad valorem property

¹⁹0. Max Gardner, "One State Cleans House," The Saturday Evening Post, (January 2, 1932), 23, hereinafter cited as Gardner, "One State Cleans House."

²⁰Gardner, "One State Cleans House," 72-73.

tax would enable North Carolina to operate her schools without deficit.²¹ He concluded that the 1931 legislature had passed laws to decrease the state deficit by \$12,000,000 during his administration.²²

In the article Governor Gardner also discussed the merits of his Live-At-Home program. The Governor said it "means produce for your families and animals all the foodstuffs and feedstuff they consume, and then produce the cotton and tobacco that you can profitably grow as a surplus." He wrote that North Carolinians had canned approximately 3,000,000 jars of home-grown products for winter consumption. The federal government had figured that North Carolinians would save over \$16,500,000 and have better nutrition by producing their own food products. In a lighter vein, Gardner mentioned a million gallon increase in the production of molasses by writing, "Someone has facetiously said that we have made enough molasses to sop up the depression."²³

On January 14, 1932, Gardner informed the people of the financial condition of the state in a radio address delivered from the WPTF studio. At this time, revenue in North Carolina was virtually non-existent and another payroll cut had been ordered for state employees.²⁴ Gardner reassured the audience that conditions would improve and reductions in the costs of government had been made. He concluded, "I would resort to

²¹Gardner, "One State Cleans House," 73-74.

²²Gardner, "One State Cleans House," 74.

²³Gardner, "One State Cleans House," 72.

²⁴Morrison, Gardner, 104.

the full power of this office to do anything and everything that is necessary to prevent this State from defaulting in its debt obligations."²⁵

After the Gardner radio speech, the campaigns of Fountain, Maxwell, and Ehringhaus became more active. Each of the candidates opened headquarters in Raleigh which would be the centers of operations for the remainder of the campaign.²⁶

J. C. Baskervill continued to use his columns to speculate on the outcome of the June primary. In mid-February he noted that Ehringhaus was strong in the Piedmont while Fountain's strength was located in the East and far West. He added that Maxwell would probably hurt the Ehringhaus campaign more than the Fountain strength.²⁷ He speculated that Fountain could win with a minority vote because of the similarity of the ideas of Maxwell and Ehringhaus.²⁸ Several days later, Baskervill wrote that the Maxwell fans were very worried because his strength in the industrial Piedmont had failed to materialize. The columnist noted that the Maxwell strength was too scattered to put together a statewide movement, and that Maxwell was handicapped because his duties as Commissioner of Revenue made it impossible for him to cover the state campaign trail. In the same column in an effort to influence public opinion in favor of Ehringhaus,

²⁵Gill, Gardner Papers, 376.

²⁶Concord Tribune, January 30, 1932; Raleigh Times, January 29, 1932.

²⁷Concord Tribune, February 16, 1932.

²⁸Concord Tribune, February 15, 1932.

Baskervill mentioned that the followers of Josephus Daniels were not supporting Fountain as was expected, but were supporting Ehringhaus instead.²⁹

Fountain hit the campaign trail in earnest in February of 1932, while Ehringhaus continued to gain active political support. In speaking to a group of farmers, Fountain blasted Maxwell's retrenchment proposals. He stated that retrenchment should not include shortening the school term or reducing state support of public education. He told them "there can be no return to prosperity or any general economic improvement until relief is given to agriculture and farmers."³⁰ At Morehead City, Fountain told Carteret County teachers:

I believe in practicing every sound economy in governmental operations but it is false economy to fail to provide adequate educational facilities for our children. This can be done without undue burden upon anyone if all people and all classes of property pay their just proportion of taxes. No legitimate business should be destroyed by taxation, nor is there any necessity for so doing, but the doors of the public schools must be kept open even if other less vital governmental activities have to be curtailed.³¹

In Williamston at a district meeting of county superintendents and principals, Fountain continued to stress the importance of public education. He desired an improvement in class load and teacher pay as quickly as possible. In addition, Fountain urged the schools to emphasize more vocational education, instead of concentrating upon college preparatory programs for all students.³²

²⁹Wilson Times, February 18, 1932.

³⁰Winston-Salem Journal, February 19, 1932.

³¹Speech at Morehead City, February 21, 1932, Fountain Papers.

³²Speech at Williamston, March 3, 1932, Fountain Papers.

During a speech at the Guilford County Courthouse, Fountain criticized Gardner's centralization of government. He stated that the 1931 legislature had:

. . . created new commissions which cost \$102,000 a year which materially offsets any ten per cent wage reduction forced on state employees. I believe we should exercise every economy in government, and while I believe in efficiency, I think we have too many overlapping bureaus and commissions.³³

Fountain suffered reverses when Ehringhaus gained the support of Congressman Lindsay C. Warren during February, 1932. Warren, mentioned as a gubernatorial possibility after Josephus Daniels had pulled out, publicly announced he would not seek the office and would vote for J. C. B. Ehringhaus.³⁴ Maxwell, during this period, was conducting his campaign in the Piedmont. He lashed out against the Hoover administration and called for more economy at all levels of government.³⁵

In the last week of March, the campaign moved to the personal level. No longer did the candidates criticize their opponents' political philosophy only; but instead, they launched attacks on each other. Each accused his two opponents of wrong-doing.

The Ehringhaus campaign manager, Lennox P. McLendon, sent a form letter to supporters of Ehringhaus. In it he wrote:

Both of his opponents are office-holders in the present administration, and have been holding conspicuous public offices for several years. Mr. Fountain particularly has

³³Greensboro Daily News, March 10, 1932.

³⁴News and Observer, February 21, 1932.

³⁵Charlotte Observer, March 11, 1932.

been critical of the Party's record, and has assailed it whenever he speaks.³⁶

The Charlotte Observer continued its attacks on Fountain. An editorial "The Governor" stated that the next governor "must be a man of sound judgment and executive ability, with courage to stand by his convictions," and implied that Ehringhaus fitted the characterization better than either of the other candidates. Furthermore, the editorial praised the Gardner administration and predicted that Fountain would fail in his struggle to denounce the Gardner program. The editorial suggested that Fountain make concrete proposals to achieve economy in government.³⁷

In a speech at the Jefferson Democratic Club on March 31, Fountain outlined his views on financial conditions in North Carolina. Opposed to issuing bonds for meeting current expenses, Fountain stated, "The great burden of taxation today is the principal and interest payments on bonds."³⁸

On the same day, Allen Maxwell spoke to the Charlotte Kiwanis Club urging a rental system of textbooks for students. He believed this proposal would result in less expensive books and less cost for parents. He remarked, "The biggest lobby I ever saw surround a North Carolina legislature was a school book lobby." The April 2 edition of the News and Observer carried a statement that Ehringhaus had accused Fountain of extravagance in organizing the 1931 Senate. Ehringhaus noted that fifty-one employees were necessary to carry out the requests of fifty Senators.³⁹

³⁶Lennox P. McLendon to George W. Jones, March 30, 1932, Fountain Papers.

³⁷Charlotte Observer, April 1, 1932.

³⁸News and Observer, April 1, 1932.

³⁹News and Observer, April 2, 1932.

On April 1, Allen Maxwell presented a radio speech from WPTF. He took issue with Ehringhaus in it, but did not mention Fountain. He denied the Ehringhaus contention that he was responsible for North Carolina's present tax system. He replied that as Commissioner of Revenue he carried out tax policy, but he asserted that he had no hand in formulating that policy. Claiming that Ehringhaus had the support of tobacco companies, Maxwell accused him of being the "heir apparent" of the Gardner administration.⁴⁰ He also launched an attack against the state's prison system. Maxwell believed there was no need to build a new Central Prison. "Our problem is to find something for these prisoners to do, instead of building new structures to house their idleness."⁴¹ He also advised the government to balance spending with income. According to Maxwell, permanent prosperity would return if there were restraint in public spending in flourishing as well as non-prosperous times.⁴²

Ehringhaus refuted Maxwell's charges that he was a tool of big business at a talk in Rutherford County. He responded by saying that he was an Irish potato farmer who was paying his own campaign expenses.⁴³

James L. DeLaney, Fountain's campaign manager and former senator from Mecklenburg County, received several discouraging reports during April. The Whiteville Bar Association refused to endorse Fountain for Governor.⁴⁴

⁴⁰News and Observer, April 2, 1932.

⁴¹Charlotte Observer, April 5, 1932.

⁴²News and Observer, April 7, 1932.

⁴³News and Observer, April 5, 1932.

⁴⁴J. H. Land to James L. DeLaney, April 7, 1932, Fountain Papers.

An Alleghany County citizen from Sparta wrote stressing the need for Fountain to form more political organizations because he was losing strength.⁴⁵

A Newport attorney, William H. Bell, predicted that Fountain would be in second-place in the coastal counties, but felt that Fountain could win in a second primary.⁴⁶ Fountain's Buncombe County campaign manager, Brandon P. Hodges, wrote:

The Ehringhaus support to date has not crystalized, and his supporters are at a great disadvantage in organizing here due to the Reynolds Senatorial race and the diversity of local interest. However, this is not true in the case of Mr. Maxwell, for his support is more crystalized and probably more dangerous at this writing.⁴⁷

More encouraging was Salisbury lawyer, Thornwell G. Furr, who wrote that Fountain appeared to be the first choice of Rowan County voters.⁴⁸

A political tract entitled "Ehringhaus The Man" was published on April 9, 1932. The pamphlet presented a brief biography of Ehringhaus with particular emphasis on his support for education and noted that he had been the first to introduce a bill into the legislature to establish a training school for teachers to be located in the East. The tract also stated that Ehringhaus helped promote the state's rural high school system and was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Elizabeth City Public Schools.⁴⁹

⁴⁵R. A. Doughton to Richard T. Fountain, April 18, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁴⁶William H. Bell to Richard T. Fountain, April 16, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁴⁷Brandon P. Hodges to James L. DeLaney, April 11, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁴⁸Thornwell G. Furr to James L. DeLaney, April 18, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁴⁹"Ehringhaus The Man," April 9, 1932, no publisher, Fountain Papers.

Fountain began to appeal more directly to farmers as the campaign moved into April. At Prospect Hill in Caswell County, he told a farm group:

It is time for the farmers and other working people of this country to wake up to the importance of exercising their voting rights. . . . Oppose all short ballot bills. We are being governed at this time in the nation by bureaus, commissions and boards which are beyond the reach of the people.

I am opposed to the issuance of any bonds for current running expenses. The Legislature should provide sufficient revenue to run the government economically without bonds.⁵⁰

He also issued a press release on agriculture in which he outlined a seven-point program for reviving the basic industry of North Carolina. The seven goals were as follows: a six-months school term with no property and ad valorem taxes; revaluation of real estate; roads financed only through gasoline and franchise taxes; proper schools and health departments and the elimination of unnecessary people in government; no short ballot because centralization leads to dictatorship; reduction of the costs of government by eliminating excess boards, bureaus, and commissions; and the adoption of a law to allow local school units to rent school books to their pupils.⁵¹

An editorial in the Raleigh Times on April 9 suggested that all three candidates were using false premises in urging the removal of ad valorem property taxation. The editorial told the people that the major property tax burden came from the counties and cities and that the removal of the state tax would bring negligible relief to property owners. It accused the gubernatorial contenders of using "unfair political tactics to enlist

⁵⁰Speech at Prospect Hill, April 9, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁵¹"Statement on Agriculture," no date, Fountain Papers.

prejudice in their behalf" in reference to state ad valorem taxation. The editorial added that "either ignorance or deceit is prompting those who declare that the next Legislature will bring tax relief by 'getting the money where the money is'."⁵²

On April 9, J. C. B. Ehringhaus issued a statement to newsmen denying that he was sponsored by any group of people or corporations. The statement said in part:

I could not take the solemn oath of office if I knew in my heart I had been elevated to its great opportunities by the sinister support of any organizations, class, or interests that would expect special favors from my administration.

In reference to a question that his administration would be a continuation of the Gardner term, Ehringhaus replied, "My administration will be an Ehringhaus administration."⁵³

James B. Allen, a reporter for the Raleigh Times, speculated on the primary race. He wrote, "Fountain, meanwhile, is giving the State one of the finest exhibitions of walking a line down the center. . . . that it has been the voters' opportunity to experience in many a campaign." Although Allen believed Maxwell was gaining strength, he called the Maxwell program of retrenchment "grating to a people who have known nothing but progress for a decade." He said of Ehringhaus, "The whirlwind finish is the Ehringhaus type of campaign."⁵⁴ A comment from the Stanley News and Press of Albemarle appeared in the Charlotte Observer's "Current Observations"

⁵²Raleigh Times, April 9, 1932.

⁵³News and Observer, April 10, 1932.

⁵⁴Raleigh Times, April 11, 1932.

column. It jested,

After listening to some of the candidates for Governor, one gets the idea that if we could get all of them in office at one time taxes of all descriptions would disappear like a snowball in a hot furnace.⁵⁵

Fountain continued to appeal to labor and farm groups. In one speech, he stated, "The only way to help the farmer is to reduce his taxes and give him a living wage for his produce."⁵⁶ At Boone, he criticized the partisanship of the Daily News of Greensboro. He told the audience that editor and publisher Thomas Bost received \$7,500 annually from the state and that his wife \$4,000 from her job with the state.⁵⁷ In a move designed to win support from veterans of World War I, Fountain endorsed the national proposal for an immediate bonus payment to ex-servicemen. He felt that they were entitled to it and that the money would stimulate the economy.⁵⁸

In mid-April Ehringhaus attacked the Maxwell plan of making the state's prison system self-sufficient. He told his listeners that he himself was more interested in finding jobs for the unemployed than in making prison labor competitive with free labor even if tax funds had to be used to operate the prisons.⁵⁹

The Fountain campaign began to move into high gear in late April. Fountain had already acquired a mailing list of important Democrats in

⁵⁵Charlotte Observer, April 13, 1932.

⁵⁶News and Observer, April 13, 1932.

⁵⁷News and Observer, April 15, 1932.

⁵⁸News and Observer, April 19, 1932.

⁵⁹Raleigh Times, April 19, 1932.

each county. His mailing lists also contained the names and addresses of railroad employees and farmers in the various counties. However, not all of the counties had chairmen. Particularly ignored were the Western counties. Wake County was the most organized county in the campaign. The Wake County records listed cars available for transporting voters to the polls, whereas other county records did not contain such a list.⁶⁰ In a form letter sent to persons on the mailing lists, Fountain wrote:

I assure you I will appreciate your active interest in my cause. My friends are sending me most encouraging reports from all sections of the State, and if those who desire my success will be active in their sections I feel sure of favorable results.⁶¹

And, indeed, Fountain was receiving encouraging reports. For example, the editor of the Montgomery Herald wrote that he thought Fountain would carry Montgomery and Richmond counties.⁶² A member of the publicity committee of the Izaak Walton League of America wrote, "I have not failed to tell all the sportsmen that you saved the day in 1931 by putting sportsmen and not politicians on the Senate Game Committee."⁶³

Toward the end of April, columnist James B. Allen saw two trends in the gubernatorial race. One was that Fountain was switching to a more aggressive campaign by making positive statements and taking positive

⁶⁰Items. Fountain Papers.

⁶¹Richard T. Fountain to V. W. Leggett, April 23, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁶²C. H. McSwain to Richard T. Fountain, April 23, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁶³Burton H. Smith to Richard T. Fountain, April 23, 1932, Fountain Papers.

positions. The other was that Ehringhaus was gaining strength in eastern North Carolina counties.⁶⁴

Maxwell, in the meantime, also began a more aggressive campaign. He accused both Fountain and Ehringhaus of stealing his platform. "Dick is bearing down a little heavier on economy as he goes along and Blucher has adopted even my terminology and talks about readjustment as glibly as if it were his own language."⁶⁵ In fact, that very day, Ehringhaus spoke to Sanford Democrats about readjustment of government spending.⁶⁶

During the last few days of April, the Fountain headquarters on the ninth floor of the Carolina Hotel in Raleigh⁶⁷ began to receive discouraging reports of the campaign's progress. A Mecklenburg lawyer predicted that Fountain would lose Cabarrus and Caldwell counties.⁶⁸ J. O. Ellington wrote that the Gardner machine was working hard in Johnston County and advised Fountain to talk against the "Machine" in the small towns and rural areas.⁶⁹ William H. Bell wrote that eastern Carteret County favored Ehringhaus while the western section was divided between Maxwell and Ehringhaus.⁷⁰ Mr. Levi Buckner sent a letter he had received from a Charlotte barber,

⁶⁴Raleigh Times, April 25, 1932.

⁶⁵News and Observer, April 26, 1932.

⁶⁶News and Observer, April 27, 1932.

⁶⁷News and Observer, April 26, 1932.

⁶⁸Joe W. Ervin to James L. DeLaney, April 27, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁶⁹J. O. Ellington to James L. DeLaney, April 28, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁷⁰William H. Bell to Richard T. Fountain, April 30, 1932, Fountain Papers.

W. M. James, urging support for Ehringhaus and mentioning that Fountain had been opposed to the 1927 Barbers' bill. Mr. James wrote, "Ehringhaus is a real Democrat and will be fair to everybody, and it seems to me that the barbers of North Carolina ought to line up solidly behind him."⁷¹

To offset these unfavorable reports James L. DeLaney sent out another form letter. He spoke optimistically of the campaign and indicated that Fountain would be nominated in the primary. "He will be nominated and when elected in November he will truly be 'The People's Governor'."⁷²

The Ehringhaus supporters were likewise active. Lennox P. McLendon, the Ehringhaus campaign manager, wrote a form letter on April 29. It quite naturally praised the merits of Ehringhaus.

Neither his ability nor his loyalty to the Party has ever been questioned. He comes from that great Albemarle section of the State which has not had a Governor in more than a hundred years. He comes fresh from the people and, therefore, imbued with their thoughts and aspirations.

He believes:

1. That public education must not suffer.
2. That the fifteen cent tax for State support of schools must be removed.
3. That property must be re-valued to the end that the tax books speak more nearly the truth.
4. That strict economy must be practiced in every governmental activity.
5. That the exorbitant cost of credit to our farmers shall be reduced.
6. That the government must be kept close to the people.

⁷¹W. M. James to Levi Buckner, April 30, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁷²James L. DeLaney to M. L. Bolick, April 28, 1932, Fountain Papers.

7. That the power to tax must always be exercised fairly, justly and equitably.

His fine character is the best proof that he is above soliciting or receiving the support of any group, or organization or interest that would embarrass him in the complete and honorable discharge of his duties.⁷³

Ehringhaus also adopted another plank of the Gardner program. Speaking at Williamston, he called for expansion of the Live-At-Home movement to utilize the state's undeveloped resources. He also felt that the state should use a statewide, not sectional, approach for solving agricultural problems.⁷⁴

While delivering a commencement address at Wendell High School, Ehringhaus predicted that the state would soon adopt a plan to support schools for eight months. He told the graduates that an eight-month school term was a minimum educational requirement.⁷⁵

The May, 1932, edition of the North Carolina Teacher provided a platform for all political candidates to tell educators their views. Each gubernatorial candidate was invited to answer five questions and to write an article for publication in the magazine. Each candidate expressed the opinion that school appropriations should not be cut any more. In response to the elimination of the ad valorem tax, Ehringhaus replied that the amount it brought in must remain a part of the school budget. Fountain urged the use of other sources of revenue, while Maxwell stated, "I am confident that rental of textbooks at cost will give more relief than the

⁷³Letter by Lennox P. McLendon, April 29, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁷⁴News and Observer, April 29, 1932.

⁷⁵News and Observer, April 30, 1932.

complete elimination of the fifteen cents tax." Ehringhaus and Fountain vetoed the idea of increasing the teacher load of pupils, but Maxwell believed that it could possibly be raised. Ehringhaus favored the maintenance of the current state minimum salary for teachers, but Fountain wanted to restore their 10 per cent pay cut. Maxwell wanted the schools to cut services rather than salaries. All three approved the idea of local units supplementing salaries and services if they were financially able to do so.⁷⁶

"Public Education Is of Paramount Importance" was the title of the Ehringhaus article. In it, he explained to the teachers that education had always been one of his basic interests.⁷⁷

In his article, Fountain stated,

It is my opinion that the schools of North Carolina offer our chief hope for the future, and it is my wish that their curtailment should not be made an issue in any political campaign.⁷⁸

He approved of the Maxwell plan of state rental of textbooks and urged school districts to purchase books for their pupils. Fountain told the teachers that he wanted to see vocational agriculture and domestic arts programs included in the state school curriculum.⁷⁹

⁷⁶"What Gubernatorial Candidates Say About School Problems," North Carolina Teacher, VIII (May, 1932), 341.

⁷⁷J. C. B. Ehringhaus, "Public Education Is of Paramount Importance," North Carolina Teacher, VIII (May, 1932), 342.

⁷⁸Richard T. Fountain, "I Have Answered These Questions This Way Since Campaign Began," North Carolina Teacher, VIII (May, 1932), 343, hereinafter cited as Fountain, "I Have Answered These Questions."

⁷⁹Fountain, "I Have Answered These Questions," 379.

Maxwell believed more emphasis should be placed on how schools could serve young people than on how much money should be spent for education. However, he did state, "Public education of the public's children at public expense is the supreme aim of our social democracy."⁸⁰

In their attitudes toward education, Ehringhaus favored the continuation of present services by the schools. On the other hand, Fountain wanted to continue present state services and to add more local revenue if possible to expand school programs. However, Maxwell favored retrenchment which meant that he would cut public school services if necessary to balance the state budget.

In May, the primary race grew more heated. With about five weeks left in the campaign, the three candidates were speaking to the people almost every day. Fountain received more correspondence during the final weeks than previously. Friends and political supporters furnished assessments of his strengths and weaknesses and gave him advice on how to finish the race. As an example, one correspondent analyzed that the strong point of the Ehringhaus campaign was his stand for equal and uniform taxation. Noting that high property valuation had kept many farms from being foreclosed, he advised Fountain to use his tax views to advantage.⁸¹ The Superintendent of Brunswick County Schools feared that the people would

⁸⁰Allen J. Maxwell, "Public Education Is the Supreme Aim of Our Social Democracy," North Carolina Teacher, VIII (May, 1932), 344.

⁸¹W. S. Hobbs to Richard T. Fountain, May 1932, Fountain Papers.

abandon Fountain because the "courthouse crowd" was endorsing Ehringhaus. He also lamented the poor Fountain organization in Brunswick County.⁸²

The two major problems that Fountain faced in conducting his campaign were the lack of money and the lack of organization. He constantly received pleas for funds to finance transportation to the polls for prospective Fountain voters. He could only reply that money was not available for this expense. Likewise, because he had no funds, he had to rely on the support of his friends rather than a formal Fountain organization. His campaign managers were all volunteers and received no salary or remuneration for their services. Often they did not even receive their expenses. Thus, support for Fountain at the county level was costly for ordinary people, the people he was trying to reach. He realized his only chance in winning the election was to gain the support of the lower income groups. However, even though he sought their support, he could not expect financial aid from them during the depression.

Richard Fountain made the major speech of his campaign in Raleigh. It was a lengthy address in which he put forth his views on all the campaign issues. He began, "So far in this campaign I have tried to avoid personalities. I shall not at any time in the campaign engage in any attack upon the character and integrity of my opponents." Then he proceeded to condemn both Gardner and Ehringhaus. Fountain denied the Ehringhaus charge that he was a Republican. He added that the credit for the accomplishments of Gardner belonged to the legislature and not the Governor. He stated he was in favor of both the six-months school term and the state

⁸²R. E. Sentelle to James L. DeLaney, May 7, 1932, Fountain Papers.

tax reduction fund to reduce local school taxes. He also supported the increase in the gasoline tax, but Fountain denounced the figures Gardner used concerning tax reduction from the highway bill. Gardner claimed a reduction of from \$6,000,000 to \$9,000,000 whereas the Lieutenant Governor set the figure at \$3,000,000.

In the same manner, Fountain assailed the new bureaus created by the 1931 General Assembly. In particular, he roasted the Department of Purchase and Contract by stating:

The operation of the present Purchasing Department has practically deprived the taxpayers and citizens of North Carolina of the privilege of selling to the State, Counties, Public Institutions, School Districts, and other subdivisions of the State. I believe that the operation of this department should be changed as to make it possible for the average citizen to sell to the state, whereas it is now operated so that only the great trusts, combines, and super-business institutions form the majority of its customers, the most of whom own no property and pay no taxes in this State.

Next, Fountain bemoaned the postponement of property revaluation. He believed that the short ballot was a grave danger to the Democratic party and could lead to political autocracy in North Carolina from which "the only recourse the people would have would be the change to another party." With a short ballot, a governor could give lucrative positions to those who supported his legislative programs and could usurp the powers of the legislative branch that the voters had elected.

Fountain next aimed his guns at the Department of Personnel by stating that it had served no useful function and should be abolished. The next attack was upon excess expenditures by Governor Gardner and the Legislature. Fountain spoke:

The expenditure of upwards of \$50,000 to obtain a report by the Brookings Institute, which would conform with the

Governor's ideas of Government, is hard to justify and I shall not attempt to do so. Is this a part of his record that Mr. Blucher Ehringhaus will defend?

The expenditure of approximately \$100,000 upon the Tax Commission reports and the operation of the commission, which has offered no solution to the State's taxing problems, is equally hard to justify. Does Mr. Ehringhaus defend this?

Then, Fountain accused Governor Gardner of attempting to dictate his successor to the people. He asked Ehringhaus to state his positions on the Personnel Commission, the Executive Counsel, the short ballot, the appointment of men to positions they helped to create, and the large corporations' support of Ehringhaus.

Drawing to a close, Fountain reiterated each point of his platform.

His final remark was:

I am confident that the people of the State upon whom these administrative leaders are attempting to bring pressure and make promises of political patronage will not be misled and will not, as it were, sell their birthright for a mess of pottage, but will continue to hold their self-respect as American citizens and as citizens of a great free State, and will cast their ballots as their conscience and better judgment dictate, denying coercion, despising false promises, striving for free government in close contact with the people.⁸³

Fountain received many comments about his speech. As expected, his supporters liked the speech, but his detractors tore it to shreds. Dr. E. E. Council of Angier wrote, "What we need is a Governor with guts."⁸⁴ Elbert S. Peel of Williamston believed the speech gave him more support. He also predicted a majority for Fountain in Martin County.⁸⁵ New Bern attorney Ernest M. Green praised the speech by writing:

⁸³Speech at Raleigh, May 9, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁸⁴Dr. E. E. Council to Richard T. Fountain, May 26, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁸⁵Elbert S. Peel to Richard T. Fountain, May 27, 1932, Fountain Papers.

You are 'flicking them in the raw' by showing up Gardner's appointment of members of the Legislature who did his bidding in his pet measures. . . . The people are with you in this and in attacking the Administration for its shortcomings. . . . The people . . . want men who have the courage to tell the facts in strong language and take a position.⁸⁶

Columnist J. C. Baskervill intimated that Fountain was making overtures to the Maxwell supporters in his speech since he did not mention Maxwell. The commentator stated, however, that many Maxwell followers felt that the speech was a definite snub to Maxwell. He noted that this speech was the first time in which Fountain mentioned specifically which bureaus he would abolish.⁸⁷ The High Point Enterprise commented that both Maxwell and Fountain were mounting a personal attack on Ehringhaus. The editor reminded the hopefuls that state finance remained the biggest issue of the campaign.⁸⁸ Likewise, the Morganton News-Herald disdained the use of invective in the campaign and warned that the Republicans would benefit in the autumn election.⁸⁹

Ehringhaus replied to the Fountain charges very angrily. He remarked, "He has no right to ask the post of leadership of the party while repudiating its record." He stated that Fountain had received \$3,000 in the previous five years from the state for serving on the Park Commission, the Board of Equalization, and the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina. He continued that Fountain "must realize that while this speech was as music in the ears of the Republicans of North Carolina, it

⁸⁶Ernest M. Green to Richard T. Fountain, May 30, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁸⁷Rocky Mount Evening Telegram, May 11, 1932.

⁸⁸High Point Enterprise, May 15, 1932.

⁸⁹Morganton News-Herald, May 12, 1932.

chilled the hearts of loyal Democrats throughout the State." In addition, Ehringhaus said, "his name, not mine, is signed to every act he criticizes."⁹⁰

In early May, J. C. Baskervill devoted a column to speculations about the possibility of a second primary between Ehringhaus and Fountain. Baskervill and the Ehringhaus workers believed that Ehringhaus would carry seventy counties in the first primary, Fountain would take twenty-four, and Maxwell only one. Five counties were in the toss-up category and could go to any of the contenders. The columnist stated that he believed Fountain would be mistaken in calling another race because the Maxwell votes would go to Ehringhaus and not to Fountain.⁹¹ The next Baskervill column stated that Allen J. Maxwell was interjecting more new issues in the campaign. The writer cited the rental of textbooks, state and federal regulations for banks, and the operation of school buses from highway funds as examples.⁹²

Edwin B. Jeffress, chairman of the State Highway Commission, protested the Maxwell plan to transfer school transportation to the Highway Commission. Jeffress stated:

The highway fund is being strained to the limit to meet all obligations placed upon it. It cannot stand the addition of \$1,800,000 necessary for school bus operation, nor can it spare any of its revenue to be diverted to other purposes.⁹³

On May 10, Maxwell spoke in Forsyth County. He criticized his opponents for recommending costly programs while preaching economy in government. He

⁹⁰Raleigh Times, May 14, 1932.

⁹¹Goldsboro News-Index, May 9, 1932.

⁹²Henderson Dispatch, May 10, 1932.

⁹³Raleigh Times, May 10, 1932.

stated that the Gardner "Machine" was neither willing to economize nor to eliminate waste. According to Maxwell:

The most important issue in this campaign is that of the readjustment of public service so as to make it possible for the people of the State and country to pay its cost and then have a little something left for themselves.⁹⁴

In another speech, Maxwell continued to talk about the basic issues.

He laid his campaign strategy on the line by saying:

I am trying to talk to the people of North Carolina about issues that mean something to them. I am seriously trying to make a contribution to the struggles and difficulties of this time. I'm trying to lead the way to reduced taxes and reduced spending, and at the same time to more efficiency and greater service by eliminating waste.

Let's insure the continuance of necessary public services and take care of the necessary workman in this service by cutting out the waste and lost motion. Cut out luxuries, unnecessary overhead and duplicating supervision.

Cut out padded legislative payrolls.

Cut out the subsidizing of the cost of college training to a thousand students from other States in our colleges.

Cut out the wasteful duplication of courses in our colleges.

Cut out the expense of feeding eighteen hundred prisoners in idleness and make the State's prison pay its way.

Cut out the waste in school books and supplies.

Cut out the luxuries in all public service, and luxurious ways of performing necessary service.

That's the kind of approach that I offer as a solution to our problems and that I solemnly pledge to carry out if favored with this high office. It's the only road to recovery on a sound basis, and to continuing and sustained progress.⁹⁵

Editors began to devote more space to the coming gubernatorial primary.

Although supporting Maxwell for Governor, the Charlotte News criticized his retention of his job as Commissioner of Revenue.⁹⁶ The Winston-Salem

⁹⁴News and Observer, May 11, 1932.

⁹⁵Morganton News-Herald, May 12, 1932.

⁹⁶Charlotte News, May 12, 1932.

Journal commented that "Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Fountain agree on one point, namely, that Mr. Ehringhaus is the 'heir apparent'."97

In a question and answer session at Winston-Salem, Fountain belittled the statement that Ehringhaus was not a corporation man and was only a potato farmer. He remarked, "This is indeed funny. All the money that is being spent in his campaign does not come from a potato barrel."98

James L. DeLaney, Fountain's campaign manager, remained busy at the Raleigh headquarters. He sent a form letter to the people on the mailing list stressing the experience that Fountain had had in the legislative branch of state government. He reminded them that Fountain would be "The People's Governor" because he would have no special interests to protect.99

Meanwhile, the Maxwell supporters were denying rumors of a coalition of Maxwell and Fountain against Ehringhaus. Columnist Baskervill noted that the employees of the Department of Revenue were numerous at Fountain's Raleigh speech, but he believed that they were still supporting Maxwell.100 In Mecklenburg County, Maxwell told his audience to urge all levels of government to enact laws to prevent bank failures and to provide "real safeguards for the protection of bank deposits." He lashed out against the textbook monopoly in the state and accused the schoolbook companies of engaging in "excessive profiteering." He agreed with the Fountain condemnation of the short ballot by stating:

97 Winston-Salem Journal, May 11, 1932.

98 Winston-Salem Sentinel, May 13, 1932.

99 James L. DeLaney to J. Frank Bullock, May 13, 1932, Fountain Papers.

100 Henderson Dispatch, May 12, 1932.

If the short ballot is adopted there will be developed such a powerful political machine that the people will have difficulty in the election of the governor, the one person that they can vote upon.¹⁰¹

In the same manner, a speech Fountain delivered on May 17 was a blistering attack on both Ehringhaus and the Gardner administration. Fountain said:

Mr. Ehringhaus says that he is for economy in government. Here is the Gardner record which he said he would defend, three jobs made to grow where only one grew before. Under the McLean administration one man at a salary of \$4,000 did the same work three men have been doing at salaries of \$14,600.

Fountain launched an attack against the Ehringhaus supporters. He accused Frank Dunlap, the Gardner appointee who served as Director of the Personnel Department, of using his position to campaign for Ehringhaus. Likewise, he also accused Thad Eure, Assistant Director of Personnel, of directing employees of his department to vote and campaign for Ehringhaus, a charge Eure refuted, although he did suggest that his employees knew where he stood in the campaign.¹⁰²

Fountain became even more personal and specific in his charges. He stated:

Neither can Mr. Ehringhaus tell us whether he is in favor of appointing members of the General Assembly to jobs created by themselves. . . . Possibly he remembers how the bill for the Director of Personnel was passed. It was handled by Mr. E. B. Jeffress, now chairman of the State Highway Commission, by appointment of the Governor. He was ably assisted by Mr. Frank Dunlap, now Director of Personnel, by appointment of the Governor; by Mr. Thad Eure, chief clerk of the House, now assistant Director of Personnel, by appointment of the Governor; by Mr. Gurney Hood, now Commissioner of Banks, by appointment of the Governor; by

¹⁰¹Charlotte News, May 15, 1932.

¹⁰²Thad Eure to the author, January 13, 1974.

Mr. W. W. Neal, now a member of the State Highway Commission, by appointment of the Governor; by Oscar J. Pitts, now an officer or employee of the State Highway Commission, by consent or approval of the Governor; and by Mr. Edwin Gill, now private secretary, by appointment of the Governor.

Fountain admitted that he signed the bills he was protesting during the 1931 Legislature. However, he made it clear that he signed them only because it was his constitutional duty to do so. He resented the implication that he was responsible for their enactment.¹⁰³

The Lieutenant Governor was continuing to receive political assessments from his friends and requests for funds from his county campaign managers. A Halifax County citizen predicted Ehringhaus would carry his county by a small margin.¹⁰⁴ Frank Cox wrote that Fountain was losing ground in Beaufort County.¹⁰⁵ A. M. Carroll wrote campaign headquarters that Alamance County needed more organization.¹⁰⁶ A Warsaw insurance agent, Aubrey Cavanaugh, wrote that Fountain had been the favorite in his area, but he was losing ground. He added that the criticism of Jeffress had returned some support.¹⁰⁷ J. L. Gwaltney observed that the Alexander County political machine was working hard for Ehringhaus. He believed the voters would support the Ehringhaus "money" and that Fountain would be the low man in Alexander County.¹⁰⁸ Others such as J. A. Triplett,

¹⁰³Speech, May 17, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁰⁴G. T. Thomason to Richard T. Fountain, May 17, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁰⁵Frank W. Cox to Richard T. Fountain, May 19, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁰⁶A. M. Carroll to I. T. Valentine, May 20, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁰⁷Aubrey L. Cavanaugh to Richard T. Fountain, May 25, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁰⁸J. L. Gwaltney to Richard T. Fountain, May 21, 1932, Fountain Papers.

Blount Bryan, and S. G. Blake reported to Fountain headquarters in the same manner. They interpreted the campaign as hopeless if Fountain could not raise more money to fight the Ehringhaus "machine."¹⁰⁹

Not all the reports were so discouraging, however. A Jacksonville merchant predicted a 60 per cent vote for Fountain in Onslow County.¹¹⁰ Shelley B. Caveness, a Greensboro attorney, predicted Fountain would receive about half of Guilford County's votes with Maxwell coming in second.¹¹¹ Although William H. Bell predicted Fountain would lose Carteret County, he felt he would win in a second primary.¹¹² Stating that there would be a poor turnout of voters in Swain County because of distance to the polls and no local races, S. E. Varner nevertheless felt that Fountain would win the county.¹¹³ W. L. Lumpkin, a Louisburg lawyer, wrote that Fountain would receive one-half of the Franklin County vote.¹¹⁴ Other letterwriters such as R. F. Crouse, A. T. Lott, and John W. Rodgers noted that Fountain was holding his own in the race but that more money

¹⁰⁹J. A. Triplett to James L. DeLaney, May 26, 1932; Blount Bryan to James L. DeLaney, May 26, 1932; S. G. Blake to James L. DeLaney, May 31, 1932; J. E. Koonce to James L. DeLaney, May 27, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹¹⁰E. H. Walton to James L. DeLaney, May 26, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹¹¹Shelley B. Caveness to James L. DeLaney, May 26, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹¹²William H. Bell to Richard T. Fountain, May 26, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹¹³S. E. Varner to Richard T. Fountain, May 27, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹¹⁴W. L. Lumpkin to Richard T. Fountain, May 27, 1932, Fountain Papers.

was needed for expenses. They wrote that the Fountain followers were unable to contribute to the campaign.¹¹⁵

Meanwhile, campaign manager DeLaney was busy writing letters to people who had requested money to be used to transport people to the polls and to newspaper men who had requested political advertising for their newspapers. For example, he wrote to J. A. Tucker, a Youngsville lawyer:

We regret exceedingly that on account of the fact that Governor Fountain's funds are rather limited and since he is backed by no monied interest we have absolutely no money available for car hire or expenses of workers at the polls.¹¹⁶

In the same manner, DeLaney wrote the advertising department of the Carolina Watchman of Rowan County that no money was available for political advertising.¹¹⁷

Brandon P. Hodges sent the campaign chairman a telegram on May 28 in which he suggested that the highway department was engaged in unfair campaign tactics. He wired:

Pitts told highway employees here if they had any influence to get off next week and work for Ehringhaus and they would receive their pay. . . . Understand several have been discharged on failure to work for Ehringhaus.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵R. F. Crouse to James L. DeLaney, May 27, 1932; A. T. Lott to Richard T. Fountain, May 27, 1932; John Wesley Rodgers to Richard T. Fountain, May 31, 1932; W. S. Coulter to James L. DeLaney, May 30, 1932; J. T. Bland, Jr. to Richard T. Fountain, May 30, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹¹⁶James L. DeLaney to J. A. Tucker, May 20, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹¹⁷James L. DeLaney to Jack Royal, May 20, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹¹⁸Brandon P. Hodges to James L. DeLaney, May 28, 1932, Fountain Papers.

On the same day, DeLaney issued a statement that state employees were being fired for not supporting Ehringhaus.¹¹⁹

On June 1, 1932, Fountain issued a press release from Fairmont in which he, too, denounced the activities of the Highway Department. He stated that the State Highway Commission was "a highly greased political machine" working for Ehringhaus. He noted that Oscar Pitts had defended himself by saying that his employees were taking vacations.¹²⁰

As the vicious campaign drew to an end, the candidates were heard on radio for the final time. Fountain spoke from the studio of WPTF on Friday, June 3, from 9:30 to 10:00 P. M.¹²¹ Again, he condemned both Gardner and Ehringhaus. He resented the Ehringhaus charge that he had no chance in the election and reminded the audience that this tactic had been used previously in his successful campaigns for Speaker of the House and for Lieutenant Governor. Then, he urged the voters not to be misled by Ehringhaus propaganda and remarked that the record of one man did not equal the record of the party. The candidate reminded the voters that the Democrats of Edgecombe County had elected him without opposition to five terms in the legislature.

In the same manner, Fountain reminded the voters that Gardner had not submitted a proposal for financing public schools or for reducing taxes. He charged that neither Ehringhaus nor Maxwell had suggested specific programs to reduce the costs of government.

¹¹⁹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 105.

¹²⁰Press Release, June 1, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹²¹WPTF to Richard T. Fountain, May 13, 1932, Fountain Papers.

He closed his address by stating:

This has been a hard and unusual campaign. I have had to combat the organized forces of the Governor and his appointees, the special interests and their high-powered lobbyists and a large part of the press. I am going to be nominated by the votes of the great Democratic hosts of men and women who believe it is the prerogative of the people to nominate and elect a Governor, and who will cast their ballot as their conscience and better judgment dictate, denying coercion, despising false promises, striving for free government in closer contact with the people.¹²²

To close out his campaign, Maxwell reiterated his platform. He suggested to the voters that he was the first candidate to preach the doctrine of economy in government through reduced public spending.¹²³

In a speech at High Point, Ehringhaus criticized the personal attacks made by Fountain in the campaign.¹²⁴ He issued a final press statement as follows:

I am sincerely grateful for the splendid reception the people of North Carolina have given my candidacy. I have tried not to forget that this is a Democratic Primary and a contest between Democrats. I have said nothing for which I or my Party may be called on to apologize in November.

The Campaign has been very strenuous and has consumed almost every hour of my time in travel from County to County. I have tried to present my cause openly and frankly to as many people as possible, and have been greeted by splendid audiences in every section of the State, which fact has been an inspiration throughout the campaign.

I want to repeat my pledge, that I am absolutely free to serve all of the people of the State in wholehearted devotion to the interest of all, and with a sincere desire to promote and maintain economical, efficient and honest government.

¹²²Speech, June 3, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹²³News and Observer, June 4, 1932.

¹²⁴News and Observer, June 2, 1932.

With the continued activity of a great host of loyal supporters in every County of the State, I am confident of victory on June 4th.¹²⁵

On the day before the primary, newspaper columnist James B. Allen categorized the three gubernatorial aspirants. He placed Fountain as the leader of the reactionaries, discontented, and disgruntled; he characterized Ehringhaus as a "normal man in abnormal times"; and he called Maxwell the leader of the reformers.¹²⁶ Based upon their campaign speeches, the columnist was correct. Fountain had campaigned as the people's candidate, Ehringhaus had taken a middle-of-the road position, and Maxwell had proposed the new ideas for change.

The voters went to the polls on Saturday, June 4, 1932, in near-record numbers. Almost 380,000 Democrats cast their ballots. Ehringhaus carried 58 counties and collected 162,498 votes. Fountain garnered 115,127 votes and won 30 counties. Although Maxwell carried only 12 counties, he received 102,032 votes.¹²⁷ Ehringhaus ran second in nine of the Maxwell counties, while Fountain was second in the remaining three counties.¹²⁸

An analysis of the election results¹²⁹ indicates that Fountain ran strongest in the Coastal Plain counties. He captured Mecklenburg County in a tight race. His highest vote count came from Wake County. Ehringhaus

¹²⁵Dunn Dispatch, June 3, 1932.

¹²⁶Raleigh Times, June 3, 1932.

¹²⁷Lefler, History of North Carolina, II, 776.

¹²⁸Purveyor, Democratic Party Dissension, 106.

¹²⁹For a county by county tally, turn to Appendix C and to Appendix D for a map.

and Maxwell gained most of their support from the Piedmont, Northeastern, and Mountain counties. Ehringhaus received his highest number of votes from Buncombe County and Maxwell from Mecklenburg County, although he ran third there.¹³⁰ The results suggest that Fountain captured the votes of the farmers and the poorer people in the East, while Ehringhaus gained the support of the manufacturers and their employees in the industrial Piedmont counties. It also appears that Maxwell drew more support away from the Ehringhaus followers than he did from the Fountain voters. Wake County, in which the Fountain organization was strongest, supported him. Thus, in areas in which Fountain had the funds to organize a strong campaign, he ran well. In the Western counties where he spent little money and did almost no campaigning, he lost. As expected, Ehringhaus ran strongly in the Northeast, his home counties.

The June 4 primary was over, but its bitterness remained. Since Ehringhaus had not received a majority of the total votes cast, Fountain was eligible to ask for a second primary. The question remained unanswered as to whether or not most North Carolina Democrats supported the Gardner centralization policies. The governor had stated two days before the vote that "if the issues in this campaign involve the trial of my administration as governor, I will be content with the verdict."¹³¹

The verdict was still to be rendered. According to North Carolina law, a candidate must request a second election within five days after

¹³⁰Purveyor, Democratic Party Dissension, 107; H. M. London (ed.), North Carolina Manual, 1933 (Raleigh, 1933), 91-92.

¹³¹Gill, Gardner Papers, 549.

the Board of Elections announces the official results of the vote. The State Board of Elections was scheduled to meet on June 10 for its canvass. Thus, Fountain had to reach a final decision by June 15.¹³²

During that time he and his advisers carefully studied the election results and received political analyses from his friends. J. O. Ellington of Smithfield wrote that state employees had used unfair, illegal tactics at the polls in Johnston County. He stated, "I am sure that you and Mr. Maxwell were robbed of many votes."¹³³ A Winston-Salem attorney, W. L. Wilson, wrote:

The manufacturing enterprises here (Forsyth County) were lined up solidly for Mr. Ehringhaus and Mr. Maxwell. They instructed their employees how to vote and gave them sample copies of the ballot and then sent them to the polls under foremen and superintendents of the plants and they voted solidly for Mr. Ehringhaus and Mr. Maxwell.

The lawyer stated that Fountain would not gain any votes from Forsyth County in a second primary.¹³⁴ Lawrence MacRae wrote that a whisper campaign had been conducted in Stokes County against Fountain. He wrote that the Ehringhaus supporters had told the voters that Fountain was against good roads and that poll workers had mismarked ballots.¹³⁵

Charles A. Jonas, National Committeeman for the Republican Party, wrote a letter of condolence to Fountain from his home in Lincolnton. He stated:

¹³²Fayetteville Observer, June 8, 1932.

¹³³J. O. Ellington to Richard T. Fountain, June 6, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹³⁴W. L. Wilson to James L. DeLaney, June 6, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹³⁵Lawrence MacRae to Richard T. Fountain, June 7, 1932, Fountain Papers.

I had seen good men in both parties go down so often when the dominant machine in your party in the state had blacklisted them that I was anxious to see if you could have better luck. I am truly sorry of the result of the primary.

Boy, you touched a tender spot when you touched the main spring of the Gardner machine--the State Highway System. The Public School System has been a disgrace as a political machine, but it was as nothing to compare with the Highway outfit.

Every Republican laborer in this and adjoining counties have long since been discharged with frank statements by bosses as to the reason. Every guard and boss in this county was at work actively before the primary scattering Ehringhaus literature and propaganda. All day primary day the Road Boss assumed the role of unofficial "Assistant" and marked all ballots of voters who would permit--mean time his pockets bulging with pictures of his CANDIDATE.

Some of these days the Democratic leaders will decide it is good politics and good morals to make crooked elections impossible. . . . You and I are far apart in politics, but we are together on patriotism and purity in government.¹³⁶

The press was not making Fountain's decision any easier on whether or not to call for a second primary. Since the press had opposed the Fountain campaign from its beginning, most of the editors and reporters urged Fountain to let the results of the first primary stand. For example, the Greensboro Daily News reminded Fountain that only one time in recent history had the high man been defeated in a second contest. The editorial stated that Fountain was too far behind in the first race to gain the victory. It also reminded Fountain that he was running against a tradition because lieutenant governors were not elected to the governorship.¹³⁷ Another editorial from the same newspaper reminded Fountain he had to keep all his votes and pick up two out of every three Maxwell votes in order to

¹³⁶Charles A. Jonas to Richard T. Fountain, June 7, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹³⁷Greensboro Daily News, June 7, 1932.

win a second primary, while Ehringhaus needed only to pick up one of every three Maxwell votes.¹³⁸ The Fayetteville Observer likewise noted it would be foolish for Fountain to call for another race. An editorial stated that the Maxwell vote would go to Ehringhaus, not to Fountain. The editorial concluded, "It would be a waste of time and effort for Mr. Fountain to demand a second chance in this hopeless cause."¹³⁹ J. C. Baskervill stated that Fountain would suffer "a second crushing defeat" if he asked for another election. Baskervill wrote that many of the Maxwell supporters would "hop on the Ehringhaus bandwagon." The commentator felt that Fountain had no chance of gaining additional support from any areas except the Eastern counties. "Even if Maxwell had been in second place, the nomination of Ehringhaus in a second primary is conceded." Baskervill concluded that "the best thing Fountain can do now is admit he has been knocked out and toss in the sponge."¹⁴⁰

At the same time, Fountain was receiving discouraging reports from his friends. On June 10, campaign manager DeLaney sent a telegram to twenty-six party leaders in the western part of the state requesting their opinions on a second primary.¹⁴¹ W. Henry Liles from Anson County wired that a second primary was a "useless race unless Maxwell highly favors you and you can procure funds to finance the campaign."¹⁴² Likewise, Rufus A.

¹³⁸Greensboro Daily News, June 8, 1932.

¹³⁹Fayetteville Observer, June 8, 1932.

¹⁴⁰Salisbury Post, June 7, 1932.

¹⁴¹Telegram. June 10, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁴²W. Henry Liles to James L. DeLaney, June 10, 1932, Fountain Papers.

Doughton opposed another race¹⁴³ as did E. A. Harrill of Cleveland County.¹⁴⁴ Macon County leader Frank I. Murray also opposed a second campaign.¹⁴⁵ Gaston County's A. E. Woltz wired to advise Fountain to call a second race only if he could raise \$20,000 in campaign funds.¹⁴⁶ No second primary was the verdict of Zeb V. Turlington of Iredell County.¹⁴⁷ A letter from Thomas C. Bowie of Ashe County likewise advised Fountain not to run again because he would not gain the Maxwell votes.¹⁴⁸

Bill Moyer wrote from Washington, D. C. to tell Fountain not to call a second race. Moyer believed he was too weak in the Piedmont and West to pick up 50,000 votes. He wrote:

They have a better organization at work than you have to be frank. Wherever you had any at all you won. It takes money to organize. A leader can get money. For second high it is hell to try to get it unless you sell your birthright, and that I do not want you to do if you never realize your aim and ambition.¹⁴⁹

Not all the reports received at the Fountain headquarters were so discouraging however. H. Clifton Blue of Moore County told Fountain to run again.¹⁵⁰ Likewise, W. Kerr Scott of Alamance County¹⁵¹ and L. D.

¹⁴³Rufus A. Doughton to James L. DeLaney, June 10, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁴⁴Ector A. Harrill to James L. DeLaney, June 10, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁴⁵Frank I. Murray to James L. DeLaney, June 10, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁴⁶A. E. Woltz to James L. DeLaney, June 10, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁴⁷Zeb V. Turlington to James L. DeLaney, June 10, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁴⁸Thomas C. Bowie to James L. DeLaney, June 14, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁴⁹Bill Moyer to Richard T. Fountain, no date, Fountain Papers.

¹⁵⁰H. Clifton Blue to Richard T. Fountain, June 7, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁵¹W. Kerr Scott to Richard T. Fountain, June 10, 1932, Fountain Papers.

Perry of Bertie County urged another race.¹⁵² Marietta C. Mann wrote, "We are proud to be able to report Hyde County as a Fountain County. That was a little more than we expected since Mr. Ehringhaus has always claimed it." She added, "We feel, of course, that the Maxwell vote will go to you."¹⁵³ Garland B. Daniel wrote that the first primary votes were few for Fountain in Guilford County because of the competition with the monied Maxwell and Ehringhaus interests. He noted that spending Fountain money in the county would increase his votes in a second primary.¹⁵⁴ The chairman of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen wrote that his organization would support Fountain in a second bid for the governorship.¹⁵⁵

Meanwhile, the Granville County Democratic Convention meeting in Oxford passed a set of resolutions condemning acts of the Gardner administration. The resolutions, presented by Attorney-General Dennis G. Brummitt, criticized the appointment of Legislators to offices they had themselves created. The resolutions demanded the abolition of several bureaus created by the 1931 General Assembly and denounced the efforts of a party machine and the governor to nominate his successor.¹⁵⁶ These resolutions were presented to the Democratic State Convention which rejected them. J. C. Bashervill believed they were aimed against Gardner

¹⁵²L. D. Perry to Richard T. Fountain, June 10, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁵³Marietta C. Mann to Richard T. Fountain, June 10, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁵⁴Garland B. Daniel to Richard T. Fountain, June 11, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁵⁵H. E. Withers to Richard T. Fountain, June 13, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁵⁶Purveyor, Democratic Party Dissension, 108.

for blocking Brummitt's gubernatorial candidacy rather than in support of Fountain.¹⁵⁷

On the final day for announcing his decision, Lieutenant Governor Richard T. Fountain requested a second primary. Mrs. Fountain believed that he was persuaded to run again by Senator John Hinsdale, by his campaign manager J. L. DeLaney, and by his close friend and cousin Joseph Eagles. They advised him to run again because a principle was involved, and he was a man of principle. Fountain had been bitterly disappointed over the results of the primary and had considered quitting the race. He could not understand, according to his wife, why he did not get enough votes to be the leader in the vote count. In fact, his papers contained an undated, unreleased statement to the press announcing that he would not run again as his contribution to party harmony. However, his friends persuaded him to try again to defeat "the most diabolical thing ever had in North Carolina," the Gardner political "machine."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷Concord Tribune, June 16, 1932.

¹⁵⁸Mrs. Richard T. Fountain, personal interview with the author, August 13, 1971.

CHAPTER V
THE RUNOFF CAMPAIGN

The decision to call a second primary was greeted with derision by most of the North Carolina press. The Charlotte News¹ and the Concord Tribune strongly criticized Fountain's judgment. The Concord editor wrote that "Mr. Fountain can't understand that the majority of the people don't want him." He continued, "His ego won't let him think that North Carolinians were serious about this matter of retiring him to private life."² On the other hand, the Raleigh Times favored the Fountain choice. The editor was pleased that Fountain wished to fight the "machine" again. He interpreted Fountain's decision to mean that he wanted to preserve the Democratic party as a people's party more than as "a mere personal desire to be Governor."³

Senator John Hinsdale, a close friend of the Fountain family, suggested that more organization would help the candidate in the second primary. He wrote to a friend:

He had almost no organization in a great many counties and I feel certain he got the worst of the count. We are going to see that this does not happen again.

We have a chance of gaining a lot of Ehringhaus strength if we can just beat it into the people's heads that this is the last chance they will have to overturn this machine.⁴

On June 16, 1932, the Fountain headquarters began the second campaign. In a form letter to Fountain supporters, James L. DeLaney wrote:

¹Charlotte News, June 16, 1932.

²Concord Tribune, June 17, 1932.

³Raleigh Times, June 16, 1932.

⁴John W. Hinsdale to Thomas C. Bowie, June 18, 1932, Fountain Papers.

I feel confident that from the many messages, letters and personal calls that we have had during the past few days that it is absolutely necessary for Governor Fountain to enter the second primary. . . . We expect to have our organization in good working condition in the next day or two, and we are entering this fight with a determination to win and to give the government back to the people.⁵

The Democratic party platform was published during the second campaign. Although the platform was written mainly by Lennox P. McLendon, the Ehringhaus campaign manager, Fountain took the initiative and endorsed the platform.⁶ He stated:

I am deeply pleased, however, that I can stand squarely on the Democratic platform without modifying or changing the position which I took in the first primary and which I shall maintain in the second.

I am deeply pleased that my party pledged itself to the enactment of two measures which I have and will continue to fight for---the immediate revaluation of property and the removal of the 15-cent ad valorem tax for school purposes.

I shall undertake further to demonstrate upon the evidence of the facts that the economy in government which my party demands could be achieved through the abolition of the office of Executive Counsel, the Commission on Unemployment and Relief and other such agencies or offices as further study and investigation show to be unnecessary.⁷

Meanwhile, Fountain was receiving encouraging messages from his supporters. For example, R. F. Grouse wrote, "Gardner's bragging on the day after the last Primary about what his influence had done ought to be worth twenty-five thousand votes."⁸ E. H. Walton notified Fountain that Eastern voters were aware that the Highway Department was conducting the

⁵James L. DeLaney to J. W. Rideoutte, June 16, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁶Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 109. For a brief summary of the platform, see Appendix E.

⁷News and Observer, June 18, 1932.

⁸R. F. Grouse to Richard T. Fountain, June 18, 1932, Fountain Papers.

Ehringhaus campaign.⁹ George Craven wrote that Fountain would carry Randolph County in the second primary if he worked in the county.¹⁰ J. O. Ellington reported that Fountain was getting much of the Maxwell vote in Johnston County.¹¹

On June 20, James L. DeLaney sent a form letter to former Maxwell supporters requesting their help in electing Fountain. In part, he stated:

We feel that there is a principle involved in this contest that over-shadows personalities; that is, whether the Democratic party is to pass into the control of a powerful machine, depriving the rank and file of Democratic voters of North Carolina of a free and untrammelled choice in their selection, or whether the party in accordance with fundamental democratic principles shall be kept close to the people and protect their interest against all influence that may seek special favors from the government.¹²

On the same day, Fountain assured a former Maxwell supporter that he favored the gasoline tax to finance the state and county road system.¹³

The most explosive issue of the second campaign broke on June 21, 1932. K. R. Hoyle of Lee County charged that 25,000 fraudulent votes were cast in the counties west of Raleigh in the first primary.¹⁴ James L. DeLaney specifically accused Surry County of fraudulent election practices. Hoyle, a Sanford lawyer, charged that 900 of 3,600 votes in Surry County were

⁹E. H. Walton to Richard T. Fountain, June 18, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁰George B. Craven to Richard T. Fountain, June 20, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹¹J. O. Ellington to James L. DeLaney, June 20, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹²James L. DeLaney to Dr. J. M. Judd, June 20, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹³Richard T. Fountain to J. A. Downtin, June 20, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁴Statesville News, June 21, 1932.

absentee ballots which had been thrown away. Hoyle also charged that he was denied access to the county poll and registration books.

Lieutenant Governor Fountain demanded an investigation by Attorney-General Dennis Brummitt. Fifty witnesses were called during the investigation which revealed that the absentee ballots had been distributed illegally. Although one thousand absentee ballots had been sent to R. A. Freeman, Chairman of the Board of Elections of Surry County, there was no record of their distribution. The investigation revealed that absentee ballots had been distributed by the registrars without knowing for whom they were intended. For example, sixty-five absentee ballots had been given to one man for distribution in Mount Airy precinct #1. The investigation discovered that at least six absentee votes had been cast by people not living in the county. The Attorney-General discovered that 295 absentee ballots had actually been cast. Since Fountain had received only one hundred seven votes out of 3,600 cast in the first primary, it appeared that political misdeeds had occurred. However, Fountain did not use the investigation results to his advantage during the second campaign.¹⁵

J. C. Baskervill, political correspondent, wrote that these charges hurt Fountain more than they would help him. One unidentified observer stated that the questioning of the honesty and integrity of Democratic election officials would cost Fountain twenty-five thousand votes. The observer added, "It is the poorest political move Fountain has made yet."¹⁶ The Wilson Times reported that although some evidence of voting irregularities

¹⁵Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 110-111.

¹⁶Greenville Observer, June 23, 1932.

in absentee balloting had been discovered in Surry County, there was no evidence that Fountain had been hurt by the irregularities.¹⁷

Meanwhile, the Fountain campaign still lacked funds and organization. O. L. Richardson of Union County wrote campaign headquarters, "A speaker cannot change many votes at this hour; an organizer can change hundreds."¹⁸ W. M. Whitaker estimated that Ehringhaus had spent about a dollar per vote in the first primary in Jones County.¹⁹ Thomas C. Bowie, a defeated candidate for the United States Senate in 1932, encouraged Senator John Hinsdale who was assisting Fountain in organizing the second campaign to make the people feel that Cameron Morrison, the second-runner in the Senate campaign, had requested the runoff primary. Bowie reasoned that the voters would not support a candidate who had caused additional tax expense during a depression.²⁰ James A. Bridger of Bladen County wrote that if Fountain were nominated, "there will be a number of politicians to bury, they are all fighting for Ehringhaus. If the people realize this, I cannot see why we would not get a big majority."²¹

However, support for Fountain from his own ranks was slipping. D. M. Fulcher wrote that the Carteret County situation was worsening. His campaign manager Charles R. Hassell was not working in the second campaign because of lack of funds. Fulcher reminded Fountain that Hassell had not

¹⁷Wilson Times, June 25, 1932.

¹⁸O. L. Richardson to John W. Hinsdale, June 21, 1932, Fountain Papers.

¹⁹W. M. Whitaker to John W. Hinsdale, June 21, 1932, Fountain Papers.

²⁰Thomas C. Bowie to John W. Hinsdale, June 21, 1932, Fountain Papers.

²¹James A. Bridger to James L. DeLaney, June 21, 1932, Fountain Papers.

been paid campaign expenses he had incurred during the first primary.²² In the same vein, Charles L. Braddy of Bladen County wrote that the second primary was an uphill climb "with the machine and money behind Mr. Ehringhaus."²³ W. R. Cates of Person County stated that not much work was being done in his area for Fountain. He added, "You are consequently losing votes which you should have and could get."²⁴ R. L. Huffman reminded the campaign leaders that Ehringhaus was providing transportation to the polls in Burke County.²⁵

The press, too, criticized Fountain during the waning days of the campaign. An editorial in the Durham Herald on June 22 was called "Grabs Another Plank." It denounced Fountain for adopting the textbook rental plank of the Maxwell platform during the second campaign.²⁶ The Rocky Mount Evening Telegram censured James L. DeLaney. An editorial, "DeLaney Got Job From Legislature," stated that DeLaney had sponsored the bill in the 1921 Legislature that created the Mecklenburg County Highway Commission. The editorial reported that DeLaney had been appointed as counsel for the commission with a retainer fee of \$500 and that he had served in this office from 1921 to 1931. The editorial concluded, "Fountain is skating on rather

²²D. M. Fulcher to Richard T. Fountain, June 22, 1932, Fountain Papers.

²³Charles L. Braddy to John W. Hinsdale, June 22, 1932, Fountain Papers.

²⁴W. R. Cates to Richard T. Fountain, June 23, 1932, Fountain Papers.

²⁵R. L. Huffman to James L. DeLaney, June 23, 1932, Fountain Papers.

²⁶Durham Herald, June 22, 1932.

thin ice when he criticizes Governor Gardner for appointing certain members of the 1931 general assembly to appointive state jobs created by that assembly."²⁷

On June 24, Secretary of State James A. Hartness released campaign expenditures for the three candidates in the first primary.²⁸ Ehringhaus headed the list with expenses of \$10,832.50. Maxwell was close behind with reported expenditures of \$10,793.85. In the preliminary report, Fountain listed expenses of \$1,460.30. In a second report, he listed \$1,034.93. Both of Fountain's totals included some funds used for the second primary. None of the candidates exceeded the legal spending limit of \$12,000 for the first primary. Legally, Ehringhaus and Fountain could spend up to \$6,000 on the second campaign.²⁹

As the final week of the second campaign began, it was becoming increasingly evident that Fountain was not gaining enough ground to eliminate the Gardner machine. Lennox P. McLendon, Ehringhaus' campaign manager, flatly predicted a one hundred thousand vote majority for Ehringhaus.³⁰ On June 24 during a speech at Franklin in Macon County, Ehringhaus accused Fountain of an improper campaign. He stated:

We find him in the second primary with a new platform but with a continuance of his cry against machine politics and to add to this one of his chief lieutenants had added the broad charge that 25,000 fraudulent votes were cast . . . in western counties.³¹

²⁷Rocky Mount Evening Telegram, June 24, 1932.

²⁸Charlotte News, June 24, 1932.

²⁹Charlotte Observer, June 25, 1932.

³⁰Charlotte News, June 24, 1932.

³¹Purveyor, Democratic Party Dissension, 114-115.

On that same day in Union County, Fountain, speaking at Monroe, implied that the election of Ehringhaus was equal to the imposition of a sales tax. He told his followers that the support of Ehringhaus by the major tobacco and electric companies would eliminate them from further taxation and that the burden of taxation would be borne by the state's consumers.³²

Fountain continued to receive discouraging reports from his workers. Correspondence to campaign headquarters still stressed the lack of funds for campaigning and for political organization. For example, H. Tray Odom, editor and publisher of the High Pointer, wrote, "If Dick Fountain is not elected, it will be because no one is rich enough to donate to his cause."³³ Henry Liles stated that he needed money to organize Anson County for Fountain.³⁴ Wade H. Lucas, a Raleigh columnist, believed that third runner Allen J. Maxwell would not publicly endorse either candidate in the runoff election. However, "it is the opinion of this writer that if it should become absolutely necessary Mr. Maxwell will announce his support of Mr. Ehringhaus."³⁵ Also, on June 24, former Governor Angus McLean in a Raleigh speech urged his listeners to vote for Ehringhaus.³⁶

With opposition mounting around him Fountain valiantly continued his campaign. On June 25, a form letter from Mrs. George A. (Florence) Iseley, chairman of the women's division of the campaign, was sent to prominent

³²Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 115.

³³H. Tray Odom to James L. DeLaney, June 24, 1932, Fountain Papers.

³⁴W. Henry Liles to James L. DeLaney, June 27, 1932, Fountain Papers.

³⁵Raleigh Times, June 24, 1932.

³⁶Greensboro Daily News, June 25, 1932.

women throughout the state. It stated in part:

During each administration in which the Machine is allowed to grow in strength by the creation of high salaried Bureaus and Commissions and by the coercion (sic) of State Employees, the voters of North Carolina are allowing a rope to be tightened around the neck of Democracy. An executive sponsored by the present administration would certainly carry on the present policy, and with even more daring encroachments on the 'rights of the People'.

In the First Primary, Dick Fountain received more than 115,000 votes. He had no money with which to pay workers or pay for expensive advertising. Everyone working for him did so because of their belief in the principles for which he stood and are now willing to double their efforts in his behalf.³⁷

A circular issued by Stanley S. Wohl, director of the Veterans' Committee of '70, appeared on June 25. This pamphlet urged veterans to support Fountain on July 2. Wohl stated that Fountain favored immediate payment of Adjusted Service Certificates. This action would bring almost \$40,000,000 into the state "to relieve the financial stringency and improve economic conditions."³⁸

On June 26, the Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel revealed charges made by DeLaney that George Ross Pou, Superintendent of Prisons, had written "each of his 230 employees . . . to get out and vote and work for Ehringhaus for governor and Harrison for United States Senate."³⁹ DeLaney was citing another government agency for forcing employees to vote for Ehringhaus in order to maintain their jobs.

³⁷Florence B. Iseley to Ella A. Hendry, June 25, 1932, Fountain Papers.

³⁸Stanley S. Wohl, "Dick Fountain for Immediate Cash Payment of Soldiers' Bonus," n. p., June 25, 1932, Fountain Papers.

³⁹Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel, June 26, 1932.

On June 28, Fountain headquarters sponsored a press release from Asheboro. The five-part statement was a last-ditch effort to unseat Ehringhaus. The first part stated that Fountain favored the payment of taxes in quarterly installments. Secondly, he desired a 6 per cent limitation on interest on delinquent taxes. Thirdly, the release charged that the Greensboro Daily News was supporting Ehringhaus only after an owner, Edwin B. Jeffress, had been appointed to public office. Fourthly, Fountain accused Ehringhaus of refusing to take a stand on taxation and insinuated that the sales tax people were supporting Ehringhaus. Finally, Fountain accused Governor Gardner of boasting two days after the first primary that he was responsible for the Ehringhaus lead.⁴⁰

During the final week of the second campaign, the Fountain headquarters received messages of support and hope for victory. For example, a telegram from five Maxwell supporters indicated their confidence in his campaign. It stated, "The machine has not given you a fair deal."⁴¹ Mrs. J. B. Spilman, vice-chairman of the Pitt County Democratic Executive Committee, wrote of her support for Fountain.⁴²

Fountain's aides continued to seek support for their candidate through a letter-writing campaign. John W. Hinsdale wrote:

⁴⁰News Release, June 28, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁴¹W. T. Boone to Richard T. Fountain, June 27, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁴²Mrs. J. B. Spilman to Mrs. George A. Iseley, June 27, 1932, Fountain Papers. In a telephone conversation with the author on June 12, 1974, Mrs. Spilman indicated that the letter was written on behalf of the majority opinion of the Pitt County Democratic Executive Committee and that she had voted for Ehringhaus.

Mr. Fountain represents the masses of the people. Mr. Ehringhaus, on the other hand, in my opinion, is backed by the special interests of the State. In fact, I know that the officials of the Reynolds Tobacco Company are supporting him.⁴³

Fountain himself entered the letter-writing campaign. He wrote, "I am fundamentally opposed to any form of sales tax. . . . I favor the immediate repeal of the present mercantile license tax." Fountain added cautiously that if necessary he would approve a "selected commodity" or luxury tax.⁴⁴

The final days of the campaign proved ripe for charges and counter-charges from the offices of the two gubernatorial contenders. On June 30, McLendon stated that "Fountain's campaign of demagoguery, denunciation, and misrepresentation had completely collapsed." DeLaney countered by asserting that the highway workers were actively working for Ehringhaus.⁴⁵ He also accused Ehringhaus of failure to report all his campaign donations and expenditures.⁴⁶

Fountain put himself into the fracas by telling voters that his opponent had not stated his position on the short ballot or on the sales tax, the two major issues, according to Fountain, of the second campaign. In addition, he continued to indict Governor Gardner for handling the Democratic political "machine" for Ehringhaus.⁴⁷

⁴³John W. Hinsdale to B. C. Rowland, June 29, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁴⁴Richard T. Fountain to W. H. Taylor, June 28, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁴⁵Purveyor, Democratic Party Dissension, 117.

⁴⁶News and Observer, July 1, 1932.

⁴⁷News and Observer, July 1, 1932.

On the eve of the second election, the press predicted an overwhelming Ehringhaus victory margin. For example, Wade H. Lucas indicated that Ehringhaus would win by more than 50,000 votes. He quoted Maxwell as describing the runoff primary as "featured by charges, counter charges and much mud-slinging."⁴⁸ On voting day, the Lucas column indicated that Ehringhaus remained in Raleigh and did not even vote in the runoff.⁴⁹

The first returns from the July 2 election put Fountain in the lead. A small Vance County precinct had given Fountain twenty-three votes and none for Ehringhaus.⁵⁰ But, this first report was not indicative of what was to follow. The final vote tabulations showed that Ehringhaus had succeeded in continuing his lead from the first race. Ehringhaus captured 182,055 votes and won fifty-eight counties. His greatest strength in vote-getting was in the Piedmont. On the losing side of the count, Fountain, whose greatest strength was in the rural, agricultural East, had garnered an amazing 168,971 votes.⁵¹

The hard-fought primary election was over. Now, all that remained was to assess the results and to reunite the party for the fall general election. Fountain indicated after the runoff that he would support the Democratic nominees in the fall in an effort to restore party harmony. In the days following the second primary, the newspapers examined the bitter

⁴⁸Raleigh Times, July 1, 1932.

⁴⁹Raleigh Times, July 2, 1932.

⁵⁰Raleigh Times, July 2, 1932.

⁵¹Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 119. For a county by county tally, see Appendix F and Appendix G for a map.

election. For example, an article in the News and Observer stated,

The force of the administration and the so-called 'machine' were obviously more interested in saving Ehringhaus than in rescuing Senator Morrison and as the Fountain onslaught gained additional ground it was apparent that the interest of Ehringhaus was being placed first.⁵²

Wade Lucas believed that there were three major reasons why Fountain almost beat Ehringhaus. First, Lucas wrote that Ehringhaus was handicapped because many of his public speakers also supported the defeated Senator Morrison. Secondly, he believed that Governor Gardner, speaking at a meeting of the Board of Trustees of State College, had said, "State College will never be moved from West Raleigh so long as I have any influence left and something happened last Saturday to make me believe I still have some influence in the State." Thirdly, Ehringhaus lost support because of the George Ross Pou letter to prison employees telling them to support Ehringhaus and Morrison.⁵³

In a second column, Lucas continued the theme of the decline of the victor. He stated that Governor O. Max Gardner's home base gave the election to Ehringhaus. Lucas reported that the 27th Senatorial District, composed of the counties of Cleveland, Henderson, McDowell, Polk, and Rutherford, gave Ehringhaus a ten thousand vote majority in the July 2 election. However, Lucas added that Gardner was not able to carry the full load for Ehringhaus. He cited the example of the loss of support for Gardner and Ehringhaus from employees of local government. Because of the

⁵²News and Observer, July 4, 1932.

⁵³Raleigh Times, July 4, 1932.

financial chaos of the depression, many local government workers were unemployed. This group tended to support Fountain.⁵⁴

The News and Observer noted that Fountain had carried the home counties of all the major appointive administrative officials except Guilford County, home of Edwin B. Jeffress of the Highway Department. Fountain had captured Anson County, home of Director of Personnel Frank Dunlap and Hertford County, home of Dunlap's assistant, Thad Eure. In addition, he had won Johnston, home of George Ross Pou, Superintendent of State Prisons, Mecklenburg, home of Executive Counsel Tyre Taylor, and Wayne County, home of Banking Commissioner Gurney P. Hood.⁵⁵

On July 9, 1932, J. C. B. Ehringhaus wrote his opponent. The salutation read, "My dear Governor." The letter asked for Fountain's assistance and advice for the November election in the interests of party harmony. Ehringhaus wrote, "There is in my heart no bitterness or resentment on account of anything that has happened in the campaign."⁵⁶

The next day, Sunday, July 10, nominee Ehringhaus issued a statement of victory. In requesting party unity, Ehringhaus said,

The very fine, generous, and sportsmanlike statement of Honorable Richard T. Fountain puts an end to the Primary contest. It is the deliverance of a loyal Democrat and a patriotic North Carolinian. I am grateful for his pledge of co-operation and support and accept it in the spirit of its offering. I can also sincerely and heartily reciprocate its every expression of good will and esteem.⁵⁷

⁵⁴Raleigh Times, July 5, 1932.

⁵⁵News and Observer, July 5, 1932.

⁵⁶J. C. B. Ehringhaus to Richard T. Fountain, July 9, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁵⁷Ehringhaus Statement, July 10, 1932, Fountain Papers.

On July 19, Richard Fountain answered the July 9 letter from Ehringhaus. In his reply he pledged to help reunite the party and to campaign for Ehringhaus in the fall general election.⁵⁸ However, Fountain fell ill from the strain of the arduous primaries. He was hospitalized in Tucker Sanatorium in Richmond, Virginia, for rest and observation. He wrote J. W. Winborne, Chairman of the North Carolina Democratic Party, that he would be unable to fulfill his promise of active campaigning. He pledged to conduct a letter campaign, but he would not be physically able to go on a planned speaking tour. He continued:

While I met defeat in the primary contest I am proud of the choices my party made. Led by Ehringhaus--able, honest, cultured and learned, we shall be directed only into the paths he believes will best sustain us. To his side I call my friends from every walk of life, for this is a joint undertaking. Kipling put it beautifully. Said he: 'The strength of the pack is the wolf, but the strength of the wolf is the pack'.⁵⁹

Even though Fountain expressed himself eloquently in his defeat, Mrs. Fountain revealed that he was very bitter after the election. He felt that he had lost an unfair election. According to her, the "election was stolen, no doubt about it."⁶⁰

The question remains, why did Fountain lose? Mrs. Fountain's answer was that the Ehringhaus campaign chest was heavily financed by the Hanes Corporation and the Reynolds Tobacco Company, while her husband depended upon small contributions from ordinary people during a depression. She

⁵⁸Richard T. Fountain to J. C. B. Ehringhaus, July 19, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁵⁹Richard T. Fountain to J. W. Winborne, October 7, 1932, Fountain Papers.

⁶⁰Mrs. Richard T. Fountain, personal interview with the author, August 13, 1971.

implied that her husband did not have the funds to conduct an extensive, expensive campaign. She added also that the Gardner machine provided reams of free publicity for Ehringhaus, whereas Fountain did not have the money to buy extra publicity.⁶¹

The primaries of 1932 can be viewed as a contest for personal power, the power of centralization versus the power of true democracy. Through centralization of government power, the people did not choose as many officials. Also, because of the consolidation of various boards and agencies, not as many people participated in the decision-making processes of government. The Gardner "machine" and its heir apparent argued that centralization and efficiency in public services implemented democracy. On the other hand, the Fountain allies argued that centralization denied political rights to the people. Fountain believed that the people should make as many decisions in government as possible.⁶² In any case, Fountain was arguing a dying cause. The state election and the national election of 1932 would prove a victory for big government. In North Carolina and in the nation, Ehringhaus and Roosevelt would ask the legislatures for tremendous amounts of money to combat the depression. New government agencies would attempt to provide for the economic needs of the people. Millions of people would look to government to solve their problems and government debt would increase by millions of dollars.

⁶¹Mrs. Richard T. Fountain, personal interview with the author, August 13, 1971.

⁶²Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 234.

Even though Fountain lost the primaries of 1932, he made an impact upon North Carolina politics. First, he was able to reduce the Ehringhaus victory margin from almost forty-seven thousand votes in the first primary to about thirteen thousand ballots in the second election. Secondly, he accomplished this by appealing to the "little man" and telling him he had no official backing from the Democratic establishment and no financial support by the large businesses of North Carolina. Thirdly, he showed the necessity for reforms in the government of North Carolina, such as the expansion of public education and the reduction of the influence of corporations and utilities in politics.⁶³

Ehringhaus, on the other hand, with no major political experience and conducting a campaign of generalities, had portrayed himself as the defender of the Democratic party. He had gained the friendship of the Gardner forces and the active support of the permanent Democratic organizations. With these assets and the positive support of the press, he was able to win the primary and subsequently the fall election. Perhaps Elmer Puryear describes this election best by writing:

This campaign gave additional evidence that the candidate for governor, backed by the conservative administrative machine, is almost impossible to beat in North Carolina. On the other hand it was encouraging to the liberal insurgents of the party, because it demonstrated that with a strong candidate, good issues, and hard work they had a chance to win control of state government and the Democratic Party. After all they had lost by only about thirteen thousand votes.⁶⁴

⁶³Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 119.

⁶⁴Puryear, Democratic Party Dissension, 120.

The primaries of 1932 continued the dominance of a "machine," a characteristic permeating North Carolina politics in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Yet, a man with no "machine" support had almost captured the governorship. Richard Tillman Fountain lacked 13,000 votes of more than 350,000 cast of being elected. He was a man who had almost no support from the media because he was attacking the established regime. He was a man, well-read and articulate, who appealed to the poor and ignorant. He was a man who had no major financial contributors. Instead, he depended upon volunteer campaign workers and small donations from people deeply in debt from the depression. In fact, he could purchase a minimum amount of political advertising and could not campaign personally in each county because of financial limitations. His political speechmakers such as Dr. James Yadkin Joyner, Senator Robert Baggett, Willie L. Lumpkin, John Hinsdale, and Mr. and Mrs. I. T. Valentine campaigned at their own expense. Yet, by attacking special interest groups like utility and tobacco companies and by denouncing the Gardner centralization proposals, Fountain garnered the votes of the economically deprived agricultural areas of North Carolina and almost became governor.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A: THE CANDIDATES

J. C. B. Ehringhaus

John Christoph Blucher Ehringhaus was born in Elizabeth City, North Carolina on February 5, 1882. His parents were Erskine and Carrie Colville Matthews Ehringhaus. He was educated in the Elizabeth City Schools and graduated in 1901 from the University of North Carolina where he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Delta Kappa Epsilon, and Gingham. In 1903, he received his law degree from the University of North Carolina and returned to Elizabeth City to practice law. He served in the North Carolina House of Representatives in 1905 and 1907. In 1911 he became the Solicitor of the First Judicial District and served in that capacity until 1923. Along with membership in the North Carolina Bar Association, American Bar Association, and the Episcopal Church, he served as the first president of the Elizabeth City Rotary Club. He married Matilda Bradford Haughton of Washington, North Carolina on January 4, 1912 and became the father of three children, J. C. B., Jr., and twins Haughton and Matilda.

Richard T. Fountain

Richard Tillman Fountain was born on February 15, 1835 at "Cedar Lane," the family plantation in Edgecombe County near Tarboro, North Carolina. He was one of eleven children born to Almon Leonidas and Sarah Louisa Eagles Fountain. He attended the Edgecombe County Schools and the Tarboro Male Academy. He received his law degree from the University of North Carolina in 1907 and joined the Rocky Mount Bar Association and later became its president. He also held membership in the North Carolina Bar Association serving as its vice-president in 1922-1923 and in the American Bar Association. He joined a cousin, G. T. M. Fountain, in the practice of law in Rocky Mount. The firm of Fountain and Fountain was formed in 1923 with a younger brother after his cousin's death. In 1911 Fountain became Judge of the Rocky Mount Municipal Court and served until 1918 when he was elected to the North Carolina House of Representatives. He was a representative in the general assemblies of 1919, 1921, 1923, and 1925. In 1927, he was elected Speaker of the House. During this time he was a Trustee of the Rocky Mount Graded Schools and on July 1, 1924, became Chairman of the Board of Trustees. He also served as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Eastern Carolina Industrial Training School for Boys in Rocky Mount. He maintained farming interests in Edgecombe County and was a director of the Home Building and Loan Association of Rocky Mount and of the First National Bank. In 1928 Fountain was elected Lieutenant Governor of North Carolina. On October 3, 1918, he married Miss Susan Rankin in Montreat, North Carolina, and became the father of four children, Susan Rankin, Lume Sloan, Margaret Eagles, and R. T., Jr.

He was a member of the Presbyterian Church, the Civitans, and the Knights of Pythias.

Allen J. Maxwell

Allen Jay Maxwell was born in Duplin County on January 24, 1873, the son of Hugh G. and Nancy Maready Maxwell. He was educated in the Goldsboro Public Schools. In 1898 he was elected Mayor of Whiteville. The next year he became a clerk in the state Senate and served as Principal Clerk from 1901 to 1910 when he became a clerk for the North Carolina Corporation Commission. From 1917 to 1929 he was Principal Clerk for the Corporation Commission. Between 1925 and 1929 he served as an ex-officio member of the Securities Commission. In 1927 he became president of the National Association of Securities Commissioners and in 1929 he was vice-president of the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners. In March, 1929 Governor O. Max Gardner appointed Maxwell as Commissioner of Revenue. He married Miss Della May Ward in April, 1893 and was a Baptist.

APPENDIX B: THE FOUNTAIN PLATFORM

If elected Governor, I promise you, insofar as it shall be within my power, to strive for the following things:

1. The putting into complete effect of the McLean Law--that is, the assumption by the State of the present 15-cent tax on land for school purposes.

2. All economy in government, insofar as such economy may be practiced, without interfering with the useful functions of government.

3. The abolition of the offices of Commissioner of Personnel, Executive Counsel, Governor's Council on Unemployment and Relief, and all other needless offices and commissions.

4. An administration of the public schools that will not interfere with their efficiency and a public health program commensurate with the needs of our people.

5. A statute providing for the rental system of school books, thereby reducing the cost to parents and guaranteeing every child necessary books.

6. A government not dominated by any powerful interest.

7. A return to Jeffersonian Democracy as contrasted with the present Hamiltonian tendencies in vogue in our State.

8. A full, direct and unequivocal repudiation of the so-called short ballot, leaving in the hands of the people the election of all their officers.

9. Making it a crime for any public official in North Carolina to attempt to influence or coerce the votes or opinions of those in his department.

10. The balancing of the State budget, for by this means alone can the State's credit be maintained.

11. A statute preventing the appointment by the Governor of any member of the General Assembly to any office of profit created by such General Assembly.

12. No encroachment by the Executive upon the rights and prerogatives of the Legislative Department.

13. Unequivocally to oppose a general sales tax, to oppose a luxury tax unless the imposition of one should become absolutely necessary to

balance the budget, and provide for the assumption by the State of the 15-cent school tax.

14. The support of the roads, State and County, by the gasoline tax, and to oppose the political activities of the present Highway Commission and favor a return to non-partisan attitude of the commission, as administered by Frank Page.

APPENDIX C: ELECTION RESULTS--FIRST PRIMARY

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>EHRINGHAUS</u>	<u>MAXWELL</u>	<u>FOUNTAIN</u>
Alamance	2,017	1,504	1,275
Alexander	378	397	92
Alleghany	129	197	439
Anson	2,041	688	1,794
Ashe	1,443	425	907
Avery	83	94	99
Beaufort	1,933	206	2,784
Bertie	696	362	1,586
Bladen	1,214	1,005	1,206
Brunswick	902	192	308
Buncombe	5,796	3,341	4,396
Burke	1,923	751	583
Cabarrus	2,609	2,267	154
Caldwell	836	361	137
Canden	1,163	101	79
Carteret	1,328	360	693
Caswell	974	367	167
Catawba	1,684	614	234
Chatham	1,279	557	1,212
Cherokee	621	665	393
Chowan	1,664	40	39
Clay	507	94	43
Cleveland	3,940	2,870	667

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>EHRLINGHAUS</u>	<u>MAXWELL</u>	<u>FOUNTAIN</u>
Columbus	2,400	1,323	1,405
Craven	1,752	843	2,109
Cumberland	1,975	2,441	1,010
Currituck	1,788	139	100
Dare	1,002	9	14
Davidson	2,911	1,360	252
Davie	600	216	55
Duplin	842	1,430	1,146
Durham	3,780	3,824	869
Edgecombe	412	337	3,919
Forsyth	5,132	4,306	1,292
Franklin	1,036	835	2,461
Gaston	3,430	4,092	955
Gates	1,084	90	62
Graham	280	282	10
Granville	1,405	1,258	1,129
Greene	573	105	1,833
Guilford	4,877	4,751	1,960
Halifax	1,967	867	3,953
Harnett	1,171	1,309	1,797
Haywood	3,550	1,150	1,189
Henderson	1,658	479	377
Hertford	836	109	1,295
Hoke	474	327	719

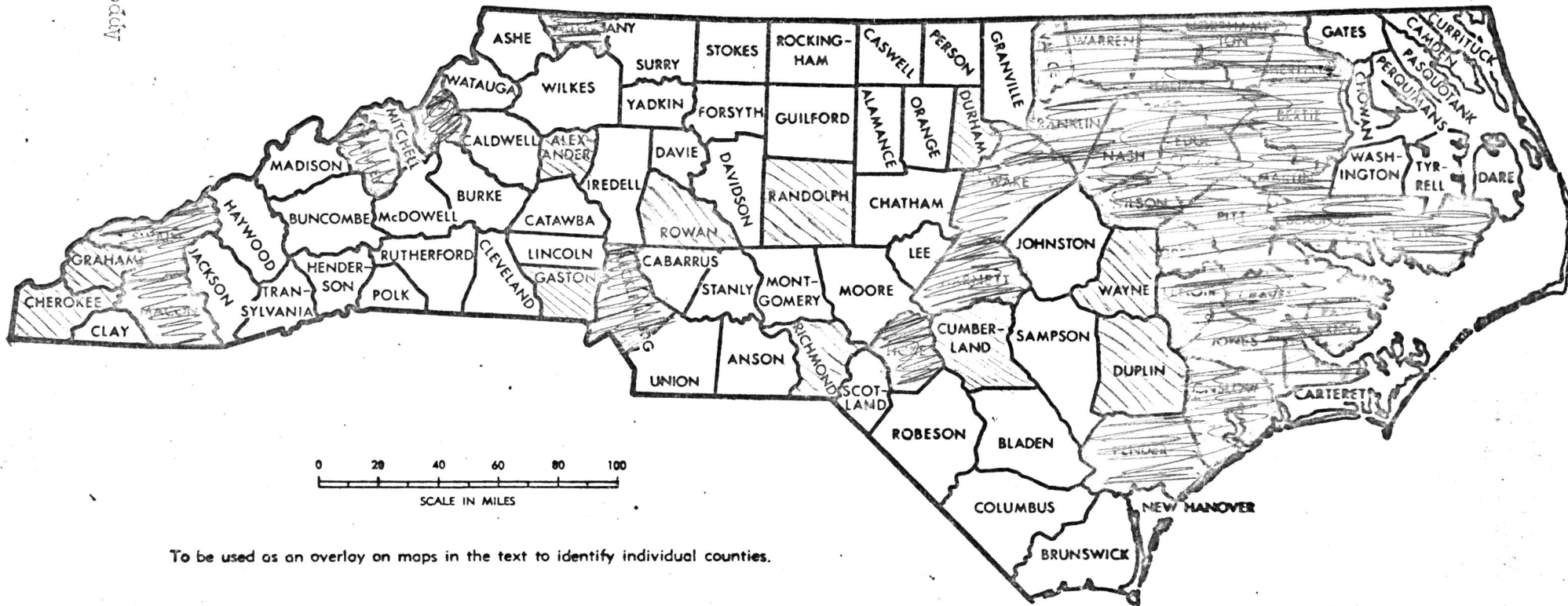
<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>EHRINGHAUS</u>	<u>MAXWELL</u>	<u>FOUNTAIN</u>
Hyde	619	172	787
Iredell	3,686	1,954	621
Jackson	1,705	315	201
Johnston	2,776	847	2,025
Jones	535	69	804
Lee	1,241	522	1,234
Lenoir	1,626	890	2,693
Lincoln	1,476	926	453
Macon	267	468	666
Madison	868	223	611
Martin	634	365	1,727
McDowell	2,734	597	135
Mecklenburg	5,164	4,800	5,388
Mitchell	101	176	148
Montgomery	1,011	764	607
Moores	1,220	1,152	1,200
Nash	569	379	4,964
New Hanover	2,635	2,167	2,216
Northampton	1,457	410	1,553
Onslow	712	498	1,178
Orange	1,321	591	376
Pamlico	358	118	821
Pasquotank	3,659	133	57
Pender	649	302	1,071

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>EHRINGHAUS</u>	<u>MAXWELL</u>	<u>FOUNTAIN</u>
Perquimans	1,616	48	27
Person	1,088	419	236
Pitt	1,504	649	5,249
Polk	1,505	210	85
Randolph	1,211	1,350	188
Richmond	1,201	2,378	1,305
Robeson	4,193	2,705	3,069
Rockingham	2,034	1,795	218
Rowan	3,462	3,824	930
Rutherford	3,981	1,383	1,017
Sampson	1,248	631	775
Scotland	1,125	1,097	591
Stanly	1,106	1,036	245
Stokes	972	277	341
Surry	2,349	912	107
Swain	304	319	362
Transylvania	1,019	380	377
Tyrrell	433	47	42
Union	2,495	2,136	1,225
Vance	1,393	819	1,664
Wake	4,280	3,093	8,946
Warren	790	689	1,391
Washington	854	197	423
Watauga	567	174	300

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>HEIRICHHAUS</u>	<u>MAXWELL</u>	<u>FOUNTAIN</u>
Wayne	1,029	5,211	976
Wilkes	1,985	669	296
Wilson	976	950	3,097
Yadkin	537	312	113
Yancey	<u>303</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>798</u>
	162,498	102,032	115,127

1932- FIRST DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Appendix D



To be used as an overlay on maps in the text to identify individual counties.

- Ehringhaus
- FOUNTAIN
- ⊖ MAXWELL

APPENDIX E: DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM--JUNE 16, 1932

COMMENDATION FOR:

1. State maintenance of public schools for six months.
2. State Highway Commission taking over public roads.
3. Purchasing Department.
4. Department of Personnel.
5. University consolidation.
6. Banking reorganization.
7. "These and other achievements mark the greatest advance in the State's history in economy administration, and in reducing taxation."

PARTY PROGRAM

1. Immediate revaluation of property.
2. Removal of fifteen cent ad valorem tax.
3. Balanced budget.
4. Maintenance of public education.
5. Strict economy in government--abolition of unnecessary state agencies.
6. Avoidance of additional taxes.
7. Enforcement of labor laws.

APPENDIX F: ELECTION RESULTS--SECOND PRIMARY

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>EHRINGHAUS</u>	<u>FOUNTAIN</u>
Alamance	1,964	1,648
Alexander	730	495
Alleghany	453	764
Anson	2,155	2,614
Ashe	2,035	633
Avery	152	111
Beaufort	1,482	2,940
Bertie	618	1,570
Bladen	1,268	2,250
Brunswick	726	271
Buncombe	7,417	5,551
Burke	2,438	757
Cabarrus	2,976	1,175
Caldwell	1,316	387
Camden	765	24
Carteret	1,083	712
Caswell	1,101	380
Catawba	2,610	982
Chatham	1,279	2,233
Cherokee	1,097	465
Chowan	1,362	49
Clay	779	22
Cleveland	5,373	2,318

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>EHRINGHAUS</u>	<u>FOUNTAIN</u>
Columbus	2,258	2,428
Craven	1,755	1,861
Cumberland	2,405	2,242
Currituck	1,665	151
Dare	900	14
Davidson	3,948	865
Davie	824	214
Duplin	836	2,057
Durham	4,241	3,603
Edgecombe	612	4,422
Forsyth	5,052	2,754
Franklin	1,113	3,239
Gaston	5,018	2,758
Gates	1,226	137
Graham	387	147
Granville	1,699	1,558
Greene	475	1,259
Guilford	5,394	3,813
Halifax	1,731	3,984
Harnett	1,069	2,426
Haywood	4,127	1,502
Henderson	2,013	717
Hertford	593	987
Hoke	534	1,094

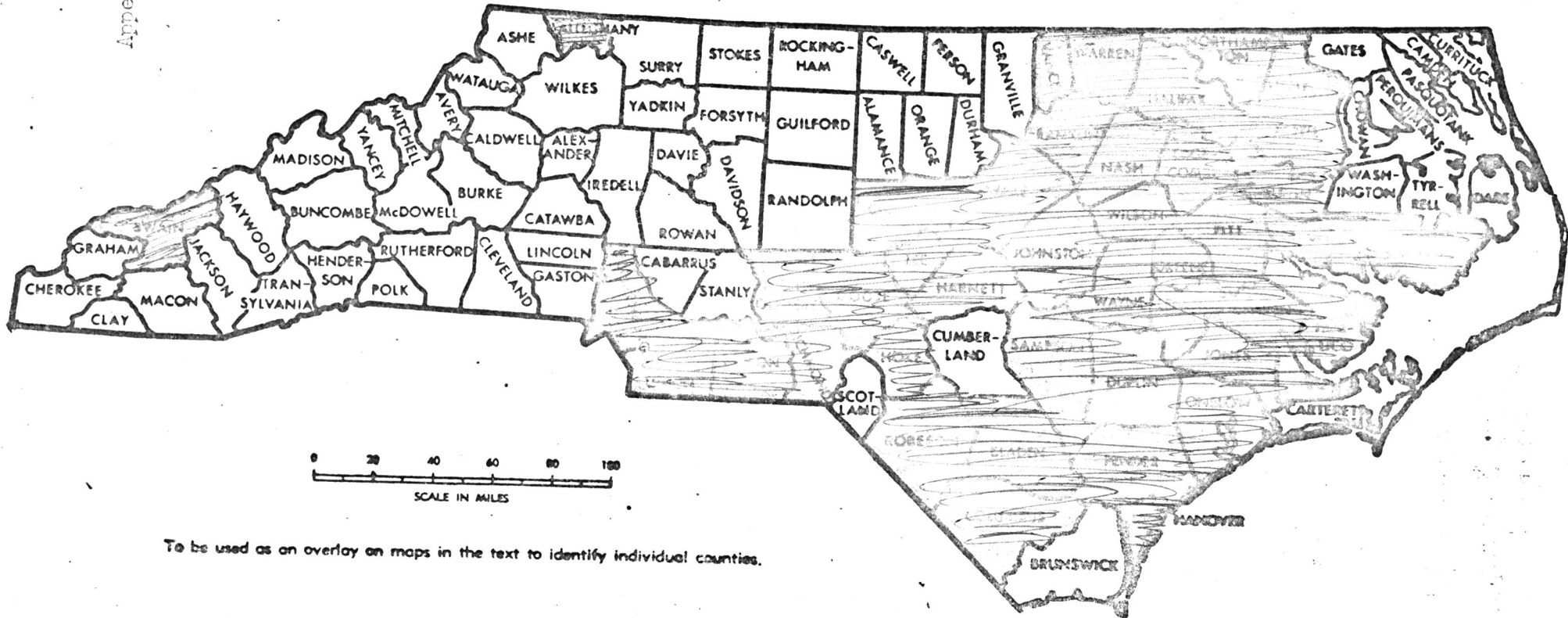
<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>EHRLINGHAUS</u>	<u>FOUNTAIN</u>
Hyde	740	1,054
Iredell	3,876	2,159
Jackson	1,878	287
Johnston	1,869	3,668
Jones	473	682
Lee	719	1,934
Lenoir	1,647	3,494
Lincoln	1,840	922
Macon	1,090	609
Madison	723	643
Martin	719	1,829
McDowell	2,133	510
Mecklenburg	7,215	7,624
Mitchell	240	206
Montgomery	910	1,334
Moore	1,163	1,673
Nash	910	5,814
New Hanover	3,335	3,409
Northampton	1,349	1,752
Onslow	850	1,475
Orange	1,360	574
Pamlico	366	932
Pasquotank	3,640	122
Pender	710	906

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>EHRLINGHAUS</u>	<u>FOUNTAIN</u>
Perquimans	1,753	47
Person	1,361	664
Pitt	1,369	5,381
Polk	1,529	236
Randolph	2,319	1,042
Richmond	1,780	2,696
Robeson	3,753	3,760
Rockingham	2,123	809
Rowan	3,930	2,119
Rutherford	3,911	1,144
Sampson	1,152	1,860
Scotland	1,247	1,173
Stanly	1,315	487
Stokes	748	367
Surry	3,285	539
Swain	520	764
Transylvania	1,334	556
Tyrrell	290	56
Union	2,514	4,114
Vance	1,482	2,258
Wake	4,062	10,256
Warren	753	1,666
Washington	802	569
Watauga	1,079	614

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>EHRLINGHAUS</u>	<u>FOUNTAIN</u>
Wayne	2,290	3,733
Wilkes	2,062	679
Wilson	1,040	4,175
Yadkin	625	222
Yancey	<u>818</u>	<u>786</u>
	182,055	168,971

1932- SECOND DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Appendix C



To be used as an overlay on maps in the text to identify individual counties.

○ Enringhaus
● Fountain

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. Manuscripts

Fountain, Richard Tillman Papers. East Carolina Manuscript Collection, East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina.

Maxwell, Allen Jay Papers. East Carolina Manuscript Collection, East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina.

B. State Documents

London, H. M. (ed.), North Carolina Manual, 1933. Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1933.

Newsome, A. R. (ed.), North Carolina Manual, 1929. Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929.

C. Published Papers and Addresses

Gill, Edwin (ed.), Public Papers and Letters of Oliver Max Gardner, Governor of North Carolina, 1929-1933. Raleigh: North Carolina Council of State, 1937.

D. Memoirs and Autobiographies

Rippy, J. Fred (ed.), E. M. Simmons, Statesman of the New South, Memoirs and Addresses. Durham: Duke University Press, 1936.

E. Newspapers

Charlotte News, 1931-1932.

Charlotte Observer, 1932.

Concord Tribune, 1931-1932.

Dunn Dispatch, 1931-1932.

Durham Herald, 1932.

Edenton News, 1931.

Elizabeth City Advance, 1931.

Elizabeth City Independent, 1929.

Fayetteville Observer, 1931-1932.
Gastonia Daily Gazette, 1931.
Goldsboro News-Arcus, 1931-1932.
Greensboro Daily News, 1929-1932.
Henderson Dispatch, 1931-1932.
Hendersonville News-Times, 1931.
Hertford News, 1931.
High Point Enterprise, 1931-1932.
Morganton News-Herald, 1931-1932.
Nashville Graphic, 1931.
News and Observer (Raleigh), 1931-1932.
Raleigh Times, 1932.
Rocky Mount Evening Telegram, 1929-1932.
Salisbury Post, 1931-1932.
Statesville News, 1932.
Wilson Times, 1931-1932.
Winston-Salem Journal, 1931-1932.
Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel, 1932.
Winston-Salem Sentinel, 1931-1932.

F. Periodical Articles

Ehringhaus, J. C. B., "Public Education Is of Paramount Importance."
North Carolina Teacher, VIII (May, 1932).
 Fountain, Richard T., "I Have Answered These Questions This Way
 Since Campaign Began." North Carolina Teacher, VIII (May,
 1932).
 Gardner, O. Max, "One State Cleans House." Saturday Evening Post
 (January 2, 1932).

Maxwell, Allen J., "Public Education Is the Supreme Aim of Our Social Democracy." North Carolina Teacher, VIII (May, 1932).

"What Gubernatorial Candidates Say About School Problems." North Carolina Teacher, VIII (May, 1932).

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. General Histories

Key, Jr., V. O., Southern Politics in State and Nation. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949.

Lefler, Hugh T., History of North Carolina, II. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1956.

Lefler, Hugh T. and Albert R. Newsome, North Carolina, The History of a Southern State. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963.

B. Biographies and Monographs

Morrison, Joseph L., Governor O. Max Gardner. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971.

Powell, William S. (ed.), North Carolina Lives: The Tar Heel Who's Who. Hopkinsville, Kentucky: Historical Record Association, 1962.

Purveyer, Elmer L., Democratic Party Dissension in North Carolina, 1928-1936, V. XLIV of The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962.

C. Periodical Articles

Tindall, George B., "Business Progressivism: Southern Politics in the Twenties." South Atlantic Quarterly, LXII (January, 1963).

D. Interviews

Fountain, Mrs. Richard T., personal interview, Rocky Mount, North Carolina, August 13, 1971, with the author.

Spilman, Mrs. J. B., telephone interview, Greenville, North Carolina, June 12, 1974, with the author.

E. Letters to the Author

Eure, Thad, January 13, 1974.