

Oral History Interview

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Well, as they say, in the beginning I was born on North Boylen Avenue, in what I suppose by now can be called "Old Raleigh." The lot that my parents bought when they came from Greensboro was behind "Elmwood," which is one of the historic houses now in Raleigh where Captain Ashe, the former historian of the state and former clerk of the U. S. District Court here, lived with his very large family. Our house was built by my parents in 1907 on a spot that had been his garden. North Boylen was one of the new developments then as Raleigh expanded from Blount Street to Hillsborough Street to South Boylen and Boylen Heights and North Boylen Avenue and later to Cameron Park, and then Hayes Barden.

Wiley's School was near by. As I've explained to my daughter quite some years ago. . . this was the old Wiley, she thought the Wiley that she was attending was too old and hoped to go to a new school. I went to the very old Wiley on the corner of West and Morgan Streets. It was a three-story, wooden building without benefit of any of the safety precautions that are now necessary in schools. It was a quite ramshackled, old building, but with some great teachers - Mrs. Shaywood and Mrs. Bates among them for whom a later school was named. Public schools in Raleigh at that time were not the best in the nation or as good as they were perhaps to become later, although they did have those good qualities. So, many people of my age and my sister who is three years older went to private schools. She went to Peace Institute which has an elementary and junior college program.

I was fortunate to go to a new school that was opened here in Raleigh that was known as St. Nicholas School which was out near State College. It was run by an Episcopal minister, Dr. Nicholas Collins Hughes, whose son Harding Hughes came to join him in the teaching and later came back to Raleigh as chaplain of St. Mary's.

He was instrumental in the religious and civic life of Raleigh for many, many years. Old Dr. Hughes was a classic; He believed in Latin and Greek and very strict discipline and even, which I'm sure would be frowned upon in educational circles in these days, listed all of his students from one to two-hundred-and-fifty in academic rating for each quarter. This was very flattering to the top ten and those who were near the top, and a little discouraging to those that were not. But, he was very thorough. I will always believe that Latin, however impractical it is in other ways, is an excellent background for those who expect to talk and write and understand the English language and its roots and meanings. I also found it very helpful when I spent over two years in Italy and was learning to speak Italian. I found my Latin was very helpful. I stayed on at St. Nicholas School. I would say that there were around two hundred and fifty students both boys and girls. They were from Raleigh families, but there were a few that were from nearby towns.

I stayed through my high school program and then went with Dr. Hughes to Blue Ridge School in Hendersonville. This was an interesting, small, mountain school. It was not like some of the rural, cooperative mountain schools there and certainly not like Asheville School which was a prestige school like Phillips and Grotan and others and catered mostly to out-of-state students. This was a small school. Except for the North Carolinians who were there, I guess the greatest number of non-resident students came from Latin and Central America for some strange reason. I don't know why except that they were looking for a southern climate and a place to be somewhere in the state and some arrangements had been made for them. Out of some three hundred, we probably had thirty or forty of these students that added a good deal to the school. There were benefits of being there and also in the summer camps in the Brevard area, which I was fortunate to attend for a couple of summers. You had the advantage in the Blue Ridge, of the mountain apples, and walks at night and also some canoe trips down the Brevard River and generally a good experience.

After that, being the son of a good strong Presbyterian mother, I was headed for Davidson. I have always liked Chapel Hill even in those days. They decided that I was a little too young to go to Chapel Hill. For various reasons I didn't go to Davidson although it certainly is one of the great schools in the country now. I stayed out a year and took some special work at N. C. State College where I had practically grown-up anyway being at St. Nicholas. We played football in front of Holiday Hall. The yard was a little bit bigger than it is now. At Red Diamond, we would have baseball games and we used the swimming pool. So, I felt at home at State. Incidentally, I mentioned with my Boylen Avenue residence another great advantage of my childhood days and for all of us in that rather productive neighborhood, I think there were twenty-one children on our block, but some of us at least had the advantage of St. Mary's being so near by. In the summer, we could play on their tennis courts and sometimes use their swimming pool and lawn and other things. At any rate, after I was at Blue Ridge for one year, I stayed at State for about a half a year, only for a semester, to take some of the things that my parents thought would be helpful to me, including some math and some penmanship. I'm not sure I learned too much in the penmanship course. I also took some bookkeeping. I suppose the thing that was the most helpful, other than the general experiences of being there, was a very fine course in public speaking which I have had occasions to do my share of since that time.

At Chapel Hill, I was in various student activities including being student body president, not my senior year but in my first year of graduate work which was the custom at that particular time. I had majored in American History and was even then very much interested in politics, campus politics of course, at that time. I took my Masters Degree in Political Science, and then after some indecision went on through Law School. This was, of course, the Depression time then in 1931 and 1932. We in

North Carolina, of course, felt the Depression much more than the stock market crash in 1929 because it was in 1932 that the banks were closing on their own and 1933 when Roosevelt declared the bank moratorium. Those of us that were over there found out that our checks from home were from banks that were now closed. So, with most of the people over there, it was a time in which you had to arrange some way to earn your room and your board and other things. I did this through most of my Masters Degree and a good part of my Law School work. In Law School, I was the manager of the Graham Memorial. This was not Frank Porter Graham, as the new one is, but the Edward Kidder Graham Memorial which was opened in that year. I had the good fortune at that time to be able to live in the building. It was a one-room apartment there where I worked with the cafeteria in there to make my money. I believe, as I recall now, as a full-time job it was a very tremendous salary for one who was still in school at that time. It was about a \$125.00 a month which in those days was great. With that, I was able to leave that job and go on through Law School. So, I got my Doctor of Jurisprudence. I believe they've changed it now to the Juris Doctor, this is honors in Law School. I got my Master's Degree in Political Science. Incidentally, it may be of some interest, I did a lot of my work under Dr. E. J. Woodhouse who was a very much beloved teacher there. He was not only loved because of his teaching which was very, very frequently from newspapers and current magazines. It was current topics in history. We talked about what's going on in politics here and there. It was partly under his influence and my own interest first in campus politics and then in other outside politics that I wrote my Masters' thesis on the "Powers and the Duties of the Governor of North Carolina under the Constitution of 1868." As you know, it took us about one hundred years before we really revised our constitution. We still use the old 1868 basis which, for its time and considering that it was drawn-up in the Reconstruction Period, was quite a remarkable document. My thesis being that although

North Carolina then as before and since has never granted the veto and the governor does not have full powers as the political head of the state, the governor of the state has always been a very powerful figure in the state government. I suppose he is as powerful as any state governor even those that do have the veto power.

During that time at Chapel Hill in between Graduate School and Law School, another political campaign was coming up, and I was interested in it. I had gotten interested in those late days in the Young Democratic organization. Governor O. Max Gardner had formed the Young Democratic organization many years before. I think it was about the time in one of the William Jennings Bryan campaigns, there was a Young Democratic movement in which Gardner as a very young man participated. He then, of course, ran for governor in 1920 and in a very close race lost-out; and then was elected without any opposition whatsoever, an unprecedented achievement, in 1928. I mention him because he was interested in these Young Democrats. They played a very important role in the 1928 election, which was the Hoover-Smith election, in which it was feared that the state was going Republican not only in the national elections but also in the state elections. The Young Democrats had a great deal to do with it. I was a little too young to participate in that. But, the Young Democratic organization got underway, and I was active in it.

With the 1932 national elections coming up, I came over from Chapel Hill and called on Tyre Taylor who was a former Chapel Hill graduate. He had distinguished himself, among many other things, by being the only student to ever refuse being taken into the Golden Fleece, the highest Honor Society at Chapel Hill. I was a member of that after my student body year incidently. So, I couldn't understand that particular action of his. So, I went down to see Tyre anyway and out of that grew one of the most interesting experiences in my life in politics or anything else. He was Governor Gardner's secretary at that time. This is during the Spring of 1932, with

the Roosevelt election coming up. Tyre was trying to organize a National Young Democratic organization, because there were groups of young Democrats in several states. So, my connections with him multiplied from occasional weekend visits and sometimes during the week to attending one meeting in Washington, D. C. in which he called together twelve or fourteen states that had some form of Young Democratic organizations to begin some sort of National Young Democratic program. This may have been in 1931.

In 1932, as the election grew near, he decided that we ought to have a National Young Democratic movement underway to participate actively in the National Democratic Convention. So, we had a very small staff here in Raleigh. In fact, it consisted of Tyre who was out of the governor's office, a very attractive and brilliant young lady, Lula Martin McIver Scott, who was active in politics later on, and myself. We formed a three man team. Many people were advising us. Tyre with his wide imagination and lack of inhibitions of any kind got in touch with National Democratic Headquarters and got their assistance and their permission for us to put on a National Young Democratic dinner during the Chicago Convention. So, off we went. I went up about a week earlier knowing nothing about what I was doing. We went on to Chicago and set up headquarters in the LaSalle Hotel. We followed up on the calls we had been making all over the country. We had called all the prominent people we could think of to ask them if they would be speakers for free at our National Young Democratic Convention. Many of them, Will Rogers particularly, was very undecided whether he would or not until he heard about it as it developed. Anyway, in Chicago by a whole string of miracles, we pulled together a tremendous dinner. I don't know how many people attended there at the LaSalle Hotel, but it was an overflow crowd of several hundred. We had none other than Will Rogers who did appear as the MC. Robert Maynard Hutchins then at the very height of his fame, was the keynote speaker.

Will introduced him as Nicholas Murray Butler, and then quickly corrected himself and said, "Well, he's the Nicholas Murray Butler of the Democratic party." We had Admiral Richard Bryd who was at his fame then. We had the Oklahoma Kilties for some music and an Ohio Men's Choral Group. It was just a tremendous event.

In the Convention itself, we were able to see the remarkable convention when Roosevelt won the nomination. In one of the first of his unprecedented moves, he came in to personally accept the nomination. I think that that had not been done before. It was a very dramatic flight because they would say his plane is approaching here, he's getting nearer here, he's landed here, he is in the car. Then he came and his son James and someone else lifted him up. The huge man that he was, they lifted him up onto the speaker's platform with his smile and marvelous personality. He made this wonderful acceptance speech at that time. I may be incorrect about that, but I'm almost sure this was the time in which he said, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." We never would have done this except for Mayor Cermak who was later the victim of an assassination attempt. We didn't know whether they were aiming at him or the President. It wasn't clear, but Mayor Cermak at that time was the Power in Chicago. He was the Boss! He had a young handsome son-in-law who he had designated head of the Young Democrats and was speaking for mayor. So, when he said, "We want a police line and we're going to have a parade," or whatever we wanted done, it got done. So, the Young Democrats at this convention had quite a time. Of course the memory that I was speaking of particularly was just being there. I think before I cast my first vote, I was 21 or 22 then. That is, at least it was not in a presidential campaign. But, to be there, it wasn't the badge that got me in, something like honorary assistant Sergeant-of-Arms, which was just something to get us in the door. It wasn't anything of a feeling of personal pride as much as being a part of that really tremendously historic occasion.

[Any other comments concerning Tyre Taylor?]

Well, Tyre was a brilliant young man. He did not continue active in politics. His main contribution, of course, was that he was the founder of the National Young Democrats organization and there is no doubt about that. He was the one that pulled it together and was its first unofficial president until we had general conventions and elections. He set a fine note for it. Shortly after that, however, he went on to Washington and did not take any other part as far as I know in state politics. He had been very active with Governor Gardner. He was also very active for Governor Gardner's successor, Governor Ehringhaus, through that campaign. He organized Ehringhaus's campaign. I mentioned having seen him over here where I met him. He wanted to organize a Young Democratic Club for Governor Ehringhaus in that campaign. At his request, I headed that. That was my connection with Tyre. He was a reader, he was a thinker. He was not particularly noted as a speaker. He was a behind-the-scenes worker. He was not one who would have run for office but he would be a great organizer and string-puller. After Tyre left here, he went with a trade organization there and he became more and more conservative. He was quite a liberal at least in the Governor Gardner tradition which was a liberal tradition for those years anyway. Tyre became conservative. I don't know if he did it because of a particular position or what. He was with the trade organization in connection with textiles. I believe he was first with cotton textiles, and then he went with another trade organization and did well in the businessway. But, he became very bitter about national government and took no part so far as I know in state politics or national politics thereafter. This was too bad, because they lost a talented man.

[Speaking in terms of the elections during that period of 1928 through 1932, are there any thoughts or contacts or observations concerning such people as Cornelia Petty Jerman or Fernifold Simmons or Josephus Daniels who were real powers in politics along with Governor Gardner?]

Well, although now I am not among the Young Democrats, but at that time these were all far older people. I think I never personally saw Fernifold Simmons, Senator Simmons. I have certainly read a lot about him, and he in a reverse way rather shaped my career. Mrs. Palmer Jerman was one of the many women in the state who came into prominence as pioneer women in politics. She was one of the greats as was Mrs. Anne Bost who succeeded her later. I worked with Mrs. Bost and knew her very well. The young woman of the time who for some strange reason was disassociated, by an accident I think, from the National Democratic Movement was the first and prime organizer of the North Carolina Young Democrats, Mrs. May Thompson Evans. She was later head of the public employment service here in the state. I did not even know her. We talked about that later. She and Dewey Dorsett, who was later Chairman of the Industrial Commission here in this state, Doyle Alley from Waynesville and Edwin Gill were the ones that were very active in forming the state Young Democratic organization. This is a matter that is worthy of a historical study of its own, what the Young Democrats have done here in the state by bringing sort of a new diminsion to politics in the state.

[Did John Lang get involved in that, or was he totally with the National Student Federation concept?]

John was active in the Young Democrats but not in the organization stages so much. He was later. I'm not sure when he went to them. I was in the National Student Federation with John. He and I went to a meeting. I went to two meetings, one time as the incoming student body President and the next time as a member of the national board of directors of the National Student Federation. He came in a little bit later although we were in the same class there. John, I suppose, was some sort of delegate-at-large up there. Then, he got on the board and soon was president of the National Student Federation. Incidentally, I can't overlook this among the other fortunate and memorable experiences in my time. The head of the National Student Federation when I went up there

was I thought the most handsome and brilliant and gallant young man and the best speaker I had ever heard. That was Edward R. Morrow. He later went on with an International Education Program or whatever it was called and then got into broadcasting.

[Mennen Williams was also involved in that, was he not?]

I had no connection with him. I don't know. I remember him as Governor of Michigan, but I did not know him in connection with the National Student Federation. That was a great experience. You met students from all over the country. That and the Young Democratic thing on the national level too, they were both great experiences.

Incidentally, if I may get off from that just one moment, to the Scottsboro case. I see the last of the Scottsboro persons who were convicted of that thing were pardoned. Their guilt I have always felt was in doubt and so did Ed and many others at the time. He wanted some of us not officially for the National Student Federation to go into Scottsboro. This was far beyond my reach and knowledge and anything else. I never did go and I don't know what they did, but Ed wrote to a few of us who had been on this national board. This must have been about 1933 after he had left the presidency, but he said that the most interesting things in the world today are going on in Russia. He said we must go over there and get five or six of us and go over there without any preconceived notions and see what we as student leaders can find out for ourselves and people over here. I thought that this was going to be the greatest opportunity in the world. He was going to get some sort of way for us to go whether it was foundation money or whatever it was. Unfortunately, it never materialized, but it was still an exciting thought to think about. Incidentally, it took me from then until last year with the UNC tour to get to Russia.

[Did the Federation become involved in the Scottsboro affair?]

No, it did not as far as I know. This was Ed's idea because he had an exploring and inquisitive mind and a sharp ear and head for injustice. He felt that this was wrong and that these people had not had a fair trial. It was not only racial but it

was all the prejudices and discriminations that may come in a prejudiced area even to the court system. He though was anxious for us to look into it. I suppose that at that time, he may not have even been in the National Student Federation. He had then gone into some international educational work.

Well, let's see now, going back to the Young Democrats, I have spoken of May Thompson Evans who with her husband, Judge Evans who was later on the Court of Claims in Washington. They were the real organizers in the Young Democrats in North Carolina. She was brought in by Capus Waynick, who was well-known in the state in many different capacities.

When they formed a Public Employment Service here in North Carolina, they called on the departments of labor largely to come to a special meeting in Washington to see about this really great unemployment just when Roosevelt had taken office in 1933. At any rate, they asked each secretary of labor to designate someone to come to a meeting to talk about forming a National Employment Service as a temporary basis for the State Employment Service under the United States Employment Service. Well, Capus Waynick went out and became appointed. He was sent out by Major A. L. Fletcher who was the head of the department of labor here. He was sent out there to talk about it or maybe he was the one who was nominated. Anyhow, he became the National Re-employment Service Director, the first one in the state. I must mention this interesting incident out there. He said that there were people from different states to be considered for these jobs and to talk about it. There was one who was sort of an ordinary looking fellow, and if they had had to take a vote, they would have certainly voted him the least likely man of the entire group of forty-eight that went out there to hold office. He was later appointed to this re-employment directory post and that was Harry S. Truman. Isn't that interesting, because you remember what a meteoric rise he had after that. But then, he was a sort of a country judge in Missouri at that time and he had not been in the U. S. Senate. He had not begun his career.

But at any rate, Capus came back here and headed that up. He asked May Evans to be his assistant. She did, and they had worked together in the Young Democrats. She became his assistant organizer of the National Re-employment Service for North Carolina. Then, on the Wagner-Peyser Bill which was enacted in 1935, they set up a State Employment Service which was the purpose of the temporary National Re-employment Service. May Evans was the first director of it. She went over to ask Frank Graham at the university where she could get some young man to be her administrative assistant. He was kind enough to mention my name among others. So, she called me over. As I've said, we had been working in Young Democratic circles, but at that time, I didn't really know her at all. She asked me if I would work in this brand new agency that I had never even heard of, and I replied no that I didn't think I would. Finally, as we talked, I was just finishing up Law School after an interrupted course in law with my Graham Memorial work and others. I decided it was a flattering offer. I should have had sense enough to realize what it was, but I thought, well I'll do this for six months and pay off my Law School debts. I ended up serving in this service until I got into World War II. That was about six years. That was a great experience.

May went on to become one of the Co-Chairman of the Women's National Democratic Committee in Washington. She left here about a year later in 1937. I had been her administrative assistant which is sort of an assistant director of it. But, this had nothing to do with my succeeding to her job, because I think at that time May came in with three thousand dollars a year for head of an agency (it would now be thirty thousand). It was a very good job for those times. Another criticism for those times was that a woman was holding a job.

Anyway, she left and I would have had no chance to be director of the service except for the fact that the United States Employment Service, which was paying me most of the bill for these services, had determined upon a system of merit examinations

upon which the people were to be selected. So I was fresh from my Masters examinations and my law examinations and taking the Bar Examinations, so I was really ready for the examination. When I took it, I was fortunate to place at the top of the list. While they could select from the top three of the people, I believe there was one almost definite appointment and perhaps another one until the examinations came out and the people didn't want to take examinations. So, I came in as director of this service which now has developed into the Employment Security Commission. I was 26 then. I was the youngest director of this program. They had one in each of the 48 states. I stayed on with it and it was a great experience. We had about 75 offices in the state. Most of them were small offices that had been put together hurriedly. It was not a very scientific organization. But, through May and some of the people who came down, we all had stars in our eyes and worked awfully hard. We thought we were doing a very important work in those times, and I think we were.

[This is not related to the agency with Mrs. J. B. Spilman, is it?]

Yes. She was with that later on. You see, this was the Public Employment Service that began before unemployment compensation came in. First, you had the Employment Service, and then as government sometimes works, when this new service came in it was supposed to be linked with it. It was later. So, it became the overall agency. Those of us in the Employment Service thought jobs ought to come first before paying unemployment. But, this is one of the things that works out. My appointment was through Governor Hoey because it was just about the change from the Ehringhaus to the Governor Hoey administration. At any rate, she was one of the three appointees that Governor Hoey made on what was then the Unemployment Compensation Commission, which combined the Employment Service and this new Unemployment Compensation. They were the two equal divisions under the three-man commission. Mr. Charlie Powell was the chairman and Colonel A. L. Fletcher was the other member and also Secretary of Labor and Mrs.

Spilman. Then the name was changed later to the Employment Security Commission rather than the Unemployment. The emphasis was back nearer to what it was at first, on the employment part of it or the employment security as it became known. As I've said, I stayed with this Employment Service. Incidentally, I went out to some of the meetings of the national group. I went to one or two of those meetings. I was on their board. I served as National President in 1941 in what was then the International Association of Public Employment Services. It still goes on and is rather an influential organization in this whole field of employment security. I served there until I went into the army in April of 1942.

Well, that was an abrupt break of course. I was commissioned as a first lieutenant in the Air Corps and was headed for Maxwell Field. The people in the United States Employment Service had all been commissioned in the Army Service Force Headquarters in Washington because they were recruiting people for handling the civilian manpower problems for the Army. So, they asked me to come up there, and I persuaded them that that was the place where my talents might be better suited than whatever I might have been doing in the Air Corps. I am sure that would have been some sort of personnel position or something of the like at the time. Then, I served in the Army Service Force Headquarters for fourteen months or about a year. I then was switched over to the Allied Military Government.

[What were your duties during this year?]

Jim Mitchell, who was later Secretary of Labor and was brother of Tom Mitchell who played Scarlett's father in Gone With the Wind, was head of the civilian personnel division of Army Service Force Headquarters. A group of us who had been in some type of personnel employment works served with him. Our job was to chart the civilian personnel not only in military units but also the civilian personnel problems that arose in military suppliers. For instance, we had a tour of most of the large aircraft factories that were just coming into their own at that time. We also went to see the Kaiser Ship Works. This was not that we could do anything in a visit,

but we could see the people who were in charge of personnel there and tie in their recruitment with army policies. That was the chief work there. That was very interesting work.

After about a year, I was ready for something else. Being interested in government, I applied for a transfer to military government. I went to the military government school. It was a short school at that time because time was wearing on, I was sent out to Fort Custer near Detroit. Our unit was not a fancy unit like they had in Charlottesville and two or three other places. It was a little different kind of military government because we were connected with the military police. They were looking more at civic government in occupied areas which all of us got involved in. The particular unit that I was assigned to rather than the Charlottesville group was this one. I had a side benefit there because after my having been on the wrestling team there at Carolina, they had a little course in judo which I found fascinating. I wish I had had that when I was going through college wrestling. It was a good experience too.

Since they did need people in this employment field overseas in the allied military government, I was shipped out a little early from the school. There weren't as many people with experience in this field as there were in some of the others. In fact, I only had about a month there at Fort Custer. We went through Patrick Henry on a liberty ship. We came on up through Africa just waiting for an assignment there.

There were some worlds of experiences just going through Africa and seeing those troops coming back from the battlegrounds. They were British boys mostly and were pitiful sights. They had been with Montgomery through that. I was later assigned to the Eighth Army Group that was called "The Desert Rats" and so forth. I had the privilege of knowing those English people who wherever they were made themselves at home as if they were going to be there forever. They had been in the war for six years, and we had just gotten in it. When they set up a tent, they had all of the conveniences,

a bottle of Scotch, a deck of cards and often a hunting rifle. They would indulge in the nicer things in life until the bombing came and then they would all go to their duties or wherever they were supposed to be. They are certainly most admirable people.

At any rate, in this military government, and I think this is perhaps the most interesting part of my own experiences in it, I was sent down from North Africa into Sicily for a short while. Then I was taken over on one of the transport boats to Brindisi which is, as you know, in the very bottom of the boot of Italy. The reason for that was that Colonel Beatle Smith and General Maxwell Taylor had just had that spectacular, daring, heroic mission to see King Victor Emmanuel and persuade him and Marshall Badoglio to come with the Allies. The Fascists were still there, and the Nazis were still in there. Of course, Mussolini was still there although he had moved on up north by that time. But, they took Badoglio and brought him down to Brindisi to work with the Allied government in starting up a new holding government for Italy. There was a small group of us in military government to work with these people from Rome who had been brought to Brindisi and was later moved to Salerno to work with the new Italian government. So, as it was, not because of any special abilities although I had had some experience in there, I was down there as the Allied government connecting link with the newly appointed minister of industry, commerce and labor for this new government.

The government was nothing but about five or six men. This young boy, who like nearly everyone else whether by choice or necessity, no one will ever know, had been a part of the Fascist government as a very minor employee there. The boy at least had the virtue of wanting to get out in a hurry. He had been riding his bicycle several days to get down to Brindisi. He was about the only English-speaking Italian down there and was very useful in representing everything. We did not know what he was going to ask to get the government started. He said the main thing they needed was some paper, pencils and paper clips. So it goes in government. A typewriter would have been almost

unheard of down there. This was the time of blackouts and the power lines were still out and all the rest.

[Well, was this much more than a shadow government?]

Well, it had no subjects at that time. Italy, from Naples on north, was still under Fascist-Nazi control. Now down south, they had not penetrated as deeply or as fully except . . . well not militarily anyway. This was no official government, except that with King Emmanuel's consent or connivance Badoglio was forming what would be a government as soon as they could take over. This became the government. In my time there, for another sixteen or eighteen months I suppose, there were six different ministers of industry, commerce and labor. Most of these came from the Christian Democratic Party. I served in one capacity or another as a link between the Allied Military Government and this part of the government. One of those, the last one I served with, I was then the official Colligomento or liaison officer to him. I had my office with him in Rome for awhile. He later became President after the war some years afterwards, Giovanni Gronchi, a name that you may remember. I had learned to speak Italian reasonably well, and on one or two occasions, not of necessity, I made a radio talk, a recorded talk with the aid of a guidebook. I got so I could converse in Italian reasonably well. Gronchi also knew some English. Their job in Rome and other places along with ours was to see about the restoration.

Another branch of government of which we worked very closely, was the Major Jopolo branch. The man who worked in place of the mayor when the mayor was not there, Podesta, as they called him. They really managed the government. Our part was in seeing that the government, whether you were talking about a military industrial plant or a waterworks, that they had some kind of labor and somebody in charge of it and some sort of supply.

The most fascinating part for me, working not on the city level but with the na-

tional government level, was the work with the former labor unions. They, in Italy as in Germany, were some of the first things that the totalitarian governments would take over in order to control those people. They would take them over and completely change their character but continue to use them for their purposes, just as they took over the industrial guilds and kept them carefully organized in Italy and Germany too and used them for their purposes. The labor unions had been completely distorted and corrupted from their purposes of serving the working people. In doing it, they all had to be in the underground and they had to get what help they could. The best organizers of them were Communists. They had organized them under the Red Flag. Our government here sent over two national labor leaders, George Baldanzi from CIO and one Ontineli from AF of L. They had not merged at the time. They sent them over to work with the military government to see if they could persuade these people that there was a difference in a labor union and a political party. Here, when you are forming a new government, the unions should not operate under a Red Flag, whether their own or Russia's; but they should concentrate on the labor angles and leave off officially at any rate any partisan political group. So, that was our job. We had the most interesting meetings with the government officials there. This was a fascinating part, because this was one of the points in history where the older Italian leaders who had been head of the Christian Democratic Party. It was the major controlling party over there for many, many years and still is to some extent. It is less now, unfortunately, than it was. There was also the Socialists, and many other parties. These men were still around, but they were "has beens." They were called back in. Count Schwartz was another one of them as well as the great Socialist leader, Nini, I believe it was, and Togliati, the Communist leader. These men all met with this group of labor leaders that had come over from America, our military government group. The man that headed this up, Ex-mayor Bill O'Dwyer of New York,

William O'Dryer came over with the general's status and brought this group together. It was a very memorable meeting. It was said in affect that I am from a different country and a different interest and cannot tell you what you ought to do, but I can tell you what I would do if I were in your place. He made a marvelous, effective speech for them giving up the politics and getting down to the job of helping to reorganize their country as labor unions which we would want to recognize.

It was very interesting in a little later period when we were trying to do the same thing after the Italian government had taken over and we had moved on up. I was in Trieste with the Pole Corps then and the same questions came up. As you remember the Yugoslavs occupied Trieste immediately preceding the sort of liberation and the Italians came back in and took over at that time. The Yugoslavs didn't really withdraw their military units. They took off their uniforms and commandered one or two buildings and stored their uniforms and their guns in these buildings in case they needed them. They thought we didn't know that but our military intelligence had the information that these people were still around. There was a man named S T O K A there then, who then was Tito's representative in Trieste. He argued bitterly about this business of taking the unions out from under political control. He said, "Now this is fine in the United States where you have some kind of a democracy. But over here the very people that you want to give all the power back to are the Fascists who did all of these things and killed us whenever they got a chance to, who tortured us and wrecked the country. Now, you're saying to let these workers and the labor unions be free to be managed by these people instead of by us. We're not going to stand for that." He had some practical points there but we still felt he was wrong. So there were various compromises. One of the compromises that I remember was in the Triste shipyards which was being closed. Under some Communist directions, although I don't like to blame Tito for all the Russian Communist tac-

tics, but these workers had been taught they owned the factory. They proceeded to take the machines apart piece-by-piece and began to take the machines home with them. So, the shipyard couldn't continue to function.

Some of us were just as bad in a different way. We had a kind of a WPA Program. We had to make work for some of these Italians. So they were going to dig some great ditches. I don't know what we were covering up or digging, but there was a great digging operation. It employed all these people to do it. The army engineers got hold of it and sent down some of their ditch diggers and did all the work in about a day or two, and we had no shovel-work left for these people and it had been strictly a made work project that somebody had thought up over there to do.

My experience was in the military government where we were on the verge of the fighting and the background of the fighting. Occasionally, we would be in the towns where shells would fall. Frequently these air raid alarms were sounded and sometimes bombs were dropped, but not on the front line of fighting the military. Some of your people were. Ours was a governmental organization behind lines in the hope of helping to restore the government as our first cobelligerent and later allies.

[Well it seems as far as the WPA type of work, there would have been a great deal to have been done in a former combat zone in the way of rebuilding and what have you.]

Yes. There were so few things to do it with at that time, it was very difficult. Your basic problem was trying to find someone who had not been too indoctrinated as a Fascist to take over some posts that required technical skills. Finally, they almost abandoned that because if you were a school teacher for an example, you had to be a Fascists. It was not like the Communist party in Russia, as it is now, where you have to be invited to join. Here, if you did any type of public work, you simply had to be a member of a little Fascist unit. How much a person had believed in it depended on the individual and the case. But the fact was that if you wanted to get

an engineer to do something at the water works plant or the sewage plant or something else, just any type of engineering or scientific work, you'd ask him where he was and what he'd done, but you almost had to forget to ask him whether or not he had been a Fascist because he would not have been able to be there if he hadn't payed some allegiance to them at the time. It was hard during our time there, as there were no great public works projects. There was a hand-to-mouth existence to try to keep people alive, and to try to keep down disorder and disease and restore the semblance of government that could become a government.

[I reckon anarchy was the greatest threat there. Well, many of these technically trained people who obviously had Fascist backgrounds, did you find that in many cases this was more or less a lip service support of Fascism or was this a necessity for them to attain a special position?]

Let me give you an example. This may not be typical, but I rather have a feeling that it is. In this tiny little town of Brindisi down there where we were for a while just sitting and waiting to do something and move on somewhere, there wasn't too much to do during the days because you only had one or two men to work with. There was a little school teacher named Ugo Galoso who put something in his window about "English Spoken." So, we looked him up, and a group of us studied Italian with him. Incidentally, he taught us the few words he knew by singing old folk songs, battle songs, and nursery rhymes which would give you the rhythm of the language. This was a marvelous way to teach a language. We had little pocket dictionaries and so forth. He told us his story. He said he was a young man in 1921, when the call went out for one man from each little commune to come to Rome. He was chosen as a 20 year old school teacher to come to Rome because something important was happening there. This was the time when the Bolsheviks as he called them and the other people that were dissatisfied with Italy (you remember how dissatisfied Italy was after Versailles), felt they had been treated badly after World War I. There was

unemployment with disorder in the streets, and all kinds of things were going on. The strong man had appeared down there, Benito Mussolini, who was going to offer them peace and progress and the reorganization of Italy. Italy was going to rise from the ashes again. This sounds ominous now that this is what the Fuchrer said later. But, this was a real call to leadership, by this most dynamic personality. He said that he had joined with all his heart. He became a member of the new Mussolini Brown Shirts right then and there. From 1920 until 1928 or 1929, about the time when they started going into Ethiopia and the beginnings of World War II were coming along, everything was progress in Italy. The old saying that "he made the trains run on time" and the other things they said about Mussolini were true. Then, he felt that the government had gotten self centered and corrupt, and the mysticism or whatever it was about it. . . the lunacy as we would regard it of Mussolini in his later days before they strung him up by his heels in Milan as a crazy man. He had destroyed the remanents of his country. Ugo Gulo, this Italian teacher, felt that then, but he did not feel it for the first ten years that he was in the movement. He was perfectly frank and clear. He didn't feel that he had changed, but that Fascism had changed. I think that plus the other thing that I mentioned that in the later years, those of the early forties, that there was no choice, you had to join. You played the game. What else could you do, if you were a young man growing up there with a family and career and the only job that you have is under the Fascist label. You would be shocked by some of the atrocities and would not perhaps see them firsthand. At any rate, you stay there. Another thing you could do was to go into the "underground," and many of them did that.

[There was a powerful underground during those years.]

Yes. There is literature about it and all the rest. Many of them were killed. It appeared to us that, this was probably an exaggeration, but it appeared to us that

nearly all of them that then were in the "underground" worked under the Red Flag whether it was the Yugoslavian or the Russian didn't make much difference because they worked pretty close together. But, the "underground" unfortunately became a Communist movement in color and label. Although their main work, of course, was working against the Fascist government and working for some more freedom for the people. Incidentally, I think I should mention that through Gronchi and the work that I did over there, I was awarded at the end of that time a little Italian recognition, the ones they give to foreigners that had been a help to the Italian government. There were several of us in this military unit that worked directly with the Italian government. It didn't mean a lot, but we appreciated this a great deal anyway. I have been able to go back to Italy twice. Someone said, Shelly I believe, "Every man has two countries, his own and Italy!" I certainly have a love for that country. I love its people.

[This was the "Knight of the Crown of Italy" that you're speaking of?]

Yes. One of the last days over there, William R. Morrow was there and told us, around a bottle of wine in a blown up little restaurant over there one night, about the beginnings of the United Nations. Of course, you could see nothing but the horrible wreckage over here that this war had done. It was just full of the suffering and the destruction and all that. He pointed out the hope in a new United Nations. Of course, we were all excited about it, and I was after I came back. I got back in December around Pearl Harbor day in 1945. I got very much more interested in the United Nations and with a group here under Robert Lee Humber whom I did not know at the time but who later became the great leader of the World Federalists Movement not only in this state but otherwise. Henry Brandis, who was a law professor at the University of North Carolina whom I had known as a student there, McNeil Smith, our present State Senator, Sam Levering from Mt. Airy, and of course Mr. Humber

whom I did not know then but met early, were active in this movement. You could not miss Robert Lee Humber. We began working in this United World Federalists Program and our aim was different from the association of the United Nations. I am not sure about its state of activity then, but it had generally been one who wanted to simply improve the operations of the United Nations. Our World Federalists felt that that was not enough. We needed to make a break from a league in a balance of power. We needed to make a break from that ideology and instead have a government of people and not a rule of nations. Of course, you've got to work through the national unit. I think one of the things that symbolized the World Government Program, as the World Federalist saw it anyway, was that there could be no peace without law, there could be no law without government to make and interpret and enforce that law. So, we wanted to see an international police force. We wanted to see different voting. We wanted to see it expanded to bring in more nations. Of course, it has been with mixed results, but it was a necessary principle that it had to be universal or as near that as it could be. This group was very dedicated and worked hard. We went on the basis of trying to organize by cities and counties. That was fairly successful for awhile, but it couldn't be sustained. It has since been changed to a policy group which still exists. It is not very active in North Carolina, but it still exists, and it does a great work.

[How do you account for the fact that there were so many from North Carolina involved in this?]

Humber accounts for a great deal of it. The group that we had together I suppose accounted for it. It wasn't Humber alone among the older leaders of the state, Clarence Poe endorsed the idea. I served for about a year and a half as the executive director. I came back to the Employment Security job after the Army for about six or seven months, and didn't find it the exciting job I found four years before.

I wouldn't have left it for anything back in those days. Sometimes, you can't go back again. So, I resigned from that and with some aid, financial aid primarily from San Levering, we began a state-wide organization. There were several of us that went out and got resolutions favoring, in effect, the Humber resolution that he got through the general assembly which is a historic document. We got the American Legion to even give us a good endorsement which they mostly withdrew several years later. The Virginia Chamber of Commerce, Women's Federation of Business and Professional Women, Young Democrats, and a great many others all had resolutions endorsing this program and carrying it forward. Of course, Humber himself was just a tremendous organizer and it is another story in itself how he went into all forty-eight states and spent time in the General Assembly and promoted the idea. I think perhaps one of the most significant things that happened to the idea is, again with a little different emphasis but still on the emphasis of world law, the Bar Associations took it up; and we got another resolution here in the state from the Bar Association.

[Is that how Charles Tillet got involved?]

Charles Tillet of Charlotte, Dr. Frank Graham of Chapel Hill, and Frank E. Winslow of Rocky Mount, all were former roommates at Chapel Hill, and two of them had been presidents of the Bar Association. Dr. Frank was also a lawyer but never did work at it. Those were three great leaders in it. Justice Denny and I mentioned Dr. Poe were both involved. There was Josephus and Jonathan Daniels, to some extent anyway, who were endorsers of the idea though not necessarily all the organizational movement. It is a movement that hasn't died and can't die. It had to change with the times. It is carried on I think by the Committee for World Peace through World Law, and the Bar Association International Program. Many of our members here like Beverly Moore in Greensboro frequently goes to that, McNeil Smith has been to them and

carried it on. The World Law Center at Duke University is not a by-product of this movement, but it is certainly an extension of it as a very valuable resource. I spent a full year on that program traveling around the state and talking about that. It was at that time I tried to get into politics.

[Did you do any of the traveling outside of North Carolina during that year? Was it primarily in the state campaigning?]

All of it was for the World Federalists Program and nothing was out of the state except for meetings I attended in Washington, D. C. and I believe in Baltimore. I had some out-of-state speaking engagements on it, but there was no organization work outside of the state. We had here a meeting in Asheville in early 1947, I believe, in which Dr. Frank compared it in his generous way with the Annapolis Convention that this might be the beginnings of the real organization that would come later. We had a tremendous group of celebrities who were literary people and magazine editors. Thomas Spinletter who was Air Force Secretary up there one time attended. A great many people came down to this Asheville Convention. That attempted to combine there in one meeting the World Federalist and the Committee for World Law, the Americans United for Peace, the Association of United Nations and several organizations who were working for the same thing. We had brought them together to see what we could do to promote them. It was a very successful meeting and the last big successful meeting of that kind that we had. Humber was the one that carried the work into all the other states.

[Suppose we go on, and I'll come back later with some more in-depth questions concerning that year.]

Alright. As I've said, I had been very much interested in politics and with my directorship of the Employment Service, I had been in most all the counties of this state and certainly all in which we had offices, that being in seventy-five

different locations. I had worked, to some extent, with the people in industry on their employment problems. It is an amazing thing to look back on it. In the beginning of this employment service, there were no statistics on unemployed people and no job dictionary and no classification of jobs. In large industries, there was no real personnel set-up of any kind where they kept records of these people. Frequently you find that people who had been there twenty years and were very capable were being passed over for promotions in the working jobs simply because there was no central organization that knew where the good people were and what seniority meant or how it could be worked out. The state had no personnel system. It was carried on under the budget officer who is always the worst person in the world to work with personnel and budget, because they are almost conflicting principles. They aren't literally, but you need someone whose emphasis is personnel classification and personnel recruitment and personnel placement, and there had been very little of that.

Well, as I started to say, I had had experience going about the state at this time in this, and felt I had a state-wide acquaintance with the Young Democrats and other things. With the political "monkey on my back" constantly from college on, I began on this bold venture of running for governor. The main incentive for doing this was that young veterans were coming home and were being elected to the city council and mayor and the state General Assembly. In several places in the state, particularly in Asheville and Buncombe County in the 1946 election, they took over the city and county governments over the rather well entrenched political machines. That's the time that Judge Frank Parker, now in our Court of Appeals, was elected to the state senate over Brandon Hodges who was a very fine public servant and had been state treasurer and had expected to be Lt. Governor and then Governor. In the hierarchy of politics as it ran, he would have gotten on the wheel; and it would have rolled around and it would probably have been that. He was an able person. But, when Frank beat him up there, it knocked out his career. That's just a sideline, but the

point is that many young people were coming into political prominence and activity and felt they had something to say to postwar North Carolina. Things looked different when you came back, just as my job looked different. Peoples home towns looked different, the schools looked different, and the hospitals were different. Not saying that they were not better than we had seen anywhere else, but never-the-less they weren't quite as good as we had imagined and hoped they were. There was a real feeling and movement going on, and I got caught up in it. We had a meeting with a group of these people, a meeting that backfired in many ways, but we had a meeting of those people who had come back from war and who were interested in politics. We either labeled ourselves or got labeled as "G I Democrats." We drew up a platform for North Carolina, and it was a good platform. Some of these people I've mentioned, Henry Brandis and Mac Smith among them, helped draw up that platform. Josephus Daniels gave us great publicity and support on it. But, it did not become a real political organization as it was accused of being, and to some extent backfired for various reasons.

At any rate, with that background in mind and with the encouragement of some of the younger people of the state, not with the state administration by any means, I got into the 1948 gubernatorial race. I think it is significant to go back just for a minute here. There had been a continuing succession in the state of "administration candidates" in quotes. With the good government we had in North Carolina, and this has been my theme song for many years, we've had excellent, honest government here. But it has been not only one-party control, but one-faction of that party with the incumbents or the sponsors of the incumbents picking their successors. There was first the East and West and we got away from that and went right on down the line. 1948 I think was a real landmark election, it proved to be the real breakthrough. Not because I was in it, I didn't win it, but because it did end that succession.

At any rate, this had been broken a little bit for these reasons. William B. Umstead of Durham who had been in Congress, had been chairman of the party, was a very prominent, well-loved person. He got out his letters to announce that he was going to run for governor. If so, he would probably have had very little opposition in 1948. Then, he was appointed to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate by Governor Cherry. Governor Cherry had Bill Umstead as his campaign manager. He appointed him to the United States Senate, and that left a vacancy for the succession. It had been generally assumed that Bill Umstead was going to be the governor in 1948. So, then the mantle sort of fell to the treasurer, Charles Johnson. There were others of us, at least, that felt that there was no great enthusiasm for Johnson. In the phrase of the times, "it was time for a change." Scott had looked around a little bit in the election but had given no real indication that he was going to run. It was then going to be Johnson against any challenger that came along. Johnson announced way back in April which was thirteen months before the primary election. It was unprecedented in the advance notice. This was just after the notice of Umstead's appointment. Oscar Barker who had been in the Senate, was sort of the school teacher's champion, and he announced in May. I had gotten what I could together and I started out in June of that year. This was still almost a year before the primary. Later, two or three candidates including the famous Ola Ray Boyd from Down East got into the picture as did a boy named Simmons from Down East, a young man. Of course, it was not until late February before the primary that Kerr Scott came in. He had been doing lots of work and more than people knew about in the meantime. He later said that he believed in a short campaign. He proved his effectiveness in that one.

[He had been maneuvering behind the scenes.]

Yes, he had laid a fine background, because he had been not only the head of the Department of Agriculture here and knew the "branch head boys" throughout the

state, but during the real depression years, he had been the officer for the federal government in the state; and he had been the man that got the federal land bank loans for farmers that were going bankrupt and were going to lose their farms. He had staunch friends all around the state that rose up in droves to help him. That was the field.

The only way I figured I could do it was with the help of these young people who were not only new in politics but were busy with new jobs after the war. Some of them had married and were with new families, and couldn't devote full time to it, and we had no money. We would have to get out and see people. So, we got the trailer as you have mentioned. As we went along, we painted it up on the side with a map of the state and the towns that we had visited. There was a trail moving around the state with a star there. We scheduled our town visits well in advance, and sent them a little newspaper map and a story. So, they had a little picture of the trailer with Francis, my wife, and I standing by the trailer pointing to the sign and saying, "We'll be in downtown Bearcreek at twelve o'clock." The papers would carry the story because it was already written for them and here was some fresh news anyway. So, it was a terrific way of campaigning. Trailers were novels at that time. I'm not sure how we stumbled across it. We had it painted up and it was very successful and we made wonderful friends. We campaigned almost every day and night from June until May of 1948. Scott's campaign had picked up. I had not thought that I would lead in the first primary. I had hoped as I went along that I would be in second place. But, Scott considerably overtook me on the way. One key factor in it was Capus Waynick that we had mentioned before, who was my friend too and had talked to me about it earlier. He came in and became Scott's manager. He was able to raise the necessary funds to operate on which we were never able to succeed in raising. We borrowed a little money and we lived in the trailer and on our friends and on the land. We had

too little advertising. We did very well considering the circumstances of running as the third man. Johnson did come first as anticipated. Scott was second, and I was third. Oscar Baker was fourth.

[Even considering the difference in financial problems now of operating a campaign, it was a tremendous strain even then to finance a campaign unless you did have the money interests behind you, was it not?]

Yes. If you want that theme properly spelled out, it's in Bill Keys book Southern Politics. He says that the candidate who appears likely to succeed and is generally acceptable to the moneyed interest of the state doesn't have to sell his soul to them, they come to him naturally because they think alike anyway. He is likely to succeed so money becomes plentiful to them. There was, at that time, a filing fee of one percent of the annual salary. In the campaign, you could spend a maximum of the equivalent of one year's salary. This was in 1948, and that was \$12,000. Now, in the 1936 campaign, which was by far the biggest spending campaign, this was Hoey winning over MacDonald in the disputed election, it was more or less reliably reported that over \$300,000 was spent in the Hoey campaign. That was way ahead of anything that had been done before. At any rate, the \$12,000 legal limit was on. The way they got around that, was the candidate and his staff had to make a report. They were careful not to spend over \$12,000. But, X industry and corporations were making contributions freely, and it wasn't prohibited as it is now. They could spend the money for you. So, the campaign expenditure law really meant nothing.

[All of these little local organizations set up their own. . .]

They spent their own. In theory, you are supposed to report them all. I'd say just because so little was spent, we went around to find out just how much was spent on us. We could not really find out how much was spent, but we came up with not more than \$7,000 in all. This was a fairly large spending campaign in both Kerr's and Charlie Johnson's first and second primary.

[Where was Scott's money coming from?]

He had great grass roots support. Now Capus Waynick raised a lot of money for him. He raised it from people who were not natural Scott supporters. Many businesses and industries hedge. There is one here in town who admittedly let both Democrats and Republicans have free use of his planes. He said that this was his contribution to the campaign - love you both. So, Scott got a lot of money through Capus and from many other friends from groups that did not prefer him but saw a pretty good chance of his getting elected. He also got a lot of grass root support from the farm organizations, the Grange, Farmers' Federation and the dairy farmers. He had some prominent people who helped him. Mr. Holding of First Citizens' Bank was one of his big supporters. This was the only bank that was officially on record for Kerr Scott. Wachovia and the rest of them, of course, were for Johnson. I had the young people but not even many of the lawyers, because most of the lawyers were entrenched in politics. I had a lot of my friends among them. I had various interest groups, but it takes a lot of those to add up to make a good campaign. We didn't reach the money sources, and we didn't reach the motivators, the wheelers and dealers of politics.

[That is what I was getting ready to say. . . two or three leading motivators or manipulators or people of this type who know how to get to the money can make all the difference in the world in a campaign.]

Absolutely, and you've got to have more than we had. You've got to have the look of success which is more important than money. Of course, it takes money to have the look of success, but you've got to look and talk like a winning candidate. We felt like one that made some great inroads in lots of places. People realized, I think far better than Fran and I did as we rode around the state, that we were probably going to be in third place. Therefore, both the Johnson forces and Scott forces could not have been nicer to us. I thought it was out of love and friendship; but as we

were courted in the second primary, I thought that they had political sense to see that my votes would be important in the second primary.

[Were you the deciding factor for Scott in that runoff?]

Not personally. My voters were by every test you could make of it. I'm not sure these figures are exactly accurate or these counties, but I carried seven counties. I was second in twenty-one counties. In nearly every case, but not all, where I was first or second, Johnson was nearly always the other party and then Scott. But, in the second primary, unless I'm mistaken about this, all those seven counties and all those twenty-one other counties were for Scott. If not, the great bulk of them did. Nearly all my supporters went for Scott. For various reasons and probably mistaken reasons and I guess the major reason was that I was too weary and too broke, we decided that we were going to get in that trailer and get out of it all for about a month, so we took no part at all in that second primary. I cannot take credit for Scott's election, although I was very proud of what he did. I was not as enthusiastic about him at that time as later, but I thought he made an excellent governor.

[Your political philosophy and Scott's political philosophy were more closely akin than yours would have been with Charles Johnson.]

Yes. In no case could I have supported Charles Johnson aside from personal factors. On the political differences, no. The difference in my political philosophy and Scott's was that he was, shall we say, a Populist. He was in the Populist tradition, an agrarian. He was a skillful worker with people and with farm groups. Mine was more of the theoretical politician, a student of political science.

One of the great contrasts as we all do, we all appeared before the organized labor groups. They invited the candidates to appear and talk to them. I had labor's support in that race. This was a big factor. It was a deciding factor in the Senatorial race that year of Broughton over Umstead. The labor vote made the difference.

Some of them told me later, that they could not have been for Johnson. They thought Scott had a better chance of winning than I did. But they felt that while he must be a great man in the agricultural field, he simply was not fully acquainted at that time with the problems of labor. When the labor organizations interviewed them, they had some pretty sharp questions. Incidentally, one of the big factors in getting some support from them was the same George Baldanzi whom I had known overseas who was sent over by National C I O. He was here helping the C I O at that time and helping to get AF of L and Transportation Workers together. There were some very sharp questions. I understood later, and I don't say this in criticism of Scott at all, that they felt he simply had not been exposed to anything in politics but agricultural politics. He didn't know anything about workman's compensation, or employment security, or even with the Department of Labor. His field had been in agriculture and his father's before him. So, he was not an attractive candidate to labor. I think our political philosophies, while both headed in a certainly more liberal direction than Charlie Johnson's, were quite different in themselves, if they were in the same generalized direction.

I had been all my career, up to this point and since then too, a sort of loyal opposition to the Democratic hierarchy in this state. I felt we had had good government but that we had missed most of the opportunities. I thought that it was so closely controlled that it was not open to the average citizen. Our very low voting record is one good example of this. This is true of nearly all the southern states. Our one-party system is good for the controlling party. Fortunately, we have a good and conscientious party with a remarkably proper and not corrupt record. But, nevertheless, it was a close held organization that was not fully conscious of the needs of the people of this state. I'm always trying to preach that and work for it in the things that I ran for. So, I was undoubtedly the most liberal of the candidates.

This is not only theoretically, but what I would have liked to have seen. My program at that time started things which someone could still campaign on today. For instance, I thought our welfare grants ought to at least be up to the average of the nation. I thought we ought to do something about our terribly low per capita income status. I think one of the things that I could preach all over again was that at least in the things that effect the health and welfare and enlightenment of the people of the state, our expenditures for schools and welfare grants and other things of this kind ought to at least come up to the national average. We were ranked very far below this. We were fooling ourselves. I also used the 1925 Conservation and Development booklet to show what we were talking about. They proclaimed loudly to the world that "North Carolina-the fifth state today." By all the statistics we had, we were nearer fifth to the bottom. In all the measurements that you want to take, we were nearer fifth to the bottom. . . i.e. wage, income, diet, literacy, and almost all of these things. So, anyway, I guess I was sort of a crusader in that field.

In this campaign, I had the admirable but not very practical idea that a man as young as I was for a gubernatorial candidate who had been out of the state for a few years without proper funds and administration backing could change the direction of the state to a more liberal stance and to a different break in their leadership. When Scott came in, he and the people who came in with him broke that old tradition of the one faction control. That broke the mold, and we've had more open elections ever since then.

[At one time there was some published reports of "dirty politics" at precinct meetings. At least there was some commentary in the News and Observer that someone in your campaign whether it was you or your manager made a charge that some unsavory things were going on at the Democratic precinct meetings or some rigged precinct meetings. Do you recall anything concerning that?]

I don't remember a thing in the world about precinct meetings. It was certainly true and still is, unfortunately, that a few people had generally controlled the precinct meetings. The main reasons were that they were the only ones that would go to them. Those that did were usually the "old line" rather than the "new line" Democrats. I'm sure I kicked about that, but I remember nothing at all about any "dirty politics" in precincts. The general report, of course, was the misuse of the absentee ballot which became so notoriously bad that we Democrats abolished it in the primary and only kept it for the general elections to work on the Republicans. I think I may have said that I thought that was a little unfair. Of course, we reformed the absentee ballot considerably since then. It was used terribly in some Western counties and I may have commented on this, but not during the campaign. There were at least reports, believed to be reliable, that in some precincts and some areas they would hold out absentee ballots to see just how many votes they needed to carry on the administration candidate. They would then somehow bring in enough absentee ballots to swing the tides. There were wide-spread reports and investigations to some extent whether official or not, after the Hoey-MacDonald Campaign.

[There was some of this in the Fountain-Ehringhaus campaign in 1932 up in Lincoln county I know.]

Yes. Usually it has been blamed on the western counties because I guess the Eastern politician haven't had to as much. They were usually so much in control of things. This is another interesting characteristic of North Carolina politics, how the East first was with the majority, but then with an increasing minority of the total vote, has so controlled the politics of this state. The old planter merchant tradition of running the town politics and the General Assembly had prevailed for an awfully long time in the General Assembly. These are fine people but with back-

ward ideas as far as modern economics and modern government is concerned. Our legislature, which I kicked about too, was run on a factional basis. I don't mean just between the two major parties. The Republican Party had a pretty rough time. If a county sent down a Republican representative, his bills were not given the same attention. That's natural in politics and it would have been the same, I'm sure, if the shoe had been on the other foot. But, in addition to that, we did such things occasionally as by law let the General Assembly determine the salaries and the number of people that could be employed in a county by county and city government. They could elect who they wanted to up there because it was not a general state-wide election, but in those Republican counties the General Assembly kept control of that. This again is just one of those things that happened. I don't know anything about any precinct business or such.

[Well, frequently the newspapers run stories. . .]

I think I would be interested in anything that was connected to my campaign. We had little enough precinct organization.

[Now it was your campaign that was making the charge.]

Well, now that is better!

[It was your campaign that was saying that you were having problems due to some manipulating in these precinct meetings.]

Well, I just really don't recall anything about that at all. There is always some business of tearing down the other man's signs and that sort of thing, but really I don't recall any of that.

Just to wind-up on this same record, there was one other major attempt anyway in politics, and this was in 1963 when I ran against Harold Cooley for congressman from the North Carolina 4th District. Harold had then been thirty years in Congress as had his predecessor before him. By some strange coincidence, the North

Carolina Fourth Congressional District seat had been changed less than any other seat in Congress. Edward Pou had held it from about 1900 to 1932. When he died George Ross Pou, a cousin of his from here, was an interim appointee only and didn't count. Cooley came in in 1933 and was still holding it at this election in 1963. During the New Deal he had been a great agriculture leader. He carried out agricultural programs like Congressman Doughton had carried out President Roosevelt's other programs in here. Since that time though, Cooley had been all involved in the sugar imports. He had been very bitterly criticized for his actions in that and in many other matters. I felt strongly that it was time for a replacement and I ran hard against him. Also, we had reorganized this 4th District bringing Johnston County and Davidson County as well as Wake into it. Wake had over 40% of the population at least for the district. I felt it was a good setup. My friends said to give him two more years, but I remembered Down East when an aspirant for that congressional seat waited about thirty-five or forty years for Judge Kerr giving him two more years. When he finally did retire, Larry Fountain won the seat instead of the other man that I'm talking about. That and my natural impatience of youth or what was still my younger years anyway, I decided this was time to run for Congress. We had an interesting campaign as things go. I found many people that remembered the trailer in the other campaign, but the congressional campaigns don't mean as much and they are on a more limited basis. I thought it was a much better conducted campaign. We had more programs and more issues. I thought I had a very good chance. I knew some counties I would certainly lose, Nash County of course was his home county. I figured we would not win Nash although I carried Nash and Edgecombe by a big vote in the governor's race. I did not think I could get them again and did not realize how hard it was going to be to take these away from a native son and a tobacco farmer.

[That's always a handicap in that area.]

So, we lost that one pretty bad. I did succeed in carrying my home county of Wake, but I did not carry any other county in this five county district. It was fairly close in Davidson, and there again there was a tremendous amount of money spent in the last few weeks in several of these counties - Davidson County and Wake and others too in particular. Frankly, many of my friends and associates in Raleigh had been connected with the Cooley campaign for just so many years and they could not leave him. They were sorry. That was not as significant a campaign. We never did meet in debates. We had one joint meeting. I was really disappointed in that one because I felt that this was a more successful and better conducted campaign than the gubernatorial had been, but for many reasons it wasn't.

[Facing an incumbent particularly one who had seniority in the committees and subcommittees, is such a tremendous handicap.]

I went to the Congressional Records up here in the state library and checked that out. I didn't check it before I began this campaign but did so later. I think I should have checked it out before. Incumbents were unseated when they ran again, but very, very rarely. There was only one out of twenty or thirty or about four or five out of a hundred that were successful in unseating an incumbent. I just didn't realize it would be that way. You usually have to wait for them to die or something else.

[Die or retire.]

Well, we haven't touched on law and we haven't talked about some of the political issues that we might want to talk about. I've had a great interest in political history in the South, and in particular in political history of North Carolina as it has developed aside from my own attempted efforts to be in it and being in a state position for five or six years. I am interested in that field and the changes that have come about. We might want to talk about the racial issue too.