7-1-1953

The election of 1928 in Virginia

Hal James Bonney

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarship.richmond.edu/masters-theses

Recommended Citation
THE ELECTION OF 1928
IN VIRGINIA

by
HAL JAMES BONNEY, JR.

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND
IN CANDIDACY
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

University of Richmond
Virginia
1953
August
PREFACE

The desire to discover the unknown is a characteristic within us all and, at times, it calls just a little louder than usual. There is no enjoyment in the reading of these pages other than the enjoyment of finding, thinking, and understanding that some of us seek.

After studying the election of 1928, I have not only found items of history and political science, but all of the elements of social life narrowed down to the actions of people during a political campaign. Far beyond the reach of history we find in this story the actions of Americans and here particularly Virginians who are thrown into something that few understood; the result of their position does them proud.

The purpose in these pages is to draw out the items that add together to form the answer to the riddle.

Something happened! In the 1924 presidential election the Democrats carried 139, 716 votes to 73, 312 for the Republicans while in 1928 it was 140, 146 to 164, 609. Normalcy returned in 1932 with 203, 979 to 89, 637. Just what did
happen?

One can not underestimate this startling interruption in the traditional Democratic realm; it was nothing short of a politico-social miracle. Events of this nature do not occur in the Old Dominion without unusual circumstances that naturally follow. What they were and how we can account for this abrupt reversal are our goals.

Norfolk, Virginia
June, 1953

HAL JAMES DONNEY, JR.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE                                                                 iv

INTRODUCTION                                                              viii

I. THE PRE-CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY                                              1
   A. A Third Term?                                                        1
      1. Signs of the Time                                                2
      2. Virginia Republicans Wait                                        5
      3. Coolidge Says No                                                 9
   B. Early Year Fires                                                    10
      1. McAdoo in Richmond                                                11
      2. Meeting of the State Legislature                                 12
      3. Virginia's Anderson For Vice-President                            15
      4. The Klan Moves In                                                 16

II. THE 1928 CONVENTIONS                                                 18
   A. REPUBLICAN                                                          18
      1. The Virginia Delegation                                          18
      2. The Kansas City Opening                                           20
      3. The Republican Platform                                          22
      4. The Reaction                                                      24
   B. DEMOCRATIC                                                          25
      1. State Leaders Selected                                            25
      2. Richmond City's Split                                             26
      3. The Anti-Saloon League's First Shot                               27
      4. Other Local Problems                                              29
      5. The State Convention                                               30
      6. Virginians in Houston                                              33
      7. Resolutions and Platforms                                          34
      8. Smith Selected                                                     35
      9. The Reaction                                                       36

III. THE CAMPAIGN                                                         38
   A. ACTION OF THE CHURCHES                                              38
      1. Cannon Starts the Ending                                          38
      2. The Papers Take a Stand                                           40
INTRODUCTION

In this book the author has lifted, chiefly from newspaper sources, the various facts needed to answer the question concerning the election of 1928. These contemporary sources are used since they are the only ones available and the ones giving the most information. Their accuracy is a field for debate.

In particular the Richmond TIMES-DISPATCH is used as the thread throughout the book with the periodicals of the localities brought in as needed. The Richmond morning forms the back bone around which is built the ribs.

We first seek to understand the political conventions and here perhaps more time is spent than it deserves, but, also, here the roots are laid. The days before the conventions lay the foundation for the rapidly moving story herein. The campaign itself is a mass of unconnected items that are pieced together to form a trend, if possible, or to predict the outcome. The conclusions in the last are short, for they are more than evident in the campaign.

As you read you may disagree with a great deal of the matter, but is it because it is not true or that you do not
care to believe it? That is the point of the whole affair; if you remember the campaign and voted in it, you may find it hard to bring together your thoughts and these pages.

Truly this book could be so much longer and thereby impressive, however, in spite of the endless facts the author stopped, not because of a deadline, but because the facts were all in and the answer found. Why then throw in items of repetition?

If this is a good collection it is because we have discovered what we sought. If it is bad it is because it was not planned analytically.
I have been bred in the Democratic Party, but I love America a great deal more than I love the Democratic party, and when the Democratic Party thinks it is an end in itself I rise up and dissent.

Woodrow Wilson
THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
OF 1928
IN VIRGINIA
A HISTORY
I
THE PRE-CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY
******

A THIRD TERM?

The problem of ascertaining the date which definitely
marks the commencement of a pre-convention campaign has long
been present in American history and a source of much debate
among election historians. The date should be, however, quite
automatic: the day immediately following a current presentment
by the voters in the November presidential election.

It is true that definite campaigning does not begin then,
but in many minds the coming four years hold a future of
promise and great activity. The average citizen is not suscep-
tible to the campaign until the journalists need material for
column inches, but to the "kingmakers" the date is the one
mentioned above.

Peel and Donnelly, only complete national 1928 analysts,
select June, 1927 as the starting point and well might it be
significant since great speculation develops a year before convention time around the incumbent seeking re-election.

Would President Calvin Coolidge break the time honored and sacred no third term ritual? Ask him, the papers advised, and then with the answer proceed with the campaign of the other hopefuls, a very plentious variety to be sure. Silent Cal found it impossible to twart the perpetual question any longer and on August 2nd, while at Rapid City, South Dakota he clouded the perspective with the disgusting "I do not choose to run for president in 1928." Virginia reacted.

In the Commonwealth in the reign of Harry Flood Byrd, Governor, the state elections overshadowed the announcement that otherwise would have caused more comment. The RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH in the editorial "Coolidge Sends Up a Balloon" detected the hope for another chance and later expressed the view that Mr. President would have it mean what future events would warrant. Without a doubt this was true.

As the Sacco and Vanzetti case stole the front pages causing political readers to turn inside, telegrams flooded the White House, but Virginians generally followed the view that Coolidge was pretending and inferred a double meaning in the statement.

---

1 Roy V. Peel and Thomas C. Donnelly, The 1928 Campaign: An Analysis, 1.
2 Editorial in Richmond Times-Dispatch, August 3, 1927, 6.
3 Ibid., August 4, 1927, 8.
Dr. Lindsay Rogers, law professor at California, expressed the opinion of state Democrats when he told the University of Virginia Institute of Public Affairs that Coolidge was president by accident.

A hidden preview of things to come was to be found in the huge numbers of letters to the editors dealing with prohibition. More than a year before the election the people had erupted into an uproar. The epistles, of course, quoted pro and con verses from the Bible along with the verbal devices necessary to carry one's point. Great significance lies in this early opinion and the banked coals would only need stirring to change into an inferno that might consume all in its path.

The loophole statement of the Silent One began the speculation in the Republican party centering around Charles Evans Hughes and Herbert Hoover. Coolidge sought to put a damper on Hoover by saying if Kellogg resigned as Secretary of State he (Hoover) would not be put there.

One that can not in clear memory recall these times might naturally believe prohibition would be a strong element in local elections and since Virginia had just completed the state elections a solution to the speculation would be

5 Ibid., August 12, 1927, 1.
6 Ibid., August 18, 1927, 6.
desired. The Reverend David Hepburn, Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia, reported to the World League Against Alcoholism that the primary *was* affected by prohibition in contrast to journalistic insistence constantly to ignore it as an issue.

August moved on with much talk concerning a third term bringing from the BRISTOL HERALD-COURIER a proposal favoring a constitutional amendment which had fruition in the recently adopted twenty-second addition. Let this historian now say for the record that it was a Republican trick whereby they completely fooled the Democrats into entering the slaughter. If this is the people's land, let them decide how many times a man shall enjoy the high office. Freedom has suffered a severe blow.

One must not forget these were dry years and enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment was proceeding, but not efficiently enough according to former Pennsylvania Governor Gifford Pinchot who attacked Secretary of the Treasury Mellon for lack of enforcement and behind him was Coolidge! The TIMES-DISPATCH answered him by suggesting he clean up Philadelphia.

Hoover's bid for his party's nomination moved forward

---

7 Ibid., August 19, 1927, 3.
8 Ibid., quoting Bristol Herald-Courier, August 21, 1927, 6.
9 Ibid., August 22, 1927, 1.
10 Editorial in Richmond Times-Dispatch, August 23, 1927, 6.
with Will Hays active in his support. This master planner's activity can certainly be taken as a sign of definite Hoover gain. Even more steam was added as Hughes predicted Coolidge would be re-nominated and re-elected.

In our state Republicans were awaiting the advice of former Congressman C. Bascom Slemp whose ability to win for his party placed him in a commanding position. Elected to fill his father's (Campbell) vacancy in the House of Representatives, Slemp served from 1907 to 1923 when he declined to seek re-election in 1922. From September 4, 1923 until March 4, 1925 he was secretary to President Coolidge.

As the GOP pondered delegations, the NORFOLK LEDGER DISPATCH speculated its own party's state delegation would go uninstructed, but not due to any power the Anti-Saloon League might have. Did the editors suspect some unusual phenomenon throughout Dixie in 1928?

These are the usual events in the pre-campaign period whose meaning and value can not be commented upon until the nominations are given. The period consists of the normal boasts, plans, and dreams with little action toward the public. We can only see if the threads will weave into some more definite pattern. The above mentioned Anti-Saloon League's

---

11 Ibid., September 7, 1927, 6.
12 Bibliographical Directory of the American Congress. 81 Cong., 2 sess., House Doc. 607, 1820.
southern influence did weave into definite results, but a thread that broke was the move of Iowa Democratic women to make Mrs. Woodrow Wilson vice-president. Only two threads now (August, 1927) appeared durable: prohibition as an issue and the rise of Herbert Hoover.

While Senator Carter Glass' LYNCHBURG NEWS desired abolition of the Democratic convention's two-thirds vote rule, the TIMES-DISPATCH, arch-foe of the existing prohibition law, admitted something that it no doubt hated to do and by so doing introduced the key figure into the 1928 campaign although he had been quite active before. On the death of Wayne B. Wheeler, general counsel for the League, the paper remarked that while he was a powerful influence the most powerful was James Cannon, Jr. Cannon's biography reads as of what an army of men might accomplish in a lifetime.

He, as a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was to prove to be the center person in this coming event not only in Virginia, but throughout the South and to some degree the nation. Judge for yourself.

The Democrats, still smarting from the 1924 episode, 103 ballots in Madison Square Garden, began their machinery on September 17 when William G. McAdoo announced he would not run bringing to the Old Dominion and the country much relief.

14 Ibid., September 4, 1927, 1.
15 Ibid., editorial, September 9, 1927, 8.
The LYNCHBURG ADVANCE considered he had rendered, by that announcement, a great service to his country and the PORTSMOUTH STAR yet believed he would accept the nomination if given.

The road was clear for New York Governor Alfred E. Smith as large support for the Brown derby issued forth beginning currently with a seven state meeting of Democrats in Utah. Remarkably early the pre-convention campaign was dying out for the Democrats since a definite candidate seemed already selected, although not legally. The party itself was on fire, but there was simply no chase for top post; Smith was "far and away" the strongest man in the party.

As September rushed to an end another convention convened in Norfolk where the call was for a dry plank in the platform and renewed influence of women. The state Womens Christian Temperance Union rapped any modification of the existing law in such stern old-maidish terms that immovability was certain here.

Generally resigned, though not altogether happy that Smith would lead the ticket, Democrats turned to thoughts of action and detail. Virginia as the scene of the party convention was endorsed by Arkansas' Senator Caraway.

16Ibid., September 18, 1927, 1.
17Ibid., September 24, 1927, 1.
18Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch, September 28, 1927, 1.
19Times-Dispatch, ex. cit., September 27, 1927, 6.
Silence and mystery prevailed in Virginia. No one had any doubt but that the New Yorker's bid would be good; the effects provided the silence. Eventhough silence was by no means consent, a "wait and see" attitude prevailed as had existed after the election of A. Lincoln in 1860. Secession would come later. Now resigned to the inevitable Virginia would expectantly await a platform and convention action.

But now it broke. The people suddenly decided not to wait, but rather a snow flake of state opposition would snowball. It was early October, 1927 when the SCOTTSVILLE NEWS advised Smith to follow the example of McAdoo. By the eighteenth the Tennessee and Holston Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church went on record as opposing him.

From South Hill the PROSPECTS firmly stated that "The next president will probably be Herbert Hoover. Governor Smith, of New York, is an impossibility on account of his religion." We have just recounted the beginning of outward resistance and not even the beginning of the Teapot Dome trials could cement over the dissention that had burst loose.

Through the increase of participation came the voice of Andrew Volstead, author of the famous Act, demanding that war be waged on home brewers, a weak spot in the effort to curb deteriorating morals. Few localities in the state escaped

---

20 Ibid., quoting the Scottsville News, October 7, 1927, 8.
21 Ibid., quoting the South Hill Prospects, October 30, 1927, II, 6.
22 Ibid., October 10, 1927, 2.
raids on stills and too many regrettable experienced Roanoke's ills: four law officers slain in two years. The PORTSMOUTH STAR presented 170 to 180 as the number killed since prohibition began.

The heaven and hell letters in the newspaper forums continued on the increase as the political atmosphere in the state settled upon us. Virginia gave rise to further rumblings as Bishop Cannon told Virginia Methodist in Danville to elect dry delegations to the conventions. The cause of prohibition had its truest official support from United States Senator Glass whose Southern support of the dry law brought editorial praise and later a greater effect than was believed.

The activity among the ministers started by Cannon was fought early by the papers outside Richmond, in particular the LYNCHBURG NEWS, and only mildly by the ROANOKE TIMES, but the busy season among the denominations grew as the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church supported only Drys. The church had raised the storm warnings and the PORTSMOUTH STAR extended praise for this action.

On December 6th, President Coolidge told Republicans

23 Ibid., quoting the Roanoke Times, October 10, 1927, 6.
24 Portsmouth Star, November 1, 1927, 6.
26 Ibid., November 16, 1927, 1.
27 Roanoke Times, November 29, 1927, 8.
to find another candidate; a wise move considering the Secretary of Commerce's boom. The following day the Grand Old Party selected Kansas City as the convention city and also told Virginia elephant followers they had lost two votes in the reapportionment.

EARLY YEAR FIRES

Smith encountered a strike against him soon in the campaign caused by tremendous opposition. The Anti-Saloon League was a little heeded, but constant force, so much so that papers strongly demanded it give the source of its vast revenue. Three days later S. S. Kresge of dime store fame tossed $500,000 that way as an aid to the publicity and education drive.

The year 1927 closed certainly foretelling avid events to come. With the nominations appearing a mere formality one received the impression that the actual campaign for November votes was under way. A raking of the facts revealed some confusion in the Commonwealth and the natural opposition of the church organizations to a New York avowed Wet. Was it the year to year church propaganda or a revolution that was to be seen?

The first day of the New Year told the not so surprising news that there had been more arrests than even the past year for hootch activity. By mid January Houston was designated as the donkey camp a move definitely fashioned to harm Smith.

29 Times Dispatch, op. cit., December 7, 1927, 1.
30 Ibid., December 8, 1927, 1.
32 Ibid.; December 21, 1927, 6.
33 Ibid.; January 1, 1928, 1.
If he were to seize the party standard he must enter the dry South to do so. Nevertheless, Smith supporters could well claim a double victory later by saying his nomination came in spite of atmosphere.

More political activity took place in the state capital than in the rest of the state combined. The Anti-League lowered the spear and charged early in February by bringing McAdoo to Richmond to warn Virginians that a wet president would destroy something very dear to them, the dry law.

The attitude of Smith was one, the aging wizard continued, that met little approval among those favoring prohibition.

The TIMES-DISPATCH deduced that McAdoo had little effect but while a learned reporter might feel no emotions, it is difficult to measure the reaction upon the average citizen.

The former Secretary of the Treasury did no harm for the cause; what seeds he sowed would only be determined by the coming harvest. The editorial attack upon him was answered by the Reverend Hepburn in the "Voice of the People."

On the national scene the word was more and more Hoover and less and less Coolidge, the problem of which reached a climax in the United States Senate with that body's approval

---

34 Ibid., February 2, 1928, 1.
36 Ibid., February 16, 1928, 6.
the second week of February of Senator LaFollette's resolution declaring against a third term. The vote was fifty-six to twenty-two and the lame duck grew lamer!

As the month spent itself, conservative morals in Virginia won a victory quite clear when the State Senate of the Virginia General Assembly defeated a proposed pari-mutuel betting system. This type of "entertainment" is as degrading as whiskey, simply another social disease.

With the meeting of the legislature one would find a surplus of politicians gracing the hotels and streets of Richmond, some expressing hope of November, others definite fear. Some of the latter was witnessed when the State Corporation Commission member warned women not to sacrifice the Democratic Party. A new ingredient was added in full measure: the women of a state and of a nation who in this era, 1920 - 1940, guarded as a priceless jewel the home. Today few of that sex will gladly admit the institution even exists.

More fear and a correct prediction came from a journalist whose character and ability were never doubted. Mark Sullivan, formerly of COLLIER'S, reached the heart of Virginia

---

37 Ibid., February 12, 1928, II, 2.
38 Ibid., February 11, 1928, 1.
39 Ibid., February 22, 1928, 1.
politics upon declaring that local politicians were fearful of their own election, not wanting to oppose party, yet realizing the views of the voters on morals. Columnist Sullivan blandly stated that the nomination of Al Smith would split the South.

An editorial statement, "There is promise of a corking good political year," was an understatement as Hoover gained support in the South upon replying to Senator Borah's questionnaire sent to all Republican hopefuls. The Hoover reply of dry enforcement produced rebel cheers.

The announcement of the State Central Democratic Committee that the state convention would be held in Roanoke this year brought forth the question of Virginia's delegation being instructed. Would the state jump on the Smith bandcart or be fearful of public reaction? If they could not support Smith, then whom? Surely no Virginia support would be found for Montana's Thomas J. Walsh who now tossed his hat into the political ring.

---

40 Ibid., February 26, 1928, 1.
41 Ibid., editorial, February 14, 1928, 6.
42 Ibid., February 24, 1928, 1.
43 Ibid., February 29, 1928, 1.
44 Ibid., March 4, 1928, 1.
The chilling winds of March had an opposite effect in the state as Cannon pleaded for in electing a "wet cocktail" president. As this was the season for favorite sons to be boomed, our own Governor Byrd was often named for the vice-presidential nomination, but he told well-wishers that he did not seek the spot.

The short time remaining before conventions witnessed an increased life especially with the G O P's awakening. What such a revival would amount to was still anyone's bet. "For four years the Southern Republican politician lives without honor in his own state and then for one brief week [convention] he finds himself translated into a kind of a political seventh heaven."

The South became quite a museum piece as talk of a split in its solidarity leaked out from time to time. A nationwide interest developed to the extent that the Boston EVENING TRANSCRIPT sent a correspondent into the area where a strong, though developing, support for Hoover not for moral reasons, but for Smith's lack of agricultural ability. A new angle was now injected.

The most interesting sidelight of all among the pre-

---

46 Ibid., quoting the New York World, June 12, 1928, 6.
47 Ibid., March 27, 1928, 6. It is very difficult to believe this word, yet remember the state was primarily farming in nature. Such a political "weakness" will again appear.
liminaries was the planned dispatch to Kansas City and Houston of prohibition agents to prevent bootlegging to the delegates. This one item is the greatest satire on the entire election.

Next to Slamp in Virginia Republican circles was active Colonel Henry W. Anderson who on March 28th. was boomed for second place on the ticket by the State Executive Committee. Anderson was somewhat of a national figure even though the support was strictly local. There was no Republican thought of placing a southerner on the ballot, but the Colonel was to earn more power as the days pushed on.

Suddenly the activity all but disappeared as a noticeable lull passed over the month of April altogether. It is true topics of interest were less, but the real cause of the quietness was the natural cycle of people tiring of the noise and turning briefly to sports and more Teapot Dome news. The Commonwealth was now hiding time until the conventions would open.

May began with little happening and little notice. Hoover and Smith were sweeping the California primary in their respective parties as expected, while Walsh retired from the running leaving no doubt as to what would be done at Houston.

---

48 Ibid., March 28, 1923, 1.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid., May 5, 1923, 1.
A cowardly, unregrettable element had been upon the Virginia political scene for some time and now in its greatest performance it would deal a black eye to respectable people. The Klux Klan was now as active as the Anti-Saloon League and Women's Christian Temperance Union, but by no means in the company of the latter two groups. If there were nothing else, the 1928 actions of the KKK would merit its damnation in the eyes of decent citizens forever.

Virginia Klan's prediction of a party revolt was quickly denied by the capital press. Opposition to the order was on religious grounds as well, to some small degree, as the Negro problem since it was well reported (Earl Lutz) that Richmond colored were fast deserting the GOP for Al Smith.

The majority belief was that rural Virginia opposed Smith as we have seen, but from E. R. Combs, Comptroller of the Commonwealth, came the opinion that the Ninth District favored him and that opposition was strictly for religious reasons.

The position of the state's pastors in the event was sounded early, too, as the Ministerial Union of Loudoun County was the first such organization to adopt anti-Smith

---

51 Ibid., editorial, May 8, 1928, 1.
52 Ibid., May 18, 1928, 1.
53 Ibid.
resolutions.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., May 22, 1928, 6.
II

THE 1928 CONVENTIONS

*********

REPUBLICAN

The 63, 597 readers of the TIMES-DISPATCH on June 12th, read where Virginia Republicans made short business of two doubtfuls on the delegation to Kansas City when Colonel Anderson in session moved a resolution endorsing Hoover. With its passage without dissenting voice the state would cast its fifteen votes, two short of 1924, for the Commerce Secretary. The spot on the national Committee was again awarded to faithful C. Bascom Slemp.

It is not surprising to find the delegation expressing its favor for Hoover if for no other reason than his vote-getting appeal. Even the state Democrats could find much to be admired in him even before he entered politics. His humanitarian activities during the Great War had never been

1 Richmond Times-Dispatch, June 12, 1928, 1.
forgotten. There was little to admire in Coolidge.

Other Republican delegates from the state were R. H. Angell, Graham A. Buhrman, Joseph P. Brady, Henry Crockett, Mrs. M. J. Caples, W. D. Hamilton, Bynum P. Good, Mrs. Felix Parker, and Mrs. William Caldwell who was elected national committeewoman.

A new era was born as the medium of radio would expand the interest for the first time and bring to the armchair politician a new thrill, perhaps even greater than the captive power of our television. The kleig lights blazed down upon the 15,000 seated in the auditorium providing the newsphotographers with pictures of the events. So new were these that Virginia papers in printing the photos noted with pride that "this was the first picture of the convention."

The hour prelude of music, to which no one listens, passed away and at 11:03 A. M., C. S. T., the gavel of the chairman, William Morgan Butler, resolved the group into national convention. Following the opening prayer of Bishop S. C. Partridge of the Episcopal Church the body met only briefly.

\[2\text{Ibid., June 12, 1928, 2.}\]
\[3\text{Ibid., 1.}\]
The convention broke Monday night as Andrew Mellon put the powerful Pennsylvania delegation in Hoover's column and Massachusetts' Butler threw his weight behind the Secretary. In spite of no word from Coolidge a first ballot win was certain; rather this was to be a gathering to ratify Hoover's nomination.

The 15,000 plus the vast unseen audience settled down for the keynote address by Senator Simeon D. Fess, Ohio, and were somewhat amazed at his Coolidge talk and pleased with his saintly Republican record remarks.

"This hold upon the confidence of the American people ...makes Calvin Coolidge the greatest personal and political force in the world." The party would stand on the record of Coolidge voiced Fess revealing the theme of his address as Republican leadership "throughout." The Senator's boast of his party's increasing the nation's wealth from $20 billion to $400 billion impressed few Virginians, for what average one of them could create sympathy for Mellon's wealth? There was nothing yet in this meeting that would capture the electoral votes of the Old Dominion.

Tuesday was not without its party jolts the greatest of

4 Ibid., June 13, 1928, 1.
5 Ibid., 2.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
which was experienced when the resolutions committee prepared to attack its work after Columbia University President Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler offered from the floor a wet plank. William S. Vare, Senator-elect from Pennsylvania, added his support.

As Fess had mentioned, national prosperity in the opening speech, even the financial world enjoyed advances when news of Hoover’s certain selection was apparent.

Even sinners repent. The gentlemen of the high-hat party applauded when the name of Woodrow Wilson swept across the convention hall. Guilty conscience?

The Virginia delegation was encouraged in its drive to name Colonel Anderson to the second position when Teddy Roosevelt called at the state’s headquarters.

Republican apathy toward the Haugen - McNary bills, so cheered by farmers desperate throughout the 1920’s, resulted in the Democrats inviting the disappointed marchers on the GOP convention to come to Houston for a full hearing. The agricultural delegates geared themselves for a last minute "anybody but Hoover" fight. As many interests were fused into one, the farmers found their lot lost at Kansas City; it is strange that aid to farmers did not become a great

---

8 Ibid., June 13, 1928, 1.
9 Ibid., 14.
10 Ibid., June 14, 1928, 2.
campaign issue as would whiskey and religion.

A tall California attorney, John V. McNab, told the assembly, as he placed the name of Herbert Hoover into nomination, that he (Hoover) would carry on the Coolidge record. As the Belgian food administrator he exhibited humanitarian qualities so dear and necessary and recently had continued his great work among the Mississippi River Spring flood victims.

Few Virginians were surprised or shocked to see June 15th. headlines announcing a first ballot win. Following Frank O. Lowden's last ditch withdrawal the engineer received 837 votes to 247 for all challengers.

For his footing the Republicans put under Hoover a platform calling for few changes and basically sifting down to:

(1) Agriculture - A control of surpluses with protection against foreign competition and a reorganization of the marketing system.

(2) Prohibition - Observance of the law with strict enforcement by honest officials.

(3) Economy - That of Coolidge.

(4) Reduction of the debt.

(5) Reduction of taxes as the treasury will allow.

(6) No cancellation of foreign debts.

(7) Foreign Affairs - A policy of co-operation and

---

Ibid., June 15, 1928, 1.
friendship with Latin America; pity for China; non-interference in political affairs of other nations; develop our foreign trade; approval of the policies of Coolidge.

(8) Tariff — one of protection.

(9) Negro — Enact at "earliest possible date" a federal anti-lynch law. 12

Returning again to the state level we find all of Virginia's fifteen votes were cast for Hoover and as his name was placed in the running H. B. Crockett of Pulaski pulled out the state banner and started down the aisle. Commonwealth Republican had sent down-the-line boys who followed the majority even to voting solidly against a minority report for approval of the McNary - Haugen bill.

The unknown of the convention was now due and talk centered around who would receive the vice-presidential nomination. R. H. Angell of Roanoke, chairman of the Virginia delegation, announced he would offer the speech of nomination for Colonel Anderson. 15 There was no doubt of the man's respect and ability by the party, but surely no one was so naive as to believe his selection possible when more balance was needed on the ticket.

Forty million radio listeners had now been initiated

12 Ibid., 9.
13 Ibid., 4.
14 Ibid., 6.
15 Ibid., 9.
into mass politics for the first time as Republican enthusiasm gave them a good show described by one editorial writer as having excitement matching a Wednesday night prayer meeting.

A small action to right a mighty wrong in American history was exhibited the final day of a colorless Republican convention offering little save a strong candidate. Charles Curtis gave proof of American opportunity from birth on a Kansas Indian reservation to Senate majority leader and now the first ballot winner for vice-president 1052 to 34. By the time Hoover's pledge to carry out the platform arrived many delegates were already on the road home some to rejoice and plan the campaign others to feel sad momentarily.

To Virginians the convention of the G O P meant little due primarily to the fact that no surprises of major importance resulted. It is necessary to see this to underline the message that the Republican boom would not develop by their own devices and efforts, but by Democratic activity. The Republicans were indeed meek in ability and nothing in these early days even hinted at the vast amount of trouble

---

16 Ibid., June 16, 1923, I.
that would by November result in a sweep for the party.

DEMOCRAT

Even while the Republicans still deliberated in Kansas City Virginia Democrats crowded them from the news columns as they made plans for the state convention. A Wednesday night (June 20th.) meeting of party leaders in Roanoke gave strong indications the state delegation would work in Houston uninstructed. The extensive plans were laid to cover eruptions when the leaders decided that neither the radical drys nor the radical wets would pull anything.

While the drys positioned the Richmond City Democrats for proper delegates, Danville Democrats in a mass meeting slated to select their twenty-one state delegates revealed a strong anti-Smith sentiment. With the Wets cracking the whip so violently this early in the game one might wonder what chance would a Wet candidate have.

George C. Peery of Tazewell would be the party's keynote addresser in Roanoke with Speaker of the House of Delegates Thomas W. O'zlin slated for permanent chairmanship.

Only the loudest party differences reach full public

17 Richmond News Leader, June 14, 1928, 1.
18 Times-Dispatch, ex-att., June 4, 1928, 2.
19 Ibid., 3.
notice and Richmond City would now be split asunder in the state's most violent pre-convention strife.

In April the city's Democrats met and named eighty-six of their state delegation and again met on Friday, June 15th, to choose the remaining ones. There a bitter conflict came into the open disclosing much behind-the-scene plans as the anti-Smith faction led by Morgan R. Mills won seventy-six of the seventy-seven delegates over the Clyde W. Saunders wing. Wild debate was heard as well as personal remarks in this array of surprise that resulted in the Smith forces walking out in vivid protest, for one would never guess these were members of the same party. The defeated promised the matter should live again when the state group would pass judgement.

If a reader found it impossible to wade through the depths of letters to the editor it is no wonder since it appeared all mankind must be heard, some with solid facts, but most with groundless verbosity.

A number of state journals praised Hoover for having never been a failure about the time Smith claimed he had obtained the necessary two-thirds, but analytical Virginians found that a number of the delegates in the state were also delegates to the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Church.

---

20 Ibid., June 16, 1928, 1. A list of the Richmond delegates can be found on page two of this edition.
21 Ibid., June 17, 1928, 1.
Back in Richmond from Kansas City Colonel Anderson revealed he had requested his name not to be placed in nomination and with this finale the Republicans took a back seat as eyes focused on the coming event. Of the total 1100 delegates all had been chosen except the twenty-four our land could claim; therefore 733 1/3 would be needed for victory.

First gathering a collection of 20,000 Democratic signatures opposing a wet candidate, the Anti-Saloon League had planned well under Hepburn's leadership. With the petition prepared for presentation at Houston the League made known the most important single element of pre-convention activity whose effect, to the author, causes wonder that anyone really expected the Democratic candidate to carry the state.

The League had sent to evangelical preachers of eight denominations questionnaires to which 555 returned replies among them 434 Democrats, forty-eight Republicans, and seventy-three independents. Of the total 506 stated they would cast for a dry Republican before voting for a wet Democrat. Quite naturally pastors oppose "demon rum" and more so the evangelical ones, but the point is this: when

---

22 Ibid.
23 Ibid., 8.
24 Ibid.
last had the ministers been so vocal as to invade secular
interests generally considered out of bounds for them? This
was something new and may be correctly called the core of
resistance in Virginia as 506 would rake the coals and warm
up the situation.

Another ace was thrown on the table in the Superintendent's press release in the form of quoting various churches
who had adopted resolutions on the issues: Methodist Episcopal
Church, South, Southern Baptist Convention, Disciples of
Christ, Methodist Episcopal, Virginia Baptist General Asso-
ciation, and the Virginia Methodist Conference.

The cause of prohibition's failure is not and has never
been new, but a feature news article of the capital press
quoted the city police as referring to the experiment as a
joke, a viewpoint of no credit to that "profession." The
Sunday papers had greater space to devote to the gathering
clouds as the pros and cons blew back and forth, Bishop
Cannon calling Smith the "Knight of Tammany" and the cons
in Virginia could answer that Smith himself was not at all
crooked.

For a brief time the Richmond trouble redeveloped and
the split widened prior to the June 21st. Roanoke convention

---

25 Ibid.
26 Ibid., June 17, 1928, II, 1.
as a move began to oust from the State Central Committee Saunders and Alexander H. Sands losers in the delegation selection. The credentials committee must decide.

THE NORFOLK VIRGINIAN-PILOT correctly viewed the future particularly in North Carolina where Senator Simmons pondered doubt as to Smith. However, nationally the New Yorker gained as Governor Albert C. Ritchie retired from the race to support the leading contender. The view of this withdrawal was seen as a graceful avoidance of defeat, while the TIMES-DISPATCH accused the Republican party of incapability of moral leadership because of such designers as Will Hays.

In the Tidewater region two rival Democratic factions arose in South Norfolk, but the addition of cement in the form of allotting seats to both at a half-vote each saved the day. The Richmond contenders were warned to swiftly bury the hatchet, and to insure this action a peace conference brought Senator Swanson, Byrd, and State Chairman Murray Hooker together with a 3 - 3 - 1 arrangement as the outcome. Both Mills and Saunders were to name three members to the State Democratic Central Committee and a seventh to be a

---

27 Editorial, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, June 12, 1928, 6.
28 Times-Dispatch, ex-cit., June 19, 1928, 1.
29 Ibid., June 26, 1928, 6.
30 Virginian-Pilot, ex-cit., June 21, 1928, 1.
political neutral, if such a variety exists. The 163 Richmond delegates were placed on the temporary roll with the members voting as a block on the issues upon majority decision.

This Richmond recounting had a sad though not a new ending found many times in the world of politics when a tight place is encountered and must be removed to retain solidarity. A new party coalition centered around Dr. J. Fulmer Bright kept Saunders, Mills, and James M. Hazen off of the State Committee.

Three important delegation disputes reached the committee, but soon amiability entered the scene and with it a rapid settlement for Loudoun and Arlington; only Fairfax required longer consideration. With the ordinary put aside all attention settled upon the plans for Houston and since political meetings are seldom docile speculation was afoot as to any anti-Smith uprisings.

A necessary asset for a politico is momentary maneuverability and here Virginians are no dudes if indeed they are not masters of the art. An advancing Smith stampede died quickly with the non-debatable motion to adjourn and amid frequent floor shouts for the Brown Derby the state delegation was to proceed uninstructed and not bound by.

33 Times-Dispatch, op. cit., June 21, 1928, 2.
unit rule unless members agree.

Carter Glass offered a platform having half-way promises toward prohibition planks and although adopted with hardly a dissenting vote, this was to bind neither party nor the nominee. Claims of victory could arise from both camps with the anti-salooners holding the edge as shown by an unofficial poll of the delegates.

Keynoter Perry followed meaningless tradition by calling for a return to the usual Jeffersonianism lest it be betrayed by any Virginian. Then berths on the national committee went to Governor Byrd and Mrs. Robert C. Watts. The eight delegates-at-large were Swanson, Byrd, Hooker, E. Lee Trinkle, G. Walter Mapp, W. T. Reed, and Mrs. Watts. Definite sentiments of individuals is unfortunately missing since no recorded votes were made at Roanoke and no one need be embarrassed.

Hoover gained nationally as Dr. Hubert Work, Interior Secretary, resigned to manage the Republican campaign and more so locally as Virginia's Senator Swanson announced his opposition to Smith on the twenty-second. Smith merely

34 Ibid., l.
35 Ibid., June 22, 1928, l.
36 Ibid. See page 16 for congressional district delegations to the Democratic National Convention.
37 Ibid., June 23, 1928, l.
reiterated his previous opinions.

With expenses amounting to $14,400 or about $300 each the Texas bound Virginians passed through Bristol, where it was correctly reported that on the first ballot Smith would receive six votes and Cordell Hull, then Tennessee congressman, eighteen. While Byrd naturally saw advantage in remaining non-committal in an interview, delegates Cox, Wilson, and Anton promised the New Yorker their electoral assets. No one could deny the existence of a pending crisis so much of it present that public servants were reminded they lived, as Virginians, in the home of toleration.

Opposition was founded, said the state presses, on three factors: (1) Smith as a Roman Catholic (2) a Wet favoring modification of prohibition (3) and the head of Tammany Hall. Here we witness a candidate vulnerable in these vital spots each one alone potent enough to defeat a man, together forming a political revolution.

Cannon's foil in this history was to be young and not so real Virginius Dabney of the TIMES-DISPATCH who was to stand pat on the theory that the real opposition to Smith was religion with whiskey and Tammany as fronts.

---

38 Virginia Pilot, op. cit., June 24, 1928, II, 1.
39 Times-Dispatch, op. cit., June 24, 1928, 1.
40 Ibid., 2.
41 Ibid., II, 2.
Dabney, whose articles received state wide distribution, believed more than one-half of our delegation opposed the Wet, but he and his paper were to be the greatest friends Smith had in Virginia as every muscle was stretched to tell voters they were unmentionables if they bolted the party in the election. No once did either the writer or the paper recall 1896 when the TIMES-DISPATCH refused to support the everlasting William Jennings Bryan!

The Ku Klux Klan opened headquarters in Houston at the Milby Hotel across from the central Hotel Rice. The dry snowball continued amid a humid reception as Cannon told Glass he hoped the Democrats would do as well as the GOP in regards to planks and James A. Reed sought 367 votes necessary (one-third) to block Smith. Yet in spite of this anti activity and feeling, who could the Drys place in nomination if they hoped to accomplish their ends? There was none other than Smith.

As the Virginians caucused, the Bristol report was verified and added to by the reluctance of Virginia women who half-heartedly announced support through Mrs. Scott Litton if Smith had enforcement in the platform. Even

---

42 Virginian-Pilot, op. cit., June 26, 1928, 1.
43 Times-Dispatch, op. cit., June 26, 1928, 1.
44 Ibid., 4.
in the eighteen votes for hopeless (in the sense of nomination) Cordell Hull can one see the state's officials avoiding a definite stand on the wet-dry candidate issue to save face and let themselves off "the hook." One editor concurred in this belief by mentioned inference to keeping "peace at home," while another differed and said the Hull fever was personal respect.

With a now confused Virginia Democratic delegation seated toward the front of Jesse Jones' auditorium on June the twenty-sixth a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Samuel Ross Hay, opened the big affair with prayer followed shortly by the prohibition absent keynote address by Claude G. Bower of New York calling the Republican Party one of privilege, pillage, and corruption.

The public hearings before the platform committees began with Senator Glass on the resolutions block where James Cannon, Jr., representing thirty-one temperate organizations of the United States, argued so strongly for an enforcement plank and with such conviction that Glass had to step between the cleric and Millard Tydings of Maryland to prevent physical violence called forth when the

---

47 Times-Dispatch, op. cit., June 27, 1928, 1.
latter objected to a remark of Dalney's "Dry Messiah."

As a last minute effort appeared to boast Arkansas' Senator Joseph T. Robinson, the phrase "Happy Warrior" fell upon very quiet ears coming from the lips of the Democratic candidate for the governorship of New York, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Smith's successor rang high praises and reasoned why his selection was necessary if the party had dreams of winning in November.

Few citizens of our Commonwealth were at all surprised to find headlines in their June 29th. journals hailing the first ballot victory of that "Happy Warrior" with 768 2/3 votes along with a plank deemed satisfactory - "honest enforcement." In all nine names were put in nomination and of the Smith sum six were compliments of Virginia. The effect on the convention was not noticeable since all expected the reality and the only atmosphere present at the close was wishing hope of the campaign. As in the Republican convention, this was only a rubber stamping of foregone conclusions and if there was anything peaceful about this political year it was the lack of color and of competition in the national meetings.

---

48 Ibid., June 28, 1928, 1.
49 Ibid., June 29, 1928, 1.
50 Ibid., 6.
The papers suddenly had stars in their eyes as they claimed a victory over intolerance in terms appearing as unto heavenly joy with a solid front and a winning candidate to boot. Fate, they believed, had set the course and all must rally behind the banner. The Staunton NEWS LEADER AND DAILY NEWS was among the first to jump aboard with the statement the Democrats could not win without him. By July the paper answered any Catholic question by fully endorsing one running.

By July 1st. Carter Glass' LYNCHBURG NEWS said those who will not support the banner bearer would remain out of the party until they returned. Although the WINCHESTER EVENING STAR did not create its own editorials, it reprinted the views of others in line with their own and on July 5th. they pledged their support.

Optimism was permeating the Fredericksburg area by way of the FREE LANCE-STAR which saw the opponents of Smith changing heart before November. By November that note of hope was still to be present regardless of pressing circumstances, for a front page editorial claimed twenty percent of the Republicans were deserting the GOP for the
Democrats and Alfred E. Smith.

The two were selected, the issues formed and only to be underlined, and the campaign started with endorsement by leading papers whose opinions were respected and followed by many. We have noted the friction that began early in the Democratic Party and we have seen the seeds sown by various characters in our history. With the plot so well laid we surely know the third act will be one of adventure in the sense of politics.
III

THE CAMPAIGN

ACTION OF THE CHURCHES

And then it happened! Somewhere on the first page of the dailies half hidden by the news that Robinson had gained victory on the first ballot, 1032 1/2 votes, as the Democratic vice-presidential candidate came an announcement from Arthur J. Barton, of Atlanta, Chairman of the Board of Temperance of the Southern Baptist Convention and James Cannon, Jr. calling all Southern Democrats to meet in Asheville, North Carolina on July 11th, to plan and organize for the election of dry Democratic senatorial, congressional, and state officials and for the defeat of Al Smith.

All of this followed the 600 word telegram of Smith

1 *Virginian-Pilot*, *et al.*, June 30, 1928, 1.
accepting the nomination and promising enforcement of the law. No one can deny the Ashville meeting was planned in advance based on the reality of the Brown Derby's selection, but in any event the lid was off, the pot boiling, and the slow embers raging in a mighty flame.

Greater proof of feigned support of the Warrior was found in the view of his great Virginia supporter, the RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, who said the "Big Four" of the state, Swanson, Glass, Byrd, and Hooker, opposed the nomination in the thought that the Old Dominion did not truly favor him. Regardless of this revelation of weakness the editor predicted his overwhelming victory within our bounds aided by the announced support of Mrs. R. C. Watts, the National Committeewoman.

The period from July through October was not near as exciting as the convention days, for the time was, rather, an anticlimax of a mighty production broken occasionally by the preachers who sounded the first volley and in the campaign months continued to fire rapidly as numbers used the pulpit to tell of their opposition to evil and Al Smith. The Anti-Saloon League Virginia boss, Hepburn, predicted the first of July a party bolt in several southern states, Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina where the combi-

---

2 Times-Dispatch, op. cit., June 30, 1928, 4.
nation of elements would devour any oneness of party.

The papers, as did the citizens, stood ground on one side or the other as the election began for the first time to dominate the press releases with these journals immediately siding with the Democratic Party through time honored loyalty to the institution rather than the man: NORFOLK VIRGINIAN-PILOT, ROANOKE TIMES, PETERSBURG PROGRESS-INDEX, NEWPORT NEWS TIMES-HERALD, LYNCHBURG NEWS, and the DANVILLE REGISTER. Of the above the one which would in the result hold the greatest influence and strength was the PETERSBURG PROGRESS-INDEX holding the belief Smith was nominated because the people were "Iowed" to death. A prime reason for the paper's success was editorials that did not scare the reader as he turned to the editorial page, but writings of careful make-up that were pure eye appeal; one could not help but pause and read. Feeling an air of political neglect the newspaper called upon the Democratic officials of Virginia to speak out and swiftly declare themselves.

For deep convictions on the subject the Richmond morning edition editor scolded Dr. J. M. Rowland, editor of the RICHMOND CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE (Virginia Methodist Episcopal Church, South) in terms smelling of prejudice that the

---

3 Ibid., July 3, 1928, 1.
4 Editorial, Petersburg Progress-Index, July 24, 1928, 4.
paper so often would attack! The paper's observer, Dabney, now modified his view to a marked degree by not expressing such certain sureness as to the outcome of the South and foreseeing a bitter campaign in the state. The crack grew wider as Dabney admitted the state chiefs were deeply worried over keeping the party together, for the handwriting was plain and not liable to change under the pressing circumstances.

The far and near communities of the Commonwealth resounded in various manners in spite of the planting season that kept the farmer from active and full time participation a factor revealing this segment of voters would be quiet until election time. The Anti-Saloon League met in Covington while Richmond's Dover Association (Baptist) announced favor towards a dry candidate. State Chairman Hooker was occupied early with organization of a weak nature as Smith selected John J. Raskob as National Chairman such action doing nothing to improve the party's standing particularly when page one mentions Raskob wants liquor in the home.

The strong area for Smith appeared as the 1928 campaign

---

5 Times-Dispatch, cit., July 14, 1928, 4.
6 Ibid., July 15, 1928, II, 2.
7 Ibid., July 16, 1928, 1.
8 Ibid., July 18, 1928, 1.
9 Ibid., July 19, 1928, 1.
started its great drive to be in the western counties, but even there one witnessed the small segments that split a solid block: "Roanoke Baptist Association Against Smith," "Pittsylvania Association For Dry Candidates." In the region a bitter ink and pulp enemy of the Anti-Saloon League, who said the Republican prohibition plank was acceptable to both the League and bootleggers, was Louisa's CENTRAL VIRGINIAN.

No rural instrument was more intent or severe and a reader soon discovered a rare old fashioned mind favoring no new-fangled trends among the people. "Don't hide behind the clock of religion..." was the advice. In Louisa the party officials allowed no split, not even a crack, for due warning came from the County Democratic Committee concerning voting in future elections if they cast for Hoover in November. Although the county would follow suit and fall prey to Republicanism, the vote would be close certainly as a result of the CENTRAL VIRGINIAN.

The Bishop's rump convention in Asheville met with 267 present of which seventeen were Virginians, two placed on the executive committee, H. M. Hoge and the Reverend J. Sidney Peters. Called a Frankenstein by the VIRGINIAN-
PILOT and other degrading names, the Convention continued in a definite manner appearing to be based on the fact that nothing else on earth was more important. In spite of the natural suspicion that would be here attached the complete contrary was true. Correspondent Walter S. Adams of the Ashville TIMES wrote that there was absolutely no emphasis of Smith as a Catholic by the formal meetings or the delegates.

An active campaign for Hoover was promised and certainly to a great many people he was now the Democratic candidate! It was this outcome that brought down upon the gathering more remarks of a traitor nature. However, there is more evidence that reveals in final proof the sincerity of the Asheville meeting.

The popular magazine of the day, THE OUTLOOK, sent Dixon Merritt who after due observations wrote in the article "The Asheville Convention" that one was tempted to laugh at the group since half of the attendants were women and the others ministers all ignorant of what we might call practical politics. Merritt revealed the same faithless of Adams and mentioned that the newsmen covering the convention surely changed their minds. In the sessions Bishop H. M.

14 Asheville Times, July 19, 1928, 1.
Dose, naturally of the Methodist Church, said 400,000 southern Democrats had signed petitions stating that Alfred E. Smith had secured delegates by irregular methods. One should not doubt the outcome of the coming event if such a report be true, however, additional information on the roll is simply non-existent and the above is the only account to be found on the 400,000 names.

Bishop Cannon drew greater and greater fire as his opponents realized more and more his rising power that did not cease in spite of statements that he did not speak for the churches in the actions he initiated. A main task falling to the Bishop was collection of funds on which this independent Hoover movement could smoothly sail; there is no evidence of even a suggestive nature that the Republican Party financed the Virginia church movements. This charge was never made and therefore remains a monument to individual action.

An example of the funds collection is seen on Cannon's November 2nd. speech in Danville where upon taking a collection, which all Methodists can not resist doing and such an inherent trait will excuse the Bishop, he had money enough for the central campaigning while the local association well supported itself. The DANVILLE REGISTER says the flash of boundless

---

15 The Outlook, vol. 149, No. 14, 543.
16 Richmond News Leader, op. cit., July 1, 1928, 3.
energy collected $18,133 and spent $18,111. In other sections of the Old Dominion success was not to be had in large measures, especially in the heart of the state where most citizens resisted the plea of the League’s letters requesting operating funds.

Since 1925 the Federal Corrupt Practices Act had graced the law books requiring the Bishop and others engaged in the fine art of "politicizing" to file detailed accounts of their financial activities. In the name of the Headquarters Committee, Anti-Smith Democrats, Box 674, Richmond, Virginia R. G. Smith accounted for the following contributions and expenses of the agency Cannon headed.

From July 23rd. through August 31st. receipts from 686 sources totaled $5032.79 the largest being $500 loans of Mr. Cannon on July 28th., July 30th., August 1st., and August 7th. and 14th. Of the gifts some were as small as $.25 while others averaged one dollar to two. Of the 188 names of Virginians this author recognized only two; F. E. Kellam, $5 and Garnett Ryland, $1.

Disbursements for the period were $5023.48. The period September 1st. through October 25th. including six loans of

17 Danville Register, November 3, 1928, 4.
18 Louisa Central Virginian, op. cit., October 21, 1928, 2.
19 Rembert Gilman Smith, Politics In A Protestant Church, 130.
20 Ibid., 131.
21 Ibid., 137.
Cannon's totaling $3754.50. $1811.11 was spent for newspapers, supplies, expenses, stenographers, etc. reported Treasurer A. L. Burroughs. Receipts of $4783.21 during the days of October 26th. through November 1st. contrasted with $4728.71 spent. When one considers this organization to be one born in rapidity and but a sole group, it is revealed unto us the large and definite scope of the antis. We must multiply this section by the clubs and leagues of long standing and add to this the uncountable local segments waging a fight on its own ground. There can only be subtracted the fact that Virginia has been Democratic in the past. Perhaps this is a mathematical history.

No doubt by this time the Republican Party had adopted most unofficially the slogan "Let the Preachers Do It." A good deal of the misunderstanding circling this election was that it was out of taste, sacrilegious, and predestined to failure for the churches to thusly involve themselves and that such actions as the clerics were undertaking were foolish. This is perhaps the second greatest misconception of the entire affair. Those who recorded the events, chiefly newspapers, did not realize that folks have a natural pride to join a crusade; here was a chance to show the stuff of which churches are made. We never know what we can do until we have to do it and now morals were at stake.

22 Ibid., 144.
The official organs of the various denominations resounded the bitter campaign in such a wide range that one might doubt religion's potent force directing the outcome.

The Commonwealth of Virginia has long been noted as the seat and perfection of many of these journals and all produced in the state are papers of the highest merit faithfully pursuing the task of informing, seeking, and crusading. One should not question or entertain question of their quality; their's is a crucial position in Virginia church life as shown in the election of 1928.

Before individual diagnosis, the reach and influence on the masses of the people must be considered. All of these publications have circulations quite minute in comparison to the dailies and for this reason we might doubt they could in any large way mold the thought of Virginians since so few are reached.

The exception is present. The subscribers to these denominational papers are by and large the local church leaders who receive it through a sense of duty or genuine interest. The majority would consist of pastors, stewards, deacons, vestrymen, church school superintendents, leaders of the women's groups, etc. And so are the seeds sown!

These people, having been influenced by the feature
articles and editorials, reflect the views upon the average church-goer. By virtue of their leadership in whatever capacity the messages of the journals reach the mark even stronger, I believe, than the original, for now it is spoken and not written. Into the sermon, into the Sunday School lesson, into Ladies Aid meetings it moves.

It is quite surprising to find THE VIRGINIA CHURCHMAN, the Episcopal paper for the Diocese of Virginia, had no comment whatsoever to advance on this acute campaign that involved religion so greatly. Not one line is to be found. Such an editorial policy perhaps denotes independence and a "Let's not get involved" attitude. The Episcopal Church has generally been active in holding solid beliefs and surely a golden chance was missed by the CHURCHMAN to echo the voice of their leaders in this time of need.

Under the editorship of seventy-five year old R. H. Pitt, the RELIGIOUS HERALD, distinguished Baptist paper of Virginia, held the most torrid and outright views of any of the religious papers. "... we refuse to vote the technical Democratic ticket ..." was the cry of Dr. Pitt. 23 In language direct and clear the editor put forth every ounce

of journalistic energy to fight the Catholic - wet - Tammany menace.

Its anti-Catholic view was most evident in the editorial of June 7th. and to enlarge the program of the editor there appeared letters from readers denouncing the wet and pleading for moral America not to be degraded personally. Reprints and articles from other Southern Baptist sources gave proof of a Southern fight to oppose Smith.

The issue before the election reveals the paper's eagerness to have church people prove they can be a force of American politics. For the benefit of those Baptists who did not understand the meaning of scratching names on the ballot election day, in bold type Dr. Pitt defined the word. He could feel certain Virginia Baptists would do their part.

A more wholesome, yet crusading, attitude was to be found in the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South paper THE RICHMOND CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE. The editor, Dr. J. M. Rowland, had firm anti-whiskey views, but he never went to the level of Dr. Pitt in words that rang of bitterness. If any paper had a message, yet was decent and clean in presentation, it was the ADVOCATE.

\[24\] Ibid., 11.
On July 12th, an editorial addressed itself to three groups. It told the preachers and church members to vote with conviction as individuals, but not to drag down the Methodist Church in bitterness. To the people at large Dr. Rowland said, "You can oppose a Catholic President without that [bitterness."

The politicians were told not to blame the people for voting for Hoover when Smith opposes prohibition since morals, not politics, were directing the Christians.

The issue before November 7th, printed the records of the two and following the election with its victory for the crusading Methodists there was absolutely no boasting at all. THE METHODIST ADVOCATE had nothing of which to be ashamed; there would be no cries of intolerance here!

The opinions of THE CHRISTIAN SUN are well summed up when the editor, J. O. Atkinson, declared, "The thought of running this man [Smith] for President on a platform that declares for prohibition is too absurd to deceive any one."

Thus were members of the Southern Christian Church prevailed upon to uphold the Eighteenth Amendment and oppose its foes.

This paper, whose make-up is one of the finest, continually repeated that the election was a moral question

---

26 Ibid.
27 Ibid., November 1, 1928, 7, 8, 9.
of right versus wrong giving proof somewhat to their claim by asserting Tammany Hall was presided over and run by thirty-three Catholics and four Jews with not a Protestant on the list! Such facts appealed to the eye; it cost someone votes.

An open war was not declared by the PRESBYTERIAN OF THE SOUTH, rather a move for peace was the order for the editors. Appearing more as a spectator, the journal saw the bitterness of 1928 and issued a plea for healing of the bitter words sent forth. The editors, William S. Campbell and W. L. Lingle, had assumed the roles of peacemakers, roles with a meaning as strong as the mention of the same in the Sermon on the Mount. 29a

With devotion to cause and sometimes harshness the more democratic denominations through their state and sectional papers had campaigned fully in the efforts to curb what they considered a menace to our morals. No one dare condemn them for this. The voice of the Christian press wielded a force of molding leaders who in turn molded A These papers won their cause because they had quality as opposed to quantity in the daily papers.

CAMPAIGNING AT LARGE

The capital city witnessed its first "Democrats For

29 Ibid., July 12, 1928, 12.

29a Editorial, Presbyterian of the South, July 22, 1928, 10.
Hoover" meeting as 400 gathered. Our friend Dabney touched upon the second reason for the final outcome of this election by echoing Virginia leaders that the National Democratic Committee would not release enough money for use in Virginia. This fear was later to become more than a reality, for it is evident through such mediums as advertising that the Smith forces had little financial backing, while the Republican Party had not only its own resources, but those of the many Democrats who deserted the ranks.

Just as in the 1952 fiasco many 1928 minds wondered if voting GOP would endanger primary participation, for this was not an anti-party trend. August first arrived and with it the statement by Attorney-General John R. Saunders that voting in the August primary (now July 15) does not increase one's obligation to support the party nominees.

The state officials still put on face as a poll revealed thirty members of the Virginia Senate and fifty-seven members of the House of Delegates would support Smith. One need not be a H. G. Wells to foretell the political future. The BALTIMORE SUN's F. F. Kent spent a short time in the Commonwealth and in particular with the Virginia Bar Association.

30 Richmond Times-Dispatch, op. cit., July 24, 1928, 1.
31 Ibid., July 25, 1928, 6.
32 Ibid., August 1, 1928, 1.
33 Ibid., August 2, 1928, 1.
concluding that if the election were held then the odds would be against Smith.

The latter was not without Cavalier support, but found Smith in a famous dry leader's support, G. Walter Mapp along with the "stump-taking" of S. Otis Bland. The then "one of the boys" M. A. Hutchinson, Secretary of the Commonwealth, strongly denounced Hepburn's advocacy of split voting. And still the Cannon roared, three times in one day, 1228 in Petersburg shouting their approval; and the shots rang true.

August now prepared to close its books and in so doing found the Smith faction ill organized and almost non-existant. The formal machinery simply was not present; only individual action was holding the derby high. We have seen far more action by the elephants or should we say renegade herd.

Finally realizing time is an element to be met, more and more of the organization men of Virginia paid their homage. On August 23rd. Glass announced support of the ticket followed the same time by Byrd's call for unification. Two days later Swanson tooted likewise and Richmond's Mayor J. Fulmer Bright was named to direct the city campaign.

As rival political groups formed in localities, reports of local trend began to develop, some actual, others claim.

---

34 Ibid., August 7, 1928, 6.
36 Ibid., August 8, 1928, 8.
37 Ibid., August 24, 1928, 1.
38 Ibid., August 25, 1928, 18.
The Antis made inroads in Danville although the Bishop was overseas in Antwerp. The first political ads occurred early and were a surprise not only to contemporaries, but to the reader. On the 30th, Jennings C. Wise began a daily, except Sunday, paid column strongly and rationally pleading for Hoover.

Lack of agreement among the clerics naturally appeared, but received prominence only when national figures were involved. Most of this occurred in Cannon's denomination where Bishop Warren A. Candler opposed church entrance into politics joined by Richmond's Bishop Collins Denny. Southern Methodist leaders Cannon, John W. Moore, Edmund Mouzon, and Horace M. Dubose defended the activity.

Again the word came — no national Democratic funds to be spent in the state at all and with it the denunciation by running mate Robinson of G O P hired agents active in Dixie. Quite a contrast and a factor already mentioned as reason number two for the fall of Al Smith. The Solid South was counted as "safe" and border areas could receive to better advantage the money available to be spent. The Republicans poured it on to the extent that some believed church collection

40 Richmond Times-Dispatch, on cit., September 1, 1928, 1.
plates were filled to bait the ministry.

Of Republican literature beginning in September there was no end as floods poured in under the direction of C. B. Slemp. The papers ranged from a denial of Catholic ownership to fears that Cannon would rule Virginia politics if Hoover were elected. Also by this time the women had begun to shift around the political scene spearheaded by a W C T U drive for their votes, to such an extent City Democratic Chairman E. M. McClure drew anger due to his laxity in "getting busy." For one Smith gain there appeared a quartet of moves G O P wise in the dawn of September. Hoover-Democratic clubs commenced in Alexandria and in Matthews as Robert H. Angell found pay dirt in the Roanoke area. Even Democrat reports, as Page County for Smith, were small and unimpressive.

The polls and straw votes were somewhat new, but not untried. The first attempt to gauge the pulse was the conservative farm magazine PATHFINDER which gave the nod as of September 20th, to Hoover although he did not carry enough straw in Virginia.

Claims and counter claims most certainly center around personalities in a campaign as both factions seek to draw the

---

41 Ibid., September 7, 1928, 1.
42 Ibid., quoting Pathfinder, September 20, 1928, 2.
big names to the bandwagon. Dr. John Preston McConnell was the example when as President of the Virginia Anti-Saloon League he said he would vote for Al Smith. The embarrassing moment had arrived for the Drys as they sought to explain the all important event. A measure of vote balm arrived as Hepburn, the League's Superintendent, stated Dr. McConnell did so because of his professional position, President of the State Teachers College at Radford. The pressure, Hepburn noted carefully, was similar to that placed on Richmond teachers—vote right or else. If this was true or not, it provided mental opium for not too bright minds to begin with.

The month of September ended with a state correspondent, Allen Cleaton, discovering after a wide tour of the state that the situation was out of the hands of the politicians. These thirty days surely had gone to the Drys and now who could doubt the outcome in Virginia?

THE LAST MONTH

The last month was hot and heavy, for it was not until now that the factions saw the nearing of the Tuesday after the first Monday in November. Newsman Cleaton again toured the Commonwealth finding the old Second District very active as Hoovercrats pushed the fight. The Tidewater lid blew

43 Ibid., September 28, 1928, 1.
44 Ibid., September 29, 1928, 1.
45 Ibid., October 2, 1928, 1.
off as eight resigned from the Norfolk City Democratic Committee, seven because they could not support the party nominees. At the very same time similar news occurred to the east in Princess Anne County.

Cleaton continued up the Eastern Shore where the female activity was apparent while Gloucester was awarded outright to Hoover as a result of an oyster war bringing blame to state officials. The reader of this paper should return to these pages after the end is reached to gauge the accuracy of Mr. Cleaton's pre-election information. In the Northern Neck he found the Democrats shaky, but indeed strong in Southside Virginia.

The seat of Jeffersonianism, Charlottesville, was indeed peaceful during a fire campaign, a rarity among us all. The delegates to the Roanoke convention were quietly selected and here, to contrast with most of the state, the women were more active for Smith. Even the labor interests which so often opposed the Wet exhibited activity for him.

With his supporters so active or should one say his opponent's opponents so active Hoover decided upon one southern speech and that at Elizabethton, Tennessee. There was need
of no more. Dr. McConnell's story had another chapter as he resigned his Saloon duties only adding to the confusion. So great were the anti-Smith feelings that many congressmen considered initiating investigations of the attacks against him. Typical of the attacks was one from the women's ranks issued from the verbal command by Mrs. Willie W. Cardwell, Republican National Committeewoman, stating in an open letter to her peers that all must rid the country from being "Romanized and run ridden."

The Drys were far from pure as their attacks began to mingle with the Ku Klux Klan, long opposed to Catholicism and northern rule. The sheeted cowards published through the Independent Publishing Company the FELLOWSHIP FORUM the vehicle for conveying anti-Smith utterances. Virginia felt this directly as twenty-eight of her citizens were accused of being stockholders in the affair. Prominent in the list of interested was R. H. Angell, Republican State Chairman for Virginia. What many suspected was now clear if the statement was true.

Any help would be accepted by the Republican Party; a semi foreign legion - we investigate none of your past, its your present we're interested in.

---
51 Ibid., October 3, 1923, 1.
52 Ibid., October 1, 1928, 1.
53 Ibid., October 8, 1928, 1.
Naturally the following day Angell issued a denial of the connection, but still the pro-Smith TIMES-DISPATCH called Hoover the Klan candidate since he had never repudiated it. In Stafford County many citizens received large numbers of letters published and sent out by the FELLOWSHIP FORM.

The most famous of the 1920's polls issued its first findings to the extent that in Virginia Hoover secured 16,427 to 11,436 for Smith. This LITERARY DIGEST statement was underlined by repeated reports of huge registration increases especially among the ladies. New York City already had half a million more and the Associated Press found 43 million qualified voters or 14 million over 1924. Virginia had seen a 75,000 climb (There was to be an actual 81,350 over 1924.)

Never since has the state heard such orations of such high quality. An October 23rd. attack on Hoover and Cannon by Glass was considered the greatest single speech delivered against the Hoovercrats. The grey gentleman revealed them as if they had deserted their religion. Dr. John Garland Pollard was another to attack the Bishop as leading the lambs astray and certainly by far the state supporters of the ticket had the ablest and most distinguished platform partakers,

---

54 Ibid., October 9, 1928, 8.
56 Richmond Times-Dispatch, op.-cit., October 13, 1928, 1.
57 Ibid., October 29, 1928, 1.
but this could never overcome personal reason and emotional factors.

The Smith train paused one hour in Richmond on its southern trip in an effort to regain the already lost. It would have been better if another route had been taken since some undue criticism resulted when the campaigner did not appear at brief stops in Fredericksburg and Petersburg. Such unimportant oversights did lose votes in areas that could ill afford to do so.

A fire-eater, Senator Borah, followed the New Yorker into the state where 5000 heard him lay Smith open. His biographer claims that Borah more than Hoover carried the "back-sliding states of the South." He spoke in Charlotte, Nashville, Tulsa, Chattanooga, and Richmond correctly predicting the G O P would carry North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Florida, Virginia, and Texas.

As the time contracted the occurrences poured in, so many that it is opinion as to the most important. The Valley region was flooded with unsigned literature in plain envelopes placed in autos at night (mostly of a Republican nature).

---

53 Ibid., October 16, 1928, 1.
59 Claudius O. Johnson, Borah of Idaho, 424.
60 Ibid.
On October 24th, the Winchester EVENING STAR carried a rare ad of Cannon's asking for funds followed in six days by another paid section quoting former State Senator G. N. Conrad as saying the Bishop desired no political office.

Down in Staunton Colonel Anderson spoke in tones sharp indeed as he told the 600 that the Mayor of Richmond had issued a letter to all Richmond City employees requiring them to sign a pledge to support Smith. The Cleaton tour was in this area now and here he saw a ray of hope for the Democrats, but in Roanoke the KKK was extremely strong and chief average resentment fell on Smith because of his Tammany affiliation.

In Lynchburg advertisements of a political nature were scarce save a reprint from the RELIGIOUS HERALD that quoted an article entitled "Could Smith Be Elected?" from the REVIEWS OF REVIEWS in which it was predicted the Republicans would swamp Virginia if Smith ran and his beating would be quite severe. The striking exception to the ad phase of the campaign was on the Southside were the Hoover forces had no advertisements while the Democrats carried full page matter.

62 Ibid., October 24, 1928, 5, 7.
63 Staunton News Leader, op. cit., October 30, 1928, 1.
64 Richmond Times-Dispatch, op. cit., October 16, 1928, 1.
The most ridiculous ad appeared in Winchester in the form of a comparison between the two candidates. Hoover had worked on a farm, Smith had not; Hoover had milked a cow, Smith had not; Hoover had ridden horseback, Smith had not; etc. This one country paper had more ads by far than any other in the state not excepting even the city mighties. Here even northern voices reached as a half-page ad carried a message of Daniel A. Poling, editor of the CHRISTIAN HERALD.

The most unusual ad appeared three times in this paper, October 31st., November 2nd. and 3rd. and was entitled "Governor Smith's Creed." While appearing to be an ad of the Democrats the message again and again brings out an underlying Catholic tie with no person or organization signed below it. A perfect example of the election of 1928.

The shadow of Cannon was upon the Virginia Annual Methodist Conference meeting in Lynchburg eventhough he was not presiding bishop of the area. Quite aware of demon rum's spell over so many miserable lives the group, both lay and cleric, adopted appropriate resolutions.

The activity of Cannon caused many to wonder if this was a Byrd v. Cannon affair for state control and thereby the power hand. Byrd swiftly denied this, but still one must admit the lines were clearly drawn. Whom would the people follow?

68 Ibid., November 3, 1928, 8.
69 Ibid., November 2, 3, 1928, 8.
70 Richmond Times-Dispatch, cit., October 19, 1928, 1.
The party lieutenants knew the situation and repeatedly told the voters that the people had accepted the progress of the Byrd era so well in the past that a switch of loyalties would harm the future steps of progress.

Now the machine was fighting for its outward survival with a definite challenge and the issues attached to the national scene. Few who recall or care to study the '28 election take into consideration the internal outcome. True Hoover won the state, but to what effect other than the electoral votes?

Sidelights told the story. The most consistently active man in Richmond was Jennings Wise whose column had now grown to full page ads, radio communications, and speeches. The city could not help but be influenced if by no other reason than the number, size, and continuity of the Hoover pleas.

Again appears what has been noted several times before as a definite cause of the outcome. Democratic Treasurer James W. Gerard issued a plea to the public for necessary campaign funds. The Smith banner had little cash to back it up and therefore little to stem the Hoover tide that was surely coming in. Mr. Dabney sought to prove the party's strength by listing the many famous party leaders true to

---

71 Ibid. October 24, 1928, 1.
the cause as opposed to the few prominent ones on the other side of the fence (Cannon, Slemp, Anderson, Hepburn, Rev. J. Sidney Peters, and Colonel Wise.)

"If I were God, in fifteen minutes these wets wouldn't be this side of Hell." With such ringing words from a national figure in his heyday Billy Sunday drew them in to hear more by the thousands and the November 1st. Richmond audience was even greater. The Virginia tour was opportunity itself since these were the last days and the Reverend was merely crystalizing what local ministers had started. Even the smaller areas were scenes of stops on this southern tour and each one night stand left its mark as so well shown in Lynchburg.

To combat anti-Catholic feeling running rampart the Knights of Columbus ran an ad in the Charlottesville DAILY PROGRESS offering a $25,000 reward for proof of a required oath in the fraternity. Along similar lines over in Staunton the paper felt compelled to defend itself by stating to its readers the ownership was not Catholic and a list of them followed. A strange journalistic requirement indeed.

The famous North Carolina Democrat, Josephus Daniels, was loyal to the party and in his tour he spoke in Richmond

---

72 Ibid., October 28, 1928, II, 2.
73 Ibid., November 2, 1928, 1.
on the night of November 2nd. His sincerity was later doubted when an ad appeared in the Norfolk morning paper reproducing a letter of his to Mrs. Nelly Hall Rout of Long Beach, California stating it would be a "fatal mistake" for the Democratic Party to nominate Smith.

Nothing reveals the situation more than the LITERARY DIGEST polls that were reported during October and early November. The returns given below will be only for Virginia.

October 8
Hoover 22, 164
Smith 14, 891

Of Hoover's here 9, 287 voted Democratic in 1924.

October 15
Hoover 23, 474
Smith 15, 594

Of Hoover's total 9, 307 voted Democratic in 1924.

November 1
Hoover 24, 019
Smith 15, 870

For the nation on this final report Hoover reached 1, 750,534 to 987,795 for Smith. The Literary Poll claimed much success or 14.6 per cent return on questions

79 Literary Digest, volume 99, October 20, 1928, 8.
80 Ibid., October 27, 1928, 10.
81 Ibid., November 3, 1928, 5.
sent out. The Digest followed up the election by naming the three P's that defeated Smith: Prosperity, Prohibition, and Prejudice.

Cannon grew in work as the judgement neared with unnumbered booklets and leaflets along with a statement that he would not dominate Virginia politics under any circumstances. Too little of the Bishop's crusade found its way into the eyes of the public, since the great dailies were so bitter in their opposition to him.

This writer is inclined to believe most rational men knew the signs of the times; for one could note a pathetic approach by the Democrats with a minute appeal as compared to fiery and endless Republican moves. Democrats were told that by staying away from the polls they were aiding Hoover and to them was given careful instructions about marking the ballots: "Draw a line through the names of the candidates that you do not wish to vote for." A recent amendment to the state constitution had reduced the state residence from two to one year.

The anti campaign in Northern Virginia was strange with the Republicans bringing in such notables as the Honorable W. W. Husband, Assistant Secretary of Labor. The extreme was the distribution, from sources unknown, of sample ballots

82 Ibid., November 17, 1928, 6.
marked for Hoover and Curtis saying, "Unless your ballot is marked like this it will not be counted."

And now the last minute reports flooded in, accounts of gains, accounts of losses, accounts of tricks, accounts of clean, old fashioned campaigning. While the antis were very active in Portsmouth, the last week of the campaign saw the Democrats gain considerable, but too late. A last minute huge rally of Democrats in Danville under the leadership of John W. Carter could not muster the needed support as a veil of foreboding hung over the city.

The Danville REGISTER would not predict Smith's victory, but only called on Democrats to support him. Under the direction of S. E. Hughes, Chairman, the Anti-Smith Democratic Club brought Sunday to town and the loyal Democrats had R. T. Bowden, President of the Virginia Federation of Labor, to tell Danville Hoover was to blame for state unemployment.

In Lynchburg a late canvass of the city by Democrats put Smith's majority above 2,000. Senator Glass put on a great front mainly through his paper's editorial pleas. A reader believed such a presentation was strictly false be-

---

84 Ibid., November 9, 1928, 2.
85 Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, op. cit., November 2, 1928, 16.
86 Danville Register, op. cit., November 6, 1928, 1.
87 Ibid., 4.
88 Ibid., October 29, 1928, 1.
89 Ibid., November 3, 1928, 1.
cause Glass did not believe in Smith. The paper replied to this with "rank impudence." In surrounding country-side much activity was present as the Republicans held a barbecue in Wythe County, but were noticeably inactive in nearby Amherst.

In Jefferson's Charlottesville Bob Chamberlayne, Jr., member of the Board of Supervisors for the Roanoke District, announced his support of Hoover. Another small split, but multiplied state-wide many times. Back in Lynchburg as the W C T U held a prayer meeting, the letters to the editor were many and strong causing the ownership to insert a two column wide and a page long editorial entitled "An Appeal to Reason." If not in spirit, Carter Glass was true-blue in deed toward the Democrats.

In Richmond on Monday two and a half pages of letters to the editor appeared, so many in fact on Tuesday the TIMES-DISPATCH gave notice it was unable to print them all. No election has called forth such a large number of letters to fill the columns; it was a time when many desired to be heard. In all fairness it is necessary to say not all the churches preached the election, in fact one paper stated that of the 200 churches in the city only half did so.

91 Ibid., November 1, 1928, 5.
92 Ibid., November 3, 1928, 2.
I V

IN CONCLUSION

*************

THE ELECTION

Tuesday, November 6th., arrived with good weather, "Fair and Warmer," and the hottest Virginia election in forty years began and the voters lost no time in certifying their choices. The lines before the precinct polls were long and very orderly, an unusual comment on this election. In Winchester within five hours the city had received a larger vote than the 1924 total.

If it were possible to probe a voting mind one would surely find confusion, but perhaps conviction. If any election could boast it, this election was one of clear cut issues with only a clear cut choice remaining. To a Virginia Republican this campaign had been their greatest due, even they must admit, to Democratic shortcomings. With a strong candidate and prosperity they met the challenge and made the show exciting by taking the lead in the conflict.

A Virginia Democrat was torn between party loyalty

---

1 Winchester Evening Star, en cit., November 6, 1923, 1.
and personal conviction or moral right and wrong. With candidates scarce they selected one who was honest enough to tell out for all to hear his personal convictions and not those of the crowd. The Democrats could not find heart to support their own.

In New York the gamblers would offer five to one in favor of Hoover beating Smith. In Richmond the polls opened at 6:41 to close at 5:07 with 6,000 Democratic workers to 5,000 for the Republicans. The Women's Democratic Loyalty League planned to have workers at each precinct while in the western part of the state, Staunton, it was reported that the ladies voted early and in large numbers.

The Commonwealth had 1665 precincts to report and millions followed the returns over the young medium, but the surprising majority retired early perhaps satisfied to wait until Wednesday morning for the outcome. On the porch that morning the citizens unfolded newspapers that declared "Hoover Carries Virginia By 20,000," and with it the nation.

Even Byrd's hometown, Winchester, fell before the onslaught as did the large cities of Richmond, Roanoke, Staunton, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, Newport News, Norfolk, and Portsmouth. Smith won Hampton, Williamsburg, Suffolk, Charlottes-

4 Ibid. November 2, 1928, 1.
ville, Petersburg, and Bristol.

The end had come early, as early as 9:00 the state outcome was not in doubt and by 9:52 the first extra, Richmond NEWS LEADER, hit the streets. If one could evade the national scene long enough to come back locally, the news would be that not since 1872 had this happened; the Republicans would send men to the U. S. House of Representatives from the Second, Seventh, and Ninth Districts. In the Norfolk area a Democrat of long standing, J. T. Deal, was unseated by Menalcus Lankford. In the northwest corner J. A. Garber defeated Thomas W. Harrison a veteran of twelve years in another up-set.

The papers even admitted the outcome was a blow to the administration of Byrd, but no admissions came out as to a victory for Cannon. The record 444 to 87 electoral vote left a great deal of silence in Virginia in sharp contrast to earlier days, but many eyes turned toward the 1929 state contests. Friend Dabney had no comment in his Sunday column.

Only one congressional district emerged for Smith, the Fourth, and for the entire United States the composition for the 71st. Congress would be Senate, fifty-five Republicans

---

7 Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, en cit., November 7, 1928, 1.
9 Richmond Times-Dispatch, en cit., November 8, 1928, 1.
and thirty-nine Democrats with one Farmer-Labor; House 267 Republicans, 166 Democrats, and one Farmer-Labor.

Feeling a blow at sacred institutionalism in the Old Dominion, University of Virginia students draped Jefferson's statue in black and feeling similar sorrow the Louisa CENTRAL VIRGINIAN ran a blank column in black mourning.

There had been an election in Virginia.

WHAT HAPPENED?

This section will be indeed brief, for if the reader has not seen by now the cause of the outcome this writing has been in vain. We can only record here what others have said about the outcome.

The Richmond NEWS LEADER said three attacks on Smith caused his state down fall: the Republican vote, the Anti-Saloon League, and the Ku Klux Klan. Virginia, they added, was lost by July 15th.

As the Fredericksburg STAR analyzed the results of 1,291 votes cast, 697 for Hoover and 594 for Smith, it noted the highest Republican vote up to this time was 275 out of 1000. The straight G O P vote yesterday was 350, therefore about 347 Democrats deserted the party.

---

11 Louisa Central Virginian, November 8, 1928, 1.
12 Richmond News Leader, on cit., November 7, 1928, 8.
In CURRENT HISTORY Cannon authored "Causes of Governor Smith's Defeat" saying the New Yorker injected "deliberately" religion and prohibition into the campaign and called Southerners bigots. Josephus Daniels wrote to Smith after the election saying his Catholicism was the cause of defeat since the United States is a Protestant plutocracy. Much weight should be given to Daniels' statement since he is a scholar and a politician.

As in the 1952 election a number of states voted Republican for the two top posts, but desired to vote Democratic for local officials. North Carolina, Florida, Texas voted for Hoover, but elected Democratic governors while Rhode Island voted for Smith and elected a Republican governor.

The Carter Glass press grieved the outcome almost in tears of ink, but no secret was offered. In efforts to point out the cause the paper saw Tammany as a major factor and left the standing impression of prohibition and religion.

Yale Professor of Economics, Irving Fisher, is the only authority to list as a major factor the women who, he said, remembered Hoover for enlisting their aid and cooperation for war food conservation.

14 Current History, XXIX, No. 3, December, 1928, 373.
17 Editorial, Ibid., November 9, 1928, 6.
Churchman Patrick Henry Callahan, K of C, a leading Catholic layman, in the article "Religious Prejudice in the Election" saw not religion, but prohibition as the main cause for defeat.\(^{19}\) Another Catholic, however, deemed religion a main item. Dr. John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Conference believed prohibition would account for a small number of votes. Religion became a practical operative in three forms listed by Ryan:

1. Literature telling of "horrors"
2. Cannon's article "Is Southern Protestantism More Intolerant Than Romanism?"\(^{20}\)
3. Religious periodicals like the CHRISTIAN CENTURY.\(^{21}\)

And there we are. The reader, if he reads this election or not, surely must form conclusions. The evidence presented answers every question and after writing this, I now find the election of 1928 was not so difficult to understand and probē as I had thought. Perhaps it is the simplest of them all.

\(^{19}\) Current History, *loc. cit.*, 383.
\(^{20}\) Ibid., 373.
\(^{21}\) Ibid., 374.
APPENDIX
# APPENDIX

## THE REPUBLICAN VOTE PERCENTAGE

### 1928

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>1924</th>
<th>1928</th>
<th>1932</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accomac</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albemarle</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleghany</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>45.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amelia</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appomattox</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arlington</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusta</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bland</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botetout</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunswick</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buchanan</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckingham</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caroline</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carroll</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>48.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles City</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>66.4</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesterfield</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craig</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culpeper</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dickenson</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinwiddie</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth City</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairfax</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>67.3</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauquier</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floyd</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>77.4</td>
<td>60.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluvanna</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Statement of Vote Cast in the Commonwealth of Virginia for President of the United States—1924, 1928, 1932. This is a Democratic—Republican comparison only.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1875</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giles</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodeiland</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grayson</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>42.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greene</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greensville</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanover</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henrico</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highland</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Wight</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James City</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King George</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King &amp; Queen</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King William</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancaster</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>29.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee(Loudoun)</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>29.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunenburg</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisa</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecklenburg</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middlesex</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nansemond</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Kent</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northumberland</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>72.2</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottoway</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsylvania</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powhatan</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Edward</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince George</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince William</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess Anne</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulaski</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rappahannock</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockbridge</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockingham</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>73.4</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russell</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shenandoah</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>68.3</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smyth</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southampton</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spotsylvania</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stafford</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>64.4</td>
<td>38.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surry</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sussex</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tazewell</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warwick</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westmoreland</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wise</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wythe</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>45.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>32.9</th>
<th>29.9</th>
<th>38.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buena Vista</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlottesville</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton Forge</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danville</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fredericksburg</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampton</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrisonburg</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopewell</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynchburg</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martinsville</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport News</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>84.6</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Norfolk</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petersburg</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radford</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>32.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smithfield</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffolk</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williamsburg</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 These percentages were figured by the author from the source.
### VOTE CAST IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA, 1928

#### PRESIDENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRIES</th>
<th>ALFRED E. SMITH</th>
<th>HERBERT HOOVER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accomac</td>
<td>1,826</td>
<td>1,836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albemarle</td>
<td>1,571</td>
<td>846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleghany</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>1,642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amelia</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst</td>
<td>1,442</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appomattox</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arlington</td>
<td>1,444</td>
<td>1,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusta</td>
<td>1,507</td>
<td>2,679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td>1,436</td>
<td>1,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bland</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botetourt</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunswick</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buchanan</td>
<td>1,365</td>
<td>1,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckingham</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caroline</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carroll</td>
<td>1,117</td>
<td>2,149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles City</td>
<td>1,112</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td>1,082</td>
<td>1,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesterfield</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craig</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culpeper</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dickenson</td>
<td>1,879</td>
<td>1,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinwiddie</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth City</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>1,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairfax</td>
<td>1,229</td>
<td>2,507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauquier</td>
<td>1,531</td>
<td>972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floyd</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>1,481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluvanna</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>1,861</td>
<td>1,529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick</td>
<td>1,140</td>
<td>1,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giles</td>
<td>1,293</td>
<td>1,313</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

3 Statement of Vote Cast in the Commonwealth of Virginia, op. cit., 1 - 10.

---

78
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>ALFRED E. SMITH</th>
<th>HERBERT HOOVER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goochland</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grayson</td>
<td>1,713</td>
<td>2,728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greene</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greensville</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>2,742</td>
<td>1,091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanover</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henrico</td>
<td>1,349</td>
<td>1,887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>1,267</td>
<td>1,139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highland</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Wight</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James City</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King George</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King and Queen</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King William</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancaster</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>2,383</td>
<td>3,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loudoun</td>
<td>1,915</td>
<td>1,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisa</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunenburg</td>
<td>1,199</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecklenburg</td>
<td>1,752</td>
<td>784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middlesex</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>1,861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nansemond</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>1,216</td>
<td>618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Kent</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>1,418</td>
<td>1,922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northumberland</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottoway</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>1,025</td>
<td>1,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick</td>
<td>883</td>
<td>1,191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsylvania</td>
<td>1,688</td>
<td>2,593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powhatan</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Edward</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince George</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess Anne</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>1,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince William</td>
<td>826</td>
<td>817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulaski</td>
<td>1,821</td>
<td>1,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rappahannock</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COUNTIES</td>
<td>ALFRED E. SMITH</td>
<td>HERBERT HOOVER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke</td>
<td>1,284</td>
<td>2,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockbridge</td>
<td>1,311</td>
<td>1,206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockingham</td>
<td>1,402</td>
<td>3,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russell</td>
<td>2,511</td>
<td>2,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>2,355</td>
<td>2,916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shenandoah</td>
<td>1,589</td>
<td>3,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smyth</td>
<td>1,937</td>
<td>2,751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southampton</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spotsylvania</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stafford</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surry</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sussex</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tazewell</td>
<td>1,979</td>
<td>3,072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warwick</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>2,666</td>
<td>3,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westmoreland</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wise</td>
<td>1,559</td>
<td>4,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wythe</td>
<td>1,516</td>
<td>2,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COUNTY TOTAL</td>
<td>101,631</td>
<td>115,348</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITIES</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>1,307</td>
<td>1,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buena Vista</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlottesville</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton Forge</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danville</td>
<td>1,196</td>
<td>2,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferguson</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fredericksburg</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampton</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>1,037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrisonburg</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopewell</td>
<td>1,987</td>
<td>2,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynchburg</td>
<td>1,951</td>
<td>3,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport News</td>
<td>5,888</td>
<td>3,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>1,379</td>
<td>909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petersburg</td>
<td>2,787</td>
<td>3,474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radford</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CITIES</td>
<td>ALFRED E. SMITH</td>
<td>HERBERT HOOVER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>10,213</td>
<td>10,767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke</td>
<td>4,018</td>
<td>6,471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Norfolk</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staunton</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>1,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffolk</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williamsburg</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>1,168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CITY TOTAL</td>
<td>38,515</td>
<td>49,261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL</td>
<td>140,146</td>
<td>164,609</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PRESIDENTIAL BALLOTS

DEMOCRATIC

FOR PRESIDENT

ALFRED E. SMITH, OF NEW YORK

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, OF ARKANSAS

Electors At Large

James H. Price, of Richmond City

Aubrey E. Strade, of Amherst County

District Electors

First District
Second District
Third District
Fourth District
Fifth District
Sixth District
Seventh District
Eighth District
Ninth District
Tenth District

Griffin W. Holland
Q. C. Davis, Jr.
Ashton Dovell
R. K. Brock
A. H. Hopkins
Hunter Miller
John S. Chapman
Frank L. Ball
R. R. Parker
J. Belmont Woodson
REPUBLICAN

FOR PRESIDENT
HERBERT HOOVER, OF CALIFORNIA

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES CURTIS, OF KANSAS

ELECTORS AT LARGE

Fred W. McWaine, of Lynchburg City
Jacquelin P. Taylor, of Richmond City

DISTRICT ELECTORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Elector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First District</td>
<td>William E. Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second District</td>
<td>J. Chesley Beale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third District</td>
<td>William A. Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth District</td>
<td>L. O. Davis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth District</td>
<td>Lenley I. Gilbert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth District</td>
<td>Joseph T. Engleby, Sr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh District</td>
<td>Burden B. Bowman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth District</td>
<td>W. E. Curtis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninth District</td>
<td>Goerge [sic] F. Cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenth District</td>
<td>Edmund P. G. Revercomb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Richmond Times-Dispatch, November 6, 1928, 12.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Government Publications


Saunders, Peter, Statement of the Vote Cast in the Commonwealth of Virginia For President of the United States and Members of Congress at the General Election, Held Tuesday, November 8, 1932. Richmond: The Commonwealth of Virginia, 1932.


Newspapers


Religious Publications


Virginia Churchman. Weekly publication. Richmond: The Diocese of Virginia, Episcopal Protestant Church, 1928.
Magazines


Reference Books


Miscellaneous


HAL JAMES DONNEY, JR.

Born in Norfolk, Virginia on August 27, 1929, Hal James Donney, Jr. was educated in the public schools of that city and of Elizabeth City, North Carolina for his primary education. The secondary school studies were at John Marshall High School, Richmond, Virginia, where he graduated in June of 1947.

At this graduation he was awarded the Sons of the American Revolution Good Citizenship Medal, the Woodmen of the World Medal in History, and a scholarship to the University of Richmond where he entered in September, 1947. At John Marshall he was awarded membership in the National Honor Society and International Quill and Scroll as well as being the first Richmond charter member of the Key Club.

Other high school activities included journalistic work as business manager of both the school newspaper, MONACLE, and the yearbook, MARSHALLITE. It was while studying at John Marshall that he decided to enter the teaching profession.

At the University of Richmond the main activities were in the field of forensics and in his senior year he was president of
the S. C. Mitchell Forensic Society. Upon graduation in June of 1951 with a B. A. degree in history, Hal Bonney was awarded the Lt. Governor J. Taylor Ellyson Medal For Original Research in Virginia History.

Since graduation, he has served on the faculty of Norview High School, Norfolk, Virginia, as instructor in history and American Government. A school of 2000 students with over eighty teachers, Norview serves a vital defense area. Here Bonney is coach of the debate team and chairman of the Faculty Committee On Clubs.

He is a member of the Knott's Island Methodist Church, Knott's Island, North Carolina, where he is a member of the Official Board, Chairman of the Commission On Education, and General Superintendent of the Church School. In addition he serves as chairman of the Board of History and Records for the Methodist Churches of South Princess Anne.

He holds membership in Phi Alpha Theta, National Honorary History Society, Pi Sigma Alpha, National Honorary Political Science Fraternity, Senior Division of the Order of De Moley, The American Historical Association, the Methodist Men's Clubs of Virginia, and various other civic organizations. For the past several years he has been chairman of the Red Cross drive for Fruitville Township of Currituck County, North Carolina.