1966


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Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE COTTON ADVOCACY 
Louisiana State University and Agricultural and 
Mechanical College, Ph.D., 1966 
Speech

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE COTTON ADVOCACY
OF JAMES THOMAS HEFLIN, 1904-1920

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
The Department of Speech

by
Gordon Allan Yeomans
B.A., The University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1951
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1952
August, 1966
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ABSTRACT

James Thomas Heflin (1869-1951) helped to focus national attention on the cotton economy of the South from 1904 to 1920. This study reports, describes, and evaluates Heflin's speaking during these years while he represented Alabama's Fifth Congressional District in the United States House of Representatives.

The study includes chapters on Heflin's background and training, his efforts to acquire national recognition, the nature and extent of his early speaking on cotton, and an analysis of audiences, occasions, and speeches of his cotton advocacy, 1913-1920. Eleven representative speeches are analyzed and evaluated. Finally, an appraisal is made of the man and his public address.

The principal source materials were the James Thomas Heflin Papers, deposited in the University of Alabama Library. Other materials included the Howard College Heflin Microfilm Collection, newspapers, the Congressional Record, and other government documents.

Motivated by an insatiable desire for attention and an intense interest in the economy of his section, Heflin became one of the chief spokesmen for the cotton interests. Making use of charm, wit, a magnetic personality, a flamboyant manner of dress, and his storytelling, Heflin delighted audiences on the campaign and ceremonial circuits; consequently, he soon won an extensive following extending far beyond his own district.
Heflin proved to be adequate though not brilliant in his cotton speeches. His themes echoed the sentiment of his section. His proposition that the federal government should improve the cotton economy of the South was clear, concise, and often repeated. Arguing from reasonable premises, Heflin developed interrelated sub-premises which supported his central proposition. Using varied forms of support, Heflin made his credibility an important element in his persuasion and appealed to the deeper wants and needs of his listeners.

Although Heflin was influential in obtaining passage of a number of bills helpful to the cotton economy, he made his singular accomplishment that of focusing the attention of the Wilson administration and the nation on the needs of the South during the early years of the century.
INTRODUCTION

A backward look at the South might well encourage historians and economists to curse the name of James Thomas Heflin. For, if one accepts the thesis of such writers as Thomas D. Clark that the "emerging South" commenced with "the great revolution" which "started with the end of the crop year in 1920,"\(^1\) then, one must at the same time indict the cotton economy in the immediate preceding years. Such an indictment brings one face to face with one of cotton's chief advocates, James Thomas Heflin.

For thirty-eight consecutive years James Thomas Heflin held an elective office as a southern Democrat.\(^2\) He commenced his political career in 1893 as Mayor of LaFayette, Alabama. Between the years 1895 and 1904, he served successively in the elective offices of Register in Chancery of Chambers County, representative from Chambers County in the General Assembly, delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1901, Secretary of State of Alabama, and in 1904 he was elected United States Congressman from Alabama's Fifth District.\(^3\) He served in the


\(^2\) The Register, James Thomas Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, p. 4. Hereafter, in this study, these papers will be referred to as Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

House as a member of the Fifty-eighth through the Sixty-sixth
Congresses, and in 1920 he was elected to the United States Senate
from Alabama, a position which he held until his 1930 defeat for
re-election to the Senate. He was denied a place in the primary
because of opposition to the 1928 Democratic presidential candidate,
Al Smith. 4

Soon after Heflin's election to the House of Representatives
in 1914, his colorful and flamboyant manner of speech and dress
attracted nation-wide comment from magazines, newspapers, congressional
colleagues, and state and national political organizations. Like his
early idols Fiddlin' Bob Taylor of Tennessee and Mississippi's
Seargent S. Prentiss, 5 Heflin effected a singularity of dress and an
explosive speaking which caught the fancy of such magazines as
American Mercury, Commonweal, Collier's, Newsweek, The North American
Review, Outlook, Time, and The Literary Digest. They characterized
him with such epithets as "Don Tom," "Cotton Tom," "Tom-Tom," "Tom
Quixote," and "The Incredible Heflin." By the end of his second term
in the House, Heflin had earned a reputation as "the best dressed man

4The Register, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, p. 4.

5Allan A. Michie and Frank Ryhlick, Dixie Demagogues (New York
on the floor of the House," the "most gorgeously dressed man in Congress." His Alabama cotton creations of "a cream colored double-breasted waistcoat, along with a Byronic cravat, and a long coat with flowing skirts that suggested a combination of a morning coat, an old-fashioned Prince Albert and a dressing gown" intrigued reporters for more than a quarter of a century. Congressional colleagues were no less impressed with Heflin's unique appearance and oratorical power. Speaker of the House 'Uncle' Joe Cannon was reported to have described him as "an Albanian sunset . . . a string of big, red, fat fire-crackers all going off at the same time." Alben W. Barkley remembered Heflin as a "colorful figure . . . later known as 'Tom-Tom' because of his bitter tirades in the Senate . . . who literally talked himself out of the Senate."

6 In Scrapbook 23, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, are clippings from more than a dozen newspapers, all with a Washington, June 11, 1909 dateline, and each is headlined "Heflin is Best Dressed Man on Floor of House."

7 The New York Evening Post, July 15, 1911.


The popularity of Heflin's Negro dialect stories, which he told in the House and Senate cloakrooms and on the floors of both Houses, earned him the title of "Champion Storyteller" of Congress.\footnote{11}{The Nashville [Tennessee] Tennessean, December 21, 1924.}

For a period of nearly twenty years from 1910 until 1930 few other political campaigners were more in demand by the National Democratic Party. Heflin's campaign speechmaking in support of Democratic candidates for the Presidency, the House, Senate and in state gubernatorial campaigns drew high praise from such men as Jim McClintic, Chairman of the Speakers' Bureau, Democratic National Congressional Committee,\footnote{12}{McClintic to Heflin, November 10, 1923, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.} and Cordell Hull, Chairman of the National Democratic Party in 1924.\footnote{13}{The LaFayette [Alabama] Sun, August 27, 1924.} Heflin's ability as a campaign speaker was not his only source of attraction to political groups and special interest parties. His congressional speeches on tariff, segregation, immigration, the League of Nations, woman's suffrage, the Federal Reserve Board, the Mexican situation, the Nicaraguan dispute, the World Court, the 1928 presidential campaign, Catholicism, and cotton and agriculture, all resulted in many invitations from various individuals and groups to speak to them at other ceremonial and special occasions. At the same time, special interest groups urged him to represent their particular interests in Congress. His willingness to vocalize for
such persons and groups is reflected by his representation of the
disgruntled former Comptroller of Currency John Skelton Williams. With
Williams calling the shots, Heflin conducted a bitter fight against
the Federal Reserve Board's deflation policy and against the reappoint-
ment of the Board's Governor, W. P. G. Harding. B Burl Noggle renders
an account of Heflin's "joining Caraway of Arkansas as vocal pace-
/setters in Senatorial criticism of the great Republican scandal"
[Teapot Dome].  Thousands of Ku Klux Klan organs and other groups
enlisted Heflin's aid to fight the alleged Catholic influence in the
Mexican and Nicaraguan disputes and to fight the candidacy of Al Smith,
in 1928. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr. sought to enlist Heflin's orato-
rial abilities on the subject of "America's Oriental Destiny" and
appealed to Heflin to lend aid to a movement for the "absolute exclu-
sion of all Orientals" from the United States.  Although Heflin lent
his oratorical skills to all of these causes, his most important advo-
cacy was that which he employed in favor of improving the cotton econ-
omy of the South.

14There is extensive correspondence between Williams and
Heflin, in which Williams supplied Heflin with much of the material
and many of the arguments which he employed in this fight. Heflin
Papers, University of Alabama.

15Burl Noggle, Teapot Dome: Oil and Politics in the 1920's

16Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, passim.

17Vandebilt to Heflin, March 11, 1921, Heflin Papers,
University of Alabama.
John W. Owens wrote in the *American Mercury* that Heflin's speeches on cotton and rural credits were "sharp, clear and concise," and "achieved really lucid presentations of a highly complex business."\(^{18}\) Writing in *Outlook*, Duncan Aikman called Heflin the "down-and-out cotton farmer's champion."\(^{19}\) Harvie Jordan, President of the United States Cotton Association, implored Speaker of the House Joseph Cannon to appoint Heflin to the House Committee on Agriculture in 1909. Jordan wrote to Cannon, saying: "Mr. Heflin has always taken great interest, in all matters pertaining to the development of our agricultural interests, and I feel assured that his appointment would meet the hearty indorsement of the people of this entire section."\(^{20}\) Ben Cameron, President of the Farmers' National Congress, called Heflin "one of cotton's ablest advocates."\(^{21}\) D. J. Will, President of the Texas Farmers' Union, praised Heflin's "invaluable service to the Cotton Belt."\(^{22}\) In 1914, southern representatives and senators in Congress chose Heflin to tour all the important cotton growing states

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\(^{19}\) Duncan Aikman, "Tawm's Holt," *Outlook*, CXLIX (May, 1928), 76.

\(^{20}\) Jordan to Cannon, June 8, 1909, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\(^{21}\) Cameron to Heflin, December 7, 1907, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\(^{22}\) Will to Heflin, December 18, 1907, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
to make a series of speeches urging planters to reduce their cotton acreage. J. W. Neill, Director of the Division of Farmers' Institutes of the Texas Department of Agriculture, asserted that Heflin was known "to all the cotton farmers as one of their best friends in Congress." S. G. Rubinow, state campaign director of the North Carolina Division of the American Cotton Association, called Heflin "the most conversant with and ablest representative of cotton of all the speakers and national figures in the country."

Certainly a speaker who captured the fancy of the national press, established popularity as a perennial campaigner for the Democratic Party in state and national elections, became much in demand as a ceremonial speaker in all sections of the country, and established himself as one of the recognized leading advocates of the cotton economy of the South is a prime subject for a rhetorical study.

**PROBLEM AND METHOD**

The objective of this study is to report, describe, and evaluate the cotton advocacy of James Thomas Heflin, during the period of his service in the House of Representatives, 1904-1920. Since his

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23 *The Baltimore Sun*, October 3, 1914.
24 Neill to Heflin, November 15, 1919, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
25 Rubinow to Heflin, September 23, 1919, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
advocacy was primarily oral in nature, the speaker, his speeches, and the occasions and audiences are investigated from the viewpoint of ancient and modern standards of rhetorical criticism. The study concentrates upon invention, organization, and delivery. Moreover, some appraisal is made of Heflin's style as he employed it in the earlier years of his advocacy. Two texts in speech criticism are employed as the foundation for evaluation.

Since no previous biographical study of Heflin has been made, the discussion of his evolution as a cotton advocate is necessarily long. It is necessary to understand the nature of his background and training and his method of acquiring a national image if one is to critically examine Heflin's national advocacy for cotton and cotton interests. Equally essential to such an appraisal are assessments of the conditions of the Cotton Belt existing at the time Heflin entered Congress, and the nature and extent of his emerging advocacy. Finally, such a critical study invites a rhetorical analysis of the occasions, audiences, and speeches representative of the most important years of Heflin's advocacy, 1913-1920.

Eleven of Heflin's cotton speeches, delivered during the years, 1913-1920, are selected for rhetorical analysis. They were selected

for a number of reasons: (1) They represent the maturity of Heflin's evolution as a cotton advocate. (2) They typify Heflin's most comprehensive discussions on the broad subject of cotton economy. (3) Each of them is a complete address delivered at a time when Heflin occupied the floor of the House. (4) Heflin believed them to be among his most important addresses. (5) A large number of letters and newspaper clippings pertain to these speeches. (6) Spanning the prewar, wartime, and postwar periods of World War I, they were delivered in some of the most critical years which faced the cotton economy of the South.

Finally, explanation should be made of the deliberate omission of an analysis of Heflin's style of language employed in these eleven speeches. It will be established that Heflin was, with few exceptions, an extempore speaker. He prepared few speech manuscripts, especially for deliberative speaking. Consequently, the only available complete texts of his speeches delivered in the House are those in the Congressional Record. Moreover, Heflin admittedly edited his remarks in the

27 When Heflin was campaigning for a seat in the United States Senate, in 1920, he distributed a collection of excerpts from what he believed to be some of his most important speeches delivered during his sixteen years of service in the House. Excerpts from these eleven speeches are included. Excerpts From Some of the Speeches in Congress, 1904-1920, Hon. J. Thos. Heflin (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1920), pp. 1-32.

28 Correspondence and scrapbooks for the years, 1913-1920, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
While the question of authenticity does not materially affect analysis of the other canons of rhetoric, it would unquestionably limit any study of style. Therefore, such a study is deliberately omitted.

PLAN

The organization is as follows:

Chapter I discusses Heflin's family background, his early training and education, and his later training acquired during his early legal and political career in Alabama.

Chapter II studies his acquisition of a national image, including his mode of dress and general appearance, studying to be a legislator, his maiden speech in the House, his apprenticeship in Congress, his campaign and ceremonial speaking, and his storytelling.

Chapter III analyzes the emerging advocacy. Included are appraisals of conditions in the Cotton Belt in 1904 and Heflin's early cotton advocacy from 1904 until 1912.

29Heflin repeatedly acknowledged such editing in correspondence to his wife. On August 25, 1922, New Hampshire's Senator George H. Moses, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Printing, wrote to Heflin registering a formal complaint against the extent to which Heflin had edited his remarks in the August 12, 1922 Record. Moses to Heflin, August 25, 1922, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
Chapter IV investigates the nature of Heflin's occasions and audiences during the years, 1913-1920. It includes a study of the nature and relationship of the speeches, the speaker's sources and specific preparation, his motives, the structure of the speeches, his basic premises, the lines of argument, his forms of support, his credibility, his emotional appeals, and his adaptation to his occasions and audiences.

Chapter VI renders an appraisal of the man, his speaking, and his speeches in terms of their immediate and long-range effects.

SOURCES

The chief source of materials for this study is found at the University of Alabama library. It consists of the James Thomas Heflin Papers comprising 22,000 separate items, and the 114.8 volumes of Heflin Scrapbooks.

Other sources include the Heflin Microfilm Collection of Howard College, deposited in the Samford University library; the Oscar Underwood Papers, deposited at the Alabama State Department of Archives and History; interviews, correspondence, and telephone conversations with various persons who were intimately acquainted with Heflin; contemporary newspapers and magazines; state and federal documents relating to Heflin's activities in Alabama and in the United States Congress; the Congressional Record, and other government publications.
The texts of Heflin's speeches representing his earlier advocacy come from three sources: handwritten and/or typed manuscripts from the University of Alabama and Samford University collections; full texts of speeches published in newspapers; and speeches published in the Congressional Record. The texts of the eleven speeches studied in Chapter V were those published in the Congressional Record.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

To this date, the only other thesis or dissertation written on James Thomas Heflin has been that of Vincent J. Dooley, written at Auburn University, in 1963. Entitled "United States Senator James Thomas Heflin and the Democratic Party Revolt in Alabama," Dooley's Master's thesis makes little effort to analyze Heflin's speaking techniques. Rather, it concentrates on the political factions, campaign issues, party alignments, platforms, and election results of the 1928 presidential campaign in Alabama. Aside from a brief article in The Alabama Review on Heflin's storytelling while in the United States Senate, and numerous magazine articles and newspaper accounts, the only other published sketch of Heflin's public life is a chapter included in the book Dixie Demagogues by Allan A. Michie and

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Frank Ryhlick. They characterize Heflin as one of "a fantastic parade of political charlatans [who] have marched across the hustings of the South since the Civil War." Michie and Ryhlick make no satisfactory analysis of the speaker and his speeches nor do they endeavor to discuss the nature and extent of his cotton advocacy.

The only other published references to Heflin are brief and incidental ones which appear in numerous studies of public figures and issues of his times.

Since there has been no previous rhetorical investigation of James Thomas Heflin's cotton advocacy, and since the interval chosen for this study encompasses a significant period of an important advocate's public speaking, this study is justified.

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32 Michie and Ryhlick, op. cit., pp. 142-158.
CHAPTER I

THE EVOLUTION OF A COTTON ADVOCATE: BACKGROUND AND TRAINING

FAMILY BACKGROUND

James Thomas Heflin was born into a family who not only knew and respected the power of the spoken word, but so effectively employed it that the name Heflin has been prominently carved in nearly one hundred years of Alabama political history. With such a political heritage, it is not surprising that in the twilight years of his public career Heflin should have recollected that as a boy he "thought he would rather be a United States Senator than hold any other office."¹

From the time Heflin's grandparents, Wyatt and Sarah Stell Heflin, moved, in 1837, from Coweta County, Georgia, to Randolph County, Alabama, the Heflin name has enjoyed a prominent place in Alabama politics. Four years after settling fourteen miles west of Roanoke, Alabama, Wyatt was elected to the Alabama House of


²Memorial Record of Alabama (Madison, Wisconsin: Brant and Fuller Company, 1893), II, 863.
Representatives from Randolph County, an office which he held for three different terms: 1840-41, 1843-44, and 1845-46. 3

The second generation of Heflins was equally influential in the political fortunes of Alabama. Robert, Wyatt's oldest son, served in the lower house of the Alabama General Assembly for one term, 1849-50; successive terms in the upper house from 1857 through 1862; 4 and in 1869 was elected United States Congressman from the Third District, on the Republican ticket, a position which he held for one term. 5

The second of the Heflin sons, John T., served one term of office in the Alabama state Senate, 1851-52; was elected to the position of circuit judge, an office which he held for four years; was elected as a delegate to the 1875 State Constitutional Convention; and, for more than fifty years, as a prominent practicing attorney with some of the state's leading legal firms. 6

Tom's father, Wilson Lumpkin Heflin, the youngest of Wyatt's sons, was a prominent physician in Randolph County for over forty

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years, during which time he took an active interest in politics, attending a large number of conventions of his party. In 1872, when tendered the nomination of Congressman from the Third District, Wilson declined to run since his brother, Hon. R. S. Heflin, was then serving his first term as a Republican congressman and planning to run for re-election. It is evident, however, that even though Dr. Heflin declined to run for public office, his home life as well as his own personal interests continued to be preoccupied with the subject of politics, for years later his son, Tom, reminisced about his boyhood when he "frequently sat far into the morning before the fireplace while his elders discussed the politics and problems of those bitter Reconstruction days." Such was the political legacy which James Thomas Heflin inherited from his grandfather, uncles, and father.

EARLY TRAINING AND EDUCATION

James Thomas Heflin was born at Louina, Randolph County April 9, 1869, just a few months prior to his uncle Robert's election to the United States House of Representatives as one of Alabama's first seated delegates after its readmission to the Union in 1868. Certainly


8Tucker, op. cit., CCXXVI, 148.

9The Alabama Official and Statistical Register, 1907, p. 38.
a "social revolution" complete with "turmoil, strife, unrest, humiliation, bitterness, vindictiveness, corruption, and fraud was taking place in Alabama at the time of young Heflin's birth.  

The 1868 reconstruction constitution which Congress forced upon Alabama despite its failure of adoption by 13,550 votes, for six dismal years had rendered the state "at the mercies of carpetbaggers, scalawags, and Negroes," and thus provided the Heflin household with countless fireside discussions regarding the corruption and degradation to which the state's political fortunes had fallen—discussions which were to have a telling influence on the boy Tom who listened intently. There can be little doubt that his young ears did not miss the laments of his elders regarding the plight of the state's chief staple, cotton. Not only was cotton production in Alabama for these years considerably less than in the immediate prewar years, but confiscation of cotton and the subsequent sale of it profited neither "an impoverished section" nor the United States Treasury, but rather it increased the personal wealth of corrupt agents, carpetbagger and scalawag state and local

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12Ibid., p. 481.
officials, and officials of the Freedmen's Bureau. And the subject of this blow to the Alabama economy was a popular one which the boy Tom heard repeated many times in evening discussions among his father's political friends.

Public school

By the time Tom Heflin had attained school age two factors had combined to inhibit public education in Alabama. Mismanagement and corruption by state and county officials seriously impaired the development of public schools and helped to foster "a certain indifference to elementary education when the problem of daily subsistence was so pressing... particularly in the country districts." Furthermore, the efforts of the federal government, the Freedmen's Bureau, and various philanthropic and religious groups to promote mass education for the Negro so antagonized southern whites that when the white conservatives finally managed to rout Radicalism and establish economy-minded Redemptionist administrations, they not only nearly nullified the principle and practice of public education for Negroes but "their legislatures cut the expenditures for white and Negro education


to such an extent that the South would suffer for more than half a century to come. As a consequence, Tom's elementary education left much to be desired.

Tom Heflin attended the "Old Liberty Schoolhouse" at Louina. In 1941, the Randolph County Courthouse burned to the ground. All records of that county's public schools were destroyed by the fire. Consequently, little is known about the course of study of the school where Heflin attended. Heflin's niece, Miss Vicie Heflin of Roanoke, recalls that "Old Liberty" was a one-room country schoolhouse and that Heflin's teacher was a Mr. Marshall, "an Irishman who was a fine teacher and spoke five languages."

According to Oscar W. Hyatt, the Board of Education, in control of public schools of Alabama from 1868 to 1875, adopted a curriculum for the pupils of school age throughout the state and actually suggested the subjects to be taught in each grade and the textbooks to be adopted for use in teaching these subjects. Since there appears to

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16 Alabama Official and Statistical Register, p. 38.

17 Interview with Mrs. L. Robertson, Randolph County Board of Education, Wedowee, Alabama, November 19, 1964.

18 Ibid.

19 Oscar W. Hyatt, The Development of Secondary Education in Alabama Prior to 1920 (Nashville: George Peabody College, 1933), p. 44.
be no record of change in that curriculum any time immediately follow-
ing the adoption of the new Alabama constitution in 1875, it may be
presumed that the State Board of Education's suggested curriculum was
still in effect when Heflin was attending the Old Liberty Schoolhouse
at Louina. The grades outlined for the public schools and the text-
books to be used were given out in a circular to local school offi-
cials and teachers as follows:

a. Grades in the public schools

1. The first grade shall embrace orthography,
reading, primary arithmetic, and the first
lessons in geography and shall be called the
primary grade.

2. The second grade shall embrace orthography,
reading (continued through the third reader),
geography to physical and intermediate,
intellectual arithmetic, elements of written
arithmetic, grammar commenced, and writing,
and shall be called intermediate grade.

3. The third grade shall embrace orthography,
reading (through the fourth reader),
geography continued, grammar concluded,
practical arithmetic, composition, writing,
history, Smith's etymology, and elocution,
and shall be called the grammar school grade.

4. The fourth grade shall embrace orthography,
reading, arithmetic concluded, natural and
intellectual philosophy, Steele's Fourteen
Weeks in Chemistry, elements of algebra,
geometry, and any other branches usually
taught in public schools of higher grades.
This shall be called the high school grade. 20

20 Ibid., p. 45.
Textbooks during the same period for the courses in grammar and composition and rhetoric were as follows:


b. Composition and Rhetoric: Brookfield's First Lessons in Composition, Northend's Entertaining Dialogues, and Northend's Little Orator.\textsuperscript{21}

Since there is neither official record of Heflin's public school attendance nor reference to it in the Heflin Papers, it is not certain how many years he attended because throughout the state the length of terms greatly varied the state board's recommended four grades. In some schools the primary, intermediate, and grammar school grades were divided into four years, some six years, and some eight years. High schools included from two to four years.\textsuperscript{22} There seems to be no way of ascertaining the extent of Heflin's attendance at "Old Liberty." Evidently he completed the full course because in 1889 he was admitted at Southern University in Greensboro, Alabama.

At Southern University

At Southern, where Heflin was enrolled for one semester, he completed courses in Latin, English grammar, history, and freshman

\textsuperscript{21}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., p. 92.
According to Perry, every Southern student, at that time, was required to take training in "Elocution and Composition" under the direction of the faculty. "Public speaking was given a great deal of attention . . . and once each semester each student was required to speak before the student body and the faculty. Freshmen and Sophomores were permitted to use declamations, while Juniors and Seniors had to speak original compositions."^24

There are no available records showing whether Heflin joined one of the two literary societies, the Clariosophic and the Belles Lettres, during his short matriculation. Perry declares that "a new student was given no rest until he had pledged himself to one or the other society." These two societies met each week and, in addition to their weekly debates and speeches, they commemorated anniversary dates with orations and public debates and participated in joint debates and speaking contests in connection with Commencement Week each year. 26

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23Official Register, Southern University, February 3, 1890. This institution is now called Birmingham Southern College, a merger between Birmingham College and Southern University having been declared May 30, 1918.


25Ibid., p. 17.

26Southern University Catalog (Greensboro: 1888), pp. 32-33.
At Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College

On September 30, 1890, Heflin registered at Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College, at Auburn. He matriculated as a regular Sophomore for the first two terms, but as a "special student" for the third term. During the first two terms Heflin studied four courses: chemistry, history, political economy, and English. According to Auburn Registrar C. W. Edwards, his grades were poor in all but English. No courses or grades were listed for his third term there. The catalogue for 1890-1891 clearly outlines that the sophomore English required a study of style, an analysis of selections of prose and poetry, frequent essays on literary themes, and weekly exercises in declamation. Texts used were Genung's *Practical Rhetoric*, Scudder's *American Poems*, and Abbott's *How to Write Clearly*. The weekly exercises in declamation and elocution were held on every Saturday morning, immediately after chapel services. These speaking exercises were conducted by an unidentified professor of English, in the presence of the faculty and students. In the first and second terms, the students of


28Letter from Charles W. Edwards, Registrar, Auburn University, October 20, 1964.

29Ibid.
the Sophomore class engaged in declamation, while Juniors and Seniors participated in original oratory.\textsuperscript{30}

There were two literary societies at Alabama A & M: the Wirt and the Websterian. Their activities included annual celebrations on the evenings of Thanksgiving and the twenty-second of February, orations during Commencement Week, and an annual debate between the two societies at the close of the year.\textsuperscript{31}

Former Birmingham Superintendent of City Schools Dr. Charles Bowles Glenn, who was a Senior when Heflin was a Sophomore at Alabama A & M, recalls that "the activities of these two societies were the most exciting events on the campus, particularly their annual debate." In 1891, Heflin, representing the Websterians, and Dr. Glenn, the Wirts, debated the question: "Resolved, That Washington was a greater general than Napoleon." According to Glenn, they tossed to see who would get the choice of sides. Glenn won, promptly chose to defend Washington, and went into the debate thinking that he "not only had the most advantageous side, but an excellent case as well." In discussing the outcome of the debate, Dr. Glenn recalled:

I went into that debate confident of victory. But Heflin was a skillful politician even then. He knew how to take statistics, work them over a little, and make them sound persuasive. Furthermore, he was an unusually fine orator,

\footnote{\textsuperscript{30}Catalogue of the State Agricultural and Mechanical College (Montgomery: Brown Publishing Company, 1891), pp. 52, 64.}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., p. 64.}
and from somewhere he produced figures which he alleged to be the authentic sizes of the opposing forces at Waterloo. Of course, he showed that Napoleon's opposing forces far outnumbered his own army. I didn't know the sizes of the two armies and neither did the judges of the debate, and Tom went on to shellac me and win the debate. The next day we learned that the figures were the product of Tom's vivid imagination.32

According to Glenn, Heflin was not a particularly good student, but already a "gifted" orator.

We were very close friends, although we disagreed about nearly everything. Heflin was extremely handsome, had a marvelous command of the English language, a great sense of the dramatic, and audiences loved him and loved to hear him speak. This was true throughout his career in public office. He was over six feet tall, wore dashing clothes, and made a striking appearance. On the stage, before an audience, he was a regular Adonis.33

In summary, Heflin's formal education at the Old Liberty Schoolhouse in Louina, at Southern University in Greensboro, and finally at Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College in Auburn, seems to have offered him considerable training and experience, both in and out of class, in the skills of written and oral discourse. Although he was only average or below average in his general academic standing, he evidently did his best work in such courses as English composition, rhetoric, and elocution; and in the activities of the

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32 Interview with Dr. Charles Bowles Glenn, former Superintendent of Birmingham city schools, Birmingham, Alabama, December 1, 1964.

33 Ibid.
literary societies. Such interests and aptitudes seem relevant to the realization of his boyhood dream of one day becoming a United States senator.

Home life and religious training

Heflin's father, Dr. W. L. Heflin, lived to be one of the oldest and most respected physicians in Randolph County. He cared for the well-to-do and poor alike, recalling on his eighty-first birthday, "Through all the years of my practice I ministered to rich and poor alike as best I could, and those who could not pay me in material things for their services remembered me in their prayers and God has been good to me." As a consequence, Dr. Heflin was not only highly respected but extremely popular, and "planters, preachers, and politicians were his cronies, often spending the night at the eleven-room, one-story Heflin home . . . which stood in the midst of a country of canebrakes, cotton plantations, swamps and agricultural land."

Just how Heflin spent his boyhood when he was not in school is a question of some conjecture. Savoyard, popular columnist in the 1900's, claimed that Heflin, in his boyhood:

34 Memorial Record of Alabama, p. 864.
35 From an address by Dr. W. L. Heflin on his eighty-first birthday, at the annual Heflin reunion in Birmingham, The Birmingham Age Herald, March 22, 1909.
36 Tucker, op. cit., CCXXVI, 1149.
... followed the plow all day and hunted with old Uncle Ephraim half the night, on which expeditions he absorbed great stores of folklore that contributes so abundantly to the happiness of every honorable and genial man who, "was raised among the Negroes."[37]

Savoyard further suggests that during Heflin's later teens his father lost "the remainder of his fortune ... through endorsing for a friend and paying the bond with his all," and Tom was forced to "shift for himself" and "borrow the money to pay his way through college."[38]

From a much later interview, Tucker concludes that Heflin's knowledge of Negro folklore and "extraordinary art of mimicry and storytelling" were derived from "diversion he obtained by clandestine attendance at Negro revivals." Heflin recalled that "such beacons as remained to brighten the days of the dying generation were the Methodist Church, the Masonic hall, and the Democratic Party."[39]

Certainly the church was an important influence on Tom Heflin. Griffith reminds us that in southern rural society during the Reconstruction period, "the home, the church and the school were the centers of most activities of a social nature."[40] Outdoor festivities such as barbecues, the annual Sunday school picnics, and "All-day meetings" had always been popular with rural southerners and continued

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37 *The Nashville Banner*, March 5, 1912.
38 Ibid.
39 Tucker, op. cit., CCXXVI, 149.
40 Griffith, op. cit., p. 390.
to play an important part in their social lives until into the twentieth century. Each summer, the revival or protracted meeting, which generally lasted a week or longer, significantly added to the Heflin family's social life. Both Negroes and whites held such meetings at their respective churches, and these special occasions were frequently the most exciting activity in a community's social life. As mentioned earlier, Tom attended both the Negro and white meetings. In his book *My Larger Education*, Booker T. Washington described such a typical event in Macon County, Alabama:

... It is a kind of Sunday picnic or festival. Preaching preceded by much singing begins at about eleven o'clock. If the building is not large enough, services are held out under the trees. Sometimes there is but one sermon. Sometimes there are two or three sermons, if visiting ministers are present. The sermon over, there is more plantation singing. A collection is taken, sometimes two collections. Then comes recess for dinner and recreation. Sometimes I have seen at these all-day meetings as many as three thousand people present. ... About three o'clock there is another sermon or two with plenty of singing thrown in. Then another collection or perhaps two. [sic] At about five o'clock the benediction is pronounced and the thousands quietly scatter to their homes with many goodbyes and well wishes.¹²

That the boy Tom Heflin frequently visited such all-day meetings and drank in the stories as well as the style and techniques of the Negro ministers is evidenced by his later reminiscence as well as his

¹¹ Ibid.

prowess as a Negro dialect storyteller. Moreover, he frequently entertained his congressional colleagues with his ever popular "camp meeting sermon." Various references to this "minstrel mimicry" appear in clippings in the Heflin Papers. Typical is a description in a clipping from a Duluth, Minnesota paper:

One of the greatest pieces of minstrel mimicry ever seen or heard comes annually from Representative Heflin of Alabama, who is known as the typical southern orator of the national legislature. Toward the end of the sessions when the House and Senate are sitting up nights to get rid of business and to wait for the Presidential signatures on important bills, the House commands that Mr. Heflin give his camp meeting sermon. It lasts for three quarters of an hour and never fails to convulse the members as well as the watchers in the galleries. It never appears in the Congressional Record, although once the stenographers took half of it down before a motion was presented to dispense with the services of those hard working men for the occasion.

Further evidence of the church's influence on Heflin was the generous sprinkling of biblical references throughout many of his speeches delivered in later years. During his early years in the Senate, Henry Suydam, feature writer for the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, wrote: "[Heflin's] familiarity with the Bible is considerable, and he has a way of mentioning the name of God in a kind of hushed voice that is very impressive." And in the Heflin Papers, in Tom's own

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^3 Duluth Minnesota News Tribune, February 23, 1913.

^4 The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, September 24, 1922.
handwriting, are numerous note cards on which he has listed favorite scriptural passages. 45

The religious influence on Heflin also manifests itself in his personal correspondence with his family. While serving the Fifth District in Congress, Heflin wrote:

I was glad to hear that Tommie had joined the church—I want him to make a good and useful man and there is no better way to achieve that end than through the Christian life. We mustn't expect too much of him but we must bear with patience many little things that will come along in his little life. I believe many a boy has been hardened by people making light of their profession of a changed life and we must continue to have family prayer. The atmosphere created by prayer is good and wholesome for us all. . . . 46

In later years, in many of his letters to his son, he also made frequent references to Christian ideals, prayer, church attendance, and other evidence of a profound religious influence. 47

In summary, it is evident that the prominent role of the church in the social life of the Heflin family, the respect and reverence accorded the Bible by his parents, and his own frequent studied visits to both white and Negro "all-day meetings," all made lasting

45 Typical of such notations is a pencilled sheet in Folder 124, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, on which are noted passages from the books of Psalms, Judges, and Jeremiah, all of which he used frequently in his speeches.

46 Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, April 29, 1914, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

47 Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, passim.
impressions on Heflin—impressions which were reflected in his speaking, his correspondence, and his personal relationship with his own family.

LATER TRAINING

Early legal and political career

After the completion of his third term at Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College in 1891, Heflin commenced to study law under N. D. Denson at LaFayette. Admitted to the bar January 12, 1893, Heflin actively practiced law for only a few months. That same year he was elected Mayor of LaFayette for a term of one year. He was re-elected for a second term in 1894.

Little is recorded in the Heflin Papers, newspapers, or state documents regarding these early years of his public service. Evidently he administered the duties to the satisfaction of his constituents, for after two terms as mayor, he served as Register in Chancery from 1894 to 1896. On December 18, 1895, he married Minnie Kate Schuessler, daughter of Zach and Ida Schuessler.

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48 From a typewritten copy of Heflin's credentials, presented by Hon. Henry D. Clayton, Representative from the Third District of Alabama, on December 5, 1904, the first day of the First Session, Fifty-eighth Congress, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.


50 The Alabama Official and Statistical Register, 1907, p. 38.
Resigning his position in 1896 as Register in Chancery, Heflin accepted the Democratic nomination from Chambers County to the Alabama Legislature, and he was elected that same year. The year 1896 also brought him membership on the Democratic State Executive Committee, a position which he held until 1902. Re-elected in 1898 to the lower house, he held office in that body until 1900. Intent on obtaining legislation designed to aid his constituents in Chambers County, Heflin, during his two terms, introduced bills to regulate the fees of the county sheriff, to establish separate school districts, to issue bonds for the erection of a courthouse, to improve public roads, and to provide for the appointment of a medical board. Since the House Journals did not record floor debates or speeches, there are no records of Heflin's speaking.

By 1901, the Montgomery Advertiser considered Heflin to be one of the best known young men in public life in Alabama. In that same year he served in the Alabama Constitutional Convention, was named to three of the Convention's important committees, including the most important one, the powerful Rules Committee, of which he claimed the

51 Ibid.


53 The Montgomery Advertiser, June 2, 1901.
distinction of being the youngest member. 54 Commencing with the early
debates over whether a stenographic report of the proceedings of the
Convention should be kept, 55 through the long, heated arguments regard­
ing voting restrictions and Negro suffrage, and until the final hours
of the Convention in September, Heflin actively participated in the
deliberations. 56

Heflin delivered the most important address of his young career
July 25, 1901, on the issue of Negro suffrage. It was popularly
alleged that "the main problem of the convention was suffrage reform."
In fact, one of the state's distinguished lawyers, Hon. John B. Knox
of Anniston, who had been "a pioneer proponent of suffrage reform,"
was elected Chairman of the Convention. 57 In his History of Alabama,
Moore comments on the issue:

While the convention discussed methods of disfranchising the
Negroes without either violating the Federal constitution or
disqualifying white voters, the people watched and the news­
papers teemed with reports and discussions. The intelligent
among the Negroes observed with much solicitation. Booker T.
Washington and a committee of educated associates prepared on

54 Ibid.

55 The Official Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of
the State of Alabama (Wetumpka, Alabama: Wetumpka Printing Company,
1940), I, 37.

56 Heflin's remarks and major addresses frequent the Proceed­
ing.

57 Moore, op. cit., p. 653.
behalf of the Negroes an address to the convention which was remarkable for its tone, tact, and diction. In simple, respectful but powerful language they requested simple justice to their race.58

Faced with finding some method of disfranchising the Negroes without repudiating the Federal Constitution, the Convention leaders debated the issue at length. Arguing against disfranchisement were former Governors Thomas G. Jones and William C. Oates, Congressmen S. H. Dent and George P. Harrison, and future United States Senator Frank S. White.59 Arrayed against these Alabama dignitaries were Chairman Knox and Heflin, both of whom favored complete disfranchisement of the Negro as opposed to the Jacksonian doctrine of "equal rights to all, special privileges to none."60 In behalf of total disfranchisement of the Negro, Heflin spoke the "idiom of the new era,"61 prophetic of what characterized many of his later addresses in the United States Congress, and called on the Convention to adopt the "grandfather" clause. The Convention voted 104 to 14 in Heflin's favor.62

58Ibid.

59The Official Proceedings, III, 3840-3847.

60Moore, op. cit., p. 655.


62Moore, op. cit., p. 655.
Of the remaining issues before the Convention, Heflin was particularly vocal on taxation and regulation of the railroads. He argued that the great corporations were escaping their just burdens of government, while the poor man was paying too many taxes; and he supported giving the state greater regulation of the railroads. 63

On September 3, 1901, the Constitutional Convention adjourned, and the heated fight for ratification of the new constitution was underway. Both radicals and mild progressives opposed ratification, with the main objection to the new document centering around disfranchisement. They argued that the constitution, concocted by the bosses, "would disfranchise many of the poor white voters." Moore reports:

Colonel [William H.] Denson became violent. He is said to have characterized the leaders for the constitution as "chicken thieves," "pirates," and "magicians of the ballot box"; and he berated Governor Jelks for his "impious disregard" of the Christians' Thanksgiving Day in proclaiming on that day the constitution "when the people of Alabama were crying against the most infamous fraud ever perpetrated upon a people." 64

In the face of this stiff opposition, the leaders for the constitution vigorously conducted an "educational" program defending the new constitution on its merits. One of the most prominent campaigners was Heflin. One newspaper reported: "He made a splendid canvass for

63The LaFayette Sun, March 30, 1901; unidentified newspaper clipping, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama; The Official Proceedings, III, IV, passim.

64Moore, op. cit., p. 658.
ratification of the instrument adopted by the Convention, his eloquence and convincing argument winning him many [later] votes. 65 That Heflin and the other constitution supporters successfully "educated" Alabama voters to the merits of their cause can be attested to by the results at the polls. The new constitution was adopted by a majority of 26,879 votes. 66

In the first general election held under the new constitution, in November, 1902, Heflin was elected Secretary of State of Alabama. 67 A strong advocate of a primary election law, outstanding member of the State Democratic Committee, and a diligent party worker, Heflin gained a reputation as one of the most attractive and "eloquent stump speakers and entertaining lecturers in Alabama, often termed the Bob Taylor of Alabama." 68 During his two years' term Heflin continued to gain a reputation as an orator. He was in demand for many varied occasions, ranging from formal introductions of such visiting dignitaries as his

65 Unidentified newspaper clipping, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
66 Moore, op. cit., p. 658.
67 The Alabama Official and Statistical Register, 1907, p. 38.
68 Unidentified newspaper clipping, dated 1903, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
long-time idol Bob Taylor of Tennessee and William Jennings Bryan, to formal lectures and commemorative addresses. He delivered lectures to raise money for Confederate monuments, commemorative addresses at Confederate reunions, inspirational talks to labor groups, commencement addresses, and various other shorter occasional talks. Reporting on the lecture delivered June 25, 1903, at the Opera House in Huntsville for the benefit of the Confederate monument fund, the LaFayette Sun stated:

A magnificent audience was in attendance, representing all portions of North Alabama, and they heard a characteristic lecture of sentiment, patriotism and humor. A reception and ball was given tonight in compliment to Mr. Heflin.71

Sometimes the young orator's "sentiment, patriotism, and humor" evoked extreme and excessive accounts. Concerning an address at Selma, the Selma Morning Times reported:

Mr. Heflin's speech was a piece of oratory that cannot be reported and do him justice. It is just as impossible for a reporter to transfer his burning, eloquent words to paper as it would be for an artist to attempt to take a snapshot of a

69 Heflin's hometown paper, The LaFayette Sun, called his introduction of Bob Taylor "a literary gem" and printed the entire text of the introduction. The LaFayette Sun, April 22, 1903.

70 Sometime in 1903, Heflin rendered a glowing introduction of William Jennings Bryan at the Bijou Theater, place and date unknown. Again, the entire text of his introduction was published by the press. Unidentified newspaper clipping, dated 1903, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

71 The LaFayette Sun, July 1, 1903. The Heflin Scrapbooks, University of Alabama, indicate at least ten such speaking engagements during the early part of 1903.
gorgeous, glorious sunset and reproduce all the tints and effects on paper. Mr. Heflin's lecture is an intelligent treat of the rarest beauty. His ideas are grand and exalted and he clothes them in a rhetorical garment comparable only to a sunset in a southern sky. Those who heard the lecture were delighted and Mr. Heflin has greatly added to his fame as an orator, and has waded still deeper into the admiration and affections of this people.72

Others praised the young orator's efforts calling them "literary gems,"73 "brilliant oratory,"74 and oratory which "swayed and thrilled his audience as he carried it with him in his bursts of eloquence patriotic appeals, and humor."75 Eyewitnesses remember that the young Secretary of State's oratory was "full of stylistic devices," and they praise his sense of the dramatic, use of mimicry, dialect stories, command of the English language, striking apparel, "rich, resonant" voice, and "handsome physique and general appearance."76

72Selma Morning Times, December 19, 1903.
73The LaFayette Sun, April 22, 1903.
74Unidentified clipping, dated 1903, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
75Ibid.
76Interviews with Dr. A. B. Moore, Emeritus Dean, University of Alabama, Graduate School, August 10, 1964; Peter A. Brannon, Director, Department of History and Archives, State of Alabama, Montgomery, October 14, 1964; Dr. Charles Bowles Glenn, former Superintendent of Birmingham city schools, December 1, 1964. All interviewees knew Heflin personally, had heard him speak during the period he served as Secretary of State, and attested to his "dashing appearance, handsome countenance, and unusual command of the English language."
As to his execution of the responsibilities of his office, Alabama reporters seemed equally impressed. Typical of their comments regarding Heflin's service was the following comment:

He has always been faithful to every public and private trust and has served the people with fidelity and honor in every public station he has been called upon to fill. He was elected Secretary of State in 1902 and is doing splendid service in that position. During his spare time he is devoting himself to a course of study of political economy, civil government and general history of the world.77

In addition to the ceremonial and occasional speaking, Heflin, while he was Secretary of State, addressed himself to the hotly contested Turner Peonage case which drew considerable attention. Briefly the facts of the case were as follows: Fletch Turner, a white man and citizen of Tallapoosa County, Alabama, was charged with peonage. The government sought to establish that Turner had, without authority and against their will, held three Negroes in a condition of peonage. The defense countered that the three Negroes had sent one of their own color, a John Parker of Dadeville, to Turner to request that he pay their fines and to allow them to work the amount out. The Negroes had been fined for vagrancy. Defense further alleged that Turner reluctantly agreed to pay the money to the representatives of the Goodwater court.78

77 Unidentified clipping, 1903, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

Presiding over the case was former Alabama Governor Thomas G. Jones who had been appointed United States District Judge by President Theodore Roosevelt. When the jury failed to bring back a verdict of guilty, Judge Jones delivered the jurors a stinging rebuke, asserting that the jury had "declined to enforce the law" because "the defendant [was] a white man and the victim of the law he violated a Negro boy."\(^79\)

At a number of Confederate Veterans' Reunions over the state, the fiery young Secretary of State, who had already established himself a leading spokesman for White Supremacy, publicly criticized the Judge for his "unauthorized remarks to the jury."\(^80\) Several factors attracted attention to the controversy: (1) It was unique for a state official to be publicly chastising a federal judge. (2) The racial overtones of the case made it especially newsworthy, and Heflin's views on the general subject of White Supremacy, expressed at the Constitutional Convention two years earlier, were no secret. (3) Judge Jones was himself a Confederate soldier and a member of the UCV, the organization which Heflin was addressing, whose by-laws

\(^79\)The Montgomery Advertiser, July 18, 1903.

\(^80\)On July 17, 1903, Heflin spoke before an estimated audience of more than one thousand Confederate veterans at Luverne, Alabama. The following month, he faced an audience of more than two thousand at the annual reunion of Confederate veterans from five Alabama counties, at Schenk's Springs, Alabama.
expressly forbid "political speeches." Quite probably both Heflin and Judge Jones recognized in the occasion and the issue an opportunity to be heard in a much larger arena than the sectional one. Some newspapers alleged that Jones wished "to attract to himself the attention of the President, the northern press, and northern leaders," while others countered that Heflin "wanted to be governor." The same Alabama newspapers were equally inconsistent in their appraisal of the speaking. The Roanoke Leader, the Centreville Press, and the Montgomery Journal applauded Heflin's position, praised his oratory and declaimed his popularity and service to the state. On the other hand, the Crenshaw Critic, the Attala Mirror, and the Montgomery Advertiser attacked the young Secretary, alleging that the "able and brilliant" Heflin should "put his talents to better use," and charging that such speeches caused the people to "disregard the sacredness of law . . . and lead too frequently to lynchings."

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81 The Crenshaw [Alabama] Critic, July 22, 1903.
82 Ibid.; The Tuscaloosa Times Gazette, July 24, 1903.
83 The Roanoke Leader, July 22, 1903; The Centreville Press, July 22, 1903; article from The Montgomery Journal reprinted in The Tuscaloosa Times Gazette, July 24, 1903.
84 The Crenshaw Critic, July 22, 1903; The Attala Mirror, July 22, 1903; reported in The Tuscaloosa Times Gazette, July 24, 1903.
The Heflin Papers, for the same period, indicate a similar diversity of opinion among the many Alabama citizens. Several ardent admirers praised the young Secretary, while others worried about what "mixing it up with a federal judge, over such an issue, might do to Heflin's political future."  

The importance of Heflin's role in the Turner Peonage Case was the attention which he received. As for the facts of the case, Heflin was evidently wrong, for Turner subsequently pleaded guilty as charged.  

On March 30, 1904, in his home town paper, the Lafayette Sun, Heflin announced his candidacy as Democratic nominee to the Fifty-eighth Congress from the Fifth District of Alabama, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Charles W. Thompson.  

A front-page editorial endorsing his candidacy reflected the favorable sentiment of the Fifth District in which he was nominated without opposition. The Sun editorialized:

Mr. Heflin is thirty-five years old. He was born and reared at Louina, Randolph county. He lives in Chambers county now, where he numbers his friends by the score. He represented that county in the legislature in 1896, 1897, 1898, and 1899. He was also a delegate in the constitutional convention of 1901 and on  

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85 Included in such correspondence are letters from residents of LaFayette, Opelika, Roanoke, Alexander City, Birmingham, Troy, Mobile, Montgomery, Bessemer, Boligu, Cullman, Lowndesboro, and West Point.

86 Correspondence for month of August, 1903, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

87 The Lafayette Sun, March 30, 1904.
account of his power as a speaker and his knowledge of parlia-
mentary proceeding [sic] he was appointed by the President on
the rules committee—the first committee of that distinguished
body. He served with Ex-Governor William C. Oates and other
distinguished men on the Legislature committee of that body
and was one of the most energetic and useful members. When the
President named a committee on "Harmony and Consistency of the
Whole Constitution," Mr. Heflin was one of the first to be
appointed.

Those familiar with the proceedings of that body will recall
that one of the most powerful and effectual speeches made in the
convention in favor of White Supremacy and the disfranchisement
of the negro was made by Mr. Heflin. He worked diligently for a
reduction of the state tax rates and aided materially in secur-
ing the lower rate now in effect in this state.

Mr. Heflin served for six years as a member of the Democratic
State Executive Committee and helped to secure the present Demo-
cratic plan of primary elections.

Should he be elected, Mr. Heflin would reflect credit on this
or any other district and his friends believe that he is an easy
winner. He is a courageous, able man and unreservedly devoted
to the right as God gives him the power to discern it. He has
delivered many speeches over the state for the benefit of Con-
federate Veterans and other charitable causes without fee for his
services.88

Various Alabama newspapers outside Heflin's own district
endorsed his candidacy, thus demonstrating his popularity beyond the
Fifth District. The Selma Morning Times described Heflin as a
"chivalrous gentleman, noble man and brilliant orator." It concluded:

The Fifth District will make a great mistake if it does not
take advantage of the opportunity now presented and send Tom
Heflin to Congress. We need men of this stamp to represent
Alabama in our national halls of legislation—men with brains,

88Ibid.
courage and conviction—men who can hurl defiance at the foe and hold their own in a rough and tumble debate with the ablest republican [sic] who can be pitted against him. If we were in the Fifth District it would afford us a great deal of pleasure to vote for and support the able statesman and brilliant orator from Chambers County.

Heflin was sent unopposed to fill out the Thompson term of office, and in November, when he ran for his first full term, the Fifth District voters gave him the largest majority ever polled in that district, after the adoption of the new constitution.

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89 A reprint of Selma Morning Times article, The Lafayette Sun, April 6, 1904.

90 Unidentified clipping headlined, "Vote of Heflin Largest on Record," Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
CHAPTER II

ACQUIRING A NATIONAL IMAGE

Any study of the methods whereby Tom Heflin acquired a national image demands a close look at such factors as (1) his mode of dress and general appearance; (2) his methods of general research and study; (3) the success of his maiden speech in Congress; (4) his congressional apprenticeship; (5) his campaign speaking; (6) his ceremonial speaking; and (7) his mastering the art of storytelling.

Armed with a Jeffersonian and Jacksonian philosophy which persuaded him that his role was to be primarily that of defender of the masses, Tom Heflin, early in May, 1904, made his way to Washington as Alabama's newest congressman, a position created by the death of Fifth District Representative Charles W. Thompson. On Capitol Hill, Heflin found the Progressives endeavoring to "adapt democracy--designed for an agrarian economy--to an industrial civilization."¹ As had the Populists who had given rise to their existence, the Progressives not only envisioned "the control of the government by the people as merely a means to an end," but they regarded their next step to be that of

using "the power of the government to check the iniquities of the plutocrats." Whatever his skills, energy, and talent were, Heflin found it easy to devote himself to such a task. Like William E. Borah, with whom he was later to cross swords many times in the Senate, Heflin believed that "democratic society places upon the political speaker the paramount responsibilities of guarding the liberties of the people, of warning them when freedoms are challenged, and of organizing resistance at moments of crisis." Unlike Borah, Heflin preferred a different political party and different methods to obtain his objectives. He was a Southern Democrat. He frequently demonstrated a preference for appeals to emotion rather than reason. Just what kind of a man had Alabama's Fifth District voters sent to Washington?

HIS MODE OF DRESS AND GENERAL APPEARANCE

Charles Bowles Glenn remembered Heflin, during his early days at Washington, as "a dashing figure— a regular Adonis." Glenn recalled that Heflin had frequently donned an elegant satin-lined opera cape. "With the cape grandly slung over one shoulder, the

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2 John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1931), p. 112.

handsome young Alabama congressman made grand entrances into Washington's elite restaurants and eating houses.™

Within a short time, Washington reporters became impressed with the appearance of the young Alabamian. In fact, by the end of his first full term of office, they acclaimed him as one of the "show pieces" on Capitol Hill, and by the end of the second full term, the "Best Dressed Man on the Floor of the House." In one of the early Heflin Scrapbooks are more than a dozen newspaper clippings from all parts of the country, featuring Heflin as the "Best Dressed Congressman." One such account described the colorful Alabamian as follows:

In a very attractive cotton suit, Representative Heflin of Alabama was admitted to be the best dressed man on the floor of the House today. He wore a suit made of Alabama cotton. The coat is a double breasted sack and the vest is of creamy mercerized cotton. The shoes and hat are also made of cotton. The suit is the color of rich cream and the Alabama representative said that it is the most comfortable as well as the cheapest summer suit that he has worn in a long time. Many of the members gathered about Mr. Heflin this morning admiring his cotton outfit, and no less than two dozen members announced their determination to have suits of this character made and a Baltimore firm has been requested to furnish samples.™

That Heflin's attire brought more than passing interest is reflected by numerous newspaper articles which fill the Heflin

™Interview with Dr. Charles Bowles Glenn, former Superintendent of Birmingham city schools, Birmingham, Alabama, December 1, 1964.

™Clipping bearing a Washington, June 14, 1909 dateline, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
Scrapbooks. Typical is a July 15, 1911 article which appeared in the

New York Evening Post:

James Thomas Heflin the most gorgeously dressed man in Congress has method in his madness. Even as the shrill calliope advertises the circus parade for blocks around, though the eye may not see, so does James Thomas Heflin appeal to the eyes of the world as the steam organ to the ear. Mr. Heflin hails from the Fifth Alabama District, which not only raises cotton but boasts of cotton mills. If Mr. Heflin, therefore, is not strong with the cotton trade, he is not strong with anything in his district, and he must stay at home. Therefore again, James Thomas Heflin wears no cotton clothing but that raised and manufactured in his own district.

The creations of the Alabama statesman are the wonder of Congress. When he emerges from the cloakroom and beams through the somber archway he is a dream in fabric—white, cream, or ecru. His ties are of cotton and they match the suit. His shoes are oft of cotton, and they match the ties. With or without his cotton adornment, James Thomas Heflin is one of the handsomest men in Congress, but with them in the summertime he is the apotheosis of masculine charm. Mr. Heflin may not keep samples of price lists in his committee room—there is no trustworthy evidence as to that—but too much should not be expected of a Congressional sandwich man.6

"Sandwich man" or not, "Cotton" Tom was indeed an advocate for the cotton trade!

Soon after he took his seat in the House, Heflin struck up a friendship with Kentucky's Ollie James, an equally flambouyant personality and veritable giant of a man. The two congressmen provided Washington correspondents with considerable news copy. One popular

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6 The New York Evening Post, July 15, 1911.
tale alleged that Heflin and James used to drive about Washington in an open Victoria carriage, rented at a convenient hack stand. Continued the account:

The two gentlemen of amplitudinous girth would drive about, legs stretched out, smoking large black cigars, a negro coachman perched on the box. This was all in the romantic manner. It gave a certain flavor to life in Washington that motorcars, and businesses, and prohibition had forever removed.7

Ray Tucker describes this friendship as a "roistering companionship by day and by night."8 The Nashville Banner called the Heflin-James "chumship" one of the most singular in the history of congressional "chumships," alleging that it was "more marked" than those of Blaine and Beck, Garfield and Tucker, Edmunds and "the old Roman of Ohio," Tom Reed and Bourke Cochran, Jones and DeArmond, and Powers and Gaines.9

Further reflection of the associations between Heflin and James is found throughout the Heflin Papers. An entire scrapbook covered James' whole career, his wedding announcements, and his personal life. Included among the clippings pertaining to the speaking of James were those notices about his maiden speech which he had delivered early in February, 1901, just one year prior to Heflin's

7The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, September 21, 1922.
9The Nashville Banner, March 5, 1912.
maiden effort. In later years the two campaigned together for the national Democratic Party. When James died in August, 1918, Heflin carried on a lengthy correspondence with New York insurance companies in an effort to secure health and hospitalization benefits for Mrs. James. Other correspondence indicates that Heflin was deeply grieved over his friend's death and that their friendship had exercised a profound influence on him.

STUDYING TO BE A LEGISLATOR

In the Directory of Congress, Heflin wrote of himself: "When first elected to Congress, he gave up the law practice and since that date has devoted his time to the study of public questions." Although it is not certain exactly what he meant by "the study of public questions," it is evident that he desired to learn as much as possible about the House and about the issues then confronting it. In fact, a reporter for the Washington Post commented on the zeal with which he set about familiarizing himself with congressional procedure:

10 Newspaper clipping from a Fulton, Kentucky newspaper, February 4, 1901, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

11 November and December, 1918 correspondence files, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, passim.

12 The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, September 24, 1922.
He is very eager to learn the complicated rules of the House and to gain a knowledge of the methods by which business is transacted. So zealous is he to this end, that ever since Congress assembled he has remained constantly in the hall. If the House meets at eleven o'clock, Heflin is there. If it stays until six or seven o'clock delivering eulogies or passing pension bills it simply can't lose Heflin. He answers every roll call, he even manages to be present at every rising vote. He snatches a bite of lunch by hastily descending to the restaurant while the clerk is reading some long bill.

Heflin's seat is in a far corner of the hall, and his Democratic colleagues poke fun at him for being the best Republican quorum maker that ever came to Congress. They say that when Speaker Cannon now counts the House, he does not take the trouble to look into Heflin's corner. He simply counts one knowing that Heflin is "Johnny-on-the-spot."13

In February, 1905, Heflin wrote to W. T. Ware, as follows:

The House of Representatives is a good big affair, and I came here with the determination to learn something about its workings, and to do my best to serve the people. I have applied myself right strenuously along these lines; and whether I have accomplished much or not, I feel like I am getting in position to "talk about a few things" next session.14

Equally sincere in his desire to represent the Alabama voters, Heflin invited advice from them, and many extended such "help." Typical of the "helpful" letters directed to the young Fifth District Representative is the following from W. J. Pearce, Judge of the County Court in Ashland, Alabama. In part, Judge Pearce wrote:


14 Heflin to Ware, February 21, 1905, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
Now you must remember, that we Clay County people claim some interest in you, and you must not object if we make a little effort to suggest, not dictate nor even advise, but suggest for your mature consideration; because, if you get to remain in Congress many years, and get to be a "Bryan" (I confess a huge and difficult undertaking), we democrats [sic] of Clay will be proud of you; and, if I can suggest anything to aid you on this line, I'm going to do it.

I shall always bear in mind, however, that a man in your position can't afford to adopt the theory of everyone.

Someone has said, that the "natural order of production, and facilities of exchange, constitute the remedy for poverty." Bryan is great, because he is in love with his fellowman—has some genuine sympathy for him. Now, the first suggestion, digest this thought, and keep close to your fellowman; and especially the man who toils, in whatever laudable vocation. I believe you will do this. There is something wrong with our financial system. There is not as much money in our Country, South, as should be. I don't mean in the banks; I mean in active circulation—all through the year, and "come-at-able" by the poor toiling masses. Help on this line is my second suggestion.\^\footnote{Knox to Heflin, February 5, 1905, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.}

John B. Knox, an Anniston, Alabama attorney, mailed Heflin and all of the other Alabama congressmen a number of newspaper materials including an article entitled "Justice to the South." In a later letter, Knox indicated that Heflin was the only one to acknowledge receipt of the material:

I received your letter acknowledging receipt of the article sent you entitled "Justice to the South." I appreciate the letter very much. It is very fine, and just like you. I sent copies to both Senators and all the other members of Congress from Alabama. You are the only one to acknowledge receipt.\footnote{Pearce to Heflin, January 24, 1905, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.}
Judge Pierce's advice to Heflin to "keep close to his fellowman," definitely made an impression. The letter from Attorney Knox and others of Heflin's Alabama constituents reflected that their Fifth District Representative was constantly in touch with his people and always responsive to their suggestions.

Early in February, 1905, Probate Judge A. J. Driver, Jr. of LaFayette called on Heflin to endorse a move by the farmers in his home district to organize. Driver suggested that the Congressman write a letter to the LaFayette Sun "endorsing this movement of the farmers and expressing your wish for the success of the movement."\(^{17}\) Heflin complied, and the editor published the endorsement.\(^{18}\) Within two months, Heflin was addressing the Chambers County Southern Cotton Association which met in his home town of LaFayette. In that address he reiterated his endorsement of their attempts to organize. The Sun commented:

In his usual, earnest and eloquent style, Hon. J. Thos. Heflin urged upon the farmers to stand firm, organize their country, and the relief demanded and so much needed would be sure and permanent.\(^{19}\)

In addition to voluntary advice sent Heflin, he gathered information upon current issues from government reports, feature articles, 

\(^{17}\)Driver to Heflin, February 1, 1905, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\(^{18}\)Undated clipping, The LaFayette Sun, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\(^{19}\)The LaFayette Sun, April 5, 1905.
newspapers, magazines, and any other printed materials which offered information, particularly on the subject of cotton. His 1904 and 1905 Scrapbooks and various inventories of printed materials in storage reveal that he collected poetry, epigrams, pungent quotations from other speeches, speech manuscripts, and editorials on a wide range of subjects. The reporters were intrigued by Heflin's apparent "pack-ratting" around his desk in both the House and the Senate. In 1922, Henry Suydam described Heflin's desk as follows:

A student needs books, and Heflin's desk in the Chamber is simply buried beneath them. A pile rises to a height of almost 2 feet, and behind this mass can be seen Heflin's head sometimes in an attitude of contemplation, but as like as not bent over in mysterious conversation with his nearest colleague. This stack of books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, notes, and what not is never moved. Heflin sometime adds a volume, but he never takes one away. By March 4, 1925 it will require a moving van to remove this painfully accumulated [sic] library.

Heflin's heavy mail included information from state commissioners of agriculture, cotton associations, agricultural groups and cooperatives, and private citizens. Much of this correspondence had to do with the problem of crop reporting. In 1911, Robert M. Thompson wrote to Heflin protesting the practice of cotton crop estimating by

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20 The 1904-1906 Scrapbooks and correspondence, passim; inventory of Heflin printed materials in storage, dated December, 1925, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

21 The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, September 24, 1922.

22 Heflin correspondence files, 1904-1920, passim, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
the United States Department of Agriculture. Alleging that these reports depressed the price of cotton, Thompson wrote:

They have little, if any, value. They serve mainly to inflame speculation by the uninformed, and to keep the cotton trade of the world in a condition of continuous unsettlement. In the past, they have been a source of scandal. It is very doubtful if the Department of Agriculture has any constitutional authority for their issuance and the sooner they are stopped the better, in my opinion, it will be for the section of the country which you have the honor to represent.23

Whether or not it was this one letter that motivated Heflin is hard to prove. In any event, shortly thereafter, Heflin conducted a crusade in the House against this type of government crop estimating, and the practice was discontinued. The Alabamian was constantly asking the state agricultural commissioners for as much information as possible about cotton crops. Heflin wrote Hon. David Houston, Secretary of Agriculture, in 1915:

I have communicated with the Commissioners of Agriculture in all of the cotton growing states, and have received information from them as to the condition of the crop and also their opinion from information received at first hand as to the amount of cotton that will be produced in the respective states.

The condition of the crop is upon the average nearly sixty per cent, and on account of the acreage reduction, the boll weevil, storms and drought in some sections and too much rain in other

23 Thompson to Heflin, August 10, 1911, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
sections, and the non use of fertilizers, the crop according to their figures will not be more than ten and one-half million bales.\(^2\)

The following conclusions regarding the young Alabamian's initial efforts to acquire a national image are in order: (1) Heflin's general appearance, striking manner of dress, congenial personality, sense of humor, and storytelling ability made him immediately popular with his colleagues in the House. (2) He went to Congress with the determination to learn as much as possible about the House and how best to serve his own constituents. (3) With his sense of the dramatic, elegant attire, colorful personality, along with his choice of friendships, he quickly attracted the press and became the subject of much attention from Washington reporters. (4) He was immediately responsive to the advice of his constituents, corresponding with them at length, and frequently heeding their advice. (5) He went to Congress with a background of public service on the local and state level, and his reputation as an orator and campaigner was not obscure.

HIS MAIDEN SPEECH

If there were Democrats or cotton producers who harbored doubts concerning Heflin's skill as an advocate, he dispelled them in his

\(^2\)Heflin to Houston, October 1, 1905, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
miden speech in the House. He demonstrated that he could argue effectively and won the acclamation of the press.

After several months of studying the House machinery, attending most of its sessions, and applying himself to becoming a "student of public questions," Heflin made his maiden speech during a debate over the question on the control and fixing of the railroad rates, a bitter and perplexing question. It will be remembered that he gained experience in discussing the issue of state regulation of the railroads at the 1901 Alabama Constitutional Convention. In his message to Congress on December 6, 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt had discussed the railroad rates and proposed that, in the interest of the shippers, the Commission be empowered to determine a reasonable rate, after a hearing, and subject to judicial review, when an existing rate was challenged. Under the leadership of William P. Hepburn, the House went considerably beyond Roosevelt's recommendation and passed a bill which gave the ICC the power to set rates, subject to the railroads' appeal to the courts and gave the ICC control of terminal and storage facilities, express companies, and pipe lines. However, the bill was killed when the Senate failed to act before adjournment, and it was not until 1906 that it was finally passed as the Hepburn


Act. In the early House debate over this bill, Heflin made his maiden speech, on February 8, 1905. He wrote to his friend, Attorney Armistead Brown of LaFayette: "I did not know the night before I spoke that I would speak upon the question under consideration, or any other question, as to that, during this session." In his introductory remarks, Heflin asserted: "I did not intend to make a speech during this short session of Congress, . . ." He went on to observe, however, that the import of the subject to his own section of Alabama caused him to "desire to lift my voice in favor of this much needed reform." The speech was largely refutatory in arrangement with ideas organized topically with main contentions interwoven with refutation. Heflin's proposition was one which he had probably gathered from his close study of Bryan's expression of Jeffersonian principles: "It is the duty of government to protect all from injustice and to do so without showing partiality for any one or any class." Applying

27 Ibid; Baldwin, op. cit., p. 390.
28 Heflin to Brown, February 15, 1905, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
29 Congressional Record, February 8, 1905, clipping in Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
this maxim in the case of controlling railroad rates, Heflin argued for vesting power in the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate the freight rates of railroads. He said the railroads were the instruments of the capitalists. He not only distrusted capitalists, but believed most of them to be evil. It was, therefore, the role of the Democratic Party to protect the rights of the people against such capitalists and the only way to do this as far as railroad rates were concerned was to increase the power of the ICC. A portion of his speech which particularly caught the fancy of those present, the press, and eventually the general public comprised Heflin's answer to the charge that regulation of private interests was beyond the reach and control of Congress. In denying this proposition, Heflin pointed out that while the plain people were forced to obey the law, under the reign of the Republican Party, the "trust magnates and monopolists flourish in evil doing in the face of the law and escape through a mass of technicalities the just burdens of government." To reinforce his point, he inserted a little poem which he alleged to have been found "on the Commons of England by an American tourist." Describing it as representative of the "Republican idea of justice," Heflin recited the following lines:
The law imprisons man or woman
Who steals a goose from off the Common,
But lets the greater culprit loose
Who steals the Common from the goose. 31

The press was struck with the young orator's poetic quotation, and
many of the newspaper articles reporting his maiden effort featured
his verse in their headlines. A Washington newspaper headline read,
"Heflin Hits an Apt Quotation." 32 Among the many congratulatory
letters was a complimentary one from Colonel A. C. Colyar of Memphis,
the author of The Life and Times of Andrew Jackson. 33 Never a friendly
newspaper to Heflin, the Montgomery Advertiser admitted that the
speech "was a hit." 34 From Heflin's home town pastor, Reverend E. M.
Glenn, came the happy news:

The papers in the State have their eyes upon you; and, have
already noted and exploited the fact that you have "broken in"
to the discussion on the floor of the House; and, they tell
with evident satisfaction that your speech was a decided hit. 35

31 Congressional Record, February 8, 1905, clipping in Heflin
Papers, University of Alabama.

32 Unidentified clipping from a Washington newspaper, dated
February 11, 1905, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

33 Heflin to Brown, February 15, 1905, Heflin Papers, University
of Alabama.

34 Edward Robinson to Heflin, February 11, 1905, Heflin Papers,
University of Alabama.

35 Glenn to Heflin, February 24, 1905, Heflin Papers, University
of Alabama.
Heflin's friend, Armistead Brown, declared that the speech had been acclaimed all over Heflin's home district:

In congratulating you upon your maiden effort and the favorable impression thereby made, as well as upon the downright merit of your utterances, I am but reiterating what I am hearing upon all sides. Your people are proud of you, and it is not necessary for me to tell you that I am overjoyed. I am glad too to know that this first speech was not one of the "leave to print" effusions sent out to a credulous constituency. It is the real article. And where did you get that inimitably apt couplet that you quoted? Seems like I've heard you use it before.36

In reply to Armistead Brown, Heflin wrote: "The speech has been published widely, commented on favorably, and many members of Congress have copied it out of the Record."37 He concluded: "I genuinely enjoyed the enthusiasm manifested during my speech and at its close."

There can be little doubt that the maiden speech contributed immeasurably to Heflin's national image. One Washington newspaper aptly expressed it:

No Southern Congressman ever created so favorable an impression in so short a time as has Congressman Heflin from the Fifth Alabama District. He made a happy hit in the House in his first speech. ...38

36 Brown to Heflin, February 9, 1905, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

37 Heflin to Brown, February 15, 1905, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

38 Unidentified newspaper clipping, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
APPRENTICESHIP IN CONGRESS

In his first three Congresses Heflin served on the Committee on Mines and Mining, the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, and the Committee on Agriculture. 39

In the Heflin Papers is a typewritten journal, keyed to the Congressional Record by topic, date, and page number, and showing the House record of Heflin for the years 1904-1910. It indicates that the young legislator spoke more than thirty times during the course of the first three Congresses in which he served. He spoke on such issues as railroad rates, Sunday closing laws, tariff, Jim Crow laws for Washington, and a number of agricultural topics. His most popular topic, however, was cotton.

Actually, since there had not been a Democratic president with a sympathetic legislature since 1856, 40 it was difficult for the young Alabamian to find many causes, other than cotton, to which he might lend his oratorical skills. As a consequence, although he managed loud and indignant protests against Republican policy or lack of it, until Wilson and the Democrats swept into power in 1912, Heflin centered his energy and oratorical skill on cotton and its advocacy.

39 The Register, page 5, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
40 Baldwin, op. cit., II, 402.
Before he was ready to launch a full scale advocacy for the cotton interests, however, Heflin needed more speaking experience before the House. After a successful maiden speech on the subject of railroad rate control, Heflin returned to this subject in his next major address before the House, on February 1, 1906, in the debate preceding passage of the Hepburn Act. While Heflin acknowledged the merits of the Iowan's bill and even pledged his support to it, he also argued for a number of amendments.

Acknowledging the values of a free enterprise system, affirming the duty of the government to assure the welfare of the people, and declaring that the law must be equally applicable to economic agencies and common citizens alike, Heflin based his arguments on the broad principle which he believed to be paramount among the issues of the debate as well as representative of the position of the Democratic Party:

That regulation of economic agencies which encourages industries and enterprises and furnishes ample reward for the proper activities of men are symptoms of genuine progress.\(^\text{41}\)

The Alabamian discussed the abuses of the railroads and the inability of the Interstate Commerce Commission to cope with such abuses; the failure of the Republican Party to cope with the problem; the repeated efforts of the Democrats to improve the situation; the petitions from

various states protesting railroad rates and rebate abuses and calling on Congress to provide regulatory controls; and his own proposal of several amendments which he felt would materially improve the Hepburn bill. In conclusion, Heflin pledged his support to the bill even though the House might refuse to adopt all of the changes which he had proposed. His peroration indicated that he did not really expect that much would be done to improve the railroad rate situation until the Democrats were back in power.\textsuperscript{42}

The speech was apparently well received in the House, at least by the Democratic side. There were more than thirty interruptions with applause and laughter noted in the \textit{Record}. Heflin's home newspaper, \textit{The LaFayette Sun}, reprinted a special news release to the \textit{Birmingham Ledger} which acclaimed the speech as a "decided hit." Captioned "Heflin Makes Ringing Speech," the press report continued:

He [Heflin] was among the last speakers and had prepared considerable manuscript, but he grew warmed to his subject and cast his notes aside. He was in excellent voice and delivered himself so effectually as to win frequent applause. When he closed with a burst of enthusiastic declamation on the good that would come to the country through democratic ascendancy [\textsuperscript{43}], he was rewarded with prolonged applause. All the Democrats in the House crowded about him and grasped his hand in congratulation and not a few Republicans joined in the felicitations.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., p. 1908.

\textsuperscript{43}\textit{The LaFayette Sun}, February 7, 1906.
From Heflin's Alabama Fifth District, Attorney John W. Overton wrote:

I think it is one of the most able speeches delivered in the House, on the Bill. The Democracy of the Fifth District, and I might say the entire State, feels proud of your brilliant record you have made since you have been in Congress. [sic] I think the people of your District will keep you in Congress until you want to go to the U. S. Senate.\textsuperscript{44}

With the February 1 speech and his maiden address, Heflin promised the long suffering Democrats that in him they had a handsome, colorful young advocate capable of worrying the Republicans, espousing the Democratic party lines, pleasing the galleries, rallying the popular vote to Democratic causes, and providing colorful copy for the press. Some years later, John W. Owens commented:

The youthful Tom had enough ballast to carry safely his big, picturesque sails—and he started with abundant resources in canvas. Moreover, he was free from any suggestion of the more sordid sins of politics. No one attacked his character, as the saying is. In fact, he could not be denied a certain amount of character of the higher sort, for while he was proficient in the ordinary juggling of politics, he stood steady on his declared ground. He was a Progressive and his vote could be counted on by the other Progressives. He was a Coming Man. If anything seemed certain, it was that the years would lift him higher and higher upon the political bench.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{44} Overton to Heflin, February 10, 1906, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\textsuperscript{45} John W. Owens, "Tom Heflin," The American Mercury, XII (September–December, 1927), 275.
HIS CAMPAIGN SPEAKING

Tom Heflin first attracted the attention of the national Democratic Party while he campaigned in Alabama for his first full term of office in the House, in 1904.

During the first month of his presidency, Theodore Roosevelt enraged Southern whites by inviting Booker T. Washington to dinner at the White House. In Origins of the New South, Woodward reports:

The reaction to Booker Washington's dinner at the White House in the first month of Roosevelt's presidency was startling in its violence, even in a day of high-pitched racial propaganda. No amount of Federal offices for respectable Gold Democrats—including one for a grandson of Stonewall Jackson and another for a son of Jeb Stuart—seemed to allay the rancor it aroused. John Temple Graves declared that Roosevelt had "destroyed the sectional peace and fraternal harmony which McKinley built," and a New Orleans editor called him "the worst enemy to his race of any white man who has ever occupied so high a place in this republic."  

Washington's own reaction to the public clamor over the event was one of shock, dismay, and surprise. Writing about it a few years later, the Negro recalled:

When I reached New York the next morning I noticed that the New York Tribune had about two lines stating that I had dined with the President the previous night. That was the only New York paper, so far as I saw, that mentioned the matter. ... My surprise can be imagined when, two or three days afterward, the whole press, North and South, was filled with dispatches

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47 Ibid.
and editorials relating to my dinner with the President. For days and weeks I was pursued by reporters in quest of interviews. ... Some newspapers attempted to weave into this incident a deliberate and well-planned scheme on the part of President Roosevelt to lead the way in bringing about the social intermingling of the two races. I am sure nothing was farther from the President's mind than this; certainly it was not in my mind. 48

Heflin's earlier proclamations for White Supremacy, recited at the 1901 Alabama Constitutional Convention and again in 1903 in his Turner Peonage Case speeches made him one of Alabama's leading spokesmen on that issue. Thus, he wasted no time getting on the "bandwagon." He arranged a campaign speech for October 3, 1904, in Washington's home town, Tuskegee, Alabama. To whet further the appetites of his Fifth District supporters, Tom, while enroute to Tuskegee, managed a large-sized altercation with his Republican opponent, Walker, who, while campaigning in Heflin's home county, had castigated Heflin. As the two candidates waited for a train change at Opelika, Heflin demanded that Walker retract these charges. When Walker refused, Heflin knocked him down and the two men had to be pulled apart. 49

Exhilarated over his encounter with Walker, Heflin arrived in Tuskegee in fighting trim. Before an audience "large and representative of the people of the county," Heflin emptied a double-barreled


49 The Montgomery Advertiser, October 3, 1904.
salvo at Roosevelt's catering to Southern Negroes. Saving his heaviest artillery for the incident of Washington dining at the White House, Heflin roared:

There they sat, Roosevelt and Booker; and if some Czolgosz, or one of his kind, had thrown a bomb under the table, no great harm would have been done the country.50

The next day, the Montgomery Advertiser scored Heflin for his "indelicacy," and warned Fifth District voters that it hoped they would "realize the blunder that was made in his nomination."51

Early Heflin Scrapbooks include undated clippings from newspapers all over the country, objecting to Heflin's Tuskegee speech.52 In an editorial entitled "Heflin Should Retire," the Washington Star commented: "It is impossible to think that Mr. Heflin is able to render his constituents in Congress any service now."53 Republicans were enraged; Democrats were worried. An insurance agent from Goodwater, Alabama, who had been campaigning for Heflin wrote:

50The LaFayette Sun, October 12, 1904.
51The Montgomery Advertiser, October 4, 1904.
52Scrapbooks 6 and 7, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, passim.
53Ibid.
If you could arrange for an appointment to speak to the voters of Goodwater and vicinity in the near future, I believe it would be to your advantage as well as to the Democracy here. I have heard no little adverse criticism of your Tuskegee [sic] speech. . . . 54

A Mobile attorney worried that Heflin's Tuskegee speech might be used in some way to prevent the Fifth District Representative from being seated, once he had already won his campaign. 55

Subsequently, after the newspapers in and out of Alabama had made much of Heflin's Tuskegee attack, Heflin wrote to the editor of the Montgomery Journal and avowed that he had no apology to make.

Using the Tuskegee speech as a springboard for his "White Supremacy" campaign, Heflin increased the tempo of his attack on Roosevelt, Booker T. Washington, and the Republican Party efforts to "equalize Negro rights." In major campaign addresses before large Alabama audiences at Camp Hill and Alexander City, he lauded the Democratic Party as the "party of the people" and the "open enemy of extravagance and oppression in governmental affairs," hotly condemned Booker Washington's "interference with the politics of the South," and affirmed the Democratic Party's belief that "the white man is God's chosen instrument to rule the earth." 56 As a result, in the Fifth

54 T. J. Arnold to Heflin, October 8, 1904, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

55 Edward M. Robinson to Heflin, November 11, 1904, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

56 The Montgomery Journal, October 17, 1904.
District Heflin polled the largest majority ever given by that district. Of greater import, however, was the national attention which the stormy campaigner drew to his intemperate remarks.

In Maryland, the boss of the Democratic Party, Senator Arthur P. Gorman, had been having some difficulty in keeping some of the white voters of the state. John W. Owens, writing for the American Mercury, asserted that Gorman therefore "turned to the convenient Nigger, seeking on the one hand to use him as a bugaboo, and on the other to scare or trick him out of naturally Republican ballot." Believing reports that Heflin's campaigning might help the Maryland Democrats, Gorman invited the young Congressman to Baltimore to confer with him. Owens describes Gorman's first impression of Heflin as follows:

Albert J. Maloney, a happy functionary at Democratic headquarters there, was sent to receive Tom and dock him at the old Eutaw House. When Albert returned, Gorman asked him what he thought of the visitor. "Senator," said Albert, who hailed from a hard-riding country, "Senator, he's as handsome as a studhorse!"

Heflin so pleased Gorman that he was asked to deliver several campaign addresses throughout the state. Moreover, he was invited

57See all November, 1904 issues, The Lafayette Sun; O. H. Stevenson, Editor, The Roanoke Leader, to Heflin, November 11, 1904, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

58Owens, op. cit., XII, 272.

59Ibid.

60Ibid.
back in 1907, and subsequently became a favorite in that state. The Baltimore Sun commented about a 1907 Heflin appearance in the city of Baltimore as follows:

It remained for Congressman J. Thomas Heflin of Alabama, the eloquent southerner who last year so won his way into the hearts of Maryland Democrats by his speeches as to receive the warmest kind of welcome when he came back for this campaign, to really arouse the gathering with his fine presence, his ringing voice, his witty stories of the South, and his tempestuous, triumphant democracy. Mr. Heflin caught the crowd from the start and carried it with him to the finish. He was cheered time and time again. The throng applauded his words with a vigor that left no doubt as to the impression he had made.  

In 1908, the Democratic National Committee invited Heflin to become a member of its Speakers' Bureau and campaign for the national party. Subsequently Heflin was assigned five speaking engagements in Missouri, during October, 1908. Chairman of the Democratic National Congressional Committee James Lloyd wrote to Heflin: "You have rendered splendid service in Missouri . . . and your services there are greatly appreciated." F. M. McDavid, Vice-Chairman of the Missouri Democratic Speakers' Bureau, wrote to Lloyd:

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61 The Baltimore Sun, April 12, 1907.

62 John H. Atwood, Chairman of the Speakers' Committee, Democratic National Committee to Heflin, September 12, 1908, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

63 Atwood to Heflin, September 30, 1908, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

64 Lloyd to Heflin, October 22, 1908, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
He [Heflin] is delighting the people who have heard him in counties in South Missouri, and I am confident he has done much good there to arouse the Democracy.\footnote{McDavid to Lloyd, October 22, 1908, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.}

By 1912, the Alabama Congressman spoke throughout the South in support of Alabama Congressman Oscar Underwood's bid for Democratic candidacy to the Presidency. The \textit{Atlanta Journal} called Heflin's Atlanta address "one of the most effective political speeches . . . delivered in Atlanta in a long time.\footnote{The \textit{Atlanta Journal}, April 21, 1912.} The \textit{Atlanta Constitution} added that "numbers of Wilson men threw away their buttons after Mr. Heflin concluded his speech . . . and declared that his argument was irresistible and especially was the argument impregnable.\footnote{The \textit{Atlanta Constitution}, April 23, 1912.} A few days later, the \textit{Savannah Morning News} called a Heflin speech in that Georgia city "a powerful plea for Mr. Underwood," adding that after "he had spoken for more than an hour, the crowd begged him to keep on.\footnote{The \textit{Savannah Morning News}, April 26, 1912.} In Jacksonville, Florida, it was alleged that Heflin had "stimulated a fresh impetus in the candidacy" of Underwood."\footnote{The \textit{Florida Times Union}, April 27, 1912.}
Durham, North Carolina his audience was reported to have been the largest and most representative ever gathered together in that city to hear a political speech, and a Durham attorney, Robert Sykes, felt that Heflin's speech had done Underwood's cause "a world of good."

Some southern newspapers called for Heflin to place Underwood in nomination at the Baltimore convention. C. E. Stewart, Washington correspondent for the Birmingham Age Herald, asserted that the Alabamian was being "prominently mentioned" to make the nominating speech for Underwood. Calling Heflin one "of the greatest orators in the House," the Age Herald writer concluded:

It is sufficient to say that if Tom Heflin gets on the floor of the Baltimore Convention and puts Oscar Underwood in nomination, he will do it in a manner that will curl their hair. His colleagues are unanimous in the opinion that the selection of Representative Heflin would be a happy one and that Mr. Underwood's name would be presented to the convention in terms of eloquence surpassed by none.

Although the Washington Times later purported that Heflin was the choice, Underwood's campaign manager, John Bankhead, chose his own son, John, Jr., who, ironically, unseated Heflin in the Senate some eighteen years later. Heflin and a number of Alabama newspapers

70 S. C. Brawley to Heflin, May 15, 1912, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
71 The Birmingham Age Herald, June 11, 1912.
72 The Washington Times, June 11, 1912.
73 Mrs. Heflin to Heflin, June 19, 1912, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
were disappointed over Bankhead's choice. The national party, however, had not failed to notice Heflin's campaign work for Underwood and soon had him campaigning for Wilson, as far north as New York state, where the Poughkeepsie Press heralded his presence in New York and explained that "it was not necessary for him to stay at home to fight for his own re-election as nobody would run against him." Two months later, December 14, 1912, Heflin and Boston Mayor John E. Fitzgerald were the principal speakers at the annual dinner of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce.

In most of his northern campaign speeches, in 1912, Heflin confined his appeals to sectional unity and a national Democratic victory.

By the end of Heflin's first decade in the House, 1914, the national Democratic Party recognized him as a seasoned and effective stumper. Consequently, following the October adjournment of Congress, the party sent him on the national campaign circuit. A Salisbury, North Carolina newspaper described his appearance in that North Carolina town as follows:

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74 Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, June 21, 1912; Folder 13, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

75 The Poughkeepsie Press, October 30, 1912.

76 The Buffalo Evening News, December 14, 1912.

77 Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, October 14, 1914, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
Big, robust, glassy-eyed and full of energy, a high power oratorical gun of rapid fire calibre, shelling the Republican fortifications which crumble like powder before his onslaught, he most assuredly is the most entertaining political speaker that ever addressed the Salisbury audience.  

Again, in 1916, Heflin stumped throughout Maine with Ollie James, and by himself in Indiana and Pennsylvania. Concerning his Maine tour, Heflin reported:

The Maine state ticket may be in doubt, although were I a gambler I would prefer to take my chances with the Democratic side, but I am certain that Wilson will carry Maine. I spent three days in that state and was greeted by enthusiastic crowds. Every mention of Wilson's name was applauded.

In such a manner, Heflin acquired a national image through his campaign oratory. The Alabamian's services were sought in a large number of states, such as West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Missouri, North Carolina, Nebraska, Maryland, New Jersey, Tennessee, and various other states. By 1924, after Heflin had completed a tour from Maryland to Wyoming, Claude A. Swanson, Chairman of the Speakers' Bureau of the Democratic National Committee, wrote: "We are having splendid reports from everywhere concerning your meetings." A few days later, Swanson released the following press statement:

78 The Salisbury Evening Post, October 9, 1914.
79 The Birmingham Age Herald, August 29, 1916.
80 Swanson to Heflin, October 11, 1924, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama; correspondence files and Scrapbooks for 1922-1924, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, passim.
Heflin has spoken on an average of twice a day and made a most remarkable impression wherever he has gone. There have been insistent demands that he be returned in places where he has spoken. . . . Senator Heflin is one of the most effective speakers in the campaign, and the party owes him a great debt of gratitude for the splendid work he has done for the party and its nominees.  

HIS CEREMONIAL SPEAKING

To catalog Tom Heflin's ceremonial speaking is a task of no small proportions. From the time he first entered public service until his death half a century later, Heflin spoke at a variety of special occasions, including commencements, cornerstone laying ceremonies, benefits for Confederate monuments, Confederate Veterans' Reunions, national holidays, centennial celebrations, and a wide variety of other special events. In addition, Heflin gave popular lectures repeatedly on such topics as "Down in Dixie," "The Ideal Woman," "The Grand Creation," and "Our Heritage in the South," and

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82 Heflin Papers, University of Alabama; Heflin Microfilm Collection, Samford University, passim.

83 Among several audiences to hear this address was the Mount Pleasant Congregational Church, a popular suburban church of Washington. Unidentified clipping, Washington, February 13, 1905, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

84 The Anderson [South Carolina] Daily Mail, November 8, 1913. Same speech delivered at Niagara Falls, New York, a short time earlier.

"The South and a Reunited Country." The Scrapbooks indicate that some of these were repeated several times.

His reputation as a ceremonial speaker earned Heflin invitations to a number of important events. For instance, on June 12, 1909, he spoke to a large audience of Confederate veterans at Front Royal, Virginia, on the occasion of the birthday of Jefferson Davis. Invited by the New York mayor, on February 12, 1909, he addressed the Lincoln clubs of New York City comprising an audience of more than two thousand. On July 3, 1909, back in his own home state, Heflin spoke at Horse Shoe Bend to an estimated audience of ten thousand commemorating the famous battle between the Creek Indians and American troops under Andrew Jackson. Having introduced the bill in the House to make Horse Shoe Bend a national park, Heflin as the Fifth District Representative delivered the main oration of the day. In 1910, Heflin was

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86 Unidentified newspaper clipping, 1907, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
87 The Birmingham Age Herald, June 14, 1909.
88 Undated clipping, The LaFayette Sun, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
89 The Montgomery Advertiser, July 4, 1909.
addressing the Daughters of the Confederacy at their Washington home on Vermont Avenue. 90

In Congress, two of the Alabamian's most widely acclaimed ceremonial addresses were his endorsement of the Lincoln Memorial and his introduction of a bill making Mother's Day a national holiday. 91

By 1913, Heflin was hailed as one of the most skilled ceremonial speakers in Congress. Speaker Champ Clark appointed him to head a delegation of twelve Representatives to attend the unveiling of a monument to Thomas Jefferson in St. Louis, April 30, 1913. Heflin made one of the principal addresses. 92 At Rockville, Maryland, Heflin delivered what was acclaimed as the "most eloquent address ever delivered in that county" at the unveiling of a monument in memory of Confederate veterans. 93 The Staunton [Virginia] Daily Leader called the Alabamian "one of the most able talkers in the House of Representatives, his eloquence winning him the title of 'the sweet singer of Congress'." 94 West Virginia's John W. Davis alleged that "in Congress

90The Birmingham Age Herald, June 5, 1910.


92The Birmingham Age Herald, April 9, 1913.

93The Rockville Maryland Sentinel, June 6, 1913.

he [Heflin] was without a peer as a speaker," and added that there were "few men in the United States who could make a better impression and hold the attention of his audience more perfectly than he." Continued Davis:

When he gets on the floor we expect something. In the gallery the word goes round that Heflin is about to speak. Everybody becomes attentive. The newspaper boys chatting in the ante-room hasten back to their desks.  

The Gettysburg speech

Against a background of widespread acclaim, it is not so surprising that Heflin became the first Southerner to deliver the annual Gettysburg Memorial Day Address at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.  But, his choice by the Corporal Kelly Post of Gettysburg provoked a storm of controversy. The Boston Transcript declared that Heflin's views on the Negro question should "disqualify him for the office of delivering the Gettysburg address." The Charleston [South Carolina] News and Courier lamented: "The nomination from the South of a ranting Negrophobe is to be condemned. A more unfortunate [sic] choice could scarcely have been made." The Rochester Chronicle cried that the

95 The Birmingham Age Herald, August 3, 1913.
97 The Macon Georgia News, May 20, 1913.
98 Ibid.
"presence of such a man at the Gettysburg Reunion will make the occasion a mockery." It continued:

The protests made in many northern newspapers against the selection of Representative Heflin of Alabama as the Gettysburg Memorial Day orator are being echoed in several southern papers, which recognized the force of the objections made. One point that has not been made clear in the discussion is, who was responsible for the choice of Representative Heflin in the first place. Whoever it was failed to take into account the fact that in the North he is known principally for his rabid utterances against Negroes.

The Macon Georgia News, on the other hand, defended the choice of Heflin, and declared that it believed that as "a southern gentleman above all else," he "will purposely avoid any utterance on May 30 that would bring discredit on himself or reflect on the South." The News continued:

While he [Heflin] has expressed rather strong views at times, he has nevertheless shown other characteristics in his demeanor in Congress which are commendable in nature. But even though he be a fire eating Alabamian, the fact that he is desired by the Gettysburg Post for an honor which was once so memorably filled by Lincoln, is only more proof that the breach opened in the '60's has long since healed.

Other newspapers of this period attest to the controversy.

Among the estimated ten thousand people gathered at Gettysburg to hear Heflin bring "a message of a reunited country," there were

100 The Macon Georgia News, May 20, 1913.
101 1913 Scrapbooks, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, passim.
a large number of his colleagues along with Capital residents who had
accompanied the Alabama orator on a specially chartered train from
Washington to Gettysburg and return.

Using as the keynote of his address fifty years of internal
peace and the gradual elimination of sectional lines, Heflin discussed
the "hardships and suffering" of the founding fathers, the triumph of
the War of 1812, the issues involved in the War Between the States and
the "ever lasting union" which had been "cemented," the "unity of north
and south in this nation's war with Spain," and the need for continued
national unity and goodwill which transcends sectional lines.

At the conclusion of the Alabamian's address, those reports
which were preserved were laudatory. The Griffin, Georgia News held
the address to be "broad, patriotic, and brilliant" and concluded that
the effort "proved that no error was made in selecting for the first
time a southern man for that great honor." The Washington Post
stated: "Standing on historic Gettysburg Battlefield and bringing a
message of reunited country, Representative Thomas Heflin of Alabama
today paid eloquent tribute to the heroism of the men who wore the


\[104\] Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 2, pp. 1861-1862.

\[105\] Clipping from Griffin, Georgia News, June 3, 1913, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
blue and the gray." The headlines of the New York Times read, "Southern Congressman Brings Eloquent Message of Good-will." The Washington Times ran a two-column picture of Heflin, along with a two-column story captioned, "Heflin Brings Good Will of the South." The Mobile Item declared that Heflin's address was not only the "first address ever delivered by a southerner at the Gettysburg Memorial Day exercises," but that it was also "one of the most notable of that occasion." William B. Bankhead, brother of the man who was later to unseat Heflin in the Senate, wrote congratulations to Heflin and added: "We are proud of Alabamians that can deliver the goods, and you met our fullest expectations on Memorial Day."  

The Gettysburg National Park Commission of the War Department printed and bound Heflin's speech and placed it in the library of the Department, and by unanimous action the House of Representatives ordered that "the able, eloquent and patriotic speech" be printed in the Congressional Record.  

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109 The Mobile Item, May 31, 1913.  
110 Bankhead to Heflin, May 31, 1913, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.  
111 Typewritten copies of directives, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
There is no doubt but that Heflin's national image was enhanced by the effectiveness with which he filled the Gettysburg engagement.

MASTERING THE ART OF STORYTELLING

That Tom Heflin was an apt student of the Negro revival "camp meetings," the annual white revivals, the traveling chautauquas, medicine shows, and conversation around the Heflin fireside, is attested to by the fact that soon after he went to Washington he earned the reputation as a master storyteller. By the end of his fourth term in the House, newspapers were calling him the "champion storyteller in Congress." The Nashville Banner commented:

He has a sense of the ridiculous that reminds of President Lincoln, and he can be as sentimental as Proctor Knott in delivering a speech rollicking with humor. . . . No man in Congress can seize on a hint more readily and he can clinch an argument with a story of Old Uncle Ephraim that appeals to every direct mind and downright man.\(^{113}\)

The Indianapolis Star called him "a storyteller who has no superiors."\(^{114}\) The Florida Times Union labeled him an "entertaining talker and a born storyteller."\(^{115}\) The Buffalo [New York] Commercial


\(^{113}\) The Nashville Banner, March 5, 1912.

\(^{114}\) The Indianapolis Star, April 9, 1912.

\(^{115}\) The Florida Times Union [Jacksonville], April 27, 1912.
thought that he was "without an equal in Washington as a teller of Negro Dialect stories." These impressions were not ill-founded.

Writing some years later, after Heflin had been elected to the Senate, a correspondent for the New York Evening Times commented:

Heflin . . holds preeminent rank among the tellers of darky dialect stories throughout all Congress. There never arose an occasion, critical or otherwise, in the course of the Congressional session that Heflin couldn't produce a story to fit.117

Still later, in a Sunday feature article on Heflin, the Nashville Tennessean mused:

. . . No one can deny that Heflin is one of the most popular storytellers in Washington. When he sat in the lower House, members would gather around him in the lobby of his hotel nearby, they say, and insist on hearing his stories told in inimitable darky dialogue, often until the small hours of morning. Today, his familiar line, "I am reminded" breaks frequently like a ray of sunshine through the heavy clouds of his thunderous political assaults.118

How had the Alabamian acquired the skill which permitted him to so accurately employ the Negro dialect? One writer concluded:

Only one born and educated and living in Alabama like Heflin can hope so accurately and humorously to reproduce the Darky accent and to portray the Darky gift for happy and unexpected metaphor.119

116 The Buffalo Commercial, January 2, 1913.
117 The New York Evening Times, November 13, 1921.
118 The Nashville Tennessean, December 21, 1921.
119 Ibid.
The Nashville Banner columnist, Savoyard, alleged that Heflin had learned Negro dialect on his father's plantation during his boyhood days. Savoyard commented:

How southern Tom Heflin is! I would bet he has been possum hunting with the niggers and sat in the cabin at the feet of some Uncle Eph when homely wisdom fell from the lips of the faithful old servitor.120

In their book entitled Dixie Demagogues, Michie and Ryhlick give still another version. Asserting that Tom's father had set aside a section of the Heflin plantation as a "meetin' ground," the writers described Tom's study of Negro dialect as follows:

... At night young Tom would join the colored folks at their camp meetings and listen with fascination to the exhortations of their preachers. When he came home, his father would take him aside and ask what the preacher had said. The boy would begin to tell him in his own words, but his father would insist, "No. Tom, how did the preacher say it?" Then Tom would mimic the preacher. Before long, he had mastered the dialect and made a reputation as a teller of "nigra" stories that has stayed with him throughout his long career.121

Tucker also concludes that Heflin's knowledge of Negro folklore and "extraordinary art of mimicry and storytelling" were derived from "diversion he obtained by clandestine attendance at Negro revivals."122

120 The Nashville Banner, June 27, 1909.


122 Tucker, op. cit., CCXXVI, 149.
What characteristics helped to make the Alabamian's storytelling successful? What were the methods of this peddler of folklore, homespun wit, and sectional dialects?

Familiar names

One important factor was the extent to which Heflin popularized the names of the favorite characters and locales of his stories. Within a few years after the Alabamian had been in Washington, newspaper writers were alluding to Uncle Ephraim as though he were an old friend. Equally familiar to Capitol Hill reporters, congressional colleagues, and Washington audiences were such names as Erastus, Miranda, Uncle Rufus, Aunt Mandy, Old Josh, Buck Bryant, and Uncle Johnny. These central characters appeared so frequently in the Alabamian's array of stories that the mention of their names brought easy recognition by Heflin's audiences. Frequently Heflin characters found their way into magazines and newspapers. A case in point was one of Heflin's most popular "Uncle Johnny" stories retold in the May 29, 1913, issue of the Youth's Companion Magazine, with the following preface:

The cloakrooms of the houses of Congress are famous market places for the exchange of humor and now and then a good story finds its way through them into the legislative hall itself.
and so into the solid type of the Congressional Record. Here's one told by Mr. Heflin of Alabama to the delight of his colleagues.\textsuperscript{123}

In cities where the Alabamian spoke, newspaper reporters wrote about his skill as a storyteller, frequently mentioning some of his favorite characters by name.\textsuperscript{124}

The incongruous

A second characteristic of the Heflin yarn was the incongruous situation or set of circumstances which the Alabamian contrived. To illustrate some of the labor problems of finding enough pickers for a particularly large cotton crop, Heflin contrived a situation in which it was proposed that a group of monkeys be taught to pick cotton. To add the necessary elements of conflict, protagonist and antagonist, and appropriateness of situation, the Alabama Congressman put together the following tale:

While one of our northern friends was down in Mississippi talking to a southern farmer he said, "Why don't you people teach the monkeys to pick cotton; the little, nimble-fingered fellows would run around the stalks and pick out the fluffy

\textsuperscript{123} Clipping, \textit{Youth's Companion Magazine}, May 29, 1913, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\textsuperscript{124} The \textit{Nashville Banner}, June 27, 1909; The \textit{Gastonia [North Carolina] Gazette}, August 1, 1913; The \textit{Nashville Banner}, March 5, 1912; The \textit{Westerly Rhode Island Sun}, January 29, 1913; the \textit{Dayton [Ohio] Daily News}, January 10, 1912; The \textit{Newark Sunday Call}, March 14, 1912; The \textit{Atlanta Journal}, April 21, 1912; J. P. Neff to Heflin, July 15, 1911, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
stuff and throw it in the baskets." "Yes," said the farmer, "that's right; but we wouldn't more than get 'em organized before you durn Yankees would come down here and free 'em."  

Other Heflin tales embraced such ludicrous situations as the Negro Old Josh who caught a "20 pound soft shell turtle in the Tallapoosa River" and started up the road with his catch only to meet a tramp who was a ventriloquist. The ensuing episode in which the tramp makes the turtle talk, scares Uncle Josh, and stampedes him into a hasty retreat, all lead to the punch line which permits the adroit storyteller to make his point. Another situation inviting Heflin's mimicry of Negro dialect involves Old Rastus, Governor Bob Taylor, and a coon hunt. When the hunting party, Negroes, dogs, and Rastus and his mule all think they finally have a coon treed, and a Negro lad is sent shinnying up the tree, he comes face to face with a huge black bear that has escaped from a circus. The consternation which follows permits Heflin to portray the humor with which the Negro boys and Old Rastus face their predicament while at the same time the point of the story is being made.

While flaying the speculators in the New York Cotton Exchange, the Alabama humorist drew upon a situation in which two fellows


126 An undated collection of Negro stories, written in Heflin's handwriting, preserved in the Heflin Microfilm Collection, Samford University.
walking across the prairie found themselves in the dilemma of choosing between an escape up a tree to elude a ferocious buffalo or into a cave where dwelt an even meaner black bear.\textsuperscript{127} With such incongruous circumstances, the entertaining Alabamian managed to arrest the attention of his auditors while he put his favorite characters through their paces.

The surprise ending

Numerous speech experts agree that the unexpected ending is one of the prime elements of humor.\textsuperscript{128} Heflin capitalized on it frequently. When the plantation owner confronted Aunt Mandy to ask her if her husband, Rufus, was a good provider, Heflin had her answering: "Yassuh, but I'm all the time skeered dey go'ner ketch him!"\textsuperscript{129}

After causing Uncle Johnny to protest repeatedly that the railroad would never get the locomotive started on a line constructed right in front of Uncle Johnny's property, the skeptical old man, confronted with the "pulsating engine and cars going down the track with

\textsuperscript{127}\textit{Congressional Record, Volume 48, Part 1, p. 380.}


\textsuperscript{129}\textit{Undated collection of Negro stories, op. cit.}
whistle blowing and sparks aflying," declared: "By golly, they'll never get her stopped!" ¹³⁰

Heflin likened some of the disgruntled Republicans in the Sixty-second Congress to Yad Potter, one of his Fifth Alabama District voters:

If the old guard—the standpatters—get after you . . . come over and join us permanently. They have been trying to lecture some of you of late. If they make it too hard for you over there and undertake to read you out of the old stand-pat party, I imagine some of you will be like old Yad Potter, down in my district, who kept getting drunk and the brethren of the church kept excusing him, until finally they told him that if he got drunk any more they would turn him out of the church. Whereupon Yad said, "Turn me out if you want to, and I will go kerplunk into the Methodist Church!" So if the stand-pat gang turn you out, just come kerplunk into the Democratic Party. ¹³¹

When discussing his feeling about either of two amendments before the House, the Alabamian was reminded of a horse thief who was caught and offered the choice of being hanged or shot. Heflin had his victim reply: "To tell you the truth, I can't enthuse over either plan!" Such was the Alabamian's position with regard to both amendments confronting him.¹³² These are representative of the tales in which Heflin concluded with the unexpected.


Satire

Heflin employed satire generally at the expense of the Republicans, and it was, therefore, usually savored by only one side of the House chamber and the galleries. Referring to a speech by New York's Sereno Payne, co-author of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Law, Heflin chided:

Mr. Speaker, I have listened to the sad and melancholy dirge of the gentleman from New York. With tear-dimmed eyes and mournful voice he has witnessed the last sad rites of the Payne-Aldrich tariff law. He has expressed his grief and he has mourned its demise, but let me say to the gentleman, dry your tears; your loss is the people's gain.133

He likened the stand-pat Republican to an Irishman's turtle that was "dead and don't know it." As for the Republican insurgent, the Alabamian lamented that "he didn't insurge long enough!" He continued with a story about bantam roosters, crows, and hawks, concluding:

Now and then he [the insurgent] breaks away from the old guard and, like a bantam rooster mounting an ash hopper, crows vigorously for awhile, displaying, you would think, considerable courage; but let him see a trust hawk circling in his direction and right under the Republican barn house he goes and you do not see him anymore.134

Hitting again at the Payne-Aldrich Tariff and the effect of its free list on the farmer, Heflin likened the tariff benefits of that bill to the old Negro and the possum. Chided the Alabamian:

133 Ibid.
134 Congressional Record, Volume 47, Part 1, p. 779.
The farmer feels your tariff blessings about like the old negro did the possum. Old Rastus went out one night and caught a big fat possum. He cleaned him good and put the oven on a bed of rosy coals. And he laid the possum in the oven and put some yam potatoes around him and some butter and pepper and salt. Then old Rastus said: "I'm gwine ter lay down here fer a little while and I'm gwine ter dream erbout eatin' dis possum, and den I'm gwine ter eat 'im shore enuf, and I'll enjoy 'im twice." So old Rastus fell asleep. Sambo came along and smelt the possum cooking. He looked in and saw old Rastus sound asleep. He lifted the oven lid and took the possum out. He was baked brown, smoking and smelling good. Old Sambo ate him. He took some of the grease and smeared it on the mustache of old Rastus and put a little on his chin, a little on his hands, and piled the bones down beside Rastus's head, and departed. Rastus finally awoke and said: "Sholy I aint eat dat possum. Sholy I aint eat 'im. But heah's grease on my lips, and grease on my hands, and heah's de bones lyin' by me." Then, pressing his hand gently against his stomach, he said: "If I did eat dat possum he weighs lighter on my constitution and has less influence wid me dan any possum dat I'se ever eat in mah born days."

So Mr. Chairman, the tariff-produced prosperity that the Republican Party has handed out to the farmer weighs lighter on his constitution and has less influence with him than any prosperity that he ever felt in his born days.¹³⁵

Mimicry

As has been mentioned earlier, Heflin's mimicry of Negro dialect amused his colleagues and popular audiences alike. Various contemporary writers claimed that the Alabamian had "something of the actor in him" who "did an imitation worth witnessing."¹³⁶ Still another writer commented: "Not even the carefully edited pages of the

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 781.

¹³⁶The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, September 24, 1922.
Congressional Record, which note no difference in the way the most scholarly member and the way the rural Senator from the sticks pronounce their words can rob the Heflin story of its flavor.137

Throughout the Record the Heflin dialect stories spell out the dialect as Heflin delivered it. Frequently Uncle Ephraim was the principal character of the anecdotes. On one occasion, Uncle Ephraim objected to a mission his master sent him on into the woods to hunt a lost colt. Uncle Ephraim said apprehensively, "Yes, sah; I'll go, Massa John, but I jes' nacherly knows that I'm gwine to see a ghost on de journey." Later, when Uncle Ephraim encountered a huge buck deer in the deepest, darkest part of the forest, both the Negro and the deer started running at the same time. As they ran along a path almost side by side, Heflin has the scared old Negro talking to the deer:

Uncle Ephraim, with his hat in his hand and grunting every time he hit the ground, finally got a little in the lead of the deer, and he said to him, "If you expect to run wid me, you'll have to throw dat rockin' chair off yer head."138

The Alabamian compared Republican promises to the old Negro in Mississippi who was a candidate for baptism. When the presiding parson insisted that the old fellow wade into the middle of the stream

137The Nashville Tennessean, December 21, 1921.
to be baptized he objected. The parson prevailed upon him further, crying: "Don't you know if your faith is right and an alligator swallows you he gonna' cast you up on the sand?" Whereupon the old Negro said, "Parson, you may know all about whales 'n Jonah 'n sech, but you doan understan' these Mississippi alligators. . . . If ever a Mississippi alligator swallows a Negro, he will go off and go to sleep and forget all about him. . . . A Republican will make a promise in campaign times, and when he gets in office he goes off and forgets all about the people and the promise."139

Representative of the extent to which Tom captured the rhythm of Negro speech, especially when set in the context of prayer, was his story of Uncle Rufus and his praying. The story also illustrates Tom's familiarity with this particular phase of Negro life as it must have existed during his boyhood days in Alabama:

Old Uncle Rufus was cared for down south by the white folks that had owned him before the war. Sentiment and sympathy led them to make it pretty easy for the old darky. He lived on the fat of the land and was the sage of the whole colored population. He got a good deal of his prestige, as darkies often do, out of his ills and ailments and general woes. He was "allus feelin poly," always about to "shuffle off," but somehow he clung to life or life clung to him very strongly. Uncle Rufus liked to pray out loud about his ailments. He liked to throw his voice out so that the other darkies could hear him tell the Lord how poor a thing life was. In a prayer he could be heard for half a mile any still evening. Several little boys crept up to Uncle Rufus' cabin one evening while he was telling the Lord all about it and saying, "Oh Lord, this old nigger been here a long time. He step is growin feeble. He eyes is grown.

139 Ibid., p. 782.
dim. He caint hardly hear no more. Full o' pains and aches, Lord. Why you all keep the old nigger here? Old nigger tired of dis world. Ready to go to glory land. Oh Lord, send down a band of angels to take old Rufus home.

One of the little white boys wrapped hard with his knuckles at Uncle Rufus' door. "Who . . . who dat?" Uncle Rufus said huskily. "Band of angels, Uncle Rufus. Come to take you to the land of glory."

Uncle Rufus, replied quick as a flash: "You have to excuse me, but Uncle Rufus don't live in this settlement!"

His sensitivity to the characteristics of Negro dialect prompted the Duluth Minnesota News Tribune to call Heflin's storytelling the "greatest piece of minstrel mimicry ever seen or heard."

Appropriateness

Heflin's stories were usually appropriate. In 1913, a reporter for the Gastonia [North Carolina] Gazette commented:

Mr. Heflin's mastery of the art of illustrating his statements with anecdotes and an especial aptness is truly wonderful and many of the older persons present who heard him for the first time remarked after the close of his address upon his remarkable resemblance to former governor Zeb Vance in this respect.

The North Carolina reporter had singled out a particularly important factor in the Alabamian's storytelling: inevitably his stories helped to make a point.

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140 The Nashville Tennessean, December 21, 1924.
141 Duluth Minnesota News Tribune, February 23, 1913.
142 The Gastonia Gazette, August 1, 1913.
With tales about old Uncle Rufus, the Alabamian illustrated the idea of southern party affiliation, Republican corruption, the evils of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, and the tribulations of the cotton farmers. With tales about Uncle Johnny, Heflin flailed the speculators in the New York Cotton Exchange, the skeptics in Congress who would not believe that the cotton farmers were in dire circumstances, and the Republicans who refused to "give the average man a fair chance in the struggle for existence."

While discussing Heflin's "unloading stories to illustrate a point," the Westerly Rhode Island Sun worried: "There is danger that Tom Heflin of Alabama will be called the humorist of the House." However, the newspaper added: "That would not be a very severe arraignment in a House so devoid of humor as the 62nd Congress."¹

It is reported that Heflin seems also to have possessed a sensitive feeling for the mood of his audience and whether they wanted to be serious or light-hearted. A Dayton newspaper observed:

He [Heflin] has an impressive personality and a fine resonant voice; and in some respects reminds one of Bryan, but the attribute that shines more distinctly and brilliantly than any other in this man's character is that of sincerity. He told stories that nearly drove the assembly into convulsions, but these would be followed by pathetic appeals to their sense of justice and their love of country.²

³_The Westerly Rhode Island Sun_, January 29, 1913.

¹_¹Payton Daily News_, January 10, 1912.
After a Heflin address in Newark, New Jersey, a newspaper writer commented:

Honorable James Thomas Heflin of Alabama was the first speaker and for twenty-five minutes commanded the closest attention. His address was alternately grave and humorous. His anecdotes were new and replete with the choicest elements of humor, and when he turned to the serious aspects of his subject he was eloquent to a degree that enraptured his audience.\textsuperscript{145}

In similar manner, the Savannah Morning News said: "He discussed serious issues in a way that was not tedious because he illustrated his points with anecdotes that were both amusing and apropos [sic]."\textsuperscript{146}

Delivery

No discussion of Heflin as a storyteller is complete without mentioning how he delivered his anecdotes and yarns. Henry Suydam described the Alabama storyteller's delivery as follows:

He has a capacious voice, made attractive by a broad southern accent. His gestures are circular and fit his features. He knows how to use moods. One moment he is the personification of righteous anger, then he drops his voice and becomes pathetic, and finally swinging into his middle register he tells a story or slips in an apposite quotation.\textsuperscript{147}

A Washington correspondent for the Birmingham Age Herald wrote of Heflin's voice, "He has a strong, voluminous voice, most pleasing to

\textsuperscript{145}The Newark [New Jersey] Sunday Call, March 14, 1912.
\textsuperscript{146}The Savannah Morning News, April 26, 1912.
\textsuperscript{147}The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, September 24, 1922.
the ear." The New York Evening Times commended the Alabamian's "remarkable geniality of manner":

In the long hours of a protracted filibuster, Heflin has been known to entertain the House hour on hour with his recitals of an endless chain of dialect yarns that kept the tired members cheerful.149

Josephus Daniels described Heflin as a "rousement" speaker who was a "perfect mimic and master of the Negro dialect" and could "tell a Negro story, with all the frills, in a way to delight an audience."150 The Salisbury [North Carolina] Evening Post called the Alabama storyteller a "big, robust, glassy-eyed and full of energy, high powered oratorical gun of rapid fire calibre."151 A Charlotte, North Carolina, reporter wrote a particularly descriptive account of the physical aspects of the Heflin countenance:

Senator Heflin is a unique character, a man of great force of personality that drives itself into the souls of men like an arrow, with a charming presence—his round, ruddy face, his broad shoulders, the immensity of his physical frame, and the wholesomeness of his greeting constitute the sort of a fellow that the crowd instinctively turns to. It is a benediction to be in the presence of one who is so radiant and so hopeful—one who gives no indication that he has ever been sick a day in his life.

148 The Birmingham Age Herald, June 11, 1912.
149 The New York Evening Times, November 13, 1921.
151 The Salisbury Evening Post, October 9, 1914.
You can tell by looking at Tom Heflin . . . that he has no earthly use for a fellow that is grouchy and ill-tempered and out of sorts. A pessimist has no place in his company . . . . His natural buoyance of spirit would dispel the gloom that settles over any man's spirit, and with his hearty laughter and merry chatter he can sink a requiem of dull care in any company.152

The El Dorado, Arkansas, Daily News referred to his "supreme art of the human voice and the subtlest command of face and figure" displayed in his speech which was "interspersed with trick humor and irresistible whimsy that gave the appearance of a finished performance."153

Dr. A. B. Moore, Emeritus Dean of the University of Alabama Graduate School, remembered a visit which Heflin had made to the University, as follows:

The students were convinced he was an extremist. Consequently, to begin with, they were a skeptical and almost hostile audience. Tom told one of his inimitable stories. They began to warm up. He told another—they liked him better. Soon, he had that audience in an uproar, laughing, applauding, and eating out of his hand. He had a florid style, excellent voice which he used with great skill, he was handsome, and he projected a very attractive personality. He could have been a marvelous professional actor.154

154 Interview with Dr. A. B. Moore, August 10, 1964.
SUMMARY

As Tom Heflin's oratory propelled him increasingly more into the public eye, and his national image grew to the extent that writers like John W. Owens could later recall that the young Heflin had been "a coming man, and if anything seemed certain, it was that the years would lift him higher and higher upon the political bench," it became evident that cotton had found itself a formidable advocate. Alabama's Fifth District had sent to Washington an advocate whose boyhood years, family training, public education, college years, early political experience, and acquisition of a national image through campaign and ceremonial speaking had all been nurtured by the Cotton Belt, cotton farmers, cotton pickers, cotton spinners, cotton manufacturers, cotton users, and most important of all, cotton voters.

Tom had listened to discussion of the fortunes of the cotton planters, by his fireside as a boy. On his father's cotton plantation he had gathered the folklore and learned the dialect which helped him to become one of the most widely acclaimed storytellers on Capitol Hill. He had argued the case of the cotton farmer in the 1901 Alabama Constitutional Convention, in the Alabama legislature, and in his

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155Owens, op. cit., XII, 275.
maiden speech in Congress. In his early campaigning he had sought the favor of the cotton farmers, won it, and pledged himself to fight their cause.

From the time he was a boy, Heflin had dreamed of being a Congressman, looking like a Congressman, sounding like a Congressman, and acting like a Congressman. His manner of dress, mode of speech, physical attractiveness, and general appearance were all carefully cultivated to project a singular image of Heflin's concept of a statesman.

His popularity as a campaigner, his success as a ceremonial speaker, his reputation as "the best-dressed congressman," and his skill as a storyteller, reflected the success of his conscious effort to prepare himself to become a national spokesman for the cotton interests.

That he was asked to preside over a portion of the 1912 Baltimore National Democratic Convention, and the extent to which the national party employed his campaign skills attest to the success which Heflin achieved in acquiring a national image via the political stump.

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156 Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, June 30, 1912, written from the Baltimore Convention, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
The Gettysburg address, the Lincoln speech in New York, and various other ceremonial occasions of sectional, regional, and national interest added to the prestige of the Alabama orator.

On Capitol Hill, Heflin's perseverance as a neophyte student of the proceedings of the lower House paid off with a successful maiden effort as well as subsequent effective early speeches.

Back in Alabama, Heflin's constituents registered their approval of their advocate's first ten years in the House, in 1914, by making him the only unopposed candidate in any congressional district in Alabama. So strong was he in the Fifth District that no one dared run against him.

In this manner did Cotton Tom Heflin emerge to become cotton's chief advocate. The Democratic Party considered him a formidable campaigner. No Alabama politician dared challenge him on the ballot. Newspapermen found him to be colorful copy. His colleagues were impressed with his appearance, his oratory, and sought his company. The cotton interests expressed their confidence in the Alabamian in many ways.

Heflin was invited to address the Southern Cotton Association in 1907. The president of the Southern Cotton Association, the

157Harvey Jordan to Heflin, December 26, 1906, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
president of the United States Cotton Association, and the president of the Farmers' National Congress, in 1907, supported his appointment to the House Agricultural Committee. By 1914, the Alabamian persuaded his congressional colleagues that he should be their chief spokesman for the cotton interests. Accordingly, a group of southern congressmen selected him to tour the cotton producing states to speak for a reduction of cotton acreage campaign. Moreover, they chose him to lead a delegation composed of Senator Smith of South Carolina, Representative Henry of Texas, Representative Wingo of Arkansas, and Representative Adamson of Georgia to the White House and a conference with the President about "the cotton situation in the south in detail," October 3, 1914. In such a manner were the cotton interests, through their various associations, and their congressional representatives recognizing Heflin as their chief spokesman on the national scene.

158 Letters to Heflin from the presidents of the Southern Cotton Association, United States Cotton Association, and Farmers' National Congress, December 9, 1907, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

159 The Baltimore Sun, October 3, 1914.

160 Ibid.
CHAPTER III

THE EMERGING ADVOCACY

THE COTTON BELT IN 1904

In 1904, that section of the United States known as the Cotton Belt included North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and portions of Tennessee, Florida, Virginia, and Oklahoma. Tom Heflin's cotton advocacy in the House embraced the interests of the people of this large section.

In 1904, the 30,077,000 acres of cotton harvested in the United States and the 13,438,000 bales produced, together represented the largest cotton production in this country since 1866. Including the cotton production of the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico, the total United States production for 1904 reached 13,444,946 bales at an estimated value of $561,100,386.

In Alabama, the picture was similar. The 3,391,000 acres harvested and 1,448,000 bales produced in 1904 constituted a record

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cotton yield which Alabama had not known since 1866. At the markets, the picture was also a bright one. Middling upland cotton brought 17\(\frac{3}{4}\) per pound, a higher price than any of the American markets had seen since before 1900.\(^5\)

In his 1905 annual report to the President, the Secretary of Agriculture reported the year 1904 as "another year of unsurpassed prosperity to the farmers of this country," with "production unequaled," and "farm crops never before harvested at such a high general level of production and value." Concluded the Secretary:

The value of the farmers' National surplus still maintains the magnitude that has built up the balance of trade by successive additions for many years sufficient to change the Nation from a borrower into a lender; there is a continuation of the unprecedented savings that have embarrassed local banks with their riches and have troubled farmers to find investments; and the farms themselves have increased in value to a fabulous extent.

The Secretary praised the increase of small national banks, including the 633 new banks which had been organized in the southern states, and concluded that "for the first time in the financial history of the South, deposits in that region now exceed $1,000,000,000."\(^7\) He also commented on the percentage of gain in the

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\(^4\)Cotton and Cottonseed, p. 13.

\(^5\)Yearbook, 1905, p. 713.

\(^6\)Ibid., p. 9.

\(^7\)Ibid., pp. 15-17.
value of the real estate of "medium farms of this country," noting that the highest percentage of increase had been in the South Central group," the group in which Alabama was included. Although somewhat less enthusiastic in his account, Moore was nevertheless impressed with the gain which Alabama had made during this period, concluding that not only had the "advance of agriculture" been "notable," but that "general business expansion, better farming methods, larger and better facilities for reaching the markets, and the rise in the price of cotton and other farm products, all combined to improve the farmer's position."^9

While asserting that United States cotton farms had increased $460,000,000 in value in 1904, the Secretary of Agriculture was careful to point out that although the rate of increase for cotton farms had been the highest of all specialized farms, the yield per acre had been the lowest.10 Regarding the general economic position of farmers of the United States, in 1904-5, the Secretary concluded:

If the farmers' economic position in the United States is to be condensed to a short paragraph, it may be said that their farms produced this year wealth valued at $6,415,000,000; that farm products are yearly exported with a port value of $875,000,000; that farmers have reversed an adverse international balance of

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8 Ibid.
10 Yearbook, 1905, p. 18.
trade; and have been building up one favorable to this country by
sending to foreign nations a surplus which in sixteen years has
aggregated $12,000,000,000, leaving an apparent net balance of
trade during that time amounting to $5,092,000,000 after an
adverse balance against manufactures and other products not agri-
cultural, amounting to $543,000,000 has been offset. Within a
decade farmers have become prominent as bankers and as money
lenders throughout large areas; and during the past five years
prosperous conditions and the better-directed efforts of the
farmers themselves have increased the value of their farms 33.5
per cent, or an amount approximately equal to $6,131,000,000.\textsuperscript{11}

Despite all of these optimistic reports regarding the general
economy of the American farmer, the real condition of the average
cotton farmer left much to be desired. Moore comments that Alabama's
Black Belt was still a "land of cotton and Negro tenants, and of crop
liens and general poverty," although he admits to signs of change.\textsuperscript{12}
In his \textit{Economic History of the South}, Hawk claims that not only were
"many of the cotton growers heavily in debt," but that from 1880 to
1900, "the number of landowners who resided on plantations decreased
considerably, and the tenant system increased accordingly," with much
of the land falling "into the hands of the merchants, the manufac-
turers, and various corporations."\textsuperscript{13} In 1900, the census indicated
that 67.7 percent of the farmers who depended on cotton as a chief
source of income were tenants. Moreover, half the share tenants were

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 20.

\textsuperscript{12}Moore, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 689.

\textsuperscript{13}Emory Q. Hawk, \textit{Economic History of the South} (New York:
found in Texas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Alabama. Bank loans were frequently secured against crop liens; merchant credit exacted enormous prices for the commodities extended the farmer and charged against his expected crop; and, thus, the cotton farmer was generally kept in debt. By 1900, more than eighty percent of the cotton growers in Alabama relied on some type of crop lien device. Furthermore, mortgage indebtedness on Alabama farms had steadily increased. Moore states:

The mortgage indebtedness on farms in Alabama, according to the Federal census returns, though already high, increased by approximately eight percent between 1900 and 1910, and at the latter date amounted to one-third of their total value.

Evidently the Secretary of Agriculture's 1905 report to the President had not included a penetrating analysis of the general condition of the Cotton Belt where the credit system was still sorely oppressing the farmers of that region. The credit system had replaced the large cotton factors upon whom the ante-bellum planters had relied, and its tentacles had stifled the cotton farmer to the extent that he fell far short of the prosperity which the Agriculture Department's Secretary represented to be generally true of the American farmer in 1904.

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1Ibid., p. 458.
15Moore, op. cit., p. 567.
16Ibid., p. 685.
17Hawk, op. cit., p. 459.
A closer examination of the cotton farmer’s system of credit and methods of financing himself throws some light on the case. In nearly all of the cotton-growing states, lien laws had been enacted to permit the planters to give their creditors a prior lien on present or future crops. Thus, when a crop was picked, the lien merchant claimed it, making deductions for his advances, plus high rates of interest. Moreover, since the planters and tenants were compelled to buy from the creditor-merchant, he was free to decide the kind and quantity of goods he would furnish and their prices as well. No other merchant would extend credit until the crop mortgages had been paid. 18

When planters or tenants attempted to avoid the high prices and exorbitant rates of the merchant-creditor, they had only to obtain money at high interest rates from the local country banks which collected the interest in advance, and in many cases, required the borrowers to maintain a certain percentage of the loan as a deposit at the bank. 19

It is evident that whether the cotton producer obtained his credit from a lien merchant or a country bank, he was burdened with an oppressive credit system, heavy mortgage indebtedness, and a scarcity of currency. Furthermore, he needed protection against the exploitations and discriminations of the railroads, and he needed some means

18 Ibid., p. 460.
19 Ibid., p. 461.
of combatting or controlling the manipulation and control of cotton prices by the stock exchanges. Still another problem was the gradual depletion of soil fertility in the southern states, particularly in Alabama and Mississippi, which had resulted chiefly from the one-crop system in general practice and the absence of any scheme of crop rotation or system of diversified farming.  

Clearly the cotton farmers were not enjoying the blessings of "the greatly improved agricultural economy" which the United States Department of Agriculture proclaimed. They definitely needed a national spokesman—one who could not only offer a voice of protest, but who could also focus the attention of the nation on the value of cotton to the national economy. Recognizing an opportunity, Tom Heflin quickly donned the mantle of cotton's advocacy. By October, 1907, he had so identified himself as cotton's advocate that an international conference of cotton spinners and growers, convening in Atlanta, Georgia invited Heflin to deliver the principal address of the conference.  

Before 500 delegates from twenty-two states of the United States as well as England, Scotland, Belgium, Holland, France, England, Scotland, Belgium, Holland, France,  

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20 Yearbook, 1905, p. 201.  

21 Meeting in Atlanta, October 8-10, 1907, this international Conference of Cotton Spinners and Growers, invited Heflin to address them at their opening meeting, October 8, 1907. Typewritten notes and original manuscript, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Spain, Portugal, and Russia, Heflin sounded the notes with which he was to praise the role of cotton in world economy throughout his long and colorful advocacy:

The cotton seed was not content until it found lodgment in southern soil and King Cotton did not assert its kingly prerogative till a southern sun kissed his snowy crown and bade him clothe the world. . . . In a catalog of commodities, cotton is the master among all the great staples of the world. No where in all the earth are sunshine and shower so mingled and measured out to the cotton plant as is the case in the beautiful South. God in his wisdom and goodness has given us dominion over the cotton producing country.22

THE EARLY ADVOCACY, 1904-1912

1904-1906: Nature and extent of speaking

Before the fledgling Alabama Congressman's first term had expired, he was hard at work for the cotton interests. High ocean freight rates had plagued American cotton producers and exporters. Consequently, Heflin placed a proposal for the reduction of such rates before James S. Harlan, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Although Harlan promised Heflin he would take the matter before the ICC members, it is not known what action, if any, they took in

22Ibid.

23Harlan to Heflin, December 15, 1904, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
the matter. In any event, it is clear that Heflin was at work for cotton within the first year of his service on Capitol Hill. Just how seriously he regarded his representation of the agricultural interests is reflected in a letter from Heflin to one of his constituents in Denver, Alabama, in which the Congressman stated:

I am glad to see that the farmers are organizing for their general protection and welfare. I was born and reared on a farm. My sympathies are all with the agricultural people. My district is almost entirely an agricultural district; and I shall do my very best at all times to protect the interests of our people.

Heflin was convinced that one source of strength and assistance for the farmers was some type of agricultural organization or farmers' cooperative. Through their earlier experiences with the Grange and the Farmers' Alliance, even though the success of those organizations had been somewhat sporadic, the cotton farmers had learned that some means of maintaining a permanent organization might be profitable. In their book, The Cotton Cooperatives in the Southeast, Gee and Terry suggest:

While reforms in the marketing system were possible, they might be adequately accomplished only by a definite break with the almost universal practice among small farmers of mortgaging their crops in advance to merchants for supplies; and that, if they [the southern cotton farmers] were to reconstruct their methods of marketing cotton or to buy their supplies at reduced costs, the

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24Heflin to M. J. Burton, February 21, 1905, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
organization through which they did so must be permanent instead of spasmodic, with certain instead of problematical results. 25

Accordingly, in 1902, the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America was organized in Texas, and in 1905, in January, the Southern Cotton Association was organized by Colonel Harvie Jordan, in New Orleans. 26 Within four months, a local branch of the Southern Cotton Association had been organized in Heflin's own Chambers County, and at one of its first meetings, April 1, 1905, Heflin was the main speaker. In his address, he urged the farmers "to stand firm, organize their county, and the relief demanded and so much needed would be sure and permanent." 27

Convinced that the Southern Cotton Association had a true friend in Heflin, Harvie Jordan, president of the association, invited the Alabama Congressman to deliver one of the keynote addresses at the association's 1907 convention in Birmingham. In his invitation, Jordan suggested the topic, "The Duty of the South to the Southern Cotton Association." 28

26 Ibid.
27 The LaFayette Sun, April 5, 1905.
28 Jordan to Heflin, December 26, 1906, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
As mentioned earlier in this study, Heflin was also invited to address the International Conference of Cotton Spinners and Growers in Atlanta, Georgia, October 8, 1907. It was in this latter speech that he called for "no friction" between the Farmers' Union and the Cotton Association. The Alabamian argued: "These two great organizations have a common aim, a common interest, and ought to wage and are waging a common warfare against a common enemy."\textsuperscript{29} Who was the enemy and what were the aims and methods of warfare suggested?

According to Heflin, the enemy was the "speculator who offers upon the exchange a fictitious product which he cannot and does not intend to deliver." He continued, "These gambling exchanges buy and sell a fictitious product and the price that they fix determines the price of the entire cotton crop." He concluded, "This obnoxious method deprives the farmer of his right to a voice in fixing the price of this important product—a right which is accorded other producers."\textsuperscript{30}

The Alabama advocate had analyzed the problem correctly. Gee and Terry state:

\textsuperscript{29}Original manuscript, October 8, 1907, Cotton Spinners' Conference Address, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid.
The conviction had become widely prevalent that the cotton market in general was in a bad plight, and that, instead of functioning as an exchange agency, it was being manipulated to the advantage of the gambler and to the severe loss of the farmer.31

The Farmers' Union and Southern Cotton Association officials apparently heeded the Alabama Congressman's advice, for Gee and Terry claim that the Union and the Association were closely allied in their activities which were mainly "focused upon the marketing of cotton."32 Moreover, in 1906, the farmers heeded the advice of the two organizations and Heflin, and they held that year's crop of cotton off the market until the price finally rose from nine and one-fourth cents at New Orleans in September to eleven cents in October, "remaining above ten and one-half cents until the next May and reaching the thirteen-cent level the following August." Gee and Terry conclude that while the efforts of the Farmers' Union to control prices "were not crowned with any large measure of success," the farmers nevertheless "learned that a steadier tone resulted from selling the cotton in an orderly manner than from" the earlier practice of "dumping it all on the market during the months in which it was harvested."33

Other measures which Heflin and the two major cotton organizations advocated included diversified agriculture, crop rotation, the

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31Gee and Terry, op. cit., p. 34.
32Ibid.
33Ibid., p. 35.
improvement and additional construction of warehouses, and cooperative
demonstrations with the agricultural colleges of the South and the
United States Department of Agriculture. They further advocated
greater selectivity of seed, improvements in ginning, baling, classing,
and storing, and new methods of classification of cotton. The extent
of Heflin's advocacy for these measures will be subsequently discussed.

During his first term, Heflin spoke very little, preferring to
bide his time until he had thoroughly learned the proceedings of the
House and familiarized himself with the habits, interests, and coalitions of its members. He did manage to introduce two bills in support
of cotton interests during his first term of office. One called on
the Committee on Agriculture to defeat the Lovering joint resolution
which provided for an appropriation of $20,000 for an extra cotton
report which was in Heflin's judgment "in the interest of stock
gamblers and market manipulators." The other required the Committee
on Agriculture to report a bill to refund the money collected from the
southern cotton states following the war. Heflin alleged that the
money "was collected under an act that was unconstitutional and which
amounted to millions to the several cotton states."

34 Ibid., p. 37.
35 Mimeographed campaign letter written by Heflin, April 11, 1906, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
36 Ibid.
During his first session, Heflin also introduced a resolution for the appropriation of $50,000 for the purpose of having agents sent into the cotton using sections of the world to "exploit the cotton of the South and to encourage the use of the product in every way." In the Legislative Appropriation Bill, the amount requested was cut down to $20,000, and by December 5, 1906, two men had already been selected for the job. Heflin immediately went to work to have the appropriation increased to $100,000 and the number employed to six. At about the same time, he announced his plans to push his bill to have cotton tax money refunded to the southern states, asserting that Alabama's share would be about $11,000,000, enough "to improve state roads in every county of the state." Heflin also announced his intention to push a bill to break up wire trading in cotton in the South. Known as the Heflin Anti-Bucket Shop Bill, it provided that in every case where a man or firm is found dealing in futures of cotton, a fine of $5,000 and ten years in the penitentiary should be imposed. The Alabama cotton advocate was also trying to get the state to enact a similar measure so that "home trades would also be caught." Regarding these announced intentions, the Montgomery Journal stated:

37 The LaFayette Sun, December 5, 1906.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
Mr. Heflin is making a great effort to keep the cotton industry to the front, believing that with every advance of interest in the staple he is putting newer and better money into the pockets of his neighbors and friends and adding vastly to the legitimate wealth of the nation.\footnote{The Montgomery Journal, November 25, 1906.}

\section*{1906-1908: Nature and extent of advocacy}

In the meantime, the studious young Congressman read widely on the subject of cotton. His Scrapbooks for the period 1906-1907 are filled with editorials, articles and correspondence pertaining to cotton production, cotton grading and classifying, cotton prices, the world cotton market, and estimating the cotton crop.\footnote{Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.} The correspondence files are generously sprinkled with letters between Heflin and the Secretary of Agriculture regarding the problems of estimating the cotton crop.\footnote{Heflin correspondence files, 1907-1910, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.}

Still pushing for a cotton tax refund to southern states, Heflin directed a request to the Chief of the Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants of the United States Treasury Department requesting a copy of a statement showing receipt from raw cotton during the fiscal years of 1863, 1864, 1865, 1867, and 1868. The divisional chief complied,\footnote{Chief, Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants, U. S. Treasury Department, to Heflin, undated letter, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.} and armed with this additional information, Heflin...
introduced a cotton tax bill in the House on February 2, 1907. It called for the disposition of cotton taxes totalling approximately $68,000,000 and provided that for twelve months next after the passage of the act, any person or lawful heir of any person who paid taxes on cotton under the act referred to should have the right to establish his claim, proof of which was to be made in the court of claims. After the adjudication of claims, the remaining money was to be paid to the respective states, to be used for the building and improving of public roads. 44

Although he was unable to get his cotton tax bill through the House, Heflin did receive much favorable attention for it, including strong endorsements from Louisiana Governor N. C. Blanchard45 and the president of the Texas Farmers' Union, D. J. Will.46

In another effort to advance the interests of his own cotton farmer constituents, Heflin, in May, 1907, requested the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish cotton, soil, and highway experts to tour his own Fifth District with him.47 The Secretary complied with Heflin's

44 The LaFayette Sun, February 6, 1907.
45 Blanchard to Heflin, December 14, 1907, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
46 Will to Heflin, December 18, 1907, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
47 Heflin to Secretary of Agriculture, May 9, 1907, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
request, and the Hon. Harmon Benton of the Agricultural Department was assigned the job. Benton and Heflin commenced their tour of the Fifth District at LaFayette, August 10, 1907. Benton was to discuss "Cotton at Home and Abroad."\(^4\) The LaFayette Sun described their meeting in that town as follows:

> With one of the greatest crowds seen in LaFayette in years, Congressman Heflin Saturday began his campaign in the interest of agriculture and for better prices for cotton. The town of LaFayette was crowded, and the people could not get in the court house to hear their Congressman. Mr. Heflin, in the morning, held his audience spellbound for nearly two hours as he told them of cotton, its relation to the South, the country and the world; and the struggle to conquer its enemies. The people stood packed in the aisle, out to the corridors and every available space that could be found.\(^5\)

> By December, 1907, the Farmers' National Congress and the Southern Cotton Association were so impressed with Heflin's work in behalf of agriculture in general and cotton in particular, that they were happy to endorse his efforts to be named to the House Agricultural Committee. The President of the Farmers' National Congress wrote that he felt the agricultural interests of the country "would be very well served" by such an appointment.\(^5\) The Southern Cotton Association's President Jordan wrote to Heflin, saying:

\(^4\)\(^2\) The LaFayette Sun, July 10, 1907.

\(^5\)\(^2\) The LaFayette Sun, August 14, 1907.

\(^5\) Cameron to Heflin, December 7, 1907, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
Recognizing your special fitness for serving the agricultural interests of the country, I would be greatly pleased to see you appointed as a member of the House Committee on Agriculture, and very much trust that you will receive the appointment. I have noted with much pleasure the active interest taken by you in agricultural affairs during the past few years.\textsuperscript{51}

The Alabamian's credentials, endorsements, and interest in agriculture were favorably viewed, and he was appointed to the Committee on Agriculture during the Sixtieth Congress. Except for one two-year term, Heflin served on that committee for more than twenty years.\textsuperscript{52}

Much of Heflin's cotton advocacy was advanced against the speculators on the New York and New Orleans exchanges. He planned to speak out against speculation in cotton futures, during the Sixtieth Congress.\textsuperscript{53} He had already introduced a bill to prevent speculation in cotton futures and, through the president of the Farmers' National Congress, Heflin had secured a commitment from the Speaker of the House that he would favor such a measure.\textsuperscript{54} Consequently, in an effort to better acquaint himself with the methods of the New York Cotton Exchange, the Alabama advocate visited the Exchange during the 1908

\begin{footnotes}
\item[51] Jordan to Heflin, December 9, 1907, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
\item[52] The Register, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
\item[53] The LaFayette Sun, January 22, 1908.
\item[54] Ibid.
\end{footnotes}
New Year holidays. In a press release to his home town paper, Heflin recorded the impressions of his visit, intimating what might be expected to follow in his later congressional speeches against the evils of the Exchange:

I was permitted to go into the Gallery and from it I saw the members of the Exchange rushing wildly around the pit yelling at the top of their voices. They were gambling in cotton futures and fixing the price of the real product. Every few minutes the price fixed in the exchange was telegraphed over the country and became instruction to all those who could be influenced by the manipulations of the Exchange. These men do not produce, own or use cotton. They offer for sale a fictitious stuff, and with it reduce the price of real cotton below a fair and reasonable price; and they sell in one season a hundred million bales. They offer for sale something they do not possess and of course do not intend to deliver. I am convinced more than ever that speculation in cotton futures is the greatest evil that confronts the cotton producer today. It constitutes a policy of spoliation and robbery the most barefaced of modern times.55

In keeping with his promises to his Fifth District constituents, Heflin did indeed "have something to say about cotton and the New York Cotton Exchange" during the Sixtieth Congress. One of his first addresses of the session came on March 18, 1908. An interesting, detailed and informative dissertation on the history of cotton production, the speech also included an extensive discussion of the importance of cotton to the United States; a lengthy explanation of the nature of the entire cotton economy; a documented indictment against the evils of cotton speculation; and an apostrophe to cotton

55Ibid.
which prompted at least one prominent southern columnist to suggest that it should be "required reading for every American schoolboy."  \(^{56}\)

The Alabama advocate commenced his long address with a graphic narrative of the history of cotton. Commencing with the discovery of its growth in India more than three thousand years ago, Heflin traced its development through the West Indies exploration of Columbus; the founding of Jamestown; the flourishing of its growth in the early eighteenth century in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama; the early inventions of gins; and the steady record of its consumption, manufacture, trade, and exchange through the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. In the course of his discussion, he quoted statistics regarding increases in capital investments in cotton mills, total numbers of cotton spindles, and regional consumption of cotton in the United States; he cited comparative studies of the increased numbers of cotton mills by states, and a comparative study of cotton exports and imports by country; and he surveyed the world cotton markets. Typical of the extent to which he dealt with statistics was Heflin's discussion of the declining cotton trade between the United States, Japan, and China. Heflin stated:

\(^{56}\) Savoyard, The Nashville Banner, June 27, 1909.

In 1905 our exports to Japan of cotton cloths amounted to $1,151,274, and in 1907 our exports for cotton cloths amounted to only $140,000. This shows a decrease in our Japanese trade. In 1906 all our exports of manufactured cotton cloths increased to practically all the foreign countries, and increased from $43,320,542 in 1905 to $52,181,860 in 1906. In 1907 our exports to the countries above named decreased from $52,181,860 to $21,239,247, principally on the Chinese and Japanese trade. China decreased from $29,611,188 in 1906 to $5,711,191 in 1907.58

In his discussion of the various uses of cotton and its relative worth, the Alabamian was equally explicit:

A bale of cotton worth $50 when manufactured into sheeting and denims is worth from $200 to $600; when made into thread or lace it will bring from $1,500 to $2,000.

A bale of cotton worth $50 will bring the producer about twelve dollars and a half clear profit. The spinner upon an average, at the very least, makes $35 on the bale clear profit. On the principle of live and let live, let's divide the profit and take $12 from the spinner and give it to the producer. Then the division of profits is more equal—the producer has twenty-four dollars and a half and the spinner twenty-three. This difference on a crop of 13,000,000 bales would amount to $100,000,000 to the producer.59

Heflin next turned his attention to stock exchanges and cotton speculation. He reasoned that a successful cotton economy must be based on the law of supply and demand. "Cotton exchanges defy and set aside such a law, therefore, such speculation must be destroyed."

He continued:

58Ibid., p. 3539.

59Ibid., p. 3540.
We have been taught that the law of supply and demand was as fixed and as certain of enforcement as the law of the Medes and Persians, but not so always. We have seen the cotton exchanges in the United States and Liverpool defy and set aside the law of supply and demand, and by their unholy practice obtain a cotton crop at destructive prices to the farmer. They have been the means of bankrupting the farmer and impoverishing his soil. The price he received for cotton did not afford a profit and its production being unprofitable, the farmer was rendered unable to care for his soil and improve it as he should have. These exchanges have robbed the Southern farmer every year of millions of dollars.®

Heflin charged that in order to force down the price of cotton, speculators had frequently rumored stories implying that foreign countries such as China, Japan, and India were about to put the United States out of business. He asserted that these speculators had alleged that relatively new cotton production had recently been established in these three countries. Heflin countered:

They talked and wrote about it as if the cotton plant was a stranger in those parts and that the people there were just now making efforts to grow it, when the fact is, India produced cotton and cotton goods over three thousand years ago, and the army of Xerxes wore uniforms made of cotton. The Greeks used a kind of cotton goods for saddle blankets three hundred years before Christ. Cotton sacks are mentioned in the tales of the Arabian Nights, and Cortez used cotton to stuff the jackets of his soldiers to protect them from the arrows of the natives. Blankets made of cotton have been found in the ancient tombs of Peruvian mummies. In the heyday of the republic, Indian muslin made of cotton was worn and highly prized by the coquettish dames of Rome.®

After further reviewing the historic uses of cotton by Egyptian Pharaohs and their women, Hindu temples, Alexander the Great and his

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®Ibid.

®Ibid., p. 354l.
armies, and concluding that it was "no stranger to the Old World," Heflin then employed a number of affidavits and precedents in support of his proposal to abolish cotton speculation. He reviewed the Bremen cotton exchange in Germany where the speculation and gamble in staple commodities was prohibited; he cited the opinions of various American bankers who alleged that cotton speculation had beaten down cotton prices; he quoted a lengthy editorial from the *Review of The London Magazine of Commerce* which alleged such speculation of staple commodities to be "the economic ruin of the world"; he reviewed the steady increase in the number of gambling exchanges in the United States; and he drew heavily on the opinions of such agricultural experts and officials as various officers of state Farmers' Unions, the president of the Louisiana State Cotton Association, the president of the Southern Cotton Association, the president of the Farmers' National Congress, and various newspaper editorials. To establish his charges that the exchanges controlled the cotton economy, Heflin cited price statistics, alleged unions between the spinners and members of the exchanges, quoted exchange members themselves, and read excerpts from the House Agricultural Committee's report on the Hatch Bill, which passed the House in the Fifty-third Congress, but was defeated in the Senate. It stated, in part:
They [the exchanges] have no interest in common with the producers. Inside the walls of their close-corporation struc-
tures they set up the mandate of markets, and no producer is
permitted to approach the throne from which issue the edicts
that destroy his prosperity. The producers, the shippers, the
manufacturers, and the consumers alike are excluded from the
daily sessions where the prosperity of the nation is made
secondary to the manipulators of the price of food products.62

And what conclusions were to be drawn from the indictments and
evidence levelled by the Alabama champion of cotton against the
American exchanges? "The fact is," stormed Heflin, "the New York
Cotton Exchange is the rottenest cotton-dealing establishment in the
world. . . . The gambling exchange has ruined more men in the South
than we can ever know." Charging that the exchange had destroyed
homes, sent men "raving to the madhouse," demanded a "frightful sacri-
ifice of manhood and honor," and constituted one of the meanest forms
of gambling, Heflin climaxed his assault against the exchanges with a
quote from one of his favorite sources, William Jennings Bryan:

Measured by the number of suicides caused by the New York
exchanges, Monte Carlo is an innocent pleasure resort by
comparison, and the men who operated the Louisiana State
Lottery never did a tithe of the harm that the grain gamblers,
cotton gamblers, and stock gamblers of New York do every day.63

What was Heflin's solution to the problem? When interrupted
with that question, Cotton Tom quickly responded:

62Ibid., p. 3544.
63Ibid., p. 3546.
We must deny to the exchanges that gamble in futures the use of the telephone, telegraph lines, and the mails for gambling purposes, and wild speculating in cotton futures will cease. 64

Heflin further advocated that the United States follow the policy of England, Germany, and France by employing export agents who would "go into the lands beyond the seas looking after our foreign trade and unfurling the banner of the cotton industry of the United States, displaying and urging the use of cotton goods." 65 The Alabama orator promised:

Do this, and as the rulers of old went to Solomon for wisdom, these cotton-using countries will come to us for the wherewith to be clothed, and the day will come when the United States will be not only first in the production of cotton, but first, as it should be, in the manufacture and sale of cotton goods the world over. 66

Heflin's peroration rendered an ode to cotton in the eloquent fashion with which he designed many of the conclusions to his cotton addresses. Indicative of the general overtone are the following lines:

. . . The attention of the world is turned to the South when in the spring of the year the farmer prepares his soil and places seed in the ground. Sunbeams dance on the surface, refreshing showers seek and find their hiding place, and lo! Germination begins. Little plants push the clods away and smile at the sun. Gentle zephyrs kiss their tender faces and breathe into them the

64 Ibid., p. 3545.
65 Ibid., p. 3546.
66 Ibid.
message of their world mission. We hear the music of the hoe and the song of the happy plowman. Proud and graceful the little stalks stand mantled in leaves and laden with squares. We look again and thousands of white blossoms are nodding welcome to the bold-belted bees. In a little while they are rosy red, then they assume a golden hue, and finally fade and fall, leaving behind them tiny green spheres. Basking in sunshine and reveling in shower, these flourish until autumn winds whisper to every full-grown boll "Open Sesame." Then the cotton stalk flings its fleecy fiber to the breeze and busy fingers pluck it from the boll.67

How had the Alabama orator organized his address? He had commenced with a historical arrangement of materials. After tracing its development, he then treated the present-day problems of cotton topically. His assortment of empirical and authoritative proofs indicated careful preparation and thorough familiarity with his subject.

Stylistically, Heflin employed metaphor, hyperbole, simile, parallel structure, and a generous use of connotative words. Metaphorically, the Alabamian talked about cotton, "the child of climate"; he described it "nodding its white plumes to Alexander," or "bowing its white head in grief"; he praised the president of the Louisiana State Cotton Association for "striking full in the face of the great evil" disturbing the cotton industry; he reminded that "no exchange stood in the market way of the hay crop"; and he described "little plants pushing the clods away," the "music of the hoe" and the "song of the happy plowman," the "thousands of white blossoms nodding

67 Ibid.
welcome to the gold-belted bees," and the "tremulous voice of industry in the concert of whirling spindles wooing the fiber into cloth."

With invective, Heflin castigated the speculators on the Exchange. He called the speculator an "evil which had preyed upon the cotton industry." Thus the gambling exchange was "not a help but a hindrance" to the producer; it was "not a friend but a dangerous enemy to the farmer"; it was "not a blessing, but a curse to the South." Screamed Heflin, "like greedy vampires these leeches of the exchange fasten upon the producers and cotton dealers of the South in the harvest time, and they suck and drain our industrial life blood to feed their putrid veins." Elsewhere, he called the speculators "hoary in evil practice and corrupt methods," "bull and bear gamblers in options and futures," a "gang of gamblers," "robbers and trained soldiers for warfare," and the "high-licensed, close corporation, millionaire club." The exchanges received equal abuse. Heflin dubbed this "evil" a "blighting curse," a "poker player in the great crime against the producer," a "financial tyrant," an "exhibition of rascality and crime," "the rottenest cotton-dealing establishments in the world," and "a remorseless monster" which had "demanded a frightful sacrifice of manhood and honor."

Displaying a penchant for alliteration, the Alabamian praised cotton with such apt lines as: "In the catalogue of commodities,
cotton is the master production—the most readily cashed and the most widely consumed among the great staples of the world." He sang praises to the "cotton stalk" as it "flings its fleecy fiber to the breeze and busy fingers pluck it from the boll."

Heflin drew frequently from the Bible. He found useful such quotations as "Breaking the jaws of the wicked and plucking the spoil out of their teeth." He recalled Solomon's warning that "when there is no vision, the people perish." He referred to the rulers of old who had sought the wisdom of Solomon, and he occasionally reinforced statements with short references to God, the Creator, or the Lord.

The Alabamian also used a number of patriotic appeals, such as "America and her fathers," "the land of pure democracy," "the great army of American producers," and the "prestige of the Stars and Stripes."

From ancient history, Heflin drew from the experiences of the army of Xerxes, the discovery of ancient tombs of Peruvian mummies, the civilization of Greece three hundred years before Christ, the mode of dress of the Pharaohs, the ritual of the temples of the Hindoos, and the apparel of the army of Alexander the Great.

Despite the intensity and serious overtones of his approach to his subject, Heflin managed to include some humor. He found one of his inimitable Negro dialect stories appropriate in illustrating the
point that "with England, Germany, and France all actively exporting cotton goods to world markets, if the United States wanted its share of this foreign trade, it must not sit supinely down and expect it to come to her." Heflin continued:

Like the old darky who prayed for the good Lord to send him a turkey on Christmas. Twice he had gone down on his knees, pleading for the turkey to be sent him, but the turkey didn't come, and Erastus changed the form of his prayer, saying, before he prayed:

"De Lawd ain't agwine ter do nuthin fer you, what you can do fer yu'self. Gude Lawd, gib me de power and de ambishun to move swifly an' befo de moon gits up and de pepul begins ter stir, sen me fer de turkey whut I ben er prayin fer."

And before the clock struck 12 that night Erastus had stormed the roost of his white neighbor and carried home in sable triumph the choicest gobbler of the turkey tribe. Like old Erastus, if we want a fair share of this foreign cotton trade we must go after it. 68

When talking about the tremendous strides forward in developing important by-products from cotton such as a cotton-seed meal which could be properly manufactured into a nutritious food for human beings, and parched kernels of the cotton seed which might be used as valuable substitutes for peanut brittle and other candies, the voluble Alabamian evoked laughter and applause from the House chamber and galleries when he quipped:

68Ibid., pp. 3539-3540.
Mr. Chairman, when I used to chop cotton and follow a mule around the row, I never dreamed that it contained candy for children and food for men.\textsuperscript{69} 

In all, the Record indicates that the Alabama cotton advocate's March 18 address was interrupted sixty-one times with laughter and/or applause, and acknowledges "prolonged cheers and applause" at the conclusion of the address.\textsuperscript{70} 

Cotton Tom had earned his laurels! Within a few days after the speech, requests for reprints of it from the Record began arriving from Tom's Alabama constituents as well as from other interested admirers.\textsuperscript{71} 

The Birmingham Age Herald called him "one of the most efficient and forceful members of Congress, one of the most popular Democrats in Alabama," and added, "Mr. Heflin ... commands the esteem of all his colleagues and his talents have been quickly recognized on both sides of the House."\textsuperscript{72} 

Several newspapers acclaimed the March 18 speech as "a classic," a "brilliant protest," and described it with various other complimentary terms.\textsuperscript{73} 

An Alabama Farmers' Union in Talladega

\begin{itemize}
  \item\textsuperscript{69}Ibid., p. 3540.
  \item\textsuperscript{70}Ibid., p. 3546.
  \item\textsuperscript{71}March and April, 1908 correspondence, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, passim.
  \item\textsuperscript{72}The Birmingham Age Herald, May 13, 1908.
  \item\textsuperscript{73}Undated clippings, The Nashville Banner, The Montgomery Journal, and The Washington Post, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
\end{itemize}
County unanimously adopted a resolution commending Heflin's efforts "in favor of the agricultural interests of the South," and submitted to him a copy of the resolution. 74 As a result of this and later speeches in support of cotton legislation, the president of the United States Cotton Association, Harvie Jordan, and the president of the Farmers' National Congress found it easy to endorse the Alabama Congressman's reappointment to the House Committee on Agriculture the following year. 75

On March 24, 1908, Heflin was again protesting on behalf of cotton. In this speech he charged that eastern banks holding southern securities had refused to let cotton producers have money already arranged for, while, at the same time, New York cotton speculators had urged southern bankers to withhold money from the farmer, thus forcing him to sell his cotton at low prices. Indignantly, Heflin cried:

Is it just or prudent that any one city or section should, by approval of the Government, financially dominate all other cities and sections? Can this Republic allow the first fruits of its soil to be exposed to the foreign bear or leave its protection to the mercy of speculators or the caprice of the banks of any city? 76

74 G. T. McElderry to Heflin, March 6, 1909, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

75 Harvie Jordan to House Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, June 8, 1909; B. Cameron to Speaker Cannon, June 10, 1909, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

Suggesting an emphatic "no" to both questions, the Alabama orator concluded:

In the name of the producers of the South and West I appeal for relief from the financial difficulties under which they now labor and for deliverance from the curse of gambling exchanges which doth now so sorely afflict us.77

Two months later, on May 25, Heflin was again before the House requesting the unanimous consent for the passage of his bill to prevent falsifications in the collection and compilation of agricultural statistics and the unauthorized issuance and publication of the same.78 A letter from the National Cotton Association's president, Harvie Jordan, reflected the concern with which cotton farmers viewed the problem of crop reporting. Jordan charged that despite the Agricultural Department's boast of its 70,000 correspondents throughout Cotton Belt, and their periodic reports on the condition of the crop, that it was the practice of the Department to "entirely disregard the reports of these correspondents," and instead to "rely largely, if not entirely, upon the opinions of [the Department's] special agents," when making up the crop estimate reports.79 Complained Jordan:

77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
79 Jordan to Heflin, June 2, 1909, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
It is generally believed that in its forthcoming estimate of the condition and acreage, to be published on the 1st of June, 1909, the Bureau of Statistics means to disregard entirely the reports of its township and county correspondents and to promulgate as its estimate simply the personal opinion of a few special and state agents, who make more or less hurried trips over the cotton belt [sic], and base their opinion of conditions prevailing over the entire area planted in cotton upon what they can see from the car windows or learn from interrogatories made at railway stations.80

Claiming that the Department was playing into the hands of New York Exchange speculators at the expense of the cotton farmers, Jordan asserted:

This element [the Exchange speculators] is much elated over the fact that the Bureau of Statistics of the Agriculture Department has recently revised its estimate of the cotton acreage planted last year by adding to the figures published in June, 1908, about 1,300,000 acres, which it is claimed was the measure of the erroneous underestimate published a year ago.81

Jordan concluded that the Department's "erroneous" and "illegal" reporting had served to depress the price of cotton, hurt the cotton producers, and prove a great boon to the New York speculators.

Could the Department continue its present methods and do a fair job of crop reporting? Jordan thought definitely not! "If the Department's Special Agents were to inspect properly all 30,000,000 acres of cotton then planted, and could personally inspect 500 acres per day, each," Jordan reasoned, "it would take approximately 60,000

80 Ibid.
81 Ibid.
days, or nearly 200 years to inspect the whole territory! What, then, was the solution? Jordan suggested:

If the Department maintains its enormous corps of correspondents, it should publish, and publish only, a mathematically accurate average of their replies. Any other practice leaves the door open to the expression of mere personal opinion, creates an opportunity for scandal and corruption, and enormously increases the liability to error.

By the end of the year 1908, Heflin was becoming generally recognized as the chief spokesman for the cotton interests at Washington. Amos Wells, managing editor of the Christian Endeavor World, a magazine serving as the international organ of Christian Endeavor societies, wrote Heflin in December, 1908, requesting that the Alabama advocate write an article for the magazine. Stated Wells:

I have in mind an article of perhaps 2,000 words that will state and illustrate the evils of stock exchange gambling in general . . . so clearly that the many thousands of young men who read our paper will see the gigantic harm that comes from it and use their influence toward its suppression.

Heflin's earlier speech on the New York Cotton Exchange, delivered in the House December 19, 1908, had attracted Editor Wells and prompted his request. United States Cotton Association president, Harvie

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82 Ibid.
83 Ibid.
84 Wells to Heflin, December 23, 1908, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
85 Ibid.
Jordan, in his letter endorsing Heflin's reappointment to the House Agricultural Committee, commended Heflin in the following manner:

Mr. Heflin has always taken great interest, in all matters pertaining to the development of our agricultural interests, and I feel assured that his appointment would meet the hearty indorsement of the people of this entire section.  

While such endorsements were acknowledging the Alabama advocate's service to agriculture and vocalization for cotton, Heflin was at work introducing various bills designed to improve the lot of the cotton producer. He succeeded in including a provision in the Agricultural Appropriation Act of 1908 requiring that the monthly crop reports of the Department of Agriculture should be gathered from farmers. The following year, the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Agriculture, Victor Olmstead, directed a letter to Heflin in which he affirmed the Department's compliance with Heflin's measure, reviewed the current procedures for obtaining correspondents on whom the Department could depend for reliable information, invited the Alabama Congressman's "cooperation at all times," invited him to furnish the Department with names and addresses of practical farmers in the state of Alabama (in addition to the 281 Heflin had supplied the previous year), and pledged to the cotton advocate that the Department of Agriculture, in its current and future procedures for gathering

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86 Jordan to House Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, June 8, 1909, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
crop information, would secure the cooperation of farmers and keep the lists of correspondents as active as possible, at all times, Olmstead concluded:

There has been and will be no relaxation in our endeavors to keep the crop reporting service up to the highest possible degree of efficiency, to the end that the estimates of this Bureau may be dependable and of service to both producers and consumers of the agricultural products with which this Bureau deals.87

The Department of Agriculture and its Bureau of Statistics recognized in Heflin an important representative of the Cotton Belt and resolved to keep him informed of the Department's intentions relative to issues which the voluble Alabamian was bringing to the attention of Congress.

1909-1912: Nature and extent of advocacy

Few arguments in favor of cotton producers, cotton economy, or any other facet of the subject escaped Heflin's attention. On February 3, 1909, he appealed for the passage of a bill requiring the cotton manufacturer to report the amount of raw cotton on hand at the factory, "so that the producer will know how much cotton that factory will have on hand when he goes to plant his cotton." Always conscious of the desirability of ethical proof, Heflin added: "I have manufacturers of cotton in my district, and I live in the largest

87Olmstead to Heflin, July 15, 1909, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
cotton-producing district in the State of Alabama, and I am proud to claim the friendship of both producer and manufacturers there."\textsuperscript{88}

A few months later, on April 15, 1909, while reviewing the importance of cotton to the balance of trade for America, Heflin again attacked the gambling exchanges which, he charged, Congress "had permitted to flourish in rank luxuriance in New Orleans and New York and other sections of the country." Cried Heflin: "If ever a people had to struggle for what they earned in this world it is the cotton-producing people of my country."\textsuperscript{89}

While supporting a request for an increase in appropriations to fight the boll weevil, in the Sixty-first Congress's Agricultural Appropriation Bill, Heflin engaged in a sharp exchange with a member of the opposition who alleged that the boll weevil was "too little to fool with." Heflin retorted:

One thing is certain, I take it, and that is, you gentlemen on that side are not acquainted with the destructive power of this insignificant looking insect.

Mr. Chairman, if the boll weevil were any bigger than he now is, and the mischief that he can now do should increase with his size, and he should multiply and move as fast as he now does, he would not only destroy the cotton boll in the morning of its youth and promise, but he would also "eat up" the cotton stalk.

\textsuperscript{88} Excerpts From Some of the Speeches in Congress, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.
If the chigger were bigger,
As big as a cow,
And his digger
Had vigor,
Like a subsoil plow,
Can you "figger,"
Picnicker,
Where you'd be now? 90

Not satisfied with an earlier explanation of just how the
"insignificant looking insect" attacked the cotton plant, Heflin elaborated:

Mr. Chairman, the boll weevil is the most determined and pestiferous little warrior that ever attacked the precious offspring of the cotton plant. He is a cold and cruel calculator. He watches and waits, and when the time arrives for his work of destruction, he ruthlessly slaughters the young hopeful of the cotton plant. He looks upon the cotton bloom in the morning when it bursts, lily white, from the heart of the "square," and he gazes upon it when it turns rosy red in the late afternoon, and he laughs with ghoulish glee when finally it fades and falls. Now is his feast time and now his work of destruction begins. The tiny green boll glistening in the sun, pregnant with the white fiber on which millions of spindles wait and for which millions of human beings yearn, is the proud citadel that he now attacks, and from one end of the cotton row to the other the ground is covered with dead and dying bolls. In this little green boll is locked the snowy product which constitutes the king of American exports. Its white fiber brings gold from foreign countries when all other products fail. 91

While the House was considering the agricultural bill, in a session early in February, 1910, cotton's "advance agent" again


91 Ibid.
attested to the impact of that staple on the American way of life, by suggesting some of the products on which Americans were dependent:

In traveling through the cotton belt [sic] on a warm day there is nothing more refreshing than a deep draught of water from "the old oaken bucket that hangs in the well," and here the cotton rope is the kindly agent that brings it from the cool, dark depths below.

If, while strolling through the cotton belt [sic], you should find a swarm of mosquitoes, conspiring to disturb your rest at night, there is a mosquito bar made of cotton, spreading its white wings above your head, hovering about you while you sleep. Mr. Chairman, dressmakers and tailors have at last learned how to "make-up" cotton goods in the most fascinating and attractive way. The cotton suit that I wore here last summer, and those worn by other Members, looked better than the flannel suits worn by other gentlemen here, and they did not cost one-third as much. They were cooler and more comfortable every way. I have advocated it, and I believe the day will come when the Southern people will wear cotton almost exclusively from April to September. By this means the South will consume nearly 1,000,000 bales more than is now consumed. For spring and summer cotton is the coolest and cheapest wearing apparel in the world, and our people are at last beginning to realize the value of patronizing this home industry.92

While Heflin, the advocate, was busily engaged in Washington advancing the cause of cotton and cotton farmers, Heflin, the politician, was not forgetting the forthcoming May 2, 1910 primary in Alabama, where, for one of the few times in his career, he was meeting an opposition candidate. On March 8, 1910, the Alabamian obtained the floor on the pretext of supporting an amendment which would increase the salary of rural mail carriers. However, the majority of

92Excerpts From Some of the Speeches in Congress, p. 6.
his address was devoted to a summary of the service which he had rendered cotton during his six years of service in the House. Alleging that he was replying "to unfriendly newspaper criticism on his service to the cotton producer," Heflin rendered a detailed account of "the accomplishment of some things of importance to the agricultural interests of the South; especially to the cotton producer." They may be briefly listed as follows:

1. Amended law on gathering crop reports so that "farmers should be called on to give this information instead of, as before, getting it from other sources.

2. Initiated legislation requiring the Government to report the number of bales of cotton on hand at the cotton factories in the United States.

3. Introduced bills providing for sending agents into China, Japan, and other eastern countries to display and urge the use of cotton goods, and helped secure appropriations for sending agents abroad for that purpose.

4. With other southern members of Congress, called on the Secretary of War urging him to use cotton goods in every possible way in the army and requested army supplies to be shipped in cotton sacks.

5. Introduced a resolution in the House, charging that the Secretary of Agriculture had overestimated the cotton crop for the year 1907, proved the charge, thus proving that crop had been overestimated about 600,000 bales which caused price of cotton to go down. After that, the Department kept in close touch with Heflin regarding such reports.

6. Co-authored a bill with Alabama Representative Craig which prevented any employees in the Agricultural Department from giving out information regarding reports on the cotton crop
and from making false reports. This bill eventually became a provision included in the Penal Code which prevents such tampering with reports, giving away, or selling information pertaining to such crop yield reports.

7. Introduced a bill which provided for the return of the cotton tax collected from the Southern people just after the Civil War.

8. Brought to the attention of the nation the evils of gambling in cotton futures thus creating strong sentiment against such practices.

9. Tour ed cotton districts in speaking campaigns designed to "urge the people to concert of action in selling cotton and to the importance of selling it sparingly, so as to keep the market keen and hungry."93

The next month, April 28, 1910, Heflin delivered a campaign speech in Randolph County, at Lamar, Alabama. Certain that his opposition was being backed by "the cotton gamblers of New York and the cotton spinners of New England," Heflin queried: "Why do they want me out? Because I voted for the Burleson law which took the classification of cotton away from the New York Cotton Exchange and put it in the hands of the government at Washington." A second reason, asserted Heflin, was that he "amended the law on crop reports which required the Government to call on the farmer and put him in charge of this feature of the farmers' business." The veteran campaigner concluded:

93Ibid., pp. 6-9.
Now, the cotton gamblers can't tamper with these reports and make them speak a falsehood to the injury of the cotton producer. Yes, they want me out of Congress because I'm the first man to suggest and demand a law requiring the government to report, from time to time, the number of bales of cotton on hand at the factories. These are the reasons they want me out of Congress, and that is why they are furnishing money against me.94

Scoring a number of individuals such as a local agent of the New York Cotton Exchange, an attorney of a large cotton mill, and a large cotton mill stockholder who had allegedly put up money for the opposition candidate, Heflin reiterated his charges that the representatives for the cotton gamblers of New York and the cotton spinners of New England were trying to destroy him because he had "demanded justice for the cotton growers of the South." However, he confidently concluded:

They have not been able to deceive the Democrats of the other counties. I will carry the precinct where both candidates live by at least 100 majority, and I will carry the county by 1,000 majority.95

Although, according to Heflin, the Alabama Democrats of his district handed him "a smashing vote of confidence" in the May 2, 1910, primary,96 his crusade for the cotton interests was seriously impaired by another unrelated event. Speaker of the House Joe Cannon

94Original typewritten speech manuscript, April 28, 1910, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
95Ibid.
96Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, June 2, 1910, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
refused to reappoint the Alabamian to the House Committee on Agriculture for the Sixty-first Congress. Cannon had flatly ignored the numerous strong endorsements from such organizations as those cotton and farm groups previously mentioned, from House minority leader Champ Clark, and from various newspapers. Heflin's removal from the committee was believed to have been a Republican reprisal for his participation as "a moving spirit in a movement against grain and cotton speculation." That "Cannonism" did indeed levy a reprisal against the Alabamian is likely when one considers one of the results of the parliamentary battle in 1910 and 1911 in the House. Baldwin briefly describes it:

"... The Progressives, long critical of the absolute sway of the Speaker over the House of Representatives, made the discovery that they could get Democratic help to override the Old Guard. Led by Norris of Nebraska, a group of Republican insurgents in March, 1910, began a parliamentary battle to trim Speaker Joseph G. Cannon's powers. The struggle was long and bitter, and brilliantly conducted on both sides. In the end the insurgents took away the Speaker's tacit power to decide whether certain bills could be presented and lodged it in the Rules Committee (where it had technically belonged), which was enlarged and made

\[97\text{Heflin to Speaker Cannon, June 15, 1909, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.}\]
\[98\text{Congressional Record, Volume 45, Part 2, p. 1092.}\]
\[99\text{Ibid.}\]
elective by the House, and from which the Speaker was excluded. The next House, controlled by the Democrats, continued the revolution by taking away the Speaker's power to appoint committees and making them elective.\footnote{Cannon had so exercised such powers in refusing to call up Heflin's bill to prevent falsifications in the collection and compilation of agricultural statistics, despite the fact that the bill was unanimously reported by the Committee on Agriculture and despite the fact that Heflin's request to have the bill called up was endorsed by more than one hundred members of the House. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 1093; Leland D. Baldwin, \textit{The Stream of American History} (New York: American Book Company, 1952), ii, 395.}

With the limiting of the Speaker's powers, Heflin was renominated to the Committee during the Sixty-second Congress and continued to serve on it through the Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth, and Sixty-fifth Congresses until his election to the United States Senate, in 1920.\footnote{The Register, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.}

Heflin's pointed sarcasm and wit had been significant contributors to the Progressive-Democratic assault on "Cannonism" and the powers of the Speaker. The Alabamian had been more than a little provoked by the heavy-handed "Uncle Joe." His bills had been pigeonholed, he had been refused reappointment to an important committee of which he had been an extremely active and vociferous member, and strong recommendations for his reappointment had been ignored. When provoked, Cotton Tom was vindictive and punitive! One of his cotton speeches gave rise to such a discharge of the Heflin wrath. It came...
on January 27, 1910. Heflin obtained the floor during a debate in which the Republicans were defending the highly controversial Payne-Aldrich Tariff Law.

Commencing his speech with the proposition that "the meat trust and high tariff . . . are responsible for the terrible conditions that confront the masses of the people today," Heflin reviewed the oppressions suffered by the people of the cotton-producing belt, the responsibility of gambling exchanges and the Republican Party, a summary of his own efforts to obtain relief, and the Republican activity to block him. This led him to a review of the alleged circumstances under which he had been removed from the House Committee on Agriculture, finally settling on a close scrutiny of the nature of "Cannonism," its "evils," and the efforts of both Republican progressives and Democrats to "remove such evils." During the course of his remarks, Heflin introduced numerous quotations from progressive Republicans, newspaper editorialists, Democrats, and various other sources protesting "Cannonism." On the lighter side, Heflin identified one alleged critic of "Cannonism" with the following limerick:

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102 Congressional Record, Volume 145, Part 2, pp. 1089-1095.
Who is the Member over on the right,
With arm uplifted and fist clenched tight,
Whose arraignment of Cannonism would do justice
to old Horace?
Listen, my friends, his name is Norris. 103

After a series of quotations from protests against the "reign of Cannonism," Heflin predicted the fall of the Republican Speaker's "monarchy" with the poem:

Just after the last election the poet laureate of the Republican party—in the Washington Herald, I believe it was—said:

Who was it, when shot and shell
In fierce assault around him fell,
Stood by his guns and gave 'em—all?
Cannon.

But now, Mr. Chairman—

Since that Battle's fought and o'er,
And the country on Cannon is exceedingly sore,
Republicans on that side galore
Swear they'll vote for him nevermore.

Some are sincere, I do believe,
From his tyranny this House they would relieve;
But some, I fear, the country would deceive
Just on another election eve.

For this one thing they've come to know,
That Cannonism is doomed—must go;
So now we behold an amusing show,
They are falling out with Uncle Joe.

The very conditions they now oppose
From Republican evils in this House arose;
And to the country it all clearly shows
That the Republican party caused all these woes.

103 Ibid., p. 1094.
So, it's Cannon and Cannonism we fight,
In the name of Justice and the rules of right.
Decent parliamentary procedure in the place of might;
Courage, my friends, the victory's in sight.

Who is that redheaded man by the aisle,
Who faces the Speaker and grimly smiles
When the gavel falls like a ponderous rock,
And sighs "Nevermore?" His name's Murdock.104

While meter did not bother the Alabama "bard" to the extent
that he felt compelled to explain its absence in this Cannon "ditty,"
Heflin did pause long enough after his prophesy to identify the hapless Murdock as "an insurgent Republican praying for deliverance from Cannonism."105

After venting his wrath on "Uncle Joe," Heflin returned to his initial subject of the evils of the Republican tariff, alleging that its protection had fostered trusts which "arbitrarily fix the price of food in every market in the country."106 He concluded with the following rebuke against the Republican Party:

Thirteen years of unbroken reign of the Republican party--House, Senate, and President. Tariff barons and trust magnates are holding high carnival in the Republic of our fathers and pinching with hunger millions of Americans. Day by day, those who fatten on the legislative favors of Congress, obtaining the

104 Ibid., p. 1095.
105 Ibid.
106 Ibid.
power with which to rob and oppress the people, show more and more their utter disregard for the rights and liberties of the plain people. Their subsidized newspapers brand as a demagogue the man who opposes their corrupt and misery-breeding measures.\textsuperscript{107}

In such a manner did cotton's advocate flail the falling "dynasty" of "Cannonism," while registering his complaints against the deliberate denial of his own reappointment to the House Agricultural Committee.

Despite his removal from that committee, Heflin continued his advocacy for the cotton interests. On June 25, 1910, he endorsed a bill which would insure the delivery of high grade cotton as insured on contracts. He reviewed some of his earlier charges against the "evil practices" of the exchanges, and reiterated his plea for legislation which would "deny the exchanges that gamble in futures the use of the telephone, telegraph lines, and the mails for gambling.\textsuperscript{108}

Such was the nature and extent of Heflin's cotton advocacy during his first three terms of office in the House.

The results of his early advocacy

Had the young Alabama orator's cotton advocacy actually been beneficial during these early years of service in Washington? The record would seem to indicate that it had. His voice had been a

\textsuperscript{107}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{108}\textit{Excerpts From Some of the Speeches in Congress, p. 10.}
significant factor in directing national attention to cotton. He had succeeded in getting Congress to appropriate funds for the financing of the promotion of American cotton in world market places. His bills which became laws helped to systematize and make more accurate the methods of crop reporting, and they had provided for the cotton producers the manufacturers' records of raw cotton supplies. His speeches in the House had helped to promote a general awareness of the value of cotton to the national economy as well as the potential of its products for American consumers. Cotton had discovered an effective advocate.
CHAPTER IV

THE OCCASIONS AND AUDIENCES, 1913-1920

The most important years of Tom Heflin's cotton advocacy encountered a decided change in the political climate of Congress. After a tumultuous campaign seldom paralleled in American politics since the 1896 presidential race, Woodrow Wilson and a jubilant group of Democrats, armed with a platform called "The New Freedom," swept into Washington. While Theodore Roosevelt's "Rally at Armageddon" had defeated his old friend William Howard Taft, the final returns which showed 435 electoral votes for Wilson, 88 for Roosevelt, and 8 for Taft indicated a sweeping victory for the Democrats and bitter defeat for the Republicans and Progressives. The picture in the House, in the Sixty-third Congress's first session was an equally bright one for the Democrats. There, they held 290 seats, the Republicans 127, Progressives 9, Progressive Republicans 7, Independents 1, and there was one vacancy. Pointing out that Cleveland's Democratic Congress in

\[\text{REFERENCES}\]


2 Ibid., II, 402.

1892 could scarcely be termed "sympathetic," Leland D. Baldwin asserts: "Congress went Democratic, thus giving a Democratic President a sympathetic legislature for the first time since 1856."\(^1\) With only one Progressive governor and a dozen congressmen elected, the Progressives were left with a weak position. Moreover, the Republicans had now become the "standpatters."

The year 1913 therefore found joyful and robust James Thomas Heflin "striding through Congressional corridors as triumphantly as the Sons of Israel swept through the streets of the Holy City upon their return from the land of bondage."\(^5\) Some years later, Ray Tucker wrote in the North American Review:

Heflin was returning from a political wilderness in which the tree of patronage had withered under the neglect of a Philistine President, and the flower of his oratory had oft been crushed by a czaristic Speaker. Heflin held no doubts of the righteousness of the Democratic victory at Roosevelt's Armageddon.\(^6\)

Small wonder, then, that cotton's enthusiastic advocate should storm Washington on the occasion of the Sixty-third Congress. He was a member of the triumphant majority party; he had a Democratic President whose inaugural address had been a call to duty for

\(^1\) Baldwin, op. cit., II, 402.


\(^6\) Ibid.
"forward-looking men"; his membership to the House Agricultural Committee had been restored; as a result of earlier efforts in his career, he now enjoyed a national image; and he had become the leading advocate in Congress for the cotton producers.

The remainder of this study develops an analysis of Heflin's occasions, audiences and speeches in the years, 1913-1920.

THE OCCASIONS

Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird comment:

... Oratory functions within the framework of public affairs, and ... the criticism of it must be soundly based upon a full and penetrating understanding of the meaning of the events from which it issues.

Since any evaluation of Heflin's ability as a cotton advocate would therefore be meaningless without some consideration of the occasions, this section will endeavor to analyze those prewar, wartime, and postwar events which may have affected the attitudes of the audiences Heflin faced in the years, 1913-1920.

The prewar period

By 1913, the southern farmer was in dire straits. Thomas D. Clark writes that by that year, "the coming of the boll weevil, a


rising international competition, and sagging farm credits had brought the southern farmer to the brink of ruin. Wilson, in his inaugural address, offered a ray of hope. He defined his New Freedom as a program to "purify and humanize every process of our common life." He outlined a program of reform legislation, the principal items of which were a lower tariff, reformed banking system, an antimonopoly act, and agricultural aid. More specifically, Wilson proposed altering "a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs." It was evident that Wilson's pledge to "square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts," was to include relief for the southern farmers. Moreover, the Cotton Belt took further hope in the


10Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents, p. 190.

11Ibid., p. 191.

12Ibid., p. 190.
fact that the majority of Wilson's cabinet members were Southerners, as "by the rule of seniority were most of the chairmen of House and Senate committees."^{13}

Determined to push through his reforms before the impetus of the Democratic victory was lost, Wilson called a special session of Congress one month after his inauguration, on April 7, 1913, to revise the tariff. Samuel Eliot Morison comments:

The resulting Underwood tariff of 3 October 1913 was the lowest since the Civil War. Duties were reduced on 958 items and more than a hundred were placed on the free list. Appended to the Underwood tariff bill was a graduated federal tax on incomes above $3000. . . . Despite the jeremiads of business, the new tariff worked admirably during the few years of peace in which he could be tested, and the income tax brought not only abundant revenue but a mass of statistical information about the distribution of the national wealth that was of immense value to lawmakers of the future. And his victory in the matter of the tariff clinched the President's control of Congress.^{14}

In that Sixty-third Congress's first session, 114 out of 290 Democratic members of the House were there for the first time.^{15}

Wilson revived a practice abandoned by Thomas Jefferson, of addressing the joint session in person which, according to Morison, "restored the

^{14}Ibid., p. 843.
^{15}Ibid.
President's initiative in law-making and established good relations between 'the two ends of Pennsylvania Avenue."16

Another important factor contributing to the climate of the Sixty-third Congress had been Wilson's preparation for political action necessary to get his reform program through. Not wishing to lose valuable time while he reorganized the party organization, Wilson determined to use it as it was, requiring only support of his program. Leland D. Baldwin explains the Democratic chieftain's methods of handling this matter:

Wilson, dreading the pressure of office seekers and lobbyists, retired to study his reforms and gladly left the details of patronage to [Edward Mandell] House. The Texan, quietly enjoying his role of power behind the throne, accepted the assignment and was ably assisted by [Albert S.] Burleson. They wielded the patronage weapon to force bally Bourbons into line in support of what was probably the most ambitious and effective legislative program since Hamilton's famous program of the 1790's. House had another role, that of liaison between Wilson and the bankers, for under the circumstances Wilson could not afford to give the public the impression that he was listening to Wall Street advice. Wilson and House, however, made it a point to placate the Baltimore contenders, especially Champ Clark, still Speaker of the House, and Oscar Underwood, Democratic leader in the House.17

That Wilson had wisely planned a course of expediency for getting through his reform program at the earliest possible time is demonstrated by the fact that the Underwood Tariff was secured by October, the Federal Reserve Act by December, and before the end of

16 Ibid., p. 842.

1914, the Federal Trade Commission Act, the Clayton Antitrust Act, and the Smith-Lever (Agricultural Extension) Act had all been passed. In fact, Baldwin states that before 1915, most of the Wilson reform legislation had been enacted.

By the end of the Sixty-third Congress's first session, on December 1, 1913, the outlook for cotton economy was decidedly brighter than it had been in any of the immediate preceding years. This is best revealed by comparing the acreage, yield, production, price and value of cotton for the years, 1909-1913.

Cotton, United States: Acreage, yield, production, price and value, 1909-1913.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Crop year</th>
<th>Acreage Harvested</th>
<th>Yield per acre Harvested</th>
<th>Production 1,000 bales gross wt. 500 lb. average price per lb.</th>
<th>Season Value of Production</th>
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<td>30,555</td>
<td>156.5</td>
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<td>31,508</td>
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<td>1911</td>
<td>34,916</td>
<td>215.0</td>
<td>15,694</td>
<td>9.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>32,557</td>
<td>201.4</td>
<td>13,703</td>
<td>11.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>35,206</td>
<td>192.3</td>
<td>14,153</td>
<td>12.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ibid., pp. 411-414.

Ibid., p. 415.

Clearly, the increased 1913 acreage of more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ million acres over the preceding year had been an indication of the cotton producers' hope for an improved cotton market. That the total value of production of the 1913 crop exceeded that of the previous year's by more than $100 million indicates that the prospects for an improved cotton economy were bright.

Preston William Slosson, in his book, *The Great Crusade and After*, states: "The United States of 1914 certainly presented as unwarlike a spectacle as the sun ever shone upon." The same might be said of the opening session of the Sixty-third Congress. This was an era in which the accent was on the "quest for social justice." The problems of politics confronting that Congress were economic problems, problems which Wilson's rapidly enacted reform program was attacking with gusto. It was in this kind of a climate that James Thomas Heflin delivered his prewar cotton speeches.

Heflin delivered the first speech selected for this study on September 17, 1913, during the first session of the Sixty-third Congress. The speech came during the closing hours of the long House debate over H.R. 7837, the Federal Reserve Bill. Introduced by

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Virginia's Carter Glass, the bill provided for "the establishment of Federal Reserve banks, for furnishing an elastic currency, affording means of rediscounting commercial paper, establishing a more effective supervision of banking in the United States, and for other purposes."\(^{24}\)

A brief account of the events immediately preceding Heflin's speech is in order. The Glass bill, having finally won the support of President Wilson "in spite of the criticism of Mr. Bryan, the revolt of Secretary McAdoo, and the warfare of the bankers and the Aldrich group of New York," had gone to the House Democratic Caucus for approval on September 11, 1913.\(^{25}\) After ten days of discussion, the bill was approved by the Democratic Caucus by a party vote of 168-9.\(^{26}\) After minor changes in the Caucus, the fourth draft was reported to the House where it was debated for five days, the major objections being "the powers granted the Federal Reserve Board, the compulsory membership of the national banks and the transfer of reserves."\(^{27}\)

The next day, September 18, 1913, the bill passed the House by a vote of 287-85, with three Democrats voting against it, 148 Republicans for it, and

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\(^{25}\) Laughlin, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

\(^{26}\) Ibid., p. 160.

\(^{27}\) Ibid.
82 against. Heflin's speech, delivered September 17, on the final day of debate, qualifiedly praised those provisions of the bill which would make credit and currency more easily obtainable to cotton farmers, and urged passage of the bill.

The second of Heflin's prewar speeches was delivered in the second session of the Sixty-third Congress, December 15, 1913. Unlike the first occasion, the second speech did not come as part of a debate. Rather, having been granted unanimous House consent to "speak on any subject other than the pending bill," Heflin spoke on the subject of cotton. While there was no actual record of votes cast during the December 15 session, shortly after Heflin spoke, the House, by a two-thirds vote of those present, voted to suspend the rules, discharge the Committee of the Whole, and pass a bill. Presumably, then, at least a quorum was present when Heflin delivered his speech.

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28 Ibid.

29 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, pp. 5097-5099.


32 Ibid., p. 923.
The third and final of the prewar speeches Heflin delivered in the second session of the same Congress, March 5, 1911. At the beginning of the day's session, the House had resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider the Agricultural Appropriation Bill, H.R. 13679. Minnesota's Halvor Steenerson had interrupted discussion of various provisions of the bill to deliver a scathing denunciation of the Underwood Tariff for "stripping the farmers of their protection." In a rejoinder, Heflin sought to defend the Democratic tariff policy as projected in the Underwood Tariff, and at the same time review the benefits of the whole Wilson program to the farmers as opposed to Republican efforts "to farm the farmer for 16 years." While no roll calls are recorded, nor are there available press reports estimating the size of Heflin's audience, the House Journal indicates that at least a quorum prevailed.

The wartime period

On July 28, 1914, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia for "presumably harboring the terrorist organizations which assassinated

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34 House Journal, 1913-1914, p. 289.

35 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 5, pp. 4362-4364.

36 Ibid., p. 4364.

37 House Journal, 1913-1914, p. 290.
Archduke Franz Ferdinand.\textsuperscript{38} The succeeding events are a matter of historical record, and it would be pointless to review them in this study. More pertinent to a discussion of Heflin's wartime cotton speeches is a brief analysis of America's agricultural economy of that period, particularly with regard to cotton. Logically, such a discussion falls into two parts: (1) the effects of neutrality on cotton, and (2) the effects of war on cotton.

\textbf{Neutrality and cotton.} As pointed out earlier, as late as the middle of July, 1914, the prospects for the cotton crop of that year had been comparatively bright.\textsuperscript{39} Moreover, according to Peter Molyneaux, the initial reverberations of the shot that had felled the Austrian archduke made scarcely a ripple in the Cotton Belt. He comments:

To be sure, a Slavic schoolboy had shot an Austrian archduke in a city with an unpronounceable name in far-away Bosnia, and European statesmen were making a great ado over it, but the mass of the people of the Cotton South felt no concern about this. There was not even the suggestion of a fear that it could possibly affect them.\textsuperscript{40}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{38}Morison, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 814.
\item \textsuperscript{39}Supra, chap. iv, p. 160.
\item \textsuperscript{40}Peter Molyneaux, \textit{The Cotton South and American Trade Policy} (New York: National Peace Conference, 1936), p. 8.
\end{itemize}
Molyneaux further contends that the traders of the cotton exchanges, who were "usually highly sensitive to every wild rumor," had no "foreshadowing of what was coming," for, he continues:

Cotton continued to bring better than 13 cents a pound on the New York market until the very moment of the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary against Serbia on July 28th, and even the news of that event affected the price only slightly. As late as Friday, July 31st, the price of spot cotton at New York was 12½ cents a pound, certainly not an alarming decline.\(^1\)

W. Hustace Hubbard, in his book, *Cotton and the Cotton Market*, concurs, suggesting that the outbreak of the war at first merely "checked" inclining prices, but later affected a "precipitous decline."\(^2\) However, during the first weekend of August, conditions drastically changed. On that fatal weekend, Germany, Russia, and France had gone to war. Every cotton exchange in the United States closed until further notice. When Germany invaded Belgium on Tuesday, August 4, England declared war and immediately instituted a blockade of Central Europe.\(^3\) With all the exchanges closed and the markets of Central Europe cut off by the British blockade, the immediate future of cotton had suddenly become bleak and uncertain. Hubbard comments:

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\(^1\)Molyneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 8.


\(^3\)Molyneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
The outbreak of war removed all export demand for the moment, while the financial confusion stopped domestic trade. Prices went to all sorts of figures in the South, where, without the usual organized methods of trade, great confusion and uncertainty prevailed.\(^4^4\)

Meanwhile, comments Hubbard, "the August rains had effectually broken the Texas drought, the frost was late, and the yield very large, 22.4 pounds to the acre.\(^4^5\) Molyneaux writes, "nobody could say what cotton was worth. It was worth whatever the producer could get for it, and, when it could be sold at all, that was much less than the cost of production. The whole Cotton South was facing ruin.\(^4^6\) The Department of Agriculture's cotton statistics for that year support the contentions of both Hubbard and Molyneaux. Realizing an increase of nearly two million bales of cotton harvested, the total value, figured at the season average of 7.35\(\#\) per pound, amounted to a reduction of nearly $300 million under the previous year's value of production.\(^4^7\)

Soon after the exchanges had been closed and markets of Central Europe blockaded, there was widespread demand from various factions involved with the cotton industry that something be done to improve conditions. Characteristic of efforts at the state level were those of Texas. There, the Governor called a special session of the

\(^{4^4}\) Hubbard, op. cit., p. 54.

\(^{4^5}\) Ibid.

\(^{4^6}\) Molyneaux, op. cit., p. 9.

\(^{4^7}\) Cotton and Cottonseed, p. 20.
legislature, in August, to "do something to meet the crisis."⁴⁸ Among
other proposals, the Texas Governor and the legislators called on the
President of the United States to use the American Navy to convoy
cotton-laden ships to Central Europe.⁴⁹ Failing in that effort, a
large group of Texas farmers and bankers went to Washington to confer
with southern members of the House in an effort to find some remedial
measures to relieve cotton.⁵⁰ In the meantime, many hundred thousand
bales of American cotton, which had been shipped from the United
States to neutral countries, had been detained by Great Britain and
her allies. A representative of the Mobile Cotton Exchange declared
that this action had the effect of "restricting the outlets for
American cotton with the consequent tendency to depress values to the
detriment of the American grower, and was further, a serious inter­
ference with the export business of this country." He further charged
that much of the detained cotton had been confiscated by the Allies.⁵¹
According to Molyneaux the general effect of all of these conditions
was a "complete collapse of the cotton market and a paralysis of

⁴⁸ Molyneaux, op. cit., p. 9.
⁴⁹ Ibid.
⁵⁰ Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, August 23, 1914, Heflin Papers,
University of Alabama.
⁵¹ Letter from Mobile Cotton Exchange to United States Secretary
of State Robert Lansing, July 15, 1915, Heflin Papers, University of
Alabama.
business of all kinds throughout the South." The most important remedy to develop from conditions imposed on cotton by the early war was the "buy-a-bale" movement. This movement spread rapidly throughout the South, as well as in some other regions. Slosson comments, "'Buy a bale of cotton' became the watchword of the day." Patriotic citizens were induced to buy at least one bale of cotton each at 10 cents a pound and hold it off the market until the crisis had passed. Molyneaux describes the general response of the South to the "buy-a-bale" movement:

In practically all Southern cities and towns, merchants, both retail and wholesale, banks and business houses, hotels and even saloons were soon displaying bales of cotton they had purchased to help the farmer." Main Street in the average Southern community, with a bale of cotton standing on the sidewalk in front of each store, took on the appearance of an immense loading platform at a central shipping point.

The collapse of cotton, however, had made ready money scarce throughout the Cotton Belt, thus the attempt of the Cotton South to "lift itself by its own bootstraps" failed.

On November 17, the cotton exchanges reopened and established the price of spot cotton at New York at $7.5 cents a pound. Molyneaux

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52 Molyneaux, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
53 Slosson, op. cit., p. 12.
54 Molyneaux, op. cit., p. 10.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
concludes, "A war on the other side of the world . . . had destroyed more than $400 million of the value of the South's cotton practically over night!" 57

The 1915 war crop of cotton was a deliberate reduction of acreage. Hubbard comments: "A concerted effort upon the part of the cotton trade and bankers, together with the financial confusion left over from 1914, led to a reduction in acreage to 32,107,000 acres." 58 Consequently, only 11,172,000 bales were produced in 1915. "This represented a reduction of nearly five million bales under the 1914 crop. The average price went up to 11.22¢ per pound, an increase of 3.87¢ over the previous year. 59 Clearly, the early years of American neutrality found cotton in dire straits.

The popular notion that war increases consumption and makes prosperity would seem to be substantially supported by Slosson's account of economic conditions in the United States during the latter two years of American neutrality, 1915 and 1916. He asserts that as war orders arrived from the Entente nations, with the cessation of German competition in the home market, and with domestic manufacturers seizing the opportunity to "launch a 'made-in-America' campaign," the

57 Ibid.
58 Hubbard, op. cit., p. 54.
59 Cotton and Cottonseed, p. 20.
United States, "at the expense of the consumer, had become a self-dependent nation for nearly every manufactured necessity." Cold statistics would seem to indicate the same. A glance at the record of United States foreign trade during the war years indicates four conclusions: (1) "a tremendous growth of Allied war trade"; (2) "the almost complete cessation of commerce with the Central Powers"; (3) "the shifting of some of that trade to the neutral 'feeders'"; and (4) "the curtailment of neutral commerce under British rationing."61 Between the years 1914 and 1916, United States trade with the allied countries rose from $824,860,237 in 1914 to $3,211,418,547 in 1916.62 The record of cotton for the same years indicates similar rates of increase. The season average price per pound rose from $7.35 in 1914 to 17.36¢ in 1916. The value of production rose from $592,192,000 in 1914 to $993,514,000 in 1916.63 In addition to the seemingly promising factors of improved trade conditions, increased cotton prices, and an increased value of production, a fourth factor emerged in 1916 when the Rural Credits Act was enacted into law July 17. This act created

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62 Ibid.

63 Cotton and Cottonseed, p. 20.
twelve federal farm loan banks with an initial capital of $60 million, to "provide cheap mortgages to farmers." 64

Despite all of these measures and events designed to improve the general American economy, the cotton farmers continued to have serious problems. The 1916 cotton crop was "one long year of crop disaster." According to Hubbard, the labor supply was small, fertilizer poor, and the weevil was widespread. Persistent July rains exceeded anything on record and "enormously increased the weevil damage." Some areas suffered extreme drought. Thus, despite a heavy increase in acreage, the yield per acre was only 157 pounds. By January of 1917, prices had reached 21.19¢ per pound on the New York exchange. On February 1, when the German submarine proclamation was issued, the prices of cotton broke five cents a pound overnight. By May, delivery of cotton in the New York market sold at 12.75¢

Molyneaux paints an even darker picture, asserting that "while the price of wartime cotton soared, so did the price of everything else." Furthermore, Molyneaux asserts, cotton consumption had been drastically reduced. 65 It is reasonable to conclude that the cotton economy of the South had suffered serious economic loss during the American period of neutrality.

64 Morison, op. cit., p. 855.
65 Hubbard, op. cit., p. 55; Molyneaux, op. cit., p. 10.
The effects of American entry into the war. The effect of the earlier February panic in the exchanges, widespread weevil damage, and a critical labor shortage, all combined to reduce the 1917 cotton acreage to a harvest of 32,245,000 acres. A total of 11,264,000 bales were harvested, with a season average price per pound of 27.09¢. In January, 1918, cotton climbed to 30.80¢, a price not equaled since the days of the Civil War. The following year, 1919, the yield was 11,111,000 bales, and according to Hubbard, the market was "wild all season" with January cotton prices in the New York market soaring to 38.86¢. Despite these price increases, cotton economy continued to suffer. During the five years following August 1, 1914, the world consumed 6,000,000 bales of American cotton less than it had in the five years preceding the war.

In the meantime, the production costs of the cotton producers had soared to an estimated 30¢ per pound. Cotton producers explained that this condition was the result of the scarcity and high priced labor, an increase of "from 300 to 500 percent on the cost of farming

66 Cotton and Cottonseed, p. 20.
67 Ibid.
68 Hubbard, op. cit., p. 56.
69 Cotton and Cottonseed, p. 20.
70 Hubbard, op. cit., p. 57.
71 Molyneaux, op. cit., p. 11.
implements," and a similar increase on the price of mules.\textsuperscript{72} That such inflation was a general condition all over the country, during this period, is attested to by Louis M. Hacker in \textit{The Shaping of the American Tradition}. He comments:

\begin{quote}
At only one point did American organization for war fail, and this was in connection with control over prices and the checking of inflation. The upshot was that the cost of living climbed steadily. From 1914 through 1918, wholesale prices increased 100 percent; from 1918 into 1920, they went up another 20 percent. From 1914 through 1918, real wages dropped more than 20 percent.\textsuperscript{73}
\end{quote}

In summary, it is clear that America's entry into and participation in World War I had not brought prosperity to the Cotton Belt.

The specific wartime occasions. Heflin delivered the first of his wartime speeches selected for this study during the second session of the Sixty-third Congress, on October 16, 1914.\textsuperscript{74} After passing on a number of joint resolutions, the House granted Heflin twenty-nine minutes to speak on the general subject of cotton.\textsuperscript{75}

\begin{footnotes}
\item [72] Ibid.
\item [75] Ibid., p. 16748.
\end{footnotes}
Heflin's second speech came during the third session of the same Congress, January 23, 1915. The House had resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider H.R. 20415, the Agricultural Appropriation Bill. George M. Young of North Dakota and Frank L. Greene of Vermont had been attacking the Department of Agriculture's policy of free seed distribution. Heflin obtained the floor during the course of the debate, refuted the charges made by Young and Greene, and proceeded to deliver a lengthy speech on the condition of the cotton economy of the South.

The third Heflin wartime speech was delivered during the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, on January 11, 1916. By special order of the House, Heflin was permitted to address the House for one hour, on the general subject of cotton.

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78 Congressional Record, Volume 52, Part 2, pp. 2172-2175.

79 Ibid., pp. 2175-2178.


81 Ibid., p. 918.
Heflin's fourth speech came during the same session, on April 5, 1916. It being Calendar Wednesday, the unfinished business of the House was declared to be that of House Joint Resolution 103, authorizing the Director of the Census to collect and publish additional statistics. Heflin was the first speaker of the day.

The occasion for Heflin's last wartime speech to be considered was similar to that of several of the preceding ones. It came on July 13, 1917, during the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress. There being no debate of bills in progress, the House granted Heflin twenty minutes to speak on cotton.

The postwar period

On November 11, 1918, the armistice terms were signed. Cotton prices in the American exchanges broke sharply on the fear of the cancellation of war orders. "Although the government tried some experiments in the line of market control," says Hubbard, "it soon became evident that the price would improve if left to the ordinary

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83 Ibid., p. 5542.


85 Ibid., p. 5061.
influences of business, and the government withdrew. Opinion as to these control measures was much divided. Wilson Gee and Edward A. Terry comment in their book, *The Cotton Cooperatives in the Southeast*, that by December 1, less than one month after armistice, the level of farm cotton prices was close to 28¢ per pound. By December 1, 1919, it had reached an average of nearly thirty-six cents, and by May of the following year, it had risen to as much as 43¢. The Department of Agriculture's statistics for the same period show a similar incline. The season average price per pound of cotton rose from 26.67 in 1918 to 31.93 in 1919. As a consequence, speculation was active in all markets during the year 1919 "on the idea of a post war boom." As a consequence of the closing prices of 1919 cotton and the "expected post war boom," planters increased their 1920 acreage by more than 1 ½ million acres. However, a number of factors occurred during the season to bring heavy losses to the cotton trade. Increase in weevil infestation was so large that the percentage of estimated damage was

86 Hubbard, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.


88 *Cotton and Cottonseed*, p. 20.

89 Hubbard, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

90 *Cotton and Cottonseed*, p. 20.
19.25 percent, the largest to date. There was a scant supply of deliverable cotton which led to a corner in the New York exchange, in July, booming cotton to 43.75 cents per pound, the highest touched since the Exchange had opened. Hubbard describes the financial and commercial crisis which then came to the front, causing market prices to collapse:

The signal for the collapse had been a severe decline in the price of raw silk early in the summer, and the movement spread to one market after another. The commercial crisis was severe and cotton was no exception to the general rule, prices getting as low as 13.92 for January delivery in New York, late in the fall. The losses of the cotton trade were very severe, especially so in the South and in Liverpool.

As a result of these events, the season average price per pound of cotton declined from 35.34 cents in 1919 to 15.89 cents in 1920. In less than six months the total value of American cotton had declined nearly one billion dollars.

In the meantime, various steps had been taken in an effort to bolster the cotton economy. On February 6, 1919, Representatives and Senators from the cotton-growing states resolved, on motion of Senator

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91 Hubbard, op. cit., p. 57.
92 Ibid., p. 58.
93 Ibid.
94 Cotton and Cottonseed, p. 20.
95 Ibid.
Smith of Georgia, to send a cable dispatch to President Wilson urging him to "use his efforts to allow the cotton merchants of all allied countries to buy freely in the cotton markets of the United States. The cable dispatch also suggested that as soon as practicable, cotton should be permitted to go to Austria and Germany." At that same meeting, they resolved to support three of Heflin's resolutions: (1) to commend the farmers and merchants for refusing to sell cotton until they could "obtain a profitable price"; (2) support a resolution in Congress [Heflin's] to investigate the cotton exchanges of New York and New Orleans; and (3) to confer with President Wilson upon his return about the cotton situation. By March 20, 1919, the embargo had not yet been removed. Consequently, Heflin directed a letter to Presidential Secretary Joseph P. Tumulty, in which he outlined a plan designed to bring some relief until cotton might be shipped to Germany. Asserting that the embargo on cotton to Germany was being used here "by spinners from amongst our allies to depress the price of cotton in the United States," and alleging that it was "unfair for the Government to permit the meat producers and grain growers of the United States to ship their produce to Germany and then deny cotton producers the same right," Heflin offered a plan whereby German cotton merchants and spinners might be permitted to buy one million bales of American

97 Ibid.
cotton and store it in the United States until peace terms were agreed upon. Heflin asserted that certain German cotton merchants and spinners had expressed their willingness and desire to participate in such a plan. He asked that Tumulty "take the matter up at once" with Attorney General Mitchell Palmer, the Custodian of Alien Property, and finally with the President, if necessary. Heflin's proposal, reported in the American press, received varied reaction from private citizens. One angry correspondent objected to having "any dealings of any kind, now or hereafter, with a nation of unrepentant perjurers, thieves, ravishers and murderers." Heflin's response follows:

While your letter is an insult and probably should be ignored, I will take the time to say, that at the time that I and others from the cotton growing states were insisting that the embargo be lifted and cotton be permitted to go into Germany and Austria, that the President was, at that time, pleading for the same thing at Paris.

When foreign spinners, some of them among our allies, were not willing for cotton to be shipped into Germany, it was suggested that Germany be permitted to buy one million bales of American cotton to be held in the United States until peace terms were agreed upon.

At the time that we were insisting that this be done, the grain growers and meat producers of the Northern section of the United States were shipping vast quantities of meat and grain into Germany. The United States government permitted this to be done and our allies in Europe endorsed that action. The bear gamblers

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98 Heflin to Tumulty, March 20, 1919, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

99 Alexander Bell to Heflin, March 12, 1919, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
of New York City, representing certain foreign and domestic spinners were hiding behind the embargo on cotton to Germany and Austria in their organized effort to depress the price.

I suppose that you think that it is all right to send the products of the North and West to Germany, but wrong and shameful to permit the German people to buy a Southern product and hold it in the United States until peace terms were agreed upon. I have no apology to make to you or anybody else for my position in this matter.\textsuperscript{100}

Still other steps to bolster postwar cotton economy included a called meeting of bankers, merchants, farmers and business men to "form plans for the banking, financing and stabilizing of cotton," discuss and arrange plans for "the warehousing, exporting, and marketing of cotton," and formulate plans for organizing a permanent Southern Cotton Association. The meeting was called by the South Carolina Association, to be held in Columbia, South Carolina, April 3, 1919. Heflin was invited to be one of the principal speakers during the conference.\textsuperscript{101} In a subsequent letter, the chairman of the conference, J. S. Wannamaker, head of the South Carolina Cotton Association, expressed his delight at Heflin's acceptance and stated: "The press in this section is giving a great deal of time to this movement. It is a subject of the deepest interest. . . ."\textsuperscript{102} The proposed

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{100} Heflin to Bell, March 23, 1919, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
\item \textsuperscript{101} Wannamaker to Heflin, March 22, 1919, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
\item \textsuperscript{102} Wannamaker to Heflin, March 29, 1919, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
\end{itemize}
association was established with Wannamaker as president and Colonel Harvie Jordan of Georgia as secretary. The name, however, was changed to the American Cotton Association. The purposes, activities, and membership of the organization will be discussed later in this chapter. Later during the same year, Heflin toured the entire Cotton Belt, speaking on the subject of cotton and cotton marketing. In addition to addressing a number of state divisions of the newly reorganized American Cotton Association, he addressed a joint session of the Texas State Legislature, and a number of other groups of cotton producers, bankers, merchants and others interested in cotton economy.

In a letter thanking Heflin for his address before the Texas Legislature, W. B. Yeary, a cotton specialist in the Texas Department of Agriculture, wrote:

Your message was one of encouragement to our legislature. I hope you will be able to meet with us again during the Summer, and make many such speeches in the South, and that you will encourage all of our Southern Senators and Congressmen to visit their homes and do as you have done. Our people need education and encouragement in marketing their cotton worse than anything else. Train us in selling our crops, and especially cotton, for what it is worth, and we will do the rest.

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103 Gee and Terry, op. cit., p. 37.

104 At a three-day session of the State Farmers Institute, in Texas, Heflin addressed 2500 delegates. He also spoke in Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Correspondence files for 1919, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

105 Yeary to Heflin, June 30, 1919, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
What had been the actual effect of the armistice, market activities, and the efforts of various legislators, interest groups, and farm organizations on the economic life of the Cotton Belt?

Varied answers are given to this question. Gee and Terry assert that the whole of American agriculture had enjoyed "unprecedented prosperity" throughout the war and the eighteen months following. They continue:

During these years of prosperity the cotton farmers bought automobiles, many of them expensive. Thinking that prosperity had come to stay, they also extended their enterprises, bought land, much of it on credit, and built new homes or modernized old ones, often on borrowed resources.106

Regarding decreased cotton prices, Gee and Terry comment:

It was in the fall of 1920 that the Agricultural depression made its appearance. . . . Prices on middling cotton at New Orleans dropped from 40.52 cents a pound in July of that year, to 14.64 cents in December, and to eleven cents in March, 1921. Thus the net loss under such conditions was as much as $100 per bale. Such terrific losses plunged both growers and creditors into dire financial straits.107

As will be recalled from earlier discussion, Peter Molyneaux draws some very different conclusions. Summing up the alleged "drastic effects" of the war and its aftermath on cotton, Molyneaux asserts:

106 Gee and Terry, op. cit., p. 37.
107 Ibid., p. 38.
The lives of thousands of men and women were permanently handicapped in consequence of the sudden and unexpected losses which resulted. And the cotton producers of the South never really recovered from the setback of those years. 108

In addition to the immediate ill effects of the war on cotton, Molyneaux points to "a more serious consequence" which was the:

... fundamental change wrought in the commercial relationship of the United States with the rest of the world, a change which called for a radical readjustment of American trade policy if the markets in foreign countries for the South's cotton were to be preserved and normally expanded. The failure of the United States to effect such a readjustment of its trade policy has been disastrous to the South. ... 109

Hubbard had contended that a combination of such factors as boll weevil damage, acute labor shortages, high prices on farm equipment, scarcity and inferior grades of fertilizer, closed markets, an unstable market generally, and fluctuating prices in the exchanges had all contributed to losses to the cotton trade, especially in the South and Liverpool, which were "very severe." 110

The Department of Agriculture's statistical reports on cotton acreage, yield, price, and value for the prewar, wartime, and postwar periods indicate a marked instability in the whole cotton economy. 111

108 Molyneaux, op. cit., p. 11.
109 Ibid., p. 12.
110 Hubbard, op. cit., pp. 54-58.
111 Cotton and Cottonseed, p. 20.
In summary, it seems safe to conclude that the events of the years, 1913-1920 had demanded drastic alteration of economic policies if the thirty million Americans depending on cotton were to survive the economic effects of a World War.

Heflin delivered his first postwar speech approximately one month after the armistice had been signed. It came in the third session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, December 9, 1918. Republican J. Hampton Moore of Pennsylvania had delivered a lengthy and stinging rebuke against the entire war policy and peacetime proposals of the Wilson administration. Moore had charged the Wilson program with a spirit of "altruism," too much independence in foreign affairs, unwise economic policies, endangering American business, passing a bad tariff, and neglecting American reconstruction. Although Heflin was not in the Chamber at the time Moore spoke, he returned shortly thereafter and was yielded ten minutes of time for a speech in which he briefly defended the Wilson administration against Moore's attack, refuted his proposal for fixing prices on agricultural products, and once again deplored the conditions of cotton. He delivered his second postwar

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113 Ibid., pp. 219-224.

114 Ibid., p. 226.

115 Ibid., pp. 226-227.
speech in the same session, on January 27, 1919. The House had resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider H.R. 15018, the Agricultural Appropriation bill. Heflin was granted twenty-five minutes as the first speaker. He used his time to indict further the evils of gambling in cotton futures and proposed a strengthening of regulations of the cotton exchanges. 117

The last of the Heflin postwar speeches to be analyzed was delivered in the first session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, May 27, 1919. The occasion was the same as in the preceding case. The House had resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider H.R. 3157, the Agricultural Appropriation bill, and Heflin was granted one hour, as the first major speaker. 118

THE AUDIENCES

Heflin's audiences for the years 1913-1920 included his immediate audiences composed of his House colleagues, the press, and gallery visitors; and a secondary audience, the general public. In accordance


117 Ibid.

with the preceding discussion of his occasions, these audiences are further categorized into prewar, wartime, and postwar audiences.

The prewar audiences

House audience. As previously mentioned, not since 1856 had the Democrats so completely controlled both the executive and legislative branches of the government. With a two-thirds majority in the House, and a Democratic President, Heflin had an audience predominantly Democratic for the first time since he had gone to Congress. Moreover, Southerners were in the proverbial "driver's seat." Not only had Wilson filled his Cabinet with a majority of Southerners, but of the fifty-eight House committees, Southerners were chairmen of thirty-six of them, including the most important committees of that body.

Two other factors contributed to the responsiveness of Heflin's 1913 audience in the House. One had been Heflin's participation in the national campaign efforts of the Democratic Party in the 1912 elections. Not only had he campaigned for Wilson and the Party, in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{119}Supra, chap. iv, p. 153.
\item \textsuperscript{120}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{121}Supra, chap. iv, p. 157.
\end{itemize}
the presidential campaign, but he had also gone into a number of
states to campaign for certain of his House and Senate colleagues who
had won or retained seats in that election. Therefore, both the
national party and members of the House were indebted to Heflin for
his campaign efforts in their behalf. The second factor to have some
unifying effect on the responsiveness of the Democratic members of the
House was one more general in character. This had been the patronage
weapon wielded by Edward Mandell House and Albert S. Burleson to
"force balky Bourbons into line" in support of Wilson's ambitious
reform program. Undoubtedly, this had the side effect of rendering
a more enthusiastic and responsive audience on the Democratic side of
the House, while at the same time further alienating an already
despondent Republican side.

In conclusion, Heflin's House audience in the Sixty-third Con-
gress was one of the most enthusiastic and responsive audiences he had
faced since entering that body in 1904. Apropos are the remarks of
Samuel Eliot Morison, commenting on the effects of Wilson's revival of
the practice of addressing both Houses of Congress in person:

It restored the President's initiative in law-making and
established good relations between "the two ends of Pennsylvania
Avenue." For Wilson's power over men left him when he stepped

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123 supra, chap. i, pp. 66-76.
124 supra, chap. iv, p. 158.
off the rostrum; unlike Roosevelt, he could not persuade or brow­beat a recalcitrant congressman in private conversation. But 114 out of 290 Democratic members of the House were there for the first time, and readily followed him.125

Secondary audience. Always sensitive to the wishes of his voters, Heflin maintained a heavy volume of correspondence with private citizens. The tremendously varied assortment of requests and suggestions directed through his correspondence, however, does not clearly define his popular audience. A better yardstick would be the pressure groups, those persons actively interested in some particular point of view. The groups employed a variety of methods, all designed to impress legislators with the importance and scope of the demands of the people they represented. By circulating hundreds of thousands of reprints of his speeches in the Record, Heflin reached the people. Moreover, he left his duties in Washington, frequently, to address various delegations of these pressure groups, particularly in the South. The pressure groups, in turn, conducted polls, obtained endorsements, canvassed support from prominent personalities, urged members to write their congressmen, circulated petitions, and sent committees and lobbying groups to Washington, all in an effort to influence legislators. The remainder of the discussion in this section will analyze the efforts and evaluate the effectiveness of some of these more important groups.

125Morison, op. cit., pp. 842-843.
1. The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union. By far the most powerful and largest of the pressure groups representing southern farmers during Heflin's prewar cotton advocacy was The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union, more popularly called The Farmers' Union. Conceived by an old Farmers' Alliance man, Isaac Newton Gresham, in Rains County, Texas, on August 28, 1902, the Farmers' Union quickly spread from its ten chartered members to an organization of an estimated membership of 935,837, by 1907. At the National Union's 1907 convention in Little Rock, President C. S. Barrett of Georgia reported to the seventy-two delegates, representing twenty states, that Union membership included thirteen chartered State Unions, with 17,938 chartered locals, and ten other states with 736 chartered locals. By 1912, when the Union came to its maximum strength in the Cotton Belt, it had locals in twenty-nine states. The twelve cotton states were contributing 77 percent of the National Union's receipts. After 1912, according to Carl C. Taylor in The Farmers' Movement, 1620-1920, the Union's center of strength and

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127 Ibid., p. 346.

128 Ibid.

129 Ibid., p. 348.
influence began moving into the wheat states. However, North Carolina continued as the leading Union state through 1914 and did not drop below second place among the states until 1916.130

In 1912, the peak year of the Union's strength in the South, the rank of state membership was as follows: North Carolina, Texas, Arkansas, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia, Virginia, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Florida. All of them, except North Carolina, had been stronger in prior years than they were by the end of 1912.131

2. Economic activities of the Union. The original Texas charter obtained by Gresham and his colleagues had stated that the Farmers' Union purpose was to "assist them [subordinate unions] in marketing and obtaining better prices for their products . . . and to co-operate with them in the protection of their interests . . . "132 the national Union, however, soon expanded upon these early activities. In addition to attempts to fix cotton prices, the Union conducted reduction in acreage campaigns, built cotton warehouses,133 sold cotton directly to American and foreign factories, established

130 Ibid.
131 Ibid.
132 Ibid., p. 350.
133 By 1913, the Farmers' Union had 1,600 warehouses in the cotton states. Harold G. Powell, Cooperation in Agriculture, as reported in Taylor, p. 353.
livestock and grain commission enterprises, established cooperative gins, and various other enterprises. In addition, many of the state and local unions operated local and state business agencies such as stores, stock implement companies, insurance companies, banks, and various purchasing clubs and cooperatives.\textsuperscript{134} Taylor reports that the cotton economic activities of the Union "saved the farmers of the South millions of dollars by consistent propaganda for acreage controls, warehousing, grading, selling, holding, reducing freight rates, and contract giving."\textsuperscript{135} He concludes, however, that the other economic enterprises of the Union were not generally successful.\textsuperscript{136}

3. Political activities of the Union. Almost from the beginning the Union began passing resolutions concerning legislation, endorsing and promoting legislative measures, appointing legislative committees, and maintaining legislative representatives at the state capitals and in Washington, despite the vows made in its original charter, which had read: "This is in no degree a political party, and shall forever abstain from even so much as a discussion of partyism."\textsuperscript{137} As early as 1907, Barrett had said, in his first presidential address to Union members:

\textsuperscript{134}Taylor, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 350-355.
\textsuperscript{135}Ibid., p. 353.
\textsuperscript{136}Ibid., p. 355.
\textsuperscript{137}Ibid., p. 358.
While we hold fast to the splendid neutrality of our position, we must never hesitate in political life to defend and to advance the original purposes of this organization. To this end as individuals and as an organized body without party names, we must not hesitate to ballot as a unit against those things which would seek to oppress or degrade us, and we must give the world to understand that by joining this nonpolitical union, we have not surrendered a single political right that belongs to each and every citizen in the American republic.\textsuperscript{138}

Clearly, Barrett proclaimed that "the Union as an organized pressure group expected to wield political influence."\textsuperscript{139} Taylor summarizes the extent to which the Union subsequently followed Barrett's advice:

State Unions early began appointing committees on legislation, and the national Union from the beginning had such a committee. State conventions, county Unions, and sometimes local Unions formulated legislative programs and demands, and Union officials had no hesitancy in claiming credit for the enactment of much legislation. Legislators, other state officials, and Congressmen from strong Farmers' Union territory naturally tried to win Union support by offering to do the farmers' bidding in legislation and government administration. All of these things combined to make the Union a strong political force in many southern states from 1905 to 1915, in midwestern and western states after 1915, and at the national capital all during this time.\textsuperscript{140}

Edward Wiest, in \textit{Agricultural Organization in the United States}, concluded that the efforts of the Union to influence legislation had been "effective" and was a method "to be commended."\textsuperscript{141} Albert B.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[138] Ibid.
\item[139] Ibid.
\item[140] Ibid., p. 359.
\item[141] Wiest, \textit{op. cit.}, II, 491.
\end{footnotes}
Moore, in *History of Alabama*, attests to the role of the Union in helping to obtain a national rural credit system.\(^{1h2}\) David E. Lindstrom, in *American Farmers' and Rural Organizations*, attests to the political influences of the Union.\(^{1h3}\) Gee and Terry attribute much of the successful influence on "the passing of sound legislation" for cotton to the work of the Farmers' Union.\(^{1h4}\) Clearly, the political influence of the Union was substantial at the time Heflin was delivering his prewar cotton speeches.

\(^{4}\) Heflin and the Farmers' Union. From as early as 1907, Heflin's relationship and association with the Union had been considerable. On December 18 of that year, D. J. Will, President of the Texas Farmers' Union wrote to Heflin commending him for his role in seeking to improve on the Department of Agriculture's methods of gathering crop statistics, and imploring him to introduce a bill to abolish the Department's present system of crop reporting.\(^{1h5}\) It will be remembered that the national Union's president had repeatedly endorsed the re-appointment of Heflin to the House Agricultural


\(^{1h4}\) Gee and Terry, op. cit., p. 175.

\(^{1h5}\) Will to Heflin, December 18, 1907, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
Committee during those stormy days when "Uncle Joe" Cannon had been dominating the House. Early in March, 1909, an Alabama local of the Union, in Clay County, unanimously adopted a resolution commend­
ing Heflin for his "efforts to have legislation enacted, in favor of the agricultural interests of the South." Earlier, in 1905, 1906, and 1907, Heflin had toured his own Alabama district, as well as agricultural districts in neighboring states, urging farmers to organize where local Unions did not exist, or join such organizations where they did exist. The Heflin correspondence and Scrapbooks and the issues of the LaFayette Sun for these early years clearly indica­
tes that a close relationship existed between Heflin and the Farmers' Union. That this relationship influenced his advocacy is certain.

5. The cotton associations. Chiefly reduction-of-acreage and holding movements, various cotton associations sprung up all over the South in the early 1900's. One of the earliest of these was the Southern Cotton Growers' Protective Association which, for years, conducted a campaign to "induce farmers to plant fewer acres and hold

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146 Supra, chap. iii, pp. 145-151.

147 G. T. McElderry to Heflin, March 6, 1909, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

148 Correspondence and Scrapbooks, 1905-1907, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama; The LaFayette Sun, 1905-1907, passim.
cotton until it would sell for the price set by the association. In 1905, with the assistance of the Farmers' Union, it became the Southern Cotton Association, including in its membership bankers, merchants, and other business people in the Cotton Belt, along with cotton producers. The association was organized at New Orleans with Colonel Harvie Jordan, a middle Georgia cotton planter, as its first president. In 1908, the National Cotton Association was organized, "the main object of which was to establish and maintain at all times a minimum 'bread-and-meat' line of 10 cents per pound." Taylor continues: "It [the National Cotton Association], and similar associations less well known, attempted some cooperative marketing, but they were all chiefly reduction-of-acreage and holding movements." While little of the history of these cotton associations is known, the Heflin Papers indicate that they were interested, and active to some extent, in legislation to improve cotton economy. It will be recalled that the presidents of both the Southern and National Cotton Associations had endorsed Heflin's reappointment to the House Agricultural Committee during the reign of Cannonism. Earlier, in 1905 and 1906, Heflin had addressed several local units of the Southern

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149 Taylor, op. cit., p. 481.
150 Ibid., Gee and Terry, op. cit., p. 34.
151 Ibid.
Cotton Association, and in January, 1907, he addressed the annual convention of the Southern Cotton Association, in Birmingham. His subject was "The Duty of the South to the Southern Cotton Association." That the Southern Cotton Association did indeed attempt to exert influence for legislation and agricultural practices favorable to cotton is evidenced by a letter from the association's president, Harvie Jordan, to Heflin, June 2, 1909. After reviewing the increasing costs of cotton production and various other factors which had brought about reduction in cotton acreage, Jordan urged Heflin to "use your influence with the Department of Agriculture, with Secretary of Agriculture [James] Wilson, and with Victor H. Olmstead, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, to induce an abandonment of this practice." The "practice" to which Jordan referred was the Department of Agriculture's method of collecting cotton statistics. Jordan also told Heflin of his intentions to be in Washington for some time. Undoubtedly, he intended lobbying for the cotton interests. Letters from private cotton producers urging Heflin to continue his fight at Washington for the cotton interests persuade one that they were probably instigated at the suggestion of the cotton associations as well as

152 Jordan to Heflin, December 26, 1906, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

153 Jordan to Heflin, June 2, 1909, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

154 Ibid.
the Farmers' Union. Such a practice has always been a popular tool of the pressure groups.

It is clear that the major agricultural voice of the South, the Farmer's Union, and the lesser important state, regional, and national cotton associations exercised considerable political influence on southern congressmen in general, and Heflin in particular. They were not only influential, but they continuously provided information on cotton to such advocates as Heflin.

The specific prewar audiences. Heflin's first speech, delivered September 17, 1913, in the first session of the Sixty-third Congress, was in support of the Federal Reserve Bill, in particular, that section of it dealing with cotton warehouse receipts and rural credit. As previously mentioned, the Democrats controlled two-thirds of the seats in the House. Of the 290 Democrats, 111 of them were there for the first time. Of the remaining members, the Republicans had 127 seats, the Progressive Republicans 7, the Progressives 9, Independents 1, and there was one vacancy. The Speaker of the House was Champ Clark of Missouri, who had been elected when the Sixty-second Congress

155 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, pp. 5097-5099.
156 Morison, op. cit., p. 843.
157 Congressional Directory, 63rd Congress, 1st Session, p. 140.
assembled on April 4, 1911. As Speaker, Clark had made "both his power and influence felt in the House," having "preserved the duality characteristic of the American Speakership." In his book, The Speaker of the House of Representatives Since 1896, Chang-Wei Chiu states: "On one occasion he [Clark] regarded himself as "the Dean of the Faculty," and on another he vigorously declared that he "refused absolutely to be either a 'rubber stamp Representative' or a 'rubber stamp Speaker.'" The events leading to the passage of the Federal Reserve Bill in the House, September 18, 1913, have been discussed earlier in this chapter. It will be remembered that Heflin's speech came on the final day of a five-day debate of the bill, after the bill had gone through a Democratic caucus, by a party vote of 168-9. During the caucus, Robert L. Henry, Democrat of Texas, had unsuccessfully sought to present a bill designed to make "the loan of notes direct to growers of corn, cotton, and wheat at a given price." Heflin had evidently supported the Henry measure, or one similar to it, for in his speech he regretted that some measure providing for "a

159 Ibid., p. 304.
160 Ibid.
161 Ibid., p. 161.
162 Ibid., p. 160.
The separate and distinct farmers' credit system had not been included. No doubt this had been Heflin's way of going on record as having supported the move which had been pushed by the Farmers' Union for a rural credits bill. In any event, Heflin proclaimed his endorsement of the general features of the Federal Reserve Bill and particularly applauded that section of the bill which guaranteed to the owners of cotton warehouse receipts "the same treatment . . . accorded other merchantable paper." That Heflin was speaking to a House that had already determined in favor of the bill he was supporting is indicated by the final House vote which had passed the bill on the following day. With a final vote of 287 to 85, only three Democrats had voted against it, 148 Republicans for it, and 82 against it. Without question, then, Heflin had addressed a partisan audience in favor of the bill he was supporting.

On the national scene, as has already been mentioned, the Farmers' Union was exerting strong pressure to provide for some system of direct rural credits. Taylor states that the Union "advocated better rural credits and wanted government loans made directly to the

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163 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5097.
164 Wiest, op. cit., II, 491.
165 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5099.
farmers without banks and associations acting as intermediaries.  

Undoubtedly, this is what both Henry, of Texas, and Heflin had sought as a provision of the Federal Reserve Bill. In any event, it is probable that Heflin had the demands of the Union clearly in mind when he qualified his support of the Federal Reserve Bill, at the outset of his September 17 speech.

Heflin's second and third prewar speeches were both delivered during the second session of the Sixty-third Congress, one on December 15, 1913, and the other on March 5, 1914. In the second session, the Democrats had picked up an additional seat in the House, giving them a total of 291. The Republicans had lost three seats, cutting them to 124. The Progressive Republicans lost one seat, giving them a total of six; the Progressives had gained four, making a total of 13; and there remained one Independent.  

Alabama's Oscar Underwood, chairman of the two powerful House committees, Ways and Means and the Committee on Committees, had done a good job of organizing a Democratic House. With two important measures of the Wilson reform package already through the House, Democrats, and those

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167Taylor, op. cit., p. 363.
169Chiu, op. cit., p. 318.
170The Underwood Tariff and the Federal Reserve Bill.
other members supporting the Wilson program, looked forward to the speedy passage of the remainder of Wilson's reform package.

In the meantime, efforts of the Farmers' Union and the various cotton associations to influence legislators for improved conditions for cotton were being manifested by correspondence from private citizens in the Cotton Belt. The Heflin correspondence files for 1913 contain many letters from private citizens in the Cotton Belt urging him to continue his fight for favorable cotton legislation. As reassurance to the Union, the cotton associations, and their large memberships that his interest had not lagged, Heflin was mailing out over the country a unique souvenir of Dixieland. It consisted of a boll of cotton in a pasteboard box, in cube form. Excerpts from Heflin's December 14, 1911, cotton speech in the House were printed on the upper flap and bottom of the box. On three sides of the box were:

... striking scenes in the cotton belt [sic], darkies picking cotton, and in Dixieland, and on the remaining side, the legend 'a souvenir boll of natural cotton fresh from the fields of Dixie,' Compliments of J. Thomas Heflin, MC Fifth District, Alabama.172

An article in the Birmingham Age Herald claimed that the "unique souvenir of Dixieland" was being mailed by Heflin to "his friends throughout the country."173 As further evidence of his intent to

171 The 1913 correspondence, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
172 The Birmingham Age Herald, April 14, 1913.
173 Ibid.
represent faithfully the cotton interests, on December 15, 1913, Heflin secured the unanimous consent of the House to "speak on any subject other than the pending bill." The indications in the House Journal are that at least a quorum of the membership was present to hear Heflin's speech on the prospects for that year's cotton crop, the need for enlarging world markets, the evil effects of the cotton exchanges, and the importance of cotton to the national economy. 174

Heflin's March 5, 1914, Congressional audience had not noticeably changed. However, the mood of the audience was undoubtedly different than that which had entertained his earlier December 15 address. In the latter instance, the House had resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider the Agricultural Appropriation Bill, H.R. 13679. As mentioned earlier, Halvor Steenerson of Minnesota had been delivering a stinging attack against the Underwood Tariff, then six months old, for "stripping the farmers of their protection." After some brief refutatory remarks, Heflin, much to the delight of the Democratic side of the House, 175 proceeded to attack the entire Republican tariff policy as it "farmed the farmer for sixteen years," and reviewed the benefits to agriculture and the country of the entire Wilson program. 176

174 Supra, chap. iv, p. 198.

175 The Record indicates twenty-eight interruptions of Heflin's speech with applause and/or laughter. Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 5, pp. 4366-4367.

176 Ibid.
The wartime audiences

House audience. The political composition of the House, in its second session of the Sixty-third Congress, has been discussed. The question arises, what was the attitude of its members toward American agricultural economy during the period of American neutrality? And, more in particular, what was their attitude towards cotton?

A prevailing sentiment among representatives of the Cotton Belt had long held that interference with the movement of American cotton to foreign markets was one of the most serious evils that could happen. It will be remembered that such an interference had occurred in the fall of 1914, because of the European war. To review briefly, the six million bales of cotton normally consumed by England, Germany, and Austria represented nearly one-third of American cotton exports. The threatening attitude of England toward American commerce and the blockades and embargoes laid down had therefore closed out markets to the whole of southern cotton economy. Moreover, the problems of cotton values had been further compounded with the closing of both the New York and New Orleans exchanges on July 31. In his book, Economic Aspects of the War, Edwin J. Clapp raises still a third problem of financing cotton shipments to England, once the British


178Ibid., p. 113.
Admiralty had announced that the North Atlantic route was free of German cruisers. Clapp's explanation follows:

A cotton exporter gets his money by selling to his bank a draft drawn on the English buyer or the latter's bank. Owing to the disturbance of international finance and the paralysis of the London discount market, such drafts became for a time unsalable.179

While Clapp points out that this was a temporary condition which eventually improved, it was nevertheless a factor contributing to the multiplicity of problems facing the representatives of the Cotton Belt at the outbreak of the war.

In Congress, southern representatives and senators were agreed that measures needed to be taken immediately in behalf of American cotton. However, they were divided as to the probable success of the efforts to enlist the aid of the United States government. By late September, Heflin and other members of Congress were meeting with the governors from the cotton states to study the situation. Heflin was armed with some alternate proposals which would place cotton relief action in the hands of the states, should proposals for federal measures fail. One alternate was to have a "stay law" enacted in the states "to prevent the ruthless creditor from driving to the wall the farmer who cannot sell his cotton at a profit as a result of the awful European war."180 On October 3, 1914, Heflin, Representatives Otis

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179 Ibid., p. 115.
180 The Montgomery Advertiser, September 29, 1914.
Wingo of Arkansas, William Adamson of Georgia, Robert Henry of Texas, and Senator Ellison Smith of South Carolina, called on President Wilson at the White House. They urged that "ample funds be placed in southern banks to be used to help the cotton planters and landowners." They also told the President that "the Treasury Department should take pains to see that the funds reach the producer and are not diverted to other purposes by the banks." After Wilson had assured them that the organization of the Federal Reserve Bank System, soon to be completed, would greatly relieve the situation, and that he would take the matter up with Secretary McAdoo, Heflin stated, in a later news conference, "I believe the President is now convinced that further help must be granted the South."181 In a later speaking tour in Alabama, Heflin took sharp issue with Alabama's Senator John H. Bankhead over the probable success of the southern congressmen and senators to persuade Congress and the President to enact any legislation designed to help the Cotton Belt. In an earlier speech in Montgomery Bankhead had declared that "every man of intelligence in Washington at the time knew as long ago as a month that the Federal government would not aid the southern farmer."182 In his rebuttal of Bankhead's remarks,

181 The Baltimore Sun, October 3, 1914.
182 The Birmingham Age Herald, November 1, 1914.
Heflin declared that, on the contrary, "a great many men believed then and know now that the cotton problem, being too large for any individual state to handle, was and is a problem for the government to take hold of and solve." Heflin continued:

I believe that the so-called militant cotton representatives accomplish much good for the southern farmer by their activity. Good fruit will be borne. Already Secretary McAdoo has made a public statement to the effect that the cotton problem is a problem for the government. And I predict that when Congress reconvenes December 1, the President will initiate a movement in the interest of the South and that relief will be forthcoming.\textsuperscript{183}

To briefly review, members of both Houses of Congress, in its Second Session were aware of the problems besieging the Cotton Belt. Southern members were in agreement that the federal government should take some measures designed to correct the situation. There seemed to be some division, however, as to the probable response to such proposals. The mood of Heflin's larger secondary audience, the people in the Cotton Belt, has already been discussed in the foregoing sections of this chapter. Recalling Peter Molyneaux's description, until the "thunderbolt" came on Monday, August 3, 1914, when people of the cotton producing states awoke to find every cotton exchange in the United States closed, there had not "even been the suggestion of a fear." With the events immediately following that first August weekend, however, Southerners

\textsuperscript{183}Tbid.
realized that "the whole Cotton South was facing ruin," and with cotton farmers in "a fighting mood," there was "a widespread demand that something should be done," in Washington.\textsuperscript{184} Such was the mood of Heflin's congressional audiences when he obtained the floor of the House on October 16, 1914, to deliver a twenty-nine minute speech on the general subject of cotton.

By the time Heflin delivered his second wartime cotton speech, January 23, 1915, his congressional and public audiences had acclimated themselves to an American position of neutrality. The Third Session of the Sixty-third Congress witnessed a slight alteration in the political composition of the House because of the ten seats then vacant. The Democrats held 283 seats, the Republicans 121, Progressive Republicans 5, Progressives 15, Independents 1, and there were the 10 vacancies.\textsuperscript{185} By this time, the federal government had recognized that the problem of shipping American cotton to foreign markets had become acute. On October 10, 1914, Solicitor Cone Johnson, of the State Department, had issued a statement in support of shipping cotton "to any country, not excepting the belligerents." Noting that cotton was "non-contraband, for the manifest reason that in its raw state it cannot be used for the

\textsuperscript{184} Molyneaux, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 8-9.

purposes of war," Johnson asserted that it should be shipped in American vessels or other vessels flying neutral flags, and that there was "no legal impediment to a shipload of cotton going direct to Hamburg consigned to German spinners." Declared Johnson: "I hope to see the exportation of cotton to the countries at war increase." However, the solicitor's optimism did not infect Congress, the cotton trade, or start the cotton movement. To the declaration by cotton producers and their Washington representatives that the situation called for a definite declaration from England that cotton was not and would not be considered contraband of war, Washington responded that "it would be an affront to ask England to make such a statement." Furthermore, the Ship Purchase Bill, contrary to the expectations of those who had supported it, had not relieved the situation, therefore failing of enactment. Clapp explains:

It provided for a corporation in which the American Government was to be the main stockholder. The corporation was to have $40,000,000 at its disposal, available for purchasing ships. It was claimed that the ships were needed to carry American products to market. What ships, what products, what market, were not specified. Yet everyone knew that the market that called for our product was Germany, that the product that chiefly required American ships to carry it was cotton, and that the ships available for purchase were the interned German steamers.

186 Clapp, op. cit., p. 133.
187 Ibid., p. 132.
188 Ibid., p. 128.
Objections to the Ship Purchase Bill had been many. The word Germany was "taboo, either as a market to be sought or as a source for ships." Alternate proposals suggested buying English or neutral ships and developing new cotton markets in South America. Clapp concludes: "Washington seemed to be asking for these ships from an impossible source, to institute South American services which were unnecessary and superfluous." On October 24, 1914, the president of the New York Chamber of Commerce had wired Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan that the Allies had announced cotton for Germany and Austria was on their prohibited list; that shipments to neutral countries were also endangered; that neither shippers nor insurance companies therefore dared handle trade to either the neutral countries or Germany; and that the whole cotton trade was in serious straits. By December, 1914, both the executive and legislative branches of the federal government had become convinced that remedial measures for cotton were necessary, although they had been unable to reach any satisfactory agreements as to the best method of helping. As mentioned earlier, a variety of proposals had been offered, and some attempted. The President had headed the "buy-a-bale" movement.

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189 Ibid., p. 130.
190 Ibid., p. 134.
191 Ibid., p. 136.
Champ Clark's daughter planned a "national cotton goods bargain day." There had been much talk, but little action, of a proposal for the government to buy the entire cotton crop and hold it.\(^{192}\) A cotton pool loan fund had been created which bound northern banks to help out their southern counterparts. The loan consisted of $135,000,000, and by the middle of December, 1914, was ready for distribution in the South. Local banks were authorized to make the loans at six cents per pound to any producer applying at his hometown bank.\(^{193}\) However, according to Clapp, the loan fund was seldom used. In a letter to an Alabama cotton producer, written December 18, 1914, Heflin described the provisions of the loan fund, and he contended that southern Democrats in Congress had "exerted great effort in Washington in behalf of the cotton farmer."

Heflin continued:

I have been working since I returned to Washington on the proposition of cutting down the ocean freight rate on cotton to Europe. . . . Mr. Rose, the private secretary to Mr. Bryan, told me the other day that Germany wanted two million bales of cotton and that Austria wanted 800,000 bales, and that eight shiploads of cotton would sail for Germany within the next few days.\(^{194}\)

\(^{192}\)Ibid.

\(^{193}\)Heflin to A. F. Whitaker, December 18, 1914, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\(^{194}\)Ibid.
Clearly, when Heflin faced the House of the Sixty-third Congress, in its Third Session, January 23, 1915, he confronted a body of representatives who were acutely aware of the problems of the Cotton Belt, though undecided as to the best solutions for them. That his own expectations for federal assistance had somewhat dimmed is demonstrated by the fact that Heflin chose to devote most of his speech to the advisability of a program of greater diversification of farming in the Cotton Belt. 195

Secondary audience. The attitude of Heflin's larger public audience has already been discussed. Typical of the enthusiasm with which Southerners approached such schemes as the "buy-a-bale" movement, while they continued to hopefully await relief from Washington, was a late October session of the Mississippi Supreme Court, in Jackson. There, the Supreme Court Justices held court "clad in overalls and cotton shirts, while the lawyers argued in the same garb," as part of the function of a local "cotton day," in furtherance of the "wear cotton clothes movement" in the South. Describing the Mississippi incident, Clapp concluded: "War, as General Sherman said, is indeed hell." 196

195 Congressional Record, Volume 52, Part 2, pp. 2175-2178.
196 Clapp, op. cit., p. 136.
Heflin's third and fourth wartime cotton speeches were both delivered during the First Session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, the third on January 11, 1916, and the fourth on April 5, 1916. While the Democrats still held a decided majority in the House, the political composition had altered considerably since the Sixty-third Congress. The Democrats had lost 55 seats, thus decreasing their total to 228. The Republicans had picked up 76 seats for a total of 197. The remainder of the seats in the House were divided as follows: Progressive Republicans 2, Progressives 3, Independents 1, Socialists 1, Prohibitionists 1, Progressive Protectionists 1, and Progressive Democrats 1.197 The problems which primarily concerned this Sixty-fourth Congress in its First Session were military rather than economic in nature. They had emerged with the beginning of actual American shipments of munitions which got underway in 1915.198 While Germany admitted that neutrals had a right to trade in munitions, she argued that since the British had arbitrarily cut off practically all trade with Germany, it was the duty of the United States "to insist that the legitimate rules of trade be restored so that it could deal impartially with both sides, or embargo the shipment of supplies to both sides." Wilson replied that "an embargo would itself be an unneutral act, for it would

198 Baldwin, op. cit., II, 481.
automatically assure the triumph of Germany, which was much better supplied with munitions factories."199 As a consequence, Germany, in February of 1915, had established a submarine war zone which completely enclosed the British Isles and blocked the northern coast of France. With the subsequent sinking of various vessels carrying American citizens, by the end of 1915, America had become acutely aware of the necessity for military "preparedness." It is not surprising, therefore, that on November 4, 1915, Wilson was before Congress with a speech in which he set forth a program of preparedness.200 By January, Wilson was touring the country to promote military preparedness and to "propagate the view that the only way to 'keep out of war' was to make America so strong that nobody would dare attack her." In the meantime, Bryan and La Follette had been attempting to persuade the public that "preparedness was merely a scheme of warmongers and profiteers, of whom Wilson was the dupe." Morison states that many labor and farm organizations had "fallen into line" behind the Bryan-LaFollette views.201 The efforts of these groups were reflected in the Gore-McLemore resolutions of Congress, ordering the government to forbid American citizens to be transported at any time on armed

199 Ibid.
200 Morison, op. cit., p. 853.
201 Ibid.
ships of the belligerents. Wilson had defeated these measures, however, before striking out on his speaking tour for "preparedness."202 Clearly, the mood and concern of Congress had shifted since Heflin had faced his colleagues in the Third Session of the Sixty-third Congress. That representatives from the southern states were all genuinely concerned about cotton is demonstrated by their meeting in the Majority Room of the House office building at eight o'clock on the night of February 24, 1916.203 However, the general concern of the House was more on the subject of United States military preparedness. Its earlier reluctance to consider the latter subject was no doubt being altered by Wilson's speeches across the country, at the very time Heflin was delivering his January 11 cotton speech.204 In any event, by special order of the House, Heflin was permitted one hour to address the House on the general subject of cotton, January 11, 1916.205

By April 5, 1916, when Heflin delivered the fourth of the wartime cotton speeches to be analyzed in this study, Wilson had returned from his national speaking tour, Newton Baker had been appointed

202 Ibid.
203 Heflin to Texas Governor J. E. Ferguson, February 15, 1916, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
204 Baldwin, op. cit., II, 484.
205 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, p. 918.
Secretary of War, and Congress had become definitely persuaded of the necessity for immediately implementing some preparedness measures. Even so, there remained much anxiety among various members of the House for cotton. On February 20, 1916, Heflin and some unnamed members of the House had met with Attorney General Gregory in a conference concerning the alleged threat from a combination of "bear operators in the New York Exchange who were responsible for the low price of cotton." Gregory promised an investigation to "determine whether the Sherman Anti-Trust Act had been violated." As previously mentioned, on February 21, representatives from all the cotton states met in evening conference to discuss the general cotton situation, and in particular, to discuss the advisability of asking both the Justice Department and Congress for an enquiry into the operations of the New York Exchange at that time.

While it is evident that the primary concern of the House, in its first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, had become the subject of military preparedness, there remained sufficient anxiety among enough members of the House, on the subject of cotton, to insure Heflin ample opportunity to discuss it. Furthermore, he could look

206 Morison, op. cit., p. 853.


208 Heflin to Ferguson, February 16, 1916, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
forward to a sympathetic hearing. Thus, on Calendar Wednesday, April 5, 1916, when the House took up the unfinished business of considering House Joint Resolution 103, authorizing the Director of Census to collect and publish additional statistics, Heflin was recognized as the first speaker of the day. 209

What of Heflin's larger audience, the Farmers' Union, the cotton associations, and the people of the Cotton Belt? Throughout the entire year of 1915 they had been exercising various types of persuasive tactics designed to keep their Washington representatives continuously vocalizing on the problems of cotton. Late in December of 1911, and early in January, 1915, many Southerners had written Heflin imploring him to exercise every possible effort to open the shipping lanes to European cotton markets. 210 Heflin responded to their requests by repeatedly calling on Secretary of State Bryan to secure such freedom of shipping. One such visit was described in the Roanoke [Alabama] Leader:

After an informal talk last night on the cotton situation with Secretary Bryan whose guest he was at dinner at the Bryan home, Representative Heflin today took up formally with the State Department the subject of detention of vessels laden with cotton for abroad. Mr. Heflin was informed that every effort should be made to preclude such incidents as the recent detention of the steamer

209 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 6, p. 5542.

210 1914-1915 correspondence files, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
Denver cotton laden for Bremen, and that the Department hoped
to assure the free movement of the staple. Secretary Bryan
and Mr. Heflin are warm personal friends and the subject was
thoroughly discussed by them over the dinner.²¹¹

A few of Heflin's 1915 correspondents from the Cotton Belt asked
whether the federal government was making every possible use of cotton
in its preparedness efforts.²¹² Always responsive to his cotton con­
stituents, Heflin, on September 30, 1915, directed an enquiry to the
Confidential Clerk, F. Smith, of the Navy Bureau of Supplies and
Accounts. A copy of Smith's memorandum, dated that same date, follows:

Please forward to Mr. Thomas J. Heflin [sic], New Varnum Hotel,
City, the fullest possible information which can be obtained as to
the quantity of cotton purchased by the Navy Department during the
fiscal year for the manufacture of explosives, clothing, etc.
Please distinguish between any cotton purchased for clothing for
the Marine Corps and clothing for the Navy if this distinction can
be made. Mr. Heflin would like the information this afternoon if
it can be had.

s/ F. Smith
Confidential Clerk²¹³

It is evident that Heflin's cotton constituency continued to
voice its needs throughout the period of neutrality, and it is equally
evident that their advocate was responsive.

²¹¹ The Roanoke Leader, January 13, 1915.
²¹² Heflin correspondence files, 1915, Heflin Papers, University
of Alabama.
²¹³ Memorandum from Smith to Naval Bureau of Supplies and
Accounts, September 30, 1915, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
On April 2, 1917, the Sixty-fifth Congress convened in its first session. Four days later, on April 6, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. Heflin's final wartime speech included in this study was delivered three months later, on July 13, 1917. For the first and only time during the period under discussion, Heflin faced a House whose Republican strength threatened the Democratic majority. The political classification follows:

Democratic 212
Republicans 213
Progressives 1
Independents 2
Socialists 1
Prohibitionists 1
Progressive Protectionists 1
Progressive Democrats 1
Vacancies 3

Wilson had won by a narrow margin, retaining the Presidency by a final electoral vote of 277 to 254 for Hughes, and a popular vote of 9.13 million to 8.54 million. Moreover, the outcome of the election had been in doubt for three days. Thus, on April 6, 1917, Heflin faced a House whose political sentiments had drastically altered. Moreover, the

215 Congressional Record, Volume 55, Part 5, p. 5073.
217 Baldwin, op. cit., II, 486.
United States was actively engaged in war, despite the efforts of the six senators and 50 representatives who had voted against the Declaration. Thus, gaining a sympathetic audience in the House to Heflin's continuing pleas for improved conditions for his cotton constituents had suddenly become problematical. However, Heflin did not discourage easily, nor was he wholly unprepared to meet such an emergency. Long a student of the subtleties of audience psychology, Heflin had learned his lessons well. If other concerns and recent events had dimmed the responsiveness of his House colleagues to his continuous addresses on cotton, then, other means must be employed to regain their attention for his cause. The "other means" had already become apparent. It was Heflin's close relationship with the White House, and his active support of Wilson's measures for American preparedness. In short, cotton's advocate had become the Wilson "watchdog" in the House, and with the President's Declaration of War on Germany, the wily Heflin lost no time in pressing his advantage as a means of regularly securing a hearing for his cotton speeches.

Actually, Heflin's close relationship with Wilson may be seen developing as early as 1914, when the Alabamian had been endeavoring to obtain the appointment of one of his constituents to the position of Circuit Judge in Alabama. Wilson had already committed himself to

218 Ibid., p. 489.
the appointment of another man to the position before he received
Heflin's recommendation. His letter of explanation to Heflin indi-
cates something of the President's warm feelings towards the Alabama
Congressman. Wilson wrote:

I have had quite a fight with myself about the appointment
in the Alabama circuit. My affectionate regard for you made me
wish very earnestly that I might gratify you in the matter of
the appointment and yet, departing from my usual habit in such
matters, I had already created expectations on the part of
Judge Walker's friends the binding character of which I felt
more and more as I reflected upon the matter. 219

During the following year, Wilson wrote another personal letter
to Heflin in which he warmly thanked Heflin for his work in helping to
obtain passage in the House of a ship-purchase bill. In a letter to
his wife, Heflin asserted that Joe Tumulty, the President's secretary,
had informed him that he was the only member of the House who had
received such a thank you note from the President. 220

On a number of occasions, Wilson or his secretary, Tumulty, had
issued direct invitations to Heflin to speak at important Democratic
or government occasions, including a big "Harmony Dinner" staged by
the Democratic national leaders at Elizabeth, New Jersey, June 6,
1916, and a Sunday morning address in Washington, on the League of
Nations. The latter request was made at a much later date, March 21,

219 Wilson to Heflin, September 30, 1914, Heflin Papers,
University of Alabama.

220 Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, February 19, 1915, Heflin Papers,
University of Alabama.
1919. Both requests had been initiated by the President and were
made by Tumulty. 221

On other occasions, the President's office voluntarily supplied
Heflin with materials for his speeches, especially at ceremonial occa-
sions which were of particular interest to the White House. One such
event was in preparation for a Heflin address to the National Demo-
cratic Club, April 13, 1915. A portion of Tumulty's remarks in his
letter to Heflin follows:

... I am enclosing a couple of editorials from the New York
Tribune and the New York Evening Post which will give you infor-
mation that will enable you to make a strong speech attacking the
Republican party [sic] on this occasion. As you know, the Tribune
is the leading Republican paper in the East. 222

When Wilson had finally become convinced that a state of mili-
tary preparedness was America's best tool for maintaining neutrality,
Heflin became one of the President's most ardent advocates in the
House. On its editorial page, the Birmingham News (not always so
generous in its references to Heflin) praised the Alabamian for wield-
ing "an administration lance—a Wilson lance" in support of Wilson's
preparedness measures. Said the News:

Mr. Heflin deserves a good deal of credit, and The News
is glad to accord it to him on this page. At a time when the
Alabama delegation was peculiarly reticent in regard to the

221 Tumulty to Heflin, May 27, 1916; March 21, 1919, Heflin
Papers, University of Alabama.

222 Tumulty to Heflin, April 5, 1915, Heflin Papers, University
of Alabama.
President's attitude, and a time when Alabama Congressmen who were not pronouncedly opposed to that position managed somehow to damn it with faint praise, Heflin was on the job to defend the President. It is interesting to Alabamians to note that The New York World in referring to the small list of Congressmen who were active in assisting Speaker Clark in opposing the brain storm gives prominent mention to Congressman Heflin.223

Ray Tucker wrote in the North American Review, "Those who opposed the slightest whim of his [Heflin's] Virginian President shared a circle in hell as low as that occupied by Judas and Benedict Arnold."224 Wilson's Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, wrote in his book The Wilson Era: Years of Peace, 1910-1917, "From the day Wilson was elected, he had no more faithful supporter in Congress than Heflin."225

One day after Wilson's April 6, 1917, Declaration of War, Heflin mailed Wilson a personal letter in which the Alabama Congressman tendered his services to Wilson in whatever way the President thought he could best use them. Wrote Heflin:

I have just read your proclamation on the war into which we have been drawn by the German government. I know something of your long patience and forbearance in dealing with the German government and I know, to some extent, of the things that you have suffered and of the burdens that you have borne in your efforts to remain at peace with Germany.


224 Tucker, op. cit., CCXXVI, 153.

Through all of your trials in those troublous times, you have had my humble support and sympathy and now as you enter upon the discharge of your duty as Commander-in-Chief of our Army and Navy, I tender you my services to be used by you in whatever way you think that I can best serve my country.²²₆

Although there is no evidence in the Heflin Papers of a reply from Wilson, Heflin evidently concluded that his greatest service to Wilson and the war effort could be made through his continued ardent support of Wilson's war measures in the House. In fact, he had already signalled such an intent, when, during the House debate over the Declaration of War on Germany, on April 5, Heflin had delivered a ringing speech endorsing the resolution, and bitterly attacking those who opposed it, particularly the Democratic Majority Leader, Claude Kitchin of North Carolina, and Republican Fred A. Britten, of Illinois. Believing that the American people did not want war, Britten had argued that differences between the United States and Germany could still be settled by diplomacy. That argument failing, Britten conceived a means of preventing an overseas expeditionary force from being formed. He proposed an amendment to the war resolution that would bar European duty except for those who volunteered.²²₇

²²₆ Heflin to Wilson, April 7, 1917, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

While the amendment did not pass, it did reflect the sentiment of those pacifists who not only opposed intervention but also desired limited participation if war were to come.

Kitchin, who had been unsympathetic to virtually all of Wilson's preparedness measures, reluctantly opposed the war resolution, and argued that intervention was unnecessary since "the United States had no vital direct connection with the war or its outcome." 228

A detailed review of Heflin's stinging rebuke is not in order in this study. Briefly, he reminded both Kitchin and Britten of their endorsements just a few weeks earlier of a measure giving the President authority to arm American merchant vessels and send them through the submarine zone, concluding that they were, therefore, inconsistent in their position. "Sorely shocked and grieved" at the action of Kitchin, Britten and the others of the House who refused to vote for the war resolution, Heflin next proceeded to discuss the "strange ... un-American influences at work in this country." Next, he discussed certain political reasons which allegedly had motivated the pacifists. Finally, he reviewed the "terrible events" which had thrust war upon the United States, and closed with a long peroration, in which he called for "an individed loyalty for the unity of purpose and the solidarity of the American people." 229

228 Ibid., pp. 332-333.
229 Ibid., pp. 349-351.
During the course of his speech, Heflin had suggested that Kitchin should have resigned his majority leadership. Immediately following Heflin's attack, Charles H. Sloan of Nebraska obtained the floor and rebuked Heflin with scathing irony. Referring to Heflin as "the distinguished spokesman of the President of the United States upon the floor of the House," and suggesting that the House "would be less likely to suffer loss were Heflin to vacate the chamber than it would if Kitchin were to vacate," Sloan chided:

It is fitting and proper that the gentleman from Alabama should make the argument that he did, because he, as the spokesman last fall, was one of the leading guarantors of the policy of the President of the United States. The principal claim for suffrage was that the President of the United States would keep us out of war, and they gave to this country as a hostage for that promise the distinguished gentleman from Alabama. The next time the people take a pledge from the President or anybody else they will see to it that they take more valuable security.\textsuperscript{230}

The next day, the \textit{New York Times} published an editorial in which it agreed with Heflin that Kitchin should have resigned his majority leadership. The \textit{Times} stated:

When Mr. Heflin said that a man taking such a stand should resign as majority leader, Mr. Kitchin's friends hissed him; but, granting Mr. Kitchin's pathetic sincerity, did not Mr. Heflin tell the truth? Why should Mr. Kitchin desire to keep the title of leader when he does not lead? Nominally the leader of the House, he is the leader of a minority of fifty men, many of who [sic] are actuated by motives far different from his. As the war goes on, his position will become more and more incongruous, unless he changes it, and to retain a nominal leadership really exercised by others can do no good to his fame.\textsuperscript{231}

\textsuperscript{230}Ibid., p. 349.

\textsuperscript{231}The \textit{New York Times}, April 7, 1917.
Finally, pertinent to this discussion are some events of May, 1917. Sometime during the month of May, 1917, in a debate on the Revenue bill, Representatives Ebenezer Hill of Connecticut and Oscar Bland of Indiana asserted in their speeches that President Wilson had said that the United States had "no real grievance against Germany." The particular reference was to a speech which Wilson had made to the American Red Cross, in which he had said:

I say the heart of the country is in this war, because it would not have gone into it if its heart had not been prepared for it. It would not have gone into it if it had not first believed that here was an opportunity to express the character of the United States. We have gone in with no special grievance of our own, because we have always said that we were the friends and servants of mankind. We look for no profit. We look for no advantage. We will accept no advantage out of this war.\(^{232}\)

Alarmed because he did not believe that the statements of the two representatives reflected the true attitude of the Executive, Heflin contacted various members of the Cabinet, insisting that it was unfair that such an impression as the congressmen had created should go out to the country, and wrote a letter to Wilson suggesting that, to correct a false impression, it might be well for the President to make a disavowal of the attitude accredited to him by the two congressmen.\(^{233}\) On May 18, 1917, Wilson responded with a note to Heflin in which he stated:

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\(^{233}\)Ibid.
I am sorry that any misunderstanding should have arisen as to the meaning of what I said at the Red Cross the other day. I thought the meaning was obvious. I meant merely that we were not making war against Germany because of any special and peculiar grievance of our own but because her actions had become intolerable to us as to the rest of free mankind and, therefore, we had found it necessary to make common cause against her. Of course, our own people have suffered grievously at her hands. It would certainly be a most extraordinary interpretation of my meaning to read it otherwise.  

Evidently, Wilson decided to heed Heflin's suggestion and issue a more formal letter in which the President might clarify his earlier statement. Whether he mailed a copy of it to the New York Times, or instructed Heflin to do so, is not clear. In any event, four days later, on May 22, 1917, Wilson wrote Heflin a second letter in which he sternly stated that it was "incomprehensible" to him how "any frank or honest person could doubt or question" his position with regard to the war and its objects. Asserting that he had repeatedly stated the wrongs which Germany had "perpetrated against the rights, the commerce, and the citizens of the United States," Wilson expanded upon many of his statements in his earlier letter to Heflin.  

The next day, Wilson's second letter to Heflin, along with an account of the events which had culminated in that letter, appeared in a blocked special column on the front page of the New York Times.  

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235 Ibid., p. 82.  
The long months of House debate over Wilson's war policy witnessed Heflin increasingly more in the "limelight" of the House as indignant champion of the President's policies. At the same time, he bitterly assailed any and all opposing them. His increasing lack of restraint and its effect on his status in the House will be discussed later in this study. At this point however it is reasonable to conclude that Heflin's relationship with Wilson, and his ardent support of the President's preparedness measures and Declaration of War resolution insured Heflin a position of prominence in the proceedings of the House during the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress. Whatever Heflin's motives for supporting Wilson may have been, there can be no question but that his position guaranteed him a continued audience for his cotton speeches.

Back home, and throughout the Cotton Belt, Heflin's rise to prominence in the opening sessions of the Sixty-fifth Congress had not gone unnoticed. In fact, during the lame duck session of the preceding Congress, a realtor in Dothan, Alabama had written Heflin urging him to run for the United States Senate. Asserting that Heflin's work in the House had shown him to be "in closer sympathy and better harmony with the folks back home than any available man" they had, the writer assured Heflin that his elevation to the Senate "would spread a feeling of satisfaction throughout the state—a feeling that comes only through confidence and abiding trust." The writer continued that
that he felt the proper "medicine" to use for campaign talks would be
the "Shipping Bill." He commented:

There was [sic] approximately 500,000 bales of cotton in
Alabama when the defeat of this bill was staged. Its defeat
increased the ocean rate from fifty cents to $2.50 per cwt.,
and thereby levied a tax of $10.00 per bale. In round figures
it cost us the tidy sum of $600,000. It was an easy way of
transferring this wealth from the Alabama grower to the
American spinners. They profited by having our crop fenced
in. This is merely a suggestion—there are plenty of other
things, and a good campaigner like yourself will not be
poverty stricken for issues. 237

On June 19, 1917, the secretary-treasurer of the Scott
County, Virginia National Farm Loan Association wrote Heflin urging
him to come to that section to make a July Fourth address to Virginia
farmers. He wrote:

There will be a large meeting of people from every section of
this mountain country. . . . The Mountain people are anxious to
hear what the war is about and I know of no man who is better
able to tell them the cause and point out their duty in this
critical time than yourself. 238

Still later, on August 4, 1917, a banker from Athens, Georgia,
wrote Heflin, praising him for his war efforts and repudiating the
Georgia representatives and senators for not taking a similar
position.

237 E. C. Porter to Heflin, December 13, 1916, Heflin Papers,
University of Alabama.

238 J. H. Johnson to Heflin, June 19, 1917, Heflin Papers,
University of Alabama.
The banker, Hugh H. Gordon, wrote:

Your remarks reflect the opinions of all good Georgians as well as those of our sister state Alabama. It is somewhat hard to believe that Georgia's representatives in the upper house of Congress have seen fit to so sadly convey to the nation Georgia's attitude. 239

Many similar letters, from other citizens of the southern states, expressed the sentiments of the people of the Cotton Belt regarding their cotton advocate's role in supporting Wilson's war measures. No doubt the thought had occurred to them, as it had to their advocate, that such a position of prominence in the House was certain to obtain an attentive hearing for his continued cotton advocacy.

In summary, although Heflin faced a House, in the First Session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, whose primary concern had been the entrance of the United States into a World War, his own prominent role in assisting the President with securing his preparedness measures and obtaining the passage of the Declaration resolution in the House had assured him of continued opportunities to interrupt the proceedings of a wartime Congress with his continued advocacy for cotton. Moreover, it is probable that Heflin's House colleagues were very much aware of the enthusiastic support which citizens in the Cotton Belt continued to render their chief advocate.

239 Gordon to Heflin, August 4, 1917, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
The postwar audiences

The final section of this chapter deals with Heflin's audiences on the occasions of three of his postwar cotton addresses: December 9, 1918; January 27, 1919; and May 27, 1919. The first two speeches were delivered during the Third Session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and the final one was delivered in the First Session of the Sixty-sixth Congress.

House audience. While the Democrats had made slight gains in the House by the time the Sixty-fifth Congress convened for its Third Session, the Democratic majority was still maintained by a slight margin. The political composition of the House follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressives</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialists</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitionists</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonpartisans</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacancies</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A little less than one month prior to the first of Heflin's postwar speeches, on November 11, 1918, the German emissaries had signed the Armistice in a coach of Marshal Foch's private train in the Forest of Compiegne. Therefore, the question of primary

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2h1 Baldwin, op. cit., II, 519.
Concern before Heflin's House audience in that Third Session was what kind of peace might be obtained. According to Morison, "peace without victory had long since been ruled out, even by President Wilson."242

It is not the object of this study to review the ensuing events which have become a part of the oft-discussed chapter of history dealing with American efforts to secure peace and disarmament. It is enough to conclude that Heflin's House audiences during this period were not as generously inclined towards attentive reception of his continuing cotton speeches as they had been in previous sessions or earlier congresses. The strain of achieving a lasting peace was not the only contributing factor. Heflin had caused a decided shift in the attentiveness, interest, and patience of his House listeners.

During the latter months of 1917, Heflin had stepped up the fever of his frequent attacks on members of both Houses who dared oppose the Wilson war measures. On August 8, 1917, in a debate on the conference report on the Food Control Bill, Heflin chose to attack persons and interests opposing that bill with such a bitter upon Representatives Fred Britten and William Mason that some of his remarks were stricken from the Record.243

242 Morison, op. cit., p. 875.

The event which triggered Heflin's sharpest and most sensational enquiry into the loyalty of fellow congressmen came in the latter part of September, 1917. Secretary of State Robert Lansing had made public the text of Count von Bernstorff's cablegram which had been sent to Berlin, January 22, 1917. The text of the message read as follows:

I request authority to pay out up to $50,000 in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organization you know of, which can perhaps prevent war.

I am beginning in the meantime to act accordingly.

In the above circumstances a public official German declaration in favor of Ireland is highly desirable, in order to gain the support of Irish influence here.244

The message had been read in Congress on September 21. Immediately following the announcement of the contents of the message, both senators and representatives expressed opinion that they were not greatly surprised by the exposure of the former Ambassador's attempts to influence Congress, and announced plans for an immediate investigation.245

In the House, Heflin made a ringing speech in which he demanded such an investigation, asserting that while he did not know what members of Congress had been influenced, if he were permitted to

245 Ibid.
express his opinion, he "would name thirteen or fourteen men in the
two bodies who," in his judgment had "acted in a suspicious fashion."
Later, in the speech, Heflin inferred that he did indeed believe von
Bernstorff's money had reached the pockets of some congressmen.\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{6}

The following day a number of newspapers, including the New
\textit{York Times}, printed interviews with Heflin in which he was alleged
to have stated that he had heard of a card room in Washington run
by a German, where "peace-at-any-price" congressmen and others could
win large sums of money easily if they were on the German side of the
argument. The same newspapers had an interview with Representative
William Howard of Georgia who was reported to have said that he knew
of certain members of the House who seemed to be better off finan-
cially than they had been a few months earlier.\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{7} As the interviews
with Heflin and Howard had been on the subject of von Bernstorff's
corruption fund, the inference was plain. It is no surprise, there-
fore, that one day later, on September 24, the House proceedings
should be plunged into what the \textit{New York Times} chose to call the
most "turbulent session the House of Representatives had seen since
the struggle to overthrow Speaker Cannon in 1911."\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{8} North
Dakota's Patrick D. Norton called to account Representatives Heflin

\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{6} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{7} The \textit{New York Times}, September 25, 1917.
\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{8} Ibid.
and Howard for insinuating that members of Congress had profited by German intrigue. Norton introduced a resolution of inquiry calling on the two congressmen to make good their earlier charges. The resolution was sent to the Rules Committee. The New York Times account of the stormy session follows, in part:

Before a full membership, while the galleries were crowded with spectators, Representative Heflin stood up under the hoots and jeers and heckling of practically the entire House. When called upon time and time again to name the men who had received money from Germany he evaded the question. Representative Norton asked him to prove his charges or be expelled from Congress. This received the cheers of both Democrats and Republicans.

"No punishment," said Representative Norton, "is too strong nor too severe for him if he cannot substantiate these charges."

Ascribing Heflin's speech to "political aspirations," Norton concluded in a bitter denunciation of the Alabamian, as the House "went wild with applause." Heflin then arose and commenced to talk about "the boys in the trenches," whereasupon Philip P. Campbell of Kansas jumped to a point of order, charging: "The gentleman is neither discussing a point of personal privilege nor privilege of the House." Speaker Clark then drew Heflin back to the question at issue, and the Alabamian admitted that he did not know any member who had been influenced by von Bernstorff's money. However he repeated what he had said earlier that, if permitted to name some,

249 Ibid.
"I could mention some whose conduct, according to my judgment, had been suspicious." Immediately, Caraway of Arkansas walked down the aisle on the Democratic side of the House and asked, "Will you name them?" According to the Times, the representatives "roared approval, shouting 'Good boy, Caraway! That's the stuff! Name them, name them!'" By this time, the House was in such an uproar, according to the Times, Speaker Clark was forced to rap for order and warn the members that if they did not behave he would order arrests by the Sergeant at Arms. After reiterating his earlier charges, Heflin finally stated: "If the House decides that an investigation is necessary and that I express my opinion of the men who have not been loyal, I will name them. But I cannot prove anything."250

For two full days the Rules Committee of the House met and discussed the resolution to investigate Heflin's charge regarding the German corruption fund and "thirteen or fourteen members of Congress." In the meantime, Heflin was issuing news releases in which he reiterated his charges of "suspicious actions" by certain congressmen, calling them "Potsdammers."251 On September 27, the House Rules Committee called the Alabama congressman to appear before it, at which time Heflin did mention the names of members of Congress whom he connected with suspicious legislation, asserting that he would

250 Ibid.

like to have a thorough investigation of the interests which had
endorsed certain bills of Senator La Follette, Representatives Mason
and Britten, and Representative John M. Baer of North Dakota. 252  Baer
had been sent to Congress a short time prior to these proceedings by
the Non-Partisan League, a Northwest farmers' organization, which was
generally disposed toward pacifist tendencies. 253  Meantime, the whips
on both sides of the House sent word out to all members of Congress to
hurry to Washington for "important business," evidently expecting that
the intense bitterness then prevailing as an undercurrent in the House
was likely to erupt into something of even greater proportions. 254
With the Rules Committee's adjournment on September 27 without order­
ing a favorable report on the resolution to investigate Heflin's
charges, it became apparent that a similar resolution would be intro­
duced for the House Committee of the Whole to act upon before the
adjournment of Congress.

On the following day, September 28, the Chairman of the Rules
Committee, Edward Pou of North Carolina, told the House that the Com­
mittee had decided not to make a favorable report on any of the
investigating resolutions that had been directed against Heflin,

253 Ibid.
254 Ibid.
because it had learned of a nation-wide inquiry into the German propaganda fund, an inquiry which had been in progress for about a year and a half. According to the Times, this decision angered many members of the House and increased the tensions already prevailing. Britten of Illinois at once suggested that Heflin should be expelled on the spot. Angry about some newspaper headlines which had conveyed the impression that Heflin had slandered him to the Rules Committee, Norton repeatedly sought to gain the floor. Unsuccessful, he went directly over to Heflin, in the middle of the Democratic side of the chamber, and asked Heflin if the headlines were correct. The Times account of the remainder of the Norton-Heflin altercation follows:

Mr. Heflin replied he had not made any such statement. All this was in low voice and not a part of the debate. "Why didn't you tell that to the House, then?" asked Mr. Norton.

Mr. Heflin arose as if to address the House. Mr. Norton arose also, and suddenly Mr. Heflin grabbed him by the coat collar and shoved him. "Get back to your own side of the House," he shouted.

"I will when I get ready," answered Norton, putting all of his 200 pounds into a shove which almost pushed Mr. Heflin through an adjacent table.

Everyone in the House, including the galleries, saw that a rare event was on. The galleries stood up. Members on all sides roared, yelled and shouted, and began to gallop toward the two wrestlers.256

256 Ibid.
After pages and doorkeepers had notified all members out of the chamber at the moment, and elevator men had left their cars to "get choice vantage points in the gallery doorways," the two combatants were finally separated, and the House was eventually restored to order.

On October 4, Representative Hubert D. Stephens of Mississippi introduced a resolution and announced that his purpose was "to expel Mr. Heflin from the House unless he could substantiate the charges." Speaker Clark appointed the following committee to conduct the inquiry: Chairman, Henry A. Barnhart of Indiana; William W. Venable of Mississippi, Arthur G. Dewalt of Pennsylvania, Nicholas Longworth of Ohio, and Joseph Walsh of Massachusetts. Both Longworth and Walsh were Republicans. In the meantime, the State Department had informed the House that it had no knowledge of anything by which any member of Congress could be connected with the payment of money by the German Embassy. This advice had been sent in a letter to Chairman Pau of the Rules Committee from Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State. The letter was read in the House by the clerk at noon, September 29.

The special committee met in two sessions, finally concluding on the evening of October 5. According to the Times, Heflin's

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258 Ibid.
testimony had been more in the nature of a speech than answers to ques-
tions of the committee. The Times states:

As a climax Mr. Heflin's voice could be heard in the corridors outside the committee room booming that he proposed to stand unyieldingly "with his guns and behind the Stars and Stripes." He offered to make a two-hour speech telling why he regarded the conduct of certain colleagues as suspicious. But the committee indicated they believed a criticism by him of other members' public conduct was unnecessary. 260

Finally, Heflin admitted that his suspicions against certain members were based solely on resolutions which they had introduced, bills they had proposed, or speeches they had made. 261 He declared that he had never meant to give the impression that certain members had been the recipients of money.

On October 6, 1917, the special committee of the House made a report "mildly censuring Heflin for reflections on 'thirteen or fourteen' members of Congress in connection with Count von Bernstorff's $50,000 slush fund." As for the alleged tale involving certain members and easy winnings at a Washington card room, the committee reported that it had been "unable to reach definite conclusions." Of Heflin's charges, in general, the committee stated that "no scintilla of information pointed to either corruption or disloyalty of any

261 Ibid.
member." The House adopted the report by an overwhelming vote that same afternoon.  

Why had Heflin's punishment not been more severe? Perhaps his Democratic support in the House was too strong at that time. Perhaps the sentiment against the pacifists was too strong. It may be that Heflin's relationship with Wilson had been too close and too well known. Whatever the reasons, one thing is certain. The circumstances leading to the final action of the House, and the censuring resolution itself, had caused cotton's advocate an irreparable loss of prestige in the Sixty-fifth Congress. It was a much less cordial House which listened to Heflin's speeches on December 9, 1918 and January 27, 1919.

Secondary audience. What had been the effect of these stormy events in the House on Heflin's larger audience down in the Cotton Belt?

In Alabama, in 1918, when Heflin had decided against running for the Senate, the Montgomery Journal had editorialized:

Mr. Heflin is a very brilliant man and has a bright future before him. He has done valiant work in upholding the hands of the President and can continue to do good work along that line without jeopardizing his career by an effort to run for the Senate at the wrong time.  


263 The Montgomery Journal, June 10, 1918.
The president of a Birmingham realty company wrote to Heflin on November 20, 1918, pleading with him to fight for government stabilization of cotton prices. After reviewing the high production costs to the cotton producers as contrasted with the "low prices," the writer stated: "It is a well known and conceded fact that you have as much or more influence in Congress and with the Administration than anyone else."  

Elsewhere, in other southern states, there was little evidence that the cotton advocate's stature had suffered from the events in Congress. Citizens of Greensboro, North Carolina, had given Heflin a "rousing reception" when he had gone there, early in April, 1918, to make a speech in the interest of the Third Liberty Loan. The Heflin correspondence files for the year 1918 contain many letters from private citizens from states throughout the Cotton Belt applauding Heflin for his efforts to support the President and his war measures and helping to bring the war to a close. If there were letters critical of the Alabamian's intemperate charges and lack of restraint, they are not among the Heflin Papers.

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264 W. N. Malone to Heflin, November 20, 1918, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

265 Heflin to Editor, The Birmingham Age-Herald, April 11, 1918, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

266 The 1918 correspondence files, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
In conclusion, although Heflin undoubtedly lost prestige in the House as a result of his intemperate charges and lack of restraint in indicting those members whom he thought were not in step with the Wilson war effort, his constituency in the Cotton Belt was either not aware of it, did not believe it, or paid little attention to it. In any event, for better or worse, James Thomas Heflin was still their advocate and they continued to look to him to obtain continued aid for cotton economy.

Heflin's final postwar speech to be considered in this study was delivered in the first session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, May 27, 1919. Again, his relationship with his House audience had somewhat altered.

On October 25, 1918, Wilson had asked for the election of a Democratic Congress "as an indication of approval of his leadership" so that he might continue to be "their unembarrassed spokesman at home and abroad." Baldwin comments:

Whether Wilson's ill-advised appeal swung the election against him cannot be answered, but at any rate the Republicans carried the House 237 to 190 and took the Senate by two votes. The potent Senate Foreign Affairs Committee came under the chairmanship of Henry Cabot Lodge, who in 1916 had fought Wilson as a dangerous radical.

267 Baldwin, op. cit., II, 528.
268 Ibid.
Had the American public actually repudiated Wilson's leadership and the foreign policy which he advocated? In a lengthy analysis of the entire 1918 elections, Waldo Braden concluded that in the light of the facts which he had analyzed, "the Republican charges that the voters repudiated Wilson and his foreign policy seem doubtful." In any event, for the first and only time throughout the course of the years 1913-1920, Heflin was facing a House with a Republican majority. No doubt it was a much less jubilant Heflin than the one who had triumphantly strode into the opening session of the Sixty-third Congress! In fact, there were a number of factors which should have sobered, if not restrained, the Alabamian. One, of course, had been his rebuke from the House in the preceding session. Another had been the death of his close friend, Ollie James of Kentucky. Finally, there was no longer the assurance of substantial support from a Democratic majority. What, then, was the nature and mood of the audience in the House which recognized Heflin for one hour as the opening speaker on the debate over the Agricultural Appropriation Bill, May 27, 1919?


270 The Heflin Papers include many evidences of Heflin's sorrow over the death of James in the early fall of 1918.

It has already been shown, earlier in this chapter, that certain events occurred between those stormy sessions which had culminated in a House censure of Heflin and the opening session of the Sixty-sixth Congress which were again to cast Heflin in a role of prominence with regard to his cotton advocacy. Particularly noteworthy had been the February 6, 1919, meeting of representatives and senators from the cotton-growing states in which they had resolved to cable President Wilson to exert his effort to open American cotton markets to cotton merchants of all allied countries, and obtain permission for American cotton to be shipped to Austria and Germany as early as possible. It will be remembered that, at that same meeting, the southern congressmen and senators had resolved to support three of Heflin's resolutions: (1) to encourage farmers to hold their cotton off the markets for better prices, (2) to support Heflin's resolution in Congress to investigate the American cotton exchanges, and (3) to confer with the President regarding the cotton situation, upon his return to America. In the meantime, it will be recalled that Heflin was busily engaged endeavoring to get White House support for his plan to let German cotton merchants and spinners buy American cotton and store it in this country until peace terms were agreed upon. Furthermore, Heflin had been invited to Columbia, South Carolina, early in April,

272Supra, chap. iv, p. 179.
to deliver one of the principal addresses at a convention called to re-organize the Southern Cotton Association. Heflin delivered other 1919 cotton speeches throughout the Cotton Belt before a joint meeting of the Texas state legislature, a State Farmers' Institute in Texas with 2500 delegates in attendance, and before cotton groups in Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. While all of these endorsements of Heflin's continued efforts for the Cotton Belt occurred just prior to the opening session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, there can be little doubt but that southern congressmen as well as the people of the Cotton Belt still regarded Heflin as their chief advocate of the cotton interests. It may therefore be concluded that despite the sobering factors previously mentioned, as long as the Alabama advocate stuck to the subject of cotton, he could reasonably expect the Sixty-sixth Congress to extend him opportunities to discuss it. Certainly, he still held the trust and confidence of the Union, the cotton associations, and the general citizenry of the Cotton Belt.

SUMMARY

That James Thomas Heflin, throughout his evolution as a cotton advocate, had learned his lessons well is demonstrated by the fact that

274 Ibid., p. 160.
from the time the Democrats and Woodrow Wilson swept into Washington at the beginning of the Sixty-third Congress, throughout the turbulent years of a World War, and even after they had lost their majority in both houses of the Sixty-sixth Congress, the Alabama cotton advocate sustained a favorably inclined large public audience made up of agricultural pressure groups and private citizens throughout the Cotton Belt. In the House, during the prewar period, and throughout the period of American neutrality and into the early months of this nation's active participation in the War, Heflin enjoyed a prominence which assured him an attentive hearing for his frequent cotton speeches. Despite his intemperance and lack of restraint in castigating those who took issue with his Democratic chieftain's war measures, and the subsequent censure of the House for such intemperance, he was able to retain some recognition of his leadership in the fight for cotton interests, and pursue his advocacy in the Sixty-sixth Congress. Whether or not, Heflin's intemperance and lack of restraint demonstrated during the wartime period actually minimized his effectiveness as a cotton advocate will be dealt with later in this study. That it generated hostility in the House to the extent that Heflin could no longer gain a hearing for his cotton speeches is refuted by the fact that on May 27, 1919 a House with a Republican majority granted Heflin one hour to speak on his favorite subject.
CHAPTER V

THE SPEECHES, 1913-1920

This chapter will analyze eleven of Heflin's cotton speeches delivered during the years, 1913-1920. It will consider nine aspects: (1) the nature and relationship of his speeches, (2) the speaker's sources and preparation, (3) the motives of the speaker, (4) the structure of the speeches, (5) his basic premises, (6) the lines of argument, (7) his forms of support, (8) his credibility, (9) his audience appeals, and (10) a summary: his adaptation to audiences and occasions.

THE NATURE AND RELATIONSHIP OF THE SPEECHES

The eleven speeches considered in this study were selected for three reasons: They are typical of the most comprehensive discussions developed by Heflin on the broad subject of cotton economy delivered at a time when Heflin had the floor. (2) Heflin believed them to be among his most important speeches on cotton.1 (3) A large

number of letters and newspaper clippings pertain to these speeches.\(^2\)

Since his eleven speeches dealt with the policy of the federal government towards the cotton economy of the South, the speeches were deliberative in nature.

In general, Heflin affirmed the proposition that the federal government should improve the cotton economy of the South. In most instances, Heflin obtained permission from the House to speak on the subject of cotton. However, a few of the speeches are refutatory in nature with Heflin responding to arguments presented by his colleagues. In either case, he sought to vocalize at length on conditions oppressing the South's cotton economy.

Roughly, the speeches fall into three periods: the first, which may be called the prewar period, covers the years, 1913-1914; the second, the wartime period, dates from 1914 to 1918; and the third, the postwar period, includes the years, 1919-1920. Three of the speeches fall into the first period, five into the second, and three into the third.

With regard to such issues as regulating the practices of the cotton exchanges, improving the system of credit, and expanding the cotton markets, Heflin had laid the foundations for many of his prewar

\(^2\)Correspondence and Scrapbooks, 1913-1920, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
arguments in his earlier advocacy. These and others of his earlier arguments he enlarged upon during his prewar advocacy and reiterated during the latter two periods. Moreover, from period to period, Heflin reshaped certain arguments and altered his position on certain issues in accordance with the dictates of those prewar, wartime, and post-war conditions affecting the economic life of the nation. Essentially, however, his basic arguments remained the same, and his fundamental ideas regarding the improvement of the cotton economy are developed throughout most of the speeches of all three periods.

THE SPEAKER'S SPECIFIC PREPARATION AND SOURCES

As observed earlier, Heflin devoted the first forty years of his life to preparation for his cotton advocacy. The origins of his concepts of an agrarian society serving as the cornerstone of industry, with cotton as agriculture's most important product dated back to his early home life in Randolph County, Alabama. His training in the techniques of oral discourse commenced during his first years in school at Louina, Alabama, and continued through his education at Southern University and Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College, both in class and in the activities of the literary societies. The

3Supra, chap. iii, pp. 111-139.
experiences of his early legal and political career had also been contributing factors. The entire picture of his evolution as a cotton advocate emphasizes the general nature of his preparation.\(^4\)

According to the best available evidence, Heflin used only a few notes and spoke extemporaneously throughout his career. On one of the rare occasions when he had a manuscript, one reporter commented that "as the Alabamian warmed to his task, he abandoned the manuscript." The correspondent continued: "He was among the last speakers and had prepared considerable manuscript, but he grew warmed to his subject and cast his notes aside."\(^5\)

On numerous occasions Heflin wrote to his wife, describing the nature of his speech preparation or intention to break into House debate. In these letters he indicated the preparation of skeleton notes for extempore speaking. On May 27, 1910, he wrote: "I am fixing up a few remarks to make Sunday night and next Thursday, June 1st."\(^6\) On June 2, 1910, he advised his wife that he had been "pretty busy" with his "duties" and "working on speeches." Later in the same letter, he described a number of historic places he had visited in

\(^1\)Supra, chap. i, pp. 14-31.

\(^2\)The Birmingham Ledger, February 3, 1906, as reported in The LaFayette Sun, February 7, 1906.

\(^3\)Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, May 27, 1910, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
Virginia just prior to a speech at Fairfax, Virginia, asserting that they had "inspired" a few remarks for his speech. On June 14, 1910, the Congressman wrote his wife, advising her of his intentions "to break into the debate with another speech" that afternoon. Continued Heflin: "I will only make a short speech—I have made no preparation except to take down some points during the debates, and I will reply to the Republican speeches—some of them." It will be remembered that Heflin had not expected to make his maiden speech on the day he delivered it, and he had prepared no manuscript. In two letters to his wife, written during August, 1914, Heflin advised her of his intentions to introduce two bills on "the cotton situation," and "make some remarks" during the debates. Some twelve years later, after Heflin had been elected to the Senate, his secretary, J. L. Thornton, received a request for an advance copy of the manuscript of a speech which Heflin was to deliver in North Carolina. Thornton replied: "The Senator speaks altogether from notes and does not prepare his speeches in writing."

7Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, June 2, 1910, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

8Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, June 14, 1910, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

9Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, August 19 and August 23, 1914, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

10Thornton to J. Baskerville, October 4, 1926, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
While there are some complete speech manuscripts in the Heflin collection, they are few in number, and, with one or two exceptions, they are designed for ceremonial occasions.\textsuperscript{11}

Heflin's excellent memory permitted him to store away a large array of information, quotations, poems, and other speech materials which he was able to recall easily when needed.\textsuperscript{12} Furthermore, he was able to remember the general design of his speeches and repeat them at later occasions.\textsuperscript{13}

Heflin prepared some notes, usually classified by topic, but seldom earmarked for any particular speech. Sometimes they were informational in nature—sometimes inspirational. Typical of the latter were: (1) a typewritten list of quotations from presidents on the subject of the sovereignty of states rights; (2) a typewritten list of "favorite" Bible verses; (3) pencilled notations, in tablet form, on the evils of the cotton exchanges; (4) several typewritten Negro dialect stories; and (5) a number of pencilled quotations from William Jennings Bryan, one of Heflin's favorite sources. Characteristic of his notations regarding Bryan was the following: "Mr. Bryan

\textsuperscript{11}Speech manuscript files, numbers 117-125, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\textsuperscript{12}Interview with Dr. Charles Bowles Glenn, former Superintendent of Birmingham city schools, December 1, 1964.

\textsuperscript{13}He frequently mentioned repeating speeches, in letters to his wife.
is the friend of really legitimate business whether conducted by individuals or corporations. But he is the open enemy of every monopoly that disturbs and destroys legitimate business.\textsuperscript{11}

Heflin's informational notes included references to or quotations from a variety of literature on cotton. There are quotations from statistical studies on cotton yields; excerpts from articles and editorials in agricultural journals; references to correspondence with officials of various cotton associations and the Agricultural Department; and statistics regarding cotton crop acreage and yields for various years. In addition to these pencilled and typewritten notes, there is a large assortment of government publications and document reports, periodic market quotations, and various other materials relating to cotton. Many of these items are heavily underscored and bear Heflin's handwriting in marginal spaces. Furthermore, in many of his letters, he acknowledged materials mailed him from various agricultural officials, lobby groups, and private citizens, and he announced his intentions to use these materials later in his speeches.\textsuperscript{15}

It is evident that Heflin collected a wide assortment of informational and inspirational materials on the subject of cotton. What

\textsuperscript{11} Scrapbooks 30 and 31, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\textsuperscript{15} Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, passim.
were some of the speaker's more specific sources? In a speech endorsing the Federal Reserve Bill, delivered September 17, 1913, Heflin's sources included quotations from the Bible, the proceedings of a hearing before the House Committee on Agriculture, excerpts from an article in the magazine, Farms and Fireside, quotes and paraphrases from previous speeches of both Heflin and some of his colleagues, references to Confederate history, and the employment of his own familiarity with present cotton conditions.  

On December 15, 1913, Heflin delivered a speech in which he discussed statistics on the 1913 cotton crop, a speech in which he drew heavily from various reports of the Bureau of Estimates of the Department of Agriculture; a pamphlet from the Department of Commerce and Labor, which enumerated the increasing uses of cotton in various manufacturing industries; a quotation from John H. McFadden who was purported to be a "large cotton dealer"; and from various factual reports from cotton states on the amounts of cotton gathered and ginned during the years 1912 and 1913.  

In a speech on tariff and cotton, delivered March 5, 1914, Heflin read from the following: the editorials of a Kansas

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newspaper editor; an earlier speech of Senator Cummins, Republican of
Iowa; an unidentified Republican newspaper in Pennsylvania; a minority
report of the House Ways and Means Committee of 1909; lengthy excerpts
from speeches of Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas and Congressman
Ollie M. James of Kentucky, both delivered in September, 1913.¹⁸

In the remaining speeches to be discussed in this chapter, the
Alabamian used similar source materials. In addition, he drew heavily
upon such newspapers as the Philadelphia North American, the New York
Commercial, the Washington Post, the Cincinnati Enquirer, the New
York Times and various agricultural journals.¹⁹ Throughout his
1913-1920 speeches, Heflin frequently relied on his own familiarity
with the cotton economy, gathered partly from his earlier advocacy,
and partly from his continuous study of the general subject of cotton.
The latter was gained through a heavy volume of correspondence with
cotton producers, officials of cotton associations, officials of
various governmental departments, and a series of conferences with

¹⁸Congressional Record, 63rd Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 51,
pp. 1365-1367.

¹⁹These sources are cited in speeches delivered between the
years, 1914-1920. There are many other references to unidentified
newspapers and trade journals.
governors of cotton states, the United States Director of Census, the United States Attorney General, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, and President Wilson. Heflin also frequently quoted from his previous speeches as well as from those of colleagues representing the cotton states. The Heflin Scrapbooks reveal that Heflin followed closely market quotations and the activities of the New York and New Orleans cotton exchanges as well as exchanges abroad.

If Heflin had difficulty in obtaining information, he wrote to those who, he thought, could give it to him. For instance, in 1919 he wrote to many cotton producers and to officials in various cotton-producing states asking for information regarding the cost of cotton production. The fruits of his efforts are borne out in a speech on the effect of the war on cotton, delivered in the House May 27, 1919, in which Heflin introduced a list of 24 items necessary to cotton production. The list meticulously surveyed prices previous to the war, prices in 1918, and the current prices. From this information

20 Heflin Scrapbooks, 1913-1920, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

21 Ibid.

Heflin concluded that "the cost of labor, live stock, fertilizers, agricultural implements, food, and feed" had made the 1918 cotton crop "the costliest cotton crop ever produced." In addition, Heflin received hundreds of letters from individuals from all sections of the country, many of which contained clippings from local newspapers or other information regarding cotton conditions in the writers' particular sections. As was mentioned earlier, Heflin also made several speaking tours in the cotton states, by himself, with officials from the Department of Agriculture, and with congressional colleagues. In each case, he broadened his knowledge of cotton economy and its problems.

In summary, Heflin's background, early training and education, later training, his early advocacy, his correspondence and scrapbooks, his activities, and the speeches selected for the study in this chapter, all indicate that, although he did not prepare specific manuscripts for each of his speeches on cotton, Heflin had drawn from a wide assortment of experiences and materials to master thoroughly his familiarity with the cotton economy.

23 Ibid.

24 While no actual count has been made of such letters, it is safe to estimate that of the 22,000 items in the Heflin Papers, several hundred such letters are included.

THE MOTIVES OF THE SPEAKER

In his book *Roosevelt: The Story of a Friendship*, Owen Wister wrote of Theodore Roosevelt:

If they treated Theodore as they deal with certain composite substances in chemistry . . . and melted him down and down until nothing remained at the bottom of the crucible but his ultimate, central, indestructible stuff, it's not a statesman they'd find, or a hunter, or a historian, or a naturalist—they'd find a preacher militant.26

 Were James Thomas Heflin similarly "melted down," what would be found "at the bottom of the crucible?" In an effort to "look behind" the advocate, this section will endeavor to determine the motives of the man.

With respect to "motives basic to behavior," Giles Wilkeson Gray and Waldo W. Braden comment in their book, *Public Speaking: Principles and Practice*:

It has long been recognized that within each organism are strong internal forces which direct it toward certain goals and without which there would be no directed activity—only a random, futile sort of behavior for its own sake.27

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Perhaps only Tom Heflin knew what strong internal forces really directed him toward his goals. Yet, close scrutiny of his personality, appearance, and conduct reveal some tell-tale signs. Like many politicians of his and other eras, James Thomas Heflin enjoyed attracting attention. He thrived on publicity. In fact, he would have been unhappy if he had not attracted attention.

In their book *Dixie Demagogues*, Allan A. Michie and Frank Ryhlick state: "Tom . . . was proud of his flambouyant appearance and . . . explosive speaking technique." In addition to his appearance and speaking, Heflin's art of mimicry and storytelling was also a factor in gaining attention. Moreover, his style of language attracted attention to itself. In interviews, those who were his contemporaries vividly recalled these aspects of the man, all agreeing that "he should have been an actor." Newspaper and magazine writers of the period concurred. No doubt the

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30 Ibid., pp. 56-66.

31 Interviews with Glenn; Peter Brannon, Director, Department of History and Archives of the State of Alabama, October 11, 1964; Dr. A. B. Moore, Emeritus Dean of the Graduate School, University of Alabama, August 10, 1964.

32 Supra, chap. ii, pp. 97-100.
widespread attention of the press to such factors, early in his career in Congress, helped to foster his love of publicity and his efforts to generate it. Certainly, it was Heflin's exhibitionism which most frequently attracted those writers who found colorful copy in Tom's later service in Washington. Characterizing him with such titles as "Don Tom," "Tom-Tom," "Cotton Tom," "the Incredible Heflin," and other like epithets, they devoted columns to the antics of the "Picturesque Statesman."33 Excerpts from two such articles typify the impression which Heflin generated and, at the same time, lend further credence to the contention that he was an exhibitionist. Henry Suydam wrote in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*:

> When Heflin arrived in the Senate, he filled a long-felt want. The trouble with most Senators is that they don't look the part. Smoot of Utah looks like a Sunday School Superintendent; Nelson of Minnesota resembles a retired sea captain; Calder of New York would pass for a prosperous manufacturer. . . . And so it goes.

> "Are these persons really senators?" Tourists in the gallery would ask. "They don't look at all important."

At this point, the frosted doors in the center of the Chamber open and James Thomas Heflin of Alabama fresh from 18 years in the House strolls in. His smooth shaven face wears an expression that combines as one might say "business and pleasure." He is serious but prepared if the occasion warrants to jest. His iron grey hair is plentiful and worn rather long so the curve from brow to neck is an inverted helix. He wears a high collar and a black cravat tied with dignity. His shirt is of the stiff boiled variety. His ample girth is encased in a double vested white waistcoat and a black broadcloth prince albert completes the picture. Summer and winter his pince-nez are slung on a black silk ribbon. If you put Heflin on a stage you would call this realism. As a matter of fact, it is romantic to the utmost. A United States senator has no right to wear a business suit. Heflin casts aside this miserable pretense and looks like a statesman.34

Henry Suydam had been describing the Heflin of 1920. John Owens recalls, in the American Mercury, that Tom had been no less the exhibitionist when he entered the House. Owens states:

He was, indeed, pleasant to the eye in those days—a strapping six-footer with only a trace of ebonpoint, agile and not too far from graceful, with a face cut after the model of the idealized young Confederate soldier, and a fine crop of dark hair that ruffled romantically when the breezes blew or oratory was uncorked. His sartorial ensemble befitted him. . . . His voice was loud and agreeable, if a trifle unctuous. And he had manner. It was slightly overdone perhaps, even as his garments had a shade too much emphasis and his voice that unctuous note. One felt that he might not be exactly three-ply . . . Nobody, in truth, really knows the statesman of his own time, and posterity often changes its mind. You cannot draw the lines sharply. For you know that posterity will heed only half a dozen men in every era—and yet you know also that the workaday jobs of statecraft in that era were done by many other men. For practical purposes,

34 The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, September 24, 1922.
you must take the average of the day. Judged by that test, Tom certainly cannot be dismissed. Grandiose, sentimental, a licker-up of applause, a player to the grandstand, or rather to the bleachers, a reverberator of other men's ideas? Yes, all of that—as have been many more famous men. But if you are convinced that Tom is a fathead, and wish to stay convinced, do not go to his early record in Congress.35

Clearly, Heflin enjoyed attention. He dressed himself and he conducted himself in a manner designed to obtain it. But, these factors would not be enough in themselves to sustain the attention of the general public. He had to be skilled in oratory; he had to acquire and sustain a national image; and he had to render some genuine service to a constituency capable of sustaining him in public office. The remainder of this section will discuss these three factors.

From his early boyhood days when Heflin decided he wanted to become a United States senator,36 he sought to excell as a speaker. Reflections of the intensity with which Heflin strove to achieve such excellence are evident when one reconsiders his education and training, his early legal and political career in Alabama, and his efforts to acquire a national image.37

35 John W. Owens, "Tom Heflin," The American Mercury, XII (September-December, 1927), 272, 274.


37 Supra, chap. ii, p. 45-79.
Heflin enjoyed his speaking, delighted in seeing his speeches in print, and joyfully distributed reprints of his speeches by the hundreds of thousands. It can be safely concluded that Heflin regarded skill in oratory as a necessary means of obtaining national attention.

Closely related to Heflin's desire to become skilled in oratory was his ambition to acquire and sustain a national image. His efforts to obtain such an image have been discussed in detail, earlier in this study. That he continuously worked to sustain it may be affirmed

Indicative of the quantity and cost of reprints of Heflin's speeches is a typed list at the end of Scrapbook 113. Entitled "Quantity and Cost of Speeches of Senator Heflin for the Years 1927 and 1928," the list of seven items includes: (1) 49,000 copies of a 14-page pamphlet entitled "Efforts to Involve the United States in War with Mexico"—cost $2,555.26; (2) 160,000 copies of the 24-page speech, "Efforts to Involve the United States in War with Mexico" (Excerpts)—cost $621.87; (3) 50,000 copies of a 14-page speech, "Governor Smith's Wet Record"—cost $303.61; (4) 100,000 copies of a 12-page speech, "Senator Heflin's Reply to Mayor Gunter of Montgomery, Alabama"—cost $62.98; (5) 15,000 copies of a 4-page speech, "Catholics Intimidate Newspapers and Suppress the Truth"—cost $37.71. Scrapbook 113, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama. The Heflin correspondence covering the man's entire career includes numerous requests for copies of reprints of his speeches. Heflin used proceeds from fees for his lectures to alleviate printing costs of these reprints. He mailed them under his frank.

Supra, chap. ii, pp. 45-79.
by the fact that: (1) He continued with his extensive campaigning for the national Democratic Party throughout his thirty years of congressional service. (2) In increasing numbers, he conducted extensive lecture tours, particularly during 1927 when, between the months of March and July, he delivered over one hundred lectures throughout fifteen different states. 40 (3) From one session of Congress to the next, with increasing volume, he filled pages of the Congressional Record and flooded the country with reprints of his speeches.

His campaigning

The extent of Heflin's national campaigning in the years beyond the period already discussed in this study is reflected in his correspondence with various officials of the Democratic National Party's Speakers Bureau, National Committee, and National Congressional Committee. A. B. Rouse, Chairman, the Democratic National Congressional Committee, wrote his thanks to Heflin for the Alabamian's work in the 1922 national campaign, saying:

The result of the election was wonderful; however, not more than we anticipated. We want to take this opportunity to thank you for the valuable service which you have rendered to the

40 A complete typewritten itinerary is included in Scrapbook 113, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
country and to the party during your service in the House, Senate and on the stump. Had all the requests for your time been granted you would have been compelled to make at least a dozen speeches a day.\(^1\)

In 1923, Cordell Hull, then serving as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, wrote Heflin:

No Democrat in America was in greater demand as a speaker during the last campaign and, as far as I know, during former campaigns, than yourself. No speaker, to my knowledge, created a more profound and lasting impression in the minds of Democrats and other citizens whom he addressed than yourself during the last campaign. If you are not a most valuable asset, the Party has not assets.\(^2\)

In 1921, E. J. MacMillan, Executive Secretary of the Speakers Bureau, Democratic National Committee, wrote to Heflin regarding the forthcoming 1924 campaign:

I will take up with Senator Swanson, who has been named Chairman of the Speakers Bureau, the matter of your speaking engagements in the various debatable states.

Already we have received a large number of requests from Senatorial and Congressional candidates, as well as State Chairman, who want you to campaign in their respective districts. These requests will be brought to Senator Swanson's attention, and a suitable itinerary will be arranged for you within the next ten days, and a copy of the same transmitted to you for approval before you start out on your speaking tour.\(^3\)

\(^1\) House to Heflin, November 10, 1922, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\(^2\) Hull to Heflin, February 16, 1923, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\(^3\) MacMillan to Heflin, September 9, 1924, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
Clearly Heflin made himself increasingly more valuable as a successful campaigner for his party, thereby sustaining his national image.

Ceremonial speaking

To chronicle all of Heflin's ceremonial speeches would require both time and space not permitted by this study. Typical of the occasions at which he spoke are the following: the Hartford "Get-together Club," Hartford, Connecticut, March, 1914; the National Farm Loan Association Chapter, Gate City, Virginia, June 19, 1917; the cornerstone ceremonies for a new federal building, Birmingham, Alabama, August, 1918; the Officers Club of Washington, D.C., May, 1919; a state industrial exposition, Oklahoma City, October, 1919; The American Cotton Manufacturers' Twenty-fifth Annual Convention, Philadelphia, May, 1921; the National Convention of Rural Carriers, Washington, D.C., March, 1922; the Democratic Editors of Indiana Conference, Vincennes, Indiana, June, 1923; the memorial services for William Jennings Bryan, Birmingham, November, 1925; and a convocation at Auburn University (the "Alabama Polytechnic Institute"), November, 1925. The author of this study counted over 250 engagements of a ceremonial nature which Heflin filled during a four-year period of his early service in the United States Senate.

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*Correspondence files, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, passim.*

*Correspondence and Scrapbooks, 1920-1930, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.*
Lecture tours

Heflin relied heavily on his lecture fees to pay the heavy costs incurred for reprints of his congressional speeches.\(^{16}\) Some of the subjects of his lectures have already been discussed at an earlier place in this study.\(^{17}\) Frequently, he delivered his lectures in large downtown theatres.\(^{18}\) The limitations of transportation facilities in some areas caused him to schedule lectures relatively close together in order not to lose too much time en route. For instance, within a two-week period, in 1924, Heflin lectured nine times at as many cities, in Louisiana, Arkansas, and North Carolina.\(^{19}\) In 1925, Heflin scheduled his popular lecture, "The Story of the South," in Tennessee, Arkansas, Georgia, and North Carolina. In one week during the 1925 tour, he spoke five times, at Saluda, South Carolina, and at Forsyth, Elberton, and Milledgeville, all in Georgia.\(^{50}\) His extensive

\(^{16}\) Numerous letters between Heflin and his secretary, J. L. Thornton, indicate that Heflin used a large part of his lecture fees in such a manner. Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, passim.

\(^{17}\) Supra, chap. \(v\), p. 26\(\text{A}\).

\(^{18}\) On October 15, 1919, Heflin spoke at the Hinton Theater in Muskogee, Oklahoma; on October 21, 1924, he spoke at the Jefferson Theater in Birmingham, Alabama. Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\(^{19}\) Thornton to Heflin, October 17, 1924, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

\(^{50}\) Thornton to Heflin, April 23, 1925, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
1927 lecture tour on "The Mexican Crisis" has already been discussed. Clearly, Heflin kept himself before the public with his lecturing as well as with his campaigning for his party.

His speeches in the Congressional Record

Some indication of the extent to which Heflin filled the pages of the Congressional Record with his speeches, remarks, and extensions may be found in an article in the New York Times, March 17, 1923, which states:

The bill for printing the Congressional Record during the recent session of the 67th Congress, comprising 75 legislative days, will exceed $300,000.

A delayed issue of the Record which made its appearance today cost more than $10,000 to print and of the speeches printed and the extensions "that is speeches never delivered on the floor of Congress" cost more than $5,550. The remarks of Senator Heflin alone printed in today's issue, occupied 49½ pages, costing about $2,475, and of this amount more than $1,100 will go to pay for printing letters and editorials from country newspapers in which Mr. Heflin was commended for assault on the Federal Reserve Board. Senator Heflin actually spoke from the Senate floor 27½ pages of the space allotted to him in today's issue.51

In 1924, a reporter commented in a nationally syndicated feature story which appeared in the Sunday issue of the Nashville Tennessean:

That Senator Heflin himself enjoys his oratory and his humor and reads with avidity the many pages devoted to it in the Congressional Record has been the charge of more than one of his colleagues. 51

During the hectic closing days of the 67th Congress, while the Heflin-Couzens feud was at its height, the Michigan senator accused Tom of Alabama of improving those speeches in the Congressional Record proof sheets so they read a little better for the constituents down South than they sounded on the floor. Particularly did Couzens regard as not quite up to the ethics of our best humorists Heflin's alleged practice of inserting "laughter" after what he considered his best quips.52

No evidence ascertains whether or not Couzens' charges were well founded, but the point has been made that Heflin enjoyed his speeches and filled many pages of the Record with them.

His desire to help the farmers

Heflin sincerely desired to help the southern farmer. He gave lip service to such a desire in speeches throughout the Cotton Belt, in Congress, in other sections of the country, and in his voluminous correspondence conducted throughout the years he was at Washington.53 Moreover, he constantly talked of his desire to help the farmers in letters to his wife, his brothers, and to his close friends. On August 19, 1914, Heflin wrote his wife:

I have been busy with this cotton proposition. It is a serious situation that confronts the cotton producer, and I am so anxious to do something to help him. I think the government will do something. The question is—what is best to do. I am working on two or three plans, and we are discussing various propositions. If the farmer is forced to sell for a low price it will hurt him awfully. I believe that something will be done to prevent this.54

52The Nashville Tennessean, December 21, 1924.
53Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, passim.
54Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, August 19, 1914, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
On August 23 of the same year, Heflin wrote:

We are working on the cotton situation and it is necessary for Congress to do something soon. I am preparing two bills and will introduce them tomorrow. I will attend a conference tomorrow at the Secretary of the Treasury's office. And tomorrow night, a few Representatives from the South will meet with some Texas farmers and bankers and discuss the situation. Nearly everybody seems to be willing to do something but very many don't seem to know what or how to do.

On October 6, 1915, Heflin wrote:

I received a great ovation [at Albertville, Alabama] and lots of compliments on my cotton statement published through the South yesterday. The government's report was just a little above mine, and I believe I helped the producers by my work.

In a letter from Heflin to his brother, Judge H. P. Heflin, Tom declared: "I am genuinely concerned about the planters of the entire South, and I plan to introduce some bills in this session." In 1922, Heflin wrote to his friend, H. H. Golson, editor of the Abbeville Herald, Abbeville, Alabama:

I appreciate your kindly reference to my fight on the deflation policy conducted by Governor Harding. He is out now and I think out for good. It has been a long hard fight, but being convinced that I was absolutely right, and that our people had been robbed of many millions of dollars through deflation, I have dared to fight on and on.

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55 Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, August 23, 1914, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
56 Heflin to Mrs. Heflin, October 6, 1915, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
57 Heflin to H. P. Heflin, October 16, 1924, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
58 Heflin to Golson, September 27, 1922, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
Perhaps the most explicit statement of Tom's feelings for his agricultural friends can be found in a campaign letter which he mailed to several close friends in Alabama at the time he was preparing to run for the Senate, in 1920. In it he stated:

I worked upon the farm until I was twenty years of age, and since I have been in Congress, I have given special thought and attention to the great agricultural interests of Alabama. Two million and six hundred thousand of the people of our State are dependent in one way or another upon this great industry, and I felt that in contributing to the prosperity of that industry I was serving more people than I could along any other particular line. I felt that the more money that we could bring into the South in payment for our farm products, the more money there would be to flow into the professions and every other line of business.59

Why Heflin wanted to help the farmers is a question only Heflin might have answered. At least two motives have been suggested: (1) His heritage naturally inclined his interest and sympathy towards farmers' wants and needs; (2) Through bringing those wants and needs to the attention of Congress and the nation he could satisfy his own more basic motive.

In summary, Heflin was an exhibitionist. Clearly, he enjoyed national attention. He devoted his early career to obtaining it, and he spent his later career sustaining it. Through both periods of his life, his speaking skills, national image, and advocacy for the farmers were his means of obtaining the attention he demanded.

59 Heflin to Dr. R. H. Coker, Mobile, Alabama, April 10, 1920, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.
THE STRUCTURE OF THE SPEECHES

Referring to the structure of oral discourse, Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird state in their book, *Speech Criticism*:

In its broadest sense, disposition embraces the following matters: the emergence of a central theme, the general method of arrangement adopted for the speech, and the order in which the parts of the discourse are developed. Therefore, this section will consider Heflin's themes, his general methods of arrangement of materials, and the order in which the parts of the speeches were developed.

Themes

Heflin's basic theme was that the federal government should improve the cotton economy of the South. Although it appeared in most of the speeches selected for this study, the emphasis Heflin gave to his basic theme shifted from speech to speech.

During the prewar years, on September 17, 1913, while supporting the Federal Reserve Bill, Heflin expressed the theme in the following manner:

Mr. Chairman, the United States owes more to the producers than to any other class of people, and yet the banking system of the Republican Party has greatly imposed upon and oppressed these people. The average farmer wants to work. He wants to better his condition, and he is entitled to all the encouragement and substantial aid that a great and good Government can give.

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On December 15, 1913, while discussing the need for interpreting the cotton statistics correctly, Heflin inferred the theme in the following context: "I plead for the passage of a law that will protect them [the cotton producers] from the pillage and plunder of a merciless band of bear gamblers on the cotton exchange." Again, on March 5, 1914, by inference, Heflin advanced the theme that the Government should improve the cotton economy of the South. On this occasion, he was defending the merits of Democratic policy in general, and the Underwood tariff in particular, as they effected the farmer. Heflin said:

You told the people of the South that cotton would go to 5 cents a pound just as sure as Wilson was elected President. You said, 'Just as sure as you tamper with the tariff, cotton will go to 5 cents a pound.' We did tamper with it; we cut the claws and broke the jaws of that Republican monster, the Payne-Aldrich tariff law, and cotton sold around $12\frac{1}{2}$ and $13$ cents per pound.\(^6^3\)

The inference was plain. "It was the government's duty to protect the cotton farmer from the evils of Republican tariff policy."

In Heflin's wartime speeches, his theme is reiterated, although sometimes cast in varying contexts. On October 16, 1914, Heflin was pleading for relief to the cotton producers from the oppressing conditions of the European war which had closed world markets to the Southern cotton exports. He clearly stated his theme, as follows:

\(^{6^2}\)Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 1, p. 920.

\(^{6^3}\)Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 5, p. 4365.
If the people of one section of the country are afflicted and oppressed with conditions produced by a foreign war, it is the duty of the Government to grant relief to the people of that section, even at the cost of laying a part of the burden upon the people of the other sections of the country.  

On January 23, 1915, Heflin restated his theme as follows: "This Government owes it to the farming class of our people to provide a banking system suited to the business of the agricultural industry."

Again, on January 11, 1916, Heflin declared: "This billion-dollar product [cotton] produced in the South every year is entitled to fair treatment in all the marts of trade." Later, in the same speech, Heflin proposed that one way for the Government to ensure such "fair treatment" was to regulate the cotton exchanges.

On April 5, 1916, while arguing for passage of his bill requiring the Government to collect and publish statistics on the consumption of cotton by munitions plants, Heflin stated:

We [the government] owe it to the producing classes of this country, whether they live in the South, the East, and the North or West, to give them full and complete information about the

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67 Ibid., p. 921.
stuff that they produce and the consumption of it after they produce it. There is nothing hidden in this measure. It is open and aboveboard. It is in the interest of truth, in the interest of honesty and of justice to the cotton farmers, and 30,000,000 of American people living in the South ask that this legislation be had. 68

While discussing whether or not cotton should be included in the Food Control Bill, on July 13, 1917, Heflin stated:

If Congress, instead of encouraging and stimulating increased cotton production and making sure of an adequate supply of this all important product, shall, through its recklessness or shortsightedness, do the thing that will make cotton production unprofitable and cause cotton producers to abandon their fight against the boll weevil, such action will not only produce doubt and uncertainty as to an adequate cotton supply, but at a fearful cost to ourselves and our allies it will make certain a very small crop and an inadequate supply. 69

During the postwar period, Heflin continued to reiterate his major theme, though frequently altering the method whereby such federal assistance to cotton might be rendered. On December 9, 1918, he stated:

I remember that the South stood here and through its representatives called upon the Government to do something to relieve that awful situation. We were only asking the Government to do something to prevent the loss that we were suffering on that crop. We argued that this condition was brought upon us not by any fault

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of our own, not by any natural economic cause, but that the war had an injurious effect, which reached into our country and destroyed the value of our cotton.\textsuperscript{70}

In this instance, the Republican majority in the House had been endeavoring to enact legislation which would control the price of cotton. Heflin was opposing it by arguing that the same Republicans had been unwilling to grant government assistance called for earlier by the cotton producers when prices needed to be boosted, but they were now endeavoring to keep prices down through legislative enactment. On January 27, 1919, Heflin was calling for more government regulation of the New York Cotton Exchange. He argued: "The great Government of the United States owes it to the men who produce the things we eat and wear to protect them from sharks and robbers of every kind."\textsuperscript{71}

Although the emphasis shifted from speech to speech, and the supporting material and lines of argument varied, Heflin's common theme throughout his cotton speeches, delivered in the years 1913-1920, was the same: that is, that the United States government should, in every way possible, assist the cotton economy of the South.


Method of arrangement

Although he sometimes included historical development when discussing the development of the cotton industry, Heflin's emphasis in most of his cotton speeches of this period was upon the need for government assistance in adopting better and more efficient methods of improving the cotton economy of the South. Therefore, in most instances, Heflin's basic method of arrangement was that of logical development. In general, the pattern of development of his speeches might be cast into the form of a hypothetical syllogism:

Major premise: If conditions are oppressing the southern cotton producer, the United States government should give him all the encouragement and substantial aid possible.

Minor premise: Conditions are oppressing the southern cotton producer.

Conclusion: Therefore, the United States government should give him all possible encouragement and substantial aid.

While Heflin sometimes implied, rather than stated, one or more of the propositions of such a syllogism, and while he varied the extent to which he discussed each of the propositions, the syllogism was nevertheless employed, implied or stated, in most of his speeches.

Rhetorical order

Heflin's speeches followed the traditional tripartite division of introduction, body, and conclusion. In his introductions, Heflin

72 Thonsen and Baird, op. cit., p. 397.
generally sought to relate his remarks to those of the previous speaker and/or the occasion. For instance, on September 17, 1913, while speaking in support of the Federal Reserve bill, Heflin opened his speech with compliments to Carter Glass and his committee for their work on the bill, and his congratulations to the "House and its leadership upon its management of the tariff legislation." On December 15, 1913, Heflin opened his speech by thanking "the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Mann) and the Members of this House for the permission that has been granted me to discuss at this time the subject of cotton." On March 5, 1914, while defending the Underwood tariff, Heflin opened his speech with these remarks:

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. Steenerson), who has just spoken, ventured, in a way, to defend the Payne-Aldrich tariff law. He is too wise to come out squarely for that old standpat Republican doctrine. Gentlemen are criticizing a law not yet six months old. It has not had time to cut the old white whiskers from the Payne-Aldrich tariff law. Gentlemen over there are not willing to give it a chance. On January 23, 1915, Heflin opened with these remarks:

Mr. Chairman, before I discuss cotton, diversified farming, and the necessity for a banking system for the farmers of America, I want to say a word in reply to gentlemen who continue to criticize the Department of Agriculture for its efforts to send valuable farm and vegetable seeds to the farmers of the country.

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73 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5097.
74 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 1, p. 919.
75 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 5, p. 4364.
76 Congressional Record, Volume 52, Part 2, p. 2175.
Secondly, when it seemed necessary, Heflin sought to establish his right to speak upon the subject he wished to discuss and to speak upon it at that time. For instance, on October 16, 1917, after apparently having been denied several previous efforts to speak on cotton, Heflin opened with these remarks:

Mr. Speaker, I am glad even at this late day to obtain time in which to discuss for a little while the cotton situation in the South. For days and weeks I, with others on this side, have tried to get this question before the House, but some who represent interests that will speculate upon the cotton producer's misfortune and profit by his distress have repeatedly interposed their objections, and no other way for bringing the matter up has so far been devised.77

In July, 1917, after Heflin's defense of Wilson's preparedness and war measures had openly antagonized many of his House colleagues, the Alabamian sought to establish his right to discuss cotton with these opening remarks:

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I want to say something this morning about the cotton industry of the United States. I have given 12 years of close study to this great question, and I trust that I may be pardoned for saying that I know something about the cotton industry in all its forms and phases.78

Heflin's third objective in framing his opening remarks was to arrest attention and arouse interest in his subject. One of the best examples of such an opening is found in his January 27, 1919

77 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16748.
78 Congressional Record, Volume 55, Part 5, p. 5073.
speech in which he called for more government regulation of the cotton exchanges. Heflin opened his speech as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee [the Committee of the Whole House], one of the greatest duties that a country owes to its people is that which rests upon it with regard to the agricultural classes. No country has long prospered that has neglected and failed to encourage and protect its agricultural class in its legitimate rights and interests. Rome reached the highest point in her civilization when greatest stress and emphasis were placed upon agriculture, and Rome fell when she ceased to protect and safeguard her agricultural interests.79

Finally, Heflin would occasionally, though not always, actually preview his major points and suggest the order in which he intended development of them. An example of this has already been cited on the preceding page, in the excerpt from his January 23, 1915 address. In accordance with Aristotle, then, Heflin with his introductions, sought to "enlist the attention and interest of the listeners, to render the audience well disposed toward the speaker, and to prepare the way for the ideas to come."80

The eleven speeches considered in this study fall roughly into two groups. The first group, comprising three speeches, reflects what were more or less impromptu efforts on Heflin's part to respond to speeches which had been made immediately preceding Heflin's.81

79Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 3, p. 2173.
80Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 398.
81These speeches were delivered September 17, 1913; March 5, 1914; and December 9, 1918.
As a consequence, the logical pattern in these speeches was loosely drawn, generally determined by whatever point in the preceding speech Heflin was then answering.

In the second group, where Heflin's speeches were free and independent of the dictates of preceding debate, some logical pattern can be discerned, although, at best, the Alabamian generally seemed to encounter some difficulty in arranging the materials in the body of his speech. In particular, Heflin seemed to lack the necessary self-discipline to stay within the limits of discussion or argument to which he initially committed himself. Typical of this problem is his January 11, 1916 address, in which he had initially proposed that the United States should force Great Britain to permit greater freedom of the shipment of American cotton to foreign markets. Heflin began his discussion by historically tracing the series of events in 1914 and the early part of 1915 which he contended had contributed to the depression of American cotton's general condition. He then described the method whereby Great Britain had initially blockaded shipment of American cotton to neutral countries, asserting the injustice of that act, and reviewing its ill effects on our cotton economy. Next, he discussed the unsatisfactory method whereby Great Britain had met American demands that the blockade

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be lifted. At this point in the speech, Heflin digressed to discuss the evils of the New York Cotton Exchange and its effect on cotton at that time and called on the government to exercise greater regulation of the activities of the exchange. Finally, he predicted the present and immediate future needs for American cotton in world markets and concluded by calling on the United States to open up shipping lanes to world markets. Similarly, in most of the remaining seven speeches, Heflin strayed from discussion of the initial commitments of his arguments.

Finally, it should be noted that, with all of his cotton speeches, Heflin seemed to be projecting the brief of a larger argument in support of his recurring theme that the federal government should improve the cotton economy of the South. Such a brief will be illustrated in the subsequent discussion of his lines of argument.

Heflin's conclusions, frequently the most eloquent parts of the speeches, generally sought to achieve two objectives: (1) They usually summarized what he had said, emphasizing his major thesis. (2) Through the use of some emotional proof, they generally attempted to make his argument more acceptable to his audience and motivate it to some action. On occasion, Heflin employed a third objective in his conclusions, one designed to solicit a sense of confidence and
hope from his larger audience, the people of the cotton belt. In some instances, he attempted to achieve all three objectives. Such a case was the conclusion of his January 11, 1916, speech:

The people of the South are cooperating better now in the matter of holding cotton than ever before. Let the law be enforced and the conspiracy on the exchange broken up or the exchange abolished. Let cotton have fair treatment in the markets of the world, and a good and stable price will be received by those who toil to produce it.

Let the South stand firm and fear not. Every fact about the cotton supply and demand is in her favor. If she will hold on, fair prices and living profits are bound to come.83

Frequently, Heflin used his conclusion to repeat a familiar refrain that cotton was the most important single factor to our national economy. Typical was the conclusion to his October 16, 1916, speech in which he had argued for an improved system of rural credits:

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I want to say that agriculture is the corner stone on which all other industries rest, and cotton is the only product in the field of agriculture every pound of which is converted into money and every dollar's worth of which contributes to the financial wealth of the United States. It is the master production, and under normal conditions is the most readily cashed and the most widely consumed among the great staples of the earth.

Wherever the flag flies its splendid fiber is seen. Wherever the American soldier goes, the cotton uniform goes with him, and tents made of cotton spread their white wings above him, hovering about him while he sleeps. It was behind cotton bales at New Orleans that Jackson won the victory over the British.

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83Ibid., p. 921.
Cotton has done more to maintain America's credit abroad and to keep it on a sound financial basis than all other commodities combined. Upon the well-being of this great cotton industry depends the prosperity and happiness of one-third of the population of this Union, and I appeal to the Members from the East, the North, and the West to join hands with us from the sister section and grant relief to the people now suffering under conditions created by war.84

That Heflin greatly altered the length of his conclusions is aptly illustrated by the two already cited. On rare occasions, he exhausted the time allotted his speeches before he had started his conclusions. Seldom did he permit this to happen as he apparently considered his conclusions important to the success of his speeches. One such instance was on January 23, 1915:

Mr. Chairman, I see that my time has expired. I will have more to say on this subject at a later date. In conclusion I want to assure you that I stand ready to vote at the earliest day possible for a farm-credit system in keeping with the dignity and the business of the farmers of our country.85

Summary. Heflin employed a recurring theme in nearly all of his cotton speeches. Except for a few instances when he was responding to a speech immediately preceding his, he employed a logical pattern of development. His introductions generally conformed to the classical pattern of enlisting the attention and interest of auditors; relating his speech to preceding speeches, the occasion,

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84 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16751.
85 Congressional Record, Volume 52, Part 2, p. 2178.
or events; and establishing his right to speak on a subject at that time. While the body of his speech usually contained "the elaboration of subject matter through which the idea or ideas" were "enforced," Heflin frequently strayed from the limits of discussion or argument to which he had initially committed himself. Finally, his conclusions generally sought to "inspire the audience with a favorable opinion of" himself, to "amplify or depreciate the subject," and, "to excite the emotions of the audience and to recall the facts to their attention."  

HIS BASIC PREMISES

Having examined the nature and relationship of Heflin's speeches, his sources and specific preparation, his basic motives, and the structure of his speeches, the question arises as to his premises. This section, then, will examine the basic ideas from which Heflin argued.

As stated earlier, the theme recurrent in Heflin's cotton speeches was that the federal government should improve the cotton economy of the South. Underlying this theme were four basic premises:

86 Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 398.
87 Ibid.
(1) The federal government should protect the people from economic injustice. (2) Agriculture is the cornerstone of the national economy. (3) Cotton is agriculture's most important product. (4) Regulation which encourages the cotton economy is a symptom of genuine progress.

The sources of his premises

Premises one, two and four were derived from Populist and Progressive tenets that (1) the government exists to serve the citizen; and (2) ours is an agrarian economy which must be adapted to an industrial civilization. Leland D. Baldwin, in his book *The Stream of American History*, describes some of the Populist seeds from which Heflin drew his premises:

The industrialization of the South warranted that it would have its phase of the rising agrarian revolt against capitalistic controls in the 1890's. One should never forget that Jefferson and Jackson were Southerners, and that despite the reactionary earmarks of the doctrine of white supremacy there has always been a strong liberal current in the South. Its pragmatic Jeffersonianism, indeed, has contributed more to American political method than has the transcendental reformism of New England. The Southern agrarian revolt, though it was often led by ambitious men who represented the way in which the Bourbons had sewed up political jobs, was basically a revival of Jacksonianism. It was directed against railroads and banks and the middleman in cotton and tobacco so far as he represented financial interests, especially from the North. 88

Albert B. Moore, in his *History of Alabama*, describes how the seeds of Populism took root in Heflin's home state:

The farmers' efforts to solve their problems in a non-political way met with a very limited success. . . . In the decline of the cooperative business projects the farmers saw vanish the last ray of hope of defending themselves against the powerful industrial combinations and "money trusts." The industrial leaders seemed to have formed a conspiracy to enslave the "toiling masses," and by an alliance with the politicians government had become a tool in their hands. These ideas were propagated by the farmer's organizations and helped to produce a crusading spirit among the farmers. The farmers concluded that there were certain necessary social and economic reforms that could be made only by direct political action. Government could be made to represent the interests of the people, if the people would take it out of the hands of the plutocrats. Most of the reforms demanded were national in scope and could be attained only through the Federal government.89

The first two chapters of this study clearly indicate that Heflin openly subscribed to these Progressive and earlier Populist tenets. John W. Owens, one of Heflin's contemporary critics, stated that when Heflin had entered Congress "he was a Progressive and his vote could be counted on by the other Progressives."90

Heflin's third premise, that cotton was agriculture's most important product, was his own. It was a product of his heritage. Not only had he been born on a cotton plantation, but he represented


90 Owens, *op. cit.*, XII, 275.
As one writer put it, "Mr. Heflin hails from the Fifth Alabama District, which not only raises cotton but boasts of cotton mills. If Mr. Heflin, therefore, is not strong with cotton trade, he is not strong with anything in his district and he must stay at home." Heflin's evolution as a cotton advocate clearly demonstrates that he believed in and often vocalized the premise that cotton was agriculture's most important product.

The vocalization of his premises

Heflin's premise that the federal government should protect the people from economic injustice is either stated or implied in nearly all of his cotton speeches. On October 16, 1911, he stated such a premise at the same time he stated his recurrent theme:

If the people of one section of the country are afflicted and oppressed with conditions produced by a foreign war, it is the duty of the Government to grant relief to the people of that section, even at the cost of laying a part of the burden upon the people of the other sections of the country.

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91 Moore, op. cit., p. 717.
92 The New York Evening Post, July 15, 1911.
93 Supra, chap. i, pp. 11-31.
94 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16748.
On April 5, 1916, while calling for the government to provide the cotton producers with statistics regarding the extent of cotton consumption by American munitions factories, Heflin explained that such government assistance would benefit "the people who are more injuriously affected by the European war than the people of any other section of our country." Still later, he declared that such a measure was "in the interest of honesty and justice to the cotton farmers."95 On January 27, 1919, Heflin had reiterated this premise, when he stated: "The great Government of the United States owes it to the men who produce the things we eat and wear to protect them from sharks and robbers of every kind."96

Heflin fervently maintained that agriculture was the "cornerstone" of American economy. He implied it on January 27, 1919, when he stated: "No country has long prospered that has neglected and failed to encourage and protect its agricultural class."97 On October 16, 1914, Heflin declared: "...Agriculture is the corner stone on which all other industries rest."98

95 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 6, p. 5546.
96 Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 3, p. 2173.
97 Ibid.
98 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16751.
On January 23, 1915, Heflin underscored the importance of agriculture to the national economy with these words:

Mr. Chairman, the farmers of America produced last year nearly $7,000,000,000 worth of agricultural products, and if cotton had brought its fair value, you could add a half billion dollars' worth more to that amount. Seven billion dollars' worth of agricultural products and thirty-odd millions of people engaged in the farming industry, and yet the sad fact confronts us that they have no credit system and no banking establishment suited to their particular needs. . . . The agricultural business of this country is too big and too important to allow it to be hindered and handicapped by a banking system that does not supply its wants and meet its requirements.99

Seldom did Heflin deliver a cotton speech when he did not in some way sound his theme that cotton was agriculture's most important product. If he did not commence his speech by pointing out the importance of cotton, he somehow managed to work around to that idea somewhere during the course of his remarks. In his September 17, 1913, speech, after a long introduction in which he praised the House Banking and Finance Committee for its long work on the Federal Reserve Bill, he finally worked into a discussion of his main thesis concerning the need for a rural credits program. This discussion opened the way for an expression of his estimate of cotton's importance:

The farmer is forced to sell his cotton, and at a time when he does not think it wise to sell it and when if he could possibly prevent it he would not sell it. This condition of

99Congressional Record, Volume 52, Part 2, p. 2177.
affairs leaves the producer of the great product that brings to America the balance of trade at the mercy of a banking system that has lived beyond its time and greatly injured our people.¹⁰⁰

Later in the same speech, Heflin declared: "Cotton has done more to maintain American credit abroad and to keep it on a sound financial basis than all of the other commodities combined."¹⁰¹

Occasionally Heflin implied his theme by reviewing the many uses to which the world markets were putting cotton. Typical of this approach was his December 15, 1913, speech:

Mr. Speaker, cotton is being put to more uses today than ever before in the history of the world. It is used in the manufacture of and substituted for woolen goods, and is substituted for silk and linen. It is being woven into a fabric so resembling silk that it requires the chemical test to tell the difference. Thousands of bales are used in the manufacture of cement sacks, automobile tops and tires, and material for flying machines. . . .¹⁰²

On October 16, 1914, Heflin talked about cotton's importance to the South:

When cotton fares well in the market, money flows freely in the South at this season of the year and every avenue of business is pulsing with prosperity. Cotton is our money crop. It represents the credit and working capital of the South.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5097.
¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 5098.
¹⁰² Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 1, p. 919.
¹⁰³ Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16748.
In his conclusion, he reiterated and expanded upon the same theme:

• • • Agriculture is the corner stone on which all other industries rest, and cotton is the only product in the field of agriculture every pound of which is converted into money and every dollar's worth of which contributes to the financial wealth of the United States. It is the master production, and under normal conditions is the most readily cashed and the most widely consumed among the great staples of the earth.\footnote{104}

During the war, Heflin repeatedly pointed out the value of cotton to the war effort. On April 5, 1916, he stated:

• • • Since the European war began, vast quantities of cotton have been consumed in the making of smokeless powder and explosive shells. • • • Cotton manufactured into powder goes through a treatment before it is made into powder. They put nitric acid upon it and then put it through a washing process before it is ground and made into smokeless powder and explosive shells. • • • I talked to a retired naval officer of the United States and he told me that he was satisfied that the European armies were consuming 3,000,000 bales a year in smokeless powder and explosive shells.\footnote{105}

On July 13, 1917, Heflin asserted:

• • • The whole world is looking to the cotton belt of the United States for its cotton supply this year, and our success in the war against Germany depends absolutely upon cotton. • • • It is so essential to the successful conduct of the war that a failure of the cotton crop would be more dangerous to the cause of our allied armies than would the failure of any other crop. The imperative necessity for cotton for use in the war is greater than that of any other single product. • • • \footnote{106}

\footnote{104}{\textit{Tbid.}, p. 16751.}
\footnote{105}{\textit{Congressional Record}, Volume 53, Part 6, p. 5542.}
\footnote{106}{\textit{Congressional Record}, Volume 55, Part 5, p. 5074.}
While Heflin altered his approach slightly during the postwar period, he continued to frequently vocalize the importance of cotton.

On December 9, 1918, he proclaimed:

Do you know that cotton brings gold to this country when all other products fail? Cotton renders to the country a great national service every year. Cotton is the only product that goes out of this country that will unlock the vaults of foreign countries and bring gold when other products fail, and it brings more gold every year into the United States than the world's annual output. 107

On January 27, 1919, he declared:

It has been said on good authority that there is no commodity except iron and steel which plays as great a part in the industrial life of the world and the well-being of its inhabitants as does cotton. 108

On May 27, 1919, Heflin reviewed some of the postwar uses of cotton in an effort to demonstrate cotton's importance:

Cotton is one of the most serviceable crops in the world. Do you know what they are doing with it? They are making suitcases out of it which are just as serviceable as leather. They are making shoes out of it, hats, and all kinds of wearing apparel; they are making sole leather out of it to be worn about the house. They are making out of cotton a substitute for leather to cover buggies and automobiles. They are using it for auto tops and tires. It floats in the flag of our country, and it goes into the uniforms of our soldiers. It is the powder behind the bullet and the greatest explosive power in the world. 109

Clearly, Heflin thought cotton was most important.

Heflin's fourth premise, that any regulation which encourages the cotton economy is a symptom of genuine progress, was one which he also sounded frequently. Such a theme was implied in Heflin's September 17, 1913, tribute to President Wilson and his reform policies:

... He [Wilson] proposed to open the channels of legitimate trade, to unfetter commerce and let the law of supply and demand have full and free operation. He is the first President to recognize and respond to the wishes and needs of the great agricultural people of the United States... President Wilson has saved the farmers of the South and West from the most cruel crop-juggling conspiracy that was ever planned by the cotton and grain gamblers of the United States.\textsuperscript{110}

Again, Heflin implied this thesis when, on March 5, 1914, he chided the Republicans for their opposition to the Wilson reform measures. After reviewing the "terrible effects on the farmers" of Republican tariff policies, Heflin declared: "Both your tariff law and your currency law have been removed by a Democratic administration." He continued: "You said we could not reduce the tariff tax and pass a banking and currency law in the interest of the people, but we did."\textsuperscript{111}

On January 11, 1916, Heflin again implied his premise when he called for greater government regulation of the stock exchanges:

\textsuperscript{110}\textit{Congressional Record}, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5097.

\textsuperscript{111}\textit{Congressional Record}, Volume 51, Part 5, p. 4365.
The law of supply and demand is hampered. It is tampered with by these conspirators on the exchange, and they will not let that law have full and free operation; and I submit to this House that the conspiracy to prevent this or any other product of the soil from bringing a fair price and a living profit to the farmer ought to be investigated and prosecuted to the limit of the law. . . . I think that an Exchange properly regulated and honestly and fairly conducted is a help to the cotton trade.\textsuperscript{112}

On January 27, 1919, Heflin was once again calling for regulation of the exchanges in the interests of cotton and general progress.

At one point in his speech, he stated:

Do you not know there is something wrong and rotten when they [the speculators] can do such a thing as that [depress cotton prices] on the exchange? They do not help to keep in operation the law of supply and demand. They defy it. They stop its operation. They destroy the operation of the law of supply and demand.\textsuperscript{113}

Later, he declared:

I am in favor of a legitimate exchange, but they are not being operated as such institutions now and I indict them now as conducted at the present time as enemies to the cotton producer. I am in favor of the prosecution of them, and if we cannot regulate them I want to abolish them as we abolished the Louisiana State Lottery.\textsuperscript{114}

The inference was clear. To regulate or abolish the exchanges would be in the interest of cotton. To so regulate or abolish in the interest of cotton would be a symptom of genuine progress.

\textsuperscript{112}Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, p. 921.

\textsuperscript{113}Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 3, p. 2175.

\textsuperscript{114}Ibid.
In summary, it is clear that Heflin argued from these four premises in most of his cotton speeches delivered in the prewar, wartime, and postwar periods. Sometimes clearly stated, sometimes implied or inferred, they were nevertheless at the roots of most of his arguments. Of the four, the one which he vocalized most frequently dealt with cotton's importance. Evidently, Heflin reasoned that if he could promote a nation-wide appreciation of the importance of cotton, he could more easily secure the acceptance of his other premises.

The validity of his premises

No discussion of Heflin's premises would be complete without some effort to determine their validity. This must be done in the light of prevailing political and economic sentiment of that period.

Three of Heflin's premises had been emphasized in his Democratic chieftain's New Freedom program. In his Inaugural Address, Woodrow Wilson had underscored Heflin's first premise when he declared: "The firm basis of government is justice, not pity."

Expanding that thesis, he declared:

There can be no equality or opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they can not alter, control, or singly cope with.\footnote{Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States, House Document Number 540 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), pp. 190-191.}
Wilson's definition of his New Freedom as a movement to "purify and humanize every process of our common life," with government having the positive function to "cheer and inspirit our people with the sure prospects of social justice and due reward, with the vision of the open gates of opportunity for all" clearly echoed Heflin's premise that the federal government should protect the people from economic injustice.

While Wilson apparently did not assign agriculture quite as high a place in the nation's economy as did Heflin, the fact that he chose to include agricultural aid as one of the four broad reform programs mentioned in his inaugural is evidence that the new President regarded it as an extremely important factor. It will be remembered that Wilson had itemized some of "the chief items" which needed to be altered. Included was "a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings ... or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs. ..." In his article entitled "Woodrow Wilson's Agricultural Philosophy," Carl R. Woodward points out that Wilson became educated to the tremendous role which agriculture played in the economic and political affairs of the nation.

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117 Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents, p. 191.
In his book, The Farmers' Movement, 1620-1920, Carl C. Taylor concludes that "Woodrow Wilson's first administration, in terms of laws passed, was almost a Populist regime."\(^{119}\) It can be safely concluded that the Wilson administration had assigned agriculture a prominent place among those factors important to the nation's economy.

Heflin's premise that regulation which encourages the cotton economy is a symptom of genuine progress, while not openly proclaimed by the Wilson administration, was certainly endorsed. A brief look at some of the measures obtained by Wilson's agricultural aid program makes it apparent that his administration subscribed to such a tenet. Baldwin briefly reviews the program as follows:

Secretary David F. Houston of Texas led in an unprecedented expansion of Federal interest in agriculture. The Smith-Lever act of 1914 provided Federal grants-in-aid to the states which, with like sums provided by the states—"dollar matching,"—were used to reorganize and expand the system of county agents. . . . The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 extended vocational education on a similar base. The Federal Highway Act of 1916 granted aid to state construction of rural roads. The Warehouse Act of 1916 essentially set up the Populist subtreasury scheme by providing warehouses where farmers might deposit their staples and use the receipts as collateral for bank loans. Provisions were also made for grading staple crops and supervising trade in them.\(^{120}\)

Clearly, the Democratic administration subscribed to government regulation as a means of achieving agricultural progress.


\(^{120}\) Baldwin, op. cit., II, 413.
Finally, was cotton really agriculture's most important product? No single answer will suffice for such a complex question. John Samuel Ezell, in his book, *The South Since 1865*, notes that "on three percent of the world's land area was grown 60 percent of the world's cotton supply," and concludes that as far as the South was concerned, "so important was the crop that the life of the whole area was characterized by activities and attitudes resulting from its cultivation."\(^{121}\) Later, he concludes: "That cotton was vital to the American economy and furnished directly or indirectly a livelihood for millions cannot be denied."\(^{122}\)

Stated in still another context, the value of cotton in Heflin's home state of Alabama may be measured in terms of the ranking values of her industry. Since the early 1920's of the top ten major industries which in normal years have had a product value ranging from $10,000,000 to approximately $123,000,000 each, the cotton goods industry ranked second to iron and steel.\(^{123}\) A glance at crop statistics for the South in the decade following Heflin's speeches gives still further insight into the relative value of cotton. Gee and Terry, in their book, *The Cotton Cooperatives in the Southeast*,


\(^{122}\)Ibid., p. 124.

\(^{123}\)Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 719.
point out that "the ten principal cotton States, over a decade, show an average of 36.3 percent of the total value of all crops and animal products as the proportionate contribution of cotton and cotton-seed values." Further, they declare, "when the South's specialization in cotton production is measured by acreage, it is learned that 40 percent of the total acreage devoted to crops during the last ten years was planted to cotton."124 Clearly, then, cotton was the South's most important agricultural product. As for the relative value of cotton to the whole of the United States agricultural productivity and value, a look at national agricultural statistics for the year 1913 is revealing. The aggregate acreage harvested for 52 crops, in 1913, was 313,733,000 acres. 35,206,000 of those acres were devoted to cotton. In the same year, the gross farm income amounted to a total of $7,821,000,000. The total value of American cotton produced in 1913 amounted to $882,502,000.125


In other words, of 52 agricultural crops harvested in 1913, approximately one-ninth of the total acreage devoted to them was planted in cotton, and cotton contributed about the same percentage of their total value. No doubt the expression nearest to a validating endorsement of Heflin's premise to be found is that of Emory Q. Hawk, in his book, The Economic History of the South. Hawk states: "Before the Great War, the South was producing more than 60 percent of the world's cotton crop; in 1929, it produced 55 percent. In 1900, 66 percent of the South's crop was exported, and in 1928, 55 percent. In 1929, Southern cotton exports comprised 43 percent of the value of all agricultural exports from the United States." While Heflin's premise that cotton was agriculture's most important product cannot be clearly validated, it appears likely that, during the period of this study, it was indeed one of this nation's leading agricultural crops.

In conclusion, when tested within the framework of the prevailing philosophy of the period, Heflin's premises appear to be reasonably valid.

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In their discussion of the integrity of ideas, Thonssen and Baird state, "Aristotle held to his conviction that the most important ingredient of a speech is rational demonstration through severe argumentation." Later, in the same chapter, they assert:

The process of reasoning or argument serves as the cohesive force; through the relationships it establishes, the mind is led from the recognition of discernible facts to a conclusion. Therefore, this section will endeavor to identify Heflin's lines of argument, explore their relationships, and determine whether or not they were well founded.

Earlier in this chapter it has been stated that the pattern of development of many of Heflin's cotton speeches might be cast into the form of a hypothetical syllogism whose major premise was: If conditions are oppressing the southern cotton producer, the United States government should give him all the encouragement and substantial aid possible. From such a premise Heflin developed a proposition supported by four major contentions. Each of his eleven cotton speeches, in some manner, developed, related to, or extended this overall argument.

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127 Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 331.
128 Ibid., p. 344.
129 Supra, chap. v, p. 289.
The argument may be briefed as follows:

Resolved: That the federal government should improve the cotton economy of the South, for

I. The cotton economy is oppressed, because
   A. The system of rural credit is inadequate.
   B. Cotton prices are deliberately depressed.
   C. The world war has an injurious effect.

II. The improvement of cotton economy would benefit the South, because
   A. It would improve the credit of the South.
   B. It would improve the working capital of the South.
   C. It would improve the standard of living of the South.

III. The improvement of cotton economy would benefit the nation, because
   A. It would foster a greater sense of sectional unity.
   B. It would improve the national economy.
   C. It would enhance the national war effort.

IV. The improvement of cotton economy is practicable, because
   A. An adequate system of rural credits can be provided.
   B. Cotton prices can be determined by supply and demand.
   C. Cotton exchanges can be regulated.
   D. Speculation in cotton futures can be abolished.
   E. Injurious wartime effects can be combatted.

The oppression of the cotton economy

The focal points of Heflin's arguments that the cotton economy was being oppressed were three in number: (1) the prevailing system of rural credit, (2) bear gambling on the American cotton exchanges, and (3) the World War.
Not until the latter part of 1916 did Heflin relent in his arguments that inadequate system of credit was oppressing the cotton economy. His arguments concerning the effects of the war were employed in speeches delivered during the years, 1914-1919. The arguments centering on the evil practices in the cotton exchanges are found in speeches delivered throughout the period under discussion.

**Rural credits.** Heflin's arguments regarding the credit system may be stated in syllogistic form, as follows:

**Major premise:** If the prevailing system of rural credit is inadequate, cotton economy will be oppressed.

**Minor premise:** The prevailing system of rural credit is inadequate.

**Conclusion:** Therefore, the cotton economy is oppressed.

In the development of his major premise Heflin argued that the prevailing system of credit was one of short-time loans and high rates of interest. Such a system constantly threatened the cotton economy.

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130 In 1916, the Wilson Administration enacted the Warehouse Act, providing warehouses where farmers might deposit their staples and use the receipts as collateral for bank loans. Federal land banks were also established, providing long-time amortized loans and low interest rates. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, II, 413; Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 692.

farmer with crop seizure; foreclosure of property, farm implements, or livestock; or with bankruptcy. As production costs continued to rise, and these threats became acute, the producer was forced to sell his cotton at an inopportune time and at a low price.

To develop his minor premise, Heflin argued that loans were frequently unavailable, for too small an amount to cover rising costs, and covered too short a period; interest rates were too high; and credit sources rendered farmers too dependent.

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134 Ibid.


137 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5097, 5098; Volume 52, Part 2, p. 2177.

138 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, p. 918. Heflin's argument was that the cotton producer obtains credit from the southern merchant. The southern merchant obtains credit from southern banks. Southern banks obtain money against collateral held by New York bankers who are also bear speculators on the New York Cotton Exchange. The New York bankers make loans payable in October and November, during the middle of the cotton selling season, thus, making them able to bear the market at the same time they are forcing farmers to sell in order to meet their loan payments.
To develop his conclusion Heflin argued that cotton prices had been depressed;\textsuperscript{139} cotton had been produced at no profit and, in many instances, at a net loss;\textsuperscript{140} and the results had been ruinous to those thirty million people dependent on the cotton economy.\textsuperscript{141}

Such were Heflin's lines of argument in support of his contention that the cotton economy was oppressed. The nature of his proofs will be discussed in the following section of this chapter. The question remains, however, as to whether his arguments were well founded.

Certainly historians and economists seem to agree that the people of the cotton belt operated within the structure of a credit economy and that a substantial percentage of the cotton producers were in the tenant class. Edwin J. Clapp, in his book, Economic Aspects of the War, states:


\textsuperscript{140} Congressional Record, Volume 52, Part 2, p. 2176; Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16748.

\textsuperscript{141} Heflin argued that there were "thousands and tens of thousands" of southern farmers who had been "overtaken by some misfortune, drought, or maybe sickness in the family, and were unable to comply with the short-time contract with its burdensome interest rates" who had been "forced to give up the land and improvements, and move away." Congressional Record, Volume 52, Part 2, p. 2177.
In September and October of 1914, when the current price [of cotton] was six cents, the farmer could not hold his product until better times came. He was in debt; he was living on credit; and unless he turned his cotton in, his credit would be cut off and he would be in positive want. The storekeeper had his bills and notes to meet also; and he, too, generally had to sell the cotton at once for what it would bring.\footnote{142}

Describing credit problems of Alabama farmers, for the same period, Moore states:

\begin{quote}
Chief reliance has been upon merchant credit, which carries with it crop liens and exhorbitant interest charges. When banks and farm loan companies advanced money they generally charged high rates, and the short-time loans of the banks were ill suited to the farmers' needs. The development of banking facilities and the increased capacity of many farmers to pay, led to better accommodations at the hands of the banks. However, the expanding capital requirements of farming equaled, if they did not surpass, the expansion of farm credit facilities. The deficit in loanable funds, making necessary the importation of outside capital, caused interest rates in Alabama to be higher than in many of the Northern States, for both agriculture and industry.\footnote{143}
\end{quote}

That a large percentage of the cotton farmers were wholly dependent upon the prevailing system of credit is attested to by the amount of tenant farming then prevailing. Hawk points out that the 1900 census indicated that 67.7 percent of the farmers who depended on cotton as a chief source of income were tenants. Moreover, cites Hawk, during the period 1900-1925, the percentage of farmers (full owners, part owners, and managers) decreased in each of the leading


\footnote{143}Moore, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 692.
As for the increased costs of production, Moore claims that during the first year of the World War, when the price of cotton tumbled to seven cents a pound, the crop for that same year had been made "at unusually high costs."\textsuperscript{114} Statistics showing the American farmers' total consumption of fertilizer during the eight-year period from 1909 to 1917 indicate that the highest expenditure in any single year occurred in 1914. Farmers, in that year, spent more than $25 million in excess of the fertilizer costs for any of the other seven years.\textsuperscript{115} It had been during the selling season of that year that Heflin had been most vocal on the problem of production costs.\textsuperscript{116}

Were the threats of crop seizure, foreclosure, and bankruptcy really serious? Thomas D. Clark, in his book, The Emerging South, states:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{114}Hawk, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 458.
\item \textsuperscript{115}Moore, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 690.
\item \textsuperscript{116}Historical Statistics of the United States, p. 100.
\item \textsuperscript{117}Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16748.
\end{itemize}
The severity of economic failure of staple agriculture in the South translated into effects on human beings became one of the frightening experiences of the region. Farmers without land were not only a threat to regional economy, they involved the whole southern agrarian tradition in social tragedy and disillusionment. . . . In Alabama, in 1920, only 124,000 homes were free of mortgage, and 379,756 out of 508,769 families lived in rented houses. In every southern state approximately three out of five families lived either in mortgaged homes or were at the mercy of landlords.\textsuperscript{118}

On the national level, between the years 1910 and 1917, the total annual farm-mortgage debts increased steadily from a total of $3,207,863,000 in 1910 to $5,825,851,000 in 1917. Each year showed a substantial increase over the previous year's total mortgage indebtedness.\textsuperscript{119}

The question as to whether cotton prices had been depressed during the years 1913-1916, the period during which the injurious system of credit still prevailed, has already been answered in an earlier section of this study.\textsuperscript{150} They definitely had been depressed.

In view of the external evidence reviewed, Heflin's lines of argument in support of his contention that the prevailing system of credit was inadequate seem to have been reasonably well founded.


\textsuperscript{119} Historical Statistics of the United States, p. 111.

\textsuperscript{150} Supra, chap. iv, pp. 153-170.
Depressed prices. Stated in syllogistic form, Heflin's second contention in support of his argument that the cotton economy was oppressed was as follows:

Major premise: If cotton prices are deliberately depressed, the cotton economy will be oppressed.

Minor premise: Cotton prices are deliberately depressed.

Conclusion: The cotton economy is oppressed.

In the development of his major premise, Heflin argued that any system, other than the law of supply and demand, which denied the producer a voice in fixing prices of his product created an economic dependency which "hamstrung" the producer and had an injurious effect on the whole of cotton economy. The two systems of price fixing which he particularly indicted were bear gambling on the cotton exchanges and wartime efforts to include cotton in a system of price control.

In general, Heflin's argument against bear gambling on the cotton exchanges was developed along the following lines:

Various combinations of cotton spinners and speculators, trading in low grades of cotton which they neither held nor expected

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151 Heflin altered his arguments here, sometimes charging that the bear gamblers were New York and eastern bankers, sometimes powerful combines of American and foreign spinners, sometimes both bankers and spinners. Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 1, p. 919; Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16750; Volume 53, Part 1, pp. 918, 919; Volume 57, Part 3, p. 2174.
to deliver,\textsuperscript{152} periodically gained a monopoly of cotton by buying a controlling percentage of the "fictitious" cotton traded in the exchanges at a time when conditions (accidental or contrived) had already depressed the price,\textsuperscript{153} and then held the cotton until the prices had increased, at which time they sold.\textsuperscript{154} The "accidental or contrived" conditions which had assisted the "bears" were the effects of war\textsuperscript{155} or certain New York gamblers' control of the South's credit system.\textsuperscript{156} This "bear gambling" in "fictitious

\textsuperscript{152}Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 3, p. 2174.
\textsuperscript{153}Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, pp. 918, 919.
\textsuperscript{154}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{155}Heflin charged that British blockades of markets in Central Europe and Great Britain's subsequent seizure of American cotton had resulted in British payment of contract prices for cotton at a figure amounting to three cents a pound cheaper than she would have had to pay on the open market. With no other foreign markets open to American cotton, this drove down further the prevailing prices. \textit{Congressional Record}, Volume 53, Part 1, p. 919.
\textsuperscript{156}As pointed out earlier, Heflin contended that many of the New York speculators were Eastern bankers who controlled the South's credit system. In such a system of credit control, they were able to force sale of cotton at undesirable prices to the producers, thus having the effect of keeping down cotton prices which the bear gamblers had already driven down prior to the forced sales.
cotton," reasoned Heflin, had the effect of deliberately driving down the prices of cotton from a price level already low because of the "accidental or contrived" conditions.

Heflin's second target had been various proposals to include cotton in the food control bill and include it on a list of agricultural products whose prices were to be stabilized by the government. Heflin's objections to the inclusion of cotton in the provisions of the food control bill may be most easily pinpointed by reviewing a resolution which he introduced to exempt cotton from that bill.

A resolution, by Mr. Heflin, to exempt cotton from the provisions of the food control bill

Whereas cotton is the most essential product to the successful conduct of the war; and
Whereas it is the duty of Congress to use every precaution possible to make sure of an adequate cotton supply for ourselves and our allies; and
Whereas the cost of cotton production has greatly increased on account of the high price of fertilizers and the ravages of the boll weevil; and
Whereas cotton production in India, Egypt, and Russia has been practically abandoned for the purpose of producing food supplies; and
Whereas the cotton producers of the United States have greatly reduced their acreage; and
Whereas the reduction of acreage, the cold weather, the rust, and the boll weevil have made a normal cotton crop in the United States this year impossible; and
Whereas the question that confronts the Congress and the country is not how cheaply cotton may be purchased, but whether we shall produce enough cotton for our domestic uses and war purposes; and
Whereas the failure to produce an adequate cotton supply for ourselves and our allies would be nothing short of a public calamity:
Therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House that any legislation that makes cotton production unprofitable, and therefore an adequate yield uncertain and doubtful, is unwise and dangerous. Be it further

Resolved, That in view of the embarrassing and alarming conditions that now threaten the cotton crop of the United States that cotton should be taken out of the provisions of the food-control bill. 157

Against government price fixing of cotton, Heflin argued that, although he had voted to fix the price of wheat "because they were told that it was necessary to fix the price of wheat since wheat was a food product that we had to supply our allies," that he was nevertheless against the price fixing of agricultural products. He was against it for two reasons: (1) If you fixed the price of one product, you must fix the prices of all products or production costs would exceed the prices of the harvested product. (2) It was wrong to penalize the cotton producer for regaining some of his losses sustained during that period when his production costs had exceeded the prevailing prices of cotton. 158

Heflin argued that these conditions "hamstrung" the cotton producer because: (1) The margin of profit was too small to enable him to continue production of a "product essential to the war effort." (2) His inadequate credit system did not enable him to hold his cotton from the market until such time as he could be assured the necessary

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157 Congressional Record, Volume 55, Part 5, p. 5074.
158 Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 1, p. 227.
margin of profit. As to the general effect of this problem on the general condition of southern economy, Heflin's arguments remained virtually the same throughout his advocacy.

Were Heflin's arguments regarding the deliberate depression of cotton prices well founded? His arguments pertaining to the effects of wartime blockades and the subsequent British impressment and seizure of American cotton seem to be well founded. Clapp points out that cotton spinners and traders in Sweden, Norway, Holland and Switzerland virtually discontinued any importing of American cotton during the early part of 1915. On the other hand, while the British market was "kept flooded with diversions of neutral-bound cargoes," a Washington dispatch from the Department of Commerce, on August 5, 1915, stated that "British exports of cotton goods and cotton yarns to Scandinavia and Holland in the first six months of 1915 showed a great increase over 1914." In June, 1915, Holland and Sweden each took from England five times as much raw cotton as in the corresponding month of 1914. In other words, concludes Clapp, "at the same time that our exporters are hindered in their exports to European neutrals, British raw cotton dealers expand their re-exportation of cotton." On July 19, 1915, Sir Robert Cecil announced in parliament that $3,500,000 had been paid on seized cargoes of American cotton

\[159\] Ibid.
which were then sixty in number. The arrangement was that England would purchase the cargo at "contract price" or release it. "Contract price" was determined by the market price at Gothenburg on the date when the cotton would have arrived, had it not been detained by England. However, there was a provision that this price should not exceed a maximum of ten cents per pound, and the eventual price should be "arbitrated." Moreover, any cotton cargoes whose ownership had already passed to Germans would be confiscated without payment. Clapp concludes that as a result of these British activities, cotton on the American exchange dropped from 10.60 cents per pound on April 24 to 8.25 by the middle of July. Clearly, then, Heflin's arguments regarding the deliberate depression of cotton prices by wartime effects had been well founded.

Throughout his speeches in the period under discussion, however, Heflin's primary target had been speculation on the cotton exchanges. Had speculators on the exchanges actually depressed prices, and had they depressed them to the extents that Heflin claimed?

In their detailed analysis, Readings in Cotton Marketing, Virgil P. Lee and Robert L. Hunt identify the cotton futures market as "essentially a price-making organization." Of the market's

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four kinds of transactions, Lee and Hunt give speculation a prominent spot, and assert that of the various methods of settling contracts for trading in futures, the most common is the "offset method" whereby contractual settlements are made without the actual delivery of spot cotton.\textsuperscript{162} While they do not openly indict speculation in cotton futures as an important factor in depressing the price of cotton during the war years, they do admit that the general market activity of that period tended to depress cotton prices.\textsuperscript{163} However, they carefully point out that numerous supply and demand factors contribute towards making the problem of cotton price fluctuation a complex one.\textsuperscript{164} Since theirs is one of the more detailed analyses of cotton markets and marketing practices, it would seem futile to pursue the question further. It can be concluded that speculation in cotton futures could and probably did effect the prices of cotton. Whether the efforts of speculators deliberately depressed cotton prices to the extent to which Heflin claimed is questionable, since factors contributing to such price fluctuation are so varied and complex.

\textsuperscript{162} Ibid., pp. 225-226.
\textsuperscript{163} Ibid., pp. 243-256.
\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., p. 256.
Effects of war. Heflin's third argument that the cotton economy was oppressed, in syllogistic form, was as follows:

Major premise: If the conditions of war impose serious barriers to the production and sale of cotton, the cotton economy will be oppressed.

Minor premise: The conditions of war impose serious barriers to the production and sale of cotton.

Conclusion: Therefore, the cotton economy is oppressed.

The focal points of Heflin's arguments regarding barriers imposed by wartime conditions were three in number: (1) restrictions of exports to European markets, (2) depressed prices, and (3) rising production costs. In the first instance, Heflin argued that shipment of American cotton to its normal European markets had been seriously curtailed through blockades and embargoes; the development of new markets with neutral countries had been discouraged or prevented by British wartime policies effecting trade and commerce; and the United States had failed to open shipping lanes for American products as it should have. His lines of argument regarding the depression of cotton prices by such activities were substantially those that have already been examined. Similarly, his arguments regarding increased production costs were the same.

On the subject of blockades and embargoes, Heflin argued that Great Britain had deliberately closed markets in neutral countries
to American cotton, on the pretext that she was prohibiting it from reaching Germany, when, in fact, she wanted it herself, at cheaper prices than those on the prevailing world markets. She wanted American cotton, he claimed, not only because of the cheap price by which she could obtain it, but because her own supply of raw cotton had been depleted when she was forced to divert cotton acreage which she held or controlled to the production of food and the cotton supply which her spindles had on hand at home had gone into the manufacture of gun powder and high-explosive shells. Therefore, Heflin reasoned, Great Britain's desire to supply her own spindles with American cotton obtained at a cheap price was as great or greater than her alleged desire to keep it out of Germany. He concluded that Great Britain's interference with the shipment of American cotton to neutral countries had four effects: (1) she obtained cotton at three cents a pound cheaper than she could then buy it; (2) she kept other spinning industries from obtaining a supply of American cotton; (3) she furnished her own spindles with a much-needed supply; and (4) she depressed the price of cotton in the United States. Arguing that Austria, Germany, and Great Britain had all "ignored our rights and violated our neutrality; and that Great Britain had injured our commerce and violated the principles of international law," Heflin

165 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, pp. 918-920.
took the position that "none of these countries shall be permitted to insult our national sovereignty and destroy our commerce upon the high seas." 166 As to a solution, hinting at strict embargo measures, Heflin declared:

I would not permit any Egyptian cotton to come into our country until Great Britain permits our cotton to go freely to neutral nations, and I would not permit any country that interferes with our commerce with neutral nations to enjoy the fruits of friendly commerce with us. 167

Heflin offered no other solution for "opening American shipping lanes."

Mention should be made of one other line of argument which Heflin occasionally employed to prove that wartime conditions were depressing cotton prices. This argument had to do with the consumption of cotton by American munitions manufacturers. It had not been the practice to make public statistics showing the amount of cotton consumption by munitions plants. Heflin argued that the absence of such information tended to depress cotton prices. Heflin argued that in addition to the statistics of cotton stored by the spinners and consumed by the spinners, the producer needed to know the amount consumed by the munitions manufacturers if he were to have a fair picture of the actual amount of the previous year's crop on hand. The following excerpt further illustrates the problem:

166 Ibid., p. 919.

167 Ibid., p. 920.
Suppose, for instance, we produce a 12,000,000 bale crop, and the spindles here should consume 12,000,000 bales, and we should not export a bale. You would assume that we had 2,000,000 bales of old cotton left. Suppose, then, the buyer and the seller met, and the buyer said to the producer "Why, we have 2,000,000 bales of old cotton," and the producer said, "No; you have not, there is no old cotton." The buyer would reply that the statistics showed that the spindles consumed only 12,000,000 bales and that 12,000,000 bales were produced, but the seller would reply, "You must remember that we are consuming cotton now, vast quantities of it, in the making of smokeless powder and explosive shells, and they have consumed for this purpose the other 2,000,000 bales." Are not the buyer and seller both entitled to know just what the truth is regarding the matter?

Heflin further argued that the act of July 22, 1912, providing that the Director of the Census should collect cotton statistics regarding the amount of cotton ginned, raw cotton sold to manufacturers, baled cotton on hand, and the amount exported and imported covered the collection of such statistics as those involving munitions consumption.

Had Heflin's arguments that wartime conditions had oppressed the cotton economy been well founded? It will be remembered that in the discussion of the wartime period in Chapter IV of this study, it was concluded that despite various efforts to bolster the cotton economy, the effects of the various restrictions on exports of American cotton to European markets, the unstable market conditions,

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168 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 6, p. 5542.
169 Ibid., p. 5543. Heflin, himself, had authored this bill.
and the rising production costs had all combined to have an injurious effect on the cotton economy of the South.\textsuperscript{170} Clearly, then, Heflin's lines of argument were not ill-founded.

Benefits to the South

In the main, Heflin's arguments that the improvement of cotton economy would benefit the South were simple and few, and can be briefly treated. Heflin argued that the South derived its chief source of credit and working capital from cotton,\textsuperscript{171} and that thirty million people were therefore directly dependent on the cotton economy.\textsuperscript{172} He reasoned, therefore, that if the government were to assist in remedying those problems which he had alleged oppressed the cotton economy, then the benefits derived from such assistance were certain to improve the South's credit, working capital, and standard of living. It is not the object of this study to enter into the debate of whether or not the South's one-crop economy was injurious or beneficial. Suffice it to say that historians and economists seem to agree that whether or not it should have, the South did, in fact, depend on its staple crops as sources of credit and working capital, and the social and economic structures of that region were geared to such dependency. It can be concluded that Heflin's arguments were

\textsuperscript{170} Supra, chap. iv, pp. 163-173.

\textsuperscript{171} Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16748.

\textsuperscript{172} Ibid.
probably in keeping with prevailing philosophy of the South, at that time, and were, therefore, voicing popular sentiment.

Benefits to the nation

In general, Heflin argued that were the government to assist in the improvement of the cotton economy of the South, three national benefits would be derived: (1) a greater sense of sectional unity would be fostered; (2) the national economy would be improved; and (3) the national war effort would be enhanced.

Sectional unity. In the first instance, Heflin's arguments regarding the fostering of sectional unity frequently placed him in a position of noticeable inconsistency with positions maintained by some of his other lines of argument. Heflin had been disgruntled because he felt that House members from the western and midwestern agricultural regions had failed to support adequately his repeated requests for government assistance to the southern cotton growers during the early part of the war. Moreover, he argued, when the wheat producers had urged that minimum prices be placed on wheat he had supported that measure. Later, as European markets commenced to re-open and cotton prices began to climb, House members representing other agricultural regions had begun to clamor for measures

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173 Congressional Record, Volume 52, Part 2, p. 2176.
designed to control the soaring prices of cotton. In the meantime, when cotton growers were advised by Heflin and other southern representatives to hold their cotton off the market for higher prices, western spokesmen (particularly the governor of Kansas) had been highly critical of such action, publicly declaiming against it. Heflin argued that such a critical position was unfair and unjust to the cotton producers. They were justly due the opportunity to regain some of their losses sustained earlier, he argued, and the criticism was unfair inasmuch as southern representatives had supported western demands for minimum guarantees for wheat prices at a time when they were needed. Furthermore, argued Heflin, representatives from areas where wool was an important product had refused to help the South in "her time of need, saying that she would simply have to take her losses," but, now, they were urging price controls on the ceiling for cotton. Chided Heflin:

"The gentleman from Pennsylvania [J. Hampton Moore] could not with any degree of grace attempt price fixing upon cotton without favoring the fixing of a price upon the wool of those stalwart sheep in his State that climb those high and rugged hills; and in order to tax cotton, to be consistent, he must levy a tax upon the wool of the sheep, and if he does that he must put it on flax and silk."\(^{175}\)


\(^{175}\) Ibid.
Thus, Heflin had placed himself in the somewhat unusual position of being for price fixing of wheat if it helped the wheat growers, against price fixing of cotton because it hurt the cotton growers, against price fixing of agricultural products in general because of the principle, and aggravated by the agricultural representatives of other sections who had not actively supported his requests for assistance to cotton. Moreover, "wheat belonged in the food control bill, but cotton did not." This argument had been interrupted by a representative who asserted that he represented a state where both wheat and cotton were produced. He had received a telegram from the wheat-producing section protesting against the exemption of cotton if wheat were kept in the bill. Why, then, would the bill injure cotton if it would not injure wheat? Heflin's answer follows:

Well, cotton is neither food nor fuel, and it has no place in a food and fuel bill. Wheat is a food and properly belongs in a food-control bill. Consumers everywhere are urging that wheat be included in the bill, but nobody, so far as I know, except speculators and spinners, is urging that cotton be included in the provisions of the bill, and I will say, further, that cotton occupies a position peculiar to itself. It is so essential to the successful conduct of the war that a failure of the cotton crop would be more dangerous to the cause of our allied armies than would the failure of any other crop.  

Such an argument clearly placed Heflin in the position of saying that cotton demanded special considerations which were not applicable.

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176 Congressional Record, Volume 55, Part 5, p. 5074.
to other products. However, he reasoned, whatever special consideration is necessary should be supported by the agricultural representatives of other sections because (1) Southerners had supported the other sectional demands in "their time of need," and (2) because they all had a common cause of winning the war. Charging "inconsistency" in the positions of representatives from other sections, Heflin nevertheless reserved the right to be inconsistent himself whenever he deemed it necessary to the best interests of cotton.

Finally, he concluded, all sectional ill feeling would be swept away if the government would just give cotton the assistance she needed. In other words, what Heflin was really saying was, "Boys, if you'll just help cotton by endorsing the measures I want you to endorse, thus obtaining the necessary government assistance, I'll forget our sectional differences, and we will have fostered a greater sense of sectional unity." What Heflin said, in fact, was:

Let the time come quickly, when the people of this country—East, West, North and South—will have no semblance of prejudice against an industry of another section, but when all will look upon it as a great American industry and all working together for the good of that industry which contributes to the common good of us all.  

Heflin's arguments regarding sectional unity do not appear to have been well founded. It is more likely that he was masquerading what many historians have unmasked as a persecution complex long entertained by many Southerners directly involved with the staple

177 Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 1, p. 227.
economy of the South. In any event, his arguments had been somewhat inconsistent, while, at the same time, he levelled charges of inconsistency at those of his House colleagues who had not readily endorsed and supported his measures pertaining to cotton. As far as Heflin was concerned, it would seem, were these representatives from other sections to openly endorse his measures, regardless of the consistency of their positions, a greater sense of sectional unity would result. Such a position was illogical and ill-founded.

National economy. Heflin's arguments regarding the improvement of the national economy were frequently employed and varied in nature. Virtually all of these lines of argument were based on a premise discussed in an earlier section: Agriculture is the cornerstone of this nation's economy and cotton is its most important product.

Heflin's primary lines of argument regarding national economy were three in number: (1) Cotton is vital to America's balance of trade. (2) It contributes more to the nation's financial wealth than any other single commodity. (3) The ever-expanding potential of its products is vital to the social well-being of the nation.

In an effort to establish the importance of cotton to the nation's balance of trade, Heflin frequently reviewed the extent to which world markets depended on American cotton,178 the extent to

which American credit abroad depended on cotton,\textsuperscript{179} and the fact that cotton was the most readily cashed of all the great staples of the world.\textsuperscript{180}

Heflin's arguments that cotton contributed more than any other product to the nation's financial wealth employed many of the same lines of argument. In addition, he argued that cotton was "the only product in the kingdom of agriculture very pound of which is converted into money and every dollar's worth of which contributes to the financial wealth of the United States."\textsuperscript{181} Other arguments included the contention that cotton served the nation as an excellent collateral or security,\textsuperscript{182} it was one of the most important contributors to this nation's gold reserve,\textsuperscript{183} and its manufactured products accounted for a significant percentage of American gross national product.\textsuperscript{184}

\textsuperscript{179} Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5098.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{181} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{182} Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16749.
\textsuperscript{183} Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 1, p. 227.
His lines of argument to establish the benefits of cotton to the social well-being of the nation generally dealt with the ever-expanding uses of cotton. In these frequent testimonials, Heflin left few dimensions of American life untouched by cotton. Typical of these testimonials was one which Heflin delivered during the period of American neutrality, January 11, 1916. He stated:

From the sewing thread to the sail rope and the sails upon the sailboat, from the cord on the lightning express to the wings of the aeroplane, from the powder behind the bullet to the deadly power behind the torpedo of the submarine, cotton has performed a tremendous work. Its uses in the domestic world are on the increase. We have mercerized cotton that resembles silk so much that it takes an expert to tell the difference. The cement industry is great and cotton sacks are used for shipping cement. Automobiles are being manufactured by the thousands and hundreds of thousands and cotton is used to make automobile tops and tires. Why, it is used for nearly everything.

Heflin reasoned, then, that if the government were to assist cotton, then cotton would be able to render more products beneficial to American life.

Any effort to determine whether Heflin's arguments were well founded is to ask whether he had over-emphasized the value of cotton to national economy. For, certainly cotton's importance to the national welfare of this period has almost become self-evident. It seems reasonable to agree that cotton was vital to national welfare and that, therefore, national assistance to it would result in national benefits from it. Like many Southerners of his times,

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185 Seldom did he fail to talk about cotton's multiple uses.
186 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, p. 920.
Heflin had argued that cotton was the nation's most important single product. It would be a task too large for this study to determine the validity of such an argument. It is enough to conclude that, although Heflin tended to overstate the importance of cotton, his arguments that it was vital to the national welfare were probably well founded.

**National war effort.** Heflin had also argued that government assistance to the cotton economy would enhance this nation's wartime efforts. The focal point of these lines of argument was that cotton was vital to winning the war. In general, he used three lines of argument: (1) America was financially dependent on cotton as a source of revenue with which to finance the costs of war. (2) Cotton was an essential commodity to the manufacture of munitions. (3) Government assistance to the cotton producers would insure the continued supply of such an essential commodity.

Heflin's arguments regarding the nation's financial dependence on cotton have already been discussed. He continuously pointed out increasing demands for American cotton in world markets, the rising costs of the war, and the obvious potential sources of revenue from cotton to meet such costs.187

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Heflin's arguments regarding munitions consumption of cotton generally involved the various uses of cotton for such purposes and the volumes of cotton consumption by the munitions manufacturers. On some instances he briefly explained the process of using cotton to manufacture gun powder, and on others he reviewed the total consumption and his sources of such estimates. In general, his arguments were primarily explicative in character. Occasionally, Heflin added to his list of munitions uses of cotton other wartime uses. Perhaps his most eloquent testimony was that of July 13, 1917:

It [cotton] is the most useful product in time of peace, and on account of its vast and various properties, it is indispensable in time of war. It is now playing the most important part in the greatest war that the world has ever known. Cotton has treasured in its fiber the heat of the sun, and imprisoned in its snowy locks the secret of the lightning's power. When touched with nitric acid it hurls implements of destruction more powerful than the thunderbolts of Jove. Our gunpowder and explosive shells derive their tremendous power from cotton. In this boll of cotton is the substance to which our soldiers must look for their uniforms and shelter. Cotton furnishes wings for the aeroplanes and sails for our ships at sea. It flies in the flag above the soldier. It goes with him in his uniform and it spreads its white wings above him when he sleeps on the tented field. Cotton is the power behind the bullet, and it is the healing balm in the bandages of the Red Cross and Hospital Corps. It soothes and comforts the wounded soldier and wraps its mantle about him in his last sleep. The oil of the cotton seed is a wholesome food and contains a substitute for glycerin, large quantities of which are used in the manufacture of powerful explosives.

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188 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 6, p. 5542.
189 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, p. 920.
190 Congressional Record, Volume 55, Part 5, p. 5075.
To conclude, Heflin's arguments regarding cotton's enhancement of the national war effort were largely explicative in design. Evidently Heflin felt that it was his role to keep the nation informed of the multiple uses of cotton in the war effort and the extent of its consumption by the munitions industries. If he could gain sufficient national appreciation for cotton's role in the war, it would be an easy matter to solicit assistance from the government for such an important commodity. In the light of the self-evident fact that cotton was important to the national war effort, Heflin's arguments would seem to be well founded.

The remedial arguments

Heflin argued that the improvement of cotton economy was practicable because of five available remedies: (1) an adequate system of rural credits could be provided; (2) cotton prices could be determined by the law of supply and demand; (3) cotton exchanges could be regulated; (4) speculation in cotton futures could be abolished; and (5) injurious wartime effects could combated.

Rural credits. While Heflin applauded the provision of the Federal Reserve Bill which would "guarantee to the owners of cotton-warehouse receipts the same treatment that would be accorded to other merchantable paper,"\textsuperscript{191} he wanted much more. Specifically, he wanted

\textsuperscript{191} Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5099.
a "separate and distinct farmers' credit system," which would enable the farmer to obtain loans "at a cheaper rate of interest and for a longer period of time" than the prevailing system would allow. 192 In the meantime, however, he offered some "stop-gaps." In the fall of 1914, Heflin authored two bills, one to buy 4,000,000 bales of that year's crop during the six months immediately following passage of the bill. A provision was included whereby the government would not have to buy the cotton all at one time. The other bill provided for the government to lend money through the banks, on the farmer's note, secured by cotton-warehouse receipts, at $145 on the bale. Heflin argued that these two measures would provide the farmer with some money with which to pay some of his bills thus enabling him to hold his cotton off the market for better prices. 193 He continued, in the meantime, to press for a more comprehensive farm credit system, such as the system of either Germany or France. In fact, the farm credit systems of these two countries were the precedents with which he argued the practicality of such a system for the United States. 194 Furthermore, Heflin argued, since stored cotton in no way deteriorated, there would be no chance that the security values might depreciate,

192 Ibid., p. 5097.
193 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16750.
194 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5098.
as long as cotton was stored in insured and bonded warehouses. Therefore, such a system represented a sound investment for the federal government.\footnote{195}

The fact that, in 1916, the Wilson administration did enact The Warehouse Act, providing warehouses where farmers might deposit their staples and use the receipts as collateral for bank loans, and at the same time established federal land banks, providing long-time amortized loans and low rates of interest, would seem to indicate that Heflin's lines of argument in support of a remedy for the prevailing credit system had been well founded.\footnote{196}

The law of supply and demand. In a sense, Heflin's arguments regarding supply and demand were based on those supporting improved rural credits. The line of argument which he used primarily went as follows:

When harvest is over the crops must be sold. If the farmer is without money and can not secure credit, he usually sells at once when prices are low. Moreover, the very fact that large supplies are on hand has a tendency to keep the market price down. To counteract this falling market, the rural-credit banks would furnish money to the farmers who would then be able to hold back their produce, and this would tend to regulate the market and raise prices according to the law of supply and demand.\footnote{197}

\footnote{195} Ibid. \footnote{196} Baldwin, op. cit., II, 413; Moore, op. cit., p. 692. \footnote{197} Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5098.
Usually these arguments regarding supply and demand ran concurrently with those in favor of expanding world markets and regulating the American cotton exchanges. Heflin reasoned that with increased consumption of American cotton, by foreign markets, and with the sale and delivery of "real" cotton in the American exchanges, the law of supply and demand could then work freely, to the advantage of the American cotton economy. Moreover, reasoned Heflin, this argument was just as valid in wartime as it had been in peacetime, providing America were to take the necessary steps to re-open her shipping lanes to foreign markets.198

That cotton prices did increase after 1916, when the Warehouse Act and federal land banks had been inaugurated, cannot be denied. The season average price per pound of cotton for the years 1916-1919 was as follows: 1916—17.36, 1917—27.09, 1918—26.88, 1919—35.34.199 However, earlier discussion in this study has already established that there were many contributing factors to these increases.200 Moreover, Lee and Hunt conclude that the futures market [the exchange] is "ordinarily an unsatisfactory place in which to buy and sell spot cotton,"201 and that, since the "exchanges provide a continuous and

198 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, p. 920.
199 Cotton and Cottonseed, p. 20.
200 Supra, chap. iv, pp. 164-172.
201 Lee and Hunt, op. cit., p. 214.
and liquid market," they are therefore of vital importance to "the economic handling and orderly marketing of the American Cotton Crop." Thus, Lee and Hunt infer that confining the exchanges to handling and delivering "real" cotton would be neither advantageous nor practical. In light of such external evidence, it would seem that while the law of supply and demand no doubt needed to play a more important role in fixing the price of cotton, Heflin's argument that it should be the only determinant was questionable.

The regulation of the exchanges. Heflin advanced several different measures by which he proposed the cotton exchanges might be satisfactorily regulated. Most popular with Heflin was the argument that they should be forced to deal in "real" cotton, rather than the "fictitious stuff" with which they traded, and that they should be forced to make actual delivery of cotton upon the contract of a sale. Another frequent argument was that involving the restricting of cotton grades. Specifically, Heflin charged that bear speculators operating on the exchanges were "settling without regard to the price of spot cotton the differences between the various grades." His solution was for Congress to restrict the number of grades of cotton to be traded on the exchanges. Cried Heflin:

202 Ibid., p. 229.
203 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 1, p. 920.
I am in favor of confining them to the delivery on exchange contracts to about six grades of real spinable cotton, and we have got to come to that. The cotton crop of the United States, 85 or 90 percent of it, is a good grade and would be represented by these six grades. Now they are seeking to use the low-grade stuff—10 percent of the crop—to fix the price of the 85 and 90 percent of the good grade.204

Actually, the law required that the markets deliver the standard grades adopted by Congress—nine grades. However, Heflin had charged that the Bureau of Markets had "changed and spread out the grades to 21 or 22," and he argued that the Bureau had no such authorization under the existing law to make such changes.205 When chided as to why the Democratic administration had not, in four years, improved upon the law controlling the grades of cotton to be traded in the exchanges, Heflin replied that they had improved it, but it needed improving more.206

It has already been shown that certain agricultural economists, such as Lee and Hunt, argue that trading in the futures markets in "real" cotton, with actual delivery, would be both disadvantageous and impractical. Therefore, that portion of Heflin's remedial arguments to regulate the exchanges seems questionable. However, the fact that Congress had already deemed it necessary to regulate the grades of cotton to be traded in the exchange would seem to give some credence to Heflin's argument regarding control of cotton grades.

204 Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 3, p. 2174.
205 Ibid.
206 Ibid.
Abolishing speculation in futures. Not until the postwar period did Heflin openly advocate the outright abolition of the exchanges as they were then operating in futures contracts. Earlier he had confined most of his proposals to government regulation. However, on January 27, 1919, Heflin increased the tempo of his "war" against the exchanges. To begin with, he had charged that the New York Exchange was a "gambling institution, operating in violation of law," and was "destroying cotton values by its future quotations by the millions every day." Cried Heflin, "It has destroyed cotton values this day to the amount of $22,000,000 or $23,000,000. It has destroyed cotton values--11,000,000 bales of cotton--inside of 15 days, $330,000,000." Later, Heflin declared:

The spinner can not be supplied from that exchange. It is not helping the producer. It is hurting and robbing him. Then pray tell me, gentlemen, what good service it is performing in our country? What legitimate interest does it serve? The spinner can not get his cotton supply through it. The producer is being robbed by it, and I contend today that if this exchange intends to continue to be an outlaw it ought to be abolished. The Louisiana State lottery is gone. The whisky traffic is doomed, and why not destroy gambling in farm products. Any institution that is morally wrong in its conduct has no excuse for existence in legitimate trade, and I believe that we must come to the idea so ably advocated by my friend from Texas [Hatton W. Summers] of spot cotton exchanges, of spot produce exchanges of every kind.

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207 Ibid., p. 2173.
208 Ibid., p. 2174.
Here, then, was Heflin's final ultimatum to the exchanges. Although he favored abolishing them altogether, and establishing in their place spot cotton exchanges, he was willing for them to exist only if they were willing to operate within the confines of the law as he interpreted those confines.

Had Heflin advocated a wise course of policy? Again turning to Lee and Hunt, one is forced to recall their conclusion that "There is no single factor in the economic handling and orderly marketing of the American Cotton Crop more important than the futures contract."²⁰⁹ One cannot possibly equate this conclusion with Heflin's argument. More explicitly, Lee and Hunt state:

The cotton crop of the United States [1927] is grown by some 2,000,000 farmers on more than 40,000,000 acres. While 70 to 80 percent of it is harvested within the three months of September, October and November, the consumption is in fairly uniform amounts throughout the year. The quantity harvested during these three months totals many millions of bales and with growers desirous of selling their cotton to settle their debts and to prepare for the next crop, it is obvious that without some form of price insurance, there would be no buyers for the product, except at such margins of profit as would warrant these buyers in assuming the risk of carrying the cotton until there was a demand for it.²¹⁰

Thus, it is clear that if one accepts the Lee and Hunt thesis that the cotton futures markets were necessary as a means of providing some source of price insurance, he must reject Heflin's argument.

²⁰⁹Lee and Hunt, op. cit., p. 229.
²¹⁰Ibid., pp. 229-230.
as invalid even though it was advanced at a time when a world war had wrought unusual conditions. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that the exchanges may have been operating outside the law with regard to existing regulations concerning the grading of cotton, and it may be possible that such ultimatums as Heflin's were desirable if the exchanges were to be persuaded to trade in the grades of cotton which the law prescribed.

**Combatting wartime effects.** A number of Heflin's proposals for combatting the effects of war on the cotton economy have already been discussed. These had included the outright purchase and storage of cotton by the government, with the use of cotton collaterals in the security exchanges; the development of new trade markets with neutral countries who had not previously been using much American cotton; the exclusion of cotton from the food control bill; the establishment of a rural credits system which would enable the producers to borrow against their crops without having to sell during low-price seasons; further restrictions on the activities of the cotton futures trading on American exchanges; some strict embargoes designed to force Great Britain to stop her impressment of cargoes of American cotton and open the shipping lanes to neutral countries; and the publishing of statistics showing the amount of cotton consumed by American munitions manufacturers. In short, virtually all of the lines of argument which Heflin had
employed to propose remedial measures for the cotton economy, in
general, were equally applicable in proposing methods of combatting
the effects of the war. Brief mention was made earlier of his plan
for combatting the effects of the strain of postwar efforts to
negotiate a peace. This had to do with Heflin's plan to sell Ameri­
can cotton to German buyers, but to store it in American warehouses
until such time as a peace negotiation had been concluded, whereupon
it could then be delivered.\(^{211}\)

It has already been concluded in earlier discussions in this
section that, with the exception of Heflin's arguments for restrict­
ing the activities of the exchanges and for the embargoes against
Great Britain, most of his proposals appear to have been reasonable
and justified. His proposal regarding the American exchanges has been
shown to be questionable. As for the proposed embargoes against Great
Britain, the American position of neutrality seemed designed to ex­
clude any such measure. Finally, there was the matter of selling
cotton to Germany, but storing it in American warehouses until con­
cclusion of peace negotiations. No evidence has come to light in this
study that the government ever endorsed and employed the measure.
In fact, a strict blockade was maintained against Germany throughout
the ten weeks necessary to get the Peace Conference under way and

\(^{211}\) Heflin had urged this action in a speech delivered March 15,
1919. Heflin to Tumulty, March 20, 1919, Heflin Papers, University
of Alabama.
during the six long months required for peace-making. Samuel Eliot Morison contends, in his book *The Oxford History of the American People*, that "it is now clear that the Allies could and should have lifted the blockade before the new year dawned." Even so, it remains probable that the adoption of any such measure as Heflin's would have compromised the United States at the peace table. Thus, although it might have helped both the southern cotton growers and Germany, it does not seem to have been in the interest of the nation and was probably ill founded.

**Summary**

It has been shown that a number of Heflin's lines of argument were interrelated and served multiple purposes. Moreover, the majority of them seem to have been reasonably well founded, the events of the time having justified them, or the prevailing philosophy of the period having endorsed them. That Heflin's judgment and reasoning processes had been colored by the persecution complex frequently entertained by those most intimately concerned with the staple economy of the South is clear. That his lifelong distrust of Eastern financial interests and "big business" influenced his thinking is also clear. However, despite such influences, it must be concluded

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213 Ibid., p. 877.
that Heflin demonstrated with his lines of argument a notable familiarity with and comprehension of the ills and needs of the cotton economy during the years, 1913-1920. Moreover, these arguments were designed to develop a national awareness of such needs.

HIS FORMS OF SUPPORT

Having examined Heflin's major premises and lines of argument, the question arises, what forms of support did he use with which to gain understanding, acceptance, and action? Giles Wilkeson Gray and Waldo W. Braden, in their book Public Speaking: Principles and Practice, state: "The supporting materials for a speech may serve any one of three purposes: (1) to clarify, (2) to prove, and (3) to amplify."21

Keeping in mind these purposes, this section will examine the nature of Heflin's supporting materials, his methods of employing them, the relative extents to which he employed them, and their general effectiveness in enabling him to achieve the above-stated purposes.

The question as to whether Heflin was essentially deductive or inductive in logical procedure is a puzzling one. The foregoing section on his lines of argument has already demonstrated his aptness

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in and fondness for reasoning from a general truth to a particular conclusion. On the other hand, Heflin relied heavily on many of the devices which are normally considered the tools of the inductive process. Chief among these were analogy and comparison, causal inference, statistics, and testimony. In contrast, however, he was strongly attracted to the frequent use of explanation and restatement. Considering the man's motivations, one strongly suspects that his love of attention was a greater determinant than was his logical procedure in choosing his forms of support. In any event, the nature and extent of his choices may be demonstrated by taking some of his representative speeches and subjecting them to quantitative analysis. The writer has selected three of Heflin's speeches as representative of the 1913-1920 speeches selected for study in this chapter. They are deemed representative for several reasons: (1) They represent the three periods by which the study has been previously ordered. (2) They involve three of his favorite and most oft-discussed topics. (3) All three are highly argumentative in nature, thus imposing upon the speaker a heavy burden of proof. (4) They are varied in function in that one proposes a broad change of policy, one introduces and defends a specific resolution, and one indicts an alleged evil.  

215 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, pp. 5097-5099; Volume 53, Part 6, pp. 5542-5549; Volume 57, Part 3, pp. 2173-2175. The speeches were delivered September 17, 1913, April 5, 1916, and January 27, 1919. The first deals with farm credits, the second with collecting cotton statistics, and the third with the cotton exchanges.
The various forms of support investigated have been those suggested in Gray and Braden's book, previously cited.\textsuperscript{216} Indicating the number of instances each form of support was used in each of the three speeches, the analysis yields the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms of Support</th>
<th>Speeches</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>A. Clarification</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Explanation</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Description</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>3. Narration</td>
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<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td><strong>B. Proof</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Facts</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Testimony</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Examples</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Statistics</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Inference</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Argument from specific instance</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>b. Circumstantial detail</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Causal inference</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Analogy, comparison</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>56</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>C. Amplification</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Restatement, summary</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Adage, maxim</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Rhetorical question</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL FORMS</strong></td>
<td>99</td>
<td>110</td>
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\textsuperscript{216} Gray and Braden, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 287.
While the analysis merely establishes trends in Heflin's choices of his forms of support,\textsuperscript{217} it does illustrate certain preferences. Clearly Heflin had a particular fondness for the use of comparison and analogy. In particular, he loved to compare the value of agriculture to that of elements of American economy and to compare the value of cotton to that of other commodities. For instance, in his September 13, 1913, speech he drew the following comparisons: "The United States owes more to the producers than to any other class of people"; "there is no better product in the world on which to loan money than cotton"; "In the catalogue of commodities, cotton is the master production, the most readily cashed and the most widely consumed among the great staples of the earth"; "cotton is the only product in the kingdom of agriculture every pound of which is converted into money and every dollar's worth of which contributes to the financial wealth of the United States"; "Cotton unlocks foreign vaults and brings gold into our country when all other products fail"; Cotton stored in insured or bonded warehouses is "as safe a security as silver bullion stored in the vaults of the United States Treasury."\textsuperscript{218} Not only did such uses of comparison enable Heflin

\textsuperscript{217} The foregoing quantitative analysis is not intended to be comprehensive or conclusive. It is only intended to indicate trends in Heflin's choices of his forms of support.

\textsuperscript{218} \textit{Congressional Record}, Volume 50, Part 5, pp. 5097-5099.
to clarify his views, hold the attention of his listeners, and strengthen his proofs, but they were also designed to amplify the general theme which he wished to convey to the public at large that cotton was important to national welfare.

While using this device as an appeal with which to strengthen his theme regarding the importance of cotton, Heflin also used it as a weapon with which to fight the alleged evils of the New York Cotton Exchange. On January 27, 1919, Heflin delivered a scathing rebuke against the Exchange in which he likened its activities to "highway robbery." He categorized the effects of such activities in a class with the effects of the Louisiana state lottery, the "whiskey traffic," and any other "institution morally wrong in its conduct."

In arguing the contention that cotton did not need such an exchange, Heflin declared:

You do not need an exchange for automobiles, and there are millions of automobiles, and there are millions and millions of dollars invested in them. It is a flourishing business. You do not need an exchange for horses and mules, yet people deal in them and they make money speculating in them by investing money in them and selling the real article. The hay crop of the United States is nearly as big as the cotton crop. You do not have any hay exchange. Why is it necessary to have a fictitious exchange for cotton and grain, except to give the gambler and the robber an advantage that they can not have in the spot markets of the country? 219

Although any effort to show the likenesses between the marketing problems of horses, mules, automobiles, hay, cotton, and grain was noticeably missing from his argument, Heflin's inference was plain.

219 Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 3, p. 2174.
Heflin also enjoyed explaining problems to his auditors. He repeatedly explained problems of the prevailing rural credits system, problems of gathering cotton statistics and the merits of his solutions, and problems of producing, marketing, and securing fair prices for cotton. For instance, in his April 5, 1916, speech, Heflin repeated his explanation of the need for statistics showing the volume of cotton consumption by munitions manufacturers no less than ten times, and he repeated his explanation of the merits of his resolution to obtain such statistics an equal number of times. Other sections of this study have already established the frequency with which Heflin explained the various uses of cotton products, the ways in which bear gamblers operating on the cotton exchanges depressed cotton prices, and the manner in which Great Britain had interrupted the normal flow of American cotton to European markets.

Thus far, then, Heflin's choices of supporting materials indicate a division of preference regarding the devices of deductive

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220 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, pp. 5097-5099.
221 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 6, pp. 5542-5549.
222 These were scattered through all of his speeches for the years, 1913-1920.
223 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 6, pp. 5542-5549.
and inductive reasoning. While he used comparison and analogy frequently, he also demonstrated a particular fondness for explanation. To complicate the picture still further, he also made frequent use of amplification and causal inference.

Heflin's penchant for restatement or summary may be easily demonstrated by looking at his April 5, 1916, speech on gathering statistics of cotton consumed by munitions. In this speech Heflin employed four recurrent contentions: (1) The Agricultural Department gathers other cotton statistics of all kinds. (2) It is important to know the statistics regarding munitions consumption of cotton. (3) The producers are entitled to know them. (4) The producers want to know them. By actual count, Heflin repeated these contentions a total of twenty-four times. Sometimes they were restated in slightly different context, sometimes they were restated in identical context. Similarly, as indicated earlier, Heflin restated his premise that cotton is agriculture's most important product over and over again, throughout the cotton speeches under discussion. The same may be said for most of his other premises and the major contentions with which he endeavored to establish them.

It has also been noted that Heflin often employed causal inferences. His heavy reliance on this form of support has been

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22\[\text{Ibid.}^\]
clearly indicated in the foregoing quantitative analysis. Typical of Heflin's employment of this support is an argument in his January 27, 1919, speech in which he was endeavoring to prove that the New York Exchange had caused the depression of cotton prices. Heflin argued as follows:

Gentlemen, the wool crop is short, the flax crop is short, the cotton crop is short, and the world is demanding large quantities of American cotton. The ending of the war has set free 151,000,000 spindles, and the sea is free of submarines, but we are permitting in the United States Government a monstrous gambling establishment, and I indict it as such, to beat down without any justifiable excuse the value of the product of thirty-odd millions of American citizens. I have been able to see cotton sell for $30 a bale. It now costs $30 a bale after it is made to pick it out and gin it and put bagging and ties upon it, and get it on the market. And these figures are not included in the cost of production. It cost 25 cents a pound to produce cotton in America in 1918, and yet the exchange has beaten down the price up to this time more than $40 a bale in two weeks. Figure that on 11,000,000 bales of cotton and see what the cotton producers of the United States are losing.

Get facts, gentlemen, in this connection. The South is not selling her cotton, and she is not going to sell it at these destructive prices. The governors of the cotton-growing States have called on the producers to hold it, and why? Because they know that we cannot sell it under 30 cents a pound and make a profit, and the only thing that we can do is to hold it for a fair and reasonable price, and we are doing it. We will greatly reduce our acreage this year. It is hard to produce cotton in the presence of the boll weevil. We will plant this acreage in something else. We can get more for hogs, more for peas, more for velvet beans, for peanuts, and for hay and corn and all those things than we can get for cotton, and there is no gambling exchange to steal away the profit on these things. So, gentlemen, this section of the United States is driven to this course because here is an institution that beats down the value of its products when the world is demanding their crops. 225

The context obviously abounds with causal inferences. To list a few is to gain further insight into the frequency with which Heflin used causal inferences and the uses he sometimes made of them:

1. The world is demanding large quantities of American cotton because of shortages in wool, flax, and cotton.

2. Spindles are free and shipping lanes are open because the war is over.

3. In spite of these demands, and in the face of ample spindles and open shipping lanes, cotton prices are depressed because of bear gambling on the markets.

4. Cotton costs too much to produce because of high production costs and low prices.

5. Cotton is too hard to produce because of the boll weevil.

6. Governors are advising a holding action because of low prices.

7. Producers are planting lower acreage because of low prices, the threat of the weevil, and because other products are more profitable.

8. The other products are more profitable because of higher prices, no threat of weevil infestation, and no threat from price manipulation by an exchange.

9. This whole action is necessary because the Cotton Exchange has deliberately depressed the prices of cotton.

One is forced to conclude that Heflin not only made frequent use of causal inference, but, on occasion, he used it with some aptness. In this instance he had demonstrated that there was some connection between the events under consideration, that the alleged cause was of sufficient magnitude to produce the alleged effect, and he had
eliminated a number of other causes which might have explained the effect. Earlier in the speech, and in others of his speeches he had shown that the alleged effects were probably true. Therefore, his use of causal inference, in this case, was not only frequent but apt.

Mention should also be made of Heflin's frequent employment of statistics. This has been demonstrated to a moderate extent in the preceding passage. Heflin particularly liked to parade them before his listeners when discussing problems of getting American cotton to European markets. A notable example is found in his January 11, 1915, speech in which he was discussing the dependency of world cotton markets on American cotton. He had been reviewing the extent of cotton acreage reduction in India, Russia, and Egypt and the effects of such acreage reduction on their demands for American cotton as well as the demands of Great Britain. Said Heflin: "The answer was, 'The United States will make all we want, because for the last three years she had produced upon the average 15,000,000 bales a year.'" He continued, "And then they reasoned that Austria and Germany would not be permitted to get their usual supply, which was about 3,000,000 bales." Explained Heflin:

So with an average crop of 15,000,000 bales in the United States and 3,000,000 bales kept out of Austria and Germany to be added to the world's supply, Great Britain and Russia thought that there would be cotton in abundance for all their needs.
But, Mr. Speaker, all these calculations have been upset. Great Britain and Russia reduced their cotton acreage, and the cotton producers of the United States reduced theirs and cut the supply of fertilizers to half the amount used in 1914. So, instead of making an average of 15,000,000 bales, we are making not more than 11,000,000 bales, 4,000,000 bales short of what they expected us to make. Now, then, take the reduction of cotton acreage in India, Egypt, and Russia and the reduction here, and then think of the vast amount of cotton consumed in making gun powder and high-explosive shells, surgical lint, and medicated cotton used by the armies in Europe—and they have used more in this way in the last 15 months than the world has ever used in any 25 years before. Now, we must not overlook the fact that Germany and Austria received early in the season through neutral countries 2,000,000 bales of the 1914 crop. That is just 1,000,000 bales short of their usual supply. Our cotton crop is short 5,000,000 bales, 2,000,000 bales gone to Germany and Austria, so there are 7,000,000 bales missing that they did not calculate on, and today the cotton supply in Russia and France is short and England faces a cotton famine.

Although Heflin was indeed employing his statistics to prove a point, it is evident that he found no displeasure in demonstrating his familiarity with statistics indicating the supply and demand of cotton.

While the quantitative analysis indicates that Heflin made frequent use of several other forms of support, it also reveals two rather startling facts: despite his heavy reliance on his own experience and familiarity with the cotton industry, Heflin, when he deemed it necessary, made frequent use of testimony. Moreover, although he enjoyed a reputation as a master story-teller and had

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226 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, p. 920.
used his skill with this device in many of his earlier cotton speeches, he evidently was very serious of intent in the pursuit of his cotton advocacy in the years, 1913-1920, and, therefore, used this skill sparingly. In the three speeches selected for the foregoing analysis Heflin resorted to his inimitable story-telling only once. In fact, only four other times did Heflin resort to this device in the other eight speeches included in this chapter, and three of the four were stories told to ridicule the Republicans and their tariff policy, in a speech on March 5, 1914.227

As to the matter of his use of testimony, this was most apparent in his April 5, 1916, speech when he was proposing the adoption of his resolution to collect and publish cotton statistics pertaining to the cotton consumption by munitions factories. At least thirteen times Heflin resorted to testimony, during the course of his speech. He cited an act of Congress which he had helped to author, the Director of the Census and his chief statistician, a hearing before the Agricultural Committee, a number of unidentified newspapers, a retired naval officer, other members of the House, and conferences between himself and the Director of the Census. Moreover, he repeatedly referred to such sources.228

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227 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 5, pp. 4364-4367.
228 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 6, pp. 5542-5549.
In summary, it is evident that while Heflin liked to organize his speeches into patterns more conducive to the employment of deductive processes of reasoning, and while many of his lines of argument can be easily converted to syllogisms, he tended to rely heavily on those forms of support that are customarily the properties of inductive reasoning. On the other hand, he also demonstrated a strong preference for such deductive tools as explanation and re-statement. Comparison, and causal inference were his preferred forms of support, on the inductive side. He also made frequent use of statistics. Finally, it should be recalled that, in contrast to his cotton speeches of an earlier period, Heflin used his skill in storytelling sparingly throughout his speeches of 1913-1920. Three conclusions emerge from close examination of Heflin's forms of support: (1) He was intent on persuading the American public that cotton was important to their welfare. (2) He was anxious that they understand why. (3) He was deadly serious in pursuing these objectives.

HIS CREDIBILITY

Aristotle held that "there are three things, apart from demonstrative proofs, which inspire belief, viz. sagacity, high character, and good will." Moreover, he reasoned that of particular
importance was what the speaker did during the speech to establish credibility. This section will therefore investigate Heflin’s methods of establishing his credibility.

Always the showman, accustomed to and demanding much attention, and vitally concerned about the effects of his cotton advocacy, Heflin had always been keenly aware of the significance of the ethical judgments rendered by his audiences. His scrapbooks and correspondence attest to such an awareness.

Some mention should first be made of Heflin’s reputation, for it greatly enhanced his credibility. Heflin’s prowess as both a storyteller and orator was widely recognized. For nine years prior to the period under discussion he had ably demonstrated these skills in and out of the House. His lecture tours, campaign trips, ceremonial speaking and frequent speaking engagements before agricultural groups, in the Cotton Belt and elsewhere, had all combined to contribute to his reputation. Josephus Daniels, Wilson’s Secretary of Navy, remarked of Heflin, “He was the most likable of men and money honest. . . . His reputation as a good story teller and as a ‘rousement’ speaker preceded him.” As was earlier noted,

229 Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 384.
230 Supra, chaps. ii and iii, pp. 45-151.
Heflin's campaigning for the Democratic Party had taken him into virtually every national campaign, and many of the House members were therefore indebted to Heflin, to some extent at least, for their seats in the House.232

Still another factor affecting Heflin's reputation was his warm relationship with Wilson and his ardent advocacy of Wilson's preparedness and war measures. That Heflin was one of Wilson's chief spokesmen in the House was recognized by other House members.233 While this no doubt further alienated Heflin to those opposed to the Wilson measures, it must be remembered that, but for two sessions, the Democrats held a firm majority in the House and that majority had been well organized.234 Therefore, Heflin's relationship with Wilson is likely to have worked more to his advantage than against him. There was also the matter of Heflin's showmanship. As one writer had put it, "Heflin looks like a statesman, he acts like a statesman, he sounds like a statesman, and maybe he is one for all anybody knows."235 In any event, he had been one of the "showpieces of Congress," reporters had written much news copy about his appearance and personality, House colleagues had paid close attention to, if not amused by,

232 Supra, chap. ii, pp. 66-75.


234 Ibid.

235 Brooklyn Daily Eagle, September 24, 1922.
his manner of dress, and he had been frequently the center of attention. These factors were certain to have enlarged upon and enhanced his reputation.

In addition to his reputation, Heflin's delivery was no doubt a contributing factor to his credibility. Writing in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* soon after Heflin entered the Senate, Henry Suydam commented that the effect of Heflin's delivery was to project an "almost incredible sincerity." Others of Heflin's contemporaries also associated this "sense of sincerity" with his delivery. Granting that many of these reporting may not have been rhetorical critics, they nevertheless noticed the sincerity with which Heflin delivered his speeches and remarked on it.

What of the devices which Heflin intentionally employed to gain acceptance, that is, those discerned in his speeches? These might be classified into two general groups: those which Heflin employed to praise himself, and those which he used to discredit others.

Heflin endeavored to praise himself by impressing his audience with his information about and experience with his subject, by showing

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236 *Supra*, chap. ii, pp. 46-50.


238 *Supra*, chap. ii, pp. 97-100.
that his arguments were motivated by worthy ideals, by expressing his good will toward his auditors, and by associating himself and his arguments with prominent names and policies.

The speaker used a variety of methods to impress his audience that he was thoroughly familiar with the general subject of the cotton economy and its relationship to world affairs, national economy and welfare, and the South.

One of his favorite methods or devices was that of explanation. The extent to which he used it and the manner in which he used it have already been discussed in the preceding section.239 It will be remembered that a sampling of his forms of support indicated that this was one of the most frequently employed of his various supports. Heflin also liked to parade statistics; statistics on cotton yields, acreage, production costs, prices, consumption, shortages, and various other factors pertaining to the cotton economy.240 Still another method of demonstrating his familiarity with cotton was to refer constantly to his continuous and close association with those people, organizations, or government agencies most closely involved with cotton. These included various officials and agencies of the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Census, the Department of Commerce,

239 Supra, chap. v, pp. 343-348.

240 Ibid., pp. 352-353.
the Attorney General, the State Department, agricultural agencies
such as the Farmers' Union and the Southern Cotton Association,
editors of various farm publications, correspondence from cotton
farmers, meetings with governors and representatives of states in
the Cotton Belt, and his own frequent speaking tours in the South
and his personal observations and contacts with the farmers during
such tours. Many of these references were indicated in the dis-
cussion on Heflin's use of testimony when proposing his resolutions
on gathering consumption statistics from the munitions manufacturers
during the war.  

Further evidence of Heflin's use of this device is demon-
strated below:

December 15, 1913. "I bring from the cotton fields of Dixie
the physical evidence of a gathered crop. Here are the stalks
bearing bolls that matured several weeks ago."  

September 17, 1913. "Ex-Governor Herrick of Ohio who has
been abroad investigating the farm-credit system of Germany
and France appeared before the Committee on Agriculture of
which I am a member. I asked him some questions."  

\(^{2h1}\) Ibid., pp. 353-354.  
\(^{2h2}\) Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 1, p. 920.  
\(^{2h3}\) Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5098.
October 16, 1914. "The situation is so serious that the Members of Congress from the cotton-growing States have been in conference time after time to discuss means of relief for our people. The governors of cotton growing states have been here in conference with us."244

January 11, 1916. "I raised that question with the Secretary of State."245 "I have investigated the matter [of cotton uses for munitions]; I talked to a retired naval officer. I went to a gun cotton expert who works at a munitions factory. I asked an expert statistician in the Bureau of Census."246

July 13, 1917. "In order that you may understand how dangerous and destructive the boll weevil is, I will tell you of his ravages in one county in my district."247

May 27, 1919. "I wrote to many producers and to officials in various cotton producing States, and I asked them to have the producers write me regarding the cost of production."248

244Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16750.
245Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, p. 919.
246Ibid., p. 920.
247Congressional Record, Volume 55, Part 5, p. 5083.
248Congressional Record, Volume 58, Part 1, p. 283. There are numerous other similar illustrations to be found in Heflin's speeches delivered in the years, 1913-1920.
In attempting to show that his arguments were motivated by worthy ideals, Heflin made frequent references to the Bible, national honor, justice, patriotism, decency, and fair play. Illustrative are the following excerpts:

September 17, 1913. "The Scripture tells us that the laborer is worthy of his hire."249 "As the rulers of old went to Solomon for wisdom the cotton-using countries of the earth must come to us."250

December 15, 1913. "I think of those whose busy fingers plucked this snowy staple from hundreds of millions of bolls, and in their names and in the name of justice I plead for the passage of a law that will protect them from the pillage and plunder of a merciless band of bear gamblers on the cotton exchange."251

October 16, 1914. "I am tired of cloakroom opposition to suggestions of relief to the producers of cotton. . . . I want the people of the country to know of conditions in the South as they are and I want the people of the stricken section to know who their friends are in this time of their distress."252

"He [the cotton producer] ought not now in this land of liberty to be left in his distress to battle with conditions brought about by a war of kings."253

January 11, 1916. "I do not want the cotton producers of the United States to be forced to bear any of the expense of a foreign war. They have suffered enough from the general evil effects of that war."254

249 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5097.
250 Ibid., p. 5098.
251 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 1, p. 920.
252 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16748.
253 Ibid.
April 5, 1916. "It seems to me that, somehow or other, everytime a movement is set on foot to benefit the man who toils, the farmer in this country, there is always some bugaboo discovered, something veiled in the closet, by which some gentleman here undertakes to defeat the measure. . . . There is nothing hidden in this measure. It is open and aboveboard. It is in the interest of truth, in the interest of honesty and justice to the cotton farmers. . . ." 255

Heflin often expressed his good will, both to his immediate audience in the House and to his larger audience, the public in general and the people in the Cotton Belt, in particular. To the members of the House he repeatedly used such expressions as "my friends," "this great body," "this great Congress," and "gentlemen of the House." Of particular note is Heflin's speech of September 17, 1913, when he was congratulating the House for management of the Federal Reserve Bill. Heflin said:

I come now to congratulate the gentleman from Virginia, the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency [Carter Glass]. I did not see how it were possible for any Member to know as much about any other legislation as the chairman of the great Ways and Means Committee knew about the tariff legislation, but I come to lay a laurel wreath upon the brow of the distinguished gentleman from Virginia. He has handled this legislation in a masterly fashion. Those associated with him have contributed to this good legislation, and I congratulate those on that side of the House who will join us in voting for this much-needed relief. 256

Many evidences of Heflin's repeated expressions of good will towards the larger audience, the general public and particularly the people of the South, have been noted in earlier sections of this study.

255 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 6, pp. 5535-5546.
256 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5097.
One further instance is noted in the conclusion to his speech delivered January 11, 1916, when he stated:

The people of the South are cooperating better now in the matter of holding cotton than ever before. Let the law be enforced and the conspiracy on the exchange broken up or the exchange abolished. Let cotton have fair treatment in the markets of the world, and a good and stable price will be received by those who toil to produce it. Let the South stand firm and fear not.257

That Heflin liked to associate himself with great names and great policies has been amply demonstrated in other sections of this study as well as the immediate section. He frequently referred to President Wilson, the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the Director of Census, governors, other congressmen, well-known newspapers, the farm-credit systems of other nations, ancient and modern history, the Bible, the wisdom of Solomon, and other such prominent names and policies. His association with various officials of the Department of Agriculture was evidently so well known that he seldom identified the specific nature of his references to policies of that Department, though he referred to the Department and its policies constantly. Evidently, he took it for granted that the House was acquainted with his associations with the Department and its officials.

It has been earlier asserted that Heflin also established his credibility by disparaging others. The extent and means with which he managed this against the bear operators on the cotton

257 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, p. 921.
exchange has already been illustrated. On September 17, 1913, Heflin pointed to Republican neglect of his farmer citizens as follows:

When the Republican panic came in 1907, Mr. Roosevelt, the Republican President, sent millions of dollars to New York upon the beck and call of Wall Street, but the great farming class of our people in the midst of the crop-moving season cried in vain to him.\textsuperscript{258}

While defending Democratic tariff policies against those of the Republicans, Heflin turned to the Republican side of the Chamber and charged:

0, how you fleeced the farmer when you lulled him to sleep with soothing sirup of high protection! After 16 years of your protection the farmers of the country rose en masse and drove you from place and power in the country. They are tire of your protective theory; they are tired of a system of taxation which enriches one class at the expense of another. . . . Ch, you fleeced him so long and so successfully you want to get hold of him again. A wounded Indian at the battle of the Horseshoe Bend said to the surgeon who was trying to save his life, "Cure Indian and kill him again." Politically speaking, you farmed the farmer for 16 years, but he has slipped out of your grasp at last.\textsuperscript{259}

Against both Republicans and some Democrats who had opposed Heflin's measures to aid cotton, he charged:

I remember that the South stood here and through its representatives called upon the Government to do something to relieve that awful situation. . . . I remember my friend from Pennsylvania was one of those who said, "Gentlemen, it is unfortunate, but you will have to take your loss; it can not be helped. The Government has no business in interfering in the price of agricultural products." That was the high and holy ground the gentleman and others on that side took, as well as some gentlemen on this side.\textsuperscript{260}

\textsuperscript{258}Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5097.
\textsuperscript{259}Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 5, p. 4364.
\textsuperscript{260}Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 1, p. 227.
It should be noted that, as in some other instances, while certain of Heflin's ethical appeal would seem designed to alienate him with some members of his immediate House audience, Heflin always spoke to a much larger secondary audience, in the South. Therefore, such remarks as those cited above were designed to endear him to those House members who agreed with him and the larger group of auditors out in the Cotton Belt.

Finally, a word should be mentioned about Heflin's ardent advocacy of Wilson's wartime measures and his unrestrained attacks against those members of the House who opposed them. Certainly Heflin's lack of restraint and his vicious criticism of all he suspected of being "Pacifist" were bound to reflect upon his credibility. It will be recalled that the House eventually found it necessary and just to investigate some of Heflin's charges, find them groundless, and censure Heflin for his accusations against some of his House colleagues.\textsuperscript{261} Severe as these measures were, and certain as they were to affect his relationships with other members of the House, this writer could find no evidence that they had affected in any manner Heflin's employment of ethical appeal, in his speeches. The only noticeable change in Heflin's speeches delivered during and immediately after the period of his many altercations with House members over Wilson's policy and their loyalty

\textsuperscript{261} Supra, chap. iv, pp. 223-230.
was the number of interruptions in his cotton speeches. Where most
of his earlier speeches had been interrupted infrequently, the last
four speeches of the study, commencing with July 13, 1917, were inter-
rupted much more frequently than had been his earlier speeches. How-
ever, nothing in the nature or manner of those interruptions, or in
Heflin's response to or managing of them indicates any noticeable
difference between Heflin's relationship with his colleagues in these
later speeches and those delivered earlier. Therefore, if these
altercations had affected Heflin's ethos, it is not demonstrated in
the speeches.

In summary, Heflin used ethical proof frequently and skill-
fully throughout his cotton speeches. His need for attention de-
manded it, his ardent advocacy for cotton needed it, and his long
years of experience as a speaker had taught him the value of it.
It may be concluded that his sagacity, character, and good will
were made causes of persuasion in his speeches.

HIS EMOTIONAL APPEALS

Discussing emotion in speech, Thonssen and Baird state:
"Pathetic proof includes all those materials and devices calculated
to put the audience in a frame of mind suitable for the reception
of the speaker's ideas."\textsuperscript{262} Throughout his long years of speaking

\textsuperscript{262}Thonssen and Baird, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 358.
on the stump, at ceremonial occasions, before special interest groups, and in the House, James Thomas Heflin had learned one lesson above all others. It is necessary to stimulate the emotions of an audience. Moreover, the preceding chapters of this study reveal that he had been a good student. He had employed such emotional appeals with consummate skill. The object of this section, then, will be to examine the nature and use of audience appeals in Heflin's speeches during the period, 1913-1920.

Long a master of audience psychology, Heflin had learned early in his speaking career that the complexities of human nature make it mandatory that a successful speaker employ a great variety of motive appeals. This is evidenced by his choice of at least twelve different appeals which he repeatedly employed throughout the speeches under consideration. These include the appeals to justice and fair play, relief from distress, freedom from restraint, fear, security, honor and patriotism, religious ideals, history and tradition, pride, social approval, compassion, and appreciation of the important.

Justice and fair play

A recurring refrain throughout all eleven of Heflin's speeches had been "the producers are entitled to." They were "entitled to" an improved system of farm credits. They were "entitled to" relief

\[263\] \textit{Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5097.}\]
from the distress of war. They were "entitled to" an improved system of collecting and publishing cotton statistics. They were "entitled to" emergency measures designed to open American shipping lanes to cotton markets in neutral countries. They were "entitled to" greater consideration by the House and Senate of their depressed conditions. And they were "entitled to" protection from the evil practices of the bear gamblers on the American cotton exchanges.

Typical of Heflin's use of this motive appeal was his speech of January 27, 1919, when he sought the protection of Congress against the ravages of the evil exchanges. Charged Heflin:

They [the producers] are being held up and robbed of a fair profit. ... Do you know there is something wrong when they [the speculators] can do such a thing as that on the exchange? It is nothing on this earth but robbery and rottenness in the conduct of the exchange. ... They have sold on the New York Cotton Exchange this year many times the amount of cotton produced in the United States. Now is that fair? Is it right and just? I want to bring them down to legitimate dealing.

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261 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16718.
265 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 6, p. 5542.
266 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, p. 919.
267 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16718.
268 Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 3, p. 2174.
269 Ibid., p. 2175.
Relief from distress

Frequently, Heflin appealed to his House colleagues to relieve the distress of the Cotton Belt. Targets of his charges of distress had been the rural credits system, the effects of war, and the activities of the cotton exchanges. On September 17, 1913, for example, Heflin declared:

Thousands of farmers in the South and West have bought farms with borrowed money and improved them at great labor and expense to themselves. Misfortune overtook many of them through the drought, sickness in the family, or the loss of live stock, and they were unable to meet their payments because of the short-time loan system and high rate of interest. Through this miserable system mortgages were foreclosed, and these farms, with all their improvements, passed out of the hands of farmers, who if they had had a longer time in which to pay and a lower rate of interest would be living on these farms now, contented, prosperous, and happy.270

On October 16, 1914, Heflin made a similar appeal with these lines:

The cotton-selling season is here, but war in Europe has closed the channels of the cotton trade against two-thirds of our crop, and this great product that has sold for more than 12 cents per pound, or $60 per bale, for the last five years is now going at a price far below the cost of production. Many of the producers are forced to sell at these destructive prices. They can not borrow sufficient money at the banks to relieve the situation. They are in distress, menaced by conditions that are dreadful, conditions created by the European war.271

On January 27, 1919, Heflin said:

Gentlemen, the wool crop is short, the flax crop is short, the cotton crop is short, and the world is demanding large quantities of American cotton. The ending of the war has set

270 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5098.
271 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16748.
free 151,000,000 spindles, and the sea is free of submarines, but we are permitting in the United States Government a monstrous gambling establishment . . . to beat down without any justifiable excuse the value of the product of thirty-odd millions of American citizens. . . . It has destroyed cotton values this day to the amount of $22,000,000 or 23,000,000.272

Freedom from restraint

Closely related to his appeals for relief of distress were those calling for relief from restraint. Heflin had argued that many of the same factors which had contributed to the farmer's distress were likewise restraining him from improving his conditions. For instance, on September 17, 1913, Heflin argued:

We hear much about how much the farmer ought to produce and how he ought to utilize his time and improve his farm. Mr. Chairman, in order to do these things the farmer must have money. He must have money with which to do business, and ways and means must be provided by which he can borrow money for a long period of time and at a lower rate of interest. The time that his debts become due must be arranged more to his liking and convenience. Debts coming due in October and November always embarrass him and sometimes seriously injure him financially. This system must be changed. The cotton producer ought to be free during the selling season; that is, he ought not to have anything to press him or force him into selling unless the price is satisfactory. If this were the case, the producer would exercise his right in helping to fix the price of his own product. He would be as he should be, the greatest factor in the world for fixing the price of that which represents his skill and toil and the strength of his hand.273

Clearly, Heflin was asking the House to recognize the restraints, and by their sense of indignance against such restraints, remove them.

272 Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 3, p. 2173.
273 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5098.
Fear

Heflin's appeals to fear were many and varied. By showing the importance of cotton to the national economy he sought to inspire fear of national economic disaster should Congress fail to provide cotton with a suitable credit system.\textsuperscript{274} He warned against the threat to the farmers were Congress to ever again permit Republican tariff policy to prevail.\textsuperscript{275} He pointed to the dependency of the "industrial, commercial and financial life of the nation," and warned against the threat to it were Congress not to combat the effects of the European war on the cotton industry.\textsuperscript{276} He warned House members representing other agricultural regions that unless they changed their uncooperative ways and started supporting measures designed to aid cotton, they might encounter no further assistance in pursuing the enactment of measures designed to help their own regions.\textsuperscript{277} He warned Congress that if it did not come to the aid of the cotton farmers it might find a cotton shortage on its hands which would acutely restrict Allied efforts to win the war.\textsuperscript{278} In such a manner did Heflin

\textsuperscript{274}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{275}Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 5, pp. 4364-4366.

\textsuperscript{276}Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16751.

\textsuperscript{277}Congressional Record, Volume 52, Part 2, p. 2176.

\textsuperscript{278}Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, p. 919.
adroitly employ a varied assortment of appeals to fear. Typical of his use of this appeal was one made on July 13, 1917, when Heflin warned:

It [cotton] is so essential to the successful conduct of the war that a failure of the cotton crop would be more dangerous to the cause of our allied armies than would the failure of any other crop. The imperative necessity for cotton for use in the war is greater than that of any other single product, and the situation with regard to an adequate cotton supply this year is different from that of any other crop.279

Security

Heflin's appeals to security were closely allied with those appeals to fear. In other words, while the House should fear all of the threats which Heflin suggested, at the same time, they might feel secure against them were they to adopt Heflin's policies and accept his arguments. A notable example is found in his October 16, 1914, speech:

Mr. Speaker, the cotton industry of the United States is so interwoven with the industrial, commercial, and financial life of the Nation that whenever it is hampered and depressed nearly every other line of business is injuriously affected. Cotton knocks at the door of the great granaries of the West and millions of bushels of wheat, oats, and corn pour into the South. Your beef, your pork, and your mules find splendid markets in the South when cotton prices are good. So, my friends, when the cotton business of the South is good the prosperity that it enjoys is shared by the people in every other section.280

The inference was obvious. If Congress wished to ensure economic security to all, she could do so by helping the South.

279 Congressional Record, Volume 55, Part 5, p. 5074.
280 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16751.
Honor and patriotism

These were appeals which Heflin particularly liked to employ because they enabled him to dip generously into the reservoir of eloquent phrases which he loved to parade before his audiences, thus, he employed honor and patriotism often. For instance, on May 27, 1919, speaking on the effects of the war on cotton, Heflin commenced his speech with these lines:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee [the Committee of the Whole House], we as Americans have reason to be very proud and happy. We are citizens of the greatest Government on the Globe. Our country is really the head servant in the great household of the world. Truly can we say "we are the heirs of all ages in the foremost files of time."281

Later in the same speech, Heflin proclaimed:

Let us in the days that are to come do nothing to disturb or weaken the composite strength and solidarity of our united American people. Let East and West and North and South all work together for the good of each, and each for the good of all. Let us as Members of the American Congress contribute to the unity of purpose and concerted action necessary to keep America at the forefront of the nations of the earth.282

Such appeals were designed to impel Heflin's audience to fulfill their commitments to honor and patriotism, thereby supporting his various cotton arguments and policies.

Religious ideals

Heflin also employed frequent reference to the Bible, the deity, and other religious symbols. In reference to his use of

281 Congressional Record, Volume 58, Part 1, p. 280.
282 Ibid.
such appeals, Henry Suydam wrote in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle: "His [Heflin's] familiarity with the Bible is considerable, and he has a way of mentioning the name of God in a kind of hushed voice that is impressive." Heflin invoked the name of God repeatedly in behalf of various measures or requests for aid. In several of his speeches he used Biblical stories and allegories as a means of illustrating a point. For instance, on October 16, 1914, he employed a scriptural story to illustrate his point that if Congress did not render assistance to the cotton producers, then states should enact stay laws that would postpone the farmers' debts. On September 17, 1913, Heflin reminded the House that "the Scripture tells us that the laborer is worthy of his hire." On March 5, 1914, he talked about the products of "God Almighty's nature."

History and tradition

The appeals to history and tradition were also among Heflin's favorite appeals for they enable him to display his unusual memory for events, places, dates, and names, while at the same time they were designed to appeal to strong motives of his audiences. He

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283 Brooklyn Daily Eagle, September 21, 1922.
284 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16751.
285 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, p. 5097.
286 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 5, p. 4366.
frequently called on his auditors to "uphold the great American
traditions," exercise "the wisdom of Solomon," remember the lessons
of ancient and early American history, and administer their responsi-
bilities accordingly. On October 16, 1914, Heflin declared:

Mr. Speaker, the same noble spirit and generous impulse that
prompted this government to aid people in building homes and
making crops on the arid lands of the West ought to now direct
the good offices of the Government in going to the relief of
farmers in real distress in another section of this country.287

On January 27, 1919, Heflin called on the House to profit from the
lessons of ancient history wherein:

Rome reached the highest point in her civilization when
greatest stress and emphasis were placed upon agriculture,
and . . . fell when she ceased to protect and safeguard her
agricultural interests.288

Clearly, Congress was intended to learn her lesson from history and
profit by Rome's mistakes. Moreover, the tradition of American
assistance to pioneer efforts in the West, in an earlier day, should
prevail in 1914 and prompt Congress to render aid to the South.

Pride

Heflin's appeals to pride were closely associated with those
to patriotism, one such example having already been cited.289 His
most customary method of handling this appeal was to portray the
leadership of American cotton producers among those of the other

287 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16749.
288 Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 3, p. 2173.
289 Supra, chap. v, p. 374.
nations of the earth and appeal to Congress to help the South maintain such leadership and, if possible, increase it. For instance, on October 16, 1911, Heflin boasted:

Two-thirds of our cotton crop goes abroad, and that cotton sends back to America every year more gold than the world's annual output. As the rulers of old went to Solomon for wisdom, the cotton-using countries of the earth must come to us for the wherewith to be clothed. 290

On January 23, 1915, proclaiming the effects of more diversified farming on cotton, Heflin boasted:

And here encamped at the base of these supplies and speaking from this stronghold the Southern farmer can and will dictate cotton prices to the world. Then will the producer use the power derived through diversified farming to give King Cotton his rightful place in the markets of the earth. 291

On January 11, 1916, Heflin proclaimed: "The South has a natural monopoly in the production of cotton. Nowhere in all the world can the particular staple that we produce be grown except in the cotton belt of the United States." 292 On December 9, 1918, he declared: "America is already the greatest cotton-producing country in the world, and I want to see her lead every other country in the manufacture and sale of cotton goods." 293

290 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16749.
291 Congressional Record, Volume 52, Part 2, p. 2176.
292 Congressional Record, Volume 53, Part 1, p. 918.
293 Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 1, p. 227.
Social approval

Actually, Heflin's appeals to social approval were conveyed more by his appearance than by his words. For he continued to wear the cotton creations which had long been the source of considerable attention and after which many of the members of the House had styled their summer dress. It will be remembered that during Heflin's earlier days in Congress, when he had first appeared in his creamy cotton Summer creations, many other congressmen had been so impressed that they enquired as to his source of supply and tailor and immediately placed like orders. Occasionally, however, he talked about such cotton creations and their desirability as well as wore them. For instance, on October 16, 1911, Heflin advised:

It [cotton] is the cheapest and most comfortable wearing apparel for summer, and cotton underwear is the healthiest garment that can be worn next to the skin in all seasons. We ought to wear cotton suits winter and summer in the South, and you in the North would be better off if you wore cotton underwear winter and summer.

Lest there be any doubt that Heflin's appeal to social approval was not exactly "four-square," a special correspondent for the Birmingham News wrote in August, 1916:

Representative Heflin of Alabama more than ever is entitled to the name of "Cotton Tom." It has been mentioned repeatedly in the newspapers how he incessantly watches for opportunities to shape legislation that may benefit the producers of the fleecy staple, and for several seasons he has insisted upon

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294 Supra, chap. ii, p. 47.
295 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16750.
wearing suits of clothes in summer made entirely of cotton. But he has even gone further than that so far as his raiment is concerned. . . . In addition to having a suit of cotton cloth, he now has a hat and shoes of the same material. Of course his neckties in the hot season are of cotton and so are all of his underclothes. 296

Compassion

As in several other cases, Heflin's appeals to compassion were related to certain of his other appeals, particularly those to justice and fair play, and relief of distress. To some extent, then, his appeals to compassion have already been demonstrated. Other examples abound throughout his addresses. On October 16, 1914, he cried:

If ever the Government of all the people was justified in carrying relief to a portion of its people in distress, this Government is justified now in relieving the distress of the cotton producers, shielding them from the oppression of those who are preying upon them in their helpless condition. 297

Later in the same address, Heflin likened the hapless cotton farmers to "a ship without a rudder, drifting at sea." He added, "when that occurs you know what happens—there are friendly vessels that ought to render aid and there are pirate vessels that would like to plunder the ship." He concluded, "and if the pirate vessels are strong

296 Reported in the Lafayette Sun, August 2, 1916.

297 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16750.
enough they always rob the ship and despoil the crew.\textsuperscript{298} He called on Congress to "prevent the pillage and plunder of the people of the South."\textsuperscript{299}

Appreciation of the important

Finally, there were Heflin's appeals to an appreciation of the important, or the urgent. Here, perhaps, was one of the most important of his wide variety of appeals, for this reflected the application of one of his chief premises that cotton is agriculture's most important product. When compounded with still another premise that agriculture is the cornerstone of the national economy, it became doubly important that such an idea be constantly reiterated through the employment of his emotional appeals. In other words, the word important was one of the vital words in Heflin's vocabulary. It summarized his whole viewpoint towards cotton. Cotton was important. Cotton producers were important. Cotton prices were important. Cotton production and consumption were important. The whole cotton economy was important. It was important to the South; it was important to the nation; and it was important to the world. Therefore, the word importance occupied a prominent place in the vocabulary of all eleven of Heflin's cotton speeches. To illustrate

\textsuperscript{298} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{299} Ibid.
each instance would be a monumental task. An excerpt from Heflin’s final speech included in this study typifies much of his reliance on this appeal:

Cotton is one of the most serviceable crops in the world. Do you know what they are doing with it? They are making suitcases out of it which are just as serviceable as leather. They are making shoes out of it, hats, and all kinds of wearing apparel; they are making sole leather out of it to be worn about the house. They are making out of cotton a substitute for leather to cover buggies and automobiles. They are using it for auto tops and tires. It floats in the flag of our country, and it goes into the uniforms of our soldiers. It is the powder behind the bullet and the greatest explosive power in the world. It is a substitute for silk, linen, and wool, but none of these can take the place of cotton. . . . In 1912 Great Britain paid $1,011,000,000 for her supply of raw cotton. She made up that cotton into cloth, supplied all the United Kingdom, and sold the surplus outside for $611,000,000, $210,000,000 more than the raw material cost at the outset. That gives you an idea of about what the value of the finished product is.

It may be concluded that here was a seasoned advocate who had mastered the psychology of employing motive appeals. Applying some of the tests suggested in Gray and Braden’s Public Speaking: Principles and Practice, Heflin had appealed to a wide variety of motives; he had appealed to the highest possible motives; he had seldom dictated his motives; he had appealed to end results worthy of the effort; and he had ensured that the motive itself was worthy of the deed. James Thomas Heflin demonstrated an unusual capacity to appeal to the deepest wants of his audiences.

300 Congressional Record, Volume 58, Part 1, p. 284.
301 Gray and Braden, op. cit., pp. 169-172.
SUMMARY: HEFLIN'S ADAPTATION TO HIS AUDIENCES AND OCCASIONS

The eleven speeches selected for study in this chapter were delivered during three distinctly different periods; they supported a variety of contentions; and they were spoken to audiences, both primary and secondary, whose compositions, interests, needs, and wants were noticeably varied. Nevertheless, the speeches were markedly interrelated, and they demonstrate a unity of purpose in supporting Heflin's general proposition that the federal government should improve the cotton economy of the South.

In view of the changing events of the period, the differences in audience composition, and the necessity for altering the emphasis in his overall argument, it became necessary for Heflin to make certain adaptations to his speaking situations. Moreover, Heflin had always been acutely sensitive to the response to his speeches, and, therefore, probably would have adapted them to the moods of his listeners and to the times just as a matter of policy. In any event, the question arises as to how effectively Heflin adapted to his audiences and occasions. Since Chapter IV has been chronologically ordered according to period, it is appropriate to order similarly the enquiry into his methods of adaptation.
Prewar adaptation

Although Heflin was still flushed with the success of an overwhelming Democratic victory in 1912, his approach to the speaking situation September 17, 1913, was definitely conciliatory. Wilson, with his New Freedom program of reform, had already pushed through the enactment of the Underwood Tariff, the first of their reform measures, and now House adoption of the Federal Reserve Bill was clearly in sight. To that extent, Heflin was jubilant. However, while the Federal Reserve Bill had included a provision enabling the cotton farmer to obtain more easily some credit and currency, it fell considerably short of Heflin's demands for a revised system of farm credits. Consequently, in his opening remarks he lavishly praised the author of the bill, those who helped to get it through the Democratic caucus, and members on both sides of the House who he expected to vote for it. However, after reviewing the evidence of President Wilson's sympathetic understanding of the farmers' plight with their prevailing system of credit, he proceeded to deliver an impassioned appeal for further concrete measures designed to relieve the oppression of the depressing rural credit system.

302 Supra, chap. iv, p. 153.
303 Supra, chap. v, p. 263.
304 Congressional Record, Volume 50, Part 5, pp. 5097-5099.
Further indication of Heflin’s conciliatory mood is the following excerpt from his speech:

Mr. Chairman, the United States owes more to the producers than to any other class of people, and yet the banking system of the Republican Party has greatly imposed upon and oppressed these people. The average farmer wants to work. He wants to better his condition, and he is entitled to all the encouragement and substantial aid that a great and good Government can give. President Wilson has realized the need of these people. He has realized that there must be a credit system devised by which the farmer can obtain loans at a cheaper rate of interest and for a longer period of time than the present system will allow. He will submit to Congress in December a message upon the subject of a farmer's credit system. He has shown his interest in and his friendship for this great and deserving class of our people.305

In keeping with the conciliatory mood of the address, in the conclusion, Heflin pointedly qualified his praise of the Federal Reserve Bill:

I rejoice that we have been enabled to secure provisions in this bill that will guarantee to the owners of cotton warehouse receipts the same treatment that will be accorded to other merchantable paper.306

Clearly, the Alabamian expressed appreciation for the token steps towards relieving the farmers, but, with his earlier arguments, made it equally clear that he wanted and expected much more.

By December, three months later, Heflin stepped up the note of urgency in his appeals for assistance to his cotton

305Ibid., p. 5097.
306Ibid., p. 5099.
Thus, on December 15, 1913, in an explicative manner, he sought to discount those "false rumors and inaccuracies and so much misinformation afloat now concerning the cotton crop of 1913," by submitting to the House "a few facts and figures that I think will somewhat clear the atmosphere regarding the cotton situation generally."307 After "clearing the atmosphere," Heflin's urgency became increasingly pronounced as he reviewed the importance of cotton to the national economy, the condition of world markets, the attempts of bear speculators on the American cotton exchanges to beat down cotton prices, the falsification of ginners' reports in the face of an early cotton yield, and the necessity for governmental regulation of the exchanges in the interest of the cotton economy.308

Thus, although he had increased the tempo of his note of urgency as he developed the main body of his speech, Heflin had approached the audience with an optimistic and expectant note that once he had explained the situation, they would agree with him and endorse whatever measures he deemed necessary and just. He had been calling for remedial measures to correct a condition which had long plagued the cotton farmer and had denied him the

307 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 1, p. 919.
308 Ibid., pp. 919-920.
economic opportunity which he justly deserved. Such an argument had called for conciliation, explanation, and an air of optimism that seemed to say, "Boys, you've done a good job so far, and if you'll just let me explain the situation to you, I know you'll do more, thus providing the cotton farmers with their necessary and just rewards."

Wartime adaptation

As has been shown earlier, the war in Europe struck an immediate and disastrous blow at the cotton economy of the South. The European markets were blockaded to American cotton, the American cotton exchanges closed, cotton prices fell to six or seven cents a pound, and in less than sixty days, the South had seen the total value of its most important single source of income depreciate in excess of three hundred million dollars.\textsuperscript{309} In short, it was no longer a situation in which certain remedial measures were necessary to correct a restrictive condition which had long prevailed. This was an emergency which called for immediate measures, and cotton's advocate must obtain them, and obtain them quickly. As a consequence, Heflin noticeably altered his approaches to audience and occasion of the wartime period.

\textsuperscript{309}\textit{Supra,} chap. iv, pp. 165-166.
No longer were his introductions conciliatory. While he continued to demonstrate occasionally some optimism that his various proposals would be adopted or that his arguments would be accepted, he altered the nature of that optimism considerably. The situation had changed. It was no longer a case of the House doing what was right and just for the cotton producers, because the House understood their condition and desired to adopt fair and just remedial measures. As far as Heflin was concerned, it suddenly had become a mandatory situation. The House had no less an alternative than to help thirty million people in distress. Moreover, there was a second contributing factor to Heflin's change in his approach to the wartime occasions and audiences. This had been his increasing involvement with Wilson's preparedness and war measures. As Heflin became more secure in his relationship with the White House, and as he was more widely recognized as one of Wilson's chief vocalists in the House, the Alabamian became increasingly more demanding in his appeals for government assistance to the Cotton Belt. While evidence of this sense of security and inflexible position regarding federal assistance to the cotton economy is not particularly noticeable in a study of his forms of support, it is clearly evident in his correspondence. This was demonstrated in an earlier section of this study.310

310 Supra, chap. iv, pp. 228-230.
The introductions to three of Heflin's wartime speeches clearly demonstrate the change in his approach to occasion and audience:

October 16, 1914. Mr. Speaker, I am glad even at this late day to obtain time in which to discuss for a little while the cotton situation in the South. For days and weeks I, with others on this side, have tried to get this question before the House. But some who represent interests that will speculate upon the cotton producer's misfortune and profit by his distress have repeatedly interposed their objections, and no other way for bringing the matter up has so far been devised. The South in her distress deserves better treatment, and her people, confronted by destructive prices for their principal product, are entitled to more consideration at the hands of this House. I am convinced that there has been an understanding among some of those who oppose legislation looking to the relief of the South that objection would be made so as to prevent any discussion of the question here. For days and weeks, Mr. Speaker, those of us who have been suggesting plans and trying to devise ways and means for the relief of our people have been denied the opportunity to even discuss the question in the open before the Members of the House. I am tired of cloakroom opposition to suggestions of relief to the producers of cotton. I am weary of these whisperings about the Capitol that nothing can be done for the relief of 30,000,000 people in distress, suffering greatly from conditions created by war. I hail with delight the opportunity to discuss this question in the open. I want the people of the country to know of conditions as they are in the South, and I want the people of the stricken section to know who their friends are in this time of their distress. The President is in sympathy with us. The blame for no legislation, so far, is on this House and the Senate.  

January 23, 1915. Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to say a few words about the situation in the South. The European war has

311 Congressional Record, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16748.
injured the cotton industry of the South most of all. . . . I want to say to my Western and Northwestern friends that in refusing to lend us aid last October, when the cotton producer in his distress appealed to Congress for relief from conditions created by war, you threw away a golden opportunity.

July 13, 1917. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I want to say something this morning about the cotton industry of the United States. I have given 12 years of close study to this great question, and I trust that I may be pardoned for saying that I know something about the cotton industry in all its forms and phases. The cotton crop of the United States last year was 5,000,000 bales short of the crop of 1914, and our cotton mills consumed last year 2,000,000 bales more than they did during the year 1914. In 1914 we consumed only one-third of the cotton crop produced in this country, and in 1916 our cotton mills consumed nearly two-thirds of the American crop. Cotton production in the United States has been on the decrease for two years, while cotton consumption has been tremendously on the increase. This year's crop will be the smallest in three years, and our cotton mills will consume a million more bales than they did last year. The world consumed more cotton last year than the world produced, and today the consumptive demand is much greater than the supply. The world demand for cotton within the next 12 months will be between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 bales greater than the world's crop this year.

In the first instance, October 16, 1914, Heflin had been rebuking the House for not providing a system of direct federal loans to cotton producers, along with other measures which he felt they had sorely needed. In the second instance, he had been rebuking representatives from other agricultural regions for not joining

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312 Congressional Record, Volume 52, Part 2, p. 2176.

313 Congressional Record, Volume 55, Part 6, p. 5073.
the Southerners in their fight to obtain emergency relief measures for cotton. In the third instance, Heflin sought to have cotton excluded from the food bill by showing its importance to national and world economy, and wartime efforts. In all instances, Heflin approached the speaking situation in decidedly different manner than he had in his speeches of the earlier period. In contrast to his conciliatory and optimistic approaches of the prewar period, here, in the wartime period, was a righteously indignant, often belligerent, sometimes threatening Heflin who, with the help of an allegedly sympathetic attitude in the White House, was charging a recalcitrant House to execute its obvious responsibility in relieving the distress of the Cotton Belt.

Postwar adaptation

With the signing of the armistice, Heflin altered his position again. In contrast to his early jubilant, yet conciliatory manner; and his later belligerent, threatening, indignance; his postwar approach was protective in nature. The war was over. The Allies had won. A new day was dawning. But, in the wake of the ravages of war, and on the brink of what then appeared to be unprecedented prosperity, someone must reopen the great European cotton markets and keep an ever present vigil against the threats of those agencies or persons who might endeavor to take advantage of the cotton producers
in this dawn of new promise. To Heflin, the factions and threats were clearly identifiable. The Peace Treaty would be signed shortly. The European markets would be re-opened. American cotton would once again reclaim her position in world trade. Prices of cotton would commence to incline, and the evil bear gamblers on the cotton exchanges would depress the price, as they had always done. Here, then, was his postwar mission. He must protect Congress from abridgment of its laws, and he must protect the South from the effects of such lawlessness. The introductory remarks of his January 27, 1919, speech clearly illustrate the choice of approach which Heflin had made for his postwar speeches:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee [the Committee of the Whole House], one of the greatest duties that a country owes to its people is that which rests upon it with regard to the agricultural classes. No country has long prospered that has neglected and failed to encourage and protect its agricultural class in its legitimate rights and interests. Rome reached the highest point in her civilization when greatest stress and emphasis were placed upon agriculture, and Rome fell when she ceased to protect and safeguard her agricultural interests. The great Government of the United States owes it to the men who produce the things we eat and wear to protect them from sharks and robbers of every kind. I want to speak a little while this afternoon upon the great cotton industry of the United States, and to call the attention of this House and of the country to the fact that today a gambling institution, operating in violation of the law, is in existence in the city of New York, and it is destroying cotton values by its future quotations by the millions every day.\footnote{Congressional Record, Volume 57, Part 3, p. 2173.}

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated that Heflin related his speeches one to another in order to develop his proposition that the Federal Government should improve the cotton
economy of the South. Moreover, he argued that proposition from certain fixed premises which highlighted his belief that cotton was the nation's most important product. His lines of argument, though interrelated, had served multiple purposes, chief of which was to develop a national awareness of the importance, the needs, and the value of cotton. While his choices of his forms of support had been somewhat at variance with his preferred processes of reasoning, they had nevertheless amply demonstrated his concern for his subject and they had reasonably well supported his arguments. His credibility had been made a cause for persuasion in his speeches, and he had demonstrated a capacity to appeal to his auditors' deepest wants and needs. Finally, he had adapted the approaches to his speeches in the light of changing events of the various periods and in accordance with the changing composition of his audiences, as he recognized and interpreted such changes.
CHAPTER VI

APPRaisal

Any appraisal of James Thomas Heflin's cotton advocacy must necessarily come to grips with three searching questions: (1) What kind of a man was he? (2) How effective was his speaking? (3) Did the Cotton Belt derive any material benefits from his speeches?

THE MAN

James Thomas Heflin not only craved and enjoyed attention, in fact, he had to have it. In order to obtain it, he traded on charm, wit, a magnetic personality, an unusual sense of the dramatic, a flamboyant though somewhat outmoded manner of dress and general appearance, and consummate skill in entertaining and appealing to the emotions of an audience. With the combination of these invaluable assets and a shrewd understanding of the value of political patronage and appeal to the common man, Heflin maintained himself in political office for three decades without benefit of any organized political machine.¹ No doubt the greatest test of his ability to win large numbers of private citizens to his own personal cause came in 1930 when Alabama’s state Democratic Party, as a reprisal for Heflin's having bolted the party in the 1928

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¹Interview with A. B. Moore, Emeritus Dean of the University of Alabama Graduate School, August 10, 1964.
presidential election, denied him a place on the Democratic ticket, and forced him to run as an independent in his race to succeed himself in the United States Senate. Although Heflin was defeated by John Bankhead, Jr., the fact that he polled 100,952 votes to Bankhead's 150,985 caused Vincent Dooley, in his analysis of that election, to conclude: "Because the Democratic party in 1930 was insurmountable, when one considers the odds against Heflin, it is amazing that he ran as well as he did." The numerous times Heflin had succeeded himself without opposition in the House, and the final results of the election which subsequently removed him from Congress testify to some degree at least to the powerful appeal which Heflin generated among his political supporters for nearly thirty years. Duncan Aikman, writing on Heflin some years after he had left the House, commented:

It is explained [in Alabama] that "Tawm's holt" is all-powerful in Alabama, not because he is the greatest anti-Papist since Luther, but merely because he is the State's greatest cotton economist and platform joker, and that his constant barrage on the Vatican and its American political agents is merely a side-show which provides a steady flow of amusement and keeps the lonelier cotton farmers talking about him with an admiring, if desultory, accent.

About seventeen years earlier, in 1911, the New York Evening Post had commented:

3 Heflin had been unopposed five times.
James Thomas Heflin, the most gorgeously dressed man in Congress, has method in his madness. Even as the shrill calliope advertises the circus parade for blocks around, though the eye may not see, so does James Thomas Heflin appeal to the eyes of the world as the steam organ to the ear. Mr. Heflin hails from the Fifth Alabama District, which not only raises cotton but boasts of cotton mills. If Mr. Heflin, therefore, is not strong with the cotton trade, he is not strong with anything in his district and he must stay at home. Therefore again, James Thomas Heflin wears no cotton clothing but that raised and manufactured in his own district. The creations of the Alabama statesman are the wonder of Congress. When he emerges from the cloakroom and beams through the somber archway, he is a dream in fabric—white, cream, or ecru. His ties are of cotton and they match the suit. His shoes are oft of cotton, and they match the ties. With or without his cotton adornment, James Thomas Heflin is one of the handsomest men in Congress, but with them in the summertime he is the apotheosis of masculine charm. Mr. Heflin may not keep samples of price lists in his committee room—there is no trustworthy evidence as to that—but too much should not be expected of a Congressional sandwich man.

There can be little doubt that these two descriptions of the man, Heflin, written at two distinctly different periods of his public life, are cryptic comments and, in many ways, were justly deserved. Certainly Heflin was a "sandwich man" in the sense that he displayed cotton, talked about cotton, wore cotton, and watched for every opportunity to make speeches on cotton. The name "Cotton Tom" was surely appropriate. Moreover, there is probably justification in Aikman's suggestion that cotton farmers regarded Heflin as a great "cotton economist" and enjoyed, even depended upon, the bright rays of sunshine which he brought into their lustreless lives.

5The New York Evening Post, July 15, 1911.
However, to stop at this point in an analysis of the man would be doing him some injustice. He was all of these things to be sure, but, he was more. Heflin's excesses were many and varied, and yet, they had contrasting effects. He possessed an uncontrollable temper which projected him into many downright brawls with certain of his House colleagues such as William E. Mason and James R. Mann of Illinois, and George Norris of Nebraska. His lack of restraint and wholly unfounded charges of pacifism and unAmerican attitudes which he aimed at various House members who refused to support Wilson's war measures had culminated in censure by the whole House. Newspapers, particularly in the North and East, had devoted many columns to these uncomplimentary scrimmages, thus affecting his national image. His mode of dress, style of language, and methods of delivery had often been excessive and reminiscent of an earlier age. And yet, there were other excesses which had the effect of making him more attractive. He was generous almost to a fault. He was sincere and naive in many of his relationships with other people. He possessed a genuine spirit of patriotism which, although excessively demonstrated, nevertheless tended to enhance his character and reputation. As far as can be determined, he kept himself free of "unholy" political alliances, or compromising political factions. Finally, his heritage had fostered a natural inclination and sympathy towards the cotton farmer and others of an oppressed agricultural class.
Here, then, is Heflin the man: an exhibitionist who dealt in excesses of dress, mannerisms, conduct, habits, and speech; a dealer in political patronage, and an opportunist; a man of magnetic charm, wit, sense of the dramatic, and an unusual comprehension of audience psychology; a politician with tremendous appeal to the common man; a man capable of inspiring deep and abiding friendships as well as hatred, animosity, and disgust. Such a man was cotton's advocate.

HIS SPEAKING

Like the man, Heflin's manner of speaking was excessive. He had a rich, resonant voice which he tended to make too resonant. He could range from a whisper to a bellow, and he tended to stay too much with the extremes. He was extremely animated in his use of gestures and bodily movement, but he seldom disciplined their use. He could effect an eloquence of style and delivery, and generally did, often at the expense of his ideas. Newspaper accounts of his speeches tended to talk more about Heflin's appearance, delivery, voice, and style of language than they did about his ideas. Typical of many of them is an account in a January, 1912, issue of the Dayton [Ohio] Daily News:

When the stalwart, keen-eyed, well-rounded, handsome and aesthetic son of the South arose to speak, he was greeted with a tremendous ovation. It was easy to see how such a man would make his mark in the National Congress beside such men as
Underwood, Clark, and many others who had done distinguished service for the nation. He has an impressive personality, a fine resonant voice, and in some respects reminds one of Bryan. But the attribute that shines more distinctly and brilliantly than any other in this man's character is that of sincerity. Moreover, he told stories that nearly drove the assembly into convulsions, but these would be followed by pathetic appeals to their sense of justice and their love of country.\textsuperscript{6}

There is little doubt that Heflin exercises unusual audience appeal, thereby maintaining great popularity with many of his audiences and generating an increasing demand for his services. One might even venture the appraisal that as a campaign or ceremonial speaker, Tom Heflin had few peers during the period under discussion. Many evidences employed earlier in this study attest to such an appraisal. However, according to rhetorical standards, Heflin could not be judged an effective deliberative speaker. Nevertheless, his popularity was a significant factor in focussing widespread national attention on both the man and his subject, cotton.

THE SPEECHES

We come finally to the question, were Heflin's principal cotton speeches instrumental in benefitting the cotton economy of the South? Despite the many excesses of the speaker and his speaking, the answer to this question must be in the affirmative. In fact, if the cotton industry, at any time in its history, had

\textsuperscript{6}Dayton Daily News, January 10, 1912.
needed an advocate of Heflin's dimensions, it was during the period when he was delivering his most important cotton speeches. The South, at this time, was frustrated, overridden with debt, and hopelessly chained to a single crop economy. It had clearly faced the threat of economic ruin with the coming of the war. Consequently, someone needed to focus the attention of the nation on the South's problems and persuade the federal government to come to her assistance. However, there were other regional demands, the growing anxiety of United States involvement in the war, and the exacting tasks of implementing an adequate program of military preparedness. Therefore, the task of rendering a national awareness of the importance of cotton and the nature of cotton's problems was one of herculean proportions. It required an advocacy designed to keep the subject constantly before the administration, Congress, and the nation. James Thomas Heflin's cotton speeches were designed to perform such a task, and they did.

Rhetorically speaking, Heflin's speeches were adequate, but not brilliant. His themes had echoed the prevailing sentiments of the times. His main proposition that the federal government should improve the cotton economy of the South was stated and restated in clear, concise, simple language. His premises were reasonable and his lines of argument, for the most part, were interrelated and clearly supported his proposition. Although his forms of support
had sometimes been at variance with his preferred process of reasoning, they were sufficiently varied and they reasonably well supported his arguments. He had established his credibility and made it a cause for persuasion, and he appealed to his auditors' deepest wants and needs. Moreover, he had demonstrated considerable insight in adapting his speeches to the changing events of the period and in accordance with the varying composition of his audiences.

What, then, had been the ultimate effect of the speeches? First, they demonstrated that Heflin was in close touch with the Cotton Belt and its problems, understood them, and was therefore qualified to speak on the subject. Accordingly, the White House, members of the Cabinet, Congress, and the general public were all willing to listen to what he had to say. This was important because without an audience the cotton producers' problems would have gone unheeded. Secondly, Heflin's speeches were instrumental in producing not only an awareness of cotton's import and problems, but also a national anxiety about them. This was evidenced by the frequency with which Heflin was permitted to speak, the number of conferences conducted between him and various members of the administration and Congress, and such national movements as the "buy-a-bale" crusade, "wear cotton" days and other emergency measures of nationwide scope. Moreover, newspapers gave generous coverage to Heflin's cotton speeches. For instance, the New York Times gave prominent coverage
to Heflin's cotton speeches in at least thirty of its issues during the period under discussion. That Heflin's earlier cotton speeches had been equally successful in attracting the press is evidenced by a letter from Richard Edwards, editor and general manager of the Manufacturers Record, who wrote to Heflin, saying:

Because of the fact that "the development of the South means the enrichment of the nation," every man in public life is necessarily interested in the material upbuilding of the South. If you can find time . . . I shall appreciate it if you feel disposed to send us any expression of your views upon the South and its potentialities and the outlook for continued progress as you see it. 7

Finally, there were those measures adopted by Congress or implemented by various governmental departments, all of which were designed to improve the cotton economy. While it is true that a number of Heflin's many bills and resolutions pertaining to cotton died in committee, some of them were called up and enacted into law; 9 others germinated subsequent bills authored by other members; and Heflin's advocacy in support of all such bills was a significant factor in obtaining their passage. Therefore, the list of measures which Heflin authored himself, helped to author, or fought for through his cotton speeches in the House, is impressive.

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7 Edwards to Heflin, December 3, 1908, Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

8 Indexes to the Congressional Record reveal that Heflin introduced 18 bills and resolutions on cotton, 1913-1920.

9 Five of these eventually became laws.
Heflin was influential in helping to obtain the following measures: the improvement of regulations governing the shipment of baled cotton, the expansion of foreign trade in American cotton and cotton goods through the maintenance of American agents abroad, the refining and improvement of methods of collecting more comprehensive cotton statistics, the issuance of emergency currency to loan against cotton warehouse receipts, the publishing of cotton statistics pertaining to manufactured goods, the restriction of grades of cotton to be traded on the cotton exchanges, the requirement that cotton exchanges must publish a record of sales of cotton and cotton futures, and various other measures designed to increase foreign export of American cotton and cotton goods.

In addition, Heflin worked closely with the Department of Agriculture to assist it in instructing and encouraging southern farmers in their use of improved methods of fertilizing, greater crop diversification, and better methods of managing and operating their farms. He also assisted with seed distribution programs and the establishment and use of agricultural experiment stations. At the same time he was assisting the Department of Agriculture in making known to the cotton farmers these various programs, he was also vocalizing about them in Congress.

In conclusion, James Thomas Heflin had many of the potentialities for greatness. The fact that he never attained it is at least partially explained by his excesses of habit, conduct,
character and speech, and his insatiable desire for attention. Nevertheless, he was a formidable advocate for cotton, and he was significantly instrumental in obtaining a national awareness of cotton's importance and problems and the subsequent governmental assistance necessary to the Cotton Belt's survival in one of its most crucial periods. One must conclude that "Cotton Tom" was an effective advocate.
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In October, 1945 he entered DePauw University. Having completed 92 semester hours of undergraduate work, he transferred to the University of Southwestern Louisiana where he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Speech in January, 1951. In February, 1951, he enrolled in the Graduate School at Louisiana State University and completed the Master of Arts Degree in Speech in 1952.

In 1952 he accepted the position of Assistant Professor of Speech at Samford University. In 1954 he was promoted to the position of Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Speech and Dramatic Arts, a position which he has held until this date.

In 1956 he was granted a Danforth Foundation Teacher Grant, and he returned to Louisiana State University to commence work toward the doctorate. After one year in residence he returned to Samford University. Subsequently, he pursued further work toward the doctorate in the summers of 1957 through 1966.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Gordon Allan Yeomans

Major Field: Speech

Title of Thesis: A Rhetorical Study of the Cotton Advocacy of James Thomas Heflin, 1904-1920

Approved:

[Signature]

Major Professor and Chairman

[Signature]

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signature]

[Name]

[Signature]

[Name]

Date of Examination:

[Signature]