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by
Stephen Kerber
For My Parents
Harry W. and Marie C. Kerber
Anyone who completes the ordeal of researching and writing a dissertation accumulates a great number of scholarly and social debts, only a few of which can publicly be acknowledged here. My thanks go first to my parents, for constant encouragement and support. Gregory Kerber and Dr. Donald W. Curl originally urged me to pursue a Ph.D. degree in history. In addition to directing the dissertation, Dr. Samuel Proctor employed me as editorial assistant on the Florida Historical Quarterly and as coordinator of the University of Florida Oral History Project and was a staunch friend. The members of my committee--Professors Lyle McAlister, C. John Sommerville, Hunt Davis, Harry Paul, and William Childers--have always been extremely cooperative. Norman Wilensky, John Mahon, and David Chalmers supplied inspiration through their brilliant and entertaining teaching.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Council of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

PARK TRAMMELL OF FLORIDA: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY

By

Stephen Kerber

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Chairman: Dr. Samuel Proctor
Major Department: History

Park Trammell (1876-1936), one of Florida's most astute politicians, was born in Alabama, April 9, 1876. His father, John W. Trammell, moved to Polk County, Florida, in 1882, where he farmed and grew citrus. He was interested in politics and was elected county treasurer and state representative. His support of Henry Mitchell's gubernatorial candidacy in 1892 resulted in appointment as superintendent of the hospital for the insane at Chattahoochee. He occupied this post for eight years.

In the spring of 1894, Park went to work in the customs service at Tampa. In 1898, he decided to obtain a law degree, and first attended Vanderbilt University, and then Cumberland Law School, graduating in the spring of 1899. Trammell returned to Lakeland, where he opened a law office.

In 1899, and again in 1900 and 1901, Trammell was elected mayor. In 1902, he won election to the state house of representatives. Two years later, he was chosen for the state senate, after campaigning against railroads and corporations. His colleagues selected him senate president. He became a leading advocate of Governor Napoleon Broward's progressive reform program.
Trammell declared himself a candidate for the United States Senate during the autumn of 1907, but withdrew his candidacy when Broward encouraged another of his supporters, Will Bryan of Jacksonville, to make the race. Trammell then decided to run for state attorney general and in 1908 defeated the incumbent, William Ellis. In 1912, Trammell used his cabinet post as a stepping-stone to the governorship. He defeated William Milton in a campaign which dealt with the issues of good roads and the labor of state convicts. Trammell advocated many progressive reforms as governor, but did not play a significant role in the subsequent enactment of laws by the 1913 and 1915 legislatures.

Trammell manipulated nativist sentiment stirred up by gubernatorial candidate Sidney Catts in 1916 in his own behalf in his race against United States Senator Nathan Bryan. During his initial Senate term (1917-1923), Trammell established himself as a reactor rather than an activist or orator. He faithfully attended Senate sessions and committee meetings and voted the way his constituents would prefer him to vote.

In 1922, William Jennings Bryan seriously contemplated a race for Trammell's Senate seat but abandoned the idea in the face of Trammell's great popularity. In 1928, Trammell resisted a challenge from outgoing Governor John Martin, in a heated campaign marred by personal abuse and charges of corruption among Trammell's office staff. Trammell's most remarkable victory came in the 1934 runoff Democratic primary against attorney Claude Pepper of Tallahassee. Both men based their campaigns on support for Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal, but Trammell's popularity and his connections in Hillsborough County turned the election in his favor.
Trammell eventually achieved seniority in the Senate, but was personally responsible for little if any significant legislation. He did maintain an admirable voting record, however, and in doing so attempted to protect the interests of his Florida constituents. Although he became an early and consistent supporter of the New Deal, his senatorial career was overshadowed by that of his senior colleague, Duncan Fletcher. Trammell repeatedly proved himself one of the cleverest campaigners of his era.
Early in the year 1882, two brothers--John and Rip Trammell--moved with their families and possessions from Alabama to the frontier state of Florida. They settled in Polk County, a sparsely inhabited area just east of Tampa and Hillsborough County. Until 1860, Hillsborough included this fertile and lake-studded region. In that year, the Florida legislature divided the county and named the eastern portion for former President James Polk.¹

The census in 1880 listed 3,181 persons in Polk County. Of that number, 3,033 were white, 122 were "colored," and 26 were Indians. Only 3 Polk Countians had been born outside the United States--2 in England or Wales, and 1 in Ireland. Polk County's homogeneous and sexually balanced population was typical of Florida and the South. The overwhelming majority were native-born Floridians--2,222 in all. Those from other states included 687 from Georgia, 129 from South Carolina, 53 from Alabama, 31 from North Carolina, 7 from Virginia and Tennessee, 2 from Pennsylvania, and 1 each from New York and Massachusetts. The population included 1,518 females and 1,663 males.²

When the Trammells arrived in Florida, they found life was peaceful and bountiful. Sweet potatoes provided both a staple food and a substitute for coffee. Cane supplied sugar or syrup. Clothing was made from home-grown cotton. Fenced-in cattle helped fertilize the land.
The near-virgin wilderness swarmed with quail, wild turkey, venison, water fowl, squirrel, and fish. Cotton or oranges could be sold or traded at Tampa for goods that could not be grown or produced at home. Cane grindings, sugar boilings, camp meetings, quilting bees, and political rallies furnished entertainment and relaxation for the frontier families.  

During the 1860s, most of the settlers in the northern part of Polk County, and the area that later became Lakeland, did not own their land. Only in the 1870s did these "squatters" begin to homestead or buy lands they had occupied for years. Medulla was the principal hamlet of the area, possessing the only post office for miles around.  

John Washington and Ripley Erasmus Trammell followed an established family custom when they migrated to Florida. For generations their ancestors had been heading into new territories and leaving familiar surroundings behind. Their great-grandfather had, for example, forsaken South Carolina for Georgia at the close of the Revolutionary War. 

Thomas Trammell had fought in the American Revolution as a private, between 1780 and 1783, in the "South Carolina Mounted Rifled Rangers." He evidently served under two well known officers--Captain Joseph Hughes and Colonel Thomas Brandon. Thomas Trammell likely saw action at Musgrove's Mill, King's Mountain, Hammond's Store, Cowpens, Hanging Rock, and Rocky Mount. Long after his death, his widow began receiving a small pension in recognition of his services. 

Thomas Trammell had married Mary Turner of Union District, South Carolina, on December 21, 1775. After the war she moved with him to Hancock County, Georgia. Thomas subsequently moved again, to Jackson (later Clark), and to Upson counties. John Trammell, the second child
and first son of Thomas and Mary, born April 3, 1780, married Mary "Polly" Dickinson on July 30, 1807. The couple spent most of their lives in Chambers County, Alabama, where they raised a family of nine children. Their seventh child, Monroe, grew up to be a medical doctor in Chambers County. He fathered five children by his wife Sarah—Erasmus Ripley, Ella, Celeste, Luther, and the youngest, John Washington, who was born in 1853.

John did not choose to pursue his father's career, but became a farmer. On February 26, 1874, he married Ida Estelle Park in Opelika, Lee County, Alabama. Two years later, on April 9, 1876, their first child—a son—was born. They named the boy Park, after his mother's family, and Monroe, for his paternal grandfather.

Subsequently, nine more children were born—Worth W., John DeWitt, Wilma (later Mrs. Walter Jenkins), Lee Ripley, Emma (later Mrs. Peres McDougall), Pearl, Maude, Eva, and Ruth (later Mrs. Graham Harrison). In later years, after Ida's death, John Washington married Ruby Wilson from Tallahassee. Together they had another son, named Wilson.\(^5\)

Although it is unclear when the Trammell families left Alabama, they were in Florida by the fall of 1882. As of September 7 of that year, John W. Trammell had settled near Medulla, Florida. Citing that date, William McLeod listed John Trammell as one of his witnesses when he filed the final proof of his land claim.\(^6\) That same month, Trammell and I.M. Pipkin advertised in the local newspaper in an attempt to sell 2,500 sweet orange trees. They noted their location as "two miles east of Medulla, and eight miles north of Bartow."\(^7\)

Both brothers probably intended to homestead near Medulla. John may or may not have proceeded with his claim. Rip, his elder brother,
did take the trouble to press a land claim. E.R. Trammell filed to make final proof on his claim April 16, 1884. The property in question lay in the "n. 1/2 of nw 1/4 and nw 1/4 of ne 1/4 section 36, township 27s, range 23e." His witnesses included W.S. Odum, F.C. Milton, J.M. Clough, and R.C. Clough, all of Medulla. 

Rumors of the coming of a railroad greatly stimulated the movement of settlers into Polk County after 1880. In 1881, a person could obtain 160 acres of good land in Polk County by paying the government entry fees of about fourteen dollars. Good orange land was available for twenty-five dollars an acre. Even near the town of Bartow an acre sold for fifty dollars. 

The Trammells had settled in Polk County at a propitious moment. They came, most likely, in search of land to farm or to raise citrus. Others arrived at the same time, possessed of capital and eager to speculate in land, believing that the coming of railroads would practically insure a profit.

In 1881, Abraham G. Munn, a manufacturer from Louisville, Kentucky, purchased several thousand acres of land in southern Florida from the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund. His son, Morris G. Munn, journeyed from DeLand to Polk County in order to locate his father's purchase, and he selected an eighty-acre tract as a townsite. Another son, Samuel, eventually surveyed and plotted the townsite of what became Lakeland.

When the Trammells arrived in 1882, the town of Lakeland did not yet exist. The building of a railroad would be the stimulus to create the new city. In addition, the coming of a railroad brought a young man to Polk County who would one day challenge John Trammell's son in the
turbulent world of Florida politics. In about June 1883, a railroad construction camp was located on the edge of Lake Wise. Herbert Jackson Drane, the young man in charge of the camp, had secured a commission to construct the section of the South Florida Railroad passing through the area. If Drane's construction crew consisted solely of blacks, as was believed, he would have been the first white man to live within the original territorial limits of what became Lakeland.11

The existence of the railroad camp and the promise of the road itself proved a powerful magnet which drew people from throughout the vicinity. Medulla, which had been the metropolis of the section with two stores and a post office, proved the first to suffer. Postmaster L.M. Ballard, owner of one of the stores, packed up his family, his business, and his post office, and moved to Lake Wise. A man named Boncaster soon built another store, and others followed.12

Events moved rapidly. A new town had come into existence. An open meeting took place on Saturday, December 15, 1883, to choose a name for the community. Three men--E.R. Trammell, the Reverend P.R. McCrary, and Dr. J.L. Drieux--agreed on a suggestion, and when their neighbors approved, the name Lakeland was adopted.13

Barely a month later, on January 19, 1884, the last rail completing the connection between Orlando and Tampa went into place. Two engines touched cowcatchers at 9:00 a.m., January 23, at a point about six miles east of Lakeland. The South Florida Railroad, the key to Lakeland's establishment and growth, had been completed.14

Lakeland's future might not have been of very long duration, however, if it had not been for Abraham Munn. At about the same time, or perhaps just slightly before Lakeland came into existence, another town had been
established about two miles to the east. An Englishman named Hanbury had acquired some Florida property with the intention of beginning a town and of selling lots. Under the direction of P.E. Warburton, a town named Acton came into being. It boasted a sawmill, an Episcopal church, a couple of stores, and several houses.

Disaster seemed imminent for Lakeland when the railroad refused to stop its trains there unless granted considerable concessions. It threatened to establish a station at Acton. In fact, it actually went ahead and built a depot, called Lake Parker Station, approximately a mile east of Acton.

Mr. Munn came to Lakeland's rescue, however. When fire destroyed the Lake Parker Station, he agreed to most of the railroad's demands. He gave land for the right-of-way and for the sites of terminals and sidings, and built at his own expense a new station for Lakeland costing $2,500.15 The arrival of the Florida Southern Railroad, in August 1885, set Lakeland on the road to prosperity. By 1893, twenty trains daily would be pulling in and out of the community.16

John Trammell was a man who made friends quickly and took advantage of any opportunity to improve his situation. When a vandal set fire to the Bartow jail on March 11, 1883, and the building burned to the ground, he secured the contract for a new jail. It took him little more than the last week in March to rebuild the facility.17

It soon became evident, however, that John's future lay neither in the construction business, nor in agriculture, but rather in politics. When the citizens of Lakeland assembled on New Year's Day, 1885, to incorporate their town, twenty-seven residents approved articles of incorporation prepared by Judge Eppes Tucker. An election for municipal
officials was then held, and John W. Trammell was named mayor. After a short time, however, for reasons now unknown, he resigned the office of mayor, and J.D. Torrence replaced him. 18

John found politics very much to his liking, for in 1886 and 1887 he sought and won election as treasurer of Polk County. 19 During these years he also apparently moved his family to Lakeland, probably for business and political convenience. John evidenced a lively interest in the immigration movement advocated by many Florida newspapermen and civic boosters during this period. He served for some time as county executive committeeman for the state immigration association. However, a yellow fever scare prevented a key organizational meeting set for the courthouse in Bartow on October 13, 1887, and took much steam out of the movement in Polk County. 20

By 1888, the Trammell family had become an established and respected part of the community. In its March 7, 1888, issue, the Bartow Advance-Courier referred to John as "our popular" thirty-four-year-old county treasurer. It described him as an 1882 immigrant from Alabama who had given up cotton cultivation in his native state to become a fruit and vegetable grower in Florida. His holdings included at least twenty acres planted in young fruit trees.

Trammell admitted that he had come to Florida "because of its congenial climate, and to benefit myself financially, and my expectations have been fully realized, so far." Cabbage, tomatoes, cucumbers, bananas, onions, and cassava were profitable crops. He advised the middle and laboring classes to move to Polk County because:

... in my judgment these classes can do well here without an exception. We have many among us now whose capital is principally their time and labor, and they are not only making a support, but are rapidly
accumulating wealth. I have personal knowledge of a number of these classes, who have about their homes every evidence of success. I never hear this class of people speak of hard times. They rely upon their products and generally have plenty. They have young orange and other fruit groves coming on that in time will make them rich.

By June 1888, Trammell had decided not to seek another term as Polk County treasurer. Also, in July, he brought his increasing political influence to bear against the movement to divide Polk County and to make Lakeland the county seat of the northern half. In response to a published proposition composed by several prominent Bartow residents asking equally prominent Lakelanders to disown county division in the interest of Democratic unity, Trammell joined other citizens of northern Polk in an affirmative and conciliatory message.

In 1888, Trammell decided to seek a seat in the Florida legislature. Capitalizing on the contacts and friendships he had made as county treasurer, he won election to the house of representatives. During the 1889 legislative session, Trammell held the post of chairman of the Roads and Highways Committee. Two other young, ambitious Floridians--Frank Clark of Polk County and Peter O. Knight of Lee County--served with Trammell in 1889. Knight would later become probably the most influential conservative businessman and lobbyist in Florida. Clark subsequently served as a Florida congressman from 1905 to 1925 and may have been the most outspoken Negrophobe in Florida politics during his day.

Trammell did not play a role at the Florida Democratic gubernatorial convention at Saint Augustine in 1888, but he did win reelection to the legislature in 1890. By 1892, he had emerged as a man to be reckoned with in party politics. He was chairman of the Polk County Democratic
convention which met in Bartow on April 16, 1892. The convention proved a stormy one because a group opposed to Henry L. Mitchell's candidacy for governor, the delegates from District 3 or Bartow, contested the seating of the regular, pro-Mitchell slate. The anti-Mitchell faction, led by Frank Clark, lost its fight, however. The convention named thirteen Mitchell delegates, including John Trammell, to the state convention.  

A Trammell family legend suggests that Mitchell had made an agreement to appoint Trammell to high office provided he agreed not to run for governor himself. The situation in Polk County suggests that such a possibility might have been feasible regardless of whether the two men ever actually struck such a bargain. It seems at least as likely, however, that Trammell would never have risked a split in the Democratic vote in Florida in the face of Populist intrusions in 1892. Thus, Trammell may well have found honor and ambition perfectly compatible under these circumstances. He most likely supported Mitchell because he stood to benefit personally, and he did not share the liberal position strongly enough to warrant disrupting the party.

This pro- and anti-Mitchell conflict in the Polk County convention mirrored conditions in the rest of the state. Ever since the contested election of George Drew as governor in 1876 had "redeemed" Florida from Republican rule, Florida's Democracy had been torn between following what historian C. Vann Woodward has called "the right fork" and "the left fork" to reunion. The right fork consisted of alignment with the East and economic conservatism--"Eastern capitalism, its banks, monetary system, railroads, and monopolies." The left fork led to "agrarian radicalism"--easy money and opposition to special favors and subsidies
for vested economic interests. Woodward has argued that in the Comromise of 1876 and afterwards, until the emergence of Populism, the South followed the right fork of eastern alignment, becoming a bulwark of the conservative economic order and defining itself as an economic colony of the industrialized East in many respects.26

Within this context, post-Civil War Florida's Democratic party can be viewed as consisting of two groups of men divided upon the question of whether or not it would prove most beneficial to the people of Florida to encourage virtually without reservation the investment of capital and the establishment of new businesses. The "Bourbons" and the "conservatives" such as Governors Drew, William D. Bloxham, Edward A. Perry, and Francis P. Fleming leaned toward the view that economic growth based on "outside" investment constituted the best way for Florida to "develop." Prosperity would come to the masses of the state through the financial success of railroads, corporations, and land development schemes.

The Independents of 1884, the Florida Farmer's Alliance and Populist party men of the late 1880s and the 1890s, and the "liberals" and "progressives" of turn-of-the-century and early twentieth century Florida all opposed the conservative vision to a greater or lesser extent. They believed it to be a mistake, and often a crime, to sell huge tracts of land to syndicates rather than small properties to individuals. They deplored the sale of Florida's natural resources for a comparative pittance and the subsidization of the rich, powerful, and greedy at the expense of the poor, ignorant, and landless.

Perhaps the most flagrant and characteristic of the abuses cited and denounced by these men took place on May 30, 1881, when Governor Bloxham announced the sale of four million acres of land at the price of
twenty-five cents per acre. Hamilton Disston of Philadelphia, who had been negotiating with regard to drainage plans in the central and southern portions of the peninsula, was the purchaser of this vast area. Although Bloxham and his defenders justified the transaction as being vitally necessary to pay off the steadily accumulating debts owed by the Internal Improvement Fund and to clear the title to the remaining state lands, it appeared that such sales discriminated against the average Florida citizen. The Polk County convention fight can only be understood in light of this ongoing Democratic debate.

The most spontaneous outburst of opposition to taking the right fork to reunion arose in Florida with the birth of the Farmer's Alliance in the state. The Alliance was begun in Florida in 1887 by two organizers from Texas. It began as a strictly economic organization, but rapidly developed a political side to protect itself and to sow its ideals abroad. By 1890, the Alliance movement had won numerical control of the state Democratic convention and of the Florida legislature. In addition, the national convention of the Alliance met in Ocala in December of 1890 and issued its famous "Ocala Demands," or platform.

One highlight of the continuing struggle between Florida's liberals and conservatives took place during the election of a United States senator in the 1891 legislative session. The ultimate victory of Wilkinson Call, an enemy of the railroads, over William D. Chipley of Pensacola, a railroad executive, in a long and bitter struggle, would seem to have been cause for Alliance men and Populists to rejoice.

However, the joy of the liberals proved short-lived. Rather than permit Governor Fleming to appoint a pro-railroad man to the state railroad commission, and unable to make membership on the commission
elective, the liberals killed Florida's first railroad commission. Frank Clark, Wilkinson Call's floor leader in the election fight, introduced the bill to destroy the commission. Two years later, the same Frank Clark emerged as the leader in the anti-Mitchell movement in Polk County. Thus, not only did the dissent led by Clark and the liberals against John Trammell and the other "regulars" in the 1892 Polk County Democratic convention reflect statewide political conditions, it also constituted part of a continuing rift throughout the South—one that John Trammell's son Park would find himself involved in more than a decade later during the Broward era of Florida progressivism.

Early in June 1892, at Tampa, the anti-Mitchell men from Polk and other counties carried their protests to the state convention, but without success. On June 2, the convention adopted a majority report by 290 votes to 105 1/2 which seated "all the Mitchell delegations from the counties presenting contests." On the following day, now as an official delegate, Trammell placed in nomination for the office of secretary of state Wakulla's Dr. John L. Crawford. The correspondent of the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union referred to Trammell's oratorical effort as being second only to Robert W. Davis's address in honor of Governor Bloxham. 27

Another indication of Trammell's position within the hierarchy of the state's Democratic party is to be found in his having served as a member of the board of trustees for the Florida Agricultural College at Lake City. He is listed in the catalogues for the 1891-1892 and 1892-1893 school years. 28 Since Governor Francis P. Fleming must have appointed him, his selection must be seen as a political mark of favor.
Early in May 1893, a Tampa paper reported that Trammell was under consideration for nomination as collector of the port of Tampa. It quoted the Orlando Sentinel as saying: "He is strongly indorsed [sic] and would make a collector of whom the whole state could feel proud." Although he did not receive the nomination, Trammell obviously had become an important Florida Democrat, one of the most prominent in south Florida.

The proof of this statement may be found in the appointment that John Trammell did receive in 1893. Henry L. Mitchell, having been chosen as the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, knew that Trammell had been instrumental in securing Polk County support for his cause. Whether rewarding a loyal supporter or completing a bargain, Mitchell, in June 1893, appointed Trammell to one of the best known patronage jobs in the state--the position of superintendent of the Florida Asylum for the Insane at Chattahoochee.

The Bartow Courier-Informant hailed the appointment as "A HAPPY SURPRISE," which would greatly please Trammell's "host of friends." The appointment came as an "entire surprise" to Trammell, the paper claimed, "as he had not applied for the position." His salary, the journal estimated, was "at least $3,000 a year," and it predicted that he "will make an official of whom Florida will be proud." A correspondent, one "Buzz Saw," wrote that: "Hon. J.W. Trammell has been appointed superintendent of the insane asylum at Chattahoochee. A wise and good selection granted by a man of brains to a competent and zealous worker and a democrat from birth." The Tampa Morning Tribune reported, "This is a good selection and Mr. Trammell will prove his efficiency and ability worthy of the selection and position." The Tallahassee Floridian averred that the general consensus held "the choice...
wise one. Mr. Trammell is a very level-headed man and with his known ability we have every reason to expect a wise administration. He will be entirely free from the burden of the local differences about Chattahoochee, and his great administrative ability will have full scope in dealing with one of our most important institutions."

The decision to leave Polk County must have been a difficult one for Trammell. Only a need to improve the lot of his growing family and also a desire to help the unfortunates at Chattahoochee could have swayed him. The appointment of his father to one of the most prestigious political jobs in the state also had significant repercussions for young Park Trammell, a seventeen-year-old in the summer of 1893. On June 14, Park served as an usher at the wedding of Charles E. Abson and Nettie May Boswell. Less than a fortnight later, on June 26, 1893, he and his father left for Chattahoochee. The rest of the family planned to follow in the fall. In September, Park returned for a short visit with his family. A few days later, accompanied by his brother Worth, he returned to be with his father. Finally, in October, Mrs. Trammell and the children also moved to Chattahoochee.

If the newspapers had greeted Trammell's appointment as superintendent with satisfaction, at least one found him even quicker to grasp the complexities of his new situation than it had imagined. Early in the fall, the Tampa Morning Tribune published a strong endorsement of the man:

"... friends and admirers ... will be pleased to learn that the gentleman is giving universal satisfaction as superintendent. ... There is not a more conscientious gentleman or a more zealous christian [sic] in the state, with a heart as kind and tender as a woman, he is certainly the right man in the right place and the
TRIBUNE hopes that he is as well pleased with his new avocation as the patrons of that institution and the people of this state are pleased with him.36

Although John Trammell possessed no specialized training or skill which might have prepared him to deal with the problems of the mentally ill, he did possess an equally important quality—compassion. This quality he revealed when he took the time to write personally to a former Polk County neighbor regarding the condition of the man's son, then a patient in the hospital:

Your son is improving right fast. He is very much better than when I wrote you last, both physically and mentally. He sleeps and eats well, is gaining weight, looks a good deal better and is cheerful and contented. I trust you will disabuse your mind of all fear that your son is not receiving as tender care as if at your house.37

The entire Trammell family involved itself in the affairs of the hospital, and the patients must have benefited from being exposed to the kindness and cheerfulness of the superintendent's children. For example, on Friday evening, December 3, 1897, Wilma Trammell, Ruby Wilson (later to marry widower John Trammell), Worth Trammell, and G.P. Bevis starred in a presentation of an operetta, "Penelope, or the Milkman's Bride." Mrs. L.D. Blocker, a pianist, provided musical accompaniment for the actors, as did Worth and the institution's brass band. A newspaper report described the patients as being "delighted with the pleasures of the evening."38

The young men in the Trammell family did more, however, than organize bands and take part in plays while they lived at the Chattahoochee hospital. Young John D. Trammell, for one, worked as an attendant of sorts. Such a role he performed when, in March of 1894, he journeyed
to Tampa to accompany Osten Swan, a Swede who had been adjudged insane, to Chattahoochee.\textsuperscript{39}

Even after assuming his post at Chattahoochee, John Trammell continued to find time for party politics. He served as a member of the Democratic executive committee of Florida's First Congressional District.\textsuperscript{40} John Trammell served as superintendent from July 1, 1893, to February 1, 1901. During that time he established a set of rules of conduct for his employees and coaxed from the legislature appropriations for a number of improvements at the facility. Among the latter were sewerage facilities; strict sanitation measures; a laundry; more land and better methods for the hospital's farm; a steam plant for heating; entertainment in the form of concerts, dances, and plays; new buildings; a herd of dairy cows and a creamery; an electric lighting plant; a steam cooking plant; and a policy of encouraging patients to engage in useful, physical activities of many kinds.\textsuperscript{41}

In the 1890s, the study of mental illnesses had not advanced to the extent that John Trammell could have been expected to apply any professional knowledge beyond common sense to his task. Nevertheless, his biennial reports reveal that he possessed a great measure of sympathy and concern for the patients, and that he understood that mental illness constituted a disease rather than a curse or the working of an evil mind. If he presided over a primitive institution, it must be remembered that Florida politicians had little reason to provide financial support for the hospital. Indeed, it seems extremely likely that, but for Trammell's prestige and political contacts, the legislature would have given even less money for the treatment of the mentally ill.
Because he saw the importance of sanitation, adequate care of physical ills, physical work, and recreation, Trammell must be considered much more than a typical political appointee. He publicized in his official reports the plight of the mentally ill. He observed and pointed out the weakness and unfairness of laws which permitted judges to commit people to the hospital without medical testimony. He condemned the practice of keeping epileptics or the feeble-minded confined together with people who had become mentally ill but might, with proper treatment, recover. His conviction that the hospital should be oriented towards treating patients in order to help them recover, and his continuing efforts to secure the financial support which alone could make that conviction a possibility, mark him as an exceptional man--truly a man of good will. As the historian of the development of Florida's system of state care of the mentally ill has written:

In 1901, after eight years of faithful service to the asylum, Mr. Trammell retired. The improvements made during these years had been remarkable, and if it had not been for the delays of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions in appropriating more funds and correcting the out-dated Lunacy Laws, he would have attained more of the beneficial results he worked so hard for.42

Dr. V.H. Gwinn succeeded Trammell as superintendent in 1901.

Park Trammell did not remain with his parents at Chattahoochee very long. In October 1893, he and his brother Worth entered the agricultural college at Lake City, a land-grant institution which had been located there for ten years. Park seems to have remained at Lake City for only the autumn of 1893 and the winter of 1894. Worth did return, however, in the 1895-1896 year, as a sub-freshman and a private pursuing
a business course of study. Although it is possible that college life held no attraction for the Trammell brothers at this time, it is at least as probable that they had already acquired as solid a background in reading, writing, and arithmetic as the Florida schools of the 1890s could offer.

In the winter of 1894, quite probably in February, John W. Trammell approached John T. Lesley, collector of the port of Tampa, about a position for his eldest son. Lesley, in a letter to his superiors requesting special permission to employ an individual who had not yet reached his majority, pointed out that Park's "Father is one of our most worthy and influential citizens" and that Park "is a young man of exemplary habits, addicted to none of the vices that many of the youth of the country so often fall into. [He] ... is just from College, has fine business qualifications, and will make a faithful and efficient officer." Thus, evidently in early spring 1894, Park went to work for the federal government as an inspector and clerk in the customs service.

The 1890s constituted a period of very rapid growth for Tampa. It had become an official port of entry, complete with customs house, in 1887. The main import was Cuban tobacco, destined to be made at the factories of men such as V. Martinez Ybor into Tampa-brand Havana cigars. The beginning of phosphate mining and the opening of Henry Plant's rail connection to Port Tampa in 1888 set the city's new economic base. Historian Durward Long contends that as Tampa "entered the decade of the 1890s, with a population of nearly 6,000 or a sevenfold increase in ten years, it had many of the characteristics of a city and was radically different from the village of 1880."
In recognition of the need to have someone on hand at Port Tampa, since the customs house was located in Tampa, Collector Lesley nominated Park for the position of deputy collector and chief inspector in charge at Port Tampa on April 30, 1895. Lesley also asked that Park's salary be raised from $3.00 per day to $3.50. However, the resumption of warfare in Cuba in the later 1890s reduced tobacco imports into Tampa, and customs service agents recommended a reduction in the staff. Park Trammell resigned at the suggestion of Collector M.B. Macfarlane on March 9, 1898, his resignation to be effective on March 31.

Trammell's resignation came at an eventful moment. On February 15, the United States battleship Maine blew up in Havana harbor. By April 25, the United States had gone to war with Spain.

Although many Floridians had shown a great interest in the course of the revolution in Cuba, and some, such as future Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, had even engaged in running guns to the rebels, not until February 1898 did the state press give much credence to the possibility of war between the United States and Spain. Even then, it was the end of March before the idea of anything but a naval war, in which the Spanish might threaten the Florida coast and the American navy would be based at Key West, came to the attention of Florida editors. They seem simply not to have realized that an invading and occupying force might be necessary and that such a force would need to be transported from somewhere in the southeast to Cuba.

Only after an article which appeared in the New York Times on March 30 mentioned that Tampa had been included in consideration as a site for a possible army camp and embarkation point, did Floridians begin to campaign actively to secure such installations. Through the efforts
of Henry M. Flagler, one army camp was located at Miami; others were placed near Jacksonville, Fernandina, and Lakeland. Tampa became the main concentration point for troops and equipment. Despite their belated recognition of the economic possibilities, Floridians benefited greatly from the expenditures made by the United States government and the soldiers, and also from extensive (although not always favorable) publicity.

Between April and August 1898, the military influx swelled the Tampa population from 25,000 to 66,000. Giant logistical problems arose and chaos resulted, at least for a time. Nevertheless, enough of the army managed to get itself equipped and transported to the island to help the Cuban patriots bring a successful conclusion to the land campaign. Tampa absorbed the expenditure of a monthly government payroll of approximately $75,000. The city also received free advertising of incalculable value and, subsequently, substantial congressional appropriations to improve the port.

Park served in the quartermaster's department at Tampa during the Spanish-American War. Evidently his prior knowledge and experience came to the attention of the military authorities and he either chose to enlist or served in some special capacity. Even the length of time he served is unclear, however.

While working in Tampa, Park must have given some thought to his future. In June 1897, he and C.D. Clough had purchased the Lake Region Sun of Lakeland from C.E. McMullen. Clough served as the active partner, and in early 1898 he changed the name of the paper to the Lakeland Sun. Trammell was never closely involved in the operation, and he sold his
interest to Clough in October 1900. Later, in 1906, he repurchased the Sun, only to sell it again the following year.

With the termination of the war, Park decided to study law. Records indicate that he attended Vanderbilt University, together with brother Worth, during the 1898-1899 school year. It seems almost certain that he spent the autumn of 1898 in Nashville. Perhaps that winter, Park moved on to Cumberland University in Lebanon, Tennessee. In June 1899, after a period of less than six months, Park received the degree of Bachelor of Laws.

Following his graduation, Park returned to Lakeland, where he opened a law office in September 1899 in the Clonts Building. The Bartow Courier-Informant commented on this event: "He is a bright young man and is destined to make a success of his chosen profession." The editor proved correct in his prediction, but he proved wrong as to the field in which that success would be achieved. Not in the law, but in politics lay the young man's future. Less than two months after beginning his law practice, Park entered the race to become mayor of Lakeland.

J.P. Thompson, who had held the office of mayor less than a year, proved to be a strong opponent. Nevertheless, Trammell defeated him in a contest marked by a number of challenged voters, and at the age of twenty-three tasted his first political victory. Although it is uncertain how many votes Park received on election day, November 20, 1899, the high vote totalled 114. Lakeland at that time contained 243 qualified voters.

The new mayor soon found himself in need of, or perhaps simply able to afford, new quarters. In January 1900, D.H. Sloan built a new office for his brokerage business, and Trammell moved his law practice into the
building. Trammell's newspaper card advertised that he would "practice in all Florida courts." Unwilling to spend all his time at work, however, the mayor took advantage of the opportunity to attend social functions such as a Valentine social held at the home of J.L. Skipper.

One of Trammell's greatest thrills during his time as mayor of Lakeland came upon the occasion of a brief visit by William Jennings Bryan. Together with his wife, Bryan had become a frequent visitor to Florida since his Nebraska volunteer unit had been stationed in Jacksonville in 1898. On the morning of February 21, 1900, a crowd numbering 500 people gathered to meet Bryan's train from Tampa. To Mayor Trammell fell the decided pleasure (for a young Democratic politician) of escorting Bryan to the depot platform and introducing him to the crowd. Bryan, in the few minutes of the train's stopover, gave an entertaining talk which greatly pleased his audience.

Even though his real interest lay in politics, Trammell still had to make a living by practicing law. Unfortunately, very little is known about his Lakeland practice. He and Bartow attorney H.K. Olliphant formed a partnership in July 1900. Olliphant retained his office in Bartow, while Trammell continued in his quarters in Lakeland. Until January 9, 1901, the Bartow paper carried a joint advertisement for the partnership. Then, for some reason, it must have been dissolved, for beginning on January 16, 1901, the paper began to carry the card of only Olliphant. Not until November 12, 1902, did Trammell again place his card in the Courier-Informant. Shortly before the termination of his law partnership, Trammell decided to seek reelection as mayor of Lakeland. In November 1900, the voters returned him to office for the 1901 term.
Also during the late autumn of 1900, Trammell married Virginia "Virgie" Darby, the daughter of Thomas C. Darby, a grocery merchant. The ceremony took place on a Sunday afternoon, with the Reverend L.D. Geiger officiating. Only the members of the two families attended what a local newspaper termed "a surprise to almost everyone" and "a very quiet affair." After the ceremony, held in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Darby on the corner of Oak Street and Kentucky Avenue, the bride's parents held a small reception for the couple. The newlyweds then departed for the home of C.D. Clough, editor of the Lakeland Sun, where they lived until they moved into their own home. They subsequently took a Christmastime trip which may have constituted their honeymoon, travelling to Chattahoochee to visit the Trammell family. The following August, they began construction on a house of their own.  

Then as now, one of the main functions of public officials involved speechmaking. Trammell liked to associate with people from his home county, and he continually took advantage of chances to mix with the voters. A typical example occurred when he gave the welcoming address to a large picnic held by the Lakeland and Plant City lodges of the Knights of Pythias in August 1901.  

On November 18, 1901, Trammell won his third term as mayor of Lakeland in an uncontested election. The 166 votes he gathered topped all the other candidates for city office. The ease of his victory must have made a strong impression upon him, for shortly after being sworn in on January 8, 1902, for his new term as mayor, Trammell began to consider entering county politics.  

Early in February 1902, incumbent James L. Close of Fort Meade announced that he would actively seek reelection as one of Polk County's
representatives in the legislature of 1903, over a year away. Close claimed the support of many of the men residing in the southern part of the county. Late in April, two other candidates (both Lakeland men and therefore residents of the northern part of Polk County) tossed their respective hats into the ring—Herbert Jackson Drane and Park Trammell.

Close's public announcement that he would run in the Democratic primary of July 15, 1902, simply stated that if elected, he would endeavor to represent the interest of the entire county. Drane claimed that, having served as chief engrossing clerk of the house from 1889 to 1901, his experience would help him serve his constituents. Drane had earlier been elected mayor of Lakeland from 1888 to 1892 and a county commissioner from 1896 to 1899. Trammell proved more loquacious in the wording of his announcement:

The office for which I ask the honor of your suffrages [sic] is yours. Created and maintained by the sovereign people, for the institution of legitimate law, and the consequent perpetuity of popular free government, with equal security alike to all men, it is theirs. I have a full sense of the sacred responsibility your honorable commission would entail, and if chosen will discharge my duties with fidelity to the principles in which the inalienable rights of the people exist.

M.S. Dowden of Homeland, the other incumbent Polk County representative in the 1901 legislature, chose not to seek reelection.

The Bartow paper commented on each of the candidates when their advertisements first appeared. Close, it reported, had "faithfully served the people of Polk county in the legislature." Drane, it commented, "is well known, not only in Polk county, but throughout the
state. He has had a good deal of legislative experience, is now a member of the capitol building committee, and has many friends who would like to see him elected." Trammell's "popularity," the paper predicted, would "help him along."69

No single, clear-cut issue dominated the contest for the two house seats. The so-called Flagler divorce law of 1901, the question of the wisdom of creating a state dispensary as a solution to the liquor problem, pensions for Confederate veterans, support for educational institutions—all were of concern to the voters. In addition, the advisability or propriety of selecting two men from the same (northern) part of Polk County threatened to resurrect the animosity concerning county division.

Indeed, Trammell found himself in a difficult situation when a whispering campaign materialized charging that he and Close had "formed a combine" against Drane, to appeal to those voters who wanted one representative each from the northern and southern parts of the county. This report Trammell denounced as "a production of the imaginary powers of some trickster." "It is absolutely false," he maintained, "and is not sustained by a single fact." However, in stating that he wished "it understood that neither my friends nor myself are advocating the election of two legislators from the same town," Trammell came perilously close to confirming that which he sought to deny.70 This election may, in fact, have been the first, or at least one of the first, incidents which led to hard feelings on the part of Drane against Trammell. And, as the steady rise of Trammell's political star subsequently outshone the older man's own distinguished career, the situation became more pronounced over the years.
J.T. Mallory of Kathleen injected a comic note into the election when he wrote a letter to the Bartow paper endorsing Trammell and deplored "a disposition in some to want to condemn him on the account of some things his father did." This attitude Mallory termed "very unjust, un-Christ-like," for "some of our best fruit and sweetest flowers grow on thorny vines." 71 His letter, however intended, stirred up the indignation of Trammell supporters--both John's and Park's--to such an extent that only a week later Mallory again took pen in hand. He had "meant no reflection whatever upon Mr. J.W. Trammell or his past life," and believed "his ... years of public trust and the family he has raised would be a credit to any who might oppose his boy on his account." 72

All three house candidates appeared at a campaign rally sponsored by the Young Men's Democratic Club of Bartow at the courthouse on the evening of July 7, 1902. A large crowd first heard Drane discuss "in a quiet manner the issues of the day." He opposed the creation of a dispensary system which, as in South Carolina, would establish a number of state stores or dispensaries as the only legal outlets where liquor could be purchased. He favored using the Indian war claim fund (that money given by the federal government to Florida in settlement of Florida's claims regarding the costs of financing the Second Seminole War) to pay off the state's bonded indebtedness.

Trammell followed Drane to the rostrum. He first attempted to curry favor with his audience by reminding them that he had spent his early days in the vicinity of Bartow. He also opposed a dispensary system, favoring instead a continuation of prohibition in Polk County. He also advocated using the Indian war claim windfall to pay off the state debt.
The third candidate, James Close, spoke next. As the incumbent, he sought to explain his positions on bills in the previous legislature. He gave his reasons for casting his votes against bills to require a uniform railroad rate of three cents a mile in Florida and to debar the law partners of judges from practicing in the courts of those same judges. He defended his favorable vote on the Flagler divorce bill by explaining that he considered incurable insanity a much stronger ground for divorce than many other reasons already written into law. This law had allowed Henry M. Flagler to divorce his second wife and subsequently marry Mary Lily Kenan. Close became agitated when discussing the charge that Flagler money had been spent to ease passage of the bill and the insinuation that he had accepted a bribe for his vote. He defied anyone in the audience to step forward and repeat the charge to his face, calling anyone who would dare to do so a "liar" and a "coward."^73

Lacking the political experience of his opponents, Trammell campaigned on a vague and general platform, relying primarily on his personality and large number of friends in the county. In a handbill dated July 9, 1902, just six days before the election, Trammell apologized for having been unable to address local political gatherings due to "pressing business engagements and recent sickness" in his family. He went on to list his views on issues which he expected to come before the next legislature. He opposed division of Polk County into two new counties, favored close examination of existing revenue laws to make certain they rested equally upon all, and supported equal distribution of school tax money between rural and urban schools. He promised to vote for any laws necessary to make the railroad commission function efficiently, to reexamine any legal technicalities which might stand in the
way of the administration of justice, to combat monopolies, and to avoid needless expenditure of public funds. Trammell closed his arguments with a reminder of his experience as an attorney and municipal officeholder, and a sentimental appeal to his neighbors.74

The 1902 primary election fell on July 15. The voters gave Trammell his fourth straight victory and his first for county office. The returns indicated a smashing triumph; he won 984 votes to 693 for Drane and 640 for Close. Lakeland voters supported Trammell overwhelmingly, giving him 220 votes to only 27 for Close. Trammell outpolled Close in fourteen out of nineteen districts, and Drane in fourteen out of nineteen.75 In Gadsden County, his brother Worth also won election to the house. In a short postelection victory statement, Trammell announced: "It shall be my aim to represent the whole people, and I shall strive to improve every opportunity for the upbuilding and advancement of the entire county."76

Notes


4. Ibid., 86, 85.


7. Ibid., September 30, 1882.
8. Ibid., April 26, 1884.
10. Ibid., 88.
11. Ibid., 87.
12. Ibid., 88, 87.
13. Ibid., 88.
15. Ibid., 88-89.
16. Ibid., 90, 93.
18. Hetherington, History of Polk County, 90.
20. Ibid., September 21, 28, October 19, 1887.
21. Ibid., June 27, 1888.
22. Ibid., July 4, 8, 1888.
25. Ibid., April 17, 1892.
27. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, June 3, 4, 1892.

29. Orlando Sentinel, quoted in Tampa Morning Tribune, May 2, 1893.

30. Bartow Courier-Informant, June 14, 1893.

31. Tampa Morning Tribune, quoted in ibid., June 21, 1893.

32. Tallahassee Floridian, quoted in Bartow Courier-Informant, June 21, 1893.

33. Bartow Courier-Informant, June 14, 1893.

34. Ibid., June 28, July 5, 1893.

35. Ibid., September 13, October 11, 1893.

36. Tampa Morning Tribune, September 14, 1893.

37. Bartow Courier-Informant, December 8, 1897.

38. Ibid.

39. Tampa Morning Tribune, March 2, 1894.

40. Ibid., June 22, 1894.


44. John T. Lesley to Secretary of the Treasury, March 2, 1894, April 30, 1895, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, Records Group 56, Appointments Division, Records Relating to the Customhouse Nominations, Florida, Tampa, Port of, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter cited as TCR.

46. Lesley to Secretary of the Treasury, April 30, 1895, TCR.

47. Trammell to M.B. Macfarlane, March 9, 1898, ibid.


52. Hetherington, History of Polk County, 122.

53. Ibid., 123.


56. Ibid., November 2, 23, 1898, November 15, 22, 1899.

57. Ibid., January 24, February 7, 1900.

58. Ibid., February 21, 1900.


60. Bartow Courier-Informant, July 18, 25, 1900, January 9, 16, 1901, November 12, 1902.

61. Ibid., November 21, December 26, 1900.

62. Ibid., August 29, October 10, December 26, 1900, August 9, 1901; undated newspaper article, p. 2, Trammell Scrapbook.
63. Bartow Courier-Informant, August 21, 1901.

64. Ibid., November 20, 1901, January 15, 1902; undated newspaper article, p. 2, Trammell Scrapbook.

65. Bartow Courier-Informant, February 5, April 23, 1902.

66. Ibid., April 23, 1902.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., June 11, 25, 1902.

71. Ibid., June 11, 1902.

72. Ibid., June 18, 1902.

73. Ibid., July 9, 1902.

74. Campaign handbill, July 9, 1902, p. 4, Trammell Scrapbook.

75. Bartow Courier-Informant, July 23, 1902.

76. Ibid., August 6, 1902.
CHAPTER TWO

POLK COUNTY LEGISLATOR: EVOLUTION OF A BROWARD PROGRESSIVE, 1903-1907

Beginning with his election to the legislature in 1902, reporters began to refer to Park Trammell as an exceedingly "handsome" man. This became something of an epithet when used by certain editors and political opponents in subsequent campaigns. Perhaps these critics felt that by emphasizing Trammell's personal attractiveness, and the fact that he wore his hair long, they could make him appear vain, silly, narcissistic, or effeminate, and thereby convince people to judge him on his looks rather than his words and deeds.

These tactics of ridicule always failed. Although he was a very attractive young man, and a vain one, Trammell did not rely upon his looks for his success. Indeed, the fact that he was handsome might in some ways have constituted a handicap for him in the decades before women had the vote in Florida. Men might well have been expected to be jealous of his looks, his careful manner of dress, and his long, curly hair. Yet this never occurred, at least in any proven instance.

Trammell was always particular about his clothes, but he never looked the part of a dandy. He was a large man physically, standing six feet tall and solidly built. He possessed a thick, short, muscular neck, and a broad chest. His features were clean cut but far from pretty, and if he wore his hair longer than many city editors, he did
so in common with most rural voters. He was a large man, and the size of his body gave an impression of strength and solidity. In short, mentions in the press about Trammell’s good looks either fell into the categories of naive glorification or intentional ridicule. In either case, the voters always reacted to Trammell’s personality and memory for names and faces far more than to his appearance.

Not long after the election, in November 1902, Trammell moved his quarters from D.H. Sloan’s building. He relocated in the "front room" over the post office in Lakeland. Here he remained for a long time, apparently quite content with the facilities and location.

Trammell returned to his law practice after the election. During the first week of January 1903, he passed the necessary examination at Jacksonville which qualified him to practice in the federal courts. Later that month, he published an open letter seeking advice and suggestions from the voters concerning needed legislation. If he received many suggestions, however, he found few of them of much merit. In reply to a reporter who asked him if he had a "grip full" of new bills to carry to Tallahassee, he gave a response remarkably prophetic and typical of his entire subsequent career:

No, indeed. I am going there just to see what I can do to the fellows who have bills in stock. I have one or two, and they are good ones, but I will not have to use a hay rack to get what paper I will take to Tallahassee with me into the legislative halls. I am going it easy. An easy pace will last longer, you know.

As alluded to earlier, Trammell entered Florida politics during what came to be known as the progressive era. Numerous historians of both national and Florida politics have offered definitions of progressivism.
By examining some of these definitions, and by comparing Trammell's record in the Florida legislature to them, it is possible to determine if Trammell actually belonged to this movement.

Progressivism has been defined by one historian as the response of Americans who saw "the central issue of their age as the relation of public to private power, or more precisely, of the government to the economy." Rejecting "laissez-faire determinism," these people favored using government to further "human welfare." Between 1900 and World War I, they achieved several substantial successes such as enactment of a federal income tax, a new national banking system, regulatory commissions exercising some control over manufacturing and transportation, direct election of United States senators, woman suffrage, and--in some states--establishment of the direct primary election, the initiative, and the referendum.

Some historians have portrayed the progressives as the "good" people who believed in democracy and proved it by battling the "evil" power of big business with its attendant exploitation and corruption. Others have seen them as merely the natural followers and heirs of the Populist tradition which earlier had advocated direct election of senators, enactment of an income tax, and regulation of railroad rates. Still others have identified the progressives as urban small business and professional men acting in an economically prosperous period rather than a depressed one.

One author has labelled the progressives as middle class men who both hated the growing power of large corporations and big labor unions and who sought to reestablish nineteenth-century individualistic rights. Another classified them as professional men--lawyers, ministers,
educators, journalists—threatened in their "status" by the rise of businessmen and eager to regain their moral position in society. Members of a new generation of historians have contended that progressivism constituted an attempt by businessmen to bring order to life in the modern city. At least one prominent scholar has argued that they did so not merely to bring order out of chaos, but to establish profit-guaranteeing situations which private enterprise could not sustain without governmental interference.

One obvious question raised by the above definitions is whether or not a person could come from a basically rural background and still qualify as a progressive, provided the person believed in the use of government on behalf of the "people." Despite being a professional man and practicing law in urban areas such as Lakeland, Bartow, Tallahassee, Tampa, and Jacksonville, Trammell came from a rural background and a rural power base. Did this automatically disqualify him as a progressive? One historian of early twentieth-century Florida has clearly set a precedent in his work on Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward by refusing to allow that descendant of planters, riverboat captain, and filibuster to be similarly disqualified. He found sufficient evidence to label Broward and his followers as "liberals" or "progressives" within the Florida context.

The biographer of United States Senator Duncan Upshaw Fletcher has written that although the peak of the conflict between "liberals" and "conservatives" in Florida came in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the conflict actually began with the huge Disston land purchase of 1881. He further states that the "full tide of agrarian radicalism never swept Florida" because Florida possessed a group of "liberals" who
achieved some legislative success and thereby "ameliorated conditions and bridged the chasm between Democrat and Populist." He sees the "fullest expression" of Florida progressivism in the career of Napoleon Broward, but finds that it influenced the programs of men such as Wilkinson Call, John S. Beard, William B. Lamar, Albert W. Gilchrist, Nathan P. Bryan, William S. Jennings, Sidney J. Catts, Duncan Fletcher, and Park Trammell. Thus, if one accepts these findings, one measures a progressive almost entirely according to his or her inclination to use the power of the state on behalf of the "people," rather than on behalf of corporations or individuals.

Florida was still very much a frontier state at the end of the nineteenth century. Much land and many natural resources remained unused. In 1900, Florida had a population of 528,542 persons; 297,333 white and 231,209 nonwhite. Duval County boasted the largest population, claiming 39,733 residents. The next most populated counties were Hillsborough, Alachua, Escambia, Marion, and Jackson. No other county had as many as 20,000 residents. Polk County ranked fourteenth largest in the state with 12,472 persons. As these numbers illustrate, most Floridians lived in those western and northern areas of the state which had been settled prior to the Civil War. Over 48 percent of the total population resided in the ten most populous counties. Given the further, political facts that the governor had to share many executive functions with an elected cabinet, and that the legislature met for only two months every second year, it becomes clear that state government had achieved relatively little impact on the lives of most citizens at this time.

It was during Florida's progressive era that state government first began to have an impact on the daily lives of substantial numbers of
Floridians. This result came about because the county governments—the most important level of government under the 1885 constitution—could not cope with the large business interests and corporations which had begun to assert themselves economically and politically. In one sense, the story of the progressive era in Florida is a tale of conflicting views about the proper course of development for south Florida. The railroad and land company interests wished to continue to operate virtually without restriction in the lower peninsula. Florida progressives, men like William Sherman Jennings, Napoleon Broward, and Park Trammell, wanted the southern portion of the state to belong to independent farmers, growers, ranchers, and tradesmen.

Although his contribution has been overshadowed by the bold personality of Broward, Governor Jennings made the key decision in this struggle for southern Florida. Between 1879 and 1901, the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund had deeded 9,000,000 acres of swamp and overflowed lands to the railroads. Jennings decided that these lands had been granted by the federal government for drainage purposes and they must be drained; furthermore, they could not be disposed of for any other purpose by the legislature. Consequently, he, as governor, refused to hand over the remaining 3,076,000 acres of land to any claimant. Despite a series of lawsuits which ensued over the next decade, his viewpoint was upheld by the courts. 19

The strongest pillar of Jenning's legal argument would be the start of state drainage operations in the area south of Lake Okeechobee. Such a program was inaugurated at the behest of Governor Broward, continued during the Gilchrist years, and strengthened during the Trammell administration. Ironically, because drainage tax district laws subsequently
were attacked in court, it became necessary for the trustees to begin to sell land to speculators in order to raise operating expenses for the drainage work. In a very complex sequence of events, excerpts from a favorable but incomplete report on drainage feasibility being prepared by J.O. Wright, a United States Department of Agriculture engineer, were publicized by the trustees. Aided by this propaganda, a land boom began in the Everglades. Speculators did a tremendous business between 1910 and 1912, but a congressional investigation caused the bubble to burst in the latter year.  

The issue of drainage, therefore, became a very complicated problem. The trustees always lacked the money to do a comprehensive job of drainage, while the wisdom and practicality of draining much of the unexplored area remained in question. What began as a clear-cut struggle between the railroads and the progressives over public lands became ever more confused and ambiguous over the years.

In addition to railroad land grabs, Florida agriculturalists had been complaining since the 1880s over unfair railroad freight rates and practices. This criticism continued unabated during the progressive years, reinforced by the behavior of reformers in many other states. Florida's second railroad commission, established in 1897, was strengthened steadily during these years. It owed its resurgence not only to pressure from growers and farmers, but also to angry businessmen—such as phosphate mine operators—who had suffered from unfair freight rates.  

Florida shippers suffered because the railroads and the Interstate Commerce Commission treated the state as a separate rate territory in many rate adjustments. They justified this by pointing to the length of the peninsula, the existence of only one distribution center (Jacksonville),
the lack of traffic moving through Florida from one state to another, and the importance of the state as the point of origin for much traffic in citrus, vegetables, lumber, naval stores, and phosphate. Because of the existence of water-borne competition, rates to the East were in line with those prevailing in other southern states, but rates to the rest of the country were much higher than those in the South. There was also much local discrimination throughout the state, with short hauls frequently costing more than long ones. 22

Partly as a result of dissatisfaction with the railroads, paved roads became an issue during the later progressive period. Much of the impetus for good roads came from isolated south Florida, where fruit growers and truck farmers needed a better way to get their crops to market. Trammell's home county of Polk led the way in this movement, and it was during Trammell's administration as governor (in 1915) that the state road department was created. The legislators were showing an increasing willingness to venture into realms which had always been left to the care of the individual counties. 23

The progressive years also witnessed the adoption of a large number of Jim Crow laws in Florida. These measures, designed to formalize existing racial prejudice against blacks, had been made possible by the weakening of black political power which followed the end of Reconstruction. The poll tax provision of the 1885 constitution and the eight ballot box law of 1887, in addition to intimidation and violence, had already disfranchised most Florida blacks. 24 Under these conditions, it was easy for Florida progressives to give expression to the racist feelings they shared with their more conservative white fellows. In so
doing, they were following in the path of progressives across the South and in many northern states as well.  

Park Trammell's legislative service began when the 1903 session assembled in Tallahassee on Tuesday, April 3. The two Trammell brothers, Park and Worth, took the oath of office from Judge Francis B. Carter of the Florida Supreme Court. Herbert Jackson Drane and Park Trammell represented Polk County in the house, while Worth Trammell and H.A. Love constituted the Gadsden County delegation. A third Trammell brother, John D., served as recording clerk of the house. Speaker Cromwell Gibbons of Duval County announced his appointments to committees on April 10, and named Park to the committees on judiciary, corporations (as chairman), and mining and phosphates. Worth became chairman of the State Institutions Committee, and a member of appropriations and claims. Later, he was appointed to the State Pensions Committee.

During the 1903 session, Park Trammell introduced twenty-four bills, four of which became laws. Fifteen bills won house approval, five failed to pass, and Trammell withdrew four. One of his bills, Number 463, suffered a veto by Governor William Sherman Jennings when someone discovered an error in the bill. However, a similar bill of Trammell's, designed to prevent the catching or transporting of food caught in Polk County without a sein or net, did become a law. Of the other three, House Bill 57 became a law which prohibited the obstruction of a county, settlement, or neighborhood road. House Bill 116 prohibited the cutting, boxing, or other use of timber on the lands of another person without his consent.

The fourth bill related to a problem which continues to plague Floridians today (1979)--the spread of the water hyacinth in the state's
waterways. The water hyacinth first appeared in the United States in 1884. Six years later, someone introduced the plant into the St. Johns River near Palatka. By 1893, the proliferation of the plant had attracted considerable attention; cattlemen noticed that range cattle would eat it if without better forage and reportedly planted the water hyacinth in lakes and streams on their own property. The hyacinth quickly became a hindrance to navigation on rivers and creeks. Trammell's bill (Number 193) made it a misdemeanor to place the hyacinth in Florida's fresh water lakes and streams. Unfortunately, Trammell's bill came too late to do much good; the hyacinth remains and flourishes in Florida.

Some of Trammell's bills which failed to become law reflect his perceptions of the social and economic needs of his constituents, and perhaps his own personal beliefs. One would have made it a misdemeanor for a commission merchant or agent to make false representations in order to procure shipment or consignment of produce, while another would have required any commission merchant to send reports to the consignor of the produce within a certain period of time. Both bills passed the house but failed in the senate. They reflect the common distrust which Florida growers felt toward both commission agents and railroads over the true costs of delivering produce to the market and selling it.

Another bill, which passed the house only to be amended by the senate, would have reimbursed the owners of cattle or stock injured or killed when they wandered into the area of a phosphate mine. The existence of phosphate rock had been discovered in central Florida in 1881 and the first commercial shipment from the Peace River valley came in 1888. Huge deposits of land pebble phosphate, used to produce fertilizer and many other products, began to be mined in Trammell's home...
county of Polk, thus creating the dangers to stock which prompted this bill.35

Trammell's House Bill 204 would have prohibited the false branding or labelling of any drug, medicine, or liquor. It passed the house by a vote of thirty-four to nineteen, but senate amendments killed the bill.36 In 1906, when Congress passed a meat inspection bill in response to the outcry over unsanitary conditions in the packing industry which had been exposed in Upton Sinclair's The Jungle, a Pure Food and Drug Act also won passage. Like Trammell's bill, this federal law forbade the manufacture and sale of adulterated or fraudulently labeled products.

A Trammell bill regulating the sale of cigarettes by requiring a license to do so passed the house unanimously, but a similar bill prohibiting the sale or gift of cigarettes to minors under eighteen received senate approval instead.37 Another Trammell bill which failed in the senate would have prohibited the publication of false and misleading reports relative to Florida's climate and weather conditions.38 Trammell intended to protect with this bill not the infant tourist industry in Florida so much as the continuing effort at attracting "immigrants" to the state. Ever since the early days of Reconstruction, persons who believed that the state's future rested in securing more hard-working, non-black residents had engaged in promotional campaigns at both private and public expense. Up until the turn of the century, the promoters directed their advertising at immigrants of all nationalities, not just northern Europeans, or native white Americans.39

The rural nature of Florida in the early years of the century is mirrored in a bill offered by Trammell which intended to outlaw the discharging of a firearm within 200 yards of a person riding or driving
a horse or a mule on a public road. An astute politician's appreciation of a patriotic myth is found in a Trammell bill which sought to exempt Confederate veterans from an occupation tax. Trammell also sought to designate the state educational institution in Bartow the "South Florida Military College," but a comparable senate bill accomplished the same purpose.

In addition to his bills, Trammell offered a house concurrent resolution which, although it never won approval in the senate, obviously pleased his rural constituents. The resolution deplored the "high rate of express charges" facing truck farmers, particularly growers of strawberries, in getting their produce shipped to market. It requested the Florida railroad commissioners to "use all means within their power to bring about a schedule of rates for the transportation by express of vegetables and fruits that will be reasonable both for the producer and the express company." In 1897, the Florida legislature had created Florida's second railroad commission. Within the following decade nearly all the states in the South established or revised such bodies in an effort to establish just transportation rates, and in 1906 the Hepburn Act gave the Interstate Commerce Commission effective regulatory authority over interstate carriers.

In July 1902, the federal government paid the state of Florida $692,946 in settlement of the claims made by Florida for expenditures during the Seminole wars of the nineteenth century. S.I. Wailes and W.K. Beard, two men who had lobbied for years as private citizens and as delegated agents on behalf of Florida's claims, themselves demanded a large share of the bonanza for their efforts. The 1903 legislature offered Wailes and the Beard estate $12,500 each to try and end
the business once and for all, and Trammell voted favorably on the bill. 44

As mentioned previously, the 1901 legislature had passed a law making incurable insanity a ground for divorce in Florida. Because rumor held that the law had been passed for the convenience of and in return for bribes from Henry M. Flagler, the former Standard Oil executive who had decided to create a hotel and railroad empire along the state's east coast, the issue became a blatant example of the power of a rich man to influence public representatives and institutions. At least this seemed the case to many Floridians, although some legislators supported the bill from conviction while remaining opposed to the political influence of corporations and vested economic interests. 45 In 1903, Representative T.A. Horne of Jackson County proposed a bill which would have made adultery the sole ground for divorce in Florida. Thirty representatives, including both Trammells, cast their votes against this measure, and it failed to pass the house. Another divorce measure, Bill 205, passed the house by a thirty-five to thirteen tally. Supported by the Trammells, the bill required divorced persons to wait one year before they could remarry; it died in the senate. 46

Trammell voted in favor of Cromwell Gibbons's Bill 443, which would have prohibited monopolies of trade and conspiracies and combinations in restraint of trade, but the bill did not pass the senate. Southern legislatures enacted similar laws in profusion in the first decade of the century, but they seldom proved effective or enforceable. Trammell also supported an unsuccessful attempt to require common carriers to pay for "loss, damage or breakage" of goods shipped on their lines. 47
Park Trammell accurately reflected the feelings of his constituents when he voted in favor of his brother's bill to prohibit the shipping of liquors into a county or election precinct where local option had been adopted. Although the 1885 constitution permitted counties to go dry by referendum, an individual in a dry county could still order alcoholic package goods from a wet county. Worth Trammell's bill did become law.48

Park Trammell established an excellent record of attendance during the 1903 legislative session. From Tuesday, April 7, to Friday, June 5, he appeared in his seat for the call of the roll fifty out of fifty-one days, failing to appear only on May 18.49 During those days, the young lawyer made the acquaintance of other representatives who would play prominent roles in Florida politics in the years ahead, men such as Cromwell Gibbons of Duval, Albert W. Gilchrist of DeSoto, Scott Loftin of Escambia, Alfred St. Clair-Abrams of Lake, and Thomas West of Santa Rosa counties. He also had the opportunity to help choose a United States senator for Florida. On Tuesday, April 21, Trammell joined in voting for Stephen R. Mallory, son of a pre-Civil War senator and Confederate secretary of the navy.50 Mallory had first been elected in 1897, when liberal Wilkinson Call and conservative William D. Chipley fought to a hopeless draw in the legislature.

That the young, first-term representative from Polk County had an impact on the 1903 session of the house is substantiated by an article which appeared during that session in the Atlanta Constitution. A Tallahassee correspondent referred in a May 19 story to Trammell's success as a legislator:
... no man in either house has developed greater ability as a forceful orator and... parliamentary general, ... no member is making a deeper impress upon the work of the session than Hon. Park Trammell. Mr. Trammell is a very positive character, and is thoroughly in earnest about everything he undertakes. [As] ... a leader who takes a commanding part in most of the debates on important questions ... and as one of the best and most persuasive "mixers" among his fellow members, Mr. Trammell has from the beginning been intimately identified with the principal work of the session. His efforts have been marked by a high order of intelligence and indomitable energy. ...51

Such lavish praise, coupled with his experiences in the house, pleased Trammell sufficiently to encourage him to run for the state senate during 1904.

Unlike the campaign two years earlier, Trammell's senate race consisted of a bitter, lively, issue-oriented struggle against Herbert Jackson Drane. The two men traded charges of trying to avoid joint public debates by which the voters might gauge the mettle of either man. Most importantly, they clashed over the issue of railroad influence in political and economic life in Florida.

In considering the railroad question in Florida history up to this period, it is important to recall that two separate issues are involved. The first of these related to special favors or subsidies given to railroads to help them get started. The second concerned whether or not the railroads charged excessive or even ruinous rates to passengers and shippers. Beginning before the Civil War, and continuing at an accelerated rate after, the state gave aid to railroads to help defray the costs of construction, usually in the form of large land grants. Not only did the later nineteenth-century grants arouse the opposition of the liberals or progressives, creditor claims arising from the failure of many of the earlier roads encouraged the Disston land sale of 1881.
In addition to opposing the further granting of lands to railroads, Florida reformers, and their counterparts throughout the South, bitterly resented what they believed to be unfair rates. When these states established commissions to investigate and set forth fair rates, the larger railroads evaded or ignored their orders, or tied them up in litigation. Even when the roads would lose a struggle, they would often resort to a federal judge for an injunction to allow them to carry on as usual. Needless to say, Florida shippers had little sympathy for the railroads.

In a circular of May 3, 1904, Trammell attempted to define both his own and his opponent's positions on the railroads. Trammell claimed that Drane had tried to stigmatize him as a "Railroad Lawyer," because he made the "small sum of about $100 a year out of a railroad, as local attorney." This fact, he averred, "has never and shall never have the least influence over me." Quite the reverse, the record showed that during the last legislature he had "voted on the opposite side from the railroads on every measure touching upon their interest."

Trammell continued with a blistering attack that clearly sought to label Drane as "the corporation man" and Trammell as the "man of the people":

I pledge myself in my platform for several good measures in the interest of my people yet against railroads, and I shall endeavor in the Senate to carry out this platform. I am against corporation and trust legislation and strictly for the people.

... I pay for my transportation in legal services, have no free passes, am under no obligations. Mr. Drane has accepted railroad passes and is under obligations. Mr. Drane has not only been regarded as a friend by the railroads, but has connections with other large and rich corporations; he is an insurance agent. ...
Voter, who do you think the corporation man, Mr. Drane or myself? Who do you find with a record that would please corporations? Who do you find trying to reduce taxes on large corporations?53

Trammell's strategy of conducting a vigorous anti-railroad, anti-corporation campaign paid off. He defeated Drane by a total of 856 votes to 564. Drane managed to win only four of twenty precincts--Medulla, Haines City, Tiger Bay, and Morse. Trammell won large majorities in Mulberry, Homeland, Midland, Winter Haven, Chicora, Auburndale, Kathleen, and Fort Meade. Trammell also won decisively in Bartow, 145 to 84, but carried Lakeland by only 18 votes, 175 to 157.54

If Trammell carefully studied the Polk County election returns in the days after the primary of June 7, 1904, he must have concluded that the size of his victory did not depend solely on the railroad and corporation issues he had stressed. The results in the races for governor and United States senator in the county had revealed a strong split in voter attitudes. John N.C. Stockton, the liberal Senate candidate, had polled scarcely a handful more votes than James P. Taliaferro, the conservative, in Polk--723 to 707. Napoleon Broward had done better, out-polling Robert Davis in the gubernatorial race, 839 to 635.55 Trammell likely would not have beaten Drane as badly if not for his personal popularity and outgoing personality.

At least as early as August 1904, talk had begun in political circles that Trammell might seek or be nominated for the position of president of the senate in 1905. The Bartow Courier-Informant kept up a campaign on his behalf from that time until the opening of the legislature.56 On March 29, 1905, the paper reported that Trammell had the pledged support of eighteen senators, while nine senators had pledged
themselves to Thomas West of Milton, and five remained unsure. It therefore predicted that Trammell had the presidency sewn up and that "the West faction are working against hope." While the maneuvering of the senate presidency went on, however, a personal tragedy intruded upon the life of the senator-elect.

John Trammell's appointment as superintendent at Chattahoochee expired on February 1, 1901. Rather than reappoint the veteran political figure, Governor William Sherman Jennings chose Dr. V.H. Gwinn to replace him. In June 1901, a newspaper reported that John, who had remarried after the death of Park's mother Ida on March 28, 1899, intended to reside with his new bride, the former Ruby Wilson, in Saint Petersburg. Whether or not John and Ruby did settle for a time in Saint Petersburg, by the fall of 1902 at the latest they had moved to Lakeland. Ruby gave birth to a son named after her own family--Wilson--in this period. John supported his young son and wife by selling real estate. Unfortunately, this career did not last long.

The death of John Trammell on September 24, 1904, at his home in Lakeland, came as no great surprise to his family. For months he had been suffering from a cancer of the neck. His family believed that it had started with the accidental cutting of a mole by his barber. He had been under the care of numerous doctors and had even journeyed to New York to consult specialists--all to no avail.

The press of the state mourned his passing with respectful words. The Jacksonville Sunday Times-Union called him "one of the most prominent men in Florida" and praised the "improvements and additions" made at Chattahoochee during his stay. The Tampa Morning Tribune remarked that his "many friends" in that city would sincerely regret his passing.
H.H. McCreary of the Gainesville Daily Sun wrote that: "It was the writer's privilege to have enjoyed the acquaintance of [the] deceased for the past twenty years, and we can truthfully say that we never knew a more kind-hearted gentleman." 65

Park now had new family responsibilities and little time for grief. The 1905 legislature convened at noon on Tuesday, April 4. After the new senators, including Trammell, had been administered the oath of office by Supreme Court Justice R. Fenwick Taylor, Senator W. Hunt Harris of Key West nominated Trammell for president. The nomination, ratifying the decision of the caucus, became official by acclamation. Senators Harris, James E. Crane, and unsuccessful candidate Thomas West escorted the president-elect to the chair, where he accepted the gavel and thanked his colleagues for honoring him. 66

The gubernatorial contest of 1904 between Robert W. Davis and Napoleon Broward—which dragged through the primary election as well as a runoff—dramatized the political and social ideas which Broward is supposed to have embodied. In his election campaign, and in his inaugural address and his message to the legislature, Broward articulated a program by which the positions of other Florida politicians would be measured. Broward's biographer has listed several bills introduced in 1905 which reveal Trammell's position as regards "Broward progressivism."

In his message to the legislature, Broward asked for a reorganization of Florida's schools of higher learning. The legislature responded by passing House Bill 361, a substitute which became known as the Buckman Act after Representative Henry H. Buckman of Duval County. This bill, which consolidated the state's several institutions of higher learning into three new schools (today's University of Florida, Florida State
University, and Florida A & M University), Trammell opposed wholeheartedly. He did so because the bill eliminated the state school in Bartow, and for other reasons as well. He explained his thinking in a passionate and lengthy speech which he left the chair to deliver:

... I favor the plan of supervision and management suggested for State institutions; I favor the feature prohibiting ... departments lower than the freshman grade. ...

Contrary to the expressed policy of this bill, I am in favor of liberal State aid to the rural and common schools and am opposed to giving more than a very limited amount to State colleges, until the standard of our common schools is greatly improved.

If the bill carried with it directly or indirectly benefits to the rural and common schools, I should cheerfully vote "I."

If the measure ... manifested some consideration for the common schools ... then in the interest of the thousands of children who only have common school advantages, I should with unbounded pleasure vote for the "bill," even in the face of objectionable features. ... Economy is not apparent in the proposed measure. ...

My opinion is that limited consolidation, if in the interest of economy, without detriment to the educational interest, is proper, but in order to devise an equitable, economical, just and feasible plan of consolidation there should be well matured thought, careful consideration, and a thorough knowledge of the situation, and in the short time since the bill came before the House this cannot be true of any member of the Senate.

In my humble judgment I fear the special plan of consolidation proposed is not what will meet the demand. The appropriation it carries shows it is not economical. South Florida and South Middle Florida, paying more than half the taxes, with more than half the population, under the measure gets [sic] neither of the two schools [for whites].

If it is right to have only two, is it not wrong to place them in the same section of the State? For fear we make a mistake, I vote "No."67

Despite President Trammell's opposition, the senate passed the Buckman Act by a sixteen to five margin.68
A second school-related measure advocated by Governor Broward failed to achieve similar success. He had suggested that the state schools adopt a uniform series of textbooks and a qualified body to select those books. However, the school book commission bills failed even to come up for a third reading and vote in the senate. State life insurance constituted another idea Broward advocated to the 1905 legislature, and it also failed. Representative J.N. Wilson's bill passed the house, only to receive an unfavorable committee report in the senate. When Senator Frank Adams tried to have House Bill 317 put upon final senate passage without a second reading, his move failed, as Trammell and twelve others voted against it.

The great dream for which Broward became most historically noted, and in which he always retained a faith bordering upon obsession, came to be known by the phrase "Everglades drainage and reclamation." Briefly, the governor, and his many supporters then and since, felt that the swampy lands at the southern tip of the peninsula could and should be drained to provide thousands of acres of virgin farmland for settlement. Although the plan had its opponents at the time, their arguments mainly concerned the cost of the project rather than its possible environmental impact.

The legislature responded favorably to Broward's Everglades plan. Senator Tom West introduced the key bill on May 11, and it passed just eight days later. Trammell voted for Bill 281 along with twenty-five other senators; only two men opposed it. In the house, the bill won passage by a margin of forty-five to two. The new law created a Board of Drainage Commissioners which would establish drainage districts, determine lands to be taxed for purposes of drainage, and levy the
appropriate taxes. Broward failed, however, to have his pet project written into the state constitution, as he had hoped.\textsuperscript{72}

The governor fared well at the hands of the legislature in other respects than Everglades drainage and reclamation. Both houses approved (although Trammell voted against) the appropriation of $25,000 for the building and furnishing of an official executive mansion in Tallahassee. They also passed a law raising the salary of the governor from $3,500 to $5,000 per year.\textsuperscript{73}

The question of the Flagler divorce law remained a controversial one at this time. The seventh bill introduced in the senate, written by T.M. Scott, provided for its repeal. Despite an unfavorable judiciary committee report, Trammell and twenty-one others cast their votes for the repeal bill and it passed on April 18. The bill encountered no great difficulties in the house either; the May 4 vote found forty representatives in favor and only five opposed.\textsuperscript{74}

A moment of pride occurred in 1905 when the national government returned to Florida Confederate battle flags captured during the Civil War. The legislature voted without dissent to expend $130 to preserve them. Acceptance of the banners came in a formal ceremony at the Capitol on May 2.\textsuperscript{75}

A controversy which must have deeply affected Trammell's thoughts in the spring of 1905 had to do with the hospital at Chattahoochee. Two separate legislative committee reports—one a virtual indictment of abuses, the second less than flattering—criticized conditions at the hospital. Governor Broward sought to defend the management of the institution, but did not oppose an increase in support for its operation.\textsuperscript{76} Representative W.A. Rawls of Leon County successfully guided through the
house a bill appropriating $40,000 for the construction of additional brick buildings and other improvements at Chattahoochee. The senate passed the bill on June 1, and Trammell, one would imagine with a good deal of enthusiasm, voted yea.  

Trammell did find time to introduce fifteen bills of his own during the session. However, despite his popularity, he enjoyed little success in shepherding his proposals into becoming laws. Only two of his bills passed both houses; only one became law. The senate passed six of his measures, he withdrew one, and eight did not come up for a third reading. The Trammell bill that did pass both senate and house, Bill 32, provided that an insurance company had to pay the full amount of insurance on any personal property totally lost in a mishap. Governor Broward evidently vetoed Bill 228, which would have required certain state officers to submit detailed biennial reports. A third Trammell bill, dealing with state aid to the common schools, passed the senate only to be amended in the house.  

The senate acquiesced in Trammell bills relating to the teaching of agriculture and civil government in the schools, the state's institutions of higher learning, and commission merchants; the house failed to vote on all three. The second of these would have attempted to elevate the state colleges to a higher level by prohibiting them from "maintaining preparatory, sub-collegiate, sub-freshman" departments. In this, the proposal shared a major thrust of the Buckman Act. Senate Bill 229, reminiscent of a 1903 Trammell bill, sought to require commission merchants to send reports to produce growers after the delivery and sale of such produce. Of those Trammell-authored bills which never came to a vote in 1905, the passage of the Buckman Act obviated Bill 34,
an appropriation for the construction of a new academic building at the South Florida Military College in Bartow. Trammell withdrew a bill to prohibit the false labeling of drugs, medicine, or liquor.

The Florida legislature of 1905 did not prove immune to the growing climate of articulate and increasingly violent racism in the South, and throughout the nation. In Florida, the adoption of a new constitution in 1885, with provisions for a poll tax, appointment of county commissioners by the governor, and bonding of all county officers, effectively disfranchised blacks. Racism did not content itself with legal outlets, however. Between 1900 and 1914, mobs in the United States murdered and often mutiliated over 1,100 blacks.

The widespread hostility of white politicians toward the Negro took many forms. One of the goals it sought to impose, not just in the South but across the country, was strict racial segregation in all facets of life. Thus, Escambia County Representative J. Campbell Avery, Jr., did not act in an unprecedented manner when he introduced a bill in 1905 requiring street car companies to furnish separate compartments or cars for black and white passengers. The bill went unopposed in both houses and Trammell supported it. Another Jim Crow bill made it a crime for any law officer in the state of Florida to chain, fasten, or handcuff white prisoners to black prisoners. A third measure required Florida's Board of Commissioners of State Institutions to attempt to have white convicts "confined and worked in separate camps from the colored prisoners." Although it is not known how Trammell voted on these two matters, it is unlikely he would have opposed them for the record.

Like many southern states, Florida at this time leased her state convicts to private bidders. Dissatisfaction with the integrity and
the humanity of this system existed, but it did not become strong enough to end the lease system completely until the 1920s. Nevertheless, the 1905 solons took an affirmative step by passing Senator S.W. Clarke's plan empowering the governor to appoint one or more supervisors of state convicts and convict camps. Trammell, however, cast one of five votes against the plan.88

Although the first international effort to control drug traffic did not come about until the convention which met in The Hague in 1912, the use of opium attracted the attention of Senator James E. Crane of Tampa at this time. Trammell voted for Crane's bill "to Define and Suppress Opium Dens, to Prohibit Visiting the Same and to Proscribe Rules of Evidence." The penalty provided for maintaining an opium den involved up to two years in prison or a $2,000 fine. A convicted smoker could be fined up to $2,000 or sentenced to up to six months in a county jail. Trammell also supported a bill by Senator Frederick M. Hudson of Miami which prohibited anyone from giving or selling liquor to Indians in Florida.89

A bill of great significance, even though it did not become law in 1905, dealt with the topic of child labor. Although Florida had no notorious industries such as textile mills, young boys and girls often lied about their ages to gain jobs in the shops and offices of the expanding cities or with Western Union. Trammell supported Senator Telfair Stockton's bid to protect children under fourteen years of age from dangerous or unwholesome employment, although the bill ultimately failed of passage.90 Although by 1912 all the southern states had enacted an age-and-hour limit and some sort of protection against night work for
children, these laws lagged behind the national standard and inadequate enforcement limited their value.

On the evening of June 1, 1905, President Trammell received from the members of the senate a silver service in commemoration of his having presided over that body. Senator James Crane made the presentation address:

... Your ... courtesy, your untiring ... devotion to your post of duty, your sense of good humor and patience, have so impressed themselves upon ... your associates ... that words almost fail me in the feeble effort to express to you the feelings of respect, admiration and tender affection in which you are held. ... 

... this body of men has always found you the same, courteous, smiling, dignified and gentlemanly ... [The senate] ... has always found you fair and impartial. ... 

In reply, Trammell made a few remarks which closed the ceremony.91

 Shortly after the completion of the 1905 session, the Palatka Times-Herald lauded Trammell for wielding "the senatorial gavel in such an able manner as to warrant the belief that he is 'one of the coming men' of Florida," and the Live Oak Democrat called him a "clear headed, well poised young statesman." "It would not," the Democrat made clear, "be correct to say of Mr. Trammell that he is one of the coming men of Florida, for his well earned honors and state-wide distinction attest the fact that he had already 'arrived.'"92

In the 1905 legislature, Trammell did not back Governor Broward's program nearly as strongly as he might have. He voted against the Buckman Act, which directly threatened his Bartow constituents, and he opposed the state life insurance proposal. He endorsed the creation of the Board of Drainage Commissioners and the effort to get the drainage
program made a part of the constitution. Trammell cast his ballot for repeal of the Flagler divorce law, which Broward had helped to pass as a legislator. Finally, he supported the $40,000 appropriation for the Chattahoochee hospital.

Trammell had a fair but not one-sided record of support for other liberal or progressive bills in 1905. He himself introduced bills aimed at ending the false labeling of drugs and liquors, at making it possible to recover damages for the use of mislabeled fertilizer, and at forcing express companies to pay for losses within reasonable periods of time. He voted to segregate street cars, but fought the creation of supervisors for convict camps. He helped outlaw opium smoking. He aided the Stockton child labor bill, and yet opposed the Jewell bill seeking to inspect and regulate the sale of commercial feeding stuffs.

After the session, Trammell returned to Lakeland, where he took care to keep himself visible to the voters. Between 500 and 600 residents of Winter Haven attended a picnic on the Fourth of July 1905, and heard Trammell deliver a discourse on American history from discovery to the present day. Trammell continued to practice law, and his court appearances and travels on legal business enabled him to maintain political contacts. With his memory for names and faces, he performed well at these court sessions and cemented many friendships by calling a man correctly by name and remarking about a particular family member or personal interest.

During 1906, Trammell seriously considered the possibility of trying to unseat the incumbent member of Congress from his district, Stephen M. Sparkman, but finally decided to serve out his term. He at first informed a reporter in March that he had not made up his mind as
to whether he would enter the race. Within a week, however, he had decided not to run. The Bartow paper called it a wise decision. "Mr. Trammell," the paper explained, "is young yet and no doubt has a bright future before him politically, but it is often good policy to wait awhile."  

Trammell called the 1907 senate session to order at noon on April 2, 1907. The process of selecting new officers began immediately, and as always, the decisions of the caucus prevailed. By acclamation, the chamber picked W. Hunt Harris as president, Theophilus West of Marianna as president pro temp, Charles A. Finley of Columbia County as secretary of the senate, and Charles O. Andrews of Jackson County as bill secretary. Harris tapped Worth Trammell to serve as his own secretary. 

The following day, April 3, saw the announcement by the new president of the committee assignments. To Trammell fell the honors of sitting on the judiciary, militia, recorded proceedings, corporations, engrossed bills, and rules committees, and Harris made him the chairman of the Committee on Corporations. Trammell kept up his tradition of regular attendance in 1907. The senate met on forty-seven days, from April 2 to the evening of May 31, and Trammell attended every day and made himself present at all but one session. 

Trammell achieved fair success in seeing his proposals through his third legislative session. In all, he introduced twenty-four bills in the 1907 senate. Of these twenty-four, the senate passed eight and rejected only two. Trammell withdrew three of his own bills, and eleven others never reached a final vote. As for the eight bills which passed the senate, six also managed to win the approval of a majority of representatives voting on them; the house never voted on the other two.
The railroads of Florida attracted a great deal of attention from Trammell in 1907. He introduced a bill to require the Florida Railroad Commission to institute proceedings on behalf of wronged or injured individuals which passed both the senate and the house. In addition to giving the railroad commissioners the authority to sue, Trammell also sought to give them the right to institute proceedings for writs of mandamus or injunctions through Florida's attorney general, state's attorneys, or special counsel. This bill also passed both houses.99

Another Trammell-authored bill aimed to make common carriers pay claims for lost or damaged freight. It passed the senate on May 14, and the house on May 28. A bill providing "that Express Companies Shall Transport Packages of Merchandise, not Weighing over Five Pounds, of the Value of not More Than Fifty Dollars, Anywhere in the State not Exceeding Two Hundred Miles, for Twenty-Five Cents," completed Trammell's successful assault on the railroads.100

Two other Trammell bills passed both houses. One concerned rural schools. It provided that these schools should receive an appropriation of $40,000 for the years starting July 1, 1907, and July 1, 1908. The money would be used to extend the school term up to one extra month in length, after county funds had been exhausted, and money left over could be used for school repairs. The sixth Trammell bill to become law in 1907 abolished the municipal government of Lakeland, created a new one, and changed the town boundaries.101

Trammell attempted to resurrect Governor Broward's state insurance scheme in 1907, but he could find no support in the senate judiciary committee. He also introduced a bill in response to Broward's 1907 message to the legislature, proposing the levying of a tax on franchises
in Florida. This bill likewise failed to come to a senate vote. Representative B.C. Abernethy of Orange County introduced a bill embodying Broward's request that a state arsenal be constructed to hold Florida's military supplies, and Trammell supported this measure, which made the St. Francis Barracks in St. Augustine the "State Arsenal and General Military Headquarters." Senator H.H. McCreary's bill to set up a school book commission, yet another Broward issue, never came up for a vote.

The "most important bill" of the 1907 session came up late on the calendar. It consisted of a new drainage measure which had been drafted by former Governor Jennings and which sought to rectify weaknesses in the 1905 act by clearly stating the boundaries of the drainage district. Trammell voted for the bill, which won passage in both chambers. He also supported a pure food law by McCreary.

Of those bills which Trammell introduced in 1907 but which failed of passage, several reflect his continuing interest in the problem of abuses of power by corporations and wealthy individuals. He attempted unsuccessfully to impose a license tax on public service corporations in Florida, and he suffered a decisive defeat on a bill to set rates for the transmission of telegrams. Even his bill requiring the trustees of Florida's Internal Improvement Fund to advertise for bids before selling public lands died without a senate vote.

Trammell withdrew a bill which would have required the railroad commission to inspect track, rolling stock, and other equipment for safety conditions. He managed to get the senate to approve a bill regulating the construction and maintenance of railroad crossings, but it died in the house. The house also failed to approve his senate concurrent
resolution urging federal legislation to empower the Interstate Commerce Commission to correct unfair rates on its own initiative, to forbid rate increases without commission consent, to order uniform freight and express rates, and to force just valuation of railroads.\textsuperscript{106}

The house also became a graveyard for Trammell's Senate Bill 7, a Jim Crow measure which would have required common carriers to segregate passenger cars. Two other racist bills passed the 1907 legislature with only one recorded vote in opposition. Representative R.H. Rowe's House Bill 6 made railroad and terminal companies furnish separate waiting rooms and ticket windows for whites and blacks, while Escambia County Representative R.P. Reese's House Bill 27 demanded the separation of white and black passengers on "Urban and Suburban Electric Cars." Trammell cast yea votes on both of these bills.\textsuperscript{107}

The 1907 session of the legislature saw Trammell's emergence as a leader of the Broward supporters. He voted for the new Broward drainage bill, tried to make the state insurance plan become law, proposed a franchise tax as Broward had requested, and voted for the bills creating a state arsenal and setting penalties for the adulteration of foods. No better record on the Broward issues could be found. Trammell's own bills and concurrent resolution clearly reflected anti-railroad and anti-corporation sentiments. He also introduced one Jim Crow bill of his own and voted for two others. In summary, by 1907, Trammell had established himself as a liberal or progressive within the context of Florida politics. His 1904 election campaign had tended in that direction, but his performance in the senate in 1907 turned rhetoric into public commitment. He had cast his lot with Napoleon Broward and the anti-corporation group within the Florida Democracy.
Notes

1. Bartow Courier-Informant, October 8, 1902.
2. Ibid., November 12, 1902.
3. Ibid., January 7, 1903.
4. Ibid., January 28, 1903.
5. Ibid., March 26, 1903.
7. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
17. Ibid., 22-23.
20. Ibid., 121-63.


26. Florida, House Journal, 1903, 1-5, 9, 2256; Bartow Courier-Informant, April 1, 1903.


42. Florida, House Journal, 1903, 1843-44.


47. Ibid., 1648-50, 1116, 477, 787.

48. Ibid., 1654; Laws of Florida, 1903, 132.


50. Ibid., 1-3, 376-77.


52. Untitled, undated newspaper article, p. 7, Trammell Scrapbook.

53. Campaign handbill, May 3, 1904, p. 3, Trammell Scrapbook.

54. Untitled, undated newspaper article, p. 3, Trammell Scrapbook.

55. Bartow Courier-Informant, June 15, 1904.

56. Ibid., August 10, September 28, October 12, December 7, 1904; January 25, February 8, 1905.

57. Ibid., March 29, 1905.

58. Ibid., January 23, 1901.

59. Ibid., June 12, 26, 1901.

60. Ibid., October 22, 1902.
61. Ibid., August 17, 1904.

62. Jacksonville Sunday Times-Union, September 24, 1904; Ocala Evening Star, September 27, 1904; Bartow Courier-Informant, September 28, 1904.


64. Tampa Morning Tribune, September 27, 1904.

65. Gainesville Daily Sun, September 27, 1904.


68. Ibid., 1167, 1336.


76. Proctor, Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, 231-33.


82. Florida, Senate Journal, 1905, 324.

83. Ibid., 453.

84. Ibid., 26-27, 1913.

85. Ibid., 453, 710, 1495.


91. Untitled, undated newspaper article, p. 10, Trammell Scrapbook.

92. Palatka Times-Herald, quoted in Bartow Courier-Informant, June 14, 1905; Live Oak Democrat, quoted in Bartow Courier-Informant, June 21, 1905.

93. Bartow Courier-Informant, July 5, 1905.

94. Ibid., March 15, May 3, 1906.

95. Ibid., March 22, 1906.

96. Ibid., March 29, 1906.

98. Florida, Senate Journal, 1907, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14.


102. Florida, Senate Journal, 1907, 114, 592, 603, 800, 801.


As early as April 1907, speculation had become widespread that Trammell might be considering a race for either Congress or the United States Senate the following year. One rumor suggested that should Congressman Stephen M. Sparkman of the first district run for the Senate, Trammell would seek his chair in the House of Representatives. Another story held that Trammell meant to attempt to oust incumbent United States Senator Stephen R. Mallory, Jr., himself. The names of John S. Beard of Pensacola and Governor Napoleon Broward also found their way into the rumor-mill of prospective senatorial candidates.

Late in May 1907, John Beard announced that he had definitely decided to challenge Senator Mallory. An attorney and state senator, Beard confided to a correspondent of the Tampa Times that he would run a one-platform campaign. "I shall," stated Beard, "make a direct issue of my proposed constitutional amendment repealing the fifteenth amendment, the purpose of my amendment being to disfranchise the negroes."

By June, the press of the state had added Thomas J. Laud Brown of Tampa, state Senator Frank Adams of Jasper, and William J. Bryan of Jacksonville to the list of possible contenders. Late in the month, Brown, former manager of the Tampa Bay Hotel and president of the state fair, officially joined the race. A commentator described Brown as belonging to "neither of the political factions" and as "a tireless..."
worker" but "not a speaker." In an interview, Brown described a program of encouraging immigration to Florida, building "deep water" ports in the state, and "Progressiveness for Florida in every line of endeavor."^5

Spring turned into summer without another candidate stepping forward against Mallory, Beard, and Brown. By the end of July, however, Trammell had evidently decided that Congressman Sparkman had no intention of vacating his House seat. Broward remained a mystery. Trammell, as one of his strongest legislative supporters, must have tried to learn directly or indirectly of the governor's intentions. Broward, possibly keeping his options open, possibly unwilling to endorse one of his followers over another, would likely have been noncommittal.

Trammell, therefore, took a half-step forward at the end of July. In an interview with a reporter from the Jacksonville Metropolis, he virtually committed himself to making the race:

When my name was first mentioned as a probable candidate for the office of United States Senator to succeed Senator Mallory I had really given the matter no thought, but I must admit that during the past month or two I have considered with more or less seriousness making the race for the Senate, and it is highly probable that I shall become a candidate for this office. Should I enter the race I shall do so with the highest feeling of respect and appreciation for the distinguished gentlemen who have announced their intention to become candidates for this place, entertaining as I do the highest personal regard for all of them.

Trammell promised that if he became a candidate, he would "run upon my record as a member of the Florida legislature for three sessions and a platform which I shall issue defining my ideas upon public policies." In his platform would be a "plank favoring a reform of the present interstate commerce law, so as to make it operate more effectually upon
the question of rate making, and to also give the commission power to prohibit over capitalization of railroads.\textsuperscript{6}

Writing from Tallahassee, a correspondent of the Savannah News stated that Trammell would have a strong chance to defeat Beard if he did, in fact, enter the contest. The writer described Trammell as "an accomplished speaker and effective advocate" who possessed, in addition, a "clear headed view of public questions" and an "exceedingly pleasant manner [sic]." The "masterful" fight which Trammell had made in the legislature to obtain a franchise tax law for Florida had "made a place for him in the estimation of all who watched the contest, although the measure failed."\textsuperscript{7}

For three months more, Trammell waited to see if Governor Broward or any other prominent liberal or progressive Democrat would announce for the Senate race. None did, although newspaper reports continued to indicate an interest on the part of Will Bryan of Jacksonville. Finally, on October 29, 1907, Trammell formalized his candidacy. He made his official announcement in Lakeland. Although he did not yet feel ready to reveal his complete platform, he did list several policies he would advocate. He called for effective regulation of railroads to guarantee reasonable rates, protection of state rights against federal "encroachment," a restriction of the power of federal courts to issue writs of injunction, and laws to prevent "overcapitalization" of railroads. He also favored river improvements, federal aid for road construction, federal laws to ban the transportation of liquor into "dry" areas, authority for the Interstate Commerce Commission to require prompt payment of damaged or lost freight claims, and the creation of a parcel post system in the United States.\textsuperscript{8}
In commenting upon Trammell's formal announcement, one newspaper writer criticized him for having adopted a very liberal, progressive, "anti-corporation" stand in the 1907 legislature in contrast to his stand in previous legislatures. Trammell would, the writer continued, "have considerable explaining to do when the campaign warms up" about this abrupt change of position. The critic also pointed out that "Mr. Trammell is not the orator that W.J. Bryan, of Jacksonville, is, and if the latter should run, which is quite probable, Mr. Trammell would be at a disadvantage in a joint debate." 9

In response to this criticism, Trammell insisted "that he has always stood on the people's side, and that his record will so prove." The editor of the Jacksonville Metropolis rejected this claim, and argued that "Mr. Trammell's affiliations have not been consistent." He had previously maintained "affiliations" with "both factions, but this is not to his discredit, as hundreds of worthy citizens have done likewise." 10

In analyzing the approaching race, a Tampa newspaper predicted that Trammell would base his campaign on the curbing of corporations and the enactment of a franchise tax. Beard would run solely on the issue of Negro disfranchisement, and Bryan would enter the lists as the "Broward candidate." The paper did not mention Brown, evidently believing his candidacy to have proven abortive. 11

November brought a great deal of excitement, as two more candidates announced. On November 15, William James Bryan, a thirty-one-year-old attorney from Jacksonville who had been born near Fort Mason, Florida, made public his resolution to run. Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, another Jacksonville attorney and former mayor, followed with his own declaration
two days later. This not only crowded the race, but presented Broward, and the liberal-progressive voters of Florida, with a difficult situation. Bryan, a kinsman and close personal friend of the governor, had served as Broward's campaign manager in 1904 and shared his political views as intimately as anyone. Fletcher had been an ally of the governor in Jacksonville, Duval County, and state politics for many years. Trammell had fought steadfastly for the Broward program in the 1907 session and had brought forth a set of Broward issues in the senatorial campaign. Broward himself, although inclined toward waiting until 1910 when he could challenge Senator James P. Taliaferro, a railroad spokesman, must have been worried about the possible splintering effect of so many liberal candidates.

Late in November, Trammell announced in a circular the completion of his platform. Besides the points he had mentioned when declaring his candidacy, he favored the creation of a law requiring transportation companies to qualify as resident corporations so that litigants could sue them in state courts. He also wished to see enacted a law permitting a shipper to sue an initial or receiving carrier, rather than a carrier in whose hands a shipping loss might occur. In order to guarantee that "intelligent people" should control Florida affairs, he hoped the state constitution could be amended to prohibit all blacks from voting. Tax laws needed revising so that franchises, such as transportation company franchises, could be taxed. Trammell closed his statement with an indictment of corporation rule:

... I appreciate capital and its developing influence, and favor justice to the public corporation, but my fairness to the wealth of our country can never grow into favoritism for the strong as against
the weak, and in the future, as in the past, I shall ever maintain that the rights and privileges of the most humble citizen or property-owner are as sacred and as deserving of the just consideration of the law-making powers as those of the corporation magnate and powerful financial institutions of our country. In other words, I favor "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none," and will ever be found asking for justice to all, and battling for the rights of the people, against any infringement or abuse of their rights, by corporations and trusts. 14

As the campaign gathered more entrants, the editor of the Lake City Index became irritated that his fellow newspapermen made a habit of remarking upon Trammell's good looks, as though beauty constituted a legitimate criterion for election to public office. The editor noted that "it's brains--not hair and looks--that the people want." 15 The Wauchula Telegram warned that anyone who underestimated Trammell's chances stood a good chance of being "badly fooled." Trammell, the paper predicted, would likely poll a strong enough vote in south Florida (the area from Orlando southwest toward Tampa) to get into a second primary. South Florida then contained approximately 9,000 voters. The fact that Senator James Taliaferro had been a businessman in Jacksonville, and that both Bryan and Fletcher (as well as Broward) came from that city, made Trammell the only candidate from south Florida. 16

In spite of this geographical strength, however, the entrance of Bryan into the campaign hurt Trammell's chances. It seemed almost certain that Broward had promised Bryan his support. Without the governor's backing, Trammell could not expect to win the election. Accordingly, on December 16, 1907, he withdrew his candidacy. The cost of a contest against several contenders would run into thousands of dollars, an amount, Trammell explained, he could not afford. He thanked
all who had promised him their aid and wished the remaining candidates success. 17

Ironically, the next day, Senator Mallory announced that he would not be a candidate for reelection; an illness which had troubled him for some time led to this decision. 18 Because of this turn in events, some of Trammell's backers urged him to reconsider, but he remained firm. He reiterated that he possessed "little or no money" to expend, and that seeking "such an office as the United States Senate isn't a very pleasant task nowadays for a poor man." 19 Florida Congressman William B. Lamar of Monticello immediately tried to take advantage of the change in the situation by proclaiming his own candidacy. 20

The events which followed in the succeeding months must have made Trammell wonder if he had not withdrawn a bit too soon. Senator Mallory died on December 23, 1907, and Broward appointed Will Bryan to fill the vacancy. In doing so he sought to aid Bryan's campaign. Nevertheless, despite the removal of Trammell's name--and evidently his own by virtue of "annointing" Bryan--Broward saw the liberal-progressive forces continue to divide. Former Governor William Sherman Jennings, for example, chose to endorse Fletcher rather than Bryan.

To further complicate the situation, Senator Bryan suddenly became ill and died of typhoid fever in March 1908. To replace him Broward named William Hall Milton, a grandson of Florida's Civil War governor, a banker from Marianna, and a man with no immediate ambitions of his own. Broward carefully considered the wisdom of supporting his old comrade Fletcher, but his own ambition proved too strong to resist. On March 27, the governor confirmed his entrance into the race. 21
Fletcher ran a well-financed and smoothly-engineered campaign, while trading charges with Broward concerning personalities and fidelity to liberal-progressive issues. Fletcher received the support of the railroad interests, who contributed heavily to his campaign. Notwithstanding Fletcher's conservative backers, he still drew liberal votes away from Broward. Broward had started too late and had alienated many former supporters who believed that he had allowed his ambition to outweigh his political judgment. Broward led in the first primary with 19,038 votes to 17,208 for Fletcher and 12,572 for Lamar. John Beard and Lamar—who attracted most of the conservative vote, while Broward and Fletcher split the liberal vote—both endorsed Fletcher in the runoff primary. Fletcher defeated Broward, 29,151 votes to 25,563, in the second primary, and went on to an easy victory over his Republican opponent in the regular election. Trammell may have wondered in the next few years whether, if he had postponed his withdrawal for even one week, he might not have forestalled Lamar's candidacy, been endorsed by Broward after Bryan's death, and gone on to defeat Fletcher with the support of the administration and the voters of south and west Florida.

Trammell gave insufficient funds as the reason for this withdrawal from the senatorial contest, but whether this was the real reason is questionable. It is more likely that he had decided that Broward's probable support of Bryan made it impossible for him to win. Having withdrawn, Trammell exhibited the canny political ability of knowing when to remain silent. He did not attack any of his former opponents. When Mallory died, he realized he could not reenter the race without appearing foolish.
In looking over the political horizon, Trammell had no lack of newspaper advice as to where to seek his fortune. The Tampa Times, Pensacola Journal, and Live Oak Democrat took it upon themselves to suggest that he should attempt to seek the office of state attorney general.23 Others maintained that he should run for Congress if Representative Sparkman decided to enter the senatorial fray.24

William H. Ellis of Quincy had been attorney general since 1904, when Governor Jennings had appointed him to replace James Bryan Whitfield. Born September 17, 1867, in Escambia County, Ellis and his brother had been raised by their widowed mother in Gadsden County. Ellis had quit school at fourteen, but had read law and joined the bar in 1889. After holding several local and Democratic party offices, Ellis had been named by Jennings to replace William V. Knott as state auditor on February 12, 1903.25

In late December 1907, Ellis became a candidate for reelection. Although newspaper conjecture held that state Senator Fred Hudson of Dade County might decide to contest with Ellis, no such challenge materialized. Nor did any other Democratic challenger declare before Ellis made his official announcement.26 According to the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, a pro-corporation paper, Ellis had "made a good record, carrying into the office indomitable energy as well as a thorough knowledge of the law. There should be no partisan politics in the office of attorney and Mr. Ellis has permitted none during his term of office. He has been fair, impartial, yet active in all the cases that have been well protected by him."27

When Congressman Sparkman made no move to seek the Senate seat vacated by Mallory's death, Trammell had two alternatives. He could
attempt to unseat the state officeholder he regarded as weakest, or he could bide his time for two years or longer. Ambition persuaded him to choose the former alternative.

On January 10, 1908, Trammell issued a statement from Lakeland that he would run against Attorney General Ellis. Seizing upon what had been the traditional view of the function of an attorney general, Trammell declined to issue a platform or align himself on any public question. "I have," he stated, "convictions and ideas" about public policies. He would not evade expressing them. However:

... as the office to which I aspire is neither legislative nor one involving a recommending power, and entails only the construction and enforcement of the law, I shall not at present issue a platform, other than the declaration that I am a strong believer in "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none." However, if any issue should arise upon which, as a candidate for this office, I should express myself; I shall frankly and openly declare my position.28

The Lakeland News greeted Trammell's announcement with enthusiasm, as did the vociferously progressive Pensacola Journal and the Plant City Courier. The News pointed out that the "able, bright lawyer" was a member of the Knights of Pythias and the Woodmen of the World and that he possessed every "qualification necessary to make a splendid Attorney General." He would, in the paper's opinion, "discharge the duties of the office without fear or favor."29 Describing Trammell as a "vigorous exponent of radical democracy" and a man with "what many people would call [an] anti-corporation" legislative record, the Journal predicted that he would "command a very strong support."30
The Plant City Courier forecast that Trammell would receive "the almost certain support of the Broward faction." Thus, the paper evidently believed that Broward had encouraged Trammell to challenge Ellis. The Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat believed that Trammell would be an "administration candidate . . . since [Attorney] General William H. Ellis has dared on some occasions to cross the wishes and desires of the Jennings-Broward Political Machine." The paper also criticized Trammell for complaining of being too poor to run for senator, yet having funds enough to conduct a state-wide race.

Throughout the campaign, the press continued to discuss the impressions that Trammell represented the Broward forces and that Ellis identified with the corporation interests. Shortly before Trammell made his announcement, the Gainesville Sun concluded "that the administration [Broward] forces will soon secure the consent of a man to make the race who is more 'in accord with us' than Mr. Ellis has been." In mid-January 1908, the Manatee Record warned that its "good friend, Bill Ellis, had better put a muzzle on the Times-Union. Too much slush from this source might cause the people to sit up and take notice." Two months later, G.G. Mathews, editor of the Polk County Record, accused the corporation newspapers of building up Ellis with an eye to the upcoming primary.

An example of how Ellis came to be weakened by his supporters (whether sincere supporters or not) took place in February. The Jacksonville Metropolis, like the Times-Union, was frequently considered a corporation newspaper. In its February 11, 1908, issue, it carried an interview with J.L. Billingsley, a man identified as being with the legal department of the state government. In the interview, Billingsley
praised Ellis, claiming that he had used a legal maneuver to force the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad to repair unsafe track and roadbed. Billingsley also claimed that Ellis enjoyed the political support of Broward, Jennings, and John M. Barrs of Jacksonville. Trammell immediately wrote a letter to the Metropolis, in which he pointed out that Billingsley was on Ellis's staff and stood to lose his job if Ellis lost the election. Moreover, Trammell declared, no proof existed that Broward, Jennings, or Barrs had endorsed Ellis. 36

Despite the Billingsley fiasco, Ellis persisted in pointing to his suit against the Atlantic Coast Line as a victory for the people of Florida against corporation interests. However, when such statements appeared in the Jacksonville Metropolis, wary Floridians must have wondered, especially when the paper resorted to quoting William Jennings Bryan's Commoner in praise of Ellis and his suit. 37 Perhaps as a response to Ellis's claims that he felt himself in accord with the Broward administration, Trammell eventually came forward with a platform of sorts.

A reporter who interviewed Trammell in Pensacola on April 1, 1908, learned that he intended, when elected, to submit certain recommendations to the governor concerning needed new laws, particularly an anti-trust law, a law limiting campaign expenditures, and an anti-lobbying law. He promised to take all legal steps to force railroads to provide safe facilities for travel, to work for the betterment of the common schools, to increase agricultural courses in the schools, and to institute terms of equal length for rural and urban schools. He opposed the deeding of additional lands to railroads, called for public notice to precede land sales, and supported publication of the transactions of the several
state boards. Ellis remained optimistic; he purchased a home in Tallahassee on Clinton Street. According to the Pensacola Journal, he did not "expect to change his address."

Monday, April 20, 1908, was the final day for candidates seeking to qualify for the May 19 primary election. Only two Democrats, Ellis and Trammell, qualified for the attorney general's race. Fletcher, Beard, Lamar, and Broward qualified for United States senator; Albert Gilchrist of Punta Gorda, Jefferson Browne of Key West, and John N.C. Stockton of Jacksonville for governor.

On election eve, Trammell reiterated his platform in newspaper ads. He stood squarely against monopoly, purchase of public office, and lobbying. He favored a better public school system, economy in government, advertising before the sale of public lands, and thorough investigation of all pardon requests.

The Democratic primary was held on May 19, 1908, but the official canvass of the vote by the state Democratic executive committee did not take place until May 29. The tally showed that Trammell had won by a vote of 22,897 to 17,395. Broward led Fletcher in the Senate race by 19,038 to 17,208; Stockton trailed Gilchrist for governor by 23,248 to 20,068 votes.

In Polk County, Trammell received 1,724 votes to 218 for Ellis. Marion County split almost evenly, giving Ellis 677 and Trammell 674 votes. In Escambia County, Ellis's West Florida baliwick, he received 1,233 votes to Trammell's 1,172. Trammell carried Dade County on the southeast coast by 748 to 717.

Trammell's victory in the two-man race meant that he did not need to face a runoff on June 16, as did the gubernatorial and senatorial
candidates. It also, quite naturally, stirred up journalistic predictions that he would seek the governor's chair in four years. Other potential candidates for 1912 already mentioned in press speculation included Frank L. Mayes of Pensacola, D.B. McKay of Tampa, Cromwell Gibbons of Jacksonville, and Fred Hudson of Miami.44

In attempting to explain Trammell's victory, progressive editor Claude L'Engle of Tallahassee thought that Ellis had not campaigned as hard as he might have, while Trammell had made a strong canvass of the state. More importantly, Ellis had done little as attorney general; he had not taken the initiative in seeking out evils in need of cure. This "failure of Mr. Ellis . . . and the belief that Mr. Trammell will more acceptably fill the office" had made Trammell the winner.45

Trammell's Republican opponent in the November 3, 1908, general election was Fred C. Cubberly. Since the Democratic primary constituted the real election, no contest developed in the general election. Trammell won 28,961 votes to 5,817 for Cubberly; he carried every county. The Republican vote at this time came from federal officeholders, blacks, and northern immigrants to Florida. Trammell's margins ran from roughly two to one (196 to 99) in Clay County to fifty to one (518 to 10) in Madison County. He triumphed in Hillsborough County by 2,714 to 353, and Duval, 2,039 to 481. Polk gave her favorite son 1,292 votes to Cubberly's 114.46

Being attorney general in Florida in 1909 involved providing legal advice to the administrative officers of the state, serving as the attorney for the state in all criminal cases before the Florida Supreme Court and in all civil litigation in all courts, compiling the reports of cases reaching the Florida Supreme Court for publication, and handling
various other legal matters for the state. For these duties the attorney general needed no more than the assistance of one secretary and one clerk.

By law, the attorney general sat as a member of the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund, Board of Drainage Commissioners, State Pardon Board, State Board of Education, Board of Insurance Commissioners, State Board of Assessors, Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, and State Canvassing Board. Attending the meetings of these boards occupied much of Trammell's time. In addition, the attorney general also served as legal advisor to nearly every state agency. When he first assumed office, Trammell offered to handle the legal affairs of the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund and the Board of Drainage Commissioners. The boards agreed, except for drainage suits which they wanted William Sherman Jennings to complete. The boards had to pay only $1,700 and $300 for supplementary legal aid during Trammell's first two years in office.47

During his four-year term, Trammell rendered approximately 400 written opinions in response to requests by state administrative officers, in addition to many more oral opinions. He also handled more than 3,500 requests for opinions from city, district, and county officers, and from private citizens. Despite the fact that the law did not require him to provide such assistance to the latter classes of officials and individuals, he felt a responsibility to do so "as a matter of courtesy" and "in the interest of an efficient and uniform administration of the laws." Since in 1909 the State Board of Education began to invest the school fund in county and municipal bonds, he also had to pass upon the legality of each bond issue offered to the board, which sometimes
involved research of all legal steps involved in issuing the bonds. 48

At this time, the attorney general also had the responsibility to index and side note the laws passed by the Florida legislature, and to index the legislative journals. This work, done largely by his office staff, took roughly seven weeks to complete in 1909 and nearly three months in 1911. Trammell also had to act as Florida's Supreme Court reporter. He and his two aides reported on decisions for the June court term of 1908, the January and June terms of 1909, 1910, 1911, and the January term of 1912. 49

The office of attorney general operated on a rather limited budget. Trammell himself received $2,500.00 per year. During the first six months of 1909, he paid his clerk $450.00. After that he increased the salary to $1,200.00 per year. His secretary received $1,800.00 per year. The other expenses of the office totalled $558.78 in 1909-1910 and $1,002.11 for 1911-1912. 50

With regard to criminal cases, Trammell appeared before the supreme court on behalf of the state 177 times in criminal and habeas corpus cases. Of these appearances, 100 cases came to be confirmed, 42 reversed, 12 dismissed for failure of plaintiff in error to perfect the appeal, and the remainder had not been resolved when Trammell left office. Trammell's most spectacular case did not take place until after his election as governor in the Democratic primary, and will be treated later. 51

The letterbooks of the attorney general provide insights as to the type of business Trammell most frequently encountered. These books reveal that he spent a goodly portion of his time writing letters to
local officials and private citizens in which he gave both legal opinions and referred questions to other officials. He also had to answer many inquiries from non-Floridians, often professionals such as physicians or lawyers seeking to learn if they would be accepted upon their qualifications if they moved to Florida, or whether they would need to undergo special examinations.

On April 14, 1909, Trammell had to inform Hattie Adams of Chiefland that the state did not permit "a prisoner to be bought out of prison." He assured M.M. Caldwell of Tallahassee that a lightning rod salesman taking orders, and not selling door-to-door, did not have to pay a license tax. In April 1910, he received a "long distance" telephone call from Crawfordville seeking an opinion. Despite his anti-Negro voting record, Trammell did not believe a municipality had the right to authorize separate white and black residential districts.

Many Southern cities attempted to impose such residential segregation laws during the first decade of the century, only to have them voided in 1917 by the United States Supreme Court in the case of Buchanan v. Warley. In one decision, Trammell had to determine whether the sale of breakfast cereal containing premium coupons violated state law. He concluded that if one purchased the cereal in hopes of getting a coupon, the element of chance did violate the law; if one sought the coupon secondarily and the cereal primarily, no law would be broken.

As his secretary, Park Trammell employed his brother and fellow attorney, Worth. Worth held this position until the summer of 1911. On August 1, 1911, he received an appointment as assistant to United States District Attorney Fred Cubberly at Pensacola--the very man Park had defeated for attorney general in the regular election. Worth, who
had served as Florida's first pure food and drug inspector under Governor Broward, replaced the resigned Emmett Wilson. His new office paid $1,500 per year and permitted outside legal practice also.58

To replace his brother, Trammell selected Walton County criminal court Judge Charles O. Andrews. Andrews, a thirty-four-year-old native of Holmes County, had been educated at the University of Florida and had served as secretary to the Florida Senate. Andrews had held his judgeship since June 15, 1910. As clerk, Trammell employed C.D. Robertson.59

When he first entered office, Trammell continued his interest in practicing private law. He informed Elmer E. Cline of Auburndale on March 6, 1909, that he would give private advice for $10.00.60 He quickly changed his mind, however, under the press of official business. In January 1910, when J.E. Wood of Live Oak asked for the name of a good attorney in Lakeland, Trammell suggested the firm "of Edwards & Trammell."61

Trammell's involvement with the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund occupied more of his time than his work with any other state agency. The board had been established in 1855 to oversee the state lands, and its activities had greatly expanded when Governor Broward succeeded in instituting the drainage of the Everglades. The trustees consisted of the governor, the comptroller, the treasurer, the agriculture commissioner, and the attorney general.

Between 1909 and 1913, Trammell attended 272 out of 333 meetings of the trustees. A few of his absences took place on dates he had left Tallahassee to attend to business on behalf of the trustees. For example, in July 1911, he visited the scene of drainage operations; in July 1912, he went to Miami, Fort Lauderdale, and Jacksonville; and in August 1912, he travelled to Chicago and Kansas City concerning land sales.62
Trammell began his career as a trustee with a flurry of resolutions favoring public scrutiny of governmental operations and decision-making. He authored, on January 23, 1909, a resolution (designed as a preventative rather than a remedy) forbidding agents and attorneys of the trustees from accepting commissions on land sales and from buying supplies from corporations in which they owned an interest. Three days later, he proposed that on or before the tenth day of each month, the trustees should make a public report and spread it upon their minutes showing monies received and disbursed the previous month and the location and amount of all bank balances.

The trustees accepted the resignation of former Governor Jennings as their general counsel on January 30, 1909, and requested the attorney general to take over pending litigation. At first, the trustees decided to let Trammell handle the burden by himself, but they quickly changed their minds. On February 27, 1909, they authorized a fee of $250 and expenses to have Jennings represent them before the United States circuit court against Richard G. Peters in a land case.

Jennings remained when the case went to the United States Supreme Court. The trustees asked him to quote a fee for remaining on the case, and despite Trammell's negative vote, again hired him to assist the attorney general. Although Trammell's objection may have stemmed at least partly from professional jealousy, or simply from conviction, it may also have originated in the fact that Jennings had represented Everglades land speculator Richard J. Bolles in some of his dealings with the trustees.

In another land case, in March 1910, the trustees asked Trammell for an opinion. The heirs of Hamilton Disston and J.J. Dunn had sought
to assume the rights and claims of the St. Cloud Sugar Belt Railway against the state and trustees. Disston had built the road as part of his larger drainage and sugar cane raising endeavors, which had been halted by his unexpected death on April 30, 1896. Trammell urged the trustees to decline to deed the lands in question, and they followed his advice.68

By October 1910, Trammell had been disabused of the notion that one man could successfully perform so many legal jobs without seeing his clients suffer. He informed the trustees on October 24 of a new suit against them seeking $79,000. Since the trustees already faced the perennial Wailes claim for $80,000, the Florida East Coast Railroad claim for 2,040,000 acres, the Tallahassee Southeastern Railway claim for 400,000 acres, and the Peters claim for 400,000 acres, he made it clear he would not object if the trustees sought outside legal advice. The trustees then decided to employ, jointly with the Board of Drainage Commissioners, an attorney by the year.69 On October 28, 1910, they hired as their additional counsel, at $2,500 per year, William H. Ellis--the man Trammell had unseated as attorney general.70

Although his professional affairs sometimes became rather hectic, Trammell enjoyed a very pleasant personal life in Tallahassee while serving as attorney general. In fact, these years were probably the happiest of his adult life. Early in the fall of 1909, Trammell acquired a telephone for his residence; the directory listed the new number as 212. Dr. Edward Conradi, president of the state women's college, joined the list of subscribers at the same time. Trammell may have been persuaded to obtain a telephone by his younger sisters. Both
Ruth and Emma lived with Virgie and Park in the house on North Monroe Street.\footnote{71}

One of the recreations which Trammell enjoyed while serving as attorney general involved speaking at meetings of his fellow Woodmen of the World. He also took an active role in the affairs of the Baptist church while he lived in Tallahassee. In 1910, for example, the childless Trammell served as superintendent of the Sunday school. In February of that year, he attended the state Baptist convention in Gainesville with state Treasurer William V. Knott, and in March, the Sunday school convention at Live Oak.\footnote{72}

He continued to give as many public addresses and talks as he could fit into his schedule. When the Confederate Memorial Association dedicated a monument in Lakeland in June 1910, Trammell delivered the keynote address. In September of that same year he spoke at a Labor Day celebration in Mayo. In 1911, he gave the Fourth of July oration at Greensboro. He journeyed to Key West in January 1912 to participate in the festivities celebrating the completion of the overseas railway. The following July found him giving yet another Independence Day address, this time in Tampa. One of the sad duties the attorney general encountered came in 1911, when he served on March 16 as an honorary pallbearer in the funeral procession of former Governor William D. Bloxham.\footnote{73}

Trammell reached his prime mentally and physically during his term as attorney general. Socially he cut an impressive figure. About six feet tall, weighing in excess of 200 pounds, he conveyed an impression of importance and dependability. He possessed a ready and pleasing smile, and keen, alert eyes. His clean-shaven face accentuated his youth, as did his long, brown hair, which he permitted to grow down the
back of his neck and to curl upward. A fastidious, although not flashy
dresser, Trammell frequently wore white suits which he purchased--like
most of his outfits--at substantial savings near the end of a fashion
season. He occasionally wore a hat, sometimes a white panama, and at
other times a black Stetson.

A steady, church-going Baptist, Trammell evidently practiced the
avoidance of alcohol his Polk County childhood had impressed upon him.
He enjoyed fine cigars, however. His voice, although rather soft and
ordinary, did not detract from his abilities as a public speaker. No one
ever mistook him for an impassioned, leather-lunged orator, though. A
man of moderation in this, as in most things, he could deliver with dis-
patch a high-sounding, impromptu address on the glories of the American
Revolution, the fallen heroes of the Confederacy, or a paraphrase of the
New South polemics of Henry Grady.

Speechmaking, however, did not constitute Trammell's style--
vote-getting did. Trammell remained his entire life an old school
politician rather than a "demogogue" or a manipulator of the media.
He shook hands with the folks back home and maintained a proper rela-
tionship with other officeholders.

Few Florida politicians before or since Trammell have personally
known the home folks as well as he did. When Trammell met a man, intro-
duced himself, shook the man's hand and asked his name, that individual's
name remained in Trammell's photographic mind for future reference.
Numerous witnesses attest to this. Because of this gift, Trammell did
his political homework better than any of his contemporaries, for he not
only knew the men who ran county politics and city politics, he knew his
small town supporters by name. The repeated success of his canvasses
underscores the permanent political truth that to be remembered as an individual, complete with name, occupation, wife, and children, has always meant more to most voters than to be remembered as a member of a group, or a believer in certain policies.

Trammell possessed the courtly manners of an earlier age, particularly with regard to women. He did not permit all his acquaintances to become his familiars, and his manners helped him to discriminate in a friendly fashion. Doubtless, his practiced manners constituted, in one sense, a political facade. They also came naturally from his upbringing, however. Finally, in a man possessed of considerable attractiveness to and desire for women, they proved a potent weapon.

Politics constituted Trammell's relaxation, recreation, and amusement. He engaged in no pastime to take his mind off his occupation. Not until he became governor of the state, for example, did he know how to drive an automobile or did he own one.

Trammell's greatest assets consisted of his memory, his manners, his good looks, his astute wife, and his ability to know when to keep his opinion to himself. More than anything else, he wanted to win the election at hand. Winning did not constitute a means to an end. Winning an election, winning an office, meant accomplishment, gratification, and justification in itself.

If Trammell read widely, he kept his readings to himself. Former associates recall no great displays of literary knowledge. After leaving law school, he likely read newspapers, and in later years, informational reports and position papers prepared by his senatorial staff. His speeches reveal a simplistic, patriotic, chronological knowledge of United States history. Undoubtedly, in view of his church activities,
he also read the Bible; he did not quote freely from it, however.

Both Trammell and his wife took an active role in the Tallahassee Baptist church. Park, perhaps partly for political reasons, not only attended services regularly but functioned as an active lay person and taught Sunday school. Virgie, always a friendly person, regularly performed as a singer at both church and secular functions. Although not a soloist, Park also sang in the church choir at times.

On the campaign trail, Trammell distained rhetorical devices. He much preferred to give a standardized short presentation, emphasizing his past career and successes, promising to do his best if elected, and (if necessary) listing the planks in his program. He had no belief in the efficacy of political debate. He took pains even to avoid mentioning his opponent's name, much less his program. He felt that to give another man attention and publicity could only detract from his own candidacy. He believed that he had always kept faith with the voters, and that his faithful performance of his job had to be the best possible qualification for retention or promotion.

Although he espoused anti-Negro sentiments in the public arena, there is no evidence that Trammell should be classified as a violent Negrophobe. He grew up in an area virtually without a Negro population and probably never encountered large numbers of blacks on a day-to-day basis until he settled in Tallahassee. Blacks presented no threat to him economically, socially, or politically, and whatever racist positions he took in his career must be seen largely as political gambits.

Trammell always enjoyed the company of women. Although he trusted and relied upon his brother Worth, employing him as his "assistant
attorney general," he felt more comfortable generally with women than with men. His mother had been a woman of strong character, and he placed great confidence in the woman he had married. He helped support his younger sisters, and two of them lived with him while attending college in Tallahassee. His grandmother Park, Mrs. Trammell's sister Mary ("Marie"), and numerous other female relatives visited the couple in Tallahassee.

Trammell enjoyed family life. He took pleasure in having not only his wife, but his sisters, live under his roof. When he later moved into the executive mansion, he invited his secretary, Robert A. Gray, and Mrs. Gray, to live with him. At the same time, he most enjoyed the company of his wife.

Virgie Trammell provided the focus of Park's life. He depended upon her for far more than housekeeping. She operated as a shrewd political observer and a popular social figure. Her accomplishments in these areas rivalled her famous, more individualistic contemporary and friend, May Mann Jennings.

Virgie reportedly concealed her keen political judgement and her willingness to do wearying political drudgery behind the charm of a Victorian southern lady. She possessed natural charm and an easy familiarity with people. More than Mrs. Jennings, Virgie subordinated her own views to the best interests of her husband's career. She believed in him without reservation and reinforced his belief in himself. She also reinforced his belief in God and in the Baptist faith. If not for her own devotion to the church and her various services in its behalf, it seems doubtful Park would have been quite so enthusiastic in his attendance and participation.
Perhaps the quality which best characterized Trammell at this stage of his career, and the one most difficult for people today to understand, is his lack of self-doubt. No one could be more at ease with himself than Trammell at this point in his life. Confidence, serenity, a strong sense of destiny surrounded his career. Trammell genuinely liked and approved of himself. Judged by his own standards, he had no reason not to feel that way. Personal love and political love had come his way in abundance. No political opponent had ever accused him of anything more scandalous than being young and ambitious.

Trammell "belonged," and he knew it. He belonged to a very tightly-knit, even interrelated group that has been carefully described by historian Wayne Flynt. This class ruled the state of Florida politically. Its members knew and respected each other. They went to the same Protestant churches, read the same newspapers, lived in proximity to each other, and held the same general views on broad political, social, and religious questions. They did not comprise a closed caste, but did require that newcomers serve a suitable apprenticeship in county politics and the law that might extend over many years. Possessed of courage, integrity, and no small measure of ability, these men staffed the high elective and appointive offices of the state virtually without interruption from the end of Reconstruction until World War I.

Trammell had little reason to doubt himself or his world. Nothing he had witnessed in his life suggested that he could not handle whatever challenges might arise. Without unexpected changes in the world and the structure of Florida politics, he had a very good chance to win any office to which he aspired.
Trammell's interest always lay in winning office, rather than in using public office to accomplish something. Like virtually all American political figures, Trammell sought office for his (not its) own sake. He defined himself in terms of the offices he had won. He held views on public questions and sought to do good rather than evil, but he ran for office in order to satisfy himself and not as a means of furthering any cause greater than himself.

**Notes**

1. Jacksonville Metropolis, April 29, 1907.
2. Ibid., April 29, May 23, 1907.
3. Tampa Times, quoted in ibid., May 27, 1907.
4. Jacksonville Metropolis, June 20, 1907.
5. Ibid., June 22, 1907.
6. Ibid., July 30, 1907.
7. Savannah News, quoted in ibid., August 7, 1907.
8. Jacksonville Metropolis, October 24, 29, 1907.
9. Ibid., October 29, 1907.
10. Ibid., November 4, 1907.
11. Tampa Times, quoted in Jacksonville Metropolis, October 30, 1907.
13. Ibid.
15. Lake City Index, quoted in ibid., December 7, 1907.
16. Wauchula Telegram, quoted in Jacksonville Metropolis, December 14, 1907.
17. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 17, 1907; *Jacksonville Metropolis*, December 16, 1907.


20. Ibid., December 18, 1907.

21. Flynt, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, 49.

22. Ibid., 49-53.


33. *Gainesville Sun*, quoted in *ibid.*


36. *Jacksonville Metropolis*, February 11, 12, 1908.

38. Miami Metropolis, February 19, 1908; Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat, February 19, 1908; Pensacola Journal, April 2, 1908.

39. Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat, April 3, 1908; Pensacola Journal, April 26, 1908.

40. Pensacola Journal, April 22, 1908; Bartow Courier-Informant, May 14, 1908.

41. Jacksonville Metropolis, May 16, 1908.

42. Bartow Courier-Informant, June 4, 1908; Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat, June 5, 1908.

43. Bartow Courier-Informant, May 28, 1908; Pensacola Journal, May 24, 1908; Miami Metropolis, May 26, 1908.

44. Pensacola Journal, May 30, 1908. See also, Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat, August 21, 1908; Tallahassee Sun, September 12, 1908.

45. Tallahassee Sun, January 11, February 22, May 23, 1908.


57. Trammell to Parker, Davis, Wagner & Walton, December 13, 1912, AGL 12:52.

58. Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat, August 4, 11, 1911.

59. Ibid., September 9, 1911.

60. Trammell to Elmer E. Cline, March 6, 1909, AGL 8:486; to C.P. Montague, n.d., AGL 9:416.


62. Florida, Minutes of the Trustees, Internal Improvement Fund of the State of Florida, Volume IX, from January 1, 1911, to December 31, 1912 (Tallahassee, 1913), 203, 505, 638.


64. Ibid., 25.

65. Ibid., 56.

66. Ibid., 102-03.

67. Ibid., 220.

68. Ibid., 342.

69. Ibid., 568.

70. Ibid., 571.

71. Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat, September 10, October 1, 15, 1909.

72. Ibid., November 25, 1909, February 25, April 1, May 6, December 23, 1910.

73. Ibid., June 10, August 26, 1910, March 17, June 30, 1911, January 19, June 18, 28, 1912.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE GUBERNATORIAL CONTEST OF 1912: CONVICTS, GOOD ROADS, AND SUGAR

Almost as soon as the returns showed that Trammell had been elected attorney general, newspaper editors began predicting that he would seek the governor's chair four years hence. In May 1909, a Tallahassee paper predicted that Trammell and state Senator Fred Hudson would likely be candidates in 1912.¹ The Miami Metropolis, in August 1910, conjectured about the possible candidacies of nearly a score of men, all well-known politicos, including Trammell, Hudson, John N.C. Stockton, Commissioner of Agriculture B.E. McLin, William H. Milton, D.B. McKay, Cromwell Gibbons, Jefferson Browne, former Superintendent of Public Instruction William N. Sheats, state Representative John W. Watson of Dade County, R. Hudson Burr of the railroad commission, former Congressman Robert W. Davis, and Pensacola Journal editor Frank L. Mayes. The Fernandina Record suggested the name of Pensacola's William A. Blount.² The Pensacola Journal added Judge H.C. Gordon of Tampa, Edward M. Semple of Key West, and William Toomer of Jacksonville.³

April 1911 proved to be the month in which the political jockeying for position began in earnest for the gubernatorial hopefuls. Duval County's Cromwell Gibbons became the first major candidate formally to announce on April 5. Three days later, Attorney General Trammell threw his hat in the ring. William H. Milton announced on April 17, and John W.
Watson on April 28. These four men, joined later by Edward M. Semple, remained in the race and qualified for the Democratic primary.  

A native of Chicago, Illinois, Edward Manly Semple had lived in Florida since 1888. He was first engaged in cigar manufacturing at Key West, but then took up the study of law and joined the bar in 1904. He served as city attorney and helped author a city charter for Key West. In 1905, Semple established the *Key West Citizen*. He campaigned little for governor, not spending much money, and was never taken seriously by either the press or the electorate.  

John W. Watson, a North Carolinian, came to Florida in 1881, and established a furniture and hardware business in Kissimmee two years later. He served as mayor of Kissimmee and represented Osceola County in the state house of representatives for five sessions, 1897-1905. He was chosen speaker in 1901. He moved to Miami in 1905, and won election to the house from Dade County in 1907 and 1911. In 1912, Watson advertised himself as the businessman's candidate.  

The main issue discussed by the gubernatorial candidates in 1912 concerned what to do with the labor of the state convicts. Florida, since 1877, had been leasing its state and county convicts to private employers. The state not only realized a profit on the labor of these men, but avoided having to pay for their confinement and sustenance. Some attempts had been made previously to end the system, but the issue had not been resolved.  

Watson advocated the abolition of the lease system and the use of the prisoners to build roads. He also favored a law which would allow a jury to set aside a certain portion of the money obtained in hiring out a convict, for the maintenance of the felon's family. He favored federal
aid for roadbuilding, uniform taxation of property, establishment of a separate "white" insane asylum, creation of the office of labor commissioner to collect statistics, and reduction of campaign expenditures. Watson endorsed the Everglades drainage program but thought that the lands should be sold to settlers rather than speculators. He promised to enforce the laws fairly, not sell pardons, and to make appointments according to the recommendations of the county Democratic executive committees.

Cromwell Gibbons, originally from Connecticut, attended but did not graduate from Yale University. He arrived in Florida in 1888 and became a member of the bar in 1891. The following year, he won election as a municipal judge in Jacksonville. He chaired the Duval County Democratic Committee in 1900-1901. In 1903, he won a seat in the house and was also elected speaker.

A businessman as well as an attorney, Gibbons handled many cases involving claims arising from the Spanish-American conflict over Cuba and the American investments there. He himself established the Redencion Sugar Company there. He became known as the candidate supported by the corporations and railroads in 1912. The Jacksonville dailies endorsed him and slanted their news coverage in his favor.

Gibbons also favored abolishing the convict lease system and putting the prisoners to work constructing roads. He felt, however, that until this had been accomplished, any profit above their maintenance cost should be given to their families. Gibbons favored increasing the powers of the state railroad commission, establishing the initiative, referendum, and recall, and enacting stringent laws governing corporations, land and colonization companies, and trusts. He approved continuation of
Everglades drainage, but under more careful, business-like supervision, and with sale of lands to settlers rather than speculators. Late in the campaign, he called for the sale of all state lands to pay for new roads and improved schools. He advocated a tax equalization board, an immigration bureau to attract settlers, limits on campaign expenditures, and publication of expenditures. He also came out in favor of giving municipalities the right to levy taxes for schools, continuation of local option, an improved national guard and naval militia, more home rule for local governments, and state conservation of natural resources. In general, he favored a progressive business administration of the state's affairs. 9

William Hall Milton came from one of Florida's most famous families. His grandfather, John Milton, served as Florida's Civil War governor, and his father, William Henry Milton, fought as a major with the Fifth Florida Cavalry. In 1885, Milton won election as city clerk of Marianna, and four years later he advanced to the Florida House as a representative from Jackson County. Beginning in 1890, he entered the banking business, and he also read law in the offices of Judge Francis B. Carter and Judge Benjamin L. Liddon. He unsuccessfully sought the 1900 Florida Democratic gubernatorial nomination in the convention--an institution he favored replacing with the primary election. When Will Bryan died, Governor Napoleon B. Broward appointed Milton interim United States senator from March 1908 to March 1909. 10

Like Trammell, Milton sought to identify himself with Broward in the public eye. While Trammell could point to his legislative record in this regard, Milton could stress his Broward-like personal career, his Senate appointment by Broward, and his plan for a convict sugar
plantation in the Everglades. Milton's newspaper ads and photographs conveyed the impression of an angry, determined, self-righteous crusader.  

Milton did not come up with the major plank in his platform until 1912. As late as December 1911, he, too, opposed leasing the convicts and wanted to use them on the roads. He advocated adoption of the initiative, referendum, and recall, an inheritance tax, equalization of land taxes, increased powers for the railroad commission, and municipally-owned utilities.

The idea which Milton conceived that set him apart from all the other candidates--and constituted the only original idea advanced during the campaign--consisted of an alternative use for the state convicts. Milton favored abolition of the convict-lease system, but he wanted to locate the prisoners on two farms. One farm, with a small convict population, would raise food crops to feed all the prisoners. The second, located on state land in the Everglades, would be used for the production of sugarcane.

Profits from the sugar plantation, according to Milton, not only would be greater than the $281.60 the state received for each leased convict, but they would be ample to pay for the construction of new roads built by hired, professional labor. He claimed that the state would have to increase taxes if it ceased leasing the convicts and instead used them on the roads. However, each convict put to work at cultivating sugarcane could produce ten acres of cane at a profit of $81.00 per acre, for a total gain to the state of $810.00.

As usual, Trammell concentrated his campaign on his personality and his record rather than his platform. When the Pensacola Journal invited
the candidates to explain why they wanted to be governor, Trammell responded with a statement of purpose rather than a specific list of goals. He said that a public official should be a "live, vital, aggressive force," attempting to have his term "marked by jealous [sic] and vigilant protection of the public interests, and by positive, well-considered and earnest championship of those measures and policies which can be made to improve the social and material interests of the state's people." 14

In September 1911, Trammell had outlined an unofficial platform calling for the limitation of campaign contributions, increased powers for the railroad commission, an equal tax burden, better public schools, stronger interstate commerce laws and anti-trust legislation, drainage and reclamation of the Everglades, publicity in public affairs, and opposing the deeding of more lands to railroads.15 As the campaign continued, however, his ads concentrated less on specifics and more on generalizations. In one ad, he promised he would campaign on his record, and would not spend much money, hire a campaign manager or workers, or mudsling. In another, he pledged his uncompromising loyalty, justice for all, and guarded economy in handling state affairs.16

Milton made an unusual but original suggestion to his fellow candidates early in the campaign with regard to the problem of limiting campaign expenditures. He proposed that the candidates jointly author and fund an election information booklet which would contain individual biographical and platform information. Each man would contribute an equal amount of money to the costs of printing and distributing the booklet. The mechanics of distribution could be handled by the secretary of state's office. A copy would be sent to every man registered as a
Democratic voter. The other candidates did not take Milton's proposal seriously, and nothing came of it.  

Late in the fall of 1911, the Jacksonville Metropolis began advocating an idea which seemed by its very nature to be directed specifically against Trammell's candidacy. As corporate papers, the Metropolis and Times-Union opposed anyone who to them represented an anti-business point of view. Trammell's call for a stronger railroad commission thus provoked them, and the Metropolis suggested that a public officeholder who desired to run for another position should resign first in order that he would not neglect his official duties while campaigning. Metropolis editor and part-owner W.R. Carter even wrote a letter to Trammell asking for an expression of his views on the resign to run idea.  

Trammell replied in a letter of November 20, 1911. He charged that the Metropolis had adopted the idea solely to injure candidates which it opposed and insisted that the people had no desire for the measure. He also questioned why the paper did not ask men running for reelection to resign.  

The Volusia County Record insisted that the efforts of the Jacksonville paper to have Trammell and railroad commission member R. Hudson Burr resign reflected "some ulterior motive." Another paper asked the Metropolis why it did not make the same demand of Congressman Frank Clark, John W. Trammell's old opponent. The Pensacola paper concluded that the Metropolis either should publish evidence to prove Trammell had neglected his duties, "or forget the phrase 'resign before running.'"

In December, Trammell and Gibbons traded charges with regard to Everglades drainage. Gibbons complained (not completely without justification) that the drainage program had been mismanaged badly. Trammell
denied the charge. He said it had been and would continue to be well carried out. He stated that he had endorsed the concept since 1904, and had been responsible in part for the actual operations as attorney general. He reminded Gibbons not to confuse private land company frauds with the overall drainage scheme. 22

Charles E. Jones of Jacksonville's Dixie made an interesting observation on the developing race in January. Owned and edited by Florida's opinionated muckraking journalist Claude L'Engle, Dixie constituted the most strident voice of progressivism in the state. Jones forecast that the progressives would support either Milton or Trammell, and that the reactionaries and corporation men would endorse Gibbons or Watson. Whether out of ignorance or disinterest, Jones failed to characterize Semple of Key West. 23

It is difficult to know exactly how many political rallies Trammell addressed in his gubernatorial race. He disliked debates, and always preferred handshaking to speechmaking. Furthermore, both Jacksonville dailies favored Gibbons in their reporting as well as in their editorials, although the Times-Union proved the fairer in its coverage of the campaigns of candidates besides Gibbons. At any rate, Trammell spoke to meetings in Key West, Milton, Lakeland, Ocala, Arcadia, Lake City, and Tampa, and elsewhere throughout the state. 24

Despite the efforts of his campaign manager, J. Ira Gore, and his brother-in-law, William J. Sears, Watson did not seem to be able to excite the voters. His manager's prediction that Watson would garner 22,000 votes, Trammell, 16,000, Milton, 10,000, and Gibbons, 5,500 seemed evidence of overconfidence or calculated bluff. Gore's characterization of Trammell as "a young lawyer with chronic political ego" must have
struck close to home, however. Watson eventually seemed to follow Gibbons's lead by demanding a strict review of all state land sales in order to uncover possible illegal payments received by public officials. One of Watson's ads on the eve of the first primary signified the bankruptcy of ideas hindering his campaign; it could advance only negative claims about his opponents and no affirmative reasons to vote for Watson.

In response to Gore's primary predictions, Gibbons denied the figures mentioned. He insisted that such figures could not be projected. Gibbons spent a great deal of time canvassing the state, including speaking to Spanish and Italian voters in Tampa in their own languages. In April 1912, sensing his campaign was faltering, Gibbons changed plans. The state, he began to say, should sell its lands and use the money to build roads and improve the schools. On the evening of April 24, he told an Orlando crowd that the Everglades lands could be sold for $25 million, and the money divided among the counties on the basis of population for schools and roads. Two nights later, in Miami, Gibbons not only promised to sell the Everglades lands, but also to abolish the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund. While these promises were not necessarily unpopular ideas, even in southeast Florida, they seemed contradictory to Gibbons's earlier pronouncements about the need to use convict labor on the roads.

Meanwhile, Milton and Trammell began to attack each other, a sure sign that each regarded the other as his most dangerous rival. Milton emphasized that building roads with convicts would cost more than with free labor and that his plan for two farms would result in the state receiving a large profit per convict. Before a Lakeland crowd estimated
at 1,500, Milton, on April 11, propounded his plan. He called abolition of the lease system the number one issue and promised that his sugar plantation would prove a satisfactory solution. Trammell, to an enthusiastic home-town crowd, insisted (correctly) that the state constitution prohibited it from borrowing money to initiate Milton's plan. It was a risky experiment; using the convicts his way at worst could produce bad roads where none had existed before, but if the sugar plantation failed, millions would be lost. He later charged that Milton had exaggerated by four times the amount of profit made by Louisiana on such an operation.

Milton countered by claiming that his plan would not raise taxes, but that road use of the convicts would raise taxes 4.5 mills. He argued that the state could indeed borrow money, that the expense involved in working the men on the roads would be huge, that the sugar farm would pay handsomely, and that Trammell had misinformed the public. He accused both Trammell and Watson of "maliciously" misrepresenting his plan.

Trammell next claimed that Milton's plan would raise taxes by 8 mills and, in any case, would not work. The experiment in growing sugar would be expensive in the extreme. This proved to be too much for Milton; he attacked Trammell for being intentionally vague, a fence sitter, a perpetual office holder, and for lying about the sugar plan.

Milton's anger gave Trammell an opportunity to denounce him for making eleventh-hour charges and for mudslinging. On April 28, Trammell addressed the largest crowd of his canvass in Tampa's courthouse square. Again calling Milton's plan foolish and impracticable, he urged that the convicts be used for road construction. He reviewed his record in the
legislature and claimed to have saved the Internal Improvement Fund trustees a handsome amount of money by doing their legal work. 35

Somewhat surprisingly, since an increasing number of counties were banning liquor sales, the issue of statewide prohibition did not figure to any great extent in the 1912 gubernatorial contest. In 1908, Gilchrist's stand in favor of the county option system had helped him defeat Stockton, while a state-wide prohibition amendment had lost by 4,765 votes in November 1910. In 1916, Sidney Catts would not only endorse prohibition but become the candidate of the Prohibition party in the state—and win the election. By that time, however, the majority of the counties had gone dry. Milton, Gibbons, Watson, and Semple all seem to have favored continuing local option in 1912. The press reported only Trammell as favoring prohibition. 36

Claude L'Engle himself provided some entertaining portraits of the candidates during the campaign. L'Engle, a Jacksonville native, began the first of his muckraking papers, the Florida Sun, in his hometown in 1903. He persevered against financial difficulties until 1906, when he moved his paper to Tallahassee, only to go out of business in September 1908. He began a new paper in Jacksonville in 1910, and Dixie continued to be published until 1917. In 1912, L'Engle won a seat in Congress, and although he served only one term, he ceased to edit Dixie after 1913. His papers reflected the thinking of progressives throughout the country in their attacks on child labor, trusts, excessive campaign contributions, impure medicines, and similar abuses. In addition, L'Engle never hesitated to print the names of those he considered unfit to hold public office. 37
Of Gibbons, L'Engle wrote: "Our own open-faced, perenially pleasant Gibbie prints his pictures in the papers and very little else; sends out letters to influential persons, makes a speech here and there, up to this point doing like" the other candidates. However, "there are side-shows in the Gibbons candidacy." Gibbons's "performance in the main tent is to get interviewed by newspaper men in this and other States and have this stuff come out as pure news matter."

Watson fared no better at L'Engle's hand. Watson, he reported, had little ability as a public speaker. Lacking this talent, "John depends on his natural gifts for getting around and hunting them [voters] in braces, in trios, in quartets and even one at a time."

"Milton--Various called Senator Milton, Bill Miltin, W.H. Milton, Mr. Milton, Old Bill Milton and Bill--has a real, sure enough campaign headquarters with hands enough to run it," observed L'Engle. In addition to "using the mails and the newspapers," Milton "has got himself an automobile which he lets Hayes Lewis drive around in, while Bill himself goes around in another automobile used by some good roads boomers of Jacksonville." Milton, concluded L'Engle, was "preaching the propaganda of saccharine salvation for the State."

As for Trammell, L'Engle claimed that he used "the newspapers and the mails like the rest of them, but his chief line of endeavor runs to taking himself around the State, looking and talking pleasant, handing out his literature and tacking up his placards." The editor had seen Trammell "in action" many times, "and he never lets a man get by without an introduction to himself as 'present attorney general of the State of Florida and candidate for governor of the same.' In certain sections favored by Providence but disfavored by Congressmen [Frank] Clark and
[Elsworth R.] Bathrick, Park lets them know that he is one of the trustees in charge of draining and reclaiming." L'Engle considered it impossible to predict the results of the first primary.

The Florida newspapers lined up, for the most part, behind Milton and Trammell in 1912. Gibbons received the support of three influential dailies, however, Jacksonville's Florida Times-Union and Metropolis, and the Tampa Morning Tribune. He also received the endorsement of the Punta Gorda Herald. The Pensacola Journal, Panama City Pilot, Milton Gazette, Arcadia News, Plant City Courier, Jasper News, Apalachicola Times, Marianna Times-Courier, St. Augustine Meteor, and Pensacola Gazette all supported Milton. Trammell won the endorsement of the Volusia County Record, Polk County Record, Lakeland News, Inverness Chronicle, Sopchopy Argus, Havana News, Fort Lauderdale Sentinel, Fort Meade Leader, Lake City Index, Palatka Times-Herald, Santa Rosa Star, and Cottondale News. Watson received virtually no newspaper support, except from the Arcadia Enterprise.

Although the first primary was held on April 30, 1912, the vote canvass by the Democratic executive committee in Jacksonville did not take place until May 9. In the governor's race, Trammell led Milton, 27,111 to 12,409 votes. Watson finished a surprising third with 10,760 votes; Gibbons, fourth, with 10,306; and Semple as expected, a distant fifth with 378. Trammell had done well all over Florida, carrying Escambia in the panhandle and also Leon County. He and Milton would go into a runoff election.

At the April 30 primary, Florida's Democratic voters expressed a preference for Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama over Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey for president, 28,343 to 20,482. For the newly-created position
of congressman-at-large, a fourth seat awarded to Florida on the basis of the 1910 census, Claude L'Engle led over William M. Toomer in a six-man field, 22,074 to 9,710. J.C. Luning led in the state treasurer's race, and W.A. McRae for agriculture commissioner.40

Florida law at this time required gubernatorial candidates to file expense statements ten days before and again after the primary. In the first report, Gibbons claimed to have spent $9,874.72; Milton, $8,943.27; Watson, $4,990.12; Trammell, $2,364.45; and Semple, $325.83.41 The final reports—if accurate—reveal a huge spending flurry by Milton and Gibbons. In the campaign's closing ten days, Milton spent $6,406.77; Gibbons, $6,211.38; Trammell, $877.35; and Watson, $378.10. Semple neglected to file his final report. Trammell seems to have spent the largest part of his early campaign budget on printing ($674.58), stamps ($513.00), and newspaper ads ($443.97). According to his first report, he also expended over $250.00 on travel. He received $260.00 in contributions from A.T. Williams ($150.00), D.H. Sloan ($10.00), and his brother Worth ($100.00).42

In analyzing Trammell's showing, candidate and editor Claude L'Engle remarked:

He [Trammell] surprised everybody, even himself, with the extent of his lead over his nearest opponent. Park has proven that personal popularity is a most favorable asset in primary elections. Everybody likes Park. He uses not the harsh expression, but makes a specialty of the pleasant word. Without any particularly tangible, notable public achievement to his credit, Park has kept his record straight and no one could find a dent in his armor. Every one of them spent a great deal more money than he did, but Park went around treading the primrose path, dispensing his Winsome Winnie smile, keeping his foot steadily on the soft pedal, but going all the time; and he led the nearest one to him so far that it is hopeless for anybody to contend with him in the second [primary]. . . . There is no
chance whatever of beating him. The people came so near choosing him in the first [primary] that the expression of their final will is merely a matter of days.43

Even before the May 9 meeting of the state Democratic executive committee, as returns from around the state continued to come in, Milton's friends began to urge him to withdraw from the second primary in view of what they regarded as Trammell's unsurmountable lead. As late as May 7, partial returns made it unclear whether Milton, Gibbons, or Watson would be eligible for the second primary.44 That made no difference to editor Milton A. Smith of the Tallahassee Semi-Weekly True Democrat, who had not previously supported Trammell, but who now insisted that his closest opponent should withdraw.45 Many other papers, including the Tampa Morning Tribune and Lakeland Telegram, joined this chorus after the final returns became known.46

The day following the committee meeting, May 10, shortly after noon, Milton issued a statement. He said that "after a hotly-contested campaign against four opponents, Mr. Trammell has received 44 per cent of the entire vote cast, and I feel that the people have thereby sufficiently expressed their preference." Therefore, Milton continued, "I do not feel that he should be put to the great additional expense of another primary in order to receive a technical majority." Thus, he concluded, he "would not further contest the nomination." He pointed out that to continue the struggle "would divide the progressive democracy of the State, which is not desirable from any standpoint."47

Although Milton's withdrawal announcement pleased virtually all concerned, it did not satisfy Cromwell Gibbons, and he reacted immediately. Since Milton intended to withdraw, Gibbons claimed for himself the right
to contest the second primary with Trammell. Gibbons went to Tallahassee on Sunday night, May 12, and the following morning filed his case before the Florida Supreme Court. He instituted mandamus proceedings to force Chairman Will Price of the Democratic executive committee to place his name on the May 28 ballot, insisting that Trammell had not won the necessary majority in the first primary.\(^48\)

On Tuesday, the court denied Gibbons's request, saying "the petition does not make a prima facie case justifying the relief sought."\(^49\) Gibbons evidently became rattled, desperate, or simply misunderstood what had taken place in court, for he dispatched J.S. Maxwell to seek a writ of mandamus before Judge I.J. Carter of the third judicial circuit in Live Oak. In fact, however, since the supreme court had exercised original jurisdiction, it had precluded any such appeal to a lower court. When Maxwell became aware of how the supreme court had actually treated the matter, he withdrew the case before Judge Carter.\(^50\) Virtually all the Florida newspapers criticized Gibbons and seemed happy to see him lose his fight.

Simultaneously with Gibbons's actions, another, more serious battle had erupted. On May 11, Frank Walpole, editor of the *Manatee Record*, gave an interview to the *Florida Times-Union* in which he charged that before Milton withdrew, he had made a deal with Trammell.\(^51\) According to Walpole, John T.G. Crawford, son of Secretary of State H. Clay Crawford and a Jacksonville attorney, would be made national Democratic committee-man from Florida, and would attempt to control federal patronage in the state should a Democrat be elected president. Should United States District Court Judge James W. Locke retire, Senator Duncan Upshaw Fletcher would receive the support of both Trammell and Milton to be appointed
his replacement. Milton would then, with Trammell's support, seek
Fletcher's seat. In return, in 1916, Milton would support Trammell in
a contest against Senator Nathan P. Bryan.52

Trammell and Milton instantly rebutted Walpole's charges. They
branded the "suggestion of any trade, deal or combination, as stated
by Mr. Walpole in the Times-Union, or by any other person, as maliciously
and in toto false." At the same time, however, they admitted that they
had met. A "conference" had been held, attended by Trammell, Milton,
John Crawford, Arthur T. Williams of Fernandina, Hayes Lewis, and R.
Hudson Burr. Trammell and Milton denied having discussed the meeting
with Walpole, and both insisted that no "deal, combination or trade" had
been made. The meeting, they explained, had been brought "about by the
friends of Messrs. Milton and Trammell, recognizing the fact that they
were both progressive Democrats, and in an effort to avoid their both
running in the second primary, thereby creating" conflict within "the
ranks of the progressive Democracy in Florida."53

Walpole reiterated his claims on May 14. He stated that Milton and
Trammell had confirmed their presence in Jacksonville politician Hayes
Lewis's hotel room at midnight the previous Wednesday. He claimed that
secret caucuses had gone on for thirty-six hours, culminating in a deal.
As part of the deal, Walpole reported that Milton would be reimbursed
for all of his campaign expenses.

As soon as he had learned of the deal, Walpole continued, he had
warned Milton not to become a party to it. Walpole said that when he
threatened to make the matter known to the public, Trammell had urged
him to wait twenty-four hours. Walpole concluded his additional remarks
by endorsing Gibbons in the runoff primary.54
At this point, Gibbons publicly entered the dispute himself. He told the Jacksonville *Metropolis* that he would not call the deal "fact," but that he believed that it had been made. He described the location of the meeting as the Jackson Hotel in Jacksonville. He believed that Trammell had agreed to appoint Milton to any Senate vacancy which arose while he held the position of governor.55

Once again Milton and Trammell, although this time separately, felt obliged to refute Walpole's story. Milton demanded that Walpole and Gibbons name the person who had told them of the alleged deal. He admitted that there had been a meeting on the previous Thursday night, following the canvass of the vote, at the Jackson Hotel. He further explained that, in addition to himself, Trammell, Crawford, Williams, Burr, and Lewis, Trammell's friend A.J. Angle, Napoleon Broward's brother Montcalm, and Robert McNamee, an attorney, former legislator, and associate of Claude L'Engle, had been present at the gathering. No deal, however, had been contemplated or negotiated, and any stories claiming knowledge of such a bargain came from "slanderers and retailers and manufacturers of falsehoods." The meeting, Milton stressed, had not been secret, and "any gentleman present is at perfect liberty to tell all that occurred and everything that was said at the conference."56

Trammell likewise dismissed Walpole's and Gibbons's remarks as being "unqualifiedly false and untrue from beginning to end." He stated that Walpole had admitted that he felt Milton had ignored him when seeking advice about whether to continue his campaign. Trammell denied that, on the evening in question, he had asked Walpole to wait twenty-four hours before publishing. He said that he had advised Walpole not to publish because Milton had not meant to ignore Walpole.
Trammell inferred that on Friday afternoon, after Milton had announced his withdrawal, Gibbons and Walpole had met and had fabricated "the unsupported, the absurd, the ridiculous and unreasonable story of an alleged deal." Every man present at the meeting would testify against that charge. Milton, said Trammell, had made his decision after consulting his friends and his own conscience, and 99 percent of all Florida's Democrats endorsed his choice.  

Walpole pressed his charges again on May 23. He still believed a deal had been made, he said, but he could not swear to its exact terms. Milton had asked him to stay overnight that evening to attend a conference of his friends at the Jackson Hotel, but he had been denied admittance by a person or persons he failed to name. Walpole claimed that during the 1911 legislative session, R. Hudson Burr had asked him for advice on whether Burr or Milton should run for governor in 1912. Walpole said he had supported Burr, but that when Burr decided to seek a congressional seat, he had agreed to support Milton. Having been consulted before, he thought that Milton should have advised with him again before withdrawing. With this last outburst on Walpole's part, the controversy passed from the front pages.

A curious incident which revealed Trammell's thinking on some very significant political and legal issues arose during the autumn of 1912, shortly before the general election. At that time a new controversy began as to whether or not the secretary of state could place a constitutional amendment which would establish the initiative and referendum on the general election ballot. In 1911, the Florida House had passed a joint resolution amending the constitution so as to provide for the initiative and the referendum. The senate also passed the joint
resolution, but then voted to request the house to return the resolution.

Secretary of State H. Clay Crawford believed that the joint resolution had been passed legally, and he had proceeded with the process of placing the proposed constitutional amendment on the ballot. When opponents began to question Crawford's action, Attorney General Trammell encouraged the secretary in his belief. He formally advised Crawford not to enter into a proposed friendly law suit to determine the issue.

Despite Trammell's advice, conservatives persuaded pliable Governor Albert W. Gilchrist to seek a restraining order against Crawford. In this he proved successful. Subsequently, on October 19, 1912, the Florida Supreme Court ruled against the position taken by Crawford and the attorney general. Trammell, however, had the satisfaction of knowing that two of the justices had agreed with him. He also realized that his stand, coming after the Democratic primary and therefore after his de facto election as governor, could really pose no problem as far as the November general election. Nevertheless, for a cautious man like Trammell to take a strong stand on such an issue—which involved opposing the governor, influential conservatives, and which also involved arguing the case himself—indicates that he probably believed strongly in these two basic progressive reforms.59

William Russell O'Neal, a native of Ohio, became the Republican candidate for governor of Florida in 1912. O'Neal came to the state in 1886 and settled in Orlando, where he prospered as a businessman, banker, and passenger agent for the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad. Trammell defeated O'Neal in the general election by 38,977 votes to 2,646. William Hodges, the candidate of those Republicans who had left their party to
support Theodore Roosevelt's national Progressive Party, gathered 2,314 votes for governor. In presidential politics, the Florida delegation to the national Democratic convention remained faithful to Underwood until the forty-sixth ballot, when they split, seven for Wilson and five for House Speaker Champ Clark of Missouri. In November, however, Wilson won 36,417 votes to 4,535 for Roosevelt and 4,279 for incumbent President William Howard Taft. 60

Not long after the general election, Park and Virgie Trammell paid a social call in Tallahassee on their friends Robert A. and Grace Gray. This was not unusual; the families had been friends for years. Gray had been a classmate of Trammell's friend A.J. Angle at the South Florida Military College at Bartow, and had met Trammell when Park had served in the 1903 house. During the 1912 campaign, Gray had politicked for Trammell at the same time that he had campaigned for his employer, Treasurer J.C. Luning.

Trammell invited the Grays to move into the executive mansion after the inauguration. Virgie, he said, would be lonely when he was away on official business trips, and he would feel better if she had someone with her. The Grays would need to pay only for their meals, at a rate then charged by the boardinghouses in Tallahassee.

After the Trammells had left, Mrs. Gray expressed some concern as to the wisdom of two couples living together under the same roof. She concluded, however, that it could be done, and it could not harm her husband's career in state government, either. Subsequently, the Grays accepted the invitation, and spent four pleasant years with the Trammells. 61
Tuesday, January 7, 1913, dawned warm but overcast in the capital city. Although a few drops of rain fell during the day, they did not interfere with the inaugural calendar. The streets of Tallahassee had been decorated gaily with flags and bunting, as had the temporary platform which had been constructed at the east entrance to the Capitol to accommodate the swearing-in ceremony.

The inaugural parade, made up of bands, soldiers, veterans, and children, plus automobiles carrying officials, assembled at the Capitol at 10:00 a.m. and set off for the governor's mansion. Governor Gilchrist and Governor-elect Trammell and their party joined the cavalcade at the house at 11:00 a.m. The parade travelled south on Monroe Street, past the Capitol, then along the south and west sides of the grounds to the west Capitol entrance. From there the dignitaries proceeded through the Capitol to the platform on the east side.

Governor Gilchrist spoke first, delivering a short farewell address to a crowd estimated at about 4,000 citizens and visitors. He thanked the crowd, reviewed his administration's accomplishments, and then introduced the governor-elect. Newly-selected Supreme Court Chief Justice Thomas M. Shackleford administered the oath of office, and Trammell proceeded to deliver his inaugural address.

Carefully groomed, with his wavy hair trimmed shorter than normal, Trammell scarcely looked his age. He was just three months away from his thirty-seventh birthday. His smile, bearing, and voice radiated quiet confidence. He spoke initially about his happiness and satisfaction upon becoming governor, and pledged to do his best to carry out his duties honestly and efficiently. He then listed twenty-two recommendations that he would offer to the legislature when it convened in the
spring. In his agenda of desirable legislation, Trammell included bills to protect the primary and general elections against fraud, raise the standard of the common schools, stimulate farm activity through the work of the Agricultural Experiment Station at the University of Florida, eliminate the cattle tick, complete the drainage of the Everglades, abolish leasing of state convicts and instead use them to build roads, create an office of labor commissioner to compile statistics and enforce the child labor law, strengthen the railroad commission, and make stricter laws governing the formation of corporations. In addition, he asked for laws to require land developers to have their literature approved by the state agriculture department, add amendments embodying the initiative, referendum, and recall to the constitution, and require public biennial reports of state officers to be published at least thirty days before a legislative session.

It was a typical Florida inaugural address, filled with many promises and much good will. Trammell's audience received it warmly and seemingly with the expectation that his inauguration would usher in an era of good feelings in state politics. It was a time of prosperity for the nation and for the South, and Florida was increasing its population, expanding its industries, and broadening its agricultural base. After Trammell concluded his remarks, the cabinet members presented a silver loving cup to Gilchrist as a gesture of respect. Gilchrist then turned over the Great Seal of the state to Trammell, culminating the symbolic transfer of executive authority.62

Several newspapers pointed out that, although a new governor had been sworn in, continuity had been preserved in virtually all other high offices. Only Attorney General Thomas West was joining the cabinet for
the first time. Secretary of State Crawford had been in office since 1902 and would remain there until 1929. Superintendent of Public Instruction William Sheats was beginning a new term, but he had previously served from 1893 to 1905. Comptroller William Knott had only held that post since February 1912, but had prior served as treasurer of Florida since 1903. Treasurer J.C. Luning had likewise held his job since February 1912, but would continue to do so until 1928. Agriculture Commissioner W.A. McRae, although a veteran of less than a year, was destined to remain until 1923; his successor, Nathan Mayo, continued in office until 1960.63

Following the swearing-in ceremony, a break in the festivities was scheduled. Later that evening, between 8:30 and 10:00, a public reception was held in the executive offices of the Capitol. Then, to cap the day's events, at 10:00 p.m., an inaugural ball was held in the chamber of the Florida House of Representatives, with a sixteen-piece military band from Jacksonville to provide the music for dancing.64 With all due pomp, Park Trammell had been installed as the twenty-first governor of the state of Florida.

Notes


3. Pensacola Journal, March 5, 1911.

4. Ibid., March 5, April 6, 9, 18, 1911; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 2, 1912.


9. Jacksonville Metropolis, September 1, 1911, February 17, April 13, 1912; Pensacola Journal, April 7, 1912.


11. Jacksonville Metropolis, January 16, April 24, 1912.


15. Ibid., September 8, 1911.


17. Pensacola Journal, May 24, 1911.


19. Ibid.

20. Deland Volusia County Record, quoted in Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat, December 8, 1911; [Tarpon Springs?] Florida Leader, quoted in Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat, December 15, 1911.


22. Ibid., December 12, 1911; Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat, December 8, 1911.


24. Jacksonville Metropolis, January 24, 1912; Tallahassee Semi-Weekly True Democrat, March 12, 1912; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 12, 21, 24, 29, 1912.

25. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 12, 14, 1912; Jacksonville Metropolis, April 13, 1912.
27. Jacksonville Metropolis, April 15, 1912.
28. Ibid., April 23, 1912.
29. Ibid., April 25, 27, 1912; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 24, 27, 1912.
30. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, March 24, 29, April 12, 1912.
31. Ibid., April 12, 14, 1912.
32. Ibid., April 16, 1912; Pensacola Journal, April 14, 1912; Jacksonville Metropolis, April 19, 1912.
33. Pensacola Journal, April 21, 1912; Tallahassee Semi-Weekly True Democrat, April 26, 1912.
34. Pensacola Journal, April 24, 1912.
35. Ibid., April 30, 1912; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 29, 1912.
38. Jacksonville Dixie, April 6, 1912.
40. Tallahassee Semi-Weekly True Democrat, May 10, 1912.
41. Ibid., May 14, 1912; Jacksonville Metropolis, April 23, 1912; Pensacola Journal, April 23, 1912.
42. Tallahassee Semi-Weekly True Democrat, May 14, 1912; Jacksonville Metropolis, April 23, 1912.
43. Jacksonville Dixie, May 11, 1912.
44. Jacksonville Metropolis, May 7, 1912.
45. Tallahassee Semi-Weekly True Democrat, quoted in ibid.
46. Tampa Morning Tribune, Lakeland Telegram, quoted in Jacksonville Dixie, May 18, 1912.
47. Jacksonville Metropolis, May 10, 1912; Tallahassee Semi-Weekly True Democrat, May 14, 1912.

49. Jacksonville Metropolis, May 17, 1912.

50. Ibid., May 17, 18, 1912. See also, Pensacola Journal, May 14, 1912.


52. Ibid.


54. Ibid., May 14, 1912.

55. Ibid., May 17, 1912.

56. Tallahassee Semi-Weekly True Democrat, May 21, 1912.

57. Ibid.


59. Florida, House Journal, 1911, 283, 496, 1279-80, 1333, 1362, 1504-05, 1507-08; Florida, Senate Journal, 1911, 410, 633, 1185-88, 1250-55, 1337, 1422-24, 1497-98, 1529, 1543; Tallahassee Semi-Weekly True Democrat, September 3, October 4, 11, 1912; Fort Myers Weekly Press, October 24, 1912; Crawford v. Gilchrist 64 Fla. 41, 59 So. 963 (Fla. 1912); Miami Herald, October 21, 1912; Ocala Banner, November 1, 1912; Jacksonville Metropolis, October 19, 21, 1912; Ocala Evening Star, October 21, 1912; Pensacola Journal, October 20, 1912.


61. R.A. Gray, My Story, Fifty Years in the Shadow of the Near Great ([Tallahassee, 1958?]), 87-88.

62. Pensacola Journal, January 7, 8, 1913; Lakeland Evening Telegram, January 7, 1913; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, January 8, 1913; Tampa Morning Tribune, January 8, 1913.


64. Pensacola Journal, January 7, 1913; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, January 8, 1913.
CHAPTER FIVE

GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA, 1913-1917: PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY IN THE SADDLE

Since the Trammells had already been living in Tallahassee for four years, their move into the governor's mansion caused only a relatively minor upheaval in their lives. They quickly adapted to the house and to their permanent boarders, Mr. and Mrs. Gray. The governor's mansion was in 1913 a new structure, having been occupied first by Governor Broward's large family. It contained fourteen rooms, with a portico or porch on the east and south sides. The rooms on the first floor included an entrance hall, drawing room, sitting room, music room, and dining room.1

The Trammells enjoyed their new home and opened it frequently to their friends, neighbors, and relatives. Brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, cousins and even more distant relations descended on the mansion from the very first.2 When the governor's grandmother Park visited, R.A. Gray decided to make political capital out of the event. He had sentimental photographs taken of Trammell and his grandmother sitting on the porch and then distributed the photos to the newspapers.3

To get to his office in the Capitol, Trammell initially either walked or rode in a phaeton drawn by a black horse. Later, he decided that he wished to own an automobile, so he requested Gray to learn to drive in order that his friend might then instruct him. Trammell bought a second-hand Buick which Gray did learn to drive. He then took Trammell
out on the country roads of Leon County and taught him how to handle the car. The license number assigned to Trammell's car, number 40, ranked far behind Comptroller William V. Knott's Ford (2), Assistant Attorney General Charles O. Andrews's Hupmobile (5), and women's college President Edward Conradi's Ford (13).

Trammell assumed a governorship hedged with restrictions. The post-war constitution which had been written in 1868 by the Republicans had provided for a strong governor who appointed virtually all county office-holders. This had been done in order that blacks would not automatically fill all the offices in those counties where they constituted a majority. When the Democratic county leaders wrote a new constitution in 1885, they reacted against the Reconstruction constitution by stripping the governor of most of his appointive powers, limiting him to one term, and making the cabinet elective. The main duties of the governor under the 1885 constitution were to oversee the administrative branch of government, to serve jointly on various boards, to exercise restricted powers of appointment and suspension, and to prepare a message to each legislature detailing changes or innovations that needed to be made in the laws. Despite his relative lack of power, Trammell had grown up politically under this system, and he felt comfortable with it, both philosophically and emotionally. He did not feel that his powers were too limited and he had no desire to change the system. Even had he wished to do so, the governing power was in the hands of the legislature.

Trammell made his initial appointment an astute one by selecting G. Talbot Whitfield, who had been Governor Gilchrist's secretary, as his own secretary. Whitfield not only knew his job and carried out his functions in an efficient manner, but his wife was Trammell's step-mother.
Thus, in keeping Whitfield on, Trammell not only chose a capable man, but materially aided his father's widow and his young stepbrother, Wilson Trammell. Whitfield remained Trammell's secretary until 1915, when the clerk of the supreme court died and he accepted that position. At that point, Trammell prevailed upon Gray to replace Whitfield. To complete his initial office staff, Trammell hired Walter Bevis and Agnes Williamson as stenographers.

One of the first major vacancies which Trammell had the opportunity to fill was the office of superintendent at the Florida Hospital for the Insane in Chattahoochee, the position which his father had once held. To succeed B.F. Whitner, who resigned on March 1, 1913, the governor persuaded his fellow cabinet members (who comprised the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions) to choose his brother, Worth W. Trammell. Worth held that office until early in the administration of Governor Sidney Catts, when he resigned to become an assistant to Attorney General Thomas West. Like his father, Worth had no medical or psychological training, but generally acquitted himself satisfactorily in his duties.

During the first three months of his governorship, Trammell had the chance to make few other important appointments. Instead, he occupied his time with the day-to-day routine of administration and with writing his first message to the legislature. By the end of March, he had developed an extensive list of observations, suggestions, and recommendations which covered ninety-three printed pages.

On the eve of the legislative session of 1913, it appeared that the progressive element of Florida's Democratic party was solidly "in the saddle." One newspaperman reported that the election of Ion Farris of
Jacksonville as house speaker seemed certain, and that of Frederick M. Hudson of Miami as president of the senate seemed probable. Although Farris was chosen as speaker by acclamation when the house caucused on April 7, the action of the senate caucus in selecting Trammell's old rival Herbert Jackson Drane as president revealed the more conservative configuration of that body.

The 1913 session convened at 12:00 noon, on Tuesday, April 8, and the two houses quickly organized themselves according to the caucus decisions of the previous night. The progressive nature of the house was underscored by the pledge of Speaker Farris to insist that all committee meetings be held openly and that all committee votes be recorded. That evening, United States Senator Nathan P. Bryan addressed a special joint session and appealed for a new primary election law designed to eliminate runoff primaries through the device of first- and second-choice voting.

The senate in 1913 consisted of thirty-two members chosen from districts for four-year terms. One-half of its members were holdovers from the previous session. The house, whose membership was elected every two years, numbered seventy-one representatives elected from their home counties.

In his lengthy message, which was read to the legislature, Trammell covered a wide range of subjects. To combat the influence of special interests, he asked that lobbyists be required to register prior to testifying before committees. He requested that the practice of leasing Florida's state convicts to private persons be discontinued and that the prisoners be put to work on the county roads. He also suggested that a law banning corrupt practices in primary elections be enacted. In addition, his proposals included: continuation of Everglades drainage,
a new child labor law, employer liability laws covering negligence and industrial safety, a strengthened railroad commission, repeal of the railroad land grant law, authority for the governor to lower the state millage on real and personal property taxes, a more stringent law to take advantage of federal legislation against shipping liquor into "dry" counties, eradication of the cattle tick, and abolition of the office of county treasurer.

Trammell also advocated passage of constitutional amendments establishing the initiative and referendum and the recall. He asked that the national amendments providing for a federal income tax and for direct election of senators be ratified. Other major concerns included creation of a state labor commissioner, a state inheritance tax law, and a bank deposit guarantee fund plan.14

In his acceptance address upon being formally elected house speaker, Ion Farris insisted that he would try to prohibit secret sessions of any committee and to require that a record be kept of every committee vote, and Farris largely achieved his objectives. Committee reports to the house in 1913 carried the names and votes of the committee members on each piece of legislation considered.15 Nor did the lower chamber content itself with publicizing the work of legislators in committee hearings; it also sought to bring more light to bear on the activities of lobbyists before committees.

On April 12, Franklin County Representative C.H.B. Floyd introduced a resolution intended to restrict lobbying in the house. Floyd's House Resolution 53, which was adopted by a forty-seven to thirteen tally, required any prospective lobbyist to file an application with the speaker prior to appearing before a house committee. The application had
to include the lobbyist's name, place of residence, and the persons or corporation he represented.\textsuperscript{16} Among those thus forced to register publicly before addressing house committees during the 1913 session were agents of several railroads, including the Atlantic Coast Line and the Seaboard Air Line. Spokesmen for the Western Union Telegraph Company, Southern Express Company, Order of Railway Conductors, and the Order of Railway Telegraphers also made application to testify.\textsuperscript{17} Also on April 12, Representative Edwin Spencer of Marion County succeeded in introducing and having passed a bill to define and regulate lobbying. In the senate, however, it failed when it received an unfavorable report from the Judiciary Committee A.\textsuperscript{18}

The priority issue in the Trammell program for 1913 was a bill prepared by the governor and designed to end the leasing of state convicts. Beginning in 1877, Florida had followed the lead of other southern states by turning control of her convicts over to private interests on a lease basis. This system not only spared the taxpayer the expense of establishing a state prison, and of paying for prisoner maintenance and rehabilitation, but it brought the state substantial income.

Trammell's bill was introduced in the house by Representative Spencer. It proposed to lease the state convicts to the counties for road work, while housing the female and infirm male prisoners at a state prison farm to be built on already-purchased land in Bradford County. The phased plan would eliminate all leasing of state prisoners by 1916. It would also cut off approximately $300,000 a year in revenue which the state gained from leasing the 1,150 able prisoners, primarily for exhausting labor on turpentine farms.\textsuperscript{19}
The Trammell-Spencer bill encountered no difficulties in the house, where it won passage by a vote of sixty to six. In the senate, however, the Committee on Prisons and Convicts proved hostile. That committee introduced its own substitute to the governor's bill even before the latter had reached the senate. The senate first attached dozens of amendments to the house bill, and then voted eighteen to twelve against passage. It then proceeded to pass its own committee substitute bill by twenty-seven to three.

Incensed by the senate's behavior, the house on May 22, by a narrow vote, passed the A.J. Angle bill of 1911. Angle's bill had provided for immediate abolition of state leasing, but had been vetoed on a technicality by then Governor Gilchrist. The 1913 house members quickly realized, however, that they would either have to accept the senate substitute bill or none at all, so on May 27, the house acquiesced and passed the senate measure.\(^{20}\)

The new law established a prison farm in Bradford County and allowed the counties to lease able convicts for road work at the rate of ten dollars per man per month. It continued, nevertheless, to permit those healthy convicts not selected by the counties to be leased to private parties, and it made no reference to the leasing of county prisoners.\(^{21}\) Not until 1919 would the practice of leasing state convicts finally be halted, and both county leasing and corporal punishment of prisoners continued in Florida until 1923.

The governor's second priority in 1913 was to secure passage of an act outlawing corrupt practices in primary elections. In asking for such a law, Trammell entered into a contest with Senator Nathan P. Bryan, who also wanted a new primary law and who came to Tallahassee to lobby in
person for the plan he had in mind. Both men eventually secured the laws they desired, but the notoriety which accompanied the workings (and complications) of the Bryan Primary Law subsequently overshadowed the Trammell law, causing even historians to confuse them and consider them as one law.22

It was suggested in the press during the progress of the Bryan bill that Trammell was attempting to hinder it, fearing that its adoption might aid Bryan in a possible contest between the two in the 1916 senatorial primary. Trammell pointedly denied the charge. He explained that he had sought only a few minor amendments to the bill, although he failed to list those changes he desired.23

Representative W.S. Middleton of Putnam County introduced Bryan's scheme in the house on April 16. It passed that body by a vote of forty-seven to twenty-three on May 9, and enjoyed a friendly reception in the senate, passing on May 23. Its main innovation was to enable voters to indicate a first-choice and a second-choice among the candidates. If a voter's choices finished first and second, only his first-choice ballot counted. If, however, his first-choice was eliminated, but his second-choice finished among the two leading candidates, then his second-choice ballot was counted. This provision subsequently caused a great deal of confusion, particularly in the contested Catts-Knott gubernatorial election of 1916, but it continued on the statute books for many years.

The Bryan Primary Law also took control of the nominating process away from the parties and vested it in the state. Election officials were now appointed by county commissioners and the counting of ballots and reporting of returns fell to county and state canvassing boards.
This destroyed the private nature of the Democratic white primary and made it vulnerable to court decisions which eventually opened the primary to all party members—a result Bryan had neither foreseen nor desired. \(^2^4\)

The Trammell primary bill was introduced in the house by Representative R.R. Tomlin of Hillsborough County, and easily won acceptance in both chambers. The law provided a detailed list of ceilings on campaign expenditures, ranging from $4,000 for candidates for governor and senator to $400 for county officers in counties with populations under 20,000. It prohibited candidates from promising appointments to supporters prior to election, from bribing newspapermen, and from distributing unsigned political literature. In addition, it mandated the filing of three detailed campaign expense statements, two before and one after the primary. \(^2^5\) Idealistic but impractical, the law nonetheless reflected Trammell's highest political ideals. It also exhibited Trammell's natural desire to continue to make it possible for men of limited means—such as himself—to compete in increasingly expensive statewide campaigns. The law was amended in 1927 and repealed in 1949.

Few chapters of Florida history are as complex or convoluted as the attempt, initiated by Napoleon Broward, to drain the Everglades. Briefly, in April 1907, the drainage law of 1905 was declared unconstitutional and the legislature redrew the law, based on the advice of former Governor Jennings. When land company law suits against the drainage tax blocked attempts to finance the project in that manner, the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund and the Board of Drainage Commissioners were forced to turn to large-scale land sales to raise money. During 1908, they sold 27,500 acres at $2 per acre to R.P. Davie and associates of Colorado, 6,422 acres to Walter R. Comfort of New York, 12,000 acres to
J.H. Tatum and Company of Miami, 80,000 acres to the Davie Realty Company, and a staggering 500,000 acres for $1,000,000 on the installment plan to Richard J. Bolles of Colorado and New Mexico.

In January 1910, a compromise legal settlement was reached with the land companies fighting the drainage tax. From that time forward, for a period of two years, the Everglades area experienced a land boom. The rush to acquire real estate in the area was accelerated by frequently deceptive advertising and promotions based in many instances on the questionable 1909 report by federal agriculture department engineer James O. Wright.

By 1912, the very success of Everglades promotion bred a reaction. Out-of-state writers began to question the ethics of the promoters and the feasibility of the entire scheme. Congressional hearings in 1912 brought into doubt the accuracy of the Wright report, and suggested confusion and duplicity by both federal and state officials. The boom in Everglades land sales was effectively punctured and revenues to fund the drainage program declined drastically. In the summer of 1912, Governor Gilchrist journeyed to New York City to try and work out some solution with bankers and financial advisors.26

In the legislature, and as attorney general, Trammell had endorsed the concept and implementation of Everglades drainage. Since the bankers and brokers in the North had explained to Gilchrist that only a bond issue to be paid off by the drainage tax would save the situation, Trammell conveyed that suggestion to the 1913 legislature. The lawmakers responded first by passing Senate Bills 61 and 62, which authorized the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund and the Board of Drainage Commissioners to borrow money to keep the work going on a temporary basis.27
The key measure, House Bill 759, which was introduced by the Committee on Canals and Drainage at the insistence of Trammell and Attorney General Thomas West, created and defined the Everglades drainage district. Most importantly, it allowed for the issuance of up to $6,000,000 in bonds to raise revenue to finance completion of the project. A related bill, Senate Bill 389, which passed without opposition, allowed for the creation, organization, and maintenance of local drainage districts. The trustees simultaneously employed an engineering commission consisting of Isham Randolph, Marshall O. Leighton, and Edmund T. Perkins to reevaluate the entire endeavor.

By 1913, 142 miles of canals and two locks had been finished at a cost of $2,150,000. An estimated 20,000 persons had bought land outright or on the installment plan, but only a few hundred whites lived in the drainage area. Some of the buyers were prospective settlers, but most were small-time speculators. Despite the hopes engendered by passage of the bond issue, the outbreak of the European war in 1914 disrupted the money market and the drainage program came almost to a halt during the rest of the Trammell administration.

The evils associated with the working conditions of young children in the South, particularly in textile mills, stimulated a strong reform movement across the region which also penetrated into Florida. The reformers in Florida, however, were more concerned with the prevention of abuses than with mistreatment in any one industry. In response to Trammell's specific request, the 1913 legislature developed a new child labor law. The groundwork for the governor's request had been laid in Jacksonville in March 1913, when the National Child Labor Committee held its ninth annual meeting in that city. During the course of the meeting,
a group of Floridians organized a Florida Child Labor Committee, headed by John W. Stagg of Orlando, to agitate for a child labor law which--unlike an earlier statute--could be effectively enforced. Such a bill was introduced early in the session by House Speaker Farris and Senate President Drane, based upon bills which Farris had proposed in 1907 and 1909. Unfortunately, the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, a stalwart voice of conservative business interests, feared the implications involved and entered upon a campaign of opposition to the original bill. A weaker committee substitute bill had to be sought.

Senator A.S. Wells of Tallahassee brought forward the bill which was eventually enacted. The new child labor law prohibited a youngster under fourteen from working in a mill, factory, workshop, laundry, mechanical establishment, or on the stage. It limited a person under sixteen to working no more than six days or fifty-four hours a week in such establishments. Employers who violated the law made themselves liable to initial fines of up to fifty dollars, plus additional fines of up to twenty dollars per day.

In addition, the child labor law created a new officer called the state labor inspector. This official, who could be either a female or a male, would be appointed by the governor to a four-year term. He or she would receive a yearly salary of $1,200, plus expenses, to enforce the law and collect statistics.  

To fill the post of inspector, Trammell selected John C. Privett. In a summary of his first year on the job, Privett reported to Trammell that he had made visits to 870 establishments and caused 1,350 illegally-employed children to be discharged, with only two formal prosecutions. During his initial four-year term, Privett made 3,188 inspection visits.
and discovered 3,347 underage employees. As might have been expected, the majority of his work during this period took place in the two urban centers of Jacksonville and Tampa, but Privett also managed to visit virtually every town and city of consequence in the state. At the conclusion of Trammell's term as governor, Privett was retained in his post by Governor Sidney J. Catts.32

Prior to the enactment of modern workmen's compensation laws, a laborer had to go to court in order to obtain indemnity for an industrial injury and consequent loss of wages. In nineteenth century America, such cases came under the common law regarding negligence. If a worker sued his employer over a job-related injury, the court had to determine which party had been at fault, and under the common law, the burden of proof fell on the worker.

Three main defenses were used by corporation lawyers to refute such claims by injured workers. The doctrine of contributory negligence held that if the worker had been to blame for his own injury in any degree, then his employer was not liable. The fellow servant doctrine stated that if a worker had been injured through the negligence of a fellow employee, then the employer was not liable. Under the assumption of risk doctrine, a laborer obtained his position in a dangerous trade with full prior knowledge of its possible risks. Therefore, the employer was not liable if the worker should be injured or killed. Obviously, in the face of these obstacles, an injured worker had very little recourse under the law.

Mounting statistical evidence of the increasing toll of lives and bodies destroyed in industrial accidents led to a reform impulse in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most states passed
employer liability laws, seeking to make it easier for injured workers to sue their employers for negligence. These laws fell into three main categories. Many of them prohibited a worker from signing a contract before beginning work which would in any way prevent him from suing if he later suffered an injury. Others affirmed the right of a laborer's widow or orphaned child to sue over his death through negligence. Still others modified the traditional common law defenses used by the corporations. Eventually, workmen's compensation, which embodied the idea of liability without fault, replaced such employer liability laws—but not until 1935 in Florida.

Trammell's 1913 message dealt with the issues of job safety and the common law relating to negligence, and the legislature passed three laws involving these issues. One concerned the rights of workers in dangerous occupations, a second covered the practice of requiring employees to join relief departments as a precondition of employment, and the third addressed the question of corporate liability in the death through negligence of a minor child. Ion Farris authored the dangerous occupation statute, which removed the doctrine of assumption of risk for dangerous occupations. It stated that assumption of risk could not apply where an employer had been at fault. It also placed the presumption of fault against the corporation, rather than the worker, although it did not change the fellow servant doctrine. It charged the jury in such cases with determining the degree of negligence and with awarding damages.

Farris likewise introduced the bill on corporate relief departments. This bill said that even though an employee might have joined his company's relief association, his membership could not deny him the right
to sue later for negligence. The legislature also passed a bill allowing the father (or widowed mother) of a child killed through negligence to sue, not only for loss of services, but also for mental pain and suffering. Despite the significance of the changes accomplished, Trammell remained unsatisfied, evidently favoring a workmen's compensation system such as the federal government had begun to construct.

In 1897, the legislature had for the second time created a railroad commission. The first had gone out of existence in 1891. The 1913 session responded to the governor's appeal to strengthen that body in several ways. It passed a bill authored by Senator John P. Stokes of Pensacola which amended several sections of the general statutes relative to the commissioners and regulation of common carriers. It also passed a senate bill by W.F. Himes of Tampa which appropriated an additional $10,000 to pay the cost of examining the books and accounts of railroad and transportation companies. This sum, which followed a $25,000 appropriation in 1911, was used by Commissioners R. Hudson Burr, Newton A. Blitch, and Royal C. Dunn to audit the records of the Atlantic Coast Line, the Georgia Southern and Florida, and the St. John River Terminal Company.

The legislature--without prompting by the governor--passed a long and short haul act as well. This measure, which originated in the house, made it unlawful for a freight carrier to charge more for a shorter haul than for a longer haul over the same line in the same direction, or to charge any greater compensation as a through route rather than the total of intermediate rates, subject to the discretion of the commission. At the request of the commission, the legislature also enacted a new and comprehensive telephone and telegraph law. This gave a much more clear,
exact definition of the duties and powers of the commission with regard to those utilities. Some critics, however, maintained that the telephone and telegraph companies supported the bill, preferring state control to more stringent municipal regulation.39

As mentioned earlier, grants of public lands to railroads had aroused great public opposition in Florida since the late nineteenth century. By 1913, much of what had been the desirable public land had already been disposed of in this manner, and the legislature agreed with the governor that reform was long overdue. Senate Bill 63, which passed without dissent, repealed that section of the general statutes providing for such grants.40 After 1913, the remaining railroad land claims were adjusted or dropped.

During the years of the Trammell administration, discontent was beginning to be voiced concerning the state tax system. Many individuals, including a special panel of tax commissioners appointed by Governor Gilchrist in 1911, favored changing the system by halting state taxation of real and personal property and leaving that source of tax revenue exclusively to the counties. Although the 1913 legislature, despite Trammell's request, did not take such action at once, it moved in that direction by two decisions. First, it created a statutory tax commission in an attempt to foster equalization of assessments among the counties. To this board Trammell appointed John Neel, R.J. Paterson, and John S. Edwards of Lakeland, his law partner between 1905 and 1908 and a former Lakeland mayor.41

Secondly, the legislature passed a biennial tax levy bill for 1913-1914 which granted the governor discretionary authority to lower the state millage on real and personal property. Although the rate of
assessed valuation varied widely from county to county, property owners experienced a significant tax savings when Trammell reduced the 1914 millage from 4 mills to 2.5 mills. Thus, although the valuation of property in Florida increased from 1913 to 1914, the state collected $185,000 less in property taxes. 42

The legislators proved themselves a "dry" group by creating two anti-liquor laws to supplement the existing county option plan of prohibition. A senate bill, authored by James S. Blitch from Montbrook, forbade the shipment of liquor into a dry county for any purpose except the private use of a bonafide customer. The legislature followed the Blitch law with another by Senator Charles E. Davis from Madison. The Davis bill was a stringent attempt to regulate saloons in wet counties, and it banned any entertainment, music, or games in such establishments. It also forbade the existence of side doors connecting to adjacent buildings or structures, outlawed the sale of liquor on Sundays and election days, and provided that a barkeeper must not sell liquor to a drunkard when notified previously in writing of the drunkard's condition. 43

Senator H.H. McCreary of Gainesville shared the governor's concern about the effects of the cattle tick upon Florida's cattle industry, which in Alachua County dated back to Spanish times. Cattle-raising, particularly in south Florida, was becoming a major industry. The tick caused cattle to develop a fever of the spleen or the milt, and many died after becoming infected. The ticks also pierced the hides of those that survived, reducing their commercial value. McCreary's bill, which moved easily to passage, authorized the state health board and county commissioners to expend funds in the eradication effort, but granted no
specific appropriation. It also permitted federal officers to be appointed as unpaid agents of the state health board.44

Although his father had once held such an office, Trammell recommended to the legislators that the position of county treasurer be abolished. Accordingly, a joint resolution proposing a constitutional amendment to the 1885 fundamental law was passed. The resolution not only abolished county treasurers, but it called for four-year terms for each county's clerk of the circuit court, sheriff, constables, assessor of taxes, tax collector, superintendent of public instruction, and surveyor. At the general election of November 3, 1914, the citizens voted in favor of the proposed constitutional revision by 14,164 to 6,668.45

The passage of two constitutional amendments frequently identified with the national progressive movement—one embodying the initiative and referendum and the other the recall of public officials—ranked high on Trammell's list of desired legislation in 1913. As mentioned earlier, when attorney general, Trammell had encouraged the secretary of state to place the disputed initiative and referendum resolution passed in 1911 upon the general election ballot, and had fought for his belief in the courts. The house acknowledged the governor's interest by inviting him to be present on April 16 when it passed Speaker Farris's initiative and referendum joint resolution by sixty-one to two.46

When House Joint Resolution 90 arrived in the senate, James E. Calkins of Fernandina moved that it be placed on the calendar without reference to committee, but his motion failed on a tie vote. Calkins next moved that the resolution be sent to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, but Monticello's Daniel A. Finlayson insisted that it instead be referred to the hostile Committee on Constitutional Amendments.
Finlayson's motion failed on an eleven to fifteen count, however, and Calkins's prevailed. Nevertheless, although the committee reported favorably on May 21, the senate took no further action on the Farris resolution.\footnote{47}

The senate also proved unfriendly to the idea of a recall amendment. Although the house passed a recall joint resolution by Polk County Representative J.C. Brown, it was referred to the senate's Constitutional Amendment Committee. After that committee presented an unfavorable report, the senate took no further action.\footnote{48}

Ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, providing for the direct election of United States senators, received Trammell's endorsement, but the governor's wishes were not carried out. Speaker Farris introduced and guided safely through the house a joint resolution of ratification on May 7, but the conservative Senate Committee on Constitutional Amendments returned an unfavorable report on May 14. The committee's vote against ratification came almost a month after Connecticut had become the thirty-sixth state to ratify (on April 8); all that remained was for Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan formally to declare the adoption of the amendment, which he did on May 31, 1913. Despite the stubborn attitude of the committee, the Florida legislature always had made it a practice to elect the voters' choice since statewide primaries had begun in 1902.\footnote{49}

Trammell's suggestion that the legislature ratify the Federal Income Tax (Sixteenth) Amendment met virtually the same fate as his request for ratification of the seventeenth. Columbia County Representative W.J. Feagle's joint resolution passed the house, only to be referred to the Senate Committee on Constitutional Amendments. That body delivered an
unfavorable report and—despite the fact that the amendment had been a part of the Constitution since February 25, 1913—the senate took no action. In 1923, after Trammell had left the governorship, the legislature proposed a constitutional prohibition against a state-levied income tax in hopes of encouraging wealthy persons to reside in Florida, and the voters approved this amendment in November 1924 by better than a four to one margin (60,640 to 14,386).  

Senator Lewis W. Zim of St. Augustine heeded Trammell's plea for the creation of a state labor commissioner by introducing such a bill on April 10. Although the Committee on Organized Labor favorably reported a substitute for Zim's bill on April 23, the full senate did not consider the substitute until late in May. On May 27, Senator Daniel A. Finlayson offered an amendment to the substitute which would have charged the Florida Commissioner of Agriculture with collecting and assembling each biennium for presentation to the governor all available data on labor in the state. The senate passed this amendment, and then agreed to adopt the committee substitute in lieu of Zim's original bill. At that, Zim moved to indefinitely postpone the amended substitute and his motion passed.

Only two 1913 legislators showed a strong interest in creating an inheritance tax as one alternative source of state revenue. On April 19, Representative Floyd introduced an inheritance tax bill in the house, but it died without coming up for a vote. Senator B.H. Lindsey, a resident of Bonifay, introduced a similar bill on May 8, but it, too, failed to receive consideration.

Since Trammell chose to list literally dozens of issues in his message to the legislature, it is difficult to say which meant the most
to him. The proposed reform which he placed at the very beginning of his list, however, had to do with banking. In November 1912, shortly before Trammell assumed office, Florida had contained 174 state banks with total assets of $47,101,431.61, and 48 national banks which claimed resources of $56,323,000. To safeguard the interests of the depositors in these banks, Trammell asked for "a measure providing for and requiring the banks to maintain a bank guarantee fund." Florida, said the governor, "can be among the leaders in this righteous cause, or it can wait until the National government and all of the other States have acted, and then follow as the kite's tail. I recommend action now." Nonetheless, despite Trammell's plea, the lawmakers gave the bank guarantee proposal no consideration. 53

In order to free the legislature from relatively insignificant considerations which often occupied one-half of each session, Trammell asked that cities be empowered to change their own charters. He also suggested that a state road commission be created in order to receive federal funds and aid county roadbuilding efforts, that the railroad commission be given authority to regulate canal companies, and that public notice be required before a city or town council could award a franchise. None of these ideas received serious attention from the legislators. 54

Although Trammell made no recommendation with respect to votes for women, the issue was of considerable interest to many Floridians. The suffrage movement in Florida had originated in 1892, when Mrs. Ella C. Chamberlain of Tampa began to write and speak publicly in favor of votes for women. As a result of Mrs. Chamberlain's efforts, the Florida Woman Suffrage Organization was formed in 1893. Unfortunately, Mrs. Chamberlain
moved out of Florida in 1897, and the woman suffrage movement in the state became dormant until 1912.

In the latter year, the movement revived in Jacksonville with the formation of the Florida Equal Franchise League. Then, in November 1913, a convention in Orlando led to the establishment of the more broadly-based Florida Equal Suffrage Association. Thus, the 1913 legislature met in the midst of a rebirth of interest in the cause and was the first Florida legislature to give serious consideration to the extending of the franchise to women.55

Early in the session, Jeannette Rankin, a suffragette from the far West, arrived in Tallahassee to lobby. Her intellect and bearing during conversations with the lawmakers reportedly gained several converts for her cause, but not a sufficient number. A college graduate and a trained social worker, Rankin subsequently (in 1916) became the first woman elected to the Congress of the United States, being so honored by the voters of Montana.56

H.L. Bussey, a representative from Palm Beach County, introduced a joint resolution calling for a suffrage amendment, which resulted in a committee report tied at four in favor and four opposed. When the entire house considered the resolution on May 2, it failed to approve it by a vote of twenty-six to thirty-nine. Senator Fred P. Cone of Lake City (later governor of Florida, 1937-1941) refused to be daunted by the house action. He introduced his own senate joint resolution on May 7, and it won a favorable committee report on May 9. Cone's plan tied the granting of the ballot to women to a literacy and property test of the type used successfully in other states to strip the ballot from black males. The legislature rejected woman suffrage for the second time on
May 28, however, when the senate postponed further action on the Cone resolution by a single vote. 57

Unwilling to passively accept the status of second class citizens, Florida women carried their fight to the legislature again in 1915, 1917, and 1919, but each time they went away empty-handed. The women of Florida received the right to vote as a class only when the Nineteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution was ratified in August 1920. Not until May 1969 did the Florida legislature see fit to grant ratification. 58

Some other reform bills initiated without prompting by Trammell failed to progress even as far as woman suffrage. Representative J.C. Brown of Polk County introduced a bill limiting work hours and regulating conditions of labor for women which was ignored by the house after an affirmative committee vote. Farris's bill to prevent corporations from firing workers who joined unions passed the house but received an unfavorable senate committee evaluation. 59

In an early instance of the anti-Catholic nativist feelings which would soon afflict Florida Democratic politics, Gadsden Representative Samuel H. Strom offered a bill regulating the dress of teachers. Strom's bill would have prohibited teachers in public schools from wearing religious garb or insignia and would have given county boards of public instruction power to regulate their teachers' dress. When the bill passed the house by a thirty-eight vote margin, Representative Spencer labelled it "vicious," and a group of Catholic citizens of Pensacola wired Senator Drane to protest in the strongest terms against the bill. The Committee on Education of the upper chamber reported the bill without recommendation, however, and it died. 60
The legislature also found time to pass many bills that had not been suggested by the governor. It divided the state into four geographic congressional districts (eliminating the position of congressman-at-large) and it prohibited whites from teaching blacks in black schools, and blacks from teaching in white schools. In the area of conservation of natural resources, it made shellfish and their breeding grounds state property and created an appointive shellfish commissioner to supervise their harvesting. It also declared state ownership of game animals and birds and set up a game and fish department to be administered by a commissioner. Trammell later named T.R. Hodges of Cedar Key to the former post and E.Z. Jones to the latter.

The lawmakers drew the boundaries of three new counties: Broward (from Dade), which was rejected in July by a referendum; Seminole (from Orange); and Bay (from Washington). They set up a hotel commission, and Trammell selected A.L. Messer as its first director. The legislators sought to consolidate the administration of Confederate pensions through a board consisting of the comptroller, attorney general, and governor. To offset rises in the cost of living, they raised the salaries of the governor (to $6,000), the railroad commissioners (to $3,600), the cabinet officials (to $3,600), and the auditor (to $3,000). In addition, they passed several county road laws, amended the Pure Food Act of 1911 by furnishing two more inspectors, appropriated $33,000 to furnish the new Supreme Court Building, changed the name of the Marianna reform school to the Florida Industrial School for Boys, created summer schools for teachers at the three state colleges, set up state registration of nurses, established two rural school inspectors, and voted $10,000 to place a statue of Confederate General Edmund Kirby Smith of Saint Augustine in
Statuary Hall in the national Capitol. Their attempt to set aside a 235,000-acre reservation for the Seminole Indians in the Everglades was vetoed by Trammell, who regarded the Indians as a federal problem.⁶³

Despite the reluctance of the senate in many instances, the 1913 legislature passed a great deal of progressive legislation, frequently at the request of the governor. Ion Farris certainly stood out as the most pro-labor member of either body and the leading progressive reformer. Yet neither he nor the governor could have hoped to see so many liberal measures passed had not the consensus of legislative opinion supported them.

Although Trammell had no personal, organized group of supporters in either house, his measures were often passed because he had articulated the views and intentions of the majority of the lawmakers themselves. Trammell regarded himself as a spokesman and advocate rather than a leader or organizer. He seldom took a direct part in the legislative proceedings, and he had no true lieutenants or followers. He and R.A. Gray did draft sample bills, but only to illustrate his thinking. Those of his ideas which passed did so through the voting and lobbying efforts of progressive legislators who took charge of them. Many of his proposals passed, but not because he pushed or pulled them through the legislative mill. If others had not done the work involved, there would have been no successful Trammell program at all. Obviously, Trammell was even more progressive in his thinking than the legislative majority, for not all of his measures were adopted. Nevertheless, one Florida historian has concluded correctly that "the Trammell administration achieved a record of constructive legislation that rounded out the Populist-Progressive program for the state."⁶⁴
If Farris received the most favorable publicity during the session, Herbert Jackson Drane received the most unfavorable press coverage. As mentioned above, Drane had been an upset winner over Fred Hudson for senate president. In mid-May, a flurry of publicity was caused by the revelation that Drane had been handling all the state insurance business since 1903. In response to a formal resolution of inquiry by the house, the Board of State Institutions revealed that Governor Jennings had commissioned Drane in 1901 to evaluate the manner in which Florida insured its public buildings. An insurance agent, Drane had carried out his commission so thoroughly that, under a 1903 law, he was later selected to handle the insurance business for the board. Since 1903, Drane reportedly had received $97,560.55 in premiums for the state structures. Although Drane's insurance activities had evidently been above-board and legal, a Pensacola newspaper claimed that the Atlantic Coast Line had supported his run for the senate presidency because of his conservatism and would try to help him into the governor's chair in 1916.65

Trammell received very little publicity during the session, perhaps because no "Trammell party" existed and because he took an active role over only two bills--his own convict lease plan and the Bryan primary law. In the house, in addition to Farris, Speaker Pro Tem Edwin Spencer distinguished himself in the progressive cause. In the senate, Lewis Zim and Fred P. Cone often backed liberal measures, while John B. Johnson and Daniel A. Finlayson frequently carried the conservative banner.

On May 20, 1913, Henry M. Flagler, whose railroad, hotels, and land companies had peopled the lower east coast, died at Palm Beach in his eighty-third year. Also during the session, Congressman-at-Large Claude L'Engle raised a commotion over the appointment of a young Jacksonville
politician named John W. Martin as collector of customs at Jacksonville, despite the fact that a reorganization plan would eliminate his job on July 1. It was reported that L'Engle’s revelation had led to demands that a more progressive Democrat oppose Senator Duncan Fletcher in 1914, for Martin was reputedly a close friend of Florida East Coast Line President Joseph R. Parrott.⁶⁶

Life in Tallahassee between legislative meetings was peaceful and exceedingly pleasant for the young governor and his popular wife. The war in Europe seemed far away, and the Florida newspapers largely ignored it until 1917. Virgie Trammell continued to entertain and regularly received visitors on Tuesdays. She took an active role in the women's club, taught Sunday school for Baptist college girls, and sang at numerous church and civic functions.⁶⁷ Her entertaining and social activities, plus the company of the Grays, helped her pass the time when her husband went on inspection trips and travelled to speaking engagements.

The off-year elections of 1914 failed to generate the interest of previous campaigns. John N.C. Stockton tried to oust Senator Fletcher by portraying him as being insufficiently progressive and a lukewarm supporter of Woodrow Wilson, but his strategy was destroyed when the popular Wilson endorsed the incumbent. In the new Fourth Congressional District, William J. Sears of Kissimmee defeated Claude L'Engle.⁶⁸ Virgie Trammell did not become involved in the election, for he was busy with his own official duties and private life. The interval between sessions was undoubtedly a happy time for him, and it passed all too quickly. Two years had gone by, and another legislative gathering was approaching.
When the 1915 legislature caucused on the evening of April 5, the main non-political topic of conversation concerned that day's heavyweight championship fight in Havana. In that contest, Jess Willard had gladdened the hearts of the white lawmakers by knocking out champion Jack Johnson, a Negro, in the twenty-sixth round. Back in Tallahassee, although C.E. Davis of Madison won the senate presidency unanimously, a struggle developed in the house caucus. Gary A. Hardee, an attorney and banker from Live Oak, defeated Forrest Lake of Sanford by a fifty-nine to thirteen vote. When the house organized the next day, it retained the Farris rule requiring that committee votes be recorded. Farris himself had sought and won election to the upper chamber in 1914.

The legislature formally convened on Tuesday, April 6, to hear the governor's message. Since the principle of home rule for Florida's towns and cities continued to make sense to Trammell, he repeated his 1913 request for such a law. The constitution of 1885 had given the legislature the power "to establish and to abolish municipalities," and "to provide for their government." Newly-elected Senator Farris's plan to provide for home rule passed the senate by a close vote and then easily won approval in the house. It gave Florida's cities and towns the power to set up or eliminate their local governments and officers.

The years of the Trammell administration unfortunately witnessed the first great citrus disaster of the twentieth century. Between 1911 and 1913, the bacterial disease called citrus canker appeared in groves and nurseries throughout the peninsula. The canker—which caused trees to drop all their fruit and die—spread rapidly and easily, despite the efforts of the Florida Citrus Exchange, the Florida Growers and Shippers' League, and the railroads to contain it by burning infected trees.
Recognizing the magnitude of the danger, Trammell spent much of his contingency fund to aid the eradication fight, and demanded that the legislature support the effort. To help fight the citrus canker, and to try to prevent the introduction and spread of such diseases, the legislature created a state plant board.72

Senator Frederick Hudson was the author of the Florida Plant Act of 1915. The Hudson law provided that the Board of Control which supervised the university and colleges should also function as a state plant board, with authority to hire a plant commissioner, inspectors, and other personnel. It gave the board an annual appropriation of $35,000, and an emergency appropriation of $125,000.73

The board held its initial meeting in Jacksonville on May 4, 1915, and a special advisory committee took over administration of the eradication effort until August. At that time the board engaged its first plant commissioner, Dr. Wilmon Newell, who subsequently headed the agriculture college, experiment station, and agricultural extension operation at the University of Florida. Newell and his associates relied on quarantines and destruction of diseased and suspect trees to fight the canker. Through September 1916, the private associations and state and federal governments expended the huge sum of $432,462.44 in the crusade. By December 1916, a total of 105,814 grove trees and 2,888,832 nursery trees had been destroyed in order to prevent the spread of the canker. Although the fight had been won by the end of Trammell's administration, the disease did not finally disappear from Florida until 1926.74

When Trammell asked the legislature to cooperate with a new federal law regarding agricultural extension work, he showed his awareness of a movement that had already brought great benefits to his own state and the
entire South. As part of a widespread philanthropic interest in education reform for the South, between 1902 and 1909 the Rockefeller family contributed $53,000,000 to an organization called the General Education Board. This institution realized that poverty constituted the greatest obstacle to education in the region. To fight poverty, particularly among the southern farmer, the General Education Board began to underwrite the farm demonstration method pioneered by Dr. Seaman A. Knapp.

Under the demonstration method, a farmer evaluated new seeds and methods on his own land while being guaranteed against loss; he convinced himself of the efficacy of new ways. When the Mexican cotton-boll weevil invaded the South, the board entered into an agreement to provide funds for demonstration work under the supervision of the United States Department of Agriculture. Despite the weevil, cotton growers produced greater yields.

The number of demonstration agents increased from 24 in 1906 to over 1,000 in 1913. Between 1903 and 1914, the board contributed $925,750 to demonstration work; the national government, $1,922,300; and the states, $1,069,405. In 1909, the Florida legislature made its first demonstration appropriation, and by 1913 the state had 36 male and 14 female agents in the field.

The Smith-Lever Act of May 8, 1914, provided for cooperative agricultural extension work between the federal government and the state agricultural colleges. Agreeing with Trammell's request for matching funds, the 1915 legislature passed a bill by Senator D.G. Rowland of Newberry accepting the provisions of the Smith-Lever Act. It appropriated $7,000 on July 1, 1915, and $12,000 on July 1, 1916. The extension work at the university began under the direction of President A.A. Murphree.
and Peter Henry Rolfs, director of the agricultural experiment station. Extension work carried the knowledge developed by the scientist in the station to the farmer, just as the professors in the agriculture college imparted new ideas to their students on campus.77

Prior to 1915, the state government had no authority concerning the designation, construction, or maintenance of public highways. Each county controlled its own roads through the county board of commissioners. Agreeing with Trammell's request for a state road department to provide expertise and promote cooperation, the 1915 lawmakers passed a bill by Senator W.F. Himes of Tampa creating such an agency. The department was to consist of a board of five members, appointed by the governor, with authority to collect information, hire an engineer, and assist the county commissioners in road building.

The activities of the road department were to be funded by 15 percent of the county automobile license fees. In anticipation of future federal aid, the board was given authority to receive and expend such aid. Trammell's appointees to the board included W.J. Hillman of Live Oak, Ed Scott of Arcadia, J.D. Smith of Marianna, F.O. Miller of Jacksonville, and M.M. Smith of Orlando. An experienced highway engineer from Virginia named William F. Cocke was chosen by the board as the first state road commissioner.

In 1916, Congress passed the Bankhead Act, which gave federal funds to the states for road building. Since Florida had no matching funds or state-wide power to build highways, her 1916 federal allocation of $56,000 was given to the counties. Okaloosa, Columbia, Baker, and Nassau counties received $32,000, and the remainder went to Columbia and Alachua counties. Not until 1917, however, did the road department
receive the legislative authorization necessary to engage in road building. 78

The Bryan Primary Law was slightly amended in 1915 at the governor's urging. The modifications were proposed by W.T. Cash, a representative from Taylor County who in later years became the state librarian and the historian of Florida's Democratic party. Cash's bill replaced biennial registration of voters with permanent registration, except in cities containing over 20,000 residents. It also made a voter's registration good for the general and special elections, as well as for the primaries. 79

The previous session having ended the practice of sending female delinquents to the reform school at Marianna, Trammell pointed out the need for a similar facility for girls. A bill by Senator Glenn Terrell of Webster created a new State Industrial School for Girls, which would be supervised by a woman and would house females aged ten to twenty-one. The bill provided for a $30,000 appropriation for the purchase of land and the construction of buildings, plus a $10,000 operating appropriation through June 1917. The cabinet, acting as the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, located the school on the eastern outskirts of Ocala in Marion County. 80

At the request of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, and because of persistent lobbying by his wife Virgie and May Mann (Mrs. William Sherman) Jennings, Trammell asked that Paradise Key in Dade County be given into the care of the federation for development and preservation as a park. Although a bill to that end was favorably reported in the house on May 8, it did not pass until June 3, and the representatives twice slashed the original appropriation, finally reducing it to only one dollar. Late that evening, just before the session
concluded, the senate approved the transfer of the key. Although Mrs. Jennings and her associates did not secure a practical appropriation for the park until 1921, they had managed to save a unique environmental treasure for the people of Florida. Eventually, in 1947, the key became a part of the Everglades National Park.81

The 1885 constitution provided for a census to be taken in 1895, and every ten years thereafter. Trammell, who had vetoed a census appropriation in 1913 as having been made in the wrong year, pointed out that 1915 was the required time for the legislature to appropriate funds for a census. Hillsborough County Representative W.T. Martin introduced the census bill which the legislature adopted.82 When completed, the census statistics revealed that Florida's population had increased by almost 50 percent between 1905 and 1915, growing from 614,902 to 921,618.83 Even before they funded the census, however, the lawmakers were aware that the legislature was malapportioned. Accordingly, they became the first session since the turn of the century to deal seriously with the issue and passed a proposed constitutional amendment to reapportion.

The plan they proposed—in keeping with legislative apportionment throughout the South—was hardly democratic in nature. In 1915, the senate consisted of thirty-two members and the house numbered seventy-three; twenty-three counties had two representatives and the other twenty-seven had one. The new plan called for one senator from each district and one representative per county for each 10,000 citizens, but each county could have a maximum of only three representatives. Thus, Alachua County, with 35,366 residents in 1915, would have received the same house representation as Duval County, with 94,832 people. The reapportionment amendment was subsequently defeated at the general
election of November 7, 1916, by 10,258 votes to 17,774. It was voted
down by those opposed to any change and by those who realized it did not
really solve the problem. 84

Despite Trammell's partial victory over the convict lease system in
1913--the establishment of a prison farm in Bradford County and the
working of state prisoners on county roads--the private leasing of state
convicts continued. A total of 960 black males and 160 white males were
leased afterwards by the state to private parties for the two-year
period 1914-1915. In the face of persistent reports by state inspectors
of abuse of the convicts by greedy businessmen and sadistic guards,
Trammell reiterated his plea for a total end to state leasing. 85

Unfortunately, the legislature again turned a deaf ear to the
governor. It refused to halt such a lucrative source of income for the
state. It did, however, in a blatantly racist move, put a stop to the
leasing of white men to private interests. A bill written by Representa-
tive A.D. Andrews of Bradford was replaced by a substitute from the
house Convict Committee which eventually won approval, and which provided
that prisoners could be worked no more than ten hours a day. More
important, it called upon the prison physician to divide the convicts
into three classes: male blacks who had served less than ten years,
women and infirm men, and white males and black males who had served ten
years or more. Only the men in the first class--young black men--could
be privately leased if not taken by the counties for road work. Under
the 1915 act, the counties leased only 30 men from Class I
and 62 from Class III, while businessmen leased 730 others at $325.25
per year for two years. Once again, state leasing, with all its attendant
brutality, defied Trammell's efforts to end it. 86
Although Trammell again favored the start of a system of workmen's compensation to eliminate the need for costly litigation, he was disappointed. Farris's senate bill to set up an industrial accident board empowered to award compensation for injuries, and a similar house bill by W.M. Hurtenbach, received no serious consideration. Likewise, despite favorable committee reports, measures to abolish the doctrines of contributory negligence and assumption of risk were ignored.87

Labor bills generally fared poorly in 1915. Interest in reform measures of all types decreased somewhat in Trammell's second legislature, although the governor lost no enthusiasm and the house remained, as usual, more liberal than the senate—a condition which has continued throughout this century. Perhaps the election of Farris to the senate helped neutralize that zealous reformer and also deprived the house of one of its staunchest progressives.

The only exception to the poor performance of labor measures was Senator Arthur E. Donegan's bill to raise the pay of the labor inspector. Trammell had requested that the salary be increased from $1,200 to $1,500, but Donegan's bill provided a $600 increase.88 Other bills to create a bureau of labor statistics with a labor commissioner, to restrict the issuing of injunctions in labor disputes, to limit the hours of female workers to nine per day and fifty-four per week, and to establish an eight-hour day for government workers all failed without being voted upon.89

Although the house was willing, the senate refused to give Trammell the graduated inheritance tax which he sought. Orange County Representative A.B. Newton produced a bill which won house approval on May 24. It provided for a tax of 1 percent on estates worth between $30,000 and
$50,000; 2 percent between $50,000 and $100,000; 3 percent between $100,000 and $150,000; and 5 percent over $150,000. The Newton bill was favorably reported in the senate on May 27, but after that no action was taken upon it.  

The initiative, referendum, and recall failed to interest the 1915 lawmakers, despite Trammell's continued insistence that they be enacted into law. Representative J.J. Paul of Columbia County, however, refused to allow his fellows to ignore the woman suffrage question as well. Paul introduced a suffrage amendment on April 8, but it received an unfavorable committee report, and then failed to achieve a three-fifths majority in the full house. Nevertheless, a special act did pass in 1915 which permitted women to vote in general and special municipal elections at Fellsmere in Saint Lucie County. This act constituted the beginning of woman suffrage in Florida.

Another proposed amendment, introduced by Representative W.J. Crosby of Marion County, attempted to disfranchise Florida blacks by means of property and literacy tests. Crosby's amendment also contained the typical "grandfather clause," which exempted poor whites from the literacy and property qualifications if they or their ancestors had been entitled to vote on January 1, 1867. Although the Crosby amendment eventually passed both chambers by wide margins, it was decisively rejected at the polls (by 10,518 to 19,688 votes) in November 1916. No doubt the large number of poor whites attracted to the voting places on that date by the candidacy of Sidney Catts were fearful the law would be turned against them.

Although Trammell did not demand the enactment of a prohibition law in 1915, he did participate in a giant prohibition demonstration in
Tallahassee which took place on April 8, the third day of the session. The demonstration consisted of a parade including automobiles, horse-drawn vehicles, floats, and marchers. It ended at the Capitol steps, where Trammell introduced the main speaker, Howard Hyde Russell, a Congregational minister and a founder of the National Anti-Saloon League.93

Spurred on by Russell's oratory, Theodore T. Turnbull, a Jefferson County representative, subsequently offered a constitutional amendment embodying prohibition which passed the house by fifty-six to fourteen. The senate, however, barely failed to give the measure the necessary three-fifths approval, as it voted eighteen for and thirteen against passage. Although prohibition did not succeed, an anti-saloon law was passed--known as the Davis Package Act after Charles E. Davis of Madison--stipulating that liquor could only be sold in sealed containers no smaller than one-half a pint. The law also forbade the consumption of alcohol on the premises where it was sold.94

Going beyond what the governor had sought in his program, the 1915 legislature authorized a central bureau of vital statistics, provided for a state hotel commissioner, and mandated yearly medical inspections for school children. It enacted a county option school attendance law, by which children eight to fourteen years of age could be required to attend public school at least eighty days each year. It passed laws abolishing the office of county treasurer (as provided at the 1914 general election) and depositing county funds in banks, placing the salt water fishing industry under the supervision of Shell Fish Commissioner Hodges, and returning ownership and protection of wild birds and game to the counties. A Pure Spirits of Turpentine Act sought to guarantee the quality of naval
stores shipped from the state. Although attempts failed to have county officials be paid salaries instead of collect fees, a bill did pass which required all county officers receiving fees to keep records and report their transactions to the comptroller. Finally, Broward and Okaloosa counties were created in 1915.95

A strange series of events which occurred during the session began on April 8, when Trammell named Attorney General Thomas West to succeed J. Emmett Wolfe as judge of the first judicial circuit. Trammell immediately appointed O.K. Reaves, a Bradenton attorney whom he had earlier made a circuit judge, to become the new attorney general. Two days later, however, West changed his mind and retracted his resignation, because he said he felt an obligation to complete his term. Trammell thereupon turned to Angus G. Campbell, a lawyer and politician from DeFuniak Springs, to replace Wolfe.96 Trammell's rapid appointments illustrated both his familiarity with local politics around the state and his disinclination to allow patronage posts to remain unfilled and generate competing candidates.

On balance, Trammell faired quite well with his two legislatures. In 1913, he gained his own corrupt election practices act, the $6,000,000 Everglades bond issue, a labor inspector to enforce the strengthened child labor law, and the tax commission. The second session passed municipal home rule, established the plant board, continued agricultural extension, set up the road department, amended the Bryan Primary Law, and provided for a girl's reformatory. Although Trammell deserves credit for his stand, he did not manage to have the private leasing of state convicts halted. His other major disappointments were his failure to see enacted the initiative, referendum, and reform, a bank deposit
guarantee law, a preliminary workmen's compensation plan, and a graduated inheritance tax.

Throughout his term, Trammell's relations with the legislators (and practically everyone else) remained friendly. He never cast aspersions upon them in public, or sought to appeal to the voters over their heads. He acquiesced in the role given to him by the constitution and rarely sought to use his limited appointive powers—many of which were shared by the cabinet—for leverage.

Trammell's appointees were chosen from among the men he knew to be his faithful supporters at election time, rather than backers of his legislative message, for he was happy as a politician and intended to remain in public office. Throughout his career he kept mental notes on his supporters in all areas of the state. This knowledge enabled him to make rapid appointments, which helped prevent jealousy from arising among his friends over long-vacant jobs.

Trammell's appointment of the experienced Whitfield as his secretary requires no justification; his choice of his brother Worth as superintendent at Chattahoochee, while not inspired, at least proved satisfactory. His patronage of Robert A. Gray, a bright young man on his way up, remains a testimony to his own political astuteness. His reappointments of P.K. Yonge (in 1913) and E.L. Wartmann (in 1915) to the Board of Control suggest that he was impressed by the sound work those men had done in keeping politics out of education. Trammell never tried to build an ideological faction, only a network of reliable friends, and none of his nominees encountered great opposition at the time of their selection. Only Shell Fish Commissioner Hodges eventually aroused public wrath, and that was due to his strict interpretation and zealous
enforcement of the law rather than inefficiency or corruption. Because of his proven ability to bring significant issues to the attention of the legislature, his persistence in advocating needed reforms, and his careful appointments, Trammell must be judged a very successful governor.

Notes

1. R.A. Gray, My Story, Fifty Years in the Shadow of the Near Great ([Tallahassee, 1958?]), 96.

2. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 24, May 2, 15, 17, 22, 1913, April 20, 29, May 7, 13, 21, 24, 27, June 2, December 3, 1915, January 5, 6, July 4, September 20, 1916.


4. Ibid., 91.

5. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, November 6, 1915.

6. Ibid., April 16, 1915; Jacksonville Dixie, June 12, 1915.


8. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, October 3, 1916, January 5, 1917; interview, Mr. Walter Price Bevis, April 10, 1975, Tallahassee.


12. Ibid., April 8, 1913.

13. Ibid., April 9, 1913.


15. Pensacola Journal, April 9, 1913.


17. Ibid., 2766-67.


54. Ibid., 71, 68-69, 58.


65. Pensacola Journal, April 8, 9, May 15, 16, 17, 18, 24, 1913; Florida, House Journal, 1913, 1374, 1752-93.


68. Wayne Flynt, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, Dixie's Reluctant Progressive (Tallahassee, 1971), 68-71; Dovell, Florida, 1:737.


70. Ibid., April 6, 7, 1915; Florida, House Journal, 1915, 263.


83. Florida, Department of Agriculture, Fourth Census, 1915 (Tallahassee, 1915), 15.


When Trammell became governor of Florida in 1913, the state constitution prohibited him from seeking reelection. Having achieved the highest state office, and preferring the holding of public office to the practice of law, his gaze moved toward available federal offices. The two most likely spots which would be attainable in 1916 consisted of the United States Senate seat held by Nathan Philomen Bryan and the First Congressional District post occupied by Stephen Sparkman.

A political opportunist and a man who always looked ahead, Trammell indicated at the end of January 1915, only halfway through his term as governor, that he intended "at a later date to become a candidate for congress from the First Florida district."¹ Herbert Drane of Lakeland had already announced for the seat, and most commentators expected Congressman Sparkman to seek reelection. In addition, Trammell's longtime friend Allie J. Angle, then harbor-master at Tampa, had expressed an interest in the post.²

By spring 1915, Trammell had begun to change his mind. On May 12, in response to a reporter's question, he stated, "I have nothing to say in that connection just at present," but admitted with a smile that he might have something to give out at an early date.³ Two factors undoubtedly influenced Trammell's reasoning. First, he realized that a
Senate seat was much more prestigious, secure, and desirable than a House position. Actually, he had had ambitions to go to the Senate as early as 1908, but had temporarily sidetracked them.

Second, the always politically-aware Trammell must have perceived the danger that Sidney J. Catts's gubernatorial campaign would pose to the reelection hopes of Senator Bryan. Even before Trammell had tentatively decided to run for Congress, astute newspapermen such as Charles E. Jones of L'Engle's *Dixie* had warned that Catts had struck a resonant note of nativism among Florida's rural white masses. The Guardians of Liberty, "a secret political society," wrote Jones, had offered "a candidate for governor in the person of one Catts, who came here [to Florida] a few years ago from Alabama." The Guardians of Liberty, Jones reported, would "oppose Nathan P. Bryan for reelection . . . because Senator Bryan decreed to select P.A. Dignan [Peter A. Dignan, a Catholic] for postmaster [of Jacksonville]." The Guardians, continued Jones, would "also oppose Governor Trammell."

The 1916 Florida Democratic primary races for governor and United States senator cannot be comprehended separately. The contest for the governorship directly influenced the Senate race. The key figure in the race for governor, Sidney J. Catts, defined the issues in both contests.

Sidney Johnston Catts came to Florida in 1911, when the First Baptist Church of DeFuniak Springs in Walton County called him to become their pastor. Born on July 31, 1863, on the family plantation, the son of a Confederate cavalry captain, Catts suffered an injury at the age of three which permanently blinded his left eye. Catts's family continued to enjoy some affluence after the war, and he received a good education for the times, and acquired a continuing interest in history, the classics,
and language. Although he received a law degree from Cumberland University in 1882, Catts underwent a conversion experience in 1886, and began to preach in a number of Baptist churches in his native Alabama. Despite his lack of formal theological training, Catts became a popular preacher in central Alabama's "black belt" of counties.

Catts proved himself a passionate speaker as a minister, although his pride and temper caused problems for him on more than one occasion. A hard-working and frugal man, Catts shared the views of his parishioners on subjects such as the need for prohibition and the inherent inferiority of blacks. He also displayed an abiding hatred of Catholicism which was generally typical of white rural Protestants in the South, although he proved able to maintain that hatred on an abstract level, as he did with his racist feelings. Despite his prejudices, he kept up friendly relations with individual Catholics and blacks, including Booker T. Washington.

Catts entered politics in 1904, when Alabama Congressman Charles W. Thompson died. He joined a six-man race, dominated by the candidacy of then-Secretary of State J. Thomas Heflin. While Heflin entertained his audiences, Catts campaigned on a high and sober plane and lost the election. Nevertheless, although Heflin doubled his vote, Catts managed to finish second, and thus encouraged, he never again shook off the political fever which had gripped him. He learned from Heflin that an incumbent with organized strength could only be unseated by a personal, impolite, non-issue oriented struggle.

During the years of his Alabama ministry, Catts's economic situation deteriorated. The boll weevil invaded his cotton fields, and bad crop years and tenant problems plagued him. Catts had almost decided to become
a professional orator on the Chautauqua circuit when a banker named Vinson persuaded the DeFuniaq Springs church to call him.

In Florida, Catts received less than $100 per month, and he never really enjoyed his pastorate. After three years, the combination of low pay and the familiar pattern of a clash in personalities between preacher and congregation led to his resignation. In order to pursue his dream of reentering politics, Catts took a job as a traveling insurance salesman for the Fraternal Life Insurance Company.

Catts could have picked no better way to further his cause. His new employment took him into the smallest villages and most remote rural areas of Florida. Here he met the forgotten white citizens of the state, gained their friendship, and learned their frustrations and grievances. Based upon what he saw, Catts determined in 1914 to run for governor of Florida two years hence. Jerry W. Carter, an itinerant sewing machine salesman who became one of his earliest and his longest-lived associates, tried to persuade Catts to run for Congress, but he had made up his mind.

As in Alabama, Catts saw his path to high elective office blocked in Florida by a group of men who had served the required apprenticeships in party and public service and had acquired political reputations and contacts. Furthermore, Catts was a relative newcomer to the state, DeFuniaq Springs was not a viable political power center, and even there Catts had little influence. Thus, too old and unwilling to seek the traditional path to high office, Catts looked to the residents of the panhandle for a pathway to the governor's mansion, and he found it in religion.
Catts's biographer has perceptively pointed out that many Protestant church leaders and members of the progressive era displayed an increasing interest in social and political problems. The increasing social involvement of the progressive Protestants sometimes strengthened a long history of nativist ("anti-foreigner") and anti-Catholic prejudice. This was particularly true of those who had long been involved in the struggle against liquor and what they regarded as its destructive effects.

In 1911, a new nativist organization called the Guardians of Liberty appeared, headquartered in New York, and led by a large number of prominent clergymen, military officers, and businessmen. This semi-secret organization was viewed immediately as being directed primarily against Catholics. The South proved a receptive audience for the Guardians and similar organizations, with its strong pattern of religious fundamentalism and fraternalism.

In Florida, the Baptist clergy raised the strongest outcry against Catholics and foreigners, even though the Baptists constituted the largest religious denomination in the state in 1916. The Baptists boasted 57,732 members organized into 686 churches, while the Methodist Episcopal Church claimed 51,505 members in 590 parishes. The Roman Catholic membership of 24,650 persons made that church only the fifth-largest in the state; in property values it ranked sixth.

Although Florida had sought in many ways to acquire immigrants after the Civil War, many residents began to change their minds in the years after 1900. Religious prejudice contributed to this change in opinion. In 1909, former Georgia Populist leader Thomas Watson began a series of anti-Catholic articles in his Jeffersonian newspaper, which was widely read in Florida. Anti-Catholic societies began to be formed. In 1910,
one such society hurt Lewis Zim, a St. Augustine Catholic running for Congress against Frank Clark. Thus, it was within the context of a state and nation experiencing a decided rise in nativist feeling and religious bigotry that Catts sought for an issue which could propel him into the governor's chair.

A perceptive man as well as something of a showman on the political platform, Catts found his constituency and his issues along the backroads and trails, on the farms and in the small towns. He travelled ceaselessly, selling insurance, quoting Scripture, making friends, and listening to people. To Protestants he spoke of the Catholic menace and the need for prohibition. In fishing villages, before Catholic fishermen, he attacked the state game laws and the enforcement policies of Shell Fish Commissioner T.R. Hodges. He learned the complaints of each audience and told them what they wanted to hear. In short, he found the issues to make his supporters overcome their apathy.

Although Catts went on to win the June Democratic primary against respected but relatively colorless state Treasurer William Valentine Knott, the state supreme court eventually awarded Knott the victory when he appealed irregularities in the vote count. Campaigning against Knott as the Prohibition party candidate, Catts won handily in the regular election as Democratic voters registered their disapproval of the court's decision.

The most exciting moments of the two campaigns came when the state Democratic executive committee passed resolutions, known as the Sturkie Resolutions (although authored by John M. Barrs), designed to prevent members of secret nativist societies from voting in the Democratic primary. These resolutions, directed against the anti-Catholic bias to which Catts
appealed, backfired on their proponents. Not only did the fight within the committee and party for their repeal benefit Catts, it also benefitted Trammell. When he attacked the resolutions as themselves being violations of freedom of religion and freedom of speech, Trammell appealed to the nativist vote. When Senator Bryan foolishly chose to champion the resolutions on high moral ground, he made a fatal political mistake. Bryan ignored the fact that the Sturkie Resolutions actively discriminated against thousands of loyal if bigoted Florida Democrats, while Catts's flexible campaign verbiage constituted nasty but purely verbal abuse.

On June 22, 1915, Trammell released a short announcement indicating that he had determined to make the Senate race the following year. As always, he stated that he would run on his record and that he would depend on the help of his numerous friends throughout Florida. He added that he would not begin campaigning actively for several months.

The Jacksonville Metropolis sought the reaction of Senator Bryan to the governor's announcement, and received a surprisingly frank, humorous, and irreverent reply. Asked what he thought of the news, Bryan responded: "Well, there is not much 'news' in the announcement." He pointed out, and accurately, that the governor had "been running ever since he was elected." "But," interjected the reporter, "he announced for representative from the First District?" "Maybe he is still running for that," Bryan responded, smiling. "I have seen no statement from him that he has withdrawn from that race, and, therefore, suppose that he is a candidate for both places."

"Not at the same time?" came the reply. "Why not?" said Bryan. "He would have two chances instead of one and perhaps his wonderful record which he promised to tell us about at an early date, coupled with
his powers of oratory, equal to, if indeed they are not the same as those of Henry Grady, entitle him to generous treatment at the hands of the people of Florida." 

Bryan's reference to Henry Grady related to charges that at various, never-specific times and places in the past, Trammell had borrowed widely from the speeches of that New South spokesman—without giving credit. The anti-Trammell press, and Bryan, continued to accuse Trammell of plagiarism throughout the campaign.

Nathan Bryan, the older brother of William James Bryan, was born near Fort Mason in Orange (now Lake) County, Florida, on April 23, 1872. He graduated from Emory College in Oxford, Georgia (now Atlanta's Emory University), in 1893, and from the law department of Washington and Lee University two years later. He then began the practice of law in Jacksonville. His brother joined him upon his own graduation in 1899.

The two brothers became interested in politics and subsequently managed and helped finance the successful gubernatorial campaign of their cousin, Napoleon Broward. In gratitude, and with confidence in his abilities, Broward appointed Nathan Bryan the first chairman of the Board of Control when the legislature created that body in 1905 to oversee the state colleges. When Will Bryan died in March 1908, Broward offered to appoint his brother to fill out the remainder of his term, but Nathan refused and urged Broward to seek the position.

Although Broward took Nathan's advice, ran in 1908, and lost to Duncan Fletcher, he did not give up. In 1910, Broward ran against the incumbent, Senator James P. Taliaferro, and his former supporter, Claude L'Engle. In the first primary, Broward led Taliaferro by less than 100 votes. In the runoff, he increased his margin of victory to over 2,000. Then, unexpectedly and suddenly, Broward became ill and died on October 1, 1910.
Faced with this second tragedy, Nathan Bryan decided that he must try and finish what his brother and friend had sought to accomplish and keep their ideals alive. He entered a special election in February 1911, against John N.C. Stockton, another Broward friend, and William A. Blount of Pensacola. Bryan and Blount went into a second special primary, which the former won. The legislature then elected him to the Senate vacancy; the passage of the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution made Bryan the last Florida senator so chosen.  

Two other major candidates, besides Trammell and Bryan, sought the Democratic senatorial bid in 1916--wealthy businessman Perry Wall of Tampa, and former Governor Albert W. Gilchrist of Punta Gorda. Perry G. Wall was the son of William W. Wall and the grandson of another Perry G. Wall. His grandfather, who had been a judge in Hernando County, Florida, moved to Tampa in 1871, and resided there until his death in 1897. Between 1875 and 1879, he served as postmaster at Tampa. William W. Wall came to Tampa at the close of the Civil War and entered into the mercantile business, as well as helping found the Tampa Steamship Company.

Perry G. Wall, the younger was born in Hernando County in 1867. He received his formal education at the East Florida Seminary in Gainesville and at a military school in Asheville, North Carolina. In January 1884, in association with H.L. Knight, he established the Knight & Wall hardware business. Wall had held numerous civic and elective offices in Tampa and billed himself as a businessman rather than a politician. His most consistent newspaper support came from the Tampa Times and his candidacy never really threatened the two leaders.

Albert Waller Gilchrist, Florida's governor from 1909 to 1913, was born on January 15, 1858, in Greenwood, South Carolina, while his mother
was away from her Florida home. He attended the Carolina Military Institute at Charlotte, North Carolina, and also the United States Military Academy at West Point, but did not graduate due to a deficiency in one course. Gilchrist took advantage of his West Point training to become a civil engineer, real estate dealer, and orange grower in southwest Florida. In 1893, 1895, 1903, and 1905, he represented DeSoto County in the state house of representatives, and was elected speaker in 1905.

Gilchrist ran for governor in 1908 as a middle-of-the-road candidate, using as his motto the device of three monkeys captioned: "Hear no evil, speak no evil, see no evil." His declaration of opposition to a statewide prohibition referendum in favor of continuing the county-option plan constituted his only strong stand during the campaign. The corporation interests fought his competitor, Browardite John N.C. Stockton, and Gilchrist carried the election.

While governor, Gilchrist supported the Everglades drainage program. In addition, perhaps because of his background in real estate, he made numerous trips to northern and western states to promote Florida. Two events of importance for those interested in the development of the peninsula took place during his tenure: the 1912 completion of the overseas railroad to Key West and the Florida Coast Line Canal from the St. Johns River to Biscayne Bay. A genial man, Gilchrist lacked the brilliance of Bryan and the sagacity of Trammell. He tried to conduct a campaign similar to Trammell's in 1916, but did not have the ability to carry it off. He could not win in an election in which a stand or a semblance of a stand was essential.
On January 6, 1916, the state Democratic executive committee met in Jacksonville. At that meeting, R.B. Sturkie of Pasco County introduced a motion containing several points which ultimately caused more damage to the cause of Senator Bryan than any other event in the campaign. Section four of the Sturkie proposal required that a voter not be influenced in his voting "by any religious test or on account of religious belief, denomination or sect with which the candidate is affiliated." Section five demanded that each Democratic voter pledge "that he is not a member of any secret organization which attempts in any way to influence political action or results." These proposals, intended to apply to voters wishing to participate in the state Democratic primary, and which became known as the "Sturkie Resolutions," had been authored not by Sturkie, but by John M. Barrs of Jacksonville. Barrs had been a long-time friend and supporter of the late Governor Broward, and of Nathan Bryan.

One Florida political writer has concluded that Barrs actually aimed the resolutions not at Sidney Catts—who had not yet begun to be perceived as a threat by the regular Democratic hierarchy—but at a man named Billy Parker and the Jacksonville chapter of the Guardians of Liberty. Parker had come to Jacksonville in 1914 from Pennsylvania, and had immediately begun to stir up local animosities against Catholics. He particularly objected to the recommendation made in 1914 by Bryan that a Catholic, Peter Dignan, be appointed postmaster at Jacksonville.

As soon as the action of the committee in adopting the resolutions became known, protests began. Former Governor Gilchrist announced from Punta Gorda that: "There should be no restrictions placed upon a white voter, voting in the Democratic primary, other than he will not vote against any of the State, Congressional and County nominees of the
primary." "This," Gilchrist continued, "is the first time in the history of the State in which a religious test has ever been applied to a voter." The committee's action, he declared, was "against the spirit of the Constitution."20

Governor Trammell, who had been in south Florida on an Everglades inspection trip, joined the chorus of protest on his return to Tallahassee. Trammell labelled the Sturkie Resolutions "uncalled for, arbitrary and in conflict with the spirit and fundamental principles of Democracy." He denied that he belonged to any group mentioned in the resolution, but called upon the committee to "reconvene and rescind the resolution in question."21

In a letter to committeeman J.S. Smith of Green Cove Springs, Trammell hinted that the resolutions had been intended to help a "certain candidate," meaning Bryan. He went on to paint a frightening picture of the consequences of the committee's deed:

Are there not members of the fraternal orders whose members [sic] might feel this resolution so far reaching as to be aimed at them and they might hesitate to take the oath prescribed? Might not some members of organized labor feel that they were included? The Farmers Union might also accept the resolution as including them. . . . Who knows what collection of Democrats may in the future be made victims of such drastic and discriminative policy. . . .

Recently the Florida Conference of the Methodist Church assembled in Tampa, urged the members of that church to favor men for public office who believed in a prohibition of the liquor traffic. Would the Committee exclude the members of the Methodist Church?

The Florida Baptist Convention has in the past adopted resolutions along this line. Would the Committee exclude the members of the Baptist Church?22
Despite the outbursts by Gilchirst, Trammell, and other individuals and organizations, Chairman George P. Raney declined during January to recall the committee to reconsider the resolutions. Raney contended that the resolutions did not constitute a religious test for voters or candidates, but instead eliminated the possibility of such a test. Members of the party hierarchy, such as gubernatorial candidate William Knott, and many newspaper editors supported the resolutions.

In a letter to the editor of the Gainesville Sun, Bryan denounced Gilchrist and Trammell and stated that the resolutions had been directed only against nativist organizations such as the Guardians of Liberty, whose members sought the defeat of the incumbent Democratic president of the United States. "The resolution," claimed Bryan, "was not prepared at my request, nor for my benefit. But I did, at the time it was offered, and do now approve of its provisions." Patriotic Democrats would soon "learn the truth" and then "repudiate these [nativist] societies and their leaders, and endorse the action of the State committee."

Protests continued to mushroom, however, and in mid-February, Chairman Raney called the committee back into session. Lively debate continued up until the scheduled meeting date of February 24. Newspaper advertisements by Trammell demanded that sections four and five be rescind and taunted: "Senator Bryan seems to want all of the religious liberty for the candidate and none for the voter." Bryan chose the evening before the committee would reconvene to open his campaign against Trammell. Addressing a crowd estimated at 1,500 in Jacksonville's Morocco Temple, Bryan announced his intention "to charge Governor Trammell with abandoning the duties of his office to further his political ambitions, with using his appointive powers to pacify secret political
societies, with plagiarism, with nepotism in office and with using his office for his own personal advantage. 28

Bryan's determined speech was well received by his hometown audience, and only served to heighten political excitement in the city. The following day when the committee met, such a large crowd appeared to witness the proceedings that they had to be moved from the Seminole Hotel to the Morocco Temple. After two hours of debate, the committee voted twenty-six to fourteen to repeal sections four and five. Bryan and Trammell both attended the meeting as interested spectators. 29

Even after the vote for repeal, Trammell continued to use the issue of the Sturkie Resolutions against Bryan. "I am not a Guardian of Liberty," he declared, "but I know many of them who are good Democrats. . . ." He called Bryan's position, "inconsistent," saying it "means a discrimination against a large number of Protestants, and the favoring of a large number of Catholics." 30

Early in March 1916, Bryan challenged Trammell to a series of joint debates and Trammell accepted. 31 They met first in Tallahassee on the night of March 10; John Ward Henderson, prominent local attorney, banker, and conservative politician presided over the affair. Bryan, adopting a tactic used against Sidney Catts, charged that blacks belonged to the Guardians of Liberty in some areas. In support of this racist accusation, Bryan quoted from what he described as the state and national constitutions of that organization. Bryan further charged that the Guardians of Liberty were guilty of attempting to run Florida politics from New York. 32

Trammell responded by laughing off Bryan's charges and discussing his own record. He defended his appointment of his brother Worth as
having been justified by ability and by recommendations. He dismissed charges of plagiarism by saying that any man who read widely would unconsciously adopt the words and phrases of others. Before a friendly crowd which interrupted him frequently with applause, the governor seems to have carried this initial debate.33

The following morning, March 11, the candidates appeared in Milton. Mayor W.W. Clark presided over the debate, which began at 11:00 a.m. Trammell opened and discussed his own career. Bryan followed by lashing out at newspapermen who had criticized him for leaving Washington to campaign. He spoke of his work in the Senate and repeated his support for the Sturkie Resolutions. He ended by again accusing Trammell of plagiarism.34

Trammell spoke last at the Milton debate. He denounced the Sturkie Resolutions which Bryan had just endorsed. He then closed by calling Bryan a copycat for borrowing ideas from other men. Perhaps because of the early hour, the crowd did not respond with remarkable enthusiasm to either candidate.35

That same evening, a pro-Bryan crowd of 500 braved chilly weather in Pensacola to hear the two politicians. The Pensacola Journal, which editorially supported Bryan throughout the race, commented that Trammell displayed a "better speaking voice" than Bryan.36 Mayor Adolph Greenhut presided over the debate and Bryan opened. He first reviewed his own record and discussed the Wilsonian legislation he had supported. Next, he spoke about Trammell's alleged plagiarism and censured him for climbing from one public office to another. He stated that it had been a custom in Florida politics for a United States senator to be given a second term. In a southern version of waving the bloody shirt, Bryan
charged that the Guardians of Liberty not only admitted blacks to membership, but that General Nelson Miles, who had dared to put chains on Jefferson Davis during his post-war captivity, headed the Guardians.\footnote{37}

When his turn came, Trammell offered to place his record against Bryan's any day. He went over his career in the state legislature, as attorney general, and his race for governor. He claimed Bryan had modified his stand on the Sturkie Resolutions and no longer endorsed them as actively as he had. He also claimed that Bryan had greatly exaggerated in accusing him of plagiarism. The Pensacola Journal--which, as has been mentioned, was not unbiased--reported that Bryan clearly won this debate.\footnote{38}

On Monday, March 13, probably travelling by automobile, Bryan and Trammell moved on to DeFuniak Springs, Chipley, and Marianna. That night, some 1,500 people jammed the Jackson County courthouse in Marianna. Amos R. Lewis, local attorney and formerly secretary to Senators Mallory, Will Bryan, and Milton, presided over what a reporter described as mostly a contest of personalities, with Bryan and Trammell trading charges of plagiarism and nepotism.\footnote{39}

Individually and collectively, the debates accomplished little. Neither candidate proved willing or able to discuss issues instead of personalities, and neither candidate could afford to ignore the furor raised by the gubernatorial contest. In fact, the contest for the governor's office dominated the attention of the press and the public. The political realities of campaigning prevented Bryan and Trammell from discussing the national issues which constituted the natural business of a United States senator. Nor did they ever discuss the European war and its implications for the future of the United States.
During the remaining months of the primary campaign, Bryan and Trammell pursued the paths they had indicated in their debates. Trammell talked about his record and indicted Bryan for the Sturkie Resolutions. Bryan portrayed himself as a staunch and effective Woodrow Wilson supporter and tried to steer away from his outspoken attacks on anti-Catholicism and fraternal bigotry. He spoke instead of advantages, such as the parcel post system, which had come to Florida during his term and would continue to come through his seniority and his support of the national Democratic administration.

Although much anti-Catholic feeling had been stirred up in Florida by 1916, an important event which took place in April has been misunderstood in light of that bigotry. Actually, the episode reveals at least as much about the persistence of racist beliefs as it does about the growing intensity of nativist feeling. On Monday, April 24, 1916, the sheriff of St. Johns County arrested three sisters from the Convent of St. Joseph in St. Augustine upon the charge of teaching black children in their school on West DeHaven Street. Reportedly, a group of Negroes had petitioned Governor Trammell to have this practice, which violated a 1913 state law, stopped. The governor had responded by instructing the sheriff to enforce the law.

Three sisters--Mary Thomasine, Mary Scholastica, and Mary Beningus--were arrested. Sister Mary Thomasine, alone of the three, refused to be released upon her own recognizance. When she did so, Judge Jackson ordered her placed in the custody of Father John O'Brien at the convent.40

The hearing in the case of Sister Mary Thomasine took place on Monday, May 15, 1916, before St. Johns County Circuit Court Judge George Couper Gibbs. States Attorney Dancey represented the state and E.N.
Calhoun, Alston Cockrell, and George Bedell appeared on behalf of the sister. The defense attorneys contended that the law in question must be considered discriminatory because it only affected two races, and also because it deprived a teacher from selling his or her services to the best advantage. The defense also claimed that the law applied only to tax-supported schools.  

Judge Gibbs issued his decision on May 20, 1916. He found that "the law in question ... in this case does not apply to private schools," and he ordered Sister Mary Thomasine to be freed. Two points are worth emphasizing in this series of events. First, the 1913 legislature wrote the law as much to further racial segregation and to deprive blacks of educational opportunities as to harrass Catholics. The best proof of this is that the sisters continued to teach without harrassment from 1913 until 1916. Second, the newspaper account of the affair suggests that the role played by Trammell merely involved responding to a request to have a state law enforced. Of course, Trammell may have been motivated by political ambition and religious bigotry in having the sisters arrested when he did, but no positive evidence exists to support such conclusions. It must be observed, however, that Trammell's action must have pleased all nativists, racists, and Cats supporters.

Also in April, stories appeared in the Suwannee Democrat, in Dixie, and in the Pensacola Journal to the effect that the Philadelphia American Citizen, a Guardians of Liberty organ, had announced that it would use a campaign fund to send 100,000 copies of the paper into Florida in order to defeat Bryan. The Florida papers bitterly resented what they regarded as outside interference in the state's affairs. Another report claimed that Charles M. Schwab of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation hoped
to defeat Bryan because the latter had supported Ben Tillman of South Carolina in passing a bill through the Senate Naval Affairs Committee and the Senate establishing a government armor plant. A reproduction of a telegram from Senator Tillman praised Bryan for his help on the measure. 46

As the primary date neared, Bryan relied more and more on endorsements from the national Democratic administration. Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels obligingly sent word that Bryan had been a strong supporter of naval power. This was an important endorsement in west Florida particularly, for the Wilson administration had opened the Pensacola Naval Aeronautic Station in 1914, replacing the navy yard which had been closed since October 20, 1911. Senator Mark A. Smith of Arizona endorsed his fellow legislator in glowing terms in another letter. 47

On the Sunday before the primary, a message appeared in the Pensacola paper signed by the president of the United States. "Senator Bryan's record in the ... Senate has certainly been such as to entitle him to be considered an active and effective advocate of the present administration," said Woodrow Wilson. "He has always supported it with a very generous loyalty." 48

In his ads, Bryan claimed credit for the establishment of the naval air facility at Pensacola, and its resultant economic impact on the community--estimated by December 1915 at 1,000 jobs on the base. He stated he had missed only 70 out of 935 record votes in four years. He advocated a large army and navy, a government armor plate plant, federal aid for road construction, and a marketing bureau within the United States Department of Agriculture. 49
Trammell never tired of using the Sturkie Resolutions against Bryan in his advertising. The remainder of his platform, however, did not vary greatly from Bryan's. Trammell vaguely favored some form of preparedness for defense, a better parcel post system, rural credits, a marketing commission, federal aid for roads, an adequate merchant marine, better harbors and inland waterways, aid to fight crop pests, federal aid for Everglades drainage, and reestablishment of the navy yard at Pensacola. He also wanted laws to prohibit interracial marriages and to segregate streetcars in the District of Columbia, plus a national prohibition amendment. In a gesture to earlier campaigns, he attributed much of his opposition to corporation politicians and railroad influenced-newspapers.50

The final joint appearance of the senatorial candidates took place on the evening of Saturday, May 27, in Pensacola. Perry Wall did not attend, but Gilchrist, Bryan, and Trammell did. Speaking in San Carlos Court, at the corner of Palafox and Gadsden streets, Trammell defended his record, attacked Wall for not appearing, and defended his actions in the St. Augustine school case by saying that he had acted on a complaint and had sought to enforce the law.51

Gilchrist went next and promised not to vote for national prohibition unless the people of Florida clearly desired it. He said that he had always supported Everglades drainage and that he had been the first prominent Democrat to oppose the Sturkie Resolutions. Gilchrist also berated Trammell for trying to get around the intent of the constitution (which prevented a governor from seeking reelection) by running for the Senate—a charge which did not seem to make complete sense.52
Bryan spoke last. He chided Wall for avoiding debate with the other candidates. In addition, he spoke scornfully of candidates who had attacked him while he remained in Washington, but who now spoke only about their own records.\(^5\)

The primary campaign came to a close on June 6, 1916. Bryan's primary law, with its provisions for first- and second-choice voting, resulted in confusion on the part of voters and election officials and greatly delayed the vote count. In the gubernatorial contest, final official returns gave Catts 30,092 first- and 3,891 second-choice votes, and Knott, 24,765 first- and 8,674 second-choice votes. The totals gave Catts a 33,983 to 33,439 vote lead.\(^5\)

In the Senate battle, despite delays in the count, the results became clear much sooner. On the evening of Thursday, June 8, Trammell issued a victory statement in Tallahassee, and Bryan acknowledged defeat. The official count gave Trammell 37,575 first-choice and 6,014 second-choice votes. Bryan did roughly one-half as well, gathering 19,536 first- and 3,647 second-choice ballots. Wall finished third with 14,404 first-choice and Gilchrist fourth with 9,863 first-choice votes.\(^5\)

The conditions which had spawned and had been aggravated by Catts's candidacy had spilled over and made the Senate primary race a bitter and frustrating affair, particularly for Bryan. A proud and competent man, Bryan believed that he had not been beaten in a fair or honorable fight. Despite his statement that his defeat constituted "a matter of minor importance to the state and not of much concern to me," Bryan's bitterness showed through in his concession statement. He pointed to the "secret political societies that are tolerated within the Democratic party" as the main cause of his defeat. They had made him their chief
victim. Nor had they stopped with him, but they (in the person of Herbert Jackson Drane) had defeated twenty-two-year veteran Congressman Stephen Sparkman. That fact, said Bryan, represented "little less than a calamity" for Florida. In concluding, Bryan thanked his friends:

I have tried to be true to them. I have not appealed to passion or to prejudice. I have not surrendered principle for success. I have denounced wrong and did my best to uphold what seemed to me to be right. I have striven to justify their confidence in me.56

A decent man, and one who prized and had worked hard to foster education, Bryan lacked the ability to understand or manipulate his constituents. In calmer times, Trammell or any other politician with similar gifts would have beaten him, although perhaps not quite as badly.

The final financial reports filed by the candidates became available on June 16, 1916. According to these statements, Gilchrist had been the leading spender and Trammell the smallest, although the amounts varied little. Gilchrist expended $3,954.68; Bryan, $3,944.47; Wall, $3,887.60; and Trammell, $3,633.77. It is simply impossible to tell if these submitted figures were accurate. They are substantially lower than the amounts reportedly spent by Gibbons and Milton in the 1912 gubernatorial contest, however.57

After Trammell eliminated Bryan in June, the battle between Catts and Knott received all possible attention from the Florida press. Legal maneuvering, which began in June, continued for months. On September 21, 1916, as directed by the Florida Supreme Court, the state canvassing board recanvassed the returns and declared Knott the winner by twenty-one votes. On October 7, the court refused a Catts petition to count
sixty-nine disputed votes from Gainesville. This decision made Knott the legal gubernatorial nominee of the Democratic party.

Catts, however, had expected to be denied the nomination by the courts and had continued his campaign, while Knott had suspended his own activities. Catts, in October, accepted the nomination of the Prohibition party in order to get on the general election ballot. His general election effort "centered on the alleged fraudulence of the recount."

Having defeated Bryan, Trammell did not become actively involved in the autumn race between Catts and his old friend and fellow cabinet member Knott. For this reason, and because he had used the Sturkie Resolutions against Bryan, some historians have concluded that Trammell actually supported Catts and hoped he would defeat Knott. There is no valid historical evidence for this conclusion.

Trammell stayed out of the contest after the primary because it was prudent, because he could not know how the courts would rule, and because he could not afford to alienate either man by endorsing the other. After the court had awarded the victory to Knott, he could still not interfere, because he believed that Catts might still bolt the party in November. There were rumors to that effect circulating throughout Florida. Furthermore, an endorsement at an early stage would only have given Catts material to use against Knott. Catts would have pointed to a Trammell endorsement of Knott as further proof that the state power structure intended to deny him the victory he had already fairly won in June.

Faced with the alternatives of backing the wrong horse, or of remaining aloof, Trammell chose to sit on the fence. He announced that
he was too busy with his own duties to campaign for either man. 59

Finally, shortly before the election, he sent a rather ambiguous letter to Chairman Raney: "I trust that every Florida democrat [sic] will go to the polls on November 7th, to assist in giving our [sic] party nominees a great victory." Obviously, this statement could be interpreted favorably by supporters of either candidate. 60

The *Tampa Times*, however, a paper that had opposed Trammell in his primary bid, pointed out in mid-October that his silence actually harmed Catts more than it harmed Knott. The *Times* believed that Trammell had fooled the Catts organization. His campaign had enabled him to take advantage of the Catts voters, but to avoid becoming entangled with Catts and his lieutenants. As evidence for this view, the *Times* cited an editorial in the *Jacksonville Free Press*, a newspaper which Catts's biographer identifies as the Catts campaign organ. According to the *Times*, the October 12, 1916, issue of the *Free Press* stated:

> Florida has in effect a despotic throne; and upon it sits as a ruler some puppet of despotism and perfidy, pliant as a potter's clay, to the wiles of the devil. Governor Trammell may not be a figurehead, but he is merely the bailiff of the invisible throne of a diabolical despotism, and the office of a governor here at any time might be called upon to enforce the mandates of that invisible government which Florida is now resolved to overturn at any cost. 61

R.A. Gray, Trammell's long-time aide and confidant, recalled years later a revealing incident concerning Trammell's real feelings about Catts. When Senator-elect Trammell and Gray drove the former's second-hand Buick automobile to Jacksonville for shipment to Washington, Trammell tried to persuade Gray to come along to the national capital
and be his secretary. Trammell insisted that Gray could never be happy in his position as state auditor under a man like Catts. Although Gray declined the offer, he later found the prediction accurate and went to Washington rather than continuing to work under Catts.\(^\text{62}\)

On February 9, 1916, in Palatka, the Florida Republican party nominated William R. O'Neal for United States senator, the same man Trammell had beaten in the general election for governor four years previously. George Whiting Allen, attorney and banker from Key West, became the candidate for governor.\(^\text{63}\) The Republican state committee met again in Palatka on August 19 to complete the ticket. At that time the committee selected, among others, John M. Cheney of Orlando and E. Bly of Jacksonville to run for the supreme court, J.E. Junkins of Miami for secretary of state, George E. Gay of Palatka for treasurer, W.H. Northrup of Pensacola for comptroller, and Matthew B. Macfarlane of Tampa for attorney general.\(^\text{64}\)

Trammell returned to Lakeland to cast his ballot on election day, November 7, 1916.\(^\text{65}\) In the returns for senator, he received 58,391 votes, to 8,774 for O'Neal, or 82.9 percent to 12.5 percent. For governor, Catts got 39,546 votes; Knott, 30,343; and Allen, 10,333.\(^\text{66}\)

The time between the November 1916 election and the inauguration of the new governor was an exciting and happy period for the Trammells. Ever the proper hostess, Virgie invited Mrs. Catts to inspect the mansion when she learned that the latter had come to Tallahassee to visit.\(^\text{67}\)

In December, Park took a trip to Washington, via Atlanta, in order to get acquainted with some of the men he would be serving with beginning in March.\(^\text{68}\)
The Catts inauguration took place on Tuesday, January 2, 1917. The ceremony, held at the eastern entrance to the Capitol, featured the oath of office as administered by Chief Justice Jefferson B. Browne, and speeches by Trammell and Catts. Among the many projects and undertakings of his administration, Trammell recalled advancement of Everglades drainage, creation of a state prison farm and steps toward ending convict leasing, reduction in state millage, repeal of the railroad land grant law, and creation of a state road department.

That evening, the Trammells were participants in a receiving line in the executive offices in the Capitol. Park introduced the well-wishers to Virgie, who in turn introduced Catts. Next in line came Mrs. Catts, her children, Catts's new secretary, J.V. Burke, the governor's military staff, and the cabinet members and their wives. A reporter for the Tallahassee paper observed that the public moved slowly through the receiving line because the people of Tallahassee especially wished to speak with the Trammells. "To give them up," he remarked, "is to Tallahassee like the parting of life long friends[,] as they had taken such active part in the social, civic and religious life of the city." This emotion "among the Tallahasseeans Tuesday night . . . caused the line to pass slower than the schedule, [for] everybody hated to say good bye to the Trammells." After the reception, an inaugural ball took place in the house chamber, although the new governor did not attend.

The inaugural ball really marked the end of the Trammell era in Tallahassee, rather than the start of the Catts administration, for it was not an entertainment at which either Catts or his nativist followers would have felt comfortable. The ball, although few realized it at the
time, was the last great social event of the Democratic elite and old Tallahassee society before American entrance into World War I. In a way it marked the end of the nineteenth century in Florida's capital city, as well:

Until the early hours of the morning the dancers glided over the floor to the entrancing strains of the music furnished by Jamison's orchestra. The bright lights, tasteful decorations, sparkling gems and handsome gowns dazzled the onlooker. The fishermen, rail splitters, soil tillers and "wool hat boys" left the building soon after the dance began and the state's most exclusive society held full sway until the last strain from the orchestra died away.69

Notes

2. Ibid., January 30, February 6, 1915.
3. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, May 12, 1915.
7. Jacksonville Metropolis, quoted in ibid., July 1, 1915.
11. Ibid., 275-310.


19. Ibid., 54-57.


22. Ibid., January 19, 1916.


31. Ibid., March 9, 1916.

32. Ibid., March 11, 1916.

33. Ibid.

35. Ibid.
37. Ibid., March 12, 1916.
38. Ibid.
40. St. Augustine Evening Record, April 24, 1916.
41. Ibid., May 15, 16, 1916.
42. Ibid., May 23, 1916.
43. Laws of Florida, 1913, 311.
46. Ibid., April 30, 1916.
47. Ibid., May 7, 30, 1916.
49. Ibid., May 11, 1916.
50. Ibid., April 13, May 5, June 4, 1916.
51. Ibid., May 28, 1916.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Flynt, Cracker Messiah, 60-61.
57. Ibid., June 19, 1916.
58. Flynt, Cracker Messiah, 64-71.
59. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, October 26, 1916.
60. Ibid., October 31, 1916; Jacksonville Dixie, November 4, 1916.


62. R.A. Gray, My Story, Fifty Years in the Shadow of the Near Great (Tallahassee, [1938?]), 97.


64. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, August 20, 1916.


66. Ibid., November 25, December 3, 1916; Flynt, Cracker Messiah, 90.


68. Ibid., December 12, 13, 1916.

69. Ibid., January 2, 4, 1917; Flynt, Cracker Messiah, 94-96.
CHAPTER SEVEN

WAR, PEACE, AND THE BONUS,
1917-1923

There are many ways of evaluating the performance of a United States senator: his success at authoring legislation, his skill at behind-the-scenes congressional maneuvering, his role as an articulator and leader of public opinion, his adroitness as an ombudsman and untangler of bureaucratic red tape, his ability to win re-election, and his voting record on significant legislation. The pattern which Trammell set in these categories during his first term remained the pattern that he followed during the rest of his senatorial career. In the first and most obvious category, that of shepherding his own bills into law, the record speaks for itself.¹

Although relatively few bills introduced in Congress ever survive the grueling legislative process and become law, Trammell's record of guiding his own bills to fruition during his first term must be considered very poor. During that initial term, he introduced fifty-three bills, of which only three ever passed the Senate, and only one became a law. Furthermore, the one measure which became a law did not appropriate any money, or create a new agency, or redress a wrong; it merely permitted the county commissioners of Escambia and Santa Rosa counties to construct a bridge over the Escambia River near Century, Florida.² Forty-six of Trammell's bills died in the Senate committee to which they had been referred.
More difficult to measure objectively is the category of congressional maneuvering outside of voting. The memoirs of his colleagues and their biographies reveal little evidence that Trammell ever functioned as a behind-the-scenes power in the Senate. Reports of the committees upon which Trammell served reinforce this view. During his first term, Trammell served on the committees on claims, engrossed bills, expenditures in the treasury department (as chairman), geological survey, inter-oceanic canals, naval affairs, Pacific islands and Puerto Rico, public buildings and grounds, and a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Useless Papers from the Executive Departments. He regularly attended meetings and participated in questioning and discussions, but in no sense dominated any committee.

In contrast to his behavior while governor, Trammell's performance in the Senate as an articulator of issues and a leader of opinion may be summarized as almost nonexistent. Apparently, he did not speak to his constituents or the American public--except when campaigning--outside the forum of the Senate. Within that body, he spoke to his colleagues rather than to the public, seeing his functions as primarily those of listening to debate, weighing the issues, and voting his conscience.

A senator functions not merely as a legislator, but also as a reference person and intermediary between citizen and bureaucrat. In this regard, Trammell's record is virtually impossible to judge. The small amount of his correspondence which has survived does not permit a truly accurate analysis in this area. Perhaps he did not suggest to his constituents that they take advantage of his abilities in this regard. He maintained his office in Washington but not in any Florida city. Judged by his lack of success in obtaining pensions for Florida residents during
his first term in the Senate, and his lack of committee influence, he possessed little prestige or leverage in dealing with bureaucrats.

By definition, a senator who can keep his seat by winning reelection has generally proved to someone that he can fulfill their expectations regarding his performance. In 1916, and to skip ahead, in 1928 and 1934, Trammell defeated attractive challengers for his seat. As will be discussed later, the abortive 1922 "challenge" by William Jennings Bryan ended when Bryan perceived that he could not gather sufficient support to defeat Trammell. Thus, the mere fact that Trammell could attract enough supporters to win reelection is a strong argument that most Florida Democrats believed he was doing a good job. The consequences of this support in terms of how the voters saw Trammell and how Trammell saw the voters will be discussed at a later point.

The safest and least controversial way to measure a senator's performance, however, has always been his voting record. A senator's motives, openness, and veracity are ever open to question on any issue, but within the record of yea and nay votes his true measure is always found. By examining Trammell's voting record on a number of the nationally significant events and bills of his term, it is possible to gain insights into his mind and beliefs.¹

What is more difficult to determine is public attitude toward and reaction to his stands on these issues. The major Florida newspapers of this time did not often comment upon Trammell's votes. They contented themselves with printing wire service accounts reporting the passage or rejection of key measures, but almost never gave their readers any analysis of the behavior of Trammell or the rest of the Florida delegation in Washington. Furthermore, the biographies of the Florida congressmen of
this era remain to be written, and while a fine biography of Senator Duncan Upshaw Fletcher exists, it does not cover Fletcher's position on many of these legislative issues. Like Trammell himself, the writer is forced to use his performance at the polls as the only true measure of public feeling toward his behavior.

Trammell entered the Senate during exciting times. On January 2, 1917, with the possibility of American involvement in the European war an issue overshadowing all others, senior Florida Senator Duncan Fletcher presented Trammell's credentials to his colleagues for a term beginning March 4. President Woodrow Wilson, on February 23, 1917, called an extraordinary session of the Senate to begin on March 5. The last group of senators to be sworn in by Vice President Thomas R. Marshall on that day included Trammell, Charles E. Townsend of Michigan, John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, and Josiah O. Wolcott of Delaware.

The inauguration of Wilson for his second term as president also fell on March 5, 1917. Wilson had summoned the special session to approve the Treaty of Bogota, a treaty with Colombia signed April 6, 1914, through which the government made reparation for the alleged complicity of Theodore Roosevelt in the Panamanian revolution of 1903. Three days after calling the special session, on February 26, Wilson asked Congress for authority to arm American merchant ships to protect them against German submarines.

The House of Representatives responded to the president's request by passing an armed neutrality bill (H.R. 21052) on March 1, by a one-sided 403 to 14 margin. In the Senate, however, Democratic leaders sought to obtain a stronger measure virtually empowering the president to wage an undeclared naval war. A small group of noninterventionists
(isolationists), feeling that Wilson intended to usurp Congress' power to declare war, conducted a filibuster which killed the bill, since the Sixty-fourth Congress expired on March 3.

The furious Wilson issued an intemperate statement the following day denouncing the "little group of willful men" who had so effectively thwarted him, and calling for a change in the rules of the Senate to remedy the situation.\(^6\) The Florida congressmen--Frank Clark, Emmett Wilson, Stephen Sparkman, and William Sears--had all voted in favor of the armed neutrality bill.\(^7\) Whether they sought to influence the new senator is not known. Nevertheless, when the vote on the Senate's first cloture rule came on March 8, Trammell voted for the measure which passed easily. Fletcher joined fifteen other senators in not voting.\(^8\)

The cloture rule required that two days after notice in writing from sixteen members, the Senate should vote without debate on the question of ending discussion of the bill named in the petition. If two-thirds of the senators voted affirmatively, then members would be restricted to one hour of debate on the measure before the Senate. The rule also stated that once cloture had been put into effect, no amendment could be offered without unanimous consent.

The sinking of American vessels by German submarines in the days that followed, coupled with growing internal pressures for action, caused Wilson on March 21 to summon a special session of Congress. When that session convened on Monday, April 2, and heard the president ask for a declaration of war against Germany, Trammell did not attend because of an illness in his family. He did return on April 4, and on that day both he and Fletcher are recorded as voting in favor of the war resolution.\(^9\) The following day, Florida congressmen Clark, Sears, J. Walter Kehoe,
and Herbert Jackson Drane all voted in favor of Senate Joint Resolution 1.\textsuperscript{14}

Gratified by the action of the Florida House delegation, the Orlando Morning Sentinel remarked: "Hats off to all of 'em."\textsuperscript{15} On April 5, the Tampa Morning Tribune carried the headline, "Senate Resolves for War," and a two-column front page news story, but made no editorial comment on the Senate vote. On the next day, its only comment was to print the names of those senators who had voted against war under the caption, "The Dishonors Are Even," referring to their party affiliations.\textsuperscript{16}

Having voted for war, the Congress moved rapidly to a consideration of the problem of manpower to fight the war. In the debate on the Senate bill (S. 1871) providing for conscription, Trammell spoke out strongly in favor of a volunteer army. "I do not believe," he said, "that there is any necessity of resorting to the conscript plan. I believe that the American people will rally to the cause of their country and to their flag, as they have done in days gone by." He believed that the United States "should try out the volunteer plan" and that there would be "no trouble in raising the quota of soldiers" in question. Trammell then proposed an amendment which would have provided for a volunteer system rather than conscription. The Senate rejected his amendment, however, by a voice vote.\textsuperscript{17}

Although obviously in a minority in the Senate on this issue, when the vote came on the Senate bill itself, Trammell remained consistent and cast one of only eight votes against the measure. Fletcher and eighty other senators voted yea.\textsuperscript{18} On May 17, when the Senate voted on the conference committee report on the House version of the Selective Service Act (H.R. 3545), Trammell again voted nay.\textsuperscript{19}
Acting in fear of activities which might be conducted against the war effort, the House passed, on May 4, the Espionage Act. Both Trammell and Fletcher supported the measure in the vote of May 14, 1917. On June 12, the Senate approved a compromise version by voice vote, and Wilson signed it into law three days later. The Espionage Act provided penalties for individuals found guilty of aiding the enemy by advocating treason, obstructing recruiting, fomenting disloyalty, mutiny, or insubordination in the armed forces, encouraging insurrection or resistance to law, or betraying information vital to national defense. It also permitted the postal authorities to exclude treasonable and seditious newspapers, magazines, and other materials from the mails. In August 1917, Thomas Watson's Jeffersonian newspaper was suppressed under the act because Watson had advocated opposition to conscription in its pages.

On May 26, 1917, Trammell introduced a bill intended to prevent corruption during the war emergency. It would prohibit government agents or members of government boards from purchasing supplies from firms for which they worked or in which they had a financial interest. The measure died in the Senate Judiciary Committee without any fanfare, however.

The Trading with the Enemy Act initially passed the Senate without a roll call vote on September 12, 1917. When the conference report came before the Senate on September 24, Trammell joined a large group of forty-two senators in not voting. Fletcher, however, backed the bill which prohibited commerce with enemy nations, permitted the president to embargo commerce and censor written communications between the United States and foreign countries, and set up an Office of Alien Property Custodian to administer American properties belonging to individuals.
living in enemy countries. The bill became law with Wilson's signature on October 6.26

Attempts by Congress to provide for the punishment of persons found guilty of disrupting or of attempting to disrupt national defense activities led to prolonged debate and disagreement. Out of the process there emerged the Sabotage Act of 1918. The final conference report on the bill eliminated amendments which had attempted to define the right of laborers to strike for better wages and conditions during wartime. The House and the Senate approved the conference report without roll calls, and the president gave his approval on April 20, 1918.27

The forces which for many years had been seeking to outlaw or prohibit alcoholic beverages in the United States took advantage of the war emergency to achieve their aims. They pointed out that large amounts of grain could be diverted from use in the manufacture of liquor to more productive ends. They also played upon patriotism by suggesting that many breweries and distilleries belonged to families of German origin.

Senate Joint Resolution 17 consisted of a proposed amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages within the United States. It passed the upper house on August 1, 1917, by a 65 to 20 tally. Both Trammell and Fletcher voted in favor of the proposed amendment.28 The House likewise approved on December 17, 1917, by 282 votes to 128; Representatives Clark, Drane, Kehoe, and Sears all cast affirmative votes.29 Three-fourths of the state legislatures ratified the Eighteenth Amendment, and it went into effect January 16, 1920. Trammell's vote for the joint resolution substantiated his long support of the anti-alcohol viewpoint.
As American participation in the First World War passed from talk to reality, pressures mounted against those who opposed such participation or those who expressed sympathy for Germany or dislike of Great Britain. Dissent, as guaranteed in the Constitution, became a dangerous way of life. Reflecting this trend, Congress amended the Espionage Act of 1917 with the Sedition Act of 1918, which provided severe penalties for persons convicted of making or conveying false statements interfering with the prosecution of the war; of making verbal or written statements against the form of government, Constitution, flag, or military forces of the United States; or of advocating, teaching, defending, or suggesting such behavior.

The Sedition Act passed the Senate by voice vote on April 10. On May 4, the Senate considered a conference report on the bill, and Trammell and Fletcher both voted for its passage. Among those subsequently imprisoned under the act was American Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs.

Congress, of course, continued to deal with domestic affairs despite the press of war-related business. On January 10, 1918, the House of Representatives passed a joint resolution embodying a proposed constitutional amendment giving the franchise to women. Congressmen Drane and Sears supported the resolution; Clark and Kehoe opposed it. In September 1918, President Wilson, who previously had been opposed, reversed himself and withdrew his opposition. On October 1, the resolution went before the Senate, but failed to receive a two-thirds majority. Fifty-three senators voted yea, thirty-one (including Trammell and Fletcher) voted nay, and twelve did not vote. Although most deep South senators opposed the resolution, the vote cut across regional lines.
In the spring of the following year, however, the pro-suffrage forces renewed their campaign. The House, on May 21, 1919, again approved a suffrage amendment resolution (H.J.R. 1). Clark of Florida again voted nay; Drane and Sears once more voted yea. John H. Smithwick of Pensacola, a lawyer who had been elected to replace Kehoe, also voted in the affirmative. 35

The Senate vote on woman suffrage came on June 4, 1919. Despite the fact that Trammell and Fletcher again refused to support the resolution, it passed by a vote of fifty-six to twenty-five. 36 The state legislatures--but not Florida's--quickly ratified the Nineteenth Amendment and it went into effect on August 26, 1920, just in time for the presidential elections the following November. As mentioned earlier, the Florida legislature had consistently refused to grant the vote to women and Trammell and Fletcher believed that in so refusing it had expressed the viewpoint of most white male voters in the state. Although the Tampa paper carried the headline, "Senate Adopts Equal Suffrage Resolution," the next day, it neither praised nor condemned the senators, attributing passage of the measure to change caused by the war. 37

With the ratification of the Prohibition Amendment, the need for legislation implementing its intention became an obvious necessity. Therefore, the House passed a measure to enforce the terms of the Eighteenth Amendment in July 1919. Sponsored by Republican Andrew Volstead of Minnesota, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, the bill received unanimous support from the four Florida congressmen. 38 The Senate then passed a different version of the bill on September 5 by a voice vote. 39 After a conference report had worked out the differences, the Senate, again without a roll call, passed the conference report on
October 8.  Two days later, the House also agreed to the compromise.

President Wilson, however, believed that the bill sought to mix provisions arising from the temporary war emergency with a permanent constitutional obligation, so he vetoed the measure on October 27.

Although the veto seems to have influenced a number of congressmen, it had less impact in the Senate. On October 10, the House had voted 230 yea, 69 nay, 1 present, and 129 not voting. When the vetoed bill came back to the House on October 27, 175 congressmen voted yea, 55 nay, 3 present, and 198 failed to vote. On the tenth, Drane, Sears, and Smithwick had voted yes and Clark had not voted. When the bill came back, perhaps out of a sense of party loyalty to Wilson, Drane changed his yea vote to not voting and Sears changed his yea to present.

The second thoughts which had begun to plague the Florida House delegation did not bother the senators. Both Trammell and Fletcher voted to override the veto on October 28. The bill which they helped to enact defined intoxicating liquor as any beverage containing more than .5 percent alcohol; set penalties for the manufacture, transportation, sale, or possession of liquor for any but medicinal or sacramental purposes; and made the Internal Revenue Bureau responsible for administering the law.

American entry into the war had implications for Floridians beyond Prohibition or votes for women. A total of 42,030 Florida men served in the armed forces; three future governors were among them--David Sholtz of Daytona Beach, Spessard L. Holland of Bartow, and Millard L. Caldwell of Milton. Of 176,000 Americans killed in action, 1,046 were Floridians. Huge naval training facilities were developed at Pensacola and Key West, and a seaplane and wireless base was established at Fort
Jefferson. Jacksonville acquired 300 acres of land at Black Point which it turned over to the army as the site of Camp Joseph E. Johnston. Florida also contributed 228 of its 1,321 practicing physicians to the military.

Shipyards in Jacksonville and Tampa expanded at a furious rate, but the phosphate industry, which had previously depended largely upon trade with Germany, was harmed by the war. Exports of lumber dropped, but were offset by increased domestic demands. Wartime shortages and high prices for sugar revived interest in its cultivation in south Florida, although development of the industry did not really begin until the end of hostilities. Workers were able to secure better jobs with higher pay, which stimulated inflation and temporarily increased farm prices. In the fall of 1918 the national influenza epidemic reached Florida, killing 464 persons in Jacksonville within four weeks. The death toll elsewhere in Florida was also high. Despite these varied consequences, however, the war did not seriously alter the political structure of the state.\(^{48}\)

On the national scene, the signing of the Armistice with Germany destroyed the wartime unity and cooperation of the Republican and Democratic politicians in Congress. When President Wilson journeyed to Europe in 1919 and drew up the Treaty of Versailles and the organization of the League of Nations without taking along Republicans favorable to the idea of a league (such as William Howard Taft), he committed a dangerous mistake. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and several other committee members philosophically opposed American membership in the league. As a result of the committee supporting a large number of amendments and reservations to the peace treaty, Wilson went on a national speaking tour to stimulate
support for the original treaty. While on this trip, he suffered a physical collapse on September 25, and a stroke on October 2.

During September and October 1919, a shifting coalition of loyalist Democrats and moderate Republicans sought to vote down the committee amendments. On November 6, Senator Lodge, in an attempt to prevent a Republican split between moderates and irreconcilables, proposed fourteen reservations on ratification of the treaty and American membership in the league. Wilson denounced the Lodge reservations from his sickbed, but drafted similar reservations for Democratic Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska to introduce in their place.

Trammell took little part in the debate on the peace treaty. In the comments he did make, however, he revealed that although he supported American membership in the league, he favored reservations on some points. He wanted to make sure, for instance, that the traditional American policy of the Monroe Doctrine would remain in effect and untouched. He also wanted to make it "plain that it is not the desire of the Senate that Great Britain and her independent colonies [sic] shall have any greater vote or any greater power in the assembly of the league of nations than the United States."^9

On November 19, 1919, the Senate finally held the key votes on the peace treaty. When the first vote came on the treaty with the Lodge reservations, Trammell and Fletcher voted nay. The Senate then proceeded—also on November 19—to vote on the treaty without any reservations. On this roll call, Trammell clearly identified himself as having doubts about the league by voting against ratification. Fletcher, in contrast, supported President Wilson and voted for ratification. On the second vote, thirty-seven Democrats and one Republican
voted yea, while seven Democrats (including Trammell) and forty-six Republicans voted nay.\textsuperscript{52} Trammell had placed himself against the majority of his Democratic colleagues and in opposition to the Democratic president. Although the next day's Jacksonville Florida Times-Union carried a two-column front page story under the headline, "Senate Rejects Peace Treaty," it made no editorial comment on the different positions taken by the two Florida senators.\textsuperscript{53}

These two November votes proved beyond question that the treaty could only be approved with the Lodge reservations. Although the Allied Powers would have been willing to accept American participation under such terms, Wilson refused to yield. The bitter and ill president declined to compromise; he insisted that the Senate Democrats remain loyal to his leadership.

The question of the treaty came before the Senate again in the spring of 1920. On March 19, 1920, the treaty with the Lodge reservations came up for another vote. Shortly before the roll call, Trammell addressed the Senate: "While a good many reservations have been adopted that I did not support, and some that I did support, I have come to the conclusion that in order to try and preserve at least a part of the purpose and the object of the establishment of a League of Nations I shall vote for a resolution of ratification with these reservations, although some of them are objectionable to me. I do this," he continued, "because I think, Mr. President, that we have yet something of the league left. The President, when he forced it and brought about this concerted effort on the part of the Nation to bring about a condition which it was hoped would result in peace for the Nation, result in a new order of affairs, instead of continuing the old order of settling
your difficulties with a shotgun, performed a great service by [sic] his own country and by [sic] the nations of the earth.

It is true it has been changed more or less," Trammell admitted. "I have favored some of the changes. But I still believe, Mr. President, that there remains enough of the good in the plan of the League of Nations for us to give it a trial."\(^{54}\)

Trammell kept his word later that day. He and Fletcher reversed their positions of November 19, 1919, and voted for the Lodge reservations. The treaty failed again, however, when it did not receive a two-thirds majority.\(^{55}\) With this vote, the great drama of the president's struggle to achieve ratification came to an end, and the Senate turned to other matters. Although the Tampa Morning Tribune made the story its headline news item the next day, it correctly predicted that the treaty fight would be a very minor issue at the next election: "The real issue in the 1920 campaign will be lower living costs and less taxation and the party which gives the best assurance of giving that is going to win."\(^{56}\)

Hopeful of a peaceful future and nonviolent solutions to international disagreements, President Warren G. Harding invited the principal naval powers to a 1921 conference in Washington. The Washington Naval Conference, which began on November 6, produced a number of treaties intended to help safeguard and stabilize the peace of the post-war world. The most important were known as the Four-Power, Five-Power, and Nine-Power treaties.

The Five-Power (Naval Limitation) Treaty, signed February 6, 1922, declared that for ten years no new capital ships (vessels in excess of 10,000 tons and with guns larger than eight inches) would be built by the parties involved. It set up a capital ship ratio of 5 for Britain and
the United States, 3 for Japan, and 1.67 for Italy and France. In March 1922, Florida senators Trammell and Fletcher supported each of these attempts to forestall a naval arms race and control conflicting national aspirations.57

Having regained important ground through the popular rejection of Wilsonian internationalism in the 1918 and 1920 elections, the Republican Congress rewrote the tariff laws in 1922. The Fordney-McCumber Tariff restored protection as the economic policy of the United States. In raising protective tariff barriers, however, Democrats often played an active role, working hard to protect the products, agricultural or industrial, of their own sections.

In the Senate debate on the tariff bill (H.R. 7456), Trammell frequently spoke out in favor of protection for Florida agricultural products. On July 6, 1922, he proposed an amendment making potash free from import duties because of its use as a fertilizer.58 On July 10, he defended adequate protective rates for peanut growers.59 His attempt to amend an amendment by requiring the president to give sixty days notice before altering a duty failed on August 11.60 He spoke in favor of protection for Florida's tomato growers on August 16 and 19.61 On August 18, he demanded that grapefruit receive the same protective duty as oranges, and that American farmers growing long-staple cotton be protected from Egyptian competition.62

The tariff bill passed the House first on July 21, 1921. Drane, Smithwick, and Sears opposed it, while Clark had been paired and did not vote.63 The Senate version of H.R. 7456 passed on August 19, 1922, despite nay votes by Trammell and Fletcher.64 After protracted discussion, a conference committee version came before the House on September 15,
1922. Again, Drane, Smithwick, and Sears voted nay, while Clark remained paired against. 65

Trammell and Fletcher voted against the conference report on September 19, but in vain. The tariff passed by fifteen votes. 66 The Fordney-McCumber Tariff wiped out most reductions in the Underwood Tariff of 1913 and raised duties on manufactured goods above the levels of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909. It established high rates on many agricultural products, placed extensive duties on many manufactured items, and constituted the highest American tariff enacted to that time.

Perhaps because of his experience with state pensions for Confederate veterans of Florida, Trammell appreciated both the inherent moral obligation and the political expedience involved in the question of financial aid for veterans who had fought in the Great War. On November 12, 1918, the day after the Armistice, he introduced the first soldier bonus legislation. Trammell's bill (S. 5022) would have granted to all officers and men of the American armed forces one month's furlough on full pay prior to being discharged. 67 R.A. Gray claimed in his own autobiography years later that he persuaded Trammell to propose this legislation.

According to Gray, on the evening of November 11, 1918, during the celebrations heralding the end of the war, he fell into conversation with an officer from Ohio. The two discussed their futures, and the Ohioan pointed out that current regulations required soldiers to turn in their uniforms very soon after discharge. This statement, said Gray, gave him an idea.

"The next morning," Gray wrote, "November 12, 1918, I made an appointment with Senator Trammell. I saw him during the day, and told him the need for some kind of act of Congress that would supply the needs
I had been thinking about. He immediately agreed, shoved a piece of paper across his desk, and handed me a pencil with the remark, 'Block out something and I will introduce it in the Senate today.'

I wrote a rough draft of what would be a Senate Resolution," Gray continued, "and set forth therein provision that every soldier and sailor should be paid upon discharge a sufficient amount to purchase a suit of civilian clothes and meet other immediate incidental expenses. The following morning Senator Trammell telephoned me that he had the resolution put in proper form and had 'dropped it in the basket' late the afternoon before."  

Trammell worked earnestly in favor of his bonus. When over a month had passed and it had not yet been enacted, he offered his bonus plan as an amendment to a revenue bill (H.R. 12863) on December 23. In this instance, the Senate agreed to the amendment by a voice vote.

In his comments on the need for congressional action, Trammell revealed a good deal of indignation at the plight of the veteran. "I have found from my contact with a great many discharged soldiers," he remarked, "that they are leaving the service almost penniless. I think than when we consider the billions and billions of dollars that we have expended in connection with this war ... and then consider that our success depended entirely upon our Army ... we must come to the conclusion that as a recognition to our soldiers and in order that they may have a little pittance with which to attempt to rehabilitate and establish themselves in civil life, common justice and simple recognition of the performance of a ... heroic service not only justify but demand that the Congress ... adopt this ... [measure]." The final version
of H.R. 12863 provided for a $60 bonus, two months' pay. It became law on February 24, 1919.71

Unsatisfied with this small bonus, individuals and groups such as the American Legion began agitating and crusading for larger and more comprehensive veteran's aid programs. On March 23, 1922, the House passed a bonus bill by a 333 to 70 margin. Drane and Smithwick voted affirmatively, Clark entered a pair and could not vote, and Sears voted negatively.72 The Senate, however, did not come to grips with the bill (H.R. 10874) until late summer, after the Florida Democratic primary.

In the months between the 1922 Democratic primary and the general election, the bonus bill (H.R. 10874) received a good deal of attention in the Senate. On August 31, Trammell and his colleague both supported it as it won passage by a forty-seven to twenty-two total.73 In the debate on the bill, Trammell stated that he had been "intensively interested in doing justice to the American soldier who defended and fought for our country in its hour of peril." He had felt that the United States owed its veterans "a debt of gratitude that could not be paid in dollars and cents, but that it might in a feeble way be expressed by some substantial token at the hands of Congress." He demanded that Congress "no longer refuse to give expression to the Nation's gratitude."74 While Trammell felt strongly about the bonus, the Miami Herald apparently did not. The day after the House vote, its headline story concerned a missing airplane; after the Senate vote, it carried a one-column story with the roll call but made no editorial comment.75

The bills passed by the two chambers differed, and a conference committee became a necessity. The House agreed to the report of that committee on September 14, 1922.76 The next day, when the report came
before the Senate, the two Florida members supported it and it passed. President Harding, however, disapproved of the bonus for reasons of economy. He did not believe the budget could afford to pay it and on September 19 he vetoed the measure.

The House responded to the veto by overriding it. Clark, Drane, and Smithwick joined the 258 representatives voting to override. Sears voted to sustain the veto. The Senate, however, failed to override, although Trammell and Fletcher cast their votes for the veterans in defiance of the president's reasoning. The Tampa Morning Tribune did not comment the next day on the votes of the Florida senators, despite making the event its lead story and carrying a box featuring the roll call vote on the front page. The Miami Herald also gave the story front page treatment but expressed no view as to the wisdom of either side in the controversy.

The fear that millions of people living in war-ravaged Europe would attempt to seek a peaceful haven in America, together with a variety of causes including pressure from organized labor, forced Congress to consider legislation restricting immigration in the 1920s. The first bill to significantly alter America's policy of virtually free access (H.R. 4075) passed the House on April 22, 1921. Speaking on this bill in the Senate on May 2, Trammell introduced an amendment which would have imposed a complete two-year prohibition on all immigration to the United States.

Trammell's attempt at immigration restriction stemmed more from a fear of Bolshevist or other radical ideas than from any rational cause, although Sidney Catts had certainly proved that many Floridians were frightened of "foreigners" even before the war. Actually, in 1920, only
5.6 percent of Florida's population was foreign born—53,864 persons. This had changed very little from the 4.5 percent of 1900 and the 5.4 percent of 1910. In fact, Florida had possessed a greater foreign born population in 1890 (5.9 percent) than in 1920!85

"We have had," said Trammell, "a great many people come to this country who have made good citizens, that is true, but we have had a great many come to this country who have not made good citizens, and unfortunately at the present time and possibly during the late decade there has been a greater disposition on the part of the foreign born immigrating to the United States . . . to endeavor to break down our Government and our institutions, and to be a disturbing element here instead of being an element to assist in promoting our institutions and sustaining our Government. At this particular time," he warned, "when our business institutions are more or less disorganized, when we are just rallying from the staggering influences of the war, when we have labor idle by the millions here in this country, I can not see why we want to invite very cordially others to come here. What service or benefit will they be to America? I believe," concluded Trammell, "we should prohibit it [immigration] absolutely for a period of two years and give the Nation an opportunity to go through the reconstruction period. . . ."86 Although the Senate rejected Trammell's amendment, Fletcher backed his colleague in the losing effort.87

Having failed to amend the bill, Trammell did not appear in the Senate on the following day to vote upon it. H.R. 4075 went through with only one dissenting vote, seventy-eight to one. Fletcher voted yea and explained that Trammell, if present, would likewise have voted yea.88
A conference report received House approval on May 13 by a 276 to 33 score. Drane and Smithwick supported the report, while Clark and Sears had paired themselves and could not vote. The Senate also approved the bill the same day, and President Harding signed it into law on May 19. The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 restricted the annual total number of immigrants from any country to 3 percent of the number of their nationality already living in the United States in 1910; the act remained in effect until 1924.

The American farmer experienced difficult times in the years after World War I, and farmers in the South suffered as greatly as any. The war had brought an increase in demand for agricultural products and a rise in prices. Between 1914 and 1920 the South enjoyed a longer period of wide-spread prosperity than ever before in its history. Cotton, which dipped to 8¢ per pound at the outbreak, went steadily upward, selling for 35¢ in New Orleans in 1919 and 40¢ during the first six months of 1920. The 1919 cotton crop earned over $2 billion, and a similar pattern took place in tobacco, grains, and other crops. Between 1914 and 1919, individual bank deposits in thirteen southern states increased from $2.37 to $4.95 billion.

With the conclusion of hostilities, times again became hard for farmers. Cotton again led the way for southern crops. After passing 40¢ per pound in the summer of 1920, it fell to under 14¢ by the end of the year. Poor crops in 1922 and 1923 temporarily pushed cotton back to 28¢, but it dropped to 20¢ in 1927 and 17¢ in 1929, while production increased. While cotton was no longer the main Florida crop, prices were also declining for tobacco and other key agricultural commodities.

In response to the plight of the farmer, an informal alliance of western Republicans and southern Democrats came into existence. It had
its birth at a meeting held in the office of Senator William Kenyon of Iowa on May 9, 1921, which was attended by Duncan Fletcher. Derisively christened "the farm bloc" by a reporter, the members of this group advocated high protective duties on agricultural products and introduced a series of bills intended to benefit the farmers in the corn, wheat, and cotton belts.\(^9\)

Among the important bills passed through the efforts of the farm bloc, several deserve notice. One of the earliest, the Packers and Stockyards (or Livestock) Act of August 15, 1921, gave the agriculture department regulatory control of meat, poultry, and dairy processors, and prohibited certain monopolistic and discriminatory practices by the giant packing companies. Others included the Grain Futures Act (1922), the Co-Operative Marketing Act (1922), and the Intermediate Credit Act (1923). In addition, in 1924, the farm bloc began to push for the McNary-Haugen bill, a plan providing for governmental purchase of surplus crops and their subsequent sale abroad for whatever they might bring.

The Packers and Stockyards Act enjoyed fairly easy going in its evolution toward law. It passed the House on June 2, 1921, and then moved smoothly through the Senate on June 17 with a twenty-four vote cushion. Although Fletcher had paired himself and could not vote on the bill, Trammell's old progressive, anti-monopoly beliefs led him to side with the majority favoring the bill.\(^9\) When the bill (H.R. 6320) came out of conference on August 4, Trammell again voted to pass it, while the more conservative Fletcher opposed it.\(^9\) The act prohibited unfair practices, apportioning of supplies between packers, dividing of territory, and the creation of conditions tending toward monopoly.
Although the House passed another agricultural bill, the Co-Operative Marketing Act (H.R. 2372) on May 4, 1921, the Senate did not act until the following year. In February 1922, it passed the bill by a one-sided fifty-eight to one vote. Trammell had paired himself and did not appear in the Senate for the February 8 vote, but Fletcher voted yea.

The House agreed to the amendments which the Senate had attached to H.R. 2372 on February 11. The 276 representatives who concurred in the Senate amendments that day included all four Florida congressmen--Clark, Drane, Sears, and Smithwick. The Co-Operative Marketing (Capper-Volstead) Act, signed on February 18, 1922, exempted from the anti-trust laws farmers, rural cooperatives, and agricultural associations.

Still another agricultural bill, the Grain Futures Act, went through Congress during the interval between the 1922 Florida Democratic primary and the general election. This bill passed the House on June 27, 1922, although of the Florida delegation only Smithwick supported it. Clark and Drane had paired themselves and Sears voted nay. The Senate then amended and passed the bill (H.R. 11843) on September 14 without a roll call. The House concurred the following day, and the bill became law on September 21. The Grain Futures Act attempted to end speculation and monopoly in the grain business by making it subject to federal regulation.

The history of Florida agriculture in the twentieth century, and of the impact of these and similar laws, remains to be written. However, statistics are available on crops being grown by Florida farmers at this time. Sugarcane, of course, had not yet become a major crop. In 1921, Florida farmers raised 10,179,000 bushels of corn worth $5,802,000, which was used mostly for livestock rations. That same year was a bad
one for cotton, as only 64,000 acres were harvested at a value of
$998,000. Cotton production in 1922, however, increased to 118,000
acres harvested and a value of $2,902,000. Other 1921 figures included:
shade grown tobacco, 2,400,000 pounds at $1,440,000; hay, 93,000 tons at
$1,674,000; oats, 196,000 bushels at $133,000; peanuts, 37,125,000
pounds at $928,000; and sweet potatoes, 23,000 acres at $1,877,000.
Florida growers shipped 13,300,000 boxes of citrus (oranges and grape-
fruit) worth $22,450,000 during the 1921-1922 period. ¹⁰⁰

The voting record which Trammell assembled in his first term on
the above issues is illuminating. It identifies Trammell as a loyal
Democrat who steadfastly supported Woodrow Wilson on the cloture rule,
the declaration of war, the Espionage Act, and the Sedition Act. Trammell
also displayed a mind of his own, however, on several issues. He
actively opposed conscription in favor of a volunteer army. He voted
in favor of the Prohibition Amendment, and, when Wilson vetoed the
subsequent Volstead Act implementing Prohibition, Trammell voted to
override the veto.

In October 1918 and June 1919—again in opposition to the president's
wishes—Trammell cast his vote against woman suffrage. Although he
initially opposed the Lodge amendments to the peace treaty in November
1919, he also voted against the treaty without reservations, thereby
repudiating Wilson's peace plan. After reconsidering, Trammell voted
for the treaty with the Lodge reservations as an alternative to no treaty
and no league, again going against Wilson.

In the post-war, Republican-dominated era, Trammell supported the
Four-, Five-, and Nine-Power naval treaties as efforts at preventing
another slaughter. During the making of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff,
he fought for protection for Florida agricultural interests, but finally voted against the tariff in total. As pointed out above, Trammell introduced the very first bonus legislation for veterans. He also voted for the bonus bill of 1922, and cast his vote—although in vain—to override Harding's veto of that measure. Trammell favored immigration restriction, and also aid to agriculture. Having generally backed his party, and yet voted for the interests of Florida and for his own convictions when they went against his party's position, Trammell must have approached the 1922 primary with a great deal of confidence.

Notes

1. The author has been unable to locate material on the subsequent life of Virgie Trammell in Washington, D.C. Florida newspapers ceased to pay attention to her after she left the Tallahassee scene. The brief notices of her death in the Washington Post and New York Times in 1922 offer no information about her activities in the nation's capital.


3. CR 55:1, 50; CR 56:2, 1194; CR 64:1, 239.


5. Wayne Flynt, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, Dixie's Reluctant Progressive (Tallahassee, 1971).

6. CR 54:1, 729.

7. CR 55:1, 2.


9. CR 54:5, 4692.

11. CR 54:5, 4692.
12. CR 55:1, 45.
15. Orlando Morning Sentinel, April 7, 1917.
16. Tampa Morning Tribune, April 5, 6, 1917.
17. CR 55:2, 1488, 1489, 1491.
18. CR 55:2, 1500-01.
23. CR 55:3, 2913; CR 55:8, 32.
27. CR 56:5, 5097, 5146; CR 56:6, 5403.
29. CR 56:1, 469-70.
30. CR 56:5, 4898.
31. CR 56:6, 6057.
33. CR 56:1, 810.
34. CR 56:11, 10987-88.
35. CR 58:1, 94-95.
36. CR 58:1, 635.

38. CR 58:3, 3005.


40. CR 58:7, 6552.

41. CR 58:7, 6697-98.

42. CR 58:8, 7607, 7633.

43. CR 58:7, 6697-98.

44. CR 58:8, 7610-11.

45. CR 58:7, 6697-98.

46. CR 58:8, 7610-11.

47. CR 58:8, 7633-34.


49. CR 58:9, 8563.

50. CR 58:9, 8737.

51. CR 58:9, 8786.

52. CR 58:9, 8803.


54. CR 59:5, 4574.

55. CR 59:5, 4599.


57. CR 62:5, 4497, 4718-19, 4784.

58. CR 62:10, 10028.

59. CR 62:10, 10105, 10112.


61. CR 62:11, 11439-41, 11613-16.


63. CR 61:4, 4197-98.
64. CR 62:11, 11627.
65. CR 62:12, 12718.
66. CR 62:12, 12907.
68. Ibid.
69. CR 57:1, 784.
70. CR 57:2, 1862.
71. CR 57:4, 4040; CR 57:5, 4245.
73. CR 62:12, 12033.
74. CR 62:12, 11953.
75. Miami Herald, March 24, September 1, 1922.
76. CR 62:12, 12607.
77. CR 62:12, 12697.
78. CR 62:12, 12946-47.
79. CR 62:12, 13004.
80. CR 62:12, 12999-13000.
81. Tampa Morning Tribune, September 21, 1922.
82. Miami Herald, September 21, 1922.
83. CR 61:1, 589.
84. CR 61:1, 928.
85. Maurice M. Vance, "Northerners in Late Nineteenth Century Florida: Carpetbaggers or Settlers?" Florida Historical Quarterly, 38 (July 1959), 2.
86. CR 61:1, 928-29.
87. CR 61:1, 929-30.
88. CR 61:1, 968.
89. CR 61:2, 1442-43.
90. CR 61:2, 1428, 1774.
92. CR 61:3, 2713.
93. CR 61:5, 4644.
94. CR 61:1, 1046.
95. CR 62:3, 2282.
96. CR 62:3, 2455.
97. CR 62:9, 9508.
98. CR 62:12, 12568.
Although great changes had taken place in the world, largely as a result of the war, Florida in 1922 was not too different a place than it had been in 1916. The state's total population had increased from 752,619 to 968,470 in the decade 1910-1920, but the percentage of population increase had declined to 28.7 in 1910-1920, from 42.4 in 1900-1910. Duval County surpassed Hillsborough as the most populous county in that same decade, and Dade and Palm Beach counties experienced rapid growth. Nevertheless, in 1920, over 63 percent of the state's people lived in rural areas and these rural areas dominated the state legislature.\(^1\)

Although by 1925 the state would become involved in an unprecedented flurry of real estate sales, business activity, and tourist propaganda, at the start of the decade the status quo largely remained. The old economic and social order had started to experience erosion but had not been supplanted by new forces.

The senatorial campaign of 1922 got underway, as had Trammell's other major campaigns, many months before the Democratic primary. Reports circulated, in April 1921, that both Representative Frank Clark and Perry Wall of Tampa were considering making the race. Wall, however, quickly squelched newspaper speculation on his possible candidacy, explaining that the need to attend to his business interests would keep him a spectator and not a participant.\(^2\)
Although rumors had been bandied about for some time, it was an announcement out of New York City on May 31, 1921, which really ignited political speculation about the Senate race. On that date, William Jennings Bryan, three-time nominee of the Democrats for the presidency, revealed his intention to make Florida his legal as well as his actual place of residence. Bryan referred to his wife's poor health as the main reason for his decision.

Beginning in 1912, Bryan had taken his wife to Miami each year to escape the Nebraska winter. He had first learned about Florida and its climate through letters from his wife written before their marriage, and he later was stationed in Jacksonville during the Spanish-American War. After he became a winter resident of Miami, Bryan became genuinely fond of the new community and its inhabitants. He built a house and subsequently, for the first time in his career, accepted money to lecture for "something other than a public cause"—promoting Miami and its future. He managed, by having built at the right place at the right time, to sell his home less than ten years after he had purchased it for a profit of between $200,000 and $300,000.

During the years 1912-1921, Bryan continued to maintain his legal residence in Lincoln, Nebraska, and to visit that state at least once a year, usually in October. He returned to Lincoln to vote in every important election except that of 1918. However, by 1921, Bryan's wish to continue his legal residence in Lincoln had become very impractical. It effectively kept him out of Florida politics at even the local level, and it forced him to take a long and expensive journey each time he desired to vote. These reasons combined to prompt his decision of May 31.
If Bryan had decided to make Miami his legal residence in order to run for the Senate from Florida, as many observers believed at the time, he must have consciously intended to violate the state constitution of 1885. Before the May 31 announcement, newspapers had already pointed out that section twenty of article sixteen of the constitution would prevent Bryan's election as senator. That section prohibited the issuance of a certificate of election to the United States Senate or House of Representatives to any person who had not been a citizen of Florida for five years, a United States citizen for ten years, and a qualified voter. It is possible to believe that Bryan had not made himself aware, or been informed by others, of this prohibition—-but only if he had not made plans to run as of May 31, 1921.

Just a week before that date, Trammell had made no mention of Bryan, nor of any aspect of the approaching election year, when he addressed the state legislature in Tallahassee. On that occasion, Trammell spoke extemporaneously for over an hour on a variety of national issues, and received a warm response. He spoke in favor of a bonus for veterans of the Great War, on the need for lower transportation rates, for a stronger merchant marine, for better roads, upon the need for a two-year stoppage of immigration, for taxation of higher incomes, and for a lower tariff.

Just after Bryan's announcement, a news story appeared which greatly strengthened the rumors about his candidacy. On June 2, Bryan reportedly had hosted "a sumptuous luncheon to the Florida senators and representatives" in the Senate dining room. The story failed to mention whether Trammell had been invited or had been present, and it therefore conveyed a picture of an ambitious Bryan wooing support among Trammell's own congressional colleagues.
A few days later, on June 10, Bryan gave an interview in Miami in which he disclaimed immediate political ambitions, but failed to state clearly and decisively that he would not try for Trammell's office. "It is very unfair," said Bryan, "for persons to make plans for me without consulting me." He had changed residences without "consulting a single person" other than family members. He did not know how long someone needed to be a Florida citizen in order to register to vote. "I ought," Bryan claimed, "to be allowed a little time to get acquainted with the laws as well as the people."

Bryan went on to lament that when he had considered moving to Texas, a profusion of editorials had appeared announcing that he intended to run for a number of different offices in that state. He had experienced the same phenomenon when he had build a summer home in Asheville, North Carolina. "I have no political plans but intend to take an interest in Florida politics," he explained. "For thirty years I have been urging every citizen to take an active part in all matters of government and I shall practice what I have been preaching." His interest, Bryan concluded, lay "in principles and policies rather than in the individual." He had more interest "in platforms than in candidates." 10

Whether Bryan moved to Florida with the intention of running for the Senate or any political office, his Florida kinsmen attempted to convince him to do so. Mrs. William Sherman Jennings, the wife of the former governor, wrote to him in December 1921 regarding attempts to gain the support of the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union and the Tampa Morning Tribune for his cause. Former Senator Nathan P. Bryan pledged his support in mid-January 1922. 11
Nevertheless, despite the behind-the-scenes maneuvering and the newspaper rumors, the first event of substance in the senatorial race did not take place until the arrival of the election year. On January 2, 1922, Congressman Clark informed the public, through a letter to editor J.H. Benjamin of the Ocala Evening Star, that he would seek renomination to his House seat rather than election to the Senate. Clark's decision, in Benjamin's opinion, removed from the list of possible candidates the only man with a fair chance to defeat Trammell.12

Three weeks after Clark's statement, the Baltimore Sun printed a story definitely announcing that Bryan would be a candidate for senator. The Sun stated that Bryan had confided his plans to personal and political friends in Florida. These friends asserted positively that Bryan would run and expressed their utmost confidence that he would win. The article went on to describe a well-organized Bryan movement in Florida participated in by leading Democrats from Jacksonville and north Florida as well as from the southern part of the state. It failed, however, to give the names of any of the men (or women) to which it referred.13

The Baltimore Sun story and the attention which it gathered finally goaded Trammell into a public comment. He told reporters that he had no information other than the Sun article to indicate that Bryan wished to oppose him. He felt disinclined to express himself about Bryan's supposed candidacy. He did prophecy that should Bryan "get into the race, I will make arrangements to take care of myself as I have in the past."14

In the wake of Trammell's remarks, the Punta Gorda Herald predicted that, should Bryan attempt to defeat Trammell, "Willyum [sic] will get the worst beating of his life."15 The Palm Beach Post suggested, in a not very subtle reference to the controversial governorship of Sidney
Catts, that "Florida has not always been happy when it has entrusted its affairs to adopted sons of recent adoption." The Post believed that Bryan's extreme Protestant fundamentalist outlook could only harm the state. During his residence in the state, "Mr Bryan's chief contribution to its progress has been a valiant campaign in behalf of a literal acceptance of the story of the Garden of Eden, and a demand that all knowledge not pledged to the upholding of that doctrine be banished from every institution of learning." "That may be the field," the Palm Beach paper concluded, "in which Florida is most in need of representation at Washington[,] but it scarcely seems likely."16 The Ocala Evening Star echoed the Post's reasoning and suggested that Trammell ask Bryan "what right an [sic] United States senator has to try and ram his belief down the throats of other people."17 The Gainesville News shared the impression that "Bryan seems to be trying to pull some of the Catts stuff (move to Florida just long enough to qualify and then ask for one of the highest offices in the gift of her people)."18

Perhaps the strongest reason advanced by pro-Bryan editors for his candidacy is to be found in the value of Bryan as a generator of publicity for Florida. In the beginning of the Florida real estate Boom, which attracted the attention of promoters to all areas of the state, these editors emphasized that Bryan in the Senate would obtain substantial amounts of free publicity for Florida as a whole. He would become a nationally recognized spokesman for the state and its many advantages. As the Clearwater Sun phrased it, "Bryan's name alone will give the state he represents recognition."19

On February 15, 1922, Bryan issued a statement in Miami which, although largely a disclaimer of ambition, still contained a phrase
indicating he might yet choose to run for the Senate. Bryan emphasized his hopes of continuing to "serve the public without the cares of office" and his wish for a "congenial association" with all Florida Democrats. Bryan seemed clearly to leave open the possibility of a draft, however, when he said: "If the Democrats of Florida felt that as senator I could render service to the state and to the party in the nation sufficient to justify them in calling upon me to represent them at Washington, I would consider the matter from the standpoint of duty and in connection with other claims upon me."^20

By this time, Bryan had certainly decided to consider making the race. He must have been flattered at the talk of his candidacy and very much encouraged. Yet, he remained cautious. He had, after all, not been successful in all his political campaigns. Moreover, he no longer possessed the burning ambition or good health of his youth. He had become a wealthy man. That, and his pacifist activities as secretary of state under Woodrow Wilson, had changed his image. A decade earlier he had been regarded by many as a radical with bankrupt ideas and a perennial loser. Now he appeared with a new image, as a kindly and gracious survivor of that simpler age before the war. Bryan realized all these things, but the desire to vindicate himself with one more victorious campaign still burned in his heart. When a reporter in Titusville asked him to be specific about what it would take to make him enter the race officially, he replied: "A petition sufficient to make it clear it is a call."^21

Obediently, Bryan supporters began to circulate petitions calling for their idol to formally enter the race. William Walsh, an attorney in Miami, forwarded petition forms to every county in the state. These
documents consisted of letters addressed to Bryan, stating that "the undersigned believe that you are eminently fitted to represent Florida in the capacity of United States senator." 22

Although the Bryan candidacy seemed more likely than ever after the February 15 announcement, Trammell had other serious problems to plague him. On Monday, February 27, while visiting her aunt in Winter Garden, Florida, Trammell's wife Virgie suddenly became ill. 23 She underwent an operation at Orlando's Orange General Hospital and Trammell returned from Washington to be with her. At first Mrs. Trammell seemed to be making good progress toward a recovery and she planned to go to the home of her sister, Mrs. C.P. Dickinson, to complete her recuperation. 24 Then, unexpectedly, her condition began to deteriorate. She had been suffering from a pelvic abscess which had led to an abdominal infection. She sunk into unconsciousness around 6:00 p.m. on Tuesday, March 14. With her distraught husband holding her hand, she died at 11:00 p.m. that same evening. 25

The death of the person closest to him, and upon whom he had relied for so much advice and encouragement, struck Trammell a severe blow. With his wife's passing, Trammell lost the strong moral influence which had previously tempered his political ambition. Together with Virgie's father, T.E. Darby, and the couple's old friend, Reverend J. Dean Adcock of Tallahassee's First Baptist Church, he accompanied the body to Lakeland. 26 President Harding, who happened to be on Florida's east coast on a golfing vacation, wired Trammell his condolences from West Palm Beach. 27

Florida's newspapers mourned Virgie Trammell in numerous tributes. The Tallahassee paper referred to her as "gentle," "considerate," and
"a notable christian [sic] character" who had greatly aided her husband's career. The Orlando Morning Sentinel gave her credit for managing her husband's successful 1912 and 1916 campaigns. No other woman in the state, it said, had been "more widely known" or had taken "more interest in public affairs." The Tampa Morning Tribune sympathized with the senator's loss of "a chum, a wife, an advisor, and a true friend all in one." It recalled that Virgie frequently had been labelled "the best politician in Florida" and had possessed "perhaps more personal friends than any other woman in the state."  

The funeral took place on Thursday, March 16. At noon, 2,600 school children marched in sympathy through Lakeland's streets to the beat of a muffled drum. Between 3:30 and 4:30 p.m., all commercial establishments closed down. Reverend Adcock, assisted by Dr. C.W. Duke of Tampa and Dr. W.J. Bollin of Lakeland, conducted the funeral service at Bollin's First Baptist Church. Interment at Roselawn Cemetery followed the service.  

Despite the outpouring of sympathy for Trammell's loss, politics continued. On March 22, a small group of prominent Tampa citizens gathered at the DeSoto Hotel to discuss Bryan's candidacy. Attorney A.B. McMullen presided over the meeting. The participants concluded that sufficient demand existed for Bryan to enter the race and that a Bryan club should be organized to promote his candidacy. They expressed no "bitterness" toward Trammell, believing that he had performed in the Senate to the "best of his ability." They preferred Bryan for his publicity value, however; he would "put Florida on the map." They foresaw that whenever Bryan "arises to speak in the senate the reporters will sit up, and listen to what Senator Bryan of Florida has to say, and
they will report it throughout the land by means of the great leased fire [wire] services and special services of the newspapers."  

The Milton Gazette agreed with the Tampa Bryan zealots that he would be a very prominent figure in the Senate, but doubted that his prominence would do Florida much good. The paper argued that Bryan would be "spectacular," but would render very little service or attention to the needs of his Florida constituents. "It would make little difference whether Mr. Bryan was elected ... from Florida, or from any other state ..., he would be a conspicuous figure in national politics, and would really be a senator at large, rather than a senator from and for Florida."  

The Orlando Morning Sentinel, a paper which strongly backed Trammell, printed a telling feature which sought to remind readers of Bryan's pre-World War I political experiences. It carried at the head of a column a list of Trammell's electoral successes year by year, thereby illustrating his steady rise in Florida politics. Underneath, it printed a similar list of Bryan's political defeats. The article reappeared in other papers favoring Trammell, doubtless with considerable effect.  

At the end of March, Bryan wrote a letter to the editor of the Tampa Times explaining that he would come to a final decision early in April. "If," said Bryan, "the demonstration of interest is sufficient to constitute what I may interpret as a demand, I shall enter the race and visit all the counties." If he found it not sufficient, he would be relieved: "Every day convinces me of the vast opportunities offered for service for the state and the nation offered by the Senate, and yet I dread adding to the load I am carrying."
On the same day that Bryan's letter appeared, Trammell made a few remarks of his own with respect to the Bryan groundswell of support. Trammell claimed that William Walsh seemed to be the only person circulating Bryan petitions. Walsh, according to Trammell, had come to Miami only about a month previously, and had been in Florida for only a few months altogether, having arrived but recently from Pennsylvania. As to rumors he would not run against Bryan, but instead accept a Bryan-engineered appointment to a federal commission, Trammell denied them.76

George P. Raney, chairman of the Democratic state committee, joined the controversy in March. In a letter written at the end of the month and published in the Jacksonville Metropolis, Raney pointed to the constitutional provision mentioned earlier as an impassable obstacle to a Bryan campaign. Raney, however, seemed to feel that Bryan had never intended to run. He referred to a speech Bryan had made before the executive committee on Washington's birthday in which he had said: "I have told you and will tell you again whenever necessary that I will not go out and make a contest for any office."77

Joe L. Earman, former editor, politician, member of the Board of Control, and municipal judge from West Palm Beach, wrote a bitingly-satirical letter on the personalities of the contestants to the editor of the Tampa Morning Tribune in April. Earman, who had been an early supporter of and contributor to Sidney Catts and who had later fallen out with that sharp-tempered character, considered Bryan to be the same sort of scoundrel. He wrote scathingly of "Honorable Billie," who would "offer to sell us prohibition" and "a disbelief in the teachings of science and the high arts," just as Catts had. In addition, Bryan could be expected to denounce the work of President A.A. Murphree of the
University of Florida and President Edward Conradi of the women's college, and to pretend that the students at those schools had been taught to hate God and religion.

After denouncing Bryan as a religious bigot and defiler of higher education in the Catts mold, Earman turned to Trammell, characterizing the senator as "something of a confidence man himself." Trammell, said Earman, had "never accomplished anything," save be elected to office. Trammell's Senate record consisted solely "of votes. He casts his vote or introduces some bill that he knows will not pass, and then interviews the newspaper men." Earman warned that "if the Honorable Billie runs against the Honorable Park, the people will have to choose between two confidence men."³⁸

The voters of Florida never had the chance to choose between Bryan and Trammell, however. On April 11, 1922, Bryan released a signed statement to the press in Miami which definitely stated that he would not run for the Senate. He then left for Hot Springs, Arkansas, to join his wife.³⁹ Bryan's vaguely-phrased statement offered no straightforward explanation of how or why he had reached his decision. He did say that "no assurance of success, unless it were overwhelming would justify me in entering into a contest for office."⁴⁰ In other words, Bryan had decided, based at least partly on the evidence of the petitions, that he could not defeat Trammell.

This conclusion is the same one reached by Lawrence W. Levine in his study of the last decade of Bryan's life. Levine holds that "Bryan, at the age of sixty-two, with a wide range of activities to keep him busy, a desire to write his autobiography, an ailing wife to look after, and a serious case of diabetes, had more than a few doubts about the
wisdom of further burdening himself with the cares of public office."
However, "the most potent deterrent appears to have been his fear of
defeat." Fear of defeat had dogged Bryan throughout his half-hearted
flirtation with the Florida Democracy. In February 1922, he had written
to a newspaperman: "If, in a Democratic state, and after my experience
in public life, I was defeated for a nomination, my enemies throughout
the country would make effective use of it, and it might, by discrediting
me, impair my usefulness as a private in the ranks."

Undoubtedly relieved at Bryan's decision, Trammell managed to issue
a few gracious thoughts. He expressed himself as "very thankful" that
Bryan would not run. He had been a friend of Bryan for some years and
in accord with him on many public issues, so he would have "regretted"
running against him.

Not everyone proved to be as willing to forgive and forget as
Trammell, however. The paper Earman had previously owned, the Palm Beach
Post, issued a parting editorial shot at Bryan. The Post felt gratified
that Bryan would not run. It believed him to be insincere because it
felt he had tried very hard to become a candidate and had only given up
when he realized he would lose. The paper also feared that Bryan would
continue to scheme and meddle in Florida politics in the future—a pre-
diction which proved accurate in a limited sense. Bryan subsequently
worked for the passage of laws forbidding the teaching of evolution in
Florida, campaigned for election to the national Democratic convention
of 1924 in order to nominate Dr. A.A. Murphree for United States presi-
dent, and considered opposing Duncan Fletcher in the 1926 Senate
primary.
Less than a week after Bryan's withdrawal, Trammell journeyed to Tallahassee from Washington to qualify officially as a candidate. Since no other Democrats had come forward to qualify, and only six weeks remained before the primary, it appeared as though Trammell would be unopposed. In response to the inevitable newspaperman's question about Bryan, Trammell would only say that he felt sure he would have defeated Bryan should the contest have materialized.\textsuperscript{46}

As perhaps might have been expected, however, Bryan's refusal to run created an opportunity which at least one veteran Florida politician determined to exploit. Albert Gilchrist, the former governor and unsuccessful senatorial candidate in 1916, declared on April 25 that he would challenge Trammell. Gilchrist evidently made his decision on April 24, in Jacksonville, after several days of consultations with friends and supporters, and he personally telephoned the news to the Tampa Morning Tribune offices at midnight. Having made his announcement, Gilchrist repaired to his hotel room to think up a platform which he promised he would make publicly shortly.\textsuperscript{47}

Surprise characterized the response of most observers to Gilchrist's announcement. The possibility of his candidacy had been rumored but generally discounted. The Associated Press dispatch which carried his decision referred to it as "a bolt from the clear sky."\textsuperscript{48}

No dominant issue emerged in the short period of time between Gilchrist's announcement and the Democratic primary. Both Gilchrist and Trammell travelled across the state, speaking to small crowds, shaking hands, and visiting editors. This campaign in no way generated the excitement of the 1916 Bryan-Trammell or Knott-Catts races, nor even of the William Jennings Bryan episode.
Gilchrist once more indulged in his old habit of making fun of Trammell's appearance. He frequently referred to his opponent as "a handsome man with a head of hair." To this, one editor responded: "If Park Trammell had only had the good luck to be born ugly, and had grown bald-headed, his opponents would have had hard work to find something to say against him." Another old familiar charge brought out during the campaign involved Trammell's purported plagiarism of speeches by Henry Grady. The Tampa Times found itself criticized for resurrecting this old story. Why blame Trammell for borrowing the words of another, asked one paper, when the Times itself (following a common practice) regularly reprinted without identification editorials and features from other journals?

Occasionally, Trammell and Gilchrist appeared together publicly in a debate format. At his home town of Lakeland, Trammell spoke at length on the need for a fair bonus for veterans of the war. He emphasized that he had not been elected to the Senate in 1916 by the Catts vote, nor at any time by another man's supporters.

Trammell conducted a low-key campaign, as had always been his custom. He generally spoke of his record and of the issues in prosaic terms, and abstained from mentioning or criticizing his opponent. He did, however, advertise in the newspapers more than Gilchrist did.

Gilchrist's platform consisted of little other than his desire to be elected. In his advertising, he achieved new heights of vagueness for even a Florida campaign. He seems to have favored the sale or lease of the Muscle Shoals property to Henry Ford, better care for former soldiers and sailors, improved roads in Florida, American membership (with suitable reservations) in the League of Nations, economy in
government, less government regulation of business, and respect for state's rights. Above all, Gilchrist wanted the "sons and daughters of Florida" to vote for their "brother Albert." As he admonished them: "A tree which bringeth forth not good fruit is cut down and cast into the fire." "The same," said Gilchrist, "is true of a U.S. Senator." 57

Trammell's platform stressed the six years of experience and training he had acquired in the Senate. It called for reductions in freight and express rates, for the sale of railroad travel mileage books, for leasing Muscle Shoals to Ford, and it opposed federal anti-lynching legislation. 58 In addition, it pledged resistance to a high tariff on potash (which would be harmful to Florida phosphate interests), to the return of the saloon in any form, and it promised a "fair and just consideration" of the cause of the veterans. 59

After a month of campaigning, Gilchrist expressed a "generous estimate" of his chances to the editor of the Tallahassee Daily Democrat. He predicted that he would carry Florida's nine most populous counties—Duval, Hillsborough, Escambia, Dade, Alachua, Jackson, Marion, Monroe, and Santa Rosa. If he won in these more populated counties, he would achieve victory. He did not explain, however, why he expected to be a more attractive candidate than Trammell in the more urbanized areas of Florida. 60

The 1922 primary took place on June 6, and Trammell decisively defeated Gilchrist by 59,232 to 29,527 votes. 61 In Duval County, Trammell gathered 6,029 votes to Gilchrist's 3,787. 62 In Escambia, he polled 2,907 to his opponent's 2,190. 63 Trammell did particularly well in Hillsborough (4,323 to 1,570), Orange (1,413 to 321), and Polk (2,768 to 557) counties. 64 Gilchrist won only Charlotte County in southwest
Florida, his home county; the others all went to Trammell. Early returns proved so favorable that Trammell issued a victory statement on election night thanking his friends for their continued support. On June 12, he left Tallahassee for Washington.

As always, the general election proved an anticlimax to the Democratic primary fight. Trammell's opponent on November 7 was William Claibourne Lawson, founder of the Lawson Realty Company at Orlando. A patent attorney, Lawson had only moved to Florida in 1919. Early in 1922, he organized the Independent Republican Party of Florida with the goal of driving the remaining blacks out of the state's Republican organization. Despite this innovation, Trammell swept Lawson in every county; in Baker County, Lawson failed to receive a single vote. He managed only 6,074 votes statewide to Trammell's 45,707. In contrast, six years previously Republican hopeful W.R. O'Neal had gained 8,774 votes against Trammell, and in 1920, Republican Senate candidate John M. Cheney gathered 37,065 against Fletcher.

Notes

2. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 8, 21, May 4, 1921.
3. Ibid., May 11, 31, 1921.
5. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, May 23, 1921.
7. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, May 23, 1921.
8. Ibid., May 24, 1921.
9. Ibid., June 2, 1921.
10. Ibid., June 11, 1921.
16. Palm Beach Post, quoted in Ocala Evening Star, February 3, 1922.
18. Gainesville News, quoted in ibid., February 8, 1922.
22. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, March 8, 1922.
23. Tampa Morning Tribune, March 16, 1922.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Orlando Morning Sentinel, March 15, 1922.
30. Tampa Morning Tribune, March 16, 1922.
31. Ibid., March 17, 1922; Orlando Morning Sentinel, March 17, 1922.
32. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, March 23, 1922.
34. Orlando Morning Sentinel, quoted in Ocala Evening Star, March 25, 1922.
35. Tampa Times, quoted in Ocala Evening Star, March 28, 1922.
37. Jacksonville Metropolis, quoted in ibid., April 1, 1922. See also, Ocala Evening Star, April 3, 1922.
38. Tampa Morning Tribune, quoted in Ocala Evening Star, April 11, 1922.
40. Ibid.; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 12, 1922; Ocala Evening Star, April 12, 1922.
41. Levine, Defender of the Faith, 241.
42. William Jennings Bryan to J. Fred Essary, February 15, 1922, quoted in ibid., 241-42.
43. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 17, 1922.
44. Palm Beach Post, quoted in Ocala Evening Star, April 17, 1922.
46. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 20, 1922.
47. Ibid., April 25, 1922; Ocala Evening Star, April 25, 1922.
48. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 25, 1922.
49. Ocala Evening Star, May 19, 1922.
50. Ibid., May 8, 1922.
51. Ibid., May 13, 1922.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., May 6, 1922.
54. Ibid., May 15, 1922.
55. Ibid., June 3, 1922.
56. Ibid., June 5, 1922.
57. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, May 17, 1922.
60. Ibid., May 25, 1922.
61. Florida, Report of the Secretary of State, 1921-1922 (Tallahassee, 1923), foldout election results table.
64. Florida, Report of the Secretary of State, 1921-1922, foldout election results table.
65. Ibid.
66. Ocala Evening Star, June 8, 1922; Tallahassee Daily Democrat, June 13, 1922.
Trammell's second Senate term (1923-1929) coincided with both the era of the Florida Boom and the great national period of prosperity. In Florida, however, good times gave way to hard in 1926, and continued until the outbreak of the Second World War, although partially alleviated by New Deal spending and a revival of the tourist industry in the middle 1930s. Already underway at the time of Trammell's reelection in 1922, the Boom reached its high point in 1925. It died in 1926 of its own excesses, however. A disastrous hurricane in September of that year followed financial collapse and Florida's depression era began three years before the rest of the country ran into real trouble. Another killer hurricane in 1928 added to the economic difficulties which the state experienced until the influx of federal military facilities and payrolls in the 1940s.

Despite economic fluctuations, the state's population increased rapidly in the 1920s. Communities throughout the state grew, but the most dramatic changes occurred in the southern portions of the peninsula. The general population rose from 968,470 in 1920, to 1,263,540 in 1925, and to 1,468,211 in 1930. Jacksonville remained the largest city, but Miami moved up from fourth (29,571) to second place (110,637). Tampa doubled its population during the decade (from 51,608 to 101,161), and
was Florida's third largest city. Saint Petersburg ranked fourth, with 40,425 inhabitants.¹

In the period between 1921 and 1925, the legislature created thirteen new counties, bringing the total to the current sixty-seven. Nine of these lay in the southern portion of the state. The establishment of Charlotte, Glades, Hardee, Highlands, Sarasota, Collier, Hendry, Indian River, and Martin counties illustrates the shifting population in Florida.

Great advances took place during the twenties in both automobile and railroad transportation. In particular, the administration of Governor John W. Martin stressed the need for new roads.² Before the 1924 election, Florida had built only 748 miles of hard-surfaced roads. By 1930, the state maintained 3,254 miles of highway. During 1926, contracts for $11,226,598.92 were let by Florida's road department. The Gandy Bridge linking Tampa and Saint Petersburg opened in November 1924, and the Tamiami Trail from Tampa to Miami on April 25, 1928.³

Railroad construction, which had advanced little between 1900 and 1920, also picked up during the decade. The Seaboard Air Line constructed 238 miles of track from Coleman to Sebring, Palm Beach, and Miami. Both the Seaboard and the Atlantic Coast Line extended down the lower west coast. The Florida East Coast double-tracked its lines from Jacksonville to Miami. By the end of the decade, most of the railroad mileage in the state belonged to these three main systems.

In 1927, a political unit called the Florida Inland Navigation District was created to purchase and turn over to the federal government the east coast canal, known today (1979) as the intracoastal waterway. Beginning in Spanish times, the series of lagoons and rivers stretching
from Cumberland Sound north of Fernandina to Miami had offered a protected route of travel. In 1881, a charter was granted to the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company to remove obstructions and connect the various bodies of water. There was little progress before 1889, but then the company was reorganized and it obtained a legislative land grant of 3,840 acres for each mile of waterway constructed. In the 1890s, the federal government took over 138 miles of the canal route, in exchange for improving the channel of the Indian River from Goat Creek to Indian River Inlet.

From 1893 to 1895, Henry M. Flagler directed the canal company, subordinating it to the interests of the Flagler system of railroads and hotels. He invested $500,000 in the canal company, and received in return 25,000 acres of land which had been awarded to the canal company. The canal was declared completed in 1912, at a total cost of over $3,500,000, and a subsidy of 1,030,128 acres of state land. It never lived up to its proponents' expectations.

The canal was poorly constructed and maintained and failed to generate much revenue from tolls. The 1927 navigation district, made up of commissioners from eleven east coast counties, floated a bond issue, purchased the canal for $725,000, and turned it over to the federal government in 1929. Between 1930 and 1935, government engineers widened and deepened the canal. Despite federal improvements, however, the canal could not furnish the rapid transportation necessary to carry the perishable vegetable crops of south Florida to northern markets.

These improvements in transportation obviously contributed to the real estate Boom in Florida. The story of the Florida Boom is well known. It began gathering momentum in 1921. The winter "season" of 1924-1925
never really ended, for more people arrived than had left. Speculation exploded in the late summer of 1925, and speculative business ventures drove sound ones to disaster. As popular historian Frederick Lewis Allen wrote in Only Yesterday:

The whole city [of Miami] had become one frenzied real-estate exchange. There were said to be 2,000 real-estate offices and 25,000 agents marketing house-lots or acreage. The shirt-sleeved crowds hurrying to and fro under the widely advertised Florida sun talked of binders and options and water-frontages and hundred-thousand-dollar profits. . . . The warm air vibrated with the clatter of riveters, for the steel skeletons of skyscrapers were rising to give Miami a skyline appropriate to its metropolitan destiny. Motor-busses roared down Flagler Street, carrying "prospects" on free trips to watch dredges and steam-shovels converting the outlying mangrove swamps . . . into gorgeous Venetian cities. . . .

Nor was Miami alone booming. The whole strip of coast line from Palm Beach southward was being developed into an American Riviera; for sixty-odd miles it was being rapidly staked out into fifty-foot lots. The fever had spread to Tampa, Sarasota, St. Petersburg, and other cities and towns on the West Coast.

Even at the peak of the Boom, however, problems began to manifest themselves. In January 1925, an old Danish naval training ship sank in the channel in Miami's harbor and kept dozens of ships out of port for weeks. During the summer of 1925, both the Seaboard and East Coast Line railroads were forced to repair their tracks, and an embargo had to be placed on incoming freight. Later in the year, a second ship, the Mary A. Diebold of Boston, grounded in the channel and again strangled the port. At the same time that her transportation facilities were breaking down under the burden of conveying people and building supplies, Florida began to receive critical attention in the national press. Jealous businessmen and bankers in other parts of the United States were
expressing concern and dismay over the loss of large numbers of people and considerable amounts of money to Florida.

A loss of confidence, probably unavoidable in view of the excesses which had gone on, began to deflate the Boom. Bank deposits declined as buyers defaulted on their payments, and bank failures resulted. A hurricane which struck Miami on September 19, 1926, killed any immediate hope of a business revival. The total casualties included 392 dead and 6,281 injured. Another hurricane in September 1928, and the flooding it caused, killed between 1,850 and 2,000 persons.

While it lasted, the Boom helped foster the growth of a large illegal liquor trade in Florida. With the introduction of national Prohibition enforcement in 1920, Florida became a prime area of liquor smuggling. Small boats took advantage of the state's extensive coast line to smuggle not only liquor, but also aliens and narcotics. Local officials frequently proved indifferent to enforcement--when not actually bribed--and inadequate numbers of federal officers and Coast Guard vessels could not halt the traffic. Some moonshining operations also existed, despite the "dry" histories of many older counties.

As for politics on the state level in the 1920s, the cast of office-seekers remained largely unchanged. Cary A. Hardee, a banker from Live Oak and a veteran of the legislature, won election as governor in 1920 over Van C. Swearingen, Catts's attorney general. Also in that year, Senator Duncan Fletcher won reelection to a third term by easily defeating outgoing Governor Catts.7

In 1924, John W. Martin used his experience as mayor of Jacksonville as a stepping stone to the governorship. Running during good times, Martin advocated a state road building program and a businesslike
administration of the state's affairs. A Florida booster as well as a politician who had served an apprenticeship in Democratic affairs, Martin kept his campaign promises with regard to roads and schools. In 1926, two veteran politicians again clashed in the Senate race. Hotel Commissioner Jerry Carter, a former travelling salesman from west Florida and an original Catts supporter and early appointee, challenged Fletcher, then sixty-seven years old. Once again, however, Fletcher proved unbeatable, thrashing Carter by a nine to one margin.

The presidential contest in 1928 overshadowed the race for Trammell's Senate seat. Once more in the latter race, the leading candidates were men who had established themselves in the pre-war era. Trammell, Martin, and the other successful candidates of the 1920s had all been products of the same system of political seasoning and training which had existed since the 1890s. Until outsider David Sholtz's successful gubernatorial race of 1932, based on popular disgust with incumbents and a platform of pre-New Deal activism, no major candidate except Catts in 1916 had failed to come up through the existing system. Even young Claude Pepper ran within the system in 1934, his New Deal rhetoric obscuring the essential conservatism of his platform and his Democratic loyalism. Only those who had served an apprenticeship in state office and party fieldwork could hope to win a Florida Democratic primary for the offices of governor or senator.

Trammell's second term fell within what one noted historian has described as the "Era of Republican Ascendancy." The Republican party dominated American politics during this period of widespread prosperity, and very little national legislation of lasting historical significance came before or out of the Senate. The great issues of war, peace, the
League of Nations, and progressive era reform either had disappeared or were forgotten. The people concerned themselves much more with business expansion, social change, and technological innovation, than with politics. Americans turned their eyes homeward, not just in disillusionment but in curiosity and wonder, at the way their lives had changed in material and in many other ways.

In Florida, the first half of the decade brought good times and a steadily increasing population. The Boom era affected not only the Miami area, but every other part of the state. The population began to change in qualitative as well as quantitative terms. People from outside the South, as well as those from the depressed rural areas of nearby states, moved into Florida's expanding urban centers--Dade, Palm Beach, Pinellas, Hillsborough, and Duval counties.13

It should be emphasized, however, that the fundamentals of the political system in Florida were not altered greatly in the 1920s, except with respect to the establishment of woman suffrage in 1920. This step obviously brought a large number of potential voters into the political system, but the women voted in much the same way as their husbands and fathers had voted.

Blacks, for the most part, remained excluded from the political machinery and were frequently outside the protection of the law as well, despite making up roughly 31 percent of the population. Malapportionment of the legislature kept the increases in state population from being adequately translated into representation and political power. The Democratic party remained dominant, thanks to its historical and racial traditions, despite the growth of a white Republican party in Florida. The Republican vote for governor and senator in Florida at this time is
misleading because the party really consisted of only a few wealthy businessmen, developers, and growers who attracted Democratic votes during good times. The victory of Hoover over Smith for president in 1928 had its roots in anti-wet, anti-Catholic, and anti-urban feeling among Florida Democrats. In fact, that very vote may be the best illustration of the basic conservatism of Florida voters in the 1920s. They could be driven outside the national Democratic party only by the candidacy of a man they illogically feared and hated and who seemed the personification of alien values.

As long as a politician remembered the conservative biases of the Florida Democratic voter, he could do or say almost anything he pleased. Only during election campaigns did Floridians pay attention to national politics, or to their national officeholders. Except for during campaigns and legislative sessions, they paid little attention to state politics. This widespread indifference to the behavior of state and national politicians, except during designated political times, continued in Florida until the New Deal years.

The voters of Florida had little information about the behavior of their national political representatives. Sustained political analysis by competent journalists of the legislative process in Washington did not appear in the Florida press during the 1920s and early 1930s. Evidently the publishers of even the largest Florida papers believed that few people cared to read about Florida's senators and congressmen and their daily activities and performance. It is equally possible that the publishers had no desire to contribute to the political education of the masses, since they were themselves often servants of the status quo. Only when a national press service covered an event of significance did
such information appear in Florida papers, and these wire stories did not relate the importance of the news event to the Florida scene.

Of course, such a state of affairs cannot be considered peculiar to Florida or the times. American politics have always, in the national period, been geared to electioneering rather than performance. What made the conditions in Florida so undemocratic, however, is that the majority of the voters had no access to the information which could have enabled them to evaluate the performance of their officials as against their promises. No information could be obtained from candidates of a rival party, nor from the newspapers. Even if such information had been available to most of the voters, however, it is questionable if his or her limited education could have allowed them to use it. Most schools were inadequate, and the official 1925 state census illiteracy rate of 2.2 percent for whites is undoubtedly too low. Functional illiteracy was widespread, and the Holmes County illiteracy rate of 16.3 percent for whites is not untypical for rural counties.  

Politics in Florida, therefore, remained a matter of personality, appearances, and promises. This is what Floridians understood by the term "representative government." They judged candidates in terms of their statements at election time and their personal knowledge of the candidates. This is why campaigning of the hand-shaking, back-slapping, name-remembering variety worked so well for Trammell. A candidate could not only win votes by making his own identity and beliefs known to the voters, he could destroy the impressions which his opponent had made.

This is the reason why Trammell remained so untouchable within the Florida political system. He understood it and fit into it perfectly. He had the ability to meet people easily, and he enjoyed the opportunity
to do so. He made a good impression in terms of appearance, dress, speech, and manners. He remembered people by name and he listened to what they had to say.

Trammell had no need to make a record in order to win office because the people had no way of judging his record. They would not have cared about it anyway—unless he had somehow violated the basic mores of the electorate. The voters cast their ballots for him as an individual. They weighed the statements he made against the statements of his opponents and judged, without considering "objective evidence," which had spoken the truth. This image of personal worth and trustworthiness, probably not very different from the image projected by President Dwight Eisenhower in the 1950s, is what made Trammell invincible at the polls for so many years. The same image made it possible for him to make campaign statements and charges which by 1934 would reach incredible proportions, without needing to produce proof to back up his words.

Just as Trammell correctly perceived what his role as a campaigner should be, he also shared with the Democratic voters a simple definition of the role he must play in the Senate. Trammell realized that he did not have to act as the voice of the people. The people had no need for a voice. They handled their day-to-day business with their local institutions. In certain instances, such as cases of rape or racial improprieties, they sometimes went outside of the law to resolve their problems and resorted to violence. Trammell thus functioned as very much a nineteenth-century senator. He reacted! He spoke and voted on issues before the Senate, but he had no personal ideas for remaking the world.

Indeed, Trammell knew his own limitations and understood well the political system in which he had been raised. Only when the impact of
the First World War and the Great Depression began to alter the parameters of the national political system did Trammell's mode of behavior in the Senate really begin to give way to other modes. Even then, the Florida system did not change significantly. So Trammell continued to get elected, and to speak and vote in the Senate in the way that he had in past years. Not until the population and economic changes spurred on by the Second World War and the civil rights movement of the post-war years had manifested themselves in Florida would he have needed to change.

Altogether, Trammell introduced 153 bills during his second Senate term. Of these, only 12 actually passed and 4 became law. The first of these (S. 3691) conveyed a strip of federal land 5 feet wide and 122 feet long to the city of Lakeland to facilitate the widening of a street. The second (S. 5499) authorized a survey of the Caloosahatchee River drainage area and Lake Okeechobee. A third (S. 484) permitted the secretary of the interior to sell a certain piece of land in Houston County, Alabama, to Joe W. Williams of Chipley, Florida. The other Trammell bill (S. 771) which became law originally provided for the loan of the U.S.S. Dispatch to the fisheries department of the state of Florida. After the measure had passed the Senate, however, Representative Herbert Jackson Drane persuaded the House to give rather than loan the ship to Florida, and the Senate concurred in the Drane amendment.

The majority of the Trammell bills fell into two categories. Seventy-seven of these bills either sought to establish or to enlarge postoffices and federal buildings in Florida. Forty-three others provided for pensions or for measures of relief and redress for individuals.
The remaining bills which Trammell introduced touched upon many areas. A conservationist bill which he initially offered in January 1924 (S. 2205), and reintroduced in December 1924 (S. 3723), January 1926 (S. 2258), and December 1927 (S. 1458), would have provided for a survey of the natural oyster beds in state waters. Trammell continued to be concerned about transportation costs as they affected Florida farmers and growers. The railroads had charged consistently higher freight rates to transport Florida products to the rest of the South, the Middle West, and the Far West, than they had charged on most goods passing through the South. In February 1925, February 1926, and December 1927, Trammell introduced a bill requiring that members of the Interstate Commerce Commission be appointed from different geographical sections and that not more than one member be appointed from any one state. He hoped that equal geographic representation on the ICC would eliminate sectional discrimination in freight rates.

Perhaps because of his earlier involvement with May Mann Jennings and the creation of Royal Palm State Park, Trammell in these years became an advocate of the establishment of a national park in the Everglades. The granting of Paradise Key to the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs in 1915 for preservation as Royal Palm State Park provided a rallying point for groups which emerged in the 1920s and called for an Everglades park. In 1929, the women's organization agreed to give Royal Palm State Park to the federal park whenever it came into being. Also in that year, the legislature created a commission to acquire lands (but failed to fund it), and Congress authorized investigation of a possible park. A favorable report was submitted by the secretary of agriculture in 1931, but not until 1934 did a park bill get through Congress.
During his second term, pressure from conservationists prompted Trammell to introduce bills creating a park in the Everglades. In April 1926 and January 1928, Trammell's park bills failed. On February 9, 1928, he offered a measure (S. 3103) calling for an investigation of the advisability of establishing a park, but this third bill also died in committee.

Despite his good intentions, and the help of Senator Fletcher, Trammell had no political clout in the Senate during the twenties, and his bills, despite their merits, were routinely ignored. In April 1926, and again in December 1927, Trammell failed to have enacted a bill providing for a reduction in the rate of postage on grove and farm products. Pro-business Republican senators also smothered in committee two bills which would have forbidden freight, express, and passenger rate hikes without authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and would have provided shippers with at least sixty days notice of hearings on applications for rate increases. The tight-fisted Republican Senate had no intention of spending money to please the powerless junior senator from Florida, for he represented the wrong party. The Senate failed to enact Trammell bills which would have authorized a survey of the Everglades to obtain information regarding reclamation (introduced in January 1927), established a federal fish hatchery in Florida (December 1927), provided for federal cooperation and funding in the reclamation of swamp or overflowed lands (January 1928), and provided federal aid for flood control and navigation improvement on Lake Okeechobee and the Caloosahatchie River (January 1929).

Just as he had done in his first term, Trammell in his second regularly attended committee meetings but contributed little. He served
on the committees on claims, interoceanic canals, naval affairs, post offices and post roads, and public buildings and grounds. As illustrated above, his committee assignments did not help him secure many pensions or postoffices for Florida; those which were secured were a result of the work of his colleague Fletcher and the House delegation.

Few issues of lasting importance came before the Senate between 1923 and 1929. One which did, however, is worthy of mention for the light it throws on Trammell's attitude toward possible government action to aid the rural areas of west Florida--the Muscle Shoals controversy. During the First World War, the federal government had constructed a dam and two nitrate plants on the Tennessee River at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, in the northwest corner of the state. In 1921, Henry Ford offered to buy the development for $5,000,000--a fraction of its true value--and to use the facility to manufacture low-priced fertilizer for farmers and supply the government with nitrates for explosives. Many farmers across the nation had a high opinion of Ford, and they reinforced the determination of the Republican administrations to sell the facility in keeping with their philosophy of avoiding competition with private business. Ford, however, had not expected the spirited opposition of Senator George Norris of Nebraska. An advocate of water-generated electricity, Norris proposed the creation of a government corporation to manage Muscle Shoals for the people of the Tennessee Valley region. For a decade, Norris would skillfully fight all efforts to sell Muscle Shoals.

On March 10, 1924, the House of Representatives passed a bill (H.R. 518) accepting Ford's offer. All four Florida representatives--Herbert J. Drane, Frank Clark, John H. Smithwick, and William J. Sears--voted yea. In the Senate, however, Norris made use of his position as
chairman of the Agriculture Committee to rewrite the bill so as to provide for the creation of a government corporation to operate the dam and plants. On January 14, 1925, the Senate passed Norris's version, with both Trammell and Fletcher supporting the measure. Since a conference committee could not reach agreement on the two versions, Ford eventually withdrew his offer. The Florida Times-Union endorsed the House measure, saying that it preferred that Muscle Shoals be sold to Ford rather "than let the property go to waste," but it made no comment when the Norris bill passed the Senate.

Norris remained determined. He managed to get his plan through Congress in the spring of 1928 in the form of a joint resolution. With Trammell absent on the campaign trail, the Senate passed S.J.R. 46 on March 13, 1928. Fletcher and forty-seven other senators voted yea; twenty-five voted nay. The House followed suit on May 16 without a roll call. A conference report on S.J.R. 46 won House approval on May 25. Only Florida Congressman Robert A. "Lex" Green of Starke voted for the report; Drane, Sears, and Thomas A. Yon of Tallahassee paired themselves and could not vote. The same day, the Senate also passed the conference report. Trammell remained absent, but Fletcher again voted for the measure. All of Norris's efforts were frustrated, however, when President Calvin Coolidge, whose philosophy matched that of the conservative, pro-business attitudes of the Republican party, pocket-vetoed the joint resolution.

Subsequently, during Trammell's third Senate term (1929-1935), Norris again managed to bring his plan to a vote. It first passed the Senate on April 4, 1930 (as S.J.R. 49). Neither Florida senator voted, but Trammell had paired himself for the joint resolution.
amended and passed the joint resolution on May 28, 1930. Once more Florida's Congressman Green voted yea. Drane, Yon, and Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen of Miami (the daughter of William Jennings Bryan) did not vote. Nevertheless, when the report of the conference committee came before the House on February 20, 1931, Green, Drane, Yon, and Owen all supported it. Trammell and Fletcher likewise voted for the conference report three days later when it passed the Senate. The Times-Union gave front page coverage to passage of the report by each chamber, but carried no roll call vote or editorial remarks as to the wisdom of passage.

The Norris measure still did not become law, however, because President Herbert Hoover vetoed it as socialistic on March 3, 1931. The Senate attempted but failed to override the veto on March 3. Trammell and Fletcher voted with the majority, but once again their stand was ignored editorially by Jacksonville's major daily paper. Thanks to the untiring efforts of Norris, Muscle Shoals remained in government hands, where it became the basis of the Tennessee Valley Authority under Franklin Roosevelt. The TVA did not directly serve the people of west Florida, but it served tens of thousands of Americans who had been living under the same conditions of rural poverty, ignorance, and isolation as the farmers of west Florida.

As detailed above, nativist feelings existed among many Floridians even before the vitriolic campaign of 1916 stirred them to a fever pitch. War propaganda and disillusionment with the peace that followed did little to disperse these feelings. Thus, when the propagandists of the revived Ku Klux Klan sowed their ideas in the state in the early twenties, they found many likely candidates willing to join their fraternal order of bigotry. Unlike the original klan, the new klan was
very adaptable in its hatred, and amenable to the narrow and bigoted Protestantism which Catts had manipulated.

The historian of the hooded order of Florida has written that: "The story of the Florida Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's was not one of a large statewide organization but rather that of a myriad of growing, active individual Klaverns."\(^{46}\) Stonewall Jackson No. 1 of Jacksonville was the largest klavern in the state, followed by John B. Gordon No. 24 of Miami, and Olustee No. 20 of Saint Petersburg. Other, smaller chapters were scattered across the state, however.

The Florida klansmen worked to keep blacks out of politics and engaged in local politics themselves. They enjoyed fraternal activities such as barbeques and picnics. They distributed flags and Bibles at high school dedications, worked to keep Jacksonville's beaches free from commercial construction, and operated a free day nursery in Lake Worth. They also opposed horse and dog racing and all types of gambling.

Fear and fraternalism brought klansmen together, but the combination often resulted in violence. In 1921, a West Indian clergyman in Miami was flogged, tarred, and feathered for supposedly preaching racial equality. In 1923, three Kissimmee men were similarly mistreated, and a series of floggings took place in Tampa. During 1925-1926, at least sixty-three floggings were carried out in Putnam County.

Klan violence in Florida during the 1920s seems to have been widespread, individualistic, and not well organized. The klan provided a rationale and comrades for criminals who might have lacked the nerve to carry out their persecutions by themselves. Klansmen were frequently uneducated, semiliterate men who were bewildered by social changes which were altering the way of life they had known. They responded to what
they perceived as threats to their own values by striking out at blacks, foreigners, Catholics, and persons who practiced different moral and ethical codes. Their movement was never cohesive enough to influence state politics, but it did contribute to the climate of political fear and hate which defeated Al Smith's 1928 presidential bid in Florida.\(^{47}\)

Trammell was very aware of the strength of nativism in Florida. He was not himself a klansman, nor did he advocate violence against or persecution of American citizens. He did come from the same background, however, as many Florida klansmen and bigots, and he understood their fears. He appreciated their concern that the infusion of continually larger numbers of immigrants bearing strange political and religious ideas would result in undesirable consequences for Americans like himself. These facts explain Trammell's subsequent behavior during the 1928 presidential campaign and also his attitude toward immigration.

The executions of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti by the state of Massachusetts on August 23, 1927, and the protest demonstrations which accompanied them, prompted Trammell (in response to a reporter's question) to express himself on the need for stricter immigration laws. Sacco and Vanzetti, Italian-born anarchists, had been convicted, many felt unfairly, of two hold-up murders committed in South Braintree on April 15, 1920. According to Trammell: "The recent demonstrations incident to the Sacco-Vansetti [sic] case emphasize[s] [sic] the necessity of this country barring from its shores all alien anarchists and all others who are enemies to the American government and for the deportation of such of these as may now be in the United States. I have nothing but the most kindly feeling toward the foreign born who have come to America and have made good citizens and been loyal to the land of their adoption,
but, as for the alien anarchist and all other reds who do not believe in our government, who are in constant rebellion and warfare against our American institutions, they should in my opinion, be deported one and all of them. A man," declared Trammell, "who is traitor to his flag in time of war is shot at sun rise, then certainly deportation is not any to[o] severe for those who would in time of peace conspire to destroy or attempt to overthrow the government that is succoring them."

"If," Trammell continued, warming to his theme, "the laws are not ample for the deportation of these alien anarchists and reds who are menacing our American ideals and our unequal [sic] system of government, then I am for so strengthening the law that they can be driven back to the land from whence they came. Many foreigners who have come to this country have made and are making good citizens but, on account of the commendable conduct of those, we Americans should not feel that we are due to give any quarter to the undesirable alien. I," the senator concluded, "am for the strictest immigration laws for keeping the quota of immigrants at the minimum."

The interrelated issues of immigration, the klan, and nativism had disrupted the 1924 Democratic national convention and denied the presidential nomination both to Al Smith and William Gibbs McAdoo, Wilson's treasury secretary and son-in-law. Only a month after Trammell expressed his opinion on radicals and immigration, McAdoo withdrew from the preliminary campaigning for the 1928 nomination, which seemed to assure the selection of Smith. Senators Thomas Heflin of Alabama and Thaddeus H. Caraway of Arkansas continued to denounce Governor Smith as a servant of the Catholic hierarchy, but no other strong candidate appeared to challenge him. Such was the far from harmonious situation within the
national Democratic party at the beginning of 1928 when Trammell himself faced another election campaign.

Notes


17. CR 68:3, 2418; CR 68:6, 256.


29. CR 68:1, 1108; CR 69:1, 342; CR 69:2, 1161; CR 70:2, 1712.

30. CR 65:1, 156; CR 67:1, 42; CR 69:1, 481-82.


32. CR 66:2, 1808.


34. CR 69:4, 4635.

35. CR 69:8, 8883.


37. CR 69:9, 9842.

38. CR 72:6, 6511.

39. CR 72:9, 9767.
40. CR 74:6, 5570-71.
41. CR 74:6, 5716.
42. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 21, 23, 1931.
44. CR 74:7, 7098.
47. Ibid., 209-15.
In the 1915 campaign, Trammell had defeated a well-known incumbent senator. Nathan Bryan had possessed brains and ability, in addition to being an articulate man with impeccable credentials as a Broward progressive. Trammell had frightened off William Jennings Bryan in 1922, and had not had to work very hard to defeat Albert Gilchrist. In 1928, however, Trammell faced a different kind of challenge. His opponent possessed a well-known name, a record of genuine accomplishment as governor, energy to conduct an extensive canvass, and would not hesitate to conduct an all-out, aggressive, abusive campaign.

John Wellborn Martin had won election as governor in 1924 by appealing to those who believed in and profited from economic and population growth in the state. On December 20, 1927, Martin announced that he would oppose Trammell in the upcoming Democratic primary. Martin, who was born on June 21, 1884, came from Plainfield in Marion County, Florida. He received his education in the common schools and worked as a clerk, tobacco salesman, and travelling salesman as a young man. Martin also studied law at night and managed to pass the bar exam in 1914, after which he established a law partnership with Gary Alexander in Jacksonville.

In 1917, Martin ran against and defeated J.E.T. Bowden for the position of mayor of Jacksonville. He subsequently defeated Bowden again
in the 1919 election, and John E. Matthews two years later. In 1924, Martin beat ex-Governor Catts, former House Speaker and Board of Control member Frank E. Jennings of Jacksonville, Worth Trammell, and Tampa farmer and Democratic activist Charles H. Spencer in the Democratic gubernatorial primary. Martin's 1924 platform called for a businessman's administration which would create a state system of good roads and complete Everglades drainage.⁹

Although Martin could point to several important achievements which had taken place at his instigation during his governorship, his most significant accomplishment lay in the construction of paved roads. Martin tripled the number of miles of good roads in Florida and reorganized the state road department into an active and powerful agency. He also obtained a constitutional amendment creating school districts partially financed by gasoline taxes (which greatly aided public education in poor counties) and a law providing for reapportionment of the legislature.⁴

A man of explosive temper, Martin alienated several members of his own administration during his term. This particularly hurt him in the case of Dr. Fons Hathaway, the man who ran Martin's roadbuilding program. Although the press portrayed Hathaway as the Martin administration's candidate in the 1928 governor's race, Martin and Hathaway had fallen out and did not personally support each other.⁵ Nevertheless, Martin suffered serious damage because of his identification with Hathaway and Hathaway's lack of support for him. In addition to Martin's personal flaws, however, an event took place in 1926 over which he could exert no control and yet which cost him many votes.

On September 19, 1926, a severe hurricane struck south Florida—the first major hurricane since 1910. The storm inflicted serious property
damage and caused extensive loss of life, not only in the Miami area but also in the Everglades. The leading edge of the storm's counterclockwise winds first moved the waters of Lake Okeechobee to the southwest end of the lake, and then the winds on the other side of the hurricane's eye hurled a huge wall of water against the northeast shore of the lake. The town of Moore Haven suffered almost complete destruction; total casualties included 392 dead and 6,281 injured.

The great Florida real estate frenzy of 1925 had slackened considerably during 1926, and the hurricane damage and negative publicity put an end to it. In the words of one historian: "The 1926 blow did not kill the boom, but it certainly buried it in devastating fashion." The storm, and the deterioration of the Boom, also caused significant damage to Martin's career.

In order to prevent further disasters, and to complete the long-sought goal of draining the Everglades, Martin asked the 1927 legislature to authorize a $20,000,000 bond issue to be paid off through the levying of an ad valorem tax on lands and improvements within the Everglades drainage district. In the years since 1907, however, Miami's suburbs had grown to the west and property owners in these areas generally opposed Martin's plan for new taxes. Although the legislature of 1927 enacted the Martin program into law, in July 1928 a federal court held that sale of the new bonds would impair the obligations of outstanding bond contracts and issued an injunction restraining the drainage board from selling the bonds. The United States Supreme Court later dismissed an appeal of this decision on a technicality.

Thus, Martin's plans for Everglades drainage became a political issue in 1928. At the time of the primary campaign (January-June 1928)
it had been enacted but not implemented. The accomplishments of the Martin administration with regard to good roads had been obscured in the public memory by the collapse of the Boom and the 1926 hurricane, and the drainage plan—especially its provision for taxation—constituted a vulnerable target for Martin's enemies. Trammell, who had contributed no tangible aid to drainage since 1913, did not let that stop him from attacking Martin's scheme.

Martin began his campaign for Trammell's seat in January 1928, and he continued for five months, until forced to stop by illness. He travelled the entire state, speaking to crowds from the panhandle to Key West. At first, Martin attempted to concentrate on his own record as governor. Inevitably, however, he began to talk about Trammell's record and his own views of what a senator should accomplish. Ultimately, the campaign degenerated into a nasty series of charges and countercharges by the two men.

Despite the growing animosity of the senatorial race, the 1928 Democratic gubernatorial and presidential campaigns in Florida overshadowed it and greatly influenced it. In the battle for governor, Martin found himself a dual target for all accusations directed at Dr. Fons A. Hathaway, his chairman of the road department and political heir apparent. Although the presidential race did not become dominant until after the nomination of Governor Al Smith of New York in June, the hatred and mistrust surrounding Smith's religion and position on Prohibition contributed to an atmosphere of confusion. The spectre of a Smith candidacy denied both publicity and thoughtful analysis to the senatorial campaign.
Martin opened his senatorial campaign in the panhandle. At Panama City, on the evening of January 31, 1928, he admitted that he had indeed spent more money than any other Florida governor in history. In return for this expenditure, however, the state now possessed a fine highway system.\(^\text{11}\) In appearances at Tampa on February 6, and Deland on February 16, Martin repeated this argument.\(^\text{12}\)

Trammell returned from Washington to open his campaign early in March. On Friday evening, March 2, he spoke at Orlando, where he criticized Martin's plans for Everglades. He also referred to the political machine which he believed Martin had built, and castigated his challenger for creating more state offices than any other governor.\(^\text{13}\) While Martin had certainly tried to appoint men friendly to him, Trammell's criticism overlooked the facts that times were good and that it was the legislature that had been responsible for appropriating money to build up necessary agencies like the road department.

At Cross City, on March 10, Martin claimed to have reduced state taxes and financed at least a six-month term for the public schools, and he indicted Trammell for a career of inactivity in the Senate.\(^\text{14}\) Two days later, at Monticello, the governor explained in detail how his Everglades financing program would work and how it would not tax counties outside the drainage district.\(^\text{15}\) The following evening, March 13, before a crowd of 1,000 in the Leon High School auditorium in Tallahassee, he labelled Trammell "a flat tire on the automobile of good government." He pointed out many of the accomplishments of his administration, including the construction of the new Martin state office building in Tallahassee and the paving of Old Spanish Trail from Jacksonville to Pensacola.\(^\text{16}\) He claimed--correctly--to have reduced the state millage
from 10.75 to 7.5 mills. Martin concluded by calling Trammell a "do nothing," who had spent twelve years in Congress without one meritorious achievement. 17

At Lake City, on March 22, Martin lambasted Trammell for abandoning his post in Washington to come home and politick. 18 A week later, at Sanford, he scourged his opponent for failing to work for improved navigation along the Saint Johns River. 19 At Kissimmee, Martin described the campaign as "one between inactivity and placid contentment on one side and energetic service for the state on the other." 20

Martin continued to vary his speeches according to the nature of his audience, emphasizing what he believed people in different regions might prefer to hear. At Gainesville, on April 2, he stated (with little exaggeration) that his administration had spent $1,400,000 on the first comprehensive expansion program for the University of Florida. Martin told 800 persons gathered outside the Alachua County Courthouse, the traditional site for political rallies in Gainesville, that he had spent twenty times as much on schools as Trammell had during his term as governor. 21 In Williston the next day, he again called for tariff protection for the growers of fruits and vegetables. The audience of farmers approved of Martin's remarks. 22

A capacity crowd filled the movie theatre in High Springs on April 4 to hear Martin denounce Trammell's inability to acquire public works for Florida. "Although my opponent in the senatorial race is a ranking Democrat," said Martin, "Florida cities have to get their postoffices and federal buildings through other representatives." 23 Therefore, Martin reasoned, "since Florida gets nothing now ... and cannot hope to receive anything in the nature of postoffices or other appropriations
from the senator's seniority, it should be abandoned as worthless."24

Martin, when he spoke at Inverness on April 5, attributed to Trammell charges that he had created a political machine. He referred to such tactics as the "last refuge of a defeated candidate." "The reason my opponent thinks a political machine has got him by the throat is because he has never had any active opposition before and doesn't know what to make of it. He will think he's been through a threshing machine when the election is over, but right now the only machine I control is the automobile that carries me around."25 At Cedar Key, on April 10, the governor pointed out with pride that he had built the first paved highway into the region.26

Trammell made a speech in Tallahassee on the evening of April 13, in which he pointed out the influence which his Senate seniority gave him with the White House and department officials. Neither his audience nor the reporter who covered his speech seems to have questioned how he had obtained such influence with the Republican national administration, however. Trammell went on to complain that much of the road work of the Martin administration had been done to create patronage jobs and to please certain powerful land holders such as Barron Collier, a prominent developer and telephone company magnate in southwestern Florida. The senator also accused Martin of keeping a personal press agent on the state payroll.27

That very day Martin levelled serious charges of his own before an audience of veterans and their wives at a Saint Cloud American Legion meeting and a crowd of 500 in Melbourne. Martin sharply criticized Trammell for having opposed President Wilson on the issue of the draft
when the United States had entered the war. He further impugned Trammell's patriotism by denouncing him for not speaking out against Germany at the time of the sinking of the Lusitania.\textsuperscript{28}

As he moved from central Florida into the southern part of the state, Martin seemed to become more aggressive. In Titusville, he said Trammell's "mythical memory" for names could not offset a "certain absent-mindedness" regarding campaign pledges. He accurately pointed out that Trammell had introduced bills calling for a fish hatchery, aid for Everglades drainage, and a fruit and vegetable tariff, and then abandoned them to come home and campaign.\textsuperscript{29}

At Stuart, Martin averred that only "active representation" in the Senate could result in the tariff protection and aid for coastal navigation necessary for his namesake county to develop.\textsuperscript{30} An open-air audience in West Palm Beach on April 17 heard Martin charge that Trammell "has abandoned his half-hearted efforts to get government flood control money for the Everglades, has discarded any pretext of working for a vegetable tariff and has no idea of how to go about obtaining appropriations for the harbors of Florida."\textsuperscript{31} While he had built six fish hatcheries in Florida, Martin told the Okeechobee voters on April 18, Trammell had never secured a federal hatchery which he had promised: "He had forgotten this hatchery just like he had forgotten his bill for federal aid in flood control of Lake Okeechobee. Evidently his far-famed memory had only been trained for names and faces and not for campaign promises."\textsuperscript{32}

A speech which Martin delivered in Orlando on April 19 marked an end to the first phase of his campaign. In it he succinctly but thoroughly covered the points he had developed over the previous three
and one-half months. "The state of Florida," said Martin, "for the past 12 years has been Trammelled by a placid, easy-going man in Washington who was content to draw $120,000 in salary, make his office his living quarters and keep up the pleasant fiction that he was advised of the birth of all the babies in the state, and could remember their given names." Now, after "his long rest there he has sufficient energy ... to come back [to Florida] and spend his time abusing me and the work I have done ... and to criticize the first paved road system Florida ever had, the first adequate school financing this state ever saw, and the kind of a business administration he could never conceive of or execute."

Trammell, Martin continued, "now has taken to wailing like a spanked child that a political machine has got hold of him, and that he is being hounded by this so-called machine which he says I control. That is the last desperate resort of a defeated man who has not even the foundation of a single public accomplishment to fall back on when the fighting gets hot."

Realizing Trammell's residual strength and the enmity which his own drainage program had aroused among many Dade County and south Florida residents, Martin escalated his attacks on Trammell after the Orlando speech. He did not abandon his criticisms of Trammell as a senator, but he increased his personal attacks on Trammell's intelligence, honesty, and dignity. On April 20, in Avon Park, Martin began this second phase of his campaign.

"Your United States senator," Martin charged, "whose business it was to defend the state in the North and at least give some time to his office in Washington, dropped everything for six months to sell lots here during the boom." Trammell, the governor explained, had "deserted his
duties and sidestepped his obligations to the state just as completely then as he is doing in this session of congress, which is getting along apparently just as well without him." "I," continued Martin, "had to make as much defense of the state as possible by speaking in Washington, Baltimore, Chicago, New York, Maine, Michigan, and even out west, while your United States senator stood on a soap box and auctioned off cheap lots. I think it is time to park him and let him finish selling the lots he still has on hand." Trammell did not deny this charge, but its validity is uncertain at best.

Less than a week later, on the evening of April 25, Martin delivered another scorching speech to a crowd in Saint Augustine. Martin told his audience that a system of extortion had existed in the senator's office for some time, operated by his younger brother and assistant, Lee Ripley Trammell. He quoted from a dozen appeals for money sent by Lee Trammell to persons who had written to the senator for help or favors. The letters implied that, before a petitioner would have his letter passed on to the senator, he would have to grant a "loan" to Lee Trammell. The letters also implied that, should such a "loan" not be forthcoming, the petitioner would stand small chance of seeing his message reach the senator or his business be attended to. Martin quoted one letter as follows: "I have an obligation in which my brother is indirectly concerned which unless paid immediately may cause undesirable publicity. Would you telegraph me, care Park, a three month's loan of $100. This very urgent or would not presume to make request." In summary, Martin hotly demanded, "Let the senator clean his own house before he comes back to Florida to pick flaws in my administration."
Martin now continued his attacks on Trammell's real estate venture and on his brother, while discussing good roads, lower taxes, longer school terms, and the rest of his own accomplishments. He carried the message to the voters of Jacksonville on April 26, Ocala on April 28, and Tampa on May 3.\(^3\) In addition, on May 7, in Arcadia, he criticized Trammell for being a friend of the conservative businessman Peter O. Knight of Tampa.\(^3\) The following day, Martin told a Leesburg audience that during the previous week over fifty persons had reported to him requests for loans sent to them by Lee Trammell.\(^3\)

The incumbent responded to Martin's offensive by levelling his own charges of extravagance and corruption in the sale of Everglades bonds which Martin had sought.\(^3\) He also completely denied— in a carefully-worded statement—personal complicity in the alleged misdoings of his brother: "The recent attack on my brother by my opponent... shows his desperation and unfair methods. I refuse to... wallow in the mire with Martin to discuss several of his relatives... on the State payroll and others who have been given a big lot of State business. I will leave the subject by stating... that in no instance has my brother, Lee Trammell--not my Secretary but a clerk in my office--at my suggestion or with my knowledge, consent or approval ever requested or obtained money as a loan or otherwise from any person who had business with me or my office, and intimation... of my approval or participation in these alleged transactions... is false in toto."\(^4\)

Despite Trammell's disclaimer, Martin remained on the offensive. At Eustis, on May 9, he again called Trammell a "do nothing" and blasted his brother.\(^4\) He denied Trammell's accusation of graft in the sale of the Everglades bonds by saying to a Clermont crowd, on May 10, that they had not yet been sold. In turn, Martin accused Trammell of borrowing $3,000 from the corporation which had been engaged in digging the
Saint Lucie Canal. 42 Martin invaded Polk County, Trammell's home grounds, to inform his listeners that the senator either would have to prove his vague charges of corruption or shut up. "He [Trammell] has found ... that he can't win on prejudice and ignorance as he did the first time he ran for the United States senate, but that he will have to deal in facts as I am doing," said Martin. 43

At a May 14 Saint Petersburg rally, the governor called the senator a "weakling" for having opposed the military conscription law. 44 He also suggested that during World War I Trammell had pretended to visit army camps in order to be absent from Senate votes on "hard" issues. 45 In Clearwater, he described Trammell as a man who had been extravagant in small ways ever since he had found it necessary to have legal help to conduct state business while attorney general. In fact, Martin said Trammell had done less as attorney general of his state than any other attorney general in the country. 46

Martin delivered a particularly scathing speech in Trammell's home town of Lakeland on the evening of May 16. He told an audience estimated at 1,000 that petty graft was too high a price to pay for a senator who could not even obtain a post office for his home town. Martin then proceeded to read the text of another letter from Trammell's office which he said had been received by the mayor of an east coast city who had sought an Annapolis appointment for his son: "I am going to write you with regard to some of my personal affairs and then ask you if you are in position to aid me. I am a brother to Senator Park Trammell and have been a clerk in his office for eight years and will be with him as long as he remains in the senate. I am being terribly annoyed now by an urgent obligation of $300 and I will have to borrow this. Can you accommodate..."
me? The favor will be of very great benefit and I will be ever grateful if you consider this request favorably. (signed) Lee R. Trammell.\textsuperscript{47}

The following evening, in Winter Haven, Martin had to cut the length of his address to one-half hour because of the deteriorating condition of his voice. After his presentation, he expressed himself as feeling optimistic about his strength in Polk County. Although he did not expect to win the county, he had hopes for victory in Haines City, Bartow, Lake Wales, Winter Haven, and possibly Frostproof.\textsuperscript{48}

In the face of Martin's barrage of charges, Trammell seemed unnerved. Perhaps he felt, as in the past, that by refusing to pay attention to his opponent he would deny him some publicity. Trammell may also have felt that his own supporters would remain faithful, regardless of whatever publicity the governor received. At any rate, he refrained from new attacks upon Martin during the remainder of the campaign. On May 17, at Leesburg, he contented himself with criticizing Martin for taking personal credit for all legislation and achievements during his governorship.\textsuperscript{49} On May 18, he spent two and three-quarters hours reviewing his own record for a Jacksonville audience.\textsuperscript{50}

Martin, meanwhile, prepared for a final triumphant sweep up the east coast. Upon arriving in Miami, on May 19, he forecast that he would lose no more than seven counties. He expected to receive a majority of at least 30,000 votes.\textsuperscript{51}

At this juncture, an unforeseen development took place. Sidney Catts, running for governor against Fons Hathaway and former state senator Doyle Carlton of Tampa, had as his campaign manager an attorney and racing enthusiast from Miami named Burton Lee Mank.\textsuperscript{52} Catts, realizing that steady population growth in the southern portions of the
peninsula had diluted his earlier rural strength, had adopted a campaign plank advocating legalization of pari-mutual, local option gambling in Florida. On the evening of May 21, Mank appeared on a platform in Pensacola with Fons Hathaway. When Hathaway left the platform after speaking first, Mank verbally attacked him, but not before he had delivered an assault upon John Martin.53

The Mank speech came not as an isolated incident, but as part of a concerted, last-minute effort on the part of Catts and his election team. When Catts spoke on May 29 in Pensacola, he heard the man who introduced him, local attorney and notorious Negrophobe John S. Beard, deliver an attack on Martin.54 On June 1, the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union reported that Cecil Phillips, a deposed assistant state game commissioner, had taken to the stump in west Florida against Martin. Mank had evidently followed suit in south Florida.55 Two days later, the Jacksonville paper informed its readers that Catts and Phillips had for the previous week been canvassing west Florida speaking against Martin and in favor of Trammell.56

It is difficult to explain Catts's behavior.57 Perhaps he felt that by attacking Martin he could do more damage to Hathaway than he could by attacking Hathaway alone. Catts might also have been anxious to get even with Martin, who had backed him in 1916 and 1920, but then had defeated him in the governor's race in 1924.58 Whatever Catts's motivations, his behavior probably hurt Martin in the panhandle very little. The governor carried Bay, Escambia, Franklin, Holmes, Jackson, and Walton counties in the primary. Neither of the senatorial candidates seems to have taken notice publicly of Catts's behavior at the time, however.
Meanwhile, in south Florida, Martin drew a huge crowd to Miami's Bayfront Park on May 21. One report estimated that 10,000 people came to the meeting. Martin divided his time between recounting his own accomplishments and attacking Trammell's twelve years of inactivity. From Miami, the governor set out to visit Homestead, Miami Beach, Key West, Fort Lauderdale, Daytona Beach, and Jacksonville.  

Trammell took his campaign to the opposite coast. On the twenty-third, he spoke to a Tampa audience on the evils of the Martin political machine. In introducing him, Trammell's old friend and backer Peter O. Knight predicted a sweeping victory for the junior senator.  

Florida's Republican party filed its official slate of candidates with the secretary of state on May 26. William John Howey of Howey-in-the-Hills, candidate for governor, and Palm Beach Mayor Barclay H. Warburton, candidate for the Senate, led the ticket. Warburton had been born in Philadelphia and educated at the University of Pennsylvania and Christ Church College at Oxford University. He had commanded a Pennsylvania artillery detachment in the Spanish-American War and been editor and publisher of the Philadelphia Evening Telegram for more than thirty years. During World War I, Warburton had been stationed in London as a military attaché to the American embassy, and had met and become a close friend of Herbert Hoover. The wealth of these Republican candidates, in combination with the national political situation, seemed to auger better than usual for their chances in the still distant November general election.  

Martin delivered his last campaign address in Jacksonville on May 26. "If the people of Jacksonville want a United States senator that Peter O. Knight controls," said Martin, "let them elect Trammell."
The governor also chose the occasion of his return to Jacksonville to resurrect the old stories about Trammell stealing speeches from Henry Grady.63

Martin's Jacksonville appearance fell on Saturday evening. The governor returned to Tallahassee on Sunday and spent the day catching up on work in the executive office. Late that evening, May 27, he became ill. Doctors diagnosed the ailment as a case of an inflamed appendix and possible appendicitus and ordered the governor to bed.64 This ailment forced Martin to cancel his remaining engagements in west Florida and put an end to his personal campaigning.

Nevertheless, the Martin campaign did not falter completely, even with the governor's illness. Attorney General Fred H. Davis filled in at several scheduled Martin rallies. Davis, a Martin appointee as attorney general and subsequently a justice of the state supreme court, spoke for Martin at Pensacola, Milton, Cottondale, and Graceville.65 James Calhoun Adkins of Gainesville, state attorney for the eighth judicial circuit, carried the Martin banner into Dade City and Brooksville, and Ion Farris of Jacksonville also worked in Martin's behalf.66

As the primary campaign wound to a close, the secretary of state's office released the reports of expenditures filed by the candidates up to the last week in May. Trammell reported having spent only $2,233.19. Martin, in contrast, had expended $11,304.29.67

On the evening of June 3, two days before the primary, Martin issued a final statement in which he predicted a victory margin of 24,000 ballots. He also denied that he would consider accepting any office from his successor--another attempt to avoid any identification with Hathaway.68 Trammell, on the day before the election, forecast a victory for himself by a majority of 40,000.69
When Florida Democrats went to the polls on Tuesday, June 5, Trammell's prediction proved accurate. He defeated Martin by a total of 138,534 votes to 100,454. Trammell carried forty-six counties to twenty-one for the governor. Each man achieved his highest vote total in Duval County—Trammell getting 15,374 to Martin's 10,912. Trammell easily carried Dade County (by 12,514 votes to 7,516) and crushed Martin in Hillsborough County (by 14,263 to 5,092). Martin did best in Collier (80.4 percent), Palm Beach (68.1 percent), and Holmes (65.8 percent) counties. On Friday, June 8, Trammell issued a victory statement and Martin conceded the election.

Although winning the Democratic primary usually insured election in Florida, 1928 brought a changed set of circumstances. When, during the early morning hours of June 29, the Democratic party convention at Houston selected Alfred E. Smith of New York as its presidential nominee, it placed the Democratic officeholders and candidates in Florida in a tenuous position. Party loyalty had always been an article of faith in the minds of these men. However, objections to Smith's "wet" position on Prohibition and to his Catholic religion threatened to disrupt completely party loyalty. The state delegates to the national convention refused to make Smith's nomination unanimous, and delegate Fred Cone of Lake City, who later became governor of Florida, refused to serve on the committee to notify Smith of his selection.

Clergymen, prohibitionists, bigots, and women's groups stirred up voter resistance to Smith. The Reverend John Roach Straton of New York journeyed to the state and denounced Smith at numerous meetings. Women's Christian Temperence Union chapters charged that liquor interests were behind Smith's candidacy. Even Sidney Catts took to the stump to oppose
the New Yorker. Democrats who felt that they could no longer support
their party came to be known as "Hoovercrats." University of Florida
student body vice president (and later congressman) "Billy" Matthews
addressed Hoover clubs throughout central Florida. The Democratic
hierarchy in the state slowly awakened to the reality of a popular revolt
against the party's presidential standardbearer.\textsuperscript{73}

Senator Duncan Fletcher became the first Florida Democratic office-
holder to endorse Smith on June 30, 1928.\textsuperscript{74} During July and August,
however, few prominent Democrats followed his example. Finally, the
Democratic organization brought Senator Walter George of Georgia to
Tampa to begin a series of speeches rallying the party faithful.\textsuperscript{75}

On August 25, before Senator George's speech, the state executive
committee held a meeting in the Tampa Terrace Hotel. W.H. Wolf of Fort
Pierce introduced a resolution at that meeting asking the state nominees
to express themselves on the Smith-Robinson ticket. When the Wolf
resolution received an unfavorable committee report, Judge C.A. Boswell
of Bartow made a motion of his own. He asked that the committee put
itself on record as demanding a declaration from the state candidates on
the national nominees. After the Boswell resolution had been referred
to committee, the author was persuaded to withdraw it.\textsuperscript{76} In this way,
the committee came near to but managed to avoid creating a situation
similar to 1916, when the Sturkie Resolutions backfired and helped elect
Sidney Catts governor.

Three days later, Senator George visited Lakeland to see his father,
R.T. George, a local resident. Trammell and Congressman Herbert Jackson
Drane both appeared with George at a Democratic campaign rally that
evening. In introducing his friend and fellow senator, Trammell made
his first and only public statement of allegiance both to the national and state Democratic tickets. 77

In refusing to give Smith a stronger endorsement, Trammell joined a large group of Democrats. Gubernatorial candidate Doyle Carlton of Tampa issued a statement along the lines of Trammell's endorsement on September 7. Carlton informed the public that, as a Democratic candidate, he felt obliged to support all other Democratic candidates, both national and state, but he would not presume to tell any other Democrat how to vote. 78

On September 11, Fletcher was named chairman of a special advisory committee authorized by the state executive committee to try and pull the party together. 79 He left Washington on the thirteenth and returned to Florida, where he organized a belated Democratic presidential campaign. 80 Fletcher brought Senator and vice-presidential nominee Joseph Robinson of Arkansas, former Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, and congressmen from Georgia, South Carolina, and Louisiana to canvass the state. Through September and October he coordinated efforts to save Florida for Smith. 81

Despite all Fletcher's efforts, Florida Democrats--as Trammell had correctly judged--abandoned Smith in 1928. Herbert Hoover received 145,860 votes (57.9 percent) to Smith's 101,764 (40.4 percent). The Republican won forty counties, while the Democrat carried only twenty-seven, mostly rural. 82 Perhaps the fear of splitting the white vote in counties which had substantial black populations was the reason for the Democratic party support which remained.

Except for the national candidates, the Democrats carried the state. 83 Trammell defeated Warburton soundly, by 153,816 votes (68.5
percent) to 70,633 (31.5 percent). Warburton carried only four counties: Palm Beach (57.6 percent), Pinellas (56.9 percent), Hardee (52.2 percent), and Manatee (50.2 percent). In Wakulla County, south of Tallahassee, Warburton received only 30 votes (2.3 percent).  

Although Fletcher privately criticized Trammell and others at the time for withholding their active support from Smith, Trammell acted logically and unemotionally. Long before the Houston convention, Trammell had realized the explosively dangerous nature of Smith's candidacy. While he would have preferred a "dry," Protestant Democratic candidate, he determined early not to get involved in the presidential battle. He knew the wisdom of minding his own business and his own campaign.

On January 24, 1928, Trammell had issued a statement in Washington explaining why he had not voted for a resolution in the Democratic caucus commending Senator Joseph Robinson for a speech in reply to Alabama's Senator Thomas Heflin on January 18. In that exchange, which took place on the Senate floor, Heflin had begun by attacking the wife of publisher William Randolph Hearst for being the force behind a Catholic propaganda conspiracy against him. Robinson then rose to challenge Heflin's logic and reprimand him for his repeated outbursts of anti-Catholicism. In the heated exchange which followed, Robinson accused Heflin of correcting and thereby misrepresenting Heflin's remarks when they appeared in the Congressional Record. Heflin, for his part, condemned Al Smith and the Catholic conspiracy, questioned Robinson's leadership of the Senate Democrats, and hinted that Robinson had spoken up for Catholics in order to gain support from the Smith forces at the upcoming Democratic convention.
In his statement, Trammell explained that he had refrained from voting for the resolution commending Robinson because he did not want to take sides. He believed in free speech and did not desire to endorse the views of either senator. The Tallahassee Daily Democrat gave a strong editorial pat on the back to Trammell for his behavior and his explanation. Associate editor George C. Simms called him "level-headed" for his refusal to take sides.

It is important to remember that Fletcher had very little to lose by endorsing and openly campaigning for Smith. An incumbent, having defeated Jerry W. Carter in 1926 in the Democratic primary, Fletcher could afford to stand by the national ticket. Any enemies he might make in doing so would have four years to forget his "misbehavior." Trammell's stand, when compared to that of gubernatorial candidate Doyle Carlton, seems quite understandable. In fact, considering Trammell's entire previous career, it would have been very out-of-character if he had campaigned selflessly up and down the peninsula for a Catholic who represented everything "foreign" and "urban" to most Floridians.

Trammell's campaign against Martin does not reflect as much credit upon his ethics as it does upon his political wisdom. He conducted the same sort of campaign he had run in every previous election, pointing out what he thought he had achieved and avoiding debate with his challenger. He relied on his tried and proven method of going from town to town, shaking hands, and making thousands of personal contacts, while Martin spoke to organized meetings and dominated the newspapers. Trammell evidently felt confident all through the race that Martin lacked the strength which others attributed to him.
Trammell won the election because Martin had accumulated disabilities through the collapse of the Boom, the destruction visited on south Florida by the hurricane, opposition to his Everglades drainage program, and because the public ignored the issues which Martin articulated. In addition, the traditional reluctance of Florida voters to promote their governors to higher office combined with resentment against what many incorrectly perceived as Martin's attempt to install Hathaway as his hand-picked successor to harm Martin's chances.

Martin kept up an exhausting speaking schedule and received much publicity but lacked the local contacts across the state which Trammell had cultivated since the turn of the century. Evidently, when the Boom died, Floridians lost much faith in the value of the road system Martin had created, and Martin received very little credit for using gasoline tax revenue to aid Florida's inferior school system. The conclusion is unavoidable that a majority of Florida Democrats in 1928 still preferred the image Trammell had perfected to the realities of Martin's administration as governor.

In particular, Martin's attacks on Trammell's brother may well have cost him votes by creating an image of him as a mud-slinger and a practitioner of unfair politics. These attacks, regardless of their uncertain validity, gave Trammell the opportunity to assume a favorite guise—that of the unfairly maligned candidate who will not condescend to discuss eleventh-hour charges. By shrewdly judging Martin's weakness and attacking the Everglades bond plan, and by studiously avoiding the Smith campaign, Trammell proved himself once more an uncommonly astute politician.
Notes

1. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, December 20, 1927.


3. Ibid., 11-12, 14, 17-18, 23-52.

4. Ibid., 136-37, 139-40, 142.

5. Ibid., 146-47.


10. Ibid.


12. Ibid., February 7, 17, 1928.


17. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, March 14, 1928.


19. Ibid., March 30, 1928.

20. Ibid., March 31, 1928.


23. Ibid., April 5, 1928.

24. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 6, 1928.
26. Ibid., April 11, 1928; Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 12, 1928.
27. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 14, 1928.
29. Ibid., April 15, 1928.
30. Ibid., April 17, 1928.
31. Ibid., April 18, 1928; Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 18, 1928.
32. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 19, 1928; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 19, 1928.
33. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 21, 1928.
34. Ibid., April 23, 1928; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 21, 1928.
35. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 27, 1928; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 26, 1928.
38. Ibid., May 9, 1928.
40. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, May 9, 1928.
42. Ibid., May 11, 1928.
43. Ibid., May 12, 1928.
44. Ibid., May 15, 1928; Tampa Morning Tribune, May 15, 1928.
45. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, May 16, 1928.
47. Ibid., May 17, 1928; Tampa Morning Tribune, May 17, 1928.
48. Tampa Morning Tribune, May 18, 1928; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, May 18, 1928.
49. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 18, 1928.


51. Ibid., May 20, 1928.


54. Ibid., May 30, 1928.

55. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, June 1, 1928.

56. Ibid., June 3, 1928.


58. Ibid., 309.


60. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 24, 1928.

61. Ibid., May 26, 1928; *Pensacola Journal*, May 27, 1928.


64. Ibid., May 29, 1928; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, May 29, 1928; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 29, 1928.


67. Ibid., May 31, 1928.

68. Ibid., June 4, 1928.


71. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, June 8, 9, 1928.

73. Ibid., 174-86.
74. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, June 30, 1928.
75. Tampa Morning Tribune, August 29, 1928; Starke Bradford County Telegraph, August 31, 1928.
76. Tampa Sunday Tribune, August 26, 1928; Starke Bradford County Telegraph, August 31, 1928.
77. Tampa Morning Tribune, August 29, 1928.
78. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, September 7, 1928.
79. Ibid., September 11, 1928.
80. Ibid., September 13, 1928.
81. Wayne Flynt, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, Dixie's Reluctant Progressive (Tallahassee, 1971), 143-44.
82. Hartsfield and Roady, Florida Votes, 37.
84. Hartsfield and Roady, Florida Votes, 53.
85. Flynt, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, 144.
86. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, January 24, 1928.
88. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, January 24, 1928.
89. Ibid., January 25, 1928.
90. Flynt, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, 138-42.
The years of Trammell's third term, 1929 to 1935, are remembered as also marking the period of the Great Depression and the New Deal. The prosperity which much of the nation experienced during the 1920s did not affect the South as profoundly as it did other regions--the Florida real estate Boom of the first half of the decade being something of an exception. Thus, when the stock market crash of October 29, 1929 ("Black Tuesday") heralded the frightening collapse of business and finance across the country, Floridians did not suffer quite the same sudden shock as their fellow countrymen. This is not to say, of course, that the stock market crash and the Great Depression failed to harm Florida. The plight of Floridians and Southerners, already bad, became even more desperate. In the South, agriculture led the descent into hard times.¹

Almost immediately, there were economic repercussions. Although businessmen promised otherwise, wages were cut, and by the beginning of January 1930, some 3,000,000 men were unemployed. Underconsumption--the inability of consumers to buy all goods produced--continued to accelerate. Manufacturers, unable to sell their inventories, closed more plants and laid off additional workers. Demand shrunk even further. Throughout the economy, businessmen lost confidence, cut back, and millions of workers lost their jobs.
Output of automobiles in the United States fell from 4,500,000 units in 1929 to 2,700,000 units in 1930, and 1,100,000 in 1932. During 1930, more than 1,300 banks closed their doors and 3,700 more followed in the next two years. New business investments declined from $10 billion during 1929 to only $1 billion in 1932. The national income fell from over $80 billion to under $50 billion in the same period, and the total number of unemployed persons rose to well over 10,000,000.

In Florida, the combined effects of the collapse of the Boom and the Great Depression can be seen in statistics relating to the decline of property values, the uncertain state of banking, and the amount of public debt. Between 1926 and 1930, the assessed value of real estate in Florida plummeted from $623,000,000 to $441,000,000. Bank failures in 1929 totalled fifty-three; eighty-five more banks failed in the succeeding four years. Although the state constitution prevented Florida from going into debt during the Boom, the debt of cities and counties rose from $110,000,000 in 1922 to $600,000,000 in 1929.

The discovery of the Mediterranean fruit fly in an Orlando area grove in April 1929 darkened the economic picture still further. The fruit fly did not harm the citrus trees, but its larvae ate and ruined the fruit. The state and federal governments cooperated in a massive effort to save Florida's threatened fruit industry. It was a major crisis. Thousands of men found temporary employment in the drive to collect and bury (with quicklime) all infested fruit, while quarantines prevented the shipment of fruit from the groves in question.

The campaign to eradicate the fruit fly cost the state over $280,000, and the national government more than $6,000,000. It struck a severe blow to the citrus and related industries, and helped account for several
bank failures. Production of citrus declined from 28,000,000 boxes in 1928-1929, to 17,000,000 the following year.

The conservative administration of Governor Doyle E. Carlton, which assumed office in January 1929, was surrounded by Depression-related problems. To create a new source of revenue, attract more tourists, and establish a new industry, the 1931 legislature enacted (over Carlton's veto) a racing tax law which legalized parimutual wagering and created a state racing commission. The new law produced $737,301 in revenue during the first year of operation, and one-half of these funds went to the hard-pressed counties.

County governments in Florida needed every cent they could acquire at the time, too, for initially they had the responsibility for caring for the state's unemployed. Neither the counties nor the cities, however, possessed anything approaching adequate funds or personnel to deal with the problem. Nor did the state legislature at first recognize or attempt to deal with the situation.

Not until 1932, when Congress passed the Emergency Relief and Construction Act, did federal money to aid the unemployed begin to flow into Florida. This act authorized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to lend money to the states to be used for relief. Florida received its first RFC allocation on September 12, 1932, and by the end of the year it had borrowed $1,841,125. By May 1933, when the Roosevelt administration's Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) took over, Florida had received $3,886,512 from the RFC. An average of 90,000 families in Florida--or roughly one out of every five--were receiving relief monies during those first months of 1933.
The 1932 elections provided new leadership not only for the United States, but for Florida as well. David Sholtz of Daytona Beach upset former governors John W. Martin and Cary Hardee in the race for the governorship. A political outsider who had established some contacts through chamber of commerce and fraternal lodge work, Sholtz took advantage of public disenchantment with familiar politicians and campaigned on specific issues geared to economic recovery. He ran on an activist platform and ignored slurs by Martin about his Jewish ancestry. Sholtz called for a nine-month school term with full pay for teachers, free textbooks, larger welfare expenditures, tougher regulation of banks, and workmen's compensation for accident laws.

Sholtz was a good friend of President Roosevelt and publicized this relationship. His administration benefited from New Deal legislation, although neither he nor the Florida senators were much involved with New Deal patronage appointments during Roosevelt's first term as president. The citizens of Florida benefited from having in office a governor who had access to the president and who was able to help take advantage of the availability of federal funds. Floridians sorely needed relief money. The end of 1933 found one-quarter of the people of the state (as counted in the 1930 census) on public assistance. Nearly one-third of these lived in rural areas.

Not until 1935 did the Florida legislature begin to assume responsibility for a state welfare program. Up until then, private charities and agencies had tried to meet the problem, but that was impossible; they lacked the means to handle such a gigantic need. The 1935 legislature authorized appropriations totalling roughly $2,000,000 for such programs. Up until January 1935, the state had contributed only $15,492 to the
relief effort, while the cities had spent $2,000,344, and the federal government over $40,000,000.

Many New Deal "alphabet" agencies operated within the state, providing employment as well as relief. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) provided work for thousands of young men during the nine years it operated in Florida. The first CCC camp in Florida opened at Eastport in Duval County on May 20, 1933. Over the life of the CCC there were twenty-three camps operating (at an average) in the state, with a peak of thirty-three camps in 1935. The CCC employees received a base pay of thirty dollars per month, of which twenty-two to twenty-five dollars was originally sent to their homes, leaving them with a small amount of cash. The men were also provided with room and board. The CCC men in Florida cut thousands of miles of firebreaks and planted hundreds of thousands of trees. They also created the first state parks in Florida, at locations such as Goldhead Branch, Myakka River, and Greynolds. Camp Roosevelt in the Ocala National Forest was a major CCC installation.³

The Federal Writers' Project, under state director Carita Doggett Corse, with headquarters in Jacksonville, produced local and county histories, gathered ex-slave narratives, and compiled Florida, A Guide to the Southernmost State, one of the volumes in the American Guide Series.⁴

In Key West, during the years 1934 to 1936, the FERA and the Works Progress Administration financed a comprehensive program to rehabilitate the bankrupt island city and Monroe County. The federal agencies not only provided immediate human needs in the form of food, wages, and medical attention, but sought to rebuild Key West as a tourist haven by strengthening and emphasizing the natural attractions of the town. In the wake of the terrible Labor Day hurricane of 1935, which destroyed the
Florida East Coast's overseas railway to Key West, the WPA and Monroe County constructed an overseas highway in its place.\(^5\)

The Roosevelt administration also invested relief funds to begin the cross-Florida ship canal, a project which had stirred the imaginations of Florida "promoters" since Spanish times. Before work came to a halt in 1936, when Congress refused to authorize further funds to complete the canal, Duncan Fletcher and other backers of a canal route across the peninsula from the Saint Johns River to the Gulf believed that their goal would eventually be achieved. Resistance, however, continued to plague the project. Senator Trammell and many other Floridians, mainly those living in the central and southern portions of the state, believed that construction of a canal would lead inevitably to salt water intrusion into the water supply. This pollution, they feared, would destroy the citrus and other agricultural industries of the lower peninsula. Trammell refused to support Senator Fletcher's strenuous efforts to see the ship canal through to completion.\(^6\)

The relief and public works programs of the New Deal had a tremendous impact on the economy of Florida. Federal expenditures in the state rose from $12,772,000 in 1930 to $62,718,000 in 1934. Over the following three years, they averaged $54,000,000. Without such an infusion of funds, life would have been even more grim for thousands of Floridians.

Cooperation with the federal government resulted in substantial growth of the state government during Governor Sholtz's administration. In fact, the cooperation of state government with federal government, forged in Florida (as in many other states) during the first four years of the Roosevelt era, marked a distinct change in political relationships. The creation of unprecedented spending programs in Washington overcame
some scruples concerning state rights and sectionalism predating the Civil War. From this time on, Florida's senators and representatives would be expected to secure larger federal appropriations. The lure of federal dollars would destroy the practicality of Trammell's one-dimensional interpretation of senatorial duty. It would lead to more publicity and public interest in a senator's performance at Washington and give new fuel to his challengers.

In Florida, the New Deal helped to stimulate a change in the role of state government. Many of the federal programs required states to establish new departments and contribute some funds before they could become eligible for large federal grants and loans. During the Sholtz administration, the Florida legislature complied and created a number of new agencies and programs while expanding others. These included a greatly-enlarged welfare board, workmen's compensation act with an industrial commission to administer it, mechanic's lien law, state employment service, tuberculosis board, planning board, and pensions for the blind and aged. In addition, these years saw the establishment of a conservation commission and state park service, as well as a state liquor tax law and a state beverage department. A marketing tax on citrus to finance advertising also came into being at this time.

If his third term coincided with the unhappy period of the Great Depression, it also brought Trammell satisfaction in the form of a national Democratic administration, Democratic majorities in both houses, and a major committee chairmanship for himself. Both he and Fletcher, like other southern congressmen and senators, became early and dependable supporters of New Deal legislation. Despite Trammell's party loyalty, however, he received little credit from the White House or the news media.
for his steadfastness. Roosevelt seemingly took Trammell's continuing support for granted. In fact, public ignorance of Trammell's solid pro-New Deal voting record nearly cost him a fourth term in 1934.

Aside from his voting record, Trammell did not play a significant role in the development of New Deal legislation, nor in its implementation. Historian James W. Dunn, in his study of the impact of the New Deal on Florida state politics, has determined that Roosevelt placed control of federal patronage in the hands of George B. Hills of Jacksonville, civil engineer and long-time friend who had directed his 1932 Florida campaign, and Postmaster General James Farley. Trammell was not consulted on appointments and Senator Fletcher was given only a veto over Jacksonville appointments. State Democratic Chairman James B. Hodges was sometimes consulted, but he did not have the final say in such matters. Dunn has concluded that this method of controlling patronage in Florida continued until 1936, when Farley began to lose some of his earlier influence with FDR. Thus, the creation of federal jobs and projects in Florida did not provide Florida's two senators with a bonanza of political patronage jobs to dispense, as might have been expected.

Trammell enjoyed somewhat more success at getting his own bills passed during this third Senate term. He managed to have ten of the eighty-one bills which he introduced pass the Senate. Only three of these won acceptance in the House of Representatives, however.

Trammell's bill (S. 4585) authorizing the Florida highway department to build and operate a free bridge across the Choctawhatchee River near Freeport became a law on June 18, 1930. It was not until May 25, 1933, that Trammell saw another of his measures become law. On that day
President Roosevelt signed S. 753, a bill conferring the degree of Bachelor of Science upon graduates of the United States Naval Academy.9

The other Trammell bill to pass both houses (S. 3380) provided for the appointment of Richard Pearson Hobson as a rear admiral in the navy and his retirement at that rank. Hobson had become a hero in the Spanish-American War for his part in sinking the collier Merrimac in the channel of the harbor at Santiago de Cuba. Hobson had subsequently served as a congressman from Alabama from 1907 to 1915.10

Of the Trammell bills which managed only to pass the Senate, one (S. 4193) would have provided the state of Florida relief for damage to roads and bridges caused by flooding in 1928-1929.11 Two others (S. 6119 and S. 266) sought yet again to provide for an investigation and report of losses resulting from the campaign for the eradication of the Mediterranean fruit fly.12 Although it had strong support from conservationists throughout Florida and the country, a joint Trammell-Fletcher bill (S. 324) to provide for the establishment of the Everglades National Park died in the House Committee on Public Lands.13 Two bills providing for public works at the Pensacola Naval Air Station (S. 1103 and S. 1104) also came to nought.14 Finally, a bill (S. 2724) to erect a customs examination building in Tampa never received a reference to a House committee.15 Apparently, Trammell lacked the political wallop that was needed to steer these measures to passage. Despite Fletcher's help, he failed to get results because he received scant support from his colleagues.

More important than the Trammell bills which passed the Congress, however, is one bill which never came up for a Senate vote because a virtually identical bill had already passed the House.16 The
Vinson-Trammell Act of 1934 is the one major piece of national legislation with which Trammell's name has been linked. Both he and Congressman Carl Vinson of Georgia had submitted similar bills designed to permit the United States Navy to be built up to treaty strength in 1934, but Vinson is credited with maneuvering his own bill (H.R. 6604) through not only the House but the Senate as well.17

Vinson had pointed out throughout the 1920s the need for a strong navy. When the passage of time made Vinson chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee, placed Franklin Roosevelt in the White House, and filled Congress with Democratic majorities, Vinson found it possible to translate his beliefs into action. The Vinson-Trammell Act of 1934, which he shaped more than the Florida senator, has been called, "the genesis of the modern U.S. Navy."18

The act did not supply an appropriation, but rather authorized a treaty-strength navy. It stated the principle that the United States must build and maintain a navy of modern, under age warships on a true basis of parity with other nations. It also provided for alternate ships to be built in navy rather than private shipyards, except when not in the public interest. Additionally, it sought to limit the possible profits of private shipbuilders on government contracts. In essence, it declared a policy of replacing any obsolete ships up to treaty strength and of maintaining an under age navy at any existing treaty strength.19

While Trammell supported and worked for the improvement of the navy, no evidence exists to contradict the interpretation that Vinson is the man who led the fight for that improvement. In fact, the evidence strongly suggests that Vinson and other congressional proponents of a strong navy had to push very hard to get Franklin Roosevelt to cooperate
with them in the first years of his presidency. Roosevelt, who had
campaigned in 1932 on a promise to balance the budget, consistently
resisted spending for the navy until foreign events forced his hand.
The argument that most shipbuilding appropriations went for salaries is
the only one which consistently worked with FDR during the depths of the
Depression.20

The Vinson-Trammell Act might never have been known by that name,
had not Roosevelt's selection of Senator Claude Swanson of Virginia as
secretary of the navy made Trammell the chairman of the Senate Naval
Affairs Committee in the spring of 1933. When Swanson vacated the
chairmanship, seniority made Trammell the new chairman. Ellison D.
Smith of South Carolina, who ranked ahead of both Swanson and Trammell,
already held the chairmanship of agriculture and forestry. Thus, Swanson's
resignation promoted Trammell, the third senior Democrat, to the chair on
March 4, 1933.21 Although always friendly to naval improvement, Trammell
possessed no great naval expertise. Perhaps the best indication of who
deserves credit for the Vinson-Trammell Act is that when FDR signed the
measure on March 28, 1934, he had Vinson at his side. Trammell, on the
stump in Florida, did not attempt to publicize his role in creating the
legislation during his campaign of that year.22

Trammell's voting record between 1929 and 1935 reveals both his
personal sympathy for those suffering from hardship and his life-long
adherence to the concept of party loyalty. No prisoner of ideology,
Trammell voted on every important issue to come before him in the way he
believed his constituents would wish him to act. Although sometimes he
went ahead of even a Democratic president in supporting bills which he
thought might help Floridians, Trammell always returned to the fold when
Roosevelt offered a real alternative to a more "radical" proposition—the Hugo Black thirty-hour work week bill being a case in point.

Shortly after the 1928 election, President Herbert Hoover called a special session of Congress to provide relief for agriculture. Hoover wanted higher agricultural tariffs and aid for farmers in marketing, but the bipartisan farm bloc brought forward the "export debenture" plan which Professor Charles L. Stewart of the University of Illinois had been advocating since 1924. The export debenture plan would have provided a bounty on agricultural exports. For example, for each bushel of wheat sent overseas, an exporter would receive about twenty cents from the government, roughly half the duty on imported wheat. Payments would be made in transferable treasury debentures which could be used by importers to balance off tariff charges. Presumably the debentures would sell at a discount and be quite marketable. Thus, receipts from the protective tariff could be used to aid the farmer directly.

The Hoover administration opposed the export debenture plan and proposed an agricultural marketing bill to create a federal farm board. On April 25, 1929, the House, with the support of the Florida delegation, passed the Hoover measure. On May 8, however, the Senate refused to strike the debenture plan out of its own bill, and Trammell and Fletcher joined in the refusal. On May 14, a Senate majority, which again included the Floridians, substituted its own bill for the House bill and insisted on its debenture amendment. On June 11, Trammell and Fletcher votes with a minority to accept a conference report deleting the debenture plan, but it was not until June 14 that the Senate gave in to the House and accepted the conference report minus the debenture section. President Hoover signed the measure into law the following day.
The Agricultural Marketing Act proved ineffective, for the Federal Farm Board which it established simply lacked the means to deal with the overproduction that lay at the root of low agricultural prices. In the South, the board's activities were mainly in cotton and tobacco. By March 1931, it had extended loans of over $136,000,000 to cooperatives in the southeast; by July 1931, it had purchased more than 1,300,000 bales of cotton. Nevertheless, prices did not respond, and the board requested cotton state governors to lead a crop reduction movement. In 1931, the board stopped purchasing surpluses, and in 1933 it ceased to exist. 27

Throughout most of the 1930s, Senator Norris had worked in Congress for a constitutional amendment which would eliminate the "lame duck" session of Congress after an election by requiring a new Congress to meet for its first session early in January and which would also advance the date of a president's inauguration. When the Senate passed the joint resolution on January 6, 1932, Fletcher supported it, but Trammell did not vote. 28 Because the House and Senate passed differing versions, a conference committee had to work out a compromise. Both Trammell and Fletcher voted yea on the committee report when it came back to the Senate on March 2, 1932. 29

A product of Depression-induced sympathy for the working man, the Norris-LaGuardia Act of March 23, 1932, constituted one of the greatest legislative triumphs ever achieved by organized labor. The Senate version of the bill (S. 935) passed that chamber on March 1, 1932, with Trammell and Fletcher voting yea. 30 Drane, Green, Owen, and Yon all backed the House version (H.R. 5315) when it passed on March 8. 31 Both houses approved a conference report on the bill by voice vote and Hoover
signed the act on March 23, 1932. The law attempted to reconcile some of the disparity of power between employers and employees by outlawing "yellow dog contracts" and limiting the use of federal injunctions in labor disputes.

If the First World War gave birth to the great experiment of Prohibition, the Depression killed it. The exponents of Prohibition found themselves discredited in the same way as the political proponents of prosperity. The prohibitionists had promised a millennium of virtue and hard work in a liquor-free society. Instead, their efforts had spread speakeasies, bootleggers, and racketeers across the nation. Florida's extensive coast, much of it unprotected, had become a haven for rum runners who operated out of the Bahamas and West Indian islands.

Eventually, even President Hoover decided that the Eighteenth Amendment would have to be eliminated. The Democratic party platform of 1932 contained a plank pledging repeal, and with Roosevelt's landslide victory in the November election, Congress decided to act. On February 16, 1933, the day after a gunman attempted to assassinate FDR in downtown Miami (instead killing Chicago Mayor Anton Cermak), the Senate passed a joint resolution of repeal. Both Trammell and Fletcher voted for the repeal amendment, as did Representatives Drane, Green, Owen and Yon on February 20. Following ratification, the repeal amendment went into effect on December 5, 1933. Floridians responded to repeal much as might have been expected. Drinkers hailed the move as a blow for individual rights and drys lamented the inefficient enforcement which had prevented the realization of moral advancement through Prohibition. The 1933 Florida legislature ratified the repeal amendment and also passed a state amendment, approved by the voters on November 6, 1934, which
restored the county option system as it had existed on December 31, 1918.35

President Roosevelt's inauguration day, March 4, 1933, found most American banks closed and many were uncertain if they would ever open again. Bank failures had numbered 1,345 in 1930; 2,298 in 1931; and 1,456 in 1932. Florida bank failures from 1929 to 1933 totalled 138. On his first night in office, Roosevelt ordered Secretary of the Treasury Woodin to prepare an emergency banking bill within five days. On Sunday afternoon, March 5, he issued two proclamations. One called Congress into special session on March 9 and the other used the doubtful legal authority of the Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917 to halt transactions in gold and proclaim a national bank holiday.

The special session convened in a war-like atmosphere. Shortly after 1:00 p.m. on the ninth, the speaker read the only available copy of the president's message on banking to the House. After only thirty-eight minutes of debate, the representatives passed the bill—sight unseen—by a unanimous voice vote.36 The Senate approved the measure that same evening at 7:30 p.m. The vote was seventy-three in favor (including Trammell and Fletcher) and only seven against.37 At 8:36 the same night the bill received the president's signature.38

Although some observers had predicted that Roosevelt would undertake a drastic reform of the banking system, the Emergency Banking Relief Act merely extended governmental assistance to help private bankers once more open their banks. The bill provided for the reopening of banks with liquid assets and for the reorganization of others. In fact, much of the bill had been written by bankers and holdover Hoover appointees.
When the bank holiday ended on March 16, 1933, all but eight Florida national banks reopened. Seven of these were subsequently reorganized and one was placed in receivership. Florida's banking situation might have been darker had not Alfred I. du Pont moved to the state in 1926 and, with the advice of his brother-in-law Ed Ball, begun investments in timberland and banks in Jacksonville, Bartow, Orlando, Daytona Beach, Saint Petersburg, and Miami. Du Pont's personal wealth and conservative policies protected his banks and indirectly strengthened others against panics and runs. By June 30, 1933, Florida's 143 banks possessed $21,000,000 in capital and deposits of $180,000,000.

In response to Roosevelt's appeal for relief for the unemployed, the Senate on March 30, 1933, passed the bill to establish a Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Trammell supported the bill, while Fletcher paired himself and did not vote. After some delay, the bill passed the House on April 21. The Florida House delegation now consisted of five members and had changed substantially in its composition. Only Representative Lex Green of Starke remained, and he supported the measure. J. Hardin Peterson of Lakeland could not vote because an illness in his family kept him away from the House. Florida's other congressmen, Millard Caldwell of Milton, William Sears of Jacksonville (an at-large representative), and J. Mark Wilcox of West Palm Beach also voted for the bill. It became law on May 12.

The bill authorized one-half billion dollars in relief to be distributed by the national government through state and local agencies. To run the federal Emergency Relief Administration, the president selected Harry Hopkins, the man who had directed relief operations for him in New York State. Julius F. Stone, Jr., became Florida administrator for the FERA.
Total FERA expenditures in Florida between May 23, 1933, and March 31, 1935, came to $37,874,999. Of this total, $27,390,656 went for relief grants, and the remainder for loans and grants for Civil Works Administration projects. During the period July 1934 to June 1935, approximately 300,900 Floridians received monthly relief payments. During 1933, the federal government contributed 93.2 percent of the relief funds in the state, or $8,387,299. This amount reached $17,637,520 in 1934, and did not decline significantly until 1936.45

On March 16, 1933, FDR sent his message on agriculture to the Congress. The package included requests for a system of voluntary acreage reductions for which farmers would get benefit payments, for federal authority to subsidize exports, and for authority to arrange marketing agreements with processors. The House quickly passed the administration bill on March 22, with Caldwell, Green, Peterson, Sears, and Wilcox all supporting passage, but the Senate refused to act speedily.46

Inflationary sentiment in the Senate would not be denied. On April 18, Senate leaders warned Roosevelt that an inflationary amendment by Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma could not be resisted. Then FDR accepted a revised amendment, which authorized him to create inflation by remonetizing silver, causing greenbacks to be printed, or altering the dollar's gold content. On April 19, FDR took the country off the gold standard.

While Congress disputed, agricultural need spread. On April 28, the Senate passed the Thomas amendment with both Trammell and Fletcher voting for it.47 The two Florida men then voted with the majority to pass the main bill.48 Agricultural conditions in the state were very
depressed at the time, with cotton prices having fallen to 4.6 cents the previous summer. On May 10, the Floridians voted in favor of the conference report on the bill and to strike out an amendment by Senator Norris which would have required the government to guarantee the farmer's "cost of production."\(^49\)

Besides the Thomas amendment, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of May 12, 1933, established parity prices (calculated from farm income in 1909-1914) on wheat, cotton, corn, hogs, rice, dairy products, and on tobacco (based on 1919-1929 prices). Farmers who reduced their output of these products to the level suggested by the agriculture department would receive payments making up the difference between the market price and the parity price. A processing tax levied on specified farm products would raise money for the parity payments. Acting through an Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), the secretary of agriculture would implement this program.

In Florida, through December 31, 1935, the AAA made payments to farmers and ranchers totalling $2,852,837.16. Of this amount, $1,178,002.03 went to sugar cane cultivators. Cotton farmers received $835,258.57, and tobacco growers, $443,355.60. The AAA's crop reductions did not succeed in permanently raising prices and farm reformers soon turned their attention to price-support measures.\(^50\)

Even before he took the oath of office, FDR toured the Tennessee River Valley with Senator Norris. The president-elect, however, had even broader visions for the area than the senator who had led the fight to keep Muscle Shoals under federal control. Norris had been interested in the possibilities of cheap hydroelectric power, while southern farmers had looked to the possibility of fertilizer production. Other persons
wanted flood protection and the means to stop soil erosion. Roosevelt, however, saw all these as parts of a whole, and on April 10, 1933, he asked Congress to create a Tennessee Valley Authority.

The House complied by passing such a bill on April 25. Caldwell, Green, Sears, and Wilcox all supported it, while Peterson missed the vote. On May 3, with the support of Trammell and Fletcher, the Senate passed its own TVA bill. The Senate approved a conference report on May 16, and the following day all five Florida congressmen voted for passage as it obtained House consent.

As predicted, among its other accomplishments TVA supplied large amounts of fertilizer and helped bring electricity to southern farmers, including those living in west Florida. One of its most important but least expected results was to foster industrialization, and thereby bring jobs and higher wages to the previously agricultural area. Industrial employment increased in the Tennessee Valley from 49 per 1,000 population in 1929 to 80 by 1947. The chemical, primary metal, food processing, leather, and furniture industries of the South were among those most stimulated by the development of TVA power.

Although Roosevelt had achieved several legislative victories by the time he approved the TVA Act, he had as yet done nothing about stimulating industrial recovery. The Senate, however, soon threatened to take the initiative in this area itself. It began to seriously consider a bill first introduced in December 1932 by Senator Hugo Black of Alabama which called for a thirty-hour work week. The Black bill would have prohibited from interstate commerce any goods produced by employees working more than six hours a day or five days a week, theoretically creating 6,000,000 additional jobs in the economy.
On April 6, 1933, Trammell voted yea and Fletcher nay as the Senate passed the Black bill. To circumvent the Black proposal, FDR offered a scheme based on the War Industries Board of World War I, which he sent to Congress on May 17. The House accepted the president's bill with some modifications on May 26, with the support of the Florida delegation. The administration bill encountered tougher opposition in the Senate, but it passed on June 9. Trammell supported it but Fletcher paired himself and did not vote.

The new law, which Roosevelt signed on June 16, 1933, created a National Recovery Administration (NRA) to carry out its provisions. It permitted businesses to draw up fair competition codes and allowed the president to establish codes for industries without trade associations. It exempted businesses under the codes from the anti-trust laws and empowered the NRA to seek court injunctions against firms which violated the codes. The law guaranteed labor's right to bargain collectively and set up the National Labor Board to enforce this guarantee. Finally, it included a $3.3 billion appropriation for a Public Works Administration (PWA) to finance construction projects which would create jobs and stimulate the economy. Through 1937, the PWA contributed through loans and grants to the completion of 137 Florida projects. Among these were forty-two schools, twenty-seven waterworks systems, six sewer systems, university buildings in Gainesville and Tallahassee, libraries, bridges, street paving, fire departments, and school gymnasiums.

As the above roll call votes illustrate, Trammell steadily supported the New Deal in its first years, and his votes helped make possible an unprecedented outpouring of federal aid to Florida citizens. He did so because the New Deal programs held the promise of better times for
his constituents. He also did so out of loyalty, a loyalty that was not sufficiently appreciated by the Roosevelt administration. Nevertheless, the citizens of Florida shared his initial belief in FDR. They had shown faith in Roosevelt in the 1932 election, and they realized that the legislation enacted in 1933 and 1934 had helped their lot. Accordingly, they intended to vote in the June 1934 primary for a candidate who would vociferously support FDR. Unfortunately for Trammell, his own New Deal voting record had not received much publicity, and several other candidates saw as clearly as he the absolute need to campaign as "the" New Deal Senate candidate.

Notes


9. CR 77:1, 784; 77:7, 298.
10. CR 78:6, 6532; 78:10, 10298-9; 78:12, 499.
11. CR 72:7, 7104; 72:12, 484.
12. CR 74:4, 4430; 74:8, 347, 75:1, 192; 75:15, 674.
14. CR 77:1, 1073; 77:7, 303; 77:1, 1074; 77:7, 303.
15. CR 78:3, 2336; 78:12, 482.
16. CR 78:2, 1380; 78:12, 478, 545.
19. Ibid.
20. Walter, Navy Department, 80-136.
22. Enders, Vinson Navy, 82-83.
23. CR 71:1, 572-73.
25. CR 71:2, 1269.
26. CR 71:3, 2661, 2886, 2894, 2978.
28. CR 75:2, 1384.
29. CR 75:5, 5086.
30. CR 75:5, 5019.
31. CR 75:5, 5511-12.
32. CR 75:6, 6337, 6455; CR 75:7, 7122.
34. CR 76:4, 4231, 4516.
36. CR 77:1, 81.
37. CR 77:1, 67.
38. CR 77:1, 283.
42. CR 77:1, 1042.
43. CR 77:1, 1131-32; CR 77:3, 2615; CR 77:2, 2129-30.
44. CR 77:2, 2129-30; CR 77:4, 3499.
46. CR 77:1, 766.
47. CR 77:3, 2551-52.
48. CR 77:3, 2562.
49. CR 77:3, 3121, 3124.
51. CR 77:3, 2341.
52. CR 77:3, 2808-09.
53. CR 77:4, 3475, 3600.
54. Tindall, Emergence of the New South, 446-57.
55. CR 77:2, 1350.
56. CR 77:5, 4373.
57. CR 77:6, 5424-25.
Historian George B. Tindall has observed that Franklin D. Roosevelt's "personality and his programs aroused a devotion that ran stronger in the South than in any other region, persistently so to the end of the 1930's."\(^1\) Tindall's observation accurately reflects the feelings of most Floridians toward the new president during 1933 and 1934. Roosevelt had received 74.9 percent of Florida's popular vote in 1932, and the legislation passed during the first 100 days of his administration served only to increase his popularity. The image of FDR and the policies of the New Deal completely dominated the Florida election of 1934.

Among those most aware of the president's popularity, and the implications of that high regard for 1934, was a young Tallahassee attorney named Claude Denson Pepper. In the autumn of 1933, Pepper visited several major Florida cities to sample public opinion and to decide whether to contest with Trammell for his Senate seat at the upcoming primary. The *Orlando Sentinel*, commenting favorably upon Pepper's abilities and prospects, also reported that several other Floridians, including Attorney General Cary Landis and Congressman Mark Wilcox, had been mentioned as possible candidates.\(^2\) On the evening of January 2, 1934, a group of Indian River County citizens, pledging their support, urged attorney Charles A. Mitchell of Vero Beach to challenge Trammell.\(^3\)
The first candidate to announce officially for the Senate in 1934 came from Tampa. In a rather dramatic move, Chaplain John Page Jones of the University of Tampa on January 6 resigned his post as instructor and announced his candidacy. A disabled war veteran who had entered the ministry in 1923, Jones's political awakening had come at a Sidney Catts gubernatorial rally in Groveland in 1928. In response to complaints by Catts about material being taught at the Florida State College for Women in Tallahassee, Jones rose to the defense of the school and its students. Catts reportedly jumped down from the podium to attack Jones, shouting "liar" and "hit me." "My father taught me as a child never to strike an old man," replied Jones--much to Catts's rage--as a bodyguard restrained the former governor.4

In announcing his candidacy, Jones emphasized that he did not possess great wealth and would run an economical campaign. He pledged full "approval of and sympathetic support for" the New Deal. His platform called for "a planned society based upon equity and righteousness" and "a system which will give to all men and women security against helplessness in old age, the hazards of sickness and unemployment, and their attendant poverty." He promised to work for "an industrial system which will give the same protection and advantage to labor as to capital" and "a decent wage to labor."5

The next major event of the 1934 campaign occurred on January 15, when Governor David Sholtz informed the press that, despite many letters of encouragement, he would not seek the senatorship.6 Sholtz, almost unknown before 1932, had won election on a pre-New Deal platform of anti-Depression activity.7 Incumbents had generally fared badly in Florida in 1932, as the voters lashed out in frustration at hard times
and governmental inactivity. In fact, only Robert A. "Lex" Green of Starke survived the housecleaning among Florida congressmen. Herbert J. Drane (an eight-term veteran) was defeated by Lakeland's J. Hardin Peterson, Millard Caldwell of Milton won over Thomas A. Yon (a three-term man), and J. Mark Wilcox of West Palm Beach retired Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen. William J. Sears of Jacksonville, who had earlier served in the House from 1915 to 1929, won Florida's new at-large seat in that body.

If the candidacy of a Baptist preacher for the United States Senate did not constitute an unprecedented event by 1934, the candidacy of a Florida woman did. Hortense K. Wells, a Georgia native but a resident of Tampa since childhood, became the first Florida woman to run for this office when she announced on February 7. Wells had been an early Roosevelt backer, and had won election as Florida's national committeewoman in 1932. Wells had a varied background of social activity and organizational work. She had previously involved herself in a variety of causes—Daughters of the American Revolution, American Legion Auxiliary, Business and Professional Women's Club, Order of the Eastern Star, Tampa Women's Club, Tampa Little Theatre, and the Episcopal church. In seeking the Senate seat, she promised to conduct "an active and vigorous campaign" and to act "in harmony with the program of the Roosevelt administration."^8

The third Senate hopeful, Charles A. Mitchell of Vero Beach, declared his intentions on February 10. County attorney and president of the Young Democrats of Indian River County, Mitchell also pledged to support the New Deal. He called for old age pensions and a method by which the existing distribution of wealth, which he termed "unfair," could be changed. Mitchell's call for a redistribution of wealth came only one month after Louisiana Senator Huey P. Long had expanded
his "Share-Our-Wealth" program into a nationwide club movement under Gerald L.K. Smith.

Claude Pepper became the fourth candidate on February 14. An ambitious, thirty-three-year-old Alabamian with a Harvard law degree, Pepper had moved to Florida and in 1928 won election to the state house of representatives from Taylor County. In that same year, Pepper worked for John Martin against Trammell and campaigned for Al Smith against Herbert Hoover.

According to his biographer, Pepper lost his 1930 reelection campaign to Alton H. Wentworth because of his brief period of residence in Florida and his failure to promise to oppose a state sales tax. Having known poverty and hard physical labor as a youth, Pepper determined not to finish his days as a small town lawyer. He moved to Tallahassee in 1930, in order to enhance his legal and political opportunities.

Pepper had worked over the years to make himself an effective orator and he succeeded. A speech he made in the autumn of 1931 to a rally at Marianna marked his arrival as a valued Democratic speaker. He went on to do vigorous campaigning for the party ticket all over the state in 1932, making many friends and contacts for himself in the process.

Pepper's announcement of candidacy set the pattern for the campaign he would make. His decision to challenge Trammell had "been influenced largely by the sentiment of our people which demands that a candidate be free of reactionary tendencies and have a point of view boldly in sympathy with the New Deal." His supporters had convinced him that "Florida is ready and eager to make a change." Florida, he argued, needed "a candidate who has the courage and the capacity to represent . . . [the state] constructively and aggressively."
"Divided loyalty," Pepper stated, "never won a victory. I am with Franklin D. Roosevelt and shall give him aggressive and helpful cooperation. The corner stone of the New Deal is the welfare of the common man. Upon that corner stone I shall make my campaign." One week after his announcement, Pepper attended the meeting of the state party executive committee and deposited a $200 check, thus making himself the first senatorial candidate to qualify with his party.

On March 19, James F. Sikes, a state senator from Pinellas County, joined the contest, becoming the fifth candidate. He declared that since Senator Fletcher spent so much of his time dealing with national affairs, Florida needed aggressive and sympathetic leadership from her junior senator. Sikes, a native of Inverness, had served for seven years as city attorney for Tarpon Springs. In 1924, he became prosecuting attorney for Pinellas County, and four years later received an appointment as county judge. In 1932, he won a seat in the state senate, where he led a fight to wipe out a penalty on delinquent purchases of automobile tags.

Finally, in late March, after all five challengers had made their announcements, Trammell revealed his own plans. On March 22, he confirmed to the press in Washington that he would indeed seek a fourth term, and that he would leave for Florida in about a week to begin his canvass. "I will base my appeal for re-election," he said, "on the record of my aggressive, faithful and active service and my accomplishments in behalf of the people of Florida and the nation. Also, on the value to the people of Florida of my 17 years' experience in their behalf at Washington together with the advantage of friendships of years standing with
senators, congressmen, and the officials and employe[e]s of the many
government departments."\(^{15}\)

Trammell left Washington for Lakeland on March 27. That same day,
President Roosevelt signed into law the Vinson-Trammell Act, the best
known piece of legislation to bear the Floridian's name.\(^{16}\) Perhaps
because this bill constituted only an authorization rather than an
appropriation to build an up-to-date navy, it did not become an issue in
the race. Even as Trammell left for Florida, reports circulated con-
cerning the possible candidacy of yet another opponent--Congressman R.A.
Green.\(^{17}\)

The Green candidacy, however, failed to materialize. On March 29,
the congressman stated that he did "not desire to run" against Trammell.
"We have been good friends over a long period of years," said Green,
"and after all there are things in our lives which supercede the crave
[sic] for public office." Green preferred to run for reelection to
Congress and support Roosevelt.\(^{18}\)

Of all those who announced for the Senate seat, John Page Jones and
Hortense Wells never became viable candidates. Jones did not even finish
the race, withdrawing his candidacy on April 17, citing as his reason
"the fact that neither I nor my friends have the finances necessary to
go through with the fight."\(^{19}\) Presumably, George Burr, publisher and
editor of the Winter Haven Herald and Jones's campaign manager, counseled
the clergyman to withdraw.\(^{20}\)

Hortense Wells did not campaign nearly as hard as her opponents.
In one of her earlier campaign appearances, at Winter Haven on March 22,
she lectured an American Legion Auxiliary meeting on the menace of
anti-American teaching in the schools. She also stressed the need to
defend American institutions against communism and to teach patriotism and devotion to the Constitution. At Daytona Beach, Mrs. Wells promised to work for both unemployment insurance and a system of old age pensions. She repeated this pledge at a Sulphur Springs rally on May 12. She also called for a stronger national defense and advocated federal regulation of the sale of firearms.

At Wimauma on May 26, Mrs. Wells attacked Trammell, charging that former Florida Congresswoman Ruth Bryan Owen had rendered more service to the state in four years (1929-1933) than Trammell had in eighteen. In response to a claim by Trammell that he had stood like the Rock of Gibraltar against Wall Street special interests, she remarked: "However, there is one characteristic which the junior senator shares with the rock of Gibraltar--both are noted for their inactivity." Near the end of the race, on May 26 in Sanford, Mrs. Wells declared that her opponents had convinced the Florida electorate that not one of them could be considered fit to sit in the Senate.

James F. Sikes went beyond Pepper's enthusiastic but vague endorsement of the New Deal to advocate at least one radical anti-Depression theory. He proposed that the federal government should reimburse all depositors in state and national banks who had lost their money when those institutions had failed. He called this the "greatest forward step that could be made at this time in the program for national recovery." Perhaps because Sikes started late and came from rapidly growing Pinellas County (the county which contained Saint Petersburg and was adjacent to Tampa), Kenneth Ballinger of the Miami Herald suggested that he might be running as a stalking horse for Trammell against Mitchell
and Pepper. It is true that Sikes attacked Pepper vigorously during the campaign, but he also did the same to Trammell. He remained in the race until the finish, criticized both Trammell and Pepper, and endorsed neither man during the runoff.

Although he announced late, Sikes on April 26 became the first senatorial candidate to qualify with Secretary of State Robert A. Gray. At Tampa on May 14, he denounced Trammell before a Jeffersonian Democratic Society meeting for failing to secure adequate federal aid for the Tampa port. He also characterized Pepper as a highly-paid special interest lobbyist. He spoke in favor of old age pensions, federal aid to schools, and particularly of his scheme to reimburse depositors in closed banks. Planks demanding better legislation for growers and a fair deal for veterans completed the Sikes platform.

To the end of the campaign, Sikes continued blasting Trammell and Pepper. Trammell, he charged, had managed to pass only four bills during his last term--an unintentional boost for the Lakelander, since he had really passed only three! Sikes labelled Trammell a representative of the "Old System" and one of the "Special Interest Twins," along with Pepper. Sikes denounced Pepper as the "most active and highly paid professional lobbyist for special interests in Florida" and as a "fast talker--and prolific promiser." He pointed out that Pepper had lived in the state only a few years and had been elected to the legislature for only one term. Sikes also charged that Pepper had promoted the "Brown-Crummer tax certificate foreclosure law" of 1929. He claimed to have introduced a bill in 1933 intended to repeal that law.

Considering that Charles A. Mitchell lacked the contacts and reputation which Pepper had begun to build in 1928 and 1932 and which
Trammell had gained over a lifetime, the race Mitchell ran in 1934 may have been even more remarkable than Pepper's. In addition to being unknown, Mitchell came from a politically weak county. Nevertheless, he conducted a vigorous race and took more radical positions than the other candidates.

Unlike Pepper, who merely endorsed the president and the New Deal as it had evolved to date, Mitchell suggested a number of additional reforms. More than anything else, he advocated getting additional money into circulation as the best way to fight the Depression, calling for immediate payment of the bonus to war veterans and for retirement of federal bonds by issuance of negotiable non-interest bearing notes. At Tallahassee on the evening of April 2, Mitchell delivered an attack on the rich which was worthy of Huey Long. He claimed that 95 percent of the country's wealth belonged to only 5 percent of the people, and he called for a redistribution of wealth to remedy this inequality. He hoped to accomplish this end by means of a system of old age pensions as well as the two measures mentioned above.

According to one newspaper report, by mid-April Mitchell had made nearly 150 speeches in forty-seven counties; on May 10, he informed a reporter that he had addressed nearly 300 audiences. Mitchell told a rain-drenched Jacksonville crowd that—in addition to favoring income and inheritance taxes to finance old age pensions, immediate payment of the bonus, and issuance of notes to replace government bonds—he would work for federal aid to schools, for restoration of pay cuts to government workers, and for a cross-Florida canal. At a Plant City meeting, he announced that it was time to offer everyone a chance to work and earn a living, and that any cuts in government salaries should have been
restricted to very high salaries only. In Tampa, Mitchell claimed that his plan to phase out interest-bearing government securities would save $690,000,000 a year. He also recommended the enactment of laws which would cancel all interest due on loans which had been secured with bonus certificates as collateral, and which would compensate growers for losses suffered from the Mediterranean fruit fly.

Unlike the other senatorial candidates, Mitchell did not attack his opponents in speeches or in advertisements. He merely sought to bring to the attention of the voters what he considered to be the most important specific issues at stake in the election. The only time he mentioned his opponents at a Jacksonville meeting, for example, he portrayed them as "very effectively telling the people of Florida why the other should not be nominated, and thus leaving the way clear for the citizens of this State to send me to Washington" as the next senator. "I am confident," said Mitchell, "that the people of Florida will vote with regard to the programs offered by the respective candidates for United States senator, with the knowledge that we, the common people, are engaged in a great struggle for our very existence."

Again in Jacksonville, Mitchell stressed the necessity of providing means whereby a person willing to work would be given the chance to earn a living. "I know," said Mitchell, "that at present nine out of 10 citizens have a continual fear of the future for themselves and their families, and to change this situation we must have money in circulation." He demanded that the federal government change "from the old policy [of] catering to great wealth and big business to a new policy of guaranteeing the average citizen a chance to make a living." Mitchell desired federal aid to the schools to make possible full terms and adequate teacher
salaries, favored the cross-Florida canal because it would provide jobs, and appealed for the labor vote.41

Mitchell continued his determined campaign until the last possible moment.42 Like Pepper and Trammell, he carried his message to the voters via the radio.43 Although some newspapers, such as the Tampa Morning Tribune, considered him a crank, Mitchell did well in the initial primary and finished third.44

One history of Florida refers to the 1934 Senate Democratic primaries as "significant only in that . . . [they] marked the appearance on the political horizon of Claude Pepper . . . ."45 This is an inaccurate conclusion. The election demonstrated vividly the popularity of FDR and the New Deal with Florida voters. The regular and runoff primaries also demonstrated the consistency and continuity of Florida Democratic politics and the conservative nature of Democratic politics. The voters responded much more to the vague generalizations of the conservative candidates--Trammell and Pepper--than to the exhortations of Jones, the unprecedented candidacy of a woman (Wells), the slightly radical Sikes program, and the very specific and genuinely radical Mitchell platform. They ignored the real and obvious Depression-related issues and focused their attention upon the traditional, personality-oriented, charge-and-countercharge-ridden campaigns of Pepper and Trammell.

From the first, some astute commentators predicted that Pepper would give Trammell the strongest fight for his job. On February 16, 1934, just two days after Pepper announced, the Ocala Banner quoted its rival, the Ocala Evening Star, as stating that the race would be "a battle between Pepper and Senator Trammell, with the other three candidates dropping out in the first go-round."46 The Banner concurred with this
analysis, remarking that although "Trammell is a campaigner of no mean ability, he will have to do some stepping to pass Claude Pepper."\(^47\)
The *Tampa Morning Tribune*, usually a strong source of support for Trammell, gave an obvious editorial welcome to Pepper upon his entry into the race.\(^48\)

The *Fort Myers News-Press* printed an acute analysis of the election upon the occasion of Pepper's announcement. "In his announcement for United States senator," said the *News-Press*, "Claude Pepper qualifies himself as the New Deal candidate. Others will try to crowd on that platform. In fact all of them will. But not all of them can occupy it as gracefully as Mr. Pepper." A senatorial "campaign along that line," it continued, "will be popular with the people of Florida. It will be so popular that all candidates will try to hew to it. The nominee ... will be the one who succeeds most completely in convincing the voters that he or she will not run out on the President and has the ability to back him up effectively."\(^49\)

Mitchell, the paper concluded, "has already added another deck to the New Deal and from it is dealing cards which President Roosevelt would never think of holding." Jones "has a deck of his own and apparently is fixing to play jacks wild." Hortense Wells "has not yet entered sufficiently into the bidding to indicate what her trumps will be but she will undoubtedly come out with a four-square New Deal hand."\(^50\)

On February 24, Trammell arrived in Tampa for a brief visit, just to "look around." "I have heard, of course, of opposition," he said, "but my friends assure me there is no occasion for alarm." He told a reporter that he believed the voters would "realize the importance of keeping a man in the senate who has done and can do things for the
state." He announced that he would "not be slow, however, to combat and
refute misrepresentation and unfounded criticism, indications of which
I am already hearing." Trammell returned to Washington, where on the
evening of March 4 he attended the banquet honoring Duncan Fletcher for
completing twenty-five years in the Senate.

Pepper began his campaigning on Monday, March 5, with an address in
Crawfordville, and revealed plans to make twenty-two speeches that
week. On March 16 in Jacksonville, he lashed out at Trammell and his
family. Pepper read off from a list of people named Trammell holding
office in Dade County, and asserted that the Trammells had received
$250,000 from Florida in the preceding one-third of a century.

Pepper identified himself as a follower of Franklin Roosevelt and
insisted that decisions being made in Washington had more importance for
Floridians than those being made in Tallahassee or on the local scene.
He charged that for each dollar of federal aid which had come to Florida,
eight dollars had gone to California. He was for the veteran, he said,
but against immediate payment of the bonus. Pepper favored the cross-
state canal and federal aid to public schools, but opposed "starting
the printing presses and the printing of green backs without anything
behind them."

Trammell made the formal announcement of his candidacy for re-
election on March 22. The same evening, in a speech at Ocala, Pepper
asked: "What has he left as a monument of service to the people?" Had
Trammell "been fearless, straightforward, unequivocating? Or does his
name stand for the most adroit political figure in modern times of
Florida?" "Who are Trammell's enemies?" demanded Pepper. "What vested
interest has he trampled under foot? Whose toes has he stepped on?"
Pepper dismissed Trammell's seniority in the Senate as virtually worthless, declaring that his influential position had so far meant little to Florida or the country. He insisted that an officeholder could not live off the taxpayers' largess for twenty-five years and still feel the same sympathy for the taxpayers. The battle for recovery from the Depression, said Pepper, "is not behind us. It is ahead. And alert, vigorous support is needed."

The day following Trammell's announcement, a spokesman at the White House issued a statement to the effect that President Roosevelt would not take any role in Democratic party primary contests. This statement had nothing to do with Trammell, however. It referred to rumors concerning Postmaster General James Farley's activities in New York City politics. Nevertheless, it would subsequently figure in the Trammell-Pepper contest.

On March 27, Trammell left Washington to begin his campaign. By that time Pepper had already spoken in thirty counties, aided by the use of a sound truck—a device which Trammell also employed but which had been introduced earlier in Florida politics by Sidney Catts. Pepper planned to conduct three tours through the state, visiting every county. He made his sixty-ninth speech at Palatka on the evening of March 31. In it, he qualified his position on the bonus by saying it might be paid to those in real need, and he suggested using federal gasoline tax money to aid the public schools.

Pepper's newspaper support began to mount. The Jacksonville Journal lambasted Trammell, saying that he had introduced seventy-nine bills in his current term, but only five had become law. The majority "furnished propaganda for him to send to the home folks," while "the five which
became law amount to practically nothing." The Miami Post christened Trammell "Florida's Sleeping Beauty," admitting, however, that he became "remarkably wide awake" during elections.

The evening of April 6 found Pepper in Tampa, where he spoke via his sound truck to an audience of 500 people gathered at the courthouse square. After being introduced by former Senate candidate Perry Wall, he defended the New Deal and attacked Trammell's meagre record of getting bills enacted. He called for old age pensions for those reaching seventy years of age, development of the merchant marine, and a sound money policy. He said he favored a $100 a month pension for disabled veterans and payment of the bonus to those in need. "But," he added, "I am not in favor of payment of the bonus to a single veteran who is able to take care of himself."

On April 11, with Pepper having established a head start of nearly five weeks, Trammell journeyed to Fort Lauderdale to open his campaign. In his talk there before a friendly crowd, he pledged full support of the New Deal and assailed its opponents. He also denounced the Republican party for favoring the interests of capital over those of labor.

Coincidentally, President Roosevelt, who had been taking a sailing vacation on board Vicent Astor's yacht, Nourmahal, disembarked at Miami on April 12. Trammell, in an astute but not very successful bid to gather publicity, joined the crowd of officials at the railroad station to see the president off on his return trip to Washington.

Pepper paid his qualifying fee to Secretary of State Gray on April 27. He did not become the first to do so, however, as James Sikes had preceded him by one day. By this time, Pepper had spoken
to over 125 gatherings. Trammell likewise went personally to see his old friend Gray on May 1, and paid him the $500 fee.

In a clear indication of how it had all but openly swung its support to Pepper, the Tampa Morning Tribune on May 2 reprinted an editorial from the Time magazine issue of November 11, 1929. This item, which the Tribune referred to as a "most interesting human document," consisted of Time's response to a letter from five subscribers in Stuart, Florida, asking for a capsule analysis of Trammell's career and performance in the Senate:

No active prohibitionist, he votes Dry, says he does not take drinks. . . .

A childless widower, he lives in hotels in Washington and Lakeland. His friends consider him a "ladies' man." He tries to suppress the year of his birth, reckons himself "too young" yet to take up golf. Once he played a cornet; now, as a Senator, he touches no musical instrument. His diversions: short walks, the theatre. He wears his hair long and loose, affects horn-rimmed glasses on a heavy black ribbon, is very attentive to his attire. He smokes many an expensive cigar, takes a dry chew occasionally, is shocked at the idea of "shooting crap." He is not socially inclined, rarely entertains, goes to the Baptist Church.

A large full-chested man with a ponderous walk, he offers a striking resemblance in appearance and cast of mind to another native Alabamian—Senator James Thomas ("Tom-Tom") Heflin. Like Heflin, he mortally hates and fears the Roman Pope but, unlike Heflin, he does not boldly talk about it. . . . About Trammell there is a certain dull-pomposity, unrelieved by humor.

He is a politician, not a statesman, with a remarkable memory for names and faces, a cultivated appeal to the masses. He never offends Big Business . . . .

Impartial Senate observers rate him thus: No orator, no specialist in any field of national legislation, no sponsor of famed laws, he is only an average legislator, voting regularly with other Southern Democrats on everything except the protective tariff (for Florida produce). What he lacks in brilliance he makes up for in local political acumen and industrious attendance on the Senate floor.
Speaking in Jacksonville on May 8, Trammell dismissed articles such as the one in *Time* by explaining that he had offended special interests and these groups were paying to have derogatory articles sent into Florida. He further asserted that he had been misrepresented by his opponents, and he criticized Pepper for failing to discuss his own legislative record or the fact that he had been defeated for reelection. He charged Pepper with having voted for the tax certificate foreclosure law and with working as a paid special interest lobbyist during the 1933 legislative session. Trammell also reviewed his own accomplishments, saying he had worked for federal road funds, loans to homeowners, construction of federal buildings in Florida, unemployment relief, aid for schools, veterans legislation, and river and harbor appropriations. Since he was speaking in northern Florida and in a great port city, he insincerely claimed to have supported the cross-Florida canal, as well.  

Almost immediately after this speech, Trammell returned to Washington, where he called upon President Roosevelt to urge the allotment of funds to complete the deepening of Tampa harbor and to discuss the appointment of a special board of review to investigate the cost of the proposed cross-Florida canal. As he emerged from the White House, reporters questioned the senator as to the progress of his campaign. He responded that he had spoken with many people and felt safe in predicting a first primary victory.  

The Pepper caravan came to Tallahassee on Friday night, May 11. The candidate spoke for forty-two minutes before an enthusiastic gathering of nearly 1,500 people in City Park. In response to a question, he said that he had represented railroads as an attorney at Perry and bus operators after he moved to Tallahassee and he defied anyone to show that he
had been unfair in his representation of either side. He called for a nine-month school term for every child and for federal aid without strings to schools. Speaking at Ocala on May 16, Pepper named Trammell as his only formidable opponent.

Trammell followed Pepper's path to Ocala two days later, and flayed him for spreading "misrepresentations" and "falsehoods." He termed "silly" and "foolish" Pepper's remarks about the salary he had received over the years, pointing out that Pepper "would accept the same salary I get if he ever got to Washington." He said Pepper had misrepresented in his charges that Trammell had gotten only four out of eighty-one bills passed and that California had received more aid than Florida. "If [Pepper] . . . has such great ability as he pictures himself as having, why did he not display it in the legislature?" asked Trammell. "If you listen to Pepper, you'd wonder how Roosevelt got along without him." "He fooled the people of Taylor county once, and got elected to the legislature. After they had a sample, when he was up for reelection he was overwhelmingly defeated. Now Pepper is trying to fool the people of the state," he told an enthusiastic gathering.

Pepper maintained the grueling pace of his campaign throughout May and up until the first primary. On May 18, he spoke in Mount Dora, Sorrento, Sanford, and Altamonte Springs. On the following day, he visited Palatka, Jacksonville, and Lake City. He reiterated his attack on Trammell to a crowd of some 1,000 people at Lake City, and outlined his advocacy of federal aid to schools, old age pensions, continued federal relief programs, and payment of the bonus only to veterans in real need of it.
Pepper spent almost all of Sunday, May 20, resting at a Jacksonville hotel. He left late that evening by train for Orlando, where he spoke the next day before the Junior Chamber of Commerce and at a rally in Eola Park. His schedule for the next five days included major evening addresses in Tampa (May 22), West Palm Beach (May 23), Miami (May 24), and Saint Petersburg (May 26).

As the first primary date began to draw near, Trammell hammered away at Pepper's record. He told a Tampa crowd, on May 21, that Pepper had been one of those who put through a Florida law in 1929 permitting the sale of delinquent tax certificates to speculators. "I charge that he has been the paid lobbyist in Tallahassee for the special interests," said Trammell. "That has been his principal business." He portrayed Pepper as a newcomer who came to Florida "to seek his political fortune," while his own record embraced "some 40 measures of general importance and value to the nation and state introduced and 22 of them enacted into law."

Pepper appeared in Tampa the following night and tried to refute Trammell's accusations. He noted that a tax certificate foreclosure law had already existed when he went to the legislature, and that in 1929 he had merely introduced a law which passed which lowered the interest on delinquent tax certificates from 25 to 18 percent. He also stated that, in 1903, Trammell had voted for a law setting the interest at 25 percent per year.

Rain plagued Pepper's appearance at West Palm Beach on the night of May 23, after he had earlier delivered addresses at La Belle, Moore Haven, and Clewiston. It was also raining the next night in Miami Beach's Flamingo Park, where he spoke after a day punctuated by stops
at Lake Worth, Delray Beach, Pompano, and Deerfield. The West Palm Beach and Miami meetings went on, however, and Pepper maintained his record of never having been completely rained out in over 200 speeches. Pepper remained in Miami on May 25 to speak at Bayfront Park, and then he left at midnight for Fort Myers.

Upon entering there on May 26, he saw a Pepper banner stretched across the street, and then a Trammell banner. He subsequently insisted to reporters that this graphically illustrated that the race had narrowed to Trammell and Pepper. After stopping at a picnic in Sarasota at noon, Pepper went on to Saint Petersburg for an evening speech. He visited Bartow and Lakeland on May 28, and Stuart, Deland, and Daytona Beach on May 30.

On May 31, the secretary of state's office in Tallahassee made public the reports of expenditures filed by the several candidates. Pepper led the spenders with $7,615.70, and claimed $5,110.00 in contributions. Sikes reported spending $4,442.50 of his own money. Mitchell said that he had received $2,424.78 in contributions and spent $3,490.24. Trammell ranked fourth in the money race, claiming expenditures of $1,834.00 and only $250.00 in contributions. Wells filed a report listing $410.00 received and $556.94 expended.

Faced with the most dangerous opponent of his career, Trammell resorted to smear tactics. He had earlier sought and obtained from Secretary of State Gray material he could use against Pepper. Now, almost on election eve, he employed it. During Hoover's term as president, Mrs. Oscar dePriest, wife of a black congressman from Chicago, had attended a White House tea given by Mrs. Hoover. The Florida House of Representatives had, in 1929, voted a resolution condemning that episode.
Pepper had voted against the resolution, calling it "out of place." Trammell now used this vote to raise the race issue against Pepper. He charged in an ad that "Pepper . . . in 1929 voted against resolution 15 . . . which protested against the effort to accord to the negro race social equality with the white race." While seventy-one members had supported the resolution, "Pepper among a very few, voted against it." Pepper responded at Tampa on Friday night, June 1. He told a crowd on the courthouse square and also a radio audience that Trammell had resorted to "political trickery" in accusing him of being in favor of social equality. "In his final act of desperation he has had the temerity of accusing me of favoring social equality and favoritism, knowing full well that I was born in Alabama, of worthy southern parents, and that in my veins runs the blood of as staunch and true southerner as Park Trammell could ever hope to be." The following evening, in Jacksonville's Heming Park, he again informed his audience in a speech that was broadcast that he "would not be coerced or trapped into dragging the high office of United States senator into the political mire merely to further the cause of a candidate." Despite his promise, Pepper sought to get back at Trammell by printing quotes from the acidic More Merry-Go-Round, based on the newspaper column written by Robert S. Allen and Drew Pearson. These authors had included Trammell in their category of "mutes"--senators who either never talked or said nothing when they spoke. The authors placed Trammell in the latter category. They said of him that in "sixteen years of continuous service in the Senate, Trammell has still to give any indication of knowing anything about anything. Big, heavy jowled and large
bellied, his long hair curling up around his ears and the back of a bull-like neck, Trammell is one of the most vacuous men in Congress."^93

In another departure from traditional campaigning, Pepper flew from Jacksonville to Miami in order to speak in Bayfront Park on election eve --Monday, June 4. He confidently predicted he felt "certain that we shall lead the ticket on Tuesday and that if our friends will take full advantage of the situation we can even eliminate a second primary." Having completed an arduous effort which had taken him into sixty-six of sixty-seven counties, Pepper planned to cast an absentee ballot in Miami and there await the result.^94

A three-inch rain fell in Miami on Tuesday, June 5. However, the election day weather remained clear in Jacksonville and Tampa. There were reports of disorders in Tampa involving fighting, intimidation of voters, and persons seeking to vote more than once.^95 The official results of the first primary did not become available until the evening of June 12. As predicted, Trammell led with 81,321 votes, against Pepper's 79,396. Mitchell finished third with 30,455 ballots; Sikes fourth with 14,558; and Wells last with only 8,167 votes. Trammell won Dade (9,616 to Pepper's 6,801) and Hillsborough (8,784 to Pepper's 4,631) counties, while Pepper carried Duval County (11,103 to Trammell's 5,038).^97

Even before June 12, when the results became official, the Tallahassee Daily Democrat editorialized that the election "of Claude Pepper over Senator Trammell is conceded by all but the most optimistic supporters of the junior senator," and that "the second primary majority of Pepper over Trammell will be from 10,000 to 20,000."^98 The Jacksonville Journal said: "Tuesday's primary makes it quite apparent that the majority of
Florida voters have decided upon a change. . . ."99 When the official vote total came in, the Tampa Morning Tribune called Pepper's race the "most remarkable ever run by a newcomer in state politics" and predicted Pepper would win.100

The Sanford Herald concluded that "only the rarest of campaign accidents can prevent Claude Pepper from winning."101 It "appears that we might as well get used to this fellow Pepper right now," advised the New Smyrna Daily News, "because it seems inescapable that he will be our next junior United States Senator."102 "It looks like Pepper is a sure winner," confided the Avon Park Times.103 Every "indication points to the nomination of Claude Pepper in the runoff. . . ." echoed the St. Cloud Tribune.104 The Fort Myers News-Press saw Pepper as having "much better than an even chance of polling a majority of the votes Trammell did not get on June 5."105

Pepper issued a statement of thanks to his supporters on June 9, and announced that he would begin his runoff campaign in Pensacola on June 12. He pledged to try and visit every county again before June 26.106 Trammell, however, put Pepper on the defensive through a speech broadcast on June 11, in which he stated he had been "reliably informed" that "special interests" had "created a slush fund for his [Pepper's] campaign and have already spent . . . $100,000 in an effort to elect him." At the same time, Trammell claimed that he had offended ship- and airplane-building and railroad interests by his own actions.107

Naturally, Pepper immediately and vociferously denied the accusation. He told a Pensacola gathering, on June 13, that his official statements on contributions filed with the secretary of state completely disproved Trammell's charge.108 The Tallahassee Daily Democrat came directly to
Pepper's aid, explaining that Trammell had been "driven to desperation and is forced at this late day, after a life-time of clean campaigning, into such deplorable tactics, by the spectre of his first defeat." 109

On June 14, Pepper visited ten counties, ending the day in Gainesville. There, at an outdoor rally at the courthouse, he labelled the slush fund charge "desperate and despairing attempts to disparage an opponent." He declared himself a "proponent of President Roosevelt and the 'New Deal.'" "If," he added, "regulation of business is necessary to the prosperity of the people, I am willing to do a bit of regulating. I am not in favor of destroying private property, of course, or of breaking any of America's cherished principles." 110

At Miami on June 15, Pepper coupled his denial of the slush fund story with a warning that "we can no longer drift, as an economic institution." 111 On the sixteenth, Pepper travelled from Miami to West Palm Beach, Fort Pierce, Vero Beach, and Tampa. At Vero Beach, he received an endorsement from Mitchell, who introduced him at a campaign rally as "my friend and your friend," and paid tribute to his "clean and courageous campaign." 112 "I have never seen $100,000 in my life, much less spent it," Pepper declared in Tampa that night. "I challenge the senator to produce his proof anywhere, any time." Trammell, "whose official record was bare, has now befouled his personal record by falsification." 113

As Pepper criss-crossed southern Florida, Trammell took his campaign into the panhandle. On June 18, he delivered nine speeches, concluding his day in Pensacola. There he emphasized his efforts for Escambia County and claimed to have obtained $1,000,000 for the naval air station during the preceding ten months. 114
Realizing the danger of his position, Trammell appealed to the leaders of the national railroad unions for support. On June 19, they responded with a special Florida election edition of their newspaper, Labor. This issue consisted of a series of endorsements of Trammell by the railroad union leaders and by President William Green of the American Federation of Labor. The union executives obviously felt that Trammell's proven support for New Deal pro-labor legislation outweighed any promises by Pepper. Green himself repeated the charge that Pepper had received and had been spending a slush fund: "Information has come to me that powerful interests have been spending great sums of money in the state in the hope of defeating the senator."\textsuperscript{115}

This dramatic action on the part of Trammell and his labor leader supporters badly frightened Pepper. He fired off a telegram to the \textit{Tampa Morning Tribune}: "The charges made by Senator Trammell ... have now become so ridiculous that they are obviously designed as smoke screens." "Every single one of the charges," Pepper insisted, "is not only false but maliciously made with knowledge of its falsity. I have worked in steel mills 12 hours a day for seven days a week. I have plowed many a day for 60 cents a day. I worked my way through college rolling coal and waiting table. I yield to no man," he stated, "a greater sympathy for the man who works than I have for I have been a laboring man all my life." In Saint Petersburg on the evening of the twentieth, Pepper defied Trammell to disprove his expense statements and repeated that "the slush fund is wholly imaginary. The Lord only knows how high it will go before he [Trammell] has finished."\textsuperscript{116}

Despite his words, Pepper believed that he had been hurt by Trammell's charges. He took pains in his own advertising now to deny both the slush
fund accusation and the claim that he advocated social equality between blacks and whites.\textsuperscript{117} At Wauchula on June 21, Pepper eagerly responded to a question from the crowd that related to foreign policy by saying "so long as our debtor nations have funds for the purchase of armament for military purposes . . . they should be made to pay the obligation so justly due us."\textsuperscript{118}

Pepper received another jolt when Trammell accused him of making promises to tobacco growers in north Florida that he would secure a three dollar tariff on tobacco. This, said Trammell, would destroy Tampa's cigar industry.\textsuperscript{119} He accused Pepper of "spending money like a drunken sailor" and telling "a different story everywhere he goes."\textsuperscript{120} Pepper responded by producing letters from west Floridians testifying that he had never promised in his speeches there to work for a high duty on Cuban tobacco. Regarding Trammell's statements, a Tampa paper editorialized that it expected "to hear him say next that he wrote the Constitution, won the World War, discovered Roosevelt and started the New Deal."\textsuperscript{121}

Although the \textit{Tampa Morning Tribune} had endorsed Pepper, it inadvertently contributed a powerful blow to his runoff campaign. The \textit{Tribune}, in a telegram to Senator Fletcher, stated that both candidates seemed to be claiming his support and wondered how he intended to vote. Fletcher revealed: "I would vote for Senator Trammell, considering our long, harmonious, cooperative association in senate, and also his standing on important committees, including chairmanship of committee on naval affairs. Each voter should be trusted to make up his own mind."\textsuperscript{122}

The same day (June 23) on which Fletcher's telegram became public, Pepper, speaking in Miami, condemned Trammell for bringing "sectionalism" into the election. He ridiculed Trammell because a poll of Senate and
House gallery reporters had just named him "senator least inclined to work." Pepper said that he wanted "to be the first to console him on his failure to win a double distinction," since Senator Arthur Robinson of Indiana had beaten him out for "senator who would be least missed."

Trammell grasped at Fletcher's qualified personal endorsement as hard as he could. He immediately used the item in his newspaper advertising. For example, he stated in an ad in a Jacksonville paper that: "Sen. Fletcher Says Trammell Should Be Re-Elected." Although Fletcher issued an additional statement on June 24, explaining that it "was not and is not my intention to attempt to influence the voters of my state, for Senator Trammell and Mr. Pepper are both good men," the damage to Pepper had already been done. It is extremely difficult to believe that Fletcher acted naively in this matter and failed to foresee that his statement could be used as an endorsement. It seems likely that, although he may have admired Pepper's energy and platform, he felt a moral commitment to Trammell that transcended his political judgment.

Pepper finished his campaign on the west coast. Speaking in Fort Myers during the morning of June 25, he predicted: "In my platform the people find the things they have dreamed of and they are determined to have them. They are right. We shall win by 50,000." He had visited fifty-five counties since June 12 and spoken to over 100 meetings. That night in Tampa, Pepper borrowed a plank from the Sikes platform and promised that one of his first acts as senator would be to get federal refunds for Florida depositors who had lost money when banks failed. He also said that he had spoken with Fletcher and that the senior senator had not intended to endorse either candidate in the runoff. His phone call had prompted Fletcher to issue a disclaimer.
Miami witnessed Trammell's final attacks against his opponent. He once more repeated his slush fund charge, and predicted that 80 percent of the Mitchell and Sikes vote would come to him. He also claimed that he would win 20 percent of Pepper's first primary vote.128

Pepper cast his absentee ballot in Tampa on June 26. He began the day with a fifteen-minute radio talk over a state-wide network and afterward visited some polling places.129 Trammell had still another surprise in store for his challenger, however. On election day, he placed an advertisement which included a thank you letter from Postmaster General James Farley. The clearly misleading and incorrect introductory sentences, however, read: "Late News Flash, Postmaster General Farley Endorses Senator Trammell! (This means endorsement by President Roosevelt as Farley is official political spokesman for the administration)."

Although Pepper's workers spotted this advertisement in time to place a countering notice of their own in the same paper, additional damage had been inflicted on Pepper's cause. Pepper ads maligning Trammell also appeared on election day, emphasizing that Trammell and Robinson had been voted the most "useless" men in the Senate and charging that influential Tampa businessman Peter O. Knight had been working over two years to reelect Trammell.130

Although the state canvassing board did not certify the results of the June 26 runoff primary until July 2, by the day after the election the results seemed clear. In a surprise that virtually no political writers had predicted, Trammell had won reelection. With less than fifty precincts unreported, Trammell led Pepper by 100,259 votes to 95,253.131 Although Trammell issued a victory statement on the twenty-seventh, Pepper refused to concede.132 Not until the evening
of the following day did Pepper telegraph Trammell his congratulations. 133

Trammell's official vote total reached 103,028; Pepper's 98,978. Pepper won thirty-seven of sixty-seven counties. Of the highly-populated counties, Pepper won Dade (9,209 to 8,646) and Duval (10,910 to 8,261). Trammell, however, won a major victory in Hillsborough County--16,800 to 6,410 votes. 134 In the first primary in Hillsborough, the vote was Trammell, 8,784; Mitchell, 6,649; Pepper, 4,631; Wells, 2,047; and Sikes, 2,019. 135 Thus, Trammell picked up 8,016 votes in the runoff, while Pepper gained only 1,779.

Both the Tampa Morning Tribune at the time, and Pepper's biographer years later, questioned the magnitude of Trammell's vote in Hillsborough, particularly in West Tampa and Ybor City. 136 It is, of course, impossible to prove legally or historically exactly what happened and if a massive vote fraud took place. On the eve of the first primary, 30,423 people had qualified to vote in Hillsborough. Pepper won only 19 percent of the vote on June 5, while Trammell received 36 percent. Based on numbers alone, Trammell could easily have won such a Hillsborough majority honestly. Jones, Wells, and Sikes all came from the Tampa area and, in a geographic sense, Trammell might have been more likely to appeal to their supporters. In addition, his disinterest in the behavior of local politicians might have caused local bosses to prefer him to the more energetic Pepper.

Nevertheless, some evidence of irregularities must have existed. On June 21, the campaign committee of the Hillsborough County Democratic Executive Committee reported that it had received evidence of fraud in the first primary. 137 At a meeting of the state executive committee in
Jacksonville on July 24, L.D. Shuler of Liberty County attempted to present a petition from the floor. Signed by thirty-seven members of the Hillsborough executive committee, it charged fraud in both primaries. Before the petition could be read, H.H. Wells, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, protested that it had not been presented to that body first. Chairman James B. Hodges agreed with Wells and ruled the motion out of order.\textsuperscript{138}

Pepper's biographer evidently believes that fraudulent votes in Tampa stole the runoff primary from Pepper. In support of this conclusion, he refers to affidavits in Pepper's files.\textsuperscript{139} In fairness, he also suggests that one reason Pepper did not choose to contest the election is that many Pepper voters in west Florida probably had not been able to afford to pay their poll taxes but had voted anyway. Whether such persons were illegally allowed to cast ballots or whether Pepper or his supporters illegally paid their poll taxes is not known. Nevertheless, such votes might have been challenged in court by Trammell.\textsuperscript{140} In fact, Secretary of State Gray had estimated on June 3 that 100,000 out of 300,000 registered voters had not paid their poll taxes due to hard times and other reasons.\textsuperscript{141}

Whether one chooses to believe that the election was stolen from Pepper or not, Trammell had once again proven his popularity. He had campaigned for only a few weeks and solely on the basis of his personality. Although he slandered Pepper and went far beyond the truth in many of his statements, his name and seniority (which had always counted for a great deal in the South) still meant something to the basically conservative Democrats of Florida. Despite the efforts and predictions of virtually all the state's newspapers, and the endorsement of Pepper by Mitchell, Trammell retained his seat.
The final financial reports of the candidates, released on July 6, showed that Pepper had led in both contributions ($5,551.00) and expenditures ($14,322.72). Trammell had received $1,265.00 and expended $3,253.85. If accurate, these figures show that Pepper had spent over four times as much money as Trammell.142

The last surprise of the 1934 election came in early August, since the Republicans did not offer a Senate candidate in the general election. On August 2, beneath headlines proclaiming the death of President Paul von Hindenburg of Germany, Florida newspapers carried a story reporting the marriage of Senator Park Trammell. In a private ceremony in Lakeland's Presbyterian Church the previous evening, Trammell had married Mrs. Beatrice Mesmer. The bride, who had recently been divorced at Bartow from Louis S. Mesmer, was about thirty-five years old and had one child, a grade school-aged son. Her father, Sanford Padgett, was a citrus grower who had moved to Polk County from Tennessee about twenty years previously.143

Trammell's romance with Mrs. Mesmer constituted the best-kept secret of the campaign. According to one Trammell campaign strategist, it also constituted a great problem, for the senator was reluctant to leave his lady in order to conduct his canvass and had to be prompted to do so. The marriage had intentionally been postponed in order to prevent unfavorable publicity about Mrs. Mesmer's status as a divorcée which might have harmed Trammell's chances for reelection.144 Thus, after twelve years of widowerhood, the "Senator from Ybor City" legally took a wife.145
Notes


2. Orlando Sentinel, quoted in Tallahassee Daily Democrat, October 2, 1933.


5. Tampa Morning Tribune, January 7, 1934.


8. Tampa Morning Tribune, February 8, 9, 1934; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 9, 1934.


17. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, March 27, 1934.

19. Ibid., April 18, 1934.

20. Tampa Morning Tribune, February 11, April 18, 1934.


22. Ibid., May 2, 1934; Tampa Sunday Tribune, May 13, 1934.


27. Ibid., April 27, 1934; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 27, 1934.


29. Ibid., May 25, 1934.

30. Ibid.


32. Tampa Morning Tribune, May 25, 26, 1934.


34. Ibid., March 12, 1934.

35. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 3, 1934.


37. Ibid., April 17, 1934.

38. Ibid., April 22, 1934.


41. Ibid., May 25, 1934.

42. Ibid., June 4, 1934.

43. Ibid., May 14, 15, 1934.

44. Tampa Morning Tribune, May 29, 1934.

46. Ocala Evening Star, quoted in Ocala Banner, February 16, 1934.
47. Ocala Banner, February 16, 1934.
48. Tampa Morning Tribune, February 16, 1934.
49. Fort Myers News-Press, quoted in Ocala Banner, February 23, 1934.
50. Ibid.
52. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, March 5, 1934.
53. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, March 5, 1934.
54. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, March 17, 1934.
57. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, March 24, 1934; Tampa Morning Tribune, March 24, 1934.
59. Ibid., March 30, 1934.
60. Jacksonville Sunday Times-Union, April 1, 1934.
61. Jacksonville Journal, quoted in Ocala Banner, April 6, 1934.
62. Miami Post, quoted in Ocala Banner, April 6, 1934.
63. Tampa Morning Tribune, April 7, 1934.
64. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 12, 1934.
65. Ocala Banner, April 13, 1934.
66. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 27, 29, 1934.
68. Tampa Morning Tribune, May 2, 1934.
69. Time magazine, November 11, 1929, "Letters."
70. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, May 9, 1934.
71. Ibid., May 12, 1934; Tampa Morning Tribune, May 12, 1934.
73. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, May 13, 1934.
75. Ocala Banner, May 18, 1934.
76. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, May 19, 1934.
77. Ibid., May 20, 1934.
78. Ibid., May 21, 1934.
79. Ibid., May 22, 1934.
80. Tampa Morning Tribune, May 22, 1934.
81. Ibid., May 23, 1934.
82. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, May 24, 1934.
83. Ibid., May 25, 1934.
84. Ocala Banner, May 25, 1934.
86. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, May 27, 1934.
88. Ibid., June 1, 1934; Tallahassee Daily Democrat, June 1, 1934; Tampa Morning Tribune, June 2, 1934.
89. Stoesen, Senatorial Career of Claude D. Pepper, 30.
90. Tampa Sunday Tribune, June 3, 1934.
91. Tampa Morning Tribune, June 2, 1934.
92. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, June 3, 1934.
94. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, June 4, 1934; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, June 5, 1934.
95. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, June 6, 1934.
96. Ibid., June 13, 1934; Tampa Morning Tribune, June 13, 1934.
98. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, June 6, 1934.
100. Tampa Morning Tribune, June 14, 1934.
101. Sanford Herald, quoted in Tallahassee Daily Democrat, June 14, 1934.
105. Fort Myers News-Press, quoted in Tallahassee Daily Democrat, June 18, 1934.
107. Tampa Morning Tribune, June 12, 1934.
109. Ibid., June 14, 1934.
110. Ibid., June 15, 1934; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, June 15, 1934; Ocala Banner, June 15, 1934; Tampa Morning Tribune, June 15, 1934.
111. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, June 16, 1934.
112. Ibid., June 17, 1934; Tallahassee Daily Democrat, June 17, 1934.
113. Tampa Sunday Tribune, June 17, 1934.
115. Tampa Morning Tribune, June 20, 1934.
116. Ibid., June 21, 1934.
118. Ocala Banner, June 22, 1934.
119. Tampa Morning Tribune, June 22, 1934.
120. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, June 22, 1934.
121. Tampa Morning Tribune, June 25, 1934.
122. Ibid., June 23, 1934.
123. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, June 24, 1934.
126. Ibid.; Tampa Morning Tribune, June 25, 1934.
128. Tampa Morning Tribune, June 26, 1934.
129. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, June 26, 1934.
131. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, June 27, 1934.
132. Tampa Morning Tribune, June 28, 1934.
133. Ibid., June 29, 1934; Ocala Banner, June 29, 1934.
136. Ibid., June 29, 1934; Tampa Morning Tribune, June 28, 1934; Stoesen, Senatorial Career of Claude D. Pepper, 41-42.
139. Stoesen, Senatorial Career of Claude D. Pepper, 41-42.
140. Ibid., 47.
141. Tampa Morning Tribune, June 4, 1934.
142. Ibid., July 7, 1934.
143. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, August 2, 1934; Bartow Polk County Record, August 2, 1934. According to her sister-in-law, Beatrice Trammell was the daughter of Sanford and Mary Padgett. She was born in Georgia, but raised in the Knoxville, Tennessee, area. Before her marriage to Louis Mesmer, she was married to a Tennessee man, from whom she obtained a divorce. Her second marriage, to a man from California, left her a widow. Then she married Louis Mesmer, had a child, and was divorced again. Mrs. Justine Padgett to Stephen Kerber, June 2, 1976. Mr. Louis E. Mesmer, Beatrice Trammell's son, declined the author's request to be interviewed for this study.
144. Interview, Mr. David Gorman Click, May 24, 1976, Vero Beach, Florida.

145. Leesburg Commercial, quoted in Ocala Banner, July 20, 1934.
CHAPTER THIRTEEN
SENIORITY AND DENOUEMENT,
1935-1936

Trammell's fourth term in the Senate began on January 3, 1935, when he took the oath of office before Vice President John Nance Garner. Although he was not yet sixty years old, the years of loneliness which followed his first wife's death in 1922 had taken a physical toll on Trammell. The handsome young man had grown heavy and slow; his face had become puffy and his hair had begun to turn grey. Where he had once seemed polite, reserved, and too good-natured to be taken seriously in the Senate, he now looked suspicious, tired, and disillusioned. If his second marriage had brought him security and companionship, his happiness did not show in his face. He appeared weary as he, John G. Townsend, Jr., of Delaware, Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota, George L. Radcliffe of Maryland, and Lewis B. Schwellenbach of Washington State took the oath.

It is impossible to determine whether Trammell's second marriage had lived up to his expectations. His closest associates evidently had little respect for his second wife and had not been in favor of the match. It must also have been very difficult for Trammell to adjust to having a young child about. It seems likely that the second Mrs. Trammell must have labored under a great handicap in trying to provide her husband with all the help and support he had learned to expect from Virgie Darby Trammell. At the very least, Trammell's physical living conditions...
improved, for the couple moved to a comfortable apartment at 2633 16th Street Northwest, a fashionable residential area in Washington.  

Trammell's service during his fourth term coincided with the first and second sessions of the Seventy-fourth Congress. His committee assignments, which he would again carry out faithfully until ill health intervened, included the chairmanship of naval affairs, and membership on claims, education and labor, interoceanic canals, patents, post offices and post roads, and public buildings and grounds. Trammell would also continue to attend regular Senate sessions faithfully. During this period, from January 1935 to March 1936, he introduced eighty-four bills. Of these, thirty-two passed the Senate, and seventeen survived the rigors of House debate and presidential scrutiny to become law.

These statistics are deceptive. At first glance they appear to suggest that Trammell enjoyed great success in getting his own bills enacted in his fourth term—a rate of success much greater than his previous performance. One is tempted to speculate that he had become more articulate and persuasive and that his standing among his fellow senators had risen dramatically. In fact, no dramatic change had really taken place in Trammell's performance or his status. The large number of successful bills can be attributed to his position as chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee. The seniority system had finally brought Trammell to an important position.

As chairman, Trammell consistently introduced and reported back from committee bills thought out by other senators or by navy officials. Thus, although introduced by Trammell, these bills—as in the case of the Vinson-Trammell Act—originated in the minds of others. Of the thirty-two measures introduced by Trammell which passed the Senate during
his fourth term, all but two may be called naval legislation dealing with the navy or the United States Marine Corps. Compelling evidence exists to suggest that virtually all of these originated with individuals other than Trammell, usually within the navy department itself.

Of the two bills not relating to the navy which passed the Senate, one (S. 933) would have authorized the long-sought survey of Mediterranean fruit fly eradication campaign damage in Florida. It died in the House Agriculture Committee. The second bill (S. 2426) provided for the creation of a memorial park at Tampa to honor the men who had served in the Spanish-American War. Congressman J. Hardin Peterson, fearful that the bill would not pass if it included an appropriation, managed to have the appropriation deleted before the House approved the measure.

Altogether, in almost twenty years in the Senate, Trammell succeeded in getting 57 out of 371 (or 15 percent) of his own bills passed by that body. Only 25 of these (or 7 percent of all his bills) passed the House as well. If his performance in his last Senate term is not included, Trammell's record would consist of 25 of 287 measures passing the Senate (9 percent) and only 8 (3 percent) becoming law.

Trammell continued his support of the New Deal, particularly as it affected Florida. By the beginning of 1935, the federal government had spent upwards of $2 billion for relief, but Roosevelt felt that he had little to show for it in terms of reducing unemployment. Therefore, on January 4, 1935, he sent to Congress a new plan to replace relief with public service work. Roosevelt's plan would give work to 3,500,000 jobless and turn 1,500,000 persons back to local governments and charities as unemployables. In Florida, during December 1934, there were 305,670 residents receiving direct or work relief, and 9,880 transients receiving
aid. Relief expenditures in all programs in Florida totalled $1,269,747.74 that month.\(^7\)

When the joint resolution embodying the new plan (H.J.R. 117) came before the House, it won passage easily, with Florida's Green, Caldwell, Peterson, Sears, and Wilcox all supporting the president.\(^8\) Almost exactly two months later, on March 23, 1935, the Senate amended and passed the House bill. Both Trammell and Fletcher voted with the majority.\(^9\) On April 5, the five Florida congressmen all voted yea on a conference report; Fletcher also approved the report but Trammell did not appear in the Senate to vote that day.\(^10\)

The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of April 11, 1935, returned the responsibility for taking care of unemployables to local government and created the Works Progress Administration (WPA). It authorized the WPA to provide jobs for those unemployed capable of working and able to pass a means test. It gave the president extensive powers to institute job-creating projects (such as he used in May 1935 to create the Rural Electrification Administration). In addition, it appropriated nearly $5 billion to pay WPA workers.

In a subsequent review of its activities in Florida from 1935 through the year 1939, the WPA reported expending $81,788,193, which was matched by $19,804,983 from other sources. Of the total WPA expenditures during that period of $101,593,177, $72,484,088 was spent for labor and $29,109,089 for materials. The WPA left a giant legacy of physical improvements in Florida. Through June 1938, it erected 313 new public buildings and repaired 291 others. It built 772 miles of new highways and streets and improved 1,105 miles of existing roads. It constructed forty-three athletic fields, twenty-four playgrounds, nine swimming pools,
three golf courses, sixty-three tennis courts, and twenty-three parks. In addition, WPA workers laid 29 miles of water lines and 103 miles of sewer lines. The Rural Electrification Administration made loans for 381 miles of rural electric lines to serve 1,141 farm families.\(^{11}\)

In February of 1935, New York Senator Robert Wagner introduced a bill to strengthen the National Labor Relations Board and make it a permanent independent agency. Although President Roosevelt at first opposed the idea, the action of the Supreme Court in striking down the National Industrial Recovery Act on May 27, 1935, forced him to reconsider. The Senate, however, also put pressure on the president even before the Schechter decision.\(^{12}\) On May 16, 1935, the Senate passed Wagner's bill by a vote of sixty-three to twelve. Both Trammell and Fletcher supported this important measure, as did most southern senators. Of the senators from the deep South, not one opposed the bill, although Richard B. Russell of Georgia and Ellison D. Smith of South Carolina failed to vote.\(^{13}\)

Late in May, Roosevelt changed his mind after a conference with Wagner and announced that he regarded the bill as "must" legislation. The House passed a slightly different version on June 19 by a voice vote.\(^{14}\) On June 27, both houses agreed to a conference report.\(^{15}\)

According to one New Deal historian: "No one, then or later, fully understood why Congress passed so radical a law with so little opposition and by such overwhelming margins."\(^{16}\) The law put the weight of the government behind the right of labor to bargain collectively and forced employers to agree peacefully to the unionization of their employees, while imposing no reciprocal obligations on unions. The National Labor Relations Act established a new National Labor Relations Board chosen by the president and authorized to hold elections for the formation of
unions at the request of workers. It demanded that employers recognize
the unions so formed as bargaining agents for their employees, and em-
powered the NLRB to investigate charges of unfair labor practices and
to issue cease and desist orders.

Although labor had not yet acquired much political power in Florida,
Trammell's vote on the Wagner bill obviously helped repay the endorsement
he had received from national organized labor in 1934. Although a radical
departure from earlier legislation, the law contained a section which
limited bargaining elections to "employer units," which prevented
unionization struggles against entire industries such as the textile
manufacturers of the South. Furthermore, until the Supreme Court upheld
the law in 1937, there was little employer compliance.17

On January 17, 1935, President Roosevelt asked Congress to pass a
social security law. Representative David Lewis of Maryland and Senator
Wagner introduced the administration bill (H.R. 7260) in their respective
houses the next day. The House passed the bill--Caldwell, Green,
Peterson, Sears, and Wilcox of Florida all voting yea--on April 19.18
Exactly two months later, Trammell and Flecker helped to pass an almost
identical bill. Roosevelt subsequently approved the law on August 14,
1935.19 The Social Security Act created the first national system of
old-age insurance and compelled most employees to participate, as well
as their employers. By 1938, 677 blind and 27,599 aged persons in
Florida were receiving benefits under the act.20

After having established a solid pro-New Deal voting record during
his third and fourth terms, Trammell's Senate career came to a quiet,
almost unnoticed end during the spring of 1936. On Thursday, March 12,
Trammell introduced a bill (S. 4266) to amend the Social Security Act in
order to provide aid to transients, many of whom had sought out Florida's temperate climate during the depths of the Depression. In November of 1934, for example, FERA aid in Florida to transient cases (17,566) totalled $119,707.32. On Monday, March 16, Trammell made what proved subsequently to be his last appearance in the Senate chamber. On that day, the Senate debated an appropriation strongly favored by Duncan Fletcher to continue work on the cross-Florida canal. Although the event never came to light in the press, one of Trammell's close associates has stated that he, supposedly on this date and during this particular debate, suffered a heart attack on the Senate floor. This witness contends that Trammell opposed the canal, but had promised Senator Fletcher not to speak out against it in debate. Nervous tension over being placed in this difficult situation, therefore, supposedly caused a coronary attack.

Although newspaper accounts of Trammell's illness are remarkably scarce, they contradict this explanation. One report, on March 20, stated that Trammell had been suffering from an attack of influenza and that his visit to the Senate on March 16 had brought about a very serious relapse. Another story, over a month later, quoted Dr. Walter A. Bloedorn as saying that Trammell continued to be confined to his apartment with influenza. On May 7, another account listed Trammell as being seriously ill and suffering from influenza and pleurisy.

Whatever the real cause of Trammell's illness, it proved fatal. Trammell died at the relatively early age of sixty, on Friday, May 8, 1936, at approximately 8:35 p.m. in his apartment. Dr. Bloedorn listed as the cause of death a cerebral hemorrhage which had taken place fourteen days previously. He also listed arteriosclerosis as a contributing cause of death.
Trammell's widow Beatrice and a congressional delegation accompanied the senator's body by train to Lakeland during the night of May 10-11. The official delegation consisted of Senators Richard Russell of Georgia, Sherman Minton of Indiana, Carl A. Hatch of New Mexico, Representative William J. Sears, and Will Hill, Senator Fletcher's secretary. On Monday, May 11, the body lay in state in Lakeland's municipal auditorium. Beside the bronze metal casket were two American flags.

The funeral service began at 4:00 p.m. The auditorium had a capacity of 1,700 seats, and most of them were occupied. The Reverend James S. Day, Jr., of Lakeland's Southside Baptist Church delivered the eulogy, calling Trammell a "man who loved the common people." He referred to Trammell's work on behalf of the navy and his 1918 bonus bill. Governor Sholtz also attended the services, and in Washington both houses of Congress adjourned out of respect. After the service, the body was removed to Roselawn Cemetery, where Trammell was laid to rest next to the grave of his first wife, Virgie. In the tradition of politics, former Judge Charles O. Andrews of Orlando announced even before Trammell was buried that he would seek his late friend's seat. Claude Pepper and former Governor Doyle Carlton followed with their own announcements of candidacy within hours, and many expected Governor Sholtz to appoint himself to replace Trammell.

With her husband's death, Beatrice Trammell passed into obscurity. According to one of Trammell's Washington associates, she encountered financial difficulties as a widow. Shortly before her husband's death, she evidently had purchased a substantial Lakeland property known as Greylocks from the widow of Spense Minor Stephens. Two years later, however, Mrs. Trammell sold Greylocks to attorney J.P. Marchant.
Unfortunately, even this did not produce sufficient funds to allow Mrs. Trammell to lead a life of leisure. According to one source, at the time of her death in Key West in 1960, she was employed as a housekeeper-companion to Mrs. Charles P. Thompson in the island city.\textsuperscript{37} Trammell's stepson, Louis E. Mesmer, survived his mother and lives near Lakeland.

The subsequent death of Duncan Fletcher on June 17, 1936, complicated the political scene and marked the end of an era in Florida history.\textsuperscript{38} The two deaths created opportunities for younger men born and raised in a Florida and a nation different from those that had spawned Trammell and Fletcher. Sholtz eventually named Scott M. Loftin of Jacksonville, a former legislator, prominent attorney, and receiver for the Florida East Coast Line railroad, to hold Trammell's seat temporarily. Sholtz also selected Fletcher's long-time secretary, Will Hill, to fill the other post. In a special primary held on August 11, 1936, Pepper won Fletcher's spot without opposition. Andrews defeated Carlton (67,387 to 62,530 votes) to succeed Trammell.\textsuperscript{39}

Any assessment of Trammell's performance during his Senate career depends upon the perspective of the viewer. If one believes that the primary duty of a senator is to vote on the various measures which come before the Senate, then it is possible to give Trammell high marks in this regard. He maintained a fine record of attendance in the Senate and voted on almost every one of the major issues of his era.

In other areas, however, Trammell's performance must be rated mediocre to poor. As demonstrated above, he achieved little success in getting his own legislation enacted into law. The seniority system, by making him chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, enabled him
to appear to accomplish more in the last two years of his service than he had previously.

There is no record of Trammell having established any reputation as a behind-the-scenes manipulator or power-broker. Neither did Trammell ever attempt to use his place in the Senate as a forum to generate publicity for a cause or for himself. As for his ability to solve the problems of constituents caught up in the delays of the federal bureaucracy, no evidence exists that he claimed or demonstrated such ability. His office, by all accounts, functioned neither smoothly nor quickly, if it functioned at all.

Only in his ability to win elections did Trammell excel. He understood the political situation in Florida for over thirty years as well as any other man in the state. He made friends and contacts and held onto them. He kept them through the charm of his personality and manner and the impact of his fantastic memory for names and faces.

Beyond this, Trammell possessed a superb practical knowledge of the workings of Florida politics which enabled him to analyze and take the measure of a remarkable series of opponents. In 1916, he took advantage of Sidney Catts's bigotry to unseat an excellent man--Senator Nathan P. Brayn--who, however, lacked Trammell's "common touch." In 1922, his popularity scared off the unofficial but nonetheless quite real candidacy of William Jennings Bryan. In 1928, Trammell defeated John Martin, who had brought about many more tangible improvements in the state--such as roads--than Trammell could claim to have fostered. Finally, in 1934, Trammell survived two hard-fought Democratic primaries. In the second, he outmaneuvered a younger, better-financed challenger (and a fine speaker) who enjoyed the vociferous support of virtually all the important newspapers in the state.
Perhaps the most important observation that can be made about Trammell's Senate years is that he seems always to have voted the way his constituents would have wished him to vote. No challenger ever made an attack on Trammell based upon his having voted for legislation detrimental to the citizens of Florida. His sins as listed by his critics always fell in the category of omission and not commission. He performed as a real "representative" for Floridians of his day in a much truer sense than his extremely capable fellow senator, Duncan Fletcher.

Notes

2. Interview, Mr. David Gorman Click, May 24, 1976, Vero Beach, Florida.
3. Ibid.
5. CR 79:1, 408; CR 79:14, 638.
8. CR 79:1, 942.
11. Work Projects Administration, WPA Cumulative Expenses, 1935-1939, A Statistical and Graphic Presentation of Four and One Half Years of WPA Operation in Florida (Jacksonville, 1940), 8, 10.
14. CR 79:9, 9731.
15. CR 79:9, 10300, 10259.
16. Leuchtenburg, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 151.
18. CR 79:6, 6069-70.
23. CR 80:4, 3744, 3762, 3769, 3770.
24. Interview, Mr. David Gorman Click.
27. Ibid., May 7, 1936.
30. Tampa Morning Tribune, May 12, 1936.
31. Ibid.; Bartow Polk County Record, May 11, 1936.
32. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, May 11, 1936.
33. Ibid., May 12, 1936.
34. Interview, Mr. David Gorman Click.
35. Ibid.
37. Conversation with Ms. Sharon Wells, Historic Key West Preservation Board; Ms. Betty Bruce to Kerber, October 5, 1976.

38. Wayne Flynt, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, Dixie's Reluctant Progressive (Tallahassee, 1971), 188.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CONCLUSION: AN EASY PACE WILL LAST LONGER

In the preface to his insightful biography of Senator Duncan Fletcher, Wayne Flynt bemoans the "almost insoluble" problems facing the historian who attempts to write political biography, particularly where a paucity of sources obscures the motivations of the subject. In the case of Fletcher, however, Professor Flynt proved able to concentrate on the obvious efforts the senator expended in the realms of maritime and farm problems on the national level. In this way, Flynt overcame the fact that William Luther Hill, Fletcher's secretary and temporary successor, destroyed most of Fletcher's papers after his death.

Unlike Fletcher, however, Trammell accomplished virtually nothing in his years in the Senate, either in the way of legislation he introduced or legislation he helped bring to fruition. There are two reasons for this lack of productivity. One has to do with Trammell's attitude toward his job and the other with the attitudes of his fellow senators toward Trammell.

Trammell was a reactor. He conceived of his first responsibility as being to vote for or against that which had been proposed by others. He did not initiate any important legislation with national implications while in the Senate.

In the Senate, Trammell was tolerated. The fact that virtually none of his bills ever passed his own chamber suggests that no one feared him
in debate or his senatorial prestige or power. No one ever took him very seriously. He was not hated or ostracized, merely joked about and overlooked. His own friendly, lazy personality contributed to this treatment.

One of the best ways of understanding Trammell is to borrow the definitions developed by political scientist James David Barber to evaluate and predict presidential performance. Barber defines political character along the lines of activity-passivity and positive-negative feelings. An active man invests much energy in his job, a passive man little. A politician who enjoys his activity would have a positive feeling about it. A negative politician would feel no fun or satisfaction in his career.²

Of the four basic character combinations which Barber describes, Trammell fits best into the "passive-positive" pattern. The passive-positive man "is the receptive, compliant, other-directed character whose life is a search for affection as a reward for being agreeable and cooperative rather than personally assertive." They are "political lovers" who sincerely enjoy the crowd-meeting aspects of politics. They are responders, not initiators or pushers.³ Barber offers William Howard Taft and Warren G. Harding as examples of the passive-positive character.⁴

Trammell fits snugly into the Barber passive-positive mold. He enjoyed politics (which to him meant electioneering), almost more than anything else. Only when he entered the Senate, a body composed of some of the brightest, most determined, and most self-motivated men of his time, did he likely feel ill at ease. Yet, even in the Senate, Trammell found that room existed for a faithful party man who could keep his mouth
shut and respect the workings of the seniority system. As long as he did not try to match wits or eloquence with more aggressive senators, congressional courtesy would protect him from public criticism by his peers.

Personality and character, therefore, are the keys to Trammell's less than spectacular performance in the Senate. He did not fail in the Senate, for at no time did he ever intend to accomplish more than he actually succeeded in doing. As a politician, Trammell defined himself in terms of his elected job throughout his entire adult life.

Trammell liked people and he wanted people to like him. The profession of politician, as he grew to understand it in his native state, offered him the perfect job to suit his inclinations as well as his abilities. He had the gift of making people like and trust him. His ability to remember the names and faces of voters was not a ploy; it was a genuine expression of interest in his fellow beings and joy at human contact. This feeling likewise led him to seek higher office after higher office, both to expand his contacts among the people and to glory in their increased esteem.

Since the duties of an attorney general or governor of Florida before World War I were not arduous, Trammell could enjoy himself between elections as well as during elections. When he moved to Washington after his election to the Senate, he lost the frequency of his public "communions," but he enjoyed the new distinction of being a member of the most exclusive club in the world. Besides, for Trammell, after becoming governor, there was nowhere to go but the United States Senate.

An intelligent man, Trammell had the tremendous advantage during the years of his political rise of being married to a woman of brains and personality. Virgie Trammell's strong religious principles also
provided a backbone which compensated for Park's lack of intense political conviction. When Virgie died, Park lost not only the rudder of his political life, but the force that could control his public behavior. It was only after her death that he resorted to extreme falsification in order to remain in office and that he began to take advantage of his position and physical attractiveness to "womanize."

Politically, Trammell did not change much during his long career because he never had exceptionally strong feelings or emotions about any issue. He shared the social attitudes of his time and region about blacks and foreigners. There were important ethnic groups in Florida who could and did vote. The Cubans, Spaniards, and Italians living in Ybor City and Key West are examples. From them, Trammell camouflaged or hid his antipathies in order to win their support. He also kept his nose out of local politics, which greatly pleased the political bosses who sought to control these ethnic blocs. Trammell desired to win and hold office above all else, and he probably would have voted according to what he considered the wishes of his constituents even if they had changed on any issue. Fortunately for Trammell, during his lifetime his constituents remained quite consistent in their attitudes and expectations.

Although a progressive in the Florida context during his earlier days, Trammell is not listed as such by Otis L. Graham, Jr., in his An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal. This is a correct assessment on Graham's part, for Trammell did not really belong to the national progressive movement. He did not think in such terms. This conclusion is reinforced by the pro-New-Deal voting record which Trammell established. Graham's study shows that the majority of surviving "true" progressives disliked the size, coercion, and economic planning of the New Deal, and worked against it.\textsuperscript{5}
Trammell was not involved in Franklin Roosevelt's presidential campaign in Florida, but endorsed him after he carried the Democratic primary over Oklahoma Governor William "Alfalfa Bill" Murray. By 1934, Roosevelt had become the key to Trammell's own reelection. He strongly endorsed Roosevelt's program in 1934 and claimed the administration's endorsement, although in doing so he undoubtedly lied to the voters. More importantly, Trammell consistently voted for the New Deal program. This, of course, was true of most other southern congressmen and senators, at least until Roosevelt's second term. The New Deal had no stronger supporters in Congress in its earlier years than the South's representatives.

Trammell's name is conspicuously missing from the list of those Democrats who turned against the New Deal as the years passed. James T. Patterson, in Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal: The Growth of the Conservative Coalition in Congress, 1933-1939, nowhere mentions Trammell as publicly or privately opposing the New Deal. Patterson credits Carter Glass of Virginia, Thomas Gore of Oklahoma, Millard Tydings of Maryland, Josiah Bailey of North Carolina, and Harry Flood Byrd of Virginia as being the hard-core Democratic conservatives of 1933 and 1934. He counts nineteen Democratic senators who voted against at least two of seven key New Deal measures enacted during the first session of the Seventy-fourth Congress in 1935. Again, Trammell does not qualify. Instead, Trammell had supported the Emergency Banking Relief Act, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration measure, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority bill, the National Recovery Administration proposal, and virtually all of the other administration bills.
Trammell saw Roosevelt as the head of the Democratic party rather than an ideologue. He supported a Democratic president because he himself was a Democrat. He endorsed the New Deal because he believed that it held out some measure of hope for the people of Florida. He also supported it because he realized, as the 1932 and 1934 elections certainly proved, that the voters endorsed the president and the New Deal. The Depression had made their situation so desperate that they were happy to vote for anyone who promised them help. It was only later that they realized to what degree the new legislation was threatening the way of life that the South had held on to for so long.

In assessing Trammell's Senate career, it is not only unavoidable but instructive to compare him to Duncan Fletcher. Undoubtedly, Trammell possessed as much native intelligence as his colleague, but Fletcher obviously had a much more determined attitude toward legislative work than Trammell. In the Senate, Fletcher won the respect and confidence of his peers. He did his homework, learned the ways of committee service and the seniority system, and became a leader in the club—although never a strong public personality outside the Senate.

Trammell, probably because of his own makeup, never really was accepted by the clique who ran the Senate. He was never really a member of the club and failed to gain political power even if he lacked the inclination to wield it. Always a pleasant man, he tried hard—according to his own lights—but never really arrived. He maintained a good attendance record and voting rate in both the Senate and his committees. He also managed to restrain any impulses he may have felt to deliver frequent speeches and discourses in the Senate chamber.
Good behavior, however, could not compensate for a lack of knowledge. One is left with the impression after reading Trammell's remarks in the *Congressional Record* that the senator never really knew very much about the bill that was being debated or discussed at any given moment. This may have been the result of a combination of two factors. The first is Trammell's own intellectual laziness—his disinclination to do the arduous, time-consuming research and reading which are vital for an outstanding committee-oriented senator. The second is Trammell's often-referred-to photographic memory. A person who enjoys the use of such a memory frequently relies upon it rather than reading and study to acquire additional information. In addition, a person with a photographic memory is not likely to be given to analyzing and philosophizing, especially when he lacks an introspective personality.

At times, the two Florida senators must have seemed a strange pair indeed to their fellows. Fletcher, an aloof, reserved, studious, and learned man, always seemed much older than his years. Trammell, a friendly, courtly, well-dressed, big-boned fellow, probably never outgrew the slightly uncomfortable manner of a freshman on the Senate floor. Nevertheless, the two men shared one basic trait. Wayne Flynt has noted that Fletcher "was never far from his people—either ahead or behind." The same was also true of Trammell. Fletcher did more than he promised the voters, particularly in his committee work, but he never tried to persuade the voters to endorse brave new schemes in advance. Trammell likewise never attempted to rally the electorate behind any visionary plan, but he failed to match Fletcher's ability to bring about change through his position as an influential senator.

In summarizing Fletcher's relationship with the electorate, Flynt concluded: "The people who were his constituents respected him,
acknowledged his skill and his service to Florida, and voted for him. They did not love him as if he were really one of them. Part of this analysis may be inaccurate, for the rank and file Florida Democrat, inadequately informed by the news media and poorly educated, did not know enough about Fletcher's real accomplishments in Washington to evaluate them accurately. The voter could only judge Fletcher's performance by his campaign promises and whatever federal funds he could secure for Florida. His biographer makes a strong case that Fletcher rendered more significant service to the nation as a whole than he did to the Florida voters, his own constituents.

The Democratic voters of Florida felt closer to Trammell than Fletcher and regarded him as one of their own. Fletcher was not beloved because he was not one of the people. Trammell was loved by his supporters. They always returned the political "love" which he expended in courting them for over thirty years. They admired the man rather than his promises or deeds, and they voted for the man.

Trammell's personality and character changed very little over the years. He grew up in an environment populated almost exclusively by white Protestant Southerners who had moved into Polk County from west and north Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and the Carolinas to farm or to plant citrus groves. From these sturdy people he had acquired his Baptist faith and his firm belief that blacks were childlike creatures who needed the control and guidance of white men.

Trammell matured in a large family which included several sisters who looked up to him as their older brother and who depended upon him. Indeed, throughout his life his close relatives relied upon him, and on more than one occasion took advantage of his generosity. From his father
he acquired an interest in and an exposure to politics. He also inherited the name of a popular political figure and the good will and friendships his father had acquired in Florida.

Although not a wealthy man, John Trammell evidently saw the value of education and encouraged his sons to pursue the best educational opportunities available to them. He sent them to the state's best "college," although Park did not remain there long. John obtained a political patronage job for Park in Tampa, where he evidently saved money to go off to law school.

Park Trammell, from his young manhood, needed women around him. He was a vain and a sentimental man. From boyhood on, he enjoyed the affection provided by females. A handsome man, he received unstinting help and adoration from his first wife, Virgie. It is doubtful that any other woman could have helped Trammell any more personally or politically than Virgie. After her untimely death in 1922, Trammell sorely missed her intelligence, poise, and charm, in addition to her emotional and sexual companionship. He acquired a series of younger girl friends in towns scattered across Florida who were attracted by his position and charm, perhaps to try and fill the void in his life. Finally, in 1934, Trammell married a second time, wedding a divorced woman with a young son. Fearful of upsetting voters who might be offended by his alliance with a divorced woman, he kept his romance a secret until after he had defeated Claude Pepper in the Democratic primary.

Trammell's relationships with other people were sincere and sentimental, but he was basically a shallow man. He was not a profound thinker or a man given to excessive reflection. His political relationship with the voters was based on a very one-dimensional interpretation
of political theory. In this, of course, he was very much a typical politician of the times.

Trammell never established any strong relationships with other politicians, save for his long-time friendship with R.A. Gray. His cooperation with Fletcher constituted a long-lived marriage of convenience. Save for Virgie Darby, who helped and cared for him, he had no real intimates. He sought only emotional and sexual relief in his subsequent liaisons with other women. He found his own family members all too eager to take advantage of his financial generosity and sometimes abuse his position and influence.

Perhaps because of his inclinations and limited interests, Trammell was always a lonely man. Only his first marriage provided him with real companionship. Trammell genuinely liked people, but had no true friends. Only in the political arena did people seem to respond to him. The casual encounter on the campaign trail provided him with the only truly satisfying social contact he knew.

As a young man in the Florida legislature, during the short sessions of the time, among his own people, he seems to have fared satisfactorily. As attorney general and governor he won applause not for his achievements, but for his geniality and community involvement. Once he became senator and left the state, however, he became increasingly isolated. One is tempted to say that Trammell, like Willy Loman, spent his entire life seeking to become "well-liked."

More than Duncan Fletcher, Sidney Catts, or any of the other Florida politicians of his time, Trammell is the best representative of the people who elected him. His career illustrated the individualistic, flexible, loosely-organized, democratic, and generally uninformed
politics of his day. A true man of the people, the first senator from peninsular Florida never really grasped the great social and economic currents abroad in the world during his lifetime. He never sought to change the world or to reform it into a better place. He wanted only to make the necessary minor repairs to keep it going. He saw the world changing around him, but could only respond to those changes and could not understand and master them. He sought to live peacefully and quietly, enjoying the affection of those around him. Because his aims were simple and private—although carried out in the public arena—he has been ignored by historians. Nevertheless, in these simple aims, to a limited extent, he succeeded.

Notes


3. Ibid., 13.

4. Ibid., 174.


7. Flynt, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, 194.

8. Ibid., 191.

9. Interview, Mr. David Gorman Click, March 24, 1976, Vero Beach, Florida.

10. Ibid.
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Stephen Kerber was born on February 21, 1948, in Oak Park, Illinois, a western suburb of Chicago. He grew up in Elmhurst, Illinois, and attended grade and high school there. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees in history from Florida Atlantic University, a state upper division and graduate university in Boca Raton. From 1971 to 1979, he pursued a Ph.D. degree in United States history at the University of Florida in Gainesville, graduating in June of the latter year.

Kerber was employed as the editorial assistant on the Florida Historical Quarterly from 1973 to 1977, and from 1977 to the present as coordinator for the University of Florida's Oral History Project. In the latter capacity, he has conducted dozens of tape-recorded oral history interviews and supervised their processing into final draft form. He has published articles on Florida history and historic preservation in the Florida Historical Quarterly and Contact, the newsletter of the Florida Association of the American Institute of Architects. He has also served as a member of the Ad Hoc Committee on Historic Campus Buildings and Sites at the University of Florida.
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Samuel Proctor
Dr. Samuel Proctor, Chairman
Distinguished Service Professor of History and Social Sciences; Julien C. Yonge Professor of Florida History; Curator of History, Florida State Museum

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Lyle N. McAlister
Dr. Lyle N. McAlister
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June 1979

Dean, Graduate School