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HENRY DE LA WARR FLOOD: A CASE STUDY OF
ORGANIZATION POLITICS IN AN ERA OF REFORM.**

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Henry DeLaWarr Flood: A Case Study of Organization
Politics in an Era of Reform

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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Thesis Director's signature:

Frank J. Vandiver

Houston, Texas

May, 1966

To my wife
Diane

PREVIEW

Preface

I have not intended this thesis to be either a biography of Henry Flood or a full length study of his political career. I have been concerned primarily with the problem of how an organization politician like Flood was able to enjoy political success at a time when there were strong movements in the United States against the type of machine politics which he represented. In seeking an answer to this question I have stressed certain facets of Flood's political career to the neglect of others. I recognize that several scholarly studies, published and unpublished, have dealt adequately with portions of Flood's political career, and I feel somewhat justified, therefore, in my selectivity.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance and encouragement which I received this last year from my two thesis advisers, Drs. Frank Vandiver and William Masterson who suffered through the reading of this thesis and whose suggestions and comments were invaluable. I would also like to thank Drs. R. John Rath and Louis Galambos who directed the writing of my M. A. thesis and who have been of great assistance to me during my graduate studies at Rice University.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
Preface	111
I. Henry Flood and the Martin Organization.....	1
II. Flood and the Politics of Expediency.....	31
III. The Organization and Anti-Organization.....	55
IV. The Constitutional Convention.....	80
V. Factional Politics 1901-1905.....	113
VI. Congressional Politics 1901-1911.....	135
VII. State Politics 1906-1911.....	158
VIII. The Wilsonian Movement in Virginia Politics.	185
IX. War Years.....	222
X. Final Years and Conclusion.....	248
Bibliography.....	263

PREVIEW

Chapter I

Henry Flood and the Martin Organization

For most of the twentieth century Virginia's political life has been dominated by a small coterie of politicians known as the organization or the machine. These men have established a virtual oligarchy in the Old Dominion. They have controlled Virginia's county governments and legislature, they have appointed or elected their own followers to most of the state's offices, they have named the hierarchy of the state party, and they have made it extremely difficult for anyone outside of their group to rise to political prominence.

The motivation of this group has not been ideological or financial but rather the attainment of power per se. Once in office they have actually responded capably to the duties of their positions and the needs of their constituencies. They have limited their fraudulent practices almost wholly to the gaining of the vote and to the winning of elections. They have run the government honestly, efficiently, and ably and have been extremely responsive to public opinion. As a result the voters of the state have been generally satisfied. The rabble rouser who has characterized the politics of so many Southern states has played little part in the Old Dominion's political

affairs.¹

The organization first achieved power in Virginia in 1893 when the state legislature elected Thomas Staples Martin as United States Senator. Until his death in 1919 Martin was the single most important figure in the state. As founder and leader of the organization his command of Virginia's politics was absolute during most of his career.

One of the reasons for Martin's success was his ability to absorb the leading politicians of the state into his machine. As long as they supported the organization on vital state issues and at election time they were free to follow their own political course. This arrangement proved so satisfactory that the majority of Virginia's important politicians worked at one time or another with the Senator. Included among these men were Senators John Daniel and Claude Swanson, Speaker of the House of Delegates, Richard Evelyn Byrd, Congressman James Hay, and Congressman Henry Flood.

Of the five, Flood was personally and politically the closest to Martin. For twenty-five years he worked in almost complete harmony with the Senator. As his most valued friend, chief political aid, and confidant, he did more to insure his success than any other man in the

1. V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), pp. 304-06; Herman L. Horn, "The Growth and Development of the Democratic Party in Virginia," (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Duke University, 1949), pp. 455-56.

state;² together they directed the fortunes of the organization.

Their first political arrangement prescribed a pattern which remained essentially the same throughout their twenty-five year association. Martin issued the directives for the machine to follow, such as appointments to be made, patronage given, legislators supported. Flood acted as advisor to Martin, gave his own commands, and saw that Martin's orders were carried out. Until his election to Congress in 1900 he also served as the organization's chief spokesman in the state legislature. Even as United States Representative he retained contact with the Richmond politicians, advised them of the organization's wishes, and closely watched the political situation in the state.³

The rise of the Martin organization to political dominance in Virginia in the 1890's was significant for the

2. As Martin himself wrote, "I am more indebted to Flood for the success I have attained in public life than to any other man...yes, more than to any other hundred men in the state." Martin to B. F. Oden, Charlottesville, October 14, 1911, Henry DeLaWarr Flood Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Box 42.

3. For examples of Martin directives to Flood involving patronage and organizational support for office seekers see Martin to Flood, Scottsville, August 10, 1895 and Washington, May 4, 1898, ibid., Boxes 4 and 8. For Flood's influence with the legislature, especially concerning patronage and political appointments, see H. R. Pollard to Flood, Richmond, March 2, 1893, Sidney P. Epes to Flood, Blackstone, November 13, 1893, ibid., Box 2. See also Flood to John F. Ryan, Washington, November 16, 1903 and Flood to A. B. Thornhill, Washington, November 16, 1903, ibid., Box 23.

state's history. It was not only the triumph of a group of men centering around Martin and Flood; even more important it was the beginning of the corporation era in Virginia politics and the final attainment to power of a new type of business-oriented leadership which emerged in the state during the late 1870's and 1880's.

During the 1870's, after reconstruction was over in the South, a gradual expansion of industry began to take place in Virginia as well as in the rest of the former Confederacy. While industrialism grew here at no faster rate than in the rest of the nation the change was so dramatic in some areas that by the 1880's the appeal to attract new industry reached the proportions of a crusade. The preachers at camp meetings even mixed the religion of industrialism with the religion of Christ.⁴

With the rise of industrialism in Virginia came the rapid expansion of railroads. By 1885 four major systems operated in the Old Dominion, the Norfolk and Western, the Chesapeake and Ohio, the Richmond and Danville, and the Richmond and Alleghany. In order to assure a minimum of government restrictions on their operations, these railroads participated actively in the state's politics. They bribed

4. John Samuel Ezell, The South Since 1865 (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1963), pp. 136-37; C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1870-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), p. 129.

legislators with free passes or retained them with lucrative fees, they supported their own candidates for office, and through their spokesmen assumed power within the Democratic party. Nearly every Chairman of the party (until 1880 known as the Conservative party) from 1870 to 1890 was a railroad President or Director.⁵

It was not only the money and labor which railroads expended that gained them such a prominent political position. Many of the younger generation saw Virginia's real hope for the future in the rise of industry and big business. What benefited corporations, they assumed, benefited the state. They were reluctant to oppose the railroads or any utility associated with the growth of industry. They wanted leaders who shared their views. In the years immediately following the Civil War the parties in Virginia had customarily chosen war heroes as their candidates. These veterans had a strong hold on the voters who trusted in their leadership and associated them with a glorified past. The new leaders who assumed power in the late 1880's and early 1890's had fewer ties with the past. Many of them were not even born until after the war began;

5. Allen W. Moger, The Rebuilding of the Old Dominion: A Study in Economic, Social, and Political Transition from 1880 to 1902 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 67. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, p. 5.

others were too young to remember the struggle.⁶

It is true that they still retained ties with the Old South. In accordance with Virginia's aristocratic tradition of inherited leadership, most of them were from families long active in the history of the state.⁷ They naturally tended to romanticize the role of their ancestors in the founding of the state. They also found it easier to gain public acceptance of their outlook by associating their ideas with the ante-bellum South.⁸

6. Allen Wesley Moger, "Industrialization and Urban Progress in Virginia from 1880 to 1900," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXVI (July, 1958), pp. 335-36; Douglas Southall Freeman, "The Spirit of Virginia," Virginia: A Guide to the Old Dominion, comp. by Work Projects Administration (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 506; Horn, "The Growth and Development of the Democratic Party in Virginia," pp. 357-58.

7. From colonial days the control of political life in Virginia has tended to come from relatively small numbers of families who have passed on the mantle of leadership from generation to generation. As a result a political elite developed down through the centuries of men versed and trained in the art of politics from youth. This is not to say that elective office in Virginia became an exclusive club entirely. But a study made as late as the 1940's revealed that of the 494 elective county officials in the state, close relatives of 208 of them had held or held then political office. Horn, "The Growth and Development of the Democratic Party in Virginia," p. 301.

8. An excellent study of how the literary proponents of the New South romanticized the past is Paul Morton Gaston, "The New South Creed, 1865-1900," (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of North Carolina, 1961), pp. 160-61.

Nevertheless their vision was of the future and not of the past; and the future they associated with business and industrialism.

Henry (Hal) DeLaWarr Flood, who was born and raised in the New South, illustrated this type of post-war leadership. He was the descendant of an old Virginia family and he gloried in his state's history. He also found real meaning in the Cavalier concepts of gentility, courtly conduct, paternalism, and personal honor.⁹ He was a brilliant orator and a master of phraseology¹⁰ whose addresses reflected an often romantic concept of life.¹¹ Yet typical of the New South

9. He easily became incensed when his rigid code of honor was questioned or broken. On one occasion, while an attorney in a law suit, he became enraged when his opposing counsel cast a slur on a lady who was present in court. He quickly grabbed a cane and brought it down on the offender's bald head with a resounding whack which could be heard throughout the courtroom. Letter of Lester Arnold, Secretary to Flood from 1919 to 1921, to Author, Winchester, July 12, 1965.

10. During his political career he became one of the most popular speakers in Virginia and her neighboring states. In fact in 1914 he was invited by Mayor James Michael Curly of Boston to be the principal speaker at the 138th anniversary exercises of the British evacuation of Boston. The invitation was a great honor since recent speakers at the exercises included Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Champ Clark. See Curly to Flood, telegram, Boston, March 9, 1914 and Flood to Curly, Washington, March 11, 1914, Flood Papers, Box 50.

11. This romantic concept of life could be seen in his excessive use of florid language such as that in his eulogy in 1908 of a deceased Virginia Congressman, Campbell Bascom Slomp. "Mr. Speaker," Flood began, "to the reflective mind there is an element of pathos in every life. However the candidate for earth's honors and ambitions may gird himself with the panoply of preparation, how eagerly soever...he may vault into the saddle and ride in triumph to the coveted goal, yet in every case 'does black care ride behind.'"

spokesman he was not a romantic. And although he was basically conservative in political outlook,¹² he was not a man of ideological principles. Ideas and thoughts meant far less to him than their translation into deeds and actions. He had a strict pragmatic view of life and he measured success almost solely in terms of tangible accomplishments.¹³ Like other spokesmen of the New South his attitude toward rising industrialism in the state and nation gave evidence of this view. He was a leading proponent of business interests. Aware of the benefits that manufacturing could bring to an area in terms of employment, salaries, and increased prosperity, he felt it was the responsibility of communities to encourage the growth of large industry.¹⁴

Congressional Record, 60th Congress, 2nd Session, March 7, 1908, p. 3024. See also his eulogy of William James Bryan, deceased representative from Florida, ibid., 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, May 3, 1908, p. 5627.

12. Interview with Flood's wife, Ann Portner, his daughter Eleanor Portner, and his son, Bolling Byrd, Washington, August 21, 1965. Interview with Senator Harry Flood Byrd, Washington, August 22, 1965. When asked to describe what Flood's political philosophy had been, Senator Byrd remarked, "The same as mine."

13. An academic diploma, he once remarked while speaking about education, "is, of course worth something, though not a great deal after a man gets into the battle of life. It is not what kind of diploma he has that counts in the world; it is what he knows and how he is able to use it." Flood to Mrs. Sallie B. Reynolds, Washington, May 19, 1911, Flood Papers, Box 41.

14. "I recognize the fact," he noted as a Congressman, "that there are great enterprises and vast concerns beyond the compass of the individual effort or the ordinary partner-

His realistic frame of mind also shaped his view towards politics. The most obvious fact about Flood was that he was a practical politician who thought in terms of political expediency rather than political principle. Even his efforts in behalf of the corporate interests in the state were based as much on his hope of personal advantage as on his attitude towards rising industrialism. He often worked against their interests when required by the exigencies of politics. He made a number of speeches attacking corporate abuses during his career, and he supported numerous pieces of reform legislation which his constituency demanded but which his business associates opposed. It was not uncommon to see Flood make a reform issue his own in an effort to strengthen his position with the electorate.

His practical approach to politics was limited by only one factor, his loyalty to his following and to his party. He realized the need for a base of strength and he knew the easiest way for a politician to lose it was to be disloyal to his supporters. His opportunism never interfered with his vigilance for his friends and for his party. Strong political allegiance was a striking characteristic of the Martin organization.¹⁵

ship of men; that a proper combination of the resources, the wealth, and the skill of communities is indispensable to the conduct of the great industrial interests of the country" Congressional Record, 58th Congress, 3rd Session, February 9, 1905, Appendix, p. 146.

15. For the importance which Flood attached to personal

Significantly this politician of the New South was born on September 2, 1865, in Appomattox County, just a few months after the Civil War ended and less than five miles from the spot where Robert E. Lee surrendered his haggard armies to Ulysses S. Grant. The son of Major Joel Walker and Ella Faulkner Flood, he was the newest generation of a long line of Virginia planters and politicians. His lineage in America can be traced to 1754 when the first of the Flood family, John Sr., arrived in the New World. Both his parents had distinguished ancestries which included some of the largest plantation owners in the state, several war heroes cited for bravery by the General Assembly, at least two judges, and numerous members of the state legislature. His paternal grandfather, Henry Flood, was a successful farmer and politician who served in the House of Delegates. His other grandfather, Charles James Faulkner, was elected to both branches of the state legislature, ran successfully for the United States House of Representatives, and until the Civil War held the office of United States Ambassador to France. His father, Major Joel Walker Flood, who served during the war as a staff officer in the

and party loyalty see Flood to Howell C. Featherstone, West Appomattox, May 5, 1901 and Flood to John H. Flood, Appomattox, July 11, 1910, Flood Papers, Boxes 61 and 38. Cordell Hull to Mrs. Henry Flood, n.p. December 9, 1921, Flood Papers in private possession of Mrs. Henry Flood, Washington, D.C. See also the memorial speeches in Henry D. Flood: Memorial Addresses Delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States in Memory of Henry D. Flood (Washington, D.C.; Government Printing Office, 1924), passim.

Confederate army, was a successful farmer and pioneer in scientific agriculture and even invented a device for gathering clover seed for resowing. He was also one of the most influential and respected members of his community; soon after his son was born his neighbors elected him to the House of Delegates.¹⁶

The future politician was raised almost entirely on his father's farm in Appomattox County. Appomattox lies in Virginia's black-belt just outside the western perimeter of the flat and fertile Tidewater area and just east of the plains and short sloping hills of the Piedmont. It is bordered on its Northwest edge by the James River and is situated in what is known as Virginia's middle country. Its rich soil, moderate undulating plains, ridges, and valleys make it ideal farming land and much of Virginia's hugh tobacco crop comes from Appomattox and its neighboring regions.¹⁷

Fortunately for its citizens the county was scarcely touched by the Civil War. Not until Lee began his final retreat from the beleagured city of Richmond did any major

16. This account is based on The Geneology of the Flood Family prepared by members of the family and in the private possession of Mrs. Henry Flood, Washington, D. C.

17. This description of Appomattox is based on personal observation, the map of Virginia in the 1895 edition of the Rand McNally Atlas, and the excellent descriptive chapter, "Sections and Leaders," in Charles Chilton Pearson's, The Readjuster Movement in Virginia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), especially pp. 108-11. See also the Work Projects Administration's, Virginia: A Guide to the Old Dominion, pp. 396-97.

campaigning take place in the area. But as in almost all of the South the struggle left its mark on the region. The soldier who returned to his home in Appomattox found his farm wasted by neglect, his investments lost, and his entire labor system disorganized by the freeing of the slaves.

Young Hal's family managed to escape these severe rigors of the reconstruction period. His wealthy grandparents left his family a sizeable sum of money which included investments in stocks, land, and banks, and he was able to enjoy a comfortable if uneventful childhood. Even as a youth politics took up an important part of his life. He often visited with his grandparents or his two uncles, Charles Faulkner, Jr. and R. Boyds Faulkner, who were establishing political careers in West Virginia.¹⁸ As might be expected politics was always the chief topic of discussion during these visits. He also attended the monthly court meetings, which were the center of the social and political life in Appomattox. There he heard and met politicians from all over the state who came to address the assembled crowds. Even at home family talk centered on political matters or community affairs, and all participated in the discussions including young Hal. Since he was versed in political matters from youth he naturally turned his

18. Charles later became a United States Senator and R. Boyds a state Judge.

interests to politics as a career.¹⁹

Because he came from a well-to-do family he received a better formal education than most young men in the state. After graduating from High School in June, 1881, he entered Washington and Lee University in Lexington. He was one of 132 students who could afford to pay the tuition that year and sign the matriculation book. At college he studied the normal curriculum of sciences, languages, and classics. After a troubled first year in which he was almost expelled for burning down a bridge, he managed to finish near the top of his class.²⁰

As was normal in those days for one seeking a law degree, he stayed only two years at Washington and Lee before he entered the University of Virginia Law School, where he studied under the eminent legalist, Professor John Minor. Minor's work, The Institutes, made the school one of the most prestigious in the country, and students flocked there from all over the state. Under Professors Minor and Stephen O. Southall, he received a thorough education in all phases of the law.²¹

19. Henry St. George Tucker, "Memorial Address," Henry D. Flood: Memorial Addresses, p. 13. Tucker was Flood's first cousin and also one of his most bitter political foes.

20. Letter of E. H. Howard, Registrar of Washington and Lee University, to author, Lexington, October 21, 1965. Interview with Flood family, August 21, 1965.

21. The course of study at the law school is described in Philip Alexander Bruce, History of the University of

After he received his degree in 1886 he immediately set up office in Appomattox. To be a member of a prominent family had certain advantages for a young attorney and he soon enjoyed a lucrative practice. Like most county lawyers he conducted the bulk of his business at the local courthouses in and around his county. At one of these courthouses he met Thomas Martin.

Martin had already established a reputation as a shrewd politician and talented political organizer. In 1883 he had worked with John S. Barbour to create one of the most efficient party organizations in Virginia's history. He was instrumental in wresting the state from the rule of the Readjusters and returning it to Democratic control.²² Two years later he broke with Barbour to support his rival for the Senate, John Warwick Daniel. He proved so successful in winning support for his candidate in the party nominating caucus that Barbour later angrily singled him out as the man most responsible for Daniel's victory.²³

Virginia, 1819-1919, IV (5 vols., New York: The Macmillan Co. 1921), pp. 1-5.

22. Allen Wesley Moger, "The Origins of the Democratic Machine in Virginia," The Journal of Southern History, VIII (May 1942), pp. 183 and 189; Richard Doss, "John Warwick Daniel: A Study in Virginia Democracy," (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Virginia, 1955), p. 73. Pearson, The Readjuster Movement, pp. 160-64. Nelson Morehouse Blake, William Mahone of Virginia: Soldier and Political Insurgent (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1935), pp. 225-27.

23. James Adams Bear, Jr., "Thomas Staples Martin: A Study in Virginia Politics, 1883-1896," (Unpublished M. A.

At the time he met Flood, Martin was building his own political organization. As an attorney for the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad he had made connections with a number of important businesses and corporations in the state who were prepared to back his political ambitions in return for political favors. He had already assembled a group of some of the most skillful and enterprising young men in the state. Among them were Peter Otey, President of the Lynchburg and Durham Railroad, James Hay, then a Commonwealth Attorney, and Francis Lassiter, a prominent Petersburg politician. All eventually served with Martin in the United States Congress.

Martin was attracted to Flood by his family connections, his practical frame of mind, his support of growing industrialism in the state, his pragmatic outlook towards politics, and his obvious talent as a lawyer. He encouraged the young attorney to join forces with him and to seek election to the legislature. Flood, who already had his own political ambitions, needed little persuasion. With the help of Martin and his family he ran successfully for the House of Delegates in 1887.²⁴

Thesis, University of Virginia, 1952), pp. 95-96.

24. Interview with Flood Family, August 21, 1965; Interview with Senator Harry Flood Byrd, August 22, 1965. This period in Flood's life remains somewhat obscure because of a fire which ravished his office in 1892 and destroyed all his papers. See Charles Faulkner to Flood, Washington, March 22, 1892, Flood Papers, Box 1.

The four year period which he served in the state's lower house was uneventful for him from a legislative standpoint. At the age of twenty-one he was the youngest member of the legislature, and his elders payed him little attention. He spoke very rarely on the floor of the Assembly and introduced practically no legislation. He was satisfied to listen and to learn the complexities of legislative maneuvering. His only major accomplishment during his two terms was his successful fight to repeal a charter which the state had granted for the formation of the American Tobacco Company. His constituents were almost all tobacco growers. They feared that the new tobacco company would monopolize the market so completely that it would determine the price of their crop. The new legislator's successful struggle in their behalf gained him their valuable support. He was soon invited to address a number of local farm meetings and was asked to do some legal work for the Appomattox Chapter of the Farmers Alliance.²⁵

By 1891 he felt strong enough to run for the state Senate. He was already a close friend of Martin, whose political influence was widespread, and he enjoyed the solid backing of his agrarian constituency. His popularity

25. Moger, "Industrialization and Urbanization in Virginia from 1880 to 1900," pp. 312-313; Randolph Harrison to Flood, Lynchburg, November 4, 1891 and August 25, 1894, Flood Papers, Box 3.

with the voters was so great that they elected him to the Senate for a four year term and in the same year chose him as Commonwealth Attorney for Appomattox County.²⁶

Soon after his election he returned to Richmond for the legislative session of 1891-1892. This session proved to be a milestone in his career, and in the fortunes of the embryo Martin organization, for it was during this term of office that he and Martin firmly established their relations with the railroads and laid the basis for Martin's election to the United States Senate in 1893.

In no state in the South did the railroads have a freer hand in the regulation of their operations than in Virginia. Although there was a railroad Commissioner he had practically no regulatory powers. As a result, the farmers of the Old Dominion were at the mercy of the roads on whom they depended for the transportation of their goods and crops. They had to pay whatever rates the railroads decided upon and to accept whatever service they were given. The situation became so unbearable that they joined into the Farmers Alliance in the hopes of obtaining a redress of grievances. They sought legislation which would limit the special privileges of the railroads, abrogate free passes for legislators, set rates, and

26. Lyon Gardiner Tyler, Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography, IV (5 vols., New York; Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1915), pp. 373-74.

regulate the roads' operational procedures. In its 1890 platform the Alliance called for the establishment of a powerful railroad commission which would have these powers and the next year it directed its attention to electing a legislature which would vote for such a law. In most of the state's rural areas, where the vast majority of the Virginia citizenry resided, the Alliance successfully united with the Democratic party to elect men it had supported into office.²⁷ Ironically one of the men they backed was Hal Flood.

Soon after the legislature convened in 1892 a delegate introduced the Kent Bill. This legislation proposed the establishment of a strong state-controlled railroad board with powers to set freight and passenger rates. Its features were very similar to those requested by the Alliance in its 1890 platform and it represented the most serious challenge to the railroads up to that time. The four systems in the state were determined to defeat the measure and all meaningful railroad legislation. To accomplish their aim they used the proffered assistance of Martin and Flood.

Martin directed the railroads' successful fight against the Kent Bill. He realized the fate of the legislation rested very largely on whether it received a favorable

²⁷. Moger, The Rebuilding of the Old Dominion, pp. 69-70.

committee report. He was aware also that the composition of the committee was determined by the Speaker of the House, who in 1891 was Richard Cardwell. Since the Speaker was closely associated with the railroads who had helped elect him to the position, Martin pushed for his re-election. There was great objection to Cardwell because of his known connections with the roads. But by using large sums of money which had been made available to him through J.S.B. Thompson, Superintendent of the Southern Railway Company and agent for the four systems in the state,²⁸ Martin was able to bribe the supposedly pro-agrarian legislature into re-electing Cardwell to the Speakership. The Speaker, in turn, named a committee which he knew would vote against the Kent Bill. As Martin expected, it sent the measure back to the legislature with an unfavorable report. The Assembly was so thoroughly intimidated by the railroads' bribes that it was not prepared to override the committee's report. It voted the bill down and in its place,

28. An example of the funds which were made available to Martin by Thompson is a letter which the Superintendent of the Southern Railway wrote to the future Senator in September 1891. Thompson told Martin in his note that he had deposited a check for \$800 in the First National Bank of Alexandria and instructed his associate to use the money to defeat the Kent Bill. Thompson to Martin, Atlanta, September 28, 1891, Senator Martin's Railroad Connections as Shown by the Barbour Thompson Letters, Campaign Pamphlets, 1911, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia. See also Thompson to Leonard Marbury, n.p. November 23, 1891, *ibid.* At the time, of course, these letters were highly confidential, but in 1911 William Atkinson Jones, who was running against Martin for the United States Senate, obtained these letters and published them in pamphlet form.