

# The Political Career of Henry DeLaWarr Flood: A Biographical Sketch, 1865-1921

By JOHN A. TREON \*

When the Army of Northern Virginia surrendered at Appomattox in April, 1865, Major Joel West Flood, a four-year veteran with Lee, quietly "mustered out" and returned to his large and once prosperous farm only a few miles away.<sup>1</sup> He set about restoring the land, refurbishing the soil, and setting things in order. Good fortune and financial success attended his efforts; in the next few years, the Floods of "Eldon" took their place in Virginia's post-war aristocracy.<sup>2</sup> Henry DeLaWarr Flood was born at "Eldon" on September 2, 1865. He was the second son of the Major and his wife, who was a woman of "refined atmosphere" and the daughter of Charles Faulkner, the United States Minister to France under Buchanan.<sup>3</sup>

In the course of the next fifty years, this son of a Confederate soldier would play a major role in the politics of his state, and his name would eventually be found interspersed with both frequency and ambiguity through the pages of the era's most colorful histories. Some have dubbed him the "Kingpin" of the Democratic Party in Virginia, others merely a machine stalwart of whom there were many, and still others a small lieutenant who operated in the shadow and at the favor of such giants as Senators John Daniel, Tom Martin, and Claude Swanson. His true role in the various stages of state politics between 1890 and 1920 has escaped serious examination.

Virginia society bred into young Hal many of its own ambitions. He was educated in the public schools of Appomattox and for one

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\*John A. Treon, a native of Nashville, Tennessee, is the third-place winner in the graduate division. Mr. Treon earned his B.A. at Lambuth College, his M.A. at the University of Arkansas, and is now working toward his doctorate at the University.

1. *Congressional Record*, Vol. LXII, 67th Congress, 2nd Session, 1922, 7824; *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography* (New York, 1915), 117.

2. *Ibid.*; *Biographical Dictionary of American Congresses* (Washington, 1949), 897, 1147.

3. *Congressional Record*, Vol. LXII, 67th Congress, 2nd Session, 1922, 7826-7830; *Biographical Dictionary of American Congresses*, 897, 1147.

year in a school outside Richmond while his father served a term in the state legislature. He showed early promise as a student, and in 1882, the Major packed him off to Washington and Lee College where he earned a good record and subsequent admission to the Law School at the University of Virginia.<sup>4</sup>

Entering the University in 1885, Hal found himself in the "good company" of young Claude Swanson of Chatham, Frank Lassiter of nearby Petersburg, and other young men who in the next twenty-five years would be the substance of Virginia politics.<sup>5</sup> Among his associates, Flood left an illusion of intimacy. He had an extraordinary capacity for friendship that stemmed from and blended with a deep desire to be liked. Many of these friendships, cemented in the throes of campus politics, would be lasting, and in a few instances, such as Swanson's, a determinant factor in his political future. Flood was graduated near the top of his class in June, 1886, and was admitted to the bar the following September at the age of twenty-one. By mid-winter, he had established a law practice in Appomattox. Within another year, his youth, energy, and eloquent manner of speech attracted a political following that placed him in the House of Delegates. A four-year term in the House was an excellent credential for the state senate, and with little effort, he was elected from the Appomattox-Rockingham district in 1891.<sup>6</sup>

Once in the upper house, Flood headed a special commission which eventually resolved the vexatious West Virginia debt question. Following this, he authored a bill which established the state Department of Agriculture, an undertaking that won him popularity with the farm vote; and from his seat on the Committee on Privileges and Elections, he had the opportunity to observe, first hand, the state's political machinery, survey its weaknesses, study the power blocs, and familiarize himself with the technicalities necessary for a knowledge of machine politics.<sup>7</sup> Henry Flood was learning.

Looking into the kaleidoscope of Virginia politics in the 1890's,

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4. Herman Horn, "The Growth and Development of the Democratic Party in Virginia Since 1890," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Duke University, 1949, 346-358; *Biographical Dictionary of American Congresses*, 897; *Congressional Record*, Vol. LXII, 67th Congress, 2nd Session, 1922, 7830.

5. Horn, "Democratic Party," 357-358; Henry Ferrell, "Claude Swanson of Virginia," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1961, 22-23; *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography*, 117, 373-374.

6. Ferrell, "Swanson," 22-23; Horn, "Democratic Party," 357-358; *Journal of the House of Delegates, 1887-1888*, 3.

7. *Journal of the Senate, 1893-1894*, 46, 395, 300-301, 611; *Richmond News-Leader*, August 12, 1913; *Lynchburg Advance*, March 18, 1894.

Flood, like other ambitious men, saw a dim prospect for himself. The state was dominated by old men who had led the Confederacy thirty years before. The aging Senator, John S. Barbour, and a handful of his associates controlled the election machinery. Their dominance was unshakable; for the post-war generation, equipped with college degrees instead of battle citations, the pickings were slim.<sup>8</sup>

In May of 1892, Barbour died, and the "young turks" quickly turned the opportunity to good account. For some time, Thomas Staples Martin, a young lawyer from Scottsville, had been working his way up through the machine ranks. He headed the railroad lobby for the Barbour organization at a time when the farmer and Populist movements posed their greatest threat to railway monopolies. As a result, Martin's sway over the size and frequency of their political "contributions" gave him almost independent power.<sup>9</sup> Anxious to win the vacant Senate seat, but aware of his anonymous standing within the party, he called up his only source of power. With finesse and zeal, he accumulated a sizeable election fund from the Richmond and Danville and the Norfolk and Western Railroads and set about organizing a team of men capable of bending the legislature to his favor. Hal Flood was chosen coordinator for the occasion.<sup>10</sup> Flood was a natural man for the job. A veteran in the legislature, he knew the party, personalities, and terrain of Virginia politics. On occasion, his own professional services had been retained by the railroads; and lastly, Martin sensed that Flood's ambitions would not await their own fruition.<sup>11</sup>

The manner in which the railroad funds were used is still a matter of controversy. The evidence indicates that a sizable amount went to certain legislators running for re-election in November of 1883.<sup>12</sup> But while Martin was in a position to buy such support, he was constantly aware that commitments would have to be kept alive and unpledged members brought into line. In this instance, Flood would double as a liaison man.<sup>13</sup> Throughout the summer of 1893,

8. Horn, "Virginia Democracy," 1-16.

9. James Bear, "Thomas Staples Martin, 1847-1919," Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Virginia, 1958, 41, 81-88.

10. Martin to Flood, November 11, 1893; R. E. Byrd to Flood, September 26, 1892, Flood Manuscripts, Library of Congress; *Richmond Dispatch*, June 5, 6, 1893, July 11, 15, 1911; Bear, "Martin," 114-118, 130-141.

11. J. H. Sawes to Flood, July 25, 1894; W. E. Hannah to Flood, October 17, 1892, Flood Mss.

12. Martin to Flood, November 2, 10, 1893; W. Murrell to Flood, October 14, 1893, Flood Mss.

13. Martin to Flood, November 11, 1893; J. W. Clark to Flood, October 19, 23, 1893, Flood Mss.; Bear, "Martin," 130-145; Martin to Flood, November 2, 1893; Glasgow to Flood, May 15, 1893, Flood Mss.

Flood and his friend, state senator Frank Lassiter, brought pressure to bear on the legislative rank-and-file whether up for re-election or not.<sup>14</sup> And while railroad money was an important factor in his friend's forthcoming success, it seems that Flood's personality, hard work, and organizational ability went far in bending the legislature toward Martin long before the first caucus met in December.<sup>15</sup>

Once Martin's name was placed in official nomination, Flood's pressure tactics, freewheeling and relaxed while on the backwood paths of the summertime political circuit, changed to a more decorous manner befitting the hotel lobbies of Richmond. However, his methods, along with those of Lassiter and Claude Swanson, were just as effective. After five tedious ballots between Martin and ex-Confederate Fitzhugh Lee, the Scottsville lawyer was elected to the United States Senate.<sup>16</sup> The outline of a new political organization could clearly be seen among the ruins of the Barbour machine. As one observer noted, Flood was "the recipient of as many congratulations as Martin."<sup>17</sup>

The new Democratic leadership quickly turned its energies to sprucing up the party; and in the spring of 1894, Hal Flood took the initiative to spruce up the leadership, insuring it of a continued and unobstructed growth. The 1884 Anderson-McCormick Election Law had not been as effective for partisan purposes as its promoters had intended. But the Democrats needed an issue before suggesting its repeal, and the convenient Populist harangues for the secret ballot were good as any. In this way, theorized Flood, the electorate could be "cleansed" under the guise of reform. By February, Representative M. L. Walton had introduced the famous bill bearing his name.<sup>18</sup> The measure gave the reformers their secret ballot conveniently printed in complicated rhetoric for the amusement of the poor white and illiterate Negro. However, a constable would be provided to "assist" those who needed help with the ballot, followed by an election commission which would determine its validity if marked incorrectly.<sup>19</sup>

14. R. E. Byrd to Flood, October 26, 1893; W. Blackstone to Flood, October 14, 23, 1893, Flood Mss.

15. B. L. Miller to Flood, October 14, 1893, Flood Mss.; Bear, "Martin," 130-136; *Richmond Dispatch*, December 5, 6, 8, 1893.

16. *Richmond State*, December 8, 1893; *Richmond Dispatch*, December 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 1893; Bear, "Martin," 146-147.

17. *Richmond Dispatch*, December 8, 1893.

18. Charles Wynes, *Race Relations in Virginia: 1870-1912* (Charlottesville, 1961), 74; *Journal of the Senate, 1893-1894*, 188, 341, 386; Ferrell, "Swanson," 64, 70; *Richmond Dispatch*, March 3, 1894, January 18, 1896.

19. Wynes, *Race Relations*, 74.

Flood, now chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, became the bill's patron and champion. Striking down two dozen amendments designed to weaken it, he gave it the momentum needed to carry both houses.<sup>20</sup> Two years later, when a rising wing of "doubtful Democrats" assaulted the Walton Law, Flood again put down the foray, defending the law in open debate.<sup>21</sup>

The Walton Election Law was to become as much a part of the Democratic organization in Virginia as Tom Martin and Hal Flood themselves. But Flood soon realized that the provision within itself was insufficient to stave off Populist and Republican opposition. In the fall of 1895, R. T. Hubbard, the "most extreme Populist in the state," made a bid for Flood's senate seat. The race was so close that the incumbent was forced to ask Martin for money to buy support. Accordingly, Martin informed the railroads of Flood's "close fight," reminded them of Hal's reliance in the past, and noting Hubbard's anti-monopoly attitude, warned that if they held back, Flood "would not be able to get along." The money was made available, Flood was re-elected, and Martin swore the contracting parties to "absolute secrecy."<sup>22</sup>

Henry Flood's political fortunes were increasing in proportion with the growing strength of the state organization. But events of the last year made him unusually aware of his dependence on Tom Martin. In the spring of 1896, the young politician latched onto a popular issue and attempted to boost himself up the political ladder, unassisted. William Jennings Bryan and free silver had grown into national dimensions, and in June, when the state Democratic Convention met in Staunton to declare for the Nebraska Senator and his formula of sixteen to one, Hal Flood teamed with Congressman Swanson to lead the free silver forces.<sup>23</sup>

With Bryan's July nomination before the national convention at Chicago, Flood turned a hopeful eye toward the congressional seat from the Tenth District; and like Democrats everywhere, attached his campaign to the fortunes of the Democratic awakening and its

20. *Journal of the Senate, 1893-1894*, 516, 608; *Richmond Dispatch*, March 3, 7, 1894.

21. Flood to Martin, January 14, 1896; Flood to Claude Swanson, January 17, 1896, Flood Mss.

22. Martin to Flood, October 28, September 1, 1895; E. T. Ellyson to Flood, October 2, 1895, Flood Mss.; Martin to W. N. Glasgow, October 23, 1895, as cited in Bear, "Martin," Appendix I; *Richmond Dispatch*, August 30, 1911.

23. *Richmond Dispatch*, May 21, 22, 24, June 3, 4, 5, 6, 1896; Harold Wheatley, "William A. Jones: 1849-1918," Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Virginia, 1953, 37-38.

magic silver.<sup>24</sup> Conditions in the Tenth District were conducive to victory. The Democratic incumbent, Henry St. George Tucker, a Flood kinsman, was defending sound money and rebuking Bryan. After a ten-day convention bedecked with backroom concessions, court house demonstrations, and a credentials fight, Tucker withdrew refusing to endorse a silver platform. Flood outmaneuvered the remaining nominee, became the Democratic candidate by acclamation, and prepared to meet the Republican nominee, Jacob Yost, in an election that had all the trappings of a Democratic landslide.<sup>25</sup>

Flood's campaign was well organized, actively supported by the local Democrat clubs, given the rare prestige of Senator Daniel's personal assistance, and characterized by the candidate's large capacity for work.<sup>26</sup> But in 1896, the Republican ship came in at every port from the White House to Virginia's Tenth District. Hal Flood, battling against "imported Republican talent" and "gold bug campaigners," lost to Yost by a narrow margin.<sup>27</sup> The Walton Election Law did not earn its salt in the Tenth District in the fall of 1896.

Flood took his defeat with resolution and personal contrition. He resumed his duties in the state senate, but devoted more time to his job as prosecuting attorney for Appomattox County.<sup>28</sup> Within a year, however, Democratic soothsayers across the state were advising him to run again; and the retirement of Jacob Yost in 1898 made victory again seem probable.<sup>29</sup> Reluctant at first, Flood quickly resolved his doubts, contacted Martin, and launched a canvass for the nomination.<sup>30</sup> Once the state senator had swallowed his independence, the organization made an all-out effort in his behalf. Senator Martin made available an "amount" courtesy of the Baltimore & Ohio Rail-

24. William Allen to Flood, June 10, 1896; E. W. Hubbard to Flood, July 22, 1896, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Dispatch*, July 12, 14, 1896.

25. Martin to Flood, March 12, July 17, 1896; W. R. Reece to J. S. B. Thompson, July 20, 1896 (copy in Flood papers); G. F. Finch to Flood, August 10, 1896, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Dispatch*, June 5, July 21, 23, 28, 31, 1896; *Augusta County Argus*, August 4, 1896, November 3, 1896.

26. H. J. Taylor to Flood, August 11, 1896; Camm Patterson to Flood, August 19, 1896, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Dispatch*, August 18, 25, November 1, 1896.

27. George Jordan to Flood, September 3, 1896, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Dispatch*, November 1, 7, 10, 1896; *Augusta County Argus*, October 27, November 3, 1896; Harry Poindexter, "Virginia Democracy in 1897," *Essays in History*, II (1955), 5-24.

28. Flood to E. V. Barley, September 6, 1899, Flood Mss.

29. James Galt to Flood, December 26, 1898; R. W. Crowlen to Flood, November 29, 1897, Flood Mss.; *Augusta County Argus*, April 19, 1898.

30. J. H. Forbes to Flood, April 22, 1896; Flood to the Delegates of the Tenth District Congressional Convention, May 18, 1898, Flood Mss.; *Augusta County Argus*, May 3, 1898.

road, and Claude Swanson offered his assistance. In addition, Western Union Telegraph was tapped for \$500, and the text-book publishers, Ginn & Company, facing antimonopoly legislation, made funds available with a promise that the amount would "go up" if they saw results from the investment.<sup>31</sup>

These maneuvers were not well concealed, and soon Flood was under attack from independent Democrats for being a tool of "Martin's machine" and a "wheel within a wheel."<sup>32</sup> As a candidate, he considered such rashness negligible as his only official opposition was Judge Julian Quarles of Staunton, an inept politician with no initial support. In mid-May, however, William A. Anderson, the state's Attorney General, concerned with his waning influence in the Tenth District, pushed his nephew, Frank Glasgow, into the congressional race. Martin and Swanson warned Anderson, already their astute enemy, not to "antagonize" Flood. This only made Anderson more insistent. Consequently, Glasgow's presence resulted in a deadlock between himself and Flood in the district convention in June. After ten grueling ballots, Judge Quarles walked off with the nomination.<sup>33</sup>

Failing to win the congressional election in 1896 was one thing, but being outmaneuvered for the 1898 nomination was entirely another. Unlike the 1896 debacle, however, Flood did not believe that his failures could be accounted for by reviewing personalities or even campaign issues. The problem was in the electoral system. While the Walton Law was applicable to the success of Democrats elsewhere, its strength in the Tenth District where Republicans and Democrats were so closely divided was negligible. Hal Flood, more than ever, was eager to make the necessary adjustments to insure party dominance and allow the combination of which he was a part to evolve into the machine which would control its fortunes.<sup>34</sup>

In 1896, while defending the Walton Law against a barrage of reform measures, Flood had been advised by leading Democrats to forego such "temporary" legislation and make the initial moves necessary for the calling of a constitutional convention. Many felt then as Flood did now, that this was their "only hope" of permanently

31. Martin to Flood, May 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 1898; C. E. Young to Flood, May 5, 1898, Flood Mss.

32. *Augusta County Argus*, May 31, June 7, 1898.

33. Martin to Flood, May 11, 1898, Flood Mss.; A. G. Preston to W. A. Anderson, June 15, 1898, Anderson Mss., University of Virginia; Ferrell, "Swanson," 103-104; *Richmond Dispatch*, June 24, 1898; *Augusta County Argus*, May 10, 17, June 28, 1898.

34. Ferrell, "Swanson," 104-105.

reducing Negro suffrage and minimizing the Republican Party.<sup>35</sup> Accordingly, Flood introduced a resolution to this effect and the following spring worked assiduously toward building support for the endeavor. By the time the state Democratic Convention met that summer, the party faithful were seriously considering the proposal. While Martin, Daniel, and Swanson were eager to follow Flood's lead, they were nevertheless wary of an open convention where mushrooming reformers and independents might gain the ascendancy and do serious damage.<sup>36</sup> In all probability, Martin's re-election in 1899 and the collapse of the reformer's "May Movement" in the same year heightened confidence.

When the legislature convened in January of 1900, Flood proposed a state-wide referendum on the question of calling a convention.<sup>37</sup> Urgency and necessity on the question were underscored when Senator William Barksdale introduced a pure elections bill designed to negate the Walton Law. Flood commanded the opposition, tied the bill up in the Committee on Elections, and presided over its death in the hopper.<sup>38</sup> This incident dispelled Martin's hard-won confidence, and Claude Swanson, more wary than eager, supported amendment-making in the safe confines of the legislature rather than a dangerous convention. But Flood, now in control of the pro-convention forces, insisted that the "festering sore of Negro suffrage" be submitted to a convention, and a new constitution written. In short, Martin and Swanson were already in high office, and their re-election was a matter of procedure. But Hal Flood still had to contend with initial Republican opposition, and at this juncture, he was in desperate need of a popular issue to take before the Tenth District electorate where he was preparing for another bid to Congress.<sup>39</sup>

The legislature decided that the question needed the endorsement of the state Democratic Convention which was scheduled for Norfolk that spring. Hal Flood intended to secure that endorsement and gain the public's eye in the process. Once at Norfolk, Flood attached himself to Senator Daniel's popularity, claiming that they were the

35. J. W. Hebditch to Flood, February 18, 1896; Flood to W. Wooldrige, February 19, 1898, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Dispatch*, November 8, 1896.

36. *Journal of the Senate, 1895-1896*, 499; Poindexter, "Virginia Democracy," 9-10; Wheatley, "Jones," 79-83.

37. *Journal of the Senate, 1900*, 38, 310; *Richmond Dispatch*, January 8, 18, 25, 1900.

38. *Journal of the Senate, 1900*, 163, 237, 394, 473; *Richmond Dispatch*, January 19, 26, 1900.

39. Flood to M. N. Dawson, June 7, 1900, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Dispatch*, January 26, April 14, 19, 21, 25, 1900.



"original convention men," and maneuvered himself into the temporary chairmanship of the state gathering.<sup>40</sup>

As temporary chairman, Flood, for the first time in his career, had the opportunity to address the state's political hierarchy. Calling the Underwood Constitution the work of "carpetbaggers," Flood drew a dark picture of a Virginia without a new constitution. When he finished, the convention unanimously endorsed the calling of a constitutional convention and dubbed Flood "father of the movement." In late May, 1900, the people of Virginia approved the decision in a referendum.<sup>41</sup>

With this much done, Flood prepared to throw his new popularity before the Tenth District nominating convention at Buena Vista in early August.<sup>42</sup> In his own mind, it was either win the congressional race or be dropped from the political combination he had helped mold. Even young Frank Lassiter, one of Flood's college friends, was now in Congress. To the Appomattox lawyer, a victory in 1900 was once again a personal matter. This time, however, the "system" in the Tenth District was sound and assuring.<sup>43</sup>

Lieutenant-Governor Edward Echols and the state Democratic chairman, E. T. Ellyson, both late additions to the Martin combine, threw their support behind Flood's nomination canvass. The Southern Railway and Express Company made a standard "contribution," and Hal Flood was nominated by acclamation.<sup>44</sup> As in 1896, when the nomination was readily accessible, the Republican opposition in the form of R. T. Hubbard was formidable. Nineteen-hundred, however, was a census year, and Senator Martin had hand-picked the census enumerators for the Tenth District so that the election rolls would be "friendly." Consequently, large numbers of Negroes and poor whites were disfranchised, and Flood himself campaigned with Senator Daniel, "standing on the same stump." In the November elections, he swept the district and was on his way to Congress. As one observer confided, the "unfavorable conditions had been removed."<sup>45</sup>

40. Flood to F. Lassiter, April 5, 1900; Flood to Swanson, April 4, 28, 1900, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Dispatch*, April 29, May 2, 1900.

41. Flood to G. C. Adams, May 28, 1900, Flood Mss.; Ferrell, "Swanson," 121-122; *Richmond Dispatch*, May 3, 4, 25, 27, 1900.

42. Flood to Martin, April 7, 1900; E. W. Sanders to Flood, April 5, 1900, Flood Mss.

43. Flood to E. V. Barley, September 6, 1899; Flood to Edward Echols, April 7, 1900, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Dispatch*, March 30, 31, 1900.

44. Flood to W. N. Glasgow, May 19, 1900; Flood to S. M. Donald, May 30, 1900, Flood Mss.; *Augusta County Argus*, August 7, 1900.

45. Flood to Edward Echols, March 23, 1900; Flood to W. A. Pratt,

Flood's election gave the Martin combination an impressive roster of officeholders. With Senator Martin and Representative Swanson forming an inner circle, Congressmen Flood, Lassiter, James Hay, Jim Marshall, Lieutenant-Governor Echols, and State Chairman Ellyson completed the entourage which virtually controlled federal patronage in the state. The one office needed to give the combination "machine" status was the governorship.

In January of 1901, Claude Swanson and Edward Echols, each assured of isolated pockets of support, announced for the gubernatorial race.<sup>46</sup> As a matter of reflex, General Andrew J. Montague, longtime leader of the independent faction, picked up the gauntlet and launched a campaign against what he called the "Martin machine."<sup>47</sup> The result was the first open fight within the Democratic Party; both sides aired their case before the public. Ellyson, realizing that his chances were slim, and being advised that his canvass would encumber Swanson, quickly withdrew.<sup>48</sup> It seems that Echols had misgivings along the same line, but in early May, Hal Flood returned from Washington, took charge of Echols' canvass, and labored assiduously to get different delegates to "hold out for Echols as long as his name is before the state convention."<sup>49</sup>

While Flood was directing Echols' bid for the nomination, Martin endorsed Swanson's candidacy. Both men agreed that Echols could draw support away from Montague in the Valley, and Flood convinced Martin that in case of a deadlock between Swanson and Montague, Echols, an old swashbuckler from the Tenth District, would be available as a compromise candidate. With this in mind, a common campaign chest was opened, and close communication was maintained between the two throughout the summer.<sup>50</sup>

Flood's plans did not, however, take into account the unforeseen variables. By mid-June, Montague had Swanson on the defensive in every corner of the state. State Chairman Ellyson cowed the Central

November 9, 1900, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Dispatch*, August 2, October 9, November 7, 1900; *Augusta County Argus*, September 4, October 2, 9, November 13, 1900.

46. *Richmond Dispatch*, January 10, 13, 14, 1900.

47. *Richmond Dispatch*, February 23, 1901; John Ritchie, "The Gubernatorial Campaign in Virginia in 1900," *Essays in History*, II (1955), 68.

48. Horn, "Democratic Party," 384-396; Ritchie, "1901 Campaign," 56, 59-60.

49. *Richmond Dispatch*, March 3, May 10, 1901.

50. Flood to Martin, April 14, 1901; John Lee to Flood, April 27, 1901; Edward Echols to Flood, June 21, 1901, Flood Mss.; William Larson, "Governor Andrew J. Montague: Spokesman for a New Virginia," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1958, 249; *Richmond Dispatch*, January 13, 1901.

Committee into scheduling a late convention to give Swanson time to recover, but preparations for the forthcoming constitutional convention greatly distracted many Swanson organizers.<sup>51</sup> As the gravity of the situation increased, Echols, out of necessity, withdrew to give Swanson greater breadth; but by late June, it was generally conceded that Montague had it—a fact that was confirmed in August by a substantial margin.<sup>52</sup>

Swanson's defeat had all the signs of a bad omen. Despite everything Flood could do, his old political enemy and Montague supporter, William A. Anderson, was again chosen Attorney General. Moreover, when the smoke cleared from the delegate elections to the constitutional convention, it clearly revealed an "anti-Martin" or "reform" majority. Martin had not even been elected to the convention, and Flood failed miserably in a last-ditch attempt to secure the convention presidency for Senator Daniel. It went instead to one-time Populist congressman, John Goode, a reformer and militant independent.<sup>53</sup> Those who contend that there was a Martin "machine" with Henry D. Flood at the helm in 1901 have neglected to consider the facts.

From June, 1901, to June, 1902, Hal Flood poured his energies into the constitutional convention, working for the advancement of his party in general and the defense of the Martin organization in particular. As chairman of the Suffrage Committee, he was instrumental in drafting the measures that eventually established an abridged electorate and insured Democratic dominance in Virginia.<sup>54</sup> He was also behind the convention's instructions to the legislature requiring it to rearrange the state's congressional districts to better insure Democratic unanimity. In this, he saw an opportunity to strengthen Martin strongholds. Writing to Martin in April of 1902, Flood explained that a forthcoming bill would rearrange the troublesome Tenth District and Swanson's bailiwick, the Fifth, so that the "old part of each would control the new parts to be added." The bill, plainly carrying Flood's stamp, passed the legislature that same month. It proposed that two Republican counties in the Tenth District, Rockingham and Botetourt, long trouble spots for Flood,

51. *Richmond Dispatch*, March 17, 21, June 4, 7, 11, 1901; Ferrell, "Swanson," 150.

52. *Richmond Dispatch*, June 18, 26, 31, August 15, 16, 1901.

53. Flood to B. T. Gordon, April 22, 1901; G. K. Anderson to Flood, June 24, 1901, Flood Mss.; Ferrell, "Swanson," 149-150; Richard Doss, "John Warwick Daniel: 1842-1910," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1955, 270.

54. *Richmond Dispatch*, June 3, 4, 1902; August 2, 4, 25, 1901.

be attached to the Sixth District. Charlotte County, a Democratic stronghold in the Sixth, would in turn be added to the Tenth. A similar arrangement was slated for Swanson's Fifth District. Governor Montague, eager to help the party, but not Hal Flood and Claude Swanson, promptly vetoed the measure, engendering Flood's anger and public denunciation.<sup>55</sup>

Despite this setback, the Tenth District Democrats renominated Flood in August. But Republican Jacob Yost came out of retirement and turned the campaign into a general election. With a liberal donation from the Virginia telephone magnate, General Edward Meany, and the disfranchisement of "dangerous voters" under the new constitution, Flood was re-elected.<sup>56</sup>

As 1902 drew to a close, Senator Martin, troubled by the setbacks and always with an eye on the future, called a meeting of Flood, Swanson, Hay, Lassiter, and the Norfolk politician and railroad confidant, Alfred P. Thom.<sup>57</sup> What transpired was never recorded, but if it was designed to engender unity among the members and formulate future policy, it failed miserably. Jousting with the Montague faction during the next two years over a child labor law and the temperance question divided the Martin-Flood strongmen in the legislature. A bitter fight over a pure elections bill turned the combination upon itself, and a series of conflicting postal appointments by members within the group further loosened the tight organizational lines of 1900. Henry Ferrell, in his study of Swanson, notes that by 1903, each member was busy contending with his own problems and "as a rule walking an independent course . . . in order to assure and increase political power." Even Flood, long the stalwart, was now so concerned with Henry Tucker's ambitions for his seat in Congress that he was considering backing him for governor in 1905, opposing Swanson if necessary, in order to avoid the personal competition.<sup>58</sup>

Divided and confused, the Martin combination was unknowingly on the very eve of the most consistent string of victories it would ever know. In the next two years, out of sheer necessity and a re-

55. Bland Massie to Flood, April 11, 1902; Flood to Martin, April 7, 11, 1902, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Dispatch*, April 1, 3, 4, 1902.

56. Swanson to Flood, September 4, 1902; William Rhea to Flood, October 1, 1902, Flood Mss.; Wheatley, "Jones," 78; *Staunton Daily News*, September 1, 2, 11, 23, 1902.

57. Martin to Flood, November 3, 1902, Flood Mss.

58. Swanson to Flood, April 8, 17, June 4, 1903, Flood Mss.; Larson, "Montague," 344-384; *Richmond News-Leader*, January 28, February 5, 21, 1903.

awakening of old friendships, Hal Flood would take the lead in pulling the pieces back together. The conflicting postal appointments which fostered dissension among the Martin lieutenants in 1903 served to bind up the wounds in 1904. A congressional investigation of that year implicated Swanson for "padding appointments." Flood came to his colleague's defense in Congress and was instrumental in clearing him of the alleged "improprieties."<sup>59</sup> He also patched up a quarrel with Edward Echols, which stemmed from the latter's forced withdrawal from the gubernatorial race in 1901, and furnished him with the state senate seat from Staunton. Echols would be the cornerstone in the foundation of a new power-oriented state senate, while in the House of Delegates, Flood's brother-in-law, Richard E. Byrd, had just been elected Speaker. A united effort in the Tenth District on the part of the entire organization to help Flood defeat Republican George Revercomb pulled the faction back together the following fall.<sup>60</sup>

By 1905, through hard work and manipulation, they had recaptured the state Democratic Committee and gained unchallenged control of the legislature.<sup>61</sup> With this new power base stretching across the state, Swanson won the gubernatorial nomination against the prohibitionist and one-time Martin confidant, William Hodges Mann, while Martin successfully fought off Montague's bid for his Senate seat.<sup>62</sup> Under the new primary law, the elections, for the first time, were carried directly to the people, necessitating the new methods of campaigning. But Hal Flood proved equal to the task. Without making one public speech, he quietly crisscrossed the state managing his colleagues' campaigns. When the election returns brought news of victory, Martin, in a moment of exhilaration, publically admitted that Flood had been in "official charge," and that his success was the result of his friend's "energy and organizational abilities." According to the rules of politics, Flood, in turn, received ample support from the combination in defeating the Tenth District Republicans the following November.<sup>63</sup> For the first time, the Martin-Swanson-Flood combine had control of both ends of the state's political lifeline:

59. *Richmond News-Leader*, March 11, 1904.

60. *Richmond News-Leader*, November 4, 1904; *Staunton Daily News*, October 23, 30, November 11, 1904; *Augusta County Argus*, August 9, November 15, 1904.

61. Ferrell, "Swanson," 178; Wheatley, "Jones," 92-93.

62. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 7, 11, 18, 23, August 6, 10, 1905.

63. Flood to Walter Williams, May 25, 1905, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 25, 1905; *Augusta County Argus*, April 17, September 5, October 30, 1905.

local and federal patronage. As one contemporary accurately recorded, the trio now had a "true machine" which hereafter would support only those who "speak the language of the tribe."<sup>64</sup>

For Hal Flood, the years 1906-1908 were comparatively tranquil. The machine was enjoying its first sense of security. Moreover, Congressman Flood, for the first time since his 1900 election, found time to participate seriously in the business of Congress. But the undercurrents of Virginia politics flowed in such fashion as to require a watchful eye and a measure of long-range planning. Swanson's term would expire in 1911. Martin theorized that the office was a captured prize and henceforth could be held by someone of lesser stature. Moreover, Swanson the Governor, while still a machine man, was exhibiting an independence of mind and action not wholly consistent with machine discipline.<sup>65</sup> As early as 1906, Martin expressed a desire to have, as the next governor, a man more amiable to machine regulation. Flood supplied the ideal candidate: Judge William Hodges Mann, a politician closely associated with the rising prohibition sentiment throughout the state and Swanson's opponent in 1905. Swanson, however, had immediate misgivings about supporting for governor a former opponent, a man committed to the all-too-volatile liquor question, and a middling politician who stood longingly on the periphery of the machine.<sup>66</sup> Hal Flood, on the other hand, was a life-long friend of Judge Mann, and convinced of his qualifications, took personal charge of his gubernatorial canvass. By June of 1908, when the state Democratic Convention met to pin their national hopes on Bryan, Flood had refitted Mann with a new image and pushed him into the political limelight.<sup>67</sup>

Working on the inside, however, Flood quickly realized that Mann's candidacy would suffer without the support of Swanson. Henry Stuart, a rising politician groomed by the Montague crowd, and Flood's old adversary, Henry St. George Tucker, had announced their candidacies, boasting wide support. Moreover, Flood and Martin had earlier persuaded Mann to hedge on the liquor question in order to attract both "wet and dry" support. This bit of strategy had backfired with opposite results. Both sides in the liquor fight were quickly turning away, each claiming Mann was in league with the other. Swanson's influence and support was becoming imperative.<sup>68</sup>

64. *Augusta County Argus*, September 5, 1905.

65. Ferrell, "Swanson," 218-219, 222.

66. Richard Watson, *Bishop Cannon's Own Story* (Durham, 1955), 120-121, 127-131; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, December 6, 1908.

67. *Richmond News-Leader*, June 11, 1908.

68. Ferrell, "Swanson," 222-225; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 8, 1908.

With Swanson holding the unexpected balance of power, Flood's own ambitions were forced into a unique paradox. Senator Daniel was in his sixty-sixth year, and rumors of his infirmity were being applied with increasing validity. It was assumed, without undue crassness, that the next governor would have to appoint Daniel's successor in the Senate.<sup>69</sup> If Mann was elected, Hal Flood would be the logical selection. But Mann was losing, and a Tucker or Stuart victory would not only mean the dashing of Flood's hopes but also a return of Montaguism and an undoing of the labors of 1905. As the situation became progressively worse, Martin informed Flood that, "Judge Mann had better promise Swanson to appoint him [Swanson] to the Senate should a vacancy occur if he were governor . . . [this being] the only way to secure [his] active assistance."<sup>70</sup>

Apparently, Swanson was given the guarantee of the Senate appointment because his support for Mann increased, beginning in the fall of 1908 and reaching campaign pitch by summer of 1909.<sup>71</sup> Flood, with his own ambitions truncated by the arrangement with his college chum, nevertheless realized that the machine had an election to win. He cheerfully joined forces with Swanson and "took to the stump."<sup>72</sup> Despite predictions to the contrary, Mann won by a slim majority in August, 1909; and Flood, Swanson, and House Speaker Byrd, managed his successful campaign against Republican W. P. Kent the following November.<sup>73</sup>

Two months later, Senator Daniel fell ill, and the following March suffered a severe stroke.<sup>74</sup> Within an afternoon of Daniel's affliction, two groups of opinion had formed. The unknowing public predicted Swanson as the logical successor, but "wise politicians," according to the *Richmond News-Leader*, were betting that if Flood "gave Governor Mann the word" he would appoint him to the Senate. Flood had claims that "could not be overlooked," and Mann, despite the agreement made with Swanson in the summer of 1908, desired to appoint Flood to the vacant seat.<sup>75</sup> Flood knew, however, that if he plied his claim against Swanson's and won, he would only have to

69. Ferrell, "Swanson," 223.

70. Martin to Flood, July 23, 1908, as quoted in Ferrell, "Swanson," 224.

71. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 8, 1908.

72. *Richmond News-Leader*, July 12, 15, 16, August 2, 1909; *Augusta County Argus*, July 14, 1909.

73. *Richmond News-Leader*, August 3, 5, 25, September 28, 30, November 3, 1909.

74. *Richmond News-Leader*, January 7, March 8, 10, 1910.

75. Ferrell, "Swanson," 229-231; *Richmond News-Leader*, March 16, 17, 18, 1910.

face him in an open primary scheduled for 1911, a task for which he was unprepared. Furthermore, such a fight would rupture the machine beyond repair, and some third candidate from the Montague camp would surely be waiting to "glean the spoils."<sup>76</sup>

By late March of 1910, Flood conceded that he would "not allow his name to be considered."<sup>77</sup> Senator Daniel died the following June. Swanson went to the Senate, and Flood, with last minute reservations, rushed behind the scenes to treat with two Montague cronies, William A. Jones and Carter Glass, with hopes of raising support for a legitimate gubernatorial bid in 1911.<sup>78</sup> This bit of intrigue proved fruitless, and Congressman Flood quietly went home where he was re-elected to the House of Representatives the following autumn.<sup>79</sup> Hal Flood, in the long process of organizing and giving life to the Democratic machine in Virginia, had so buried himself in its entangling alliances and his own political commitments that he could not, himself, rise without destroying his own creation, an unhappy prospect that would retard his entire career until, like Daniel, the allies themselves had passed out of the picture. By then, it would be too late.

If Flood's senatorial ambitions had brought the Martin organization to the brink of destruction in 1910, his vigorous campaigning in its behalf would make up for it in 1911. Martin and Swanson were up for re-election, and Congressman William A. Jones of the First District, a Montague colleague of long standing, announced his candidacy for Martin's seat, boasting wide support and popular endorsement. Shortly, Congressman Carter Glass of the Sixth District, who had actually nurtured Flood's ambitions the previous summer by urging him to go up against Swanson, now sallied forth to do that job himself. Glass and Jones united their respective campaigns into one "cause" and declared "war to the death upon the Martin machine."<sup>80</sup>

Realizing the momentousness of the opposition, Flood canvassed the state in defense of his associates, speaking wherever he could find an audience.<sup>81</sup> Jones retaliated by labeling Flood a "dubious

76. R. E. Byrd to Flood, March 18, 1910, Flood Mss.

77. Ferrell, "Swanson," 230.

78. Flood to Carter Glass, July 11, 1910; S. L. Ferguson to Flood, August 3, 1911, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 30, August 1, 1910.

79. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 13, 1910.

80. *Ibid.*, December 29, 1910; *Richmond News-Leader*, January 23, 1911; Harold Cox, "The Jones-Martin Senatorial Campaign of 1911," *Essays in History*, I (1954), 41-42.

81. A. C. Gordon to Flood, August 3, 1911, Flood Mss.; *Richmond News-Leader*, July 5, 3, August 24, 1911.



faction" of machine rule; he also produced letters which linked Martin and Flood with the dispersal and use of the railroad funds in elections in 1891 and Martin's election in 1893.<sup>82</sup> The letters, from the files of the railroad lawyers who had handled the transactions, rocked the state, and despite Martin's incessant denials, the taint of corruption spread evenly across the Martin forces.<sup>83</sup> While Martin was content with assuming a defensive position, Flood was before a large audience at Fredericksburg accusing Jones of being the real solicitor of railroad money. As proof, he published an assortment of letters confirming that such money was spent by Jones in 1892 to "buy Negro votes."<sup>84</sup> To the amazement of Martin, Flood campaigned harder than the actual candidates and spent a large sum of his personal money sending voters printed cards which read "Jones and Glass have as much chance for the Senate as a celluloid dog has of catching an asbestos cat in hell."<sup>85</sup>

Flood was in charge for the duration of the campaign, and for the first time in their long association, Flood and Martin traveled together, each campaigning in the company of the other. Once cornered, the components of the Martin machine found it more feasible to stand together and fight rather than utilize the outmoded tactic of silent maneuvers. In this capacity, Flood proved equally competent. In September, Martin and Swanson swept the state.<sup>86</sup>

Without the reward of higher office, Henry Flood had once again helped rescue the vulnerable fortunes of the machine. But the victors knew all too well that they had only stayed the first wave of a new opposition. Riding the crest of the next would be Woodrow Wilson, who, fresh from victories against the machine in New Jersey, was passing through on his way to the Democratic nomination. The 1911 campaign had in fact a dramatic influence on the status of Wilson in Virginia. Glass and Jones had adopted Wilson as a patron, urging the people to follow his example in wrecking "machinery government."<sup>87</sup> Despite a popular rejection of this offer, Wilson's personal appeal had caught the public eye and captured key politicians across the state. One such person was Flood's brother-in-law, Richard

82. S. L. Ferguson to Flood, August 3, 1911, Flood Mss.; *Richmond News-Leader*, July 10, 11, 14, September 2, 1911.

83. A. S. Priddy to Flood, August 30, 1911, Flood Mss.; Bear, "Martin," Appendix I.

84. Flood to Martin, August 30, 1911, Flood Mss.; *Richmond News-Leader*, September 2, 5, 6, 1911.

85. Flood to Martin, August 30, 1911, Flood Mss.; *Richmond News-Leader*, August 24, September 2, 1911.

86. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 8, 1911.

87. Ferrell, "Swanson," 274-278; Larson, "Montague," 606-607.

Byrd, who by this time virtually controlled the state legislature.<sup>88</sup> Despite appeals from Flood and Martin, Byrd expressed his determination to see the state convention "instruct" delegates to the national convention for Woodrow Wilson.<sup>89</sup> Inasmuch as a majority of the state legislature would be represented in the state convention, Richard Byrd, Flood kinsman or not, represented a definite threat.

Meanwhile, Martin and Wilson, meeting to resolve their problems, came instead to a cold disagreement concerning business trusts and state governmental reforms. With all the ground for a Wilson-Martin compromise shorn away, Martin, Flood, and now Senator Swanson realized that a Wilson victory might result in the transfer of large shares of federal patronage to Byrd.<sup>90</sup> Despite Flood's recommendation that his brother-in-law be treated "nicely" instead of "mangled" in the coming convention, Martin was taking no chances. The Senator arranged the convention program to suit himself, concentrating his strength at key points in key people. Flood, somewhat embarrassed by the splitting of family relations, supported Martin, and the Byrd-Wilson contingent was "bagged by the bosses." Thanks to Tom Martin and Hal Flood, Virginia would not support her own son for the presidency.<sup>91</sup>

At the national convention in Baltimore the following June, the Martin-controlled delegation maintained a firm anti-Wilson position. Discontented with Virginia's attitude, William Jennings Bryan took it upon himself to single out and castigate Flood and his Tenth District delegate friend, Thomas F. Ryan, the New York financier. Ryan, a long-time friend of Flood, was scorned as the "anti-progressive, big business" element which reached down from Wall Street to control Virginia politics. Flood, exercising his growing aggressiveness, took Bryan to task before a stunned convention, informing the Nebraskan that the Tenth District of Virginia had the right to "select who it well pleased."<sup>92</sup> Flood boisterously seconded the nomination of Senator Oscar Underwood, and for forty-two ballots the Virginia delegation stuck by this selection. It was not until Wilson gained the majority that Martin and Flood released

88. Ferrell, "Swanson," 247; *Richmond News-Leader*, May 21, 1912.

89. *Richmond News-Leader*, May 21, 22, 1912.

90. Martin to James Hay, May 14, 1912, Hay Manuscripts, Library of Congress; *Richmond News-Leader*, May 23, 1912.

91. Martin to Hay, May 14, 1912, Hay Mss.; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, May 24, 1912.

92. Larson, "Montague," 607; *Richmond News-Leader*, June 25, 26, 27, 28, 1912.

their control and allowed the Virginia delegation to go for the "Princetonian."<sup>93</sup>

Flood's transition from the silent, cold manipulator to the outspoken, aggressive politician conveniently coincided with a sudden demand for such talent outside the limited opportunities available in Virginia. His influence and prestige in Congress had been in the ascendancy since, as chairman of the Committee on Territories, he had led Arizona and New Mexico to statehood. In July, less than two weeks after the Baltimore convention, one of the few vacations he ever took was interrupted by the Mexican border crisis. Returning to Washington, Flood was quietly elevated to the chairmanship of the suddenly-important House Foreign Affairs Committee. With the outbreak of the World War, congressional leaders relied on Hal Flood and his committee for leadership.<sup>94</sup>

In 1916, when the Lusitania crisis pushed interventionist fever to a new high, Flood explicitly warned that the country was suffering from delusions and warned President Wilson that it would "be impossible" to obtain a war declaration from Congress.<sup>95</sup> As America's position rapidly deteriorated, Flood became the leader of the congressional forces which favored absolute neutrality. In February of 1916, when it appeared that the severing of diplomatic relations was at hand, Flood boldly informed the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, that the United States "sought only honorable friendship."<sup>96</sup> And more than once during the winter of 1916, Flood entered the White House at the head of a congressional following in order to ascertain Wilson's changing attitude toward the war and express the sentiments of Congress.<sup>97</sup> True to his nature, however, Flood succumbed to the forces about him. When war was declared on April 2, 1917, it was he who wrote the declaration. The following December, he authored the resolution declaring war on Austro-Hungary, taking pains to express the seriousness and determination of America's intentions.<sup>98</sup>

The "onerous and exacting responsibilities of wartime leadership" took an exacting toll on Henry Flood's physical strength, and in

93. *Richmond News-Leader*, June 29, July 2, 3, 12, 1912.

94. *Congressional Record*, Vol. LXII, 67th Congress, 2nd Session, 1922, 7826; *Richmond News-Leader*, July 5, 10, 1912.

95. Arthur Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era* (New York, 1962), 165-166.

96. *Ibid.*, 206.

97. *Ibid.*, 211-212.

98. *Congressional Record*, Vol. LXII, 67th Congress, 2nd Session, 1922, 7825-7826.

1919, when he was replaced on the Foreign Affairs Committee by a member of the new Republican majority, his colleagues noted a lingering tiredness had replaced his once energetic pace. But his political enemies in Virginia were quickly made aware that he was far from weary when it came to the push and pull of state politics.<sup>99</sup>

During the distracting war years, things at home had not been altogether tranquil for the machine. Westmoreland Davis, its avowed enemy, had been elected governor in 1917, and a regrouping of forces was needed to effectively deal with the insurgent.<sup>100</sup> Plans to this effect, however, were truncated in November, 1919, with the sudden and unexpected death of Senator Tom Martin.<sup>101</sup> Governor Davis, in a swift and completely intentional move, appointed Carter Glass to the old leader's Senate seat, hoping to capsize the machine.

Swanson quickly grabbed the helm, and in conjunction with Flood, Byrd, and Democratic Chairman Rorer James, sought to turn retreat into victory. They decided that whatever the cost, Glass had to be brought into a coalition arrangement. Hal Flood, owing to his past relations with the new Senator, was given the job.<sup>102</sup> Flood did more than effect some shaky coalition. He cultivated Glass' friendship, even going so far as to nominate him for President before the 1920 Democratic Convention. This gesture won Glass' confidence, and Flood inaugurated him into the machine.<sup>103</sup> The future for independent Democrats was again dimmed.

But machine rule would not go unchallenged. In the 1921 gubernatorial race, Henry St. George Tucker tried once again to become governor, this time under the sponsorship of outgoing Governor Davis.<sup>104</sup> Flood, who would have seized the opportunity to bear the machine banner in 1911, now declined, deferring instead to the younger E. Lee Trinkle, a popular and manageable newcomer.<sup>105</sup> In late July, Flood and Rorer James launched a vicious but subtle attack on Tucker. Tucker retaliated with a stream of fiery oratory which proved more costly than useful. Trinkle's victory in August returned the governor's mansion to the machine.<sup>106</sup> Despite the

99. *Ibid.*, 7826, 7830; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, December 9, 1921.

100. Jack Kirby, "Governor Westmoreland Davis and the Molding of Twentieth-Century Virginia," Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Virginia, 1964, 39-46.

101. Ferrell, "Swanson," 277-280.

102. *Ibid.*

103. *Ibid.*

104. *Ibid.*

105. Flood to A. A. Cresmont, July 6, 1921, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 26, 28, 30, 1921.

106. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 29, 31, August 3, 8, 17, 1921.

victory, Flood felt that James' part in the election had been "too partisan" and void of the necessary subtlety needed to project a good image before the public. In uncomplimentary terms, he expressed himself to this effect on the day of Trinkle's victory. The next day James died.<sup>107</sup>

Looking at the vacant state chairmanship, Flood speculated that the post could be tailor-fitted to himself as an improvised nerve center of party control.<sup>108</sup> In what was obviously a step-down from the aggressive politician to his old role as silent manipulator, Flood solicited party support, got Swanson's blessings, and in August of 1921, was elected state chairman.<sup>109</sup> From this post, he controlled the political currents for only four short months. Having never fully recovered from his war-time exertion, he had exhausted himself campaigning for Trinkle. On December 8, 1921, Henry Flood died of a heart attack. He was fifty-six years old.<sup>110</sup>

Hal Flood had been the architect of the Democratic machine in Virginia but never its leader. That glory had been reserved for Martin and Swanson. The irony of his career was the fact that despite his immense power he was never able to rise above the level of a work-a-day politician. His passing, however, did leave a vacuum, and in the course of the next five years, subsequent shakedowns in the machine pushed his nephew, Harry Flood Byrd, to the top. In Byrd's middle name could be seen the legacy.

107. Flood to W. H. Landers, August 4, 1921, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 4, 6, 7, 1921.

108. Flood to H. F. Byrd, August 11, 1921; H. F. Byrd to Flood, August 15, 1921, Flood Mss.; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 6, 1921.

109. Flood to S. L. Ferguson, August 19, 1921; Flood to William Rhea, August 19, 1921, Flood Mss.; *Richmond News-Leader*, August 20, 29, 30, 31, 1921.

110. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, December 9, 10, 1921; *Richmond News-Leader*, December 9, 10, 1921.