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## **Wrongful Defeat: The 1934 Florida Senatorial Democratic Primary between Claude Pepper and Park Trammell**

*by* John M. Brackett

**I**n 1934, the state of Florida faced a midterm election in which one of its two U.S. senators came up for reelection. The campaign began with five candidates, but Claude Pepper and incumbent Park Trammell stood out as the most viable contenders to win the Democratic nomination. As in other southern states, the Democratic Party dominated Florida's elections, and the winner of the party primary won the office. As the campaign between Pepper and Trammell progressed, it became a bitter fight marred by widespread smear tactics. When neither candidate won a majority in the June 5 primary, Pepper and Trammell continued their vigorous statewide campaign until June 26 when election results returned the incumbent to the senate. Soon after the second primary, allegations emerged claiming voter fraud in Hillsborough County. While the claims were legitimate, Claude Pepper refused to challenge the election. Due to the extremely close results of the June 5 primary and the almost even number of supporters for both candidates, corruption in just a handful of precincts in West

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Tampa and Ybor City apparently deprived Pepper of the Democratic nomination.<sup>1</sup>

The 1934 senatorial primary revealed more than how a locally corrupt political machine could steal an election; it also showed a change in how Florida viewed the New Deal. Although the campaign occurred within the Democratic Party, it involved two ideologies. The first embraced southern conservatism that moderately supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The second represented the new liberalism that promoted the New Deal and the expansion of government programs. Before the campaign, Senator Park Trammell offered minimal support for the President and his plans to relieve the Great Depression. By the June 26 runoff, the senator fully endorsed the New Deal and pledged to support Roosevelt, an apparent shift in his political stance in response to the gains made by his opponent, Claude Pepper, whose approval of the New Deal appealed to many Florida voters. Thus, although marked by political turmoil and voter fraud, the Florida electorate voiced its approval of Roosevelt's administration and the new federal programs.<sup>2</sup>

In 1934, the thirty-three year old Claude Pepper had scant political background on which to mount a successful senatorial campaign. The young candidate held a law degree from Harvard University and practiced law in Perry and Tallahassee. He had represented Taylor County for one term in the Florida legislature, but failed to retain his seat in his 1930 re-election bid due to his stance on civil rights. During the 1929 session, Pepper voted against a resolution condemning First Lady Lou Hoover for inviting the wife of a newly-elected black representative to the White House.<sup>3</sup> This issue resurfaced multiple times in the 1934 campaign, but was only one of Pepper's problems. In political terms, he was too young and had too little experience to challenge Trammell.

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1. Historical scholarship provides several works that involve Florida politics during the 1930s. For the most complete account of the state's politics, see James William Dunn's dissertation "The New Deal and Florida Politics" (Florida State University, 1971). For scholarship on Tampa's corrupt election machine, see Nancy A. Hewitt's *Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880's-1920's* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001) and Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (Gainesville, Fla., 1987; reprint, 1998).

2. Dunn, 225-226.

3. Claude Denson Pepper, *Pepper: Eyewitness to a Century* (New York, 1987), 28-42.

Nevertheless, in this David vs. Goliath match, Pepper's enthusiasm for the New Deal appealed to many Florida voters and made Trammell's conservatism a surprising issue.<sup>4</sup>

Pepper initiated his 1934 campaign with seemingly little chance to succeed, but he had always dreamed of a senate seat and believed Park Trammell's age and perceived lack of activity made him vulnerable.<sup>5</sup> Although young and energetic, Pepper lacked funds and, more importantly, public recognition. To lay the groundwork for his candidacy, he persuaded the Tallahassee Kiwanis Club to help fund his campaign and provide a forum through the various club meetings in North Florida. On February 15, Pepper made his candidacy official. His platform called for firm support of the New Deal and "aggressive and helpful cooperation" with President Franklin D. Roosevelt.<sup>6</sup>

In announcing his candidacy, Pepper challenged the Florida tradition of electing one senator from the northern part of the state and the other from the south. With North Florida's senator, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, not up for re-election, a campaign against Trammel provided an opportunity for the northern region to claim both officeholders. While Pepper was aware of the tradition, it seemingly did not affect his decision to run. He was not a native Floridian, having moved to the state after completing his education. He was not influential in Florida politics, north or south and ending the state's traditional distribution of senatorial offices was not a factor in his candidacy. Pepper's reason for running focused more on the need to break with conservative trends and promote liberal ideas such as the New Deal.<sup>7</sup>

Pepper's entry into the race likely did not worry Park Trammell initially. The junior senator had a long political resume

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4. On Claude Pepper's life and career, see Alexander R. Stoesen, "The Senatorial Career of Claude Pepper" (diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1964) and Ric A. Kabat, "From New Deal to Red Scare: The Political Odyssey of Senator Claude D. Pepper" (diss., Florida State University, 1995). There is no complete biography of Claude Pepper, however Pepper wrote an autobiography, *Pepper: Eyewitness to a Century*, that examines his life to 1981.

5. Pepper, 46-47.

6. Press release for candidacy. Series 204D, Box 9, Folder 9, Claude Pepper Collection, Claude Pepper Library, Tallahassee, Fla. (Hereafter cited as Claude Pepper Collection.)

7. Claude Pepper to Fred M. Ivey, Tallahassee, 30 July 1934, Series 204D, Box 63, Folder 8, Claude Pepper Collection; Pepper, 46-47; Kabat, 54-55.

that included serving as mayor of Lakeland, election to the Florida house and senate, and a term as Florida governor. In 1934, he sought his fourth term in the U.S. senate, where he was chair of the Naval Affairs Committee.<sup>8</sup> Despite Trammell's lengthy political career, newspapers did not discount the one-term legislator Pepper as a suitable candidate. When Pepper entered the race, the *Tampa Morning Tribune* observed that his campaign posed a threat to Trammell's career, one that had "never known defeat" but which possessed "little magic charm."<sup>9</sup>

Initially, the two candidates disagreed on many crucial issues, but the New Deal quickly assumed central importance in the campaign. Trammell offered little support to President Roosevelt and opposed expanding the role of the federal government. Florida's voters, on the other hand, had given Roosevelt a seventy-five percent majority in the 1932 election, and the president's popularity increased during his first year in office. In contrast to Trammell's conservatism, Pepper campaigned on a platform that promised unwavering support for the New Deal, a position that provided the challenger with immediate appeal to Florida voters. In response to public opinion (and to strengthen his own position), Trammell endorsed Roosevelt's actions. With both candidates in agreement on this fundamental issue, Pepper and Trammell shifted their campaign rhetoric to personal and professional questions, a change that ensured a highly negative campaign filled with disparaging comments.<sup>10</sup>

Three additional candidates—Charles A. Mitchell, James F. Sikes, and Hortense K. Wells—filled out the field in the Democratic primary. All three candidates had active political backgrounds. Mitchell was an attorney in Vero Beach; James Sikes represented Pinellas County in the state senate; and Hortense Wells, one of the few female politicians of the period, served on the Florida National Democratic Committee. Although these candidates had comparatively little support, and the campaign generally revolved around Pepper and Trammell, two of the candidates, Mitchell and Sikes, played a crucial role by receiving sufficient

8. For an account of Park Trammell's life and career, see Steven Kerber, "Park Trammell of Florida: A Political Biography" (diss., University of Florida, 1979).

9. Pepper, 46-47; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 16 February 1934.

10. Kabat, 55.

votes in the June 5 primary to force a runoff between Pepper and Trammell. Wells received very few votes and played a less significant part in the election.<sup>11</sup>

During the 1930s, political candidates used whistlestop appearances to advance their campaigns, and President Roosevelt effectively turned the radio into a political tool.<sup>12</sup> Both Pepper and Trammell traveled the state speaking in local city parks, and radio stations broadcast their addresses to additional citizens. Newspapers still played a major role in influencing voters and often provided the only reports of where a candidate went and what he said. In a number of Florida regions, readers read detailed stories on one candidate, while the other received far less attention. The lack of a statewide media created unique pockets of political support that acted independently. Individual cities formed Claude Pepper clubs or Park Trammell clubs, and sometimes both.<sup>13</sup>

The senatorial race received little statewide attention in the first few months and did not gain traction until late spring. Ads purchased by candidates and their supporters first appeared in newspapers in the last weeks of May. In Tallahassee, Pepper's hometown, supporters did not organize a Pepper club until May 10.<sup>14</sup> Senator Trammell's base of support in Miami also paid little attention to the race, perhaps assuming that the incumbent would win easily. At first, the senator did not consider Pepper a serious threat, but as the campaign wore on and public sentiment gathered behind the challenger, Trammell's concern grew.<sup>15</sup>

The senatorial election covered multiple issues that varied from county to county. The most pertinent problems concerning the Great Depression and the New Deal fell by the wayside once both candidates offered unwavering support for President Roosevelt. Floridians still cared about national politics, but now the issues that dominated the race centered more on local affairs. In West Florida citizens expressed concern about the Pensacola Naval Air Station, and in Tampa, voters wanted funds for a deeper harbor.<sup>16</sup>

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11. Dunn, 214.

12. William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York, 1963), 8, 44.

13. *Daily Democrat*, 10 May 1934.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Pepper, 48-49.

16. *Daily Democrat*, 31 May 1934; *Miami Herald*, 2 May 1934.

However, the campaign soon focused more on personality than issues. Pepper's speeches often centered on Trammell's lack of activity. On May 13 in a Tallahassee speech, he blasted the incumbent's previous term in office and accused him of laziness, asserting that only four bills proposed by the senator were enacted into law. At the same time, Pepper promoted his views in favor of a nine-month school year for all children. The speech represented a pattern that both candidates followed: an address started with a rebuttal of accusations leveled by the opponent and launched counter attacks before looking at political issues.<sup>17</sup>

Senator Trammell gave a lengthy speech at Tampa on May 22. In his earlier visits, he had focused more on funds for the bay's harbor, but with the primary only two weeks away he attacked Pepper. Trammell stated that his opponent came to the state specifically looking for a political career and had amassed a poor record in the Florida legislature. He further claimed that Pepper served only a single term as a legislator before his electorate ousted him after his support for a tax certificate foreclosure law. The senator then extolled his own hard work, which had brought millions of dollars to Florida, pointing to his fight for an extra two million dollars for Tampa's harbor.<sup>18</sup>

Pepper kept close to Trammell's campaign trail and visited Tampa the day after the senator's speech. He denied supporting a tax certificate law and used the 1903 Florida Statutes to show that Trammell had supported it. In a thorough attack on the senator, Pepper claimed that the incumbent produced very little monetary relief for Florida, adding that he "work[ed] only one year out of the six" in his third term. The young candidate also remarked that Senator Trammell's early overconfidence had turned into worry. Newspaper coverage of the two speeches revealed that both candidates focused heavily on negative campaigning and barely discussed what they could do for Florida.<sup>19</sup>

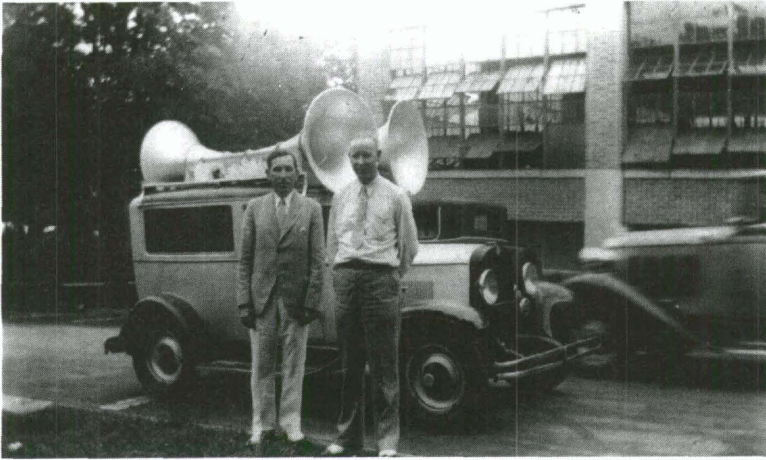
In the last weeks of May, both candidates received endorsements from other office holders. State Senator W. C. Hodges endorsed Pepper and promoted him on various occasions. In Tallahassee on May 29, Hodges attacked Trammell's record and

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17. *Daily Democrat*, 13 May 1934.

18. *Morning Tribune*, 22 May 1934.

19. *Ibid.*



Claude Pepper with his campaign manager Oscar M. Johnson, June 27, 1934  
*Claude Pepper Collection, Tallahassee.*

took pot shots at Wells, when he stated that “the voters should prefer a bob-haired woman to a long-haired senator in office.”<sup>20</sup> Trammell did not secure any notable political endorsements within the state, but did receive support from labor. President William Green of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) promoted Trammell and urged Florida workers to “give earnest and sincere support to the senator.” In a further assist to the incumbent, the AFL sent Eli Futch to campaign actively for Trammell. Green noted that the senator had “supported all remedial legislation for the benefit of labor” and observed that “Florida is fortunate in having such a representative.” The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers also endorsed the incumbent with a paid newspaper ad stating Trammell’s record regarding labor legislation. Union support gave Trammell some leverage to counter Pepper’s growing popularity.<sup>21</sup>

In the two weeks preceding the primary, Pepper and Trammell continued traveling the state giving speeches, and making

20. *Daily Democrat*, 29 May 1934

21. *Herald*, 4 June 1934; William Green to Wendell Heaton, Washington D.C., 13 April 1934, Park Trammell Papers, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, George A. Smathers Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida; J. Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher: Dixie’s Reluctant Progressive* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1971), 183.



new accusations against each other. Senator Trammell accused the young candidate of misleading the voters and of making false statements. On June 2, Pepper gave his final speech in Tampa before the primary in which he stated that Trammell had subjected him to a “campaign of villainy and falsehoods.”<sup>22</sup>

Newspapers across the state offered their endorsements as May drew to a close. The Miami *Herald* encouraged citizens to vote for Senator Trammell and reiterated the benefits to Florida. The *Herald* focused heavily on the incumbent’s position as chairman of the Senate’s Naval Affairs Committee and claimed that he had the ability to boost the state’s economy due to its long coastline. It also noted Trammell’s seniority and pointed out that a new senator would have little influence. Pepper did not receive endorsements from Florida’s largest newspapers, but the Jacksonville *Journal*, Ocala *Banner*, and Pensacola *Herald* supported him. While it did not officially give its endorsement, the Tallahassee *Daily Democrat* provided substantial coverage of Pepper’s campaign.<sup>23</sup>

In the first days of June, Floridians opened their daily newspapers to find large ads explaining why they should vote for Claude Pepper or Park Trammell.<sup>24</sup> Local support clubs provided the money for the promotions, and the ads varied in each city. In Tallahassee, readers saw an almost full-page ad detailing Claude Pepper’s various newspaper endorsements from across the state and a lengthy statement explaining why Senator Trammell should not be reelected. The ads followed the same pattern as the speeches and attacked one candidate while making the other seem saint-

22. *Daily Democrat*, 31 May 1934; *Morning Tribune*, 2 June 1934.

23. *Herald*, 3 June 1934; *Daily Democrat*, 4 June 1934.

24. Ad from Tampa *Morning Tribune*, 3 June 1934, favoring Park Trammell: “Mr. Trammell is experienced in every department of Federal and State government; having held these important offices among others, president of the State Senate, Attorney General, Governor, and 17 years as United States Senator. He is Chairman of one of the 5 most important committees in the Senate, the Naval Affairs Committee.” The ad’s statements on Claude Pepper: “It is no wonder that Claude Pepper was badly defeated when he ran for re-election from Taylor County . . . Pepper is now known as one of the highest paid lobbyists for the ‘special interests’ who ever frequented the halls in Tallahassee.” Ad from the Florida *Times Union*, 25 June 1934, favoring Claude Pepper: “Has Florida been getting vigorous and aggressive representation to which it is entitled in the seat in the Senate occupied by Trammell the last 18 years? . . . Senator Trammell has introduced 81 bills and only 4 out of the 81 have become law. . . Give Florida vigorous and aggressive representation, a young man, a hard working man, a man who has had the hardships of the ordinary man and is sympathetic to his problems. . . Vote for Claude Pepper.”

ly. An ad in the Tallahassee *Daily Democrat* characterized Trammell as a “heavy jowled and large bellied” man ignored by other senators. Pepper was assaulted for his stand on civil rights and charged with favoring social equality between the races. Since both candidates supported Roosevelt and the New Deal, voters had a choice between youth and energy and experience and seniority.<sup>25</sup>

Going into the June 5 primary, Trammell felt assured of a victory, and Pepper believed he had enough support to threaten the incumbent. While traveling across South Florida, the young candidate spotted a large “Pepper” banner in Fort Myers and one block further saw a “Trammell” banner of equal size. The sight of the two signs told Pepper the race was getting close. Despite his boastful speeches, Park Trammell also knew the young challenger had a good chance of winning. The senator had altered his usual campaign strategy of waiting in Washington D.C. to one of touring Florida and making speeches.<sup>26</sup>

Claude Pepper concluded his campaign tour in Miami; on the eve of the election he defended himself against Trammell’s attacks and restated his platform. There the challenger cast an absentee ballot and awaited the results of the statewide vote. Pepper’s supporters hoped to prevent Trammell from receiving a majority on June 5, forcing a runoff election. The senator’s supporters wanted a clean victory to secure the Democratic nomination and reelection.<sup>27</sup> A senatorial race that started as a routine reelection had turned into a hard-fought campaign and fierce personal battle. A runoff election would intensify the effort to win the election.

The June 5 primary ended with close results for the two front-runners. The other candidates, Charles Mitchell, James Sikes, and Hortense Wells, accumulated small totals that succeeded only in preventing an all-out victory by either Pepper or Trammell. However, Mitchell and Sikes gathered enough support in some counties to turn them into battleground areas for the runoff. Mitchell carried Indian River and Walton counties and finished second in the metropolitan areas of Tampa and Fort Lauderdale. While Sikes did not accumulate nearly as many votes, he carried his hometown, St. Petersburg, and the rest of Pinellas County. In the official returns, the senator garnered 81,321 votes to Pepper’s

25. *Daily Democrat*, 4 June 1934; *Morning Tribune*, 3 June 1934.

26. *Daily Democrat*, 27 May 1934; Pepper, 48-49.

27. *Herald*, 5 June 1934; *Morning Tribune*, 3 June 1934.

79,396. This gave Trammell a slight lead with a 1,925-vote margin. Out of Florida's sixty-seven counties, Claude Pepper carried forty, giving him a definite majority compared to Trammell's win in twenty-three counties. The senator accumulated most of his support in South Florida, where he carried the densely populated areas of Tampa and Miami, while the challenger carried North Florida and the Panhandle.<sup>28</sup>

Table 1: *Democratic Primary Election Returns by County, June 5, 1934*

<b>Candidates</b>	<b>Alachua</b>	<b>Baker</b>	<b>Bay</b>	<b>Bradford</b>	<b>Brevard</b>	<b>Broward</b>
Park Trammell	1,854	411	699	328	966	1,386
Claude Pepper	1,033	654	1,117	438	757	1,139
Charles Mitchell	223	30	1,057	79	360	1,032
James Sikes	161	114	107	37	108	130
Hortense Wells	130	33	80	21	51	114
	<b>Calhoun</b>	<b>Charlotte</b>	<b>Citrus</b>	<b>Clay</b>	<b>Collier</b>	<b>Columbia</b>
Trammell	511	309	395	459	198	890
Pepper	1,133	252	818	503	105	600
Mitchell	134	186	143	77	16	76
Sikes	70	184	144	167	235	105
Wells	53	55	34	42	5	101
	<b>Dade</b>	<b>DeSoto</b>	<b>Dixie</b>	<b>Duval</b>	<b>Escambia</b>	<b>Flagler</b>
Trammell	9,616	799	276	5,038	2,411	199
Pepper	6,801	485	364	11,103	3,024	147
Mitchell	1,764	62	179	2,055	1,018	91
Sikes	780	93	28	1,638	143	36
Wells	393	157	21	565	75	23
	<b>Franklin</b>	<b>Gadsden</b>	<b>Gilchrist</b>	<b>Glades</b>	<b>Gulf</b>	<b>Hamilton</b>
Trammell	228	485	185	201	194	360
Pepper	410	991	216	358	306	766
Mitchell	206	106	114	71	94	156
Sikes	392	82	24	121	105	56
Wells	133	24	18	21	33	36
	<b>Hardee</b>	<b>Hendry</b>	<b>Hernando</b>	<b>Highlands</b>	<b>Hillsborough</b>	<b>Holmes</b>
Trammell	506	332	473	710	<b>8,784</b>	626
Pepper	463	407	363	772	<b>4,631</b>	1,170

*Continued on next page*

28. *Morning Tribune*, 13 June 1934; *Florida Times Union*, 6 June 1934; Office of the Secretary of State of Florida, *Primary Election Returns, June 6, 1934*, Florida State Archives, R.A. Gray Building, Tallahassee, Florida (hereafter cited as *Primary Election Returns, June 6, 1934*).

WRONGFUL DEFEAT

Table 1: *Continued*

<u>Candidates</u>	<b>Hardee</b>	<b>Hendry</b>	<b>Hernando</b>	<b>Highlands</b>	<b>Hillsborough</b>	<b>Holmes</b>	
Mitchell	264	92	188	414	<b>6,649</b>	349	
Sikes	67	35	120	96	<b>2,019</b>	67	
Wells	81	27	62	112	<b>2,047</b>	40	
	<b>Indian River</b>	<b>Jackson</b>	<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>Lafayette</b>	<b>Lake</b>	<b>Lee</b>	
Trammell	386	1,624	761	129	1,049	1,447	
Pepper	116	3,774	636	627	1,839	786	
Mitchell	931	1,091	228	293	328	169	
Sikes	21	136	58	27	227	225	
Wells	11	132	51	14	127	91	
	<b>Leon</b>	<b>Levy</b>	<b>Liberty</b>	<b>Madison</b>	<b>Manatee</b>	<b>Marion</b>	
Trammell	1,091	519	201	362	1,243	1,802	
Pepper	1,651	633	331	876	874	926	
Mitchell	82	138	137	295	430	111	
Sikes	79	116	25	21	246	126	
Wells	39	61	17	29	182	85	
	<b>Martin</b>	<b>Monroe</b>	<b>Nassau</b>	<b>Okaloosa</b>	<b>Okeechobee</b>	<b>Orange</b>	
Trammell	347	425	451	417	344	2,222	
Pepper	379	1,206	550	904	349	2,350	
Mitchell	160	211	58	335	80	778	
Sikes	36	49	148	39	22	162	
Wells	13	20	37	27	8	172	
	<b>Osceola</b>	<b>Palm Beach</b>	<b>Pasco</b>	<b>Pinellas</b>	<b>Putnam</b>	<b>Polk</b>	
Trammell	619	4,137	918	2,062	1,176	4,811	
Pepper	712	3,030	572	595	926	1,875	
Mitchell	325	1,017	281	310	81	1,083	
Sikes	78	303	445	2,737	124	325	
Wells	81	389	293	240	73	294	
	<b>St. Johns</b>	<b>St. Lucie</b>	<b>Santa Rosa</b>	<b>Sarasota</b>	<b>Seminole</b>	<b>Sumter</b>	
Trammell	1,026	730	541	672	1,129	669	
Pepper	993	215	1,217	808	535	693	
Mitchell	174	351	689	178	82	203	
Sikes	215	22	51	101	60	99	
Wells	107	18	42	307	45	132	
	<b>Suwanee</b>	<b>Taylor</b>	<b>Union</b>	<b>Volusia</b>	<b>Wakulla</b>	<b>Walton</b>	<b>Washington</b>
Trammell	489	460	271	5,194	341	879	518
Pepper	660	1,043	369	2,585	822	574	1,039
Mitchell	248	337	22	454	48	1,086	326
Sikes	103	65	33	386	35	80	69
Wells	60	21	9	243	30	48	2

Source: *Official Returns from the Office of the Secretary of State of Florida, June 6, 1934*

During the last weeks of the run-off campaign, residents of Hillsborough County expressed doubts over the validity of the local results. On June 22, just four days before the runoff election, the League for Honest Elections of Tampa passed a resolution asking for the nullification of the June 5 primary due to voter fraud. These accusations differed slightly from the ones that would be made following the June 26 vote, but they indicated citizen awareness of fraudulent activities. The charges also provided credibility to the accusations made after Senator's Trammell's victory and caused Pepper to schedule his campaign's final speech in Tampa.<sup>29</sup>

The League, which had formed on June 19, 1934, declared its accusations at a meeting attended by 1,100 people. The chairman, Sumter L. Lowry, stated that "there was no real and true primary election." Members of the audience made similar remarks. The reputed fraud occurred in precincts from Ybor City and West Tampa. Witnesses claimed to have seen numerous groups of voters "stuffing bunches of ballots in boxes." League leaders assigned the blame to two groups. They accused the city's newspapers of participating in a conspiracy through their silence about the alleged acts and placed the remaining blame on the Hillsborough County Commission. League members stated that the county had become a monarchy dominated by two of the commissioners. Chairman Lowry called for "independent action" in cleaning up Tampa's elections.<sup>30</sup>

Alleged corruption in Ybor City was not a new phenomenon in 1934. The small community dominated by cigar factories and immigrants had witnessed fraudulent elections since 1916 and possibly earlier. The source of corruption stemmed from the political machine headed by Charlie Wall, who oversaw gambling and houses of prostitution. In 1916, Tampa mayor David B. McKay carried the election largely because of Wall's support and manipulation of the ballots. In order to protect his illegal establishments, Wall bribed deputies and other local officials. The money made through gambling enabled Wall to influence state as well as local politics. With the city's history of corruption, the League for Honest Elections had ample reason for doubting the validity of the primary vote.<sup>31</sup>

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29. *Morning Tribune*, 23 June 1934; Claude Denson Pepper, "Statement Not for Publication," Series 204A, Box 4, Folder 5, Claude Pepper Collection.

30. *Morning Tribune*, 23 June 1934.

The League relied on a report by the Democratic Executive Committee of Hillsborough County to support its accusations. The report described in detail numerous election violations in the Latin precincts and revealed that thousands of “fraudulent names appeared on the registration books.” In one affidavit, a witness described the hiring of extra sheriff’s deputies to “maintain order” in the Latin precincts. The deputies were told that the sheriff presided over elections, and that they could act under his authority as needed. In actuality, election clerks and inspectors supervised the precincts. Another witness stated that deputies concealed a ballot box from public view and intimidated citizens who wanted to move it into the open.<sup>32</sup>

Although compromising the election, those acts did not compare to other activities. According to witness accounts, sheriff’s deputies arrived at some precincts in force “armed with shotguns, pistols, and some carried machine guns” and kept some voters away while allowing repeat voters to stuff the ballot box. Allegedly, people who challenged the deputies were arrested. Under the protection of law enforcement officers, the repeaters voted using the names of those driven away from the polls. The committee also charged that election officials conducted the vote tally improperly by preventing representatives of candidates from observing the count. By publishing the charges, the Democratic Executive Committee hoped to prevent corruption in the June 26 runoff election between Trammell and Pepper.<sup>33</sup>

On June 23, the Hillsborough County Commission conducted a hearing to investigate the charges brought by the League for Honest Elections. The commission called a variety of witnesses and questioned their credibility. The League’s chairman and senior members were also questioned about their political backgrounds, and some admitted to supporting the Republican Party in prior elections. When the commission asked Chairman Lowry to present evidence backing his claims, he had nothing to produce. Local attorneys further damaged the League’s case when they testified to seeing no repeaters or any criminal acts. Their

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31. Hewitt, *Southern Discomfort*, 233-234; Mormino and Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City*, 283, 301-302.

32. Democratic Executive Committee of Hillsborough County, “Report on Vote Fraud,” Series 204A, Box 4, Folder 5, Claude Pepper Collection.

33. *Ibid.*

accounts also discredited charges of the placement of fraudulent names on registry lists. After listening to numerous witnesses, the commissioners dismissed the accusations of voter fraud.<sup>34</sup>

The commissioners did not conduct a thorough investigation of the charges. They gathered testimony mostly from members of the League and failed to call anyone from the Democratic Executive Committee. Questions to the League members did not get to the heart of the matter, since the League, according to its own statements, acted on the committee's report. In order to conduct a successful hearing, the commission needed to verify the charges by examining the witnesses who gave affidavits and challenging the committee's credibility. Their neglect of the core evidence only reinforced accusations that the commission played a role in the voter fraud. As a result of the inaction by the commission, the June 26 primary proceeded without reforms to ensure fairness.

If successfully proven, the allegations of voter fraud in the June 5 primary could not have helped Pepper. While the young candidate trailed by only 1,925 votes, the difference from those West Tampa and Ybor City precincts would not have pushed him ahead as the winner by a majority. In Hillsborough County, Pepper placed third, falling behind Charles Mitchell. Along with the senatorial primary, the voters also selected nominees for county office, and repeaters may have cheated for local candidates rather than for the senator. While the evidence supports the accusations of fraud, the outcome would have remained the same, with Pepper and Trammell in a runoff election.<sup>35</sup>

The June 5 primary brought the campaign to a new level. The young candidate from Tallahassee, who started as an almost unknown politician, had barely lost to a three term senator. The possibility of Park Trammell losing his senate seat loomed heavily as both candidates worked to get their campaigns underway again. In the twenty-one days between primaries, Pepper faced several obstacles as the tactics turned more negative.

On June 11, Trammell launched a new wave of attacks during a radio broadcast. In a lengthy talk he accused Pepper and his supporters of spending more than \$100,000 before the June 5 primary. Trammell also emphasized his opponent's support for

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34. *Morning Tribune*, 24 June 1934.

35. *Primary Election Returns, June 6, 1934*, Hillsborough County Returns.

special interests such as international bankers and shipbuilding industries. The senator further declared that these businesses selected Pepper specifically to be their representative in Washington and stated that if his opponent won the special interests would “bring about the old regime, an enlargement of their power during the Hoover administration.” Trammell also lambasted Pepper’s legislative record and accused him of wanting to end the New Deal. He concluded by announcing that he had received the endorsements of Charles Mitchell and James Sikes.<sup>36</sup>

Most of Senator Trammell’s accusations were false. While the statements concerning Claude Pepper’s term in the Florida legislature had some factual basis, the claims that he did not support President Roosevelt were untrue. The charge concerning the amount of money spent on the campaign was also erroneous. Pepper’s expenditures amounted to only \$7,615, which paled in comparison to the alleged \$100,000 campaign budget. The allegations of support from special interests had some basis. Before running for the senate, Pepper worked as a lobbyist in Tallahassee, but Trammell exaggerated the facts when he claimed his opponent had been selected to run by special interests. In fact, these exaggerated and false criticisms damaged Trammell’s credibility as an honest candidate.<sup>37</sup>

Pepper resumed his campaign on June 12 with a speech in Pensacola, before heading east across the Panhandle to Milton, Bonifay, and Chipley. This first appearance launched a tour across the state that reached every major city and county. Pepper’s speeches remained the same, supporting the New Deal and attacking Trammell for his false statements and poor performance in the senate. Pepper defended his campaign expenditures by pointing to the records kept by the Secretary of State, which showed that friends and private individuals, not special interests, contributed the funds.<sup>38</sup>

Pepper countered Trammell’s accusations that he was a dishonest politician willing to buy votes with claims of voter fraud in Hillsborough County. The young challenger cited the history of

36. Park Trammell, “Radio Address,” 11 June 1934. Series 204D, Box 9, Folder 9, Claude Pepper Collection; Park Trammell, “To the Florida Democrats,” Undated, Park Trammell Papers, P.K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.

37. *Morning Tribune*, 2 June 1934.

38. *Daily Democrat*, 13 June 1934.



corrupt practices and used the disproportionate totals in the West Tampa and Ybor City precincts as proof. Unlike Trammell's statements, Pepper backed his with evidence. The race turned into a near fiasco as speeches degenerated from issues of policy to plain mudslinging, with accusations of lying and cheating. Both Democratic candidates had promoted the same platform of support for Roosevelt and the New Deal, but the tight race led to more desperate tactics.<sup>39</sup>

In a five-day whirlwind tour, Pepper's campaign covered the state and concluded in Tampa on June 16. The candidate had traveled almost 2,000 miles and visited almost half of Florida's counties. On the fifth day of his tour, Pepper stopped at Vero Beach, the hometown of Charles Mitchell. He received an enthusiastic introduction from his former opponent, as Mitchell declared Pepper's campaign to be "clean and courageous" and identified Pepper as "my friend and your friend." Such enthusiastic support from Mitchell further eroded Trammell's credibility, especially since the senator had publicly claimed Mitchell's endorsement.<sup>40</sup>

Park Trammell's campaign followed the same strategy as Pepper's with a speaking tour of the state. One June 18, his campaign entered West Florida where he gave speeches in DeFuniak Springs, Chipley, Pensacola, and five other towns. In Escambia County, he reminded the audience of his support for the Naval Air Station. As the senator continued across Florida, he maintained his position that Pepper was a puppet of special interests. On June 21 in Tampa, Trammell boasted of his efforts to improve the harbor and his successful legislative record in the senate. During his address, he condemned several newspapers that had praised Pepper, including the *Tampa Morning Tribune*, and accused them of falsifying his senatorial record.<sup>41</sup>

During the week preceding the June 26 primary runoff, Pepper vigorously traveled around Florida, addressing as many crowds as possible. In one day, the challenger gave eleven speeches and awakened the next morning to deliver another nine. Several of Trammell's attacks focused on Pepper's lack of support

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39. Claude Denson Pepper. "Suggested Replies to Sen. Trammell's Attacks." Series 204 D, Box 9, Folder 9, Claude Pepper Collection.

40. *Daily Democrat*, 17 June 1934.

41. *Florida Times Union*, 19 June 1934; *Morning Tribune*, 22 June 1934.

in his home counties of Leon and Taylor. One June 20 while speaking at New Smyrna, Pepper pointed out that he won those counties by large margins. At St. Petersburg the next day, he challenged Trammell to prove the “slush fund” charges and promised to stand down if they were true.<sup>42</sup>

Both candidates fought to gain additional endorsements during the last days of the campaign. Trammell had more success in this effort due to his lengthy term in public office and his status as an incumbent. The senator secured support from the Democratic national chairman, James A. Farley, and continued to enjoy the endorsement of AFL president, William Green. The AFL provided additional support by persuading Florida’s other senator, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, who had remained neutral, to endorse Trammell.<sup>43</sup> Unionized labor had backed Fletcher since 1926 and pressured him to announce his decision to vote for the incumbent. But in an attempt to save his neutrality, Fletcher added to his statement the caveat that “each voter should be trusted to make up his own mind.” Despite his ambiguity, pro-Trammell campaign ads placed heavy emphasis on Fletcher’s support. Pepper sought an explanation from Fletcher who told him that he did not support Trammell and that he succumbed to pressure. Regardless of his true feelings, Fletcher’s endorsement increased the incumbent’s popularity and showed the strength of the American Federation of Labor.<sup>44</sup>

In the final days preceding the election, Pepper and Trammell gave as many speeches as they possibly could. They stressed their platforms and continued the onslaught of charges against each other, each prophesying victory on June 26. In an effort to persuade every voter, both men introduced new political issues. Pepper declared he would support aid to banks that had closed as a result of the 1929 stock market crash, and Trammell proclaimed his backing of bills that would provide money for World War I veterans. On June 25, the candidates concluded their campaigns for the Democratic nomination. Pepper gave his final speeches in

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42. *Daily Democrat*, 20-21 June 1934.

43. For a complete account of Duncan Upshaw Fletcher’s life and political career, see J. Wayne Flynt’s *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher*.

44. *Miami Herald*, 23 June 1934; Pepper, 49; Flynt, 183; Claude Pepper to Fred M. Ivey, Tallahassee, 30 July 1934, Series 204 A, Box 63, Folder 8, Claude Pepper Collection.



U.S. Senator Claude Pepper campaigning for re-election in Tampa, 1938, *Florida State Archives*.

Tampa and remained there for the election, a reaction to the allegations of voter fraud in the June 5 primary. Park Trammell ended his bid for re-election in Miami.<sup>45</sup>

Campaign ads bombarded newspaper readers as the candidates fought to convince voters of their electability. Promotions for Pepper focused on this platform and professional record and declared Trammell's negative tactics evidence of his desperation. The senator's ads offered eight reasons why voters should reject Pepper. Both candidates claimed to have run a clean campaign, while each declared his opponent's canvass filled with malice. In actuality neither Trammell nor Pepper conducted themselves in as exemplary fashion as they boasted. Both candidates attacked the other at every presented opportunity, and each maintained his accusations to the end. However, Senator Trammell launched the majority of the false charges with his claims of special interests and a campaign "slush fund."<sup>46</sup>

45. *Morning Tribune*, 23, 26 June 1934.

46. *Florida Times Union*, 21, 25 June 1934.

Pepper and Trammell exuded confidence as the June 26 election approached. Pepper estimated that he would win by 50,000 votes, and Trammell more modestly predicted a margin of 25,000 votes. Newspapers commented on the intensity of the mudslinging and negative tactics, with the *Florida Times Union* labeling the hard-fought canvass “Florida’s bitterest senatorial campaign in many years.” The two candidates had much riding on the primary, and they exhausted all their political resources to win. Park Trammell placed his three-term senatorial career on the line and was dangerously close to losing it, while Claude Pepper had the opportunity to achieve an astonishing victory in unseating an incumbent.<sup>47</sup>

Early precinct returns gave Senator Trammell a 5,000-vote lead and victories in thirty counties. Claude Pepper succeeded in winning thirty-seven counties and carried several metropolitan areas, including Duval, Broward, and Dade counties. Later returns showed Pepper tightening the race, trailing by a mere 4,500 votes. By June 28, when the results became official, Senator Trammell had defeated the young challenger by a margin of 103,026 votes to Pepper’s 98,978 votes. Pepper conceded the nomination to his opponent and offered his thanks to his supporters.<sup>48</sup>

In the runoff election, Park Trammell saw large vote increases in Duval and Pinellas counties, however his victory came largely from Hillsborough County where he led with his biggest margin in the state. The senator picked up 16,860 votes to Pepper’s 6,410. No other part of the state recorded such a large difference in the returns. Due to the disproportionate totals in Tampa, allegations of voter fraud resurfaced with Claude Pepper himself present to witness the corruption. This time fraud meant more than winning a plurality; it decided the balance in the selection of a U.S. senator.<sup>49</sup>

The challenger spent most of June 26 making his way around the Tampa precincts, with considerable time in Ybor City. Pepper attempted to “neutralize” efforts to stuff the ballot boxes, but soon realized that it was nearly impossible. He spent the remaining part

47. Ibid, 26 June 1934.

48. *Florida Times Union*, 27-28 June 1934; Office of the Secretary *Primary Election Returns June 26, 1934*, Statewide Election Returns, *Daily Democrat*, 29 June 1934.

49. *Primary Election Returns June 26, 1934*, Hillsborough County Returns.

of the day investigating the precincts in an attempt to learn how the corrupt machine functioned. After witnessing several criminal acts in Ybor City and West Tampa, Pepper had no doubt that fraudulent votes cost him the nomination.<sup>50</sup>

Much of what Pepper witnessed was similar to what the Hillsborough County Democratic Executive Committee reported on the June 5 primary, but he also picked up new information and added details to the previous charges. In an unpublished statement, Pepper provided a lengthy account of how repeaters successfully committed voter fraud. He blamed the inspectors, clerks, and sheriff's deputies for allowing the corruption. According to his statement, Pepper observed that the ballot boxes remained hidden from the public, and when people attempted to look inside the precinct, deputies immediately blocked off the view. From five to twenty-five deputies armed with pistols, sawed-off shotguns, and an occasional machine gun guarded each of the Ybor City and West Tampa precincts. Repeaters arrived in groups of twenty, and were generally identifiable as immigrant laborers from the factories. Before they entered the precinct voting area, a foreman or manager checked with the clerks and inspectors to make sure the area was clear of legitimate voters and election officials. The repeaters voted as many times as deemed necessary by the clerks before piling into cars to head to the next precinct.<sup>51</sup>

Pepper also witnessed several false arrests and acts of oppression. In one instance, he spoke to a well-dressed man who was arrested moments later after deputies stated that "a complaint was made against you." The man remained in jail until the polls closed. In another incident, a citizen arrived at a Ybor City precinct, only to be told by the clerks that he had already voted. When the voter protested, deputies placed him under arrest for repeat voting. The deputies also committed numerous acts of violence in the area surrounding the precinct polls. Pepper witnessed a woman taking photographs of the repeaters, and watched as a deputy took the camera and "slapped her down." When a man came to her aid, the deputies beat him severely and hauled him to jail for "breach of the peace." Privately, Pepper stated that he

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50. Pepper, "Sentiment Not for Publication," Series 204A, Box 4, Folder 5, Claude Pepper Collection.

51. *Ibid.*

“never dreamed that [he] should see such a situation as actually existed in those eleven precincts.”<sup>52</sup>

In addition to Pepper’s account, other witnesses signed written affidavits detailing their observations of cheating. One woman, who claimed to support Park Trammell, was injured when she opposed the repeaters. On the morning of June 26, she campaigned in front of one of the controversial precinct polling stations. After witnessing a group of people stuffing a ballot box, she and her friends began recording the license tag numbers of the repeaters’ cars. Their careful observations showed that at one precinct, the same group voted six or seven times. As she recorded tag numbers, one of the repeaters’ henchmen grabbed her notebook and wrenched her arm, dislocating her collar bone. Deputies bludgeoned an elderly man who tried to help her. The injury to the woman did not prevent her from continuing to challenge voter fraud throughout the remainder of the day.<sup>53</sup>

Several repeaters spoke out on the matter. Their statements were not apologetic, but justified their actions. In a letter to the Orlando *Sentinel*, Jose Fernandez explained how participation in voter fraud provided needed income and blamed election officials in Ybor City rather than Latin Americans for the corruption. The writer freely admitted to voting twenty-five times in the runoff primary. In a letter to Claude Pepper, a self-confessed repeater also described one of his cohorts, explaining that the two of them were under twenty-five years of age and not too far removed from boyhood. The repeater claimed that a “bootlegger” hired him and promised him five dollars and a free dinner to stuff the ballot boxes. The young man claimed to have voted more times on June 26 than the “average man does in an entire lifetime.” The writer did not sign the letter because he feared repercussions from the sheriff’s office.<sup>54</sup>

Ybor City’s history as a transient and immigrant community made it highly susceptible to pressure to commit voter fraud.<sup>55</sup> Almost seventy-five percent of its residents lacked United States citizenship, and those who had it often avoided politics. Cuban

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52. Ibid.

53. Affidavit of W. A. Goins, 18 May 1936. Series 204A, Box 4, Folder 5, Claude Pepper Collection.

54. Jose Fernandez to Orlando *Sentinel*, 15 July 1934, Series 204A, Box 4, Folder 5, Claude Pepper Collection.

immigrants frequently moved to Ybor City to work for several months before returning home, and the city's Italian population generally isolated itself from state and national affairs. By the 1930s, the community's gambling machine routinely manipulated local elections through intimidation and voter fraud, counting on the political indifference of local residents and the opportunity to earn extra money by casting ballots for the machine. Ybor City's disinterest in politics supported machine leaders such as Charlie Wall with opportunities to steal elections.<sup>56</sup>

The testimonies after the June 26 primary revealed almost identical incidents to those presented from the June 5 vote. In both cases, witnesses stated that they spotted repeaters arriving at precinct voting stations in groups of twenty and claimed that election officials hid ballot boxes from public view. The sentiments expressed by the Hillsborough County Democratic Executive Committee and the League of Honest Elections went unheeded as repeaters and corrupt sheriff's deputies controlled the outcomes at eleven precincts. The vote totals seemed to support the charges of corruption. At the eleven controversial precincts, Claude Pepper received only 360 votes, and Park Trammell accumulated over 6,000 ballots. The illegal votes at those few precincts decided the election for the entire state, as Pepper lost by only 4,500 votes.<sup>57</sup>

Pepper had more than enough evidence to challenge the results of the election, but he decided to let the issue drop. In a letter to one of his supporters, he stated that he "didn't want to be a poor loser" or "jeopardize the advantage" gained from the public knowledge that voter fraud cost him the nomination. Pepper felt that he could muster a sympathy vote in a future campaign and was optimistic about his performance and his support in the election. Pepper charged Trammell's campaign manager, Peter O. Knight, with responsibility for the fraudulent votes. The accusation may have had some factual basis, but not enough to lead to any action. Knight served as a partner in a Tampa law firm and had worked with Senator Trammell for most of his career. After

55. For the most complete account of the history of Ybor City, see Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pazzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City* (1987).

56. *Ibid.*, 81,301.

57. Election Results by Precinct in Hillsborough County, Series 204A, Box 4, Folder 5, Claude Pepper Collection.

WRONGFUL DEFEAT

Table 2: *Democratic Primary Returns by County, June 26, 1934*

<b>Candidates</b>	<b>Alachua</b>	<b>Baker</b>	<b>Bay</b>	<b>Bradford</b>	<b>Brevard</b>	<b>Broward</b>	
Park Trammell	2,244	795	1,007	377	1,006	1,269	
Claude Pepper	1,179	467	2,004	339	941	1,785	
	<b>Calhoun</b>	<b>Charlotte</b>	<b>Citrus</b>	<b>Clay</b>	<b>Collier</b>	<b>Columbia</b>	
Trammell	739	321	691	618	273	1,183	
Pepper	788	557	886	480	259	705	
	<b>Dade</b>	<b>DeSoto</b>	<b>Dixie</b>	<b>Duval</b>	<b>Escambia</b>	<b>Flagler</b>	
Trammell	8,646	1,076	375	8,261	2,630	234	
Pepper	9,209	755	588	10,910	3,947	235	
	<b>Franklin</b>	<b>Gadsden</b>	<b>Gilchrist</b>	<b>Glades</b>	<b>Gulf</b>	<b>Hamilton</b>	
Trammell	402	464	214	427	290	510	
Pepper	830	863	319	401	544	969	
	<b>Hardee</b>	<b>Henry</b>	<b>Hernando</b>	<b>Highlands</b>	<b>Hillsborough</b>	<b>Holmes</b>	
Trammell	690	416	637	897	16,800	1,528	
Pepper	506	377	625	1,112	6,410	1,280	
	<b>Indian River</b>	<b>Jackson</b>	<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>Lafayette</b>	<b>Lake</b>	<b>Lee</b>	
Trammell	424	2,549	947	213	1,259	1,691	
Pepper	523	4,741	757	840	1,657	1,111	
	<b>Leon</b>	<b>Levy</b>	<b>Liberty</b>	<b>Madison</b>	<b>Manatee</b>	<b>Marion</b>	
Trammell	1,121	651	139	637	1,073	1,770	
Pepper	1,569	804	337	1,039	997	1,280	
	<b>Martin</b>	<b>Monroe</b>	<b>Nassau</b>	<b>Okaloosa</b>	<b>Okeechobee</b>	<b>Orange</b>	
Trammell	188	273	428	515	515	2,489	
Pepper	364	1,907	383	1,356	144	2,395	
	<b>Osceola</b>	<b>Palm Beach</b>	<b>Pasco</b>	<b>Pinellas</b>	<b>Polk</b>	<b>Putnam</b>	
Trammell	796	3,203	1,150	3,378	5,462	1,614	
Pepper	830	3,811	1,146	1,671	2,573	852	
	<b>St Johns</b>	<b>St. Lucie</b>	<b>Santa Rosa</b>	<b>Sarasota</b>	<b>Seminole</b>	<b>Sumter</b>	
Trammell	1,285	666	922	861	1,079	1,088	
Pepper	1,298	457	1,804	1,144	691	691	
	<b>Suwanee</b>	<b>Taylor</b>	<b>Union</b>	<b>Volusia</b>	<b>Wakulla</b>	<b>Walton</b>	<b>Washington</b>
Trammell	567	851	401	5,309	427	1,158	939
Pepper	59	1,186	357	3,600	902	1,432	1,246

Source: Office of the Secretary of State of Florida: *Primary Election Returns, June 26, 1934*



the election, Knight wrote a letter congratulating Pepper for a well-conducted campaign, but added that he could have told him six months earlier “what this country would do” in the primary. That statement made Pepper highly suspicious, and he felt that Knight had complete control over the Hillsborough County vote.<sup>58</sup>

Peter O. Knight’s involvement with Trammell’s campaign displayed one of conservatism’s last efforts to end the New Deal’s popularity in Florida. Throughout his career, Knight maintained a reputation as a staunch conservative and did not want to see a liberal like Pepper elected to the senate in place of his friend. While his direct involvement in voter fraud cannot be proven, the incident demonstrated the measures that Florida conservatives were willing to take to prevent the election of candidates who wholly supported Roosevelt.<sup>59</sup>

In 1936, both senators Duncan U. Fletcher and Park Trammell died five weeks apart while in office. Soon after, voters elected Claude Pepper to fill Fletcher’s seat where he remained until 1950.<sup>60</sup> The 1934 senatorial election began as a formality for Senator Trammell, but quickly turned into a challenging campaign as Pepper’s support became evident. As both candidates worked to gain voter support and the race tightened, the campaign turned bitter and personal. The June 5 primary revealed just how close the race really was and highlighted the importance of voter fraud in Hillsborough County. On June 26, repeaters and corrupt election officials decided the nomination. The 1934 senatorial race also saw a shift in perceptions of the New Deal. Pepper’s campaign favoring Roosevelt’s actions gained instant popularity, which the incumbent had to match. With both candidates promoting the same national issues, the race tightened, and the voter fraud in Ybor City and West Tampa cost Claude Pepper the Democratic nomination and election to the senate. In 1934, illegal voting acted as the final voice of Florida in selecting a United State Senator.

58. Sollace Mitchell to Claude Pepper, 11 July 1934. Series 204A, Box 39A, Folder 9; Claude Denson Pepper, “Statement on V-E Day,” Series 432A, Box 3, Folder 10; Peter O. Knight to Claude Pepper, 29 June 1934. Series 204A, Box 4, Folder, 5. Claude Pepper Collection; Pepper, 49.

59. Claude Pepper to Fred M. Ivey, Tallahassee, 30 July 1934. Series 204A, Box 63, Folder 8. Claude Pepper Collection; Dunn, 223-224.

60. Pepper, 49.