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REPUBLICAN POLITICS IN LOUISIANA, 1877-1900

A Dissertation

**Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

in

The Department of History

by

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May, 1950

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ABSTRACT

The subject of this study is the Louisiana Republican Party in the post-Reconstruction period-- a period in which it is popularly believed no active Republican party existed. It is a story of party management, convention manipulation, election campaigns, and intra-party warfare as revealed mainly in the newspapers of the time and in the correspondence of party members and leaders.

The Republican party was formed in Louisiana in 1865. It was in control of the state government from 1868 until 1877. Immediately after its fall from power it was weak and disorganized but by 1879 it had rallied and was the main opposition party to the Democrats until 1892. In the period, 1877-1892, the Republicans put out a full ticket in every state election. Despite the machinations of a powerful political foe, the fact that it was held in contempt by many people in the state as the "Negro" party, and its own internal disputes, it polled 33 per cent of the total vote cast for governor between 1877 and 1892. It elected both white and colored parish officials and members of the state legislature through 1896.

An important factor in the survival of the Republican party in Louisiana after the debacle of 1877 was that it controlled the Federal patronage in the state

for all but eight years between 1877 and 1900. With this patronage Republicans were able to maintain a party organization and a party following. However, the number of positions was limited and the division of the spoils was the chief source of intra-party warfare.

Louisiana Republicans attended national party conventions and conducted campaigns in the state for the Republican presidential nominees but without success. However, they did elect four members to the national House of Representatives between 1877 and 1890.

In 1894, some sugar planters and business men severed their connections with the Democratic party because of the tariff issue and formed the "National Republican Party." The "Nationals" maintained a separate organization from the "Regular" Republicans because they were "respectable" and "lilywhite" and did not want to be identified with the "black and tans." In 1896 circumstances forced them to give up their separate status. Once they were absorbed into the "Regular" party they sought to seize control of the party machinery. This goal was achieved when President Theodore Roosevelt gave them control of the party patronage in the state. This action marked the demise of the party which had been formed in 1865 and marked the birth of the present day Republican party in Louisiana.

APRIL 24, 1877

It was 11:30 A. M. Tuesday, April 24, 1877. The Orleans Hotel, quarters for the federal troops stationed in New Orleans, was the scene of noisy activity. The streets neighboring the hotel were crowded with spectators. The command "fall in" was heard and the majestic drum major of the Third Infantry, followed by the band, appeared on the street. At 11:50 to the command "fours right" five companies marched down the stairway and halted behind the band. The officers, who had been strolling and chatting on the gallery covering the sidewalk, then took their positions and at precisely 12:00 noon the full voice of Colonel Brooks gave the command "forward march" and the troops marched out St. Louis Street to the levee and embarked on the transports for Jackson Barracks outside the city. One spectator gave the rebel yell.¹

In the St. Louis Hotel, the capitol of Louisiana, there was also a great deal of activity. Stephen B. Packard, whose claim to the governorship of the state had not been sustained by President Rutherford B. Hayes, was preparing his valedictory address to the state and nation, while the

¹ New Orleans Democrat, April 25, 1877.

Metropolitan Police were consigning state records to the flames of the furnace. Their task accomplished, they slipped out of the building in the early hours of Wednesday morning. Packard delivered his speech of farewell to a handful of followers and left the premises. When Francis T. Nicholls, who had been tacitly recognized as governor by the removal of the troops from the vicinity of the state house, and his official family moved into the building they found it in extreme disorder. On the walls were written such epithets as, "R. B. Hayes, the traitor of 1877," and "Rutherford Bastard Hayes;" in the chamber of the House of Representatives, the chairs were piled on top of the desks, the Speaker's chair was upset, and paper littered the floor. A damp unpleasant smell pervaded the place and "a stray rat or two ran across the lobby."²

These events marked the fall from power of the Republican party in Louisiana. Statewide celebrations followed: guns were fired, bells rang, and joy prevailed. Messages of congratulation came from all over the former Confederacy.³ Apparently, no one mourned except Packard and his Metropolitan Police. A few Negroes feared that these events foreshadowed the return of slavery. One

² Ibid., April 24, 1877.

³ Ibid., April 25, 26, 1877.

colored woman was resigned to accept her fate. She said, "It's a mighty hard thing for a woman who was born free, but now the Democrats got the government, I suppose I'll have to stand it."⁴

It is generally believed that the Republican party in Louisiana ceased to exist after April 24, 1877. True, it was demoralized, stunned, rent by factions and some of its membership despaired of its rising from the depths to which it had sunk.⁵ However, it was far from being extinct. Handicapped by its record and factionalism it did survive to act as an annoying if not efficient opposition to the Democratic party from 1877 through 1900.

⁴ Ibid., April 27, 28, 1877.

⁵ Donaldsonville Chief, April 28, 1877; July 21, 1877.

CHAPTER I

RISE AND FALL OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The antecedents of the Republican Party in Louisiana go back to the year 1863. In April of that year delegates from the Union clubs in New Orleans formed the "Free State General Committee of the Union Associations of the Parishes of New Orleans and Jefferson."¹ The leaders of this organization were Thomas J. Durant, president, James Graham, secretary, A. P. Dostie, Rufus Waples, Edmund H. Durrel, Rufus K. Howell, Ezra Heistand, William H. Hire, Benjamin F. Flanders and Michael Hahn.² They were all long term residents of Louisiana and of high standing in their professions. The last two had been elected to Congress in December, 1862 and had served until March, 1863. All were Union men who had braved the ostracism of their fellows to build up Union sentiment in New Orleans soon after it was occupied by Federal troops in May, 1862. They had called

¹ Appleton's American Annual Cyclopaedia (New York, 1862-1903), III (1863), 590; William Baker to Frank Morey, April 3, 1869, Record Group 56, General Records of the Department of the Treasury, Applications for Federal Appointment, Internal Revenue Department, National Archives. Hereafter cited as GRDT.

² Emily H. Reed, The Life of A. P. Dostie, or the Conflict in New Orleans (New York, 1868), 82.

meetings, made speeches and organized Union clubs.³ Their aim was to have civil government restored in the state as soon as possible. The Free State Committee was formed to devise a plan of restoration which would oppose that proposed by the proslavery Unionists who believed all that was necessary was the revival of the Louisiana Constitution of 1852.⁴ The Free State group were abolitionists and legalists who declared that the Constitution of 1852 could not be revived. A new organic law created by a convention representing the loyal people of the state was necessary.⁵ Their attitude on this question was not surprising since most of them were lawyers and their president was one of the eminent members of the Louisiana bar. Thomas J. Durant was born in Philadelphia in 1817 and had resided in New Orleans since he was 17 years old. He worked in the post-office, studied law and was admitted to practice. He entered politics and was elected to the state senate. President Polk appointed him United States District Attorney and he also served at one time as

³ George S. Denison to Salmon P. Chase, November 29, 1862, Salmon P. Chase Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Hereafter cited as Chase Papers. Denison was a Treasury Agent in New Orleans.

⁴ Michael Hahn to Abraham Lincoln, June 6, 1863, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Hereafter cited as Lincoln Papers. Willie M. Caskley, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana (University, Louisiana, 1938), 74-75.

⁵ Hahn to Lincoln, June 6, 1863, Lincoln Papers; Caskley, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, 77.

state attorney-general. He opposed secession and remained a Union man. General Benjamin F. Butler commander of the Federal occupation troops offered him the position of military governor of New Orleans but he refused. Soon after the occupation he freed his slaves.⁶ He had a passion for the law and his legalistic mind would not accept the theory that the status of Louisiana in the federal union had not been changed by secession and war.

The plan evolved by the Free State Committee, which was largely the work of Durant, provided for a registration in all parishes under Federal control of all white males twenty-one years of age who had lived in the state one year and in the parish one month who would take an oath to support the Constitution and government of the United States. When this registration had progressed to the point where such action would be truly representative, the military governor would call an election of delegates to a convention which would draw up a constitution abolishing slavery. The state would then be restored under the new instrument if ratified by the electorate.⁷ The plan was approved by the

⁶ James G. Wilson and John Fiske (eds.), Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography (New York, 1888-1900), II, 269; Henry C. Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction Stormy Days in Louisiana (New York, 1930), 43; New Orleans Tribune, December 31, 1864.

⁷ American Annual Cyclopaedia, III (1863), 590.

military governor, General George F. Shepley and President Lincoln.⁸ Durant was appointed Commissioner of Registration and Attorney General to implement it.⁹

The Conservative Unionists, as the proslavery group was now called, promoted an election in November, 1863 under the Constitution of 1852. This action was not sanctioned by Shepley or Lincoln and the Free State men called it "copperheadism and secession in disguise" and a "ridiculous farce."¹⁰ Thomas Cottman and A. P. Field claimed to have been elected to Congress by a few scattered votes in the parishes surrounding New Orleans and were temporarily seated in the House.¹¹

Meanwhile the registration inaugurated by Durant was lagging. This was not his fault. The army did not control enough territory to allow a representative registration. Only a few parishes surrounding New Orleans were nominally within the Federal lines. Lincoln was getting impatient. He wanted civil government functioning in Louisiana before the next meeting of Congress in December.¹² On November 5,

⁸ Lincoln to Nathaniel P. Banks, August 5, 1863, in John G. Nicolay and John Hay (eds.), Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Edition (New York, 1904), IX, 56.

⁹ Thomas J. Durant to Chase, November 6, 1863, Chase Papers.

¹⁰ Denison to Chase, November 6, 1863, Chase Papers.

¹¹ Caskey, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, 80-86

¹² American Annual Cyclopaedia, III (1863), 591.

1863, he wrote General Nathaniel P. Banks, Commander of the Department of the Gulf:

Three months ago today I wrote you about Louisiana affairs stating . . . that Mr. Durant was taking a registry of citizens preparatory to the election of a constitutional convention for that State. I sent a copy of the letter to Mr. Durant, and I now have his letter, written two months after . . . saying he is not taking such a registry; and he does not let me know that he personally is expecting to do so. . . . This disappoints me bitterly; yet I do not throw blame on you or on them.

I do however, urge both you and them to lose no more time.

Governor Shepley has special instructions from the War Department. I wish him--those gentlemen and others cooperating--without waiting for more territory, to go to work and give me a tangible nucleus which the remainder of the State may rally around as fast as it can, and which I can at once recognize and sustain as the true State government. And in that work I wish you and all under your command to give them a hearty sympathy and support.¹³

Banks asked the Free State Committee for a plan for immediate restoration of civil government but they quarreled and produced nothing.¹⁴ After waiting three weeks, the General with full authority from Lincoln, promulgated his own scheme on January 8, 1864. He based it on Lincoln's "ten per cent plan" which had been issued on December 8, 1863. There was to be an election of a governor and six other officers before the calling of a constitutional convention. The

¹³ Lincoln to Banks, November 5, 1863, Nicolay and Hay (eds.) Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, IX, 200-201.

¹⁴ B. Rush Plumly to Chase, March 5, 1864, Chase Papers. Plumly was a Treasury Agent in New Orleans.

electorate would have the same qualifications required under the Constitution of 1852 with the addition of the oath prescribed by Lincoln.¹⁵ On his own authority Banks was legalizing the Constitution of 1852, with the exception of the slavery clauses, which Durant and like-minded men believed to be null and void.¹⁶ Some of the members of the Free State Committee, notably Hahn and Dostie, wanted civil government restored as soon as possible with themselves in power and did not care to quibble over legal technicalities. As Hahn put it, they were not "disposed to quarrel over little questions about details which should be followed in the restoration of Louisiana."¹⁷ Adherents to this point of view joined forces with Banks, formed the Free State Party, and nominated Hahn to head their ticket in the coming election. The anti-Banks Free State wing led by Durant and Flanders nominated the latter for governor. During the campaign Hahn appealed to the white labor vote in New Orleans by drawing the color line.¹⁸ Thus, with the backing of the military

¹⁵ Caskey, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, 94-97.

¹⁶ Durant to Chase, January 16, 1864; John Hutchins to Chase, February 12, 1864, Chase Papers.

¹⁷ Hahn to S. A. Hurlbut, December 5, 1864, Lincoln Papers.

¹⁸ Roger W. Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana (University, Louisiana, 1939), 198-199.

authorities and the labor vote Hahn won the election.

Flanders polled 2,225 votes out of 11,355 cast.¹⁹

The Flanders faction dismissed the whole election as illegal and of no validity.²⁰ The victors retorted that if the results had been different there would have been no questions of legality raised. It was absurd for the Durant group to declare illegal an election in which they had participated. The Banks party had saved the state from the "copperheads."²¹

The Durant-Flanders faction went into opposition to the new regime and the new constitution which was adopted at a later date. They also opposed presidential reconstruction and became Radicals, advocating congressional reconstruction and universal suffrage.

This trend is shown in a letter written by Durant to Salmon P. Chase on the day after Hahn was inaugurated. He claimed that the Free State Committee plan had been sabotaged by Lincoln and Banks. The administration was making a grave mistake in trying to hurry civil reorganization at too rapid a rate. He believed that "Congress should assume control of the whole matter and fix on an immutable basis the civil and

¹⁹ Caskey, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, 107.

²⁰ Durant to Lincoln, February 26, 1864, Lincoln Papers.

²¹ Plumly to Chase, March 5, 1864, Chase Papers.

political status of the population of African descent before any state shall be readmitted into the Union." The government of Louisiana was in the hands of reactionaries who would fasten the principle of "epidermic prejudice" upon the people.²²

The organ of the Radicals was the New Orleans Tribune published by the Roudanez brothers who were free Negroes.²³ The Radical position is stated in the following quotation from that publication.

The history of Louisiana for the past year shows conclusively that the truly loyal men of the state have to expect from a reorganization under the auspices of the Executive and his martial law. We need not dwell upon the means employed to carry elections of the Executive officers of this state, nor upon the men selected for candidates; nor upon the organization of nominating ward meetings; nor upon the intimidation and other malpractices of the police officers. . . . Neither need we dilate upon the military sequence to this election--the election of delegates to form a new Constitution, nor upon these men or their measures; the costs of their brandy and per diems, its effects upon their members or the magnificent pens that figured so conspicuously in the proceedings. Suffice it for us to know that the Constitution was conceived in the fraudulent design of getting up a sham electoral ticket in Louisiana, carried through by military violence against the will of the people; and root in no lawful authority, being based on Executive usurpation, contrary to the expressed will of Congress, and framed by men who had no higher principle of action than hatred of their fellows of African descent. . . .

²² Durant to Chase, March 5, 1864, Chase Papers.

²³ Warrmeth, war, Politics and Reconstruction, 51.

²⁴ New Orleans Tribune, August 13, 1864.

Durant went north to establish personal contact with the Radical congressional leaders. While there he wrote an open letter to Henry Winter Davis which was published in the New York Evening Post on August 5, 1864, and given wide publicity in the northern press. He denied the legality of the existing state government in Louisiana. Statistics were submitted to prove that the population within the federal lines amounted to only 233,185 persons and that in parts of some of the parishes no poll could be held. Soldiers and sailors had cast ballots although they were disqualified as electors by the Constitution of 1852. Banks had used every instrument at his command to secure the election for Hahn.²⁵ Durant returned to New Orleans in October and spoke at a mass meeting in the Opera House on the 19th. He reported that the "friends of freedom" had opposed the reelection of Lincoln until the Democrats had published their platform but they were going to accept him as the lesser of two evils.²⁶

In 1865 the Louisiana Radicals with some free Negroes organized the "Friends of Universal Suffrage" to promote that cause. In June, they decided to transform this rather loose organization into an instrument for political action because significant events had occurred which changed the political

²⁵ New Orleans Tribune, August 20, 1864; Caskey, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, 111.

²⁶ New Orleans Tribune, October 20, 1864.

picture in the state and nation. The war had ended, Lincoln had been assassinated, President Andrew Johnson had issued his amnesty proclamation, and Governor J. Madison Wells (Hahn had been elected to the Senate and Wells as Lieutenant-Governor had assumed the governorship) had ordered a new state-wide registration. Between June 10 and August 10 the "Friends of Universal Suffrage" held frequent meetings.²⁷ A "Central Executive Committee of the Friends of Universal Suffrage of Louisiana" made up of white and colored representatives from four municipal districts in New Orleans was formed. A permanent organization was established with Durant, president; Anthony Fernandez, vice-president; Alfred Jerris, secretary; W. R. Crane, treasurer; and Henry C. Wernoth, corresponding secretary. The latter represented the carpetbagger element of ex-federal soldiers who had organized the National Republican Association in July and who now joined forces with native "Friends of Universal Suffrage."²⁸ They addressed a petition to Wells to include Negroes in the new registration. He refused.²⁹ John Covode,

²⁷ Proceedings of the Convention of the Republican Party of Louisiana, held at Economy Hall, New Orleans, September 25, 1865 and of the Central Executive Committee of the Friends of Universal Suffrage of Louisiana now the Central Executive Committee of the Republican Party of Louisiana (n. p., n. d.), 1-9.

²⁸ Caskey, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, 179.

²⁹ Proceedings of the Convention of the Republican Party . . ., 5-6.

a Pennsylvania Radical, addressed the group in June and urged them to fight for Negro suffrage and predicted that no representatives from Louisiana would be seated in Congress until the colored citizens were allowed to vote.³⁰ On August 10, 1865 the executive committee ordered a statewide election to be held on September 6, for delegates to a convention to meet in New Orleans.³¹

This convention which met from September 25 to 27 marks the official birth of the Republican party in Louisiana. There were 111 delegates representing the parishes of Orleans-Algiers, Ascension, Assumption, East Baton Rouge, East Feliciana, Iberville, Jefferson, Lafourche, St. Charles, Terrebonne and St. Mary. Durant was elected president, Flanders, vice-president; and William Vigers (colored), secretary.³²

After some debate the convention adopted the following resolution introduced by Bernard Soulie, one of the Negro delegates: "It is resolved, that in order to identify this organization with the great Republican party, we now adopt that appellation, and that all acts and resolutions of this convention be made in the name of the Republican Party

³⁰ Ibid., 3-4.

³¹ Ibid., 9.

³² Ibid., 13-14.

in Louisiana."³³

The platform adopted by the party stated that the Baltimore platform of June, 1864, of the national party would be their guide on national issues. As far as the restoration of the state to the Union was concerned they believed that the citizens of Louisiana by the act of secession were made incapable of exercising the privileges of citizens of the United States. These privileges could be restored only by joint action of the Congress and the President. It would be unwise to admit Louisiana to full status immediately because a large segment of its population was still disloyal. Local government should be established for the purpose of testing the fidelity of the citizens.

The Republicans also viewed with alarm the tendency to reduce the Negro to serfdom or semislavery. They reaffirmed the truths of the Declaration of Independence and adopted as the basis of their political organization universal suffrage with liberty and equality for all men before the law.³⁴

Since the convention did not recognize the existing constitution as legal, it was deemed inexpedient to put forward a ticket in the state election to be held in November.³⁵

³³Ibid., 15.

³⁴Ibid., 16-17.

³⁵Ibid., 22-25.

However, the convention declared that Louisiana was a territory and was entitled to a delegate in Congress. Durant was nominated by acclamation for the position but he refused to accept and Warmoth was selected.³⁶

A "voluntary" election in which Negroes participated was held on November 6 to ratify the convention's choice of a territorial delegate. Warmoth polled 18,840 votes in the ten parishes which participated.³⁷ He went to Washington with a certificate of election signed and sealed by the Louisiana Secretary of State. He was received by the Radicals in Congress and given the privileges of the floor of the House. The men elected to Congress in the regular state election were relegated to the galleries.³⁸

The state government in 1865 was controlled by ex-Confederate Democrats and old Free Staters calling themselves the National Conservative Unionists. Both groups favored the reconstruction policies of President Johnson. The Democrats because Johnson was granting pardons freely and because they felt that the President's attitude had saved the state from humiliation and disgrace, the Conservative Unionists because Johnson had recognized the state administration as legal.³⁹

³⁶ Ibid., 30.

³⁷ Ibid., 33.

³⁸ Warmoth, War, Reconstruction and Politics, 45.

³⁹ Caskey, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, 167-169; Warmoth, War, Reconstruction and Politics, 39-40; Cuthbert Bullitt to Andrew Johnson, April 7, 1866, Andrew Johnson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Hereafter cited as Johnson Papers.

The Republicans thought the President's policy was odious. The rebels were coming back into power as a result.

The entire legislature of the state and all of the offices are in the hands of men who are in their hearts hostile to the principles of liberty on which our government was founded.⁴⁰

This situation was not caused exclusively by Johnson's policy; the Conservative Unionists were equally to blame. They had adopted the plan of fraternizing with the ex-Confederates and Governor Wells had been very generous in appointing ex-rebels to office.⁴¹ As a result the Conservative Unionists found themselves in a minority. As a means of getting back their former supremacy they began to advocate negro suffrage (which they had opposed in the election of 1865) and the disfranchisement of the rebels.⁴² One of them made the statement that he was

. . . now in favor of negro suffrage--though I never expressed myself so before; or in favor of any kind of suffrage against the rebels. I never was a radical before. . . .⁴³

⁴⁰ Durant to Warmoth, January 20, 1866, Warmoth Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Hereafter cited as Warmoth Collection.

⁴¹ Walter M. Lowery, "The Political Career of James Madison Wells" (M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1948), 45-58, 62-65.

⁴² Ibid., 115-119.

⁴³ Report of the Select Committee on the New Orleans Riots, House of Representatives, 39th. Congress, 2nd. Session, No. 16 (Washington, 1867), 102 (Testimony).

Since the Conservative Unionists could not carry out their new objectives by legislative action they attempted to do so by reconvening the constitutional convention which had drawn up the Constitution of 1864. This move took place in July, 1866 and resulted in the famous "New Orleans Riots" which focused national attention on Louisiana politics and gave northern Radicals a point on which to attack Johnson's reconstruction policy. In their testimony before the House Committee which investigated the riots, the former Conservative Unionists denounced presidential reconstruction and advocated universal suffrage and a military government for Louisiana. They stated that the existing state government was in the hands of disloyal men and the truly loyal union man had no safety or protection.⁴⁴ These were all sentiments which the Republicans had been preaching since the party was founded. The Radical Congress elected in 1866 gave them what they wanted.

The New Orleans riots caused Durant to leave Louisiana never to return. On the day they took place he was a witness to the killing of Negroes by the police in the street in front of his office. He was warned that his life was in jeopardy although he and the Republicans had remained aloof from the movement to reconvene the convention.

⁴⁴ Ibid., passim.

On the advice of friends he left the state and eventually established permanent residence in Washington D. C. and resumed the practice of law. He died in 1882.⁴⁵ Henry C. Warmoth became the leader of the Republican party in Louisiana.⁴⁶

The conventionists headed by Rufus K. Howell later fused with the Warmoth group to form a united Republican party.⁴⁷ They began to build up the party in the parishes by sending out emissaries to form clubs and especially to enroll the Negroes. Under the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 universal suffrage was a requirement before a state could be admitted to the Union. The election of delegates for a constitutional convention was to be held in September, 1867 and the Republicans were putting forth every effort to capture the convention. They enrolled over fifty thousand freedmen in the Republican Loyal League.⁴⁸ The state organization of the Grand Army of the Republic, headed by Warmoth as Grand Commander did yeoman service.⁴⁹ Members

⁴⁵ Ibid., 8-9; Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, XI, 269.

⁴⁶ Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1946), XIX, 457-458.

⁴⁷ Durant to Warmoth, March 28, 1867, August 19, 1867, Warmoth Collection.

⁴⁸ Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana, 220.

⁴⁹ Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 51.

of the G. A. R. were appointed as "registrars" of voters in the parishes and saw to it that the Negroes were registered. They also established Republican clubs.⁵⁰ P. G. Deslonde, the colored organizer in Iberville parish, enrolled some 2000 Negroes in five clubs but could interest only three whites.⁵¹ William George, the "register" for Vermillion parish, reported that the Negroes were afraid to register because the whites had made "false representations" to them and that both the black and white Unionists were illiterate which hampered his work of organizing Republican clubs.⁵² All the organizers clamored for funds.⁵³ J. Hale Sypher went to the East to try to raise money from rich Northern Republicans but met with little success.⁵⁴

It was a Republican convention that met in November, 1867, to write a new constitution for Louisiana. Most of the Democrats had been disfranchised. There were ninety-eight delegates evenly divided according to race. The committee appointed to draw up the constitution was composed of five whites and four Negroes. They divided by race and turned in

⁵⁰ Isaac Levi to Warmoth, February 15, 1868, Warmoth Collection.

⁵¹ P. G. Deslonde to Warmoth, September 18, 1867, Warmoth Collection.

⁵² William George to Warmoth, May 6, 1867, Warmoth Collection.

⁵³ C. W. Lowell to Warmoth, March 31, 1868, Warmoth Collection.

⁵⁴ J. Hale Sypher to Warmoth, August 24, 1867, Warmoth Collection.

different reports.⁵⁵ After three months of argument and compromise the constitution as finally adopted represented the desires of the white members of the convention.⁵⁶ What concessions there were in it for the Negroes were incorporated to bring it in line with prevailing Northern Republican sentiment and to secure the Negro vote which was larger than that of the whites. The Negroes could vote and hold office; all public places and conveyances were opened to them as well as the state university in New Orleans. Representation in the legislature was based on total population and not on the number of voters. A strong executive was provided. Article 99 required that all ex-Confederates acknowledge that the Civil War had been morally and politically wrong before they could register as voters.⁵⁷ All these provisions were designed to seat the Republicans firmly in the political saddle.

The constitution was to be ratified in April, 1868, and at the same time the state officers were to be elected. To prepare for this event the members of the convention in

⁵⁵ Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana, 221.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Louisiana Constitution of 1868 in Report of the Secretary of State to his Excellency W. W. Heard Governor of the State of Louisiana (Baton Rouge, 1902), 139-166.

January organized themselves into a nominating convention of the Republican party.⁵⁸ It split into two factions with much sound and fury. The "Pure Radicals" demanded that the gubernatorial candidate be a Negro in the person of Major Francis E. Dumas. The "Compromising Republicans" believed such a move would be impolitic and nominated Warmoth to head the ticket. He was made the party choice by a vote of 45 to 43.⁵⁹ The "Pure Radicals" withdrew from the convention and put out a ticket headed by James G. Taliaferro, a native white Louisianian.⁶⁰ The splinter movement was headed by the publishers of the Tribune and in retaliation the regular Republican executive committee established the New Orleans Republican as the official party organ.

The Democrats did not put forward a ticket but they were not quiescent during the campaign. Republican canvassers and Negro voters were intimidated. Some disfranchised men ran for local office and bought the Negro vote.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 54-55.

⁵⁹ Ibid. The other candidates were: Lieutenant Governor, Oscar J. Dunn (Negro); Treasurer, Antoine Dubuclet (Negro); Secretary of State, George E. Bovee; Auditor, George M. Wickliffe; Attorney General, Simon Belden; Superintendent of Education, Thomas W. Conway.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 56; Thomas W. Conway to Warmoth, February 15, 1868, Warmoth Collection.

⁶¹ Warmoth received many letters before and after the campaign referring to Democratic activities of this nature. See folder 33 in Warmoth Collection.

The election resulted in the constitution being ratified and in the success of the Warmoth ticket. Louisiana was readmitted to the Union on June 25, 1868 and on July 12, Warmoth was inaugurated.

The Republican party controlled the state for nine years. The government was despotic. The governor was given powers which enabled him to control elections, the legislature, and the courts. When the Metropolitan Police, the strong arm of the executive, were not equal to suppressing opposition to the regime the Federal troops were available.

Being without effective opposition from without the party in the first years of supremacy, the Republicans were free to engage in factional politics. The leaders were ambitious men anxious to make their marks in the new post-war society being born. Political power was a means to that end. Which group was to control all the state and federal patronage and thus rule supreme was the issue which split the party. This led to the Warmoth or "State House" faction being opposed by the "Custom House" faction led by Stephen B. Packard the United States Marshal. The Congressional Amnesty Act and the repeal of Article 99 of the Louisiana constitution in 1872 allowed the ex-Confederates to resume political activity and in that year they formed a coalition with Warmoth's Liberal Republican movement to support a joint ticket headed by John McEnery. The "Regular Republican" ticket

was headed by William P. Kellogg, a carpetbagger who had been appointed Collector of the Port by Lincoln and who had been elected United States Senator in 1868.

Both sides claimed victory in the election and inaugurated governments in January, 1873. The result was chaotic administration, clashes between Kellogg and anti-Kellogg forces (calling themselves Conservatives) in various parts of the state and general political confusion. On September 14, 1874 the White League in New Orleans, supporting the McKenry government, staged a coup d'etat and forced Kellogg to take refuge in the Custom House, from whence he sent appeals to President Grant to authorize the federal troops to disperse the rebels. The necessary orders came from Washington and the League, not wanting to come into conflict with national authority, retired from the field. The November elections for Congressmen and state legislators resulted in another dispute. The Conservatives claimed a majority in the legislature but Federal troops intervened and seated a Republican majority. An uneasy truce was arranged by the Wheeler Compromise which recognized Kellogg as the legal governor of the state and seated sixty-three Conservatives and forty-seven Republicans in the House, and twenty-seven Republicans and nine Conservatives in the Senate of Louisiana. Both sides began to marshal their forces for the coming election of 1876.

In spite of the political turmoil, the Republican legislatures met and passed laws. A survey of this legislation reveals that the bulk of it was political and economic. The lawmakers were most zealous in passing laws to maintain the party in power. They did not hesitate to grant "imperial powers" to the governor and to take care of themselves and their party henchmen. Railway and internal improvement companies were chartered and the credit of the state pledged to either start them off or support them. In accordance with the spirit of the times, most if not all of these transactions were tinged with bribery and fraud. No race, class or party could claim clean hands.

. . . politicians bribed legislators for party and parish favors, and business men and corporations bribed the politicians for economic privileges.⁶²

The repair and upkeep of the levees, of vital importance to the river parishes, was the responsibility of a private company which milked the state of thousands of dollars and did not do the work efficiently or adequately.⁶³

The legislature was very generous in its appropriations for the public schools which were open to both races.

⁶² Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana, 226.

⁶³ C. Nordhoff, The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875 (New York, 1876), 58-59. Hereafter cited as The Cotton States.

But the educational system was the victim of race prejudice, inefficiency, and factional politics.⁶⁴

The legislature also appropriated money to contribute to the support of the New Orleans Charity Hospital and private welfare agencies but it did not expand social services or initiate any social legislation.⁶⁵

By 1875 the public debt was over fifty million dollars and the tax rate had increased from 37½¢ on \$100.00 in 1866 to \$1.45 in 1874.⁶⁶ These heavy demands came at a time when the state was in the depression following the panic of 1873 which retarded post-war recovery. This fiscal policy which produced no tangible benefits for the state caused the property owners who bore the main tax burden to join the opposition to the regime even though they were in sympathy with the economic policies of the national Republican party.⁶⁷ The Conservative party swelled its ranks in the campaign of 1876 by playing up the charges of extravagance and corruption against the Republicans. Because of racial pride those who were "poor and white" also turned against the regime. They resented the Negroes holding office

⁶⁴ Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana, 226.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 228; Nordhoff, The Cotton States, 57.

⁶⁷ Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana, 228.

and getting petty graft while they were left out in the cold.⁶⁸

The nominating convention of the Republican party was held in April, 1876. The Warmoth-Pinchback⁶⁹ faction contested with the Packard-Kellogg group for control of the meeting. Since both were about equally represented in the convention a great deal of political maneuvering went on to influence independent delegates. Bribery was rife. Five days elapsed before the delegates could get down to the business at hand. Packard and Warmoth were placed in nomination for governor. On the first ballot Packard led Warmoth by a narrow margin. The second ballot produced the same results and then Warmoth withdrew his name to promote party harmony.⁷⁰ Unity was essential to success. The party leaders knew the conservatives were doing their utmost to "redeem" the state in 1876. They had a strong candidate in Francis T. Nicholls, a Confederate hero and an influential planter with moderate views on the Negro question. A divided Republican party would mean disaster.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 229.

⁶⁹ Pinckney B. S. Pinchback was a Negro leader who was elected president pro-tempore of the Louisiana Senate following the death of Lt. Gov. Dunn and who served as acting governor of the state while Warmoth was suspended from office in 1872-1873.

⁷⁰ Ella Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana After 1868 (New York, 1918), 406.

The Republican state campaign committee worked assiduously in the cause. The parish committees were urged to organize ward clubs, raise funds, hold frequent meetings and do all in their power to bring out a full vote.⁷¹ In northwest Louisiana they recruited George Williamson, Alex Bowman, and Albert H. Leonard, former members of the White League, in order to insure a fair election and a full vote in that section of the state.⁷² Party speakers plied the waterways in campaign steamers holding political rallies which were followed by torch light parades and barbecues.⁷³

The Conservative-Democrats assiduously courted the Negroes, organizing them into clubs, promising them jobs, and assuring them that their rights would be respected. These activities worried the Republicans, who castigated the Negro Democrat as a traitor to his race and asserted that a Democratic regime meant the end of freedom.⁷⁴ To offset the charges of extravagance and corruption leveled at them by the Conservatives, the Republicans asked whether the Democrats had done any better when they had the power. Was it

⁷¹ Minute Book of the Republican Central Club of Natchitoches, Louisiana, J. P. Breda and Family Papers, Louisiana State University Archives, Baton Rouge. Hereafter cited as Breda Papers.

⁷² Donaldsonville Chief, September 16, 1876.

⁷³ Id., November 4, 1876.

⁷⁴ Id., September 9, 30, October 7, 28, 1876.

not the Democratic legislature of 1866-1867 that had enacted a black code and added several millions to the state debt? Did not the Democrats in the legislature of 1868-69 vote and steal corruptly with Republican accomplices? Did not the Democrats in 1872 accept all they had previously sworn to oppose by supporting a Republican platform and following the lead of Horace Greeley and Weymouth?⁷⁵ Nicholls was just a front for the Bourbon boodlers and the New Orleans Tammany Schemers. He was the nominal head of the party but the corruptionists were running the campaign.⁷⁶

The Republicans realized that this was a death struggle for them and sought aid from national headquarters. Kellogg asked for a "few thousand dollars" to distribute eight or ten days before the election. A few men sent out at the proper time to certain parishes might mean the difference between success and defeat.⁷⁷ The administration was warned that federal troops would be needed to protect the voters at the polls.⁷⁸ The state administration through

⁷⁵ Ibid., September 9, 1876.

⁷⁶ Ibid., September 23, 1876.

⁷⁷ William P. Kellogg to R. C. McCormick, October 16, 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes Papers (Microfilm), Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Hereafter cited as Hayes Papers.

⁷⁸ Ibid.; J. R. Vest to U. S. Grant, October 3, 1876, Record Group 60, General Records of the Department of Justice, Appointment Papers, Louisiana, National Archives. Hereafter cited as GRDJ. John R. G. Pitkin to President (Grant), October 17, 1876, GRDJ, Source Chronological Files, President.

various subterfuges tried to keep as many Democrats as possible off the registration rolls.⁷⁹ Violence broke out in several parts of the state during the campaign, but except in Ouachita and Concordia election day passed off quietly.⁸⁰

The Conservatives refused to accept the results of the election as announced by the Returning Board. This body stated that Packard was governor, the Legislature Republican, four Congressmen were Republican, and that the electoral vote of Louisiana should be cast for Hayes. It was not denied that the Conservatives received a majority of the votes cast but many of the votes were tainted with fraud and could not be legally counted.⁸¹

On January 1, 1877, the Conservative members-elect of the Senate and House of Representatives appeared at the door of the State House in New Orleans, accompanied by some contestants and claimants, and Louis Bush, acting as spokesman for the group, demanded that all be allowed to enter. The guard replied that no one would be permitted to enter except those holding certificates of election from the Secretary of State. Bush then read a formal protest and led

⁷⁹ Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 426-430.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 431-437.

⁸¹ Donaldsonville Chief, December 9, 1876.

his group to St. Patrick's Hall where they proceeded to organize a legislature. On the same day the Republican legislators-elect also organized at the State House. Both legislatures were in session daily after they were organized.⁸² On January 8, 1877, Packard and Nicholls were inaugurated. Crowds swarmed the streets but there was no public disturbance. On January 10, about 4000 men designated by Nicholls as state militia assembled at Lafayette Square and passed in review before him. Then they proceeded to take possession of the supreme court building, the police stations, and other public buildings except the State House, which was placed in a state of siege. An order from Washington directed the federal troops to disperse the besiegers and they withdrew. No blow was struck, no shot was fired. The State House, where Packard and his official family remained day and night, was guarded by the Metropolitan Police.⁸³

Both governments began functioning although neither legislature had a full quorum in both houses. Packard was appealing to Washington for help but was not getting any. Pinchback, piqued at not being elected senator by the Packard legislature, transferred his allegiance to Nicholls and was working on some Negro senators to join the Conservative

⁸² Ibid., January 6, 1877.

⁸³ Ibid., January 13, 1877.

legislature to give that body a quorum.⁸⁴ William E. Chandler, of the Republican National Committee, telegraphed Kellogg to act with more courage and that he and Packard could not die a "better death than resisting rebels and revolutionists."⁸⁵ He also wired Pinchback to "Rise above selfish considerations and fight for the Republican party or you will regret it to the last days of your life."⁸⁶ Packard was told to "call for federal assistance which cannot be refused. The Gods help those who help themselves."⁸⁷ Packard replied that his calls for aid had not been answered, and that he had "one musket where the White League has 100."⁸⁸ Then on the sixteenth the Secretary of War wired General Augur that the President would not recognize either government but wanted the "status quo" maintained.⁸⁹ Grant was

⁸⁴ Ibid., January 20, 1877.

⁸⁵ William E. Chandler to Kellogg, January 13, 1877 (copy of telegram), William E. Chandler Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Hereafter cited as Chandler Papers.

⁸⁶ Chandler to F. B. S. Pinchback, January 13, 1877 (copy of telegram), Chandler Papers.

⁸⁷ Chandler to S. B. Packard, January 13, 1877 (copy of telegram), Chandler Papers.

⁸⁸ Packard to Chandler, January 14, 1877 (telegram), Chandler Papers.

⁸⁹ Secretary of War to General Augur, January 16, 1877 (telegram), GRDJ, Source Chronological Files, President.

passing the problem on to his successor.

Maintaining the status quo until the inauguration of a new president meant a long period of confusion and uncertainty in Louisiana. Parish business was at a standstill. Taxes could not be collected, because the people did not know to whom to pay them. Business declined. Courts could not function in some parishes because the judges refused to allow lawyers to appear who would not pay the Packard license fee. Some lawyers refused to attend a court presided over by a Packard judge.⁹⁰

In March the Electoral Commission reached its decision and Hayes was inaugurated. Then pressure from both sides was exerted on the President for recognition. Hayes put off his decision until Wayne MacVeagh reported to him after investigation that the majority of the people in the state including most Republicans regarded the Nicholls government as the legal one, that Nicholls had pledged that he would be a non-partisan governor, that rights of all would be respected, and that there would be no political reprisals.⁹¹ MacVeagh had also arranged for a

⁹⁰ O. H. Foreman to Packard, January 16, 1877, William F. Kellogg Papers, Louisiana State University Archives; New Orleans Democrat, March 13, 1877.

⁹¹ Donaldsonville Chief, March 3, 1877; New Orleans Democrat, March 15; March 18, 1877; James Longstreet to B. Alford, March 22, 1877, GRDT, Collector of Port Applications; F. T. Nicholls to Wayne MacVeagh et. als., April 18, 1877, GRDJ, Source Chronological Files, President.

fair distribution of seats in the legislature between the two parties.⁹² On April 24, 1877 the troops were removed from the vicinity of the State House and the Packard government collapsed, many of his legislators having already deserted to Nicholls, the Louisiana Lottery having made it worth their while to do so.⁹³

⁹² Garnie W. McGinty, A History of Louisiana (New York, 1949), 227.

⁹³ Gilbert L. Dupre, Political Reminiscences 1876-1902 (N.P.N.D.), 32.

CHAPTER II

THE AFTERMATH OF 1876

After the battle of 1876-77, the Republican party in Louisiana was no longer in control of the state but it had not been completely swept out of the political arena. Kellogg elected by the Packard legislature represented Louisiana in the United States Senate. The seat was contested by Henry N. Spofford who had been elected by the Nicholls legislature but Kellogg won the contest. John E. Leonard, Republican, represented the fifth district in the national House of Representatives until his death in March, 1878.¹ All of the federal positions in Louisiana were held by members of the party. There were sixteen Republican senators and thirty-nine Republican representatives in the state legislature who served on all the important committees of that body.² There were Republicans elected in 1876 serving in parish and municipal offices throughout the state. Governor Nicholls also appointed Republicans to some

¹ Donaldsonville Chief, March 23, 1878.

² See Appendixes E, F; New Orleans Democrat, May 6, 1877; Donaldsonville Chief, January 19, 1878.

appointive positions. For example, Pinchback was made a member of the State Board of Education in September, 1877.³

No general exodus of party members took place after the party's fall from power. The same elements that had made up its membership in its day of supremacy--carpet-beggars, scalawags, and Negroes--were still very much in evidence. The party organization was a shambles. The ward clubs, and the parish and district committees were either disbanded or inactive. The membership of the State Central Executive Committee which comprised the party leadership was at loggerheads. Political alliances to get control of the federal patronage and revive the party were formed and discarded overnight. The confusion of the leaders was spread among the rank and file.⁴

The Negroes were disaffected. They placed the blame for their "present dependent condition" on the white Republicans who had betrayed them and led them astray, while "protesting to love us better than we love ourselves."⁵

³ New Orleans Weekly Louisianian, September 29, 1877.

⁴ Donaldsonville Chief, April 28, 1877; Weekly Louisianian, September 29, 1877; Henry C. Dibble to Warmoth, July 15, 1878, Warmoth Collection.

⁵ Weekly Louisianian, October 6, 1877; September 29, 1877.

The leaders were dissatisfied with the division of the federal "loaves and fishes" under the new dispensation.⁶ The colored laborers and field hands were restless and a vague movement began to start a colony of Louisiana Negroes in Liberia, but it was ridiculed by Democrats and Republicans as being economically unsound for the Negro and the state.⁷ Nothing came of this particular movement but the Negroes continued to be uneasy and in 1879-1880 some of them did move to Kansas.

When the party was in power there was an official Republican newspaper in practically every parish "supported by the people's money taken from the public treasury for ostensible public printing."⁸ This lucrative source of revenue was cut off when the party lost control of the state and by May, 1877, it was reported that only five Republican papers were still in existence.⁹ The New Orleans Republican, the official party organ, was one of the earliest casualties because it could not maintain itself on circulation and advertising revenue. The general odium in which the party was

⁶ Pinchback to Hayes, January 29, 1877, Hayes Papers.

⁷ Weekly Louisianian, October 6, 1877; Donaldsonville Chief, October 27, 1877.

⁸ Weekly Louisianian, October 20, 1877.

⁹ New Orleans Democrat, May 8, 1877.

held attached itself to the party press. Business men who advertised in the Republican were boycotted by their customers. The Negroes as a group had no businesses to advertise, and their immediate interests did not depend upon their being informed on current events.¹⁰ Many of the Republican papers which did not fold up became "independent."¹¹ Two papers which remained true to the party were the Weekly Louisianian published by Pinchback¹² and the Donaldsonville Chief published by Linden E. Bentley.¹³ The Louisianian reflected Pinchback's brand of Republicanism and the Chief reflected the conservative views of the sugar planters of the third congressional district.

Despair over the state of the party was reflected in the Weekly Louisianian when it declared,

In nearly every Southern state the Republican Committees have disbanded, and any attempt to reorganize the Republican party therein, would be the height of folly.¹⁴

¹⁰ W. R. Fish to John Sherman, March 22, 1878, John Sherman Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Hereafter cited as Sherman Papers. Fish was the editor of the Republican.

¹¹ Donaldsonville Chief, May 5, 1877.

¹² Weekly Louisianian, January 22, 1876.

¹³ Donaldsonville Chief, September 16, 1871.

¹⁴ Weekly Louisianian, October 13, 1877.

Not everyone took such a pessimistic view. The party could be revived but only on certain conditions. The Chief was of this opinion. It stated,

. . . the Republican Party of Louisiana is totally demoralized and disrupted, with little hope of resurrection after possible regeneration, and none whatever under its former organization and management.¹⁵

By the "former management" was meant the leaders who had led the party to its downfall--chiefly carpetbaggers. Therefore, the only hope was to entrust the "regeneration" to those who had not participated directly in the Radical misrule. Scalawags who had been "Old Line Whigs" put themselves forward as qualified to carry out the task. They had joined the Republican party after the war because they believed it to be the "legitimate offspring" of the Whig party since it supported internal improvements and the tariff. They were the conservative element in the Conservative-Democratic coalition which had overthrown the Radicals. This was a marriage of convenience and now that their task had been accomplished they did not want to keep up the alliance or join the party they had fought for so long before the war. Put in charge of rebuilding the party, they would sweep the carpetbaggers into the background and the wealth and intelligence of the state would join their ranks.

¹⁵ Donaldsonville Chief, July 21, 1877.

They could keep the Negroes faithful because the freedmen still respected their former masters and would be guided by them in political matters.¹⁶ Such was the reasoning of the Whigs. However, the "former management" could not be easily relegated to the background. They had their connections in the national party and their claims on the national administration.

No group desirous of rebuilding the party could hope to accomplish anything without being given the federal patronage in the state. This was the only means left to get party workers. To get this patronage the group would have to be recognized as the party by the Hayes administration. This would be indicated when the President appointed a Collector of the Port of New Orleans. Consequently, each faction had its favorite candidate for the post. The administration was swamped with letters, telegrams, and delegations from Louisiana urging the appointment of various individuals who, according to their sponsors, were the only ones who could rebuild the party and sustain Hayes' "southern policy."¹⁷ In trying to make up his mind, it was said that

¹⁶ W. J. Q. Baker, John Ray, John E. King, Thomas C. Anderson, James Forsythe to Hayes, April 21, 1877; John Ray, Elbert Gantt, Louis Desmarais to Hayes, April 22, 1877, Hayes Papers.

¹⁷ New Orleans Democrat, April 27-May 31, 1877 passim; New Orleans Weekly Democrat, January 19, 1878; Wells to President (Hayes) May 7, 1877 GRDJ, Appt. Papers, Louisiana; Warmoth to Sherman, November 12, 1877; Anderson to Sherman, January 12, 1878, Sherman Papers; Stanley Matthews to Warmoth, February 14, 1878, Warmoth Collection; Pinchback to Charles E. Nash, March 9, 1878, GRDJ, Appt. Papers, Louisiana.

Hayes played fast and loose with John Sherman and the Returning Board, loose with Schurz and Wadsworth, and fast and loose with Packard and Kellogg. . . .¹⁸

Finally, in May, 1878, the Senate confirmed George L. Smith, ex-Congressman from Cadde, and left the factions to fight it out among themselves as to who would control him and the patronage.¹⁹

While the intrafactional fight was going on the Democrats were exerting every effort to keep the Republicans divided and if possible extinguish the party before the November, 1878, elections. They tried to force the Republicans still holding local offices out of their jobs on various pretexts. They accused former Republican parochial and school board officials of embezzling public funds.²⁰ Their major attack took the form of an indictment of the Returning Board members, J. Madison Wells, Thomas C. Anderson, Cadane Casenave, and Louis M. Kenner, on the charge that they

. . . did falsely and feloniously utter and publish as true, a certain altered, false, forged and counterfeited public record; to wit; the Returns from the Parish of Vernon of an election held for Presidential electors

¹⁸ New Orleans Democrat, January 19, 1878.

¹⁹ Donaldsonville Chief, May 4, 1878.

²⁰ New Orleans Democrat, June 9; July 6, 1877; Donaldsonville Chief, 1877, passim.



in the State of Louisiana, on the 7th
day of November A. D. 1876.²¹

National attention was focused on the subsequent trial and conviction of Anderson in Superior Criminal Court of Orleans Parish.²² Republicans everywhere accused the Bourbon Democrats of persecuting the Returning Board for past political actions which was a violation of the agreement made at the time Nicholls was recognized by the administration as the legal governor of the state.²³ Louisiana conservatives held the same views and Nicholls would have pardoned Anderson if the state Supreme Court had not reversed the decision of the parish court.²⁴ It was believed that

The Bourbonistic element of the Democratic party is preparing for an onslaught upon the Nicholls administration, with a view to success in the fall election, and this Anderson decision is counted upon to furnish a considerable amount of campaign thunder.²⁵

The Democrats were also working on the Negroes. In some sections of the state they were assiduously courted

²¹ Copy of Indictment, ORDJ, Source Chronological Files, East Louisiana.

²² T. Wharton Collins Jr. (Reporter), Full Proceedings of the Trial of Thomas C. Anderson (New Orleans, 1878).

²³ Sherman to President (Hayes) February 8, 1878; March 8, 1878, Sherman Papers.

²⁴ W. S. Hancock to W. T. Sherman, February 14, 1878, Hayes Papers; Donaldsonville Chief, March 23, 1878.

²⁵ Donaldsonville Chief, April 6, 1878.

and invited to vote Democratic to complete the great work of reform begun in 1876. As one newspaper editor put it,

We hope the colored people will turn out and register and vote when the time comes. We are having a fight with corruption, and want them to help establish good government.²⁶

In Natchitoches, Tensas, East Feliciana, Caddo, and St. Mary violence and intimidation were used. Negroes and whites were murdered, Republican leaders were run out of the parish or forced to support the Democratic ticket.²⁷

Where they could do so the Republicans organized on the parish level to put up candidates for parochial offices and legislative seats. In some cases they made arrangements with the local Democracy to share the posts.²⁸ Some leaders tried to patch up the central party organization into some semblance of a united front. In July, Henry Dibble reported to Warmoth on the situation. The state central committee was enlarged to include fifty prominent Republicans from the state at large. At a special meeting of those members resident in New Orleans, the "Returning

²⁶ Ibid., July 20, 1878 quoting Colfax Chronicle.

²⁷ The following give eye witness accounts. Mrs. J. Ernest Breda to Jack Wharton, September 30, 1878 (copy) GRDJ, Source Chronological Files, East Louisiana; Alfred Fairfax to Hayes, n. d., GRDJ, Source Chronological Files, President; Anon. to Wharton, October 5, 1878, GRDJ, Source Chronological Files, East Louisiana.

²⁸ Dibble to Warmoth, July 15, 1878, Warmoth Collection; New Orleans Democrat, November 2, 1878.

Boarders" maneuvered to get the party on record as favoring a constitutional convention. Those who opposed this move believed that the existing constitution of the state was more favorable to Republicans than any that could be devised. All the committee members could agree on was to call a meeting of the full committee on August 15th. Dibble was optimistic. He reported, "We have no notion of disbanding the party but will use every exertion to prevent a dissolution."²⁹

At the August meeting presided over by Andrew J. Dumont (colored) the central committee issued a call for an election of delegates to meet in convention on September 22nd.³⁰ The situation did not improve in the interim. Jack Wharton, United States Marshal, complained to Warmoth that "politics was going to the Devil." It was all the fault of the Returning Board who forced Collector Smith to distribute the patronage in their favor. Candidates sponsored by that infamous crew had no chance of success. The federal officials were not paying their campaign assessments. The \$30,000 appropriated by Congress to repair the United States Court Room in the Custom House was being handled by the "architect who knows nothing about things here & hence the chance to get good men to work & at the same time men of influence in their

²⁹ Dibble to Warmoth, July 31, 1878, Warmoth Collection.

³⁰ Marguerite T. Leach, "Aftermath of Reconstruction in Louisiana" (M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1933), 22.

sections is lost." If the Returning Board would stand aside and let Wharton and Smith take charge of the campaign they could "make combinations that would win all over the state & give us a mixed legislature & a Republican Senator & several members of Congress."³¹

The rank and file were apathetic to the election of delegates to the state party convention. According to the Chief, the reason for this was that Republicans viewed with indifference the reorganization of the party under the old leaders

. . . who brought it into disrepute and hastened its downfall. They might feel more concern in the movement if it was being engineered by men with clean hands and honorable reputations; but if the same old crowd of corruptionists and brainless demagogues are to rule the roost in the heralded new dispensation, they must not expect the cooperation of the honest Republican masses. . . .³²

The state convention met in September and adjourned for want of a quorum. The official excuse for this was that the yellow fever epidemic kept the delegates away.³³ With the party not able to organize and make nominations, each faction was free to do as it pleased. Many Republicans went over to the National Party, a hybrid organization made

³¹ Wharton to Wernoth, August 27, 1878, Wernoth Collection.

³² Donaldsonville Chief, August 31, 1878.

³³ Leach, "Aftermath of Reconstruction in Louisiana," 24.

up of all elements opposed to the Bourbon Democrats. Besides Republicans it contained Greenbackers, Native-Americans, and "soreheaded" Democrats.³⁴ The Bourbons said that the National administration approved of Republicans joining this party so that the coalition could win the election and vindicate the Returning Board and sustain Hayes' title.

It matters little to Mr. Hayes and John Sherman if three or four inflationists or communists are sent to Congress from this state, provided these inflationists are identified with the Returning Board and elected by the opposition to the Democratic party.³⁵

The Returning Board Republicans became the dominant element in the National Party. Their congressional candidates were men intimately connected with the Board. Henry C.

Castellanos and E. North Cullom, candidates in the first and second congressional districts respectively, were the attorneys who had defended Anderson when he was tried. Two Board members, Wells and Anderson, were candidates in the sixth and fourth districts. The candidate in the fifth district was John T. Ludeling who had been chief justice of the state supreme court under Warmoth and Kellogg.³⁶

Only in the third district did the Returning Board meet organized resistance from Republicans. Their candidate

³⁴ New Orleans Democrat, October 26, 1878.

³⁵ Ibid., September 21, 1878.

³⁶ Ibid.

for Congress in that district was Robert O. Hebert, a Custom House employee and the son of ex-Governor Paul O. Hebert. The candidate of the antis was W. B. Merchant.³⁷ Thus Republican strength was divided in a district that was Republican if given a fair vote and an honest count. Morris Marks, Collector of Internal Revenue, tried to conciliate the factions but with no success.³⁸

The fact that many anti-Bourbon Democrats were joining the National Party worried the Democratic press of New Orleans. They did their best to discredit the Nationalists and their motives. The New Orleans Democrat ran an expose of the "Red Warrior" organization which was said to be the secret strong arm group of the National Party. The aim of the organization was to carry the election at all costs by killing opposition leaders, and by intimidating voters prior to the election and on election day.³⁹ What happened to this organization after it was "exposed" is shrouded in mystery.

³⁷ Unidentified newspaper clipping dated October 12, 1878, gives an account of a convention at Bayou Goula, Louisiana which nominated Hebert in Sherman Papers; W. B. Merchant to Sherman, November 1, 1878 (telegram), Sherman Papers.

³⁸ Morris Marks to Hayes, December 10, 1878, Hayes Papers.

³⁹ New Orleans Democrat, October 21-26, 1878; Leach, "Aftermath of Reconstruction in Louisiana," 25.

The Democrats won an overwhelming victory. They carried every Congressional district and elected the state treasurer. The Republicans were left with eleven senators (hold-overs) and nineteen representatives in the legislature.⁴⁰ The New Orleans Democrat admitted that the "immense majorities, the unanimous Democratic vote given by the parishes of North Louisiana are confusing--almost incomprehensible."⁴¹ But "Never has such a political revolution been known. The Red River country is nearly unanimously Democratic, while the Fifth District, lately Republican will show a Democratic majority of at least 7000."⁴² The victors explained their triumph by saying that the Returning Board candidates were obnoxious even to Republicans and that the Negroes had voted Democratic in large numbers. The colored man was getting justice in the courts, more schools, and better teachers under Nicholls and did not want to go back to the days of Warmoth and Kellogg.⁴³

The Republicans had another explanation for the immense Democratic majorities in north Louisiana. They began to cry fraud, bulldozing, and intimidation and finally they

⁴⁰ See Appendixes E and F.

⁴¹ New Orleans Democrat, November 9, 1878.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., November 23, 1878.

were heard in the halls of Congress. James G. Blaine sponsored a Senate investigating committee--the Teller Committee--to investigate the election.⁴⁴ Witnesses before this committee described frightful deeds that had been perpetrated during the campaign. The report of the Committee did not keep the Democratic Congressmen elected in 1878 from being seated, however. At the same time the Committee was holding its sessions United States District Attorney for Louisiana, Albert E. Leonard, got a federal grand jury to indict 120 men from New Orleans, Natchitoches, Caddo and Tensas for various offenses against the election laws. Those so charged were the Democratic leaders of their respective parishes. They were brought to New Orleans and waited around for weeks while Leonard prepared a case for trial. Needless to say the Democrats raised the issue of political persecution. The Natchitoches prisoners were tried and acquitted. The jury failed to agree in the Caddo case. The whole affair was a fiasco and all the indictments were eventually nolle prossed.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Otis A. Singletary, "The Reassertion of White Supremacy in Louisiana" (M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1949), 14-58.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 59-65; Newton C. Blanchard to John R. Ficklen, February 9, 1903, Ficklen Collection, Louisiana State University Archives. Blanchard was one of the Caddo prisoners and he wrote Professor Ficklen of his experiences; A. H. Leonard to Charles Devens, December 25, 1878, February 8, 17, 1879; GRDJ, Source Chronological Files, East Louisiana.

Meanwhile, the Republican factions were accusing each other of treachery and doubledealing during the campaign.

Wharton was accused of getting drunk on election day and allowing his Democratic deputies to throw the election in New Orleans. He denied the charge and said that he was ill on that day and had a doctor's certificate to prove it. He blamed J. R. G. Pitkin his predecessor in the Marshal's office for spreading this canard. "He lies like a son of a bitch about it--swears he knows nothing about it etc. but it all false--He is the main mover in it."⁴⁶

Some Negro leaders accused the white Republicans of making alliances with the "last ditcher" Democrats to suppress the colored vote and advised the Negroes to bid farewell to the party of "many promises and no performances" and to join forces with the conservative people in the state.⁴⁷

The greatest recrimination centered around the defeat in the third district, which was considered a Republican one. It was charged that the Returning Board had put up Hebert to deliberately split the Republican vote so

⁴⁶ John R. Cosgrove to President (Hayes), November 25, 1878, GHDJ, Appt. Papers, Louisiana; Wharton to Warmoth, November 25, 1878, Warmoth Collection.

⁴⁷ Carroll Conservative, November 30, 1878, Weekly Louisianian, November 30, 1878, December 14, 1878, December 21, 1878.

that Joseph H. Acklen would win.⁴⁸ There may have been some truth in this, because the Board was indebted to Acklen. At the time when each faction was trying to secure the post of Collector of the Port, Anderson and Wells sent two telegrams to John Sherman. The first asked the Secretary of the Treasury to

See the President and get him to delay any definite action as to the collectorship until the arrival of the Hon. J. H. Acklen who is authorized to speak freely with you and represent your friends here.

The second telegram informed Sherman that Acklen was returning to Washington "after aiding in the arrest of the prosecution against the Returning Officers" and that the signatories of the message had "full confidence in him," and "fully appreciated his services."⁴⁹ It is not improbable that Acklen's victory was the reward for services rendered.

Hebert was afraid he was going to lose his Custom House job and he made the scapegoat for the defeat to appease the administration. In such case he threatened to "... expose the whole conspiracy whereby I was defeated; it will make you sick of Louisiana politics."⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Marton to George Sheridan, December 8, 1878, Hayes Papers; J. J. Walsh to Sheridan, December 3, 1878, Hayes Papers.

⁴⁹ Anderson, Wells, Gantt to Sherman, March 20, 1878, March 23, 1878, Sherman Papers.

⁵⁰ Robert O. Hebert to William H. Hunt, November 22, 1878, November 25, 1878, Sherman Papers.

These ugly stories were relayed to Hayes and he asked Sherman to conduct a quiet investigation of the activities of the treasury officials in New Orleans.⁵¹ The Secretary detailed George Sheridan to conduct the inquiry, and consternation reigned among the officials. Hahn was removed as Director of the Mint and fourteen inspectors lost their jobs in the Custom House.⁵²

The story was circulated that Kellogg had prevented wholesale dismissals because most of the men involved were his appointees or favorable to him. It was reported that he held Hayes and Sherman in the "hollow of his hand" because he had "something" on them and that they did not dare go against his wishes in Louisiana affairs.⁵³

The election of 1878 exposed the demoralization of the Republican party. It also impressed the party leaders with the fact that some sort of agreement among the factions was imperative because another campaign loomed on the horizon. This was to elect delegates to a constitutional convention. If such a convention had no Republicans in it the document it produced might well prove to be the death

⁵¹ Hayes to Sherman, December 4, 1878, Hayes Papers.

⁵² Wells to Sherman, December 21, 1878, Sherman Papers; Weekly Louisianian, December 7, 1878; New Orleans Democrat, December 7, 1878.

⁵³ New Orleans Democrat, December 21, 1878.

warrant of the party. They could not allow that election to go by default. The leaders worked up a meeting to secure a modus vivendi. The pretext for their coming together was a complimentary dinner for Kellogg at Antoine's Restaurant on January 3, 1879. The guest list included about fifty important Republican leaders both white and black. The seating arrangement was interesting.

. . . ex-Gov. Hahn at the head of the table, flanked on his left by Senator Kellogg, Gov. Antoine, General Souer, Judge Marks, Collector Smith and Dr. Roudanez; on the right by ex-Govs. Warmoth and Foote /ex-Governor of Mississippi who replaced Hahn as Director of the Mint/ Col. Lewis, Mr. Joubert, General Anderson and Col. Weeks. Col. Jack Wharton was placed in charge of the foot of the table with Judge Dumont and the editor of the Louisianian /Finchback/ facing each other in the wings in company with Senators Stamps, Harper, and Blunt, Hon's. Wm. G. Brown, Desmarais, Ingalls, Morey and others.

Besides these Messrs. Bonzano, Shaw, Merchant, Casanave, Herwig, Kenner, Woodward, and Judges Pardee, Fontlieu and Cullom were present.⁵⁴

Kellogg pleaded for harmony and unity among Republicans and was followed by Warmoth who predicted that with Grant as the Republican standard bearer in 1880 the party in Louisiana under "competent and energetic" leaders with a ticket representing "character and intelligence" would march to victory.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Weekly Louisianian, January 4, 1879.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Pinchback said that the meeting reminded him of the early days of reconstruction. The presence of Roudanez, so long a stranger to such occasions, augured well for the possibility of Republican unity. At this point, Warmoth and Roudanez shook hands. Pinchback then pointed out that all efforts at unity would fail unless accompanied by the fraternal feeling which had characterized the early days of the party. He emphasized that the colored men did not expect nor desire social equality but they did expect that on all "semi-official" occasions they would be accorded the recognition to which the nature of the case entitled them.⁵⁶ It was a veritable love feast.⁵⁷

New alliances were formed. In February a refurbished State Central Committee met and appointed a sub-committee to manage the approaching campaign.⁵⁸ The party had been "regenerated" and was ready to give battle to the enemy.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ New Orleans Democrat, January 11, 1879.

⁵⁸ Weekly Louisianian, February 15, 1879.

CHAPTER III

STATE POLITICS 1879-1892

In the battles for state offices from 1879 through 1888, the Republican party composed its internal differences, put out a slate of candidates, and gave the Democrats a good fight. After 1892, however, the party had to give up its role as the sole opposition and acquire allies to keep up the struggle. It never did capture the state government, but did elect party members to the state legislature and to some parish offices.

The battleground for the two contending parties consisted of the state at large divided into fifty-eight parishes (fifty-nine after 1887), sixty-three representative districts, and twenty-six senatorial districts.¹ Party machinery was organized according to the political divisions of the state. There was a state central committee, a senatorial district committee, and a parish committee. It was the function of these committees to make the party views known to the electorate; to hold conventions in their respective areas to nominate the party candidates; to conduct

¹ Louisiana State Constitution, 1879, Art. 18.

the campaigns; and to get out the vote on election day. The Republican organization had broken down between 1876 and 1878 and it was the task of the leaders of the "rejuvenated" party to build it up again and to make it function for the coming election of delegates to a convention which was to frame a new organic law for the state.

Almost as soon as the Democrats were securely in power in 1877, demands were made upon the administration to call a constitutional convention which would draft a new instrument of government and do away with all vestiges of Radical rule.² This was not a unanimous desire even among Democrats. A Democratic member of the state legislature expressed the view of the opposition in these words:

I think it inexpedient, at least, at this time. We have had politics enough in this State. We want peace and prosperity, and politics mean anything but peace. Party fires that may have been smouldering, ought to be allowed to burn out and not be lit up again, which would be the case, I think, should a constitutional convention be called. . . . We want railroads, internal improvements, that are more of a necessity at present than a change in our Constitution.³

These sentiments were echoed by the Republicans.

² Donaldsonville Chief, November 3, 17, 1877, quoting St. Mary Enterprise, Lafayette Advertiser, and Calcasieu Echo.

³ C. J. Barry quoted in New Orleans Weekly Democrat, January 12, 1878.

It was hoped that the compromise legislature would be a reform body and that its actions would preclude the calling of a convention. The legislature was expected to lower the taxes, cut the expenses of government, reform the judiciary, and abolish the cumbersome registration system.⁴ Reformers in both parties believed the enactment of a poll tax would serve a double purpose. It would lessen the tax burden for the property holder and, if the receipts were used as a certificate for eligibility to vote, no expensive registration system would be needed. The Republican editor of the Donaldsonville Chief was most enthusiastic over its benefits.

We doubt if there will be any single measure of reform urged upon the attention of the General Assembly more prolific of beneficial results, both in an economical and general point of view than the proposition to repeal the cumbersome registration law now in force and constitute the poll tax receipt of the citizen the evidence of his right to vote. This requirement . . . would save thousands of dollars to the people in every election year and do away with the objectionable and superfluous features of the existing registration law, which afford opportunity for the perpetration of fraud and make a Supervisor of Registration necessary in every parish. Moreover this manner of regulating the suffrage would not be open to the objections of an educational or property qualification, either of which would excite the alarm and animosity of the colored citizen, against whom as a

⁴ New Orleans Weekly Democrat, January 19, 1878.

class it would be urged the measure was directed. . . . No man, white or black, rich or poor, who has a spark of public spirit which is the essence of the qualities constituting the desirable citizen, will complain of the slight impost of a dollar per annum as a prerequisite to his right to vote, when he considers that the money derived from the tax goes to the free school and Charity Hospital funds, and that the imposition of this inconsiderable burden will be the means of diminishing visibly the heavy rate of taxation which now oppresses the property holder, and through him, all other classes of our population.⁵

The hopes of the reformers were not realized. The legislature reached the end of its allotted term condemned as a do-nothing body which had spent its time in political maneuvering and on frivolous bills. One editor mourned:

Our silly hopes were in vain. Politicians are politicians and nothing else; they are mockers and whosoever is deceived by them is not wise. While they were seeking votes, they were ready to pledge themselves to a thousand things. They could abuse their Radical predecessors to your heart's content, and now they can do just as the Radicals did.⁶

The legislature had taken no action on such vital matters as revenue appropriations, registration and election laws, and the payment of the floating debt, so Governor Nicholls had to call it into extra session. In a short time the legislators had cut appropriations in all departments, passed a new election law, and prepared twenty-one reform amendments

⁵ Donaldsonville Chief, January 19, 1878.

⁶ Ibid., March 9, 1878.

for submission to the electorate in 1870.⁷ It was the Bourbon element of the Democracy which was clamoring for a new constitution. The Constitution of 1868 was so distasteful to them as the product of the Radicals that they would not consent to its mere amendment. They wanted it abolished and, consequently, in the campaign of 1878 they urged the voters to defeat the amendments. Conservative Democrats and Republicans supported the amendments. However, the Bourbon element dominated the campaign and all the amendments were defeated except the one which provided for the removal of the capital to Baton Rouge. A Bourbon legislature was elected in 1878 which enacted a law calling for an election of delegates to a constitutional convention-in spite of Nicholls' objection to such a move. The election was to be held in March, 1879.

It was during the legislative sessions of 1878 and 1879 that the existence of the Louisiana Lottery became a political issue, which was to be carried over into the convention campaign and the convention itself. This gambling enterprise had been chartered by the legislature during the Warmoth regime in 1868. It had a monopoly of the lottery business in the state and made enormous profits.

⁷ New Orleans Daily Picayune, April 6, 1878; Donaldsonville Chief, July 27, 1878.

To safeguard its position and profits the company played politics. In the crisis of 1876 Lottery money had played a role in the consummation of the compromise.⁸ In the 1878 session of the legislature, Nicholls recommended the repeal of the Lottery charter as an essential reform. The legislature refused to do so. Its supporters were too impressed with the annual license fee paid by the company as an easy source of revenue to disturb it. Every Republican in the legislature voted against repeal.⁹ Another drive against the Lottery was made in the 1879 legislature. Warmoth spoke in its defense. He stated that the reason the opponents of the Lottery were against it was not moral, as they pretended, but political. Louisiana people were a lottery-playing people and they would go on gambling even if the repeal bill were passed. The company played politics because it was good business to do so. As long as the Republicans were in power the Lottery was Republican, now it was Democratic. He pointed out that the company was not the only monopoly in the state. The New Orleans Gas Company and the New Orleans Waterworks Company were monopolies also.¹⁰ This time the antilotteryites were successful and a bill abolishing the company was passed and signed by Nicholls in

⁸ Berthold C. Alves, "The History of the Louisiana State Lottery Company," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXVII (1944), 997-998.

⁹ New Orleans Weekly Democrat, January 18, 1879.

¹⁰ Ibid., January 25, 1879.

March, 1879.¹¹ The company then sued in the Federal District Court to have the act declared unconstitutional. The judge, a Republican, did so declare the repeal act.¹² The company went on with its operations and began to lay the groundwork to have its status fixed in the new constitution.

The Republican party had no expectations of controlling the convention, but they did exert themselves to elect a respectable minority delegation. The central campaign committee advised Republican voters to cast their ballots for Republicans where it was possible to do so. However, if that were not possible party members should support candidates who would pledge themselves to maintain the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of 1868 intact, and who would vote in the convention to separate the powers of government; to restrict the governor to executive power; to limit the power of the legislature to create debt and impose taxes; and to recognize and provide for the payment of the existing state debt.¹³ In most Republican parishes the leaders had to agree to give the Democrats half the delegates to prevent bulldozing of the Negroes.¹⁴

¹¹ Alves, "Louisiana State Lottery Company," loc. cit., 995.

¹² Ibid., 999.

¹³ Weekly Louisianian, March 8, 1879.

¹⁴ Ibid., March 1, 1879.

The election was a quiet one. It was too quiet for the editor of the Louisianian who stated that "Never before in the history of any state in the Union was such apathy witnessed in an election of such vital importance to all classes of the people."¹⁵ The convention was made up of ninety-seven Democrats, two Nationals, three Independents, and thirty-two Republicans. Seventeen of the Republicans were Negroes. The Republican delegation was headed by Warmoth and Pinchback.¹⁶

Republican activity in the convention was centered around three issues: education, civil rights, and the state debt. It was Pinchback who introduced a proposal to establish a state supported university for Negroes in New Orleans. The convention adopted the proposal by a vote of eighty-one to twenty-three.¹⁷

The Republican delegation was also successful in its fight to retain a Bill of Rights in the new constitution and to ward off any attempts at limiting the suffrage. They were joined by sixty-nine Democrats who voted to retain universal manhood suffrage.¹⁸

¹⁵ Ibid., March 29, 1879.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., July 12, 1879.

¹⁸ Ibid., July 19; August 2, 1879.

There was a strong movement in the convention to repudiate the state debt which had been contracted during the period of Republican rule and which had been funded during Kellogg's administration. The convention adopted an ordinance which reduced the 7 per cent interest rate on the debt and provided for a sliding scale of interest rates until the debt was liquidated. For five years after 1880, the interest was to be 2 per cent; 3 per cent for the next fifteen years; and 4 per cent until the debt was paid. Bondholders who did not want to accept these terms could exchange their old bonds for new ones at a 25 per cent discount. The new bonds would pay a flat 4 per cent interest. The Republicans opposed this ordinance because they insisted that the state debt was a valid one and should be paid in full. The debt ordinance and the constitution had to be voted on separately.¹⁹

The prolottery forces in the convention were successful in their efforts to get a constitutional guarantee for the continued operation of the Louisiana Lottery Company. Article 167 of the constitution provided that the Louisiana Lottery Company was to operate until 1895 and pay an annual license fee of \$40,000 to be used for the Charity Hospital. It no longer had a monopoly of the lottery business.²⁰

¹⁹ Ibid., August 2, 1879.

²⁰ Article 167, Louisiana State Constitution, 1879.

Republicans were generally satisfied with the new constitution, although there were some points to which they objected. They did not like the four-year legislative term and the provision that artificial limbs be provided for disabled Confederate veterans at state expense. They saw the possibility of a revival of the "black-code" laws under the provisions of Article 5. They believed there was a danger of "foreign frauds" in the section which allowed immigrants to vote after they had declared their intention of becoming citizens.²¹

The constitution was to be ratified or rejected by the people in December, 1879. At the same time the people were to vote for the state officials and the legislature established by the new organic law. This meant that Louisiana was to be in the throes of her third political campaign in the course of a year.

The issue arose among Republicans as to whether they should put up a slate for the state offices and enter the campaign on their own or whether they should try to reach an agreement with the Conservative Democrats and put out a fusion ticket. Many Republicans believed that the Democrats who favored paying the state debt, a southern Pacific railroad, protective tariffs, and sound money would be willing

²¹ John R. G. Pitkin's comments on a copy of the Constitution of 1879, Sherman Papers.

to act with the Republicans to overthrow the Bourbons provided the carpetbagger-Negro leadership was supplanted by native white southern Republicans of the same social and economic standing as the anti-Bourbon Democrats.²² Naturally, the old line Republicans would have nothing to do with such a fusion scheme under those terms. Particularly when the leader of the Conservatives was H. N. Ogden "the Butcher of September 14, 1874."²³

The Republican state executive committee met on August 26, 1879 to issue the call for a state convention to meet in October. A lengthy address was issued to the Republicans of Louisiana. The committee reviewed the history of the party since the "surrender" of April, 1877. The Democrats were charged with having broken the pledges made at that time. The committee stated that this should serve as a warning.

Any system of Liberal, or Fusion coalition or compact with any other party or faction of a party is fraught with unalloyed evil. The Republican party has been worsted in every transaction of this sort into which it has ever entered. . . . The motive of such an alliance is mutual treachery. . . . It is better that the Republicans should take no part in a political campaign than their position should be either equivocal or subordinate.

²² John Ray to John Tyler, Jr. August 1, 1879; August 17, 1879, Sherman Papers. Tyler was in New Orleans as an assistant special treasury agent to promote Sherman for president movement in the state.

²³ Pitkin to Tyler, August 8, 1879; J. M. D. J. Jewett to Tyler, August 22, 1879, Sherman Papers.

Leaders in the parishes were to make it clear to all Republicans that "all political furloughs are revoked, all absent on leave are recalled." Only men of "good repute . . . and responsible in their own person, business and property for whatever may be done by them in a representative capacity" should be chosen as delegates to the state convention. The convention would establish the party stand on the new constitution and elect a new state central committee.

The committee also emphasized in the address that the Republican party "alone can save and revive the prosperity of the Southern people." It was the only party that could support the protective tariff for rice and sugar; levee protection at federal expense; construction of a southern Pacific railroad; and canals across the Isthmus of Central America. No Democrat of the "school of Calhoun" could support such measures without violating the principles of his party.²⁴

The first state convention of the Republican party since the fall of the Packard government met on October 20 and 21, 1879 in New Orleans. Negro delegates were in the majority and the convention officers were Negroes. But the colored men deferred to the wishes of the whites in the

²⁴ Weekly Louisianian, September 29, 1879.

choice of a ticket and in the preparation of the platform.²⁵ All speakers emphasized the necessity of selecting nominees who were above reproach in order to avoid the usual Democratic jibes about the Republican principles being good but the men bad. It was stated that the Democrats were trying to influence some members of the convention to nominate unfit men so that political capital could be made out of this point.²⁶

The ticket nominated by the convention was a "conciliation" one designed to attract votes from as many different classes of Louisianians as possible. Taylor Beattie, of Lafourche, was the candidate for governor. He was a native of the state, a planter, lawyer and judge with many friends among the conservative planter Democrats. It was hoped that he would get some of these votes. James M. Gillespie, of Texas, the choice for lieutenant-governor was a Yale graduate, ex-Confederate soldier, owner of seven plantations, and an Irishman. Claudius Mayo, of St. Landry, the nominee for the post of state auditor was from an old Opelousas family, ex-Confederate soldier, and "of high social standing." Don A. Pardee was supposed to attract the votes of the ex-Federal servicemen and the carpetbaggers.

²⁵ Ibid., October 25, 1879.

²⁶ Ibid.

He was a native of Ohio and had served in James A. Garfield's regiment. Since the war he had resided in Jefferson parish where he practiced law. He was the candidate for attorney-general. The nominee for superintendent of education was Dr. M. F. Bonzano, of St. Bernard, a native of Germany. He was a member of many national and international learned societies. After New Orleans had been captured by the Federals, the Secretary of the Treasury had put him in charge of reopening the United States Mint in the city. The only Negro on the ticket was James D. Kennedy the candidate for secretary of state. Kennedy was the twenty-four-year-old junior editor of the Weekly Louisianian. He was a native of New Orleans but had been educated in Ohio. He was a godson of Oscar J. Dunn, Lieutenant-Governor under Warmoth. It was the opinion of the Republicans that they had chosen a ticket with "every qualification necessary to secure HONEST and GOOD government." The terms "Carpetbagger, non-resident, foreigner" could not be "hurled and thrust" in their teeth.²⁷

The Republican platform declared that it was the "privilege, right and duty" of the national government to "extend its protecting arm" to guarantee a free Republican form of government in each state. The ballot must be free

²⁷ Ibid.

and the count fair; otherwise government was not of, by, and for the people. High tariffs protected labor and industry from competition with the products of pauper and slave labor of foreign nations. The party was in favor of a southern transcontinental railroad, improvement of rivers and harbors at national expense, a subsidized merchant marine, and a canal across the Isthmus of Darien. The state debt which was approved and ratified in 1874 should be paid in full. There should be no compromise on this issue. The convention urged the voters to defeat the debt ordinance, but to vote for the ratification of the constitution. Kellogg was endorsed as the legal senator from Louisiana.²⁸

The convention elected a new state central committee with Andrew J. Dumont, a colored Custom House official, as chairman. A campaign committee was selected to conduct a short vigorous canvass in which every Republican was to bury all animosity and put his shoulder to the wheel.²⁹

John Tyler, Jr. warned John Sherman that in spite of the "conciliation" ticket, the excellent platform, and the surface unity of the Republicans there was no chance of success. The party was controlled by the carpetbaggers and there was no hope of fusion with the conservative

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., November 1, 1879.

Democrats to guarantee a fair election. The conservative Democrats had thrown their support to Louis A. Wiltz the Bourbon Democratic candidate.³⁰

The Democrats did attack Beattie as one who had turned his back upon his own race and class for gold and self-aggrandisement.³¹

The Republican canvass was opened in Baton Rouge on October 29. It was reported that an enthusiastic crowd of 2000 turned out to cheer Beattie and other speakers. The campaign committee sent speakers to various parts of the state. Finchback campaigned in northeast Louisiana and wrote reports to his newspaper of the hazards and frustrations of a Republican canvasser in 1879. He wrote:³²

Owing to difficulties experienced in obtaining a conveyance, I failed to keep an appointment in the 7th Ward (Madison Parish), but started out early Monday morning for Tallulah in a spring wagon drawn by a mule and piloted by Hon. Wm. Murrell. We arrived there about 2 o'clock and found that two places had been designated for the meeting and owing to the confusion arising therefrom concluded to postpone the meeting until evening, to the Shields plantation, about 6 miles from Tallulah. When the evening set in the weather was intensely cold, and the prospects for a meeting slim indeed, but in a comparatively short time the crowd began to assemble and the meeting proved a success. Tuesday morning, having been delayed

³⁰ Tyler to Sherman, November 1, 6, 1879, Sherman Papers.

³¹ Weekly Louisianian, November 8, 1879; quoting Baton Rouge Capitollan.

³² Ibid., November 15, 1879.

by an accident to our wagon, we resumed our journey, intending to go to St. Joseph so as to attend a meeting there on the 6th. We traveled about 25 or 30 miles and gave up the trip as it became apparent that our mule would not hold out. Wednesday morning dawned upon us dark and gloomy with a drizzling rain, but nothing daunted thereby we set out on our return to Delta, which we reached about 9 o'clock at night wet, cold, and hungry. As we plodded our way along the muddy and cheerless road, surrounded after nightfall with a darkness so thick that we could not see our hands before us, and compelled to trust to our faithful mule to keep us in the road, I wondered if our friends in the city had any idea of the hardships imposed in a canvass in North Louisiana.

Negro campaigners were not allowed to hold meetings in some places. Kennedy, the candidate for secretary of state, went to Waterproof to speak on the invitation of the colored Republicans. He found white men at the meeting place who were determined to break up any Republican rally in that part of the parish. The mayor refused to disperse them or allow Kennedy to speak.³³

Republicans in the North were interested in the fight of the Louisiana Republicans. The Christian Recorder of Philadelphia suggested:

One speech from Blaine on the magnanimity of the North, another by Sherman on finance and another by Conkling on the future of the nation would help mightily to restore Louisiana to its rightful position as a Republican state. And the state is worth saving. . . . Upon it largely turned the presidential election of 1876. The same may be the case in 1880.³⁴

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., November 22, 1879 quoting Christian Recorder.

None of the big party chiefs came to speak in Louisiana but John H. Beattie and Howard Carroll of Indiana and Stewart L. Woodford of New York did come down to stump for the Republican cause.³⁵

There were complaints among Republicans that every one was not doing his share of campaigning. Beattie and a few others were bearing the brunt of it. The federal office holders were said to be remiss in this duty, because they did not want Beattie to win. "They neither make nor permit any real effort in that direction."³⁶

Whatever effort the Republicans exerted in the campaign was in vain. The vote was 74,098 for Wiltz and 42,555 for Beattie. Only 13 parishes went Republican. All of the parishes north of Red River with the exception of East Carroll were lost.³⁷ The party elected five senators (four Negroes) and nineteen representatives (twelve Negroes) to the new legislature.³⁸

The Republicans claimed that the election was a farce. Pinchback said philosophically,

If robbed we have been, and if robbed we must be, we are pleased to know that we have

³⁵ Ibid., November 29; December 6, 1879.

³⁶ W. E. Horne to President (Hayes), November 10, 1879; Hayes Papers.

³⁷ See Appendix D.

³⁸ See Appendixes E, F.

been completely stripped by the highwaymen, who under the guise of law and party have virtually told the Republicans of this state that vote as solidly and freely as they may, it's the same in the result as if they had by those votes intended to pass an opinion on the despotic government of the Czar of Russia.³⁹

Thus ended the first real contest between the Republican and Democratic parties since 1877. It set the pattern for future battles through the campaign of 1888.

Prior to the national elections of 1880 the Louisiana Republicans divided into a Stalwart or anti-Custom House faction and a Half-Breed or Custom House faction. This division continued after the elections. Both factions had their state central committees. Beattie was the chairman of the anti-Custom House group and A. S. Badger was chairman of the Custom House faction.

The Beattie group would have liked to cooperate with the anti-Bourbon Democrats and therefore were very much interested in the independent political movement in Virginia headed by William Mahone. This Readjuster movement was dedicated to reducing the state debt and to unseating the Bourbon oligarchy with the aid of Virginia Republicans.⁴⁰ While the movement was in its incubation stage the Beattie committee passed resolutions praising

³⁹ Weekly Louisianian, December 6, 1879.

⁴⁰ Francis B. Simkins, The South Old and New (New York, 1948), 235.

Mahone and called upon the national administration to help him.⁴¹ They also urged the Virginia Republicans to support the Readjusters in order to secure a fair vote and an honest count in the elections. When Virginia was "liberated" from Bourbon Democracy the rest of the South would follow suit and the Solid South would be broken. Believing this, it was no wonder that the Mahone victory was acclaimed by Louisiana's fusionist Republicans.⁴²

When an "independent" movement did develop among Louisiana Democrats led by Congressman E. John Ellis, the Beattie committee became quite active and issued a call to all parishes and wards to begin refurbishing the machinery for the congressional elections of 1882.⁴³ However, there were several obstacles in the way of an agreement between Louisiana Republicans and the Independents. The fusionist Republicans wanted to be the leaders in the movement and let the Independents be the followers. One faction of the party refused to have anything to do with the movement.⁴⁴ A Republican observer stated that the time was not ripe for such a movement in Louisiana and that there was no man

⁴¹ Weekly Louisianian, July 2, 1881.

⁴² Ibid., August 6, September 17, November 12, 1881.

⁴³ Ibid., January 7, 14, March 11, 1882.

⁴⁴ Ibid., March 11, 1882.

in the state "to make a Mahone." Any union of disaffected Democrats with Republicans would be most unstable.⁴⁵

The issue was still not settled when the party began preparing for the state elections of 1884. Should they make common cause with the Independents or put out "pure" Republican tickets for all the offices? The Natchitoches Parish Executive Committee wrestled with the problem from October, 1883 through April, 1884. Since both points of view were about evenly supported in the committee, the final decision was to let the election go by default. They would not put up any parish candidates or make any commitments.⁴⁶

The state convention met in March, 1884. The anti-fusionists were in the majority and elected Kellogg as permanent chairman of the meeting. Kellogg stressed the point that a full slate of officers should be nominated and they should make no agreements with the Independents even though it was certain that the ticket would be counted out at the polls. The party should elect as many legislators as possible who would cooperate with the Democratic majority in passing laws to protect the civil rights of both whites and blacks; to ensure education for all children; to preserve law and order; and to invite immigration and capital to the

⁴⁵ James E. Richardson to J. M. Currie, August 1, 1882, Chandler Papers.

⁴⁶ Minute Book of the Republican Parish Executive Committee of Natchitoches Parish, Minutes for April 8, 1884, Breda Papers.

state.⁴⁷

The above point of view was not shared by David Young, a Negro delegate from Concordia. He believed the party should endorse the Democratic state ticket and not waste time, money, and energy on a futile campaign. He said the only reason why men consented to run on a Republican ticket was to lay claims to the patronage and national recognition as southern "martyrs" to cause of Republicanism.⁴⁸

The antifusionists won the day. The convention voted to nominate a slate for the executive offices of the state and to allow the parish and district committees to decide the issue for themselves on that level. In the subsequent election "unification" tickets were common in the parishes.⁴⁹ The Republican ticket of 1884 was another "conciliation" one. The nominee for governor was John A. Stevenson, Iberville, a steamboat agent, sugar planter, and a protectionist.⁵⁰ William Burwell, candidate for lieutenant-governor, was a journalist and secretary of the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce. He wrote protectionist

⁴⁷ Daily Picayune, March 7, 1884.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., April 28, 1884.

⁵⁰ New York Tribune, March 7, 1884.

articles for the New Orleans press.⁵¹ The colored man on the ticket was Frank W. Liggins, of St. Mary, candidate for secretary of state. He was the editor of the St. Mary Herald and a sugar planter. Liggins was also the originator and president of the Colored Men's Sugar Convention which had been held in New Orleans in February to discuss the problem of the sugar tariff.⁵² The other nominees were: Claudius Mayo, auditor; B. F. Flanders, superintendent of education; and A. Duperrier, state treasurer. The Republicans endorsed J. H. Stone, the Democratic candidate for attorney-general, because he was a conservative Democrat. Since this ticket could offer them no competition, the Democrats praised it as a very good one.⁵³

The only issue the Republicans might have exploited in the campaign was denied them because the Louisiana Democrats were on the same side as they were. Since the enactment of the tariff of 1883, which was a victory for the protectionists, attempts had been made by some Democrats to amend it. These attacks on the tariff worried the Louisiana sugar planters because they wanted sugar to remain on the protected list. A sugar planter's convention met in

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., Daily Picayune, March 11, 1884.

⁵³ Daily Picayune, March 11, 1884.

New Orleans in March to protest any reduction of the tariff on sugar.⁵⁴ Most of the men in attendance were Democrats. The Picayune expressed their views when it stated that Louisiana would not allow herself to be sacrificed by the "pseudo-national Democracy" on the sugar tariff issue.⁵⁵

No issues, colorless candidates, "unification" on the parish level, plus the fact that it was a Democratic year resulted in Stevenson polling 43,520 votes. Samuel D. McNary, the Democratic candidate, received 88,794. The Republicans carried seventeen parishes. They also elected five senators and twelve representatives to the state legislature. The Republican strength in the legislature had been reduced by seven.⁵⁶

When the Democrats took over the Federal government, the Republicans in Louisiana were stripped of the Federal patronage in the state. In order to keep in politics many Republicans had to become fusionists, independents, or unificationists, at least, on the parish and district level. In 1886 some Republican leaders supported the Democratic candidates for Congress. The Weekly Pelican, the only Republican newspaper in New Orleans, campaigned against this

⁵⁴ Ibid., March 13, 1884.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ See Appendixes D, E, F.

trend and urged that the party be purified and purged of these defeatist and collaborationist elements. Its castigation of four prominent Negroes in the third congressional district was instrumental in their being temporarily expelled from the party.⁵⁷

These four immaculates, these four negroes, these four would be leaders of the Republican party, acting from no conscientious motives or scruples, threw gratitude to the Republican party to the four winds, and went into the Congressional campaign for boodle and pelf.

Allain, a hypocritical renegade, claiming to be a leader of the Republican party and a representative colored man, after accepting from the Republican committee what money he claimed he was out by the nomination of Davidson, canvassed his parish for Gay.

Davidson, a bloated ass, claiming all that Allain claims, after declining the Republican nomination, accepted expense money from the Republican committee; but his ward, hitherto largely Republican gave the biggest majority of any ward in Iberville parish against the Republicans.

Posey, a tough saint from St. Mary Parish, after soliciting and receiving money from the Republican committee, accepted \$50 or more from the Democracy to work in his ward tickets with the name of Davidson thereon, thereby helping to defeat the Republican candidate.

Roxborough, a young sprig of the law . . . stands charged by certain prominent Republicans of Iberville parish with having sold the Darrall tickets which were entrusted to him to Gay or his henchmen. Not only this; he received \$275 or more, the last hundred on the morning of the election, from the Republican committee. He obtained this money to cover the expense of distributing the tickets. He sold the tickets and kept the money.

The bells have tolled. . . . They Must Go. When Republicanism is victorious in both state and nation next year . . . these will be recorded as "dropped by the wayside; choked to death on Democratic crow."

⁵⁷ New Orleans Weekly Pelican, April 9, 1887, May 28, 1887.

Similar purges took place in the second and fifth congressional districts.⁵⁸

By the latter part of 1887, there were two central committees. Each claimed to be the "regular" Republican party. Henry C. Minor, a sugar planter, was chairman of one committee which represented planters, business men and former Democrats who had supported Blaine in 1884. The other committee was headed by A. S. Badger, former Collector of the Port, and was the committee chosen by the state convention of 1880. Both these committees had their supporters in the districts and parishes.⁵⁹

In order to present a unified front for the state elections of 1888, the two factions fused in October of 1887. A new central committee was chosen with representatives of both factions on it and a call issued for a state nominating convention to meet in January, 1888. A sub-committee was appointed to harmonize the differences in every parish where there were dual committees.⁶⁰

The January, 1888 convention of the party named Philip F. Herwig as permanent chairman of the state central committee. Herwig was a rich man and a stockholder in the

⁵⁸ Ibid., April 16, 1887.

⁵⁹ Ibid., September 24; October 1, 1887.

⁶⁰ Ibid., October 29, 1887.

Louisiana lottery. In making up the ticket for state offices, the convention selected men from both factions as follows: H. C. Warmoth, governor; H. C. Minor, lieutenant-governor; James F. Patty (Negro) secretary of state; Andrew Hero, Jr., treasurer; James Forsythe, auditor; W. G. Wyly, attorney-general; and B. F. Flanders, superintendent of education.⁶¹ Warmoth was chosen to head the ticket because he could act as a sort of bridge between the old line Republicans and the Minor group. It was hoped that he might attract some planter votes because he had been very active in promoting the interests of the sugar industry. However, Democratic reaction to Warmoth's candidacy was one of disgust. It wasn't Warmoth the sugar planter but Warmoth the carpetbag governor they remembered. Henry McCall, a prominent Democrat and sugar planter, urged Warmoth to withdraw because he would only be sacrificing his business, comfort, and position for nothing since he could not hope to win. McCall stated that many of his fellow planters would be sorry to turn against "one who had done so much to lift the industry from the slough of despond."⁶² The Picayune echoed these views when it stated:

Warmoth as a skillful and enterprising sugar planter living as a private citizen . . .

⁶¹ New York Tribune, January 26, 1888.

⁶² Henry McCall to Warmoth, February 2, 1888, Warmoth Collection.

is a man whom no one cares to attack or to subject to any species of annoyance; but Warmoth as a candidate . . . is simply the old carpet-bag governor redivivus exciting and deserving an opposition to the last degree bitter and unrelenting.⁶³

The Republicans had several reasons for believing that they had a good chance of success in 1888. One was that the Republican national committee was interested in the Louisiana contest. Warmoth was informed that his nomination gave great satisfaction in the North and that if he was elected it would be "heralded as the first glimpse of political sunlight in the South since 1876."⁶⁴ Rich Republicans in the North were asked to contribute to Warmoth's campaign fund.⁶⁵ Another reason for the optimism of the party was that Warmoth had secured a pledge from Governor McEnery that the election would be fair and the count honest. For the first time since 1876 the leaders felt that the suffrages of the party members would be counted as cast. This pledge had been given by the governor because he had not secured the nomination of the Democrats and was not on good terms with his successful rival F. T. Nicholls. This division in the enemy ranks was also an

⁶³ Daily Picayune, February 8, 1888.

⁶⁴ Green R. Raum to Warmoth, February 4, 1888, Warmoth Collection.

⁶⁵ Id. to Id., February 20, 1888, Warmoth Collection.

encouraging development for the Republicans.⁶⁶

In the course of the campaign, the Democratic breach was closed and the McEnery pledge was rescinded. In fact, McEnery set the tone of the campaign by playing up the color issue and the threat of "Africanization." Warmoth had sought to avoid this. When he accepted the nomination he said that he did not want to be elected by colored votes. He advised the Negroes to vote for whatever party they pleased or felt they could do them the most good.⁶⁷ While stumping north Louisiana, McEnery made inflammatory speeches on the color issue. In Shreveport, he warned his audience:

If you permit the Negroes to organize, you will have to break it by power. . . . Before I will see such another state of affairs I will wrap the state in Revolution from the Gulf to the Arkansas line. . . . It is time we shall say that the law shall be silent, and uphold our liberty at all hazards.⁶⁸

McEnery was making his speeches in the northern part of the state, but race relations were bad in the southern part also.

⁶⁶ C. B. Darrall to Sherman, February 20, 1888, March 3, 1888, Sherman Papers; Kellogg to Warmoth, February 22, 1888, Warmoth Collection; Daily Picayune, March 19, 1888; New York Tribune, April 15, 1888; Thibodaux Sentinel, April 21, 1888, January 9, 1892.

⁶⁷ Daily Picayune, February 8, 1888.

⁶⁸ Warmoth Address to the People of Louisiana, April 13, 1888, Sherman Papers; New York Tribune, April 16, 1888.

The latter situation was brought about by the strike of the sugar workers, most of them Negroes, in November, 1887. The Knights of Labor had organized many of the field and sugar house employees and had set minimum wages for the 1887-88 grinding season. Most planters refused to agree to the union wage scale and a strike of the workers took place just at the beginning of the harvesting season. The planters of the sugar district appealed to Governor McEnery to send state troops into the area to protect property and maintain law and order. The Governor complied with the request and clashes took place between the strikers and the troops. In Houma and Thibodaux the planters hired men to drive the Negro refugees out of the houses which had been rented for them by the union. The strike was broken.⁶⁹ The effect of this labor upheaval was to disturb race relations in one of the areas of the state where they had been fairly good and to make even Republican planters tend to lilywhiteism.

After the state administration faction of the Democracy came to terms with the Nicholls faction, all the means at the Governor's disposal were used to ensure a Democratic victory. Independent Democrats who had Republican support in local contests were asked to withdraw

⁶⁹ Weekly Pelican, November 5, 19, 26, 1887.

from the race in favor of the regular Democrat. They were told that independency meant the possibility of the restoration of Negro rule. Two-thirds of the parishes had no Republican commissioners at the polls. Democratic commissioners were told that the number of delegates a parish would be allotted in future Democratic state conventions would be determined on the number of votes that parish cast for Michells.⁷⁰

Warmoth got 51,993 votes--the highest number polled by a Republican since 1876. Ten parishes were counted Republican. The party delegation in the state legislature consisted of four Negro senators and twelve representatives of whom eleven were Negroes.⁷¹

Republican leaders to a man claimed that Warmoth had been counted out. They poured their complaints into the sympathetic ears of Sherman and Chandler. The Louisiana men wanted them to sponsor a senatorial investigation of the election because the state legislature elected in 1868 had to elect two United States senators.⁷²

⁷⁰ Warmoth to Chandler, July 16, 1888, Chandler Papers; C. B. Darrall to Sherman, March 31, 1888, Sherman Papers.

⁷¹ See Appendixes C, D, E, F.

⁷² Philip F. Herwig to Sherman, April 23, 1888, Andrew Hero to Sherman, April 24, 1888; Richardson to Sherman, April 24, 1888; W. B. Merchant to Sherman, April 24, 1888, Sherman Papers.

Chandler was in favor of such an investigation and also wanted to invoke the punitive clause of the fourteenth amendment. He wrote Warmoth;

Southern Republicans ought not to be expected to vote any more until the nation does something to protect them. . . . If the North submits to having the Negroes made the basis for thirty-eight Congressmen and as many electoral votes while no Negro nor white Republican at the South can vote or have his vote counted then we are bigger cowards and doughfaces than we were before 1876.⁷³

John J. Ingalls said that the Northern people were getting tired of the "rascality" of the Democratic party in the South. If such methods as had been practiced in the Louisiana election prevailed, "we might as well live in Russia or Turkey."⁷⁴

The Republican national committee thought that Warmoth's defeat could be used for party advantage in the presidential campaign. The defeated candidate was urged to go North to parade his wounds in the doubtful states.⁷⁵ Chandler asked for evidence of Democratic duplicity and bulldozing for "bloody shirt" speeches in the campaign and in the Senate. He was sent all he needed.⁷⁶ By letter and affidavit he was informed that two colored candidates for

⁷³ Chandler to Warmoth, April 23, 1888, Warmoth Collection.

⁷⁴ John J. Ingalls to Warmoth, May 16, 1888, Warmoth Collection.

⁷⁵ C. S. Clarkson to Warmoth, August 20, 1888, Warmoth Collection.

⁷⁶ See volume 77, Chandler Papers, passim.

the legislature from Madison parish had been driven from their homes; that a brother of Senator-elect Gibson of Louisiana was the leader of a band of night riders who had terrorized the Negroes in Terrebonne parish. The gory story of how William Adams was shot down in the street in Monroe, recovered from his wounds, was decoyed into the court house where his throat was cut and his body disposed of in the Ouachita River was related. He was told how the polling place for the third ward of Iberia Parish was located across Bayou Teche away from the center of population and that the ferryman refused to take Republican voters across.⁷⁷ However, all the protests and evidence were in vain. The national victory of the Republican party in 1888 helped to make the Louisiana state election a dead issue.

After Benjamin Harrison's election, Louisiana Republicans were too busy trying to get the federal patronage to worry about Warmoth's defeat. In the fight for recognition by the administration, the Louisiana party unity disintegrated into various splinter groups. After a long and bitter battle, Warmoth was appointed Collector of the Port and recognized as the official representative of the Harrison administration in the state.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

In 1890 the Louisiana Lottery became the paramount political issue in the state. Between 1880 and 1889, the Lottery had to fight several legislative attempts to curtail its activities or to establish competing companies. To survive the company had to play politics. The result was that the Democratic party became divided on the lottery issue. Those opposed to it said it was the chief source of political corruption in the state. Every year the opposition became stronger. In 1890, John Morris, the chief stockholder in the company, made the state an astounding offer. Instead of the \$40,000 annual license fee the company was paying according to the Constitution, he offered to pay the state \$1,250,000 per year for twenty-five years, in return for the privilege of running a lottery.⁷⁸ A special committee of the legislature was formed to study the offer. The majority report urged the legislature to accept.⁷⁹ After long debate the lawmakers decided to refer the matter to the people in the form of an amendment to the Constitution to be voted on in the election of 1892.⁸⁰

The Anti-Lottery League was organized by the anti-lottery Democrats to fight the adoption of the amendment

⁷⁸ Alves, "The Louisiana State Lottery," loc. cit., 1033-34.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 1029-1052.

and any attempt to recharter the company after its charter expired in 1895. The Harrison administration was backing congressional legislation to prevent lotteries from using the mails, and since Warmoth was administration spokesman in the state, his faction became anti-lottery. The Kellogg-Herwig, anti-Harrison faction was pro-lottery. All this created a very confusing political picture and a complex political nomenclature. The St. Landry Clarion commented:

Besides Democrats and Republicans there are anti-lottery Democrats and anti-lottery Republicans (a few of them), Farmer's Union Democrats and Farmer's Union Republicans, Farmer's Union anti-lottery Democrats and Farmer's Union lottery Democrats (a few of them), and the most curious political phenomenon is, there are some anti-nigger Republicans.⁸¹

In the state elections of 1892, both parties had two tickets in the field. In December, 1891, the pro-lottery Democrats had nominated McEnery to head their ticket and the anti-lottery Democrats had chosen Murphy J. Foster. Both candidates claimed to be the party nominee and called each other a bolter and a traitor. The party leaders got together and decided upon a novel method to solve the problem. On March 22, 1892 the white Democratic voters were to go to the polls and choose the ticket to be supported in

⁸¹ Quoted in James S. Penny, "The People's Party Press During the Louisiana Political Upheaval of the Eighteen Nineties." (M. A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1942), 28.

the general election in April. This had never been done before in Louisiana. Delegates to conventions and not the voters had chosen the party nominees heretofore. The vote was to be announced by a bi-factional returning board.⁸²

Louisiana's first white primary was held and the returning board declared Foster the nominee. The McEnery faction refused to abide by the decision and kept its ticket in the field.⁸³

This division in the Democratic ranks was a golden opportunity for a unified Republican party to recapture the state, but the spirit of faction was too strong and the rift could not be closed. At the state convention in January, 1892, there were delegates from both factions but the Kellogg-Herwig combine were in the majority. The convention nominated a ticket headed by Albert H. Leonard of Cade, adopted a pro-lottery platform, and elected a new state committee with Thomas A. Cage, a pro-lottery Negro senator, as chairman.⁸⁴

⁸² Thibodaux Sentinel, February 27, 1892.

⁸³ Ibid., April 9, 1892.

⁸⁴ Broadside calling for State Convention (n.p., n.d.), Wernoth Collection, Thibodaux Sentinel, April 27, 1892. The other nominees were; --H. D. Coleman, Lieutenant-Governor; John Yoist, Attorney-General; Charles A. Pontlieu, Auditor; C. B. Darrall, Treasurer; L. A. Martinet (N), Superintendent of Education; T. Voisin (N), Secretary of State.

The anti-lottery Republicans refused to support the ticket nominated at the January convention. They held a convention of their own in February. The Harrison administration had advised them to support the Foster forces,⁸⁵ but they ignored the advice and nominated a ticket headed by John E. Breaux.⁸⁶ An anti-lottery platform was adopted and a state central committee with A. S. Badger as chairman was selected.

In the meantime, the main issue of the campaign disappeared. On February 1, 1892, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the constitutionality of the anti-lottery postal law. This meant that the Lottery could no longer operate on a nation-wide scale and that its revenue would be drastically curtailed. Morris announced that his offer to the state was withdrawn and the amendment should be defeated.⁸⁷ That this announcement did not cause a reconciliation in either party indicated that factional differences were more fundamental than the lottery issue.

⁸⁵ L. T. Michener to Warmoth, December 29, 1891, Warmoth Collection.

⁸⁶ New York Tribune, February 19, 1892; Thibodaux Sentinel, February 24, 1892. The other nominees were: - James C. Weeks, Lieutenant-Governor; James M. Edwards, Attorney-General; Stephen R. Gay, Auditor; James Lewis (N), Treasurer; John E. Staas (N) Secretary of State; Edward J. Barrett, Superintendent of Education.

⁸⁷ Lucile R. Caffery, "The Political Career of Senator Donelson Caffery," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXVII (1944), 789.

The election was a disaster for the Republicans. Leonard polled 29,459 votes and Breaux, 12,359. No Republicans were elected to the state Senate and only three to the House of Representatives. Seven parishes remained in the Republican column.⁸⁸

In the period 1879-1892, the Republicans of Louisiana entered all political contests for state offices as the chief opposition to the Democrats. The party candidates for governor polled 33 per cent of the votes cast for governor during the period.⁸⁹ However, the number of Republican parishes and legislators steadily declined. After the disaster of 1892, the party was forced to acquire allies to continue the fight.

⁸⁸ See Appendixes C, D, E, F.

⁸⁹ See Appendix C.

CHAPTER IV

FEDERAL PATRONAGE AND ELECTIONS

1879-1892

Louisiana Republicans played a role in national politics by participating in national nominating conventions of the party, putting up candidates in the congressional elections, conducting campaigns for the party nominees in presidential canvasses, and by controlling the federal patronage in the state for all but eight years between 1877 and 1900.

The spoils system was entrenched in the state as well as in the nation at large. Patronage was a life-giving force in politics. Besides the postmasterships and the positions in the federal judicial system of the state, Louisiana Republican leaders dispensed the patronage of the customs service of one of the nation's major ports, of the branch of the United States Mint at New Orleans, and of the bureau of internal revenue. The headquarters for all federal activities, except the Mint, was the Custom House on Canal Street, New Orleans. Who ruled in the "Granite Pile" ruled the party. This fact influenced the actions and attitudes of every Republican leader in the state. It was the chief cause of the factionalism

which divided the party after 1877.

Ex-President Grant and John Sherman, the Secretary of the Treasury, were two leading contenders for the Republican nomination for president in 1880. Both had their supporters actively working in Louisiana in 1879 to secure a pledged delegation to the national party convention. Sherman's chief lieutenant in Louisiana was John Tyler, Jr. of Virginia, whom the Secretary had appointed as assistant to the Special Agent of the Treasury in New Orleans. Tyler was a faithful reporter and his correspondence with Sherman reveals the state of Louisiana Republican politics in 1879-1880.

After a preliminary investigation of the state situation, Tyler advised his chief that the Custom House was controlled by Kellogg and was pro-Grant.¹ In a few weeks, Tyler evolved a plan which he believed would guarantee a Sherman delegation in the national convention. First, the Secretary should remove all the top Treasury officials in Louisiana from office and replace them with native white Republicans. With this leadership the party would not only be pro-Sherman but would also attract anti-Bourbon Democrats to its ranks. The attainment of the latter goal was

¹ Tyler to Sherman, May 27, 1879, Sherman Papers.

impossible as long as the recognized party leaders were carpetbaggers and Negroes. He suggested that J. R. G. Pitkin, former United States Marshal, be recognized as the head of the party and that Tom Anderson, of the Returning Board; Robert O. Hebert, candidate for Congress in the third district in 1878; and James R. Richardson, a political commentator on Louisiana affairs for the northern press be made his chief lieutenants.² Pitkin produced a plan entitled "Considerations looking to a Republican victory in Louisiana in 1880" which was transmitted to Sherman. Under Pitkin's leadership a Republican-conservative Democratic alliance was envisaged to guarantee a free election and a fair count. No plans could materialize, however, unless the patronage was controlled by Pitkin and his lieutenants.³ Sherman ignored the advice of Tyler and Pitkin and no changes were made among the office holders. It was believed that Sherman did not dare act because if he removed the Louisiana officials he would offend Kellogg; and Kellogg was the supposed custodian of "dark secrets" in connection with the election of 1876 which made Sherman and Hayes bow to his wishes in Louisiana affairs. Sherman's inactivity offended Tyler to such a degree that he went back to Virginia and Pitkin to such a degree that he joined the

² Id. to Id., June 14, 1879, Sherman Papers.

³ Ibid.

Grant forces.

Sherman appointed George C. Tichenor as Special Treasury Agent in New Orleans to take care of the Secretary's interests. Tichenor reported that he had never been

. . . in a community where there appeared to be so little regard paid to truth, principle and honesty, nor where there was so much intrigue, double dealing, and dishonesty generally. Jealousy, distrust and deceit /sic/ seem to swell in every breast.⁴

In his interviews with various leaders each sought to defame the others, by such remarks as "Shun E. . . , he is Kellogg's chief thief and has a negro wife."⁵ He also reached the conclusion that the Louisiana appointments had been unfortunate for the Sherman cause but believed he could produce a Sherman delegation if "given the proper latitude."⁶

Tichenor had to face some tough competition. Grant clubs had been formed in New Orleans as early as June, 1879. Grant was better known than Sherman and was a great hero to the Negroes. Pinchback stated that Grant's name was a "living reality to the black masses." Ostracism, threats, violence and murder, said this Negro leader, would not prevent them from casting their votes for Grant.⁷ The

⁴ George C. Tichenor to Sherman, December 14, 1879, Sherman Papers.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Weekly Louisianian, February 28, 1880.

Colored Men's Protective Union, to which all Negro Republican leaders belonged, was in the vanguard of the Grant boom.⁸ Taylor Beattie, the Republican candidate for governor in 1879, and his followers were also supporting Grant.

The Federal office holders were in a quandary. They realized that Grant was the favorite of the majority of the party in the state but they did not want to offend the Secretary of the Treasury by openly supporting his rival. They adopted the pose of being officially non-committal. In a meeting of the state central committee held in March, 1880, to issue a call for a state convention to name the delegates to the national convention, they successfully blocked a move by the Grant forces to have the committee go on record as Grant supporters.⁹

A month before the state convention met, Grant visited New Orleans on the invitation of his followers in Louisiana. His visit created a great deal of enthusiasm among Republicans and crowds witnessed his arrival and progress down Canal Street. However, the Weekly Louisianian complained of the

. . . conspicuous lack of bunting . . . the notable absence of fashion, beauty, and culture

⁸ Ibid., January 31, 1880.

⁹ Ibid., March 20, 27, 1880.

on the galleries and the passive indifference of the commercial classes from fear of business proscription. . . .¹⁰

The ex-President was officially received at City Hall and was guest of honor at a banquet in the St. Charles Hotel attended by state dignitaries. He was entertained by the ex-federal soldiers, the Colored Men's Protective Union, and Straight Universality for Negroes. At an evening reception at Pinchbeck's home he met the cream of Louisiana Negro society.¹¹

By May, Tichenor had the federal officeholders committed to Sherman. In order to avoid trouble at the convention, the Shermanites proposed that the delegation to be nominated be selected before the meeting so that seven would be pledged to Sherman, seven to Grant, and two to Blaine.¹² The Grant men turned down the offer.¹³

The convention met on May 24, 1880. Chairman Dumont of the state central committee, and Deputy Collector of Customs, took the chair and ordered a roll call. Beattie objected to this procedure because Dumont's election as a delegate was contested. This maneuver was to prevent the federal office holders from controlling the preliminary

¹⁰ Weekly Louisianian, April 3, 1880.

¹¹ Ibid., April 10, 1880.

¹² W. L. McMillen, Tichenor to Sherman, May 22, 1880 (Telegram), Sherman Papers.

¹³ Ibid.

organization of the convention. Beattie nominated Henry Demas for the position of temporary chairman. The Grant forces claimed Demas was elected, but when he approached the platform to assume the chair the Custom House crowd used force to keep him away. Dumont refused to yield the gavel. Demas called on the Grant men to adjourn to another room in the same building. Only a wall separated the two conventions.

The bolters elected Beattie permanent chairman and nominated a delegation pledged to Grant. Beattie was also made chairman of a state central committee which claimed to be the executive body of the "regular" Republican party.¹⁴

The delegation elected by the non-bolters had ten of its members pledged to Sherman. The chief delegate was Warmoth.¹⁵

The national Republican nominating convention met in Chicago, June 2-8, 1880. Because two Louisiana delegations claimed admittance to the convention, the state was not allowed to participate in the preliminary organization. Each delegation had to present its case to the credentials committee. Beattie and Warmoth were the spokesmen for their

¹⁴ Weekly Louisianian, May 29, 1880.

¹⁵ A. J. Dumont to Sherman, May 27, 1880, Sherman Papers.

respective groups. The committee ruled that the Beattie group were bolters and that the Warmoth delegation was the legitimate one.¹⁶

When the balloting began it was revealed that eight members of the delegation were Grant men. These eight cast their vote for the ex-President on all thirty-six ballots. Louisiana gave Sherman only six votes. Eight Louisiana delegates joined the Garfield bandwagon.¹⁷

The defection of the delegation disgusted Tichenor. Kellogg was to blame:

He bulldozed the entire delegation with the idea that his case /Spofford was still contesting Kellogg's seat in the Senate/ would be endangered if he antagonized Conkling, Cameron, and Logan. His infernal case has been the cause for the demoralization of the Custom House for two years. . . . Nothing in the world equals the duplicity of a Louisiana politician of the Kellogg School.¹⁸

Garfield's nomination was a disappointment to Louisiana Republicans, especially the Grant Stalwarts. With Grant as the candidate, they believed they could have returned Louisiana to the Republican column. Pinchback stated that some resident whites had confided in him before the convention that if Grant were nominated they would bolt the

¹⁶ Proceedings of the Republican National Convention (Chicago, 1881), 46.

¹⁷ Ibid., 198-271.

¹⁸ Tichenor to Sherman, June 13, 1880, Sherman Papers.

Democratic party and vote for him, but no other Republican.¹⁹ The Negro voters had never heard of Garfield and asked who "Garfish" was.²⁰ However, the Republican leaders were determined not to let the election go by default. The parish committees were ordered to organize ward clubs and put up a spirited campaign.²¹

The Beattie Committee which had not been recognized at Chicago put out a Garfield ticket of its own. The Beattie electors were business men and planters identified with the state "for the last 30 or 40 years." There were four whites and four negroes on the ticket.²² This action was taken to demonstrate to Garfield that the bolters were behind him, and if he won, they could claim a share of the patronage. However, before the campaign was over the factions reached an agreement and put out a joint electoral ticket on which three out of the eight electors were Beattie Committee men.²³

The Republican electors polled 38,628 votes and seventeen parishes returned Garfield majorities. The Republicans also elected Chester B. Darrall to Congress from the

¹⁹ Weekly Louisianian, June 19, 1880, quoting a Pinch-back interview in the St. Louis Post Dispatch.

²⁰ Weekly Louisianian, June 19, 1880.

²¹ Ibid., Don A. Fardoe to J. C. Breda, September 14, 1880, Breda Papers.

²² New Orleans Times, October 2, 1880.

²³ Ibid., October 12, 13, 1880.

third district.²⁴

After the election of Garfield, the Dumont and Beattie committees resumed their separate identities. The Beattie faction clamored for a redistribution of the patronage as the only way to heal the party breach.²⁵ Garfield was assassinated before any changes could be made. When Arthur became President, the Stewart Beattie committee believed its patronage claims would be honored because Arthur had been a staunch Stewart. The faction declared that it was the Beattie group which had elected Derrail to Congress and that the only votes the Dumont committee could count on were those of the federal officeholders.²⁶

Arthur disappointed his friends and surprised his enemies. His Louisiana appointments were made from both factions. Plumbcock was appointed Surveyor of the Port; Dumont replaced James Lewis, a Stewart, as Naval Officer of the Port; Beattie had applied for the position of Director of the Mint but Arthur appointed M. V. Davis. Pitkin was named United States Marshal.²⁷ These appointments only

²⁴ See Appendixes G, H, I.

²⁵ Weekly Louisianian, June 11, 18, 1881.

²⁶ Ibid., September 17, October 22, 1881.

²⁷ Ibid., January 7, February 11, 18, 1882.

widened the breach between the factions. Both groups had supporters in the congressional districts with the result that in the elections of 1882 there were two Republican candidates for Congress in the second, third, and sixth districts.²⁸ In the third district, Kellogg and Beattie were opposed by the Democrat J. H. Acklen. Kellogg was the only Republican candidate to be elected. Warmoth claimed he owed his success to an "arrangement" made with Acklen.²⁹ Another factor contributing to Kellogg's election was that he had the full support of the Custom House while the other candidates did not. Those entrenched in the federal offices did not want too many Republican congressmen from Louisiana with whom they would have to share the patronage.³⁰

The national Republican convention of 1884 was held in Chicago. The Louisiana delegation was made up of federal office holders with Congressman Kellogg as chief delegate.³¹ When Arthur was nominated, Pinchback made one of the seconding

²⁸ See Appendix I.

²⁹ Warmoth to Chandler, October 16, 1882, Chandler Papers.

³⁰ J. A. Hubbell to Pitkin, October 18, 1882, Chandler Papers.

³¹ Proceedings of the Eighth Republican National Convention Held at Chicago, Illinois, June 3, 4, 5, and 6, 1884 (Chicago, 1884), 56.

speeches.³² On the first ballot, the President received ten Louisiana votes but on the final ballot the delegation got on the Blaine bandwagon and gave the Plumed Knight nine votes.³³

In the presidential campaign of 1884, Blaine and Logan were supported by two groups of Republicans in Louisiana. One faction was the office holding group which had sent the delegation to Chicago and the other was the old Beattie faction to which some conservative business men and sugar planters had gravitated because they were worried about the efforts being made in Washington by Democrats to change the Tariff of 1883.³⁴ The leader of the latter group was Henry C. Mizer, a prominent sugar planter of Terrebonne parish, who had not been active in politics prior to this campaign.³⁵ Both factions put out an electoral ticket.

The Republicans had candidates for Congress in the three southern congressional districts. Kellogg was running for re-election against stiff opposition from Edward J. Gay, a wealthy planter with pre-tariff sympathies. J. H. Acklen

³² Ibid., 119.

³³ Ibid., 141, 162.

³⁴ Thibodaux Sentinel, July 21, 1888.

³⁵ Daily Picayune, August 6, 1888.

who had opposed Kellogg as a Democrat in 1882 was running for Congress with Republican support in the first district. Michael Hahn, ex-senator and first free state governor of Louisiana, was the second district candidate.

The Custom House concentrated its efforts on getting Kellogg reelected.³⁶ The employees were sent into the district on political missions lasting from fifteen to thirty days. They visited the quarters and churches of the Negroes at night and made political speeches. They browbeat and intimidated recalcitrant Negroes. They urged the colored women to prevent their men folk from voting Democratic. Political meetings for the colored men sponsored by the Democrats were broken up.³⁷ To offset this, the Democratic planters brought economic pressure to bear upon their Negro employees to make them vote for Gay.³⁸ They induced some of the Negro leaders in the district to denounce Kellogg as a "pestilential party leader" and stump the district for Gay.³⁹ The third was the last stronghold of Republicanism in the state and the Democrats were determined to redeem it.⁴⁰

³⁶ James Richardson to Chandler, September 24, 1884, Chandler Papers.

³⁷ H. C. Blanchard, J. Floyd King, A. B. Irion, Edward J. Gay to President (Cleveland) (n.p., n.d.) CRTD, Collector's Applications.

³⁸ J. S. Sims, E. H. Pugh to William P. Miles, October 30, 1884, William P. Miles Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

³⁹ Daily Picayune, October 5, 6, 1884.

⁴⁰ Thibodaux Sentinel, July 7, 1888.

Blaine and Logan carried seventeen parishes.

Kellogg and Acklen were defeated but Hahn was elected.⁴¹

In the first district, Carleton Hunt the independent candidate had been supported by Wernoth.⁴²

Following the return of the Democrats to power in Washington for the first time since the Civil War, Louisiana Republicans were stripped of the federal patronage in the state and the party leaders went into a state of suspended animation and confined their political activities to the district and parish levels.

The Republicans in the second district hoped to send a party member to Congress in 1886 to replace Hahn who had died in office. Their candidate was Andrew Hero, Jr. a New Orleans Notary Public, an officer in the Washington Artillery, and a man of wide connections in the city. The New Orleans Ring attacked him as a political apostate. The unreconstructed New Orleans States said he had leagued himself with Louisiana's bitterest foes and the state had no political reward to bestow on him.⁴³ The Ring was too strong and the party too weak to elect Hero.⁴⁴

⁴¹ See Appendixes H, I.

⁴² Daily Picayune, November 3, 1884.

⁴³ Pamphlet on Andrew Hero, Jr. in GRTD, Collector's Applications.

⁴⁴ Weekly Pelican, December 4, 1886.

In the third district the Republicans were divided according to race. A district nominating convention had designated J. S. Davidson, a Negro, as the party candidate for Congress. The white leaders refused to abide by the nomination and supported Darrall with the result that the Negro leaders in the district gave their support to and campaigned for Gay. Darrall was defeated.⁴⁵

Louisiana Republicans were anxiously awaiting the presidential election year of 1888 which they hoped would be a Republican year and they would once more rule in the Custom House. All they could contribute, of course, was moral support and votes in the nominating convention. It was imperative that every leader be conspicuous in the convention which would nominate the future president so that at patronage dispensing time their services would be remembered. Consequently, Kellogg, Herwig, Pinchback, Warmoth, Hero, Minor, Darrall and Leonard were all in Chicago in June, 1888, building up their national political connections.⁴⁶ John Sherman was the favorite of the delegation.⁴⁷ He polled nine votes from Louisiana on the first seven ballots, but the

⁴⁵ Ibid.; Daily Picayune, October 13, 1886.

⁴⁶ Proceedings of the Ninth Republican National Convention held at Chicago, June 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 25, 1888 (Chicago, 1888), 93.

⁴⁷ Robert Harlan to Sherman, February 1, 1888; C. B. Darrall to Sherman, February 20, 1888, Sherman Papers.

Louisiana delegation deserted him to join the Harrison bandwagon on the final ballot.⁴⁸

The campaign for Harrison and Morton was a quiet one in Louisiana. Herwig, chairman of the campaign committee, reported that he had sent campaign material to the leaders in the state. The reports of these leaders were not encouraging. In north Louisiana the Republicans were so terrorized that few would accept the task of distributing tickets at the polling places. With the administration Democrats in control of the election machinery, Harrison didn't have a chance to win.⁴⁹

In spite of the pessimism of the Republican high command, the Democrats were not overconfident. The sugar and rice planters were not as enthusiastic over Cleveland as they had been in 1884. The President had made a reduction in the tariff the main issue in the campaign and the planters were not sure what attitude the national party would take on protection for sugar and rice. Many of them were wavering in their allegiance to the Democratic party. The Picayune sharply reminded them what their primary duty as Democrats was.

⁴⁸ Proceedings of Ninth Republican National Convention . . ., 163-204.

⁴⁹ Philip Herwig to Harrison, October 30, 1888, Benjamin Harrison Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Hereafter cited as Harrison Papers.

The purpose of the Louisiana Democracy, as of the whole Democracy of the South, is to hold together until the Republican party has been utterly crushed and destroyed. . . . No one can come to the front in Louisiana politics in support of a different policy. . . . The Louisiana politician who hopes to control this State on any other line is simply an enemy.⁵⁰

Fusions and unification movements with Republicans by Democrats simply meant the opening wedge for the Africanization of the state. It was admitted that the threat of Negro domination was more serious than the loss of a portion of the protection accorded sugar. This fear kept the planters in line.⁵¹

Harrison polled only 30,484 votes and carried only seven parishes.⁵² However, the Republicans in the second district did elect a congressman--H. Dudley Coleman. Coleman was a native New Orleanian, a Washington Artillery man, and the owner of foundry which made plantation machinery. He was a "new" Republican who had not taken an active part in politics until his campaign for Congress. With such a background his opponents could not attack him as a carpet-bagger of no economic or social standing. But they could point the finger of shame at him as a disgrace to the South.

⁵⁰ Daily Picayune, October 16, 1888.

⁵¹ Ibid., November 4, 1888.

⁵² See Appendixes G, H.

What a fall from grace in a gallant Confederate soldier who can so soon forget the memory of the past as to enlist in the ranks of a party that openly boasts itself the enemy of everything Southern--a party. . .that would gladly fasten on Louisiana the abhorred yoke of Negro domination. . . . Other Southern soldiers have done as Coleman is doing and have been dishonored in the eyes of their fellow citizens.⁵³

Harping on the theme of Africanization, the Picayune announced that Coleman had been nominated by a convention which was "black as night, sprinkled with a few Caucasian lights of carpetbaggism and scalawaggery."⁵⁴ Also, in the course of the campaign, the Picayune defined the issue as "white man against black in the Second District."⁵⁵ Coleman carried only one ward in New Orleans but had a majority in the four parishes with large Negro populations. The press scornfully denounced the Democrats of the district for allowing such a result.⁵⁶

Harrison's election meant that the Custom House would once again be occupied by Republicans, but the problem was, Which Republicans? Who would be recognized as the leader of the party in the state and be consulted on matters of patronage? Logically, the accolade should have fallen

⁵³ Daily Picayune, November 5, 1888.

⁵⁴ Ibid., November 6, 1888.

⁵⁵ Ibid., October 30, 1888.

⁵⁶ Ibid., November 12, 1888.

on Coleman as the only Republican in Congress from Louisiana. But Coleman was not of the old inner circle which symbolized the party in the state long before the new Congressman had been a Republican. The old guard would not stand by and watch Coleman garner all the fruits of victory. Actually, Coleman was Warmoth's pawn in his fight with Kellogg for undisputed leadership in Louisiana Republican affairs. Since 1876, Kellogg had been in Washington where he was in contact with the national leaders who consulted him on matters respecting Louisiana. He rarely visited Louisiana except at campaign time. Until 1884 most of the federal offices in the state were held by men recommended by him. During the same period, Warmoth associated more and more with the conservative business men, planters, and Negroes in the party. It was Warmoth who had secured Coleman's nomination. It had come about when Coleman had approached James Richardson to ask what his chances were in securing the nomination. Richardson told Coleman to see Warmoth:

He will ask nothing you may not freely give. . . . Go to him and make your terms. If you and him agree, that ensures the nomination. He will send you, in all probability to Hero. Having your arrangements with Gov. Warmoth, put the campaign in Hero's hands. He at the worst will not sell you out. Trust no other management no matter who, or what, or you will be sold.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Richardson to Warmoth, January 4, 1889, Warmoth Collection.

Coleman followed this advice. He agreed to make no political move without consulting Harvorth and to nominate Hero for Collector of the Port if he won the election. He also agreed to "undermine Kellogg's opposition and sap [sic] its strength" by promising jobs to Kellogg's lieutenants.⁵⁸

When Coleman got to Washington he found Kellogg, Kinchback, Herwig and other Louisiana "patriots" on the scene. In his interviews with Republican leaders, he told them that the "old job holders" had done nothing to elect him and therefore had no claims for patronage. He also said it was his ambition to

. . . build up in Louisiana a Respectable White Man's Republican Party, at the same time giving the colored man a fair proportion⁵⁹ of the patronage, according to qualifications.

It was rumored about Washington that Harrison favored the cessation of "bloody shirt" politics and that his "southern policy" would be to build up a conservative party in the South led by native white Southerners. It was believed that this would break the "Solid South" because such a party would allay fears of Negro domination and result in fair elections and honest counts. The old guard ridiculed this

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ H. Dudley Coleman to George Seldon, November 13, 1888, Harrison Papers.

idea. They said that if the Negroes and carpetbaggers were ignored in the distribution of the patronage there wouldn't be enough bona fide Republicans left to fill the offices.⁶⁰ Kellogg stated that he knew from personal experience that a Republican party made up of conservative white Southerners would not break the Solid South. He said:

I had William H. Hunt made Attorney General of Louisiana, Judge of the United States Court of Claims, Secretary of the Navy, and Minister to Russia yet he did not change five votes. He could not induce even his brother-in-law to vote the Republican ticket. . . . The whites will stand together, thats all there is to that.⁶¹

Coleman, buffeted about in the maelstrom that was Washington, confided his trials and tribulations to his political mentor:

I should have written to you long since but--I never before in my life got into quite such a stew or rather a broil before--I'm invited to the Dinner of the "Gridiron Club" next Saturday night 30th Inst--and the broiling there I expect will be warm but very pleasant. Why dont you write me & tell me something & say whether I am doing right or wrong. In this town of politicians office holders officeseekers newspaper reporters, and beautiful women a man all alone dont know exactly how & where to flock by himself even if possessed with more than one feather. . . .

⁶⁰ Weekly Pelican, December 15, 1888.

⁶¹ Ibid., January 5, 1889 quoting a Kellogg interview in Philadelphia Record.

Minor Beattie, Dr. Duperieur & Pearl Wight are here with Dr. Ike Scott Gov Flanders & Pitkin. The 4 first names attempted to read the riot act to me relative to what they considered wrong acts of mine, but I dont think they made much headway. Here I think should have told Pitkin Minor & Beattie what I had done or been told to do. . . .

Minor seemed to think that Hero and I were gobbling up everything for the 2nd. Dist. and I am willing to prove that it is not my disposition but I expect as a matter of course & will try to see to it that the 2nd. is properly cared for.

Now Gov. you must help me in this very big job and see that I make as few mistakes as possible. I feel certain that I am strong & stand well with the Presdt. & the Cabinet unless possibly in the state Dept. where Minor may be strongest & where I think Kellogg has a hold. I astonished & rather upset the crowd Minor Beattie & Co in the statement that "I would be governed more by the advice of Gov Warmoth than any man in La."--In fact this caused the rumpus--but now the seat of war will be transferred to N. O. & if you & Pitkin cant handle either Minor or Beattie then I stand a poor chance. . . .⁶²

The storm broke over Coleman's head when he recommended Hero for Collector. The old line Republicans played up the fact that both Coleman and Hero were members of the Washington Artillery--a unit that had fought to destroy the Union. When Coleman nominated Edward J. Kursheedt, another member of the Washington Artillery, to be marshal of the eastern district, the editor of the Weekly Pelican asked sarcastically:

Do you belong to that veteran Republican organization the Washington Artillery? We never knew . . . that it was the Republicans that endeavoured to break up the Republican government

⁶² Coleman to Warmoth, March 23, 1889, Warmoth Collection.

on September 14, 1874.⁶³

Coleman's first recommendations outraged the old office holders. "It is out of such milk and water nobodies," exclaimed the Pelican, "that H. Dudley Coleman hopes with the aid of a few dollars of federal patronage to build up a party that shall dominate the fierce and unterrified Democracy with its short-haired hoodlums and its long haired shot gun guerillas, and the sturdy Republicans who have for years bravely imperilled their fortunes and lives to maintain what they knew to be right. When the gentleman from the Second District would make one mugwump convert by preferring such a neutral by nature as Kursheedt he would disgust an hundred tried and true Republicans who voted for him. . .without the least thought of promoting him to be the boss of the party which he now recognizes and affiliates with for the first time."⁶⁴

Then a coolness arose between Coleman and Hero. Hero wanted Coleman to recommend Jacob Hassinger, editor of the German Gazette, for the post of Director of the Mint and the Congressman did so. Warmoth had a candidate for the same post, Andrew Smythe, and he forced Coleman to withdraw Hassinger's name and substitute Smythe's.⁶⁵ Although

⁶³ Weekly Pelican, March 30, 1889.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Coleman to President (Harrison), May 14, 1889; Hero to President, May 15, 1889, GRTD, Mint Applications.

Coleman continued to support Hero for Collector they were estranged.

The result of all the bickering was that Harrison could not find men to appoint in Louisiana on whom all leaders would agree or whom the Senate would confirm. He finally ordered Coleman, Herwig, Pitkin, Hero, Minor and Warmoth to have a meeting and agree on the appointees. If they could not agree the President would make the appointments without consulting the leaders.⁶⁶

Hero was very pessimistic about the success of such a meeting but it was held.⁶⁷ All leaders were present except Herwig who was in Washington working for the Collectorship.⁶⁸ Those present agreed on a list of appointees which Coleman was to take to the President.⁶⁹ But before the President acted something happened which changed the whole picture. Edward J. Gay, Congressman from the third district, died.

The election to fill the vacancy was set for

⁶⁶ E. J. Halford to Warmoth, May 21, 1889, Warmoth Collection.

⁶⁷ Hero to President (Harrison), May 25, 1889; Coleman to Halford, May 27, 1889, Harrison Papers.

⁶⁸ M. S. Quay to President (Harrison), June ?, 1889, CMTD, Collector's Applications.

⁶⁹ Warmoth, Minor, Pitkin, Hero, Coleman to President (Harrison), June 17, 1889, Harrison Papers.

September, 1889. The seat became the object of great interest not only to Louisiana Republicans but to the Harrison administration. The Republican majority in the House was so slim that the addition of only one vote would be welcome. Matt Quay, chairman of the national committee, promised to send money and speakers to Louisiana to aid in the campaign.⁷⁰ Harrison decided to appoint an old hand at Louisiana politics as head of the party to ensure unity and distribution of the patronage where it would do the most good. He sent Warmoth's name to the Senate for confirmation as Collector of the Port.⁷¹

Prior to the announcement of Warmoth's appointment, the Kellogg and Warmoth factions were backing different candidates for the third district nomination. Kellogg favored Darrall and Warmoth supported Minor. When Warmoth was made spokesman of the Harrison administration in the state, it was concluded by the Kellogg faction that the national leaders preferred Minor as the candidate to Darrall. At the district nominating convention held in Franklin in August, Darrall retired from the race and Minor was nominated. The Kellogg faction pledged its support to the party nominee.⁷²

⁷⁰ Weekly Pelican, July 20, 27, 1889.

⁷¹ Thibodaux Sentinel, August 10, 1889.

⁷² Herwig to President (Harrison), August 15, 1889, Harrison Papers; W. W. Dudley to L. F. Suthon, August 21, 1889, Warmoth Collection.

After securing the nomination, Minor balked at being known as Warmoth's candidate. He believed that Warmoth support would be an obstacle to his success, and wanted the President to withdraw Warmoth's name for the Collectorship and delay making any appointments until after the election. L. F. Suthen, Minor's campaign manager, explained to the President that Warmoth the politician was hated in Louisiana. Minor's personal friends among the sugar and rice planters of the district were disposed to vote for him but would not as long as Warmoth was recognised as the official head of the party in the state.⁷³ Minor expressed the same sentiments in a personal letter to Harrison.⁷⁴ Minor was informed that the President was backing Warmoth and for the good of the party Minor must submerge his personal grievances and accept Warmoth support.⁷⁵ Warmoth was directed to do all in his power to raise funds and to send a Republican to Congress from the third district.⁷⁶

⁷³ L. F. Suthen to Harrison, August 7, 1889, Harrison Papers.

⁷⁴ H. C. Minor to Harrison, August 10, 1889, Harrison Papers.

⁷⁵ J. S. Clarkson to Minor, August 9, 1889, Warmoth Collection.

⁷⁶ W. W. Dudley to Warmoth, August 14, 1889, Warmoth Collection.

The Democrats, of course, had no intention of relinquishing the seat. Their candidate was Andrew Price of Lafourche, the son-in-law of the deceased Congressman. Price was a popular man in the district and moved in the same economic and social circles as the Republican candidate.

Minor made speeches throughout the district, assisted by northern congressmen, on a protectionist, internal improvement platform.⁷⁷ The Democrats accused Minor of being "Lilywhite" and opposed to the Negroes participating in government or sharing in the patronage.⁷⁸ However, to be on the safe side, the States told the whites in the district to "stand to their color--even as the whites of North Louisiana have always done from 1874 to 1888--and down the niggers."⁷⁹

The Thibodaux Sentinel reported that the election was conducted with "dignity and good feeling" and was "fair and peaceable."⁸⁰ The congressmen had remained in the district over election day to "witness the count so that they [were] fully advised as to the methods employed."⁸¹ They had seen no bullying or intimidation of Negroes at the polls.⁸²

⁷⁷ Weekly Pelican, August 10, 17, 24, 31, 1889.

⁷⁸ Daily Picayune, August 20, 21, 1889.

⁷⁹ New Orleans Daily States, August 6, 1889.

⁸⁰ Thibodaux Sentinel, September 7, 1889.

⁸¹ W. W. Dudley to Warmoth, August 14, 1889, Warmoth Collection.

⁸² Thibodaux Sentinel, September 7, 1889.

The Democrats carried every parish in the district except Iberville and Terrebonne.⁸³ The Picayune gave four reasons for Minor's defeat: the Democrats had done their duty and brought out a full vote; the tariff bill before the Senate which was not favorable to sugar had caused some Republicans to vote for Price; Minor had antagonized the old party leaders and the Negroes and did not have their full support; and the voters in the district resented the presence of northern Congressmen as federal interference in a local election.⁸⁴ The Republicans claimed they had been counted out and that the Negro votes which should have been theirs were bought or stolen away by the Democrats.⁸⁵ The Weekly Pelican, organ of the Kellogg faction, placed the blame on Minor. It summed up the election by stating: "The party merely failed to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear."⁸⁶

Warrath was occupying the office of Collector of the Port but he had not yet been confirmed by the Senate. The leaders had accepted his nomination because of the political emergency in the third district. Minor's defeat seemed to

⁸³ Weekly Pelican, September 7, 1889.

⁸⁴ Daily Picayune, September 4, 1889.

⁸⁵ J. B. North to J. F. Sullivan, September 9, 1889, GEDJ, Year File.

⁸⁶ Weekly Pelican, September 7, 1889.

indicate that Warmoth was not the man to head the party in the state. Most of the prominent men in the party turned against him and sought to prevent his confirmation by the Senate.

Minor placed the blame for his defeat on Warmoth. Coleman broke with him because he would not appoint Coleman's nominee for Surveyor of the Port. Warmoth dismissed his former protege as a "spoiled child" who was disgruntled because he was not given one-third of the patronage.⁸⁷ Coleman joined the Kellogg faction.⁸⁸

Federal Judge Alex Bearman opposed Warmoth's confirmation because the Collector was supporting a former Democrat as Marshal for Bearman's court. Warmoth said that such criticism coming from Bearman was hardly in good taste "in view of the fact that 10 years ago, the Judge himself was one of the most pronounced Democrats and violent White Leaguers."⁸⁹ The Negro leaders accused Warmoth of following a "milk and water" policy and of ignoring the colored man in giving out the jobs.⁹⁰ Kellogg, Coleman, Leonard, Demas

⁸⁷ Warmoth Statement before Commerce Committee (n.p., n.d.), GRTD, Collector's Applications.

⁸⁸ Herwig to Halford, November 27, 1889, Harrison Papers.

⁸⁹ Warmoth to W. H. Miller, November 26, 1889, GHDJ, Appointment Papers, Louisiana.

⁹⁰ T. B. Stamps to Chandler, December 3, 1889, Chandler Papers.

and Cage were in Washington trying to persuade the Commerce Committee of the Senate into turning in an adverse recommendation on Warmoth.⁹¹ Their nominee was Herwig.

Warmoth was not without friends either in Washington or in Louisiana. J. S. Clarkson of the national committee kept him informed of the maneuvers of his enemies.⁹² The Louisiana senators preferred Warmoth to Herwig and a majority of the Commerce Committee favored confirming him.⁹³ His Louisiana friends claimed that he had the support of the business community of the state and the "brains and character" of the Republican party. His enemies were disappointed office seekers and mercenary Negroes led by that "treacherous, lying iconoclast," Kellogg.⁹⁴

The fight was "bitter, unrelenting, and ingenious." Warmoth had to appear in person before the Commerce Committee to answer charges made against him--the main one being that his administration as governor had been profligate and corrupt.⁹⁵ He was confirmed by the Senate.

⁹¹ Clarkson to Warmoth January 20, 1890, Warmoth Collection.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ W. L. McMillen to Warmoth, January 28, 1890, Warmoth Collection.

⁹⁵ W. W. Dudley to Warmoth, January 25, 1890; J. D. Rouse to W. P. Frye, January 28, 1890; J. S. Clarkson to Warmoth, February 20, 1890; Warmoth Statement before Commerce Committee, QRTD, Collector's Applications.

As the officially recognized head of the party in Louisiana, Warmoth tried to heal its wounds but with little success, except in his own congressional district--the first.⁹⁶ Consequently, only two Republicans ran for Congress in 1890. Warmoth in the first district and Coleman in the second. The "Force Bill," the McKinley Bill, and disunity of the party worked against them. The "Force Bill" was an election law providing for federal supervision of federal elections being debated in Congress which the South believed would mean the return of "troops and bayonets" to that region. The McKinley Bill provided for the removal of the sugar tariff and the substitution of a bounty to the sugar grower. Louisiana sugar planters were definitely opposed to it. The Warmoth and Coleman opponents pointed out since these were Republican measures Republican congressmen would be expected to vote for them. Therefore, a vote for Warmoth and Coleman meant a vote for the "Force Bill" and the McKinley Bill. The two Republican candidates found that they could not compete against the "influence of money and the pressure of employers" on Negroes.⁹⁷ Once more the Louisiana congressional delegation was solidly Democratic.

⁹⁶ Warmoth to President (Harrison), March 31, 1890, Harrison Papers.

⁹⁷ Daily Picayune, October 31, 1890; Warmoth to Halford, November 8, 1890, Harrison Papers.

Both the Kellogg and Warmoth factions sent delegations to the national nominating convention in Minneapolis in 1892. The Kellogg delegation was seated.⁹⁸ According to A. S. Badger, chairman of the Warmoth delegation, the Kellogg crowd had "dickered" with the committee on credentials and promised to deliver eight votes for Blaine if they were seated.⁹⁹ On the first ballot when Harrison was renominated, the Louisiana vote was Harrison-eight; Blaine-eight.¹⁰⁰

The Warmoth faction refused to accept the verdict of the Minneapolis convention and put out an electoral ticket for Harrison and Reid, claiming to be the "true" party. The Kellogg faction had put one out also. When both "parties" appealed to the national campaign committee for funds, they were informed that no money would be sent to Louisiana until there was only one Republican electoral ticket in the field.¹⁰¹ After receiving this ultimatum, a joint conference of the two factions was held on September

⁹⁸ Proceedings of the Tenth Republican National Convention Held in the City of Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 7, 8, 9, 10, 1892 (Minneapolis, 1892), 99.

⁹⁹ A. S. Badger to Thomas H. Carter, July 25, 1892, Harrison Papers.

¹⁰⁰ Proceedings of the Republican National Convention of 1892, 141.

¹⁰¹ Clarkson to Warmoth, August 29, 1892, Warmoth Collection.

9, 1892, which resulted in the capitulation of the Warmoth group.¹⁰² The Kellogg faction had the advantage of "legitimacy" bestowed upon it by the Minneapolis Convention and it commanded more Negro votes.¹⁰³

In an effort to break the solid Democratic congressional representation, the Republicans allied with the Populists. It was agreed that the Republicans would put up no candidates in the fourth, fifth and sixth districts but would endorse the Populist nominees. In turn the Populists agreed not to put up candidates in the second or third districts and to endorse the Republican nominees. F. W. Wilkinson, an independent Democrat running for Congress in the first district, was supported by both Republicans and Populists.¹⁰⁴ This agreement applied only to the congressional election and was to hold good until Louisiana had a mixed delegation in Congress.¹⁰⁵ However, only one Republican ran for Congress in 1892. This was Morris Marks who made the race in the second district. Price was so popular in the third district that no Republican could be found to oppose him.

¹⁰² Badger to Warmoth, September 9, 1892, Warmoth Collection.

¹⁰³ New Orleans Times-Democrat, October 5, 1892.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., October 16, 1892.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., October 22, 1892.

Election day found New Orleans in the grip of a general strike involving all essential city services. In spite of this the election was a quiet one because the strike was not an issue--leaders of all parties denounced it.¹⁰⁶ The Democrats carried the state for Cleveland and elected all the Congressmen. Once more the Republicans found themselves ejected from the Custom House with four lean years in prospect.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., November 9, 1892.

CHAPTER V

THE NEGRO AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

1877-1896

A myth of the post-Reconstruction period was that the Republican party alone possessed the confidence of the colored people and that all Negroes were Republicans. It was estimated that the colored element numbered "more than ten to one"¹ in the party, but this did not mean that all registered Negroes (the number increased from 78,123 in 1878 to 130,344 in 1897)² were Republicans, nor did it mean that the vote of those belonging to the party would be either cast or counted for it. Had this been so, Louisiana would have been a Republican state, because the Negro registrants outnumbered the whites from 1878 through 1897.³ In the same period, twenty-nine parishes reported Negro majorities but only ten of these consistently went Republican.⁴ There were natural reasons why the Negroes

¹ Weekly Louisianian, October 22, 1881.

² See Appendix A.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See Appendixes B, D.

who traditionally should have overwhelmingly and automatically supported the party which gave them their freedom and ballot did not do so.

In the ranks of the colored voters were planters, and professional, and business men, who were the leaders of the race and in politics. They were a minority. Some of the Negro voters were small farmers like Isaac Bell of Cadeo who describes himself as ". . . farmer & owns a nice little farm of an hundred & forty acres. . . though I am somewhat behind in paying for it. . . ." ⁵ Most of them were illiterate laborers and field hands. It was this latter group which furnished the bulk of the votes at election time and was subject to forces which made the number of votes it represented an uncertain quantity.

There were some parishes in which the colored man did not dare vote. Around election time the idea of Negro suffrage seemed to whip the whites into a frenzy. The history of Louisiana in the post-Reconstruction period is replete with instances when the Negroes were bulldozed by the whites to keep them from voting for any party. Only the most hardy souls would attempt to exercise the privilege in the face of such threatened and accomplished atrocities revealed in the reports of the several congression-

⁵ Isaac H. Bell to Joseph McKenna, July 2, 1897, GHDJ, Appt. Papers, Louisiana.

al committees which investigated Louisiana affairs.⁶

An "exterminating and intimidating" war was waged in some parishes which involved murder of defenseless Negroes, church burnings, ravishing of Negro women, and the exiling of the colored people. One of the worst afflicted areas was Tensas Parish which was said to "raise the biggest and blackest pecans of any parish in the state."⁷ Their reaction to such conditions is best described by the Negroes themselves. One wrote:

And some of the Democrats tells me Just so long as we colored people fools with politics and try to vote here in the south So long as the white man of the South are going to kill us and from what I can se it Seem so.⁸

Another asserted:

As of now, I shall forever hereafter close my mouth in politics. . . . I shall assume the robe of a subject of Her Brittanic Majesty where I know there is protection to the humblest of her subjects even in Louisiana.⁹

One colored citizen demanded drastic action on the part of the Federal government because the bulldozed Negro was

⁶ Report of the Select Committee on Condition of the South (1875), H. R. Repts., 43 Cong., 2 Sess., V, no. 261; Report on Elections in Louisiana (1879), Sen. Rpts. 45 Cong., 3 Sess., IV., no. 855; Report on the Louisiana Election of 1876 (1876), Sen. Rpts., 44 Cong., 2 Sess., IV, No. 701, I, II, III.

⁷ Weekly Louisianian, December 7, 1878.

⁸ Henry Adams to Charles Devens, November 11, 1878, GRDJ, Source Chronological Files, East Louisiana.

⁹ G. R. M. Newman to R. B. Hayes, November 29, 1878, GRDJ, Source Chronological Files, President.

. . . unlike the Indian, who has the forest and broad prairie [sic] home, his swift footed pony to carry him away to his happy [sic] home far from his enemy. [sic] . . .

The colored man needed protection.

. . . fill the south with Negro Soldiers to protect the freedman and you will do the freedman justice.¹⁰

Intimidation was used to force the Negro to vote the Democratic ticket. The "white man's party" controlled the election machinery and allowed them to vote ". . . only when we consent to vote the Democratic ticket whether it being our choice or not."¹¹ Butler Adams of Houma refused to vote as the Democratic parish committee had decided he should, and as a consequence his house was riddled with bullets and he was forced into exile leaving behind property valued at \$3000.00.¹²

Fraud, ballot box stuffing, and not counting the colored vote as cast were other methods used to nullify Negro suffrage. The colored man who regarded the ballot as a symbol of his freedom and "manhood" resented this but could do nothing about it except protest to either his party

¹⁰ R. J. Cromwell to R. B. Hayes, November 10, 1878, GRDJ, Source Chronological Files, President.

¹¹ Citizens of North Louisiana to Grover Cleveland, July 19, 1886, GRDJ, Year File.

¹² Butler Adams to (?) Francisco, July 13, 1888, Chandler Papers.

leaders, who were as helpless as he was, or to men of national prominence. One of the more articulate among them who was afraid to sign his name wrote to the "Onible John Shurmon." He stated that he was a "macanit" residing in north Louisiana who had worked all over the state and felt he could state the views of the colored laborer in this matter.

. . . labor dont say nuth when they robs him of what he make on plantations and other laboring work but he hates the idear of been rob out of his labor an ballot to he would ruther give up his labor than have his vote stolen from him and give his vote to another party.

The correspondent was so disgusted with the situation around Shreveport that he believed the

. . . devile caught the lord Christmas gift and the lord gived north Lausiana away to the devile. . .and the lord has never know what the devile has done with north lauisana Since.¹³

Under normal circumstances, if voting did not bring rewards either pecuniary or personal, the Negroes were apt to be apathetic at election time.¹⁴ This attitude he shared with the mass of white voters and made necessary the electioneering *fel-de-rol* characteristic of political campaigns.

¹³ Anon. to John Sherman, February 12, 1888, Sherman Papers.

¹⁴ Weekly Louisianian, March 29, 1879; June 19, 1880; Daily Picayune, November 8, 1886.

There was no party discipline to force the average voter to go to the polls. The colored elector voted when it would benefit him individually and with the people who could do him the most good.¹⁵ These were not always Republicans. What could that party offer the Negro voter? It had no state patronage to dispense after 1876 and the Federal patronage it did control had to take care of the whites and the Negro leaders. The traditional party appeals to his gratitude for having freed him and given him the ballot began to wear thin over the years. When the party was in control of the state it had failed to give him economic freedom to maintain his political status and in post-Reconstruction times it had nothing tangible to offer him in return for his vote. However, his employer provided him with a job and pay. Field hands and laborers knew it was good policy to vote as their employers instructed them and it made no difference whether the boss was a Democrat or a Republican. The employers knew this. One planter stated it this way:

A little moral suasion on the part of our planters and others engaged in the employment and control of laborers has the effect of providing a potent influence upon the minds of the latter in election matters. They naturally receive with deference the expression of opinion by their employers on all subjects, which expressions pave the way for subsequent conviction.¹⁶

¹⁵ Daily Picayune, August 22, 1889; Weekly Louisianian, December 7, 1878 quoting Boston Globe; Carroll Conservative, November 30, 1878.

¹⁶ J. S. Sims and E. N. Pugh to W. P. Miles, October 30, 1884, William Forcher Miles Collection.

Another put it more crudely and forcibly when he said,

I vote the Republican ticket, and I have 125 colored voters on my plantation, and they all vote as I do. I force them to do it.¹⁷

Moral suasion worked as long as relations among the employers were harmonious. On occasions when the whites were engaged in internecine political warfare the Negro vote became a commodity to be purchased. The colored man did not hesitate to sell his vote to the highest bidder. During the Lottery imbroglio in 1892 the Democratic Executive Committee of Ascension Parish incurred a debt of \$3100 because it had ". . . to buy votes in Donaldsonville, Smoke Bend Darrow & other. . . Plantations."¹⁸ The debt had to be liquidated by assessing each planter and office holder in the Parish from \$100 to \$400. In 1896 when the white supremacy front was split wide open, the factions were forced to "dicker" with the Negroes. This caused the Daily Picayune to fulminate:

Louisiana when it was under negro rule backed by Federal bayonets, had never reached such depths of ignominy as when its white citizens sold themselves to the negroes. This was done in not a few parishes of this proud State, and it is the most disgraceful proceeding in the whole history of Louisiana politics.²⁰

¹⁷ Quoted in W. P. Pierce to Benjamin Harrison, December 29, 1888, Harrison Papers.

¹⁸ Henry McCall to W. P. Miles, May 4, 1892, William Forcher Miles Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

¹⁹ Daily Picayune, April 24, 1896.

²⁰ Ibid., April 28, 1896.

It was these circumstances which caused the whites to look upon Negro suffrage as a "corrupting" influence upon the whites and led to the movement to eliminate it from the state.²¹

Before 1896 the Democratic party was in constant competition with the Republican for colored votes. This struggle began with the enfranchising of the blacks.²² They played up to the ancient loyalties of the Negroes for their "white folks" and insisted that the freedman's interest could best be protected by the people who "understood" him. Negro Democratic organizations were organized, and were encouraged to participate in campaign parades, barbecues, and political rallies; special uniforms and badges were provided. Negroes sat on and spoke from the same platforms with prominent white Democrats. Negro Democrats were elected to public office. In 1896 Monroe had three colored Democratic public servants. Two of them had been on the town council for fifteen years and one had been a constable for twenty.²³ In the crucial election of 1876 the colored voter was avidly wooed by the Democrats

²¹ Thomas W. Shields, "The Political and Social Background of the Suffrage Changes of 1898 in Louisiana," (M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1931), 53-59.

²² William E. Highsmith, "Some Aspects of Reconstruction in the Heart of Louisiana," Journal of Southern History, XIII (1947), 482-483.

²³ New Orleans Times-Democrat, October 21, 1896.

who promised that his rights would be secure under their regime and that he would get a fair share of the state patronage.²⁴ Lonn reports that between 5000 and 17,000 Negroes voted for Nicholls.²⁵ This rapprochement was glowingly described by the Natchitoches Vindicator after the election of 1878.

Election day here was spent joyously by white and black. First they went arm-in-arm and voted the Democratic ticket, and then went to their old ante-bellum plays. We had jumping, wrestling, foot racing, jig dances and pony races. Had a stranger to our customs come here he would have been astonished. Even the whites had no idea of such a tremendous ground swell, and scores of colored men declared to us that Tuesday, November 5, was the happiest day they have seen since the war. . . . For ten long years, have we, born together and linked in one common tie of interest, been estranged, but today we are united forever. Colored men, we salute you as citizens, friends and brothers!²⁶

In every subsequent campaign the press reported the activities of the colored Democratic clubs. The complexion of the "white man's party" was not "lily white" but "cafe-au-lait."

²⁴ Donaldsonville Chief, September 9, 30; October 7, 14, 28, 1876; Weekly Louisianian, September 29, 1877; Hilda M. McDaniel, "Francis Tillou Nicholls and the End of Reconstruction" (M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1946) 29-30; Fanny Z. Lovell Bone, "Louisiana in the Disputed Election of 1876," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XIV, (1931), 554.

²⁵ Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana After 1868, 425.

²⁶ New Orleans Weekly Democrat, November 23, 1878, quoting Natchitoches Vindicator.

The Republican party warned the Negroes that the Democrats simply wanted to use their votes for their own selfish purposes.²⁷ The party press declared that all colored Democrats were renegades, deadbeats, gamblers and drunkards who joined the enemy "to obtain food, clothing, and whiskey without working for them."²⁸ However, some Republican leaders believed that the interests of the race could best be served if it did not give all of its votes to one party. Pinchback preached the doctrine that "colored voters can best protect their liberties and rights of citizenship by dividing their vote, as the whites of the North do, between two political parties. . . ."²⁹ Vermont also believed in a strong two party system and that many Negroes should be Democrats.³⁰ Cleveland's election in 1884 was hailed by some Negro leaders as a blessing in disguise because it marked the doom of the Solid South.³¹ When Micholls was elected governor in 1888, the New Orleans Progress, a Negro Democratic newspaper, stated that the color line had been

²⁷ Donaldsonville Chief, October 7, 1876, Weekly Louisiana, May 15, 1880.

²⁸ Donaldsonville Chief, September 9, 1876, November 4, 1876.

²⁹ Weekly Louisiana, December 21, 1878.

³⁰ Daily Pleasure, October 18, 1886.

³¹ Ibid., November 21, 1884.

broken and that the colored people of Louisiana had "freed themselves of political servitude to the Republican party."³²

On occasion, Negro leaders would bolt the Republican party and campaign for Democrats. Theophile T. Allain, James S. Davidson, and Charles A. Roxborough were temporarily expelled from the party because they supported E. J. Gay, Democrat, instead of C. B. Darrall, Republican, for Congress in 1886.³³ In that same campaign, Louis S. Martinet stumped the third district for Gay because he believed the "Radical carpetbag leaders" did not have the interests of the Negro at heart.³⁴ T. B. Stamps bolted the party on the free silver issue in 1896 and campaigned in the fifth district for Bryan and Sewall.³⁵

The "mixed-ticket" scheme was a device by which Republicans were forced to vote for Democrats. Parish leaders of both parties would make agreements to share the offices and legislative positions.³⁶ Each party would

³² Ibid., April 23, 1888 quoting the New Orleans Progress.

³³ New Orleans Weekly Pelican, October 29, 1887.

³⁴ Daily Picayune, October 21, 1886.

³⁵ New Orleans Times-Democrat, October 21, 1896.

³⁶ New Orleans Democrat, November 2, 1878.

put out a slate but the same names appeared on both. A candidate on such a ticket declared to his audience that he was a Democrat but "I am on the Republican ticket, and the last one of your Kinky-headed _____'s has got to vote for me."³⁷ One Negro voter complained that he had to support a "little fire eating Democrat for Congress" because the Republicans had not put up a candidate.³⁸

The mass Negro vote in post-Reconstruction Louisiana was an unknown quantity.

The political action of the Negro was influenced, to some extent, by the educated, affluent and politically competent members of his race. This small group of individuals were incumbents of federal positions, legislators, constitution makers and parish officials. Among this body of leaders were ex-slaves, descendants of Creole families, ex-Federal soldiers, freemen from the North, and self-made men. They earned their living as preachers, lawyers, teachers, planters, merchants, and newspaper editors.

The most widely known Louisiana colored leader was Pinckney B. S. Pinchback. He called on and corresponded with presidents and national party chiefs. The eastern and mid-western press regarded him as one of the leading Negroes

³⁷ Weekly Democrat, November 2, 1878.

³⁸ Isaac Bell to James A. Garfield, March 30, 1881, GRDJ, Appt. Papers, La.

in the South.³⁹ He was described as being as white as the "average Caucasian," distinguished, aristocratic, and intelligent in appearance.⁴⁰ Pinchback was a

. . . gentleman in whom the odors of Africa are sweetly blended with the fragrance of Louisiana sugar cane, . . . a keen politician, a reasonably honest man, and a power with his race.⁴¹

His standing in Louisiana was demonstrated in the crisis of 1877 when William E. Chandler ordered Kellogg to confer with him and to "regard his wishes."⁴² As the publisher of the Weekly Louisianian and the holder of federal office his influence was state-wide. He maintained his position as the most important Negro leader in Louisiana until he left the state around 1892.⁴³

As chairman of the regular Republican State Committee for many years, Andrew J. Dumont was technically the head of the party but was actually the front man for the Collector of Customs at New Orleans. After the downfall of the party in the state the incumbent of that position was always looked upon as the leader of the Regular Republicans. Dumont was a

³⁹ Weekly Louisianian, March 22, 1877. June 19, 1880 quotes Pinchback interviews in Cincinnati, Journal of Commerce and St. Louis Post Dispatch.

⁴⁰ Weekly Louisianian, June 19, 1880 quoting St. Louis Post Dispatch.

⁴¹ Ibid., May 6, 1882, quoting New York Daily Truth.

⁴² W. E. Chandler to W. P. Kellogg, January 13, 1877, Chandler Papers.

⁴³ Agnes Smith Gross, "The Political Career of Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXVII (1944), 606.

native of Algiers, Louisiana, a business man who got along well with the whites.⁴⁴ When the Republicans were in power nationally, he was always on the Federal payroll.

Theophile T. Allain was the leader in "Sweet Iberville." He was a levee contractor and the owner and manager of rice and sugar plantations named Souleouque and Loxana. He had a Jersey cattle stock farm. Mrs. Aline Allain was "Directress of the Dairy." He served in the state legislature as representative and senator from 1874 to 1892, the constitutional convention of 1879, and as a trustee of the state colored university. Being "always most conciliatory to the dominant element in the State" he was respected by the white leaders of both parties.⁴⁵

St. John the Baptist was a "black" parish par excellence. It was one of the parishes which reported a majority of Negro registrants even after the disfranchisement clauses of the Constitution of 1898 went into effect.⁴⁶ The parish was listed in the Republican column in every state and national election from 1878 to 1896.⁴⁷ It had a "black boss" named Henry Demas who to his white contemporaries

⁴⁴ Daily Picayune, November 21, 1884.

⁴⁵ Weekly Louisianian, August 2, 1879.

⁴⁶ See Appendix B.

⁴⁷ See Appendixes D, H.

was a "polite and fairly intelligent negro who knew his place and understood racial problems."⁴⁸ His political friends regarded him as a "fair outgrowth of Louisiana as a free state" whose "deficiencies of early education" were "counterbalanced by a strong, vigorous mind and a keen, ready pluck."⁴⁹ Before entering upon his political career Demas served as a sergeant in the Eighteenth Regiment of the Union army.⁵⁰ He realized that his race held the balance of power in St. John and demanded a share of the public offices for himself and his followers. Consequently, the parish was one of the last to have both white and colored officials.⁵¹ John Webre, his lieutenant, was sheriff almost continuously from 1876 to 1896,⁵² and during the same period, except for 1884-1888, a Negro represented the parish in the lower house of the state legislature.⁵³ Demas served as parish treasurer for ten years and

⁴⁸ Aubin P. Laurent, "A History of St. John the Baptist Parish" typescript copy of original manuscript in Louisiana Room, Louisiana State University, 109.

⁴⁹ Weekly Louisianian, March 8, 1879.

⁵⁰ Henry Demas to Benjamin Harrison, May 28, 1889, ONDT, Naval Office Applications.

⁵¹ Laurent, "A History of St. John the Baptist Parish," 120-121.

⁵² Ibid., 113.

⁵³ See Appendix F.

as state senator for twenty.⁵⁴ In 1882 he was the regular Republican candidate for Congress from the second congressional district and polled more votes than the white independent Republican candidate.⁵⁵

Colonel James Lewis organized the first regiment of colored infantry in Louisiana during the Civil War. His political career began when he served as one of the seven administrators of New Orleans under Mayor B. F. Flanders. He also had the distinction of defeating General P. T. G. Beauregard in an election for city Administrator of Public Works.⁵⁶ The wards of New Orleans and the Custom House were his political bailiwick. He was one of the last Negroes to hold an important federal office in the state, serving as United States Surveyor General for Louisiana from 1899 to 1909. He opposed social equality between the races and favored educational and property qualifications for the suffrage for both whites and blacks.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Demas to Harrison, May 28, 1889, GRDT, Naval Office Applications.

⁵⁵ J. R. G. Pitkin to Chandler, November 10, 1882, Chandler Papers.

⁵⁶ B. F. Flanders to President (Harrison), April 17, 1889, GRDT, Surveyor of Customs Applications.

⁵⁷ Donaldsonville Chief, September 16, 1876; James Lewis to William E. Chandler, October 18, 1900, Chandler Papers.

An influential Negro newspaper in the 1890's was The Crusader edited by Louis A. Martinet, the son of a French Creole father and a slave mother. He came out of slavery as a child and attended freedman's schools in New Orleans. He studied law and was admitted to the bar and then took up the study of medicine at the Negro medical school where he was for a time "Demonstrator of Anatomy." In 1892 he was offered a \$1200 a year scholarship for three years study in Europe by ex-President Hayes but refused to take it because he felt it his duty to remain with the Crusader to promote the welfare of his race.⁵⁸

Harry Mahoney served through the Civil War campaigns west of the Mississippi as the faithful body servant of Major M. P. Wyche of Iberia Parish. After he became a freedman, he educated himself, moved to Plaquemines parish, entered politics and became a sugar planter.⁵⁹ He represented his parish in the state legislature from 1880 to 1892.

Pineback, Dumont, Allain, Demas, Lewis, Martinet, and Mahoney represent types of Negro leaders in Louisiana but they do not exhaust the list. Mention must be made of

⁵⁸ Albion W. Tourgee to Chandler, January 30, 1896, Chandler Papers.

⁵⁹ Mrs. M. P. Wyche to John R. Ficklen, February 28, 1903, Ficklen Papers.

Cain Sartin, sheriff of East Carroll in the 1880's; J. Henri Burch, native of Washington, D. C., editor of the Naton Rouge Grand Era, and legislator; Jacques A. Glanville, captain in the Union army, planter, legislator, United States Surveyor General; Pierre Landry, Ascension, "temperate, studious, religious, honest and capable,"⁶⁰ Methodist pastor, legislator and constitution maker; Ralford Blunt, Natchitoches, "of strong natural ability,"⁶¹ pastor, and man of property; Thomas A. Cagge, Terrebonne, planter, legislator, and chairman of the Republican State Central Committee in the 1880's; "Big, black, burly"⁶² William Harper of Cadeo; David Young, Concordia, who would not "attend a Sunday caucus,"⁶³ legislator, and constitution maker; T. B. Stamps, Orleans, legislator, constitution maker, and editor of the Louisiana Standard; and Charles A. Bourgeois, St. Charles, lawyer and one of the last Negroes to serve in the Louisiana legislature being elected in 1896.

None of the above leaders preached social equality

⁶⁰ Donaldsonville Chief, February 28, 1874.

⁶¹ Weekly Louisianian, January 11, 1879.

⁶² N. C. Blanchard to John R. Plakien, February 9, 1903, Plakien Papers.

⁶³ Weekly Louisianian, May 29, 1880.

or miscegenation. They wanted colored men to vote, serve on juries, hold public office, to have free education and free access to public places and conveyances. But these ideals could be relegated to the background for purposes of expediency. As politicians they played the game. They quarrelled among themselves and with the white leaders. Then reconciliations would follow and there would be a shifting of alliances.⁶⁴ Most of them were accused of every species of political crime; from betraying the interests of the race by selling themselves to the Democrats to scalping tickets at national conventions.⁶⁵ They placed the blame for their political shortcomings on the carpetbaggers. The following is typical:

The war brought large numbers of needy adventurers into our midst. The reconstruction acts threw us, an inexperienced element, in the political arena. The wily rascals who had come among us, soon discovered our helplessness, and with devilish ingenuity managed to ingratiate themselves into our favor and secure the leadership our necessities demanded. Through their tutelage we acquired the cunning and unreliability that have in some cases shown itself and been cited on every occasion as an evidence of the incapacity and unworthiness of our race.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Weekly Louisianian, January 4, 1879; April 15, 29, 1882.

⁶⁵ Daily Picayune, June 16, 1880; Weekly Pelican, April 9, 16, 1887; September 28, 1889.

⁶⁶ Weekly Louisianian, November 17, 1877.

Their main grievance was that they were being denied a just share of the party spoils. They agitated for more "shade" in the Custom House and the Mint.⁶⁷ The color line was drawn even in the "Negro party." The colored leaders never did gain ascendancy over the whites within the party organization because they never presented a united front against them. The party divisions were never composed exclusively of white or blacks; both races were represented in every faction. As a result, the Negro Republican got what it was politically expedient to give him and no more.

⁶⁷ Pinchback to Hayes, January 29, 1878, Hayes Papers; Weekly Louisianian, December 21, 1878, July 16, 1881, October 22, 1881; A. B. Blount to Harrison, April 1, 1888, Harrison Papers; Louis A. Martinet to Thomas B. Reed, July 24, 1890, GRDT, Mint Applications; R. F. Guichard to Warmoth, June 17, 1891, Warmoth Collections.

CHAPTER VI

1896

The year 1896 was a very significant one in Louisiana politics. It was the year that the Republicans, with their sugar planter and Populist allies, fought their last significant battle with the Democrats. The Democrats were so hard pressed that they had to buy and steal Negro votes. This led many leaders of all parties to begin thinking seriously of eliminating the Negro vote. This thought culminated in the suffrage clauses of the Constitution of 1898. It was in 1896 that the Australian ballot was first used in Louisiana. It was in 1896 that the corrupt New Orleans Ring was overthrown by the Citizen's League supported by Republicans and Populists.

For the Republican party in particular, 1896 was the year when some wealthy and influential sugar planters and business men, all former Democrats, were absorbed into the party. Since 1877, the party had tried to attract men of this type because they believed in the Republican principles of high tariffs and internal improvements. Yet, they would not join the "Negro" party. It was the action of a Democratic Congress which made them abandon the political allegiance of their fathers and associates.

The Tariff of 1894 imposed a duty on raw sugar of 40 per cent ad valorem instead of a specific duty and did not restore the bounty provisions of the McKinley Tariff of 1890.¹ This law caused the Louisiana sugar planters to conclude that the Democratic party was the tool of the Sugar Trust and was indifferent to the plight of the sugar growers. They had sent delegations to Washington to try to prevent the passage of the act but to no avail.² They believed that the cancelling of the bounty was equivalent to breaking a moral contract. The McKinley tariff had provided that the bounty was to be granted for fifteen years and on the strength of this the sugar planters had borrowed money to buy expensive machinery and equipment. Now the bounty was gone, the country was in a depression, and they were left with their debts facing ruin.³ Henry McCall, Richard McCall and E. N. Pugh of Ascension Parish decided that the salvation of the planter lay in a Republican administration. This meant that Republicans should be sent to Congress from Louisiana, at least from the sugar districts. To bring this about they

¹ F. W. Taussig, The Tariff History of the United States (New York, 1914), 309.

² Warnoth to Chandler, May 18, 1894, Chandler Papers; Thibodeaux Sentinel, January 13, 1894.

³ New York Tribune, September 7, 1894.

determined to leave the Democratic party and affiliate with the party of protection. The McCallis and Pugh announced their decision at a meeting of the Ascension Parish Democracy and advised their fellow planters to do likewise. An eyewitness reported that everyone was struck speechless at the announcement.⁴ These men had been the most ardent Democrats and opponents of Republicanism in the parish.

On September 6, 1894, 300 planters held a convention in New Orleans to discuss whether they should follow the example of the Ascension men. Pugh was made chairman of the meeting. W. E. Howell, H. P. Kernochan, Albert Estopinal and J. N. Pharr advised the planters to make the break and join the party which would restore the sugar tariff. The sugar districts should support congressional candidates who would be acceptable to the Republicans in Washington and who would be admitted to the caucus. John Dymond of Plaquemines parish, opposed any disruption of the Democratic party.⁵

Those planters who decided to leave the Democratic party met in New Orleans on September 17, 1894, and organized the National Republican Party of Louisiana. W. E. Howell

⁴ R. Prosper Landry to William P. Miles, September 5, 1894, Miles Collection.

⁵ New York Tribune, September 7, 1894.

was elected chairman of the executive committee.⁶ The "national" in the name adopted indicated that they were Republicans on national issues but had not changed their views or prejudices on southern and local questions. No move was made to affiliate with the Regular Republicans. Instead the Nationals established separate ward clubs and asked for representation on the state boards of registration and elections.⁷ Seceders who held appointive state offices resigned them.⁸ Besides the usual factions in the Republican party centering around Kellogg and Warmoth there was now a third one.)

The Regulars allowed the Nationals to nominate the Republican candidates in the congressional elections of 1894. The candidates were: H. P. Kernochan, first district; H. Dudley Coleman, second district; and Taylor Beattie, third district. The other three districts were left to the Populists and the Democrats.⁹

The Nationals invited William McKinley, the high priest of protection, to make an address in New Orleans.

⁶ Ibid., September 18, 1894.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ New Orleans Times-Democrat, October 16, 1894.

⁹ Warmoth to Chandler, September 13, 1894, Chandler Papers.

The Republicans of all factions used the occasion of his visit on October 20 to put on a big demonstration, including bonfires and fireworks, to show that Louisiana was a protectionist state. Eight thousand people heard the distinguished visitor's speech on the benefits of protection.¹⁰

The Democratic press ridiculed the idea that the Nationals could be Republicans on national issues and Democrats on local issues. It was stated that no lily-white party could bear the name Republican.¹¹ The planters who had been able to control the votes of their Negro laborers when they were Democrats determined to continue doing so in spite of the color line propaganda of their opponents. One St. Mary planter declared: "I shall vote every negro on our plantation even if it is necessary to kill white men to do so."¹²

No Republican congressmen were elected in 1894. The Ring was too powerful in the New Orleans wards of the first and second districts and Andrew Price spent thousands of dollars to defeat Beattie in the third.¹³

¹⁰ New Orleans Times-Democrat, October 21, 1894.

¹¹ Ibid., November 2, 3, 4, 1894.

¹² Ibid., October 17, 1894.

¹³ Warmoth to Chandler, November 9, 1894, Chandler Papers.

The Nationals did not let this rebuff discourage them. They began preparations for the state campaign of 1896 in 1895 by organizing clubs. Theirs was to be a crusade against "Fosterism" and for fair elections and an honest count. They still claimed to have no connections with the Regulars.¹⁴

In December, 1895 the state central committee of the Regulars met to prepare for the coming campaign. The Warmoth forces fought the Kellogg crowd for supremacy. Warmoth wanted to make overtures to the Nationals with a view to making common cause with them on the fair elections and honest count issue. The Kellogg forces would have nothing to do with lilywhite Republicans.¹⁵ The showdown between the factions was postponed until the meeting of the state convention in January, 1896.

The Nationals held their lilywhite nominating convention on January 2, and named E. H. Pugh as their candidate for Governor, J. B. Donnally for Secretary of State, and L. F. Suthon for Attorney-General.¹⁶ They did not name any other candidates because they hoped to reach an agreement with the Populists and put out a fusion ticket. Such a

¹⁴ Thibodaux Sentinel, November 23, 30, 1895.

¹⁵ Ibid., December 28, 1895.

¹⁶ Ibid., January 11, 1896, Daily Picayune, January 5, 8, 1896.

possibility had been discussed in August, 1895.¹⁷

The Populists held their convention in Alexandria on January 8 and refused to fuse with the Nationals with Pugh heading the ticket. Pugh was a white supremacist but against free silver. A separate Populist ticket headed by A. B. Booth was named.¹⁸

Political negotiations followed throughout the month of January and finally a ticket was drawn up on which both Nationals and Populists could agree. There were three Nationals and four Populists on it.¹⁹ The Fusion ticket was as follows:

Governor	J. N. Pharr	National Republican
Lt. Governor	J. B. Kleinpeter	Populist
Sec. of State	J. W. McFarland	Populist
Auditor	H. P. Kernochan	National Republican
Treasurer	John Pickett	Populist
Atty. General	L. F. Suthon	National Republican
Supt. of Educ.	G. A. M. Cook	Populist

The Regular Republican convention met on January 29. It was the replica of every Republican convention of the past twenty years: the same old faces, the same old quarrels.²⁰ Kellogg wanted to put out a separate ticket,

¹⁷ Lucia E. Daniel, "The Louisiana People's Party," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXVI (1943), 1099.

¹⁸ Ibid., 1101; Daily Picayune, January 9, 10, 1896.

¹⁹ Daniel, "The Louisiana People's Party," loc. cit., 1102.

²⁰ Thibodaux Sentinel, February 8, 1896; Daily Picayune, January 30, 1896.

Warmoth wanted to endorse the Fusion ticket and back the lilywhites. Warmoth's position was approved by some of the important national leaders. In reporting what transpired in the convention to Chandler, Warmoth wrote:

The work we began last August when you and Senator Platt and others consented to an interview with Messrs. McCall and others has born [sic] good fruit.²¹

The Regular convention did endorse the Fusion ticket after a hard fight.²² Warmoth reported that Kellogg had come to Louisiana with a lot of money and had conspired with A. H. Leonard, Thomas A. Cage and the Democrats to buy up the convention to prevent the fusion. This had been prevented, but Kellogg and Leonard were elected chief delegates to the Republican national convention and Cage was the new chairman of the state central committee.²³ Warmoth promised Chandler to bring evidence of Kellogg's nefarious deeds before the St. Louis convention in order to rid Louisiana of "this predatory scoundrel, who never comes to the state except to demoralize and debauch the political organization which these of us who live here have tried so hard to maintain."²⁴

²¹ Warmoth to Chandler, February 4, 1896, Chandler Papers.

²² Daily Picayune, January 31, 1896.

²³ Warmoth to Chandler, February 4, 1896, Chandler Papers.

²⁴ Ibid.

The Thibodaux Sentinel wondered who would rule in this tripartite fusion of such diverse elements whose only unifying force was the desire to beat the Democrats. According to the Sentinel the Populists favored a "paternalism of the most pronounced type," communism and free silver; the Nationals were white supremacists who had no use for the "nigger" except to vote; the Regulars wanted to repeal the separate car and antimiscegenation laws; and Pharr was a prohibitionist. If they won, "what an unpalatable compound will then be pressed to the lips of an afflicted people!"²⁵

When Pharr accepted the nomination he had to address his letter of acceptance to three party chairmen. He had to couch it in general terms in order not to offend. His position was explained by the Times-Democrat:

If Capt. Pharr could tell the Populists that he favored the Ocala Demands, that he believed the railroads should be owned by the State and all taxes placed on the richest classes he could sweep the Populist parishes north of Red River. . . . Any remarks about saddling taxation on the wealthy would antagonize the Nationals, while the Republicans would be indignant over attacks on the corporations and monopolies which they created and fostered. If he could tell. . . the Nationals, that he believed in the restoration of the sugar bounty, and that he did not think the Negroes ought to be allowed to hold any offices or positions of trust in the state, and that the

²⁵ Thibodaux Sentinel, February 8, 1896.

control of the Republican party should be handed over to the planters, it would swell his vote in the Sugar district but ruin him in North Louisiana and the Negro parishes. It is the same with the regular Republicans. He does not tell them that he believes that the separate car anti-miscegenation laws ought to be repealed and that the Negroes should have a large share of the offices. What would please the regulars would lose him every white vote in the state.²⁶

Pharr did have a platform with two planks on which his three-headed support could agree. One plank called for a fair election and an honest count and the other called for the defeat of the suffrage amendment to the constitution.²⁷ The legislature had added to the usual age and residence qualifications, educational and property requirements for voting in the state. The Fusionists were against it because it would not only disfranchise Negroes but many whites as well.²⁸

Throughout the state campaign, the Regulars and the Nationals maintained separate identities. Each had its campaign committee, and its corps of speakers to stump the state for Pharr. The National campaign committee had

²⁶ New Orleans Times-Democrat, February 7, 1896.

²⁷ Thibodaux Sentinel, February 29, 1896.

²⁸ Daniel, "The Louisiana Peoples Party," loc. cit.; 1105; W. W. Duson to Pharr, October 27, 1896, Pharr Papers, Louisiana State University Archives; Times-Democrat, October 8, 16, 1896.

no Negro members.²⁹

In January, anti-Ring Democrats in New Orleans organized the Citizen's League. It nominated candidates for the city offices and legislative seats. The Nationals supported the League candidates and the Regulars were allied with the Ring.³⁰

The Democratic press made fun of the Fusionists, but the practical politicians of the Democratic party realized that they were faced with the most formidable threat to their control of the state since 1876. Two wings of the Fusion represented former Democratic votes now lost to the party. To ensure the election of Foster, they had to make sure every election commissioner and poll official in the Negro parishes was a trusted Democrat because the Negro vote would have to replace the lost white votes.³¹ The party was also prepared to buy votes. The Ring opened up a special office in New Orleans to purchase Negro votes at \$12.50 per man.³² Because it was so unpopular with the mass of the voters, the Democrats abandoned their support of the suffrage amendment which was thus

²⁹ Daily Picayune, March 12, 19, 24, 1896.

³⁰ Ibid., April 2, 16, 1896.

³¹ New York Tribune, March 15, 1896.

³² Daily Picayune, April 17, 1896.

defeated before the election.³³

The decision of a Democratic faction to vote the Negroes caused an explosive situation in St. Landry. This faction insisted that the colored men be allowed to register. The opposing faction prepared to resist such a move by force of arms. Opelousas became an armed camp of the pro-Negro faction and a haven for the rural Negroes. Governor Foster sent state troops to the parish to maintain the peace.³⁴

Not all Democrats wanted to abandon the suffrage amendment. Its proponents hoped its passage would eliminate the "revolutionary" methods used in the past to win elections. The Texas Gazette asked: "Are men to pass their lives in a state of semi-warfare?"³⁵ There could be no permanent peace or prosperity in a community where the violation of the law was the foundation of the political structure. The fear of Negro domination had massed the whites in a compact body which had "grudgingly but surely lodged all political power in the executive which executive has used to emasculate independent action and suppress political thought." Election frauds were looked upon as a

³³ Ibid., April 17, 21, 1896.

³⁴ Ibid., April 5, 6, 1896.

³⁵ Ibid., April 1, 1896, quoting Texas Gazette.

jeating matter.³⁶

The Fusionists were opposed to the suffrage amendment but that did not mean that they were all pro-Negro. The Populists were against it because it would disfranchise many of their followers. The National's attitude was expressed by Pharr in his campaign speeches made at segregated political meetings. The Negroes were a clinging vine on the oak of the white race. The colored man should look to the white man for guidance in all matters. Pharr's advice was:

Don't make any fight with a white man, but go to law for your rights. . . .Acquire property and be respected, and the white men will see that you are not imposed on and run out of the country. What you want is to earn money and educate your children, and not take part in politics.

If the white men allowed the Negroes to vote, they should go to the polls but if the prevailing sentiment was against it, they should stay at home.³⁷

Election day passed without serious disturbance in the state. Some 500 Negroes voted in Opelousas without incident. Two men were killed in Tangipahoa.³⁸ It was in

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., April 7, 11, 1896; Thibodaux Sentinel, March 14, 1896.

³⁸ Daily Picayune, April 22, 1896.

connection with the counting of the vote that serious trouble arose in two different parts of the state.

St. John the Baptist Parish was the only parish which had not completely suppressed its Negro and Republican elements in local affairs. The Democrats determined to accomplish this in the election of 1896. Faced with this determination, Henry Demas, the black boss of the parish, tried to prevent a complete count of the vote by seizing the ballot box of the second ward. He gathered his fellow blacks at his house, armed them, and prepared to withstand any attacks by the whites. The whites laid siege to the Negroes and called on the Governor to send state troops. The Louisiana field artillery dispersed the Negroes and Demas fled the parish. St. John was "redeemed."³⁹

The Populists of Natchitoches parish assisted by party members from Winn and Grant parishes were in arms against the Democratic commissioners who refused to count all the Populist votes cast. Prior to the election, the whites in the parish had agreed that no Negroes would be allowed to vote. The Democrats claimed that the Populists had broken the agreement and voted Negroes in the Grapp's Bluff precinct of ward three. It was these votes the commissioners wanted to reject. State troops were sent to

³⁹ Ibid., April 23, 25, 1896.

Natchitoches to maintain order. The parish went Fusionist.⁴⁰

The election revealed that when the whites were divided the Negro vote became a valuable commodity even for Democrats. The Picayune remarked on this phenomenon:

Now that the Negroes of Louisiana have come to realize that the days of Democratic bulldozing have entirely passed away, and that the Democrats have become the Negro's best customers, it is easy to see that the Negroes are not only becoming a great political power but are disorganizing the Democratic party. The game now is to secure a nomination on the Democratic ticket for the important local offices, and then abandon the balance of the ticket and the principles of the party on the condition of securing the black vote.⁴¹

After the returns were in it was seen that the Citizen's League had won a clear victory in New Orleans. The Fusionists carried 26 parishes. There were to be four Republicans in the state senate and nine in the house. Foster claimed 116,216 votes to Pharr's 90,138.⁴² A study of the returns revealed that Pharr had carried the white parishes north of Red River and that Foster's majorities were in the black parishes which had heretofore been in the Republican column.⁴³ The conclusion was obvious to the

⁴⁰ Ibid., April 28, 1896.

⁴¹ Ibid., April 24, 1896.

⁴² See Appendix C.

⁴³ Daniel, "The Louisiana People's Party," loc. cit., 1111; Appendix D.

Fusionists. The Democrats had stuffed the ballot boxes and stolen the Negro votes. They planned to contest the election and get the state legislature to go behind the returns. The Fusionists expected the Citizen's League legislators, who held the balance of power in the legislature, to act with them in this move since the League was a body dedicated to reform and pure elections. Henry McCall, the "Warwick of the sugar teats," declared that

Once upon a time there was some justification in this method of counting out a common enemy, but now. . . more than one half, two thirds of the white votes of the state have been cast for Pharr.⁴⁴

A fair count would show that Pharr had a clear majority of 8000 white votes over Foster.⁴⁵

The League leaders sought to compromise the issue before the meeting of the legislature. They proposed that Foster's election not be challenged and in return the administration would agree to call a constitutional convention to revise the suffrage qualifications. The legislature would enact a new election law providing for the Australian ballot. Another state election would be held in two years under the new law.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Daily Picayune, May 1, 1896.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., May 2, 1896.

The Fusionists agreed to accept the propositions but reserved the right to make a formal protest to the legislature on the frauds perpetrated in the election. Pharr later admitted that he had accepted the terms because of the promise to eliminate the Negro vote.⁴⁷ The Fosterites delayed accepting the terms until the night before the legislature was to proclaim the results of the election. Meanwhile, the capital was in a state of great excitement. All the legislators carried pistols. One gun was accidentally discharged in the corridor of the State House and immediately the whole place was bristling with drawn guns and knives.⁴⁸ The atmosphere cleared when it was announced that Foster had accepted the League compromise with the exception of the part calling for another election in two years.

When the legislature met on May 14, the Fusionists presented a long report on the frauds of the election of 1896. They pointed out that in many parishes the number of votes returned exceeded the number of registered voters. They charged that 35,000 votes claimed by the Democrats were fraudulent. The elections committee presented a majority and a minority report. The former declared that the

⁴⁷ Ibid., May 21, 1896.

⁴⁸ Ibid., May 14, 1896.

legislature had no power to go behind the returns and that on the face of the returns Foster was elected. The minority report recommended going behind the returns. The legislature voted on the minority report. It was rejected by a vote of 86 to 43. Seventeen League men voted with the Democrats and eight with the Fusionists.⁴⁹ Thus ended one of the most significant elections in Louisiana political history.

Just as in every presidential election year since 1879, the conclusion of the state election did not mean any respite from politics for the people of the state. The national party conventions met in June followed by the campaign and the election in November.

The Nationals were not represented, except indirectly by Warmoth, at the St. Louis Republican convention. The majority of the delegation was for McKinley.⁵⁰ J. Madison Vance, a Negro delegate, made one of the speeches to second McKinley's nomination.⁵¹ The gold plank of the platform was unanimously approved by the Louisiana men.⁵² Augustus T. Wimberly, a former collector of internal revenue, was

⁴⁹ Ibid., May 15, 1896.

⁵⁰ Official Proceedings of the Eleventh Republican National Convention Held in the City of St. Louis, Mo., June 16, 17, and 18, 1896 (n.p., n.d.), 115.

⁵¹ Ibid., 120.

⁵² Ibid., 91.

named national committeeman.

Although they had had no part in his nomination, McKinley was thoroughly acceptable to the Nationals. He was also acceptable to many conservative Democrats in the state who could not swallow Bryan and the free silver heresy. The Nationals hoped these sound money Democrats would help them carry the state for McKinley, and some indicated their willingness to do so. R. M. Walmsley, New Orleans cotton factor, wrote Pharr:

. . . I can safely say that there is a strong sentiment growing with our best people in favor of McKinley and the Republican party. Speaking for myself I would say I have always been a Democrat and am still, but, I do not favor the Chicago nominees nor platform.⁵³

Another correspondent of Pharr, J. W. Castles, president of the Hibernia National Bank, stated:

Among the business people of the city of New Orleans there is already a strong and decided opinion to vote for McKinley, without reference to politics, and I meet very few business men who do not intend to take this course, who have always been staunch Democrats before.⁵⁴

The Nationals named an all-white electoral ticket and nominated candidates for Congress in the first, second, and third districts. The Regulars had a Negro on their electoral ticket and congressional candidates in the first,

⁵³ R. M. Walmsley to J. N. Pharr, August 22, 1896, Pharr Papers.

⁵⁴ J. W. Castles to Pharr, August 22, 1896, Pharr Papers.

second, third, and fourth districts. The Populists were fused with the Democrats.

In July, 1896 the state legislature had passed the new election law which provided for the Australian ballot. The new law was to apply for the first time in the presidential election. The state Board of Canvassers was charged with preparing the official ballot. It recognized the Regulars as the Republican party in the state by including their electors under the party designation and by assigning them the task of naming Republican poll commissioners. The National electors were put on the ballot but as nominees of a nominating body not a regularly constituted party. They were allowed no poll commissioners. Two sets of electors would confuse the Republican voters and cause them to spoil the ballot which would then be thrown out.⁵⁵

Faced with this situation, negotiations were begun between the two factions with a view to having one electoral ticket and one set of candidates for Congress which all Republicans could support. The major stumbling block was that the Nationals did not want any Negroes on the electoral ticket. They could not ask other white men to vote for colored electors.⁵⁶ The Regulars insisted that the Negro

⁵⁵ New Orleans Times-Democrat, October 11, 1896.

⁵⁶ Ibid., October 2, 1896.

elector on their ticket be retained. Mark Hanna, who dispensed the campaign funds of the national committee, supported their view.⁵⁷ Wimberly, the national committeeman and leader of the Regulars, was informed while on a visit to McKinley in Canton that no funds would be sent to Louisiana until the factions united on a single electoral ticket would include Negroes.⁵⁸ On October 15, the Nationals capitulated and accepted the Regular electoral ticket. In return, their congressional candidates, A. Romain, J. Legendre, and Beattie were assured united party backing.⁵⁹

The Thibodaux Sentinel sympathized with the Nationals in their humiliation and pointed out that if they returned to the Democratic fold they would not have to vote for a Negro.⁶⁰ The Nationals' attempt to hold themselves aloof from the "Negro wing" of the party had been unsuccessful. Circumstances and expediency had forced them to become identified with the "black and tans."

Although the sugar planters had agreed to withdraw their electors there were two sets of Republican electors

⁵⁷ Marshall J. Gasquet to Pharr, September 10, 1896, Pharr Papers.

⁵⁸ New Orleans Times-Democrat, October 11, 1896.

⁵⁹ Ibid., October 17, 1896.

⁶⁰ Thibodaux Sentinel, October 24, 1896.

on the official ballot on election day. On October 16, the Republican leaders hired a special train to take them from New Orleans to Baton Rouge to get the National electors removed from the ballot. Secretary of State John Michel informed them that the deadline for making changes in the ballot was on October 9 and he could not honor their request. The leaders were crestfallen at this development but took the secretary's refusal good naturedly because he had done it with such "ease and grace."⁶¹ The Republicans issued an address to the public explaining the situation and hoped the voters would not be confused by the double set of electors.

The Republicans' main appeal for votes was that McKinley would restore the high tariff on sugar and perhaps the bounty. The Democrats pointed out that McKinley favored reciprocity tariffs and that meant free sugar to the Republican nominee.⁶²

On the question of free silver, there were defections in the ranks of both parties. The "Sound Money" or "Gold Bug" Democrats had no connection with the Republicans after the National capitulation to the "black and

⁶¹ New Orleans Times-Democrat, October 17, 1896.

⁶² Thibodaux Sentinel, October 22, 1896.

tans." There were some "free silver" Republicans who not only voted but campaigned for Bryan and Sewall.⁶³

Bryan carried the state. The Republicans carried only five parishes for McKinley.⁶⁴

The Nationals had been absorbed by the Regulars but with a Republican national administration in power again, they began to challenge the claim of the old leaders to the patronage and party dominance.

⁶³ New Orleans Times-Democrat, October 21, 1896.

⁶⁴ See Appendix H.

CHAPTER VII

TRIUMPH OF THE LILYWHITES

In surveying the political scene after the presidential election of 1896, the Thibodaux Sentinel had this to say about the Republicans:

Captain Wimberly says Louisiana Republicans are not after offices; the lily whites are said to be not in it, a little bit; Dr. Smythe has heard, away off in Ireland, of McKinley's election and is hastening home on important legal business; Demas is saying nothing but doing a heap of thinking; Cage is somewhere loose; Herwig has his rod ready for the lightening to strike it and land him in some fat office; Leonard is trimming his sails; Hero is surveying the field; and on the outer edge of the magic circle are ranging themselves a multitude of lesser lights waiting for some signal to move and all this portends preparation for a fierce scramble and a mighty struggle for office.¹

The mighty struggle for office did occur and resolved itself into a contest between the Wimberly-Demas combine and the Kellogg-Warmoth-sugar planter alliance. The latter grouping was one of convenience to fight Wimberly who seemed to have the confidence of the McKinley administration much to the disgust of the old guard.

Augustus T. Wimberly was named national committeeman

¹ Thibodaux Sentinel, November 21, 1896.

from Louisiana by the St. Louis convention and, at the time, the Regulars had believed him to be their willing tool. But in the course of the campaign of 1896 he had visited McKinley and Hanna and had assumed the leadership with their blessings. The old leaders looked upon him as an outsider, a newcomer, and a usurper. He had come to Louisiana from Mississippi in 1890 to be Collector of Internal Revenue and had used the patronage of his office to build up Negro support. The lilywhites did not like him because he catered to the Negroes.

Wimberly wanted to be named Collector of the Port. Demas and Walter Cohen, his two Negro henchmen wanted to be Naval Officer and Surveyor, respectively.² The administration was deluged with correspondence from the old Republicans and the sugar planters opposing the recognition of Wimberly as head of the party in Louisiana.

Wimberly's enemies claimed that he had no social standing in the community and was without visible means of support. His accounts as Collector of Internal Revenue had shown a shortage and Harrison had dismissed him for cause. He had conspired with the Democrats to throw the election of 1896. His faction had been the recognized party

² A. H. Leonard to President (McKinley), April 9, 1897, GRTD, Collector's Applications.

and was given the poll commissioners. In New Orleans, only ten per cent of the commissioners he had named appeared at the polls. Seventy per cent of the names he had sent in could not be found in the City Directory.³

As for Demas, he was an unprincipled and disreputable Negro politician who habitually sold his vote in the legislature. He was one of the four state senators who had deserted the Packard legislature in 1877 for \$10,000. He had sold himself to the Lottery company and ran two lottery offices in New Orleans.⁴

Walter Cohen was the keeper of a saloon, gambling house, dive and dance house for Negroes and prostitutes on Custom House and Franklin streets. In his place of business "Negro prostitutes nightly dance the lowest and lewd dances before crowds of men in semi-nude attire." He had conspired with Wimberly and Demas to defeat the Republican congressional candidates in 1896.⁵

Wimberly and his lieutenants answered their critics

³ Brief of charges against Wimberly, GRD, Collector's Applications; Morris Marks to Secretary of the Treasury (Gage), April 5, 1897; Thomas J. Woodward to McKinley, March 29, 1897, GRD, Collector's Applications.

⁴ Brief of charges against Demas, GRD, Naval Officer Applications; Morris Marks to Secretary of the Treasury (Gage), April 5, 1897, GRD, Collector's Applications.

⁵ Brief of Charges against Cohen, GRD, Surveyor's Applications.

in kind. Warmoth had had three mistresses. He was responsible for the death of the child of one of his paramours. The Lottery company had paid Warmoth to sign the Lottery charter bill. He had also gotten the Lottery to invest \$400,000 in a railroad from New Orleans to the Warmoth plantation in Plaquemines parish.⁶

Kellogg's mistress, Minnie Wallace, had poisoned her husband in Emporia, Kansas, before she met Kellogg. The ex-governor took her with him to Europe, Chicago and Washington. She was known all over the country as Kellogg's woman. During the Kellogg administration \$200,000 in false warrants were issued.⁷

Leonard was a White Leaguer who lived in open disgrace with a colored prostitute. W. J. Behan was connected with the Whiskey Steal.⁸

The lilywhites were not only trying to prevent Wimberly's nomination but were also endeavouring to get the McKinley administration to give them the patronage. They

⁶ A. T. Wimberly to Secretary of the Treasury (Gage), June 1, 1897, GRTD, Collector's Applications. These charges and counter charges were all supported by sworn affidavits of the political friends of those accused. These accusations of a personal nature were exaggerated or distorted for political effect.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

wanted to displace the old party leadership.⁹ Walter J. Suthon pointed out that the Australian ballot had disfranchised 50 per cent of the colored adult male population and the only hope for Republican success in the future rested upon the "accession to the party of white men, both for leadership and numerical strength." More white men would join the party if the President appointed men like Suthon to the federal positions of the state.¹⁰

Wimberly had an advantage over the other Louisiana leaders. He was supported by Hanna.¹¹ Eventually, McKinley sent the names of Wimberly, Demas, and Cohen to the Senate for confirmation. Wimberly was confirmed but Demas and Cohen were not.¹²

In July, 1896, the legislature had passed a law which required that the question of holding a constitutional convention be submitted to the people in 1898 and at the same time delegates to the convention would be chosen. The

⁹ E. N. Cornay to President (McKinley), June 23, 1897, GRTD, Mint Applications, J. B. Verdun to Lyman J. Gage, October 7, 1897, GRTD, Mint Applications.

¹⁰ Walter J. Suthon to William McKinley, July 16, 1897, GRTD, Surveyor's Applications.

¹¹ Mark Hanna to Attorney General (McKenna) GRJD, Appointments, Louisiana (undated note); Hanna to Gage, April 1, 1897, GRTD, Collector's Applications.

¹² New York Tribune, July 21, 1898.

convention was given the power to frame and adopt, without submission to the people, a new constitution.¹³ There were to be 134 delegates, 36 of them were to be delegates at large nominated by state conventions of the parties. The remainder of the nominations were to be made by the parish and district conventions.¹⁴

The Republicans were so disorganized because of the patronage fight that they were unable to hold the necessary conventions to make nominations. However, the state executive committee named in 1896 met in December, 1897 to nominate the 36 delegates at large to which the party was entitled. Wimberly and Demas controlled the meeting and expelled Kellogg-Warmoth men.¹⁵ The lilywhites were not represented on the state committee because it had been formed when they were still Nationals. The committee put out a platform for its nominees to campaign on. The main planks were: opposition to the convention which everyone knew was to eliminate the Negro vote; more schools; reduction of the Louisiana congressional representation; poll tax; limitation of immigration; pensions for veterans; and honest

¹³ Daniel, "The Louisiana People's Party," loc. cit., 1120.

¹⁴ Daily Picayune, November 30, 1897.

¹⁵ Ibid., December 2, 1897.

money.¹⁶

Later, in December, 1897, the Wimberly Republicans and the much weakened North Louisiana Populists put out a fusion ticket of delegates on which there were nineteen Republicans and seventeen Populists. The Populists were opposed to the convention which they feared might eliminate the poor white vote with the Negro vote.¹⁷

The lilywhites did nothing about the convention. They were in sympathy with its basic aim and reserved the right to comment on the finished product--the new constitution.¹⁸

Those Republicans and Populists who opposed the convention were in the minority. The election of 1896 had shown that when white men were divided, force and the Winchester rifle were no longer adequate to maintain white supremacy. Most Louisianians believed the only way to solve the problem was to eliminate the Negro vote.¹⁹ St. James was the only parish which voted against the convention.²⁰ No Republicans were elected as delegates but one

[sic. then]

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., December 11, 17, 1897; Thibodaux Sentinel, January 1, 1898.

¹⁸ Daily Picayune, December 11, 1897.

¹⁹ Thibodaux Sentinel, January 8, 1898.

²⁰ Daily Picayune, January 13, 1898.

Populist was elected.²¹

The suffrage clause as finally adopted, after much debate, by the convention allowed four classes of men to vote: literates, property owners paying taxes on property valued at \$300; sons of these property owners; and men who had voted in 1867 and their descendants.²² Relatively few Negroes could qualify but nearly all white men could. The idea of Negro disfranchisement excited no outcry in the North and "even the most honest and intelligent Negroes in Louisiana show a disposition to accept the situation in good part."²³ However, the colored leaders did agree that if the Negro was disfranchised because of illiteracy that more educational facilities should be provided to fit future generations for the franchise.²⁴

The Constitution of 1898 was the longest state constitution in existence. The convention had used its full powers to go beyond its basic purpose of limiting the franchise. It had included in the Constitution many ordinances which should have been left to the legislature.

²¹ Ibid., January 28, 1898.

²² Article 197, Louisiana State Constitution, 1898.

²³ New York Tribune, March 12, 1898.

²⁴ William A. Mabry, "Louisiana Politics and the 'Grandfather Clause'", North Carolina Historical Review, XIII (1936), 302; Thomas W. Shields, "The Political and Social Background of the Suffrage Changes of 1898 in Louisiana" (M. A. Thesis, L. S. U., 1930), 69; New York Tribune, February 22, 1898.

The Picayune said it was "permeated with schemes of factional and individual interests."²⁵ Several parts of the document were condemned by the state press.²⁶ The legislature met on May 16 to declare the new organic law in effect. There was some talk that the assembly would reject it and call a new convention. However, it was felt that the people of the state could not stand the excitement of another convention and the war with Spain.²⁷

A new registration was taken preparatory to the congressional elections of 1898. The figures revealed that 74,133 whites and only 12,902 Negroes met the new qualifications for voting.²⁸ Concordia, St. James, St. John and Tensas still had more Negro registrants than white.²⁹ Since the whites were in complete control of the political situation in those parishes the Negro majorities meant nothing.

The Wimberly faction supported candidates in the congressional districts. The anti-Custom House crowd remained inactive. The Republican sugar planters in the

²⁵ Daily Picayune, May 12, 1898.

²⁶ Ibid., May 14, 1898.

²⁷ Ibid., May 17, 1898.

²⁸ See Appendix A.

²⁹ See Appendix B.

third district supported the Democratic candidate instead of the Wimberly man.³⁰ The lilywhites were biding their time until the 1900 elections. By then the effects of the new suffrage qualifications would be apparent and the people of Louisiana would "have an excellent opportunity to prove up the sincerity of their oft-repeated desire to secure good government."³¹

No one took any interest in the contest. Eight parishes voted Republican but the party elected no Congressmen.³²

The Wimberly state convention of 1900 consisted mainly of men who had been awarded federal positions by the Collector of the Port.³³ The Picayune reported the proceedings as being carried on with "neatness and despatch, no oratory, points of order, or privileged questions." Although, the Wimberly faction was supposed to be the Negro wing of the party the ticket they nominated was all white. The candidate for Governor was E. S. Reems, a native of France but a resident of New Orleans since he was eight years old. F. B. Earhart, the candidate

³⁰ Thibodaux Sentinel, November 12, 1898.

³¹ Daily Picayune, November 7, 1898.

³² Ibid., November 9, 1898.

³³ New York Tribune, April 23, 1899.

for Lieutenant-Governor was a former United States District Attorney. The nominee for Attorney-General was R. P. Hunter a former anti-lottery Democrat. The candidate for State Treasurer was B. Bloomfield, a merchant; for Auditor, James Forsythe, a lawyer; and for Superintendent of Education, D. M. Lines a physician.³⁴

The platform favored sound money, imperialism, a subsidized merchant marine, and McKinley's candidacy for President. It was opposed to the suffrage clauses of the constitution of 1898.³⁵

The anti-Custom House faction held its convention in Alexandria. It was a lilywhite meeting. A delegation of Negroes from New Orleans were told they were not welcome. Demas made some overtures to the group but was rebuffed.³⁶ Philip Herwig was elected chairman of the convention. They had a hard time finding a candidate to head the ticket but finally nominated C. Taylor Cade, sheriff of Iberia Parish, who had been a Democrat up to 1896. Cade's brother had been superintendent of the Mint in New Orleans under Cleveland.³⁷

³⁴ Daily Picayune, February 6, 1900.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., February 7, 1900, New York Tribune, February 7, 1900.

The Populists were holding their convention at the same time and place. Negotiations were entered into for a fusion but the Populists would not accept Cade.³⁸

In 1900 the Democrats were divided. An "independent" faction led by Don Caffery, Jr. had arisen to fight "Fosterism and the Ring" and W. W. Heard, the Foster machine candidate.

Both the anti-Custom House Republicans and the Populists reached an agreement with the Independent Democrats and all three supported the following fusion ticket:³⁹

Governor	Don Caffery, Jr.	Independent
Lt. Governor	D. M. Shelars	Independent
Sec. of State	C. Taylor Cade	Republican
Treasurer	G. A. Hassinger	Republican
Auditor	O. H. Deshotels	Populist
Attorney General	W. G. Wylly	Republican
Supt. of Educ.	O. B. Staples	Populist

The Wimberly Republicans did not make a vigorous campaign.⁴⁰ The Fusionists stumped the state attacking the state political machine. They demanded an honest count and the elimination of the constitutional powers which allowed the governor to control elections. These powers were no longer necessary since there was no longer any danger of Negro domination.⁴¹ Both the administration and the courts

³⁸ Daily Picayune, February 18, 1900.

³⁹ Ibid., March 2, 1900.

⁴⁰ Ibid., March 6, 19, 1900.

⁴¹ Ibid., March 4, 1900.

recognized the Wimberly faction as the "regular" Republican party and let them name the poll commissioners to the chagrin and disadvantage of the Fusionists.⁴²

The most exciting thing in the campaign was not the defection of some Democrats from the party but that Senator Donelson Caffery turned against his friend and neighbor Murphy J. Foster to campaign for the fusion ticket. The Democrats accused him of being an ingrate because Foster had lifted him from obscurity and made him a Senator.⁴³

It rained on election day. The vote was very light --only 60 per cent of the registered voters went to the polls. Heard received 60,206 votes, Caffery 14,215, and Reems 2,449. Neither Republican candidate carried a single parish and for the first time since 1868 there were no Republicans of any faction or color in the state legislature.⁴⁴

The Wimberly Republicans and the anti-Custom House Republicans both sent delegations to the national convention in Philadelphia. The anti-Wimberly delegation was seated because they had been more active than the Custom House in

⁴² Ibid., April 6, 8, 1900.

⁴³ Ibid., March 31, 1900; Caffery, "The Political Career of Senator Donelson Caffery," loc. cit., 846-847.

⁴⁴ Ibid., April 18, 1900 and Appendixes E, F.

the recent state election and because Warmoth promised the committee on credentials that if his faction was recognized as the party by the convention two or three Republicans would be sent to Congress from Louisiana in 1900. However, Wimberly retained his position as Collector and national committeeman. The convention recognized Francis B. Williams as chairman of the state central committee.⁴⁵

In the campaign of 1900 for McKinley and Roosevelt, Wimberly let the lilywhites run the show. They nominated candidates in all congressional districts. They carried on a "clean and decent" campaign but were seriously handicapped by the main issue of imperialism. As Republicans they had to support the annexation of Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Yet these were all sugar-growing areas which would come into direct competition with the Louisiana planters, the economic group most likely to be attracted to the party. It was also pointed out that no matter what the leadership of the Republican party was it would always be associated in the minds of Louisianians with reconstruction and radical rule and that would serve to keep it down in Louisiana.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ New Orleans Times-Democrat, August 18, 1900; Official Proceedings of the Twelfth Republican National Convention Held in the City of Philadelphia, June 19, 20 and 21, 1900 (Philadelphia, 1900), 66.

⁴⁶ Daily Picayune, January 28, 1900; New Orleans Times-Democrat, October 4, 1900.

McKinley electors polled 14,233 votes, and the Bryan electors, 53,671. Only St. James parish gave the President a majority. In spite of Warmoth's promise no Republican congressmen were elected.⁴⁷ This resulted in Wimberly again being recognized by Hanna and McKinley as the head of the party in the state.⁴⁸

The death of McKinley in 1901 gave the lilywhites the opportunity to displace Wimberly and his followers from the seats of power. Theodore Roosevelt, the new President, adopted the policy of recognizing the "best elements" in the Republican party in the South and when Hanna, Wimberly's sponsor in Washington, ceased to be the power behind the throne, Wimberly's days in the Custom House were numbered.⁴⁹ In 1902, Henry McCall, lilywhite leader and former Democrat, was named Collector of the Port.

The small share of the patronage usually granted to the Negro Republicans was reduced under the new dispensation. This trend was foreshadowed when the Naval

⁴⁷ See Appendixes G, H, I.

⁴⁸ New Orleans Times-Democrat, February 3, 1901.

⁴⁹ New Orleans Times-Democrat, October 6, 1901.

Officer appointment was being considered. Under every Republican regime since 1876, the position had been given to a Negro. Roosevelt wanted to maintain the tradition but the state organization endorsed a white man for the office. If the President ignored the recommendation and appointed a Negro he would offend the organization leaders and humiliate their candidate, and if he appointed a white man he would offend all Negro Republicans. Roosevelt got out of the predicament by having the Secretary of the Treasury abolish the Naval Office position in New Orleans by transferring the duties to the Surveyor of the Port.⁵⁰

The planters and business men who had become Republicans since 1894 were firmly entrenched in the positions of party leadership after 1902. The carpetbagger and Negro elements were relegated to the background. The lilywhites and their successors have been granted the federal patronage in the state by every Republican administration since 1902. The completeness of their victory is seen when one scans the names of the men on the Republican campaign committee for the state election of 1904.

⁵⁰ J. M. Holland to Theodore Roosevelt, January 28, 1902, GRTD, Naval Office Applications; Roosevelt to Secretary of the Treasury (Gage), February 1, 1902, GRTD, Naval Officer Applications.

The roster reads like a planter and business directory of Louisiana: F. B. Williams, W. E. Howell, L. H. Pugh, H. S. Suthon, Pearl Wight, Jules Godchaux, Henry McCall, Rufus E. Foster, Jules Dreyfus, John A. Wogan, Charles F. Boagni, C. C. Duson and E. A. Pharr.⁵¹ The old familiar names of Kellogg, Warmoth, Leonard, Herwig, and Demas are absent.

The latter-day Louisiana Republicans have maintained a skeleton party organization of leaders who have participated in national conventions and garnered the federal spoils. They have offered only token resistance to the Democrats because they held the same views on state issues as the conservative leadership of the Democracy. The triumph of the lilywhites made the Republican party of Louisiana respectable--but impotent.

⁵¹ Letterhead of the Republican State Campaign Committee for 1904, in Pharr Papers.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Louisiana Registration 1878-1900*

YEAR	WHITE	NEGRO
1878	77,341	78,123
1880	85,451	88,024
1886	111,791	110,445
1888	125,407	128,150
1897	164,088	130,344
1898	74,133	12,902
1900	125,437	5,320

1878

1878 -
1900

1900

* Registration statistics found in Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Louisiana, 1902 (Baton Rouge, 1902).

APPENDIX B

Parishes Reporting a Majority of Negro Registrants 1878-1900*

Parish	1878	1880	1886	1888	1896	1898	1900
Ascension	x	x	x	x	x		
Assumption	x	x	x	x			
Aveyelles				x			
Bossier		x	x	x	x		
Caddo	x	x	x	x			
Claiborne				x			
Concordia	x	x	x	x	x	x	
DeSoto			x	x	x		
E. Baton Rouge	x	x	x	x	x		
E. Carroll	x	x	x	x	x		
E. Feliciana	x	x	x	x	x		
Franklin			x	x	x		
Iberia	x	x	x	x			
Iberville	x	x	x	x	x		
Jefferson	x	x	x		x		
Madison	x	x	x	x	x		
Morehouse	x	x	x	x	x		
Natchitoches	x	x	x	x			
15 Ward N. O.	x	x					
16 Ward N. O.	x	x	x	x			
Ouachita	x	x	x	x	x		
Plaquemines	x		x	x	x		
Pt. Coupee	x	x	x	x	x		
Rapides	x	x	x				
Red River	x	x	x	x	x		
Richland	x	x	x	x	x		
St. Bernard	x	x	x	x	x		
St. Charles	x	x	x	x	x		
St. James	x	x	x	x	x	x	
St. John	x	x	x	x	x	x	
St. Martin	x	x	x	x			
St. Mary	x	x	x	x	x		
Tensas	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Terrebonne	x	x	x	x			
Webster	x		x	x			
W. Baton Rouge	x	x	x	x	x		
W. Feliciana	x	x	x	x	x		

x--Year Negro registrants were in a majority.

* Registration statistics found in Report of the Secretary of the State of Louisiana, 1896-1898 (Baton Rouge, 1898).

APPENDIX C

Comparative Vote for Governor*

1876-1900

YEAR	DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES	VOTES	REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES	VOTES
1876	Francis T. Nicholls	84,487	Stephen B. Packard	76,477
1879	Louis A. Wiltz	74,098	Taylor Beattie	42,555
1884	Samuel D. McEnery	88,794	John A. Stevenson	43,502
1888	Francis T. Nicholls	136,746	Henry C. Warmoth	51,993
1892	Murphy J. Foster	79,388	Albert H. Leonard	29,459
	Samuel D. McEnery	47,037	John E. Breaux	12,359
1896	Murphy J. Foster	116,216	John N. Pharr	90,138
1900	William W. Heard	60,206	Eugene S. Reems	2,449
			Donelson Caffery, Jr.	14,215

* Election Returns found in the Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Louisiana, 1902 (Baton Rouge, 1902), 561-564.

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8½ x 11 Outline Map
LOUISIANA

SCALE
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APPENDIX D

Parishes Voting Republican in Gubernatorial Elections*

Parish	1876	1879	1884	1888	1892	1896 [#]	1900
Acadia						X	
Ascension	X	X	X				
Assumption	X	X	X	X	X		
Avoyelles	X						
Bossier	X						
Caddo	X						
Calcasieu							X
Caldwell							X
Catahoula							X
Claiborne							X
Concordia	X						X
E. Baton Rouge			X	X			
E. Carroll		X	X				
Franklin							X
Grant	X		X				X
Iberia	X	X					X
Iberville		X	X				
Jackson	X						X
Jefferson	X		X	X			
Lafayette							X
Lafourche							X
Lincoln							X
Livingston		X					X
Madison	X						
Natchitoches	X						X
Plaquemines	X	X	X	X			
Pt. Coupee	X				X		
Rapides	X						
Red River	X						X
Sabine							X
St. Bernard	X						X
St. Charles	X	X	X	X	X		
St. Helena			X				
St. James	X	X	X	X	X		
St. John	X	X	X	X	X		
St. Landry							X
St. Martin		X		X			X
St. Mary	X	X	X				X

X--Year Parish voted Republican

#--Republican-Populist Fusion Ticket

* The election returns by parishes are given in the Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Louisiana, 1902 (Baton Rouge, 1902), 561-564.

APPENDIX D

(Continued)

Parishes Voting Republican in Gubernatorial Elections* (Continued)

Parish	1876	1879	1884	1888	1892	1896 [#]	1900
St. Tammany			X				
Tensas	X				X		
Terrebonne	X	X	X	X		X	
Union						X	
Vermillion						X	
Vernon						X	
Washington						X	
Webster			X				
W. Baton Rouge	X	X			X		
W. Carroll						X	
W. Feliciana						X	

X--Year Parish voted Republican

#--Republican-Populist Fusion Ticket

* The election returns by parishes are given in the Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Louisiana, 1902 (Baton Rouge, 1902), 561-564.

APPENDIX E

Republican Senators in Louisiana Legislature, 1877-1900*

1877-1879, Elected in 1876

Allain, Theophile T. (N)	14th. District
Breaux, John E.	12th. "
Bryant, A. J. (N)	16th. "
Burch, J. Henri (N)	13th. "
Cage, Thomas A. (N)	8th. "
Demas, Henry (N)	6th. "
Dumont, Andrew J. (N)	5th. "
Gla, Jaques A. (N)	17th. "
Harper, William (N)	21st. "
Landry, Pierre (N)	7th. "
Stamps, T. B. (N)	6th. "
Sutton, Isaac (N)	9th. "
Twitchell, M. H. (N)	22nd. "
Wakefield, Samuel (N)	14th. "
Wheeler, C. B.	17th. "
Young, David (N)	15th. "

1879-1880-- 7 holdovers and 4 elected in Nov. 1878.

Bryant, A. J. (N)	16th. District
Cage, Thomas A. (N)	9th. "
Cohen, Mayer (Elected)	9th. "
Delahoussaye, Oneziphore, Jr. (El)	11th. "
Gla, Jaques A. (N) (Elected)	25th. "
Harper, William (N)	21st. "
Landry, Pierre (N) (Elected)	8th. "
Stamps, T. B. (N)	7th. "
Sutton, Isaac (N)	9th. "
Wheeler, C. B.	14th. "
Young, Dave (N)	15th. "

1880-1884, Elected in Dec. 1879

Cohen, Mayer	9th. District
Demas, Henry (N)	7th. "
Simms, Richard (N)	8th. "
Stewart, Jordan (N)	9th. "
Davidson, J. S. (N)	14th. "

* These names were compiled from A. E. Perkins, "Some Negro Officers and Legislators in Louisiana," Journal of Negro History, XIV (1929), 523-528 and the Louisiana Senate Journals.

APPENDIX E

Republican Senators in Louisiana Legislature, 1877-1900*

(Continued)

1884-1888, Elected April, 1884

Cohen, Mayer	9th. District
Demas, Henry (N)	7th. "
Guichard, R. F. (N)	1st. "
Simms, Richard (N)	8th. "
Stewart, Jordan (N)	9th. "

1888-1892, Elected April, 1888

Demas, Henry (N)	7th. District
Cage, Thos. A. (N)	9th. "
Guichard, R. F. (N)	1st. "
Simms, Richard (N)	8th. "

1892--No Republicans in the Senate.

1896-1900--Elected April, 1896

Howell, W. E.	9th. District
Minor, H. C.	9th. "
Watts, S. P.	10th. "
Williams, F. B.	10th. "

1900-1916--Senate solidly Democratic

1916--5 Progressives elected

1920--Present--Senate solidly Democratic

* These names were compiled from A. E. Perkins, "Some Negro Officers and Legislators in Louisiana," Journal of Negro History, XIV (1929), 523-528 and the Louisiana Senate Journals.

APPENDIX F

Republican Members of the Louisiana House of Representatives

1877-1900*

1877-1879--Elected in 1876

Barrett, E. J.	Rapides	Hill, Gloster (N)	Ascension
Barron, L. G.	Natchitoches	Holt, Oscar	W. Baton Rouge
Besley, Andy	Red River	Johnson, W. W. (N)	Madison
Brooks, R. J. (N)	St. Mary	Jones, Milton (N)	Pointe Coupee
Brown, Charles F. (N)	Jefferson	Keating, C. W.	Caddo
Burton, Nicholas	Carroll	Leonard, A. H.	Caddo
Cole, James	St. John	Lewis, John G.	Natchitoches
Come, Lucien (N)	St. James	McMillen, W. L.	Carroll
Davidson, J. S. (N)	Iberville	Magloire, P.	Avoyelles
Davy, Frank J.	St. Landry	Milon, A. E.	Plaquemines
Delacey, W. J.	Rapides	Raby, H.	Natchitoches
Dejeu, Aristide (N)	Orleans	Simms, Richard (N)	St. James
Detiege, Emile (N)	St. Martin	Snaer, L. A. (N)	Iberia
Dickerson, Vincent (N)	St. James	Souer, L. J.	Avoyelles
Dinkgrave, W. H.	Madison	Stewart, J. Ross	Tensas
Drew, Baptiste	Rapides	Tolliver, A.	Concordia
Gantt, Elbert	St. Landry	Walker, Robert J.	Tensas
Gary, Wm. C. (N)	St. Mary	Warmoth, H. C.	Plaquemines
Gracien, George (N)	Orleans	Washington, George (N)	Concordia
Hahn, Michael	St. Charles		

1879-1880--Elected Nov. 5, 1878

Beard, I. W. (Bond?)	Terrebonne	Ducote, Resair (N)	Avoyelles (
Bourgeois, C. A. (N)	St. Chas.	Estopinal, A.	St. Bernard
			(Nationa
Brown, C. F. (N)	Jefferson	Frazier, T. M.	Lafourche
Carville, J. M.	Iberville	Hawkins, Governor (N)	Madison
Come, Lucien (N)	St. James	Hite, Moses	Assumption
Coleman, Royal (N)	Terrebonne	Landry, Eugene	St. Mary
Davidson, J. S. (N)	Iberville	Murrell, William (N)	Madison
Demas, Henry (N)	St. John	Smith, W. B. (N)	St. Mary
Detiege, Emile (N)	St. Martin	Veazey, P. A.	Iberia
Barthelmy, T. R.	E. Carroll	Warmoth, H. C.	Plaquemines
Decuir, Gratien	Pointe Coupee	Watson, C. H.	St. Helena
			(Nationa

* These names were compiled from A. E. Perkins, "Some Negro Officers and Legislators in Louisiana," Journal of Negro History, XIV (1929), 523-528 and the Louisiana House of Representatives Journals.

APPENDIX F
Republican Members of the Louisiana House of Representatives
1877-1900*

(Continued)

1880-1884--Elected Dec. 1879

Allain, T. T. (N)	Iberville	Mahoney, Harry (N)	Plaquemines
Bulow, A.	Assumption	Pollard, Isham (N)	Terrebonne
Cayolle, John (N)	St. John	St. Clair, C. H.	St. Mary
Dickerson, V. (N)	St. James	Verrett, A.	Iberville
Essex, George (N)	Terrebonne	Williams, Enos (N)	Terrebonne
Fraxier, Thomas	Lafourche	Yell, Wm. J.	E. Carroll
Gardner, B. (N)	Assumption	Young, Clement	Iberia
Heidenhain, H.	Orleans	Young, David (N)	Concordia
Jackson, Moses (N)	St. Mary	Roach, Leonard	Jefferson
Landry, Pierre (N)	Ascension		

1884-1888--Elected April, 1884

Allain, T. T. (N)	Iberville	Ewell, B. B. (N)	Assumption
Bourgeois, C. A. (N)	St. Charles	Gardner, B. (N)	Assumption
Brown, C. F. (N)	Jefferson	Lyons, G. W. (N)	Terrebonne
Cage, T. A. (N)	Terrebonne	Mahoney, Harry (N)	Plaquemines
Davidson, J. S. (N)	Iberville	Patty, J. F. (N)	St. Mary
Dickerson, V. (N)	St. James	Posey, W. S. (N)	St. Mary

1888-1892--Elected April, 1888

Allain, T. T. (N)	Iberville	Dickerson, V. (N)	St. James
Benjamin, Anthony	E. Baton Rouge	Gagne, H. S.	Terrebonne
Bourgeois, C. A. (N)	St. Charles	Mahoney, Harry (N)	Plaquemines
Brown, C. F. (N)	Jefferson	Rochon, V. (N)	St. Martin
Cayolle, John (N)	St. John	Smith, C. M. (N)	Terrebonne
Davidson, J. S. (N)	Iberville	Williams, J. J.	E. Baton Ro

1892-1896--Elected April, 1892

Bourgeois, C. A. (N)	St. Charles
Caldwell, Geo. B.	Pointe Coupee
Cayolle, John (N)	St. John

* These names were compiled from A. E. Perkins, "Some Negro Officers and Legislators in Louisiana," Journal of Negro History, XIV (1929), 523-528 and the Louisiana House of Representatives Journals.

APPENDIX F
Republican Members of the Louisiana House of Representatives
1877-1900*

(Continued)

1896-1900--Elected April, 1896

Bourgeois, C. A. (N)	St. Charles
Buford, C. A.	Terrebonne
Casacalvo, H. C. W. (N)	E. Baton Rouge
Dugas, Honore	Assumption
Dupont, Alphonse	Terrebonne
Fauria, Victor (N)	St. Tammany
Monnet, A. L.	Iberia
Moray, B. J.	St. Mary
O'Neill, W. A.	St. Mary

1900-1916--House was solidly Democratic.

1916--12 Progressives elected.

1920 to present--solidly Democratic.

* These names were compiled from A. E. Perkins, "Some Negro Officers and Legislators in Louisiana," Journal of Negro History, XIV (1929), 523-528 and the Louisiana House of Representatives Journals.

APPENDIX G

Comparative Vote for Presidential Electors*

1876-1900

YEAR	DEMOCRATIC VOTES	REPUBLICAN VOTES
1876	70,508	75,315
1880	65,067	38,628
1884	62,529	46,347
1888	85,032	30,484
1892	87,922	26,563
1896	77,175	22,037
1900	53,671	14,233

* Election Returns are given in the Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Louisiana, 1902 (Baton Rouge, 1902), 587.

APPENDIX H

Parishes Voting Republican in Presidential Elections*

PARISH	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900
Ascension	X	X				
Assumption	X	X			X	
Concordia	X					
E. Baton Rouge		X	X			
E. Carroll	X	X				
Iberia	X					
Iberville	X	X	X		X	
Jefferson	X	X	X			
Lafayette		X				
Lafourche	X					
Lincoln				X		
Madison		X				
Plaquemines	X	X	X	X		
Pt. Coupee		X				
Sabine				X		
St. Bernard		X				
St. Charles	X	X	X	X	X	
St. James	X	X	X	X	X	X
St. John	X	X	X	X	X	
St. Landry	X					
St. Martin	X	X				
St. Mary	X	X				
Terrebonne	X	X				
W. Baton Rouge	X					

X--Parish voted Republican.

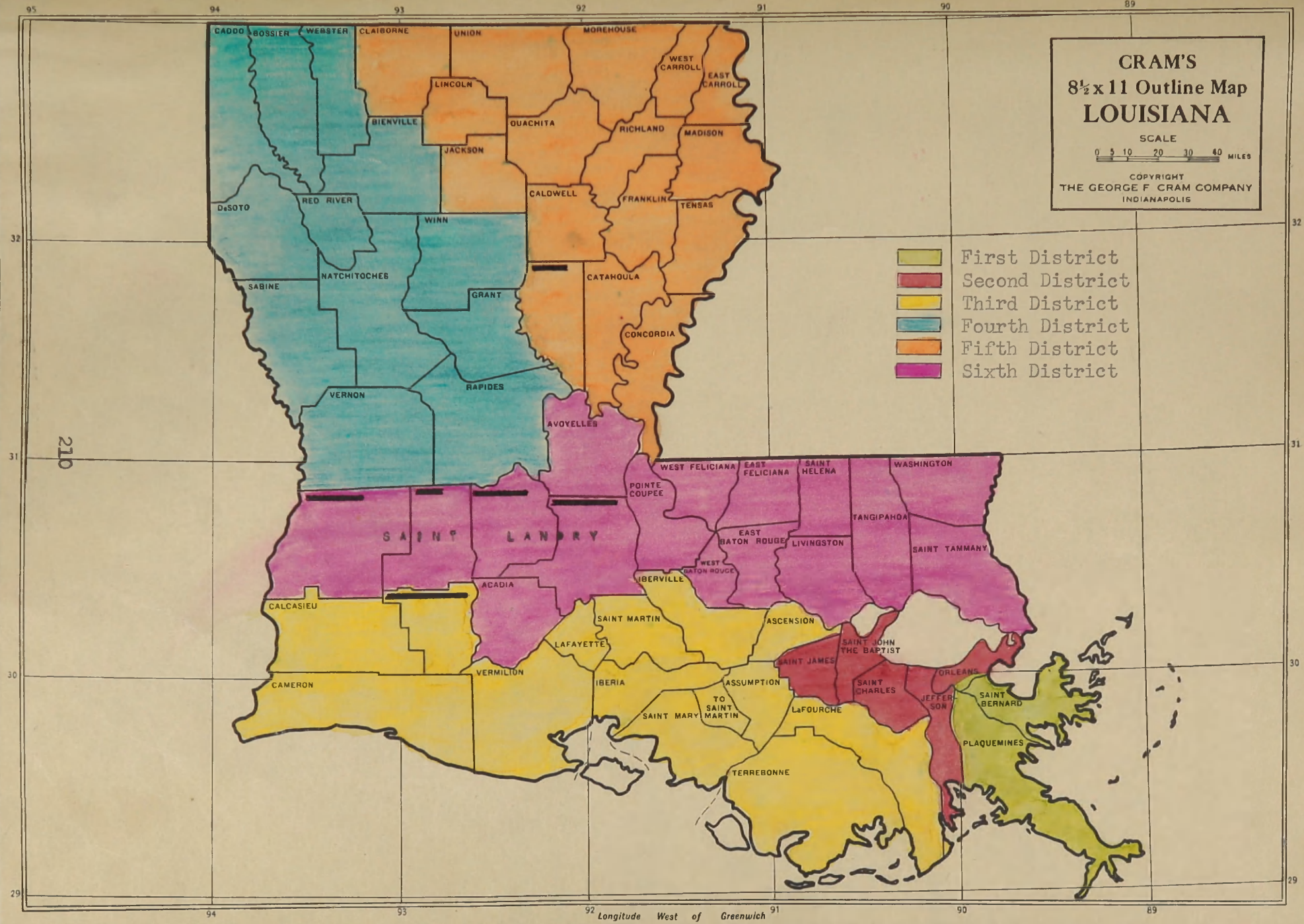
- * Election Returns for 1880 and 1884 are found in the Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Louisiana, 1902 (Baton Rouge, 1902), 561.
 Election Returns by parishes for 1888 were found in the Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1889 (New York, 1889), 67.
 Election Returns by parishes for 1892, 1896 and 1900 were found in the World Almanac of 1893, pp. 343-344; of 1894, p. 440; of 1901, p. 454.

CRAM'S
8½ x 11 Outline Map
LOUISIANA

SCALE
 0 5 10 20 30 40 MILES

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- First District
- Second District
- Third District
- Fourth District
- Fifth District
- Sixth District



CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS--1876-1900

APPENDIX I

Candidates in Congressional Elections

1878-1900

YEAR	DISTRICT	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	OTHER
1878	I	H. C. Castellanos	R. L. Gibson	
	II	E. N. Cullom	E. J. Ellis	
	III	R. O. Hebert	J. H. Acklen	W. B. Merchan
	IV	J. M. Wells	J. B. Elam	
	V	J. T. Ludeling	J. F. King	
	VI	W. L. Larrimore	E. W. Robertson	
1880	I	A. J. Ker	R. L. Gibson	
	II	Michael Hahn	E. J. Ellis	
	III	* C. B. Darrall	J. S. Billiu	
	IV	<u>A. U. Wells</u>	N. C. Blanchard	
	V	R. H. Lanier	J. F. King	
	VI	Alex Smith	E. W. Robertson	
1882	I	A. C. Janin	Carleton Hunt	
	II	Henry Demas (N)	E. J. Ellis	Morris Marks
	III	* W. P. Kellogg	J. H. Acklen	Taylor Beatti
	IV	None	N. C. Blanchard	
	V	W. L. McMillen	J. F. King	
	VI	L. Trager	A. S. Herron	T. C. Anderso
1884	I	J. H. Acklen	L. St. Martin	Carleton Hunt
	II	* <u>Michael Hahn</u>	W. T. Houston	
	III	<u>W. P. Kellogg</u>	E. J. Gay	
	IV	J. B. Slattery	N. C. Blanchard	
	V	Frank Morey	J. F. King	C. J. Boatner
	VI	C. C. Swayzie	A. B. Irion	
1886	I	William Burwell	T. S. Wilkinson	
	II	Andrew Hero, Jr.	M. D. Legan	R. Simms
	III	C. B. Darrall	E. J. Gay	
	IV	None	N. C. Blanchard	
	V	G. L. Walton	Cherubusco Newton	
	VI	J. O. Berhel	E. W. Robertson	
1888	I	C. B. Wilson (N)	T. S. Wilkinson	
	II	* <u>H. D. Coleman</u>	B. Elliott	
	III	<u>J. B. Jolley</u>	E. J. Gay	
	IV	W. E. Maples	N. C. Blanchard	
	V	Frank Morey	C. J. Boatner	
	VI	W. H. Harrison	S. M. Robertson	

* Was elected.

APPENDIX I
Candidates in Congressional Elections
1878-1900

(Continued)

YEAR	DISTRICT	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	OTHER
1890	I	H. C. Warmoth	Adolph Meyer	
	II	H. D. Coleman	M. D. Lagan	
	III	None	Andrew Price	
	IV	None	N. C. Blanchard	
	V	None	C. J. Boatner	L. J. Guice (Po
	VI	None	S. M. Robertson	S. W. Green (Po
1892	I	None	Adolph Meyer	T. S. Wilkinso
	II	Morris Marks	R. C. Davey	
	III	None	Andrew Price	J. J. Willis (Po
	IV	None	N. C. Blanchard	L. J. Guice (Po
	V	None	C. J. Boatner	R. P. Webb (Po
	VI	None	S. M. Robertson	J. Kleinpeter (Po
1894	I	H. P. Kernochan	Adolph Meyer	
	II	H. D. Coleman	C. F. Buck	
	III	Taylor Beattie	Andrew Price	J. Lightner (Po
	IV	None	H. W. Ogden	B. W. Bailey (Po
	V	None	C. J. Boatner	A. Benoit (Pop
	VI	None	S. M. Robertson	W. R. Wilson (Po
1896	I	A. Romain	Adolph Meyer	
	II	J. Legendre	R. C. Davey	
	III	Taylor Beattie	R. Broussard	
	IV	R. P. Hunter	H. W. Ogden	B. W. Bailey (Po
	V	None	S. T. Baird	A. Benoit (Pop
	VI	C. C. Duson	S. M. Robertson	W. Thompson (Po
1898	I	F. W. Keating	Adolph Meyer	
	II	F. M. Wicker	R. C. Davey	
	III	C. Fontlieu	R. Broussard	
	IV	None	P. Breazeale	H. Brian (Pop.
	V	J. Taliaferro	S. T. Baird	H. Taliaferro
	VI	None	S. M. Robertson	
1900	I	W. Brophy	Adolph Meyer	
	II	S. Heaslip	R. C. Davey	C. Zimmerman
	III	F. B. Williams	R. Broussard	
	IV	E. M. Welch	P. Breazeale	
	V	H. E. Hardtner	J. E. Ramadell	
	VI	J. H. Ducote	S. M. Robertson	

V I T A

V I T A

Philip Davis Uzee was born in Jennings, Louisiana, November 5, 1914. He received his elementary and high school education in the public schools of Lafourche Parish, Louisiana. He was awarded the B. A. degree by Teacher's College, Louisiana State University in 1935. After teaching two years in Lafourche Parish, he was awarded a graduate fellowship in the Department of History, Louisiana State University, and received his M. A. degree in 1938. He continued graduate work in history until he became an instructor in social sciences at John McNeese Junior College, Lake Charles, Louisiana for the session 1941-1942. From 1942 to 1946 he served in the United States Army. Since 1946 he has been an instructor in the Department of History, Louisiana State University.


EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

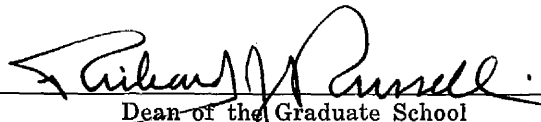
Candidate: Philip D. Uzee

Major Field: History

Title of Thesis: Republican Politics in Louisiana, 1877-1900

Approved:



Major Professor and Chairman

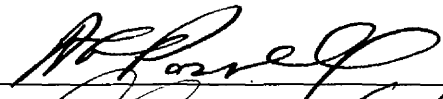
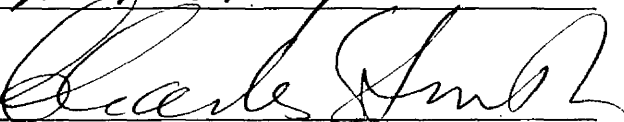

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:







Date of Examination:

May 12, 1950