which were distributed among 130,000 of the suffering and destitute.

"But the greatest damage has been in the want, destitution and suffering of the people. Many thousands have been imprisoned by the flood, and for long and weary days have lived in privation, crowded in sugar and gin houses, on rafts, on the roofs of houses, and on small elevations of land. Wonderful has been their endurance and patient their suffering. The love of home has kept many this imprisoned waiting for every indication of the subsidence of the flood. Those who sought safety in the distant hills only left when their dwellings were rocked by the slightest agitation of the waters, and when the danger was imminent and immediate. In this sad visitation, amid all this ruin and destruction, Providence has been merciful, and the loss of life has been small."

I stated to the General Assembly in that year it was beyond the power of the State to build levees strong enough and high enough to resist the full tide of the Mississippi. But it had to be done. There was then no assistance at hand. I called together on the 19th of June, 1882, intelligent and representative citizens of the alluvial districts and representative railroad men—in fact, all persons and corporations directly interested in rebuilding the levees. The proceedings of that convention are well known. There was an interest created in rebuilding the levees—an enthusiasm diffused among the people. The State, individuals, corporations, and finally the United States government came with a helping hand. Ashton, Morganza, Bonnet Carre, Opossum Fork, Medora, Port Allen, Cottonwood Bayou and other levees of importance were constructed.

By the State alone 120 contracts for levee construction were let in 1882 to 1884, and all of them were faithfully executed. The work done under these contracts amounted to 130 miles of levee. The levees which were damaged were also repaired. These were new levees, and again the water of 1884 came with additional height and power, but the damage was far less than in 1882, because of the better condition of the levees, the increased height given them and the additional strength to correspond. In their report the Board of Engineers say:

"But however greatly we may deplore the situation, we should not lose sight of the fact that the general condition of the levees in this State to-day is vastly better than at the decline of the flood in 1882, and that the present overflow has been much less in area, depth and damaging effect than that of two years ago, or many others that preceded it."

The levees above the mouth of the Red river had been constructed in former years too low, and these below were also endangered by defective rice flumes. These matters had to be corrected and remedied.

The levee work completed and finished since 1884 amounted to fifty-seven miles of new levee and the raising and enlargement of sixteen miles old levee. The energy of individuals, of levee districts and corporations still continued. The Opossum Fork was completed by the joint contribution of citizens of Arkansas, of Louisiana and the River Commission, sixteen miles in length—extending from Amos bayou to Arkansas City, closing numerous outlets and crevasses from the Arkansas and Mississippi, and diverting from the Tensas Basin Levee District a considerable part of the overflow which formerly spread over the alluvial lands of the district. All of the gaps are now being closed either by the River Commission or the State, and a complete line of levees will extend from Arkansas City to the Gulf.

There was no high water—no overflow—from '74 to '82, and all of this time was favorable for efficient levee work. During my term of office I have had to contend with two overflows, but the levees have been put in a better condition than at any time since the war. This has cost the State about three millions of dollars, and with this amount has been accomplished what my predecessors failed to do with twelve and one-half millions.

There may be, from the neglect of local authorities, some partial disaster; but I think I can confidently say that no such disaster as '74 and '82 will ever occur again. All along the line the levees have been raised and strengthened so as to be at least from two to three feet above the highest water gauge.

Work has also been extended into the interior. The closing this year of Bayous Harvey and Rouge perfects the system of levees from West Melville to the head of the Atchafalaya, west bank, with the exception of a few breaks south of and near Bayou Rouge, which will require only about 5000 cubic yards of earth, which will be closed at an early day. The best evidence as to amount and character of levee work done since 1882 is the unanimous testimony of those more immediately interested in levee protection.

But we are told that there has been no advance in levee building because the laws are the same, and that the present levee laws were enacted during the administration of Gov. Nicholls. But there have been alterations in the system, and very important; new districts have been organized and an opportunity given to these districts to tax themselves for local levee purposes, and gives them what I have long urged as a necessity, local care, supervision and protection of the levees. But admit there has been no change in the levee laws, and that they are just the same they were years ago, were the laws self-operating? Did they by their mere existence provide the money to build levees, to repair and to reconstruct. From the quotation cited above you will see that they were not sufficient, and that some means had to be devised, just as in the case of the Charity Hospital, to raise the money. I have explained how this was done. A man may have a very perfect steam engine, but there must be some external force to put it in operation. Without this, it will remain idle, rust and not serve the purposes of its creation. If he has not got coal and wood to raise steam, he must summon his energy and provide it.

STATE FINANCES.

In 1879, in his message to the General Assembly, Gov. Nicholls stated:

"The condition of the general fund of the State has not been as favorable during the year 1878 as during 1877. The quantum of collections has been inadequate to meet the warrants as drawn under the appropriations. This state of affairs has led to considerable hardship and loss." The reasons alleged are the epidemic, the reduction of the general fund tax from 4 to 2½ mills, without a corresponding reduction in appropriations, and the failure to collect licenses from the Moffet registry law. And in the same message he states:

"The collections of revenue from the five and a half mill tax not having been adequate to the payment of the interest coupons due on Jan. 1, 1879—they have remained unpaid." During his administration the highest percentage of taxes collected on the assessment rolls was 48½ per cent. During this present State administration there has been a continued improvement in collections until the percentage amounts to a fraction of 96 per cent for collections in 1886.

Gov. Perry, of Florida, says in his message, the assessments of property are the indications of the prosperity of the State, and directs attention to the marvelous increase of wealth in his own State as indicated by increasing amounts on the assessment rolls.

The assessments of property in the State are eloquent in the advance shown:

1879	$158,587,195 57
1880	177,096,459 72
1881	181,459,961 32
1882	196,500,705 14
1886	217,002,879 25

The rate of taxation from 1877 to 1879 varied from fourteen to eleven mills, five and a half mills of which was set aside to pay the interest on the bonded debt, yet with this excessive taxation the State defaulted on interest and created a large floating debt.

The expenses of the State government in 1878 amounted to, say, $850,000, and the present expenses of the State government to $550,000. These amounts include all necessary expenses for the State government, including, of course, the judiciary, etc.

The State tax now for all purposes is six mills or sixty cents on the $100. The lowest rate reached prior to 1880 was eleven mills, or $1 10 in the $100.

Before the year 1880, for the general expenses of the government, the appropriations exceeded the revenue for that purpose. Since then the general expenses of the government have always been within the estimated revenues appropriated for this purpose.

The taxes, uncollected, Jan. 1, 1880, of 1877, 1878, 1879, amounted to $2,000,000. This has come as an onerous burden from the administration of that date, and so has outstanding coupons, exclusive of No. 12, remitted by the Constitution of 1879, outstanding on the 1st January, 1880, to the amount of $654,376 95.

There are outstanding warrants, exclusive of those funded into baby bonds, of the years 1877-1879, amounting to $93,000. There was no forced sale of property, and no attempt made to collect delinquent taxes of 1877-78. Since the year 1880 we have been called upon to pay out of the one mill general fund tax for the support of the State government debts unprovided for 1877-79 amounting to $221,000.

We have paid also $184,000, amount borrowed by Nicholls' administration from Fiscal Agent, and $186,174 31 under Act No. 73 of 1880 to carry out constitutional ordinance, and also $35,233 52 for printer and money borrowed from the Fiscal Agent, which ought to have come out of the revenues of 1879, but which have been paid out of the revenues of 1880. The baby bonds represent no part of the debt created since 1880, but as follows:

Kellogg warrants issued in 1874-76	$706,592 82
Nicholls warrants, 1877-79	450,171 13
Debts due by the public institutions prior to 1880	224,627 57
Total	$1,381,291 52

We have also had to pay out of the general fund tax for debts due prior to 1880 of the Louisiana University and Agricultural and Mechanical College; $88,307 warrants issued and outstanding against the general fund of 1884-85-86, represent school certificates prior to 1880.

Had it not been for these extraordinary demands, legacies from former administrations, the State would not have a warrant issued since 1880 outstanding.

The estimated expenses of the government have always, since 1880, been within the estimated revenues, the expenses of the government being less by $300,000.

Other and extraordinary demands have been made against the general fund tax of one mill, but which could have been provided for but for these embarrassments: The Soldiers' Home, building and support, $40,000; Insane Asylum, exclusive of support, $77,000; limbs for Confederate soldiers, $6,000; Judge Campbell's fee for services in the case of New York vs. State of Louisiana, $25,000.

World's Exposition, $100,000; interest on Baby bonds, $38,000; for the State Normal School, $60,000 per annum and $13,000 for other purposes; Shreveport Hospital, $24,000; hospital at Alexandria, $12,500; Colored University, $14,000; quarantine, new mode of disinfecting, $30,000; new State House, $180,000, and transfers from general fund to levee and school funds, $30,000; relief of overflow sufferers, $30,000; State University, building purposes, $48,000; Deaf and Dumb, $25,000; Insane Asylum, exclusive of support, $77,000; Blind Institute, exclusive of support, $10,000.

These debts, created in former administrations, and the amounts expended for buildings, repairs, etc., have been such a strain on the general fund that they have necessarily created a new debt, which will, I am sure, be provided for in the form of warrants of 1884, 1885 and 1886. From an inspection of the appropriations it will be seen that the amounts appropriated other than the debts prior to 1880, were necessary appropriations. Those prior to 1880 ought to have been provided for in the years they were made. During this administration, in the matter of finances, I have consulted with the State Treasurer and eminent bankers in New Orleans. Louisiana bonds were excluded from quotation in the Stock Exchanges of New York and Liverpool.

The State Treasurer, E. A. Burke, went to New York with the amendment, to be submitted to the people for their approval, and on this evidence of good faith and fair dealing on the part of the State they were reinstated and listed in the above-named exchanges. This, with close collections and prompt payment of interest and increased wealth in the State, as shown by the assessment rolls, gave a rapid rise in the value of our State bonds. Among the number Messrs. Ogiesby, Baldwin, Kennedy, Kilbreth, Dupuy, Walmsley and Morris frequently. These gentlemen have always shown a most friendly disposition toward the State, and have aided and assisted in bringing the financial condition of the State to its present improved condition.

An amendment to the Constitution was submitted to the people, eliminating the 3 per cent bond and substituting a 4 per cent bond in order to satisfy the public creditor and to remove the stain of repudiation from her fair name. This entailed no additional taxation, and the interest is easily borne by the six-mill limitation. From sixty-seven cents they rose to ninety-two cents, and I believe would have come to par value but for the unfortunate discussion by the reformers of the debt amendment, thus impairing that confidence in our sincerity which it was thought the adoption of the amendment had fully established. Our bonds went down to eighty-four cents on the dollar, and I can see no reason for this decline, as the State is increasing in wealth and the payment of the interest has been provided for. It is due, I think, to the unfortunate discussion alluded to.

Gen. Nicholls signed the petition of bondholders, and with them advised the submission of the amendment. Gen. F. N. Ogden signed the strong petition of taxpayers. I have been surprised that Gen. Nicholls would, without rebuking the speaker, listen to an attack on me for recommending to the Legislature the submission of the amendment, and still more surprised that he should permit the impression to get abroad that the reformers will reopen the debt question, which it was believed was firmly fixed and established as a part of the Constitution of the State.

Constitutional warrants are paid in full, and all other warrants are provided for and they will be paid in full. There are no warrants for the current year on the market. If the present fiscal policy is maintained and there be no impairment of public confidence our credit will rapidly be restored, our bonds, with the funding of outstanding floating indebtedness, and the fact of the State now being on a paying cash basis, will go to par. Our financial condition is better than for many years.

RESULTS FOLLOWING GOOD ADMINISTRATION.

From the above statements it will be observed that the State has rapidly advanced in all her material interests. Agricultural interests have advanced in the reclaiming of large areas by levee protection, more than 1,000,000 acres of arable lands in sixteen parishes alone; an agricultural bureau has been established and an agricultural department in her university, with an experiment station which is distributing useful and valuable information among the people. The cultivation of the soil is better and the production of crops increased by the use of home made and commercial fertilizers, and the employment of improved farm implements and the methods of more economic systems of farming. And as a consequence, in many localities the value of farm property has increased, agricultural conventions have been held, and agricultural societies organized, and agricultural fairs have been inaugurated. A new and important industry has sprung up in the raising of improved breeds of horses and cattle and the fostering of dairy interests. Nurseries for fruit trees have been established, orchards planted and fruit raising promises to be a profitable industry.

The levees have been rebuilt and the line from Arkansas City to the Gulf, with the line of interior levees, completed, will reclaim additional acres, increase our wealth, give health to the alluvial districts, and inspire confidence among the people. I think we need have no fear of another disastrous overflow, sweeping away millions of property, and the people in this rich and beautiful section of our State can with an assurance of protection improve their places and adorn their residences and remain at home, free from dangers of floods and of diseases.

The financial condition of the State is excellent, as shown by the improvement in assessments, in the equality of values and the increase in amounts, in the close collection of taxes, the increase in the value of bonds and the absence of warrants of 1887 in the market for speculation. The parishes have been relieved of debt, jurors and witnesses are paid in cash, and improvements have been made to public buildings and new ones erected, roads worked and bridges built.

Our public schools are better than ever before; the attendance greater; there are more teachers and better methods of teaching introduced; there are more schoolhouses and a longer term of the schools, and teachers are paid better salaries and more promptly, and there is more money appropriated for public education than ever before in the State, and the people are aroused and awakened to the importance of education.

The health of the State has been excellent. There has been no epidemics. By improved and enlightened methods of disinfecting and quarantine pestilence has been kept away from our cities. The least injury is done to commerce consistent with the safety of the public. I think we have at last found the means of keeping it away from our State.

All of our public institutions are in a flourishing condition, out of debt and on a fair way of winning the confidence of the people and invite to them the unfortunate and afflicted deaf and dumb and blind. And our colleges are in a condition to claim the patronage of our citizens in the education of their sons and daughters. More than one thousand miles of railroad have been built; six others are projected, with fair prospects of being built; factories have increased in number, oil-mills and cotton presses have been built in several localities; prosperous and flourishing towns have been built, and our towns and cities adorned with beautiful dwellings and handsome gardens and elegant and imposing business houses.

It is a fact that we have prospered, and the knowledge of the fact has gone abroad, and we are reaping the benefits in an immigration of sturdy, intelligent, thrifty, liberty-loving and God-fearing farmers and mechanics. I have been

IN FULL SYMPATHY

with this great forward movement. I have encouraged it everywhere the opportunity offered by my presence, and I have carefully prepared addresses on all matters in which the people were interested, and upon which they desired information, and have endeavored to instruct, and if I have failed in this, I have at least encouraged them.

We have been fortunate in the last few years in securing attention to the manifold resources of Louisiana and attracting immigrants to our State. The Western man has found Louisiana attractive and is preparing to make it his home. Some of these enterprising farmers from the West have settled in Southwest and South Louisiana, and along the Jackson Railroad in Tangipahoa parish. Their thrift, intelligence, industry and enterprise have already been felt. Thriving villages, neat dwellings, improved farms, new and improved agricultural implements, improved breeds of animals, all attest their presence. They are pleased with our soil, health and climate, and a visit to them and conversations with them satisfy me that more would come but for unfortunate prejudices entertained about Louisiana.

We are partly to blame for these unfortunate and unfounded prejudices. Some of our own citizens have been the worst enemies of Louisiana.

In the contests between the political factions in this State, it would be almost impossible to estimate the great damage done to the industrial interests and the reputation of the State. They have kept away capital and labor; they have checked immigration; they have paralyzed the industries of the State; they have driven commerce away from our great commercial city. At home and abroad, in State and Federal legislation, these evil influences have been felt, and Louisiana has been the sufferer by these bitter feuds between individuals and factions. Satiated with abuse, having exhausted their stock of venom and slander, they pass beyond individuals and factions and hurl their denunciations at the State in mad fury, making the imperfections of humanity, the fallibility of men, exclusively the distinction of Louisiana—an unenviable notoriety with which they are reluctant to part.

Not satisfied with home-made slanders and distrusting the ability of resident artists in detraction, materials are industriously gathered and sent abroad to be worked, with exaggerated coloring of distant imaginations, into paintings of distressed Louisiana. These are brought here, and, with a self-abasement I cannot understand, placed before us to let us see how others regard us. These pictures are so shocking and hideous that I wonder that the blush of shame does not mantle every cheek.

A HALT CALLED.

It is time to stop. It is time to think of Louisiana and set her interests above those of a faction. I would flee from the State as from a pestilence did I believe half of what has been said of us by some of our own people and insultingly paraded abroad.

If it were true that for several years the State has been dominated by a cabal, by a few individuals, who have held under subjection her intelligent and honest voters, I should lose respect for your courage. If it were true that the machinery of the election laws was used to manipulate elections and to thwart the popular will I should lose respect for your intelligence. If it were true that there has been a saturnalia of crime and debauchery about the capital, that courts and Legislatures are venal and the people corrupt, I should lose respect for your virtue.

These things and worse have been said here, and copied and commented on abroad, and they do the people no credit, but bring reproach and shame upon the State. A man believing such things would be a tool to live here, and a greater one to quit an honest community to come into a community devoid of courage, intelligence and virtue.

But, gentlemen, I rend these accusations against Louisiana, and so will every citizen of the State who wishes her a great future. I say the records of each and all will prove the fact that there is no State in the Union which has a government so economically administered; there is no State where the law is more respected and where certain punishment more speedily and swiftly follows the commission of crime; there is no State where the dockets of the courts are less crowded or where justice is more speedily administered; there is no State whose Legislature is less liable to criticism for corruption and extravagance; and there is no State with a more intelligent, virtuous, moral and law-abiding population.

These are inducements for the stranger to make his home among us. A genial sun, a fruitful soil, pure water, a healthful climate and a moral population, all invite him.

Let us help to make Louisiana what she ought to be, a great and prosperous State, and in the near future we will behold an auroral splendor, a sun-burst of glory over the land.

SENATOR R. L. GIBSON.

He Tells of the Part He Took in the Campaign of 1876.

President Garrett next introduced Hon. Randall L. Gibson as a man whom the Democrats had learned to love and admire. Mr. Gibson was received with applause. He made a lengthy and elaborate address, but owing to the number of speakers a brief synopsis only of his remarks is given. Mr. Gibson opened by thanking the Democrats for the cordial invitation that made him their guest. He then referred to his previous visits to Ouachita, beginning with his first visit with Louis A. Wiltz, to whose memory he paid a fitting tribute. Mr. Gibson spoke of his subsequent visits, and to the time when he came to urge the election of Cleveland and Hendricks. He then spoke at some length on the various epochs through which the people of the South had passed. The speaker dwelt on the question of State rights and defended the South in the position it had so nobly maintained in that particular. Mr. Gibson spoke on the second epoch, the period of reconstruction, the enforcement of the amendments. This in the South meant destruction instead of reconstruction. It meant a carnival of carpetbaggers, crime and corruption, until the people rose in their might and redeemed the State.

Gen. Gibson said, however, that it required more than an uprising of the people to give peace to the State. He recalled how the Kellogg government was overthrown and how by a simple order from Wasnington it was restored. Gen. Gibson then spoke of the election of Gen. Nicholls in 1876. He himself had been elected to Congress two years prior. He said that he realized then the vast battle of statesmanship that was being fought in the Senate, and in this connection Mr. Gibson referred to the efforts of Randall, Lamar and others for the liberties of the people of the South. He said that at this time there was a contest in Louisiana between the whites and the blacks. Gen. Nicholls represented the whites and Packard the blacks.

In this connection Gen. Gibson read a joint resolution adopted by the Kellogg Legislature on Jan. 1, 1877, appealing to the United States government for assistance and for support. Gen. Gibson asked if Grant had issued the order what would have been the result. Both Packard and Gen. Nicholls were to be inaugurated on Jan. 9. On Jan. 7 Gen. Grant sent a dispatch to Kellogg, stating that he would have to decline the request of Kellogg for

TROOPS TO INAUGURATE PACKARD.

Mr. Gibson here narrated what had occurred in Washington at that time. Gen. Gibson next told of an interview he had with Gen. Grant, giving everything that transpired at that interview in detail, together with Gen. Grant's reference to ex-President Johnson. During that interview Gen. Grant referred to the White League as a mob of cutthroats, thugs, etc. This Mr. Gibson denied, and told Gen. Grant that the league was commanded by Gen. Fred. N. Ogden, a man who had been raised by one of Gen. Grant's best friends, Mr. Morton. This was the first time that Gen. Grant knew the real character of the White League.

On the day following the interview Gen. Gibson again called on Gen. Grant, and Gen. Grant told him that if the people did not create any disturbance that he (Grant) would stand by the people as he intended to stand by his relations in Louisiana. From that day Grant never raised his hand against Louisiana. Gen. Gibson said that he did not claim all the credit for the recognition of the Nicholls government. Gen. Gibson then went on to tell how he had sent word to Nicholls to send Speaker Bush to Washington. Col. Bush could not come. Gen. Gibson next requested that Judge White be sent, and in reply was informed that it was impossible, but that Major E. A. Burke had already started.

Gen. Gibson said that Major Burke was acceptable and he rendered good service.

The speaker then went on to state that while the leaders had all done their duty, if it had not been for the action of the people of Louisiana, who stood up so nobly for their rights, no such order as emanated from Grant would ever have been issued. Gen. Gibson here paid a tribute to the courage of the people of Louisiana, and added that when the Nicholls government was installed peace reigned throughout the land.

Gen. Gibson said that he regarded all the contention in regard to Africanizing the State as futile. He held that no matter who was elected that no man would have the hardihood to attempt to disrupt our school or agricultural system. It could not be done. The man who attempted it would be swept away like a leaf on a running stream.

Gen. Gibson then spoke on the improved educational institutions in the State. He spoke on the levees at great length, and held that when he took his seat the ambition of his life was to see the river harnessed up. He told how the Federal government had never appropriated a cent for levees up to the time he took his seat. Then he told at length how the River Commission was created, and described its system of working, and how the money was expended by the engineers.

Gen. Gibson informed the audience that he had never sought to humiliate any man or to build up any man. He did not support Gen. Ogden, but he did support Jonas as collector of the port. He had subsequently visited New Orleans, when sick, to tell Ogden that while he could not support him for collector he would support him for any other office. This offer was declined. He said that he had acted as he thought for the best interests of the party when he supported Jonas.

Gen. Gibson then went on to tell how he had supported Capt. Dick Sinnott, Colvin Moore, Henry Kernochan, Mr. Flower and Mr. Montegut. He stated that in his recommendations he had been influenced only by a desire to strengthen the Democratic party.

Gen. Gibson, in conclusion, said that he would always be in the State to defend the true Democracy—the men who were faithful to Democratic usages, and if he did not deceive himself, he never had a sentiment that was not devoted to his State, and that if he ever committed an act not consistent with the honor and dignity of his people, he was not aware of it.

SENATOR J. B. EUSTIS.

A Demand for White Supremacy in Government.

Senator J. B. Eustis was then introduced to the audience. Mr. Eustis was cordially received when he arose, and throughout his speech he was enthusiastically applauded. He said:

Fellow-citizens—It always affords me pleasure to appear before a Democratic audience in Louisiana, but I confess that the extraordinary and exceptional circumstances under which this meeting is called—it being called in advance of any nominating convention—admonish me that we have to take counsel with each other, not as regards our enemy, the Republican party, but as to dissensions in our own ranks, which every good Democrat should regret and should seek to allay by sober words, considerate deliberation and dispassionate discussion. If our honest judament and unbiased convictions lead us to differ, that is no reason why we should forget that we are brother Democrats and brother Louisianians, having a common pride and a common destiny, nor is it a reason why either side should claim infallibility of judgment, superior morality, and a monopoly of all the virtues. The interests of the people are paramount to the claims of any individual. It is the fate of the people, and not that of any individual, that is involved in our political controversies. Under our abnormal conditions, it is natural that the great masses of the people, whose convictions are always honest, should differ upon questions affecting their well-being. In fact, this is one of the vitalizing forces in our social organism. It is to prevent that this force shall be perverted by ambitious men to their own use that we have public discussions. The State, the Commonwealth, her welfare, her prosperity, her dignity, overshadows mere personalism. Public discussion should, therefore, be elevated in its tone, statesmanlike and broad, if the object be to enlighten the people. If individualism is to be considered paramount to the State then we may well understand why reckless and senseless and extravagant denunciation has taken the place of temperate and rational discussion. This is certainly a most unprecedented campaign which has for some time past been precipitated upon the Democratic party, and invites a retrospect into the political conditions that have produced this conflict of ideas and sympathies within our own ranks.

WE HAVE TWO FACTIONS,

one the State administration, the other the anti-State administration. The latter, believing that by mere words and names the people could be deceived, have appropriated to themselves the captivating name of reform Democracy, and, actuated by the same motive, have imposed upon their opponents the odious appellation of "the ring."

Their attempt at reformation is confined exclusively to State affairs. Municipal affairs, in their judgment, do not need to be reformed, or abuses there have not been sufficiently flagrant to deserve their notice, or there may be other reason. With regard to State affairs, when you ask them to disclose in their speeches what they propose to reform, in order that the people may be informed of the grievance and their remedy, they are dumbfounded. When you ask them whether they intend to reform the levee policy, to reform the educational policy, to reform the agricultural policy, to reform the financial policy, to reform the administration of justice, to reform our public institutions, to reform any economic measure, to reform any domestic policy which has been advocated or enforced by the present administration, they are forced to make the humiliating confession that there is nothing to reform, for as yet they have never deigned to inform the people toward the amelioration of what measure or policy their colossal efforts at reform are to be directed. What right have they to thus trifle with the intelligence and interests of the people of Louisiana? If you ask them to define what they mean by the "ring" they are startled by the most disturbing emotions. The vision of ill-starred coalitions and entangling alliances destroy their power of definition. If you inform them that a ring means bossism, machine politics, by which men perpetuate themselves in power even beyond a third term, from this definition they shrink affrighted, and, holding their perfumed handerchiefs to their superior noses, they thank God that they are holier than the regular Democracy, and have no such bosses or machine politicians within their anointed circle to disturb the angelic harmony of their saintly ranks.

Circumstances, which it is unnecessary to detail, have caused the prominent candidacy of Gov. McEnery and Gen. Nicholls for nomination for the Governorship at the coming Democratic convention. The names of other worthy and influential Democrats have been urged, but we are confronted with the fact that the contest is between these two gentlemen. If we can believe the indications that surround us, each of them has a large following, and is earnestly and heartily supported by a large body of good Democrats. The claims, the services, and the policies of these two gentlemen, each of them having been at the head of the State administration, are

MATTERS OF LEGITIMATE CRITICISM

before the people, who are to decide this important contest. But we must remember that there are great and serious questions and grave problems involved in what many improperly consider a personal controversy, and, in view of the large and vital interests involved, it has seemed to me that in many instances the discussion has been degraded to a very low level. Every community and every nation, according to its peculiar circumstances and conditions, has presented to it questions for solution which engage the anxious thought of statesmen. Sometimes it is a question of religious difference; at others it is a question of nationality; then, again, it is some great economic question. But they are all questions which bring into life and energy antagonistic forces in the social order. One of the great obstacles in the settlement of the Irish question is the difference of religion among the Irish people, who are sorely oppressed.

A short time ago two great revolutions were accomplished that changed the face of Europe. Those brave Italians, guided by the statesmanship of Cavour, and led by the heroism of Garibaldi, unified the Italian nation, which meant the assimilation of nationality. That great movement by which the German Empire was consolidated, which has made the German people one of the leading and most powerful nations of the earth, again illustrates the idea of the assimilation of nationality, and it will be found by a study of the history of the progress of nations that the effort has been to bring together people who sympathize with each other by reason of their religion, their nationality and their pride of race.

In our State we find a very peculiar and serious condition of affairs confronting us. Two distinct races, almost equally divided in numbers, co-inhabit the same territory and live under the same government and under the same institutions. It is not the fault of the white man—it is not the fault of the colored man—that race antagonism exists; it is sentiment, an instinct, a passion beyond the control of either. Therefore, as much as it may be regretted, yet owing to causes inherent in human nature itself, at any moment, and under provocations now unforeseen, a spark may produce a conflagration in our midst. The dream of the Yankee crank is that this question can be solved by miscegenation; but my judgment is that, deplore it as we may, the inexorable logic forced upon us by the unchangeable and eternal laws of human nature itself is that we have to determine whether

THE NEGRO SHALL GOVERN AND RULE

the white man, or whether the white man shall govern and rule the negro. That is the question which we have to determine by our elections, and on that issue I need not tell you that every interest, every instinct of pride, every impulse of manhood, every element of Caucasian civilization, every personal right, every guarantee which upholds society, every function and every principle of representative government is directly at stake. It is far beyond and above the personal ambition of any individual, however illustrious or distinguished he may be as a citizen of Louisiana.

When called upon to determine to whom of these two gentlemen I am willing to confide the political leadership in this State, I have no hesitation whatever in making and in declaring my choice. I cannot reconcile the safety of the State with what I understand to be the extremely conservative ideas of Gen. Nicholls upon this race question. Upon this issue I consider that he and Gov. McEnery represent two opposite and irreconcilable schools of political thought and systems of political action.

In considering this question, I am willing to omit what occurred before 1878; but his course and his policy in regard to the Tensas case create a strong impression in my mind that, however pure were his motives, it can never receive my political approval or political indorsement. He had then a grand opportunity to defy and resent Northern opinion upon this subject—to prove that it is the duty of a Democratic Executive in the State of Louisiana, in a crisis of race conflict, to sympathize with the white people. The sooner we let the Northern people understand that their opinions on this race question will not influence or control our action in any degree, the better it will be for our safety. This is a domestic question, a home rule question—one affecting our interests and our destiny—one which we understand, one which we intend to solve regardless of Northern sentiment, and in the solution of which, in my judgment, a policy of conservatism and of conciliation means incontestably the

DOMINATION OF THE WHITES

by the negro race. To accomplish the results which we now enjoy, and which we had hoped we had permanently secured, has cost the people of Louisiana trials, sacrifices and tribulations which no people have ever endured since society was organized and government was first founded. From the time that the reconstruction measures were passed up to 1876, when we first succeeded in installing a Democratic Governor, every election was equal to a revolution.

Military power, disfranchisement, fraud, crime, violence—every agency that has ever been known to diabolism—was used and exerted to crush the spirit of our people. It was the Democratic leaders who for eight long years preceding 1876, by their repeated appeals to the manhood, patriotism and heroism of the Democratic white masses of the State, marshaled those brave serried ranks of loyal Democrats, those brave men who faced every vicissitude, confronted every peril, who resisted the allurements and defied the terrors of power. It was they who, appreciating the terrible significance of this race problem, created that indomitable spirit of enthusiasm in the Democratic party which rendered the victory of 1876 possible. One of them was Gov. McEnery, to whose efforts and conviction the people of Louisiana are largely indebted for their emancipation from the blighting oppression of Radical rule.

Far be it from my purpose to pluck one laurel from the wreath with which the admirers of Gen. Nicholls are now crowning him. I have no doubt that from his standpoint he did his duty, and his whole duty. No one questions his devotion to the people and to the interests of Louisiana; but, let us remember that there was more than one saviour in the past terrible struggle which we have been called on to confront.

There is another reason why I do not consider that ex-Gov. Nicholls, in this critical condition of our political affairs, would be a safe leader. I refer to the Hunt campaign. We must remember that that was a presidential election; we must remember that was a bolt without any justification; we must remember that one of the possible effects of that movement was to endanger the result of the electoral vote in Louisiana. I can understand why those who do not appreciate the vital importance of discipline and organization in a party should wear their political robes loosely, but I cannot understand that one who is a leader in the Democratic party, who is in a position of guiding political thought and leading political action could have been guilty of the grave political offense of

SANCTIONING A BOLT

from a nomination made at the regular Democratic convention. Mere gossip, or rumor, or suspicion, does not justify a loyal Democrat in countenancing a bolt from his party. If those rumors were true, if those suspicions were well founded, the victim of them would have been the Hon Theo. S. Wilkinson, who, in the following campaign, was nominated for Congress, and will so creditably represent his district. Yet, supposing, for the purpose of the argument, the rumors to have any foundation, he, the party who was most directly interested, and who was to be prejudiced by them, after the nomination of Col. St. Martin, after the Democracy had spoken through its regular organization, came into the convention and supported the regular nominee of the Democratic party. That is what I call true Democracy. That is the duty the party demands and has a right to demand of every man who claims to be a Democrat and recognizes the obligations of fealty to that party. I do not know whether Gen. Nicholls ever heard of the intended proceeding in the United States court to illegally disfranchise 7000 Democratic voters in one congressional district. I have no reason to believe that he did; but that is of no consequence. That bolt which he justified produced the most extraordinary proceeding against the Democratic party. It only shows that those who encourage or sanction a bolt little dream of the serious consequences which may result from such a reprehensible departure from party usage and tradition and party discipline. I had the honor to appear as counsel against this nefarious movement, instituted by Democrats against the Democratic party, and I remember opening my argument by announcing to the judge that so monstrous and outrageous and uncalled for was this proceeding, this proposed disfranchisement, that, in my judgment, any Federal judge who issued the order that was prayed for by these Democrats deserved impeachment. If that proceeding had succeeded in the First District, it would have been attempted in the Second, and the electoral vote of the State of Louisiana would have been cast for James G. Blaine. The election would have been determined in a Federal court by a Republican Federal judge before the election, and we would have witnessed a proceeding inaugurated by Democrats, which would have surpassed in its enormity the infamous midnight order of Judge Durel. For we must remember that, although the scheme was defeated, Blaine came to the Red River Valley with 36,000 majority, which was overcome by the Democracy of North Louisiana.

SO FLAGRANT WAS THIS ATTEMPTED OUTRAGE,

not only upon judicial proceedings, but against the Democratic party, that the Republican judge, without even taking the case under advisement, dismissed it as soon as the argument was presented.

The reason why I am in favor of the renomination of Gov. McEnery I will state briefly: I have no hesitation in declaring that I consider that he is in every respect the best Governor that the State of Louisiana has ever had, and that I consider it to be for my interest, as a citizen of the State of Louisiana, to have him to continue and to consummate those great measures of material progress and development which have been so propitiously inaugurated under his administration. In a short time we will have almost every levee from the Arkansas line to the Gulf of Mexico rebuilt and permanently assured. I do not desire to give him more credit for this than he deserves, but it has been accomplished by his administration, and he has largely, by his intelligent and energetic efforts, contributed to the accomplishment of that great result. I believe that under his administration the white and the colored people can live in peace and security, and that his strong, earnest, unalterable and wise convictions upon this race question are a guarantee to the white people of this State that through no mistaken policy will we be threatened by the supremacy of negro rule.

To my mind that awful phantom of a third term presents no terror or apprehension. His friends simply ask that the people shall twice elect him to the office of Governor. The arguments which have been used against the re-election of Gov. McEnery to a second term could be used with tenfold more force against the election of the President of the United States to a second term. Under the Federal government no officers whatever are elected by the people; under the State government all the most important officers are elected by the people, so that there can be no comparison between the patronage of the two which could be used for the purpose of renewing one a term of office again.

THE LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE

can only be threatened by the use of the standing army or navy. The President of the United States is commander-in-chief of both under the Constitution, and no one can imagine what power a Governor could use to perpetuate himself in office against the will of the people. No man in the State of Louisiana can for a moment feel that his liberty is to be imperiled by the renomination and re-election of Gov. McEnery, or that any of the guarantees of constitutional government can be imperiled or set aside by his re-election. This view is illustrated by the fact that from the earliest period of the foundation of the Federal government the people did not hesitate to re-elect a President for a second term. They re-elected to a second term George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln and U. S. Grant, and I have yet to learn that any reformer is prepared to declare to the people of Louisiana that the re-election of President Cleveland, so much desired by the Democracy of Louisiana, will imperil our liberties or overthrow constitutional government in this country.

But there is an additional reason, in my judgment, why, if the people of Louisiana desire that peace and prosperity in the future which we now enjoy, Gov. McEnery should be re-elected to the Executive office. We are as far to-day from the solution of this negro problem as we were when it was first imposed upon us. We under tand Gov. McEnery's views, his convictions and his policy, and I maintain that it would be a guarantee to our security and to our safety to have one whose firmness, independence and resolution have been tested occupy that important office. The people of Virginia

RE-ELECTED PATRICK HENRY

Governor of that State for six successive terms, and he was the great champion of personal liberty, who, by his great eloquence, did more than any other man to rouse the people in their struggle against British rule. But he considered that the guarantees of the Constitution as framed in 1787 were not sufficient as regards the right of the States. He did more than any other man to secure the additional articles of the Constitution which were intended to protect the State against the powers of the Federal government, and to secure the American citizen in his personal rights; and yet the people of Virginia, as I have said before, did not hesitate to continue him in the Executive chair at a time when the people were most jealous of their liberties.

If Gov. McEnery's administration deserves the indorsement of the people, if it will secure to them what they deserve—honest, economical government, representing the progressive spirit of this age, vigilance and firmness as to the rights of the white people in this State, justice to the colored people—then I maintain that the arguments which have been based upon this alleged third term idea are flimsy, shallow deception, and undeserving of the serious attention of the people.

Fellow-citizens, I have presented to you these views, not for the purpose of advancing the political fortunes of any individual. They reflect the mature and deliberate conclusions which I have myself reached with regard to this present contest, and I am satisfied that the people, who are to be the judges, and who are the parties interested, at the proper time will not hesitate to give them this emphatic indorsement by electing McEnery a second term to the office of Governor as a protection to themselves and as refutation of the charges that the Democratic party mistrust and repudiates his administration.

EX-SENATOR B. F. JONAS.

He Deprecates the Factional Warfare Waged Against the Democratic Administration.

Hon. B. F. Jonas was introduced by President Garrett, who said: "My friends, I hardly know what to say now. I am carried back fifteen years, when I stood with this man, not on these planks, but on a Democratic platform, erected under these very trees. I am going to introduce you to a man who is well known as a true swayback Democrat—Frank Jonas." He said:

Mr. Ch