DEMOCRACY.

Two Mammoth Mass Meetings at Shreveport.

Enthusiastic Reception of Gov. McEnery by Caddo Democrats.

Courthouse Square filled by the Day Speakers.

Nearly 4000 Voters Listen to the Addresses at Night.

The Governor's Review of the "Reform" Campaign.

Strong Argument in Support of Gov. McEnery by Senator Eustis.

"Personalism" and the "Third Term" Demolished by Mr. Sutherlin.

Ex-Senator Jonas Sharply Criticises Reform Attacks on the Administration.

Major E. A. Burke Describes How Democratic Supremacy Was Secured in Louisiana.

Able Addresses by Hon. E. W. Sutherlin, Mr. A. J. Lafargue, Col. C. J. Boatner and Judge W. A. Seay.

SHREVEPORT, Nov. 3.—For the past week the topic of conversation among the people of Shreveport has been the grand Democratic mass meeting which was fixed for to-day. For the last forty-eight hours every inward bound train has brought a full complement of passengers from the surrounding country, who came to attend the meeting, and yesterday members of the committee expressed themselves satisfied the meeting would be above expectation, and show in just what high regard Gov. McEnery is held by the people of Louisiana.

The Governor arrived Tuesday night from Keboline and was driven to Tilley's Hotel. His arrival was not expected, and yesterday morning when the news got out that he was in town citizens flocked to the hotel and paid their respects.

Last night Messrs. Burke, Jonas and Eustis, E. W. Ogden, Cunningham, C. J. Boatner, Sutherlin, T. G. Sparks, Larry O'Donnell, J. A. W. Lowry of Bossier, Richard Sinnott, H. C. Stringfellow, Arthur McGuerk, special stenographer, and other prominent citizens arrived.

Many were unable to find accommodations, the hotels being crowded. TheLigh Guard Silver Band arrived from Marshall, Tex., this forenoon and immediately serenaded the Governor. Messrs. Jonas, Eustis, Burke and others are at Tilley's Hotel.

This forenoon and yesterday bouquets were sent to the Governor, with pretty gilt-edge cards inscribed with eulogistic greetings attached.

The committee of arrangements, through Col. J. S. Young, chairman, escorted the Governor, Senator Eustis, ex-Senator Jonas, Major Burke, Col. Sparks, Judge Seay and others to the courthouse, the place of meeting. When the carriages arrived with the gentlemen there was

A BURST OF ENTHUSIASM

and general applause from the waiting multitude. The Governor ascended the platform and was shown a seat, which was the signal for cheering. The platform on which the ceremonies were conducted had been decorated by a party of ladies composed of Mrs. Julia Rule, Mrs. E. L. Gilmore, Mrs. Richard Binson, Mrs. N. S. Allen, Mrs C. A. Alston, Mrs. Minnie Arnold, Mrs. Burvee Booker, Mrs. Lottie Kirk, Mrs. J. D. Jenkins, Mrs. Gus. Guynemer, Mrs. John Horan, Mrs. Minnie Bucklew, Mrs. Eliza Egans, Mrs. Charles Schaeffer, and others.

This is the first time in the political history of Shreveport that such an occurrence has transpired, and is a tribute to Gov. McEnery, emblematic of the manner of which he has made Louisiana bloom and flower. Ropes of palm were swung from pillar to post, and garlands of gay flowers of every kind, roses, dahlias, daisies and the many chrysanthemums perfumed the air around the stand. From every post the flags of every nation swung in the breeze. The ladies had thoughtfully prepared boutonnieres, with which they decorated the Governor and the party, not forgetting the modest reporters and the reporting stenographer.

AN EXQUISITE BOUQUET,

from Mrs. Dew L. Tally, was handed the Governor. Pendent from it was a card bearing the following inscription: "Sweets to Gov. S. D. McEnery, the champion of white supremacy; the model patron of education; the faithful friend of agriculture; the practical levee constructor; the sterling advocate of straightout Democracy, and the present and future Chief Magistrate of sunny Louisiana."

To the rear of the speakers' stand were arranged the long covered tables, soon to be laden with attractive and toothsome delicacies for 5000. A mighty feast under the leafy trees and blue canopy of heaven did the committee provide in obedience to the dictates of hospitality. Attentive waiters supplied the wants of all, and this department of the meeting was attentively looked to.

The courtyard was crowded with citizens, and many ladies were among the audience. Gen. Young called the meeting to order as president of the Fourth Ward Democratic club. He said:

"We meet as Democrats on a Democratic basis. It is a historical fact we are approaching a campaign for the filling of the State offices for the next four years. We have extended invitations to gentlemen who have held prominence before the people, and who have a personal preference for Gov. Nicholls—Attorney General Cunningham, Col. Jeffries, Gov. Knobloch and to other speakers who have appeared before the people heretofore, and so far we have received no favorable response from any but those whose known preferences are for McEnery."

He then read the following

FROM GEN. NICHOLLS.

Your letter of 22d October, directed to New Orleans, reached me at Sparta. I will address to-day a Democratic meeting at Minden. FRANCIS T. NICHOLLS.

The following vice presidents were nominated and elected: J. J. Horan, Victor Grossman, A. D. Battle, J. H. Gilliland, Peter Touro, E. D. Jacobs, S. B. McCutchon, J. W. Stephens, Joe Boutisseau, H. C. Stringfellow, H. W. Ogden, Bryan Ardis, Simon Lowry, Wm. Robson, A. D. Land, George Frierson, John Wapples, Jules Grime, J. M. Cooper, W. B. Hamilton, Dr. J. T. O'Leary, Dr. J. J. Scott, Dr. W. W. Ashton, L. P. Grim, Louis Hock, Jules Dreyfus, E. A. Conway, Monroe Alexander, L. P. Philips, S. O. Jones, Dr. Moss, J. W. Scott, Dr. Gus Hendricks, R. F. Moore, George Colquitt, Marks Bluestein, L. Z. Crawford, J. W. Huckaby, Joe Bearsley, W. E. Noel, R. T. Cole, Judge T. T. Land, W. B. Crowder, W. H. Davis and Dr. Frierson, of De Soto, Henry Dodenheimer and A. L. Atkins.

Col. Young, turning to Gov. McEnery, said: "I have the honor of presenting to you, fellow-citizens, his Excellency the Governor of the State, who needs no introduction to you. [Cheers.] He is known not only throughout the entire length of this State, but the entire Union as the live Governor of Louisiana."

GOV. S. D. M'ENERY.

A Strong Arraignment of the Reformers.

Amid spontaneous cheers the Governor arose and walked to the front of the platform after several moments, which was consumed in applause and passing bouquets to the Governor.

I had occasion, on the 13th of October, to address the Democracy of Ouachita and adjoining parishes. In that speech, I attempted to show the fallacy of the arguments of the reform party in this State, which are based solely on one issue—the personal appointments of the present Executive of the State of Louisiana. The facts were stated; the record is accessible to the reform orators, and if I misstated their case, the facts are easily controverted.

In the eagerness of their zeal, and in the enthusiasm of their arguments, they forget to examine each case as it is presented. As one statement is shown to be without foundation, they select another, and are equally unfortunate, as in the case of their maimed Confederate soldier of Winn, who lost his limb, not in any of the great battles, but in a saw-mill somewhere in his native parish. But I sympathize with him in his sufferings as much as though he had been maimed on some historic field. Charity in its sympathy forgets the cause of misfortune. But it so happens that I never removed him from office. He had been appointed assessor by Gov. Nicholls, but was removed, or failed to be reappointed, by Gov. Wiltz, for cause.

And it is said by one of their reform speakers that I neglected and refused to approve a repeal of the election law, when no such bill ever passed the General Assembly, notwithstanding my recommendation to that effect.

Another reform orator declares, and he vehemently vouches for the truth of his statement, that a "bill was presented to McEnery asking that convict labor be not allowed outside of the Penitentiary walls! Delegates of laboring men urged its passage! The Governor did not sign it!"

This, like the other statements of the reform orators, is

PURE AND UNADULTERATED FICTION.

No such bill ever passed.

And the same orator said that I had driven away the commerce of New Orleans, reduced the police force of the city from 700 to 54 henchmen, and "given to his (my) brother, by a fraudulently signed bill, an entire parish in a political division of spoils, and this at the expense of education, the police force and improvements generally."

Here is a reform orator who does not know the alphabet of the political divisions of the State, who is ignorant of the current events in the State, but who is gifted with an imagination luxuriantly wild.

Such statements are unworthy of note and would not be referred to were they not fair exponents of the arguments and policy of the present reform campaign.

Exception is now taken by the reformers to the name which they gave themselves in the outset of the campaign against the veteran Democracy. If it has become distasteful to them, we are not to blame for calling them by their own chosen baptismal name. It is their privilege and prerogative to take a new one. This opposition to the Democratic party has already masqueraded under different names—the Unification party, the People's party, and the like; all of which have been in my recollection and in recent years.

The history of the Hunt-St. Martin campaign has been so much discussed that I presume you are familiar with it. It was a deliberate attempt to form a new party—a reform party. Gov. Nicholls was induced to give to it the prestige of his name and the weight of his influence. A reference to the correspondence which occurred between this reform party and the regular Democratic party will show conclusively that the reform party resisted every overture made by the Democracy to heal differences and to restore harmony. The reformers were confident of success and, in the language of Gov. Nicholls, it put its foot on rascals and appealed to the people. Some of these rascals—the real living personages who secured the nomination of St. Martin—are reformers now; believing now, I presume, as the reformers believed then, that this new party is an impregnable fortress in which all shades of political faith, and all hues of color, can shelter themselves in peace, in harmony, and with prospects of office and dispensation of patronage. The same leaders in the Hunt movement, with the accession of those who have been denominated rascals by Gen. Nicholls, are now the head and front of the reform movement.

But, says one of the reform orators, I endeavored to read them out of the party at Monroe. I spoke to stalwart Democrats in that section of North Louisiana, and

IN BEHALF OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY,

I endeavored to bring back the erring to the folds of the party, and carefully avoided using harsh terms. The rank and file—the hard workers and fighters of the party—remain true and steadfast to its time-honored principles and usages, and will not desert its victorious flag, however sweet the siren song of reform and alluring the name of reformer may be to the ears of those who baptized the new-born political party and wrapped it in its swaddling clothes.

Not one word was said by me to indicate that the support of myself for the position of Governor was requisite to constitute an allegiance to the party. On the contrary, this was the complaint I urged against the reformers; and I quoted from the speech of their chosen leader, in which he said the Democratic party had been divided by the officials of the State into two absolutely distinct classes, the one to which he belongs, "including in it some of the purest and best men of Louisiana;" the other a packed body, made up of the personal political adherents of "the powers that be."

What a severe accusation is this against a large portion of the people of the State of Louisiana. All who do not follow the purely personal standard of Gov. Nicholls are a packed body, the adherents of the present Governor of the State. Grant that what he says is true, that those who are opposing Gov. Nicholls are the office-holding class and a packed body. How few then are their numbers. The registered vote of the State is over 200,000; the offices appointed by the Governor, including police juries, number a force of about 750. Now, when we recollect that out of this number of office-holders, there are entire police juries in some parishes and in others one-half, and judges, and justices of the peace, who have been appointed by me, and yet are the adherents of Gov. Nicholls, it will appear ridiculous that, in order to defeat this small force, he has to organize a party, discipline it by clubs, instruct it by pamphlets, encourage it by speeches, and enthuse it by mass meetings, refresh it with music. What a commentary upon the intelligence of our people! What a depreciation of their courage! What a lowering of the standard of morality and virtue, in the opinion of the reformers, among our people!

But all of these campaigners are not of this way of thinking. One of the most distinguished among them, at least, counted the number of stalwart Democrats at a greater number, when he, as early as June, 1885, stated to Gen. Jastremski that Nicholls would be the candidate of the opposition, and that they would defeat the State administration if they had to use the negroes for that purpose. And this seems to have been

THE DOMINANT IDEA OF GEN. NICHOLLS,

when in the Hunt campaign he stated on the very eve of the election, in a public address, that he would co-operate with any party or color to defeat the "Ring!" Is it possible that, considering the small number of appointed white officer-holders in the State, whom he classes as the only "adherents" of the State government, he meant to include in his party those who are "the purest and the best," and this admixture of all colors and all parties whom he intended to summon to his standard to defeat the "Ring!" (meaning the State administration). And Gen Nicholls' course as Governor seems to warrant the belief that he has fixed opinions and a confiding faith in this massing and mixing of political faiths and shades of color. Said he when Governor:

"*I am thoroughly satisfied that any course of political action traced on a narrower line than the good of the whole people, regardless of color or condition, must inevitably lead to disaster and ruin.*

* * * * * * *

"*I have earnestly sought to obliterate the color line in politics and consolidate the people on the basis of equal rights and common interests, and it is a source of gratification to say that this great object is about to be realized.*"

And did not Col. Patton understand his policy when on May 25, 1877, he wrote to the Governor (Nicholls) in relation to the organization of the Benjamin negro militia in Lafourche? In that letter he says:

"I was also under the impression at the time that it was your intention to organize the militia in the country parishes, or to accept such volunteer companies, or independent military organizations, as should offer their service. In the event of that scheme being carried out one or two companies of white militia might have been raised in that parish, which would have effectually checked any disturbance and gone far toward harmonizing the conflicting elements.

"In fact, in all that has been done by me in the matter I have been animated by a desire to carry out your policy, and I regret that in doing this I have brought about a condition of things embarrassing to you and annoying to me."

And was not this policy emphatically expressed after the establishment of the State government in 1877—when breaking a quorum was no longer necessary, when Gov. Nicholls appointed negroes on the State Board of Education, and this board appointed negroes on the parish and city school boards throughout the State; and when he vetoed the Baton Rouge and Clinton Railroad charter, because it discriminated against color in its passenger accommodations?

White companies and black companies, organized for the purpose of harmonizing conflicting elements, will not be a policy acceptable to our people, who do not kindly take to this blending of light and shade into the unity of a political landscape.

As heretofore stated, the reform party has organized a campaign to prove that this present State administration is intensely personal; that is, that in appointments Gov. Nicholls' friends have been entirely ignored; and, therefore, the present State government must be repudiated, and he and his friends inducted into office.

THE RECORD

of officers appointed by me does not sustain the declarations of Gen. Nicholls and his friends. That he is mistaken in his assertions has been shown time and time again. I have not recognized Republicans for official position; nor have I heard any complaint that any one appointed to office is not a good Democrat and qualified for the position to which he has been appointed. You can rest assured, were this not so, you would have heard of it. A premium would be offered for every Republican or incompetent Democrat holding a position by my appointment. Every detail of Executive duties, every incident, the character and the qualification of every appointee, has undergone the closest scrutiny; and we are confronted—*mirabile dictu!* with the "momentous issue" of personal appointments!

Gen. Nicholls is imperial in his declarations. In his address so often repeated to the people of the State, he says in defending his appointments:

"It was a power placed there without legal restriction or trammel. I was at liberty legally to appoint whomsoever I might choose; and no man had a vested right or legal right to complain of the direction my judgment should take in that matter. The only duty incumbent upon me, as Executive, was to make those appointments for the public good."

His appointments, when Governor, are not to be questioned. There is no vested right in any one to make an investigation in this matter. Their qualifications, or their political opinions and affiliations, are covered with the protecting ægis of an imperial purple and power; to go behind it is a sacrilege, a violation of law. But the Democratic mantle which falls upon the shoulders of the appointee of this administration is not so sacred. There is no vested right which prevents any one from tearing it from their plebeian shoulders. Gov. Nicholls does it, and finds—what? A Democrat, without stain or reproach; the only uncleanness about him is the fact that he is the friend of a strict Democratic administration.

By the magic touch of Gov. Nicholls' pen his appointee was sacred in name, person and prerogative—he was transformed into something higher and holier than the common run of mortals, while my appointee is still but a plain, common Democrat, if anything, in the opinion of the reformers, not so good as the common run of men!

I am happy, indeed, that Gov. Nicholls does not confine his opinion as to the rights of the people to look into the character and qualifications of executive appointments to other administrations, and that while his own may be sacred from the vulgar gaze of the people this administration is brought into the full light of day, where all who are interested have a vested right to critically examine the character and qualifications of the officers appointed to administer the State government.

Gen. Nicholls, when nominated for Governor in 1876, uttered, and has again recently repeated the same declaration, that he would permit no man or set of men to control his judgment as to what is right and proper.

Now, if a man had the strength and the power, the experience and the wisdom, to be exclusive of the aid and assistance of others the world could be easily and economically governed. Legislatures, courts and judges could be dispensed with. But Gen. Nicholls, when Governor, found how vain were his declarations. I have shown, in the address at Monroe,

HOW IDLE WERE THESE WORDS,

and how, when confronted with opposing opinions in relation to his duties in the matter of the Pacific Railroad bonds, how he then sought the advice of the judges of the Supreme Court as to his executive action in that case, and with what facility these judges abandoned their judicial functions to give a cabinet opinion to the Executive of the State.

Gen. Nicholls was between Scylla and Charybdis. He sought the safest harbor for himself, but at the expense of the dignity of the State, and in a violation of the organic law, which prescribed the separate and distinct functions of each department of the government, each to share exclusively its own responsibility, the Governor for his executive acts, the courts for their decrees, and the Legislature for its laws.

"It," says Chancellor Kent, speaking of the judiciary, "is to determine the supreme law whenever a case is judicially before it." There was no case before the court. It should have been silent until the consideration of a case opened its lips.

The breadth of thought and the prescience of the statesman have not, in the judiciary, their immediate field. The judiciary cannot be an arbiter between the people and the Governor. The reference of this power to the courts could only find a parallel in rabbinical opinions in the decay of the national life of Judea, and the influence of the jurisconsults in the decadence of Rome, and in the tribunal veto in Rome, the *ultimum jus tribunorum* of the republic.

The judiciary demands for its strength exclusion from all legislative and administrative functions. The judiciary is the conservative power in the State. In it the property of the people, their rights and liberties, nay, their lives, find their surest protection; and it is a positive wrong, a violation of all law and precedent, for executive functions to be placed within its sacred precincts.

To destroy the liberties of the people, it would only be necessary to strike down their courts; or, as Mr. Jefferson warned us, in permitting the courts to overstep their legitimate bounds and to encroach upon the functions of the Executive and the Legislature. But Gov. Nicholls does not agree in this opinion with the Sage of Monticello and the father of our plain, old-time Democracy. And

THE CASE OF THOMAS C. ANDERSON,

of Returning Board fame, is another illustration of the fallacy of Gov. Nicholls' famous declarations. He had the right, as I have before said, to pardon Anderson and to share the whole responsibility of the act. The law demanded his conviction and an outraged people demanded his punishment. Here was another Scylla and Charybdis passage: but the Governor steered safely through it by going to a Democratic caucus and asking its aid and assistance—a pledge from them in advance that the caucus would stand by him in the pardoning of Thomas C. Anderson in case of his conviction! And here was another mixing up of the functions of the government—the Executive with the legislative departments—in order to relieve Gen. Nicholls, when Governor, of direct responsibility.

In calling in aid of executive functions the judiciary and legislative departments of the government, there was the realization of Milton's idea of an executive council in a free State. The constitution of the executive, in the Triumvirate in Rome, in the Directory of Five in France, which through the want of decision and unity, paved the way to the power of the First Consul. There is an inevitable weakness in the assumption of executive power by the judiciary or the Senate. Five judges assuming executive functions in Louisiana, is not unlike the Directory of Five in France.

And we have read of members of Gen. Nicholl's canvassing party offering evidence to show that he was not responsible for certain alleged objectionable appointments; because, forsooth, he had been advised to make them! But I believe Gov. Nicholls reiterates the opinion that he controls himself in all things and controls others. He would not assert it if he did he not labor under this belief. He is like other men. We all have our infirmities; and we are flattered most when we have attributed to us particular mental and moral characteristics in which we are deficient. Call a timid man a major, and his eye flashes with martial ardor; the sinner a saint, and he will hum a hymn; the ignorant man a scholar, and he will at once quote a Latin phrase. Gen. Nicholls has so many exalted virtues, private and public, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he has been flattered into the belief that he possesses one in which he is deficient—one in which, probably, we are all more or less deficient.

And in close connection with this declaration that he is his own counselor and acts on his own judgment, but diametrically opposite to it in effect, is the declaration that he will make appointments on consulting the wishes of the people.

The law makes some offices elective and others appointive. To refer the matter back to the people would, I think, be

A VIOLATION OF THE LAW

in its spirit. It would be better in this event for the Legislature to make all offices elective. But it is commendable to consult the wishes of the people in all appointments when competent and faithful men are offered for the positions. But it is unsafe to make an unqualified assertion as to the mode of making these appointments. There are many things and many conditions to be considered. To obey with unerring certainty public opinion, and to command its support, the Executive must be able to lead it and to resist it, to estimate its power and its weakness, to apprehend the deliberate purpose of the people, and to hold it against betrayal. It is the abdication of government when he takes its informal forces, its confused agitation, its impulse, for the law.

And it was this mistake in estimating public opinion during the administration of Gov. Nicholls that led to many of our difficulties and our non-progressive course. If he had injected into his government that power and force and wrapped around it that enthusiasm which hailed him when he went into office these beneficial influences would have been felt. But, unfortunately, he mistook the spirit and temper of the people; and a dead conservatism took the place of enterprise, and lethargy succeeded to energy and action.

Am I not right in making this statement? Is it not a fact that the complaint was universal that the administration of Gov. Nicholls was too conservative for the times, and did not respond to that awakening spirit that swept over the State in 1876?

Gov. Nicholls was backed and supported by the best equipped political army that ever sustained any man. He was assisted by the ablest legislative body ever convened in this State. He was borne into office almost upon the shouts of the people. To have gathered this force and directed it would have given to Louisiana, during his term, a prosperity that it has taken years of unremitting toil of the people to accomplish.

Gen. Nicholls says in his speech, read at Zacharie and at other points in the State, that his candidacy for Governor has been induced by the belief that he will restore unity to the party. According to his own statement he has only to convert the few office-holders whom I have appointed, and some of whom are numbered among my friends, as all the rest the "purest and the best" are within

THE RANKS OF THE BLESSED REFORMERS.

Why then should he undertake such a task? Why should he go through the trouble and the fatigue of a campaign if all the people except this insignificant number are with him? There is a deeper significance in his campaign. It must be beyond his missionary efforts to convert these few. What is it? The only attack the party has received has been through him and his immediate followers. When he was in office he had the undivided support of the party. Those who did not receive recognition from him did not rebel against the party. I had no influence with his administration, yet, as a Democrat, unwilling to see a Democratic administration adversely criticised, quit my business and made a vigorous campaign in its defense and opposed the calling of a convention until after the expiration of his term of office. For this service he extended to me his cordial thanks in a letter to F. C. Stubbs. When he left the office the discontent commenced. When he wrote to me "in one single letter" to call my attention to those of his "late appointees in whom he was most interested," he evidenced a willingness to support the State administration. I appointed some; all, in fact, that I could. Then came the application for Tom Handy, the hero of the 9th of January, the organizer and establisher of his government, according to his published letter to me. He was not appointed. Discontent grew into mutterings, until it broke into denunciation. A party was organized in New Orleans against the regular Democracy, and the local questions passed into State issues, when Gen. Nicholls, the leader of the movement, announced his intention to marshal all his forces, co-operate with any party or color to break down the State administration—the ring, as he characterized it. There are no reasons alleged for this movement, except that personal adherents, according to his statement of the "powers that be," have been selected for the offices. These are Democrats and there can therefore, from a Democratic standpoint, be no objection to them as long as they are recognized as capable and efficient. The State has prospered in all her material interests; the facts and figures prove this. It should be the pride of Democrats to recognize this material advancement under a Democratic administration, to which all Democrats have contributed. What, then, is the reason for this extraordinary campaign; this denunciation of an honest, faithful and progressive Democratic administration? What other object can it have than the organization of the State government by a separate party to carry out the peculiar views that Gov. Nicholls and his friends entertain? How are we to judge of these views? How are we to determine the policy of any man except by his public expressions? In this campaign he utters none except his views as to personal appointments. His past utterances, however, come to us and from these we are assured of a government for the whole people, which means "any party or color" which will co-operate with him in the formation of this new party to defeat a Democratic administration. If this is not his policy let him speak out to the whole people of the State and declare that he is in favor of a white man's government, not only now, but for all time. Then, in case of his success, I will feel assured that he will only use his alliances for his own purposes, and will abandon them when he shall have been elevated to office and will conduct the State government on the sure line of success, white supremacy. I said something on this subject at Monroe. I have been a careful reader of colored literature in this State and I have seen constant and continued inclinations to use "their majority" for purposes of race aggrandisement and supremacy.

In New Orleans there is a colored religious paper which advocates the miscegenation of the races, and another, which I hold in my hand, which reproduced the editorial of the colored editor in Montgomery, Ala., for which he had to flee for his life, and indorsed it. This article was an insult and indignity to every white woman in the South. Here is what he says of my Monroe speech:

"M'ENERY AT MONROE."

"The most remarkable speech delivered during the present campaign for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in this State is that of Gov. McEnery at Monroe, La., on the 13th. For bitterness of expression, for utter disregard of public opinion, it outranks anything that for long years has come from the Democrats.

"To sum the speech up, that is the political part of it, Gov. McEnery believes in the supremacy of the white people, even when they are in the minority, as they are in Louisiana. He believes, in common with Dr. Palmer, 'that God Almighty has himself drawn the color line, and that our civilization has to be worked out by white brains, white muscle and white sympathies,' and further that the plans resorted to by the bulldozers of Ouachita, Tensas, Natchitoches and other places where the Republicans are in a majority, were also right. * * *

"If any black man, any negro with one spark of manhood in his composition, advocates, either by act or word, the re-election of McEnery, he is unworthy of being a free man, and should be scorned and treated as if he were a viper."

With that majesty of presence peculiar to him, with those Christian virtues that envelope his soul, with that mental power that no one else possesses, with that matchless eloquence that no other lips can utter, in the presence of a large colored audience at the inauguration of the State Colored University, Dr. Palmer, with a force and power that I had never heard, described the civilization of the age, the power of the Anglo-Saxon race as the race element that produced it, and said that he believed in the Divine distinction of races, and that the colored race must work out its own destiny as appointed by Providence, under the leadership and direction of the Anglo-Saxon race, whose blood on this continent is strengthened and reinforced by the blood of the Teuton (and, I would add, in Louisiana by a strong infusion of the blood of the great Latin race). And with Christian heart, moved and directed by Christian impulses, this great race would reach out its hands and lift, aid, educate, assist and advance the colored race in its appointed destiny—not to control and dominate the white race, but to move on in a direction, parallel it might be, but in a position subordinate to the white race. And this declaration was applauded to the echo by the colored audience that listened to it.

Now are you willing that a body of men of this complexion shall join forces with any party in this State and overturn a white man's government? Are you willing to admit that this colored "majority," immeasurably inferior in morals and intelligence, shall on that account share the government with you?

In the Monroe speech I availed myself of the opportunity to express my dissent from Gen. Nicholls' statement on the manner in which his government was organized. I do not think it was creditable to our statesmanship and our honor as a people. I do not think that

BRIBING BY MONEY AND PATRONAGE

dishonest negro legislators should outweigh the honest efforts of the people in 1876, and the labors and diplomacy of our representatives in the Senate and in Congress, or Burke's efforts, who was Gen. Nicholls' accredited agent, or the heroic efforts of the illustrious Ogden and his co-patriots on the 9th January. We had struggled for years against oppression and wrong. From 1868 to 1876, in St. Landry, in Natchitoches, Bossier, Grant and Claiborne and other points, and on the 14th September. These were years of heroic struggle as well as deep humiliation, when Richardson, Scott and Ramsey and Huey from Claiborne and Lincoln and Scholar and Beelew from Jackson, were brought to Monroe in irons. I thought that we had drunk to the depth of degradation, and a manly resistance should then be made. When I was hurrying to the jail to see what could be done for our suffering fellow-citizens, I met an officer of the United States army, who was as indignant as I was humiliated. He refused to accept the custody of these gentlemen from the marshal and the detachment of troops. They were immured in a felon's cell, and were in haste discharged the next day, the Radical birelings being appalled by their own dark deed. That night they were serenaded by a large concourse of patriotic citizens, and as Dr. Richardson raised his aged hands and held them up in the light the fresh blood stains of the manacles were visible on his wrists. As he held them up he exclaimed: "These hands have done no wrong, but look at these bruised wrists;" the whole assemblage bent their heads in humiliation and sorrow. With these sad recollections fresh in our memories shall we yield one inch; shall we go back one step and open the way again for negro domination? Was there any wonder then with such associations of the past clinging to the memory and on the very spot where Bellew and Scholar were brought under guard to humiliate them by witnessing the farce of an election, when the ballot-box was made the charnel-house, the sepulchre of the assassinated liberties of a defenseless people, that I uttered sentiments that were in every breast? Was there any wonder then that the people, goaded to desperation, with grief stung to madness, should break out into fierce retribution? Who wants to shirk any of the responsibilities of the period? Who is willing that his efforts should be dwarfed by the corruption of negro legislators, and what white man is there in the State that does not feel his identity impressed upon the glowing triumph of a liberty-loving people?

Some of our reform papers urge as an objection to the sentiments uttered at Monroe that they furnish material for Republican newspapers and anger the North. In October, 1884, I uttered sentiments even stronger when addressing an audience in the City of New Orleans in behalf of Cleveland and St. Martin's election. Nothing was then said about displeasing Northern sentiment. Among other things I said, speaking of our long submission to Radical and negro domination: "We were patient, too patient, under this mistule, corruption and tyranny; not because there was not courage and patriotism among our people to resist, but because of our loyalty to the Democratic party, whose advent to power we anxiously awaited. But the day of relief was too distant; our patience became exhausted, and there was a universal feeling that we should assert our manhood regardless of consequences." It has been my belief that we were by the results of the events referred to restored to home rule and home government and had passed from under the tutelage of Northern sentiment and the domination of Northern opinion. I thought there was manliness and courage enough among this people of the State to exercise the right of free speech, free thought and independent action, and that we were at liberty to work out our own political and social welfare. It is only recently that we have been told by the reformers that we are yet under bondage and must "speak in whispers, lest a Greek should hear."

NO SUCH CRAVEN SPIRIT

dwells within the bosoms of our people. I assert for our people every right and privilege of the citizen of any other State in this Union. Louisiana is as sovereign as New York and her people have the same right of free speech, thought and action as the citizens of that State.

When accepting the nomination at the last State convention I said: "The Democratic party is stronger than faction; its principles are enduring, and its vitality is such that it requires a stronger force than personal preferences to destroy it." A lesson, too, can be learned from the recent harmonious and patriotic session of the State Central Committee, when the leaders of the reform faction attempted to control its organization by frivolous contests. The committee on credentials from both sides rebuked this attempt. Whenever confronted by faction the majesty, strength and power of the party will assert itself. The leaders and inaugurators of the reform party would do well to recognize this fact, the integrity and unity of the party. They would do well to abandon their factional fight and admit the fact of the prosperous condition of the State and present to us some live issues. Let them say: "We admit the marvelous advance in all interests of the State, but we propose to inaugurate a system to still further advance them. We will throw such force and energy into the government, inaugurate such enterprises, keep such faith with public creditors as to open up such industries and create such prosperity as has never been known in the State," and with these declarations let them give the mode and manner in which they intend to conduct the government. But no such policy is indicated or professed. The only issue presented is the never-failing argument of personal government. Nicholls' meetings are called into existence with the positive statement that they are in no way connected with the vital interests which affect the people. Education, levees and agriculture, and the efforts that I have given to advance these interests are slighted and ridiculed. The children of the State may appeal for light and knowledge; the enthusiasm among the people may be like the shimmering of the silver sea in gentle motion, and the influence of one in authority may be only needed to send it in sheets of flame, wave upon wave and billow on top of billow, rolling over the surface of the State; the people may gather on the banks of the mighty Mississippi as it rolls in anger with its vassal streams to the Gulf and pray for protection; our farmers may plead for assistance to quicken to seed in the soil, to clothe the hills and the valleys with waving cane and cotton and rice, to cover the meadows with carpets of green, and to load the vineyards with purple clusters, but we are told that such things are beneath the notice of the Governor of the great State of Louisiana. The imperial purple of magisterial dignity is thrown round the Executive, while, like the ruler of imperial Rome, he is careless of the distress, want and destitution in the distant parishes. The people want education, levee protection, agriculture encouraged, and they will demand that their Governor give them a helping hand.

What was

THE CONDITION OF THE STATE

from 1877 to 1880? The taxes were not vigorously collected; no attempt was made to enforce the collection of delinquent taxes; a large floating debt was created; interest on the public debt was defaulted; epidemics, through an inadequate quarantine system, devastated the State, and no system of improved sanitary and quarantine protection was devised; assessments were unequal and confused; there was no encouragement given to education; the public educational institutions were in debt, demoralized and inefficient; there were no agricultural stations, and no department of agriculture organized in the State University; there was no general interest manifested in a levee system, and no calling together and uniting for a common purpose all persons and corporations interested in levee protection, and there was no Home established for our disabled Confederate soldiers. All of these great interests have advanced. The finances of the State have improved—the assessed values have increased from $155,000,000 to $217,000,000; assessments are more uniform and satisfactory; collections of revenue have advanced from 48½ to 96 per cent; the interest on the public debt is promptly paid, all warrants of the current year are provided for, and the State is practically on a cash basis. School attendance has increased 74,000, there are double the number of schools and teachers and school-houses, and appropriations for school purposes have increased; teachers' institutes have been organized and a normal school has been established; the Louisiana University and Agricultural and Mechanical College has been equipped and furnished in all its departments, an agricultural department established and an able and efficient professor employed; an agricultural station has been established; the Institutes for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind have been made useful and are in a flourishing condition; the Insane Asylum and charitable institutions have been increased in efficiency, in their management, and additional accommodations have been provided in all of them.

A home for disabled Confederate veterans has been organized, which, by the support of the State and her devoted women, promises to be a place of retreat for these patriotic veterans, refined and elegant in all its surroundings and appointments.

The levees are in a better condition than at any time since the war. More levee work has been done and more arable land redeemed than at any time since that period, and this has been done by combining individual, corporate and the River Commission interests at a cost to the State of one-fourth of the amount expended for less efficient work.

A quarantine has been established, vigilant in its attention and skillful in its observations. A new mode of disinfecting has been inaugurated, which for its efficiency is unequaled, and has attracted the attention of other enlightened governments to that extent that the distinguished president of the Board of Health has been induced, in order to furnish information to other governments, to provide pamphlets and circulars, with cuts, showing the working of the system.

The parish governments are in good condition, out of debt, and some of them with large balances in their treasuries, and as a consequence parish taxes have been reduced while public improvements have been made. As an evidence of our progress it will only be necessary to consult the Senate and House journals of 1879 to ascertain the condition of the public schools in New Orleans at that time, and the report from the parishes to the Constitutional Convention of 1879 to learn the condition of the parishes, and the Governor's messages of 1873-79 and the Auditor's and Treasurer's reports to learn the condition of the State then. Compare the condition of the State then with its present condition. I will ask you to refer to a detailed statement of all these facts which was compiled by me and published.

Now I will ask our reform friends to candidly admit all these facts—to lay aside their factional contest and take back what they said at Zacharie and join us in

A GREAT AGRICULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL AND LEVEE JUBILEE—

to join with us in inviting the immigrant to our favored land and to induce him to come by announcing the fact that we have in Louisiana a good government, an honest government, laws which are equitable and just and faithfully administered; that we are the third lowest taxpaying State in the Union; that our people are virtuous, law-abiding and just, and so intelligent that they cannot be dominated by a handful of men (as alleged by them); that we have a rich soil, fine climate; that there is health in our crystal waters and life in our silent shades; that our zephyrs playing over beds of roses and violets carry healing on their wings; that Louisiana has the highest longevity of any of the Southern States, and much higher than many Northern States, nine times more reaching the age of one hundred than in New York and fifteen times more than Maine.

I appeal to all Democrats who believe in party discipline and party usages to stand by the Democratic party. In this party is the only hope for the advancement of the State, the security of life, liberty and property, the integrity and honor of the white race, the protection of our women from insult and outrage, and the consignment of our children to a future, bright and prosperous. I ask you to think seriously before you take any step that would indicate a retrogression in our civilization, and I will ask you to consider attentively the political history of the State in the last twenty years, and to study the opinions, declarations and purposes of those who are seeking to destroy your confidence in a Democratic administration. I will ask you to review the political history of the State in '77, '78 and '79, and draw conclusions from the official acts of the Executive of that period, his public declarations and his well-known views of the relations of the races to each other, and to carefully consider the consequences of the movement of the reform party in the Hunt-St. Martin contest, the open and declared warfare upon the party and the invocation of the intervention of a Federal court in our local affairs whereby some seven thousand of our citizens, including St. Martin himself, born and raised on our soil, were asked to be disfranchised.

The New Orleans *Picayune* is the recognized organ of Gen. Nicholls. In its edition of April 6, 1884, it said, in opposition to my nomination and election: "The perfect remedy for ring rule is bolting. The notion that you must vote for a man because he is the regular nominee is false; it is a sin against every patriotic impulse and the violation of the entire duty of a voter." Gov. Nicholls and his friends have selected this paper as their organ. It supported Gen. Nicholls for the nomination in '83. They have not repudiated its utterances and its war upon the party, but have accepted it with its known record, and it is reasonable, in fact

THE LOGIC IS INEVITABLE,

that they hold the same opinions, and if they are sincere will enforce them. When they have declared against personal appointments they have been confronted with Democrats of the opposition appointed by me—good, true, loyal and competent Democrats—and with Gen. Nicholls' own record as Governor. When they have declared that the State has not progressed they are shown a splendid prosperity, which it would be well for them to assure the people should continue. When they cry out fraud, they are presented with an honest record and a faithful administration. When they proclaim that no one has a vested right to question Executive appointments except themselves, the doors are thrown open and a rigid investigation invited by all citizens. When proscription is proclaimed as the mortal sin of this administration, their own declared policy stares at them, and candidates for Senators and State offices, great and small, stand in line and protest against *their* proscription.

I say the leaders of this movement are deceiving the people. They have no just accusation against the Democracy and they really demand a policy in accord with their views, an intense conservatism, a unification of political beliefs and colors, and in order to inaugurate this it is necessary to discourage and then destroy the active, energetic and progressive spirit of the Democratic party.

During the address the speaker was continually interrupted by applause from the audience by both ladies and gentlemen, who listened with marked attention, not a person leaving the grounds during the entire time that the Governor was speaking. An enth