

1972

# The participation of the Richmond negro in politics, 1890-1900

Joe B. Wilkins

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scholarship.richmond.edu/masters-theses>



Part of the [United States History Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Wilkins, Joe B., "The participation of the Richmond negro in politics, 1890-1900" (1972). *Master's Theses*. 1210.  
<http://scholarship.richmond.edu/masters-theses/1210>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research at UR Scholarship Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of UR Scholarship Repository. For more information, please contact [scholarshiprepository@richmond.edu](mailto:scholarshiprepository@richmond.edu).

THE PARTICIPATION OF THE RICHMOND NEGRO  
IN POLITICS, 1890-1900

BY

JOE B. WILKINS JR.

A THESIS  
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND  
IN CANDIDACY  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

AUGUST 1972

LIBRARY  
UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND  
VIRGINIA

LIBRARY  
UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND  
VIRGINIA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
Preface	
I. The Negro in Richmond, 1890	1
II. Politics: 1883-1889, The Decline of the Readjuster- Republican Party in Virginia	5
III. Politics: 1890-1892, Prelude to Disfranchisement	13
IV. Politics: 1892-1895, Election Frauds and the Walton Act.	31
V. Politics: 1895-1900, The Eve of the Constitutional Convention	47
Conclusion	63
Selected Bibliography	67
Vita	72

## PREFACE

This short treatise on one aspect of Negro history is the result of the author's profound interest in United States history. The author's personal interest in the history of the Negro in the New South contributed to the selection of this topic.

This paper is the extension of research originally initiated under the supervision of Professor Joseph C. Robert, to whom the author wishes to extend appreciation for a current and developing interest in the history of the New South.

The author expresses deep appreciation to Dr. Richard B. Westin, who not only has carefully directed the completion of this thesis, but who has increased the author's interest in the field of Negro history.

Finally, the author commends the patience and assistance of his wife, Carmen, whose understanding and consistency eased the burden of graduate study.

## Chapter I

### The Negro in Richmond, 1890

In the city of Richmond in 1890, the administration of government was vested in one main officer, the Mayor, and two boards, the Common Council and the Board of Aldermen. The city was divided into six wards with each ward choosing two members to the Board of Aldermen and five members to the Common Council. Members of the Council and the Mayor served two year terms, while the Aldermen served four year terms. The elections were staggered so that no more than one-third of the Council or Aldermen would be up for election at one time.<sup>1</sup>

The largest Negro ward in the city was Jackson Ward which had a population of 13,530 Negroes to 3,679 whites. The other wards in the city were Clay Ward which had 14,095 whites and 4,604 Negroes, Madison Ward which had 6,487 whites and 2,780 Negroes, Marshall Ward with 8,001 whites and 3,370 Negroes and Monroe Ward which had 9,086 whites and 5,103 Negroes. The total population for the city of Richmond in 1890 was 81,388 and this was broken down into 49,034 whites and 32,330 Negroes.<sup>2</sup> Jackson Ward was the heart and soul of the Negro social and political arena and it would be here that the Negro's greatest influence in Richmond politics would be felt.

---

<sup>1</sup>Richmond, The Charter, Boundaries and General Ordinances of the City of Richmond, Charter of May 24, 1870 (Richmond:1879), ch.I-III, pp. 9-16.

<sup>2</sup>United States Census Office, Compendium of the Eleventh Census, Part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), p. 578, hereafter cited as Compendium of the Eleventh Census, 1890.

In 1880 Richmond had a total population of 63,600 of whom 27,832 were Negroes.<sup>3</sup> By 1890 the Negro population had increased to 35,768 but the rate of increase made the Negro only 44.1% of the total population compared to 47.1% in 1880.<sup>4</sup> The mortality rate in Richmond was much higher for Negroes than for whites, giving some indication of health conditions and what medical care existed for the Negro during this period. In 1890 there were a total of 2,411 deaths, 879 white and 1,320 Negro. The death rate for children under five years old was 372 white and 617 Negro, about double for the Negro compared to that of the white.<sup>5</sup> Out of a total of 111 physicians in the city of Richmond in 1890, only five were Negroes.<sup>6</sup>

Occupations or trades represented by the Negro in 1890 were limited. There were a total of twenty-three bakers or confectioners listed in the Richmond City Directory, 1889-1890, and only one was a Negro. Seventy Negroes were listed as barbers or hairdressers out of a total of eighty. There were 175 boot and shoe makers in Richmond, 1889-1890, and ninety were Negroes. Seven Negroes were carpenters or builders out of a total of seventy-one and fourteen Negro coal or wood dealers out of a total of forty-nine. There was only one Negro dressmaker out of thirty-three listed and seventy-seven grocers out of 523 listed. There were 133 hucksters listed and fifty were Negroes.

---

<sup>3</sup>Thomas Eugene Walton, "The Negro in Richmond, 1880-1890" (unpublished Master's Thesis, Howard University, 1950), p.5, hereafter cited as Walton, "The Negro in Richmond".

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 6-7.

<sup>5</sup>Compendium of the Eleventh Census, 1890, Part I, p. 122.

<sup>6</sup>J.H. Chataigne, Richmond City Directory, 1889, Part I (Richmond: 1890), pp. 18-20, hereafter cited as Chataigne, Richmond City Directory.

In the professions the Negroes were the least represented with only one Negro dentist out of twenty-three and one druggist out of sixty-three listed. There were four Negro lawyers out of 123 listed.<sup>7</sup> Thus Negroes were very well represented in the barbering, boot and shoe makers and blacksmith trades but poorly represented in the carpenter, dressmaker and professional occupations.

The total school enrollment of Richmond in 1890 was 11,746 pupils of which 3,282 were white males, 3,499 were white females, 2,110 were Negro males and 2,858 were Negro females. The total percentage of the school population enrolled was 53% white and 56% Negro. The number of pupils in the higher branches of the school system was 977, with 695 being white and 332 Negro. In the Richmond Public School system in 1890 there were 154 white teachers and seventy-six Negro teachers.<sup>8</sup> There were four Negro schools in the city in 1890. Baker school located at the corner of Baker and St. John Streets, Richmond Colored Normal School located at Twelfth, corner of Leigh, Valley School, located at Fifth and Marshall, and East End School at the corner of Sixth and Duval.<sup>9</sup>

The Richmond Negro by 1890 did not possess the political potency he had in the early 1880's but he was still a potentially powerful force. In the late 1880's the Negro had witnessed a shift of attitude toward him from a Southern paternalism to Negrophobia.

---

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 576-598.

<sup>8</sup>Twentieth and Twenty-First Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia (Richmond:J.H. O'Bannon publishers, 1891). pp. 6-7.

<sup>9</sup>Chataigne, Richmond City Directory, 1889, part I, pp. 18-20.

Negro rule, the cry that Democrats had used to rally the whites to the polls was a virtual impossibility although the cry would be heard in almost all elections in Richmond and Virginia during the decade 1890-1900. The Richmond Negro while very much like his counterpart in other southern states was in some ways different. The Richmond Negro prospered in relation to Negroes in other southern states and during the Readjuster years under General William Mahone, 1879-1883, Negroes in the city exercised greater political strength than ever before.<sup>10</sup> The Negro in 1890 however found himself increasingly victimized by his own party and disillusioned over recent political setbacks. The quest to find the political strength and power of the Readjuster period would not be realized in the 1890-1900 time span or for the next five decades. The Negro, at the close of the decade, would find himself with fewer civil and political rights than he had at the beginning. The Negro from 1901-1902 was officially, "put in his place," but realistically he had been there since the late 1890's. Race relations from 1890-1900 were essentially a story of the Negro struggling against an increasing tide of Negrophobia.

---

<sup>10</sup>Richmond Dispatch, November 27, 1892, hereafter cited as the Dispatch. See also Richmond Planet, December 3, 1892, hereafter cited as the Planet.



## Chapter II

### Politics: 1883-1889, The Decline of the Readjuster-Republican Party in Virginia

The 1890's in the South saw a sharp racist reaction directed against the Negro which found expression in white primaries, lynchings, literacy and property tests, riots, poll taxes, and widespread propaganda against him.<sup>1</sup> The Negro in Richmond in the 1890's would experience most of these reactions.

It would be impossible to correctly analyze the political role of the Negro in Richmond between 1890-1895 without mentioning events of the late 1880's that greatly influenced Virginia politics for the next decade. Two factors that immediately effected the Virginia and Richmond political scenes were the decline of Republican Boss General William Mahone as a political power in the state and the disputed election of John Mercer Langston to Congress from the Fourth Congressional District, the first and only Negro congressman Virginia has had.

William Mahone, former Confederate General and hero of the Battle of the Crater, after Reconstruction had become President of the Atlantic, Mississippi, and Ohio Railroads. He had first entered politics in Virginia in the 1870's as an opponent to the method of funding the state debt. Mahone soon formed the Readjuster Party with the help of William E. Cameron, John Wise and Parson Massey. The

---

<sup>1</sup>Louis Harvie Blair, The Prosperity of the South Dependent Upon The Elevation of the Negro, ed. by C. Vann Woodward (Boston: 1964), p. xii.

Readjusters claimed that Virginians should not be taxed to pay for the entire state debt, especially debts accumulated before the war which provided for improvements in the western counties. These western counties broke away from the Commonwealth during the war to become the state of West Virginia. The Readjusters wanted one third of the state debt set aside for West Virginia to pay, one third repudiated and one third paid.<sup>2</sup> Parson Massey in 1879 openly solicited the Negro vote for the Readjusters and on this new alliance of white conservatives of the Southwest and Valley sections of the state and the Negroes and Republicans of Tidewater and Southside, the Readjusters were able to control the state legislature. Mahone was elected December 16, 1879, to the United States Senate and was formally seated in that body March 4, 1881.<sup>3</sup> When Mahone entered the Senate there were thirty-seven Republicans and thirty-seven Democrats. David Davis of Illinois was to be seated along with Mahone but he had already declared his intention of voting as a Democrat. Mahone's vote therefore would enable either the Republican or Democratic Party to control the Senate since the presiding officer was the Vice President of the United States who was a Republican. Mahone cast his vote with the Republican Party because he firmly believed that "not to do so was to surrender Virginia, himself and all her people to Bourbonism."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Virginia State Library, "History of the Debt," vol. I., Virginia Political Pamphlets. (n.p.: n.d.), p. I.

<sup>3</sup>Nelson Morehouse Blake, William Mahone of Virginia: Soldier and Political Insurgent (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1935), p. 133 hereafter cited as Blake, William Mahone of Virginia.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 206 and 212.

The Negro during the early part of the political battle between the Funders or Conservatives and the Readjusters remained in the background. Negroes, having been slaves during the years that the vast amount of the debt was accumulated had no voice in the matter and were opposed to full payment of the debt, as it would mean higher taxes. Most Negroes, urged by the appeals of Massey and many white Republicans who allied themselves with the Readjusters, supported the Readjuster Party. In return they received some minor offices for their support of the Readjuster-Republicans. The state legislature in 1882, controlled by the Readjuster-Republicans, passed many bills that benefited the Negro. The poll tax was abolished, the whipping post abolished, Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute was established; a Negro Asylum for the insane was also established. The Readjusters benefited from the Negroes' support but in no way was the power of the Readjusters based on the Negro vote before 1883.<sup>5</sup>

The legislative campaign of 1883 was a bitter one with the Readjusters actively soliciting the Negro vote and the Funders who now called themselves Democrats making the most of the race baiting to win the state's white vote to their cause. The Danville Riot of November 4, 1883, sealed the fate of the Readjusters in this election. Danville, a city that the Democrats claimed was under the control of Negroes, which in reality it was not, had experienced intense racial tension during the campaign. On November 4, 1883, a Negro pushed a white man on the streets of Danville. A fight followed leaving one white man dying and four others wounded. Four Negroes were killed and six were wounded. The militia was called out, but the riot, blown far out of proportion by the Democrats, helped insure a Readjuster defeat.

---

<sup>5</sup>Andrew Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics 1902-1965 (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1967), pp. 4-5, hereafter cited as Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics.

The Democrats won two thirds of both houses of the legislature.<sup>6</sup>  
 The defeat of 1883 suffered by the Readjuster-Republicans would seal the fate not only of the party but on the Negroes' place in the Virginia political arena. The Democrats sought to insure their control over elections by the passage of the Anderson McCormick Election Law passed in 1883. The law stated that statewide elections were to be held every four years beginning in 1884, and three freeholders were to be elected and they in turn would appoint election officials. The Virginia Court of Appeals voided the freehold or landowning qualification but the bill was quickly passed again without that qualification. This bill insured the Democratic Party control of election machinery in the state. When the bill was passed in 1884 the Dispatch remarked in an editorial that,

The Anderson McCormick bill was passed in the interest of white people of Virginia. It is a white man's law. It operates to perpetuate the rule of the white man in Virginia.<sup>7</sup>

The election of 1883 would signal a progressive decline of the Negro in politics in Virginia which would terminate in the Constitutional Convention of 1902. But in 1890 the Negro was down but not out. He was on the road to disfranchisement but the Populist surge in the early 1890's would provide him with brief visions of political influence.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Charles E. Wynes, Race Relations in Virginia 1870-1902 (Charlottesville; The University of Virginia Press, 1961), p. 31, hereafter cited as Wynes, Race Relations in Virginia.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 39-40.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 38-50.

After the defeat in 1883 and the defeat of John D. Wise, the Readjuster candidate for Governor, by General Fitzhugh Lee in 1885, many whites left the Readjuster-Republican Party and returned to the Democratic Party. The party by the late 1880's was weakened by virtue of the defeat of 1883 and 1885, but it still possessed political strength. Wise had lost to Lee by only 8,000 votes and his defeat was probably the result of Democratic election frauds.<sup>9</sup> Two events in 1888 and 1889 however sealed the fate of the Readjuster-Republican Party in Virginia, the congressional campaign of John Mercer Langston and his subsequent election and the defeat of Mahone in the Gubernatorial race of 1889.

The congressional election in the Fourth District in 1888 was one of the most bitter, corrupt, and hard fought elections in the long political history of Virginia. The Republican Party and in particular General William Mahone was faced with a dilemma so serious that if left unsolved would render the already weakened Republican Party a staggering blow. The dilemma was the candidacy of John Mercer Langston for the Fourth Congressional District seat in 1888. Langston's candidacy confronted Mahone with a situation unique in the history of the Readjuster-Republican Party in Virginia, in that Langston, a highly educated Negro, sought the congressional nomination for the Republican Party. The fact that a Negro had sought the nomination was not unique. Negroes in 1874, 1878, and 1884 sought the nomination, but these men could easily be discounted as being unfit for such a high office on the grounds that they were not well educated nor were they in the position to benefit their race as a white man was. This categorization of the Negro candidates did not fit Langston, for he was the product of Oberlin College,

---

<sup>9</sup>Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics, pp. 708.

held a theology degree, and was a member of the Ohio and Washington D.C. Bars. He was the first Negro member of the United States Supreme Court Bar, former Dean of the School of Law at Howard University, former Charge' D' affairs and Minister to Haiti and former President of Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.<sup>10</sup> Mahone realized that if Langston won the nomination as a Republican and was successful in the November election that the whites that were in the Republican Party would leave and join the Bourbon Democrats, who then on purely a white supremacy campaign would completely destroy the Republican Party at the polls. If Mahone did not allow Langston to run for the Republican nomination, he would have to do so not because of Langston's lack of qualifications but solely on his color, thus endangering the Republican voting strength in Virginia which by 1888 was mostly black. The Republicans had estimated in the 1885 election that they could depend on 67,000 to 85,000 Negro votes.<sup>11</sup> Mahone's decision concerning Langston helped decide his own political future as well as the Republican Party's future in Virginia. Mahone opposed Langston's candidacy because he felt that the time was not right for Negroes to be elected to office. Mahone put up his own candidate, Judge A.W. Arnold, who with Mahone's backing got the Republican nomination. Langston ran as an Independent and E. C. Venable as a Democrat. Venable received a plurality of the votes but the election was marred by fraud and corruption. Langston appealed the election to

---

<sup>10</sup>Luther Porter Jackson, Negro Office Holders in Virginia, 1865-1895 (Norfolk: Guide Quality Press, 1945), p. 45, hereafter cited as Jackson, Negro Office Holders in Virginia.

<sup>11</sup>Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics, pp. 7-8.

held a theology degree, and was a member of the Ohio and Washington D.C. Bars. He was the first Negro member of the United States Supreme Court Bar, former Dean of the School of Law at Howard University, former Charge' D' affairs and Minister to Haiti and former President of Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.<sup>10</sup> Mahone realized that if Langston won the nomination as a Republican and was successful in the November election that the whites that were in the Republican Party would leave and join the Bourbon Democrats, who then on purely a white supremacy campaign would completely destroy the Republican Party at the polls. If Mahone did not allow Langston to run for the Republican nomination, he would have to do so not because of Langston's lack of qualifications but solely on his color, thus endangering the Republican voting strength in Virginia which by 1888 was mostly black. The Republicans had estimated in the 1885 election that they could depend on 67,000 to 85,000 Negro votes.<sup>11</sup> Mahone's decision concerning Langston helped decide his own political future as well as the Republican Party's future in Virginia. Mahone opposed Langston's candidacy because he felt that the time was not right for Negroes to be elected to office. Mahone put up his own candidate, Judge A.W. Arnold, who with Mahone's backing got the Republican nomination. Langston ran as an Independent and E. C. Venable as a Democrat. Venable received a plurality of the votes but the election was marred by fraud and corruption. Langston appealed the election to

---

<sup>10</sup>Luther Porter Jackson, Negro Office Holders in Virginia, 1865-1895 (Norfolk: Guide Quality Press, 1945), p. 45, hereafter cited as Jackson, Negro Office Holders in Virginia.

<sup>11</sup>Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics, pp. 7-8.

the House of Representatives and was finally seated in October, 1890.<sup>12</sup> Mahone's hand had been forced when he declared that it was not yet time for a Negro to be elected to Congress from Virginia and many Negroes thereafter were bitter against Mahone and his white lieutenants.

While Langston's election bid was still pending in the House of Representatives, the Gubernatorial race of 1889 matched the Democratic nominee P.W. McKinney against Mahone who at 63 was nominated by the Republican Convention in Norfolk.<sup>13</sup> Mahone desperately tried to keep the race issue out of the election, but the Democrats in typical fashion used the race issue as a major weapon against Mahone and the Republicans. The Democrats in a political pamphlet entitled, "A Reply to Sundry Charges,:" emphasized the election of Langston as a sign of renewed racial tension.

It is known that the Republicans are planning to get the support of the Negro Langston, an open and avowed advocate of the intermarriage of whites and blacks, and that the condition of his support is that he shall share the influence of General Mahone and the administration to give him the seat in Congress which was won by the Honorable E.C. Venable of Petersburg District.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup>William F. Cheek III, "Forgotten Prophet: The Life of John Mercer Langston" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1961), p. 366, hereafter cited as Cheek, "Forgotten Prophet;" see also Virginius Dabney, Virginia: The New Dominion (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1971), pp. 396-397, hereafter cited as Dabney, The New Dominion.

<sup>13</sup>Blake, William Mahone, p. 244.

<sup>14</sup>Virginia State Library, "A Reply to Sundry Charges brought by General William Mahone against the Democratic party of Virginia, by the State Central Committee,": vol. IV, Virginia Political Pamphlets. ( n.p.: n.d.), p. 64.



Mahone's dilemma of 1888 had doomed any hopes of a Republican victory. Langston did endorse Mahone's candidacy though half heartedly but to no avail. McKinney defeated Mahone by 42,953 votes.<sup>15</sup> In Richmond Mahone received 784 votes in Jackson Ward compared to McKinney's 669 votes. The vote was significant in that Mahone only polled 115 more votes than McKinney in the overwhelmingly Republican Ward.<sup>16</sup>

Many Negroes refused to support Mahone because of his treatment of Langston and many whites rejected the leadership of Mahone over the Republican Party. Mahone's defeat signalled a general collapse of the Republican Party in Virginia. A distinguished Republican, Judge Robert W. Hughes of the United States District Court of Eastern Virginia, remarked on the outcome of the election, "I fear that my party will never recover from it in five or ten years."<sup>17</sup> The decline of the Readjuster-Republican Party can be traced to the Democratic victory in the 1883 legislative elections with the election of Langston and Mahone's defeat in 1889 hastening this decline.

---

<sup>15</sup>Blake, William Mahone, p. 250.

<sup>16</sup>Richmond Voting Records of the Gubernatorial Election held November 2, 1889, Drawer 653, Hustings Court Clerk's Office, Richmond, Virginia, hereafter cited as Richmond Voting Records, followed by the appropriate information on the election to which record pertains.

<sup>17</sup>Allen W. Moger, "The Origin of the Democratic Machine in Virginia," Journal of Southern History, VII (May, 1942), 203.

### Chapter III

#### Politics: 1890-1892, Prelude to Disfranchisement

The Richmond Negro was frustrated by the Republican setbacks in 1888 and 1889 but received some hope for fair elections in the future through federal supervision of the polls, as was proposed in the Lodge Force Bill. The Force Bill was first introduced in Congress by Representative Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts in March of 1890. The bill provided for federal supervision for elections to insure that a fair and honest election would be conducted. If the final vote count of the supervisors differed from the local election officials, the federal supervisor's count would be accepted as valid. The bill, in essence, provided for federal supervision over elections in the South. The Richmond Dispatch described the bill as an attempt by radicals "to return to Southern States the rule of carpet-baggers, scalawags, and ignorant Negroes."<sup>1</sup>

The Richmond Planet, Richmond's only Negro newspaper during the decade, disapproved of the Dispatch's attitude and its prejudice against the Negro. The Planet's Negro editor, John Mitchell, Jr., in an editorial March 8, 1890, referred to the Richmond Dispatch, as, "the moss back, Democratic Negro hating organ, which 'out herods-herod' in its malignancy toward the Negro."<sup>2</sup>

John Mitchell, Jr. was born in Henrico County on July 11, 1863. He graduated from Richmond Normal and High School in 1881 with high honors and was awarded a gold medal by the Governor of Virginia for his map of Virginia. Mitchell taught briefly in the public school system in

---

<sup>1</sup>Richmond Dispatch, March 18, 1890, hereafter cited as Dispatch.

<sup>2</sup>The Richmond Planet, March 8, 1890, hereafter cited as the Planet.

Fredericksburg and Richmond prior to becoming the editor of the Richmond Planet in December 1884. Mitchell was first elected to the Richmond Common Council in May 1888, and to the Board of Aldermen in 1890 to fill the term of Josiah Crump, and by 1890 was President of the Jackson Ward Republican Organization. Mitchell after the turn of the century became President of the Mechanics Savings Bank and was the first Negro elected a member of the American Banker's Association. The Planet under the editorship of Mitchell became the largest Negro weekly in Virginia and one of the largest Negro newspapers in the South.<sup>3</sup>

Josiah Crump, the Negro whose term Mitchell was elected to fill, was one of the most respected Aldermen the city of Richmond has ever had. Upon learning of their colleague's death, the Board of Aldermen voted a Resolution of Sympathy at his loss and voted to attend the funeral in mass.<sup>4</sup>

Under Mitchell the Planet supported the National Elections Law Bill (Lodge Force Bill) and insisted that in the past bloodshed, murder, intimidation unequalled in modern times were resorted to, in order to defeat the Republican candidates for office and the discredit the Negro vote. The Planet insisted that Bourbon Democracy had grown too big and only a National Law could combat it to insure safe elections.<sup>5</sup> The Planet in the same editorial criticized the rebel flag waving of the Democrats to hold firm

---

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., February 16, 1895 and Jackson, Negro Office-Holders in Virginia, p. 57 and Buni, Race Relations in Virginia, pp. 36-37.

<sup>4</sup>Richmond, Virginia, Board of Aldermen Journal, February 14, 1890, City Clerk's Office, hereafter cited as Richmond, Virginia, Board of Aldermen Journal.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., May 10, 1890.

against the radicals of the North.

The men who talk most about the valor of Lee, and the blood of the brave Confederate dead are those who never smelt powder or engaged in battle. Most of them were at the table, either on top or under it when the war was going on.<sup>6</sup>

The Lodge Bill passed the House of Representatives in late June in a modified form which provided that the judge of each circuit appoint three persons to serve as a juror commission. The opponents of the bill declared that this was opening the field for graft and corruption since the party in power always had the advantage of federal appointments.<sup>7</sup> The Planet thanked Republican Congressman Edmund Wadill, Jr. of the Third Congressional District (Richmond) for voting for the bill and urged that it be made law as soon possible.<sup>8</sup>

During the month of July, many public meetings and rallies were held in Virginia and Richmond in order to protest the bill. Ex-congressman George Wise, soon to be elected again, described the bill as another means of Republican suppression and therefore remarked, "white men must rule in the South or they must move out, and certainly they are not going to do that."<sup>9</sup> The Richmond Chamber of Commerce met on July 23, and a proposal introduced at the meeting gained a great deal of support among the business community. The proposal called for a boycott of all goods from the North

---

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Dispatch, July 3, 1890.

<sup>8</sup>Planet, July 12, 1890.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., July 23, 1890.

if the Lodge Force Bill was passed. The Dispatch criticized the proposal in the respect that the radical Republicans wanted the South to react in this manner.<sup>10</sup> The Planet opposed the proposal also, one of the few things in the decade that the two papers agreed on, but for different reasons than the Dispatch. The Planet warned its readers not to have any sympathy for the Democrats and urged the passage of the bill.

The Bourbons of the South are greatly excited over the possibilities of the passage of the Federal Elections Bill. The idea of having honest elections in the South cause[s] them to foam with rage, pass school boy resolutions condemning the measure.<sup>11</sup>

The Force Bill died on the same day as the Planet's editorial, August 2, 1890. A great deal of credit for the defeat of the bill can be given to the businessmen of the South and their conservative counterparts of the North.<sup>12</sup> With the defeat of the Force Bill, Negro hopes for honest elections vanished.

An event that provided a great deal of enthusiasm, hope and pride for the Negro Republicans of Richmond as well as Virginia and the nation was the decision to seat John Mercer Langston in the House of Representatives. The disputed election had dragged on through the bureaucratic procedures used by the Elections Committee of the House. The Planet was concerned over the slow advancement of Langston's case and continually urged that he be seated. John Mitchell, Jr., writing in the August thirtieth edition of the Planet, warned the Republicans to beware of not seating Langston. Mitchell had every reason to champion Langston's cause as he was a personal friend.

---

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., July 23, 1890.

<sup>11</sup>Planet, August 2, 1890.

<sup>12</sup>Dispatch, August 2, 1890.

Mitchell later in September was given a rare privilege for a southern Negro of being escorted around the capital and introduced to numerous Republican Congressmen.<sup>13</sup> The Republicans in the House helped by Republican Speaker, Thomas Reed, were able despite Democratic attempts to filibuster, to pass a resolution that Langston not E.C. Venable the Democratic nominee, was elected a representative of the Fifty-First Congress from the Fourth Congressional District of Virginia. Negroes who had crowded the balconies of the House, burst into wild applause. The Dispatch reported the scene of the seating of the first and only Negro congressman from Virginia.

Just then there was a wild burst of applause from the public gallery, which was packed and jammed with Negroes. They stamped their feet, clapped their hands, yelled and shook their wooly heads, jumped and rocked and turned pandemonium loose for a few moments. The speaker smiled and seemed glad, and did not attempt to stop the noise. He let the Negroes run wild.<sup>14</sup>

The Richmond State, a pro-Democratic paper in the early 1890's, was horrified that a Negro would represent Virginia in Congress, and urged its readers to, "bring out the largest white vote ever cast in Virginia," in the next election.<sup>15</sup> The Planet ran a full front page story on Langston's election but took this opportunity to remind its readers that the Democratic Party was the foe of the Negro.

The Democratic Party in arranging itself against us has shown to the contrary that their opposition to the colored man is not on account of their lack of ability, fitness or those qualifications that go to make up a gentleman, but because he is a colored man, and the colored man is a Republican.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup>Planet, September 13, 1890.

<sup>14</sup>Dispatch, September 24, 1890.

<sup>15</sup>The Richmond State, September 24, 1890, hereafter cited as State.

<sup>16</sup>Planet , September 27, 1890.

The night of his election to Congress Langston had addressed a large crowd of about 4,000 Negro well wishers from his home near Howard University in Washington, D.C. The Richmond Dispatch the next morning printed an excerpt from Langston's address that seemingly indicated that Langston viewed a race war as a solution to the race problem. The Planet vigorously denied that Langston had meant this, and on October 4, 1890, printed that particular excerpt to prove that the Dispatch was misrepresenting Langston.

If it is courage that is wanted, we will give it by the hogshead even until the blood shall run in streams if necessary, till by the commingling of white men's blood and black men's blood our country shall be greatest and our government the grandest and most lasting the world had ever seen or ever will see.<sup>17</sup>

The Planet interpreted Langston's statement as meaning fighting for the Constitution and the country not against each other. Neither the Dispatch nor the Planet probably grasped the true meaning of this statement. A greater understanding may be gained by looking at Langston's background. Langston was born of a free Negro woman, half Cherokee and Negro, and a wealthy white planter father, Robert Quarles of Louisa County, Virginia. Langston was kindly treated by his white father and sent North to school by his father after his mother's death.<sup>18</sup> Langston was advocating something more hideous in the eyes of many whites, the intermarriage of the two races.

Langston's tenure in Congress was a short one for he would be defeated in the 1890 election by the Democrat J.E. Epps by more than three thousand votes.<sup>19</sup> Langston's defeat was due on part to the fact that he only

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., October 25, 1890.

<sup>18</sup> Jackson, Negro Office-Holders in Virginia, p. 45.

<sup>19</sup> Cheek, "Forgotten Prophet," p. 366, see also Dabney, The New Dominion, p. 397.

campaigned for a month, the rest of his time having been tied up with the contested election. Many of Langston's own Negro supporters had become disillusioned over the long hard battle to seat him that had begun in February 1888. Colonel James Brady, former congressman and ex-Mahone lieutenant, had helped Langston's campaign in 1888, but refused to support him in 1890. Brady in the 1890's would become a powerful force in Republican politics in Virginia and was appointed by President Harrison in July of 1889, as Chief Internal Revenue Collector for the Fourth District. Langston supporters maintained that Brady had been bought off by Mahone but the Planet's first inclination was to blame Bourbon frauds and the opposition of Mahone as the main causes of Langston's defeat

It has been said by those who are in the best position to know that General Mahone's interests, were to make a white man's Republican Party, to the exclusion of the colored man. His actions seem to bear out that statement.<sup>20</sup>

The Planet by January 1891 had gotten over its quick reaction of automatically blaming Bourbon frauds and the opposition of Mahone. It now examined more closely the tactics of Brady. Brady, the Planet reported in an editorial of January 3, 1891, had knifed the man in the back whom he had helped get elected to Congress two years before. Brady's purpose in allying himself with Langston against Mahone in 1887 was to weaken his arch enemy Mahone, who had refused to support Brady for re-election to Congress, and once this was accomplished Brady sought to eliminate Langston also. Brady upon his appointment as Chief Internal Revenue Agent for the Fourth District dismissed many Negro Langston supporters and replaced them with white men. The Planet speculated that Brady would run for Congress in 1892, but was confident that Langston would rise to the task and defeat his one time white ally.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup>Planet, November 8, 1890.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., January 3, 1891.



It is unlikely that Brady was bought off by Mahone as was first suggested by Langston's supporters. Mahone was not the only Republican in Virginia who had friends in the National Headquarters. Brady was a well known Southern Republican and had done an excellent job before as an Internal Revenue Agent. Brady had been treated badly by Mahone concerning the former's candidacy for Congress in 1886, and it was unlikely that Brady would ever forget Mahone's actions.

My fault is simply that of every man in Virginia who had been foolish enough to follow his leadership and fight his battles. I am undone with him.<sup>22</sup>

Brady, while helping to weaken Mahone's power in Virginia politics was unable to take control of the party even after the old boss's death in 1895.

Langston's election and then his defeat in less than a month and a half and the defeat of the Force Bill were not the only political events that had concerned the Richmond Negro in 1890. The municipal election for the city of Richmond had been held May 23, 1890. The election on a whole proved to be an apathetic affair with no Republican candidates running. The only Democratic candidate opposed in the elections was Captain Charles H. Epps, incumbent City Sergeant running for another term of office. He was opposed by James Smith, an Independent whom the Richmond Dispatch pictured as a Republican disguised as an Independent. The Planet noted that the Bourbon elements in the community always made statements like that to bring Democrats to the polls even when no Republicans were running.<sup>23</sup> The Richmond State in an editorial before

---

<sup>22</sup>James D. Brady Scrapbook, University of Virginia.

<sup>23</sup>Planet, May 10, 1890.

the election said that Smith would receive "the vote of the Negro and of white Republicans, and every Democratic vote is needed to defeat the Republicans."<sup>24</sup> While the Republicans had not fielded a candidate for the municipal elections, regardless of the accusations of the Dispatch and the State, they were active in council elections. The Negroes were not without their troubles in terms of getting registered to vote. They met increasingly hostile white registrars and, as editor Mitchell noted, one old Negro man in front of him in line to be registered was not allowed to register to vote because the registrar asked him whether to spell Harrison with one R, or two. The old Negro said two R's, the registrar said one.<sup>25</sup>

Jackson Ward held a Republican Convention and delegates were appointed rather than elected as in other wards. Under the leadership of John Mitchell, Jr., a large section of the Negro Republicans in Jackson Ward fielded their own candidates for Council and Board of Aldermen seats, as opposed to the candidates appointed by the white regular Republican leaders, the "custom house gang" or Mahone controlled section of the party. Mitchell and other Negro Republicans along with white Republican leader James Bahen did not go along with the authoritarian manner used by the white Republican leaders of Richmond, General Edgar Allan, Edmund Waddill Jr., and Joseph Walker. This would be the first of many difficulties that the Mitchell faction of the

---

<sup>24</sup>State, May 22, 1890.

<sup>25</sup>Planet, May 17, 1890.

Republican Party would have through the decade 1890-1900.<sup>26</sup> Two Republican tickets appeared as a result of the Republican convention in Jackson Ward, the Mitchell ticket and the regular Republican ticket. Mitchell was listed on both tickets but the majority of his followers were only listed on the so called Mitchell ticket. The Planet noted that city policemen were evident everywhere on election day, not out to see that the law and order were maintained but to insure that the vote was out for Captain Epps. Election frauds were evident especially in the First Precinct Jackson Ward where Preston Belvin, city official under indictment before the United States Grand Jury, was obstructing justice by permitting whiskey to be consumed at the polls. There were 644 ballots counted at the First Precinct but only 388 people voted. A poll judge blindfolded threw out 244 ballots to correct the over voting, consequently 212 votes were counted for Epps. The peculiar thing about that many votes being cast for Epps in this precinct, was that only eighty-eight white people were registered to vote.<sup>27</sup> Epps received a total of 7,117 votes in the city compared to Smith's 4,208 votes. Mitchell received 1,108 votes and James Bahen 850 votes for Alderman from Jackson Ward.<sup>28</sup> The Mitchell ticket with the help of James Bahen, elected all but four of his supporters.

---

<sup>26</sup> State, February 17, 1897. The State interviewed James Bahen concerning the power struggle occurring in Jackson Ward in 1897 between the forces of General Edgar Allan and those who supported Col. William Lamb. Bahen in the course of the interview mentioned the Mitchell split in 1890.

<sup>27</sup> Planet, May 24, 1890.

<sup>28</sup> Richmond Voting Records for the Municipal Election held May 1890, Drawer 653.

The entire election had taken place under the shadow of the unveiling of the Lee Monument which was held on the twenty-ninth day of May 1890. Thousands of Confederate veterans and their sympathizers had been arriving in Richmond for weeks and the city fathers of Richmond were anxious to show them Democratic strength over the Negroes and Republicans. The Dispatch proclaimed on May 3, several weeks before the elections in Virginia that she,

Constitutes that part of the solid South which stands like a stone wall between the enemies of our people and their would be victories. Remember that the gallant soldiers of the Confederacy will return on the 29th, all more the reason to show that Richmond as capital of the Confederacy will repel the enemy of the South. <sup>29</sup>

To the Negro the statute was not viewed in the same light as by the Southern white. To most Negroes it was a sign of oppression and of days best forgotten.

The South may revere the memory of its chieftain. It takes here wrongsters in so doing, and proceeds to go too far in every similar celebration. It seems to retard its progress in the country and forges heavier chains with which to be bound. <sup>30</sup>

Mitchell accused the Democrats of attempting to steal Jackson Ward from the Republicans, a ward that had a 3,000 Republican vote majority. He asserted that certain Negroes were in league with the white Democrats to help the white man perpetuate frauds on the Negro. Thousands of Negroes had been refused to vote because they had been marked dead by the Democratic registrars, and by the time these irregularities were corrected the polls were often closed. <sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup>Dispatch, May 3, 1890.

<sup>30</sup>Planet, May 29, 1890.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., May 31, and June 7, 1890.

Many Negroes were evidently discouraged and frustrated by the frauds and irregularities in the city wide elections and some thought seriously of abandoning politics altogether. The Planet, in an editorial June 21, insisted that the Negro would derive little benefit and a great deal of harm if he withdrew from politics. The editorial cited the situation in Mississippi where the Negro was no longer active in politics and where over 200 Negroes had been killed in recent years. The Planet admitted that the Negro had possibly indulged too much in politics in the past but it would be a worse fate for the Negro to withdraw from politics altogether. When the Negro gives up politics, the editorial concluded, "we give up the right to representation in government and admit that this is a white man's country."<sup>32</sup>

While the fervor over the irregularities and the Force Bill mellowed, Republican Congressman Edmund Waddill Jr., from the Third Congressional District, decided not to run for re-election. The Planet, although saddened over the decision of Waddill's, was confident that another capable Republican could be found to run for election in November.<sup>33</sup> Waddill had evidently evaluated the situation and saw that a victory for a Republican candidate would be a virtual impossibility. The Planet's optimism toward finding another candidate had not been realized by the middle of October with the election to be held in November. The Democrats could not believe that the Republicans would not nominate a candidate and suspected

---

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., June 21, 1890.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., August 23, 1890.

trickery. The Democrats believed that the Negroes would nominate a candidate at Negro church meetings a few days before the election and try to catch them unaware. The Democrats were afraid that the Republicans would use the so called Alabama plan. The plan called for Negroes to stay away from the polls and not vote, and after the election claim that their vote was suppressed by the white Democrats and let Congress award them the Congressional seat.<sup>34</sup>

There was no deliberate plan on the part of the Republicans not to nominate a candidate. The Third Congressional District Convention was held the last week of October for the purpose of nominating a Republican candidate for Congress. The majority of white leaders of the party did want to field a candidate because they believed that it would only serve to hurt the party rather than do it any good. This seemed to be the Mahone strategy during the early 1890's, that the Republicans would not run candidates for state or federal offices, but would concentrate on local elections. The Negro Republicans in a desperate move to field a candidate nominated John Mitchell for Congress. Mitchell was surprised and stunned by the unexpected nomination and pleaded for more time to consider.<sup>35</sup> The Dispatch in the October 31 edition of the paper reported that Mitchell was nominated for Congress by a convention of three Negroes and four white men. The Dispatch in the same editorial

---

<sup>34</sup>Dispatch, October 22, 1890.

<sup>35</sup>Planet, November 1, 1890.

called Mitchell.

A man who had done much to estrange the whites and blacks in this city, and we have often felt compelled to publish some of his violent utterances to show what we would have to expect should his race ever acquire political control. <sup>36</sup>

Mitchell decided not to run for Congress because of the short campaign time remaining and the lack of support of the white leaders. The Negroes were greatly displeased with the tactics being used by the Republican Party in Richmond and the Planet echoed this sentiment in a November eighth editorial.

That our political leaders have been demoralized has been evident from the start. The attempt was made boldly and defiantly to defeat every Republican in every Congressional District. This was done with the open assent and support of the Republican state chairmen. It is now necessary that we have a re-organization of the party. <sup>37</sup>

The Negro politically in the early 1890's felt alone and deserted by the party that gave him emancipation. The Richmond Planet charged that the Republican Party possessed a dangerous outlook toward the Negro of the South by not passing a measure to protect him against the Southern white. The Planet concluded its statement warning the Republicans that they must change their attitude toward the Negro. <sup>38</sup> The Negro had no real choice in regards to the policy of allowing whites over 21 years old to vote in their primaries. The Populists in Virginia did not openly solicit the Negro vote for fear of being labeled a Negro party. The Negro was left with very little choice when he cast his ballot, for he either supported parties that

---

<sup>36</sup> Dispatch, October 31, 1890.

<sup>37</sup> Planet, November 8, 1890.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., May 2, 1891.

openly denounced him or voted for a party that he felt had betrayed him.<sup>39</sup>

The Richmond Negro received the first warning of the coming Jim Crow Laws of the late 1890's and early 1900's when in June of 1891, the Powhatan Club, a white Democratic Club of Richmond, issued a petition for separate street cars for Negroes and whites in the city of Richmond. The Dispatch commented that whether this proposal was accepted or not would depend on the Negro himself.

If the colored people will deport themselves with decency and good sense hereafter it may not be necessary to push matters further: if they do not, separate cars will certainly be insisted upon.<sup>40</sup>

The Dispatch concluded its editorial statement with a word of warning to the Negroes of Richmond.

The action of the Powhatan Club is a note of warning. It calls a halt; the colored people would do well to heed it.<sup>41</sup>

The Planet bitterly denounced the Powhatan Club's proposal in a June twenty-first editorial. The Planet on the front page of the same edition of the paper carried a cartoon with an Indian, representing the Powhatan Club, stirring up racial prejudice and Governor McKinney watching. McKinney had previously decided in favor of the proposal. The Planet noted that the Richmond Times while not bitterly denouncing the proposal doubted seriously that it would work. The editorial expressed

---

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., May 9, 1891 and Robert Saunders, "Southern Populists and The Negro 1893-1905," The Journal of Negro History, LIV (July 1969), 240-241.

<sup>40</sup>Dispatch, June 20, 1891.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.



disbelief that McKinney could favor such a bill after so many Negroes had crossed party lines and voted for him and against Mahone in 1889.<sup>42</sup> Out of twenty-nine counties that had Negro majorities in 1889, thirteen of these counties voted for McKinney.<sup>43</sup> The street car proposal that would allow separate cars for the races soon died when it was learned that if the bill was made law, whites would not be permitted to ride on the Negro cars and vice versa. Thus if a Negro car stopped, a white man could not board the car even if he was in a hurry or if the white car was crowded. The State in an editorial concerning separate street cars for the races pointed out that it would be the whites and the street car company that would be hurt by such an arrangement since the majority of Negroes never rode on street cars.<sup>44</sup> The Dispatch conceded that the proposal would not be the last of its kind.

It seems to us to be certain that the Negroes are daily becoming more aggressive, daily making themselves more offensive to the white ladies, and daily increasing the demand of the ladies for separate cars. It is common to see a white woman to refuse to sit by a Negro. It is a difficult matter to deal with.<sup>45</sup>

The Dispatch's prediction was true, for in less than nine years (1900), Jim Crow cars would become a reality in Virginia.

---

<sup>42</sup>Planet, June 27, 1891.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., July 4, 1891.

<sup>44</sup>State, June 22, 1891.

<sup>45</sup>Dispatch, September 27, 1891.

The question of whether separate street cars would be feasible or not was still being debated when the Richmond Common Council passed a resolution on August 12, 1891, to build a crematory on a lot on the east side of St. Paul Street between Orange and Bacon Streets in Jackson Ward. The city of Richmond's refuse would be disposed at this station.<sup>46</sup> The Common Council's resolution was passed September 7, 1891, by a vote of nine to six with Jackson Ward Aldermen John Mitchell, Jr. and James Bahen opposing the resolution. Mitchell received permission from the chair and spoke on the issue at some length and succeeded in having the motion laid on the table by a vote of twelve to three until the next meeting of the Board. A committee was appointed to look into the matter and report its findings back to the Board of Aldermen.<sup>47</sup> The Resolution was taken from the table at the September fourteenth Board of Aldermen meeting but was then recommitted to the committee after the Board was unable to come to an agreement.<sup>48</sup> The Board meeting of September 17, opened with the special Committee on the Creamatory reporting that it favored the Common Council Resolution of placing the crematory in Jackson Ward. Mitchell offered an amendment that would have prohibited the burning of refuse at night, but this was rejected. The resolution was brought to a vote and passed eight to six with both Jackson Ward Aldermen voting in the negative.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Richmond, Virginia, Common Council Journal, August 12, 1891.

<sup>47</sup> Richmond, Virginia, Board of Aldermen, September 7, 1891.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., September 14, 1891.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., September 17, 1891.

The crematory was built in Jackson Ward but not without an attempt to stop it by its Aldermen.

The Jim Crow car proposal that had apparently died in the summer of 1891 gathered momentum with certain legislators during the fall and winter 1891-1892. Prominent Negroes from all over the city of Richmond had met December 29, 1891, to discuss this problem of the Jim Crow car. The chairman of the committee was Reverend W.W. Browne, President and founder of the Grand Foundation of the United Order of True Reformers, one of the wealthiest and largest Negro fraternal organizations in the state. The Negroes at the meeting adopted a resolution outlining the reasons why they believed that this proposal, now in the form of a bill before the legislature should not be enacted. The resolution stated that if the bill passed it would create a feeling of suspicion between the races and it would tend to bring about racial strife and friction. The bill if passed would tend to make it harder and harder for the Negro to forget the past and to regard the white man as truly his friend. The resolution was adopted at this meeting and concluded.

We do not seek the society of any class of citizens uninvited. The things we object to is the principle involved and the spirit that prompts the bill as well as the injurious results which would follow. <sup>50</sup>

The bill was abandoned at the Democratic caucus in February 1892 as being unreasonable at the present time. The Planet wrongly guessed that the bill's failure would usher in a new era of racial harmony. <sup>51</sup> The Planet was right in one respect, in that it was the dawn of a new era, but it would be an era of worsening race relations rather than harmonious one.

---

<sup>50</sup>Planet, January 2, 1892.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., April 4, 1892.

## Chapter IV.

### Politics: 1892-1895, Election Frauds and The Walton Act

The Negroes in Richmond during the decade 1890-1900, were by no means always united. Personal jealousies, dislikes and ambition took their toll on harmonious relations between the members of the race as they did among whites. In the municipal elections of May 1892, John Mitchell, Jr. and his entire Independent Republican ticket were elected over Negro lawyer James Hayes' ticket. Hayes, a graduate of Howard University Law School, was a frequent opponent of Mitchell's during the early part of the decade.<sup>1</sup> Hayes later turned his attention to challenging the Jim Crow laws in the courts in the early 1900's. John Mitchell received 825 votes, James Bahen 795 votes and H. J. Moore 801 votes. James Hayes managed only 114 votes.<sup>2</sup>

Elected to the Board of Aldermen on the Mitchell ticket from Jackson Ward were Mitchell, James Bahen and H. J. Moore. James Bahen was born in County Claire, Ireland but had resided in Richmond since 1861. He had been a teamster for the United States Government during the war and followed that occupation after the war's conclusion in the city. Bahen later went into business for himself and was the principal party in getting John Mitchell, Jr. to run for office. He had served fifteen years in the Common Council before being elected to the Board of Aldermen. H. J. Moore was born in Greenville County, Virginia, in 1858.

---

<sup>1</sup>Jackson, Negro Office-Holders in Virginia, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup>Richmond Voting Records of the Municipal Election held May 26, 1892, Drawer 653.

Moore, a Negro served his apprenticeship in the building trade under D.J. Farrar. the only Negro contractor in Richmond. He soon became partners with Farrar. His election as an Alderman in 1892 was the first time he had publically served.<sup>3</sup> Benjamin Jackson, Royall White, M.T. Page, William B. Smith and S.R. Griffin were elected to the Common Council on the Mitchell ticket. Jackson was born in Chesterfield County in 1841. He owned his own grocery business and was a member and deacon of the First Baptist Church for over forty years. He was first elected to the Common Council in 1890. M.T. Page was a tobacco speculator and served on the Common Council for four and a half years. William Smith was an ex-slave and was now a barber by trade. This was his first election to the Common Council. J.R. Griffin was another prosperous Negro businessman who owned his own shoe store. He had been Judge of Elections in the Fourth Precinct in Jackson Ward since 1884. He was first elected to the Common Council in 1886 and had been re-elected two times.<sup>4</sup>

The real conflict in Jackson Ward existed between the white Republican bosses who followed the rulings of Mahone and the Independent Negro Republicans such as Mitchell, who received help from a few white Republicans like Bahen. When asked in July of 1892 if he would support Langston for Congress the "Little General" replied that if the Negroes of the Fourth District wanted a Negro to represent them, Langston would be the best man, but he didn't believe that the time was right for the Negro to become a congressman. The dilemma that Mahone and his party had faced in 1888 was still present. The white Republicans knew that the party

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., and Planet, February 16, 1895.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

in its present state was a skeleton and with the Negroes tied around their neck, they could never defeat the Democrats. As the decade progressed in Richmond Negroes were more and more ignored by the white Republicans. The Richmond Dispatch printed Mahone's statement concerning Langston and proceeded to explain why Negroes were not fit to represent the white man in Congress.

Will it never come? Is there not an inseparable prejudice existing among the whites which will prevent them from ever being willing to be represented in Congress by Negroes?<sup>5</sup>

The Dispatch concluded its editorial with a statement offering to join hands with the white Republicans to eliminate the Negro from politics.

He is born a 'Servant of servants'; or he would (ere) now have compelled the Republicans either to treat him as a power in the land or else to unite with affairs which only white men are capable of managing.<sup>6</sup>

The William Mahone of 1892 was politically not the William Mahone of 1883 or even 1888. His high handed methods toward whites failed to endear him to the mass of the party and his statements concerning Langston lost him a large portion of the Negro Republican support. The Richmond Dispatch who had used Mahone's name as a rallying cry for the Democratic Party admitted in an editorial October 9, that Mahone was no longer a threat to the Democratic Party. "The General's scheme seems to have lost its cunning. He is no longer a power in the land."<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>Dispatch, July 12, 1892.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., October 9, 1892.

Mahone and the Republican State Convention decided that they would offer no serious challenge to the Democrats in November not even in Mahone's home district, the Fourth District. The Planet found it hard to believe that the National Republican Party would allow such a thing to happen.<sup>8</sup>

Benjamin Harrison was defeated for re-election for the Presidency in 1892 by Grover Cleveland and the Planet noted many election frauds in Jackson Ward. They leveled charges against the Democrats and election officials for permitting whites to carry revolvers at the polls to supposedly maintain order but no Negroes were allowed to do the same. When the polls closed the Planet added, there were over 500 Negroes left standing in line to vote.<sup>9</sup> The voters of Jackson Ward still managed to poll a total of 1606 votes for Presidential and Vice-Presidential Electors in the November 8, 1892 Presidential Election.<sup>10</sup>

The Planet in an editorial in October forecasted the tactics that the Democrats would use in the upcoming election. "When the Democrats of the South have no other issue upon which to rally the white laboring element they yell, 'Nigger'."<sup>11</sup>

The struggle in the Republican Party between the white bosses in Richmond who usually held federal patronage and the Negro Republicans, dominated the local political events throughout the decade but especially in these early years of the 1890's. Many of

---

<sup>8</sup> Planet, August 20 and September, 1892.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., November 12, 1892.

<sup>10</sup> Richmond Voting Records for the Election of Electors for President held November 8, 1892, Drawer 653.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., October 1, 1892.

these white Republicans voted the Democratic ticket in the local and state elections and only remained true to the party in Presidential elections. Mitchell, in an editorial in August 1893, charged Wray T. Knight, Superintendent of the Registered Letters and Major R. F. Walker, Superintendent of the Letter Carriers, with planning to vote for the Democratic nominee for Governor. Knight was a Republican State Central Committee member in charge of the Third Congressional District's Congressional race in 1892, and Walker was a delegate to the Republican State Convention.<sup>12</sup> It was becoming increasingly evident to the Richmond Negro that his traditional friend and ally, the Republican Party, was becoming less and less sympathetic to his wishes and demands and was doing everything possible to discourage his participation in local functions.

The Negroes of Virginia and of Richmond were aware of the surging Populist movement in Virginia and their potential role in it. The Populists in Virginia knew of the potential voting strength of the Negro and the state Populist Party Committee as early as 1892 had issued a directive to have at least one Negro member of each precinct committee. By the fall of 1892 the Populists in Virginia had shifted their strategy and had organized separate Negro clubs.<sup>13</sup> The Populists as Mitchell in an editorial September 2, 1893, admitted, had a golden opportunity to pick up Negro voting strength. The editorial entitled, "Choice or No Choice,:" asserted that the young Populist Party had taken the lead from the Republicans in its fight

---

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., August 19, 1893.

<sup>13</sup> Saunders, "Populists and the Negro," 240-241.



against the Democrats. The choice of the Negro, Mitchell maintained, was to either vote the Populist ticket, or Prohibition ticket, or remain at work and give politics a bye this year. "We as a people Mitchell concluded, "are at the parting of the road, which way shall we go?"<sup>14</sup>

The Populists in Virginia admitted by their forming of Negro clubs that they were interested in the Negro vote, but they shied from openly soliciting Negro votes. The Populists by the latter part of 1892 had moved away from giving Negroes too much power except on the local level after 1892, excluding the heavily Negro populated Southside. In the height of the 1893 Gubernatorial race an event occurred that probably affected the Populist attitude toward the Negro voter. A Negro in Roanoke allegedly tried to rob and rape a white woman. The man was captured and taken to the Roanoke City Jail and shortly thereafter a crowd gathered. The Mayor, afraid of the mob's mood, called out the Roanoke Light Infantry and stationed them around the jail to prevent any trouble. The mob, angered that the militia was called to protect a Negro rapist and believing that the soldiers would not fire upon them, rushed the jail. The militia did fire and as a result eight civilians were killed and twenty wounded.<sup>15</sup> The authorities believed that after this incident the prisoner would no longer be safe in the Roanoke jail and sought to remove him secretly to

---

<sup>14</sup> Planet, September 2, 1893.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., September 23, 1893.

another city. The move was discovered and the prisoner captured by the mob where he was lynched and his body riddled by bullets. Mayor Trout of Roanoke who had given the order for the Roanoke Light Infantry to guard the prisoner was threatened with lynching by the same mob but managed to escape and fled the city.<sup>16</sup> The Populists did not address themselves to the situation until a general revulsion swept the state against the actions of the mob.<sup>17</sup> It must be added that the revulsion was not so much directed against the lynching of the Negro as the breakdown of law and order and the necessity for the Mayor to flee the city for fear of his life. Charles T. O'Ferrall, Democrat, was elected Governor over the Populist candidate Edmund Randolph Cocks. Cocks received 548 votes to O'Ferrall's 491 votes in Jackson Ward.<sup>18</sup>

The Populists though envisioned by many white voters as reaching out for the Negro vote, did nothing of the sort, and Mitchell noted the fact in an editorial after the election.

There was no Republican ticket in the field and the Populist campaign was managed just as though there were no colored voters in the state, so far as our observation goes.<sup>19</sup>

The year 1894 opened with a startling realization by the Richmond Times that fraud had become rampant in the Black Belt (Southside) and no pretense was made for honest elections. The Times was surprised to find out that the "Machine" had appointed officials without the slightest

---

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., September 30, 1893.

<sup>17</sup>Saunders, "Populists and the Negro," 248.

<sup>18</sup>Richmond Voting Records of the Gubernatorial race held November 7, 1893, Drawer 653.

<sup>19</sup>Planet, November 11, 1893.

regard to the people's wishes. The Planet was a little amused that the Times had only recently learned of the situation in these counties while it had been going on for years.<sup>20</sup> Joseph Bryan owner and publisher of the Richmond Times does not seem to have been as naive about politics as the editorials of the Times would indicate. Bryan, had been in politics fifteen years before and he had,

full knowledge of the danger to the Commonwealth of a combination of renegade whites and ignorant blacks; but he also understood fully the poisonous corruption that fraudulent elections had worked and were working in Virginia.<sup>21</sup>

Bryan summed up his feelings on the fraudulent elections and the Negro in the following statement.

I had rather see the Democrats take shotguns and drive the Negroes from the polls than to see our young men taught to cheat. If they once learn that lesson they will not stop at cheating Negroes.<sup>22</sup>

The Times' allegations set off equal denials by the Richmond Dispatch, who steadfastly denied that any frauds existed. The Times maintained that there was no color line drawn in politics in Richmond. The Dispatch took issue with the Times on this statement, "Is there not a very marked color line to the Democratic primaries in Richmond?"

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., January 13, 1894.

<sup>21</sup> John Stewart Bryan, Joseph Bryan, His Times, His Family, His Friends, A Memoir (Richmond: Whittlet & Shepperson, 1935), p. 250.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

and furthermore, doesn't the Times agree with the Dispatch that it is a very proper and necessary line in which our whites have drawn?" <sup>23</sup>

The Times in the first half of the decade had remained as before, the paternal defender of Negro rights and liberties. It was the Times' shift of attitude in the late 1890's that helped seal the Negroes' fate. This shift of attitude began to eliminate corruption in elections so as not to corrupt the young men of the state. Eventually the Times concluded, that the only way to end this corruption would be to eliminate the Negro, the source of the corruption. The Times however in 1894, advocated that the Negro be allowed to vote in Democratic primaries. Although it realized that the question at that time was a moot point, it declared,

We believe that where a Negro so identified himself with the Democratic Party as to give clear assurance of his fidelity to the principles, and to satisfy the party managers that he is a genuine Democrat, he should <sup>24</sup> be allowed to vote as any other Democrat.

The Dispatch printed the Richmond Times' statement of January 13, 1894, and replied to the editorial with this question in the same edition. "And under such circumstances how long would Democratic primaries continue to satisfy the wishes and expectations of the white members of the Democratic Party." <sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> Dispatch, January 9, 1894.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., January 13, 1894.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

The State also believed that the Times was mistaken in its policy toward the Negro. The State insisted that the true friend of the Negro was not one who made it possible for him to get into power and then have him brought down by violence. The State admitted that it did not believe this was the Time's purpose but one condition inevitably led to the other. The State declared,

Experience teaches us that the Negro vote will be controlled by somebody either by designing marplots, or by the best element of our population. Which shall it be?<sup>26</sup>

The Richmond Dispatch had been the primary advocate in calling for a referendum for a new state constitution as early as 1888. The vote that year was 63,125 against calling for a constitutional convention, and 3,698 for.<sup>27</sup> The Richmond Times was opposed to a convention at this time because it feared that a new constitutional convention would induce more severe suffrage restrictions than those existing at that time. The Dispatch in 1894 was still very much in favor of calling a constitutional convention, but was in no hurry to do so. They realized that public opinion was changing and they would have to be patient. The Dispatch was positive that the people of Virginia could write better ballot articles than had the framers of the infamous Underwood Constitution.<sup>28</sup> The Underwood Constitution passed in 1868, had provided for the right of Negroes to vote in

---

<sup>26</sup> State, January 11, 1894.

<sup>27</sup> Wynes, Race Relations in Virginia, p. 55.

<sup>28</sup> Dispatch, January 11, 1894.

return for no restrictions against those who had held office in the Confederate government.<sup>29</sup>

The campaign initiated by the Richmond Times to eliminate fraud and corruption in elections gained momentum throughout the state especially among legislators from the western counties. This momentum resulted in the Walton Act of 1894, named after State Senator M. L. Walton of Page and Shennadoah counties. This so called reform act secured the election machinery firmly in the hand of the Democrats and provided some degree of literacy for proper ballot marking. The voters would now mark their ballots in secret but without the aid of party symbols or identification. Persons who were illiterate could request the help of a specially appointed constable who would aid them in marking their ballots.<sup>30</sup> The special constable was a lure for fraud as he was almost always a Democrat and the opportunity to help the illiterate voter to mark the Democratic block was too tempting. The Planet in an editorial entitled, "Making Cheating Easier," commented on the Walton Election Bill, and in particular on its provision for the special constable, saying:

He can easily instruct illiterate voters wrong as he can instruct him right. Where there is a large illiterate vote he virtually decides the election.<sup>31</sup>

The Planet's editorial closed with a statement of the Negroes' present

---

<sup>29</sup>Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup>Wynes, Race Relations in Virginia, p. 51.

<sup>31</sup>Planet, March 10, 1894.

political condition in Virginia.

We do not believe that any measure can be derived which will more effectively rob us than the one now on the statute book. The New Law is designed to make the way easier.<sup>32</sup>

The Walton Act like the Anderson McCormick Act which preceded it provided for local Democratic election boards. The boards were to appoint three election judges, one of whom was supposed to be from the minority party. One of the provisions of the Walton Act nullified this by stating that no election could be declared invalid if all three election judges were from the same party. The special constable was eliminated in 1896 and one of the election judges was appointed to take his place, a small compensation to the Negro as the election judges were almost always Democrats. The same act did however allow for all ballots to appear in Roman type, ballots in some counties of western Virginia had appeared in German script, and the candidates names appeared under their party's headings.<sup>33</sup> Charles Wynes revealed in his excellent study, Race Relations in Virginia, 1870-1902, that there was no evidence that the act produced more honest elections, but it did give the appearance of such to many paternalist whites. The Walton Act like the Anderson McCormick Act created a farce of elections and operated to keep the Democratic Party in power.<sup>34</sup> The Negro was disenfranchised realistically long before the Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902.

---

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Wynes, Race Relations in Virginia, p. 52.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

The Richmond Negro, especially the Negro in Jackson Ward, was not yet prepared to bow down to the policies of the Mahone Republican bosses nor to the Walton Law without a fight. Although John Mitchell and his white Irish Republican ally, James Bahen were not up for re-election until 1896, their ticket swept the council wide elections in Jackson Ward in 1894, defeating the Democrats by 238 votes and the Mahone or Custom House Republicans by 714 votes.<sup>35</sup> The Negro, the Planet asserted, did not have as great a rate of illiteracy as some Democrats believed in the Richmond area.

We would remind some of our friends however that the rate of illiteracy in Jackson Ward is not as great as some people think and that the usual vote, will no doubt be polled provided the obstructive tactics of the Democrats can to an extent be made a thing of the past.<sup>36</sup>

This optimism exhibited by the Planet concerning the Negro voter turn-out would not prove to be true as the 1894 Congressional Elections would bear out.

The Negro in Richmond still had to contend with the hostility of his own party leaders, especially Wray T. Knight and Major Walker who both voted the Democratic ticket the last two years and were opposed to running a Republican for Congress in the Third Congressional District.<sup>37</sup> The Independent Republicans under Mitchell held a separate party convention and nominated J. W. Southland for Congress. Knight and Walker were incensed over this action by Mitchell and his followers and

---

<sup>35</sup>Planet, May 26, 1894, see also Richmond Council Election Returns, May 1894, Drawer 653.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., August 11, 1894.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., September 22 and 24, 1894.



a regular Republican convention tried to read Mitchell and Southland out of the party and replace them with two Mahone men, C. W. Harris a Negro, and R. N. Turner.<sup>38</sup> The attempt to read Mitchell and Southland out of the party failed and by the first week of November a few days before the congressional elections, Knight and Walker endorsed the Independent candidate only after all attempts to prevent his nomination failed. The Richmond Times pleaded for fair elections in the closing days of the campaign even at the cost of sending a Republican to Congress.

Bad as it would be for Virginia, bad as it would be for the whole country for Virginia to send a Republican congressman fairly elected than to see the Democrats stuffed into the place of congressman by frauds in the election.<sup>39</sup>

The Times' pleas apparently went unanswered as the Democrats polled more than 6,724 votes more than the Republican candidate in Richmond. The Planet found this large margin hard to believe since there were only 21,686 men eligible to vote in Richmond according to the 1890 census.<sup>40</sup> Also included on the ballot in Jackson Ward as in every ward in the city and state was a constitutional amendment which dealt with the mode of trial in criminal and capital prosecutions. While the amendment itself was not important, the voter turn-out was. The total vote for and against the amendment was 335 votes for and 116 votes

---

<sup>38</sup> Planet, September 29, 1894.

<sup>39</sup> Richmond Times, October 13, 1894.

<sup>40</sup> Compendium of the Eleventh Census, 1890, part I. p. 765, and Richmond Planet, November 10, 1894.

against, a total of 451 votes.<sup>41</sup> This by no means represented a large turn-out considering that a recent scholar had credited this ward with 2,983 Negro voters and 789 white voters in 1896.<sup>42</sup> The most probable conclusion as to why there was such a small voter turn-out was that the Walton Act and the special constable had started to do its job and remove the Negro from politics. The total vote for the congressional candidates was small also. Tazewell Elbett the Democratic candidate received 289 votes in Jackson Ward compared to 593 votes for J.W. Southland the Republican candidate. The total vote for the congressional election for the ward was 882 votes.<sup>43</sup>

The attempt was made after the congressional elections by the Democratic City Committee to petition the Common Council to go to a system of day labor instead of contract labor, providing that all labor had to be white to work on city projects. The Planet quite naturally opposed this course of action as did two white newspapers, the Richmond State and the Richmond Times. The State opposed this action by the Democratic City Committee because they did not want to see the public trust violated. The State declared, " A Citizens finances are something too serious to be made a plaything of any party to get votes."<sup>44</sup> The Richmond Times

---

<sup>41</sup>Richmond Voting Records for and against the Constitutional Amendment November 6, 1894, Drawer 653.

<sup>42</sup>Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics, pp. 24-25.

<sup>43</sup>Richmond Voting Records for the Congressional Election held November 7, 1894, for the Third District, Drawer 653.

<sup>44</sup>State, November 14, 1894.

opposed this course of action by the City Democratic Committee on the grounds that politics should not enter into the work contracts of the city. The matter was settled when the Board of Aldermen rejected the proposal by the City Democratic Committee.<sup>45</sup> The white people of Richmond while taking a harsh attitude toward Negro rights were not ready to exclude him from working.

The Richmond Negro, although handicapped by his white Republican leaders and hindered by the Walton Act, still participated in local and federal elections. The Negroes' spirit was dampened but not broken entirely by 1894. The Walton Law had helped to disenfranchise him long before the Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902. The next decade 1895-1900 would bring the Richmond Negro toward the eve of disenfranchisement.

---

<sup>45</sup>Planet, November 17 and 24 and December 15, 1894, see also the Dispatch, November 10, 1894.

## Chapter V.

### Politics: 1895-1900, The Eve of the Constitutional Convention

The years 1895-1900 were years of despair and disillusionment for the Negro in the realm of politics. The hostility of the white Republican leaders that had been evident in the first part of the decade was intensified and by the end of the decade, the clamor to disenfranchise the Negro completely gained momentum. The hostility of the white leaders was often evidenced by the method of selecting delegates to Republican conventions after 1890; there were more appointed rather than elected. Thus the Negroes who did not agree with the white Republican bosses were not asked to the conventions. The Negro by 1900 would in reality have far fewer rights than he had during Reconstruction.

One of the most outstanding political events in the year 1895 and indeed the entire decade resulted from the death of William Mahone. His death brought a power struggle within the Republican Party, a struggle that would continue past the end of the decade. Mahone had built the party into a powerful force in the 1880's only to watch it decline drastically in the 1890's due to the loss of support by some of the Negro voters, his own arbitrary exercise of power, and the Walton Election Law of 1894. The Planet had bitterly opposed Mahone in 1888 when he combated John Mercer Langston's bid for Congress. The Planet had been equally displeased over the Mahone policy of concentrating on local elections instead of contesting state elections. Mahone, the Planet observed upon his death, in his zeal to help the party often hurt it by his authoritarian manner.

---

General Mahone was a great leader of men. His only mistake was his imagining that absolute military methods of war would continue to bring success during times of peace.<sup>1</sup>

The Richmond Dispatch gave tribute to Mahone's Civil War record but insisted that for the last several years he had been a drawback rather than an asset to the Republican Party.

He was the leader of the opposition, rather than of the Republican Party, His successor will be strong because he will represent the Republican Party with all its factions,....<sup>2</sup>

The Dispatch concluded its editorial with a warning to the Democrats that Mahone's death would consolidate all the factions of the Republican Party. This was an apparent attempt on the part of the Democratic organ to arouse certain apathetic groups of voters to work and vote for the Democratic Party. The Republican Party would never consolidate again in the decade or even years later and the Richmond Negro would be more alienated from the party than he had been under Mahone's arbitrary rule.

The Council and Aldermen Elections in Richmond in May 1896 clearly showed the weakened condition of the Negro Republican strength in Jackson Ward. No Negroes were elected to the Common Council or to the Board of Aldermen in the city of Richmond. John Mitchell, Jr. received only 420 votes, James Bahen 462, and James S. Smith 527

---

<sup>1</sup>Planet, October 12, 1895.

<sup>2</sup>Dispatch, October 3, 1895.

votes.<sup>3</sup> With the defeat of Mitchell the Richmond Negroes' active participation in the city government on a representative level ended for the decade. Mitchell's vote total had dropped 698 votes from the 1,108 votes he received in 1890 when he was first elected to the Board of Aldermen. It is unlikely that Mitchell lost all these votes on voter dissatisfaction with his policies as much as because of the Walton Election Law.<sup>4</sup> The 789 white voters in Jackson Ward did well indeed to elect all white representatives from a ward with 2,983 registered Negro voters.<sup>5</sup>

The position of Republican State Chairman left vacant by Mahone's death, was a powerful one in that the holder of this post was in a position to recommend who would receive federal patronage in the state. Colonel William Lamb of Norfolk succeeded to Mahone's position as State Chairman, but the party was far from united. General Edgar Allan, Chairman of the Republican Party in Richmond and a member of the State Republican Committee sought to curb Colonel Lamb's power. One such attempt by the Allan forces resulted in having almost all of his supporters appointed as precinct heads in Richmond. The Planet opposed General Allan and supported Colonel Lamb as head of the Republican Party in Virginia.<sup>6</sup> Allan's forces tried to exclude the entire Jackson Ward delegation from the city wide Republican Convention because of the delegation's support of Mitchell and Colonel Lamb. In an editorial

---

<sup>3</sup>Richmond Voting Records for Municipal Elections of May 1896, Drawer 654, see also Board of Aldermen Journal, city of Richmond, June 29, 1896, and Common Council Journal, July 1, 1896.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., Municipal Elections May 1890, Drawer 653.

<sup>5</sup>Buni, Race Relations in Virginia, pp. 24-25.

<sup>6</sup>Planet, February 22 and March 21, 1896.

October 10, 1896, the Planet became outraged by the frauds conducted by the Allan forces and saw no difference in the outrages that these white Republicans perpetuated against the Negro from those of the Democrats.<sup>7</sup> Many white Republicans who a few years before had been the Negroes' friend now deserted him. The white Republican realized that the Negro vote had been severely curtailed by the Walton Act and that by continuing to solicit the Negro vote they were alienating themselves from the white community.

Colonel Lamb who was a supporter of the Negro Republicans was in severe difficulty with his own party by August 1897. The Republican State Committee in August 1897 removed Colonel Lamb as Chairman of the Republican Party and replaced him with Park Agnew. Agnew had been placed in the Chairmanship by the powerful white leaders of the party Colonel James Brady, General Edgar Allan and Edmund Waddill. A. W. Harris a prominent Negro Republican who had been one of Mahone's top Negro leaders, called Agnew a Negro hater and a man who would place a white man in a position regardless of his qualifications. The Planet noted that this was just another example of the decline of the Republican Party in Virginia.<sup>8</sup>

Evidently there was a general clamor in the rank and file of the party to have a state wide convention to appoint a state chairman chosen by the people. The Republican State Convention was held in Lynchburg in October and Colonel William F. Wickham was chosen State

---

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., September 26 and October 10, 1896.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., August 28, 1897.

Chairman. The replacement of Agnew with Wickham provided a slight victory for the Negroes, but Wickham although not hostile to the Negroes did not solicit their support. With the election of Wickham as State Chairman, The Republican policy did change somewhat with regard to running candidates for state elections. Patrick McCaull was nominated to run for Governor, O.B. Haller for Lieutenant Governor, and James Lyons for Attorney General.<sup>9</sup>

The Richmond Dispatch in an editorial before the State Republican Convention was held, maintained that Colonel James Brady was the real power in Republican politics and that he was out to crush the strength of Colonel Wickham. The Dispatch insisted in its editorial that Brady and the Republicans would concentrate their efforts on winning the legislative seats.<sup>10</sup> The editorial concluded that the majority of Democrats used the threat of the Negro vote as a tactic to get white Democrats to the polls long after there was any real threat of a huge Negro vote. The Dispatch in keeping with this tradition warned its readers in an October 17th editorial of the potentially large Negro vote.

We warn the Democrats of this state not to be guiled into the belief that the Republicans are divided and indifferent to the [habits?] of the coming election. They are far from being so. The McKinley administration has given a quasi consent to the candidacy of McCall, Haller and Lyon in order that the Negro vote may be brought out to help elect anti-Daniel legislative candidates.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., October , 1897.

<sup>10</sup>Dispatch, October 1, 1897.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., October 17, 1897.



The warning by the Dispatch was not necessary, for the Democratic candidates easily defeated the Republicans for office. The deceptions and schemes that the Dispatch had given so much copy, never materialized. The Negro was aware of his position, having no alternative but to vote the Republican ticket, a ticket that repeatedly shunned his vote. The Negro longed to see the day that he could vote for both political parties, the issues deciding which way he would cast his ballot, but that day was not close at hand.<sup>12</sup> Patrick McCaull received 209 votes from Jackson Ward in his losing effort compared to J. Hoge Taylor the Democratic candidate's 183 votes.<sup>13</sup> After the defeat of the Republican candidates for Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General in 1897, the Richmond Negro's interest in state politics waned and it was not until late in 1899 when the momentum began to gather to disenfranchise him, that his interest was again aroused to any great extent.

The Richmond Negro was seemingly indifferent to the uproar raised in the Democratic Party in 1896 by the nomination of William Jennings Bryan for President. The Negro and the Planet generally supported the Republican candidate, William McKinley, as they had traditionally done and watched from the sidelines as the two major Democratic newspapers in the city, the Dispatch and the Times, quarreled over William Jennings Bryan's nomination. Bryan's stand on free silver could not be tolerated by Joseph Bryan, owner of the Richmond Times, and William Royall, the Times' chief editorial writer. Both men denounced

---

<sup>12</sup>Planet, December 4, 1897.

<sup>13</sup>Richmond Voting Records for the Gubernatorial Election held November 2, 1897, Drawer 654.

Bryan and refused to support him for the nomination.<sup>14</sup> The State had consolidated with the Richmond Star in 1896 and was a sound money paper but was not influenced in the fight. The State had declined in influence and the circulation war over the silver issue would force the paper to cease publication in November 1897.<sup>15</sup> The Dispatch supported Bryan as did Senator John W. Daniels of Virginia. The Democratic Party in Richmond and the state virtually split over Bryan's candidacy with Joseph Bryan holding a separate convention that elected a gold candidate, James Bumgardner of Staunton as State Chairman. Governor O'Ferrall also refused to campaign for Bryan and openly supported McKinley. The regular Democratic Party read O'Ferrall out of the party for this action.<sup>16</sup> The Planet enthusiastically supported McKinley but there is no evidence that the average Negro had become greatly concerned over the election. When ex-President Harrison came to Richmond to speak in August 1896, Negroes had been segregated from the rest of the audience in a roped off section. It should be mentioned that when Bryan came to Richmond to speak on his campaign tour, no such class or race separation measures were taken. The Planet spoke for the whole Negro community when it said that if conditions such as these were to exist as at ex-President Harrison's rally, the Negro simply wouldn't attend. "We do not propose to go where we are not wanted or present ourselves in a building where the cardinal rights of a Republican are ignored."<sup>17</sup> The Negro vote

---

<sup>14</sup>Allen Moger, "The Rift in Virginia Democracy in 1896," Journal of Southern History, IV. (August, 1938), 301.

<sup>15</sup>State, November 20, 1897.

<sup>16</sup>Moger, "Rift in Virginia Democracy," 302-309.

<sup>17</sup>Planet, October 10, 1896.

was not solicited on a large scale by either faction of the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. Bryan did win Virginia but with a plurality of only 19,341 compared to Cleveland's 50,715 plurality in 1892.<sup>18</sup>

The voting records for Jackson Ward showed no large voter turn-out for the election.<sup>19</sup> The smaller vote for Bryan was the result of the split of the Democratic Party in Virginia between the Gold and Silver factions and not any increase in Negro or Republican votes.

A movement was again under way for calling a constitutional convention to repair the harm done by the Underwood Constitution. This harm as mentioned earlier was the granting of Negro suffrage by the Constitution of 1867. The Dispatch as early as November 1896, directly after Bryan's defeat, considered the possibility of calling a constitutional convention to correct the Constitutional mandate providing the Negro with the ballot.

The great wrong done the country, the South, and the Negro when the Negro was enfranchised, wholesale, must be undone, as far as it is lawful to do so; and there is but one way to do this-by restricting suffrage.<sup>20</sup>

The Dispatch admitted that there was no popular reaction on which to have a constitutional convention, but insisted that it had to come, if not now then later.

---

<sup>18</sup> Moger, "Rift in Virginia Democracy," 310-311.

<sup>19</sup> Richmond Voting Records for the November 1896 Presidential Election, Drawer 654.

<sup>20</sup> Dispatch, November 22, 1896.

At this time we could not safely call a constitutional convention. In truth, our people have not yet made up their minds as to what remedy it would be best to adopt, but the question is becoming more and more important every year. We shall have to deal with it sooner or later, we cannot postpone it forever.<sup>21</sup>

The vote May 1897, on the question concerning the calling of a constitutional convention was 83,435 against and 38,326 for.<sup>22</sup> The vote fell short of its expected mark and showed that the white community was apprehensive about a convention. The total vote was only 121,761 while the vote for the Gubernatorial race the same year was 166,495 and in the Presidential Election of 1896, the total vote had been almost 300,000. So overwhelming was the defeat that the Dispatch prematurely suggested that the topic be removed from politics altogether.

The defeat of the constitutional convention question on Thursday was overwhelming. Every section of the state contributed to that revolt, and we believe there will be a general feeling of relief that the subject has been removed from politics.<sup>23</sup>

The vote in Jackson Ward on the constitutional convention was very small, sixty-four for calling a convention and ninety-three opposed.<sup>24</sup> The Dispatch was wrong in its analysis, the convention instead of becoming a dead issue and removed from politics, simmered under the surface and emerged in 1899 with renewed strength. The best possible answer

---

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Wynes, Race Relations in Virginia, p. 55.

<sup>23</sup>Dispatch, May 29, 1897.

<sup>24</sup>Richmond Voting Records for Constitutional Convention Referendum held May 27, 1899, Drawer 654.

why the white people of the state of Virginia and Richmond did not want a convention at this time was because the Negro was already disenfranchised for all practical purposes. The Negro was no longer a factor in the elections, the Walton Act had done its job. Even the Republican white bosses no longer solicited Negro votes with the enthusiasm that characterized the late 1880's and early 1890's. The changing mood and the reasons why the white people gradually were drawn to adopt the convention were best evidenced by the changing attitude of the Richmond Times, long a paternal friend of the Negro but who would now join with the Dispatch and call for a constitutional convention.

William L. Royall who was chief editorial writer for the Times during most of the decade, remarked in his book, Some Reminiscences, published in 1909, about the Negro question. Royall believed that the Anderson McCormick Law got rid of the probability of Negro governments in Virginia, but not a government based on fraud and chicanery. Royall also saw the two party system virtually destroyed by the Negro question.

If there had been no Negro question in the South to force all the white men to stand together as one man, long before this there would have been a reputable Republican Party in every Southern State but would have contested the control of each with fair, if not even, chances to win.<sup>25</sup>

Both Bryan and Royall wanted to see responsible men go into politics, politics that they had shunned because of the Negro question and fraud in

---

<sup>25</sup>William L. Royall, Some Reminiscences (New York and Washington: The Neole Publishing Company, 1909), p. 204.

the past. The change in the Times' attitude was not sudden but a gradual shift. Evidently Bryan and Royall believed that the only way to have a responsible two party system and fair elections was to eliminate the Negro almost completely from the political process. The Richmond Times in an editorial in January 1898, insisted that it wanted to take the ballot out of the hands of the ignorant, regardless of race, white or black. Take the race issue out of politics, the Times asserted, and you would eliminate fraud from elections.<sup>26</sup> The object of a constitutional convention according to the Times would be to clean up politics, the disenfranchisement of the Negro.

The Planet was aware of the darkening mood of the white community and maintained that excluding the Negro from politics would not stop racial trouble. It asserted that those people who believed the Negroes' troubles would be over in the South if he simply withdrew from politics, was truly no friend of the Negro. The Planet pointed out that the Negroes in Mississippi had relinquished their political rights long ago but that they were still lynched and murdered.<sup>27</sup> The Dispatch continued its quest for the convention, now rejuvenated by the appearance of the Times as a proponent for the convention.

If white supremacy is necessary in any government, doesn't it stand to reason that it is more necessary in civil government, where selfish politicians, renegade whites, and agitators of both colors have the widest latitude for inciting the Negroes?<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup>Richmond Times editorial as reprinted in Planet, January 7, 1899.

<sup>27</sup>Planet, February 11, 1899.

<sup>28</sup>Dispatch, March 14, 1899.

As the campaign, led by the two white newspapers, gained momentum, the Planet in an editorial on March 14, 1899, remarked that once the Negro was eliminated entirely from the political scene the white men would rob each other.<sup>29</sup>

The Dispatch's attitude toward the Negro was evolving into Negrophobia. Everything that had racial connotations was played up in its editions. A good example of this was the headline of the Dispatch November 30, 1898, entitled, "The Negro Must Go! Underneath the headline and appearing in much smaller print was the remainder of the sentence, "from the train service of the Southern railroad."<sup>30</sup> The Dispatch felt that there was an unbreachable gap between the "New Negro" and the white man. The old Negro, the Negro who knew discipline and the love and respect of his master was dying out and thus becoming a serious threat to the white man. The Dispatch observed that the trend that had been initiated in the lower South of eliminating the Negro from politics and socially separating him, was beginning to invoke general recognition in Virginia, "and with the voice of such views as these in Virginia," the Dispatch asked,

what will be the finality. Obviously the finality that has been reached in Mississippi, and other States south of us are rapidly approximating and that is the disenfranchisement of the Negro.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Planet, March 4, 1899.

<sup>30</sup> Dispatch, March 31, 1898.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., August 29, 1899.

The Richmond Planet generally conceded to be of the, "New Negro," type declared in September 23, 1899 that the New Negro would not stop short of anything less than his rights as guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence, Constitution of the United States and Virginia Bill of Rights. The Negro asserted the Planet would not take this lying down and warned not to push the race too far. Christian white men would ally themselves with the Negro to prevent such a gross injustice, confidently asserted the Planet.<sup>32</sup> In a final warning, the Planet remarked,

No race of ten million has ever been annihilated at one fell swoop. No race of white or black men has ever undertaken the job.<sup>33</sup>

One of the major differences in the push for a constitutional convention in 1899 was the switch of the Richmond Times to its support. The Times, as viewed by the Planet, viewed the Negro as the factor that made fraud and chicanery possible in Virginia elections.

That Negro Suffrage is responsible for fraudulent elections, machine rule and populism in high places, which we would easily dethrone if the whites alone voted and our best and strongest men could therefore be induced to take a part in our politics. If the Negro were wholly disfranchised, all sources of friction would be removed and the state would admit individual Negroes to the suffrage as they qualified themselves, and the Negro question would never be heard of again.<sup>34</sup>

The Planet replied to these arguments bitterly denouncing the Times, which while advocating disenfranchisement maintained that it was still the

---

<sup>32</sup>Planet, September 23, 1899.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid. November 18, 1899.



friend of the Negro. If the white men took the Negroes' vote, the Planet asserted, then what would keep him from taking the Negroes' property? The people that could advocate these things were not the Negroes' friends.<sup>35</sup>

Mr. S. S. Patterson, a member of the State Legislature from Richmond introduced a resolution to disenfranchise the Negro late in December 1899.<sup>36</sup> Patterson's amendment to directly disenfranchise the Negro was swept aside in the wake of another resolution calling for a referendum on the question of a constitutional convention, March 5, 1900. The referendum was set for May 24, 1900. The vote was 137,737 for a convention and 77,362 opposed to calling a convention.<sup>36</sup> The Democratic machine of United States Senator Joseph S. Martin was non-committal on the subject which was taken by most observers as being a sign of disapproval of the convention. Independent Democrats such as Carter Glass and Andrew J. Montague favored a convention not only for election reforms but for a general reorganization of the state government that would curb the power of the Martin machine.<sup>37</sup> The referendum whether to hold the convention was not large, only 15,976 votes larger than in 1897. Many white Republicans voted for the convention because they believed that once the Negro was eliminated from politics that whites could support the Republican Party without the connotation of being a, "Nigger Lover."

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Wynes, Race Relations in Virginia, pp. 57-58.

<sup>37</sup> Buni, The Negro In Virginia Politics, p. 15.

The Negro was thus sacrificed by the white Republican leaders to make the party more respectable in the eyes of the white voters.<sup>38</sup>

The convention which the referendum permitted met periodically between 1901-1902. The convention worked to virtually eliminate the Negro from politics by a series of better qualification laws which included, poll tax residency requirements, and questions submitted to each voter on his qualifications to vote.<sup>39</sup>

The convention only formally accomplished what had been largely true since 1894, the disenfranchisement of the Negro. Fraudulent elections and the Walton Act removed the Negro as a political power and once he was removed as a political power the need to treat him humanely vanished. The Democrats as well as many white Republicans especially the Custom House and Post Office Gang, Edgar Allan, Wray T. Knight, Edmund Waddill, that controlled Richmond's Republican politics, were eager to eliminate the Negro from politics. The whites of Virginia blamed the Negro for the fraudulent elections in Virginia, but in reality they themselves were the causes of the fraudulent elections. The Richmond Times, long an opponent of the Constitutional convention, reversed its traditional view and favored a convention in 1899 to eliminate fraud in Virginia elections by removing the Negro from politics. The taking of the ballot from the

---

<sup>38</sup>Wynes, Race Relations in Virginia, pp. 57-58.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 65.

Negroes' hands would end the reason for fraud and the two parties could no longer use the Negro as a rallying point for white voters. The Richmond Negro by January 1900 was a political enunch. John Mitchell, Jr., ran for the Board of Aldermen in May 1900, and received only 138 votes compared to James Bahn's 594 votes and Henry P. Beck's 593 votes.<sup>40</sup> In a few short years the Negro would see the official seal of his disenfranchisement that had started with the Anderson McCormick Laws, but which had culminated with the Walton Act.

---

<sup>40</sup>Richmond Voting Records for Municipal elections May 1900,

## Conclusion

The Richmond Negro by the end of the decade, 1890-1900, was virtually powerless politically and was ostracized from white society. All Negro Councilmen and Aldermen had been defeated in the May 1896 municipal elections and had been unsuccessful in regaining their seats. Thus in ten years the Negro had lost almost all political rights and witnessed the paternalistic attitude of many whites turn into Negrophobia.

The Richmond Negro unlike many of his Southern or Virginian counterparts was active in politics during the first half of the decade, largely because of the concentration of large numbers of his race in the Third and Fourth Congressional District. Before the Walton Act of 1894, Republican as well as Democratic politicians would seek the race's vote and as a result of this, race baiting in this area of Virginia reached unprecedented heights during political campaigns. Fraud and corruption were practiced on both sides of the political fence in Virginia with Republicans and Democrats sharing equally in the blame, but the Democrats, by virtue of the Anderson McCormick Law and later the Walton Act, controlled the election machinery, enabling them to practice the most damaging election chicanery against the Negro. The Richmond Times, which had adhered to the paternalistic attitude toward the Negro compared to the racist line that the Richmond Dispatch adhered to, began in late 1894 and the early part of 1895 to advocate election reform to eliminate fraud from elections. The Times did not at first advocate the complete disenfranchisement of only Negroes but all

---

illiterate voters regardless of color. The newspaper soon realized that a proposal of this sort would not gain widespread popular appeal if some provisions were not made to prevent many illiterate whites from being disenfranchised. The Times by late 1898 began to advocate that the Negro be disenfranchised as a means of securing election honesty and an incentive for honest white men who had before avoided the corruption of politics to once more take their proper places as leaders of the Commonwealth. The Times by switching its paternalistic attitude to one of Negrophobia, combined with the Dispatch to present a powerful media attack on the Negro.

Along with the loss of political power, the Negro lost his paternalistic white friends including the white Republican bosses who had used his vote to secure political gains since Emancipation. The majority of white Republicans deserted the Negro because they realized that in order to gain respectability for the party, they would have to rid the party of the political eunuch, the Negro. The need to treat the Negro humanely or to appease him had been extinguished, and with the loss of political power the Richmond Negro saw the Jim Crow cloud grow darker and darker. Jim Crow Laws would not be thrust upon the Negro during the decade, 1890-1900, but would be implemented shortly after the turn of the century.

The Richmond Negro was in the center of the struggle between the white paternalist, who wanted the Negro to have some political rights and the Negrophobes, who wanted the Negro to revert back to a condition similar to the one that had existed prior to the Civil War.

The Richmond Negro was a pawn in this power struggle, a struggle that became increasingly one sided with the Times' defection to the disenfranchising idea of the Dispatch. The pawn legally would not be removed until the 1901-1902 Virginia Constitutional Convention but realistically the pawn had been removed since 1894 when the Walton Act was enacted. John Mitchell, Jr. had received 1,108 votes from Jackson Ward in 1890 Municipal Elections.<sup>1</sup> In the 1892 Presidential Election there were 1,606 votes cast for Presidential Electors from the Ward.<sup>2</sup> In the May 1896 Municipal Elections, Mitchell received only 410 votes in a losing effort and in the 1896 Presidential race a total of 1,259 votes were cast for Presidential Electors.<sup>3</sup> In May 1897 only a total of 1,259 votes were cast in Jackson Ward for or against the calling of a constitutional convention. The total vote for the Gubernatorial race of 1897 did not exceed 400 votes in Jackson Ward. By the Municipal Elections of May 1900 John Mitchell, Jr. was able to manage only 138 votes out of 978 votes cast.<sup>4</sup> The Ward population in 1900 was 15,592 Negro and 3,121 white residents. In 1896 the Ward had 2,983 colored and 789 whites as registered voters. When the constitution was adopted in 1902, the total number of Negroes registered to vote declined to 347 compared to 468 for the whites. By September

---

<sup>1</sup>Richmond Voting Records for the Municipal Elections held May 22, 1890, Drawer 653.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., Votes cast for Presidential Electors, November 1892.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., Gubernatorial Election of November 1897.

<sup>4</sup>Richmond Voting Records of the Municipal Election held May 1900, Drawer 654.

1903, the total number of Negroes in Jackson Ward registered to vote stood at thirty-three.<sup>6</sup>

The Walton Act of 1894 actually signalled the doom of the Virginia and Richmond Negro's political rights. The Democrats with this act were able to control the election machinery and thus the elections. The total vote in Jackson Ward declined after the Walton Act and had been sharply reduced before the Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902. The Negro was eliminated as a political factor and with this elimination the white man, Republican or Democrat, no longer had to appease or treat the Negro humanely. The end of the decade found the Richmond Negro deserted by his former white allies and facing a hostile reaction from the white community. The 1901-1902 Virginia Constitutional Convention only legalized what the Richmond Negro had experienced for the last half of the decade.

---

<sup>6</sup>Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics, pp. 24-25.

## Selected Bibliography

### A. Primary Sources

#### I. Manuscripts

James D. Brady Scrapbook, University of Virginia.

#### II. Documents

Chataigne, J.H. Richmond City Directory, 1889. Richmond: 1889.

. Richmond City Directory, 1895/1896. Richmond: 1889.

Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1901/1903. Richmond: J.H. O'Bannon, 1903.

Richmond, Virginia. Board of Aldermen Journal, February 14, 1888-June 13, 1892, No. III. City Clerk's Office.

. Board of Aldermen Journal, July 1, 1892-April 13, 1897, No. IV. City Clerk's Office.

. Common Council Journal, April 4, 1887-November 3, 1890. City Clerk's Office.

. Common Council Journal, December 1, 1890-April 19, 1894. City Clerk's Office.

. Common Council Journal, May 7, 1896-November 18, 1896. City Clerk's Office.

. Election Results for the City of Richmond from November 1889-November 1900, Drawers 653 and 654. Clerk of the Hustings Court Office.

. The Charter, Boundaries and General Ordinances of the City of Richmond, Charter of May 24, 1870. Richmond: C.C. Baughman, City Printer, 1879.

Twentieth and Twenty-First Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Richmond: J.H. O'Bannon, 1890/1891.

United States Census Office. Compendium of the Eleventh Census, 1890. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892.



## III. Newspapers

Richmond Dispatch, (1889-1900).

\_\_\_\_\_ Planet, (1890-1900).

\_\_\_\_\_ State, (1890-1897).

\_\_\_\_\_ Times, (1890-1900).

## B. Secondary Sources

## I. Books

Aptheker, Herbert, ed. Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States. New York: Citadel Press, 1951.

Blair, Louis Harvie. The Prosperity of the South Dependent Upon the Elevation of the Negro. Edited by C. Vann Woodard. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1964.

Blake, Nelson M. William Mahone of Virginia: Soldier and Political Insurgent. Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1935.

Brenaman, Jacob Neff. History of Virginia Conventions. Richmond: J.L. Hill Printing Company, 1902.

Brown, William Henry. The Education and Economic Development of the Negro in Virginia. Charlottesville: Surber-Arundale, 1923.

Bruce, Philip Alexander. The Plantation Negro as a Freeman. New York and London: P. Putman's Sons, 1889.

Bruce, Philip Alexander. The Rise of the New South. Vol. XVII of the History of North America. Philadelphia: G. Barrie & Sons, 1905.

Bryan, John Stewart. Joseph Bryan: His Times, His Family, His Friends; A Memoir, Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1935.

Bryce, James. The American Commonwealth. 2 vols. 3d. ed. New York and London: MacMillian & Company, 1895.

Buni, Andrew. The Negro in Virginia Politics. 1902-1965. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1967.

Burrell, W.P., and Johnson, D.E. Twenty-Five Years of the Grand Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers. Richmond: 1909.

Christian, William Asbury. Richmond, Her Past and Present. Richmond: L.H. Jenkins, 1912.

Dabney, Virginius. Virginia: The New Dominion. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971.

- Detweiler, Frederick G. The Negro Press in the United States. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1922.
- Dubois, W.E. Burghardt, ed. Economic Co-Operation Among Negro Americans. Atlanta: The Atlanta University Press, 1907.
- Earnest, Joseph B. The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia. Charlottesville: The Michie Company, Printers, 1914.
- Fredrickson, George M. The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.
- Guild, June Purcell. Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present. Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1936.
- Harris, Abram L. The Negro as Capitalist; A Study of Banking and Business Among Negro Americans. Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1936.
- Jackson, Luther Porter. Negro Office Holders in Virginia, 1865-1895. Norfolk: Guide Quality Press, 1945.
- Knight, Charles Louis. Negro Housing in Certain Virginia Cities. Richmond: The William Byrd Press, Inc., 1927.
- Lewinson, Paul. Race, Class & Party: A History of Negro Suffrage and White Politics in the South. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1932.
- McDaniel, Ralph Clipman. "The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902." John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. XLVI, 1928.
- Meier, August. Negro Thought in America 1880-1915, Racial Ideologies In the Age of Booker T. Washington. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1963.
- Moger, Allen Wesley. Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, 1870-1925. Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1968.
- Morton, Richard L. The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1865-1902. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1919.
- Nuckols, Robert R. A History of the City of Richmond, Virginia. Richmond: The Williams Printing Company, 1899.
- Pearson, Charles Chilton. The Readjuster Movement in Virginia. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917.
- Pendleton, William C. Political History of Appalachian Virginia, 1776-1927. Dayton, Virginia: Shenandoah Press, 1927.
- Penn, I. Garland. The Afro-American Press and Its Editors. Springfield, Massachusetts: Willey and Company Publishers, 1891.

- Pinchbeck, Raymond B. The Virginia Artisan and Tradesman. Richmond: The William Byrd Press, 1926.
- Pulley, Raymond H. Old Virginia Restored, An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse, 1870-1930. Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1968.
- Royall, William Lawrence. Some Reminiscences. New York and Washington: The Neole Publishing Company, 1909.
- Smith, Samuel Denny. The Negro in Congress, 1870-1901. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966.
- Snavely, Tipton Ray. The Taxation of Negroes in Virginia. Charlottesville: The Michie Company, 1916.
- Quick, W.H. Negro Stars in All Ages of the World. Richmond: S.B. Adkins & Company, 1898.
- Woodward, C. Vann. Origins of the New South, 1877-1913. Vol. IX of . A History of the South, edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter, X Vols., Louisiana State University, 1947-1967. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Strange Career of Jim Crow. 2d. rev. ed. New York and London: The Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Works Projects Administration, Writers Program. The Negro in Virginia New York: Hastings House, 1940.
- Wynes, Charles E. Race Relations in Virginia, 1870-1902. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1961.

## II. Special Studies

- Cheek, William Francis. "Forgotten Prophet: The Life of John Mercer Langston." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1961.
- Crawford, George W. "John Mercer Langston-A Study in Virginia Politics, 1888-1890." M.A. Thesis, Virginia State College, 1940.
- Cutler, Ronald E. "A History and Analysis of Negro Newspapers in Virginia." M.A. Thesis, University of Richmond, 1965.
- Lloyd, Hermione Elizabeth. "History of the Public Education of the Negro in Virginia, M.A. Thesis, Howard University, 1965.
- Smith, James Wesley. "The Rise of Jim Crow Laws in Virginia, 1900-1904 as Recorded in the Planet." M.A. Thesis, Virginia State College, 1960.

Walton, Thomas Eugene. "The Negro in Richmond, 1880-1890." M.A. Thesis, Howard University, 1950.

### III. Articles

Franklin, John Hope. "History of Racial Segregation in the United States." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, CXXIV (March, 1956), 1-9.

Moger, Allen W. "The Origin of the Democratic Machine in Virginia." Journal of Southern History, VII (May, 1942).

Moger, Allen W. "The Rift in Virginia Democracy in 1896." Journal of Southern History, IV (August, 1938), 295-317.

Price, J.C. "Does the Negro Seek Social Equality?" Forum, X (January, 1891), 558-564.

Saunders, Robert T. "Southern Populists and the Negro 1893-1905." Journal of Negro History, LIV (July, 1969), 240-262.

"The Negro in the New South." Outlook, LXIII (October, 1899), 284.

Wynes, Charles E. "Charles T. O'Ferrall and the Virginia Gubernatorial Election of 1893." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XLIV (October, 1956), 437-453.

. "Lewis Harvie Blair, Virginia Reformer: The Uplift of the Negro and Southern Prosperity." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXXI (January, 1964), 3-18.

## VITA

Joe B. Wilkins, Jr. was born August 7, 1948, in Portsmouth, Virginia. He attended the public school system of Portsmouth, Virginia, and graduated from Woodrow Wilson High School in 1966. He entered Atlantic Christian College in Wilson, North Carolina, in the fall of 1966, his majors being History and Political Science. While attending Atlantic Christian College he served as Student Co-ordinator, Student Body President, and was a member of Pi Gamma Mu- the National Social Science Honor Society. He graduated Cum Laude in May 1970.

After graduation from Atlantic Christian College, he entered the T.C. Williams School of Law at the University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia, for a term of one semester. He entered the graduate school of the University of Richmond in the spring semester of 1971 to work towards an M.A. Degree in History.

The author plans upon completion of the M.A. Degree to pursue the Ph.D. Degree in history.