

Journal of the Arkansas Academy of Science

Volume 9

Article 9

1956

Mississippi Politics During the Progressive Period

Charles Granville Hamilton
College of the Ozarks

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scholarworks.uark.edu/jaas>

 Part of the [Regional Sociology Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Hamilton, Charles Granville (1956) "Mississippi Politics During the Progressive Period," *Journal of the Arkansas Academy of Science*: Vol. 9, Article 9.
Available at: <http://scholarworks.uark.edu/jaas/vol9/iss1/9>

This article is available for use under the Creative Commons license: Attribution-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-ND 4.0). Users are able to read, download, copy, print, distribute, search, link to the full texts of these articles, or use them for any other lawful purpose, without asking prior permission from the publisher or the author.

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UARK. It has been accepted for inclusion in Journal of the Arkansas Academy of Science by an authorized editor of ScholarWorks@UARK. For more information, please contact scholar@uark.edu, ccmiddle@uark.edu.

MISSISSIPPI POLITICS
DURING THE PROGRESSIVE PERIOD

Charles Granville Hamilton
College of the Ozarks

"We are living in a period that will mark a turning point in the life of the state," declared Governor James K. Vardaman to the Mississippi legislature which met on January 7, 1908.¹ The problem of legalizing white control, which had received the most attention since 1865, seemed to be settled; the state appeared free to assume whatever place it chose in the national pattern of reform. The progressive movement of the early part of the new century influenced all the states with its tides of thought and of action.

Although Vardaman retired to private life soon after the legislature convened, his influence continued to be felt. Incoming Governor Edward F. Noel agreed with Vardaman on most issues and his administration was in a sense a continuation of Vardamanism. Both were followers of Bryan, typical progressives of that day, and both asked the legislature for some of the same measures: Vardaman in his farewell message, Noel in a series of short messages. Both urged state prohibition, a child labor law and a system of rural high schools, and these were three achievements of this legislature. Both also asked for an elective judiciary, reapportionment by a constitutional convention, protection of railroad men, and creation of a state normal school, while both felt that the state needed more charitable institutions, and more regulation of corporations. Noel added requests for indeterminate sentences, levee fund depositories, and pure food laws. In his second session, he counted the day lost whose descending sun viewed no special message, and he asked for all the progressive measures that were to be considered for a decade to come.

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

After running third in the 1903 gubernatorial race, Noel was elected in 1907 with the support of Vardaman, in a close second primary race with Earl Brewer.^{2/} Both candidates favored prohibition, labor laws, public health measures, and regulation of corporations, although both were wealthy lawyers from planter counties in the Delta. It was a sign of the general acceptance of progressive principles that the three leaders, who served as governors in successive terms from 1904 to 1916, came from the richest section of the state.

Usually a major factor in Mississippi legislation is the lieutenant governor. Since he appoints the senate committees and presides over the senate, it is difficult to pass measures to which he is opposed. The governor also finds it valuable to be on good terms with the lieutenant governor because the senate must confirm the major appointments. Both of the lieutenant governors of this session were friends of Vardaman and of Noel, but neither was ambitious.

The leadership of this legislature fell into three groups. Noel had a few personal friends who served as his leaders, all but one being from planter counties. Vardaman leaders were mostly from white counties while all but one of the leaders of the conservative group were from planter counties. The majority of the members may not have been personally progressive, but they were willing to support progressive measures indorsed by Vardaman and Noel. Most of the members had received little formal schooling, which might account for their interest in better education. Many had served in the Confederate army, in the legislature, and in other political offices, while a dozen had been active Populists. The many active church members were disposed to unite on moral legislation. These backgrounds did not necessarily make them progressive, but did make them inclined to consider progressive legislation.

A Vardaman leader who rose to prominence in this

MISSISSIPPI POLITICS

legislature was Senator Theodore Gilmore Bilbo of Pearl River County. He was a leader from the beginning of the session. He made the first motion and the first nomination, and he was named on the first committee. He was chairman of the Local and Private Committee, which was in a position to do many favors, and he introduced more bills than most senators, although only three of them passed.

This administration was progressive enough in its administrative and legislative branches to have produced harmony. The first session of the legislature, in 1908, resulted in the largest number of progressive laws that one session had enacted up to that time, and marked the beginning of a new epoch in legislation. The second session, in 1910, was so absorbed with the factional strife of selecting a United States senator that legislation was almost forgotten.

The political importance of this legislature came from the secret caucus in its second session. The primary law did not apply to unexpired terms of senators, and the convention system returned in the form of an unofficial legislative caucus to determine the nominee, through a secret ballot.

Charlton Alexander was probably the most popular of the candidates, next to Vardaman, but the opposition centered its support on Leroy Percy, a Delta lawyer and politician.^{3/} The McLaurin machine, headed by Lorraine C. Dulaney, a former leader in convict leasing, and political boss of Issaquena County, aided in the Percy campaign.^{4/} Percy's brothers, prominent corporation lawyers of Memphis and Birmingham, were also campaign leaders.^{5/} Liquor played a prominent part in the caucus, and at times some members were too drunk to be able to vote.^{6/}

After a contest of several weeks, Percy was elected. Since eight Vardaman men were to be absent from the caucus the night of February 22, either by arrangement or from illness, it was arranged for all

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

LIBRARY

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

opposition candidates except Percy to withdraw then, and Percy was nominated by a vote of 87 to 82.^{7/} His supporters in the press saw in this another victory of conservation over radicalism.^{8/}

A few weeks later Senator Bilbo threw a political bomb when he announced dramatically that he had accepted a bribe from Lorraine C. Dulaney of the Percy forces, in order to trap them.^{9/} He claimed that he had taken the \$645 paid him, but that he had continued to support Vardaman. The explosion rocked the state, making and unmaking governors and senators, sheriffs and bailiffs, lawyers and legislators for a generation.

A resolution to expel Bilbo from the senate failed by only one vote of receiving the necessary two-thirds.^{10/} The number of senators voting against expelling Bilbo was identical with the number who had voted against a secret caucus.^{11/} After this resolution failed, Senators William Anderson and Jabez Leftwich offered a resolution asking Bilbo to resign as "unfit to sit with honest, upright senators."^{12/} The resolution passed, with all but one of the Vardaman senators refusing to vote, but Bilbo did not resign.

The trial and the investigations brought many charges. A jury in Yazoo County acquitted Dulaney in eighteen minutes.^{13/} Investigating committees of the House and Senate heard legislators and others testifying to the use in the election of liquor, patronage, money, and marked ballots. Each side declared the investigation proved the other side guilty.^{14/}

The secret caucus was a turning point in the political history of the state. It became legend with which to beat down opposition in many counties, and few politicians who had been connected with the caucus managed to retain office or to be elected at a later day. By thus eliminating much conservative strength, the caucus paved the way for two adminis-

MISSISSIPPI POLITICS

trations of more progressive legislation. The caucus also drew tightly the lines of election battles for many years. Without the secret caucus, much of the same legislation might have become law, but probably not under the same influences or with the same intentions. The results of the caucus and the campaign following it paved the way for legislation against corporations.

The campaign of 1911 was one of the more important in the history of the state. Normally the race for governor attracted the most statewide attention in Mississippi, but because of the lack of opposition to Earl Brewer, the campaign of 1911 centered around the races for United States senator and for Lieutenant governor. Vardaman ran for the United States Senate against LeRoy Percy, in a campaign of personalities as well as of issues, but underlying the contest was the deep division between conservatives and progressives. Charlton Alexander, the third candidate, represented those who believed in moral reform and in progressive legislation, but who were opposed to both Percy and Vardaman.

Vardaman practically dropped the race issue, and campaigned on a progressive platform of the Bryan type. He advocated popular election of senators and of federal judges, independence for the Philippines, extension of parcel post, a federal income tax, government regulation of railroads, and military and naval forces too small for imperialism or for holding down the laboring class.^{15/} He charged that wealth was using the Negro as an excuse to block reform, and the secret caucus was his chief talking point.^{16/} Democrats had won a victory in New York state the previous year by exposing corporation bribery of Republican legislators, and corporate contributions to senatorial campaigns had been exposed in several states.^{17/} Vardaman indorsed a complete state, legislative, and congressional ticket.^{18/} The contest was not a rural-urban conflict, because many

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

in the towns voted with small farmers for Vardaman - a portent of labor legislation in the next legislature. "No rich man is a Jeffersonian," shouted Vardaman.^{19/}

The Percy campaign stressed his acceptability in Republican Washington, and his opposition to extravagance in government as well as to corporation domination.^{20/} He angrily called some hecklers "cattle," and this resulted in Vardaman coming to three speakings with oxen pulling the wagon in which he rode, and in personal insults to Percy.^{21/} Percy was accused of representing railroad, oil, and whiskey corporations, and of drinking, gambling, and fishing on Sundays.^{22/} He admitted the personal charges, but insisted that there were no class lines in the state, and classed Vardaman as a Socialist.^{23/} Senator John Sharp Williams indorsed Percy, and asserted that Vardaman did not have good sense.^{24/}

Alexander gained some conservative support by his religious reputation and his gentlemanly campaign, and conservatives who did not have confidence in Percy rallied to Alexander. The major charge made against Alexander was that he had the support of most ministers of all denominations.^{25/} Percy leaders saw the rising Alexander tide, and denounced him as a second Vardaman, but Alexander went through this wide-open campaign of vituperation without any serious attack on his character or actions.^{26/}

The lieutenant governor's race soon allied itself with the Senate race. The Alexander candidate was Wiley Nash of Oktibbeha County, a personal friend of Noel's who had been attorney general under Governor Anselm J. McLaurin, and whose Confederate record was stressed heavily. The Percy candidate was Tandy Yewell of Carroll County, a boy orator who laid emphasis on his boyhood education by a pine-knot fire as well as his high standing as a university student. Bilbo began running without any affiliation with Vardaman, but it was soon evident that he had the Vardaman

MISSISSIPPI POLITICS

support. People were cool when Bilbo sought to discuss his qualifications for the office, but when he denounced the secret caucus and "Granny" Noel, the crowds yelled for more. He had stumbled upon a popular technique, and his speeches resembled those of Ben Tillman and Tom Watson, as Vardaman papers began to carry articles praising him.^{27/}

A sympathy vote turned the tide to Bilbo. At Blue Mountain he denounced, in words borrowed from the Iconoclast, a man he did not know, but who he thought was giving out an anonymous circular against him.^{28/} A few days later the same man, James J. Henry, came up behind Bilbo on a train to Starkville and beat him over the head with a pistol.^{29/} Bilbo was rushed to a hospital, and it was not certain that he would live. Henry explained that he did not mean to kill him, but the fact that Henry was a railroad claim agent and a penitentiary warden who had been removed by Vardaman for allowing mistreatment of convicts impressed many. The opposition took the assault in its stride, and was sure Bilbo deserved it.^{30/} Yewell dismissed it as unrelated to politics, but Vardaman denounced it as another attempt of the railroads to destroy Bilbo.^{31/} Bilbo's written speeches circulated widely while he was in the hospital, and Vardaman leaders made pathetic appeals for collections for him.^{32/} Bilbo recovered, and sympathy swung thousands to him.^{33/}

The results gave Vardaman an almost complete victory. Vardaman received 79,380 to 31,500 for Alexander and 21,521 for Percy. Vardaman received 60 per cent of the vote and carried 61 counties, with pluralities in 13 more. Only 5 river counties supported Percy, while Alexander carried no counties. Vardaman's influence was evident in Bilbo's vote; the latter received only one per cent less of the vote, and carried all but half-a-dozen counties which Vardaman had won. Bilbo lost only one white county. Nash's vote was within a hundred of Alexander's, while Yew-

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

ell's vote was within two hundred of Percy's. The Vardaman state ticket was elected by similar majorities. Only five of the 87 legislators who had voted for Percy were re-elected. The red necktie of the "Rednecks" became a Mississippi symbol and was worn by thousands of enthusiastic Vardaman paraders.^{34/} George W. Norris of Nebraska was among the progressives throughout the country who cheered the results.^{35/}

Some conservative die-hards refused to accept the results, and planned to defeat Bilbo in the general election by quietly supporting the Socialist candidate. Only a small number voted in this election, and the plot might have succeeded had it not been disclosed to Vardaman.^{36/} The Socialist candidate for lieutenant governor received 7,551 votes, while the Socialist candidate for governor received only 2,049. Bilbo received 32,443, but he lost the planter counties of Sunflower and Washington, and barely carried some other planter counties.

The 1911 race put the Vardaman forces in the saddle for several years. This control extended to county as well as state levels. The campaign had been a rough-and-tumble affair, with no holds barred, and the people of the state, voting in unprecedented numbers and clearly expressing themselves. Sixty per cent had voted for Vardaman, 24 per cent for Alexander, 16 per cent for Percy. The percentages for lieutenant governor had been almost identical. The three factions expressed three viewpoints: the majority were for progressive legislation, as defined in 1911 terms, and as interpreted by Vardaman; the larger minority were for progressive reform, but not in opposition to industry or business; the smaller minority were for preservation of the status quo, although with improvements. The secret caucus and the attack on Bilbo undoubtedly swelled the Vardaman factional vote with thousands who were more at home in the moral reform group. In later elections the

MISSISSIPPI POLITICS

votes for Vardaman and for Bilbo declined to nearly 40 per cent, which was probably the real core strength of the group. The progressive element in the center who were swayed by personal considerations and who did not owe allegiance to any political faction, probably decided the election of 1911. The analysis of the groups, which might roughly be denominated as left, center, and right, would probably hold for most elections in Mississippi since 1911.

There was no question as to the leadership of Vardaman in the progressive cause in Mississippi. He had been recognized as the head of the movement since his first campaign for governor, and his influence in office confirmed it. The election of 1911 showed that he was the major political power in the state, to whom most officers and congressmen owed their positions in a large measure. He advised with the legislatures of the Brewer and Bilbo administrations, and was reputed to control the session of 1912. All the candidates for governor in 1915 came from the roll of his friends.

Earl Brewer, who had run such a close second to Noel in 1907, had no opposition for governor in 1911. His message to the legislature reflected his belief in the same type of progressive legislation as that advocated by Vardaman and Noel. While Brewer was not put into office by Vardaman followers alone, it is significant that they did not oppose him. In the same election, however, Bilbo was chosen lieutenant governor by the influence of the Vardaman faction, and in this position he tended to overshadow Brewer.

Governor Earl Brewer was the third power in his own administration. His interest was primarily in reforms of labor laws and governmental procedure, but he also advocated humanitarian and educational measures.³⁷ A major plank in his 1907 platform -- he did not have platform or campaign the year he was elected -- had been that of raising the age of consent from 12 to 18 years. He asked for protec-

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

tion of child labor, enactment of legislation on wages and hours, better rural schools, and the establishment of juvenile courts. He was the first governor of Mississippi to advocate making the care of the old a fixed obligation of the state. He proposed taxes on incomes and inheritances, increased taxation and regulation of corporations, a state highway system, abolition of the fee system of county officers, and the protection of bank depositors. He secured legislation on most of these measures, which had also been advocated by Vardaman. He asked for party harmony "because of a problem which does not exist north of the Ohio River," while he was sure that Mississippi was no better and no worse than other states.

Theodore Gilmore Bilbo took office as a state senator the year that William Howard Taft was elected to succeed Theodore Roosevelt as president, and he left the governor's chair the year that Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president. During the period from 1908 to 1932, he was successively state senator, lieutenant governor, governor, a practicing lawyer, runner-up for governor, and governor for a second time.

He came from Pearl River County, in which 90 per cent of the population was white, and in which the low-income farmers and sawmill workers were barely able to maintain a government. He was descended from a family of Scots who had come to Mississippi by way of Ireland and North Carolina. One of the family signed the first state constitution, while his father was a Confederate who had fought from one end of the state to the other, and who was kin to half the county.

Theodore B. Bilbo had more education than some of his political competitors. On the basis of his high-school education, he was "liberated" by his church as a Sunday school lecturer, and served for years as clerk of the local Baptist association.^{38/} He spent three years at Peabody Normal of the University of

MISSISSIPPI POLITICS

of Nashville. After three years of teaching in the schools of his county, he ventured into politics and was defeated for circuit clerk by a one-armed Baptist minister.^{39/} He taught another year, and ran a drug store before returning to Nashville, where he enrolled in the law course at Vanderbilt University in 1905, and finished in 1907.

Vardaman control was apparent in all factional matters in the 1912 legislature. In an atmosphere redolent of an old-time camp meeting, Vardaman led in the singing of "Amazing Grace" as Bilbo was sworn in as lieutenant governor, in the same Senate which had lacked one vote of expelling him two years before. When Brewer broke with Bilbo, the Vardaman forces stayed with Bilbo.^{40/} This legislature had a continual warfare with the opposition press and it tried to exclude reporters for such papers. Frank Burkitt, a Vardaman spokesman who had been the Populist leader of the state, answered press charges by insistence that the principles of the Populist party were the real principles of the Democratic party, and that the progressive movement of the state was a result of the Populist movement.^{41/}

The legislature which met in 1912 was younger and better educated than its predecessor. Farmers and teachers outnumbered lawyers, and there were more doctors than usual in the membership. As legislators mostly elected on a Vardaman platform, it had Vardaman men in the saddle and they headed all the important committees, which meant that progressive legislation would have favorable consideration. The old Vardaman leaders were reinforced by newcomers to the legislature, while the broken-winged opposition had as leaders its veterans, all from planter counties.

Lennis Murphree rose to prominence in this legislature. With as many personal friends as any Mississippian of his time, he was a legislative leader in three administrations, and later lieutenant governor three times and governor twice. He was as valid

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

an inheritor of the Vardaman tradition as Bilbo; his father had been a Vardaman leader, and had served in the latter's legislature, while Murphree himself, elected as a Vardaman follower, was loyal to Vardaman in the legislature. He came from the county east of Vardaman's home county, and some of the Vardaman following in North Mississippi became followers of Murphree. Vardaman is said to have marked his last ballot for Murphree, and it is easy to understand why.

Democratic victory in 1912 naturally stimulated national interest in the state. In anticipation of victory, leading candidates for the Democratic nomination were invited to address the legislature. The first measure introduced in the 1912 session was an invitation to Governor Woodrow Wilson to speak.^{42/} Wilson could not leave his own legislature; so his social, labor, and humanitarian measures were stressed by William Gibbs McAdoo.^{43/} Oscar Underwood escaped factional involvement in the state by sending word that he was too busy with tariff revision to leave Washington.^{44/} Bilbo announced for Wilson the day before the state preferential primary, but Vardaman and Brewer succeeded in making Underwood the first choice.^{45/} Alexander died while working for Wilson. At the Baltimore convention, John Sharp Williams tried to turn the delegation to Wilson, but Brewer blocked this until after the nomination was decided.

The first Bilbo administration, 1916-1920, was so intimately identified with the Brewer administration as to give the effect of a continuous period of government. There was much of the same legislative leadership. Many measures which were proposed in the former became law in the latter, and there were few developments which were not anticipated. The influence of the World War, which did not result in much progressive legislation, was an unanticipated feature of the administration.

In the primary election for governor in 1915 the field was against Bilbo. His successful state race

MISSISSIPPI POLITICS

for lieutenant governor in 1911, and his leadership in that office during the Brewer administration, obviously made him the leading candidate. Since his opponents were also Vardaman men, but not so well known, the campaign was largely personal. Most conservatives probably supported Marion Reilly, Bilbo's major opponent. Reilly was a better speaker than Bilbo, but Reilly came from a black county, and his wife was a Roman Catholic. Bilbo won in the first primary by a majority of 1,072 over the field. He led in all white counties but four, and became the second governor to be elected from a white county in the hundred years of statehood. He carried all but four white counties, as well as several black counties. His friends succeeded in electing Lee Russell of Oxford, another Vardaman leader, as lieutenant governor.

The year 1916 marked the beginning of the succession of governors from the white counties. There had been only one governor, John M. Stone, from a white county in a century of the state's history, but from 1915 to 1951 only two governors were elected who were not from white counties. The year 1916 also marked the beginning of the governors from East Mississippi. From 1915 to 1951, all but three governors came from that section. The river and Delta counties were the homes of most governors until 1915; only one governor having come from that section in the years 1915-1951. Because of legislative apportionment of 1890, the black counties were in a position of power in the legislature. This difference in outlook naturally resulted in conflicts between several governors and their legislature.

The 1916 legislature was one of the best in the history of the state. It included men who were later to become state and federal officials, as well as three future governors. It was marked by a large number of college men, and was unusual in that teachers outnumbered farmers and lawyers. There were few

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

Confederates and many young men -- a sign of a different generation. Most of the senate leaders were from black counties, and most house leaders from white counties. Conservative leaders, as usual, were from black counties. Bilbo's friends elected Sennett Conner speaker, and, at the first session, many of the measures which were advocated by the governor became law. A rising leader in this legislature was Thomas L. Bailey, who represented Meridian, the largest city in the state at that time. He was a leader of the middle-of-the-road progressive bloc at this session and later speaker of three legislatures as well as governor.

The Bilbo legislature supported Wilson's policy during the war years. It contributed to a Jewish relief fund endorsed by Wilson and Bilbo.^{46/} It also endorsed Wilson's policies in Europe and in Mexico during his first term, and refused to criticize his views on preparedness. War naturally caused a special session in 1917. The session of 1918 was not impressed by the war, except for flag waving and oratorical verbiage. The legislature which did so well in 1916 became trivial by 1918, as state elections approached. Political war was more absorbing to the house majority than the war on Germany. The session ended with Bilbo vetoing the House contingent fund lest conservative leader Oscar Johnston use it in his race for governor, while Johnston led the House in blocking an appropriation for lights and fuel at the executive mansion.

Mississippians in Congress followed a progressive trend during these years. They voted together on major measures, and Williams was a Wilson leader, while Vardaman was to the left of the president on some matters, and worked closely with Senator Robert Lafollette.

The progressive legislation of the Noel, Brewer, and Bilbo administrations was all involved in the political struggles of this period. The election of

MISSISSIPPI POLITICS

a progressive candidate in each race for governor determined the trend, especially as progressive legislatures were also elected. The reverberations of progressive legislation in the legislatures of other states and in Congress undoubtedly influenced Mississippi. The policies of the national Democratic party could not fail to be implemented to some degree in this Democratic state. The political background from 1908 to 1920 is what would naturally be expected if there was to arise a mass of progressive legislation in the state during that time.

FOOTNOTES

- 1/ Journal of the Senate of the State of Mississippi (1908), p. 10.
- 2/ Noel led Brewer in the first primary, 29,222 to 28,111, and in the second, 58,497 to 56,405. There was no correlation of votes between the black counties and those Noel carried.
- 3/ Memphis Commercial Appeal, Feb. 26, 1910.
- 4/ This county, with the smallest population of any in the state, and the largest percentage of negroes, had less than two hundred voters.
- 5/ Memphis Commercial Appeal, Feb. 24, 25, 26, 1910.
- 6/ Inquiry into the Charges of Bribery in the Recent Senatorial Contest by the House of Representatives (Jackson, 1910); Investigation in the Senate of Mississippi of the Charges of Bribery in the Election of a United States Senator, Session of 1910 (Jackson, 1910); Creel "Carnival of Corruption in Mississippi," Cosmopolitan LI (1911), pp. 727-735. Percy said that William R. Hearst was responsible for the Cosmopolitan story against him. He denounced Vardaman as "a perverted moral and emotionally impoverished common demagogue." Congressional Record, 62 Congress, 2 Session, pp. 226-230. Creel wrote

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

- many years later in his autobiography, Rebel at Large (New York, 1947): "I had swallowed the story of 'corporation skull-duggery' without investigation, a credulity of which I came to be ashamed."
- 7/ Jackson Clarion Ledger, Feb. 23, 1910; Memphis Commercial Appeal, Feb. 23, 1910.
- 8/ Memphis Commercial Appeal, Feb. 23, 24, 25, 26, 1910; Jackson Clarion Ledger, Feb. 24, 25, 1910. The Commercial Appeal exulted that Percy was "of the same mold as John Sharp Williams."
- 9/ Memphis Commercial Appeal, March 20, 1910.
- 10/ Journal of the Senate of the State of Mississippi (1910), pp. 996-998.
- 11/ Some senators said that there was an error in counting these votes and that the motion received the necessary two-thirds vote.
- 12/ Senate Journal (1910), pp. 996-998.
- 13/ Creel, "Carnival of Corruption," loc. cit., pp. 725, 733; Jackson, Clarion Ledger, March 29, April 2, 9, 1910; Jackson Issue, April 9, 1910. Vardaman took Bilbo's side from the beginning, wrote editorials in his favor, reprinted editorials taking Bilbo's side, and criticized the inquiries and the trial as political persecution.
- 14/ Inquiry into the Charges of Bribery in the Recent Senatorial Contest by the House of Representatives: Investigation in the Senate of Mississippi of the Charges of Bribery in the Election of a United States Senator, Session of 1910. Senator Robert Pollard of Leflore, who was not a Vardaman man, told the committee that Bilbo told him that he was going to trap the Percy forces by taking some of their money, and he tried to get Pollard to participate in it. Pollard confirmed this Dec. 23, 1949, in conversation.
- 15/ Jackson Clarion Ledger, July 10, 11, 1911.

MISSISSIPPI POLITICS

- 16/ Jackson Issue, June 30, 1911.
- 17/ Alfred E. Smith, Up to Now (New York, 1929), p. 87; Memphis Commercial Appeal, July 19, 1910; Jackson Issue, May 14, 1910.
- 18/ Jackson Issue, Feb. 24, March 12, May 14, 1911.
- 19/ Ibid., Feb. 24, 1911.
- 20/ Memphis Commercial Appeal, July 7, 13, 1911; Jackson Clarion Ledger, July 28, Aug. 1, 1911.
- 21/ Vicksburg Evening Post, July 6, 1911; Memphis Commercial Appeal, July 7, 1911.
- 22/ Jackson Issue, March 12, 25, May 21, June 30, July 14, 1911.
- 23/ Jackson Clarion Ledger, July 21, 26, 1911, Jackson Issue, June 16, 1911.
- 24/ Jackson Clarion Ledger, Aug. 1, 1911.
- 25/ Ibid., Jan. 27, 1911.
- 26/ Ibid., Jan. 27, 1911; Memphis Commercial Appeal, July 31, 1911.
- 27/ Jackson Issue, June 9-16, 1911.
- 28/ Two volumes of the writings of William Cowper Brann, editor of the well-named Iconoclast of Waco, Texas, appeared posthumously in 1911.
- 29/ Memphis Commercial Appeal, July 5, 7, 8, 9, 1911; interview with J. J. Henry, Dec. 29, 1950.
- 30/ Jackson Clarion Ledger, July 7, 8, 9, 1911.
- 31/ Jackson Issue, July 14, 21, 1911.
- 32/ Ibid., July 21; Memphis Commercial Appeal, July 29, 1911.
- 33/ Memphis Commercial Appeal, July 28, 1911.
- 34/ Vicksburg Evening Post, Aug. 8, 1911.
- 35/ Jackson Issue, Aug. 11, 1911.
- 36/ Ibid., Nov. 1, 1911.
- 37/ Journal of the Senate of the State of Mississippi, (1912), pp. 118-133.
- 38/ Senate Bribery Inquiry (1910), pp. 50, 113, 114, 342.
- 39/ Letter of W. F. Bond, March 18, 1949. Vardaman was elected governor in the same election, but he did not carry Pearl River County.

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

- 40/ Memphis Commercial Appeal, Jan. 16, 1912.
41/ Senate Journal (1912), pp. 688-690.
42/ Senate Journal (1912), pp. 12, 43, 109.
43/ Ibid., pp. 258, 300; Jackson Clarion Ledger, Feb. 16, 17, 1912.
44/ Senate Journal (1912), pp. 324, 328, 495.
45/ Hobbs, Bilbo, Brewer and Bribery (Jackson, 1917), pp. 49-54.
46/ Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Mississippi (1916), p. 2131.