

# A FEW SPECIMEN DEPOSITIONS AND AFFIDAVITS

IN THE CASE OF

## GOVERNOR KELLOGG

VS.

EX-GOVERNOR WARMOTH, McENERY AND OTHERS.

**Sworn Statement of B. P. Blanchard,  
 State Register of Voters under War-  
 moth.**

United States of America, District of Louisiana, State of Louisiana, city of New Orleans—Be it known, That on this second day of September, A. D. 1873, personally appeared before the undersigned, a United States Commissioner in and for the District of Louisiana, duly commissioned and sworn, Brainard P. Blanchard, who being duly sworn deposes and says: That he was appointed by Henry C. Warmoth, Governor of the State of Louisiana, to the office of State Registrar of Voters, being also, by virtue of said office, ex-officio Supervisor of Registration in and for the parish of Orleans; that he filled the said office during the years 1870, 1871 and 1872; that in the last named year he was in full political sympathy with the liberal movement, and subsequently, upon the fusion of the Liberal and Democratic parties, with what was known as and styled the Fusion party, and in conjunction with others of the same political party he devised plans for carrying the general election in the State of Louisiana on November 4, 1872, in favor of the said Fusion party and their candidates for presidential electors, Congress and State and municipal offices; that, with this object in view, he proposed to take advantage of all the powers conferred upon him by the acts of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, numbered respectively acts Nos. 99 and 100, approved March 16, 1870, and known as the registration and election laws of 1870.

That in furtherance of this scheme he caused a careful compilation to be made of the lists of deceased male persons over twenty-one years of age who had died since the close of the registration in 1870, which lists were required by law to be furnished to him by the sextons of the

various cemeteries in the parish of Orleans, and that said lists, so compiled, were carefully collated with the registration books and the registry number and the election precinct in which the deceased was registered were noted. That instead of carrying out to to the full letter the provisions of section seven of the registration law above referred to he caused to be erased from the lists of registered voters only the names of such deceased electors as were well known in the community, and in cases where the deceased was an obscure personage (a large majority of the whole number being composed of such) he caused to be made out a duplicate registration certificate in his name, the same to be retained and used at the general election as hereinafter set forth. That for this purpose he caused to be printed facsimiles of the blank forms of duplicate registration certificates used in 1870, which were in a different style of type from those intended to be used in 1872, in order to have them filled up with the names of deceased electors as above stated. That the number of duplicate certificates, so filled up for the purpose aforesaid was as follows, more or less: For the—

First ward.....	76
Second ward.....	85
Third ward.....	243
Fourth ward.....	48
Fifth ward.....	61
Sixth ward.....	52
Seventh ward.....	69
Eighth ward.....	35
Ninth ward.....	47
Tenth ward.....	51
Eleventh ward.....	44
Twelfth ward.....	21
Thirteenth ward.....	16
Fourteenth ward.....	7

Total..... 855

Deponent further says, that to his

knowledge a large number of certificates of registration had been issued in 1870, in the names of fictitious persons; that he caused a careful examination of the books of registration to be made, and of other records and memoranda in his possession, to ascertain the number of such fraudulent registries, and also made efforts to ascertain in whose possession such papers in the names of fictitious persons were, and that he obtained possession of some two thousand of such papers, and in relation to such of said papers as he could not obtain possession of the following course was pursued: When ever he ascertained that they were in the hands of persons belonging to the Republican party, he then, and during registration, caused the said fictitious names to be erased from the registry lists as fraudulent; but in all cases where he ascertained that such papers were in the possession of persons in the interest of the Fusion party, he instructed the assistant supervisors of registration not to erase such fictitious names from the books, in cases where he had confidence in those officers, but in cases where he had reason to suspect the fidelity of any assistant supervisor to the Fusion cause, or to believe that any of them would not assist in or abet such manipulation, he prohibited them from making any erasures whatever, reserving that work for himself or assigning it to some confidential clerk or confidential agent whom he could implicitly trust, as will more fully appear by the documents hereto annexed, and marked "A" and "B."

Deponent further says that he was aware of the existence of large numbers of fraudulent naturalization papers issued in 1868 by the clerks of district courts in the parish of Orleans and other large parishes, and that in 1870, in his circular of instructions to supervisors of registration, he directed them not to register any person naturalized between July 4 and October 24, except such as were naturalized in the First and Second District Courts of the parish of Orleans; that the number naturalized between the dates above cited was reported by his predecessor, Hon. William Baker, chairman of the board of registration, in his report to the General Assembly, dated New Orleans, January 10, 1869, as follows:

Tables showing the number of persons registered in each ward (first excepted) of the parish of Orleans, who were naturalized between July 4 and October 24, 1868.

Ward.	Number.
First ward (no record).....	...
Second ward.....	538
Third ward.....	903
Fourth ward.....	330
Fifth ward.....	989

Sixth ward.....	359
Seventh ward.....	423
Eighth ward.....	484
Ninth ward.....	540
Tenth ward.....	458
Eleventh ward.....	333
Right bank (Algiers).....	161

Total.....5488

And that the result of these instructions not to recognize the validity of such naturalization was made manifest by the result of the registration of naturalized foreigners in 1870, the registration for Orleans parish in that year being entirely new and complete.

Table showing the number of persons naturalized between July 4 and October 24, 1868, and July 4 and October 28, 1870, registered in 1870.

Precinct or Ward.	1868.	1870.	Total.
First.....	96	70	166
Second.....	142	145	287
Third.....	223	149	372
Fourth.....	100	53	153
Fifth.....	134	141	275
Sixth.....	65	58	123
Seventh.....	150	85	235
Eighth.....	178	110	288
Ninth.....	197	93	290
Tenth.....	107	102	209
Eleventh.....	106	87	193
Twelfth.....	54	45	100
Thirteenth.....	26	18	44
Fourteenth.....	15	7	22
Fifteenth.....	43	11	54

Total.....1636 1175 2811

As will more fully appear upon pages six, seven, eight, and nine, of a report to the General Assembly of Louisiana, by the deponent, as State Registrar of Voters, dated January 31, 1871—a printed copy of which is hereto appended, and marked "C." That the reason for such ruling by the deponent in 1870 was, that he knew that these naturalization papers, fraudulently issued, were in the hands of persons inimical to the Republican party, with which party he was at that time politically affiliated; that the judges and clerks of courts were in 1868 entirely, and in 1870, with only two exceptions, members of the Democratic party, and that he consequently endeavored to prevent the use of said fraudulent naturalization papers by the Democratic party; that he repeated the instructions to supervisors of registration in this regard in his pamphlet of instructions in 1872, pages seven and eight—a printed copy of which is hereto annexed and marked "D"; but upon the fusion of the Liberal and Democratic parties deponent knowing that large numbers of said fraudulent naturalization papers were in the hands of Fusionists and could be used in the interest of the Fusion party revoked his previous instructions, as will appear by

circular No. 5, issued by deponent, hereto annexed and marked E, and that the result of such change in his ruling was that a large number of such papers fraudulently issued were used by persons registering in 1872:

Table showing the number of persons naturalized between July 4, 1868, and October 24, 1868, and July 4, 1872, and October 28, 1872, added to the registry lists in 1872, in each election precinct, parish of Orleans.

Precinct.	1868.	1872.	Total.
First.....	114	140	254
Second.....	131	202	333
Third.....	242	395	637
Fourth.....	93	212	305
Fifth.....	187	421	608
Sixth.....	92	228	320
Seventh.....	75	183	258
Eighth.....	129	173	302
Ninth.....	175	202	372
Tenth.....	143	159	302
Eleventh.....	102	118	220
Twelfth.....	44	56	100
Thirteenth.....	12	39	51
Fourteenth.....	20	29	49
Fifteenth.....	63	64	127
Totals.....	1622	2621	4243

And deponent firmly believes that a large number of the naturalization papers issued in 1872, to the extent of 2000, at least, were improperly so issued.

Deponent further says that he instructed the assistant supervisors of registration for the parish of Orleans that in all cases where persons who had been registered in 1870 in other wards than those in which they resided in 1872, and who should apply for registration on account of change of residence, to require such persons to surrender the certificates of registration of 1870 to them (the assistant supervisors), to be by them returned to the office of deponent, State Registrar of Voters, ostensibly for the purpose of cancellation and erasure on the books, but in reality to be preserved and voted on at the ensuing general election, in the manner hereinafter set forth, and that this course was pursued and persisted in notwithstanding the formal protest of the United States supervisors of election, one of which is hereto annexed and marked "P." The certificates of registration so returned deponent caused to be examined and sorted out in his office and such as were not marked or checked in any way by the United States supervisors of elections were preserved to be voted upon in the wards from which they were originally issued, and only such were returned to the ward officers for cancellation and erasure as were deemed unfit or unsafe for use by repeating voters, as is more fully shown by the affidavit of H. L. Downes, hereto attached and marked "G." The number

so cancelled was to the following extent only:

First precinct.....	80
Second precinct.....	43
Third precinct.....	101
Fourth precinct.....	79
Fifth precinct, record lost.....	..
Sixth precinct.....	115
Seventh precinct.....	83
Eighth precinct, record lost.....	..
Ninth precinct.....	11
Tenth precinct.....	36
Eleventh precinct.....	103
Twelfth precinct.....	11
Thirteenth precinct.....	..
Fourteenth precinct.....	12
Fifteenth precinct.....	2
Total.....	579

Deponent further says that he also instructed assistant supervisors of registration, in the parish of Orleans, that whenever they found upon the registry of 1870, names of persons making their marks (X) and supposed to be negroes and not known personally to them, to procure two persons, registered voters in their respective wards, to prepare a list of such names and make an affidavit that they "had reason to believe and did believe" that the persons named therein were not residing in the ward on the tenth day preceding the election, and the assistant supervisors were directed to erase from the lists of voters, all names put down in said affidavits, and this was done, although the law made it the duty of the Board of Metropolitan Police Commissioners to cause a canvass of the city of New Orleans and prescribed that the names of such persons as should be reported by them as "not found" only should be stricken from the registry list. Such affidavits were made in form similar to the one hereto annexed and marked "H," and resulted in the erasure from the books of the following number of names, supposed to be all colored men, namely:

First ward.....	182
Second ward.....	36
Third ward.....	280
Fourth ward.....	309
Fifth ward.....	223
Sixth ward.....	353
Seventh ward.....	386
Eighth ward.....	164
Ninth ward.....	122
Tenth ward.....	12
Eleventh ward.....	40
Twelfth ward.....	153
Thirteenth ward.....	51
Fourteenth ward.....	17
Fifteenth ward.....	144
Total.....	2472

In this connection see affidavit of James Parker, hereto annexed and marked.

That this course was pursued notwithstanding the fact that the Board of Police

Commissioners did, in obedience to the provisions of section fifty of the election law, cause a canvass of the city to be made (as will appear by the document hereto annexed and marked I) and reported the names of persons "not found" and said names were by said deponent published in the official journal of the city and State, but that that no names were erased from the list in consequence of such reports, but solely upon the affidavits above mentioned. Deponent further says that from the outset of registration in 1872 he was in constant communication with the Democratic and Liberal campaign committees, and conjointly with them instructed the supervisors and assistant supervisors of registration throughout the State verbally, in addition to written or printed instructions, from time to time, to facilitate in every manner the registration of all white men known or supposed to be in favor of the Fusion candidates, and to throw every possible obstacle in the way of colored applicants for registration, such as requiring them to produce two witnesses to prove their identity and residence, delaying them by unnecessary questions and by other means, and that in compliance with such verbal instructions the assistant supervisors of registration would and did frequently select from the crowd of applicants for registration, white men known to them as Democrats or Fusionists, and register them, and then close their offices before the hour prescribed by law, on the pretext that they were summoned to court or some similar excuse, thus leaving the colored men, many of whom could ill afford to lose their time, unregistered. The result of such instructions, and action consequent thereon, was the addition to the register list of a large excess of whites over colored men, as appears from the following table :

Table showing the number of white and colored voters added to the registration of the parish of Orleans, in each precinct, in 1872:

Wards.	Whites.	Colored.	Total.
First.....	1,379	324	1,703
Second.....	1,672	418	2,090
Third.....	2,518	882	3,400
Fourth.....	1,143	407	1,550
Fifth.....	1,712	597	2,309
Sixth.....	1,359	474	1,833
Seventh.....	1,256	638	1,894
Eighth.....	903	212	1,115
Ninth.....	1,133	201	1,334
Tenth.....	1,479	442	1,921
Eleventh.....	1,278	404	1,682
Twelfth.....	593	192	785
Thirteenth.....	311	151	465
Fourteenth.....	144	125	269
Fifteenth.....	458	299	757
Grand total.....	17,338	5,769	23,107

Being entirely out of proportion to the relative number of the two races in the city as show by the late census.

Deponent further says that in order to annoy and hinder colored men in registering he instructed the assistant supervisors to throw every possible obstacle in the way of the United States supervisors of election and deputy marshals appointed to represent the Republican party, such as refusing them access to the books or permission to remain behind the railing, etc., and the assistant supervisors were further instructed that whenever any considerable number of negroes were waiting for registration they should raise some frivolous objection to the action of the United States officials and refuse to submit to the requirements of the enforcement acts, which conduct frequently resulted in the arrest of assistant supervisors and the closing of their offices sometimes for the entire day, large number of voters being thus deprived of registration. That these instructions were carried out will appear more fully by the documents annexed and marked K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T and U; and that, in addition to the cases mentioned therein, there were many other arrests of assistant supervisors in consequence of adherence to said instructions, of which deponent has at present no record.

Deponent further says that commissioners of election for the parish of Orleans were all appointed by him from among persons known to be in the interest of the Fusion party, and strong partisans thereof; that on the second of November he received from S. B. Packard, on behalf of the Republican State Central Committee, a communication, hereto annexed and marked V, requesting the appointment of one commissioner at each poll to represent the Republican party, but that deponent refused to accede to the request, as will appear by his answer to said Packard, hereto attached and marked W; that the commissioners of election were instructed to facilitate in every possible manner the voting of persons known to be Fusionists or who should offer to vote the Fusion ticket, and to obstruct and hinder the voting of Republicans; that they were instructed that whenever any person offered to vote the Fusion ticket they should not question him closely, but should suggest to him the requisite answers, and should decide quickly.

Deponent further says that the polling places throughout the parishes were selected with the view to the convenience of Fusion voters, and were located as remotely and as difficult of access as possible from the neighborhoods chiefly inhabited by colored men; that whenever a poll was

located in a colored neighborhood the commissioners were selected from persons notorious for their hostility to colored men, and said commissioners were instructed to hinder and delay all colored electors to the full extent of their power.

Deponent further says that in each ward of the city of New Orleans he employed persons whom he intended to appoint commissioners of election, and whom he did subsequently so appoint, whose instructions were to prepare written lists in advance of the names of all deceased persons (being voters) and of the wards in which they resided, whose names had not been erased from the registry lists as prepared by him, the said deponent; that these lists were ordered to be prepared upon paper similar to that provided for keeping the written lists of voters at the election, as required by section eleven of the election law of 1870, and they were instructed to strike from the poll list in advance the names of such persons, as required by section twelve of the above quoted law. Said commissioners were also instructed to see that a number of Fusion ballots corresponding to the number of names thus erased from the lists were placed in the ballot boxes in their respective polls, so that the written lists and the number of ballots should tally exactly at the counting of the votes; they being left to devise their own mode of carrying out these latter instructions, but, the better to accomplish the object sought, they were instructed to open their polls in advance of the hour designated by law, so that when voters presented themselves at the regular hour it should appear that some votes had already been cast; and these commissioners were also instructed to insert the list previously prepared as aforesaid, sheet by sheet, among the lists kept during the day, making the running numbers correspond; and that these instructions were obeyed to the letter in every instance, and that the names of 855 deceased persons, obtained and prepared as before related, were so erased and fraudulently marked as voted, and the same number of Fusion tickets were thus voted at the said election.

Deponent further says, that by a forced and strained interpretation of section forty-one of the registration law, he appointed about three thousand persons in the city of New Orleans, who were known to be violent partisans of the Fusion party, among them several of bad and dangerous character, to act as "peace officers" to take charge of the ballot boxes in the city of New Orleans, as further appears from the documents hereto annexed and marked X, Y and Z, and that to some of

these men were intrusted the certificates of registration of 1870, which had been surrendered by persons who had removed to other wards, and collected and sorted out as herein before described, and also with such fraudulent certificates of registration of 1870 as were in the possession and control of himself, or of persons in the interest of the Fusion party, for the purpose of voting thereon, and that said certificates of registration were so voted on, to the knowledge of deponent, to the extent of 3500 votes, as is also shown by the deposition of Walter S. Long, hereto attached, and marked AA.

Deponent further says that the supervisors of registration appointed throughout the State were all in the interest of the Fusion party, and were selected not only on that account, but because of their supposed willingness and ability to carry the election in favor of that party, by whatever manipulation was possible and necessary under the registration and election laws; that in parishes where there was known to exist a large Republican majority, the supervisors were, in most cases, persons sent from New Orleans to the parishes in which they were to act, and men well known for their personal recklessness and unscrupulous character, and familiar with all the machinery used in manipulating elections and the powers conferred upon supervisors of registration by the laws; that said supervisors were instructed, verbally or otherwise, to impede in every possible manner the registration of colored voters, in such ways as closing their offices when large numbers of negroes were waiting for registration, alleging that they were out of blanks when in truth they were amply supplied, removing their offices to remote points, notifying only white men of their location and giving no notice to the negroes; giving notice of the location of the office at one point, and establishing it at another without notice; establishing polling places without due notice, and so as to facilitate the casting of a large Fusion vote, and obstructing the voting of Republicans, especially of colored men; that to further carry out the before recited determination to carry the election at any risk, deponent, without authority of law, directed that a new and complete registration should be made in the parishes of East Baton Rouge, West Baton Rouge, St. James and Tangipahoa, each of which parishes was known to contain a large Republican majority, and a large excess of colored over white population, on the pretext that the books of previous registration could not be found, said books having been previously purposely made away with. In this connection deponent

refers to the documents hereto attached and marked respectively: AB, AC, AD, AE, AF, AG, AH, AI, AK, AL, AM, AN, AO, AP, AQ, AR, AS, AT, AU, AV, AW, AX and AY, to show both the manner in which the new registration was ordered and inaugurated, and the spirit in which it was carried out. The result of this action will be made evident by a comparison between the registration and election statistics of 1870 and 1872, as shown by the following statement:

Comparative table of statistics of registration and election in the parishes of East Baton Rouge, West Baton Rouge, St. James and Tangipahoa in the years 1870 and 1872:

Parish.	Registered in		Republican vote in	
	1870.	1872.	1870.	1872.
East Baton Rouge..	3099	3048	2410	1168
West Baton Rouge..	1367	1256	702	445
St. James.....	3498	2723	1873	843
Tangipahoa.....	1868	1530	845	611
Total.....	9832	8557	5860	3067

Thus showing a decrease of the number registered in 1872 from that of 1870 in these four parishes of 1275, and a falling of the Republican vote of 2793, for that the Fusionists registered their full vote there can be no doubt.

Deponent further says that in several other parishes in which a large colored majority existed, the opening of the books of registration was delayed by various means for a considerable period after the time prescribed by law, September 2. Thus in Carroll parish, containing in 1870 a registered vote of 351 whites to 1588 colored, the registration was not opened until October 12; Iberville, not until September 17; St. James, September 12; Natchitoches, September 17; Franklin, September 18; Winn, September 23; Caldwell, September 26; Cameron, September 30; Vernon, September 20.

Deponent further says that in the parish of St. Landry, one of the largest and most populous parishes in the State, and in which the supervisor exhibited a desire to afford fair facilities for registration to all classes, he was constantly checked and hindered by directions to move his office to points remote from the districts in which the negro population had a respectable ratio, and to establish his office at places where there were but few negroes or white Republicans as will appear by the documents hereto attached and marked AZ, BA, BB, BC, BD, BE, BF, BG, BI, BI, BK.

Deponent further states that he instructed the supervisor of registration in the several parishes to annoy and resist the United States supervisors of election in every manner possible, and that in most of

the parishes his instructions were carried out and registration thereby greatly delayed, especially in the parish of West Feliciana, a very strong Republican parish, as will appear by the documents attached hereto and marked BL, BLL, BM, BN, BO, BP, BQ, BR, BS, BT and BU, and in regard to other parishes by those papers annexed and marked BV, BW, BX, BY, BZ and B3.

Deponent further says that, besides the selection of supervisors on account of their political bias, many of them were appointed who were candidates for office on the Fusion ticket at the general election of November 4, 1872, for the purpose of stimulating them to extra exertions to cause themselves to be returned, and thus contribute to the general success of the entire Fusion ticket; that amongst the number J. H. Simmons, of Claiborne, was a candidate for police juror; G. H. Gup-till, of Cameron, was a candidate for police juror; R. T. Carr, of DeSoto, was a candidate for sheriff; G. D. Wells, of Livingston, was a candidate for recorder of his parish; P. E. Lored, supervisor's clerk for Lafourche, was a candidate for justice of the peace, E. L. Pierson, of Natchitoches, was a candidate for the House of Representatives; I. G. P. Hoey, of Rapides, was a candidate for the House of Representatives; A. Chalaire, of Plaquemines, was a candidate for sheriff; A. Estopnal, of St. Bernard, was a candidate for sheriff; G. W. Coombs, of St. John the Baptist, was a candidate for justice of the peace; R. C. White, of St. Mary, was a candidate for Senator; Charles E. Steele, of Tensas, was a candidate for clerk of court (his brother being a candidate for district attorney); George L. Stinson, of Winn, was a candidate for recorder; Thomas Duffy, assistant supervisor fourth ward, Orleans, was a candidate for clerk of the Fourth District Court; Thomas Fernon, same for seventh ward; Orleans, was a candidate for Representative; W. C. Kinsella, same for ninth ward, Orleans, was a candidate for Representative, and C. C. Piper, clerk, thirteenth ward, was a candidate for constable, Seventh Justice Court, all of whom were elected by their own count, except Thomas Fernon; that the question being raised whether supervisors, were eligible as candidates and vice versa, deponent received from the chairman of the Democratic campaign committee, the communication hereto annexed and marked CA to which he returned the reply hereto annexed and marked CB, and that this decision was made to encourage supervisors to become candidates and to return themselves elected.

Deponent further says that he issued

from time to time circulars of instructions to supervisors and assistant supervisors of registration for their observance and guidance, copies of which are hereto annexed and marked CC, CD, CE, CF, CG, CH, CI, CK, and in addition thereto with a view of preventing the United States supervisors of election and other officials appointed and acting under the enforcement acts of Congress from taking any cognizance whatever of the results of the election for State and parish officers, he issued to all supervisors of registration a confidential letter of instructions, hereto annexed and marked CL, which, for greater security and secrecy, he caused to be sent to them by the hands of trustworthy agents, who were previously instructed by him as to the details necessary to be worked up to accomplish the object aimed at, namely, the success of the Fusion ticket at the general election; and that he prepared and supplied to the supervisors and assistant supervisors of registration throughout the State two sets of blank forms of tally sheets, statements of votes, etc., one set of which was to be used for returns for presidential electors and members of Congress, and the other for State, parish and municipal officers only, with the intent of so manipulating the vote for the latter candidates that those running on the Fusion ticket should be returned and declared elected in parishes where the vote showed a majority cast for the Republican candidates for Congress and presidential electors.

Deponent further says, that in order more effectually to defeat and counteract the effect of the supervision and inspection of the registration and election by the United States officials, he sent to all supervisors a telegraphic dispatch, a copy of which is hereto attached and marked CM, which instructions deponent believes were faithfully carried out in a majority of the parishes, with the effect of excluding a large Republican vote at the election.

Deponent further states, that in the parish of Terrebone, containing a large excess of Republican voters, the supervisor of registration originally appointed Mr. C. A. Buford, a resident of the parish; having been taken sick, he was superseded by F. J. Stokes, a resident of New Orleans, who was familiar with all the advantages possible to be taken by supervisors of registration, under the State laws; that said Stokes, upon assuming charge of the office, gave out that he had no blanks, though an ample supply had been furnished to him, as is shown by documents hereto attached, and marked CN and CO; and that said Stokes, without warrant of law, did issue a notice to all registered voters of that parish to

come forward and submit their certificates of previous registration to his inspection, to be countersigned or visaed, else they would not be allowed to vote on them, as is shown by a printed copy of his notice hereto attached and marked CP; and that the said Stokes did in this and many other ways hinder and impede the registration of Republican voters; and that said Stokes, knowing that a large Republican majority had been cast at the election of November 4, 1872, did fail and refuse to make a count of the ballots in three or more boxes, but fled to the city of New Orleans, leaving said boxes uncounted, alleging intimidation, but really with the avowed purpose and design of having the return of said parish thrown out by the returning board, and the Republican vote cast consequently excluded from the count, which was done; and furthermore, that the general bearing and demeanor of said Stokes toward Republicans was overbearing and arbitrary in the extreme, so much so that it was made a subject of complaint by parties in the Fusion interest, to the effect that Stokes' manner and action were injuring the party.

Deponent further says, that in the parish of Madison, which always contained a large excess of Republican voters, no returns of the election were made according to law, but that the supervisor of registration, W. J. Cahoon, a resident of New Orleans, sent to the parish because of his known skill in the manipulation of elections, knowing that there had been a large Republican majority cast at the election, fled the parish at night and came by rail to New Orleans, bringing with him only fragmental memorandas, such as tally sheets, check lists, etc., from which he proceeded to fabricate his returns of the election of that parish; that for that purpose deponent furnished the said Cahoon with the necessary blanks and directed his clerk to instruct and assist the said Cahoon in making out said fictitious returns; that said Cahoon prepared said fraudulent returns in a room on Gravier, near Baronne street, in the city of New Orleans, and made oath to them before J. P. Montamat, at that time Third Justice of the Peace for the parish of Orleans, having previously signed the names of the commissioners of election thereto as having been sworn to before him in the town of Delta, parish of Madison, as supervisor of the parish; that said returns as delivered to the returning board, did not exhibit the true vote cast in Madison parish at the election aforesaid; but showed a decrease from the actual Republican vote cast of about 550 votes; and that said

Cahoone merely returned on said fabricated returns the vote for national and State officers, and omitted therefrom the vote cast for parish officers in order that such officers might be appointed by the Governor, and thus prevent the Republican candidates, who were in reality elected, from obtaining their offices.

Deponent further says that in the parish of Iberville, also a parish largely Republican, the supervisor of registration, J. L. Tharp, a resident of New Orleans, and familiar with the manipulation of elections, finding that a large Republican majority had been cast at the election, induced the commissioners of election to refuse to sign the returns, alleging intimidation, for the purpose of having the returns of election from that parish thrown out by the returning board, and the vote of the said parish for all local officers, which was 2239 Republican to 722 Fusion, was excluded and thrown out by the said board, as expected and intended by said Tharp.

Deponent further says that in the parish of St. Martin the supervisor, O. Delahoussaye, Jr., knowing that a majority of Republican votes had been cast at the election, abandoned his office, leaving one box uncounted, alleging intimidation and armed interference of the negroes, in order to have the vote of that parish excluded by the returning board, as appears by the telegram hereto attached and marked C Q.

Deponent further says that in the parish of St. James the supervisor originally appointed, D. F. Melville, being suspected by the Fusion campaign committee of favoring some of the Republican candidates, was summarily removed, and J. C. Golding, a resident of New Orleans, was appointed in his place, and that said Golding, knowing that the Republican candidates had received a large majority of the vote cast at the election, failed to finish counting the vote, abandoning three or more of his boxes, and returned to New Orleans with the avowed intent of having the entire vote of the parish thrown out on account of intimidation, and the returning board did so exclude the entire vote of that parish for local officers.

Deponent further states that the consequence of the action of said supervisors of registration in the parishes of Madison, Iberville, Terrebonne, St. Martin and St. James is shown by a comparison of the number of votes registered and of votes cast in 1870 and 1872, as follows:

Comparative table of statistics of registration and election in 1870 and 1872 in the parishes of Madison, Iberville, St. Martin, Terrebonne and St. James:

PARISH.	Registered in 1870.	Republican vote in 1870.	Registered in 1872.	Republican vote in 1872 as returned by Lynch board.	Republican vote in 1872 as returned by the Mitchell board.
Iberville.....	3,354	1,496	4,036	2,239	2,239
Madison.....	2,120	1,269	2,725	1,756	1,227
St. James.....	2,498	1,873	2,723	1,852	843
St. Martin... ..	1,481	525	1,961	718	....
Terrebonne..	3,891	1,422	*....	1,593	....
Total.....	13,344	6,585	11,445	8,158	4,309

\* Not reported.

Thus showing that with an increase of the number of registered voters in these parishes (Terrebonne excepted, from which no reports were made to the deponent by Stokes) of 1992 voters, the Republican vote, as returned by the Lynch board, was 3849 greater than the same vote as counted in joint session of the Fusion Legislature, and that the entire Republican vote of two parishes, St. Martin and Terrebonne, was not only totally excluded from the returns of the Fusion returning board, but was also excluded in the count of the votes for Governor and Lieutenant Governor in joint session of the Fusion Legislature at Odd Fellows' Hall, all of which was the natural consequence of the action of the supervisors of registration in said parishes, as hereinbefore set forth.

Deponent further states that in the parishes of Rapides and Natchitoches, in which the registration of 1872 was new and complete, in consequence of the formation of the new parishes of Vernon and Red River from their territory, and in both of which the supervisors were Fusion candidates for the House of Representatives, the registration reported by them was as follows:

	White.	Colored.	Total.
Rapides.....	1719	1629	3348
Natchitoches.....	1517	1833	3350

as appears from the reports of said supervisors hereto annexed and marked CR, OS, and that the returns of election as made by said supervisors, viz: J. G. P. Hooe and E. L. Pierson, were as follows:

	Kellogg.	McEnery.
Rapides .....	1169	1960
Natchitoches.....	550	1250

showing manifest frauds in those parishes of about 700 votes in Rapides, and of about 1200 in Natchitoches (in favor of the Fusion ticket), as it has been well established by the testimony taken before the committee of the United States Senate, and by other ample evidence, that very few colored men voted the Fusion ticket. The manner in which these frauds were accomplished is clearly set forth in the report of said Senate committee, pages 306, 307, and 308.

Deponent further states that in the parish of Webster, the supervisor of registration, E. C. Bright, in carrying out the instructions received from the deponent, refused to submit to the inspection of the United States supervisors of election, as is shown by the testimony taken before said Senate committee and to be found on page twelve of their report, and the documents attached hereto and marked CT, CU, the result of which action was that said supervisor of registration made the returns of the election in that parish to the returning board as 977 for McEnery, against 622 for Kellogg, while the report of the United States supervisors shows a vote of 377 for McEnery, against 824 for Kellogg, a difference against the Republican votes cast of 202 votes.

Deponent further says that in the parish of Morehouse, at poll No. 4, at which a Republican majority was cast, the box was tampered with before it was counted, so that when it was opened more ballots were found in the box than there were names on the written list required by section eleven of the election law, the intention of the supervisor of registration being to have that box thrown out and have a small Fusion majority in the parish for the State ticket of some eighty-three votes; otherwise there would have been a Republican majority in the parish of about the same number.

Deponent further says that in the parish of Jefferson the box from the poll held at Camp Parapet (or Coleord's) was either while en route to the office of the supervisor of registration, at the courthouse of said parish, or after having been deposited there, opened or otherwise tampered with and fraudulent Fusion ballots deposited therein to the number of about 400, to replace an equal number of Republican ballots taken out which were known to have been voted, which is further shown by the documents hereto annexed and marked CV and CW.

Deponent further says that in the parish of Claiborne, the supervisor of registration, J. E. Scott, being suspected of complicity with the Republican candidates in that parish and congressional district, was removed from office, and one J.

H. Simmons appointed to replace him; that said Scott did not turn over to said Simmons the records of his office, but that said Simmons did, nevertheless, hold the election in the parish of Claiborne without books or other formal evidence of his official position, and did conduct the said election without poll books, poll lists, or other necessary blanks required by law to be used, as is shown by the document hereto annexed and marked CVV and CWW.

Deponent further says that in addition to instructing verbally the commissioners of election for the parish of Orleans, he issued for their guidance the circular of instructions hereto annexed and marked CX.

Deponent further says, that in the parish of Orleans, besides the fraudulent and duplicated certificates of registration given to persons to be voted on, in the manner already described, duplicate ballot boxes were provided for the different wards, as follows: Two to the third ward; two to the eleventh ward; one to the thirteenth ward; one to the fourteenth ward; two to the fourth ward; two to the fifth ward; two to the eighth ward; one to the fifteenth ward; labeled and marked ready for use in the same manner as those actually used on the day of election; see deposition of W. L. Catlin, hereto attached and marked CZ; with the intention of having said boxes filled with a large number of Fusion ballots, and a comparatively small number of Republican ballots, and of substituting them for the boxes actually used, in cases where there was reason to suspect that said boxes contained a Republican majority; and deponent has reason to believe, and does believe, that many, if not all, of said duplicate boxes were used, from circumstances which occurred during the night after the election, and during the counting of votes at Mechanics' Institute; and the manifest discrepancy between the Fusion vote and the Republican vote in the boxes when opened, for instance, in the third ward, poll number four, the vote as counted was 384 for McEnery against 96 for Kellogg, and there were eighty more ballots in the box than names on the written list required by section eleven of the registration law; at poll number five, same ward, the vote as counted was 438 for McEnery against 72 for Kellogg, a totally disproportionate number for the locality where the poll was held. Both of these boxes were counted by the Fusion returning board, although formal protests were filed in each case by the United States supervisors of election.

At poll number eight, same ward, which

was located in a neighborhood densely populated by negroes, the commissioners placed fifty Republican ballots in the box after the closing of the polls, so that when counted there were found 365 ballots in the box and but 316 names on the written list, and the vote was for McEnery 24, for Kellogg 338; that in consequence of these discrepancies and the large majority against their ticket, the Fusion returning board excluded the count of this box in making their compilation of the returns.

In the eleventh ward, poll number one, when counted, showed 311 votes for McEnery against 40 for Kellogg, although this box was located near the levee, where a large number of colored laborers reside; and at poll number five, same ward, the vote was for McEnery 306, for Kellogg 106. The count of both these boxes was also protested against by the United States supervisors, and the figures are totally irreconcilable with the political complexion of any portion of that ward.

At poll number six, of the same ward, where a majority of Republican votes had been cast, additional Republican ballots were put in the box to cause a discrepancy between the number of ballots in the box and the number of names on the written list, and thus have the vote of that poll thrown out by the returning board, and that the vote of said box was 115 for McEnery against 200 for Kellogg, and the poll was excluded by the Fusion returning board.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth wards circumstances do not point so clearly to the substitution of boxes as in the cases of the two wards above cited, but the inference is strong that they were used, as the returns show a large reduction from the Republican vote of 1870, and a corresponding or greater increase in the Democratic or Fusion vote.

In the fourth ward, which was largely Republican in 1870, at poll number one, located in the immediate vicinity of the sugar sheds and lower steamboat landing, always thronged with colored laborers, the box contained 315 votes for McEnery against 92 for Kellogg; at poll number eight, same ward, the vote was, for McEnery 189, for Kellogg 94. No notice was given for the location of the last poll until the morning of the election, and it was not found by the United States supervisors, representing the Republican party, until noon.

In the fifth ward, also heretofore Republican by large majorities, poll number one, as counted, was 350 for McEnery against 118 for Kellogg; and poll number nine, same ward, 237 for McEnery against 70 for Kellogg. These polls were situated at the two extremes of the ward, the for-

mer near the levee and French market, always thronged by colored men, and the latter in the rear of the ward, where but few persons live, and those principally colored market gardeners.

In the eighth ward, the box from poll number one, also located near the levee, and in the neighborhood of the old Pontchartrain railroad depot and the Port market, contained, for McEnery 298, for Kellogg 24. The box from poll number four, same ward, contained, for McEnery 353 votes against 89 for Kellogg, and on the close of the polls, when the commissioners of election were bringing the box to Mechanics' Institute, the United States supervisor for the Republican party was thrown out of the cab, and there is no doubt that the duplicate box was then substituted for the original one.

Deponent further says, that after the receipt of all the ballot boxes of the parish of Orleans at the Mechanics' Institute on the night of November 4, 1872, he was about to proceed to make the count of the votes in the same manner as that in which he had already instructed the supervisors of registration in the country parishes to proceed, viz: "To count the electoral and congressional first, and then to deny to the United States officials the right of supervision and inspection of the count of the ballots for State, parochial and municipal officers," and had already caused several boxes to be opened and the counting of ballots commenced, when General James Longstreet presented to him the communication hereto attached, and marked CY; that on receipt of said demand he at first declined to accede to it, and caused the boxes already opened to be closed and resealed and the counting suspended, but after consultation with prominent members of the Fusion party, and several interviews with General Longstreet and others representing the Republican party, he finally consented to the conditions demanded, but that he did so for two reasons only, viz: First, that he feared armed interference on the part of the United States authorities in the event of refusal or non-compliance with the demands or requests made upon him; and second, that from his knowledge of the manner in which the registration had been conducted and his instructions as before narrated had been carried out, as well as from his knowledge of the number of fraudulent votes cast for the Fusion candidates at the election, and the number of prepared boxes substituted for genuine ones, he had so much confidence that the Fusion ticket had carried the city by a majority sufficiently large to more than overcome any unforeseen failures in

the country parishes; therefore, he preferred to submit to the inspection demanded rather than risk a conflict between the State and federal authorities and jeopardize the success of his party.

Deponent further says that during the counting of the votes, which was resumed on the morning of November 5, every possible obstruction was thrown in the way of the United States supervisors of election and others representing the Republican party; that they were discourteously treated in many instances, every advantage taken of them when absent even momentarily, and whenever they protested against any proceeding they were told that all protests must be made in writing before any attention would be paid to them, and when such written protests were filed they were taken possession of by deponent or his clerks and assistants and destroyed, or otherwise made away with, in order to prevent the returning board from having any knowledge whatever of the filing of such protests, and any action on the part of said board detrimental to the Fusion interests in consequence thereof; that said United States supervisors and other officials were allowed admission into the hall of said institute only upon passes signed by deponent or his chief clerk, and even then were required to exhibit their commissions to the policemen on guard at the door for identification; that admission was freely given to candidates for office upon the Fusion ticket, and almost invariably denied to Republican candidates, and every other possible studied annoyance offered to Republicans and their friends and representatives.

Deponent further says that in counting the votes of the parish of Orleans, assistant supervisors and commissioners of election were instructed, when counting "scratched" tickets, that whenever the name of a Fusion candidate was erased and the name of a Republican candidate substituted therefor, that unless the name substituted corresponded letter for letter with the name of the Republican candidate for the office voted for, as printed on the straight or regular Republican ticket, such ballot was not to be credited to the said candidate, but tallied as "scattering;" but whenever they found the name of a Republican candidate erased or scratched and the name of a Fusion candidate substituted, the manner of proceeding was reverend, and the ballot credited to the Fusion candidate without regard to the initials or orthography of the name of such candidate, as printed on the regular Fusion ticket, and that these instructions were in the majority of instances thoroughly and systematically carried out.

Deponent further says that from the facts and statistics before related in this deposition, it is shown that the total number of votes gained to the Fusion ticket in the parish of Orleans by means of fraudulent manipulation of registration papers, voting on the names of dead men, and by the substitution of duplicate and fraudulent ballot boxes, amounted to 6737 votes, divided as follows, viz:

Number of duplicates issued in the names of deceased voters and voted on for the Fusion ticket at the election.....	855
Number of certificates of registration fraudulently issued in 1870, and of certificates of registration surrendered by persons removed from the wards in which they were registered in 1870 and voted upon for the Fusion ticket in 1872.....	3502
Number of Fusion ballots contained in boxes substituted for the ones actually used at the election, about.....	3181
Against Republican ballots placed in same boxes to avert suspicion.....	801

Or a fraudulent majority of Fusion votes in said boxes of.....	2380
Total given to the Fusion party by frauds.....	6737

And that the loss in votes to the Republican party by fraudulent means was 3010, divided as follows:

Number of names of colored voters erased from the registry by fraudulent affidavits without sanction of law.....	2472
Number of Republican ballots contained in two boxes thrown out by the Fusion board on account of stuffing by the commissioners.....	538

Total loss to the Republican party by frauds.....	3010
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And that in the country parishes, so far as set forth by deponent in the foregoing portions of this instrument, the Republican vote was reduced by the fraudulent means, herein before narrated to the extent of about 9314 votes divided as follows:

Republican votes excluded by fraud in the parishes of East Baton Rouge, West Baton Rouge, St. James and Tangipahoa, consequent upon the new registration ordered and made in those parishes.....	2793
Republican votes cast but not counted in the parishes of Iberville, Madison, St. James, St. Martin and Terrebonne, in consequence of the refusal of the supervisors of registration to count the vote, or the abandoning of the boxes by said supervisors, about.....	3819
Republican votes cast but not returned as counted in the parishes of Natchitoches and Rapides, about.....	1900
Loss to Republican vote by fraud and violence in Webster parish, about.....	202

Loss to Republicans by exclusion of poll 4, in Morehouse parish, about...	170
Loss to Republicans by exclusion of Camp Parapet poll, parish of Jefferson, left bank, about.....	400

Total reduction from the actual Republican vote, as shown or estimated above..... 9314

Deponent further says that on the night of the sixth of December, 1872, his office of State Registrar of Voters was forcibly taken possession of by P. B. S. Pinchback, then holding possession of the building used as a State House, and acting as Governor of Louisiana, that in anticipation of such seizure deponent and his clerk and employes had removed from said office, such important papers, records and documents as they had time to remove to a place of security, but in consequence of the sudden manner in which such seizure was made, he was forced to leave in the said office numerous papers, records, documents and memoranda, intelligible only to himself or his clerk, bearing upon the subject of frauds committed at the general election of November 4, 1872, in parishes other than those embraced in this deposition, and also containing details of frauds committed in parishes hereinbefore mentioned, for which the figures are expressed approximately, and he has ascertained that said documents, papers, etc., were accidentally destroyed in the confusion of affairs existing at that time. And deponent believes and avers that were those memoranda, papers, etc., now attainable, he could exhibit and show further frauds committed in several parishes not herein associated. Deponent further says that he believes, and has reason to believe, and knows that had not the fraudulent practices as above recited been resorted to and made use of by persons in the interest of the Fusion party, and for the benefit and advantage of said Fusion party as hereinbefore set forth, and had the election returns been properly and fairly made by the supervisors throughout the State, and had the large Republican parishes which were thrown out, unjustly, unfairly and for the purpose of reducing the Republican vote, been counted, as they should have been, the candidates for presidential electors, members of Congress, and State officers upon the Republican national and State ticket would have shown to have been elected by a large majority of the votes cast in the State at the election held on the fourth of November, 1872. And deponent further says that he believes, has reason to believe, and knows that the Republican national and State tickets received a considerable majority of the votes actually cast at the election

held on the fourth day of November, A. D. 1872 in the State of Louisiana.

B. P. BLANCHARD.

Sworn to and subscribed before me on this second of September, 1873; and I hereby certify that the affiant, B. P. Blanchard was State Register of Voters, etc., during the years 1870, 1871 and 1872.

Witness my hand and seal at the city of New Orleans on the day first above named.

F. A. WOOLFLEY,

United States Commissioner.

[NOTE.—The exhibits referred to are very voluminous and are omitted. They are mostly originals, and are on file with the depositions.]

**Sworn Statement of Walter Sully Long, Chief Clerk of the State Registrar of Voters.**

United States of America, District of Louisiana.—Personally appeared before me Walter Sully Long, who being duly sworn upon his oath, states as follows:

From March, 1872, to January, 1873, I was chief clerk to B. P. Blanchard, then holding the office of State Registrar of Voters for the State of Louisiana. In that capacity I was in the fullest confidence of my chief, and was aware of all and every transaction of a political nature in the office during the campaign of 1872.

The necessity of carrying the election for the Fusion party was frequently a matter of discussion between Blanchard, myself and others, and a plan of operations was finally adopted at my suggestion and carried out as follows:

I. The sextons' monthly returns of burials of persons over the age of twenty-one years were carefully compiled by wards, the registration number ascertained and noted, and a list made of them.

II. A thorough examination was made of the registry books of 1870, in order to ascertain the number of names of fictitious persons registered in that year. In every ward where the persons having control of these false registry papers were acting with the Fusion party, these names were used, but in wards where the supervisors of 1870 were not acting in harmony with the Fusion party, particular care was taken to prevent their using the fraudulent papers, and to detect any attempt at so doing.

III. A system was established requiring all persons who had been registered as voters in 1870, and who had subsequently removed, to deliver up their papers of that year before receiving certificates of registration in 1872. These were sent to the office of the State Registrar of Votes every

week, and were carefully sorted out by myself and others, and all that showed no evidence of having been examined by the United States supervisors of election, were set aside to be used by repeaters on election day.

IV. During the ten days preceding the election a list was made out by me of the registry numbers and names of the dead, removed and fictitious persons before described and given to each assistant supervisor of registration for the city wards.

Two or more persons in each ward, who were to serve as commissioners of election, were set to work making lists of those names upon sheets of paper similar to that designed to be used on the day of election in keeping the written list of voters required by law at each polling place.

V. The poll lists were printed, containing the entire registration of both 1870 and 1872. No erasures were made until the Saturday and Sunday preceding the election, when the names that could not be made available for the Fusion cause were crossed off in black pencil on the lists for certain polls in each ward and in number to correspond with the written lists of names before alluded to.

These preliminaries having been completed, it was a mere question of manual dexterity on the part of the commissioners of election to get within the box a number of ballots to correspond with the names crossed off in black from the printed lists and written in advance upon the tally lists.

The estimate of the number of votes required to carry the election was as follows:

For the first ward, 500; second ward, 500; third ward, 1000; tenth ward, 500; eleventh ward, 500; twelfth ward, 250; thirteenth ward, 100; fourteenth ward, 50; making a total of 3400 for the up town wards; and for the fourth ward, 300; fifth ward, 500; sixth ward, 500; seventh ward, 500; eighth ward, 600; ninth ward, 600; fifteenth ward, none; a total of 3000, and an aggregate of 6400; to this must be added the number of papers to be voted on by "repeaters," which was estimated at 2000.

VI. The number of fraudulent votes actually counted, and which can be proved by own testimony and that of other persons concerned, is--

In the first ward.....	281
In the second ward.....	243
In the third ward.....	803
In the tenth ward.....	306
In the eleventh ward.....	330
In the twelfth ward.....	101
In the thirteenth ward.....	98
In the fourteenth ward.....	26

Total up town..... 2188

In the fourth ward.....	186
In the fifth ward.....	155
In the sixth ward.....	336
In the seventh ward.....	.....
In the eighth ward.....	393
In the ninth ward.....	244
In the fifteenth ward.....	.....

1314

Grand total..... 3502

Beyond this the papers given to repeaters were about 2000. I can not at present remember the exact number, but I think that 1400 were given out to be used in the First, Fourth and Sixth Municipal Districts, and 600 to be used in the Second and Third Districts.

I further know and can produce, I believe, the men who acted as commissioners of election at the polls in each ward where fraudulent votes were cast or counted at the general election of November 4, 1872.

WALTER S. LONG.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this fourth day of September, 1873, at New Orleans, Louisiana.

F. A. WOLFLEY,  
United States Commissioner.

**Sworn Statement of Robert H. Chadbourne, Supervisor of Registration of St. Charles Parish.**

State of Louisiana, city of New Orleans. Be it known that on this fourth day of September, A. D. 1873, personally appeared before the undersigned, a United States commissioner in and for the district of Louisiana, duly commissioned and sworn, Robert H. Chadbourne, of the State of Louisiana, who, being first duly sworn, deposes and says: That on or about the seventh day of September, 1872, he was appointed by Governor H. C. Warmoth assistant supervisor of registration in the parish of St. Charles in the said State of Louisiana; that on or about the twenty-third of October, a communication was issued by Governor Warmoth to one Boule as assistant supervisor of registration for St. Charles in affiant's place; that affiant came to the city of New Orleans to see Governor Warmoth regarding this matter; that Governor Warmoth told him that the Fusionists complained that he was a Grant man and was not sufficiently in the Fusion interests and asked affiant what the vote was in St. Charles parish; that affiant told him about 1500 Republican and 300 Democratic; that Governor Warmoth then asked him how much he could cut down Kellogg's majority in St. Charles parish; that affiant replied he could cut it down several hundred; that Governor Warmoth asked affiant if he could not cut Kellogg down to

300 majority, and affiant replied that he might do so; that Governor Warmoth told affiant he could do what he liked with the parish ticket, but Kellogg must be beaten; that Governor Warmoth promised affiant he would keep him in his position if he would do what the Fusionists wanted him to do in making up the returns of the election in St. Charles parish; that Governor Warmoth in this same conversation told affiant he wished Gibson to be counted in as member of Congress from this district, and Sheldon to be counted out; that on the morning before the election, viz: Sunday, November 3, 1872, affiant was informed that he had been removed as assistant supervisor of registration of the parish of St. Charles, and he immediately came to the city of New Orleans and had an interview with Governor Warmoth in a room at the St. Charles Hotel; that Mr. Gibson was present during part of the interview; that Governor Warmoth said that the Fusionists were raising hell with him for keeping affiant as supervisor; that in order to retain his position affiant must make strong pledge to work in the Fusion interest in St. Charles parish, by carrying the election for them; that affiant said he would do what he could, but that there was a chief constable in the parish who did not work in harmony with him; that Governor Warmoth then gave affiant a blank commission for chief constable, saying affiant could appoint any one he pleased, by just inserting his name; that if affiant would work right and cut down the Republican majority, that affiant should be appointed tax collector of St. Charles parish; that Governor Warmoth further said he could control any appointment in McEnery's gift, if he (McEnery) were elected Governor; that affiant asked if Governor Warmoth was sure that McEnery would appoint him tax collector; whereupon Governor Warmoth took affiant to Mr. McEnery in the same hotel, and introduced affiant as the gentleman to whom he (Governor Warmoth) had promised the tax collectorship in St. Charles parish in consideration of his services to the Fusion party as supervisor of election; that McEnery said it was all right. Affiant further says that he is and has always been a Republican, and that he returned St. Charles parish as Republican by 1090 majority, which was what the Republican party was entitled to in said parish.

**ROBERT H. CHADBOURN.**

United States of America, district of Louisiana. On this fourth day of September, A. D. 1873, personally appeared before me Robert H. Chadbourn, who being first duly sworn, declares that the

statements made by him in the foregoing written statement subscribed by him are all true and correct.

WILLIAM GRANT,  
United States Commissioner.

**Sworn Statement of Henry L. Downs,  
Clerk in the Office of State Register.**

United States of America, District of Louisiana.—Personally appeared, this the twenty-first day of June, 1873, before me, the undersigned authority, Henry L. Downs, who, being duly sworn, deposes and says: That during the registration preceding the election of November 4, 1872, he was a clerk in the office of State Registrar of Voters for the State of Louisiana; that during the two months of registration, certificates and duplicates of registration accumulated in said office; they were collected by the assistant supervisors of registration of the different wards of the city of New Orleans from voters changing their residence from one ward to another, to whom a new certificate would be furnished and the old one forwarded to the office of the State Registrar of Voters, who was ex-officio supervisor of registration for the parish of Orleans, or city of New Orleans. These certificates and duplicates accumulated to the number of several thousand, and completely filled a large sized ballot box.

Deponent further states that he assisted in assorting them according to wards and availability for use by repeating voters. Some were cancelled as being considered unsafe to use or as having been marked in some manner by the United States supervisors, others (and the larger portion), upwards of two thousand were retained intact to be used on the fourth of November, 1872, and deponent further states that it is his belief that they were so used. HENRY L. DOWNS.

Sworn to and subscribed before me on this fourth day of September, 1873, at New Orleans, Louisiana.

F. A. WOLFLEY,  
United States Commissioner.

**Sworn Statement of Oscar F. Hunsaker,  
Chairman of the Fusion-Warmoth Re-  
turning Board, and Samuel M. Todd, a  
Member of the Same Board. [See Can-  
vass of Fusion Returns Published in  
Senate Report, Pages 81, 82 and 83,  
Purporting to Have Been Signed by  
Hunsaker and Todd.]**

State of Louisiana, City of New Orleans.—This day personally appeared before me, William Grant, United States Commissioner, Samuel M. Todd and Oscar F. Hunsaker, residents of the State of Louisiana, who being first duly sworn, de-

pose and say: That they were members of the State Senate of the State of Louisiana, sitting in the Mechanics' Institute on the ninth day of December, 1872; that afterward, to wit, on or about the tenth day of December, 1872, said deponents left the Senate sitting at the Mechanics' Institute, and united with the assemblage known as the McEnery Senate, sitting at Lyceum Hall, in the City Hall building of the city of New Orleans; and that the Senate of the said McEnery assemblage proceeded to organize, and that on or about the date last named said Senate proceeded to elect a returning board or board of canvassers, who were to correct, canvass and compile the returns of election for State officers, Presidential electors, etc., under the act approved by H. C. Warmoth, November 20, 1872; and said deponents, to wit: S. M. Todd and O. F. Hunsacker, together with S. M. Thomas, B. R. Forman and Archibald Mitchell were elected as said board; that the said board proceeded to organize by the election of O. F. Hunsacker, one of said deponents, president thereof; that the said returns were then produced from trunks and carpet-bags in a small room, on an upper floor of the St. Charles Hotel; that said returns were brought to said room by one O. D. Bragdon, who appeared to be in possession of the same; that said returns had been opened, compiled and canvassed before they came into the possession of said deponents and the other members of the board; that although said deponents did carefully examine said returns and made themselves cognizant of the nature of the same, and the mode and manner in which said returns were compiled, and the result sought to be shown, yet said deponents neither jointly nor separately, nor in any way whatever, signed or authorized any person to sign for them the purported canvass of returns known in the Congressional report on Louisiana affairs as the "Forman returns," dated December 11, 1872, by which returns it was made to appear that John McEnery was elected Governor and that the Fusion State ticket was elected; neither did they or neither of them at any time consent or agree that said purported canvass was or is correct, or authorize the publication of the same in any manner whatsoever; that soon after the meeting of said board of canvassers, above referred to, one of said board—to wit: S. M. Thomas—left the city, and if he ever resigned as a member of said returning board it was not known to either of said deponents, nor did said O. F. Hunsacker, as president of said board, ever at any time receive any indication or any communication of the resignation or withdrawal of said S. M. Thomas from

the said board of canvassers; and that neither of said deponents ever met or participated in any canvass of returns after said S. M. Thomas left the city, nor did they ever complete the canvass of said returns, nor did they ever authorize any person or persons to do so for them; said deponents further state that by the pretended canvass of said returns as published without the consent of said deponents, the returns from the following parishes are shown to have been entirely thrown out, to wit: St. Martin, Iberia, Terrebonne, Iberville and St. James; that the said parishes were and are well known to be largely Republican, the two parishes of St. James and Iberville alone giving more than 2500 Republican majority; that there was no sufficient proof or good reason why said parishes should have been omitted; that had the vote of said parishes been included in the publication of said purported returns, as of right it should have been, it would have added several thousand votes to the Republican ticket; and deponents further say that a fair, proper and correct canvass of said returns would have shown that William P. Kellogg was elected Governor of Louisiana at the election held on the fourth of November, 1872, and said deponents verily believe that said William P. Kellogg was elected Governor of the State of Louisiana by the actual votes cast at said election.

OSCAR F. HUNSAKER,  
SAMUEL M. TODD.

United States of America, District of Louisiana.— On this sixth day of September, 1873, personally appeared before me, Oscar F. Hunsaker and Samuel M. Todd, known to me as the persons they represent themselves to be, members of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, and late members of the so-called Fusion board of State canvassers, known and designated in the United States Senate report on Louisiana affairs as the "Forman board," who, being duly sworn, declared on oath that the facts stated by them in the foregoing affidavit are true and correct.

WILLIAM GRANT,  
United States Commissioner.

**Sworn Statement of W. L. Catlin.**

United States of America, District of Louisiana.— Personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority, W. L. Catlin, a resident of the city of New Orleans, who, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he was in full sympathy with the so-called Fusion party at the last general election of November 4, 1872, in the State of Louisiana; that he was, during the

same year, an intimate personal and business friend of B. P. Blanchard, then State Registrar of Voters, and, as such, aided him in many ways in carrying out his plans for securing the success of the Fusion party at said election, and that, among other things, he aided in the preparation, labeling and supplying with stationary, etc., the regular ballot boxes for said election and attended to their distribution to the various wards; there were in all 117 ballot boxes used in the city of New Orleans, and that, in addition thereto, he attended to the distribution of sundry additional or duplicate boxes on Sunday night, November 3, for use at the said election, as he understood, to further promote the success of said party by substituting or otherwise, and delivered some of them personally to the parties whom it was intended should use them.

W. L. CATLIN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this second day of September, 1873.

F. A. WOLFLEY,  
United States Commissioner.

**Sworn Statement of John P. Montamat,  
Justice of the Peace of New Orleans.**

State of Louisiana, city of New Orleans.—Be it known that on this eighth day of September, A. D. 1873, personally appeared before me, a United States commissioner in and for the district of Louisiana, John P. Montamat, of the city and State aforesaid, who being first duly sworn, deposes and says that during the month of November, 1872, and for four years previously, he was a justice of the peace in the parish of Orleans; that in the month aforesaid and after the election held in this parish for Governor and other State and parochial officers, the precise day affiant does not remember, but it was while the votes cast at the said election were being counted at the State House at the Mechanics' Institute, one Jack Wharton, of said city of New Orleans, came to affiant's house, No. 33 Exchange alley, in the said city, and requested affiant to come with him to a certain place in said city to administer the oath to the supervisor of election in and for the parish of Madison; that said affiant went at the request of said Jack Wharton, who took him to a house situated on Gravier street, near Baronne street; that the entry doors were closed; but at the signal given by said Jack Wharton (being three consecutive and hard raps) the doors were opened; that in a room in said house affiant saw one W. J. Cahoon, who affiant was then and there informed was the supervisor of election for the parish of

Madison, appointed by H. C. Warmoth, Governor of Louisiana; that said Cahoon told affiant that he wished affiant to swear him to the returns of the late election in said parish; that affiant then saw several persons who were making out tally lists of the returns of the election for the said parish of Madison; that the tally lists appeared to be signed in blank by the commissioners of election; that affiant inquired of said Cahoon how it was that he had not prepared a list and returns in the parish where he came from as he was required to do as supervisor; that said Cahoon told affiant he could not count the votes there as it was a strong Republican parish; that he had to run away to New Orleans, because he wanted to count the votes, and return only such as he saw fit, and he was determined to have it his own way, and return only such persons as he thought proper; that affiant finally swore said Cahoon to several tally lists and returns, and affiant further says that the greater part of the tally lists were in blank when he swore said Cahoon to them.

JOHN P. MONTAMAT.

United States of America, District of Louisiana. On this eighth day of September, A. D. 1873, before the undersigned, United States commissioner, personally appeared John P. Montamat, who being first duly sworn, on oath declares that the statements by him made in the foregoing affidavit, to which his name is subscribed, are true and correct, so help him God.

WILLIAM GRANT,  
United States Commissioner.

**Sworn Statement of Thomas J. M. Carey,  
Chairman of Committee on Naturalization for Fusion Party.**

NEW ORLEANS, September 6, 1873.

Personally appeared before me, William Grant, United States commissioner in and for the district of Louisiana, duly commissioned and qualified, Thomas J. M. Carey, who after being duly sworn according to law deposes and says:

I was appointed chairman of the committee on naturalization in the ninth ward of the city of New Orleans by the Democratic and Fusion parties, and performed the duties assigned me during the last registration and election.

Our instructions were to naturalize all applicants, whether entitled to naturalization by law or not. The Fourth and Eighth District Courts were reported as being favorable to issuing certificates to Republicans, and the First, Second and Sixth District Courts were favorable to Democrats and Fusionists.

When we would find applicants to oc-

copy the First, Second and Sixth District Courts, we would then go to the Eighth District Court and represent ourselves as Republicans. Not an applicant was refused in the First, Second and Sixth District Courts.

The Democratic or Fusion party furnished the blanks for the First, Second and Sixth District Courts, and the Republicans were reported as having furnished the blanks for the Eighth District Court. In the First, Second and Sixth District Courts, if a party was not vouched for by the naturalization committee, the judge would subject them to a rigid examination, and if they succeeded in getting the order of court the clerk would not issue the certificates of naturalization without being paid for it. When parties were vouched for by the committee of which I was the chairman, few questions were asked by the judges and no charge was made by the clerks. When we had few applicants we would take the same parties under different assumed names and get certificates of naturalization for them.

When we had doubts of the parties we would retain the certificates and have them registered. In other cases the parties would be allowed to retain them. Our committee aided all applicants who were favorable to the Democratic or Fusion ticket, whether they resided in the ninth ward or not. Our instruction also required us to explain to all applicants what questions would be asked them by the judges. Our committee were employed in this service about one month and a half previous to the closing of registration, and to the best of my knowledge and belief caused at least 2000 fraudulent naturalization certificates to be issued, to be voted on the day of election for the Democratic or Fusion ticket.

I was appointed commissioner for the poll corner of Moreau and Louisa streets by B. P. Blanchard, Esq., Registrar of Voters, on the recommendation of the Democratic parish committee and the ninth ward auxiliary club.

On the day previous to last election the commissioners of election were ordered to assemble at the Mechanics' Institute, to receive instructions for the day of election. We were instructed to place every impediment in the way of voters who were not Fusionists, by making them sign their names, demanding the number of their residences, any other question to annoy them, and lastly refer them to the office of the ward supervisor before receiving their ballots, so as to harass and annoy them into abandoning the attempt to vote.

On the day of election the orders of the Registrar of Voters were faithfully carried out—in fact, the commissioners went fur-

ther; when parties had the Fusion ticket in their hands they were taken without question; when tickets were folded and the applicant not known to be favorable they would be subjected to an inspection under the plea that the commissioners must be certain that the voter is aware what ticket he is voting. If the folded ticket proved to be Republican we would act as indicated by instructions, if Democratic it would be deposited in the ballot box. We kept a correct account of every ballot deposited in the box. In cases where we were compelled to receive the vote of a Republican, whether white or colored, we would write in large characters on his certificate so as to attract attention if attempt was made to vote a second time; but when a Fusionist presented his certificate the indorsement required by law to be made on certificates would be written in small characters on the corner, so as to facilitate him in repeating.

When a Fusionist presented himself a second time on a certificate that had already been voted on, one of the Fusion commissioners, who were placed at each poll, would hold the certificate in his hand so as to conceal the former indorsement and call out to the United States inspectors, two of whom were placed at each polling place, saying, "This is all right." If, as in some cases, they would take the certificate in hand and discover the former indorsement, the ballot would be refused; this, however, would be rarely the case.

There were about 600 fraudulent votes polled in the seventh ward, about 600 in the eighth ward, and about 1200 in the ninth ward, making in all 2400 fraudulent votes illegally polled on the day of election for the Democratic Fusion ticket.

THOMAS J. M. CAREY,

Corner of Moreau and Louisa streets.  
Sworn and subscribed to before me  
September 6, 1873.

WILLIAM GRANT,  
United States Commissioner District of Louisiana.

**Statement Showing Number of Registered Voters, Colored and White, at Last Election, as taken Under Democratic-Fusion Auspices.**

Statement of the number of voters remaining upon the registry books, October 28, 1872, as compiled from the final reports of supervisors of registration in each parish, State of Louisiana.

Parish.	White.	Colored.	Total.
Assension .....	1,148	3,296	4,444
Assumption .....	2,207	2,116	4,383
Avoyelles.....	2,139	2,188	4,327
Baton Rouge, East.	1,489	1,559	3,048

Baton Rouge, West	397	859	1,256
Bienville	916	715	1,631
Bossier*			
Caddo	1,549	3,134	4,683
Calcasieu	702	166	868
Caldwell	541	586	1,127
Cameron	263	31	294
Carroll	572	2,073	2,645
Catahoula	1,065	992	2,057
Claiborne	1,373	1,293	2,666
Concordia	307	2,577	2,384
DeSoto	1,004	1,403	2,407
Feliciana, East	1,100	2,351	3,451
Feliciana, West	521	2,084	2,605
Franklin	522	507	1,029
Grant	616	733	1,349
Iberia	1,140	1,241	2,381
Iberville	740	3,296	4,036
Jackson	1,101	822	1,923
Jefferson	1,396	2,866	4,262
Lafayette	1,115	897	2,012
Lafourche	2,302	2,407	4,709
Livingston†			
Madison	1,718	2,007	2,725
Morehouse	694	1,339	2,033
Natchitoches	1,517	1,833	3,350
Orleans‡	35,782	19,244	55,026
Ouachita	970	2,311	3,281
Plaquemines	673	1,699	2,372
Point Coupee	1,039	2,807	3,846
Rapides	1,719	1,629	3,348
Red River	441	966	1,407
Richland	599	644	1,243
Sabine	711	151	862
St. Bernard	500	570	1,070
St. Charles	300	1,850	2,150
St. Helena†			
St. James	703	2,120	2,823
St. John Baptist	817	1,720	2,537
St. Landry	3,718	3,641	7,359
St. Martin	1,035	926	1,961
St. Mary	1,117	1,941	3,058
St. Tammany	624	700	1,324
Tangipahoa	917	613	1,530
Tensas	368	3,146	3,514
Terrebonne§			
Union	1,788	872	2,620
Vermilion	828	282	1,110
Vernon	717	79	796
Washington	543	168	711
Webster	854	862	1,716
Winn	755	135	890
Total	86,672	94,407	181,179

\* Bossier parish, population by census of 1870, white 3505, colored 9170. Per report of United States supervisor the registered vote for 1872 was white 587, colored 1795.

† Vote of St. Helena and Livingston parishes small.

‡ In Orleans parish it is well known that

STATE OF LOUISIANA, }  
Office State Registrar of Voters, }  
New Orleans, September 8, 1873. }

I hereby certify that the foregoing statement has been carefully compiled by me from the final reports of supervisors of registration in the parishes above named, as made to B. P. Blanchard, State Registrar of Voters in the year 1872, at which time I was chief clerk to said B. P. Blanchard, and that the original reports and final reports are now on file in the office of State Registrar of Voters.

WALTER S. LONG,  
Clerk State Registrar of Voters.

STATE OF LOUISIANA, }  
Office State Registrar of Voters, }  
New Orleans, September 8, 1873. }

I hereby certify that the original final reports of supervisors of registration, from which the foregoing has been compiled, are on file in this office, and that the compilation is correctly made.

THOMAS LYNNE,  
State Registrar of Voters.

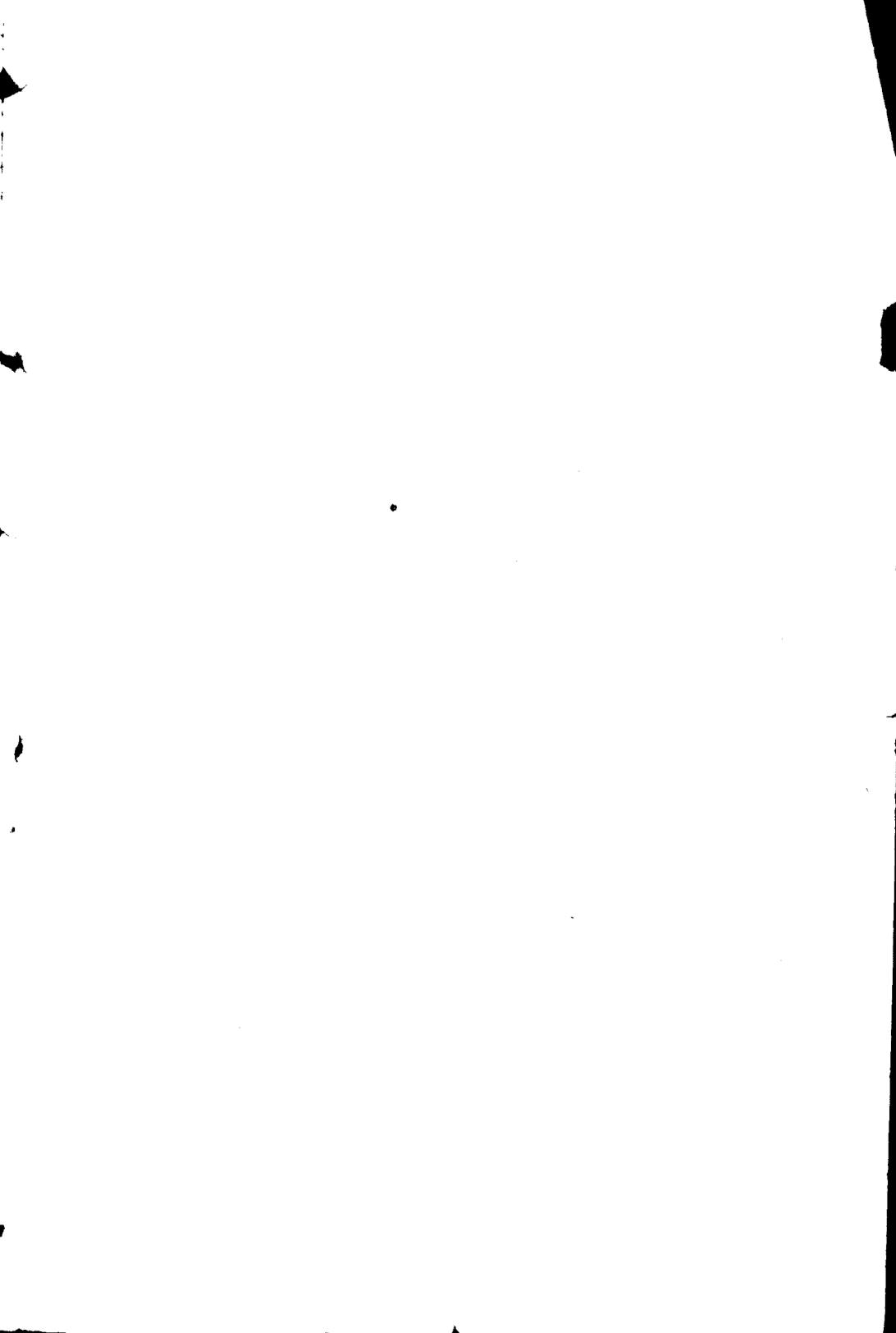
NOTE.—The registration of 1870 showed over 23,000 excess of colored voters over white. The above registration was taken under Democratic auspices, hence the great reduction. Still it will be seen giving in 1872 a colored registered vote over the white of 7735.

The Republicans were not allowed in New Orleans a single commissioner of election at any poll.

It is not denied that nearly every colored man in the State voted the Republican ticket, and that at least eight or ten thousand whites so voted, Grant and Kellogg running as shown even by Fusion returns far ahead of their ticket.

The Supreme Court of the State has, since the first of January last, rendered no less than fifteen decisions, fully sustaining the legality of the Kellogg government.

the registration of white votes for 1872 was excessive. See Blanchard's statement.  
§ Terrebonne parish, by census of 1870, white 6080, colored 6172. Report of United States supervisor had registered voters, colored 1608, white 1201.



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