

Index

38th Congress (1863-65), 69

```
39th Congress (1865-67), 69
                                                     takeover, 214
45th Congress (1877-79), 8
                                                     Theodore Roosevelt's lack of support,
46th Congress (1879-81), 108
                                                         25 T
47th Congress (1881-83), 8
                                                   Populist Party, 1890s, 250
48th Congress (1883-85), 113
                                                  Rapier and Haralson split, 249
51st Congress (1889-91), 8
                                                   removal of white suffrage restrictions,
52nd Congress (1891-93), 123
54th Congress (1895-97), 8
                                                   Republican strength at federal and state
55th Congress (1897-99), 8
                                                         levels, 1868-2012, 244
56th Congress (1899-1901), 8
                                                  state election
70th Congress (1927-29), 155
                                                     1868, 246
71st Congress (1929-31), 155
                                                     1872, 247
72nd Congress (1931-33), 164
                                                     1874, 248
                                                     1876, 249
Ackerman, Kenneth D., 109
                                                Alcorn, James, 322-23
Afro-American Council, 241
                                                Aldrich, John, 341
Agricultural Wheel, 261
                                                Alger, Russell A., 119
                                                Allison, William, 130, 231
Alabama
  1868 state election, 244
                                                all-white primary, 317
                                                American Independent Party, 186
  1901 constitution, 251
  Black-and-Tans
                                                Ames, Adelbert, 93, 322
    Theodore Roosevelt's intervention, 252
                                                Anderson, Eric Henry, 238
  descriptive Republican success, 1865-1968,
                                                Arkansas
                                                   1868 constitutional convention, 258
  GOP black belt success, 1870s, 247
                                                   1874 constitutional convention, 260
  GOP control of federal patronage from 1875,
                                                   1874 state election, 260
                                                   1916 state convention, 264
  GOP failure to compete in state elections, 250
                                                   Agricultural Wheel, 261
  GOP support from white voters, 251
                                                   Black-and-Tans, 257
  GOP uniqueness, 252
                                                     no presence at 1920 Republican National
  Ku Klux Klan violence, 246
                                                         Convention, 264
  Lily-Whites
                                                     Powell Clayton control over, 263
```

gradual takeover, 243, 252



Arkansas (cont.)	Florida, 295
Brindletail faction, 259	early twentieth-century control, 285
Brooks-Baxter War	Georgia, 152
federal intervention, 260	1882 state convention, 311
legal resolution, 260	1920s confirmation as official
origin of, 259	representatives, 315
Clayton, Powell	1922 midterm election candidates, 314
creation of biracial Republican coalition,	1936 GOP national convention, 317
259	1944 GOP national convention, 318
inauguration, 258	1948 GOP national convention, 319
industrialization policies, 260	1952 GOP national convention, 319
meeting Ku Klux Klan threat, 258	extortion claims, 315
Minstrel representative, 259	Harding administration attack on, 314
removal from office, 259	Herbert Hoover
role as GOP boss, 261	
	attempt to replace, 158, 161, 316
Democratic disenfranchisement provisions,	relationship with, 156–57
impact on GOP, 262	Louisiana, 153, 266
Democratic organized violence, 261	attack from Harding administration, 294
Democratic secret ballot measures, 1891,	attendance at 1924 GOP national
262	convention, 275
descriptive Republican success, 1865–1968,	challenge during Harding administration,
256	²⁷⁴
Ku Klux Klan violence, 258	delegations sent to GOP national
Lily-Whites	convention, 1900–16, 273
1920 consolidation of power, 264	Mississippi
first organization, 261	1912 GOP pre-convention campaign, 326
Republican strength at federal and state	1920s Lily-White challenge, 329
levels, 1868–2012, 256	control of, 40
Arnold, James W., 317	demise of, 332
Arthur, Chester A., 110	first threat from Lily-Whites, 40
	longest-standing control, 319
Baker, Howard, 294	North Carolina
Baker, Jean Harvey, 75, 77, 94	decline, causes of, 242
Ballard, John, 184	loss of control in early twentieth century,
banking collapses, 1873, 91	232
Baxter, Elisha, 259-60	Theodore Roosevelt withdrawing support,
Bean, George W., 285	241
Belcher, Edwin, 311	Wilmington Insurrection, 239
Bilbo, Theodore, 41, 330	South Carolina
Biles, Roger, 292–93	challenge from McKinley administration,
Bingham, Julian H., 251	301
Bisbee, Horatio, 282	end of domination, 305
Black Codes, 70	Joe Tolbert control, 297, 302 lack of patronage during New Deal era,
Black-and-Tans, 4, 14, 31	
1936 Republican National Convention, 166	305
Alabama	late nineteenth-century control, 301
Theodore Roosevelt's intervention, 252	Tennessee
Arkansas, 256	1910s formation, 292
no presence at 1920 Republican National	1920s and 1930s patronage, 292
Convention, 264	1928 Lily-White challenge, 293
Powell Clayton control over, 263	1950s attempt for control, 294
challenges from Lily-Whites, 134	alliance with ruling Democratic alliance, 286



Texas	Cardozo, Francis L., 299
control in second half of twentieth century,	Cardozo, Thomas W., 323
224	carpetbaggers, 81
lack of patronage in 1890s, 232	census
replacement by Lily-Whites, 232	identifying race of Republican delegates
Blaine, James, 94, 114, 117, 120-21, 126-27	issues with nineteenth-century data, 34
1880 presidential nomination campaign,	matching with original forms, 33
109–10	role of, 32
Blease, Cole, 305	Chamberlain, Daniel Henry, 299–300
Bliss, Ray C., 178, 184	Chandler, William E., 114, 116, 249, 325
Bloody Shirt rhetoric, 16, 113, 117	Chandler, Zachary, 249
Blount, J. H., 264	Christensen, Rob, 238
Bloxham, William, 280, 282	Church, Jr., Robert R., 156, 291-93
Bourbon Democrats, 310	Civil Rights Act 1866, 74
Bowen, Michael, 169	Civil Rights Act 1875, 96
Bradley, William O'Connell, 115	Civil Rights Act 1964, 2, 181
Branam, Chris, 262	Clarkson, James S., 121
Brewster, Benjamin, 112	Clayton, John, 262
Bricker, John, 167	Clayton, Powell
Brindletail faction, 259	Arkansas governor
Brooke, Edward, 184	Brooks-Baxter War, 259
Brooks, Joseph, 259	creation of biracial Republican coalition,
Brooks-Baxter War	259
federal intervention, 260	inauguration, 258
legal resolution, 260	industrialization policies, 258
origin of, 259	meeting Ku Klux Klan threat, 258
Brown v. Board of Education (1954), 173	Minstrel representative, 259
Brown, Walter F., 158, 331	removal from office, 259
Brown, William Garrott, 144	control over Black-and-Tan organization,
Browne, Jefferson B., 285	263
Brownell, Herbert, 167, 169	role as GOP boss, 261
Brownlow, William G., 288	Clement, Frank G., 294
Bruce, Blanche K., 324	Cleveland, Grover, 117, 120, 127
Bryan, William Jennings, 130, 251	Clinton, Hillary, 1
Bryant, John E., 311	Cohen, Walter L., 274–76
Buchanan, Patrick, 343	Committee for a Two-Party South, 174
Buck, Alfred Eliab, 312	Committee of Nine, 217–18, 275
Bullock, Rufus Brown	Committee on Civil Rights, 171
early life, 308	Committee on Credentials (Credentials
Reconstruction, role in furthering, 309	Committee)
resignation as Georgia governor, 310	national convention
Buni, Andrew, 222	1860, 24
Burch, Dean, 182–83	1896, 130
Burrows, Julius Ceasar, 121	Committee on Reconstruction, 150, 279
Bush, George W., 189	Committee on the South, 174
Butler, Marion, 237	composite indices, 20
Byrd, Harry, 177	Compromise of 1877, 94
	Congress
Caldwell, Tod R., 236	Black members during Reconstruction, 99
Calhoun, Charles, 123, 125, 136	percentage of Republican seats, 1867–79, 88
Cameron, J. Donald, 121, 125	Conley, Benjamin, 310
Cameron, William E., 9, 220	Conover, Simon B., 282



Conservative Party, 216	Democratic Advisory Council (DAC), 176
Virginia	Democratic Party
domination in 1870s, 219	1950s North/South split, 172
Readjusters breakaway, 219	post-WW2 civil rights, support for, 171
constitutional conventions	Dent, Harry, 185
dates, 79	Dent, Louis, 322
demographics, 80	dependent variable, 43
Contract with America, 188	Dewey, Thomas, 167, 169
Coolidge, Calvin	Dial, Nathaniel B., 303
1924 presidential nomination campaign,	Dillard, Tom, 263
149-52	disenfranchisement provisions
Creager, Rentfro B., 167, 169	Alabama, 243, 250
Crum, William D., 302	Arkansas, 262
Crump, Edward H., 292	Deep South and Outer South, impact on
campaign against Robert R. Church, Jr.,	GOP, 51
293	late nineteenth and early twentieth century,
organizing black voters, 292	135
Cuney, Norris Wright	Lily-Whites, and, 40
attacks on position, 129	Outer South, impact on GOP, 50
early life, 228	separate state votes, 83
job appointments, 228	state-by-state, 44
leader of Texas GOP, 229	Tennessee, 289, 291
challenges from white minority, 230	
	Virginia, 217, 219
Democratic violence against blacks, 230	Whiteness Index, interaction with, 44
refusal to do financial deals, 231	disenfranchisement variable, 14, 43
replacement after McKinley nomination,	District of Columbia, 24
231	Dixiecrats, 171–72, 176
use of power, 229	Donald, David, 75, 77, 94
Cuney, Philip, 228	Dorsey, Stephen W., 260
	Downs, Anthony, 341
Dailey, Jane, 222	Doyle, J. T., 304
Danville race riot, 221	Drew, George F., 282
data	Du Bois, W. E. B., 330
composite indices, 20	Dunning, William, 339
limitations on, 18, 34	
national and state-level measures of party	Eagan, Dennis, 283
strength, 20	Eagle, James P., 261
David, Paul T., 20	Eaves, John Baxter, 237
Davis, Ben, 296, 315, 333	eight-box election law, 301
Davis, Benjamin Jefferson, 313	Eisenhower, Dwight D.
Davis, Edmund J., 226	1952 presidential election victory, 173
Davis, Henry Winter, 68	segregation and integration, and, 173
Day, Samuel T., 280	1952 presidential nomination campaign, 172
De Santis, Vincent, 106, 114, 128	integration, and, 173
Deep South, 47	1956 presidential election
Outer South, differences, 47	Operation Dixie, creation, 175
whiteness and presidential vote, 1872-1956,	victory, 174
48	Committee on the South, 174
Whiteness Index (Lagged)	incremental civil rights reform, 174
average marginal effects, 48	Little Rock school integration crisis 1957,
predicted presidential vote, 50	175



New Guard GOP support, 294	Black-and-Tans
northern and southern approval ratings,	early twentieth-century control, 285
1953-55, 174	Committee on Reconstruction, 279
review of GOP civil rights policy, 173	constitutional convention
Elliott, Robert B., 300	1885, 283
Enforcement Act 1871, 91	control by Replogle and Warbritton, 285
Equality+size status quo representation	Democratic Party
arrangement, 24	black suffrage restrictions, 284
impervious to change, 25	split, 1880s, 283
opposition to, 25	descriptive Republican success, 1865-1968,
process, 23	277
Evans, Rowland, 180	federal patronage, and, 284
executive patronage	Jacksonville Republican Club, 279
Chester Arthur, and, 116	Lily-Whites
denied during Grover Cleveland presidency,	1912 failure to gain control, 285
119	1921 legal challenge, 285
easy way to gain Southern support, 132	failure to completely banish blacks, 285
James Garfield, and, 111	separate 1896 state convention, 284
John Sherman, and, 109	Miami Negro Citizens' League, 286
Norris Wright Cuney, and, 129	midterm elections
South Carolina, during New Deal, 305	1870, 280
Southern Democrats, and, 106-7	1874, 282
	Reed, Harrison, 279–80
Farmers' Alliance, 125	Republican strength at federal and state
Faubus, Orval, 175	levels, 1868–2012, 277
Federal Elections Bill, 25, 122	state conventions
federal index, 22-23	1872, 281
federal patronage	1876, 282
Alabama, 1875 onwards, 249	Stearns, Marcellus, 281
Bascom C. Slemp, and, 223	Florida Union League, 278
buying votes at national conventions, 64	Fourteenth Amendment, 74, 77, 309
Florida	Franklin, Harry, 280
1880s, 283	free coinage bill, 124
1890s, 284	Free Soil Party, 11, 24
focus of state GOP leaders, 335	Freedmen
Joe Tolbert, and, 303	Black voter registration, and, 79
lack of control during Democratic	Bureau Bill veto, 72
presidencies, 170	Georgia constitutional convention, and,
Lily-Whites, and, 158	307
Mississippi, 328–29	Frye, William P., 114-15
Norris Cuney Wright, and, 229	Funders, 220
Rutherford Hayes, and, 250	reorganization as Democratic Party, 220
Tennessee, 1930s, 292	Funding Act 1871, 219
Theodore Roosevelt, and, 139	
William McKinley, and, 135	Gabrielson, Guy, 163, 171
Fess, Simeon D., 159	Galvin, Daniel, 175
Fifteenth Amendment, 90, 309	Garfield, James
Fletcher, Henry P., 317	1880 presidential election victory, 110
Florida	1880 presidential nomination, 110
1868 constitutional convention, 279	Garland, Augustus H., 260
1880 gubernatorial election, 282	Gatewood, Willard B., 301



Georgia	Dean Burch, support for, 183
1865 gubernatorial election, 307	defeat in 1964 presidential election, 183
Black-and-Tans	nomination as GOP candidate, 181
1882 state convention, 311	opposition to Civil Rights Act of 1964, 181
1920s confirmation as official	Strom Thurmond, support for, 182
representatives, 315	Gordon, Charles U., 329
1922 midterm election candidates, 314	Gorman, Albert Pue, 125
1936 GOP national convention, 317	Gould, Lewis L., 146
1944 GOP national convention, 318	governorships
1948 GOP national convention, 319	number of Southern positions held by
1952 GOP national convention, 319	Republicans, 1952–2016, 189
extortion claims, 315	Grant, Ulysses S.
Harding administration attack on, 314	1872 presidential election victory, 91
Herbert Hoover attempt to replace, 316	1872 presidential nomination, 88
Bullock, Rufus Brown	Brooks-Baxter War, intervention in, 260
early life, 308	Underwood Constitution, and, 218
Reconstruction, role in furthering, 309	Great Mississippi Flood of 1927, 154–55, 304
resignation as Georgia governor, 309	Greeley, Horace, 91
Davis' control challenged, 316	Green, E. H. R., 232
Democratic Party corruption, 1880s, 310	Green, John, 184
descriptive Republican success, 1865–1968,	Greenback Party, 9, 325
	Gritter, Elizabeth, 289
306 Harding Warren replacement of COP	Gritter, Elizabeth, 209
Harding, Warren, replacement of GOP	Hadley Orga and
organizations, 314–15 Hoover, Herbert, replacement of GOP	Hadley, Ozra, 259 Hager, Clint, 317
organizations, 316	Hahn, Michael, 266
Johnson–Davis organization, challenges to,	Hales, Douglas, 230
3 1 4 L : L- W/L :	Half-Breed faction, 109
Lily-Whites	Hall, Leonard W., 174
1882 state convention, 311	Hambright, Joe, 304–5
1944 state convention walk–out, 317	Hampton III, Wade, 107, 300
1948 GOP national convention, 319	Hancock, Winfield Scott, 110
1952 GOP national convention, 319	Hanna, Mark
attempt to replace John Louis Philips,	1896 William McKinley presidential
314	campaign, and, 129, 335
first attempt to create, 311	attempt to set up Lily-White South Carolina
state conventions	organization, 301
1882, 311	federal patronage, 135
Republican strength at federal and state	Hanson, George, 222
levels, 1868–2012, 307	Haralson, Jeremiah, 249
state elections	Harding, Warren G.
1870, 309	1920 presidential nomination, 149
state party conventions	lack of relationship with Southern party, 149
1880, 311	replacement of corrupt GOP organizations,
1932, 316	16, 64, 149, 152
Georgia Experiment, 314	Georgia, 152, 314
Georgia Union League, 307	Louisiana, 153, 294, 303, 314–15
Gerald, J. Bates, 305	South Carolina, 303
Gibbs, Jonathan C., 279	Harris, J. D., 218
Gillette, William, 89	Harrison, Benjamin
Ginzl, David, 331	1888 presidential election victory, 120
Goldwater, Barry, 2, 30	1888 presidential nomination campaign, 120



1892 presidential election campaign, 127	early life, 327
1892 presidential nomination, 126	entrenching personal well-being, 328
balloting by region, 126	federal patronage role, 328
Harrison, Pat, 41	retirement and ending of Black-and-Tan
Hart, Ossian Bingley, 281	organizations, 332
Hastings, H. G., 316	seeking RNC seat, 327
Hauser, Robert E., 152	selling patronage appointments, 328-29
Hawkins, Alvin	Hughes, Charles Evans, 147
1880 Tennessee governor victory, 290–91	Humphrey, Hubert, 186
Hawley, Robert B., 231	Humphreys, Benjamin G., 320
Hayes, Rutherford	Huston, Claudius, 158–59
1877 presidential election victory, 94,	,,,,,
282	Inter-university Consortium for Political and
Whiggish strategy, 106	Social Research (ICPSR), 20
1878 midterms results, 107	ocean recountry (101011), 20
executive patronage, 106, 250	Jacksonville Republican Club, 279
failure of, 107	Jahncke, Ernest Lee, 276
focus of, 106	Javits, Jacob, 180, 183
nineteen-day whistle-stop tour, 107	Jay Cook & Company, 91
reasons for failure, 108	Jenkins, Charles J., 307
Hays, Will, 147, 150, 274	
	Jenkins, Jeffery, 71 Jim Crow
Henderson, David B., 325	
Hersey, William, 184	Black electoral participation, and, 155
Hill, James, 323–24	definition, 6
Hilles, Charles D., 143, 147, 326	Johnson, Andrew
Hinds, James, 258	reconstruction policy
Hirshson, Stanley, 122, 125, 221	break with GOP, 67
Hitchcock, Frank Harris, 148	GOP agreement on replacing Democratic
Hoar, George Frisbie, 7, 123–24	governments, 76
Hobart, Garret, 138	GOP attempts to revise, 71
Holden, William Woods, 235–36	GOP attempts to thwart, 72
Holland, Rush, 154	South Carolina, and, 298
Holt, Michael F., 75, 77, 94	veto of civil rights bill, 73
Hooper, Ben W., 290	veto of Freedmen's Bureau Bill, 72
Hoover, Herbert	sectional reconciliation, 69
national patronage advisory committee, 158	Northern opposition, 71
reorganization of GOP state structures	political realignment strategy, 70
credential committee, pressuring, 331	process, 69
Georgia, 316	white Southern opposition, 70
Hoovercrats, 165	Johnson, Henry Lincoln, 152, 313
House of Representatives	Johnson, Hiram, 151
percentage of Southern seats controlled by	Johnson, James, 259
GOP	Johnson, Lyndon, 176, 179–80
1867–79, 91	Johnson, Walter H., 296, 312–15
percentage of Southern seats held by	Joint Committee of Fifteen, 71, 74
Republicans, 1952-2016, 188-89	restoration amendment, 73-74
Howard, Perry W.	Jones, Scipio, 264
attempted removal by Herbert Hoover,	
156	Kearney, Warren, 153, 274-75
corruption charges	Kehl, James A., 119, 127
acquittal, 330	Kellogg, William Pitt, 9, 269, 271
prominent supporters, 330	Kennedy, John F., 177



354 Index

failure to completely banish blacks, 285 Key, David, 106 Key, Jr., Valdimer Orlando, 9, 286 separate 1896 state convention, 284 King, Martin Luther, 185 Georgia Kirk, Jr., Claude R., 184, 188 1882 state convention, 311 Kirk, George, 236 1944 state convention walkout, 317 Kirk-Holden war, 236 1948 GOP national convention, 319 1952 GOP national convention, 319 Klingman, Peter, 284 Klinkner, Philip, 179 attempt to replace John Louis Philips, 314 Kolb, Reuben F., 250 Louisiana, 153, 266 Kousser, J. Morgan, 43 delegations sent to GOP national Ku Klux Klan, 89-90 conventions, 1900-1916, 273 Ku Klux Klan violence merging of two groups, 158 Alabama, 246 Mississippi Arkansas, 258 1920s challenge to Black-and-Tans, 329 North Carolina, 235-36 eventual defeat of Black-and-Tans, 332 failure to replace Perry Howard, 331 Kuntz, Emile, 153, 273-76 first challenge to Black-and-Tans, 40 La Follette, Robert, 143, 145 Herbert Hoover's failure to create, 158 Lamar, L. Q. C., 325 Perry Howard acquittal, and, 330 Landon, Alf, 166 Theodore Roosevelt's refusal to accept takeover, 135 Langston, John Mercer, 221 Lee, George Washington, 293 North Carolina exclusion of black Republicans, 242 Lee, Joseph, 278, 284 Lewis, David P., 246 failure mobilizing white voters, 243 Lewis, J. Leonard, 286 official takeover, 214, 241 Lewis, John F., 218 Theodore Roosevelt's conflict with, Liberal Republicans, 91 140-41 Liberty Party, 11, 24 Theodore Roosevelt's opposition to, 241 Lichtman, Allan J., 154 reasons for control, 212 Lily-Whites, 4, 31 respectability argument, xv, 14, 40-41, 1936 Republican National Convention, 166 43-44, 51, 222, 341 softer version, 213, 255 active support from Herbert Hoover, South Carolina 154-55, 157 Alabama Hoover, Herbert, attempt to replace gradual takeover, 243, 252 Tolbert with Hambright, 305 no attendance at 1904 GOP national Joe Hambright organization, 304 convention, 252 loss of support from Herbert Hoover, 305 takeover, 214 Mark Hanna attempt to replace, 301 Theodore Roosevelt's lack of support, 251 permanent takeover, 298 success across South, 212 1920 consolidation of power, 264 takeovers necessary for Republican success, first organization, 261 spreading of, 263 Tennessee challenges to Black-and-Tans, 134 attempts to overthrow Black-and-Tans, 293 control dependent on state history, 214 late nineteenth-century-early twentiethdisenfranchisement provisions, and, 40 century control, 291 exclusion of blacks from positions of Texas, 118 authority, 104 1890s, 230 federal patronage, threat to, 158 1896 GOP national convention, 231 Florida ascendancy, 231 1912 failure to gain control, 285 attempts to replace Norris Wright Cuney, 1921 legal challenge, 285



replacing Black-and-Tans, 232	Lucas, Robert, 159
Virginia	Lynch, John, 115, 324
Slemp's machine, 223	Lyon, Cecil A., 145, 232
Lincoln, Abraham	
restoration plan, 67-68	Maddex, Jack, 216
Wade-Davis Bill, refusal to sign, 68	Mahone, William, 9, 111, 112, 115, 121, 216,
Lincoln League, 292	218, 220-21, 223
Lippmann, Walter, 183	Mahoney, Carl, 227
Lisio, Donald J., 155, 158	Mann, Horace A., 156
Little Rock school integration crisis 1957,	Manufacturers' Clubs, 125
175-76	Martin, Malachi, 283
Lodge Bill, 262	Maryland, 24
debate on, 124	Matthews, John M., 313
demise of, 125	McDonald, W.M., 232
failure to pass, 25	McEnery, John, 269
forces behind failure, 125	McKee, George C., 324
impact on GOP, 125	McKinley, William, 121
momentum halted, 124	1896 presidential election, 130
postponement, 123	1896 presidential nomination campaign
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 7, 25, 122	strategy, 129
Long, Jefferson Franklin, 311	victory, 130
Louisiana	Black rights, and, 136
Black-and-Tans, 266	federal patronage, 135
attendance at 1924 GOP national	Southern Strategy, 312, 335
convention, 275	McLaurin, John L., 301
challenge during Harding administration,	McMillen, Neil, 41, 327
274	McMillin, Benton, 290
delegations sent to GOP national	McPherson, Edward, 71
convention, 1900–1916, 273	McRae, Thomas, 264
Democratic intimidation and violence,	Meacham, Robert, 283
impact on GOP, 270	Meade, George G., 279
descriptive Republican success, 1865–1968,	Miami Negro Citizens' League, 286
265	Mickey, Robert, 47, 334
GOP decline after Warmoth–Kellogg era,	midterm elections
271 gubernatorial election	1866, 267
9	1870, 280
1864, 266	1874, 282
1868, 268	1878, 107
1872, 269 1876, 270	1882, 112
	1890, 126
Kellogg–McEnery split, 269	1894, 129
Lily-Whites	1918, 147
delegations sent to GOP national	1922, 153, 314
convention, 1900–1916, 273	1930, 159, 164
Louisiana, 266	1946, 167
National Republican Party of Louisiana,	1962, 178–79
272	1966, 184
radical Republican takeover, 269	2010, 2
Republican strength at federal and state	Military Reconstruction Acts
levels, 1868–2012, 266	constitutional conventions, and, 78
state legislative elections	military, role of, 77
1896, 272	objectives, 77



Military Reconstruction Acts (cont.)	Moderate Republicans
removal of Union troops after passing of	1960 presidential election, interpreting, 17
Fourteenth Amendment, 78	Black suffrage, and, 77
Southern states, role of, 78	calls for resignation of Dean Burch, 183
Miller, Kelly, 330	Civil Rights Act, lack of support for, 181
Miller, Thomas E., 301	Freedman's Bureau Bill veto, and, 72
Miller, William E., 178–80	Georgia, 309
Minstrel faction, 259	plan to create southern GOP, post-
Mississippi	Reconstruction, 5
Alcorn civil rights bills, 323	Reconstruction Acts, and, 77
Black-and-Tans	Southern state restoration to Union, and, 7
demise of, 332	support of Civil Rights Bill, 73
1912 GOP pre-convention campaign, 326	Moger, Allen, 223
1920s Lily-White challenge, 329	Morton, Levi, 124
longest-standing control, 319	Morton, Thruston, 177-78
conservative and Radical struggles,	Moseley, Lonzo B., 326
322	Moses, Franklin J., 299
Democratic Party violence and intimidation,	Mugwumps, 113
323	Mulvihill, Michael Joseph, 326-27
descriptive Republican success, 1865-1968,	
321	NAACP
disenfranchisement provisions, Supreme	all-white primary, and, 318
Court challenge, 7	John J. Parker, Supreme Court nomination
Howard, Perry W.	and, 161
corruption charges	Little Rock school integration crisis 1957,
acquittal, 330	175
prominent supporters, 330	national patronage advisory committee, 158
early life, 327	National Republican Party of Louisiana, 272
entrenching personal well-being, 328	Nebraska and Kansas Territories, 24
federal patronage role, 328	Negro domination campaign, 118, 121, 128
retirement and ending of Black-and-Tan	New Deal era (1932–48)
organizations, 332	Black Americans, impact on, 165
seeking RNC seat, 327-28	alteration of Democratic coalition, 170
selling patronage appointments,	impact on GOP, 166
328-29	Republican presidential vote, 22
Lily-Whites	New Guard Republican movement, 294
1920s challenge to Black-and-Tans, 329	Newton, Walter, 158
eventual defeat of Black-and-Tans,	Nixon, Richard
332	1968 presidential election
failure to replace Perry Howard, 331	campaign, 185
Perry Howard acquittal, and, 330	victory, 186
Lynch, Hill, and Bruce domination, 326	role in 1966 midterm elections, 184
Moseley, Lonzo B., 326	Southern Strategy, 65, 184-85
Mulvihill, Michael Joseph, 327	blueprint for future, 186
Radical Republican faction, 322	desegregation, and, 186, 337
Republican strength at federal and state	future impact, 191
levels, 1868-2012, 321	Noojin, Lonnie, 169
state elections	Norris, George W., 159
1869, 322	North Carolina
1873, 323	1868 constitutional convention, 235
state midterm elections	1894 state election, 237
1875, 324	1896 state election, 238
two factions, 1880s, 324	1899 suffrage amendment, 239–40



Black-and-Tans decline, causes of, 242	Pharr, John Newton, 272–73 Philips, John Louis, 152, 314–15
loss of control in early twentieth century,	Pickett, Roscoe, 316 Pinchback, P. B. S., 269
Theodore Roosevelt withdrawing support,	Platt, Tom, 126, 129, 138
241	Pledger, William A., 311–12
descriptive Republican success, 1865–1968,	Pope, Frank, 283
234	Populist Party, 128, 250
fusion arrangement with Populists, 237	Porter, James, 311
GOP decline in 1870s, 236	post office parties, 12
Kirk–Holden war, 236	Potter, I. Lee, 175
Ku Klux Klan violence, 235–36	Powers, Ridley C., 322
Lily-Whites	President's Board of Referees, 252
exclusion of black Republicans, 242	presidential elections
	*
failure mobilizing white voters, 243	1868, 70
official, 241	1872, 91
takeover, 214	1876, 93–94
Theodore Roosevelt's opposition to, 241	1880, 109–10
Republican strength at federal and state	1884, 117
levels, 1868–2012, 234	1888, 120
second district, election of black officials,	1892, 127
238, 240	1896, 130
success of 1890s fusion agreement with	1912, 146
Populists, 242	1916, 147
White, George Henry, career, 238	1920, 150
Wilmington Insurrection, 238–39	1928, 10, 30, 155
Northern Copperheads, 70, 75	1932, 10, 30, 165
Norwood, C. M., 261	1936, 167
Novak, Robert, 180	1944, 167
	1948, 169
Obama, Barack, 2, 189	1952, 173, 224
Old Guard Republican movement, 294	1956, 174
Operation Dixie, 175, 179	1960, 177
Osborn, Thomas, 281	1964, 183, 191
Outer South	2016, 1
Deep South, differences, 47	Pritchard, Jeter
GOP whitening, impact of, 51	banning of African Americans from
whiteness and presidential vote, 1872–1956,	1902 North Carolina convention, 241
Whiteness Index (Lagged)	Progressive Party, 146
average marginal effects, 48	., ,
predicted presidential vote, 50	Quay, Matthew, 121 backing of Blaine or McKinley for
panic of 1893, 128	1892 presidential nomination, 126
Parker, John J., 160	introduction of Payne plan at
Senate roll call on nomination, 161	1900 presidential convention, 139
party control of House of Representatives,	Lodge Bill, postponing, 123
Senate and presidency, 1877–97, 102	Louge Bin, postponnig, 125
patronage parties, 12	race-baiting, 290
Payne, Henry Clay, 136–38, 251	Radical Republicans
Pearce, Charles H., 281	1886 midterm election success, 267
Pease, Elisha M., 226	1960 presidential election, interpreting, 177
Perman, Michael, 136	Alabama, 246
· ,, -, -	, -7.



Radical Republicans (cont.)	Military Reconstruction Acts
Louisiana, 269	constitutional conventions, and, 78
North Carolina, 234	military, role of, 77
plan to create southern GOP, post-	objectives, 77
reconstruction, 5, 7	removal of Union troops after passing of
Reconstruction Acts, and, 77	Fourteenth Amendment, 78
Southern state restoration to Union, and, 74	Southern states, role of, 78
support of Civil Rights Bill, 73	moderate Republicans, post-reconstruction
Tennessee, 288	policy, 5
Virginia, 217–18	Radical Republicans, plan to create Southern
railroad bankruptcies, 1873, 91	GOP, 5
Raper, Horace W., 235	Republican support for Civil Rights Bill, 73
Rapier, James Thomas, 245–47, 249	scalawags, and, 81
Rappleye, Charles, 159	Stalwart wing policy, 25
Readjusters, 9, 111, 113, 220–21	Reconstruction Act 1867, 5, 257, 288
Reagan, Ronald, 22, 185, 187	Reconstruction policy, 25
reapportionment schemes	Red Shirts, 15, 63, 93, 239–40, 300
1916–28, impact of, 30	Reed, Harrison, 279–80
motions tying delegate allotment to	Reed, Thomas B., 121, 123
congressional districts, 27	Remmel, Gus, 263–64
motions tying delegate allotment to party	Remmel, Harmon, 261, 263–64
strength, 26	Replogle, J. Leonard, 285
Reconstruction, 5	Republican Congressional Campaign
1866 congressional elections as referendum	Committee (RCCC), 178
on policy, 75	Republican electoral support, Southern regions,
Black gains, 95	1872–1956, 61
Democratic strategy to reverse, 98	Republican National Committee
elite level, 96	campaign division expenditures, 1962, 179
individual level, 96	challenge to South Carolina Black-and-Tans, 301
social equality, 96	Texas steal, 172
state legislators elected, 96	William Mahone, financial support to, 121
state legislators elected, 96	Republican National Conventions
biracial factions competing for state control,	1860, 24
212	
collapse of GOP policy, 95	1880, 109
Committee on Reconstruction, 150	1884 Pulos Committee vote on apportionment
first constitutional conventions	Rules Committee vote on apportionment,
	116, 144
Alabama, 244	1892 balloting, 127
Arkansas, 257	
Louisiana, 267	1900, 136, 232
Mississippi, 321	1904, 232
North Carolina, 235	1908, 141–42
South Carolina, 298	1912, 327
Virginia, 215	1924
GOP electoral success, 5	seating of Joe Tolbert delegation, 304
GOP plan to embed civil rights protections,	1928, 329
74	seating of Joe Tolbert delegation, 304
GOP plan to revise Johnson's policy, 71	1936, 166, 332
GOP plan to thwart Johnson's policy, 72, 76	1940
GOP reaching out to white voters, 7	balloting in the South, 167
Johnson veto of Civil Rights Bill, 73	1944, 318
Johnson veto of Freedmen's Bureau Bill, 72	1948, 319
Johnson, Andrew, break with GOP, 67	1952, 172, 319



Index 359

average marginal effects of Whiteness Index percentage of black delegates Alabama, 1868-1952, 257 (Lagged), Outer and Deep South, 48 Alabama, 1868-2012, 245 estimating presidential vote, 1872–1956, 48 Florida, 1868–1952, 278 number of Southern states won by Georgia, 1868-1952, 308 presidential candidates, 1952-2016, Louisiana, 1868-1952, 267 predicted presidential vote by level of Mississippi, 1868–1952, 320 North Carolina, 1868-1952, 234 Whiteness Index (Lagged), Outer and South Carolina, 1868-1952, 298 Deep South, 48 Tennessee, 1868-1952, 288 predicted presidential vote by Whiteness Texas, 1868-1952, 224 Index (Lagged), 44 Virginia, 1868-1952, 217 presidential elections in the South, 1876-1896, 103 percentage of black Southern delegates Republican voting statistics 1868-1952, 36 1868-76, 98 federal and state composite indices, 1880–96, 105 1868-2016, 23 1897-1932, 135 presidential, congressional and gubernatorial 1933-52, 164 elections, 1868-2016, 22 percentage of Southern delegates and presidential vote by region, 1868-1968, 30 Restoration Republican popular vote 1880-96, 103 Fourteenth Amendment, 74 Joint Committee of Fifteen constitutional 1880-96, 103 1900-32, 147 amendment, 73-74 1936-68, 163 Lincoln plan, 67-68 racial division of Southern delegates, moderate and Radical Republican 1868-1952, 33 support, 74 reapportionment schemes Riddleberger, Harrison H., 9 Riddleberger, James, 220 motions tying delegate allotment to congressional districts, 27 Roberts, Albert H., 290 motions tying delegate allotment to party Roberts, Owen, 161 strength, 26 Rockefeller, Winthrop, 184, 188 Romaine, Armond, 273 Southern delegates Roosevelt, Franklin D., 10, 30, 165-67, 170, percentage without racial identification, 1868-1952, 34 332 Southern delegates by state, 1856-1968, 60 Roosevelt, Theodore Southern role and power 1900 vice-presidential nomination, 138 1904 presidential nomination strategy challenges to, 103 last quarter of nineteenth century, 103 conflict with Lily-Whites, 140 Southern share of delegates, 1856–1968, 30 federal patronage, 139 state party control, and, 211 unanimous support, 141 state representation based on congressional 1912 presidential nomination strategy, 142, delegation, 64 votes by region attack on Southern delegates, 144 1964, 181 challenging Taft delegates, 144 1968, 185 creation of Progressive Party after Whiteness Index, 41 convention defeat, 146 Republican Party Mississippi, Lily-White takeover, and, 135 biracial coalition, 1890s, 13 replacement of corrupt GOP organizations, 16 Republican Support Score (RSS), 79 Root, Elihu, 145 Rose, Josiah T., 316 Republican voting patterns average marginal effects of Whiteness rotten boroughs, 12, 14, 141-42 Index (Lagged) on presidential vote, 44 Ruby, George T., 226



360

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-316-61092-3 — Republican Party Politics and the American South, 1865–1968 Boris Heersink, Jeffery A. Jenkins Index More Information

> Rusk, Jerrold G., 21 late nineteenth-century control, 301 Russell, Daniel Lindsay, 9, 238 constitutional convention 1868, 299 Sanford, Edward Terry, 160 Democratic Party attempts to regain control, scalawags, 81 1870s, 299-300 Schickler, Eric, 18 descriptive Republican success, 1865-1968, Schlesinger, Joseph, 341 Schofield, John, 218 eight box election law, 301 Scott, Robert Kingston, 299 Harding, Warren, attempt to replace GOP sectional reconciliation, 69, 78, 113 organization, 303 Black Codes, 70 Johnson, Andrew, Reconstruction, and, 298 Lily-Whites Northern opposition, 71 oath of allegiance accepting emancipation, 69 Joe Hambright organization, 304 political realignment strategy, 70, 101 loss of support from Herbert Hoover, 305 white Southern opposition, 70 Mark Hanna attempt to replace, 301 permanent takeover, 298 Senate percentage of Southern seats held by Republican strength at federal and state Republicans, 1952-2016, 188-89 levels, 1868-2012, 297 Senter, Dewitt Clinton, 289 state election Seymour, Horatio, 89 1868, 299 Shadgett, Olive Hall, 310, 312 1876, 300 Sheldon, George L., 329 1878, 300 Shelley, Charles, 249 Tolbert, Joe Sherman, John, 119, 121 challenge from Hambright coalition, 1880 presidential nomination campaign, 109 304-5 Sherman, Lawrence, 146 decline and replacement of, 305 Shofner, Jerrell H., 279, 281 nomination for federal office, 303 organization of own South Carolina silver alliance, 25, 125 Simmons, Roscoe Conkling, 109, 166 convention, 305 Skipper, Glenn A., 158 party machine Slemp, Bascom C., 223 creation of, 302 Committee on Reconstruction chairman, 150 patronage, 303 decrease in influence, 223 unpopularity of, 302 Lily-Black opposition campaign, 223 Southern convention representation, 23 Lily-White strategy, 223 1913 apportionment scheme, 147 resistance to Hoover changes, 158 equality+size model, 23 Slemp, Campbell, 223 impervious to change, 25 Smalls, Robert, 301 opposition to, 25 Smith v. Allwright (1944), 317 inclusivity principle, 24 Smith, Al, 10, 154, 304 motions tying delegate allotment to party Smith, James, 310 strength, 26-28 Smith, J. A. W., 251 Payne's plan, 137 Smith, William Hugh, 245 precedents set, 25 Solomon, Sam B., 286 reduction plan defeated at 1912 national South Carolina convention, 145 Black-and-Tans Slemp committee recommendations, 150 challenge from McKinley administration, Southern Democratic home rule (redemption), 1867-1877, 87 end of domination, 305 Southern Democrats Joe Tolbert control, 297, 302-3 1948 Democratic convention walkout, 169 lack of patronage during New Deal era, alignment with civilian terror groups, 63 disenfranchisement provisions, and, 7



executive patronage by Rutherford Hayes,	Tariff Act 1890, 123, 272
and, 106	Taylor, Alfred A., 290
John J. Parker nomination, rejecting, 161	Taylor, J. Will, 292
midterm elections 1878, 107	Taylor, Robert L., 290
redemption of ex-Confederate states, 67	Tennessee
support for all-white party, 40	Black-and-Tans
support for Rutherford Hayes investment	1910s formation, 292
policies, 106	1920s and 1930s patronage, 292
Southern gubernatorial elections	1928 Lily-White challenge, 293
percentage of Republican vote, 1867-77, 86	1950s attempt for control, 294
Southern legislatures	alliance with ruling Democratic alliance,
percentage of black legislators, 1868-77, 97	286
percentage of Republican seats, 1867-77, 84	Democratic Party
Southern secessionists, 70	disenfranchisement provisions, 1889, 289
Southern Strategy	divisions, 1870s and 1880s, 291
1868–1968, 338	descriptive Republican success, 1865-1968,
last quarter of nineteenth century, 101	287
McKinley, William, 312	GOP
Nixon, Richard, 65, 337	composition before and after
Southern Unionists, 70, 79	Reconstruction, 290
Spencer, George E., 249	gubernatorial success, 290
Spooner, John, 123	Lily-Whites
Stalwart wing, 25, 107, 109	attempts to overthrow Black-and-Tans, 293
state index, 23	late nineteenth-early twentieth-century
Stearns, Marcellus, 281	control, 291
Stephens, Hubert, 41	New Guard Republican movement, 294
Stevens, Thaddeus, 71	Radical-led government, 289
Stewart, Alexander H. H., 217	Reconstruction
Stewart, Charles, 71	GOP, composition of, 290
Stewart, William, 124	role in, 288
Stokes, William B., 289	Republican strength at federal and state
Stone, John M., 324	levels, 1868–2012, 287
Street, Oscar D., 252	support in Appalachian hill country, 289
Stuart, Adeline, 228	test oath clause, 216
Stuart, Alexander H. H., 216	Texas
Sullens, Frederick, 41, 330	1869 gubernatioral election, 227
'swing around the circle" campaign, 75	1872 state legislative election, 227
	Black-and-Tans
Γaft, Robert, 336	control in second half of twentieth century,
presidential nomination campaign	224
1940, 167	lack of patronage in 1890s, 247
1948, 167	replacement by Lily-Whites, 232
1952, 172	Cuney, Norris Wright
Γaft, William Howard	challenges from GOP white minority, 230
1908 presidential nomination, 141–42	Democratic violence against blacks, 229
1912 presidential nomination, 146	early life, 228
campaign, 252	job appointments, 228
order to remove Walter H. Johnson from	leader of Texas GOP, 229
Georgia state convention, 313	refusal to do financial deals, 231
activist's occupations, 1912, 143	use of power, 229
Γaft–Hartley Act 1947, 167	descriptive Republican success, 1865–1968,
Гalmadge, Eugene, 318	225



Texas (cont.)	Vick, Samuel H., 242
Lily-Whites	Virginia
1890s, 230	1879 state legislative election
ascendancy, 231	coalition government, 220
sending alternate delegation to	Readjuster policies, 220
1896 Republican National	1883 state legislative election, 220
Convention, 231	1901/02 constitutional convention,
Republican strength at federal and state	222
levels, 1868–2012, 226	Black opposition to Slemp party machine,
Ruby, George T., 226	223
Texas Loyal Union League, role of, 224	Committee of Nine, 217
Texas Loyal Union League, 224, 226–27	Conservative Party
Texas steal, 172	domination in 1870s, 219
Thirteenth Amendment, 70	Readjusters breakaway, 219
	demise of Readjusters, 221
Thurmond, Strom, 169, 171, 182	
Tilden, Samuel, 93	descriptive Republican success, 1865-1968
Tolbert, Joe, 296	215
nomination for federal office, 303	disenfranchisement clause, 217, 219
party machine	disenfranchisement provisions, 219
challenge from Hambright coalition,	movement of African Americans to
304, 305	Democratic Party, 223
creation of, 302	Republican strength at federal and state
decline and replacement of, 305	levels, 1868–2012, 216
organization of own South Carolina	Slemp family control, 223
convention, 305	test oath clause, 216
patronage, 303	Underwood Constitution, 217
unpopularity of, 302	adoption, 219
Tolbert, Robert Redd, 302	separate vote on, 218
Topping, Simon, 161	von Lengerke Meyer, George, 141
Tower, John, 179	Voting Rights Act 1965, 2
Townsend, Wallace, 264	0 0 , 3,
Truman, Harry, 167, 169, 171	Waddell, Alfred Moore, 239
Trump, Donald, 1–2	Wade, Benjamin, 68
Tunnell, Jr., T. B., 270	Wade-Davis Bill, 68
Turner, Benjamin J., 247	Lincoln pocket veto, 69
Turner, Henry M., 311	Walker, Gilbert C., 218
rumer, riemy w., 311	Wallace, George, 30, 186
Underwood Constitution, 217	Walton Act 1894, 222
adoption, 219	Walton, Jr., Hanes, 15
proposed referendum, 217	Warbritton, Barclay, 285
separate vote on, 218	Ward, Jr., Judson Clements, 310
Underwood, John Curtiss, 217	Ware, Harvey R., 325
Uzee, Philip D., 272	Warmoth, Henry C., 267, 269, 271,
Valelly, Richard M., 133	Washington, Booker T., 140, 251,
Vardaman, Claude, 169	301
variables	Webb, Samuel L., 250
dependent, 43 disenfranchisement, 43	Webster, Eugene Alonzo, 301 Wells, Henry H., 218
interaction between Whiteness Index and	Wells, J. Madison, 266
disenfranchisement, 44	Wheelers. See Agricultural Wheel
Whiteness Index, 14	Whig Party, 11



Index 363

Whiggism, 106, 117
White disenfranchisement, 83
White League, 15, 63, 93
White, George Henry, 238–40
Whiteness Index, 14, 41
disenfranchisement, interaction with, 44
GOP vote percentage, positive relationship, 44
key independent variable in regression
equation, 42
relationship to GOP electoral support in Jim
Crow South, 42
relationship to GOP vote percentage, 44

Willebrandt, Mabel Walker, 154
Williams v. Mississippi (1898), 7,
136
Willkie, Wendell, 167
Wilmington Insurrection, 238–39
Wilson, Woodrow, 8
Wolcott, Edward, 124, 127
Wood, Leonard, 148
Woodward, C. Vann, 6, 40, 106
Work, Hubert, 154, 156, 159

Zweifel, Henry, 172