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THE POLITICAL CAREER

OF

JOHN EDWARD ADDICKS

IN DELAWARE

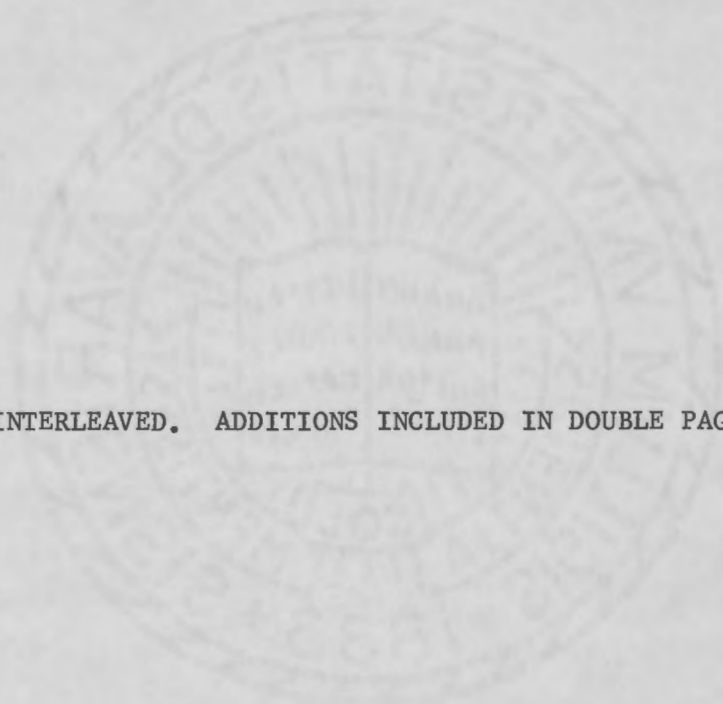
BY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor
of Arts with distinction.

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Submitted by:
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INTERLEAVED. ADDITIONS INCLUDED IN DOUBLE PAGING.

PREFACE

When the writer began this thesis, he thought that no one had made a detailed study of the political career of John Edward Addicks in Delaware. Dr. Ryden of the University of Delaware, Judge Powell, author of a history of Delaware, Mr. deValinger of the state archives at Dover, and authorities at the Wilmington library knew of no such study. In September, 1935, just before the writer returned to college, Mr. Henry B. Thompson of Greenville revealed that Mr. Henry M. Canby of Wilmington had written a thesis upon the same topic at Princeton a few years ago.

Perhaps if the author had known this fact at the beginning of the summer of 1935, he would have selected some other topic into which no one had delved, but he discovered that he had used sources which Mr. Canby had not consulted. Consequently, he believes his account to be more authoritative and detailed. However, he is under many obligations to Mr. Canby, who obligingly loaned him a copy of his thesis.

Originally, the author thought the sole provocation for writing a paper upon Addicks was because he was an interesting political figure, even though his political activities were confined to the writer's native state, Delaware. Again he thought there might be abundant material upon Addicks somewhere in Delaware. Mr. Henry B. Thompson of Greenville, however, carefully pointed out that this political struggle involved a national issue: Could a man such as Mr. Addicks buy his way into the United States Senate? In some states, such as Pennsylvania and Montana, there was an affirmative reply, but Delaware returned a different answer. The Delaware case was of national interest, being closely observed by the administration at Washington and by newspapers everywhere.

A few words are necessary about sources, acknowledgments, etc. The writer, being a Wesleyan student, naturally used all the sources he could find in the Wesleyan library, which consisted mostly of magazine articles, the New York Tribune, and many general articles in books. He next consulted sources in Dover, Delaware, at the Dover public library, and the three libraries in the state-house--the travelling library, the law library,

and the state archives. Perhaps more information concerning Delaware may be found in the Wilmington library than anywhere else, as it makes a special effort to maintain a file of Delaware material; here are kept newspaper clippings, pamphlet material, magazine articles, etc. The writer also visited the University of Delaware library, but it contained no material of interest about Delaware or Addicks not in the Wilmington library. There were a few magazine articles concerning Delaware that the Wilmington library did not possess, and so for three magazines it was necessary to visit the Philadelphia library, and for two magazines and a long interview printed in the New York World to go to the New York public library.

Many acknowledgments are necessary: to Miss Bessie Mary Gustafson of the Wesleyan library for help in finding material; for courtesies shown the writer at the state archives by Mr. deValinger; to Dr. Ryden of the University of Delaware for suggestions; to Judge Powell of Dover for his help and criticism; to Miss Anne O'Brien of the Wilmington library for her constant help during the past summer; to the Wilmington News-Journal Company for the use of their files; to Mr. Charles Hackett of the Sunday Star for the gift of two copies of a picture of Addicks

in 1911; to Mr. Malcolm Wells for photography work; to Mr. John Sinclair for a map of Delaware. The writer was pleased that the members of the staffs of several Philadelphia papers--the Ledger, the Record, and the Bulletin--allowed him to consult their files upon Addicks, a practice which is usually not permissible.

He was most grateful to the following people who granted him interviews: Mr. Thomas Roe of Dover, ex-Governor William Denny of Dover, Mr. James H. Hughes, of Dover, Mr. Henry B. Thompson of Greenville. He regrets that Mr. J. Frank Allee and Mr. Daniel M. Wilson, both of Dover, did not see fit to grant him interviews, but the reason for the refusal of the former perhaps lies apparent in the paper, though the writer at all times has attempted to give a fair and impartial account. The interviews with Mr. Hughes and Mr. Thompson were the most profitable. The writer is under many obligations to Mr. Thompson, who furnished him with material that he could not obtain elsewhere, and who before his death in November, 1935 had promised to read the entire manuscript. He must not forget to thank Mr. Henry M. Canby, who cooperated with him in many ways.

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Above all he was grateful for the help he received from his teachers in writing this paper, especially from the teachers in the history department. He was particularly thankful for the able guidance of Mr. S.H. Brockunier, under whose direction this paper was written.

H.B. Hancock.

February 5, 1936.

Map of MARYLAND, DELAWARE, AND NEW JERSEY

CHAPTER I.

DELAWARE--1890

A wit in Congress once referred to Delaware as "a sandpit on Delaware Bay, with three counties at low tide and two at high."¹ In reality, the state is little more than that. The three counties are New Castle, Kent, and Sussex; north of the Christiana River in New Castle county are a few elevations up to 500 feet; south of it, none over 70 feet.²

Many of the 'peculiarities' about Delaware are explained by its geographical position. To the west and south lie Maryland; to the east is Delaware Bay, and to the north, Pennsylvania. Its length is 110 miles; its width varies from 9 to 35 miles. Before the development of modern means of transportation, the Del-Mar-Va peninsula³ was strangely isolated from the rest of the United States. In Delaware especially, the rivers were of small value commercially, its roads poor, and a railroad was not

1 Borah, "Diamond Delaware, colonial still," National Geographic, 68 (September, 1935):367. Supposedly the wit was Robert Ingersall, but I have been unable to verify this.

2 Conrad, History of the State of Delaware.
Powell, History of Delaware.
General references for this chapter.

3 Del-Mar-Va combines the names of the three states on the peninsula.

laid the length of the state until 1859. During the World War, T. Coleman duPont revolutionized the transportation system of Delaware by building a monument 100 miles high and laying it on the ground.⁴

Before Delaware received this magnificent gift, "few outsiders ever went down there (to the two lower counties); few natives ever came out";⁵ only Wilmington progressed with modern times, the rest of the state lived in the past. As late as 1885, some state laws read, "This act shall be without effect in Sussex county, if it fails to meet with the general approval of the residents thereof."⁶ Notorious for its corporation laws and its whipping post, both of which it still retains, Delaware remained as backward and English as its local divisions--the hundreds. Even recent writers persist in heading their articles, "The Feudal State of Delaware" (1931), or "Diamond Delaware, Colonial Still" (1935).⁷

Next to Rhode Island in area, Delaware had the smallest population of any state incorporated in the union in 1800: 168,493, of which 83 percent was white and 17 percent colored. While the population of Kent county actually decreased in the decade after 1800, and that of Sussex county increased only a few hundred, New Castle county

4 "The duPont family," Fortune, 11 (Jan., 1935): 122.

5 ibid., 11: 122.

6 Hallgren, "Delaware," American Mercury, 8 (June, 1926): 174.

7 Lewis, "The feudal state of Delaware," World's Work, 60 (Feb., 1931): 62-63.

Borah, loc. cit., 68: 367 et sequens.

gained 20,000 people.⁸ In 1890, the population of New Castle county was larger by a third than that of the other two counties combined, and Wilmington almost equalled them in population. Wilmington, with 61,431 inhabitants, was the only city, its closest rival being the town of New Castle with a population of 4,010, while the capital and third largest town, Dover, had only 3,061 people.

Outside of Wilmington, in which were located a few textile mills, an iron works, an important ship-building establishment, and the duPont powder mills, the rest of the state was occupied with agricultural pursuits. There was extensive truck farming; among the staple products were wheat, apples, and peaches. From Delaware Bay came fish and oysters. Because of the richness of the soil, Thomas Jefferson had bestowed upon it the name of the "Diamond State."⁹ Yet in 1901, a prominent Delawarean believed that there were fewer than ten millionaires in the state, and only one of those lived south of the Christiana River.¹⁰

In 1890, the section of the state around Wilmington was the only part of Delaware progressing with the rest

8 Counties: Population in 1890

Kent	32,664
New Castle	97,182
Sussex	38,647
Total	<u>168,493</u>

⁹ Borah, loc. cit., 68: 368. I was unable to find the original source.

¹⁰ Saulsbury, "Preserving a state's honor," Forum, 32 (Nov., 1901): 272.

of the country; lower New Castle county, Kent and Sussex counties remained placid and stagnant. Energetic young men went to the city, and those less energetic stayed home on the farms. The invention of refrigerator cars and the development of railroads in the South furnished increased competition in truck farming, while from the West came large quantities of grain. The products, which formerly had been carried by boat to Philadelphia, New York, or through the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal to Baltimore, now were hauled by a railroad, which charged what the traffic would bear.¹¹

The economic division of the state likewise penetrated into politics. North of the Christiana River was the Republican stronghold in Wilmington; south of that stream, the state was democratic. Wilmington business men had interests in common with their brothers in Philadelphia only 25 miles away, such as protective tariffs; many of them were members of the powerful Republican Union Club. South of the Christiana River most Delawareans were Democrats; being farmers, they were interested in low tariffs. Henry S. Canby in his recent book on Wilmington in the nineties records, "To be a Democrat in our town (Wilmington) was rather disgraceful unless you came from down state

¹¹ Saulsbury, loc. cit., 32: 273. For this and the following paragraph.

or its affiliates, in which case it might be a social distinction."¹²

These Delaware farmers and Democrats controlled the legislature composed of thirty members, ten from each county, with nine members in the senate and 21 in the House of Representatives. Wilmington had repeatedly protested against this unfair division, for New Castle county contained more people than the other counties combined, but the members from Kent and Sussex counties, in control of state politics, could afford to ignore all protests and had no thought of giving way to these demands, which, if granted, meant rule from Wilmington. In 1897 the new constitution was to give New Castle county slightly more representation, but the two lower counties still controlled the legislature.

The history of Delaware has been a proud one. It was named in honor of Lord De La Warr, an early governor of Virginia. First settled permanently by the Swedes in 1638, it came into the possession of the English in 1664. In 1682, James, Duke of York, granted "the three lower counties of Delaware" to William Penn. In 1701, Delaware was conceded the right to have a separate legislature and had practically gained independence before the Revolutionary period.

¹² Canby, Age of Confidence, p. 17.

In 1776, Caesar Rodney made his famous ride to Philadelphia to cast the vote placing Delaware on the side of independence.

During the Revolutionary War, in which 4,000 Delawareans fought, it acquired the nickname of the Blue Hen Chicken state; Delaware volunteers, watching a cock fight, decided to imitate the 'chickens' of the 'Blue Hen' in valor.

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..... In 1787, Delaware became the 'first state,' by being the first to ratify the constitution.

Politically, Delaware had been a Federalist state until 1830; then it alternated between Whigs, Democrats, and local parties until 1862, when it became Democratic for more than a score of years. In the Civil War, Delaware, though a slave-holding state with citizens fighting in both the Confederate and Union armies, remained loyal. In the president's annual message to Congress in 1861, Lincoln said that in enlisting troops "noble little Delaware led off right from the first."¹³ Industrial Wilmington sympathized with the North, and it was almost impossible to secede geographically unless Maryland preceded Delaware in taking this momentous step. Nevertheless, Delaware did not ratify the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments until 1901. The spirit of the people was shown in 1866, when the legislature condemned the national House of Representatives for enfranchising the negroes in the District of Columbia; "the unmutable laws of God have affixed upon the

¹³ Lincoln, Writings of Abraham Lincoln, p. 403. Reprint of his annual message to Congress on December 3, 1861.

brow of the white races the ineffaceable stamp of superiority."¹⁴

With the aid of a negro vote estimated at 4,500 in 1870¹⁵, the Republicans were expected to carry the state after the Civil War. To ward off this danger, the Democratic collectors of the poll tax in March, 1872, listed almost all negroes as 'dead' or 'having left the state' in their returns to the Levy Courts.¹⁶ One of the many law suits against these collectors was pressed to a conclusion in June, 1872. The results were almost immediately seen in the November election of 1872, in which the Republicans elected the Congressman and the three presidential electors.

The Democrats, however, controlled both Houses of the legislature. In April, 1873, a new law concerning the poll tax was passed. In March of each year, the collectors of the tax in each county should return their lists to the Levy Courts. Concerning the names of those who had not paid their taxes, they might use discretion, in leaving names on or taking them off the rolls. Unless the Levy Court was persuaded to restore the name of a delinquent to the rolls in the next twelve months, there was no chance for reinstatement until the following March. But since the assessments were made in February, the individual restored to the rolls

¹⁴ Journal of the House of Representatives, (Delaware), Jan. 22, 1866, p. 512

¹⁵ Conrad, op. cit., p. 221.

¹⁶ (Rice), "A disfranchised people," North American Review, 41 (Dec., 1865): 602.

by the Levy Court in March, had yet to wait eleven months before he could again acquire the right to vote. In other words, once listed as a delinquent, one must wait almost two years before being able to vote again, unless one made a special plea to the Levy Court in the interval. And people listed as delinquents usually did not take the time or trouble to make such a plea. The names of delinquents known to be Republicans were usually dropped, and the names of Democrats retained. In the November of election years, Democratic leaders saw that the poll taxes of their followers were paid, while the Republicans had no chance to 'redeem' their delinquents. Judge H. C. Conrad, who must have been well acquainted with this law, wrote in his history of Delaware, "This Act was clearly designed to make it difficult to get colored men qualified as voters, and those who framed it builded even better than they knew, as by it the Democratic party was enabled to continue in almost uninterrupted control in the state for 25 years after its passage."¹⁷

Republican and independent journals bitterly criticized this law peculiar to Delaware. In 1885, the North American Review, prompted by a sermon delivered by Rev. Edward Everett Hale of Boston, sent an investigator to Delaware to observe 'a disfranchised people.'¹⁸ The

¹⁷ Conrad, op. cit., p. 227

¹⁸ (Rice), loc. cit., 41: 600. Same page for the following quotation from the article.

writer returned, deploring that "in the heart of our population, there existed a class of intelligent people disfranchised and condemned by acts of legislation to the perpetual yoke of one political party"; one might say that there was "no representation without taxation." In 1886, the American, a magazine, referred to Delaware as being in 'the mediaeval period of politics.'¹⁹

After 1873, the Democrats decided the Delaware elections in their primaries. The Republicans became discouraged, furnished little opposition, and in 1886 put no ticket in the field. Yet the American in 1886, the year in which the fortunes of the Republicans were at their lowest ebb in Delaware, had emphatically stated, "A majority of the male citizens of Delaware, 21 years of age or upwards, are not Democrats, but would prefer a revolution of the present political arrangement. On a fair count of all the male adults of the state, the Democrats would be in a minority."²⁰

This revolution was to occur in 1888.

¹⁹ American, 14 (Nov., 1886): 56.

²⁰ ibid., 14: 56.

THE CAPITOL DOVER

CHAPTER II.

THE 'DARK HORSE.'

"I decided to enter the lists as a candidate for the senate because I saw a chance for a dark horse. . ." The statement of John Edward Addicks on January 5, 1889.

In 1888, a major political revolution occurred in Delaware, when the Republicans 'redeemed' the state after twenty years of effort. The reason for their success lay with the Democrats. Eli Saulsbury desired a fourth term as United States Senator, but was opposed by another Democrat, James L. Wolcott, whose friends had been nominated in two of the three counties, Kent and New Castle. In what was called the 'Fishbury' deal, because it was arranged by a Judge Fisher, the followers of Saulsbury agreed to support the Republicans in Kent county, with the hope of causing Wolcott to lose his home county, while the Republicans promised to keep their hands off in the third and lower county, Sussex. Saulsbury would at least have an equal chance of success with Wolcott in the senatorial contest.¹

The followers of Saulsbury carried out their part of the deal, but the Republicans, under the direction of

¹ Personal interview with J. H. Hughes in Sept., 1935.

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Consequently,
in nearly all places, the writer gives the source of his
information.

their Congressional nominee, C. H. Treat, worked hard in Sussex county also, contrary to the agreement. The result was that the presidential electors, the governor, and congressman were Democratic, but that the legislature, by two votes in joint session, became Republican.

The two leading candidates of the Republicans for the office of senator were Anthony Higgins, a veteran Republican, and George V. Massey, prominently connected with the Pennsylvania railroad. Everyone believed that these two men--or a dark horse in the case of a deadlock--had the best chances of election.

Unexpectedly, a 'dark horse' dramatically turned up and willingly proffered his services. He was none other than John Edward Charles O'Sullivan Addicks, whose name conveyed practically nothing to almost all Delawareans, but newspaper reports soon cleared the mystery.

Mr. Addicks was born in Philadelphia, November 21, 1841.² Among his paternal ancestors was Daniel O'Sullivan Beare of Danbury Castle, Cork County, Ireland, a leader in the Munster religious rebellions against Elizabeth of England. His paternal great-grandmother was Lady Arabella Calbraith of Scotland; his grandfather, a German consul at Philadelphia.³ From the Irish branch of the family came the

² Dictionary of American Biography, 1: 104-105. Best account of Addicks' life, but by no means complete.
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.....

³ Every Evening, August 8, 1919. Funeral notice.

Photograph of J. EDWARD ADDICKS

motto of the O'Sullivans, 'Modestia Victrix,' and the crest of rampant lions, a wild bear, and deer.⁴ His father was a health officer of the port of Philadelphia and chairman of the Republican city committee for some years.⁵

Addicks had left school at the age of fifteen to clerk in a drygoods store, though, according to the partisan Wilmington Sun, he graduated with honors at the head of his class.⁶ When he was nineteen, he entered the flour business of Eli Knowles and within two years secured a partnership.⁷ In 1864 he married Laura Butcher, by whom he had his one child, Florence; upon his wife's death in 1872 he married her sister, Rosalie. At the age of 23, with the aid of his father-in-law, a millionaire pork-packer in Philadelphia, he established his own flour business.⁸ He had great success in introducing Minnesota spring wheat to eastern farmers.⁹ Worth \$250,000 in the early part of 1873, he lost everything in the panic of that year;¹⁰ in addition, a judg-

4 New York World, Nov. 16, 1902. (Creelman).

5 Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, May 27, 1913. (Penn.).

6 Sun, Nov. 27, 1898. (Congdon). Signed by the editor.

7 Dictionary of American Biography, 1: 104, 105.

8 Sun, Nov. 27, 1898, (Congdon).

9 Dictionary of American Biography, 1: 105.

10 ibid., 1: 105.

ment of \$85,000 was lodged against him,¹¹ and he became involved in the obligations of his father-in-law, who had speculated in Philadelphia real estate to the extent of building several hundred houses.¹²

In his efforts to retrench, he moved to Claymont, Delaware, in 1877, where some friends, the Wilsons, already lived. Practically by his own confession, it was two months before he knew that his home lay in the state of Delaware, rather than in Delaware county, Pennsylvania.¹³ Addicks had deeded this house to his wife; in April, 1888, she sold it to Mrs. Wilson in return for some bonds, which Mr. Wilson upon his death two years earlier had left as part of his estate.¹⁴ Consequently, neither Addicks nor his wife owned any property in Delaware in 1889, when he began his senatorial fight. He conducted his campaign on 'a bureauful of clothes,'¹⁵ staying at the home of Mrs. Wilson, whom he later married after divorcing his second wife.

11 Sun, Nov. 27, 1888. (Congdon).

12 Barron, More they told Barron, p. 100. Revelations of a Mr. Smith (?) at the Algonquin.

13 Sun, Nov. 27, 1888. (Congdon). It is almost certain that this article was written by Addicks or under his direction.

14 Kennan, "Holding up a state," Look, 73 (Feb., 1903): 388.

15 Kennan, loc. cit., 73: 388. The phrase originated from a conversation that Addicks held with a Massachusetts woman, who asked him if he did not live in her state.

Fortunately for Addicks, his prosperity returned shortly after the panic of 1873, with his entry into the field of water-gas. In order to complete the 'trustification' of the Chicago gas companies in the early eighties, the "Philadelphia branch of the 'Standard Oil'"--the Widener-Elkins-Dolan crowd--also purchased a \$10,000 Chicago gas certificate from him for \$300,000.¹⁶ In 1882 Addicks formed the Chicago Gas Trust; in 1884, the Bay State Gas Company, and also in the latter year, with the famous Boston promoter Thomas Lawson, the Amalgamated Copper Company.¹⁷ Backed by two believers in water-gas, Moore and Gibson, though Addicks had only a capital of \$5,000, he cleared \$4,000,000 in his Boston operations during the eighties.¹⁸ Thomas Lawson wrote in Frenzied Finance that "from 1887 to 1892 (he) made Boston look like the proverbial country gawk at the circus-tins."¹⁹ His paper, the Wilmington Sun, recorded this statement: "owed \$250,000 in 1886; worth \$5,000,000 in 1890."²⁰ His wife in her divorce suit in 1895 alleged that he had an income of over \$1,000,000, but his attorney protested that

¹⁶ Lawson, Frenzied Finance, p. 87. Mr. Smith told Barron that the certificate was worth only \$1,800. Barron, op. cit., p. 100.

¹⁷ Dictionary of American Biography, 1: 105

¹⁸ Barron, op. cit., p. 100. These two men are otherwise unidentified.

¹⁹ Lawson, op. cit., p. 65.

²⁰ Sun, June 19, 1900.

it was only \$17,500.²¹ Ex-Mayor Nathan Matthews of Boston, who had been worsted by Addicks in a deal, reported, "You could not find a sharper, brighter, more acute corporation wrecker than J. Edward Addicks."²²

In January, 1889, Addicks was described in a Wilmington newspaper as being a man of 46 years, about five feet ten inches in height, of light complexion, and with long, blond, moustachios.²³ Thomas Lawson in Frenzied Finance added to this portrait that he had a good-sized, well-shaped head and gray, shallow, inscrutable eyes.²⁴ In summer, he looked like an "elegant and luxurious Southern planter of ante-bellum days"; in winter, like "an exiled Russian grand duke" in sable. Perhaps, the most detailed physical description of Addicks was given by James Creelman in 1902 in his famous interview for the New York World. He saw a "tall, strongly built man of 61 years; whose huge frame, wide head, busy white mustache, short nose, square jaw, jutting cleft chin and gray-blue eyes gave an impression of burly force."²⁵

²¹ Every Evening, Jan. 8, 1885.

²² Ibid., Nov. 19, 1902. Reprint from the New York Post.

²³ Morning News, Jan. 2, 1889. First newspaper interview with Addicks published in Delaware.

²⁴ Lawson, op. cit., p. 76.

²⁵ New York World, Nov. 16, 1902. (Creelman).

Lawson tells a story to illustrate the character of Addicks. In the midst of a raging snow storm, Addicks was driven in a hired hack to a club in Boston. A few minutes later he was informed he had left his sable overcoat inside the carriage. Addicks, so the story was told in the club that evening and the 'street' next morning, had given this overcoat to the unfortunate driver exposed to the cruel storm. Lawson does not vouch for the truth of the story, "nor for that other, which explains that the door-boy who spread this tale of generosity said afterward, when discharged, that Addicks himself had told him what he had done, and at the same time had given him a five-dollar bill. He would have sworn the moment before that he heard Addicks tell the driver to take the coat to his apartments."²⁶

Lawson likewise described Addicks as a sybarite, daring coward, stingy, prodigal, sincere hypocrite, mountebank, joker, and chump.²⁷ Addicks' Wilmington Sun balanced these nouns with phrases concerning their owner and the 'great' leader of part of the Republican forces.²⁸ He "despises aristocracy," "likes plain people," is "a judge of gems," "would spend \$100 in a fight for 2¢ principle," "fancies that he

²⁶ Lawson, op. cit., p. 65

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 65, 66.

²⁸ Sun, June 19, 1900.

is a farmer," "drives like a fiend--four-in-hand," "buys water-proof shoes for all his friends," is "fond of flowers," "can't lie worth a cent," is "outspoken, truthful," "weighs 185 pounds," "that's Addicks." Addicks did not drink, smoke, or swear, but he loved a pretty face and figure--perhaps too well.

Among the various homes of the 'Gas Napoleon' were a beautiful estate at Claymont, Delaware, a large stock farm outside of New Castle, a town-house in Philadelphia, a \$30,000 apartment in the Knickerbocker Hotel on Fifth Avenue in New York, a superb suite in the Imperial Hotel near-by, and a summer place in Newport once owned by William Vanderbilt.²⁹ He had a famous yacht called Now Then. In 1902 James Creelman found 'the Frankenstein of Delaware' at this quaint Claymont home amid many signs of culture: "a cast of a fragment of the frieze of the Parthenon; copies of Botticelli's masterpieces and of Leonardo da Vinci's 'Mona Lisa,' monstrous black oak lions from an Irish castle, tapestry chairs, bronzes, soft-chiming clocks, vases of fresh-cut roses, and, at the very door, the sombre figure of Michael Angelo's Prophet, from the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel."³⁰

In late December, 1888, Addicks returned from Europe, where it was reported he had made a couple of millions

²⁹ Lawson, op. cit., p. 76.

³⁰ New York World, Nov. 16, 1902. (Creelman).

in Siberian railroads.³¹ Upon his arrival in New York he read in the New York Sun that there was a possibility of a senatorial deadlock in the Delaware legislature. The Republicans, it seemed, would be unable to unite upon the choice of a senator. He immediately took a train to the Delaware capitol. Shortly after one o'clock, on the morning of January 1st, 1889, Addicks, in his famous fur coat and high silk hat, was being introduced to the few politicians and stragglers at the Hotel Richardson in Dover. Few Delawareans knew who he was.

To an inquisitive reporter of the Wilmington Evening News, he willingly explained his modest position: "I am not a candidate at present," he said. "Those who have borne the burden of the past and the heat of the day should reap the benefit. If it should prove from the number of candidates in the field and from the divisions that now exist that it is impossible to elect any of those named, I have placed my name in the hands of friends, and I would be glad to represent the Republican party in the United States Senate."³²

A few days later he explained that he had entered the senatorial contest in Delaware for several reasons:

³¹ Kerman, loc. cit., 73: 388. The best account of his arrival. See daily papers also.

³² Morning News, Jan. 2, 1889.

He saw "a chance for a dark horse," "considered the election of some new man essential to keep Delaware a Republican state," and believed that it was necessary to hold Delaware "as the first step toward breaking down the solid South."³³ And from day to day "the affable Addicks, as frank as candor personified but with an undercurrent of real purpose as hard to read as the Eleusinian mysteries" continued to entertain knots of politicians in the rotunda of the Hotel Richardson.³⁴

Balloting began on January 15th, the second Tuesday after the organization of the legislature, but the important thing in 1889 was the Republican caucus. Until that very day Addicks continued to assure questioners that he held himself in readiness only as a compromise candidate and had no other iron in the fire such as legislation.³⁵ On the night of January 14th, on the 43rd ballot, Anthony Higgins secured a majority of the Republican caucus: Higgins, 9; Massey, 6.³⁶ Higgins had steadily proceeded from the first ballot, on which he had received one vote, to victory; on January 16th, he was elected in joint session. Addicks' name was not even mentioned in caucus; likewise, he had no other influence, unless, as he maintained thirteen years later, he persuaded D. O. Moore to vote for Higgins.³⁷ But this fact is extremely

³³ Every Evening, January 5, 1889

³⁴ ibid., Jan. 8, 1889.

³⁵ ibid., Jan. 15, 1889.

³⁶ ibid., Jan. 15, 1889.

³⁷ New York World, Nov. 16, 1902. (Creelman).

Photograph of ANTHONY HIGGINS

doubtful, especially as Higgins at the time of the accusation in 1902, emphatically denied that Addicks had anything to do with his election.³⁸

Addicks had persistently protested that he desired no piece of legislation; yet on February 7th, the matter of a charter for the Peninsular Investment Company was introduced and later passed, a company in which Addicks was interested.³⁹

Apparently, he had accomplished what he came for: legislation, and publicity which might be useful in the next senatorial campaign four years away.

³⁸ Morning News, Nov. 19, 1902. Higgins' reply.

³⁹ Every Evening, Feb. 7, 1889.

CHAPTER III.

ADDICKS' PINK ITALIAN HAND

" . . . if it were not for his money no one would have thought about electing a damn Pennsylvanian as United States Senator." The remark of a Republican leader, when it was rumored that Addicks might be elected senator in the session of 1893.

What Addicks did in the interval between 1889 and 1894, the year of the election of the next Republican legislature, is somewhat of a mystery. By small majorities, in 1890 and 1892, the United Democrats were again in the saddle. H. J. Reynolds was elected Democratic Governor in 1890, John W. Causey, Democratic Congressman in 1890 and 1892, and George Gray was sent to the United States Senate by the Democratic legislature in 1893 for a six-year term.

Immediately after the election of a United States Senator in 1889, Addicks conferred with Higgins.¹ One of Higgins' lieutenants had the impudence to ask why Addicks did not stay in Philadelphia, but Addicks, undismayed by such remarks and the 'treachery' of Higgins, who had fought his charter, promised: "I will give \$10,000 a year for five

¹ New York World, Nov. 16, 1902. (Creelman). In this interview Addicks told what he promised Higgins in 1889.

J. Frank Allee, the most prominent of Addicks' political followers, in a personal interview in 1932, told a somewhat different story concerning Addicks' activities in the years from 1889 to 1894.

years to pay tax delinquencies and get the machine in order." "I kept my word," he added thirteen years later in 1902, "and it was wonderful to see how the people rallied about me when they saw I was in earnest and that the state could be rescued and reformed." In 1902 ex-Senator Higgins knew nothing about Addicks' gift.²

.....

 A prominent Addicks man declared in 1932 that Addicks played no part in Delaware politics until 1893 and that his trip in 1889 was purely for business reasons. This man said: "In 1893 the legislature renewed the delinquent tax law. The Levy Court of Kent county met, and as a result of the renewal of the law, disenfranchised two thousand voters, practically all of them Republicans, for non-payment of the poll tax. At that time, under the delinquent tax law, the voter had to pay a poll tax at least eighteen months before the election in order to be able to vote. The Democrats used every means possible to keep the Republicans from paying this tax. This time, however, I got in touch with Willard Saulsbury, who was the Democratic leader in Kent county, and persuaded him to give us some time to

² Morning News, Nov. 19, 1902.

3 Personal interview of Canby with Allee in 1932. Allee's account of the poll tax law differs from mine (see pages 7 and 8) but mine is authentic. I consulted the laws of Delaware.

get the taxes paid. He granted us two days in May, the third and fourth.

"I went to see Senator Higgins in Washington, in order to get the money, but he refused to do anything. General Wilson, the Republican leader in New Castle county, also said he could do nothing about the matter. The Richardsons and George Massey said they were out of politics. I knew that Addicks lived in Delaware, and that he had shown some interest in politics in 1889. So as a last resort I went to his office in Philadelphia. He was in New York at the time, so I phoned him there and he told me to wait for him. He returned to Philadelphia the next day and gladly gave me the money. Mr. Addicks gave me two checks; the taxes were paid and everyone around here felt obligated to Mr. Addicks. If it hadn't been for Mr. Addicks, there wouldn't have been any Republican party in Delaware."³

George Kennan in his famous article, "Holding Up a State," assigned Addicks quite a different part in those years. Kennan accused Addicks of contributing the sum of \$5,000 to the Democrats in 1890, to help elect their candidate for Governor, R. J. Reynolds.⁴ His proof was a letter in 1896 from the Republican state committee of Delaware to J. Frank Allee, chairman of the Union Republican state committee, Union Republican being the name of the party Addicks

³ Canby, J. Edward Addicks, pp. 8,9.
.....
.....

⁴ Kennan, "Holding up a state," Outlook, 75 (Feb., 1903):390.

formed in 1895. Perhaps better proof lies in the brief of his Republican opponents at the National Convention in 1904.⁵ Three prominent Republicans signed an affidavit that Addicks, on June 8, 1896, confessed concerning the election in 1890: "I gave him (James L. Wolcott) \$5,000, and just in the nick of time to save Kent county, for they (the Democrats) had spent every dollar they had. . . . You know I had no interest in the Richardsons," he said, referring to the Republican candidate for governor and his father. But the Democrats were not the only ones who spent money in 1890. The Democratic Every Evening reported that the Richardsons contributed \$6,000 in Kent county, that the Republicans obtained money from New York and spent at least \$20,000 in Sussex county.⁶ Be as it may, "MANHOOD AND NOT MONEY TRIUMPHED" in 1890, and the Democrats won.⁷

In 1892 Addicks' 'fine Italian hand' was more clearly seen in Delaware politics; he declared himself a Republican. At the Republican convention, in April, for the election of delegates to the national convention at Minneapolis, Robert J. Hanby, one of his later lieutenants, voted for him as a delegate.⁸ Rumors persisted that Addicks

5 Delaware Case, 1904. p. 33.

6 Every Evening, Nov. 3, 1890.

7 ibid., Nov. 5, 1890. Headlines on that day.

8 ibid., April 5, 1892.

expected to be elected senator, if the Republicans won the November election. A Republican leader commented, "Doesn't it beat hell that Addicks is to be the senator from this state, and if it were not for his money no one would have thought about electing a damn Pennsylvanian as United States Senator?"⁹ But in the 1893 session of the legislature, the Democrats controlled 28 of the 30 seats, so that Addicks' time and money had been wasted.

After the battle, the Every Evening estimated that the Republicans had spent \$100,000, \$57,000 of which came from one source (?).¹⁰ Kennan believed that Addicks spent \$75,000 in this one campaign of 1892, in addition to \$25,000 for his Delaware Bay State Gas charter, worth \$2,000,000 to him.¹¹ To the Republican nominees for legislature in Sussex county, Kennan reported, Addicks offered \$1,000 apiece for campaign expenses; only three of the eight refused.¹² In addition, Addicks' followers told Kennan that Addicks, in 1892, 1893, and 1894, paid poll taxes for 1500 disenfranchised Republicans in Kent and Sussex counties and helped to build up a machine.¹³ Later results, and the testimony of a / Union Republican leader in 1932 seem to bear out this latter story.

⁹ Ibid., Nov. 1, 1892.

¹⁰ Ibid., Nov. 10, 1892.

¹¹ Kennan, op. cit., 73: 391.

¹² Ibid., 73: 391.

¹³ Ibid., 73: 391.

Anthony Higgins in 1902 for the Republican opponents of Addicks indignantly repudiated any such early claim of Addicks upon the Republican party. As far as he knew, Addicks had not contributed \$10,000 a year to the Republican party of Delaware from 1889 to 1894; in 1892 Addicks had joined the Republican party only after all poll taxes were paid, and the claim that Addicks had made Delaware Republican was 'absurd.' Higgins' opinion of the famous Creelman interview may perhaps best be expressed by the word 'bosh.'¹⁴

The activities of J. Edward Addicks in the few years after 1889 to the campaign of 1894 are somewhat obscure. It is very likely that he did contribute \$5,000 to the Democrats in 1890, but thereafter aided the Republicans in erecting a machine, whose workings were plainly seen in the session of 1895.

¹⁴ Morning News, Nov. 19, 1902.

CHAPTER IV

ADDICKS OR NOBODY

"It will be either Addicks or no one." Addicks' announcement after the balloting for senator began in January, 1895.

"I bought it; I've paid for it; and I'm going to have it! It has cost me \$140,000." What Addicks told some of his followers in November, 1894, when the Republicans won the election.

As the time for the November election in 1894 approached, it was apparent that all was not well within the Republican party. Six years previously, the Every Evening commenting upon "The Rise of Addicks," said, "Mr. Treat shrugged his shoulders; Mr. Massey smiled; Mr. Higgins sneezed; and everybody in Delaware gave a hearty guffaw"; when a new actor of the comic kind tumbled head over heels into the circus ring of Delaware Republicans.¹

But the comedy had turned into a tragedy. To Democrats, it looked as though the old Higgins' and anti-Higgins' men had united to boost a carpet bagger and monopolist into the senate.² His 'man Friday,' R. J. Hanby, had

¹ Every Evening, Sept. 15, 1894.

² ibid., Sept. 13, 1894.

worsted T. J. Day, the Higgins' candidate, in the primary for state senator from New Castle county.³ And as early as August, it was reported from Sussex county, where politics were sizzling and Addicks' hand plainly seen, that "the ebony element of the party are already putting up the price of their votes and 'Wistah' Addicks is their good angel."⁴ Had the blight in Delaware fruit trees, 'the yellows,' spread to senatorial timbers, or would Mr. Addicks find that like a virtuous woman the price of Delaware was above rubies?

The election of November sixth revealed that the Republicans had won.⁵ It was no accident as in 1888. Harvil was elected governor over the Democratic candidate Tunnell by a plurality of over a thousand, and similar results elected Rev. J. S. Willis Republican Congressman. The Democrats had not 'tunnelled' their way from Lewis to Dover. "From a man up a tree," a few days later in Sussex county, it looked as if Mr. Addicks, with the entire Sussex delegation for him and one vote from Kent county and one from New Castle county, was "as sure of winning the senatorial

³ Ibid., September 10, 1894.

⁴ Ibid., August 16, 1894.

⁵ Governor
J. Harvil 19,892
E. Tunnell 18,657
Plurality 1,235

Congress
Rev. J. S. Willis 19,876
S. Bancroft 18,615
Plurality 1,261

chair as two times two makes four."⁶

In the last part of October, Addicks had said, "I have not used a single cent in the Kent and Sussex primaries--not a single cent," but he readily admitted that he had helped build up the Republican party during the last few years in Delaware by contributing legitimate expenses, such as the payment of poll taxes, and hoped for that reason that there was a 'friendly feeling' for him in the lower counties.⁷

Two days after the election his attitude toward the senatorship seemed to have entirely changed; at a banquet held at the home of Charles L. Moore on the eighth of November, he boasted, "I've bought it; I've paid for it; and I'm going to have it! It has cost me \$140,000!"⁸

The Dover Index printed a story, supposedly coming from J. Frank Allee, that the Republicans had spent \$70,000 in the two lower counties, and added that everyone knew who had contributed this money making possible ^{the} Republican victory.⁹ But both sides had freely purchased votes. Three newly elected Republican representatives, the candidate of the Democrats for governor and another prominent Democrat

⁶ Every Evening, Nov. 10, 1894

⁷ ibid., Oct. 25, 1894.

⁸ Kennan, "Holding up a state," Outlook, 73 (Feb., 1903: 429.

⁹ Every Evening, Nov. 9, 1894. Reprint from the Dover Index.

frankly admitted that money had played a conspicuous part in the election.¹⁰

On November 12, a torch light procession visited Addicks' home in Claymont, and he said, "I am in to win and to stay so until I do win."¹¹ Several prominent Republicans immediately announced that they were unalterably opposed to him.¹²

The Republican caucus for the organization of the House of Representatives was held on December 31st, 1894, the Democrats controlling the senate by one vote. Addicks was considered to have been worsted here in the choice of a speaker. The session opened on the first of January, and the balloting for United States Senator would begin on January 15th, with the Republican caucus for nominees on the 14th. During this interval, Addicks visited Sussex county soliciting support, and the Kent county Republican committee openly endorsed him.

Six Republicans refused to attend the Republican caucus on January 14th.¹³ When a committee of Republicans

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 17, 1894. Republicans--Bacon, McKendree, and Downham; Democrats--Tunnell and C. W. Whiley.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1894.

¹² *Ibid.*, Nov. 13 and 19, 1894. J. P. Fields, E. G. Bradford, and J. F. Pilling.
Ibid.,

¹³ Jan. 15, 1895. Best account in any Delaware paper. These men were Hanby, Ball, Brown, D. O. Moore, Morgan, and Robbins.

cordially requested their attendance, state Senator Hanby said, "We've all gone to bed," and another of Addicks' followers added, "I'll wait until hell freezes over before I'll go down and vote for Higgins." At 11:30 Higgins himself visited the Addicks camp, and dialogue something like this ensued:

Moore (one of the six): "We'll never go over to you."

Higgins: "In that case there'll be no United States Senator elected this session."

Moore: "So be it then."

And so it was. At twelve o'clock midnight the opponents of Addicks held a caucus: Higgins--8; Massey--1; blanks--2. Two other members, seeing the hopelessness of affairs, had already gone home. The Democrats in their caucus nominated Wolcott. On January 15th, the House and Senate voted separately; no one having received a clear majority, the first joint ballot session took place on the following day: Higgins--10; Wolcott--9; Addicks--6; Massey--3; Tunnell--1; absent--1.

"It will be either Addicks or no one," Addicks said.¹⁴ Four of his followers, it was believed, would stand by him until the end. Hanby expressed their sentiment: "We will stay here till the clouds roll by, before we will vote

¹⁴ ibid., Jan. 16, 1895.

for anybody but Mr. Addicks.¹⁵ An impressive Addicks demonstration was held by his followers at the Dover opera house on January 21st, attended, even according to Democratic reports, by at least 300 men.¹⁶ Governor Marvil and Congressman Willis appealed to the Addicks' men to end the deadlock; petitions rolled in from Republicans 'to elect some one'; Washington was visited in search of a solution, but all efforts proved futile. Addicks, calm and serene, entertained the Republican members of the legislature at the Union Club in Philadelphia; covers were laid for 22; afterwards they saw The Black Crook.¹⁷

The air was full of rumors: Addicks would be elected senator; there would be no senator; there would be a compromise; a break would come next week. Throughout the rest of January, all of February, and most of March, the legislature continued to ballot six days a week without any great change taking place. Although Higgins' term expired on the fourth of March, he announced previously that he was a candidate until the end of the session, but his followers deserted him on the 20th, with the hope of a compromise or of casting the blame for the deadlock upon Addicks and his six followers. At last, on the 29th of March, Representative

¹⁵ ibid., Jan. 16, 1895.

¹⁶ ibid., Jan. 22, 1895.

¹⁷ ibid., Jan. 25 to May 9, 1895. The following account of the session of 1895 is so detailed that it is thought better to give this general reference than to have many footnotes.

Morgan left Addicks to vote for James Pennewill. As his breaking away had been predicted since the beginning of the session, it was no surprise, and five votes--if Addicks could hold them--were more than sufficient to block the election of a Republican candidate.

On April 2nd, the 100th ballot was taken, and thought of compromise or election seemed as far away as ever. But an unexpected development occurred with the death of the governor at his home in Laurel on April 8th. Delaware had no lieutenant-governor; according to law, the Speaker of the senate, William T. Watson, became acting governor. Now a Republican candidate for senator had only to muster 15 votes, rather than 16, to win the election; yet the Republican opponents of Addicks controlled only 13 votes and these scattered, so the end of the deadlock seemed remote. The facts were simply that Watson, a Democrat, as Speaker of the senate, had become acting governor upon the death of Harvil, and thereafter had no right to vote in the legislature. The Republicans continued to squabble, hold conferences, and talk of compromise, but it was Addicks or nobody.

On April 17th, Massey withdrew from the fight and his men went to James Pennewill, but two days later three

of the Higgins' men voted for Massey. On April 30th, Representative Money unexpectedly voted for Addicks, who with the coming of May and the end of the session less than two weeks away, crowed, "My men will die for me." On May 4th, Massey repeated that he was not in the race, and on May 5th, Higgins withdrew.

Forty-two ballots were taken on May 5th, the next to the last day of the session, from the 134th to the 176th ballot. By the 5th ballot Colonel H. A. Dupont had gained the Pennewill votes, and on the 10th Representative Money left Addicks again for H. A. Dupont. The remaining five Addicks' men then shifted for five ballots to H. R. Burton; yet there was little chance that the Republicans would suddenly unite on one candidate, because members had the right to change their vote at the conclusion of the roll-call. Anti-Addicksites freely predicted this result if some Republican other than Addicks were to receive a majority vote in the legislature. After the 16th ballot, for the remainder of the day, the Addicks' men voted for William Dupont.¹⁸

On May 8th, at 9 o'clock, the 177th ballot of the session was taken, the joint session of the previous night having adjourned until 8 o'clock the next morning.¹⁹ William Dupont announced that he did not wish his name to be used,

¹⁸ Morning News, May 9, 1895. The Every Evening and Canby (page 17) err in saying only 40 ballots were cast on May 8th. Compare with record of the House of Representatives.

¹⁹ Every Evening, May 9, 1895.

so on the third ballot of the day the Addicks' men voted for James Fennewill and on the fourth for Anthony Higgins! After six ballots the legislature adjourned until twelve o'clock. It looked as if Delaware, for the first time in its history, would be represented in the fifty-fourth Congress by only one senator, but anything might happen on the last day.

The Journal of the House of Representatives recorded the events of May 9th thus: "The hour of twelve o'clock having arrived, the Senate, preceded by Speaker-Governor Watson, and attended by the Clerks and sergeant-at-arms, proceeded to the Hall of the House of Representatives for the purpose of voting for a United States Senator," and "Speaker-Governor Watson directed the Clerks to call the roll of the respective houses, and the members, as their names were called responded by viva voce vote, as follows, viz:"²⁰ Addicks--4; Funnell--1; H. A. duPont--15; Ridgley--10. Watson had taken his seat again in the legislature, voted for a Democrat for United States Senator, and prevented the election of H. A. duPont. If Watson had not voted, duPont would have had a majority of one vote. The supporters of duPont were struck with amazement, indignation, and horror; victory within their grasp

²⁰ Journal of the House of Representatives, May 9, 1895.
(Delaware), p. 1408.

had been snatched from them by the Democrats, seconded, as they then believed and later evidence proved, by their enemy Addicks. Senator Alrichs protested in vain against such tactics for those Republicans who did not follow Addicks.

Watson had voted for Ridgley on May 9th, because, after the first six ballots of the day had been taken, Brown, one of the previously loyal five, had announced that he would desert Addicks for H. A. duPont rather than cause a deadlock. H. A. duPont would then receive 15 votes, 14 being scattered. To prevent the election of a Republican, acting-Governor Watson, directed by some members of his own party and instigated by Addicks, entered the senate chamber shortly before twelve o'clock and announced to several senators,²¹ before he began presiding as Speaker, that he planned to vote in the joint session. In the succeeding twenty-eight ballots, he carried out his threat, deadlocked the legislature, and prevented the election of duPont.

On the evening of May 9th and the morning of May 10th, Watson showed to two of his friends an interesting paper showing another light upon the subject. Moore, Ball,

²¹ U. S. Senate. "Claim of H.A. duPont," Senate document no. 9, 54th Congress, 1st session. (Senate documents, v. 1 (no. 9., pt. 2, pp. 31-34); serial no. 2347. Affidavits of J.M.C. Moore and G. F. Pierce.

Although his actions cannot be defended on ethical grounds,

Robbins, and Hanby had signed a document pledging themselves "to vote for John Edward Addicks first, last, and all the time."²² Watson knew, then, when he voted on May 9th, that the deadlock would not be broken that session if he voted, because these four men would not desert Addicks.

.....

He had done a great thing for his party in the state and nation. He had prevented the election of a Republican United States Senator at a particularly crucial time in Washington, where one vote meant a great deal, the Populists holding the balance of power of the senate.

During the deadlock, the New York Tribune among other papers had pointed out the importance of the Delaware election to the country. With 42 Republicans, 42 Democrats, and 2 Populists in the senate, the election of one more Republican would give that party control. "The security of national finances, the protection of many hundreds of industries, and the restoration of prosperity to the country may be paramount issues to be determined by the choice of a senator at Dover," the Tribune had thundered. But the Delaware Republicans--four of them, with the aid of the Democrats--had failed to heed the national call.²³

²² U. S. Senate. "Claim of H. A. duPont," Senate document no. 9, 54th Congress, 1st session, (Senate documents, v. 1 (no. 9, pt. 2, pp. 36, 37); serial no. 3347.) Affidavits of J. S. Prettyman and Frank Heedy.

²³ New York Tribune, March 5, 1895.

Addicks and his four followers placed the blame for the failure to elect upon his Republican opponents, but no one would listen. Addicks had refused all offers of compromise. At 2:30 on the afternoon of May 9th, Robbins, one of Addicks' supporters, told George Eliot that he would willingly vote for duPont except for his promise to Addicks. Eliot ran hastily to the Hotel Richardson two blocks away, to persuade Addicks to release Robbins. "Never," he said, "I don't care what they want in Washington. I am in the fight, and it will be Addicks or nobody."²⁴

Hanby told the Addicks' side of the story at a meeting of the Republicans in Wilmington in October: The night before the final adjournment, Addicks came to Hanby and said: "Robert, you have been faithful; tomorrow vote for other men until noon, and then come to me." Addicks' five followers had voted for other men on the morning of May 9th--just as they had voted for H. R. Burton and William duPont the day before--but in the afternoon four of them had returned to Addicks. The Republican opponents of Addicks had refused this opportunity to compromise and consequently, they alone were responsible for the failure to elect a Republican senator.²⁵

²⁴ Delaware Case, 1904. (Republican National Convention). Pt. 13, pp. 34-36. Affidavit of G. Eliot.

²⁵ Every Evening, Oct. 26, 1895.

Of course, the election question was referred to the United States Senate. During the long debate, one of the senators said, "The occurrences which took place on the 9th day of May, 1895, in the joint assembly of the state of Delaware constitute the most remarkable thing which has taken place in the last century."²⁶ On May 16th, 1896, the senate defeated the motion to seat H. A. duPont by a strictly party vote of 31 to 30. The Democrats and Populists had combined to prevent his election. In 1897, with a slightly different composition in the senate, the question was again raised, but a negative answer was returned.²⁷

Addicks issued a typical statement on May 10th: "I regard it as a great misfortune that we are without a Republican United States Senator. But as a Republican I believe the party in the state is in a better position than it would be if the senatorial chair had been filled by a man selected merely to fill the place. I regard myself as the Republican leader of Delaware supported by a vast majority of the Republican voters of the state."²⁸

To Senator Washburn of Minnesota, he telegraphed: "The Republican party will carry Delaware next year pledged

²⁶ Congressional record, v. 28, pt. 6, 54th Congress, 1st session, 1895-1896. May 14, 1896. p. 5227. The statement of Senator O. H. Platt of Connecticut.

²⁷ Every Evening, Feb. 8, 1897. Compare Congressional Record.

²⁸ ibid., May 10, 1895.

to Addicks for senator. I made Delaware Republican. If the Republican party is the party of treachery, I will help bury it ten thousand fathoms deep."²⁹

Years later, Addicks said, "In the election of 1894 it was distinctly understood that if we secured a Republican legislature I was to be sent to the United States Senate. That was the issue plain and unmistakeable."³⁰ Higgins and Marvil had broken this promise. Higgins in 1902 denied any such agreement, giving the credit for the Republican victory to Marvil and others, not Addicks.³¹

In spite of what the newspapers might say--about his four followers, for not abiding by the decision of the majority in the Republican caucus, or about him, for not allowing the Republicans to gain the fruits of their victory--Addicks was better satisfied in 1895 to have Addicks or nobody than to have someone else elected. He had predicted that the Republican party would win the coming election and that it would be pledged to Addicks for senator. It remained to be seen if he could carry out this prophecy. But the Republican convention to elect delegates to the national convention in St. Louis came first. No one as yet dreamed of the results of the Delaware convention.

²⁹ Ibid., June 1, 1895.

³⁰ New York World, Nov. 16, 1902. (Creelman).

³¹ Morning News, Nov. 19, 1902.

CHAPTER V.

THE SUGGESTION OF A FRESHMAN.

Thompson: "Let's jump the convention."

Higgins: "What do you know about it,
you're only a freshman!"

A dialogue between two Republicans, which resulted in the supporters of duPont jumping the Dover convention, when they discovered that Addicks controlled it.

While newspapers the country over continued to condemn Addicks for deadlocking the Delaware legislature in 1895, Addicks continued his political activities. In a telegram to the Morning News in the last of May, 1895, he denied having anything to do with the defeat of the Republicans in the Wilmington municipal election.¹ The "good people" of Delaware refused to sanction Addicksism; by a vote of 24 to 5 in October he was refused admittance to the Delaware Historical Society.² In the last part of October, he addressed the Eighth Ward Republican League of Wilmington and presented it with a life-size portrait of himself, while Hanby trounced the anti-Addicks men for the failure to elect a senator.³

1 Morning News, June 1, 1895.

2 Every Evening, Oct. 22, 1895.

3 ibid., Oct. 26, 1895. Reference has already been made to this meeting. See page 38.

In December, 629 Republicans of New Castle county requested the state Republican committee to expel H. J. Hanby from its organization, in addition to condemning unqualifiedly "the methods employed in this state by J. Edward Addicks, and particularly his treachery in the late senatorial contest to the Republican party."⁴

But Addicks was not dismayed by a rejection from the Delaware Historical Society, condemnation by 629 Republicans, or even the almost universal disapproval of the press. In the same month in which some Republicans of New Castle county had requested the expulsion of Hanby, and had condemned Addicks, he told reporters, "You can say that I will pay the taxes of the two lower counties whether Colonel duPont is seated or not. If I don't, 4,000 Republicans will be disenfranchised."⁵

On April 6th, the Republican state Committee met to arrange the primaries to elect delegates to the state convention, which would control the selection of delegates to the national convention to be held at St. Louis. By a vote of 7 to 4, the pleas of the Addicks' men for minority representation on the primary boards were defeated.⁶ Late

⁴ Ibid., Dec. 9, 1895.

⁵ Ibid., Dec. 17, 1895.

⁶ Ibid., April 7, 1896.

In April, Addicks, in a speech at Bridgeville, threatened to abandon his political activities unless he secured control of the state convention in May; otherwise, he would consider that the Republicans of Delaware did not want him or desire his aid in the fall election.⁷

On May 9th, 1896, just a year after the adjournment of the deadlocked legislature in 1895, the Republican primaries took place. The Democratic Every Evening reported that Addicks controlled at least 100 of the 160 delegates.⁸ The opponents of Addicks had never expected such a calamity; even in New Castle county, the home of his leading opponents, Addicks, previously a down state influence, had made inroads. "I will be a member of the United States Senate when the next President of the United States is inaugurated," Addicks told reporters when he learned the results of the primaries; "duPont will not be seated."⁹

This was the situation when the leaders of the Republican party in New Castle county, only too well acquainted with the returns of the day, met in Wilmington on Saturday evening, May 9th. These men were: Anthony Higgins; Colonel

⁷ ibid., May 1, 1896.

⁸ ibid., May 11, 1896.

⁹ ibid., May 11, 1896.

H. A. duPont; Fred E. Bach, Higgins' secretary and political adviser; Washington Hastings, editor of the Republican anti-Addicks Evening Journal; General Wilson, Republican national committeeman; and two Wilmington business men, Henry C. Morse and Henry B. Thompson, who together had founded a business men's club to work against Addicks. Thompson, who told the writer this story, was also the son-in-law of General Wilson. It was a very heated meeting. "Let's jump the convention," Thompson suggested. "What do you know about it, you're only a freshman!" growled Higgins. Colonel duPont adjourned the meeting until four o'clock the next afternoon.¹⁰

But the suggestion of a freshman, to jump the convention, was adopted, and a program of action arranged for the state convention on Tuesday. Bach and Hastings, the two practical politicians of the crowd, were to attack Addicks at the convention, and when the discussion had become very bitter, Morse was to get up and say, "I won't stand this any longer; come on boys!" It was believed that the other anti-Addicks delegates would follow him out of the convention. Hastings and Bach, however, were not willing to go through with their part of the program unless they were protected.

¹⁰ Personal interview with H. B. Thompson in Sept., 1935. For this and the next two paragraphs.

Photographs of

Caleb R. Layton

J. Frank Ailee

The man from Sussex.

The man from Kent

With H. C. Browne, later postmaster of Wilmington, Thompson went through the slums of Wilmington to get a score of toughs to accompany them to the Dover convention.

Having arrived at Dover, the Wilmington delegates discovered the door of the convention hall was locked, and the Addicks' men caucusing elsewhere. The sluggers easily broke down the door, and the anti-Addicks' men were soon waiting inside the convention hall for the Addicks' men to arrive.

General Wilson called the convention to order, and Dr. C. R. Layton, a strong supporter of Addicks, was elected temporary chairman. From the first motion, that the chairman as usual should appoint the committee on credentials, which Bach protested, the convention was as bitter as anticipated. Addicks, when he suggested that many of the Higgins' men were present by fraud, unfortunately referred to 'Addicks' delegates.' Hastings protested and was reminded in substance that in his newspaper he had divided the sheep from the goats in the same manner. Bach then re-entered the argument saying, "I gave you decent nominations," and twenty voices chorused, "You're a liar!" Finally, a committee on credentials composed mostly of Addicks' men was elected. A motion by Hastings to instruct the delegates to the national convention for McKinley was tabled by

a vote of 96 to 55, in order to show the strength of Addicks. Delegates from the second, third, and tenth wards of Wilmington favorable to Addicks were seated on the grounds of fraud committed by the Higgins' men.¹¹

The majority report of the committee on resolutions opposed free silver, endorsed the McKinley bill, and favored liberal pensions and uninstructed delegates to St. Louis. The minority report offered by one member was much the same except that it condemned "the open and bold use of money as carried on by some Republicans at the recent primaries," and denounced the actions of Governor Watson on May 9th.

Hastings stood up. "I want only one word, the last word," he said.

"Thank the Lord," some one shouted.

"Since it is the evident intention of the majority to drown and stifle the voice of the minority," he continued, "I have the honor to announce that the subsequent proceedings interest us no more."¹²

He walked out of the convention followed by about forty of the delegates. In the midst of a raging thunder storm, which some newspapers regarded as 'ominous,' the

¹¹ Every Evening, May 13, 1896.

¹² Ibid., May 13, 1896.

'bolters' adjourned to the House of Representatives, and General Wilson called a second Republican convention together that day. Washington Hastings was elected chairman, and H. C. Browne, secretary. Delegates were elected to the national convention. A resolution was passed favoring the seating of H. A. duPont. J. Edward Addicks, the platform of the party declared, having conspired with the Democrats to defeat the election of a United States Senator, was neither a Republican nor "a fit person either politically or morally to represent the Republicans of Delaware in any capacity." Censure could hardly have been more severe.¹³

On May 15, the anti-Addicks' men received another blow, when the senate decided that Colonel duPont was not entitled to a seat in that body, just as Addicks had predicted before the convention met.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the Republican county committee in New Castle county at last expelled Hanby by a vote of 38 to 6,¹⁵ and the Every Evening printed an unfounded statement, "The beginning of the end of Addicks in Delaware is in full view."¹⁶

¹³ ibid., May 13, 1896.

¹⁴ ibid., May 16, 1896. Also see Congressional Record.

¹⁵ ibid., May 17, 1896.

¹⁶ ibid., May 17, 1896.

When the Republican national committee met on June 12th, the fight was merely shifted from Dover to St. Louis. "I made Higgins Senator. I whipped him. Hence these tears," Addicks said.¹⁷ He protested that he had made Delaware Republican and had been endorsed by the Republicans of Delaware, who had selected this delegation. Higgins declared that Addicks was a traitor to the Republican party, had prevented the election of a United States Senator, and that his delegation represented the party of Lincoln in Delaware in unbroken succession. When Higgins, during the heated discussion, referred to 'that man' and 'moral idiot,' Addicks, the New York Tribune reported that the two almost came to blows.¹⁸ Neither side was placed on the roll, but a hint of the way the wind blew was given by Senator Thurston, chairman of the national committee, who said, "I would not vote for J. Edward Addicks if his vote were needed to make the next President of the United States."¹⁹

What other people thought made no difference to Addicks. "If the decision is against us, Delaware will no longer be a Republican state," he blustered. "Not that we make any threats, but because the people will resent our defeat."²⁰

¹⁷ Ibid., June 13, 1896. Dispatch from St. Louis.

¹⁸ New York Tribune, June 13, 1896. Its account of the convention better than that in the Delaware newspapers.

¹⁹ Every Evening, June 13, 1896. Reprint from the Philadelphia Record.

²⁰ Ibid., June 16, 1896.

On June 16th, the national committee voted not to seat Addicks by a vote of 28 to 20, and to seat Higgins by a vote of 31 to 17; on the 17th, the national convention affirmed this decision by a vote of 545 1/2 to 359 1/2.²¹ According to the majority report, "the delegates headed by Addicks did not represent the Republicans of Delaware or anywhere else"; Mr. Addicks and his partners were simply "highwaymen on the way to fortune."²²

"We shall carry the fight back to the Republicans in Delaware," one of the Addicks' delegates said in St. Louis.²³ On June 20th, the Addicks' men held a large parade in Wilmington. Addicks denied a rumor that he was to run for governor; his interest lay only in the senatorship.²⁴

In July, the two Republican conventions met. The Addicks' convention at Dover, on July 14th, nominated J. H. Hefecker for governor and Rev. J. S. Willis for Congressman; it passed a resolution saying that Addicks should have been seated and that it represented the only Republican party in Delaware.²⁵

What attitude the opponents of Addicks would take towards him was shown by the call for their convention. After thoroughly condemning Addicks--as a menace to Repub-

²¹ *Ibid.*, June 16 and 17, 1896.

²² *Ibid.*, June 18, 1896.

²³ *Ibid.*, June 18, 1896. D. P. Stewart.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1896.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, July 15, 1896.

lican success in November, as no Republican, as the financial angel of the Democrats on at least one occasion in 1890, as the cause of the vacant Delaware senate seat, and as one who had threatened to bury the Republican party of Delaware 10,000 fathoms deep--the call concluded, "No one shall be eligible for a delegate who is under political alliance to anyone who is in sympathy with the treachery which caused Delaware to be without full representation in the United States Senate for the last year."²⁶ When the convention met on July 16th at Georgetown, it proceeded to name a different state ticket--J. C. Higgins, Anthony Higgins' brother for governor, and R. G. Houston for Congressman, and with one exception different presidential electors.

On July 24th, the Democratic Clerks of Peace of the three counties decided that the Higgins' men 'owned' the Republican eagle and that the Addicks' men must seek a new symbol. A former Union/^{Republican} in 1932, declared that this was a political maneuver by the Democrats to weaken the strongest faction of the Republicans and to assure, more probably, the success of the Democrats in the November election.²⁷ On

²⁶ New York Tribune, July 4, 1896. This call was not published in the Delaware newspapers.

²⁷ Canby, J. Edward Addicks, p. 27.

July 25th, at Rehoboth, Addicks' followers adopted the name of Union Republican and selected a star as the symbol of the new party. For eleven years the Union Republicans were to wage a bitter fight against their Republican opponents, the Regular Republicans, who fought Addicks partly because of high ideals and partly for selfish reasons. All eyes were to be focused on the senatorship, and Addicks was to be the center of the controversy. Addicks' strength lay in Kent and Sussex counties; his opponents', in New Castle county. Conceived on May 12th, 1896, in the midst of a thunder storm, and born on July 25th at Rehoboth, the Union Republican party was to be ill-fated.

It was a matter of concern to the national Republican committee that Delaware so shortly 'redeemed' from the Democrats should again be surrendered because of a local fight, one which had caused the loss of a seat in the senate already and was expected to cause the loss of three electoral votes. Addicks definitely stated that no candidate on his ticket would withdraw,²⁸ and a leader of the Regular Republicans said that there was no compromise 'with cancer.'²⁹

²⁸ Every Evening, August 8, 1896.

²⁹ ibid., August 15, 1896. The Regular Republican leader was E. G. Bradford.

Both sides pleaded their case before the national committee, which made no satisfactory adjustment.³⁰

In the middle of September, W. C. Spruance and J. G. Shaw, the electors nominated by the Regular Republicans, wrote to the Union Republican electors suggesting a compromise.³¹ All four candidates should resign, leaving the selection of the two nominees to the national committee, or one from each side might resign. Addicks refused the offer;³² so in October the two Regular nominees withdrew, leaving the two Union Republicans and D. J. Fooks, who was already on both tickets, in the field.³³

Apparently both sides were prepared to fight it out, now that the question of presidential electors had been settled. Higgins was reported to have spoken to a friend concerning the Republican split: "It means Democratic success but that is preferable to the success of other people." Concerning Rev. Willis, the Republican nominee for Congress, Higgins commented, "Oh, he is for Addicks. We intend to take down the cleaver and split the whole G-- D--- crowd down the spinal cord."³⁴

³⁰ *ibid.*, August 24, 1896.

³¹ *ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1896. Letter dated Sept. 14.

³² *ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1896.

³³ *ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1896.

³⁴ *ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1896. Conversation of Higgins with W. T. Warburton, a Maryland politician.

Six tickets were voted for on November 4th, 1896;³⁵ the Democrats split over Bryan and silver. Bryan lost the country and Delaware, but the Democrats controlled the state offices. The returns showed that the Republicans united could easily have carried the state.³⁶ Democratic reports said that \$40,000 had been spent in Sussex county, and \$35,000 in Kent county.³⁷ Thomas Lawson estimated in Frenzied Finance that \$100,000 had been spent in the entire state.³⁸

Lawson told an unconfirmed and improbable story about the election. After the ballot boxes had been assembled in the court-house at Dover, one of Addicks' lieutenants was to change some of the ballots with the aid of the sheriff. Addicks was to accuse the Democrats of doctoring the election returns and to pose as the Republican hero for having exposed the villainy of the Democrats. Addicks was extremely careful to see that he was not implicated in the plot; each of his followers had been instructed by him separately. Whenever any of his lieutenants discussed the plan, Addicks as usual said, "Wait until I step out of the

³⁵ The parties were: Democrats, Republicans, Honest Money Democrats, Union Republicans, Prohibition, Single Tax,

³⁶ For example:

	Votes for governor.
Tunnell (D.)	16,604
Hoffecker (U.R.)	12,669
Higgins (R.R.)	6,997
Plurality for Tunnell.	3,936

³⁷ Every Evening, Nov. 7, 1896. Estimates of the Sussex Journal and Dover Index respectively.

³⁸ Lawson, Frenzied Finance, p. 63.

James H. Hughes, who was one of the lawyers
defending the Democratic side of the case, admits frankly
today (1935)

41 Personal interview with James H. Hughes in September,
1935. The words of J. L. Wolcott were also told me by
H. B. Thompson, T. Roe, and Judge W. A. Powell.

room." If rumors of the plot circulated and the case went to court, the evidence would be simply one man's word against Addicks', who would know nothing about it. This particular scheme failed to take place because Addicks lost his nerve.³⁹

The Democrats, however, had a scheme up their sleeves, better than any dreamed of by the Republicans.⁴⁰ The Democratic election board simply refused to count the Republican returns in six of the fourteen districts in Kent county, reported that only 2,548 votes had been cast, and threw out 2,962 votes in six districts. Instead of the Democratic candidates having pluralities of from 198 to 390 votes, they should have been defeated by pluralities from 99 to 469.

..... A prominent Democrat admitted in 1935 that the action of the Democratic election board was a party maneuver with no justification. Like most Democrats, however, he agreed with James L. Wolcott, Democratic candidate for the senate in 1889, who said, "Desperate ends require desperate means."⁴¹ Two years later, after the legislature had adjourned, the

³⁹ Lawson, op. cit., pp. 63, 64.

⁴⁰ Harvel's Delaware Reports, v.2, pp. 485-591.

⁴¹
.....
Personal interview in 1935.

court declared the Republicans seated. By such tactics, the Democrats controlled 16 of the 30 votes in the legislature.

"I don't care about the passing of laws, all I want is the senatorship, and I shall be elected. . . . Unless I am seated in the senate, there will be another vacancy for two years," Addicks told a reporter of the Philadelphia Public Ledger shortly before the legislature met. Exactly how he was to be elected he did not say, but he intimated that he would set up a rump house in Dover as a protest against the unfair tactics of the Democrats.⁴²

In 1896 Addicks seemingly had played and lost. The national convention had failed to sanction his activities, and he had surrendered the state to the Democrats, leaving him no chance for election to the United States Senate. The bright spot was that he now had a party back of him, which was clearly the second largest party in Delaware. If he could hold on long enough, he might be elected. On this chance he was willing to gamble in the coming years.

⁴² New York Tribune, Dec. 29, 1896. Reprint from the Philadelphia Public Ledger. In a telegram to the Tribune on Dec. 30, Addicks protested both the article, which he said was 'manufactured' by Saulsbury, and editorial which accompanied it and called him 'the fruit and flower of the system (bossism).'

CHAPTER VI.

THE YEAR OF THE TWO LEGISLATURES

"J. Edward Addicks will be a factor in Delaware politics until he is either dead or hades freezes over." The comment of Charles H. Kittinger, an Addicks' leader, when asked if Addicks would withdraw from the senatorial contest in July, 1897.

For the first time in the history of Delaware two legislatures met in Dover on January 5th, 1897. In addition to the usual legislative meeting in the state-house, a 'rump' house composed of the 14 defeated Republican legislative candidates and 3 Union Republican hold-over senators met every day in the Hotel Richardson, until it balloted for United States Senator on January 19th, and elected John Edward Addicks.¹ After 25 ballots in the Democratic caucus, R. R. Kenney was nominated as a candidate for senator on January 18th, and elected senator in the legislature on the first ballot the following day. Before either Addicks' or Kenney's case could be decided, however, the Democratic committee on privilege in the senate had to act upon the petition of H. A. duPont for a

¹ Every Evening, Jan. 19, 1897.

rehearing, of the election case of 1896. On February 5th, it threw out the duPont case, seeing no reason for a rehearing, ignored Addicks' election certificate, and declared Kenney seated.²

On April 24th, word came from Washington that the Republican factions must get together.³ A few days later, E. G. Bradford was appointed as a federal judge over the Higgins' nominee, W. C. Spruance, and the Addicks' favorite, E. E. Ward, the personal attorney of Addicks and a man of great personal integrity.⁴ Although both factions had visited Washington, the appointment was considered a victory for H. A. duPont. Senators Quay and Penrose were reported to have spoken in favor of Ward to the president; the two senators supported the Addicks' candidate, it was believed, because Addicks had promised to support Quay for the presidency in 1896 if his delegation had been seated in the national convention.

Rumors persisted that duPont would control the patronage in Delaware for several reasons. The two senators and one Congressman from Delaware were Democratic. duPont was a personal friend of McKinley, and some Republicans considered that he had been legally elected to the senate.

After the appointment of Bradford, Addicks and

² *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1897.

³ *Ibid.*, April 24, 1897. Supposedly the warning came from McKinley.

⁴ *Ibid.*, April 26, 1897.

several other Union Republican leaders visited McKinley, who, they said upon their return, promised henceforth to divide all spoils fairly.⁵ Within a month their serenity was perturbed by the appointment of O. R. Smith, an out-and-out Higgins' supporter, as postmaster in Laurel, the center of a Union Republican district.⁶ The Union Republicans again went to Washington.

In July, the state committee of the Union Republicans sent a letter to the Regular Republican committee suggesting that a joint committee of six meet to settle differences, or that a joint convention be held to elect a new central committee, composed of 17 men, one from each senatorial district.⁷

Some people considered that Addicks had retired from the race, and that this letter meant the end of the Union Republican party, but such beliefs were far from true. Before the harmony proposals had been sent to the Regular Republicans, Addicks had said: "I am a candidate until death."⁸ One of Addicks' lieutenants, Charles H. Kittinger, made an even stronger statement, if possible,

⁵ ibid., May 7, 1897. Visit on May 6.

⁶ ibid., June 12, 1897.

⁷ ibid., July 21, 1897. Letter from J. F. Allee to H. C. Browne.

⁸ Morning News, June 1, 1897.

after the proposals appeared. "J. Edward Addicks will be a factor in Delaware politics until he is either dead or hades freezes over, and the next election will show that the Union Republicans have a majority of the Republicans in the state."⁹

The truth of the matter was that the Union Republicans were receiving none of the federal patronage so important in maintaining a harmonious and efficient party machine. The 'differences' to be settled were patronage. The last election had shown clearly that the Union Republicans were the second largest party in Delaware, and that the Union Republicans would very probably control the majority of the delegates to any convention, and thus the composition of the central committee. If a committee of six were chosen to settle differences, the Union Republicans might hope to receive half the patronage. If the Regular Republicans refused to consider either proposal, they would be severely censured by the Addicksites, and might lose their control of the patronage, in view of the claims of the Union Republicans to be the majority Republican faction. The Union Republicans had much to gain and nothing to lose by both of these suggestions.

⁹ Every Evening, July 21, 1897.

In September, the two Republican central committees met in Dover.¹⁰ Either Union or Regular Republican might have predicted that the meeting would accomplish nothing, but the deadlock arose over the question of representation in the state convention. The old rule, which the Regular Republicans favored, gave 40 delegates to Wilmington, 38 to rural New Castle county, 42 to Kent, and 40 to Sussex. If the factor of population were considered, this was a fair enough division. Wilmington had over a third of the population of the state, and New Castle county including Wilmington had a third more people than the two other counties combined. The people of the two lower counties, however, refused to be ruled from Wilmington. Since there were three counties, they argued, each should have equal representation. The Union Republicans proposed that each county should have fifty delegates, and Wilmington, 25. Back of the fight was the simple fact that the Regular Republicans were supreme in rural New Castle county and Wilmington, and the Union Republicans, in Kent and Sussex counties. Neither side could afford to give in, for the other might pre-

¹⁰ Ibid., Sept. 17, 1897. For entire paragraph.

dominate in a convention. In the face of such difficulties, the 'harmony' meeting adjourned. On September 27th, the Regulars refused a proposal that each legislative district should elect five delegates to the proposed convention, and attempts toward harmony, which had halted temporarily on September 16th, failed completely on September 27th.¹¹

Finding further efforts useless, the Union Republicans called a convention for November 4th, because the new constitution, which had been drawn up during the winter of 1896 and 1897, necessitated some changes in the organization of the party, and because "the responsibility of 13,000 votes places upon us the leadership of the Republican party in the state."¹² The new constitution provided that there would be 52 members in the legislature, 35 in the house and 17 in the senate; 22 of those members would come from New Castle county. Since the Union Republican party was organized along the lines of the local divisions, a change in the party rules must be made. But in addition to making these changes and condemning the

¹¹ ibid., Sept. 28, 1897.

¹² ibid., Oct. 8, 1897.

Democrats for "the theft of five seats in the constitutional convention," little else was done.¹³

Before the nominating conventions met in August, 1898, various attempts were made to settle differences without success. The Regular Republicans held their convention on August 25th.¹⁴ J. H. Hoeffcker was nominated for representative, Dr. L. H. Ball for state treasurer, and J. A. Lingo for state auditor. A little later in the month, the Union Republicans nominated the same ticket. The most important plank in their platform read, "We are zealously and sincerely in favor of a united Republican party in Delaware."¹⁵ The Regular Republicans replied to the Addicks' challenge, "Resolved, That the Republican state committee is in favor of party unity throughout the state."¹⁶ In this election a factional split was not to throw victory away to the Democrats.

In the two lower counties, however, the Union Republican county conventions decided to run a separate legislative ticket. Addicks remained a factor in the senatorial race. To those interested, he announced, "Yes, I am still a candidate, and I shall be a candidate until 1900, but the first thing to do is to elect a legislature."¹⁷

13 ibid., Nov. 5, 1897.

14 ibid., August 26, 1898

15 ibid., August 30, 1898

16 ibid., Sept. 13, 1898.

17 ibid., Sept. 23, 1898.

The nominations made by the county convention in New Castle county were plainly considered opposed to Addicks. In October, the Union Republican committee of New Castle county wrote letters to the fifteen Republican legislative candidates, asking if they would abide by the result of the caucus in the case of bills and in the election of officers.¹⁸ In a joint letter, the fifteen candidates refused to answer any such question, believing a reply unfair to the other side.¹⁹ But the Union Republicans nominated no other ticket.

On November 7th, the Republicans won a decisive victory. All their candidates for state offices were elected, and it was known that they controlled 31 of the 52 votes in the state legislature, but how these votes were divided between the two factions no one would know until the balloting for senator began.²⁰

Before the legislature met in January, 1898, two events of importance were to occur to Addicks. In 1897, a new daily newspaper, the Sun, had been born in Wilmington. At first it had been strictly Democratic in policy, favoring especially Gray and Bayard. But by the end of 1898 it

18 ibid., Oct. 6, 1898.

19 ibid., Oct. 12, 1898.

20 ibid., Nov. 16, 1898.

had to deny that it favored Addicks. "There never has been printed a single line in The Sun, which could be construed by anybody as an endorsement of Mr. J. Edward Addicks as United States Senator from Delaware," an editorial said on November 20th, 1898, but "The Sun knows of no reason why Mr. Addicks should not succeed Mr. Gray."²¹ Exactly a week later it printed a long biography of Addicks signed by the editor, concluding "Addicks and Delaware are inseparable."²² The Sun had become an out-and-out Addicks paper, and for the next few years was to be the only daily newspaper in Delaware to wave the Addicks' standard.

On December 14th, it recorded an event of importance to Addicks at greater length than any other Wilmington newspaper. This event reminded the editor of the Sun of a quaint old English love story, "The Squire's Bride."²³ Under a beautiful floral bell, before a wicker altar draped with white satin and gold, Addicks was married to Mrs. Ida Carr Wilson. Promptly at 12 o'clock the Lohengrin wedding march was played, and the bride wearing a

²¹ Sun, Nov. 20, 1898.

²² ibid., Nov. 27, 1898.

²³ ibid., Dec. 15, 1898.

gown of biege cloth, trimmed with sable and old lace, and the groom in a double-breasted frock coat, and trousers of a neat pattern were wed in holy matrimony. Addicks presented his bride with the finest ruby in the country. At one o'clock, G. C. Boldt of the Waldorf-Astoria served the collation, and at three o'clock the happy couple left for New York and parts unknown.

It was Addicks' third marriage. From the home of Mrs. Wilson in Claymont, Addicks had conducted his first senatorial campaign in 1889 upon "a bureauful of clothes." In 1864, he had married Laura Butcher, daughter of a millionaire pork-packer in Philadelphia, and upon her death in 1872, her sister. In 1894, she had sued Addicks for a divorce upon the grounds of adultery upon numerous occasions, but had won the case in September, 1898, upon the grounds of desertion.

In the legislative session of 1899, Addicks was prepared to put forth the strongest fight for the senatorship since he had begun the struggle in 1889. Now he not only had a party to back his candidacy but a daily newspaper. Exactly how many of the 31 Republican votes he controlled no one knew, perhaps not even Addicks. But Regular Republicans felt that he was a greater menace than ever before. Would he represent Delaware in the senate?

CHAPTER VII

DEMOCRATIC APOSTASY.

A senator: "I would not want to be caught dead in — with you." Remark of Senator Lewis to Senator Farlow, after two other Democratic legislative members and he had voted for Addicks in March, 1899.

The people: "Booh!" "Lynch them!" "Rotten egg them!"

Addicks: "My conduct in these Delaware campaigns has been simply that of a practical man. I wanted my party to win."

The legislative session of 1899 opened on January

5th. The senate, in which the Democrats controlled 9 of the 17 votes, immediately organized, but the house balloted 54 times on the opening day for speaker, and 91, on January 6th, before 8 Democrats and 10 Regular Republicans united to elect the Regular Republican candidate, T. F. Clark, to the office.¹ Though apparently a majority of a majority the Addicks' men had failed to take part in the organization of the legislature. Politicians anxiously awaited January 18th, the date upon which the balloting for senator would begin and which would reveal the number of votes Addicks controlled.

¹ Every Evening, Jan. 5, 6, 1899.

The Sun would have the members of the legislature believe that 'the people' preferred John Edward Addicks. It conducted a senatorial caucus among the citizens of Delaware, and by January 8th, when the legislature opened, J. Edward Addicks had received 15,959 votes, J. Frank Allee, 13,236, and G. Gray, 13,024. H. A. duPont was ninth on the list of candidates, with 11,625 votes, and Anthony Higgins, thirteenth.²

The Every Evening reported on January 13th, that the following rumors circulated in Dover: "Boodle amounting to \$40,000 has been sent here this week. The corruption fund is in charge of a member of the General Assembly. Ten thousand each is being offered for votes for United States Senator. By Monday next, 'persuasion' amounting to \$100,000 will be in town."³ The Sun suggested that the man furnishing this boodle might be Colonel H. A. duPont.

When the smoke from the three caucuses had at last disappeared on January 17th, it was revealed that Addicks was the choice of 16 Republicans; H. A. duPont, of 16 Republicans; and W. Saulsbury, of the 21 Democrats. Apparently

² Sun, Jan. 5, 1898

³ Every Evening, Jan. 13, 1899.

William N. Boggs, who along with several other Dover citizens had participated in the embezzlement of over \$100,000 from the First National Bank of Dover in 1897.⁵

⁵ Every Evening, Jan. 23, 1899. Reprint from the New York World.

the fight of 1895 was to be repeated, and the balloting continued from day to day without change until February.

'The choice of the people' on January 18, when the balloting for United States Senator began and the poll conducted by the Sun ended, was John Edward Addicks. He had received 22,965 votes, and in the third place was a Democrat, G. Gray, with 13,780 votes. H. A. duPont remained in ninth place. Having won the contest, J. Edward Addicks received the right to present \$100 to his favorite charity.⁴

In the middle of January, the Every Evening reprinted a wild story from the New York World supposedly told by a former Dover bank teller convicted of embezzlement.

... ..

 Speaking
 from the New Castle jail, he was supposed to have told
 a reporter: "At least \$100,000 was spent in the two
 counties (Kent and Sussex) in 1894, and it all came in the
 back room of the First National Bank in Dover." Fives and
 tens were made into bundles to be sent out into the various
 districts. In the campaign of 1896, large sums of the

⁴ Sun, Jan. 18, 1899.

⁵

in the First National Bank at Dover,

bank's money were advanced to the Union Republicans without Addicks' knowledge; in addition, Addicks distributed much money from his home in Claymont. If Addicks won the campaign of 1896,^{the} ~~teller~~ ^{teller's} meant to tell him of the shortage hoping that Addicks, flush with victory, would pay the shortage, but Addicks lost. His Republican opponents had even thought over a scheme to kidnap four Union Republicans returning from Claymont laden with money, but it fell through. The Sun prominently printed ~~the~~ ^{teller's} denial, though he admitted seeing a reporter.⁶ The truth of this story seems very doubtful; Kennan, who hunted for sensational facts for his article printed in 1903, did not use it.

On January 25th, Addicks gave one of his famous dinners at the Union Club in Philadelphia. Opposing newspapers noted that Blakely, Bwing, and Friswell, three Regular Republicans, attended it. Addicks spoke: "We have won, and after the scenes of four years ago, the fight continues on the same lines. I advised then--that no senator would be elected unless he was identified with the party. I say to you again tonight that the fight is on the same lines--not because Addicks is a candidate, but because

⁶ Sun, Jan. 24, 1899.

unless you elect a Union Republican candidate the state will be lost to Republicanism."⁷ On February 6th, the first of the three Republican waivers voted for Addicks, because he wished to show his colleagues that he was in the legislature to elect a senator. On February 20th, Addicks secured 18 votes, Ewing and Blakely having joined Frizzell, but his opponents had conceded him these votes since the beginning of the session.

In the early part of March, the Republican members of the legislature received a letter signed by C. E. Grosvenor, Congressman from Ohio, and C. Dick, a member of the Republican national committee, hoping that there would be an early settlement of the Delaware struggle and suggesting that all Republicans should abide by the decision of the majority in caucus.⁸

It was rumored that Addicks had appealed to the president to ask the Regulars to accept the decision of the majority of the Republicans in the legislature. In March, members of both the Regular and Union Republican party visited Washington. Some people said that George Gray, the senator elected by the Democrats in 1893 and the Democrat receiving the highest number of votes in the poll conducted by the Sun, would succeed himself.

⁷ Every Evening, Jan. 28, 1899. Reprinted from the Baltimore Sun.

⁸ Ibid., March 9, 1899.

Addicks' followers, however, were certain that he would not drop out of the race. In reply to the question if H. H. Ward, Addicks' attorney, would receive the Union Republican vote on March 7th, Dr. C. R. Layton said, "No, not by a hell of a sight; not if we stay here six months. No man, but Mr. Addicks, not even an angel of light with a tag tacked on him, could secure the Union Republican vote."⁹ Sensible people and all the Wilmington newspapers, with the exception of the Sun, came to the conclusion that no senator would be elected, and that no change in the balloting would be recorded for the remainder of the session.

On March 13th, the 100th ballot was taken. Farlow and King, DEMOCRATS, joined the Addicks' ranks, and on the 101st, Clark, another DEMOCRAT, voted for Addicks. Pandemonium reigned. Cries of 'Judas!' and 'Traitors!' rang from the floor.¹⁰

Perhaps the story is best told by one who was there. James H. Hughes, Democratic secretary of state, was sitting at his desk that morning when Charles H. Kittinger, Addicks' secretary, came in and whispered, "We are going to elect a senator today." Hughes thought nothing

⁹ ibid., March 7, 1899.

¹⁰ ibid., March 13, 14, 1899.
Morning News, March 14, 1899.

11

The names of these other two Democrats are known to the writer, but it is not thought necessary to reveal their names.

of this announcement, rumors being so prevalent, when some one came running into his office after the balloting started and shouted, "Three Democrats have voted for Addicks, and they threaten to throw them out the window!" Hughes immediately rushed down to the legislature. One of the remaining loyal Democrats had suddenly become ill and protested that he could not vote. Hughes with several other Democrats supported him on trips back and forth from the senate clock room, ordered hot coffee from the Capitol Hotel, and on the last ballot carried him bodily into the House of Representatives, where the balloting was taking place. "You'll vote," the Democrats told him, "if we have to carry your dead body there." Another Democratic member of the senate, chairman of the divorce committee, who, it was reported, had promised to vote for Addicks, merely stroked his beard and looked at the floor while the balloting took place.¹¹

After casting 113 ballots during the entire session, the Delaware legislature adjourned on March 13th, leaving a vacancy in the senate from Delaware. The Democratic legislators were bitter in their expressions against Parlow, King, and Clark. State Senator Moore from Wilmington told Parlow, "I would not want to be caught dead in _____ with

11 Personal interview with J. H. Hughes in Sept. 1935.

you. That place is already your home."¹² Senator Lewis remarked, "If I should have done what these three have done, I would hope my wife tonight would cut my throat from ear to ear, so that I should never wake up to realize the enormity of the offence."¹³

There was some possibility that the three members might be harmed. State detective Mavey warned the three Democrats not to leave the state-house until the town had quieted down. Amid cries of "Get out of here, and never come back!", "Take a freight," and "Booh," Farlow, King, and Clark took the train home. Clark stopped with his brother at Cheswold for the night, rather than face the hostile mob which awaited him at Bartly; next day he drove home over back roads. King and Farlow cut across fields when they reached Laurel, their terminus. The mob bombarded their homes with rotten vegetables, brickbats, and bullets.

Farlow, immediately after the close of the session, tried to defend his actions: "If I had not done as I did," he said, "either duPont or some other Regular Republican would have been elected."¹⁴ No one understood the meaning of the statement on March 13th, but in April he elaborated

¹² Morning News, March 14, 1899.

¹³ ibid., March 16, 1899.

¹⁴ Every Evening, March 14, 1899.

upon it. He had been elected, he said, with the aid of the Union Republicans. In return, he had promised to vote for Addicks, if the Democrats ever entered into a deal to send a Regular Republican to the United States Senate. On March 13th, he learned that the Democrats were pledged to support Bird, a Regular Republican, and consequently he had voted for Addicks.¹⁵

Clark's story was: "This morning the Democrats went into a conference to agree on a man for whom they might vote today. There was an agreement that the first full vote(21) should be for Saulsbury, and the next for Biggs. What was the result of the first ballot? Twelve of those good Democrats voted for Saulsbury, and the remainder for Gray and Biggs. Now, I had not entertained an idea to vote for Addicks until they deceived me, and I proposed to settle with them as they dealt with us."¹⁶

The Sun maintained that the three Democrats had done the honorable thing in voting for Addicks. Previously the Morning News, it pointed out, had pleaded that the Democrats support a Regular Republican, Bird, but now that three of the Democrats had supported a Republican, Addicks, the Morning News left "Senator Farlow, and Representatives

¹⁵ ibid., April 7, 1899.

¹⁶ ibid., March 14, 1899.

King and Clark to the tender care and considerations of their Democratic associates," knowing that they would be well cared for.¹⁷ Farlow, King, and Clark should not be condemned for voting for Addicks. With the aid of Ewing and Frizzell, the Democrats and Union Republicans had made a deal to pass a new charter for the city of Wilmington in the House of Representatives; the Democrats already controlled the senate. In return, the Democrats were to send Addicks to the United States Senate. The Union Republicans had carried out their part of the bargain, but the Democrats, with the exception of three, had failed to do what they had promised. This was the story the Sun told.¹⁸

The Every Evening and the Morning News placed the names of the eleven Regular Republicans on a roll of honor, but the Sun called them 'Marked Men.' The current belief was that each of the three men received \$4,000 for supporting Addicks, and if Addicks had been elected, they would have received \$700 additional. Clark soon resigned his position as station agent at Hartly; King within a year sold his clothing business at Laurel; Farlow alone was able to live down his shame and continued to practice as a doctor in Laurel.

¹⁷ Sun, March 15, 1899. Reprint of the editorial in the Morning News on March 14.

¹⁸ ibid., March 16, 1899.

The furor of this notorious deed had hardly died down, when Representative Mark L. Davis of Milford was tried for attempting to bribe Representative Frances Lat-tomus of Townsend to vote for Addicks. In February, Lat-tomus said, Davis had promised that a \$5,000 mortgage on his farm would be paid, if he voted for Addicks. Davis was acquitted by a jury for lack of evidence.¹⁹

Addicks believed that the political storm that he had stirred would soon subside. He was still in the race. On March 14th, the day after the legislature adjourned, he said, "I shall be a candidate for the United States Senate as long as I live or until I am elected. . . . My conduct in the Delaware campaign has been simply that of a practical man. I wanted my party to win." The reporter, who obtained this statement from Addicks, estimated that he had spent \$300,000 in his fight so far.²⁰

Addicks must have been fairly well pleased with the events of 1899. His minority in the legislature had steadily increased during the session from 15 to 16, from 16 to 18, and after the 101st ballot to 21. In 1895 he had begun with 6 votes and ended with 4. On the other hand, almost everyone in Delaware believed that Addicks had bribed the three Democrats, had attempted to bribe

¹⁹ Ibid., March 27, 1899. An account of his arrest.

²⁰ Ibid., March 19, 1899. Reprint from the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin.

Lattomus, and perhaps made offers to other members of the legislature. His methods, previously suspected, now seemed revealed to the public in their true light. Any possibility that he would be seated in the national convention of 1900 seemed eliminated. Would he be?

CHAPTER VIII.
THE THUNDERBOLT.

"The action of the committee on credentials came like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky." A statement in a letter in June, 1900, from Thompson to Wilson, after the Republican national convention had seated the Addicks' delegates.

The year 1900 was a critical year in the annals of the Republican party in Delaware. The fight still continued on the grounds of Addicks or nobody. Each faction feared that it might disintegrate if it did not secure the approval of the national convention. The party, which received the sanction of the convention, was believed to have a tremendous advantage in the all-important election in November.

For a while, it looked as if the two parties might compromise, rather than risk a conflict, which seemingly meant certain death to one. J. Frank Alice, chairman of the Union Republican state committee, sent a letter to the chairman of the Regular Republican state committee, H. C. Browne, in January, suggesting that all differences be

settled. A joint convention was to be called to elect six delegates and six alternates to the national convention meeting in Philadelphia in June. The 17 members of the state committee were to be chosen by the delegates from each of the 17 senatorial districts. Each faction could select one senator, or all Republican members of the legislature could stand by the majority choice in caucus.¹

The reply of the Regular Republicans in February, passed by a vote of 14 to 2 at a meeting of the Regular Republican state committee, scornfully rejected the offer and thoroughly reviewed Addicks' political activities in Delaware. In 1890 Addicks had given the Democrats \$5,000 to help elect Governor H. J. Reynolds. In 1894 the Republicans, led by General J. H. Wilson, had won the first Republican state victory in Delaware since 1872, but Addicks had not only frustrated the attempt to hold a caucus, but also, aided by W. T. Watson, had prevented the election of H. A. duPont. He had lobbied among the Democrats and Populists in the United States Senate, in order to make sure that duPont would be rejected as a senator. In 1896, he had thrown New Castle county to the Democrats by putting a second Republican ticket in the field, and, as a result, the Democrats in control of the constitutional convention, had

¹ Every Evening, Jan. 11, 1900.

gerrymandered the state. In February, 1899, the Union Republicans had refused all offers of compromise which omitted the name of Addicks. Addicks had defeated the Republicans in the Wilmington municipal election in June, 1899. The Regular Republicans had suggested 15 Republicans during the session of 1899 as senatorial candidates, but Addicks had allowed the legislature to adjourn after 113 ballots with no senator elected. These were some of the things of which Addicks had been guilty during his political career in Delaware, and for these reasons the Regular Republicans rejected the harmony proposal and would continue the fight.²

On March 21st, the Regular Republicans held their convention. In ambiguous language, the platform stated that the party favored one set of candidates for all offices.³ Addicks, on April 3rd, delivered the key-note speech of the Union Republican convention. "I believe in harmony," he said, "but not duPont harmony--harmony without Addicks," and his audience applauded.⁴ The Union Republican convention likewise favored one set of candidates for all Republican offices.

It was difficult to predict which side would be seated at the national convention in June. The Every

² ibid., Feb. 7, 1900

³ ibid., March 21, 1900.

⁴ ibid., April 4, 1900.

Evening summed up the advantages of each side: "The Regulars have the prestige of legal regularity and the favor of the McKinley administration. On the other hand, it is probable that Mark Hanna will not care to risk the loss of the Delaware's electoral vote to McKinley through a division of the Republican forces."⁵

Each faction of the Republicans, however, was confident that it would be seated. Addicks displayed his usual confidence: "The Union Republican party of Delaware represents today ninety percent of the Republican voters of the state. Of the entire Republican vote cast for McKinley four years ago we polled more than two-thirds. We can repeat that this fall; we shall defeat both the Democratic party and the bolting Republicans. I can carry the next legislature, and I will do it; the Union Republicans of Delaware will elect two United States Senators"; he was positive his delegates would be seated.⁶

A Regular Republican delegate said, "The Regulars will get it. The Press is with us. As I said to Senator Scott, this is a Republican convention and not a Union Republican convention; to seat the Addicksites would be a slap in the face of President McKinley."⁷

⁵ Ibid., Feb. 14, 1900.

⁶ Ibid., June 13, 1900.

⁷ Ibid., June 15, 1900. McMullin.

The Republicans of Delaware were not the only Republicans interested in the contest; it was of importance to the national party. Mark Hanna pleaded with the Republicans to end their differences: "I think that this dispute should be settled, as you have the fate of the Republicans of the nation in your hands; that three electoral votes may elect McKinley; that two Republican United States Senators from your state may hold the balance of power in the United States Senate and give the Republicans a majority."⁸

H. B. Thompson, who headed the Regular Republican delegation, would agree to compromise only if the integrity of his party were maintained. He was unwilling that his delegation should accept half a seat in the convention. Such compromise meant a recognition of Addicksism. He wanted all or nothing. To many Republicans at the convention, this refusal to accept a compromise seemed due to mere stubbornness.⁹

After a week of indecision, the Republican national committee decided to seat neither delegation, but the committee on credentials of the national convention seated the

⁸ *ibid.*, June 16, 1900.

⁹ Personal interview with H. B. Thompson in Sept., 1935.

Addicks' delegation on June 18th by a vote of 38 to 9. Levi Bird, mentioned as the possible compromise candidate of the Democrats and the Regulars for senator in 1890, had ably defended the Regular Republicans before the national committee, but he had to reply to questions that Kent and Sussex counties were controlled by the Union Republicans in the last election, and that the vote of the Republican members of the legislature from those two counties was necessary to elect a senator. Committeeman C. C. Shirley was surprised that the Regular Republicans expressed themselves as willing to act with the Democrats to defeat Addicks. After all, Mr. Addicks was a Republican.¹⁰

The Wilmington Sun was jubilant at the decision of the committee on credentials: "Let factional dissensions cease," it roared. "Save the state. The watchwords now are Unity, Harmony, and Victory."¹¹ The Regular Republicans quaked in their boots when they heard the decision, but put on a brave face. R. B. Thompson said, "If the national Republican party chooses to endorse Mr. Addicks, and the politics and policy he represents, it has

¹⁰ Sun, June 19, 1900. For the entire paragraph.

¹¹ Sun, June 20, 1900.

placed a stone about its neck. . . . The Regular Republicans have no cause to regret the situation they have taken in refusing to accept any responsibility for the adoption of Mr. Addicks."¹²

This was what the newspapers had to say concerning the second meeting of the two Republican factions at a national convention, but it was a more interesting fight if we turn back-stage to the record in the private letters of H. B. Thompson.

The Regular Republicans felt that they would not fail at the national convention in 1900. H. B. Thompson had secured the aid of many influential Republicans in the big fight. Hon. J. H. Hanley, chairman of the executive committee of the Republican national committee, had assured Thompson in a personal interview that the national committee would sustain the Regular Republicans.¹³ Thompson had written letters to Hon. C. H. Smith, postmaster-general, Theodore Roosevelt, and Lyman Abbot, editor of the Outlook, requesting their aid at the national convention.¹⁴

¹² ibid., June 20, 1900.

¹³ Thompson to Wilson, May 18, 1900, Thompson Correspondence, 2: 358-360.

¹⁴ Thompson to Smith, April 25, 1900, Thompson Correspondence, 2: 350-354.
Thompson to Roosevelt, May 18, 1900, Thompson Correspondence, 2: 361-363.
Thompson to Abbot, June 7, 1900, Thompson Correspondence, 2: 381-382.

To Roosevelt, Thompson had written: "I believe that this matter has got beyond the condition of a state issue. Mr. Addicks, by his wide advertisement of himself, and by his open and shameless methods of bribery, has made his name known throughout the United States as standing for all that is corrupt and bad in politics." Unfortunately, though, Thompson pointed out in his letter, Addicks had advertised, what seemed to the average Republican and to many high in Washington, a fair settlement of the question: that each faction should select one senator. This settlement meant Addicks, and the Regular Republicans must refuse any such compromise. The Regulars were cheered by the fact that "the President has uniformly and consistently stood by us in our fight and I believe is with us today. There are others, however, who are close to him, who, up to date, have been inclined to coquet with Mr. Addicks."

After the Addicks' delegation had been seated, Thompson wrote to his father-in-law in Cuba that the promises and pledges to the Regular Republicans by party leaders had been violated in "a most ruthless manner." Before the convention opened, H. C. Payne and J. H. Manley had assured him after a three-hour interview that the

18 Thompson to Roosevelt, May 16, 1900, Thompson Correspondence, 2: 361-363.

national committee would again support the Regular Republicans, but Payne had added, "Thompson, there is only one thing that can beat you, and that is the President of the United States." When H. A. duPont had asked McKinley about this remark, he was told that McKinley had always been with the Regular Republicans and was with them then. He agreed to express his opinions to Hanna and Dick, who would likely control the southern and western delegates of the national committee respectively. It later appeared that Payne had mentioned the wrong one-man.¹⁶

When Thompson arrived in Philadelphia, the atmosphere had changed. Payne and Hanley immediately started to discuss the necessity of a compromise. On Tuesday, when the case came before the national committee, Thompson spoke for an hour and a half. It was referred to a sub-committee of five, with H. C. Payne chairman. Finally, on Saturday, the committee voted to seat neither delegation.

When the national convention opened on Tuesday, Payne assured Thompson that there was not the slightest possibility that the Addicks' delegation would be seated in the convention, and that the committee on credentials

¹⁶ Thompson to Wilson, June 22, 1900, Thompson Correspondence, 2: 390-397. For this and the next three paragraphs.

would take the same action as the national committee-
to sent neither delegation.

"The action of the committee on credentials came like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky," Thompson said in his letter to General Wilson. "The whole thing is summed up when I state that Mr. Hanna has entered into partnership with Mr. Addicks to buy the two senatorships of Delaware. We have been treated in a blackguard, disgraceful, and treacherous way."

The Regular Republicans faced a dreary campaign outlook in 1900. The national convention had reversed the decision of 1896 and seated Addicks. With the sanction of the national convention, the Regular Republicans in 1898 had secured only half of the Republican vote; without this sanction the Regular Republicans might expect to receive even fewer votes in 1900. It looked as if the Regular Republican party was a party of the past, that the fight by a small group of Wilmington business men to save Delaware from Addickism, partly because of their own interests and partly because of high principles, had failed. There was not one bright spot for the Regular Republicans in the campaign outlook.

Everything looked Addicks and Union Republican.

"There will be no harmony in patches," the fearless leader of the Union Republicans said. "There must be a straight ticket from top to bottom, including candidates for the legislature, or there will be two tickets from top to bottom."¹⁷ He had never been more confident that the Union Republicans would sweep all before them in the election.

The Union Republicans, however, were not the only ones who saw victory. Willard Saulsbury, chairman of the Democratic state committee, predicted a plurality of 5,000 for the Democratic candidate for governor, and of at least 400 votes for the Democratic electors.¹⁸ After a Regular Republican rally at Rehoboth, a prominent member of that party pulled himself together enough to say that "the state will be carried for the (Regular) Republican ticket by a majority of at least 2,000."¹⁹

On August 6th, the Union Republican convention met. G. W. Marshall was nominated for governor; John Hunn, for lieutenant-governor. Dr. C. R. Layton was nominated for the full term in Congress, and W. O. Hoeffcker, son of the late Congressman, J. H. Hoeffcker, who had died during the Philadelphia convention, was nominated for the short term. The remainder of the offices were divided between Regular and Union Republicans. "There will be not over 500 of the

¹⁷ Sun, July 31, 1900. Reprint from the Baltimore Sun.

¹⁸ Ibid., August 9, 1900.

¹⁹ Every Evening, August 9, 1900. R. H. Richards.

so-called Regulars, but what will be with us in the coming fight," Addicks, ungrammatically but confidently, told the convention. The chairman of the Union Republican state committee, J. Frank Allee, was given the right to rearrange the ticket at will.²⁰

On August 22nd, the Regular Republicans held their convention in Wilmington, and put forward a different ticket. W. B. Burris, who was nominated for state treasurer on the Union Republican ticket, was the candidate for governor. John Hunn was again named for lieutenant-governor. W. C. Hoeffcker was re-nominated for Congressman for the short term, but Rev. J. S. Willis was the new nominee for the long term. Two Regulars, L. H. Hall and D. E. Smith, were selected as candidates for the offices of state treasurer and insurance commissioner respectively. The state committee was given the power to change the names on the ticket in the case of resignation and death.²¹

The legality of the first convention of the Union Republicans had been questioned, because 30 days notice had not been given before it opened; so later in August a second was held, due notice having been given, at which the results of the first were affirmed. The one important change was

²⁰ Sun, August 7, 1900.

²¹ Every Evening, August 22, 1900.

that the party now accepted the presidential electors nominated by the Regular Republicans. The platform reiterated the propositions made in January--a joint convention, election of the two United States Senators in the coming legislature by a joint caucus or the election of one senator by each faction. "That will be the ticket and it will stand until the day after the election," Addicks said.²²

Still the Republican situation in Delaware was far from satisfactory; even Addicks was not pleased. Two days after the second Union Republican convention adjourned, he said, "The Republican outlook is not cheerful."²³ Dissension had caused a Democratic victory in 1896. Hanna was supposed to visit Delaware with two committeemen to affect a reconciliation between the two factions, but he failed to appear. The Democrats became increasingly confident. "By hard, judicious work this election we feel that we will give the Democratic electors 1,000 plurality," Willard Saulsbury predicted.²⁴

Early in September the two parties agreed upon common primaries in New Castle county, and on September 14th, the Regular Republicans submitted a new ticket to the Union

²² ibid., August 23, 1900.

²³ ibid., August 27, 1900.

²⁴ ibid., Sept. 1, 1900.

Republicans. It was satisfactory, Ailes said, except for Norman, and later he added Ball's name to the black list. In an interview granted in 1932, Ball said that he was determined to run, because the Union Republican of Georgetown had denounced him as "the most obnoxious, prominent man in New Castle county," and the Sun had predicted that his name would never be accepted by the Union Republicans.²⁵

After a conference in New York with Hanna, the Republicans retained the names of Norman and Ball on the ticket.²⁶ The two factions had at last agreed upon John Ban for governor, F. L. Cannon for lieutenant-governor, L. H. Ball for Congressman for the long term, and W. O. Roffecker for the short term. All efforts to have the Republicans select the same candidates for the legislature in all districts failed. A. R. Smith from the Republican national committee visited Delaware in October, but did not succeed in arranging a compromise upon a legislative ticket.

More than 40,000 votes were cast in Delaware on November 6th, 1900. The Republicans won a great victory. Republican electors were returned by a plurality of 3,681 votes, and the other Republican candidates for state offices received practically the same plurality. The legislature was composed of 23 Democrats and 29 Republicans,

²⁵ Canby, J. Edward Addicks, p. 53. Personal interview of Canby with Ball in 1932.

²⁶ ibid., p. 53.
Every Evening, Sept. 28, 1900.
 These two accounts agree.

but no one knew how many votes Addicks controlled.²⁷

There were two outstanding results from the election, both occurring on the same day, November 14th. The Wilmington Morning News came out openly for Addicks.²⁸ It declared that "in our deliberate judgment Mr. Addicks had won his election to the United States Senate by his behavior as a member of the Republican party of this state during the recent presidential and state canvas," and praised "the magnificent tenacity of purpose and effort" that had characterized his entire fight. Only the Evening Journal was left to uphold the Regular Republican standard among the daily newspapers in Wilmington.

On the same day that the Morning News declared itself for the Union Republicans, Addicks told a reporter of the Philadelphia Record that he would positively be elected to the senate. He had frequently predicted this before; the surprising thing was that he named his colleague. Anthony Higgins, he said, was satisfactory to him, but Addicks' wife preferred William S. Hillis, because Mrs. Hillis was the daughter of the late Senator Bayard and a leader in Wilmington society. Addicks was perfectly willing to accept his wife's choice. This statement was the subject of

27	Electors.	
	Republican	22,535
	Democratic	18,852
	Plurality	3,681

28 Morning News, Nov. 14, 1900.

newspaper editorials and cartoons in newspapers opposed
 to Addicks for months.²⁹

Addicks felt certain that he would be elected to the United States Senate in the session of the Delaware legislature in 1901. Before the legislature opened, the Democrats increased their clamor in an effort to defeat him. The Delaware Democrat and Lewis Pilot urged Democratic members of the legislature to defeat Addicks, while the Index and Every Evening openly pleaded for the Democrats to add in electing two Regular Republicans to the senate.³⁰ Things continued uncertain even on the eve of the new session. It was reported that six Regulars would refuse to attend any joint Republican conference or caucus, while Allee, the Union Republican chairman, insisted that the Regular and Union Republicans would have no trouble in organizing the legislature.³¹

Addicks had accomplished more definite things during 1900 than in any year of his great fight to get a seat in the senate. His party had received the sanction

²⁹ Canby, op. cit., p. 58. Canby consulted the Philadelphia Record for Nov. 14, 1900. For humor, see Sunday Star, Nov. 18, 1900. Reprint from the Milford News and Advertiser, "A family affair," a dialogue between Mr. and Mrs. Addicks at breakfast over the senatorship.

³⁰ Every Evening, Dec. 14, 1900. A compilation of Democratic opinions.

³¹ ibid., Dec. 31, 1900.

of the national convention. He knew that he controlled more votes in the Delaware legislature in 1901 than he ever had. A leading daily newspaper in Delaware had come to his support. His election to the senate was such a certainty that Democratic newspapers were pleading to the Democrats in the legislature to unite with the Regular Republicans in electing two Regular Republicans to the senate. Addicks was so sure of his election that he had named his colleague. It yet remained to be seen if he could be elected to the senate before he selected his colleague.

CHAPTER IX.

SEVEN MEN

"Heroes," the titles of editorials in the Morning News and Every Evening on March 9, 1901, after seven Regular Republicans by refusing to vote for Addicks had deadlocked the legislature.

"Not Heroes but Traitors," the title of an editorial in the Sun on March 10, 1901.

In 1901, the Kent county Sentinel revealed what the Union Republicans stood for in "the most important session of the legislature in the history of Delaware": "The Union Republicans of the state," it said, "stand for Republican organization of both houses of the General Assembly on the basis of an equal division of the places of honor and of division of profit, they stand for the election of two senators, one from each faction of the party; each candidate to be the choice of a majority of each caucus."¹ In other words, the Union Republicans still retained the old war-cry of 1895, Addicks or nobody. The task of the Democrats and Regular Republicans was to defeat them if they could.

¹ Sun, Jan. 1, 1901. Reprint from the State Sentinel.

The editorial of the Sentinel seemed prophetic concerning the organization of the legislature. In the session of 1899 it had taken 154 ballots to organize the house; then the Democrats and Regular Republicans had combined to elect a speaker, leaving the majority party of the Republicans out in the cold; now, without the slightest difficulty, the Regular and Union Republicans combined to organize the house. The Regular Republicans elected the president pro tem and the clerk of the Senate, and the Union Republicans, the speaker and clerk of the house; the remainder of the offices were equally divided. Five of the Regular Republicans at first refused any division, but pressure from their six colleagues in the legislature had made them change their mind.²

The legislature was composed of 23 Democrats, 18 Union Republicans, and 11 Regular Republicans. Farlow, the hold-over Democratic senator, it was believed, would vote for Addicks at the proper time. The Regular Republicans thought that they might lose four of their supporters to Addicks, but, as five men were all that were necessary to deadlock the legislature, they were reasonably sure that Addicks would not be elected, unless some Democrats voted for him.³

² Every Evening, Janl, 2, 1901.

³ Thompson to Lyman, Nov. 16, 1900, Thompson Correspondence, 2: 421-422. Lyman was a reporter on the New York Tribune.

H. A. Thompson expressed his opinion upon the subject of Addicks being supported by any Democratic legislators in a letter to his father-in-law, General J. H. Wilson, thus: "As to buying Democrats, the trouble for Addicks is this: There is fear of tar and feathers, and of lynch law. The Democrats were so seriously enraged with the apostasy of Ring, Clark, and Farlow, two years ago, that any gentleman (?) who attempts to repeat their performance is likely to meet with physical violence."⁴ Many Democrats favored the election of two Regular Republican senators, but Willard Saulsbury, the Democratic leader, wanted an equal division of the spoils, with himself as one senator. Even President McKinley had told H. A. duPont in December, 1900, that he believed Addicks would be elected the next senator.⁵ Yet this seemed impossible without aid of the Democrats.

On January 14th, the three caucuses were held. On January 15th, the senate and house voted separately to fill the short and long terms, and on the following day the first joint ballot was cast:

Short term			Long term		
Saulsbury	(D.)	22	Kenney	(D.)	23
Addicks	(U.R.)	16	Addicks	(U.R.)	16
Richards	(R.R.)	9	H.A. duPont	(R.R.)	9
Billis	(R.R.)	2	Spruance	(R.R.)	1
Nields	(R.R.)	1	Bird	(R.R.)	1
Gray	(D.)	1	Higgins	(R.R.)	1
			Richards	(R.R.)	1

⁴ Thompson to Wilson, Dec. 7, 1900, Thompson Correspondence, 2: 426

⁵ Thompson to Wilson, Dec. 7, 1900, Ibid., 2: 427.

The Union Republicans, shortly after the first ballots had been taken, circulated a petition among the Regular Republicans that the united Republicans would elect Addicks for the long term, and duPont for the short term, but no Regular Republican signed it.⁶

A few days later, W. M. Byrne, United States District attorney for Delaware, visited the General Assembly, in an effort to persuade four Union Republican members to support duPont. Addicks was reported to have told Byrne that he would be elected to the senate with the aid of the Democrats, and that he was willing to go to the senate "either with a Republican or Democratic colleague."⁷ Addicks denied making any such statement; on the contrary, he said, he was having trouble in holding his own people because of the rumored combination between the Democrats and Regular Republicans. He was in favor of two Republican senators and would fight for that end.⁸ The 23 Democratic members of the legislature, including Farlow and the three most likely Democratic candidates for the senate--Higgs, Kenney, and Saulsbury--denied positively to George

⁶ Sun, Jan. 17, 1901.

⁷ Morning News, Jan. 16, 1901.

⁸ ibid., Jan. 23, 1901.

Carter, editor of the Evening Journal, that the Democrats were planning any deal with Addicks.⁹ Apparently, Addicks was just talking.

Rumors persisted that Addicks would withdraw from the contest; so the Wilmington Sun published this notice in heavy print in its columns after January 31st until the end of the session:¹⁰

I am in this fight to a finish and will not be withdrawn out of it under any pretext or plea.

J.E.A.

At the end of January, Addicks saw Hon. Charles Henry Smith, Postmaster-General, on the train, and addressed him thus:¹¹

Addicks: "When are you going to help me?"

Smith: "In what way?"

Addicks: "If you would support my man for the collector of the port of Wilmington, I will land your Republican senator in Washington. If you don't propose to help me, I will come there in any event with Kenney."

Smith, much impressed, told H. B. Thompson of this conversation, who denied such 'rank nonsense' and believed

⁹ Evening Journal, Jan. 24, 1901.

¹⁰ Sun, Jan. 31 to March 13, 1901.

¹¹ Thompson to Wilson, Jan. 31, 1901, Thompson Correspondence, 2: 431.

that the Regular Republicans had Addicks beaten. Hon. C. E. Smith said that he would tell the president what Thompson had said.¹²

On February 7th, Dr. C. R. Layton, Union Republican secretary of state, told a reporter of the Evening Journal: "What we want is votes enough to elect Addicks, and we don't care whether we bag, borrow, or steal them."¹³ In spite of Layton's denial, which appeared on the front page of the Sun,¹⁴ the Evening Journal reiterated Layton's sentiments. On the same day, the Regular Republicans proposed that the two factions should unite in sending two Union Republicans, Lieutenant-Governor P. L. Cannon and H. E. Ward, Addicks' personal attorney, to the senate.¹⁵ On February 8th, the Union Republicans rejected the offer; as a majority they insisted upon the right to name one of the two candidates.¹⁶

On February 18th, Addicks gained four Republican votes--Groves, McFarlin, Baynard, and Dayett--and on March 1st, two more votes--Robertson and Ritchie. Addicks now

¹² Thompson to Wilson, Jan. 31, 1901, Thompson Correspondence, 2: 431.

¹³ Evening Journal, Feb. 6, 1901.

¹⁴ Sun, Feb. 7, 1901.

¹⁵ Every Evening, Feb. 8, 1901.

¹⁶ ibid., Feb. 8, 1901.

controlled 22 votes, and might count on the vote of Farlow. If he could secure four more votes, he would be elected. The little note signed by J. E. A. continued to be printed in the Sun, but in case any one might still be so foolish as to think Addicks might withdraw, Addicks announced to a reporter of the Philadelphia Record: "He had by no means abandoned hope of election to the senate before the legislature adjourned. If he failed to do so, he would continue the fight before the people of Delaware until he won."¹⁷

On February 20th, the Every Evening reported that a Democratic member of the house had been offered \$2,000 to be absent at the balloting on the following day, but he had replied, "You can take that stuff (money) and go to hell with it."¹⁸ The next day a committee of the house began an investigation into the case of Representative R. Reese Layton, a Union Republican, who had attempted to bribe Representative Walter M. Hearne, a Democrat. Because of lack of evidence the committee could prove nothing.¹⁹ The Republican members of the legislature attended the inauguration of McKinley in 1901, and three of the members were reported to have gone to the white house by appointment.

¹⁷ Sun, March 4, 1901. Reprint from Philadelphia Record.

¹⁸ Every Evening, Feb. 20, 1901.

¹⁹ Journal of the House of Representatives, (Delaware, 1901). pp. 1307-1392.

The last hours of the session approached; it was rumored that the Democrats and Regular Republicans were attempting to combine to elect a senator. The Wilmington Sun printed a bitter editorial upon "Who Pays the penalty":²⁰

Seven Representatives in the General Assembly of Delaware are passing through the last hours in which they will have opportunity to escape a fate that will mean for them political ostracism, as well as the righteous condemnation of a state's citizenship.

If these seven Assemblymen shall adhere to their attitude in opposing the election of two Republican United States Senators, their immediate constituency and the public at large, whom they so grossly and unwarrantedly injured, will surely make the unfaithful and derelict representatives suffer for it.

These seven men were obliged to elect Addicks for four reasons: They should be governed by the majority; they were opposing the will of 22 Republicans in the legislature; it was the desire of national and state leaders, the majority of citizens and business men, that some one be elected; Addicks was well fitted for the office.

²⁰ Sun, March 7, 1901.

The 45th and last ballot of the session was cast on March 8th:²¹

Long term			Short term		
Kenney	(D.)	23	Saulsbury	(D.)	23
Addicks	(U.R.)	16	Addicks	(U.R.)	22
duPont	(R.R.)	7	Richards	(R.R.)	7
Higgins	(R.R.)	6			

The Regular Republicans and Democrats combined to pass the motion for adjournment over the protest of the Union Republicans. D. M. Wilson proposed three cheers for the Union Republicans, and Senator Groves, "three groans for that damned traitor, Sam Knox," who had led the fight of the seven Regular Republicans. Ellison, the Regular Republican speaker of the senate, was condemned by the Union Republicans as an 'old maid' and 'traitor.'²²

The Every Evening hoped and believed that the last chance Addicks ever had for election had departed with the end of the legislative session of 1901. The Union Republican newspapers condemned seven men and seven men only for the responsibility of the two vacancies created, while the Morning News, which had re-entered the Regular Republican ranks, said, "It is a significant fact that the Republican

²¹ Every Evening, March 8, 1901.

²² ibid., March 8, 1901.

papers throughout the country endorsed the refusal of the Republicans to elect Addicks to the United States Senate." ²³

But the fearless leader was not discouraged. He telegraphed to the Union Republicans from Washington, after the session had adjourned: "Pick yourselves up; get at them, and prepare to wipe the earth up with them. I am with you to the last ditch, and have only fairly gotten started."²⁴

In Dover, the Union Republican leader on the scene, J. Frank Allee, told reporters what the regular and Union Republicans had done during the session: "well, they knocked out two senators from Delaware. That's saying what they have done. Now I'll tell you what we've done. We've had control of this legislature, both tooth and toe nail, and we've restored the voters' assistants to the polling places, we've abolished the color line in the registration books, we've made all three counties permanently Republican, by increasing their Levy Courts, we've secured both national and state patronage. We're jubilant! Just watch the Delaware legislature at the next election!"²⁵

And "the most distinguished Republican in the state of Delaware," one who had served his country well, both in

²³ Morning News, March 11, 1901.

²⁴ ibid., March 9, 1901.

²⁵ ibid., March 11, 1901.

the Civil and Spanish-American Wars, addressed the chairman of the Democratic state committee at the conclusion of the fight, "Well! we have held the bridge; we have saved the honor of our state for two years more at least."²⁶

Mark Hanna had been severely blamed by some Republicans for his part in the Delaware fight. A few days after the adjournment of the Delaware legislature, he issued a statement: "I want it known," he said, "that I did everything in my power as chairman of the Republican national committee to bring about the election of two Republicans at Dover this winter." Senator Thurston's fight had seated 'the duPont crowd' in St. Louis in 1896, and duPont's stubbornness--his demand for all or nothing--had seated Addicks in the Philadelphia convention in 1900. In December, 1900, Addicks had suggested that each side select one candidate, but his offer had been refused. In conclusion, he asked, what he considered, a rhetorical question: "But after all his hard work for the party in carrying the legislature, why should Addicks have been expected to throw 20 votes to duPont, when duPont would not let one of his votes go to Addicks?" DuPont was responsible for the two vacancies.²⁷

²⁶ Saulsbury, "Preserving a state's honor," Forum, 32 (Nov., 1901): 263. General Wilson.

²⁷ New York Tribune, March 14, 1901. More detailed than in the Every Evening.

The Regular Republicans denied Hanna's statement. They pointed out that duPont was willing to have his men vote for anyone but Addicks. Mr. Hanna, they said, had always been for Addicks. Two members, Bitchen and Robertson, had returned from Washington to vote for Addicks on March 1st. Some of Addicks' men, just before the adjournment of the legislature, had suggested to Hanna through Governor Hurn that Addicks permit the election of a senator for the short term, but this offer had been refused. Addicks was responsible for the two vacancies.²⁸

A few days later, on March 19th, the Addicksites had the pleasure of receiving from Hanna control of the patronage in the state, because they were the party of Republicans in Delaware recognized at the national convention held in Philadelphia in 1900.²⁹ Upon the recommendation of ex-Congressman W. O. Hoeffcker, on March 21st, a Union Republican was appointed postmaster at Clayton. About the same time, a report was in circulation that in the election of 1899 Addicks had spent his money upon all Republicans, while duPont had rendered financial support only to the Regular Republicans.³⁰

Would Governor Hurn call an extra session of the legislature? Democrats, and Regular and Union Republicans

28 Morning News, March 9, 1901.

29 Sun, March 20, 1901.

30 Every Evening, March 22, 1901.

asked this question constantly in the summer of 1901. The wildest rumors prevailed, most of them coming from the Every Evening. Humm, it was reported, had agreed to call an extra session. The Republican members of the General Assembly would set together to elect two Republican senators, but Addicks was not to be one of them. Governor Humm and Lieutenant-Governor P. L. Cannon were to be the two senators; Layton or Ward, the new governor. In Nebraska, Governor Willard had recently called a special session of the legislature and had been elected senator.³¹ The Union Republican of Georgetown, owned by Dr. C. R. Layton, ventured an opinion: "Will someone kindly tell the editor of the Every Evening that his scheme of settling the senatorial question is considered as a joker?"³²

In August, Representative Ball, reading in a newspaper that McKinley was to appoint a Union Republican, collector of the port of Wilmington, visited Washington.³³ When McKinley said that the report was correct, Ball protested: "I am a member of Congress and should have the privilege of naming the man. It discredits me here and at home if you appoint an Addicks' man, and I intend to resign if you

³¹ Ibid., July 2, 1901.

³² Ibid., July 19, 1901. Reprint from the Union Republican.

³³ Canby, J. Edward Addicks, p. 64. Personal interview of Canby with Ball in 1932.

do it." McKinley smiled, placed his arm around Ball's shoulder, and said, "I served in Congress too long not to know how you feel. I won't appoint Addicks' man, but I won't appoint your man either, yet." The next day McKinley started on the trip which ended in his death at Buffalo. Vice-President Roosevelt became president.

How would Addicks fare under Roosevelt? Addicks had called a conference of all Republicans to meet at Rehoboth on September 14th, the day that McKinley died, but it had been postponed indefinitely. All the Wilmington newspapers, with the exception of the Sun, believed that Addicks was through, and that he would retire to Arizona or New Mexico, where he had extensive copper interests. T. C. Moore, a member of the last legislature, however, expressed the opinion of some Union Republican men upon Addicks' chances of election, when he said, "I was nominated as an Addicks' man; elected as an Addicks' man; voted last winter for Mr. Addicks for United States Senator; am still an Addicks' man." He promised unwavering devotion to Addicks until he was sent to the senate.³⁴

In the middle of October, Governor Bunn visited Washington. Roosevelt, it was reported, had promised to

³⁴ Sun, Sept. 14, 1901.

appoint only the necessary federal officials in Delaware until the senatorial vacancies were filled; Representative Ball would recommend candidates to those federal offices that had by necessity to be filled. Hunn denied that such a settlement had been made, but later evidence seemed to prove this agreement.³⁵

Representative Ball had visited Roosevelt late in October in behalf of R. G. Houston, candidate for collector of the port of Wilmington. D. P. Barnard was the Union Republican nominee. The belief spread that both factions were to be ignored in the appointment, but, on November 7th, R. G. Houston was appointed. While the Regular Republicans rejoiced, the Sun said that the appointment meant one thing, that "no Union Republicans need apply" to Roosevelt for federal offices; it condemned the president's 'mistaken policy.'³⁶

Roosevelt seemed to be carrying his fight for cleaner politics into the Delaware case. At the Army-Navy football game in Philadelphia, in November, 1901, he assured H. B. Thompson and his father-in-law, General Wilson, that he would back the Regular Republicans in Delaware in their fight against Addicks.³⁷

35 Every Evening, Oct. 17, 1901. For both Hunn's statement and denial.

36 Sun, Nov. 8, 1901.

37 Personal interview with Thompson in Sept., 1935.

The year of 1901 had been a disappointment to the Union Republicans. With every expectation of success, they had been defeated. Addicks had even been considering the choice of his colleague in the senate, but he had not been able to control more than 23 votes in the legislature at any time. Just when Hanna and McKinley had assured him of their support and of the patronage, McKinley had been shot, and Roosevelt had repudiated all old pledges. On the other hand, Addicks had prevented the election of any senator; Mark Hanna and McKinley had temporarily given the Union Republicans control of the patronage. There was no reason why Addicks could not bring Roosevelt to his side, as he had McKinley, and show him that he controlled the majority Republican party in Delaware in the campaign of 1902. He was still in the race.

CHAPTER X.

HOLDING UP A STATE

"When. . . they (the Union Republicans) failed to attain their ends, they proceeded to hold up a state, as a highwayman would hold up a stage." A sentence from George Kennan's famous article, "Holding up a state."

Addicks: "I am either going to be senator, or I'll sink the Republican party in Delaware 10,000 fathoms deep."

Representative Ball: "A man who talks that way is no Republican." Part of an interview between Addicks and Ball in July, 1902.

The Every Evening stated that there was only one issue in the campaign of 1902: "The political campaign of Delaware this year should have for its supreme object the defeat of J. Edward Addicks. No other issues should be permitted to cloud the one. And the way to defeat Addicks is to defeat the Union Republican party of which he is head, front, and absolute dictator."¹

The campaign began in January, with a proposal from the Union to the Regular Republicans, to hold a joint convention elected according to Union Republican demands,

¹ Every Evening, May 3, 1902.

which meant that the city of Wilmington's representation in the convention would be increased.² The Regular Republicans in March rejected this offer, but expressed the hope that the two parties would be able to agree upon state candidates.³

Addicks became angry: "We have built a stone-wall around the state of Delaware, and will fight it out if it takes all summer," he said. Although predicting victory in the November campaign, he continued, "In case we do not win at the coming election, it is only a question of time when we will, and I propose to fight it out, if it takes ten years longer."⁴

Efforts to have Governor Munn call a special session, however, were not abandoned so readily. The seven 'saints' who had deadlocked the legislature in 1901 proposed a list of ten men from Kent and Sussex counties from which the Union Republicans were to select one candidate for the senate, while the Union Republicans would submit a similar list of ten men from New Castle county from which the Regular Republicans would select the other.

2 ibid., Jan. 27, 1902.

3 ibid., March 24, 1902.

4 ibid., March 24, 1902.

The one solution of difficulties, they wrote, was the removal of 'the fundamental difference' separating the two parties, which was Addicks.⁵

Within a week, the Union Republican state committee rejected the proposal.⁶ Allee wrote an extravaganza in praise of Addicks, the choice of 21,000 electors and the founder of the Republican party in Delaware. The only 'fundamental difference' that really existed in the Republican ranks was a conflict for control between the majority and minority parties. His one concession, in an effort to promote harmony, was an offer to hold a convention elected according to Regular Republican rules, which would increase the representation from the city of Wilmington in the joint convention. In return, each faction would select a senatorial candidate, upon whom the two would unite in support. If there was no reply by May 1st, this offer was considered rejected--and there was no reply.

In May, the seven Regular Republican members of the legislature sent the same proposal to the Union Republicans, who had sat in the last session.⁷ Eleven of them

⁵ ibid., March 28, 1902.

⁶ ibid., April 1, 1902.

⁷ ibid., May 3, 1902.

at a conference rejected it.⁸ In the same month, members of both factions were called to Washington by Postmaster-General Payne, but nothing came from the visit, as the Regular Republicans issued an ultimatum that they would abide by a majority decision in caucus only if Addicks withdrew.⁹

In July, William Michael Byrne, United States district attorney, announced from Washington that "the primary duty of Delaware Republicans is the election of duPont to the senate," but added that he preferred to see Addicks elected than to have the Republican party in Delaware 'smashed.'¹⁰ He returned from Oyster Bay a few days later urging a special session, for fear that Delaware might become Democratic in the coming election, and that the Democrats might then have the chance of electing two senators.¹¹

Delaware's one Congressman, L. H. Ball, was summoned by phone to New York in July, to meet 'a national committeeman,' in an effort to save Delaware from the Democrats. He met National Committeeman Addicks, accompanied

8 ibid., May 10, 1902.

9 ibid., May 2, 1902.

10 ibid., July 24, 1902.

11 ibid., July 28, 1902.

by Allee and Layton, at the New York Yacht Club. Allee promised Ball a senatorship, if he would persuade three Regular Republicans to vote for Addicks in a special session of the legislature, and support for Congress even if he failed. Ball refused to try. Addicks reiterated what he had telegraphed Senator Washburn of Minnesota in 1895: "I'm either going to be senator, or I'll sink the Republican party in Delaware 10,000 fathoms deep." Ball, in turn, became angry, and before he left the room, replied, "A man who talks in that way is no Republican! Such speeches, and action in accordance with such speeches, have kept you out of the United States Senate thus far, and will keep you out always."¹²

Allee had failed to convince Ball that he should persuade three Regular Republicans to support Addicks in a special session, but he continued to make threats. Ball would receive the Union Republican support for Congress only if a special session of the legislature was called; as to the senatorship, "Anybody they want if we can have the man we want."¹³ The Sun attacked Ball unmercifully in its columns, and accused him of offering the office of United States Marshall to four Union Republicans, if they

¹² Kennan, "Holding up a state," Outlook, 73 (Feb., 1903): 280.

Canby, J. Edward Addicks, p. 68. Personal interview of Canby with Ball.

¹³ Every Evening, August 8, 1902.

CARTOON:

Meeting of the Union Republican State Committee.

Picturing the recent meeting of the Union Republican State Central Committee, Life's cartoonist evidently regarded this meeting as a gathering of J. E. Addicks, John Edward Addicks, Jay Ed Addicks, Jed Addicks, Ned Addicks, Gas Addicks and numerous other Addickses. Those who are aware of conditions in the Union party know the whole meeting was Addicks and that no member of the committee could act independently of what the Gasman might desire. Addicks dominated the whole thing, as he does everything and everybody connected with the Union party's affairs, and it really was not necessary for the committee to meet. Addicks might just as well have had a meeting with himself (William Michael Byrne fashion), elected himself chairman, called the session to order, presented his letter to himself, accepted it, transacted any other business that he might have seen fit to do and adjourned. The whole committee could not do more if he did not want it to, and we suggest that Addicks hereafter disregard all conventionality, meet himself and issue orders.

would support him for Congress.¹⁴ Ball denied the charge.

Addicks, as usual, predicted a victory for the Union Republicans in the coming campaign. He was unable to attend a meeting of the Union Republican state committee in August, which the accompanying cartoon illustrates, but wrote his followers a letter. He saw "the greatest and most sweeping victory ever gained by the Republicans in Delaware" for three reasons: At this election they would receive more support than ever before from the Regular Republicans and Democrats; Humm had given them fair representation on the election boards; federal officeholders had not been allowed to participate in the pre-election activities.¹⁵

On August 19th, the Regular Republicans held their convention, and in spite of the threats of Allee, nominated Ball for Congressman, Norman for auditor, and Burris for state treasurer.¹⁶ Allee said of Ball, "I shall never vote for him. I'd vote for a Democrat first, and that I never did in my life."¹⁷

Reports persisted in saying that Roosevelt was backing Addicks. Confirmation seemed to come from Senator Scott of West Virginia, who supposedly was the president's

²⁴
14 Sun., July 22, 1902. These men were D. Clark, J. Battenfield, G. M. Fisher, and D. M. Wilson.

15 Every Evening, August 6, 1902.

16 ibid., August 19, 1902.

17 ibid., August 21, 1902.

representative in the Delaware case. He revealed that Roosevelt had commissioned him to give the support of the national committee to the Union Republicans, in returning two Republican senators to the senate from Delaware.¹⁸

The Regular Republicans believed the report false, but Dr. Layton said that it was true.

William Michael Byrne, returning to Wilmington from New York, read in the Philadelphia Record that he might be nominated as candidate for Congress by the Union Republicans. He immediately wrote to National Committeeman Babcock that he was willing to run for the sake of harmony.¹⁹ At the Union Republican convention, on September 2nd, Addicks named the ticket: Byrne for Congress, Burris for state treasurer, and Norman for auditor.²⁰ Byrne was to be 'the Byrne-ing question' in the election of 1902.

Addicks predicted, "I believe that we will carry Delaware by 5,000 majority,"²¹ but Ball announced from Washington, "If the Republicans do not get together and put but one ticket in the field, the Democrats will carry the state."²²

18 Sun., August 14, 1902.

19 Every Evening, August 26, 1902.

20 ibid., Sept. 2, 3, 1902.

21 ibid., Sept. 3, 1902.

22 ibid., Sept. 3, 1902.

Byrne resigned as United States district attorney and began his campaign in earnest. His candidacy was regarded as a joke. He told a large audience of Republicans in Wilmington that they had three duties: "The first duty is to keep the state of Delaware Republican. The next duty is to elect two Republican United States Senators, and the third duty is that the people of Delaware should send W. M. Byrne to Congress."²³ He announced that he was perfectly willing to be the colleague of Addicks in the senate. But 'Gas' Addicks cared nothing for this creature whom he had nominated for Congress. What he most desired was a special session, and if Ball refused to aid him in attaining this aim, he meant to punish him. He authorized a reporter to say in the Sun that "the Union Republicans would prefer to see a Democratic Congressman elected rather than Dr. Ball."²⁴ At the Union Republican convention, in September, he had told a delegate, who pointed out that a Democratic Congressman would be returned from Delaware in 1902 if the names of Ball and Byrne remained on the Republican tickets: "The Democrats will win, and I shall be glad of it."²⁵ In

23 ibid., October 8, 1902.

24 Sun, Oct. 10, 1902.

25 Delaware Case, 1904. (Republican National Convention). p. 39. The delegate was George Frizzell.

reply to rumors that Byrne would withdraw, J.E.A. announced in the Sun that not only were they unfounded, but that in case of Byrne's death Addicks would run for Congress.²⁶

In October, the possibility that a special session of the legislature would be called seemed stronger than ever. Humm from his gubernatorial residence in Wyoming announced that a special session of the legislature might be called, that Addicks might withdraw from the senatorial race, and that if two senators were elected, "Mr. Addicks will not be one of them." The Regular Republicans denounced the Union Republicans' trick of a special session; as soon as a Union Republican senator was elected, they predicted, he would resign, and Humm would appoint Addicks to the senate. After a conference with Addicks in Philadelphia on October 20th, Humm announced that his efforts to settle the senatorial deadlock had failed.²⁷

On November 3rd, the long-awaited election was held. Addicks congratulated the Union Republicans 'on the prospects of a glorious victory,' predicted that 20 Union Republican senators and representatives would sit in the legislature in 1903, and confidently expected that the Republicans would

²⁶ Sun, Sept. 26, 1902.

²⁷ Every Evening, Oct. 16-20, 1902.

have a two-thirds majority in each house.²⁸ In a cartoon the Evening Journal announced, "POSITIVELY THE LAST APPEARANCE OF JED. ADDICKS, THE SNAKE-CHARMER. EAT 'EM ALIVE."²⁹

Addicks had allowed the Democrats to elect the Congressman from the state, but the Republicans had won the other state offices. H. A. Houston, the Democratic nominee for Congress, had received 16,396 votes; Byrne, 12,098, and Ball, 8,028. Over 7,000 of Ball's votes had come from New Castle county, while Byrne's had been scattered fairly equally among the three counties. The Democrats had elected 21 members to the legislature; the Union Republicans, 20, and the Regular Republicans came third, with 10. In one district there was a tie between the Democrats and Union Republicans.³⁰

Addicks was still an important factor in the senatorial contest, and the Evening Journal had advertised his disappearance too prematurely. In responding to a slur in the Philadelphia Ledger, that he was a Pennsylvanian, Addicks concluded his letter by saying, "Humanly speaking, there is no power which can induce me to withdraw as a candidate while the two vacancies are unfilled."³¹

28 Sun., Nov. 3, 1902.

29 Evening Journal, Nov. 3, 1902.

30 Every Evening, Nov. 9, 1902.

31 Every Evening, Nov. 6, 1902. Reprint from the Philadelphia Public Ledger.

The election of 1902 seemed to be one of the most corrupt during Addicks' entire senatorial fight; at least the signs of corruption are more apparent. "Republican Classes" wrote in the Sunday Star that in the lower counties "the election on Tuesday reached the climax of political degradation and debauchery" and commented on the "wholesale auction of votes," estimating that "fully two-thirds of the voters in Sussex county received money," while conditions in Kent county were almost as bad.³²

During the campaign of 1902, George Kennan visited Delaware, obtaining information for his article published in the Outlook, "Holding Up a State." While the flagrant tales of corruption that he told cannot be vouched for, their number is convincing. The Union Republicans had a regular system. The voters' assistants, after first seeing that the faithful voted the ticket headed by the star, gave the voter some means of identification, to be cashed by a cashier for ten or more dollars. In 1902 in Sussex county, some negro voters thought that they would be clever enough to be paid without voting, and handed the cashier the token of the day, a chestnut. The cashier refused to pay them; next day the negroes discovered that the chestnuts worth money were boiled.³³

In the fall of 1902, two whole series of fives and tens from the Merchants' National Bank of Boston appeared

³² Sunday Star, Nov. 8, 1902.

³³ Kennan, op. cit., 73: 432, 433

in Delaware. On the first day of November, not one of those notes was in Delaware; five days later the two lower counties were flooded. Kennan estimated that at least \$30,000 was spent in Kent county in the campaign of 1902, and perhaps even more in Sussex county. Within a week the First National Bank of Dover had received \$5,000 of those bills.³⁴

Kennan cited many cases to prove his charges. In the Seventh Representative district of Kent county, 130 of the 134 negro voters registered were bought. On the afternoon of November 3rd, when it was discovered that J. Frank Allee was trailing his Regular Republican opponent in the Third Senatorial district of Kent county, the price of votes in that locality rose from \$15 to \$25. In the Ninth Representative district of Kent county, the Union Republicans purchased 175 out of the 325 votes their candidate received. In the Fifth district, 89 votes were bought for \$30 apiece, and the votes of about 100 negroes for \$10 apiece.³⁵

In the Second Representative district of Sussex county Addicks purchased 307 out of the 401 votes his candidate received. In the First Representative district the Union Republicans purchased over half of their vote, including 258 of their 260 negro vote. In the Fourth district they paid \$4,500 for 240 votes.³⁶

³⁴ *ibid.*, 73: 231, 232.

³⁵ *ibid.*, 73: 232, 233.

³⁶ *ibid.*, 73: 233.

then,

as it is now.

D. J. Layton, son of Dr. C. R. Layton

and

Kennan reported that a prominent Union Republican leader had told a Regular Republican, who lived in Wilmington, that Addicks had spent at least \$130,000 in this one campaign. About \$80,000 had actually been spent for votes, and about half of the 15,000 votes cast for Union Republican candidates had been purchased.³⁷

Perhaps as convincing proof lies in the 1904 campaign brief of the Regular Republicans. Eight Regular Republican election officials from the three counties signed affidavits that from 30 to 75 percent of the vote in their respective districts had been purchased.³⁸

Interviews with various Delawareans, who participated in politics in the 1890s and the early 1900s, bear out the contemporary opinion, previously noted, that Delaware was an exceedingly corrupt state politically

..... In 1932,
 a supreme court judge in Delaware, expressed practically the unanimous opinion of those who were at all familiar with political conditions in Delaware under the Addicks' regime, when he wrote: "While Mr. Addicks and his adherents have always been accused of bringing about the

³⁷ Ibid., 73: 283.

³⁸ Delaware Case, 1904. (Republican National Convention.). pp. 21-30.

and I may say, still is."³⁹

and later under the duponts.

corruption of elections through the use of money, as a matter of fact, the use of money was prevalent long before he ever came into the state,³⁹

Nevertheless, opinion is agreed that the bribery prevalent before 1889 was small as compared to that under Addicks. In 1901, not even Willard Saulsbury could afford to leave himself so open to attack, when comparing conditions in Delaware before and after Addicks came, as to say that the Democrats never purchased votes when they controlled the state. He contented himself by saying that few Democrats were directly bribed, that their corruption took the form of charity, i.e., the payment of a grocery bill or the purchase of a pair of shoes, and that beyond this extent it did not go, because of the simple fact that the Democrats did not have the resources to buy votes directly.⁴⁰ H. B. Thompson maintained also that the Republicans for financial reasons did not purchase many votes before 1889.⁴¹ In 1901, fewer than ten millionaires lived in Delaware, only one south of the Christiana River, and north of that stream was the Republican stronghold in Wilmington.⁴²

³⁹ Canby, op. cit., p. 72.

⁴⁰ Saulsbury, "reserving a state's honor," Forum, 32 (Nov., 1901): 272.

⁴¹ Personal interview with H. B. Thompson in Sept., 1935.

⁴² Saulsbury, loc. cit., 32: 272.

Judge William H. Boyce, a Democrat and a former judge of the supreme court in Delaware, and James H. Hughes, Democratic secretary of state from 1897 to 1901,

Judge Boyce

James H. Hughes

J. Frank Allee,

43

Personal interview of Canby with
W.H. Boyce in Feb., 1932.

with J. H. Hughes in Sept., 1935.

In interviews,

..... ..

..... two prominent Democrats long active in politics agreed with these assertions. One estimated that fewer than 100 men sold their votes regularly in Sussex county before 1899, but that, after the new constitution went into effect in 1898 and bribery became only a statutory offense, the practice became deeply rooted.⁴³ The other believed that the poll-tax device, which the Democrats used to secure votes, if compared to the methods prevalent today (1935) in Delaware, would be considered a joke.⁴⁴ He frankly admitted that the Democratic collector of the poll tax avoided Republicans as much as possible, even going so far as to leave the state, that usually only the names of Republican delinquents were returned to the Levy Courts, and that the Democrats used these county offices for the good of their party. Personally, many cases of corruption in that period were known to him, committed by both Democrats and Republicans. He cited the case of a Union Republican who sold his own vote and that of his two sons, who were voting for the first time for [150].

Finally, there is the statement of a prominent Union Republican in 1932, who indirectly seemed to make an admission that

⁴³ Canby, op. cit., p. 134.

⁴⁴ Personal interview.

under the duPonts. We never paid negroes to vote at primaries, which is something which is being done under the duPonts."⁴⁵

A.O.H. Grier,

45 Personal interview of Canby with
J. F. Allee in Feb., 1932.

46 Personal interview of Canby with
A.O.H. Grier in Feb., 1932.

the Union Republicans purchased votes in large quantities:

"The so-called 'Regulars' were sore because the Union party beat them at every election, and so spread the story that the Unions were buying the election. There was not half as much vote buying when Addicks was in Delaware as there is today"

.....=45

..... A political reporter on the Every Evening during most of Addicks' political career in Delaware, summed up the charges against Addicks and the Union Republicans in an interview in 1932: "Addicks had money and was liberal. He put it where it counted. He cancelled or reduced the mortgages on farmers' homes, and when one farmer had been helped in this manner, his neighbors were won over. Addicks let it be known that he had money, and people flocked to him. In addition, he kept many people on his payroll with minor duties to perform."⁴⁵ All these statements point to limited bribery in Delaware before Addicks came, and a great increase after his arrival, with a continuation of Addicks' methods under the duponts today.

In the fall of 1902, President Roosevelt summoned H. B. Thompson to Washington, to talk over the appointment of

⁴⁵ Canby, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 73.

a district attorney for Delaware. Roosevelt announced, "I can't support you any longer; I'm going to appoint Byrne." When the president could not be persuaded to change his mind, Thompson made his declaration: "I'm going home to Delaware and try to beat you." Roosevelt, irritated, terminated the interview. Apparently, even the president was a practical man and willing to play ball with Addicks when he controlled the majority Republican party in Delaware.⁴⁷

With the exception of Bar men, Representative Ball secured the entire support of the State Bar Association for J. P. Fields, who had filled the office of district attorney, while Byrne was running for Congress. But Roosevelt insisted upon appointing Byrne, who had canvassed for him in his gubernatorial races in New York and who was one of the few Catholics supporting his policy of buying land from the monasteries in the Philippines, and sent his name to the senate on November 11th. Postmaster-General Payne asked how the president could deny recognition to Addicks; had not the election returns revealed that the Union Republicans were backed by 12,000 votes and the Regular Republicans by only 8,000?⁴⁸ The president went on a bear

⁴⁷ Personal interview with H. B. Thompson in Sept., 1935.

⁴⁸ Every Evening, Nov. 14, 1902.

hunt in Mississippi after the appointment, and when he returned he found that the Regular Republicans had stirred up a hornet's nest.⁴⁹ Word came from Washington that President McKinley had originally appointed Byrne, and that Roosevelt had re-appointed him upon his own merits and did not intend to interfere in the Delaware case.⁵⁰ The sequel occurred six months later when the senate refused to confirm the nomination, because it had not been made upon Ball's recommendation.

After Byrne's name had been sent to the senate, Addicks justly took all the credit for the appointment. In an interview that Addicks granted James Creelman of the New York World on November 19th, he displayed his usual confidence. He declared that the appointment was the result of a letter he had written the president. "In that letter," he also asserted, "I said that the truth of the situation was that I was a Theodore Roosevelt, only that I was 20 years older."⁵¹

As the result of the promised support of Roosevelt and Hanna, he said, "I feel confident that two Republicans will be sent to the United States Senate in January by Delaware, and that I will be one of them."

49 Personal interview with H. B. Thompson in Sept., 1935. Thompson wrote letters to Paul Dana on the New York Sun and to Clark on the New York Evening Post. See pamphlet Fifty Opinions concerning the appointment.

50 Every Evening, Nov. 25, 1902.

51 New York World, Nov. 16, 1902. (Creelman).

"The charge that I am an ignorant, vicious vulgarian utterly without capacity or ideas, is the work of a small clique of men in Wilmington, who for 20 years have used the Republican organization as a means of getting federal patronage, without really trying to put the Republican party in control of the state."

"These respectable men in Wilmington" had painted him "as a brutal corruptionist, a carpet bagger, of low intelligence and vile surroundings." There was "not a more misrepresented man in America." Twelve years ago he had become interested in Delaware politics, but during his entire fight he had spent less than \$250,000 in Delaware, and that sum had been spent only upon legitimate expenses.

He reviewed his entire fight: How he had persuaded state Senator Moore to vote for Higgins in 1889 and made Higgins senator; how Higgins had fought him even after 1889, when he had begun to contribute \$10,000 a year to build up an efficient Republican machine; how Higgins and Governor Murvil had broken their pledge to elect him in the session of 1895. In 1896, he had not been seated in the national convention at St. Louis, because he had promised to support Quay for the presidency if his delegation were seated. The Regular Republicans must be blamed for the deadlocks of 1895, 1899, and 1901. If elected to the senate, he promised to "act and vote as an ultra-Republican."

Ex-Senator Higgins answered in a scathing reply in the Morning News three days later.⁵² Addicks' interest in Delaware politics lay 'simply and solely' in the senatorship. Addicks had had no influence whatsoever in the election of Higgins in 1889. It was 'absurd' to claim that Addicks' money and efforts had made Delaware Republican; rather, in 1890, he had contributed \$5,000 to the Democrats, and had joined the Republican party in 1892 only after the poll taxes had been paid. Mr. Addicks could lay no claim for the responsibility of the Republican victory in 1894; he had prevented the re-election of Anthony Higgins in 1895, deadlocked the legislature, with the aid of the Democrats, and kept duPont from taking his seat in the senate. The national convention had not seated Addicks in 1896, because he had used money in the Republican primaries; Addicks had replied by forming a schismatic Republican party, which had thrown the election of 1896 to the Democrats. A Democrat, R. R. Kenney, had been sent to the senate as a result. Addicks was responsible for the vacancies in the senate from Delaware in 1899 and 1901. The appointment of Byrne by Roosevelt had not strengthened the Union Republican party; President Roosevelt would find that he had made 'a grave

⁵² Morning News, Nov. 19, 1902. Higgins' reply to Addicks.

mistake' in appointing Byrne; "no man can strike hands with Addicks and not suffer a blight." Ex-Senator Higgins predicted, "If business misfortunes were to strip Addicks of his money, he would not remain longer a factor in our politics a single instant. Apart from his money he carries no weight." The Regular Republicans would continue their fight against Addicks, who would not be elected to the senate in the coming session of the legislature.

Early in December, Addicks visited the white house. After a conference with Roosevelt, Addicks emerged more confident than ever: "There won't be any election unless I am one," he told reporters concerning his chances for election.⁵³ On Christmas day, Allee predicted that both houses would be organized by the Republicans, 'the Unions and Regulars sharing alike,' and that two Republican senators would be sent to the senate, elected by the united Republicans.⁵⁴ On Return Day in November, in the Ninth Representative district of Kent county both the Union Republican and Democratic candidate had received 424 votes, the Regular Republican nominee running a poor third with 32 votes. When the tie was run off on December 31st, the Union Republican candidate received 192 more votes than the Democratic nominee.⁵⁵

⁵³ Every Evening, Dec. 8, 1902.

⁵⁴ ibid., Dec. 26, 1902.

⁵⁵ ibid., Dec. 31, 1902.

Powell (U.R.)	496
Sapp (D.)	304
Plurality	192

J. Edward Addicks entered the legislative session of 1903 with more than his usual confidence, which was always the height of optimism. He controlled more members of the legislature than ever before. With two vacancies in the senate from Delaware, his chances of election seemed excellent. Would the Regular Republicans be able to refuse his offer of Addicks for one seat and a Regular Republican for the other? Apparently, he had brought Roosevelt to terms; even the President of the United States, a constant advocate of good government in theory, in practice could not afford to ignore the leader of the majority Republican party in a state. If Addicks could obtain five more votes in the legislature--optimistically, he already counted in the vote of Farlow, who retained his seat in the senate as a hold-over member--not only would he be elected United States Senator from Delaware, but he would be able to name his colleague: William S. Millis, whom his wife had selected as her choice in 1900, or whomever he willed.

CHAPTER XI.

ADDICKS SWEARS.

"I'll be damned if I do it!" What Addicks said in private when told that he must accept a compromise in the election of two senators from Delaware.

"I am tickled to death. It was just as I wanted it." What Addicks told the public about the compromise.

With a little parleying, the Republicans organized the General Assembly in January, 1903. The Regular Republicans elected the president pro tem of the senate, and the Union Republicans, the speaker of the House, while the remainder of the offices were equally divided.

On January 14th, the Democrats proposed that the Regular Republicans combine with them to repeal the notorious voters' assistant law and to elect two senators--one Republican, the other Democratic.¹ A reply must be made by January 21st, the day on which the senatorial balloting began. The proposal fell through when the Democrats refused to grant an extension of time for its consideration.

¹ Every Evening, Jan. 15, 1903.

At the three caucuses held on January 19th, the Democrats nominated R. R. Kenney for the long term and Willard Saulsbury for the short term; the Regular Republicans nominated H. A. duPont for the long term and Anthony Higgins for the short term; the Union Republicans nominated Addicks for both terms. The first joint ballot revealed their choices and strength:²

Long term			Short term		
Addicks	(U.R.)	21	Saulsbury	(D.)	21
Kenney	(D.)	21	Addicks	(U.R.)	21
H.A. duPont	(R.R.)	10	Higgins	(R.R.)	10
			T.C. duPont	(R.R.)	2

The Regular Republicans seemed to be drifting into a deal with the Democrats. National Republican leaders were concerned. On January 22nd, Mark Hanna appealed to the Regular Republicans in the legislature, through a telegram to William Flinn, not to vote for a Democrat for one of the senators; "certainly the Republican party is entitled to the fruits of victory."³

On February 5th, the Every Evening published an extra. "ADDICKS WITHDRAWS FROM SENATORIAL RACE," the headlines read, but a closer scrutiny of the Addicks' statement made the Regular Republicans doubt that he had retired.⁴ Addicks withdrew, he said, "to remove the only cause assigned for the continuance of party disunion," but added--most significantly, it seemed to the Regular Republicans--that "the

² ibid., Jan. 21, 1903.

³ ibid., Jan. 22, 1903.

⁴ ibid., Feb. 5, 1903.

withdrawal of my candidacy is conditioned upon the holding of a Republican caucus to be participated in by all the Republican members of the General Assembly, and the selection of two candidates for the Senate of the United States by majority rule in said caucus." The Regular Republicans asked what would prevent the election of two Republican senators, neither one of them being Addicks, the resignation of one, and the appointment of Addicks by Governor Bunn to fill the vacant place?

The possibility that two Republican senators might be elected seemed so strong that Connelly, a Democratic member, missing the morning train from Wilmington to Dover, wired his proxy to a colleague and hired a special train, which carried him the 48 miles in the remarkable time of 67 minutes and cost the state \$167. He did not wish to be placed in the category of Farlow, King, and Clark, at a time when the absence of one Democrat might mean the election of Addicks.⁵

In an interview published in the New York World, Addicks did not reassure the Regular Republicans concerning the possibility that he might be appointed by Governor Bunn

⁵ Ibid., Feb. 6, 1903.

to the senate, if one of the two senators elected should resign. Addicks believed that one of those chosen would be 'the first citizen of Delaware,' J. Frank Allee, who was like a son to him, and for whom Addicks had the greatest fondness. In case that one of the two senators elected should resign, Addicks did not know what would happen. He did not believe the report that Governor Munn had said he would refuse to appoint Addicks if a vacancy occurred.

"The Governor is a very warm friend of mine, and has more sense than to make a remark like that," Addicks commented; moreover, the Regular Republicans should not be allowed to 'tie the Governor's hands.'⁶

On February 13th, the ten Regular Republicans in the legislature framed a reply; each faction should elect a senator, neither one being Addicks. This proposal meant simply that Delaware would be represented in the senate by a Regular and a Union Republican, rather than by two Union Republicans.⁷

J. E. A. answered in the editorial columns of the Sam. The discussions among the Regular Republicans proved that they were interested only in the spoils. Willard

⁶ ibid., Feb. 10, 1903. Reprint from the New York World.

⁷ ibid., Feb. 13, 1903.

NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1903 -TWELVE PAGES.

DELAWARE LEGISLATURE IN JOINT CONVENTION TO VOTE FOR UNITED STATES
SENATOR.

This convention takes place regularly every day at noon lasting
about five minutes. The Senators occupy camp chairs in the centre
of the house.

Saulsbury and the Democrats, but none of the Regular Republicans, were respected by their 'great opponent, Addicks.' A combination of the Democrats and Regular Republicans would be so disastrous to those two parties that "Mr. Addicks personally, would not grieve over a successful coalition between his opponents. Mr. Addicks' policy would be to strike out from the shoulder in a greater fight than he has ever made in the state, and he would be supported by nearly every true Republican and many Democrats."⁸

Mr. Addicks, "already snuffing the battle from afar, and with renewed health and magnificent ability to furnish legitimate campaign expenses," predicted that in the next election he would "complete the rescue of the state from the benighted condition of Democratic slavery. Mr. Addicks is careless as to the senatorship. His object is the permanent enthronement of the Republican party in Delaware as a monument to his memory after death claims him."

He had withdrawn "to restore party unity" and "to show clearly and definitely whether the personal candidacy of Mr. Addicks was indeed the cause of political anarchy in this state or whether it was in effect a factional fight,

⁸ Ibid., Feb. 17, 1903. Reprint from the Sun; issues of the Sun not available after Jan. 31, 1902.

purely for supremacy alone and the spoils of office."

Having revealed the position of the Regular Republicans in its true light, he re-entered the fight.

On February 21st, such amusement was caused in the legislature by a motion simultaneously introduced into the House of Representatives and senate:⁹

WHEREAS, In a recent article in a periodical known as the Outlook, George Kennan makes the following statement: "Of the evidence obtainable in Delaware with regard to the use of depraved women as a means of disgracing legislators enabling workers to hold or control doubtful men by threats of exposure it is not necessary to speak!"

The resolution branded this statement as 'a low, dirty, and incomprehensible lie,' 'an insult to the legislature,' and 'a gross reflection upon the fair fame of our Commonwealth,' and proposed that a copy be sent to George Kennan. In both the house and senate, this motion was defeated, and in the senate a motion to furnish all its members with a copy of Kennan's article prevailed.¹⁰

As the end of the session approached, J. E. A. wrote another editorial in the Sun, this time upon "The Future of

⁹ Ibid., Feb. 21, 1903. An official record of defeated motions is not kept.

¹⁰ Journal of the Senate. (Delaware, 1903). p. 512. Feb. 21, 1903.

the Republican Party." Its future would be favorably affected if the Democrats and Regular Republicans dared to combine to elect two senators; such an act would mean political suicide to the Democrats.¹¹

On March 2nd, contrary to all expectations, addicts actually withdraw from the contest. Each faction elected one candidate, and for the first time since the formation of the Republican party, Delaware had two Republican senators. The Regular and Union Republicans in combination elected Dr. L. H. Ball and J. Frank Allee. The results of the famous 36th ballot were:

Long term					
Allee	(U.R.)	30	Ball	(R.R.)	31
Saulsbury	(D.)	17	R.J. Kerney	(D.)	19
W. Martin	(D.)	1	B.A. Hazel	(D.)	1
A.E. Sanborn	(D.)	1	E.R. Cochran	(D.)	1
E. W. Tunnell	(D.)	1			

Allee had courteously refused to vote for himself, while Ball had received all the Regular and Union Republican votes in the legislature.¹²

The newspapers did not seem to know exactly how this surprising result came about, but from guesses and the meagre information they could obtain, they pieced together a fairly satisfactory story. Colonel Dick of the national

¹¹ Every Evening, Feb. 28, 1903. Reprint from the Sun.

¹² ibid., March 2, 1903.

DELAWARE'S UNITED STATES SENATORS ELECTED YESTERDAY

Congressman Ball (Anti-Addicks) - State Senator Allee (Addicks)

Republican committee was given most of the credit for persuading the Regular and Union Republicans to combine to elect two senators. There had been a strong possibility that the Democrats and Regular Republicans would combine to elect two Regular Republicans. A combination seemed the more probable because the one prominent Democrat, Willard Saulsbury, who was opposed to supporting the Regular Republicans unless the Democrats received one of the senatorships and elected him senator, was away on a hunting trip to Canada. Knowing that two Regular Republican senators would be elected, with the aid of the Democrats if they did not come to some agreement concerning the two senatorships, the Union Republicans at a conference in Philadelphia had persuaded Addicks to accept a compromise. Dr. C. R. Layton had presented the facts to Addicks, and he had finally agreed, saying, "Well, if you boys think I had better do so, I will get out. I am 64 years of age; I am getting old, anyway, and I will do as you want me to."¹³

Dr. C. R. Layton revealed the inside story of the election of 1903 in an interview published in the Philadelphia Record in 1928, almost exactly 25 years after the election of the two senators.¹⁴

On Friday, February 27th, William Flinn, one of the leaders of the Regular Republicans in the legislature, had

¹³ Morning News, March 3, 1903.

¹⁴ Philadelphia Record, March 6, 1928.

told Allee that the Regulars were going to combine with the Democrats to elect Dr. L. H. Ball for the long term and John Hunn for the short term, unless the Union Republicans could persuade Addicks to withdraw by Monday so that the two factions could combine to elect two senators. Minn much preferred that the united Republicans would elect the two senators, and told Allee: "Frank! I don't want to do this thing--voting with the Democrats isn't very agreeable to me--but the time has come when this deadlock has got to be broken and unless you can get Addicks out of the way between this and Monday, when the legislature goes into joint session, it will go through."

"The supreme crisis was at hand." At four o'clock on Saturday the Union Republicans met Addicks at his offices in the Real Estate Trust Building. Addicks attended the conference much pleased with himself; he had just written the editorial, previously noted, upon "The Future of the Republican Party," published in that morning's Sun.

When the Union Republicans announced the purpose of the meeting to Addicks, Layton heard him swear for the first time. "I'll be damned if I do it," he said. Layton then tried to explain to Addicks that his refusal probably

meant the death of the Union Republican party in Delaware, in spite of what Addicks might say in his editorial.

Addicks finally turned to Layton. "Doctor, what would you do if you were in my place?" he asked.

Layton replied, "I would checkmate my enemies. I would meet brains with brains. I would make that man there, your closest friend in Delaware (Allee), United States Senator for four years. I would keep John Rums in Dover, in the office of governor, and let the Regulars have the petty satisfaction of a two-year senatorial term in the shape of Dr. Ball. I would be supreme in Washington, and continue supreme in Dover, instead of down and completely out in both places."

To the surprise and relief of the perspiring Republicans, Addicks said, "Why! I have no objection to that!"

On Monday, Allee and Ball were elected to the senate, and Flinn, for helping to bring about a compromise, was appointed United States Marshall. Layton dated Addicks' downfall from March 2, 1903.

Addicks showed his usual jubilation at their election. "I am tickled to death," he told reporters. "It was just as I wanted it. My own election two years hence

is now assured. Mr. Allee has but preceded me to Washington."¹⁵ The white-haired boy, whom Addicks had made senator, was said: "I have only to say that I sincerely regret that I have to fill the place that belongs to Mr. Addicks."¹⁶ Some of the Regular Republicans felt that they had surrendered to Addicks. H. B. Thompson wrote to George Kennan, "The game is up, and we have surrendered to Addickian."¹⁷ The one thing that Addicks personally seemed to have secured from the whole affair was his appointment as a trustee of the University of Delaware. The 'nice people' of Delaware shuddered.

Everyone in Delaware was interested to see if Governor Rumm would veto an act repealing the notorious voters' assistant law, which law the Democrats and Regular Republicans had combined to repeal. Many people considered it one of the principal tools by which Addicks remained in power. In the debate over its repeal, Senator A. B. Conner, one of the Union Republicans, had said:¹⁸

"The voters' assistant system again comes in and commends itself for fairness. It insures delivery of the goods. When I buy a horse, I want my horse. When a Republican buys a vote, he wants his vote. I contend that there is no politics in the matter; when a Republican or Democrat wants to buy a vote, he has an opportunity of thus securing it instead of being cheated out of it, as has been the case so many times in this state.

¹⁵ New York Tribune, March 3, 1903.

¹⁶ Morning News, March 5, 1903.

¹⁷ Thompson to Kennan, March 2, 1903. Thompson Correspondence, 2: 502.

¹⁸ Morning News, March 17, 1903.

The election of J. Frank Allee to a seat that his master could not attain was to prove disastrous.

Perhaps this is one of the most remarkable speeches ever made in any legislature for its lucidity; at least Senator Conner clearly revealed the purpose of the Union Republicans in opposing the repeal of the voters' assistant law. Delegations of Regular Republicans and one of ministers of eight denominations visited Governor Bunn, urging him to sign the repeal measure, while the Union Republicans were as active in seeking to have the law retained. The repeal bill died a natural death.

The legislative session of 1903 had been more of a disappointment to Addicks than those of 1899, 1895, 1899, or 1901. With two vacancies in the senate from Delaware, he had not been elected senator. He must find what consolation he could in the election of his good friend, J. Frank Allee, though the other senator from Delaware was his bitter enemy, who had defied him in his effort to have a special session of the legislature meet in the summer of 1902. There was also some consolation in the fact that he was supreme in Dover and Washington, rather than down and completely out in both places; in his appointment as trustee of the University of Delaware; and in the retainment of the voters' assistant law, which was a convenient tool to insure the delivery of the goods at election time. Nevertheless, Addicks had been defeated in 1903; used to commanding, he had been forced to compromise. It was the end.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE CRITICAL YEAR

The senior senator from Delaware: "It's a sure thing, Ad."

The junior senator from Delaware: "The fight has just started."

What Allee told Addicks, and Ball told the public, in June, 1904, after the Republican national convention had seated the Addicks' delegates.

During the summer of 1903, politics in Delaware were quiescent. Two senators having been elected, there was no effort made to have a special session of the legislature called, as in 1901 and 1902. But the quiet seemed to forecast a storm, and from September, 1903, to the end of the session of the legislature in 1905, Delaware politics were in a turmoil.

In September, 1903, a disagreeable odor arose from Delaware politics which penetrated even to Washington. Senators Allee and Ball had divided the patronage between them. Ball controlled the patronage in New Castle county, while Allee was supreme in the two lower counties.¹ Miss Eldah Todd, postmaster of a fourth-class office at Greenwood in Sussex county, was dismissed for being 'particularly

¹ Every Evening, Sept. 4, 1903.

and personally obnoxious' to Alice. There was some doubt as to whether this class of postoffices came under civil service rules; if she was employed under those rules, she could not be dismissed without good reason.

Alice said that she was dismissed because her postoffice was used as the headquarters of the Regular Republican party, and Postmaster-General H. C. Payne gave this as the reason for her dismissal.² Miss Todd denied any such charge, and President Roosevelt on September 10th ordered an investigation. Accompanied by Senator Ball, Miss Todd visited Payne. After the interview, Payne said that she had admitted allowing her postoffice to be used as the headquarters of the Regular Republican faction, while Miss Todd denied the admission. Her postoffice had "never been used as a place for political meetings of any factions, parties, or kind."³ Roosevelt at last supported Payne, and the case ended with Miss Todd still out of office. The best impartial view of the case was presented by the magazine Good Government, which conducted a thorough investigation. After obtaining affidavits from several residents of Greenwood, it decided that Miss Todd should not have been removed.⁴

² Ibid., Sept. 4 to Oct. 15, 1903. For the entire history of the case.

³ Ibid., Sept. 15, 1903.

⁴ Morning News, March 21, 1904. Reprint from Good Government.

President Roosevelt had had a disagreeable experience in the Todd case. Writing to his friend, Senator Lodge, on September 30th, 1903, Roosevelt referred to 'some ugly times' that he had had in the postoffice scandal and lamented that "whoever touches Addicks is smirched by him."⁵ On October 7th, 1903, he wrote to Lyman Abbot, editor of the Outlook and publisher of the article written by Kennan in 1903, "I am inclined to accept your view of Addicks."⁶ But Roosevelt had not stood out as squarely against Addicksism as some reformers would have liked to have seen him, and they remembered his attitude in the next campaign. Between the practice and ideals of Roosevelt there was a huge gap. In September, 1904, Carl Schurz wrote, "And there is the unspeakable Addicks, the would-be purchaser of the state of Delaware, whom the legendary Roosevelt would have spewed out of his mouth with such energy that all the world would have been thrilled, but now treated with 'friendly neutrality,' so "that Roosevelt's apologists have hard work to prove that he is not Addicks' active ally."⁷

Roosevelt made another attempt to settle the appointment of district attorney for Delaware early in October.

5 Roosevelt and Lodge, Correspondence, 2: 65. Roosevelt to Lodge, Sept. 30, 1903.

6 Pringle, Theodore Roosevelt, p. 345. Roosevelt to Abbot, Oct. 7, 1903.

7 Schurz, Speeches, 6: 381. Schurz to Parker, Sept., 1904.

The senate, having twice rejected his nominee, Byrne, Roosevelt summoned Ball and Allee to Washington. Ball would name only J. P. Fields, while Allee would accept anyone else. Roosevelt threatened to appoint a Democrat, and Ball said that was his responsibility. On October 5th, Fields received the appointment.⁸

In November, 1903, Allee wrote a letter to H. B. Thompson, of which the first paragraph read: "It is manifest that the people generally of the Republican faith throughout the state demand one party, one emblem, one committee, one nominating convention, one ticket, and one set of candidates."⁹ Consequently, he proposed a joint convention to be composed of 160 members, according to the old Republican rules, at which a new state committee and delegates to the national convention in 1904 should be named.

The Sussex Journal called this suggestion 'a complete come-down of the Addicks' crowd,'¹⁰ but in reality it was only an attempt to discredit the Regular Republicans at the coming national convention. Whatever answer the Regular Republicans returned, the Union Republicans would win. If the Regulars rejected the offer, the Union Republicans could

⁸ Canby, J. Edward Addicks, p. 80. Personal interview of Canby with Ball in Feb., 1932.

⁹ Every Evening, Nov. 5, 1903.

¹⁰ ibid., Nov. 10, 1903.

say at the national convention that their opponents had refused to accept a compromise; if they accepted the offer, they would be swallowed up by the Union Republican party. They refused.

Rumors persisted that Addicks was financially embarrassed, that his lieutenants had deserted him, and that he would never again run for senator. The most scandalous of these articles was one which appeared in the Philadelphia North American in January, 1904, and the only one which Addicks felt necessary to deny.¹¹ It began: "Addicks has passed. The Master has given place to the man, and Allee stands supreme." Politically, it alleged, Layton had ruined Addicks, while Allee had taken care of his finances. In the \$4,000,000 suit pending against the Bay State Gas Company, Allee had turned state evidence, and he would not support Addicks in November. Addicks was estranged from his wife. He had purchased a new home called Mount Airy in Upper Marlboro, Maryland, in the name of his secretary, Mrs. Tillie Littell, but his offices in Philadelphia were vacated, his town-house in Philadelphia closed, his suite in the Waldorf-Astoria in New York unoccupied, his flat in the exclusive apartments at the Knickerbocker sold, and his affairs concentrated in Wilmington.

¹¹ Ibid., Jan. 18, 1904. Reprint from the Philadelphia North American.

Addicks could not allow this vile attack to pass unnoticed. He phoned the Morning News to deny it. "I have never been worth more financially than I am today, and I have never been in better financial condition," he said. Concerning the alleged treachery of Allee and Layton, he told the News, "I wish to say that they enjoy my absolute confidence, as they have always done." On politics in general he commented, "I propose to put up the strongest political battle of my life at the next election in Delaware."¹²

Not only did Addicks deny the story personally, but Allee, Layton, and Addicks held a reception for all the newspaper correspondents in Washington, and invited them again next year, when Addicks would be Allee's colleague. Addicks said that Allee and Layton were like two sons to him; Allee denied this statement on the grounds of age, but agreed that they were like three brothers.¹³

In January, 1904, after the Regular Republicans had refused the offer of the Union Republicans made in November, Addicks announced the course of his party in the Wilmington Sun.¹⁴

¹² Morning News, Jan. 18, 1904.

¹³ Every Evening, Jan. 18, 19, 1904.

¹⁴ ibid., Jan. 28, 1904. Reprint from the Sun.

"Straight Union Republican candidates (pledged to vote for J. Edward Addicks for United States Senator first, last, and all the time) will be nominated in every legislative district in the state. . . . Federal office holders in Delaware will be either in the hands of Senator Allee with J. Edward Addicks as a colleague, or Senator Allee with a Democrat as a colleague, and bolters will meet with short shrift. . . .

In other words, those, who during the past ten years, have put on the livery of heaven to serve the devil in, can flock by themselves with Ball, Higgins, and duPont for leaders. J. Edward Addicks will lead the Union Republicans to the greatest victory of their career in November with the ever loyal support of Senator Allee and Secretary Layton.

The Union Republican convention on March 16th was a tame affair, with Addicks as usual predicting that the Union Republicans would be seated at the national convention and that they would win the coming election. In April, the Regulars nominated their delegates to the national convention. Addicks entered the national convention in 1904 with the blessings of a homicide on his head. H. Gruber of Camden, New Jersey, who had committed suicide in April by drinking laudanum, wrote in his farewell note, "Hope Addicks is next United States Senator from Delaware; he deserves it by all means."¹⁵

¹⁵ ibid., April 29, 1904.

The fight that had taken place in 1896 and 1900 at the national convention over the seating of a delegation from Delaware was not repeated in 1904. Discarding the p[re]sents of the Regular Republicans that the Union Republican party "was created and organized for the single purpose of electing Mr. Addicks to the United States Senate," the Republican national committee unanimously voted to seat the Union Republicans in the national convention. The committee on credentials in the national convention, by a vote of 39 to 9, seated the Addicks' delegates.¹⁶

Addicks was jubilant. He directed a reporter of the Philadelphia Telegraph to tell the people of Philadelphia, "The decision of the credentials' committee does not make me a candidate for United States Senator, but does make me United States Senator in fact from my little state."¹⁷ Allen told his master, "It's a sure thing, Ad."¹⁸ The Regular Republicans were incensed. Senator Ball commented, "If the Republicans of the United States in national convention expect us to take the decision and to swallow Addicks they will discover that they have made a mistake. The fight has just started."¹⁹ Colonel H. A. duPont said of the decision, "It has just given us a fresh start."²⁰

¹⁶ ibid., June 17, 21, 1904.

¹⁷ ibid., June 21, 1904. Reprint from the Philadelphia Telegraph.

¹⁸ ibid., June 21, 1904.

¹⁹ ibid., June 21, 1904.

²⁰ ibid., June 21, 1904.

Early in August, the Regular Republicans at their state convention nominated a ticket headed by Dr. G. W. Chandler for governor, and H. G. Knowles for Congress.²¹ Later in the month, the Union Republicans nominated the same presidential electors, but they named H. C. Conrad for governor, and H. R. Burton for Congress.²² Addicks had predicted that Hurn would be re-elected governor, but he had refused to run.

The usual efforts were made to form a compromise ticket. In September, Addicks was summoned to New York by the chairman of the national Republican party, Cortelyou, in an effort to promote harmony.²³ The Regular Republican state committee advised its followers in Kent and Sussex counties to accept the Union Republican county ticket, which included the legislative nominees.²⁴ As the next move, the Union Republican state committee submitted a list of seven names from Kent and Sussex counties to the Regular Republican state committee, from which it was to select a candidate for governor.²⁵ The Regular Republicans retaliated with a list of seven names from New Castle county.²⁶ Eventually, a candidate brought forward by the Regular Republicans,

²¹ *ibid.*, August 9, 1904.

²² *ibid.*, August 23, 1904.

²³ *ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1904.

²⁴ *ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1904.

²⁵ *ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1904.

²⁶ *ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1904.

Preston Lea of New Castle county, was named for governor, and H. R. Burton, the Union Republican nominee for Congress, was placed on both tickets. Chandler, the Regular Republican nominee for governor, insisted upon running anyway.

The Every Evening, after forecasting a Democratic victory, heralded the election results in their order of importance, "DELAWARE REPUBLICAN. J. EDWARD ADDICKS WILL PROBABLY BE NEXT SENATOR."²⁷ The Republican electors had received 23,703 votes, and the Democratic, 19,345. The Republicans had elected their candidates for governor and Congress by about the same plurality, with the exception that the Regular Republican candidate for governor, Dr. G. W. Chandler, who had insisted upon running, received 202 votes entirely in New Castle county. The new legislature was composed of 22 Union Republicans, 21 Democrats, and 9 Regular Republicans.²⁸

Yet all was not certain. The Philadelphia Public Ledger published an unverified report that Allee and Layton had discarded Addicks for H. A. duPont, that 22 Union Republican members and seven Regular Republican members of the

²⁷ ibid., Nov. 9, 1904.

²⁸ ibid., Nov. 16, 1904.

J. Frank Allee

31 with Allee in Feb., 1932. Personal interview of Canby

legislature had agreed to elect Fall and duPont, and that the Regular Republicans had used as much money as Addicks in the last election: \$30,000.²⁹ But those well acquainted with the situation, such as Willard Saulsbury, chairman of the Democratic state committee, believed that Addicks would be elected.³⁰

Sources for proof of corruption in the campaign of 1904 are excellent, and the account by a prominent Union Republican in 1932 agrees with that told a United States Senate committee by Willard Saulsbury in 1912.³¹ On Wednesday, November 3rd, 1904, Allee saw Addicks in New York and had no reason to suspect that the usual amount of money would not be forthcoming. But on Friday, Addicks informed Allee that he could not furnish him with the usual supply. Allee said that he knew where he could get it, but if he did, Addicks would lose out. Addicks replied, "Take the money wherever you can get it, but win the election! It doesn't matter what happens if the party wins."

On Saturday, Layton and Allee visited Colonel H.A. and T. Coleman duPont. H.A. duPont was concerned over

²⁹ ibid., Nov. 11, 1904. Reprint from the Philadelphia Public Ledger.

³⁰ ibid., Nov. 11, 1904.

³¹ Canby, op. cit., pp. 86-88.

.....
Congressional Record, v. 48, pt. 3, 62nd Congress, 2nd session, Feb. 28, 1912. pp. 2077-2128. Speech of Senator J. A. Reed of Missouri.

who would get the votes of the Republicans in the legislature if the duPonts furnished the money, but T. Coleman duPont said, "We'll take care of that." He also asserted that he had given the Republican national committee the \$10,000 Allee and Layton had already received from Senator Scott of West Virginia. On such short notice the duPonts were only able to furnish Allee and Layton with \$53,000, which was \$20,000 short of the amount needed, and part of this amount was in gold, but Allee and Layton were told to come back on Monday. One worker, C. P. Swain of Bridgeville, supposedly departed from the meeting with \$20,000 in gold in a satchel, with instructions to see that Sussex county rolled up a sizeable majority for the Republicans. On Monday, this money was taken to Philadelphia and changed into bills. Addicks at last gathered some money, which he gave to Allee and Layton, so the duPonts gave the \$20,000 they had gathered over the week-end to Dr. G. W. Marshall of Milford, for use in Kent and Sussex counties.

Addicks was as strong a candidate for United States Senator from Delaware in 1905 as ever. Although personal attacks upon him had increased, his political organization remained intact. Unfortunately, his inability to furnish funds for the campaign of 1904 had become known

to some of his political followers, and the support of President Roosevelt seemed to be slipping away from him, but to most citizens of Delaware and to the press he seemed as strong financially as he was politically. His delegation had been seated in the national convention; he controlled 22 votes in the legislature; he had only to carry out the pronouncement he had made at the national convention: that he was not a candidate for United States Senator from Delaware, but senator in fact.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BONE PICKED CLEAN.

"I consider that even the presidential chair would be only a passing recognition of the great service he (Addicks) has rendered the Republicans of this state." Part of an appeal by state Senator A.B. Conner in June, 1906, to the Republican members of the legislature to make Addicks their caucus nominee for United States Senator.

Great difficulty was experienced by the Republicans in organizing the legislature in 1905. The House of Representatives finally elected a speaker on January 13th, after 60 ballots, and on January 25th, the Regular and Union Republicans in the senate united to elect the Union Republican candidate, A. B. Conner, president pro tem of the senate, after 172 ballots.¹

The same three nominees that had been prominent in all sessions since 1895 were again nominated in the caucuses held on February 5th: Addicks by the Union Republicans, H. A. duPont by the Regular Republicans, and Willard Saulsbury by the Democrats. On the first joint ballot held on February 7th, Addicks received 22 votes;

¹ Every Evening, Jan. 13, 25, 1905.

Saulsbury, 21, and duPont, 9.² Addicks announced, "I am a candidate for United States Senator, and I will not withdraw. And I will be a candidate until 1950. . . . I will be a senatorial candidate as long as I live."³

The number of red ties among Union Republicans who had promised to vote for Addicks until his death, increased almost daily in the legislature until February 17th, when six of his supporters left him to vote for other Republican candidates.⁴ This was the first break Addicks had experienced in his ranks since 1895, when two of his supporters had gone over to the Regular Republicans. Fifteen of his followers now signed a petition to vote for Addicks 'first, last, and all the time.'⁵

In March, word came from Washington, that Allee was willing to resign his senatorial seat, if the legislature would send duPont and Addicks to the senate.⁶ The Regular Republicans considered this offer a joke. DuPont remarked jovially, "Heretofore I have said one chance in 10,000,000, but now I say one in 23,000,000."⁷

On March 23rd, the legislature adjourned after the 50th ballot. It had been an unexciting session.

² Ibid., Feb. 7, 1905.

³ Ibid., Feb. 7, 1905.

⁴ Ibid., Feb. 17, 1905.

⁵ Ibid., Feb. 21, 1905.

⁶ Ibid., March 20, 1905.

⁷ Ibid., March 23, 1905.

Addicks' power in Delaware politics seemed to be declining; he had lost seven votes during the session; yet on the final ballot he still controlled enough votes to prevent the election of anyone else. No one could get away with that J. Edward Addicks was not an important factor in Delaware politics. The 50th ballot read as follows:⁸

Addicks	(U.R.)	15
Saulsbury	(D.)	13
H. A. duPont	(R.R.)	14
J. H. Hughes	(D.)	8
T. C. duPont	(R.R.)	2

All through the summer of 1905, the newspapers in Delaware elaborated upon the theme, "Addicks is down and out!"⁹ It was September, however, before the rumors turned to facts. In an interview, which the Philadelphia Press called "the most important political declaration that has come out of Delaware in a decade," Allee for the first time commented publically upon his relations with Addicks:¹⁰

"I would be false to myself and doubly false to Mr. Addicks, were I, in the face of undeniable, and as I now believe, unalterable conditions, lead him on in the belief or even in the hope, that he can ultimately be elected a United States Senator from Delaware. That hope is dead.

⁸ ibid., March 23, 1905.

⁹ ibid., June 19, 1905. Phrase a reprint from the Sussex Republican.

¹⁰ ibid., Sept. 2, 1905. Reprint from the Philadelphia Press.

"We have fought a good fight, but we have reached a point where we must face the crucial question, shall this contest go on interminably with nothing but defeat as the ultimate result? Does personal admiration and partisan fealty demand that we sacrifice the interests of the state?"

"The refusal of Mr. Addicks to view the situation from any standpoint but his own" alone stood in the way of harmony, which Mr. Addicks could attain today or tomorrow if he saw fit. Allee was still devoted to Mr. Addicks' interests. No one could say that Allee had experienced a change of heart since he had been elected to the senate, and it was "unqualifiedly false to claim that his (Addicks') friends had deserted him because of any misfortune."

"If Mr. Addicks would view the situation in Delaware squarely and fairly as his own friends view it, the matter would be settled." If Mr. Addicks refused to think of the welfare of the Republican party in the state, "then his friends will be forced to choose between their interest in the welfare of Delaware and the Republican party, and their interest in Mr. Addicks. As for me, the interests of the state of Delaware are of paramount importance, as compared with the interests of any individual."

This was the white-haired boy of Addicks speaking, one to whom Dr. Layton in 1903 had pointed as the closest friend of Addicks in Delaware, one who had assured Addicks constantly that he would be elected 'next session.' He had told Addicks that Layton and he were like brothers to him. Was this another Cain and Abel story?

**** **** ***** ...
 ... **** **** * * *****

On September 6th, Addicks replied to these charges:¹¹

"Frank Allee has at last revealed himself in his true colors; but he will not know the awful price he must pay for his treachery to me until he goes out to face a stateful of people, all of whom will despise him for the traitor that he is.

"When I took Frank Allee up he was a poor jeweler in Dover. I gave him wealth, power, and position, and now he pales before the possibility of defeat and exposes himself for the traitor that he is.

"All Delaware knows the relations that existed between Allee and myself. There isn't a man or woman, and hardly a child in the state, that doesn't know how poor he was when I first took him up. The state knows, too, that today, when J. Frank Allee goes out driving behind the fastest horse in Delaware, it is behind a horse that I gave

¹¹ ibid., Sept. 6, 1905. Reprint from the Philadelphia North America.

him; that when he votes his stock in the First National Bank of Dover he votes stock that I made him a present of, and that when he walks into his home and hangs up his hat he hangs it upon a silver inlaid hall piece that I presented him."

Addicks had been hearing of Allee's treachery for the last two years, but he had only believed the reports during the last few months. He explained his treachery.

"It's simple. Frank Allee never had the slightest claim to the United States Senatorship. I gave him his seat in the senate just as I gave him his horses, his bank stock and his silver inlaid hall piece. He was not qualified for the place, either intellectually or politically, and I gave it to him simply because the place needed a filler."

He pointed out that Allee and his relatives were drawing \$17,200 a year in salaries from the federal government, money which they needed to live on. Allee had obtained the help of Preston Lea, whom Addicks had made governor, by promising to make him his colleague if Allee was returned to the senate.

But, although "64 years old and the victim of a fictitious reputation given by the newspapers," he predicted that he was going to the United States Senate. "Allee

Why had Allee deserted Addicks? Having picked the meat off Addicks' bones, was he looking for a new victim? Had he been promised his return to the senate, if he would support the duPonts against Addicks? Had he deserted Addicks because, as he alleged, he had become concerned over the welfare of the Republican party in Delaware? All the Wilmington newspapers believed that Allee, seeing Addicks in financial straits with no apparent hope of recovery, had fled to a new source of revenue, the duPonts. If this was the reason, he received what he deserved, because the duPonts came out squarely against

cannot make a dent in the (Union Republican) organization. That organization is mine and it will stand by me. I'll show that poor little fool Allee that he never had any strength except what I gave him, and in the wind-up I and not Allee will go to the senate. People don't understand that I am a gentleman any more than they understand just what I have done in Delaware politics."

THE STAR

Wilmington, Del., Sunday, September 10, 1906

CARTOON

"THE BONE PICKED CLEAN"

Allee and were eventually supported by Addicks. For this piece of double-crossing, Allee was supposed to have instigated the powder investigation against their company in 1907, and thus gained the favor of Roosevelt, who strongly supported him during the remainder of his political career in Delaware.

When interviewed in 1932, Allee gave another reason for his desertion of Addicks: "I broke with Addicks because of a woman," he said. "Twice, in spite of my warnings, he brought a common woman to my apartment in Washington. I warned him that if he ever did it again, I was through with him. He did it again and I broke with him as I said I would."¹²

In considering these factors, there seems to be no more weight to be attached to Allee's second reason than to his first. Allee knew that the Bay State Gas Company, of which he was president but Addicks the chief promoter, was in receivership. He knew that the duPonts had much more money than Addicks had probably ever had. He was anxious to be re-elected senator. Either he had a deal with the duPonts to desert Addicks, for which act he was to be sent

¹² Canby, J. Edward Addicks, p. 93. Personal interview of Canby with Allee in 1932.

to the senate again, or he believed that he would receive such a reward from the duPonts for breaking with Addicks. If Addicks once lost his money, Allee knew that he would no longer remain a factor in Delaware politics. Already the Union Republican ranks seemed to be weakening; in the last session of the legislature, seven Republicans had deserted Addicks. Seizing the plausible excuse that he had at last become concerned over the welfare of the Republican party, Allee broke with Addicks. Most Delawareans believe that Allee treated Addicks treacherously, and neither he nor his son have ever been able to get anywhere in Delaware politically since that day.

Many people were glad to see Addicks fall, but there existed a deep repugnance in all normal minds, that any man, however base, should fall by the hands of one he had nourished.¹⁴

¹⁴ ibid., Sept. 6, 1905. Reprint from the Philadelphia North American.

.....

When Allee announced publically that he was no longer a supporter of Addicks, Republican politics in Delaware were thrown into a turmoil during the winter of 1905. Seven representatives of the press met in Dover in September and agreed to work together against the 'common enemy.'¹³

.....

¹³ Every Evening, Sept. 15, 1905.

Some of Addicks' lieutenants remained loyal to their chief; T. C. Moore commented: "While there is a drop of blood left in my body, I will fight for the interests of John Edward Addicks. What! Desert the standard of a man who has made Republican success possible in this state?"¹⁵ But most of his followers left Addicks for new men. Allee was supposed to have angered his new friends by appointing D. S. Clark collector of customs in Delaware, rather than R. G. Houston, chairman of the Regular Republican committee in Sussex county, and by selecting H. C. Conrad as postmaster of Wilmington instead of W. H. Heald. In Sussex county, Dr. C. R. Layton and the Union Republican secretary of state, Cahall, fought for the control of the Republican organization. In Kent county, Allee had his hands full with Addicks and his remaining followers. In January, 1906, R. G. Houston organized an Anti-Bribery League.

Some people even believed that Addicks was still in the senatorial race. "The belief is now general," the Every Evening reported, "that the 'open fight' between J. Edward Addicks and his political protege, Senator J. Frank Allee, is only a big political bluff, designed to throw

¹⁵ ibid., Sept. 9, 1905. Reprint from the Philadelphia North American.

dust into the eyes of the people of Delaware and also to deceive that supposedly astute politician, President Roosevelt."¹⁶

This belief seemed to be furthered by a couple of statements that Addicks issued. "Why, I have more friends now than I ever had," he announced to the press in February; "I am more popular than I ever was, and I have no hard feelings against any of my enemies."¹⁷ At a meeting of the Union Republican state committee in March, which Allee controlled by a vote of 10 to 8, Addicks said, "The Republicans of Delaware still want me for senator, and they are determined, and I am determined to stand by them in it."¹⁸ In May, Addicks gave one of his famous banquets at the Bellevue-Stratford in Philadelphia, at which he announced he was willing to sacrifice his senatorial aspirations for the good of the party.¹⁹ Was not J. Edward Addicks still an important factor in Delaware politics?

Allee circulated a petition among the Republican members of the legislature in May, to have Governor Lea call a special session of the General Assembly, at which the

¹⁶ ibid., Feb. 2, 1906.

¹⁷ ibid., Feb. 23, 1906.

¹⁸ ibid., March 21, 1906.

¹⁹ ibid., May 18, 1906.

United Republicans would elect a nominee for senator.²⁰ Addicks urged the Union Republican members of the legislature to sign the petition. Even if Colonel H. A. duPont were elected in the special session to succeed Dr. Hall, he argued, he would succeed Allee in the next session; moreover, he believed that he had a fair chance of election against duPont.²¹

Allee was very definite about what was going to happen, if Governor Lea called a special session. "Colonel duPont will be the next United States Senator from Delaware," Allee told reporters on May 24th after a conference with Roosevelt, "and he will be elected inside of two weeks at a special session of the legislature."²² On May 25th, Lea received the petition signed by 27 of the 28 Republican members of the legislature, and within a few days issued a call for a special session of the General Assembly.²³ Two members of the legislature believed that Addicks would be elected,²⁴ and J. E. A. wrote in the Sun, "Mr. Addicks believes that he will carry the caucus provided the 13 members (now remaining) who stood by him last session up to the adjournment still stand by him."²⁵

²⁰ ibid., May 19, 1906.

²¹ ibid., May 21, 1906. Reprint from Philadelphia Press.

²² ibid., May 25, 1906. Reprint from the Baltimore Herald.

²³ ibid., May 25, 1906.

²⁴ ibid., May 29, 1906. T. C. Moore and Baggs.

²⁵ ibid., May 30, 1906. Reprint from the Sun.

On the last day of May, the legislature met, and after organizing, adjourned for the two weeks required by federal statute between the time of the organization of the legislature and of the balloting for United States Senator. Addicks visited Sussex county soliciting support. "It will be either duPont or myself," he told politicians in the lower county, "and no other candidate considered."²⁶ The Union Republican city committee of Wilmington urged Union Republican members of the legislature to support Addicks. Senator Conner, Union Republican president pro tem of the senate in the last session of the legislature, predicted that Addicks would control 17 votes.²⁷

On the evening of June 11th, the Republican caucus was held. Senator Conner made the one speech of the evening. It was a fitting farewell to the man who had deadlocked four Delaware legislatures. He said:²⁸

Gentlemen, I appeal to your high sense of honor and gratitude to reward this man in so far as in you lies the ability to do so, for hardly one of you would be here had it not been for his generosity. I consider that even the presidential chair would be only a passing recognition of the great service he has rendered the Republicans of this state.

²⁶ *ibid.*, June 6, 1906.

²⁷ *ibid.*, June 11, 1906.

²⁸ *ibid.*, June 12, 1906.

This man was and is our Moses that led his people out from under the bonds of barbarism. . . . This man has been more abused than any other man since the Savior.....

In conclusion, gentlemen, I earnestly urge you to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and you will witness such a halo of glory and rejoicing in this state as has never before been witnessed.

The caucus ballot was then taken: DuPont--20;

Addicks--10; Ward--1. Roosevelt immediately wired his

congratulations to Allee for his fine work in bringing

about a settlement of the Delaware deadlock,²⁹ and on

June 12th, duPont received 28 votes; Addicks, 1; and

blanks, 18.³⁰ His one loyal supporter was T. C. Moore.

The Every Evening again reported the political passing of

Addicks, but for once there was some truth in the state-

ment. "The general belief is that the late auction

eliminated him from Delaware politics."³¹ To everyone

except Addicks and a few followers, the slightest chance

of his ever being elected senator from Delaware seemed to

have departed.

In July, the most violent meeting of the Union Republican state committee in the history of that party occurred. Addicks accused Allee of cutting the throat of the Union Republican party; Layton called Addicks a liar; Addicks

²⁹ ibid., June 12, 1906.

³⁰ ibid., June 13, 1906.

³¹ ibid., June 14, 1906.

repaid the compliment; Allee vainly called for order; and Addicks shouted, "You cannot keep order, you little cur. Shut-up, the people of Delaware will fix you all right."³² At the end of July, Allee returned to Washington. Addicks, as vice-chairman of the Union Republican state committee, called a special meeting of that body, attended by 11 of the 18 members, and it unanimously ejected Allee and elected Addicks chairman.³³ The tottering Sun and the Union Republican city committee in Wilmington still supported Addicks.

Addicks continued his practice of making predictions concerning political issues in Delaware. Shortly after he got the better of Allee, he told a reporter of the New York World, "Delaware will be Democratic this year. The Democrats will not only get the member of Congress, but the senator as well, if President Roosevelt does not stop interfering in our state. . . Allee has convinced the president that I am crazy, and the president is trying to make the weaker party in our state rule."³⁴ As the Republican primaries came closer, Addicks advised his friends to support the duPonts against Allee, Layton, Marshall, and Burton, his former lieutenants. "They shall go," he declared in

³² ibid., July 6, 1906.

³³ ibid., July 28, 1906.

³⁴ ibid., July 30, 1906. Reprint from the New York World.

August³⁵; in September, he added, "T. Coleman duPont and I have pooled our issues."³⁶ Some of Addicks' followers continued to assure him of their support. Representative W. W. Davis of Milford said, "I for one intend to stick by him until he goes down."³⁷

At the Union Republican convention in September, attended by all Republicans, Addicks announced that with the exception of Allee, whom he would not have back, his lieutenants would all be with him in the November election. Addicks was plainly humiliated before the convention. Dr. C. R. Layton moved that the two party emblems, the star and eagle, be combined; Addicks opposed the motion. It was passed by a vote of 114 to 33. Politically, Addicks was dead in Delaware. A motion favoring a system of representation at conventions, which increased the number of delegates from Wilmington, was passed, and a new state committee elected. Addicks was a member of it, only because he remained Republican national committeeman. A thunder storm had witnessed the birth of the Union Republican party in May, 1896, and a thunder storm saw it disperse.³⁸

³⁵ ibid., August 29, 1906.

³⁶ ibid., Sept. 4, 1906.

³⁷ ibid., August 3, 1906.

³⁸ ibid., Sept. 6, 1906.

Addicks still intended to have a party. The Sun suggested as an emblem a star with Addicks' picture in the center, and the motto, "In Hoc Signo Vinces,"³⁹ but a Maltese cross was finally accepted. For the first time, the Union Republicans had a ticket only in New Castle county in 1906, but it was severely defeated, receiving less than 500 votes out of the more than 20,000 cast in the county.⁴⁰ On December 3rd, H. A. duPont took his seat in the 60th Congress.

The legislature of Delaware had again rejected Addicks as a senatorial candidate in 1905. Almost equally as bad as his defeat was the desertion from his ranks of seven Republicans. Since the session of 1895, in which he had lost two votes, it was the first break that he had ever experienced among his followers in the legislature; previously, his Republican and Democratic opponents had always lost votes to him. In September, 1905, had come the public repartee between Allee and Addicks over Allee's desertion. In the summer of 1906, the united Republicans in a special session of the legislature had returned H. A. duPont to the

³⁹ Ibid., Oct. 11, 1906. Reprint from the Sun.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Nov. 16, 1906. Official returns.

For example: Candidates for Recorder of Deeds.

Republican	10,435
Democrat	9,793
Union Republican	484

The Republicans elected 36 of the 52 members of the legislature.

senate. In September, 1906, Addicks' party, the Union Republican, had been swallowed up by the Regular Republicans in convention. For the first time in ten years the Union Republican star did not shine in the November election, except in New Castle county, where it received less than 500 votes. Addicks must continue his fight alone, without an organization and without money. Everyone knew that he had failed, he knew that he had failed, but he refused to admit defeat.

CHAPTER XIV.

ADDICKS HEADS FOR WASHINGTON

"I will be heading for Washington when they carry my corpse out of New York to bury me." What Addicks told process servers and reporters, when they discovered him in a flat in Hoboken, New Jersey, in December, 1908.

After the election of H. A. duPont to the senate in 1906, the remainder of Addicks' political career in Delaware is the story of a gradual, but unwilling withdrawal from political affairs. In spite of the fine speeches Addicks issued, he had no political influence in Delaware without his money.

On January 3rd, 1907, the General Assembly met. The Republicans controlled 36 of the 52 votes in joint session, but at their first caucus on January 3rd, they could decide upon no one as their candidate for senator.¹ Kent and Sussex counties demanded the right to name the senator, and argued that by the rules of rotation he should come from the two lower counties. New Castle county refused to heed the plea, so the caucus adjourned with no

¹ Every Evening, Jan. 4, 1907.

one controlling a majority. C. R. Layton received 10 votes; H. A. Richardson, 7; Allee, 6; Ball, 6; Higgins, 5; and T. C. duPont, 2.

On January 8th, Addicks 'afforded amusement' by visiting the capital for five hours. Compared to his former entrances into Dover, it was a sad occasion for the man in the top hat and the fur coat. Only one man, a lawyer, met him at the station, and Addicks carried his own suitcase to the state house. Observing a sign over Allee's jewelry store, "The Gift Shop. Get it at Allee's.", he cynically remarked, "I got it at Allee's, got it in the neck!"² Meeting Dr. C. R. Layton, who seemed embarrassed by the encounter, he invited his company on a trip to Europe, where he was going to clear up \$30,000,000. "Even a senatorship would not induce me to stay home," he said. He predicted his own election to the senate next week, when the balloting began, and maintained that he controlled 17 votes, including eight from New Castle county.

The caucus of the Republicans was held the night of January 14th. On the first ballot the three leading contenders were: Allee--10; Addicks--9; Richardson--6. By the third ballot Addicks controlled only four votes, and on the ninth, H. A. Richardson was nominated. Before the caucus Addicks had said, "No one will be nominated," and

² ibid., Jan. 8, 1907.

after the caucus accused T. C. duPont of a breach of faith.³ On January 16th, 36 votes were cast for H. A. duPont in the legislature, and 15 for Willard Saulsbury.

In its columns, on January 16th, the Every Evening commented upon the disappearance of Addicks from the political scene in Delaware: "Kicked out of Delaware politics, J. Edward Addicks, senatorial aspirant since 1895, creator of the senatorial deadlocks in 1895, 1899, 1901, 1903, and 1905, and of senatorial vacancies in 1895, 1899, 1901, and 1905, and perpetuator of the senatorial vacancy in 1901, left Dover yesterday before daylight."⁴

He was accompanied to the station by Senator A. B. Conner. Apparently, Addicks had left Dover forever, for Europe or elsewhere. His fast crumbling house continued to crumble. On March 8th, a Mr. Hinchman of Camden, New Jersey, who had a judgment against Addicks for \$44,900, purchased four of his farms in New Castle county at a public sale for \$19,200.⁵

Everyone knew that Addicks was no longer important as a political factor in Delaware. But in an interview he granted in September at Ford's Theatre in Baltimore, where he had accompanied Jack Barrymore, he said, "I have decided

³ ibid., Jan. 15, 1907.

⁴ ibid., Jan. 16, 1907.

⁵ ibid., March 5, 1907.

to demonstrate to the public of Delaware and to the people of the whole country that I can control the popular vote of my state. I am going to be governor." He maintained that he had changed Delaware from one of the worst governed states in the union to one of the best through his fight for the senatorship, and that recently his chances had improved, as he was no longer regarded as 'a political bugaboo' in Delaware.⁶ On September 9th, he made the important announcement that he favored Cortelyou for the presidency of the United States,⁷ and in December he represented Delaware at a meeting of the Republican national committee in Washington.⁸

On December 14th, 1907, word came from his boarding house on Tatnall street in Wilmington that he might be a candidate for mayor of that city in June.⁹ On December 17th, Thomas Lawson, who had so thoroughly scored Addicks in his book, Frenzied Finance, was elected president of the Bay State Gas Company. Allee, who was still on the board of directors, remarked, "Mr. Addicks' chances of ever again figuring in this company are about equal to his being elected senator from Delaware,"¹⁰ but Addicks, as chirper as ever,

⁶ ibid., Sept. 2, 1907. Reprint from the Baltimore American.

⁷ ibid., Sept. 9, 1907.

⁸ ibid., Dec. 7, 1907.

⁹ ibid., Dec. 14, 1907.

¹⁰ ibid., Dec. 19, 1907.

retorted that the election of Lawson "was the best thing that could have happened to the company," and announced his candidacy for governor, "provided the party wants me."¹¹

Mention of Addicks grew increasingly fewer in the press after 1907. At the Republican national convention in June, 1908, the delegation from Delaware was seated by the grace of Addicks, who gave H. A. duPont his credentials as national committeeman.¹² In August, S. S. Pennewill, a former Union Republican, not John Edward Addicks, was nominated by the Republicans for governor. During the summer of 1908, Addicks was dropped from the board of directors of Delaware College for not having attended three successive meetings.¹³

At the end of 1908, process servers found him in a flat in Hoboken, New Jersey, living on a starvation diet of crackers and milk. He was in trouble with his landlady, whom supposedly he had 'hypnotized' out of her fortune. It was reported that he was the manager of a tobacco warehouse in Hoboken or engaged in real estate speculation in New York City. But wherever he was, one may be sure that he was still hoping to be elected United States Senator from Delaware, still 'the most misrepresented man in America.' To the

¹¹ *ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1907.

¹² *ibid.*, June 15, 1908.

¹³ *ibid.*, June 17, 1908.

reporters who accompanied the process receivers to his flat in New Jersey, he was supposed to have declared, "I am still a candidate. I will be heading for Washington when they carry my corpse out of New York to bury me. I am stronger with the people of Delaware today than ever, and I expect to be elected some day. We have weeded out the traitors and are again in line for the fray." Of the accusations levelled against him, he said, "It has long been a popular pastime to blame it on Addicks. I have been accused of everything from the kidnapping of Charles Ross to certifying to the good character of Tom Lawson,"¹⁴

In 1909, with a Democratic legislature elected and with no election for the senate taking place, Addicks did not appear in Delaware. In September, 1910, Addicks attended the Republican convention meeting at Dover. No one paid any attention to him. Meeting James H. Hughes on the Green, he asked his company past the convention hall. Practically all the prominent Republicans in the state were assembled on the steps of the hall, but only D. M. Wilson spoke to him. Addicks advised Hughes to stay out of politics. There was no gratitude in a political career; now that he had no money, these men, who had once flattered him, had pushed him aside for others. He did present a pathetic picture.¹⁵

¹⁴ August 8, 1919. A search of Wilmington newspapers in 1908 fails to reveal this story. (In Every-Evening-Journal - "Morgue.")

¹⁵ Personal interview with J. H. Hughes in Sept., 1938.

Newspaper clipping

Picture

of

J. Edward Addicks

and

D. M. Wilson

in January, 1911.

Drexler

Drexler

In January, 1911, when the Republicans in Delaware had another chance to fill a senatorial vacancy, Addicks announced, "I am a candidate for United States Senator from Delaware."¹⁶ He began his campaign by inviting some Republican members of the legislature to one of his famous banquets in Philadelphia.¹⁷ Before the balloting for senator began, he predicted that he had enough votes to block the election of H. A. duPont, who was attempting to succeed himself; when asked if he controlled five votes, he replied, "You might say 25."¹⁸ Meeting state Senator, who, like Addicks, had come from Pennsylvania to try to break into Delaware politics, he said when introduced, "Senator, I am pleased to meet you. You and I must be related, probably 42nd cousins." He explained that they were both kickers.¹⁹ But Addicks' 25 votes failed to materialize; he did not receive a single vote either in caucus or in the legislature, and duPont was returned to the senate without any difficulty.

It was as late as August, 1912, that Addicks made his last declaration concerning Delaware politics. A reporter of the Every Evening interviewed Addicks, who was "dressed in the height of fashion, looked very well and

¹⁶ ibid., Jan. 23, 1911.

¹⁷ ibid., Jan. 19, 1911.

¹⁸ ibid., Jan. 23, 1911.

¹⁹ ibid., Jan. 23, 1911.

resembled a Kentucky colonel out for a holiday." He was willing to accept the governorship, if "they give it to me on a gold plate, with a million dollars's worth of diamonds around the edge," but he must be allowed to name the lieutenant-governor. If state Senator A. B. Conner ran for governor, he would take an active part in the campaign. He was anxious to save Delaware from 'the new Roosevelt party.'²⁰ But neither Addicks nor Conner was nominated as a candidate for governor.

In April, 1913, Addicks was brought into the New York courts on a judgment issued to H. M. Burton of Boston on January 12th, 1912. Although unable to pay the \$20,000, he furnished \$2,000 bail, which he promptly forfeited.²¹ In May, 1913, Addicks spent a few days in the Ludlow jail in New York City upon the same charge; eventually he raised the \$18,000 required for his freedom.²²

In August, 1913, Addicks died in a private sanitarium in New York City. The Sunday Star remarked concerning his funeral: "There was not a tear shed, nor was

²⁰ ibid., August 15, 1912.

²¹ ibid., April 2, 1913.

²² ibid., May 18, 1913.

there a moist eye, when, this morning, all that was mortal of J. Edward Addicks was laid away in Laurel Hill Cemetery" in Philadelphia. Only five men and three women followed the severely plain coffin, and not one political leader from Delaware, neither the man from Kent nor the man from Sussex. "Standing by the open grave, one could but recall that there are hundreds in Delaware today, who through Addicks' base initiative have profited and gained all that they possess, and more than they could have hoped to have."²³

THE GREAT ADDICKS WAS DEAD.

²³ Sunday Star, August 10, 1919. The best of the several accounts of his death and funeral in the Wilmington newspapers.

CHAPTER XV.

AN ESTIMATE.

Addicks was a mere political adventurer. Although the Republican national convention seated the Addicks' delegation in 1900 and 1904, its verdict of 1896, that Mr. Addicks and his partners were simply "highwaymen on the way to fortune," still stood. His one ambition was to get a seat in the United States Senate, and how he achieved this aim he did not care. For what purpose he desired his seat--'for a ribbon to stick in his coat' or for the honor and prestige--perhaps will never be known. During his fifteen year fight he spent over \$3,000,000 in Delaware.¹ His Republican opponents forced him to create a separate Republican party; he purchased votes by the thousands, and did not hesitate to bribe, or attempt to bribe, both Democratic and Republican legislators; but he failed to reach his goal.

During his fight, the 'perpetual candidate' for the senatorship from Delaware deadlocked the legislature in 1895, 1899, 1901, 1903, and 1905, resulting in vacancies in the senate every year from Delaware except for the year

¹ Dictionary of American Biography, 1: 105. Estimate.

1903. From 1901 to 1903 there were two vacancies in the senate from Delaware, and Addicks reluctantly saw them filled in the latter year. From 1895 to 1905 inclusive there were ten senatorial deadlocks in the United States which resulted in no election to the senate, and Delaware contributed half of these.² The deadlock of 114 days in Delaware in 1895 was the longest senatorial deadlock in the country. In 1890 Addicks contributed \$5,000 to the Democrats. As a result of the Republican schism in 1896, the Democrats elected H. J. Kenney to fill the vacancy left by the Republicans in 1895. The personal prejudice of Addicks elected a Democratic Congressman from Delaware in 1902. Addicks cared nothing for the welfare of the Republican party, except as an agency through which to control the Delaware legislature, and thus to have himself elected to the senate. Several times he publically stated that he would prefer to see a Democrat elected to some office rather than a Republican. The series of deadlocks in Delaware have been called 'the most famous' in the United States.³ They were of interest to McKinley and Roosevelt, both of whom tried to effect settlements of some sort at various times. They showed the appalling need for reforms in the procedure of electing senators.

² New York Herald, June 9, 1907. Table of deadlocks.

³ ibid., June 9, 1907.

Addicks made Delaware Republican. The Republican victory in 1889, the year of Addicks' arrival in Delaware politics, was an accident caused largely by a Democratic split. For the next five years Delaware remained Democratic, until Addicks' money took affect and he was successful in building up a machine. Addicks' monetary contributions had more to do with making Delaware Republican than any other single factor, but he was fortunate in coming to Delaware, when the Republicans, hopelessly in a minority, were looking everywhere for a leader who would hold out to them any promise of Republican success. Making Delaware Republican, however, was but a means to an end for Addicks; it was a way to be elected to the senate.

To attain his end, he sacrificed everything. His Republican opponents forced him to create a separate Republican party. The Regular Republicans maintained that the Union Republican party was Addicks' own creation, built solely by his money and having for its one aim the election of Addicks to the United States Senate. That was Addicks' purpose in supporting the party, but most Union Republicans supported Addicks because he alone promised Republican victory after years of defeat. To such a leader they were willing to give allegiance, and they did not care about the

Thomas Roe, for example, elected state auditor in 1904 by the Union Republicans,

But among the Regular Republicans, Anthony Higgins, senator from Delaware from 1889 to 1895, and his political follower, Fred E. Bach, were as low politically as the lowest Union Republican; (many would say J. Frank Allee).

methods he used. In an interview a former Union Republican said that he had never asked a man to vote for him nor did he contribute financial aid to his party; yet he was a member of the Union Republican party because he saw in it a leader who promised to free Delaware from Democratic control.⁴ It is true, however, that there were more idealists, such as H. B. Thompson and L. H. Ball, in the Regular than in the Union Republican party.

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Addicks at first tried to be elected legitimately. When his Republican opponents discovered that he would succeed, they 'bolted' the state convention. Addicks had secured control of the convention by the purchase of votes in the primaries, as alleged by the national convention, which did not seat his delegation, but his opponents were the 'bolters.' In every election after 1896 Addicks saw his party grow increasingly larger; it was seated in two national conventions. By purchasing thousands of votes Addicks tried to secure control of the legislature; when he failed of election in this way, he began to buy the votes

4 Personal interview.

of legislators, either Republican or Democratic--he was not particular. Yet he was not successful.

Addicks had no chance of election from Delaware after he lost his money. The prediction of Higgins in 1902, that "apart from his money he carries no weight," was fulfilled. Addicks made a grave mistake in allowing a few of his lieutenants to control the machine upon which he spent so much money. When the crash came, he discovered that, like a medieval king, many of his **vassals** were supporting his tenants-in-chief rather than their king. Before Addicks finished trying to be elected to the senate, a saturation point in Delaware politics had been reached; the Union Republicans were tired of seeing their leader repeatedly rejected by the Delaware legislature. Why had Addicks failed to be elected to the senate when he was prosperous? Perhaps there is some truth in the statement that his lieutenants did not want to see him win. Addicks spent large sums of money to buy votes in every campaign, but not all of it was used to redeem 'chestnuts.' A recent writer makes the interesting observation that Addicks failed primarily to be elected because he did not know how to buy votes like a gentleman.⁵ With his egotistical habit of issuing statements impossible of fulfillment, he aroused the bitter hatred of both his Republican and Democratic

⁵ Canby, Age of Confidence, p. 230.

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There are three successive stages in Addicks' downfall. Dr. C. R. Layton correctly dated the beginning on March 2, 1903, when Allee and Ball were elected to the senate. Allee had become greater than his master; he had reached the place Addicks could not attain. When Allee announced publically that he had deserted Mr. Addicks for the welfare of the Republican party, the second stage in Addicks' downfall had been reached. The fight between Addicks and his lieutenants was to result in the merger of the Regular and Union Republican parties. The final blow to Addicks was when he finally lost the \$4,500,000 damage suit pending against the Bay State Gas Company since 1898 in August, 1907. Addicks died a broken and penniless man.

Some Republicans had supported Addicks because he had freed Delaware from the 'Democratic curse'; others,

opponents. Had he come quietly to Delaware and been willing to play the part of a good angel to the Republicans in Delaware for a few years, he might have been elected. Rather than acting like a gentleman, he preferred to follow the methods of his fellow speculators in politics--Clark of Montana and Quay of Pennsylvania--and he was not elected. If Addicks had achieved his ambition and the committee on elections seated him in the senate, his victory would have been hollow. He would have remained the target for the jibes of the entire country. The desertion of some of his followers and the loss of the \$4,500,000 suit against the Bay State Gas Company in 1907 were the end of Addicks politically. He died a broken and penniless man.

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in spite of his achievements, refused to sanction Addicksism, because of idealism and varied reasons. Eventually, Addicks was defeated. What happened after Addicks disappeared from the political scene? The idealists had jumped from the frying pan into the fire; political corruption in Delaware became more rank than in the palmiest days of Addicksism. The duPonts seized control of the Republican machine and since then have literally poured money into Delaware at every election. James H. Hughes facetiously remarked that the Democrats would have been wiser to allow Addicks to be elected, than to have the duPonts become interested in Delaware politically; practically all chances of Democratic success have been removed.⁶ Even after the Union Republican party disbanded, the breast of the Republican eagle in Delaware remained contaminated by a star. The result of Addicks' fight to be senator from Delaware has been that the state has become a rotten-pocket borough, the political appendage of the duPonts. DuPontism has been worse than Addicksism.

⁶ Personal interview with J. H. Hughes in Sept., 1935.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON SOURCES

One of the most valuable sources for information on the Regular Republican side is to be found in the correspondence of H. B. Thompson. He was acting Republican committeeman from Delaware from 1898 to 1900, and wrote voluminous letters to his father-in-law, General J. H.

Wilson, in Cuba concerning political affairs in Delaware.

Interviews are important, but they must be used with caution. The writer interviewed four men of prominence in Delaware politics during Addicks' career: H. B. Thompson, J. H. Hughes, T. Roe, and W. Denney. The interviews with H. B. Thompson and J. H. Hughes, a Democrat and secretary of state in Delaware from 1897 to 1901, were the most profitable. The interviews with the two Union Republicans, T. Roe, state auditor from 1904 to 1908, and ex-Governor Denney, were not very illuminating. The writer regrets that J. Frank Allee, Addicks' principal lieutenant in Delaware, and D. M. Wilson, one of the most faithful of the Union Republicans to Addicks, refused to grant him interviews.

Henry Canby obtained interviews with two people of importance that the writer was unable to see: J. Frank Allee and Dr. L. H. Ball now deceased, the compromise senators elected from Delaware in 1903. In addition to

obtaining an interview with H. B. Thompson, Canby secured some information from D. J. Layton, a supreme court judge in Delaware and son of Dr. C. R. Layton; W. Boyce, a Democrat and ex-judge of the supreme court in Delaware; and A. C. H. Grier, a political reporter on the Evening Journal during Addicks' career.

Henry M. Canby's thesis is the first article of any length that has been written upon Addicks' political career in Delaware since Kennan's article appeared in the Outlook in 1903. Canby used practically the same newspaper sources and interviews that the writer did, but it seems to the writer that he failed in several ways to give as detailed or authentic picture of politics in Delaware during the 1890s and early 1900s. Although Canby went to the Wilmington library, he did not consult their special Delaware files, and consequently overlooked the Republican campaign brief of 1904, which is one of the most illuminating documents concerning Addicks. Canby did not take the trouble to get hold of the valuable Creelman interview printed in 1902, which is the most detailed statement that Addicks ever made about the Delaware fight. Canby does not mention the Todd incident in 1902, which had some very interesting national connections. H. B. Thompson in an interview told the writer that he found the chief trouble

with Canby's article in the fact that he did not emphasize its national importance enough. The writer believes that he has overcome this difficulty. Perhaps Canby's chief trouble was that he had only two weeks in which to gather material, whereas the writer spent the entire summer in consulting various sources.

By far the best newspaper source upon Addicks' struggle is the Every Evening. Although Democratic, it was more non-partisan than any other Wilmington newspaper. The political accounts in its columns were detailed, trustworthy, and accurate. The Evening Journal and Morning News were the two Wilmington newspapers on the Regular Republican side. They were chiefly useful in comparing important political events with the accounts that appeared in the Every Evening. The Sunday Star was supposedly a non-partisan newspaper, but it had a slight leaning toward the Regular Republican side. Its political opinions were prepared by Democratic, and Regular and Union Republican "Glasses"; it is an excellent source for literature and cartoons upon the fight. After 1898, Addicks owned a daily newspaper in Wilmington called the Sun. It was rabidly Union Republican, and the few files of it available for very illuminating. The New York Tribune gave the national importance of the struggle. Of special

interest were a long interview that Addicks gave the New York World in November, 1902, and one by Dr. C. R. Layton published in the Philadelphia Record in 1928 concerning the compromise election of 1903.

There are four histories of Delaware. The one by Seharf, printed in 1888, is the most detailed, but contains no account of the political events in which the writer is interested. For the writer, the history written by H. C. Conrad and published in 1907 is the most useful; it contains a more detailed account of political events in Delaware in those years than in any other history. Powell's volume published in 1925 is the only one-volume history of Delaware, and for that reason is the most convenient in some ways. To the writer, Bevan's history published in 1929 seemed merely a continuation of Conrad's history, and, what ^{Conrad} has done, Bevan has not done as well.

In Frenzied Finance Thomas Lawson exposed Addicks' nefarious business dealings. In its pages is one of the most vivid character sketches of Addicks. Although the veracity of Lawson has been questioned, his account of Addicks' business methods was partly confirmed in More They Told Barron. F. Haynes' book, The Election of Senators, was the most detailed book upon senatorial deadlocks.

A more recent account, though it contains no mention of Addicks, is by Orth. The references that Roosevelt made to Addicks in his letters were interesting in showing the national importance of the Delaware struggle. The best short biography of Addicks is found in the Dictionary of American Biography, but it is by no means complete. The other volumes listed contain one or more mentions of Addicks.

The most interesting article upon the Addicks' affair was written by George Kennan in the Outlook in 1903. Kennan was impartial, but when it came to a difference of opinion, he took the Regular Republican side. Cunningham's article published in 1901 was much more shallow. The Delaware Life, published for half a year in 1902, contained some interesting cartoons and verses upon Addicks. The article by Willard Saulsbury published in the Forum in 1901 was interesting in illuminating the Democratic point of view. The Nation and Public Opinion contained frequent references to Addicks. The other magazines listed deal with political conditions in Delaware either before Addicks came to the state or after his arrival. The most recent article upon Delaware and the most detailed ever to be written for a magazine appeared in Fortune in 1934 and 1935.

The most interesting pamphlet upon Addicks and the Union Republican party was the Republican campaign brief of 1904; it was much more detailed than the one of 1900. Two Views was illuminating. The papers of the Delaware Historical Society were too eulogistic.

The importance of the journals of both the House of Representatives and senate in making a political study of this type is easily seen. In the court records of Delaware are accounts of Addicks' divorce case in 1895, of the Kent county election case of 1896, and of the court decision against the Bay State Gas Company in 1907. In the records of the Senate of the United States were found an investigation of the election case of H. A. duPont in 1896, and the speech of J. A. Reed of Missouri against duPont in 1912, which was an interesting confirmation of J. Frank Allee's story of the election of 1904.

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Henry B. Thompson, Regular Republican.

L. H. Ball, Regular Republican. U.S. Senator from 1905 to 1908.

William H. Boyce, Democrat. Ex-judge of the supreme court of Delaware and a prominent Democratic leader around 1900.

Daniel J. Layton, Republican. Son of Dr. C. R. Layton.

J. Frank Allee, Union Republican. Addicks' chief lieutenant.

John Biggs, Democrat. Democratic leader around 1900.

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MANUSCRIPTS

its flaws
have been somewhat extensively noted in "Critical Essay
on Sources"

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James H. Hughes, Democrat. Secretary of state from 1897 to 1901; very prominent in Democratic affairs. Valuable reminiscences.

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..... not the final word upon Addicks.

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