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## PAPERS IN MEMORY OF DALLAS C. DICKEY (1904-1957)

THOSE OF US in the Southern Speech Association who knew Dr. Dallas C. Dickey as an undergraduate teacher and director of debate remember his incisive but tolerant criticism of our ideas. Those of us who knew him as a graduate instructor remember his love of history and his appreciation of all the forces represented in the rhetoric of a culture. Those of us who knew him as a director of research remember his insistence upon accuracy, thoroughness, and clarity. Those of us who knew him as a scholar remember his fine biography of Seargent T. Prentiss. Those of us who knew him as a colleague remember the fun of conversation over a cup of coffee. Those of us who knew him as a friend remember his kindness, his sense of humor, and his love of humanity—plus his delight with his garden, his antiques, and an occasional game of golf or fishing trip. Those of us who knew him as a member of the Southern Speech Association remember the establishment of the student congress while he was president, the growth of the JOURNAL while he was editor, and the series of articles on the history of the Association which he finished shortly before his death.

As editor of the projected Speech Association of America volume on public address in the South, Dr. Dickey was planning a sectional program for the 1958 annual convention of the Southern Speech Association. That program was arranged as he had planned it. Furthermore, it was possible after his death in August, 1957, to schedule a program of scholarly papers in his memory for the third general session of the convention. The participants on that program, representing diverse areas of speech scholarship, were selected because of their close association with Dr. Dickey, as students or colleagues, during his eleven years at Louisiana State University and his eleven years at the University of Florida. The articles that follow have resulted from the papers presented at Houston.

BENJAMIN MORGAN PALMER'S LOTTERY  
SPEECH, NEW ORLEANS, 1891

WAYNE C. EUBANK

AS EARLY AS 1810 the Orleans Territorial Legislature had approved a lottery to raise ten thousand dollars to aid the Christ Episcopal Church in New Orleans. During the next thirty years, many lotteries were approved by the Louisiana Legislature, primarily for churches, public institutions and internal improvements. The close of the Civil War found Louisiana State finances in critical condition. The Louisiana General Assembly of 1866, which authorized the sale of lottery tickets, often referred to as the "Negro Legislature," was the most corrupt body to govern the state during the reconstruction era. However, the General Assembly was composed of some very capable men, some of the outstanding citizens of the state. Since about ninety per cent of the money poured into the lottery came from the sale of tickets outside of Louisiana, they viewed the lottery as a means of bettering the poor financial condition of Louisiana.<sup>1</sup>

An attempt had been made in 1867 by Charles T. Howard and Associates to secure rights to conduct lottery drawings. The bill, which did not carry lottery monopoly rights, was postponed indefinitely. This momentary defeat for Howard and Associates resulted in a complete victory for them in the 1868 Legislature. By bribing the carpet-baggers and Negroes and appealing to native Louisianians to better the state's financial structure, Howard was able to secure the passage of a bill chartering the Louisiana State Lottery Company for twenty-five years with complete monopoly rights. The Company was organized with a capital stock of one

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<sup>1</sup>The best works on the Louisiana Lottery are: Buel, C. C. "The Degradation of a State," *The Century Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, February, 1892, pp. 618-632; Alwes, Berthold C., "The History of the Louisiana State Lottery Company," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVII, October, 1944, pp. 964-1118 (complete manuscript of the original masters thesis in history, Louisiana State University, 1929); Williams, Thomas Harry, *P. G. T. Beau-regard: Napoleon in Grey*, (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1954), Chapter XVIII.

million dollars. The state charged a license fee of \$40,000 annually and exempted the Company from all other licenses and taxes.

For the next twenty years, through bribery, black-mail, and whatever type of unscrupulous procedure necessary, the Louisiana State Lottery Company dominated the political, social, and economic life to the state. Seldom was the State Legislature or the financial structure of New Orleans from under the control of the lottery. The wealth of the Company grew beyond the fondest expectations. Some estimates of the gross ticket sales ran as high as \$29,000,000 a year. Since only fifty-two per cent of the gross intake was returned to ticket-holders in prizes, the net profit of the Company was fabulous. Dividends on lottery stock ran as high as one hundred and seventy per cent per year. From 1870 to 1890 it was estimated that the net annual income of the Company ranged between five and eleven million dollars.

To avoid the accusation that drawings favored the friends of the lottery, Howard employed General P. G. T. Beauregard and Lt. General Jubal A. Early, Southern stalwarts of the Civil War, to supervise the wheels. Thus did the Louisiana Lottery Company cloak itself in Southern patriotism, dignity, and honesty.

## II

By the late 1880's more and more of the populace of Louisiana were becoming aroused by the power of the lottery and the idea that the state should sponsor the institution of gambling. Early in 1890, when John A. Morris, original founder and stockholder in the lottery announced that he would apply to the Louisiana Legislature for an extension of the lottery charter for twenty-five years, the Anti-Lottery League of Louisiana was organized. The first meeting of the League was held in New Orleans, February 28, 1890. Leagues soon sprang up in parishes throughout the state. On August 7, 1890, a convention of anti-lottery delegates met in Baton Rouge. Fifty-three parishes sent representatives to the convention. On August 8, the second day of the convention, the delegates voted the establishing of a newspaper to champion the anti-lottery cause. Thus the *Daily New Delta* of New Orleans was born with C. Harrison Parker as editor-in-chief. This move was essential to the anti-lottery

cause since about ninety per cent of the parish papers and all of the New Orleans newspapers were controlled by the Lottery Company.

### III

One of the largest and most important meetings held by the Anti-Lottery League during the campaign convened in the Grand Opera House, New Orleans, June 25, 1891. The Chancellor of Tulane University, Colonel William Preston Johnston, presided. Benjamin Morgan Palmer, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of New Orleans, delivered the principal address. The Opera House was filled to capacity and excitement ran through the audience as Chancellor Johnston introduced Palmer saying, "It is now my privilege to introduce to you a man who by his talent, his eloquence, and his virtues, well deserves the title of the first citizen of New Orleans."<sup>2</sup> As Palmer stepped forward to speak, rounds of applause greeted the exalted minister.<sup>3</sup>

At the outset of his introduction, Palmer charged the Lottery Company of Louisiana as constituting an immoral institution whose business and avowed aim was to propagate gambling throughout the state. Near the end of his introduction, Palmer presented the central idea of his speech, "I lay the indictment against the Louisiana Lottery Company that its continued existence is incompatible, not only with the safety, but with the being of the state."<sup>4</sup> Continuing, Palmer declared that he was not "simply uttering the language of denunciation" but that he had framed the indictment and he intended to support each contention with adequate proof.

Palmer opened the main body of the speech by declaring the lottery's legal right to exist comparable to the right of existence of a syndicate to propagate leprosy, a syndicate to extend the advantages of lying, a syndicate to promote murder. To punctuate the above illustrations, he declared: . . . "I put the lottery upon the same moral plane with these cases which I have mentioned." In closing his remarks on the above charges Palmer reiterated that the

<sup>2</sup>*Daily New Delta*, New Orleans, Louisiana, June 26, 1891.

<sup>3</sup>Johnson, Thomas Cary, *Life and Letters of Benjamin Morgan Palmer*, (The Cumberland Press, Nashville, Tennessee, 1906), 554.

<sup>4</sup>Copies of Palmer's speech may be found in *Daily New Delta*, June 26, 1891; *Southwestern Presbyterian*, July 2, 1891; and Johnson's *Life and Letters of Benjamin Morgan Palmer*, 554.

lottery was "an institution that antagonized the state and the people and all their interests," and propounded the disjunction: . . . "either the lottery must go or Louisiana is lost."

Proceeding to the first main argument upon which he spent about one-half of his time, Palmer denounced the lottery declaring that its existence was contrary to the "first physical matter which forms a basis upon which human society rests . . . the law of labor." Paraphrasing the Biblical phrase "In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt earn they bread," Palmer maintained that since the creation it had been a fundamental and universal law that each unit of society lived by his individual and personal labor. To illustrate this point, Palmer employed two examples, the farmer and the manufacturer. After extolling the creative virtues of the farmer and the manufacturer, Palmer asked, "what value does the gambler ever create? What new value does he ever stamp upon the value which existed antecedently?"

Seeking to avoid accusation by the lottery that professional men were a non-creative class, Palmer contended that doctors, lawyers, ministers, and others in similar professions, while not in the strict sense producers, added to the value of what was created and rendered secure the investments of the products of the creators.

Continuing the argument Palmer contended that one of the plainest principles of ethics stated that what a man has no right to do, he has no right to bargain to do.

The man who stakes his property has no right to stake that property on a chance, and the man who won the property upon that stake had no original right to take it. It was neither a gift nor a purchase and consequently the agreement between the parties, to stand simply by the chance, was an immoral agreement and no legislature can possibly make it legitimate.

Proceeding to the second main point in the development of the speech, Palmer denounced the lottery for promoting the principle that some should live upon the losses of those who were unlucky—that the few were enriched through the poverty of the many. He expressed the belief that if the lottery existed for another quarter of a century, much of the wealth of the state would be transferred into the hands of a few. Pronouncing that the people of Louisiana would not tolerate such a condition, Palmer issued the battle cry declaring, "If this lottery cannot be destroyed by forms of law, it must unquestionably be destroyed by actual revolution."

Closing his argument Palmer accused the lottery of becoming the apostle of gambling, a school for instruction in gambling.

It [the lottery] becomes a propagandist of gambling. It goes forth under the charter of the state to persuade man, woman, child where ever they meet to gamble. It carries the solicitation into our very homes. It meets our cooks when they are going with a basket to get the master's breakfast and induces them to gamble. . . . What I charge, therefore, upon the lottery is not simply that it is a gambling concern but that it is an university for the instruction in gambling.

In advance of his peroration, Palmer pronounced that before half of the twenty-five years had elapsed, if the charter of the lottery were renewed, every citizen able to leave the state would depart. Referring to the bribery tactics of the lottery, Palmer predicted that within ten years after its re-chartering the lottery would carry every governor of the state in its pocket "remove every honest judge from the bench, and put their men in the places to do their bidding. . . ."

Marshalling pathetic proof, for which he was justly famous, Palmer began his conclusion by reminding the audience that although he had not been born upon the soil of Louisiana, he was her son by adoption and that for thirty-five years he had labored in the honest interests of her people. Declaring that it was not within his power to abandon the state since his dead were buried there and the "narrow house" already built in which he would soon begin his quiet repose, he appealed for the immediate redemption of the land of his adoption asking, ". . . are we, sir, to abandon such a land as this, created by beneficent heaven and secured by the patriotism of the fathers that went before us? Are we to deliver her, bound hand and foot, to such an enemy as this?"

Reminding his audience that no isolated community could long endure against the moral convictions of the world, Palmer alluded to the Civil War and the defeat of the institution of slavery. Applying the analogy to the lottery Palmer predicted its ultimate defeat by declaring that:

The moral sentiment of mankind is against the lottery, and all the countries that have given it a temporary existence have found that it exhausted the resources of the land and have more or less divested themselves of the curse.

## IV

The effect of Palmer's speech upon the listening audience was instantaneous and electrifying. Before him were many of the most respectable citizens of New Orleans, the major portion of whom were ladies. During the early part of the speech the audience had listened with rapt attention. But when Palmer reached the first climax in which he "classed the lottery with the Mafia" and predicted for the lottery a fate similar to that inflicted upon the Mafia, "there was an outburst of applause as sudden as an explosion and tremendous as a storm. Men stood up in their places and shouted themselves hoarse, while delicate women waved their handkerchiefs and responded to the storm of passion."<sup>5</sup>

Similar demonstrations within the audience occurred when Palmer reached the second climax in his speech declaring that if the lottery could not be destroyed by law, it would unquestionably be destroyed by actual revolution. In commenting upon Palmer's power over the audience the *Daily Picayune* declared, "Seldom has there been a more signal demonstration of the power of eloquence which showed itself able to move the best people to acts of the most tremendous import."<sup>6</sup> Continuing, the *Daily Picayune* ventured to predict that a mixed multitude below the level of the audience to which Palmer was speaking might have been "driven to almost any enterprise."

Although Palmer's speech was well received by his listening audience, a close examination of the content reveals pronounced inadequacies. There is no evidence of careful research upon the issue. Sweeping generalizations, questionable analogies, and, in many instances, lack of information and adequate support, cloaked in a rather belligerent and revolutionary spirit, were not questioned by his immediate audience. However, this did not excuse the speaker from assuming his rightful task. Even though Palmer knew that the audience was biased in his favor, he should have built a strong factual and logical case against the lottery. Apparently

<sup>5</sup>Editorial in the *Daily Picayune*, New Orleans, June 6, 1891. Rabbi Leucht of New Orleans declared: "I have heard the foremost American public speakers, in the pulpit, or on the rostrum. . . but I give you my word, sir, that night Dr. Palmer did not permit me to think for myself, not to feel for myself, not to will for myself, but picked me up and carried me whithersoever he would."

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

he failed to remember his invisible audience: the tens of thousand of citizens throughout Louisiana who would read the speech or excerpts from the speech in the quiet of their homes far from the excitement of the Opera House.

The comparison of the lottery organization to an organization in the interest of teaching murder, to a syndicate for propagating leprosy, to a university teaching lying and stealing, may have been colorful; but such analogies would not stand close scrutiny. Palmer's charge that if the lottery were rechartered, before the half of twenty-five years elapsed every man able to leave the state of Louisiana would abandon it, was mere assertion. Furthermore, his statement that if the lottery were rechartered it would, in less than ten years, carry in its pocket every governor in the state and remove every honest judge from the bench was pure conjecture. Palmer's declaration that "if this lottery cannot be destroyed by forms of law, it must be destroyed by actual revolution" drew criticism even from the anti-lottery press.

In general, the speech lacked the clear organization so characteristic of Palmer's style. It is difficult to believe that Palmer would have laboriously prepared a speech so vulnerable to attack. The probability is that he had not painstakingly prepared the speech but depended primarily upon his acquaintance with and strong feelings toward the issue to carry him through the occasion. On the other hand, he should have known the press would be present and that his speech in full would be printed for scrutiny by the press and the public. Palmer's strong convictions on the issue, fanned at times by a near hysterical audience, may have accounted for the over-extension of his rhetoric.

## V

The pro-lottery press in New Orleans and throughout the state lost no time in trying to capitalize upon the weaknesses in the speech and particularly upon the severity of Palmer's attack upon the lottery. Every major contention in the speech came under the immediate attack of the New Orleans press which, in the main, was merciless in its abuse of the speech and of Palmer.

The *Times Democrat* spoke out vehemently against the doctrines of the speech stating:

. . . We denounce the doctrine he preaches as pernicious, destructive, and indefensible. . . . The doctrine that a handful of self-ordained saints may legislate as to what the people shall or shall not have, and are authorized to execute their enactments, if need be, by the sword of force, is a doctrine obnoxious to the rights, to the tradition, and to the manhood of our people.<sup>7</sup>

The editor of the *Daily City Item*, after stating that Palmer's speech presented a spirit of violence which ill became his sacred calling, pointed up the statement that Palmer advocated "a resort to force, to arms, the last resource of despots and fanatics."<sup>8</sup> Concluding its attack on Palmer and on the speech the *Item* declared:

It is a matter of relatively very little importance whether the people accept the lottery amendment or not, but it is of tremendous import to know whether they are free to do as they like about it or must subordinate their will to a band of self-constituted censors, who virtually threaten a rebellion in case their whims are not allowed to control the public policy.<sup>9</sup>

The following Monday the *Item* carried an article entitled, "Palmer Fancies vs. Solid Facts."<sup>10</sup> The article attacked Palmer's statement that both capital and population were being driven from the state by the existence of the lottery. The next issue of the *Item* pointed out the fallacy in Palmer's argument that if the lottery were rechartered it would carry in its pockets every governor and judge in the state.<sup>11</sup>

Rounding out the pro-lottery press attack on Palmer, the *Daily States* carried an article on its editorial page entitled, "Shall it Be Revolution?" After citing the highlights of Palmer's speech, the *Daily States* concluded:

We know of no way of answering such incongruous comparisons and ferocious extravagancies. An excited and unreasonable mind, a mind that jumps the boundaries of reason and law and ranges at will in the realms of fancy, can readily draw a comparison between any of the things of the universe.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Editorial in the *Times Democrat*, New Orleans, June 29, 1891.

<sup>8</sup>Editorial in the *Daily City Item*, New Orleans, June 27, 1891.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, June 29, 1891

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, June 30, 1891.

<sup>12</sup>Editorial in the *Daily States*, New Orleans, June 26, 1891. The section of the speech in which Palmer declared, "If this lottery cannot be destroyed by forms of law, it must then be destroyed by actual revolution" drew unfavorable comment from newspapers outside Louisiana, e.g., The New York *Evening Post* and the Cincinnati *Enquirer*.

The *Weekly Times Democrat* joined the New Orleans daily papers in their condemnation of Palmer's speech. Prefacing its remarks with the hope that the lottery question would be debated with sobriety and not passion, the *Times Democrat* expressed great disappointment and sorrow over the speech delivered by Palmer. Particular attention was given to Palmer's statement that the lottery must go even if revolution were necessary. The *Times Democrat* declared:

Dropped from the cool heights of his vocation into the hot arena of politics, Dr. Palmer delivered a discourse which, on its ultimate analysis, is a conditional injunction to the shedding of blood. The same style of oratory employed by Dr. Palmer on Thursday is the style of oratory which has fed the fire stakes with martyrs and which has rent the States of the world with civil strife.<sup>13</sup>

The pro-lottery press throughout the state was quick to follow in line with the New Orleans press. With few exceptions, the attitude of the Parish press corresponded with the vicious attacks of the New Orleans papers.

Many of the Parish papers carried excerpts from the New Orleans pro-lottery press and others added their own brand of condemnation. The Covington *St. Tammany Farmer* declared:

Rev. B. M. Palmer, the eminent pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, of New Orleans, seems to be something of a bull-dozer, for he says that if the lottery amendment can not be defeated at the polls there must be a "revolution"; in other words, shooting, cutting, slashing, riot, murder, etc., must be the order of the day. To preach such a doctrine, it occurs to us is rather an incongruous role for the follower of the meek and lowly Nazarene to assume.<sup>15</sup>

Commenting upon the "parson in politics," the *Thibodaux Sentinel* commented:

There is no doubt that Dr. Palmer's speech has done injury to his own cause, and this will be more and more apparent whenever the full force of the reaction comes. The American people do not like the "parson in politics" and their disgust is all the greater when an honored minister like Dr. Palmer lets his zeal carry him into a fanatical crusade at the very outset.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Editorial in the *Weekly Times Democrat*, New Orleans, July 3, 1891.

<sup>14</sup>Four out of twenty Parish papers examined carried some defense of Palmer. In general, this defense consisted of upholding Palmer's right to speak on the lottery issue, not his arguments.

<sup>15</sup>*St. Tammany Farmer*, Covington, Louisiana, July 11, 1891.

<sup>16</sup>*The Thibodaux Sentinel*, Century, Louisiana, July 11, 1891.

Pointing up the revolutionary tone of Palmer's speech, the *Pioneer of Assumption* remarked:

If the utterances of Dr. Palmer correctly reflect the sentiments of the Antis—and the applause that the reverend gentleman received from those at the Opera House last night, especially upon the two occasions when he hinted at a resort to force to defeat the pending lottery revenue proposition, indicates that he does, there can no longer be a doubt that they will not only refuse to accept an adverse decision by the duly constituted Democratic party, but even a decision by the people themselves at the ballot box will be combatted even to the extent of "revolution."<sup>17</sup>

The *Weekly Advocate* of Baton Rouge carried a number of very uncomplimentary articles on Palmer's speech. The following quotation was typical.

The anti-lottery leaders made a grave mistake when they invited Rev. Dr. Palmer to open the campaign for them, and the minister made a mistake still graver in accepting the invitation. Both of these facts are now apparent, and Dr. Palmer's friends would gladly recall the error he made if they could do so. Their chargin was also equalled by the regret of those who have felt it to be their duty to criticize harshly his rash and inappropriate language.<sup>18</sup>

The *Opelousas Courier* added its rebuke of Dr. Palmer's utterances:

We must confess to a considerable degree of surprise when we find a man like Dr. Palmer, leaving his pulpit and taking the stump to declaim in bigoted language against a measure which concerns the material interests of our state.<sup>19</sup>

Quoting from Palmer's famous Thanksgiving sermon in defense of slavery, 1860, the *Opelousas Courier* condemned Palmer for his inconsistency in advocating tolerance towards slavery and intolerance towards those supporting the lottery.

It occurs to us that this same minister upon a former occasion used language something like this: "Thanks be to Almighty God, the domain of thought is sacred and can not be invaded by the boldest tyrant that ever lived; you may manacle my limbs and chain my body to a stone wall, but the tyrant never lived upon this globe who can imprison my thoughts and prevent me from thinking as I deem to be right." How is it that the same speaker now seems to be so intolerant of the opinions of others upon a question of such vital import-

<sup>17</sup>The *Pioneer of Assumption*, Napoleonville, Louisiana, July 4, 1891.

<sup>18</sup>The *Weekly Advocate*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, July 4, 1891.

<sup>19</sup>The *Opelousas Courier*, Opelousas, Louisiana, July 11, 1891.

ance as the revenue amendment? . . . The ghost in the past lives again. Rev. Dr. Palmer, in 1860, preached secession and war in defense of the divine institution of human slavery. Did he go with the gospel or with the passions of the time?<sup>20</sup>

The *Louisiana Democrat Weekly* of Alexandria called attention to the inappropriateness of Palmer's remarks on the lottery, declaring:

The Antis are growing desperate in this and the other towns throughout the state. In their different arguments against the lottery they lose their reasoning powers and rant and howl considerably. In New Orleans at the opening of the anti-lottery campaign, the Rev. Dr. Palmer made an idiotic showing of himself. Instead of setting a good example and trying to do all in his power to counsel peace and quiet, he has assumed the role of a bull-dozer. The sooner he and other men of the anti side quit such blusterings, the better; no sensible, sane man can follow such advocates.<sup>21</sup>

The *Louisiana Democrat Weekly* continued its attack against Palmer's anti-Christian and revolutionary attitude in the July 15, 1891 issue:

As an Anti, and as a man, we can not endorse nor be led by a man who would murder his neighbor for opinion's sake, but believe such a course should be repelled—by force if necessary. . . . Such advice is unbecoming in a minister, and God himself can but look upon such a disciple with a mingled feeling of pity and disgust.<sup>22</sup>

The New Orleans press delighted in reprinting excerpts from anti-lottery Parish papers that denounced Palmer. A typical example appeared in the *Daily City Item*.

That zealous anti-lottery paper, the Farmerville Gazette, boldly condemns the torch, turpentine and rifle ideas set forth from the Grand Opera House. It declares: "We unhesitatingly say that we, as an anti, do not approve of the shotgun argument indulged in by some over-zealous opponents of the lottery iniquity."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup>The *Louisiana Democrat Weekly*, Alexandria, Louisiana, July 1, 1891.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, July 15, 1891.

<sup>23</sup>The *Daily City Item*, New Orleans, Louisiana, July 13, 1891. Other Parish papers attacking Palmer in like fashion were: *The Iberville South*, Plaquemine, Louisiana; the *La Tourche Comet*, Thibodaux, Louisiana; the *Madison Journal*, Tallulah, Louisiana; *The De Soto Democrat*, De Soto, Louisiana; *The Morgan City Review*, Morgan City, Louisiana; *The Pointe Coupee Banner*, New Roads, Louisiana; *The Natchitoches Democratic Review*, Natchitoches, Louisiana; *The Arcadia Sentinel*, Arcadia, Louisiana.

The lottery press left no stone unturned in seeking material with which to embarrass Palmer. The *Daily States* for June 28, 1891, carried an article stating that in 1822 a lottery charter was granted the First Presbyterian Church of New Orleans and that the very church in which Palmer was preaching was actually established through a lottery voted by the church membership. Immediately, the *Southwestern Presbyterian*,<sup>24</sup> official organization of the Presbyterian church in Louisiana, pointed out that while it was true that the original church built by the First Presbyterian congregation in New Orleans in 1822 was partially paid for by a lottery, the building had been destroyed by fire and therefore was not the church in which Palmer was pastor.

The only New Orleans paper to uphold Palmer was the *Daily New Delta* organized by the anti-lottery forces to champion their cause during the campaign. Palmer's speech in full was carried in the Sunday edition, June 28, of the *Daily New Delta*. The issue of June 29 carried the announcement that copies of the *Daily New Delta* containing the speech of Palmer could be procured at the business office ready for mailing. The following day the *Daily New Delta* commented that "the heavy demand that is being made for last Sunday's *Daily New Delta* containing Dr. Palmer's great speech against lottery is convincing evidence that his remarks have made a profound impression. . . ."<sup>25</sup>

On July 8, the *Daily New Delta* announced: "Some 20,000 copies of Dr. Palmer's speech were sent out through Louisiana, but the demand is not yet supplied."<sup>26</sup>

It was the editorial policy of the *Daily New Delta* to employ short, terse statements either praising Palmer or condemning the pro-lottery. This policy continued for about thirty days. Humor and ridicule were employed frequently.<sup>27</sup>

Immediately following the delivery of the speech, Palmer was attacked personally by the pro-lottery press. The *Daily City Item* went so far as to question the quality of Palmer's Christianity stating:

<sup>24</sup>*Southwestern Presbyterian* (New Orleans, 1869-1908), July 16, 1891.

<sup>25</sup>Editorial in the *Daily New Delta*, New Orleans, June 30, 1891.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, July 8, 1891.

<sup>27</sup>The following examples of these jibes were taken from the *Daily New Delta* between June 26, 1891 and August 1, 1891.

"Every time Dr. Palmer hit a lick Thursday night it raised a welt."

"Judging from the amount of kicking done by the lotterites Dr. Palmer's speech must hurt."

It is therefore with mixed feelings of wonder and regret that I find the Rev. Dr. Palmer lately repudiating the worthy work of a life-time by boldly advocating ideas and measures in direct and violent antagonism to the lessons in the gospel. Such glaring inconsistency not only demands explanation, but warrants all fair-thinking people in doubting and challenging the quality of his Christianity. Is Dr. Palmer a Christian?<sup>28</sup>

Following the speech, Palmer remained silent on the issue, thus depriving the press of any new material upon which to capitalize. The personal attack upon Palmer by the lottery press continued for about three weeks and then subsided. By out-doing Palmer in the use of the very tactics for which they had condemned him, the lottery forces overplayed their hand. Although the public disagreed with the revolutionary attitude toward the lottery, evinced in Palmer's speech, they were unwilling to question the motives, character, and morality of the most outstanding minister in Louisiana. Thus the attempt of the lottery press to scale and rate Palmer personally, boomeranged.

## VI

In conclusion, the facts indicate that the effect of Palmer's speech on the listening audience was near overwhelming. The audience was completely polarized and the will of the speaker prevailed. The extremely favorable audience response may have caused the speaker to over-extend his rhetoric. Palmer seemingly forgot or ignored his invisible audience, which outnumbered many-fold his immediate audience.

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"Judging from the contortions that the lotteryites are indulging in, if Dr. Palmer would make just one more speech against their pet gambling monopoly they would go stark raving mad."

"The revulsion in public sentiment in New Orleans created by Dr. Palmer's speech at the Grand Opera House is something wonderful. . . ."

"The influence of Dr. Palmer's speech at the Grand Opera House is being felt in the country Parishes. The lottery's newspapers all over the state have joined in the squeal over it."

The following joke appeared in the *New Delta* for Sunday, July 6, 1891.

Lottery Boss: "What was that?"

Lotteryite: "It was an earthquake, sir."

Lottery Boss: "Thank heavens. I thought Dr. Palmer had made another speech."

<sup>28</sup>Editorial in the *Daily City Item*, New Orleans, July 13, 1891.

From the standpoint of invention, the speech leaves much to be desired. Analogy, illustration, generalization and biblical illusion were the primary forms of support. Over-statements were not infrequent. The speech abounds in ethical and pathetic proofs; logical proofs were employed sparingly. Although the attitude of the listening audience made the utilization of logical proof unnecessary, it did not excuse Palmer from his obligation to present a strong factual and logical case against the lottery. His failure to assume this burden invited the attack of the press.

For the first time in his thirty-five years as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Palmer was confronted by a hostile, merciless press. There is no evidence to indicate that he made any attempt to defend himself or his speech publicly. He left his pulpit, entered the political arena and spoke his mind on the lottery. Having done so, he returned to his pulpit.

Perhaps the greatest merit of the speech lay in its shocking power. It startled the public into an acute awareness of the lottery issue. Thomas Cary Johnson, Palmer's biographer, declared that the speech was the most powerful utterance on the lottery issue and that it turned the tide in favor of the anti-lottery cause. Certainly, no other speech during the lottery campaign received such widespread attention in the press.

Since Palmer was the most revered and outstanding minister in Louisiana, his bold stand against the lottery was the stroke needed to unite the religious forces throughout the state; Protestant, Catholic, and Jew alike. The severe personal attack of the pro-lottery press against Palmer served to spur the anti-lottery forces into determined action. The extreme methods employed by the lotteryites in their attack indicated that they would stop at nothing to win the rechartering of the company. This display of ruthlessness aided the anti-lotteryites in recruiting hitherto neutral groups.

Regardless of its weaknesses in structure and forms of support, Palmer's speech stands as the most important single speaking effort made during the anti-lottery campaign—a campaign which resulted in the defeat of the lottery in the 1892 general election.