

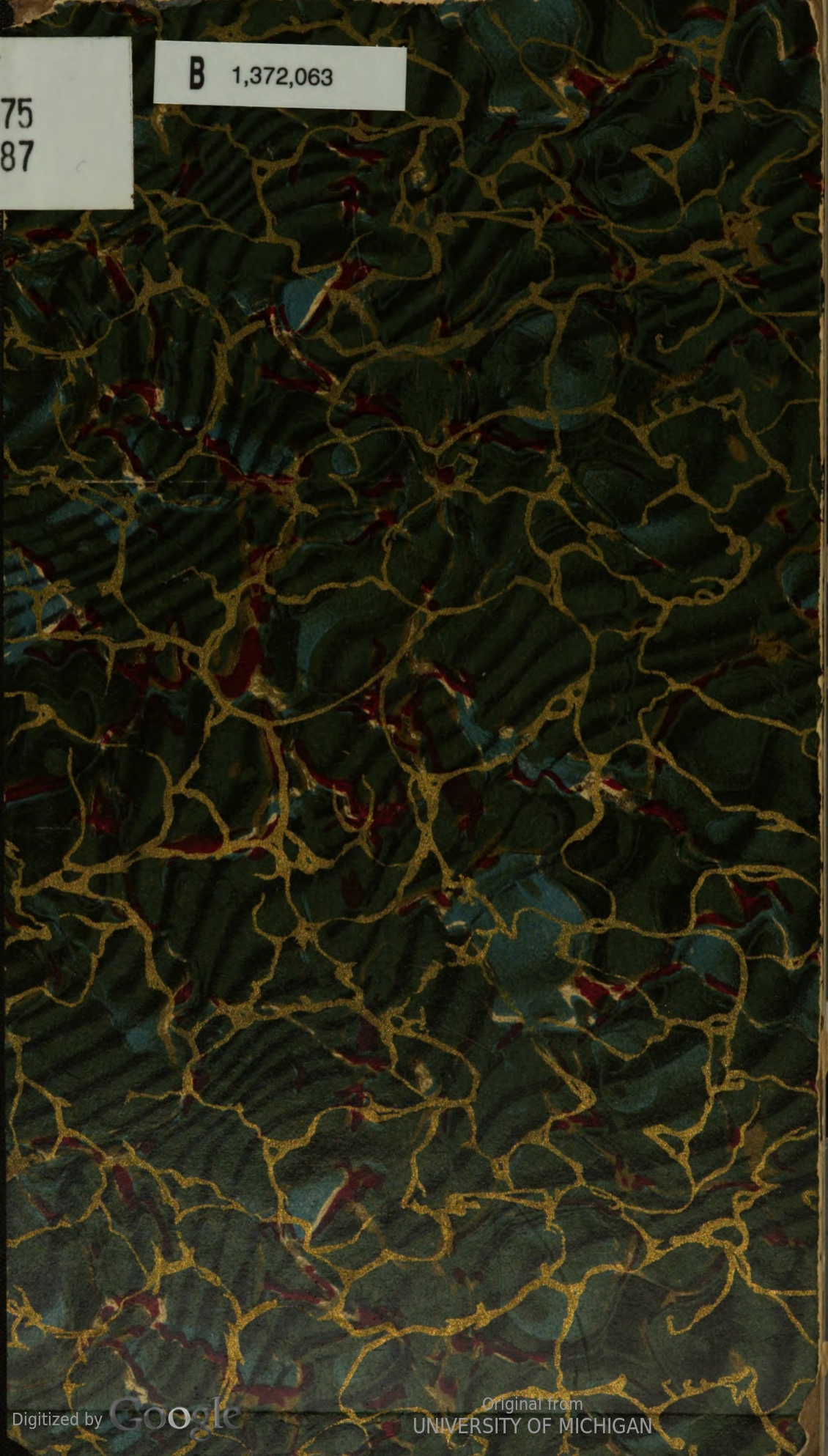
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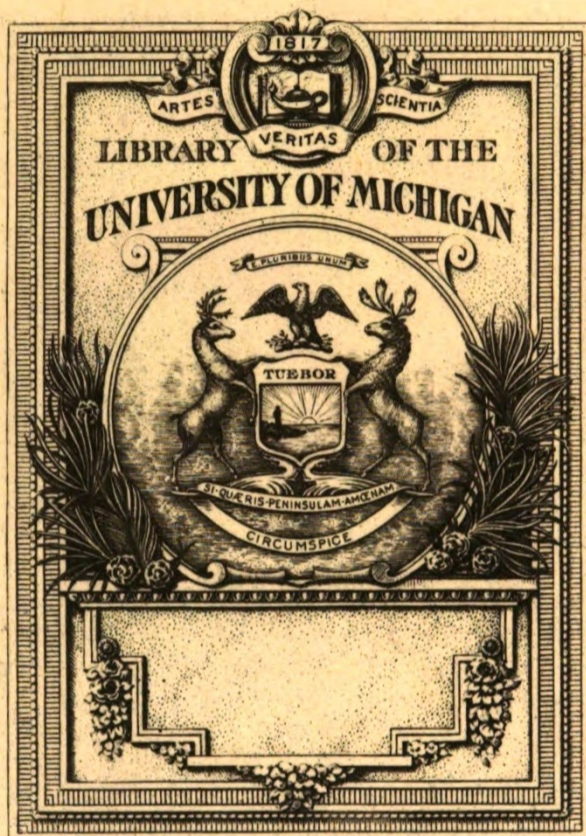


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# Carpet-Bag Misrule in Louisiana

The Tragedy of The Reconstruction Era

FOLLOWING THE

War Between The States



THE "CARPET-BAG"



LOUISIANA'S PART IN MAINTAINING WHITE  
SUPREMACY IN THE SOUTH



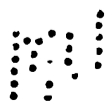
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## FOREWORD

During the War Between The States 23 States remained in the Union, West Virginia joining the Union by separating itself from Virginia in 1863. The total population of these 24 States was over 22,000,000. 19 of these States were non-slaveholding as follows: New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, New Jersey, Maine, Connecticut, California, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Minnesota, Kansas, Oregon—and 5 were slaveholding as follows: Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia, Delaware.

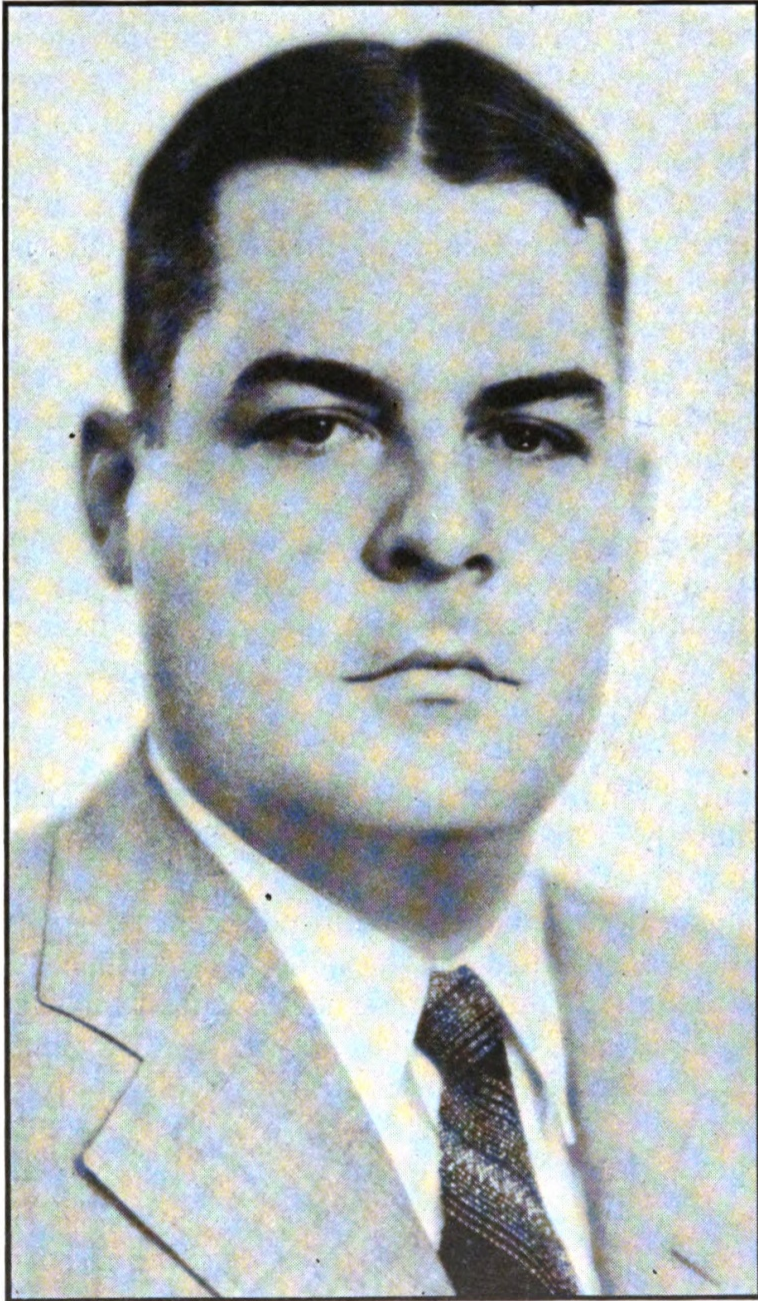
The Confederate States as follows: Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Texas, Arkansas, Florida numbered 11 (and controlled the Indian Territory) with a population of approximately 9,000,000, including nearly 4,000,000 slaves representing billions in property value, and in many States as in Louisiana nearly half were slaves. Groups from the States of Kentucky and Missouri sent delegates to the Confederate Congress, hence it is often said that there were thirteen Confederate States.

It is only by analyzing these figures that the Tragedy of Reconstruction can be fully understood. A Radical Congress, using all of the resources and strength of twenty-two million people declared the policy and undertook to enforce it that the negro must have political equality with the whites, although in any number of localities in the South the negroes largely outnumbered the whites, causing an intolerable dislocation of Southern society politically, socially, morally, and financially. It was absolutely necessary, in order to prevent anarchy, for the South to resist this policy and itself solve the negro question.

*This booklet is dedicated to the patriotic Louisianians who in the aftermath of the War Between The States so soundly, valiantly, and heroically gave their all to maintain White Supremacy as a cardinal principle of a wise, stable, and practical government.*

JAMES J. A. FORTIER,  
*Editor.*





**RICHARD WEBSTER LECHE**  
*Governor of a Greater Louisiana*

Leader in the Solution of  
Southern Economic Problems.

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### CARPET-BAGGER

A portable bag or valise made of carpet used by travelers who came from the North to the South immediately after the War Between The States in 1865, gave rise to the term "Carpet-Baggers." The term "Carpet-Bagger" was almost at once indiscriminately used to refer to all newcomers who were not from the Southern States. A large number of these were fortune hunters and adventurers who knew of the great potentiality of Louisiana and its fundamental wealth. Almost invariably they turned to politics, and having nothing in common with the Southern people joined with those who were encouraging the negro to claim his newly acquired political prerogatives. Soon the name "Carpet-Bagger" became one of reproach and referred to those who were exploiting the negro in politics and depriving the Southern people of their birthright.

### SCALAWAG

The term "Scalawag", literally meaning a scamp or scapegrace, was applied to a white Southerner who aided and abetted the Carpet-Bagger and the negro during the Era of Reconstruction.

### "COMBINATION OF RASCALITY"

The late distinguished Henry P. Dart, Sr., formerly President of the Board of Curators of the Louisiana State Museum and Archivist of the Louisiana Historical Society, once said concerning the Reconstruction Era:— " . . . that hideous carnival of political profligacy was then at the peak of its flamboyant vulgarity. Those who by birthright and training would have been the leaders of the people, were ground into hopeless inactivity and political inconsequence through a combination of rascality at the polls and of Federal interference, after the returns had been doctored and promulgated."



## A UNION OF SOVEREIGN STATES

Nothing in the original Constitution of the United States or the ten amendments, "The Bill of Rights", contained any provision prohibiting slavery; for such a provision would have prevented its ratification by the required number of States as the South's economic and social system, its very life, from its standpoint was inextricably linked with that institution.



THOMAS OVERTON MOORE  
1805-1876

Governor of "The Independent State of Louisiana" in 1860 and Confederate Governor until 1864.

It was stipulated however in the Constitution that the States would have the right to import or admit such persons as they might think proper until the year 1808, provided that the Congress might impose a tax not exceeding \$10 for each person so admitted. This meant certainly that additional slaves could be imported by the various States without Congressional interference until the year 1808, the law in no way affecting those already slaves, or their

progeny, beyond that date. It was provided that three-fifths of the slaves in each State were to be included in counting the population to arrive at the number of members each State could send to the House of Representatives. It was further stipulated in the Constitution that any slave who escaped into another State must be delivered upon claim of the slave owner, clearly showing that the members of the convention definitely determined to prevent any one State from nullifying slavery in another or encouraging the escape of any slave. This did not mean that slavery was admitted by the Northern States as being proper and a large number of persons even in the South hoped for the eventual abolition of the practice. Therefore, slavery in any of the original thirteen States was not in violation of the Constitution of the United States.

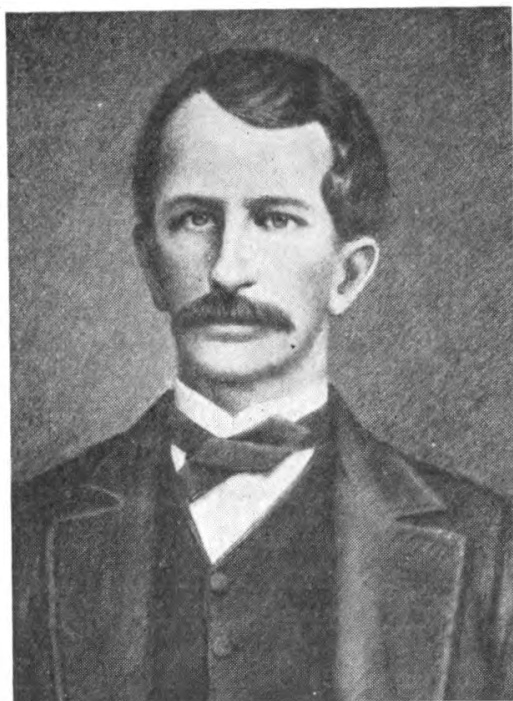
But what of NEW States?

The Constitution provided that "new States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union", without mentioning terms and conditions as to slaves. The silence of the Constitution as to whether slavery should be an issue in the admittance of new States, while avoiding dissension and disunion at the time of the foundation of the Republic, left the subject of slavery as a condition precedent to admission into the Union of a new State—wide open.

Amendment 10 of the Constitution, the last of those referred to as "The Bill of Rights", provided that the powers not specifically delegated to the Congress of the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by the United States to the States are reserved to the States respectively—OR TO THE PEOPLE.

The contention of the South was that the United States was a Union of Sovereign States and that there was no such thing as a citizen of the United States, and that one was a citizen of a State. When the question of admitting new States came up, those who wished to abolish slavery took the position that the Congress had the right to impose whatever condition it deemed fit as to slavery in the new State, and the South contended that whatever right had not been

delegated specifically to the Congress by the Sovereign States remained an inherent right reserved to THE PEOPLE (Amendment X), that persons applying for statehood constituted "*the people*" and had the fundamental right to have slavery if they saw fit. However, from a practical point of view no State could be admitted without a majority vote in Congress and therefore the debates finally resulted in a compromise. Certain States were admitted with slavery and certain without.



HENRY WATKINS ALLEN (1820-1866)  
Confederate Governor 1864-5

In addition to the question of slavery, the tariff laws had divided the people of the North and South into diametrically opposed camps. The North was mainly an industrial section and the South an agricultural one. The tariff was necessary for the protection of Northern interests and inimical to those of the South. Slavery was the backbone and sinew of the agricultural South and from the northern standpoint gave the Southern States an immense advantage over them in the solution of economic problems, and also a political advantage. Added to these complications the



humanitarian angle of slavery was developing apace, irrespective of the economic or political issues involved. The slavery question, so-called, by 1860 had become the paramount issue involved in the election of that year.

The election of Abraham Lincoln then, on a platform which asserted the right and duty of Congress to prohibit the further spread of slavery into the territories of the United States, caused the determination of eleven Southern States to exercise their sovereign rights as members of a Union of Sovereign States to withdraw from the compact entered into when the Constitution of the United States was ratified by them, and they accordingly formed a new Union, or Confederacy, of Sovereign States. Lincoln and the people of the North had for many decades enunciated the principle that the sovereignty lay in a Nation composed of the thirteen original States and the States which had been admitted into the Union of these States, and that no one State had the right to withdraw from that National Union without being guilty of rebellion. The South called their action "secession" and the North called that same action "rebellion". The South called the terrible war that ensued "The War Between the States" as each State was a Nation in itself. The North called it "The Civil War", namely a conflict between two parts of a Nation or "The War of the Rebellion". It has also been called the "War of Secession". The North won that war by whatever name it might be called and the "irrepressible conflict" came to an end.

Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox April 9, 1865. The terms of the surrender granted by Lincoln and Grant were generous. The Confederate officers were permitted to retain their swords and the soldiers might keep whatever horses belonged to them. "They will need them for the spring plowing", Grant had remarked, and General Lee had answered, "This will have a very happy effect upon my army". Grant further fed the Confederate soldiers from the Federal army supplies. Lincoln, who had taken his second oath of office on March 4, 1865, announced the policy that the States should speedily and as peaceably as possible take their old places in the Union.

It was universally believed that the ex-Confederates upon returning home would resume their duties of citizenship and send their men to Congress, with slavery once and forever out of the way and that proper laws would be



MICHAEL HAHN (1830-1886)

Governor of Louisiana under the protection of the Federal Army in 1864. Born in Bavaria, November 24, 1830, came to America in infancy. He lived in New York for a time and later moved to New Orleans where he received his education in the public schools. He studied law, graduating in 1854 from the University of Louisiana, now Tulane, in New Orleans. In 1862 after the capture of New Orleans he took the oath of allegiance to the United States and was elected to Congress. In 1864 he was elected Governor, the following winter he was elected to the United States Senate and resigned the Governor's office in 1865. He later resigned his seat in the Senate. In 1867 he organized a paper called "The Republican" in New Orleans and edited it for about four years, when he retired to his plantation in St Charles Parish, where he founded the village of Hahnville. From 1872-76 he served in the Louisiana Legislature, for a time was Superintendent of the United States Mint, then Judge of the Twenty-Sixth District, and, in 1884, was elected to Congress. He died in Washington, D. C., March 15, 1886.

enacted to recognize its abolition; for the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, made effective January 1, 1863, had been only a military maneuver and an act of war and had not abolished slavery except behind Confed-

erate lines, namely within the lines of rebellion, as President Lincoln did not have authority under the Constitution to abolish slavery by edict. Indeed, four Union States\* were slave holding states and would not have recognized his authority to destroy their property by executive order. West Virginia, which separated from Virginia and became a part of the Union only in 1863, was admitted into the Union as a slave holding State more than a year after the Proclamation of Emancipation. He had therefore undertaken to have each State abolish slavery within its own borders before the end of the war and had submitted the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, abolishing slavery, to the States on January 31, 1865, and it was ratified by three-fourths of the States including eight of the States of the Secession on December 18, 1865.

On April 14, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated. What might have been the course of American history had this not happened will remain forever a conjecture. Vice-President Andrew Johnson, a Union Democrat of Tennessee, became President and announced he would follow in general the plans of President Lincoln on the Reunion of the States.

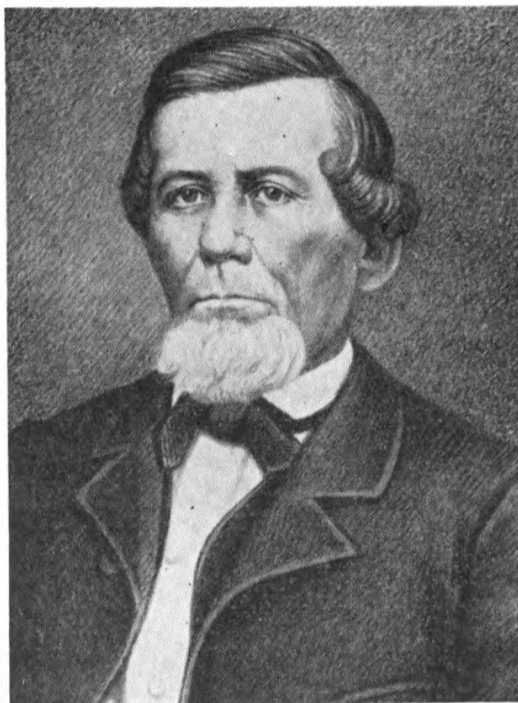
The Southerners began the work of rebuilding what was left of their tattered lands, homes, and businesses, (many when they left for the war were already poor) admitted their defeat, expressed their willingness to participate in the National Government, and it seemed as if the Nation would be reunited without turmoil. The Southern Confederacy was a thing of the past in fact and in principle and passed into history as "The Lost Cause".

Although the North had gone to war to prevent secession, yet when the war was won, contrary to the policy of Lincoln and Johnson, a majority of the Congress soon determined that the seceded States had in fact left the Union and therefore should now be treated as conquered territory, and refused to recognize the congressional delegations from the seceded states elected under the Johnson plan of read-

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\* Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, Delaware.





JAMES MADISON WELLS  
(1808-1899)

Was a native of Louisiana though he was reared in the State of Kentucky, and at Washington, D. C. Upon reaching his majority he returned to Louisiana, where he became a planter. In 1840 he was elected sheriff of his parish. In 1864 elected Lieutenant-Governor on the ticket headed by Michael Hahn for Governor in an election reconstructing the State within federal army lines, mainly, namely; "South Louisiana," and recognized by Presidents Lincoln and Johnson in accordance with the policy of peaceful re-union of the States. He became governor in 1865 due to the resignation of Governor Hahn to become United States Senator. He was elected for a full term in 1865 but was removed from office in June 1867 by General Sheridan the Federal military commander of Louisiana, when the Radical Congress took charge of reconstruction. President Grant appointed him surveyor of the Port of New Orleans and also held this office under President Hayes. He was chairman of the returning board in 1876 which counted the electoral votes of the State for Hayes and Wheeler respectively for President and Vice-president of the United States.

mission or reconstruction into the Union, except upon terms which would guarantee the abolition of slavery within their own borders by their own laws (which had already been done in Louisiana in 1864 when Louisiana was in the military control of the Lincoln administration), and further provided these States would ratify amendments to the Constitution of the United States granting citizenship and the right to vote to ex-slaves. The Congress further provided rules and regulations through military commanders as to who should vote in the various States for all offices, which rules in effect disfranchised most of the leaders and the rank and file of the white voters and granted on the contrary the right to vote to the ex-slaves. The North feared that if the States were readmitted into the Union without first deciding these matters that ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, granting citizenship and the right to vote to the ex-slaves, might be impossible. It requires a vote of three-fourths of the States to ratify an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The Radical Congress, while having preached the doctrine that the States which had seceded were out of the Union, nevertheless were afraid that the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting any State from denying the vote on account of color, race, or previous condition of servitude, would not be considered legally adopted unless in calculating three-fourths of the States necessary for ratification the seceded States were included, and hastened therefore to "reconstruct" and readmit States under rules of their choosing.

The North also feared the influence that the South would have in national affairs both in the Congress and in the Electoral College for President and Vice-President if the negro was not permitted to vote, and while slavery was abolished it did not follow that the Secession States would enfranchise the negro and grant him a vote equal to that of the white man. Indeed, the Southerners had planned to resist to the limit of their ability enfranchisement of the blacks, and an overwhelming majority of the white people in the South did not feel that the right of the negro

to vote on an equality basis was a necessary consequence of the abolition of slavery. Slavery would have been abolished in the long run without the war in all probability gradually and the agitation against slavery had never involved the principle of the right of the negro to vote. Lincoln in 1864 in writing to the reconstructed Government of Louisiana rather timidly urged upon the officials recognized by him to give serious consideration to allowing certain negroes, perhaps those with sufficient education or with some property, to vote. The Northern army had gone into



PHILIP H. SHERIDAN (1831-1888.)  
Military Commander in 1867, and in 1875.

action in order to prevent secession as such, and slavery and the right of the negro to vote thereafter were only incidental. It would be improper however to state that the majority of the people of the North did not hope the war once begun would actually end slavery. The Abolitionists, namely those who favored the abolition of slavery, while loud and vigorous constituted before the war the minority of the people. The vote of the ex-slave was relegated for further and eventual consideration.



## RESISTANCE OF THE SOUTH

The South took the position that the negro was intellectually, educationally, and socially unequal to the task of the responsibility to participate in government, and by 1866 the Congress had determined by the continued military occupation of the South to compel each State to give the ballot to the negro. The story of the resistance of the South to the dominance of the negro in politics, aided and abetted by the Federal Government's military power, is known as "The Era of Reconstruction".

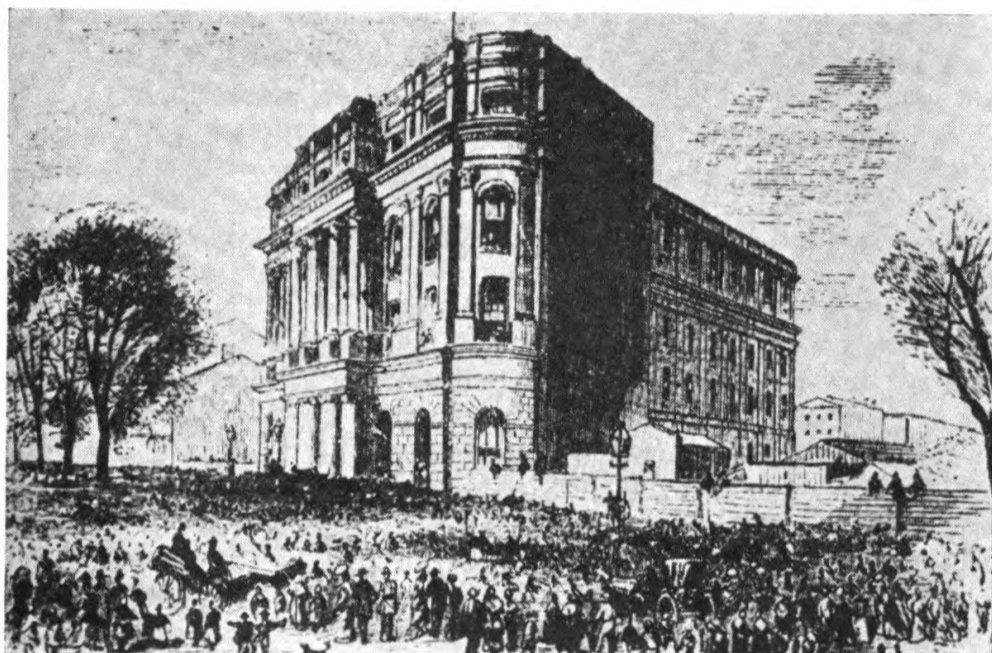
The Radical Republican Congress assumed complete control of the Government of the United States. President Johnson's influence became less and less and he narrowly escaped impeachment. "Iron laws" were passed called Reconstruction Acts of 1867, the Supplementary Reconstruction Bill of 1868, and the Force Bill of 1871, to enforce the new amendments to the Constitution, which were enacted to prevent, in effect, the former Confederates from voting and make possible the winning of elections by a combination of white Republicans and newly enfranchised negroes and so-called liberals at voting places controlled by the Federal officers under congressional authority. Returning Boards were organized for the purpose of counting in as well as counting out public officials. The negroes were cajoled and tempted to support the Republican whites by promises of all kinds, and it was not very long before the former slave believed that he would own the property of his former master and clamored incessantly for more and more privileges.

The elections in Louisiana at the end of 1865, ordered by the Government of Louisiana which had been recognized by Presidents Lincoln and Johnson successively, strange as it may seem were largely controlled by the Democrats and no disturbances had occurred. The Republican majority at Washington immediately became alarmed at this state of affairs which spoiled their plans and refused to recognize the Government of Louisiana, its delegates to the Congress, and their electors in the Electoral College (this policy also

applied to the other Southern States which had been recognized under the Lincoln and Johnson plan of reconstruction), and undertook to administer the affairs of the State through military commanders and to cause elections to be held which finally resulted in the Constitutional Convention and the Legislature of 1868 being controlled in the main by negroes.—The will of the people had been thwarted by **OUTSIDE POWER.**

There had been riots in various parts of the State, in northern Louisiana as well as in New Orleans in 1866, and bloodshed on other occasions throughout the State in an effort to resist the growing control of the coalition of negroes and carpetbag Republicans and scalawags.

“Full social rights and privileges may exist for a time without political rights, as in the cases of women, but full political rights will almost certainly be followed by social rights. It is inevitable where the class raised to political equality is in the majority that the legislative power will enable such a class to dictate terms of social equality. It was this instinctive knowledge which made the whites determine to overthrow negro domination”—**FICKLEN.**



New Orleans Mechanics' Institute as a State House during the riot of 1866.

### MECHANICS' INSTITUTE

In the early years of the 19th century the organization of "Mechanics' Societies" became a popular movement throughout the country, and Louisiana was no exception to the rule. On Aug. 17, 1821, the legislature granted a charter to the "Mechanics' Society of New Orleans." Subsequently the act of incorporation was amended, giving the society authority to own property to the amount of \$500,000. Under the provisions of the amended charter the society issued bonds and erected the building known as the "Mechanics' Institute" on Dryades street between Common and Canal streets, on the site later occupied by the Grunewald Hotel, now The Roosevelt Hotel. A later act of the legislature gave the society the privilege of keeping and maintaining the Fisk Free Library in the institute building. In time the society failed to meet the payment of the bonds issued for the purpose of erecting the institute and the building became the property of the state. During the early part of the reconstruction period the Mechanics' Institute was used as a state capitol. After the purchase by the state of the old St. Louis Hotel for a state house the building on Dryades Street was purchased by Paul Tulane, and it was used as the Academic Department of Tulane university until 1894, being known as Tulane Hall. After that it was sold to the hotel company and the Mechanics' Institute passed into history.



EXTRACT FROM SPEECH OF PRESIDENT ANDREW  
JOHNSON BEFORE THE SOUTHERN HOTEL IN  
ST. LOUIS ON SEPTEMBER 9, 1866, FOR WHICH  
HE WAS IMPEACHED BY THE RADICAL  
CONGRESS, ESCAPING CONVICTION BY  
A MARGIN OF ONE VOTE

“If you will take up the riot at New Orleans, and trace it back to the Radical Congress (*Great cheering, and cries of “Bully!”*), you will find that the riot at New Orleans was substantially planned—if you will take up the proceedings in their caucuses, you will understand that they there knew (*Cheers*) that a convention was to be called which was extinct, by its powers having expired; that it was said, and the intention was that a new government was to be organized; and in the organization of that government the intention was to enfranchise one portion of the population called the colored population, who had just been emancipated, and at the same time disfranchise white men. (*Great cheering.*) When you begin to talk about New Orleans, (*Confusion*) you ought to understand what you are talking about.

When you read the speeches that were made or take up the facts,—on Friday and Saturday before that convention sat,—you will there find that speeches were made incendiary in their character, exciting that portion of the population, the black population, to arm themselves and prepare for the shedding of blood. (*A voice: “That’s so!” and cheers.*) You will also find that that convention did assemble in violation of law, and the intent of that convention was to supersede the recognized authorities in the State government of Louisiana, which had been recognized by the Government of the United States, and every man engaged in that rebellion—in that convention, with the intention of superseding and upturning the civil government which had been recognized by the Government of the United States—I say that he was a traitor to the Constitution of the United States (*Cheers*), and hence you find that another rebellion was commenced, having its origin in the Radical Congress. These men were to go there; a government was to be organized, and the one in existence in Louisiana was to be superseded, set aside, and overthrown. You talk to me about New Orleans! And then the question was to come up, when they had established their government,—a ques-

tion of political power,—which of the two governments was to be recognized—a new government inaugurated under this defunct convention—set up in violation of law and without the consent of the people. And then when they had established their government, and extended universal or impartial franchise, as they called it, to this colored population, then this Radical Congress was to determine that a government established on negro votes was to be the government of Louisiana. (*Voices: "Never," and cheers and "Hurrah for Andy!"*)"

### PEOPLE IN VICIOUS CIRCLE

If a Democratic majority was obtained at the polls the opposition claimed that it was fraudulent, that it had been the result of intimidation of the blacks, and the Federal Government recognized the Republican forces in all cases and maintained their authority through Federal soldiers and courts composed of Judges subject to military and congressional action. When the white Democrats won the elections their opponents were inducted into power and maintained there by physical force nevertheless. If they abstained from voting in protest, the opposition declared the elections legal by virtue of the majority obtained, and recognized those winning at such elections and maintained their authority by force. The people of the South and Louisiana were therefore in a vicious circle. President Ulysses S. Grant had determined upon the policy to recognize in Louisiana only such persons as were declared elected by Returning Boards under the control of Federal officers acting under the authority of the Reconstruction Acts of Congress.

The situation became intolerable. Negroes were holding political office from the highest to the lowest. The school system had been debased, disgraced and despoiled. Taxes were levied by the Federal maintained governments of the State and squandered. The rights of the citizens were trampled upon. The State Government knew no bounds in browbeating, coercing, and misgoverning, and a colossal debt was piled up to be paid by future generations by the inept, corrupt, and inefficient government saddled upon the

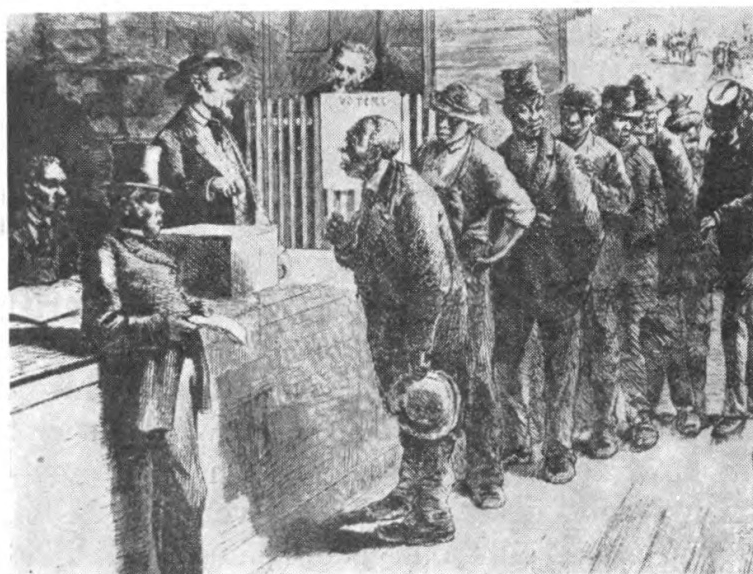


One of whose "Distinguished Members," Pinchback threatened to burn New Orleans. This photograph and these words show the almost incredible situation of the day.

One of the "Distinguished Members", Pinchback the negro, in the Senate of Louisiana on Thursday, September 3rd, 1868, said: I want to tell them to beware. I want to tell them they have reached the end of their string. The next outrage of the kind which they commit will be the signal for the dawn of retribution—a retribution of which they have never dreamed; a signal that will cause ten thousand torches to be applied to the city, for patience will then have ceased to be a virtue and this city will be reduced to ashes.

State by the power of the authorities at Washington who had determined to recognize no government in the South except that which would return congressional representatives in the House of Representatives and the Senate and members of the Electoral College favorable to the policy of the dominating oligarchy.

By the organization of the Freedmen's Bureau the Congress undertook to further control the Southern States. This bureaucracy spread its tentacles throughout the South and innumerable Federal Agents undertook to make the freed negro feel that he was under the Government's care and attention, and thus lured him into politics and away as much as possible from working to earn his living and from returning to the fields. The political economic, and social unrest and confusion which followed were unbearable.



A CARPET-BAG ELECTION IN LOUISIANA

### KU KLUX KLAN

In June 1866, in the town of Pulaski, Giles County, Tennessee, a group of young men organized a secret order that was destined to grow and spread throughout the South and exert a strange influence, not without good—and yet that was finally outlawed and disbanded by the South that



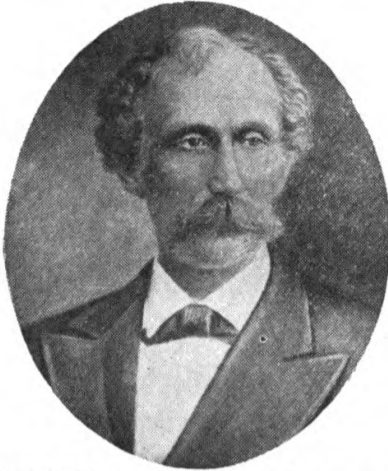
gave it birth. Though shrouded in deepest mystery the Ku Klux Klan had a definite objective—and while its methods were often-times questionable it served the South at a time when the civil law afforded inadequate protection to life and property, when robbery and lawlessness of every description were unrebuked, and when all the better elements of society were in constant dread for the safety of their property, persons, and families.

“It was a magnificent conception,” says Thomas Dixon, “and in a sense deserved success. It differed from all other attempts at revolution in the caution and skill with which it required to be conducted. It was a movement made in the face of the enemy, and an enemy of overwhelming strength. Should it succeed, it would be the most brilliant revolution ever accomplished. Should it fail—well those who engaged in it, felt that they had nothing more to lose.”

### KNIGHTS OF THE WHITE CAMELIA

The organization paralleling the Ku Klux was known in Louisiana as the Knights of the White Camelia. In Franklin, St. Mary's parish, it was organized as the White Man's or Caucasian Club as early as May, 1867. Its founder, it is said, was Judge Alcibiade de Blanc, of that parish. New Orleans was selected as headquarters, and the organization served as a fore-runner of the celebrated White League, with branches throughout the State, which was to fight openly in 1874 for white supremacy in Louisiana—and to re-establish it definitely in 1877. Over and beyond their political and social ills our people suffered direly from epidemics, floods, scant crops or none at all, bad business. Everything was stagnant and yet a greater scourge than all these was next to afflict the sorely tired Louisianians.

In 1868 Henry Clay Warmoth became Governor of Louisiana, elected by a coalition of the iniquitous carpetbag-scalawag-negro-Republican forces. Thus was inaugurated and sustained the rule of the Carpet-Bagger in the South, which forms one of the most sinister and darkest periods in American life and has often been referred to as the Crime



**WILLIAM PITT KELLOGG**  
1831-1918

Governor-usurper of the governorship from 1873-1877, and United States Senator recognized by the Senate although not legally elected by the Legislature of Louisiana.



**U. S. MARSHAL**  
**STEPHEN B. PACKARD**

Who was defeated for Governor by Francis T. Nicholls in 1877, but who undertook to usurp the office and whose failure to do so in 1877 marked the end of Carpet-Bag Misrule in Louisiana.



**HENRY CLAY WARMOTH**  
1842-1931

Elected Governor of Louisiana 1868-1872.



**OSCAR J. DUNN**

Negro Lt. Gov. under Warmoth. Died in office.



**P. B. S. PINCHBACK**  
1837-1921

Negro Governor 1872-3, having succeeded Oscar J. Dunn, Negro Lt. Gov.

**THE FIVE CARPET-BAG CHIEFS**

of Reconstruction. In four years time the debt of Louisiana had increased from \$6,000,000 to nearly \$50,000,000 in 1872, and much of this vast sum represented nothing. It was simply plunder.

Towards the end of his term Warmoth fell out with his own followers and undertook to support a coalition of Democrats headed by John McEnery for the governorship, and Davidson B. Penn, for Lt. Governor against the Kellogg-



On January 10, 1872, General A. S. Badger, Chief of Police, under orders from Governor Warmoth, marched to the Gem Saloon in Royal Street, and demanded the surrender of the Legislature which had set itself up in opposition to him in a factional split.

Pinchback-Packard-carpetbag-scalawag alliance. In spite of Warmoth's defection and newly made alliance with the Democrats and Liberal Republicans, the United States Government declared Kellogg and his henchmen to be the true governing authorities of the State, irrespective of the claims made by John McEnery and his followers that they had been legally elected to head the government of Louisiana on November 4, 1872.

The radical Republicans declared that the will of the people had been frustrated by a monstrous fraud, and in this melancholy picture once more intervened the Federal government.

President Grant had been a liberal enemy during the War, and had deserved the gratitude of the Southern people by the generous terms of surrender that he allowed General Lee at Appomattox, but as President his attitude toward the South underwent a radical change. He seemed to have made no serious effort to understand conditions in Louisiana and without question accepted the biased reports of the carpet-baggers, who were determined to continue their mad orgy of looting and pillaging the State.\*

In December, 1872, the legislature with which he had broken impeached Governor Warmoth for "high crimes and misdemeanors in office committed against the constitution and laws of the State of Louisiana." Warmoth was suspended, pending his trial by the Senate and the negro Pinchback, who was not the legal lieutenant-governor, assumed the office of Governor of the State to be shortly succeeded, as the carpet-baggers planned, by W. P. Kellogg. Through a telegram from his Attorney-General, President Grant recognized the Pinchback government and ordered that all necessary assistance be given him and his legislature "to protect the State from disorder and violence." Governor-elect John McEnery telegraphed President Grant, begging him in the name of all justice to suspend recognition of any govern-

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\* Chief among his Louisiana advisers, who probably had the greatest influence with Grant, was his brother-in-law, James F. Casey, whom the President had appointed collector of customs of the port of New Orleans. Casey was a leader of the Packard-Kellogg faction (known as the "Custom House gang") among the carpet-baggers. In a series of telegrams to President Grant, December, 1872, he urged the recognition of the negro Pinchback as governor of Louisiana.

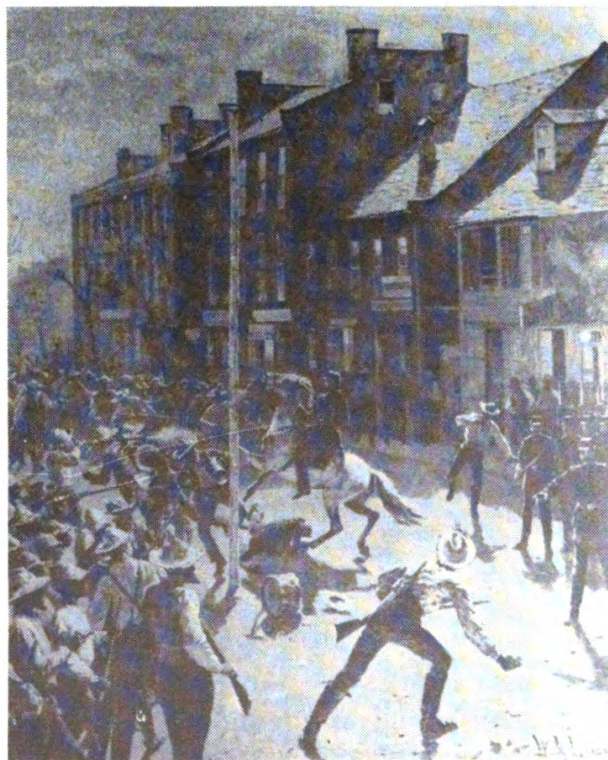
\* \* \* \*

Grant seemed to feel a moral responsibility in providing his various brothers-in-law with lucrative jobs. M. J. Cramer was appointed minister to Denmark over the protest of Sumner, Chairman of Foreign Relations Committee. According to THE TRAGIC ERA this in-law had been an exhorter in the West before he went to Leipsic as consul, to have his face slapped in the streets. Another brother-in-law, Judge Louis Dent—carpet-bagger who acquired some property in Mississippi—had serious gubernatorial ambitions, but aligned himself with the wrong faction. Still another was Abel Corbin, gold speculator, involved in Gold Conspiracy of Grant's administration: the President's loyal support of Corbin in this scandal is common history. Among the appointments Grant urged: to be Chief Justice of a territory was a soldier whose qualification was that he had lost a leg in the War; to be Minister to Belgium was recommended the most elegant gentleman that ever presided over a livery stable." (from THE TRAGIC ERA)





The Negro Controlled Legislature of South Carolina in 1873, passing an appropriation bill. From Scribner's Magazine, Volume 27, 1895.



Scene of riot at Little Rock, Arkansas during Reconstruction. From Scribner's Magazine, Volume 27, 1895.

ment in Louisiana until all facts could be laid before him by a committee of leading citizens on the eve of departure for Washington. In a curt reply the Attorney-General George H. Williams advised as follows: "Your visit with a hundred citizens will be unavailing, as far as the President is concerned. His decision is made, and will not be changed; and the sooner it is acquiesced in, the sooner good order and peace will be restored."

## TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH

New Orleans, December 13, 1872.

The undersigned representatives of houses in the North, doing business with the South, who have been visiting New Orleans for many years past, and at present, and are thoroughly conversant with the political feelings of the people of this section, wish to express our opinion, at this critical juncture of affairs.

Visiting New Orleans at a season when the city is usually full of activity and life, we find every channel of trade paralyzed, the State-House occupied by troops, the officers of the State threatened and intimidated, and the people cast into the deepest gloom by the arbitrary usurpation of power and place, by political adventurers, backed by a United States Judge, who has called in the assistance of United States troops to execute his decrees.

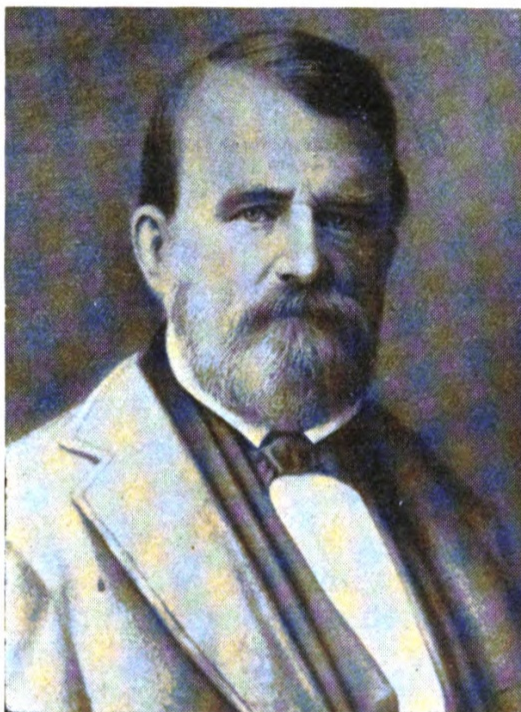
After an election which we believe to have been conducted as fairly and honestly as any in which the American people ever participated, finding themselves beaten by a large majority of the votes of the citizens of this city and State, this unscrupulous and irresponsible body of men have resorted to trickery and violence to defeat the execution of the will of the people, as thus expressed.

Believing this action the greatest outrage ever attempted to be carried out in our country, and one which tends directly to the overthrow of the liberties of the people, and to destroying the power and sacredness of the ballot box, we hereby enter our solemn protest against the high-handed action, and appeal to our fellow-citizens of the North to unite in protesting to Congress and the President, to the end that the legally elected officers of the State may be installed in office, and the people of the community supported in



their efforts to exercise the right of franchise, that they may redeem their State from the bankruptcy and ruin with which it is now threatened through the action of these nameless adventurers.

*This proclamation was signed by sixty-two firms and sent broadcast throughout the nation.*



JOHN McENERY  
1833-1891

Elected Governor for the term 1873-1877, and whose defeated opponent William Pitt Kellogg, was recognized and supported as governor in fact by the Carpet-Bag Regime.

So early in 1873, the *de facto*\* Kellogg government succeeded the Pinchback government at the Mechanics' Institute, while the *de jure*\* McEnery government went into operation at Odd Fellows' Hall. The Kellogg legislature, supported by the Federal government, passed outrageous and oppressive acts, such as one professedly "to protect the civil rights of citizens," and an act changing the Metropolitan police largely composed of insolent negroes to the Metropolitan brigade, at the absolute disposal of the gov-

\* De facto means: Actually in power without lawful title.

\* De jure means: By lawful title without actual power.





GENERAL FREDERICK NASH OGDEN

1837-1886

Commander of the forces of White Supremacy at the Battle of the Cabildo 1873, the Battle of New Orleans, "foot of Canal Street" September 14, 1874, and Commander of the White League on January 9, 1877.

"To that God who gave us the victory we commit with confidence and hope the spirits of our immortal dead; and strong in the consciousness of right, record anew our holy purpose that *Louisiana shall be free.*"



ernor in any part of the State. Kellogg was invested with the authority of a czar, and tried to enforce his power with means, foul or fair.

### THE BATTLE OF CABILDO

On the evening of March 5, 1873, occurred the so-called "Battle of the Cabildo"—a clash between the McEnery state militia of loyal citizens and the Kellogg police, in the efforts of the former to gain possession of the police stations of the city. The Third Precinct station at this time was located



CAPTAIN JEAN MICHEL FORTIER  
1841—1883

Confederate Soldier, Member Washington Artillery, Soldier of the White League, and Leader in Reconstruction.

in the Cabildo, and the attack on this occasion was spectacular. Detachments of the McEnery militia, under Colonel Eugene Waggaman, and accompanied by General F. N. Ogden, commander-in-chief of the McEnery forces, occupied Jackson Square, and opened a smart fire on the Cabildo. The men were poorly armed, only a few having rifles or shotguns, and very inadequately supplied with ammunition. Subsequently the position in Jackson Square was abandoned

as too exposed, and the attackers formed in the shelter of the walls of the St. Louis Cathedral. Reenforcements arrived in the course of a half hour and were posted at the corner of Chartres and Toulouse streets.

In a few minutes the tramping of horses and the shouting of men announced the arrival of the Metropolitan police, who could scarcely be seen—the gas lights on Chartres Street having been turned off as far down as St. Louis Street. The Metropolitans opened fire with a twelve pound Napoleon gun and drove the citizens back towards St. Peter Street. Firing was kept up at a brisk pace for several minutes and balls flew up and down Chartres Street in a very lively manner.

The fighting was still in progress when General Smith of the United States army appeared and directed Colonel Waggaman to desist and the men to disperse. It was understood that a refusal to obey this command would be followed by an attack of the Federal troops, three companies of whom had been stationed at various points in the city for this purpose. Colonel Waggaman issued the necessary commands, the firing stopped, and the citizens slowly dispersed.

*In the New Orleans Picayune of Friday, March 7, 1873, appears the following:*

“Several of the iron columns of the balcony of the building at the corner of St. Peter and Chartres were perforated—one being knocked down and broken into splinters. The railing of Jackson Square is also broken in several places, and here and there the buildings near it were clipped. The trees in the Square were fairly riddled with bullets, and the ground is strewn with broken branches. This gives one a faint idea of the severity and briskness of the fire. The police held the street immediately in front of the Station (Cabildo), and they were armed with Winchester rifles. The Station (Cabildo) itself was occupied by United States soldiers who had their guns stacked in the courtyard, with several men guarding them. People were constantly entering the office, inquiring for friends or relatives. Permission to see any of them, however, with one or two exceptional instances,

was refused." (Then follows a list of names of the 65 citizens arrested by the Metropolitan police—charged with violating the act of Congress to enforce the provisions of the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States.)

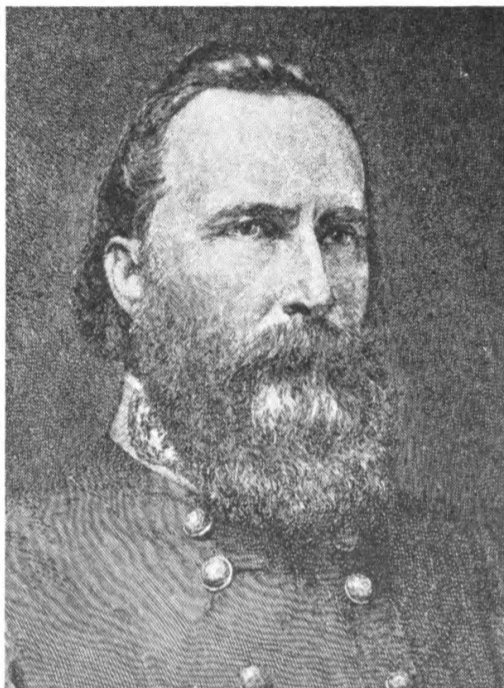
*In the issue of the Picayune March 11, 1873, Colonel Eugene Waggaman, in command of the McEnery forces in the Battle of the Cabildo, explained:*

"—Let me state this, that but for the interference of the United States troops with reinforcements, whom the very roar of guns had awakened, pouring in, we would have been master—not only of that position (the Cabildo), but of the entire city by daylight, and McEnery's government would have been the *de facto* as it is the *de jure* government of the State."

*Exclaimed the New York World in its issue of March 7, 1873 (reprinted in the New Orleans Picayune of March 12, 1873):*

"The blood spilled in the streets of New Orleans night before last, and the means by which order and quiet must have been temporarily restored, demonstrate the inherent weakness of the Kellogg usurpation. It calls itself a state government, and is recognized as such by President Grant. But the deplorable occurrences of Wednesday night show that it possesses so little authority that it cannot stand its ground against two or three hundred armed assailants, and needs to be propped up by Federal bayonets in such a slight disturbance of the peace as any genuine state government would promptly and easily suppress by its own militia.—It is a government that cannot govern; it is unequal to the most ordinary emergencies; if two or three hundred men rise up and threaten it, it must straightway have the support of the Federal army to save it from dissolution. It is a violation of common sense and propriety of language to call such a frail, rickety concern a government. If it had, as it pretends, the support and approval of a majority of the people, it would not make such an undignified exhibition of helpless imbecility and cowardice."

The day after the Battle of the Cabildo the Kellogg government accomplished the oft-deferred invasion of Odd Fellows' Hall—the seat of the Democratic McEnery government. Under orders from General James Longstreet,\* an armed force of one hundred Metropolitans invaded the building and occupied the government chambers. Antici-



GENERAL JAMES LONGSTREET  
(1821-1904)

After the War Between the States he was appointed by President Grant surveyor of the port in the City of New Orleans. Later he became postmaster and supervisor of internal revenue. He was appointed a member of the Lynch returning board on November 13, 1872, and with General Badger commanded Kellogg's forces on September 14, 1874, when it became rumored that he had been captured.

pating this move, the majority of the officials had absented themselves, but Speaker Moncure and Messrs. Foster, Havson, Voorhies, and Leonard, members of the legislature,

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\* After the War the distinguished Confederate General James Longstreet, of South Carolina, took up his residence in New Orleans. During this turbulent period he went over to the Republican party and accepted the office of surveyor of customs, from 1867 to 1873. He was also given command of Kellogg's Metropolitan brigade. His defection aroused much indignation and naturally alienated his former friends. His desertion of his people seemed so much the worse that it came in their critical hour of distress, when wise and faithful leaders were sorely needed. (from HISTORY OF RECONSTRUCTION IN LOUISIANA—Ficklen)



were found in the lobby, placed under arrest, and locked up like common criminals in the drunkards' cells—the only statements on the books being “by order of General Longstreet.” Even Kellogg evidently considered this crime against justice as going too far, and an order from him secured their release later in the day.

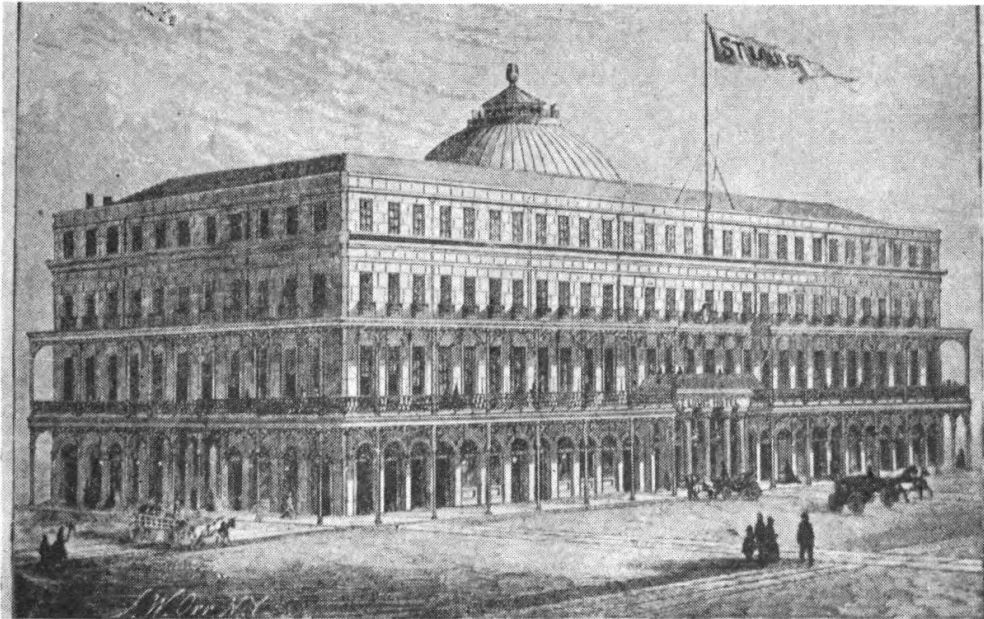
Undaunted, the Democratic government immediately took up its headquarters at the St. James Hotel and the legislature resumed its sessions the following day; while “the Bayonet Legislature”—as the New Orleans Picayune so aptly named the Kellogg law-makers—continued its farcical efforts at the Mechanics' Institute, by grace of President Grant and the protection of United States troops.

*Relative to President Grant's recognition of the Kellogg government, by a ruling of a Federal judge that set aside the legal McEnery election, the New York Herald is quoted by the New Orleans Picayune, March 10, 1873:*

“It is all very well for the President to say, as he does in his message that he is extremely anxious to avoid any appearance of undue interference in State affairs; but words amount to nothing when the action is so different. The greatest tyrants often talk loudly of liberty while they are destroying it insidiously. —The very basis of American freedom is local self-government. The Enforcement Act, referred to, in the hands of narrow-minded or sham statesmen, goes far to destroy the foundation of American liberty. If a Federal judge on any pretext, from ignorance or for some partisan political purposes, can set aside an election in Louisiana, why not in New York or Massachusetts? Only think how monstrous it is that one man can subvert the machinery of government, defeat the will of the people and throw a state into anarchy! Have our liberties no better foundation than the caprice of partisan prejudice of one Federal officer?”

Riots were constantly occurring throughout the State, with much bloodshed. In St. Martin Parish in 1873 the people opposed the collection of taxes by illegal tax collec-

tors and Kellogg sent armed men to enforce obedience. The Metropolitan Brigade, however, was held in check by the citizens lead by Colonel Alcibiade De Blanc and United States troops had to be sent to the aid of the police. Colonel De Blanc surrendered to the Federal soldiers, but he had proven plainly that Kellogg's Government could be upheld only by Federal power in the State generally as well as in New Orleans.



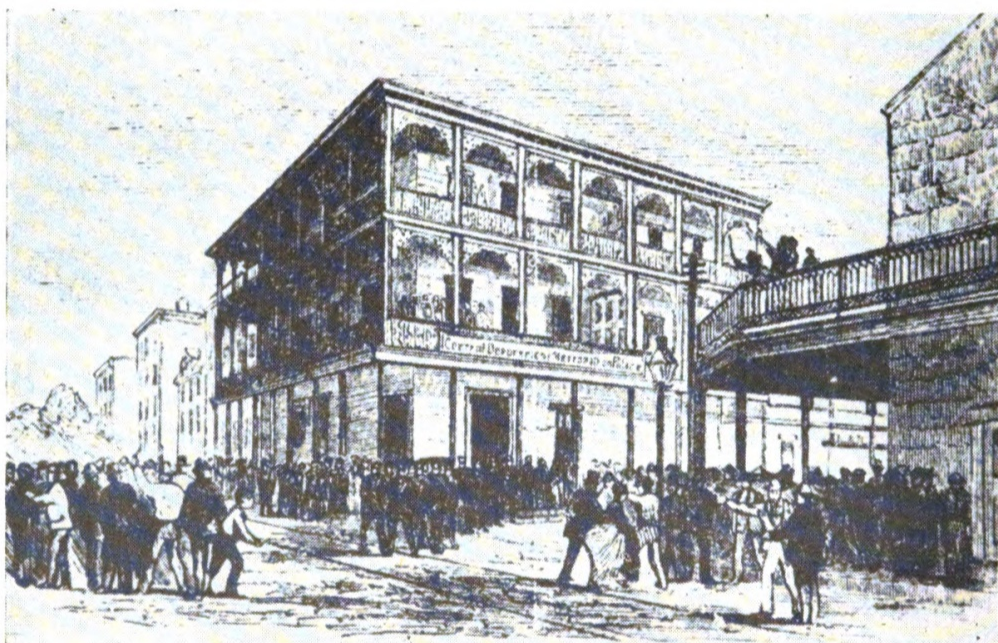
ST. LOUIS HOTEL

Built in 1840 by Jacques de Pouilly, Architect, (1805-1875) at the cost of \$1,000,000. In 1874 it became the State Capitol under Carpet-Bag Regime, and again a hotel in 1884 under the name Hotel Royal until it discontinued operations. It was demolished by its owners in 1915.

President Grant hurriedly ordered troops to be stationed at convenient points in Louisiana to give all needed help to the United States marshals and attorneys in the discharge of their official duties. A serious race riot occurred at Colfax in Grant Parish; United States marshals and soldiers were rushed to Coushatta and Natchitoches where they arrested a number of prominent citizens; and matters in New Orleans were now rapidly approaching a climax. People were being robbed in open daylight; leading



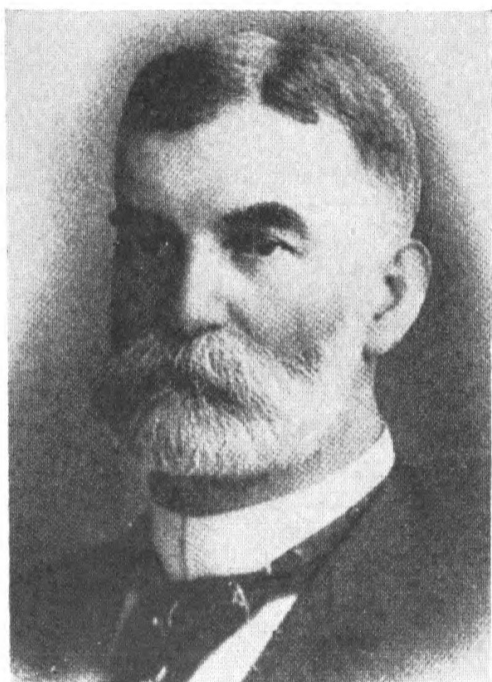
citizens were being arrested on various trumped-up charges; while the negroes were freely arming themselves under the protection of Kellogg's Metropolitan guard, which was composed in the main of negroes who were paid by the city, but subject to the Governor's orders and a part of his militia. On the other hand, every effort was put forth to prevent loyal citizens from bearing arms. It was evident that the Kellogg government intended to deprive them of this most sacred right—guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States.



Scene at Headquarters of New Orleans Metropolitan Police.  
From Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.

Arms were shipped to negroes in the country parishes, and guns and ammunition belonging to private individuals in New Orleans were seized on the streets and in stores by the Metropolitan police. On September 10, (1874) a squad of ten Metropolitans, in charge of an officer, entered the store of Arthur Olivier, importer of guns, at 80 Canal Street, arrested him on a warrant issued upon a trumped-up charge of assault and battery, and carried off three cases containing guns, and twelve kegs of ammunition, before the crowd that rapidly assembled could prevent them.

This affair excited the greatest indignation in New Orleans. On September 12 an old gentleman was arrested in the street by three negro policemen on horseback—"Uhlans," as they were called—for carrying home his gun. There was a large consignment of arms on the steamer "Mississippi" for the White League, and the attempt of the latter to prevent the police from seizing them precipitated the memorable conflict of September 14, 1874.

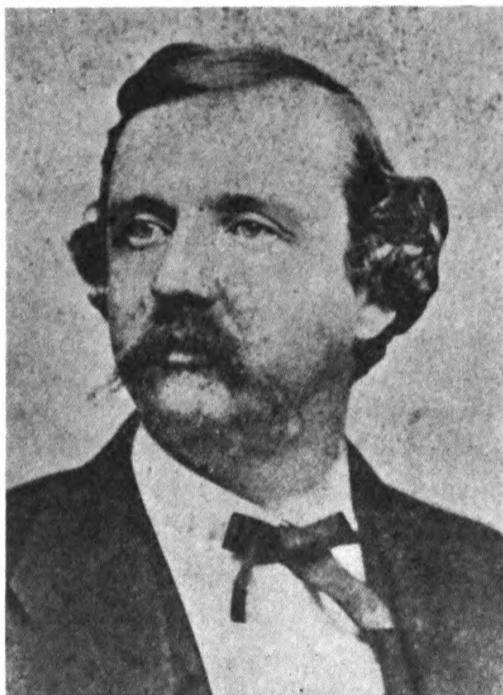


COLONEL D. B. PENN, Acting Governor on Sept. 14th, 1874.

The White League had been greatly strengthened throughout the State as the result of the tyrannical mastery of the carpet-bag regime. This organization had largely succeeded the Knights of the White Camelia, and on July 2, 1874, the Crescent City White League had published its platform in which the utter desolation of Louisiana was woefully set forth. It spoke of the inevitable conflict into which Louisiana was fast drifting—"a conflict between enlightenment, and thick ignorance, between civilization and barbarism—a barbarism artificially stimulated and held up by the perverted authority of the most



civilized nation of the world. Unnecessary to repeat the old story of brutal violence stalking at midnight in the draggled shroud of judicial authority, and under the shadow of Federal power, enthroning an execrable oligarchy of the most ignorant and profligate negroes, leagued with the most dangerous class of rapacious whites, the scum of society."



DR. J. DICKSON BRUNS  
(1833-1883)

Who wrote the famous appeal to "Citizens of New Orleans" which appeared in the newspapers on September 13, 1874, calling the citizens to assemble at Clay's statue, see page 39, from a family portrait now belonging to his daughter-in-law Mrs. Henry Dickson Bruns.

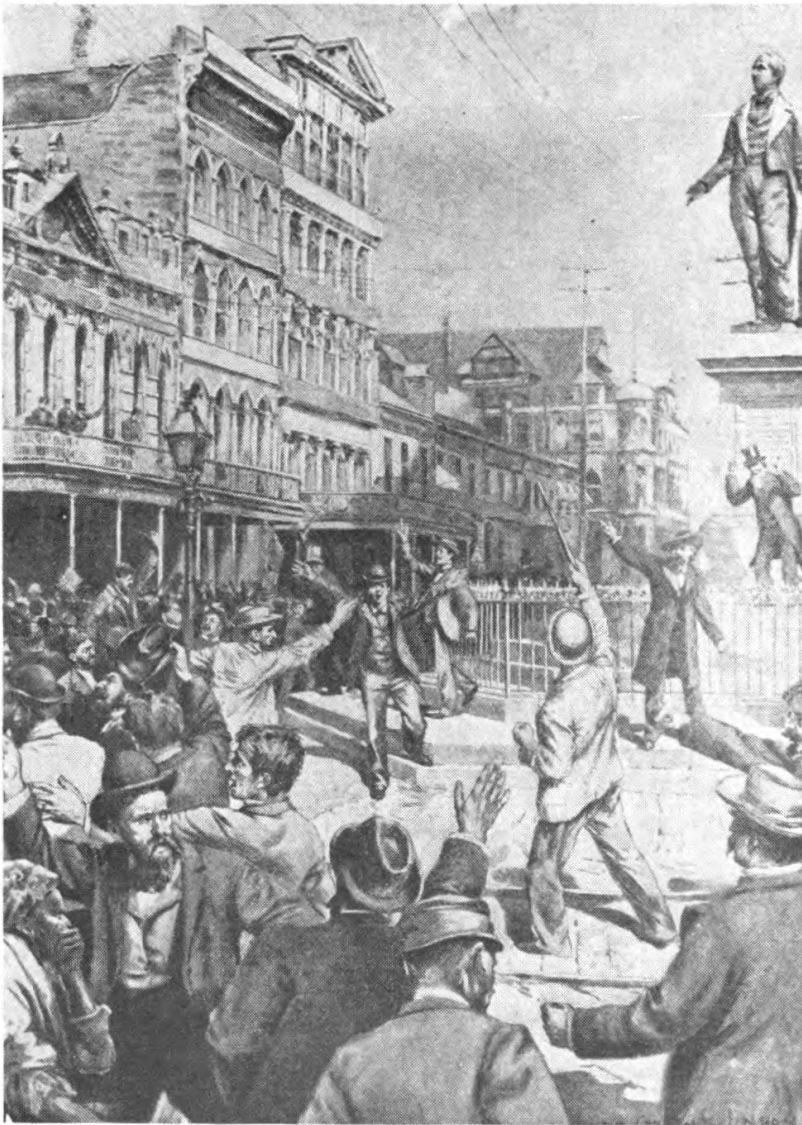
The Leaguers further affirmed: "With our hands on our hearts, and appealing to God, we and the whole white people of Louisiana can declare that we are in no way responsible for the intolerable evils of misgovernment under which the State is perishing."

Concerning the negro, the platform stated: "Where the white race rules, the negro is peaceful and happy; where the black rules, the negro is starved and oppressed. —And

In that same sacred instrument, to whose inviolate perpetuity our fathers pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor," it was also declared that even Congress shall make no law abridging "the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." It now remains for us to ascertain whether this right any longer remains to us.

We therefore call upon you on Monday morning, the 14th day of September, 1874, to close your places of business, without a single exception, and at 11 o'clock a. m. to assemble at the Clay statue, on Canal Street, and in tones loud enough to be heard throughout the length and breadth of the land, Declare That You Are Of Right, Ought To Be, And Mean To Be, FREE.

In answer to this clarion call the people of New Orleans assembled at half-past eleven o'clock on the morning of Monday, September 14, a-proud-and-a-never-to-be-forgotten date to the number of about five thousand men, around the Crescent billiard-saloon at the Clay statue on Canal Street. The Honorable Robert H. Marr presided and read resolutions calling for the immediate abdication of William Pitt Kellogg; and a committee of five was appointed to wait on Mr. Kellogg and demand his immediate answer. At sometime previous in the year the carpet-bag seat of government had been moved from the Mechanics' Institute to the St. Louis Hotel on Royal Street, and at these headquarters the committee of five presented themselves. They were not able to find Kellogg but did succeed in getting their resolutions to him through a member of his staff. The carpet-bag Governor replied that he refused to receive any communication from a force of armed men. The committee were unable to convince the Kellogg spokesman that they represented no armed force, and reported this result back to the mass meeting on Canal.



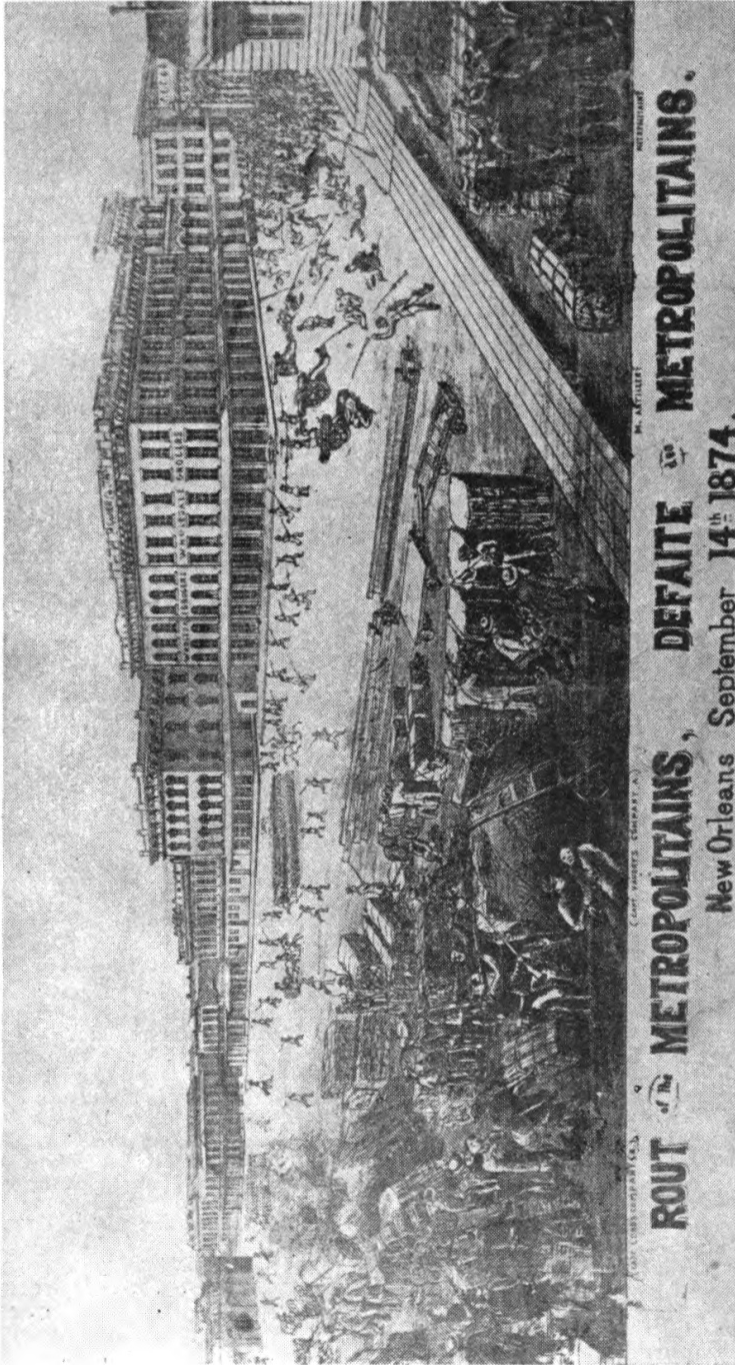
Mass meeting at the Henry Clay Statue on the morning of September 14th, 1874. From Scribner's Magazine, volume 27, 1895.

Mr. Marr again addressed the meeting, and said that the people should decide what they should do—whether they should endure this any longer, or rise and drive out the usurper. The answer to these words was: “Hang Kellogg!” “We’ll fight!” “Call out the troops!”

Dr. Cornelius Beard then addressed the crowd, telling them to go home, arm themselves, and prepare to hold the city against Kellogg and his hirelings, to make the city an armed camp, and never to leave it until the last of Kellogg’s henchmen had quitted its limits. Mr. Marr asked the people to return to Canal Street at 2:30 o’clock when they would find an organized body of leaders, who would properly draft them, arrange all military details, and furnish the necessary arms. In the most serious and determined mood the great gathering dispersed—to return for drastic action a short while later. The people had suffered long enough. They were desperate and highly resolved to right their wrongs.

In the absence of Governor McEnery who was out of the State, Lieutenant-Governor Penn took charge as acting-Governor. General Frederick N. Ogden was given supreme command; Colonel W. J. Behan was placed in command of the White League; while Colonel John B. Angell was in command of the First Louisiana Regiment—a part of the McEnery militia. Then there were a large number of citizens, chiefly ex-Confederate soldiers, who were not actually enrolled in any organization, but who joined the movement on the morning of September 14. These were placed under the command of Major John Augustin. The total forces of loyal citizens probably numbered 8,400 men. At about three o’clock the citizens were well organized along Poydras Street where their lines were laid out. Barricades were at once begun at all streets running parallel to the river. Some of these were of very good construction. At Camp Street a barricade of barrels and logs were erected; at St. Charles Street a triple barricade of horse-cars was thrown up, and strengthened by pulling up the pave-





**ROUT OF THE METROPOLITAINS BY THE CITIZEN SOLDIERY OF LOUISIANA**

A thrill of patriotic delight went through the hearts of American citizens both South and North.

ment at the gutters and thus leaving a formidable ditch across the street; and at Magazine Street still another formidable barricade was erected.

General Longstreet and General A. S. Badger were in command of the Kellogg forces which perhaps were superior in number, but inferior in quality. At the State House were about 3,000 colored militia, with all doors and windows of this building locked, bolted and barricaded. The Cabildo was a perfect citadel—in the Third Precinct police station on the lower floor, and in the Supreme Court rooms in the upper floor of this building were several hundred Metropolitan police, amply provided with guns and ammunition. Here also were some forty or more of the riff-raff, not in uniforms, but attired in rags and dirty shirts, and drafted especially for the occasion from the streets and the prisons, carrying their guns in a very exaggerated martial manner. The two alleys, Orleans, (Pirates' Alley) and Exchange, (Cabildo Alley) were shut to all passers-by, guarded by the police; while in Orleans Alley were some thirty Uhlans, their horses tied to the Cathedral fence, as were the horses of the artillery who were stationed in Jackson Square. The arsenal was guarded by some dozen men, who were also preparing the cannon in case of conflict. \*

\* A NEW YORK YANKEE IN NEW ORLEANS

September 14, 1874

Mr John Dymond:

My Dear Sir: Since advising the house by early mail this p. m. the political excitement has taken shape and now bids fair to be the most serious outbreak we have had since the war. The so-called White League has taken possession of the city this side of Canal Street and they claim to have from 5 to 7000 armed men on duty. The city is fearfully excited, business houses all closed and nearly all the merchants on duty fully armed, Mr. Pitot among the number with my revolver. All the streets leading into Canal are barricaded and Kellogg's forces are in line on Chartres, Decatur and Peters streets. Kellogg himself is hid away in the post office. The only fighting so far has been on the levee from Gravier to Canal and it is currently reported that Gen. Badger is fatally wounded and it is known positively that J. B. Newman, Jr. is killed.

I presume you will get full particulars by the morning papers. It is a serious affair and unless they make a complete success of it by killing Kellogg and all the ring leaders I fear it will interrupt our business for sometime. There are but few United States troops here and the leaguers apprehend no difficulty in cleaning out the Metropolitans. You can see that the affair has assumed some magnitude by the fact that such men as Pitot, Cottreaux, Benedict and hosts of others are in the line.

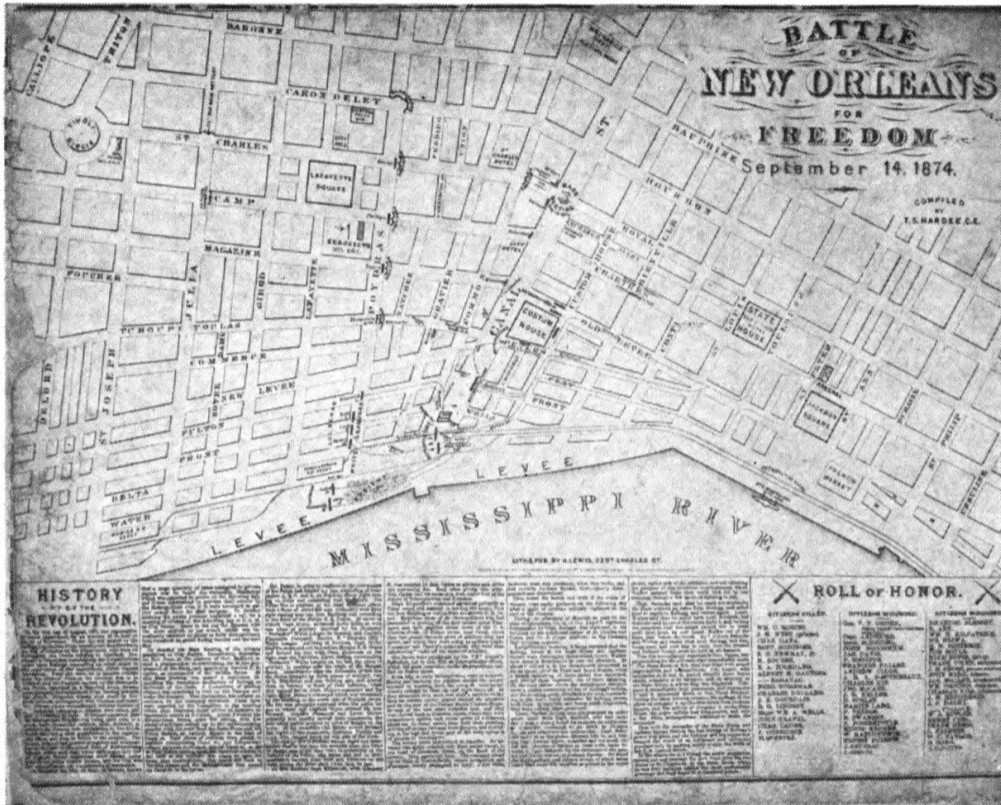
Pitot left with the remark that there was no telling when he would return and in case of accident he explained the Belair position and left some checks to my order. Rather a queer manner to spend a vacation. . . . .

Very respectfully yours,

JNO. J. COLVIN, JR.

(from THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, October, 1920.)

At the Custom House were some 150 Federal troops—stationed in the dungeons, the warehouses on the basement floor of the old granite building. Several hundreds of idle negroes congregated here, evidently thinking this stronghold would afford them a safe retreat in case of a “scrimmage.” At the State House there was the same



### BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS FOR FREEDOM, SEPTEMBER 14th, 1874

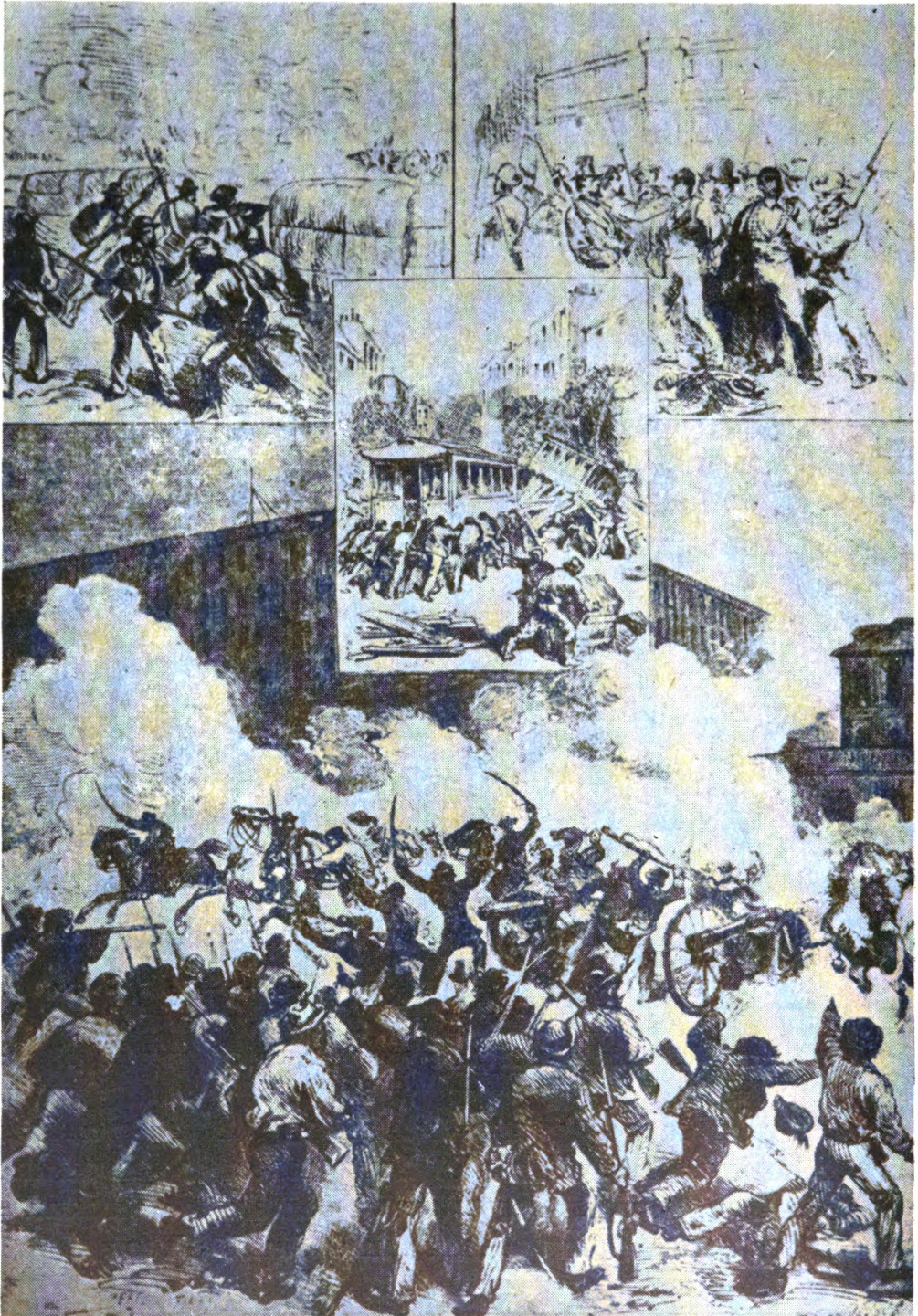
The lesson of this immortal event is that the people of the State of Louisiana are **INDOMITABLE**.

gathering of idle negroes—but rather of the political than laboring class. From St. Louis Street down, all the stores on Royal Street were closed at an early hour, and a continuous crowd kept pouring into Canal Street.

### BATTLE OF SEPTEMBER 14th, 1874

At about four o'clock the Kellogg forces, consisting of about five hundred Metropolitan police, with six pieces of heavy artillery, under Generals Longstreet and Badger, moved up to Canal Street about the Custom House—



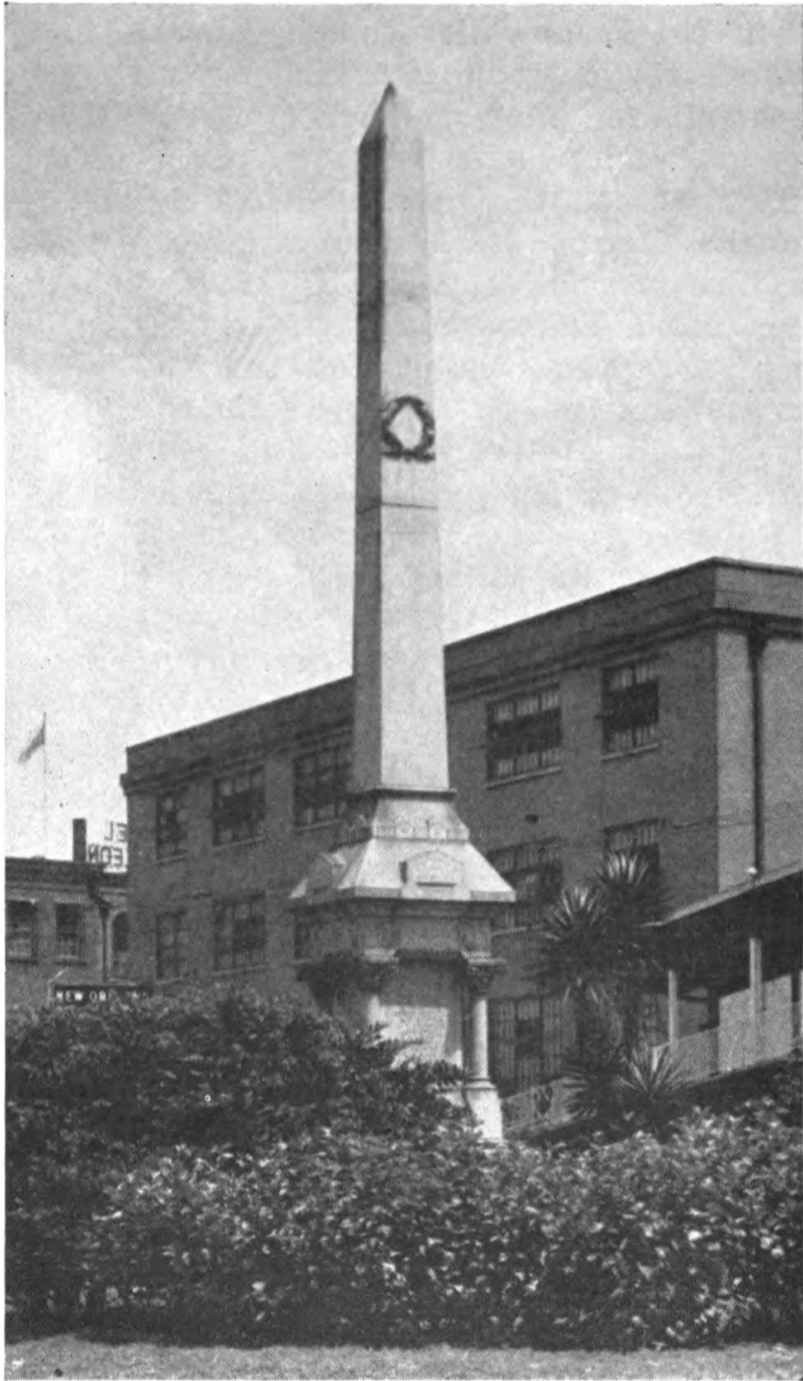


Scenes of great uprising of the people under call of Acting Governor D. B. Penn, Sept. 14th, 1874.



where in the meanwhile Kellogg himself had taken refuge. A few minutes later Badger with his forces of three hundred Metropolitans opened fire with one Gatling gun and two twelve-pound Napoleon guns. A sharp fight ensued, the loyal Ogden forces receiving the fire of the Metropolitans without flinching and continually charging the enemy. The Metropolitans wavered, scattered, and rushed back towards the Custom House. A volley from the citizens brought down eighteen men at the first fire, all of them seriously injured—the slightly wounded fleeing with the others. General Badger, who was vainly endeavoring to rally his stampeded forces, was severely wounded himself and was left in the hands of the citizens, who saved his life. The Metropolitans fell back to Jackson Square, and General Ogden, satisfied with the result, withdrew to his original position in Poydras Street. He himself had been in the thickest of the fighting, and had his horse killed under him.

An interesting feature of the battle was the fact that it was witnessed by thousands who took no part in it. A regatta of the Carrollton Rowing Club had been set for that afternoon, and many persons, refusing to believe that trouble impended, prepared to attend. In the early forenoon they went to Canal Street to take the river steamers which would convey them to Carrollton. In Canal Street they discovered the heavily armed Metropolitans drawn up for attack. The steamboats, crowded with men, women and children, lingered on the river until the conflict was over. Many of the bullets fired by the Metropolitans struck the vessels, and a cannon ball damaged the machinery of one of them—but no one was hurt. Equal recklessness marked the behavior of the crowds on shore. Scores of persons filled the windows from which the battle was visible. Others stood in the streets indifferent to the missiles which whizzed over their heads. The newsboys darted in and out between the lines of armed men almost to the very moment when the firing began. It is said that when the Metro-



### LIBERTY MONUMENT

To commemorate the Battle for Freedom of September 14, 1874, at the foot of Canal Street where stood the cannons of the Metropolitans who were decisively defeated on  
**A-PROUD-AND-NEVER-TO-BE-FORGOTTEN-DATE  
BY-THE-CITIZEN-SOLDIERS.**

The names of the men who fell on the 14th of September, 1874, appear on the monument as follows:

ANTOINE BOZONIER, JR.  
MICHAL BETZ  
CHARLES BRULARD  
JAMES CROSSIN  
JAMES CONSIDINE  
ADRIEN FEUILLAN  
ALBERT M. GAUTIER  
JOSEPH K. GOURDAIN  
JOHN GRAVAL  
ROBERT G. LINDSEY  
F. M. MOHRMANN  
SAMUEL B. NEWMAN, JR.  
WILLIAM C. ROBBINS  
E. A. TOLEDANO  
WILLIAM A. WELLS  
JOHN M. WEST

*They died for the sacred right to keep and bear arms, and the right to be ruled and governed by officers of their choice and election.*

*Louisiana was the only Southern State with a single large city like New Orleans, the control of which gave strength to the usurpers. The stake was large, the temptation to loot irresistible.*

*No American community had ever found itself in a worse condition than on the day of the death of these glorious men!*

politans broke and fled, these ubiquitous urchins followed in their wake, picking up the weapons which the defeated troops cast away in their panicky haste, and brought them into the lines of the loyal citizens.

The losses of the Metropolitan police were eleven killed and sixty wounded; and of the White League, sixteen killed and forty-five wounded. The victory was dearly bought by the death of these heroic citizens whose memory is immortal and whose names have been engraved on the monument erected to them in 1891 at Liberty Place (at the foot of Canal Street), on the spot made sacred by the blood of martyrs who fell in defense of the freedom and honor of Louisiana. These names are: Antoine Bozonier, Jr., Michael Betz, Charles Brulard, James Crossin, James Considine, Adrien Feuillan, Albert M. Gautier, Joseph K. Gourdain, John Graval, Robert G. Lindsey, F. M. Mohrmann, Samuel B. Newman, Jr., William C. Robbins, E. A. Toledano, William A. Wells, and John M. West.

On September 15 the State House surrendered, and the Cabildo, Arsenal, and Jackson Square were captured by Captain Frank McGloin's Company B of Colonel Angell's First Louisiana Regiment. Not a vestige of the carpet-bag government remained. Kellogg was still safely hiding in the Custom House, still under the protection of the United States government.

Prior to its surrender, conditions at the State House were chaotic and ludicrous to the extreme. On hearing of the defeat of the Metropolitans, the negro militiamen guarding the building on Royal Street departed by every available means of exit, some even sliding down the iron columns which supported the galleries over the street. Barber, their general, sought refuge in an undertaker's shop not far away; and it is said that he caused himself to be laid out in a coffin, in full uniform, as if prepared for burial, trusting in this way not to be molested even if discovered.



The conservative New Orleans Picayune on Tuesday morning, September 15, 1874, with the biggest local story of its history to print, confined its announcement to a modest one-column head. "Today," says Meigs O. Frost in his article commemorating the 63rd anniversary of the fight, "the headlines would stream across the top of the front page at such an uprising, a battle fought virtually on the newspaper's own front doorstep, a cause won that the paper itself had championed. . . .

*"This is the way it appeared:*

‘ W A R

THE UPRISING OF THE CITIZENS

BATTLE AT HEAD OF CANAL STREET

BADGER MORTALLY WOUNDED

ELEVEN METROPOLITANS KILLED  
AND MANY WOUNDED

THE METROPOLITAN ARTILLERY  
CAPTURED, AND THEIR  
FORCE DISPERSED

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS  
ELSEWHERE

SKIRMISHING ABOUT THE STREETS

RESIGNATIONS AND SURRENDERS  
AMONG THE POLICE FORCE

THE CITY IN POSSESSION OF THE  
CITIZENS' ”

At two o'clock on September 15, there was an assemblage of several thousand persons in front of Governor Penn's residence, 230 St. Charles Street. They had met to congratulate him on the success of the preceding day, and all the leading citizens of New Orleans entered the house of the acting-Governor to express their joy at

the happy turn events had taken and to discuss the prospects of the State. "After receiving the citizens," (quoting the New Orleans Picayune) "Governor Penn mounted his carriage and, with Mr. Marr and others, drove down St. Charles Street at the head of the procession of citizens, numbering three or four thousand. The streets on both sides were filled with ladies and gentlemen, the former waving their handkerchiefs, the latter shouting until they were hoarse. Slowly the procession moved down Canal Street and thence to the State House, the street being so filled with people that it was almost impossible to move. Along the route there could not have been fewer than twenty thousand people. At the State House there was great confusion, owing to the immensity of the crowd. Part dashed up the stairs, which cracked and threatened to fall at this overweight; a thousand or more found refuge in the chamber of representatives, and the rest rushed out into the gallery. In the street were assembled about ten thousand persons extending from Bourbon to Chartres, and from Conti to Toulouse."

Governor Penn addressed the people, congratulating them on their rescue from despotism, and on the establishment of peace and order. He called on them to assemble at the various churches on September 16, at eleven o'clock, to offer thanks to God for the great mercies He had shown them, and to implore a continuance of His protection. E. John Ellis then made a short speech and congratulated the people on their victory. He highly praised Governor Penn and General Ogden, and he counselled peace and order, praying that no act of oppression or intolerance should dim the luster of victory. Robert H. Marr was called for, and said that there must be no disturbances. The citizens owed this to themselves, to indicate their movement by their good order. They must be just and lenient, especially to the negro. If the people of Louisiana, white and colored, united, the State would once more see peace, prosperity and happiness.

No acts of violence were reported, though the loyal McEnery-Penn officials were installed all over the State. As three thousand of General Ogden's militia marched past the New Orleans Custom House, where Kellogg was still safely fortified, the United States troops gathered at the windows, took off their hats and gave the citizens many hearty cheers, which were returned. The government of the people had been installed by the people. But the triumph was short lived, for events now rapidly shaped themselves to undo this work so successfully performed at such a sacrifice of patriotic blood.

Acting-Governor Penn had notified President Grant, in a telegram, of the uprising of the citizens. He declared the unswerving loyalty and respect of the people for the United States government, and only asked the President to withhold any aid or protection to the enemies of the State. Kellogg also telegraphed the President, appealing for "aid to protect Louisiana from domestic violence." President Grant emphatically disapproved of the course followed by Penn and the White League, and expressed his determination to use prompt and decisive measures "to restore order." Accordingly he issued a proclamation calling on the "insurgents" to disperse within five days, directed a United States warship to sail at once for New Orleans, sent orders to General Emory to proceed to the city, and as a more immediate relief telegraphed to General John R. Brooke in command of the Third United States Infantry at Brookhaven, Mississippi, to take his regiment to New Orleans without delay.

At midnight on September 16, Governor McEnery reached the city and assumed control. About the same time General Emory arrived, placed General Brooke in active command, and promptly made a demand upon McEnery for the surrender of the State property that had been seized. This was done on September 17—not before, however, President Grant had severely criticized General Emory for giving General Brooke military control of New Orleans instead of immediately recognizing the Kellogg





Heroes of September 14th, 1874

(See next page for names).



## HEROES OF SEPTEMBER 14th, 1874

- |                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1 Gov. John McEnery   | 5 Gen. F. N. Ogden |
| 2 Lt. Gov. D. B. Penn | 6 Dr. C. Beard     |
| 3 Hon. R. H. Marr     | 7 Col. W. J. Behan |
| 4 Hon. E. J. Ellis    |                    |

### IN MEMORIAM

(Killed September 14, 1874)

- |                  |                     |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 8 E. A. Toledano | 14 Alb. M. Gautier  |
| 9 Fred Mohrmann  | 15 R. G. Lindsey    |
| 10 W. C. Robbins | 16 J. K. Gourdain   |
| 11 Chas. Brulard | 17 A. Bozonier      |
| 12 S. B. Newman  | 18 Maj. W. A. Wells |
| 13 John Graval   | 19 J. M. West       |

The roster of the White League, constituting only a partial list of the men who responded to the call to arms can be found in La. Hist. Soc. Quarterly Vol. 7, No. 4, Oct. 1924, and in pamphlet form, in the Reference Library of the Louisiana State Museum.

government. General Emory replied that there would have been anarchy if he had not placed General Brooke in command of the city, and that the State authorities represented by Kellogg had asked to defer taking charge for the present. Kellogg assumed charge on September 18; his Metropolitan brigade was reorganized; but his carpet-bag government was once again supported solely by Federal troops.

Governor McEnery and Lieutenant-Governor Penn issued an address to the people of Louisiana, "no longer citizens of a State, but inhabitants merely of what was once a free State." They urged the people to summon to their aid all their courage and fortitude, their virtue and forbearance, to enable them to submit with becoming dignity to this great calamity. They assured the people that the story of their wrongs, of their long forbearance, of their heroic virtues, displayed as well in the hour of triumph as in misfortune, would command and receive the sympathy and respect of the civilized world. And while the memorable fourteenth day of September, 1874, might have seemed

barren of results to the casual observer, it was really the blow that broke the fetters imposed upon Louisiana by the Reconstruction acts of 1867.

### KELLOGG REMAINED IN POWER

Although Kellogg remained in power, it was with the clear understanding on all sides that the days of the carpet-bag rule in Louisiana were numbered. Kellogg learned to pay more deference to the wishes and rights of the people—unhappily under his charge. The whole of the United States was interested in the situation which had culminated in so violent an outburst. Thoughtful men everywhere felt that the conditions must indeed have been unendurable which called for a remedy so drastic.\* Indignation ran high throughout the Union.

*The St. Louis Times of September 16, 1874, expressed itself as follows (reprinted in The New Orleans Bulletin, Sunday, September 20, 1874):*

#### “SYMPATHY FOR LOUISIANA

“As will appear from our report elsewhere in this issue of a mass meeting last night, it will be seen that the good people of St Louis are heart and soul in sympathy with the citizens of Louisiana in their gallant struggle for liberty. A call united in by nearly all the business men on ‘change drew together last night one of the largest assemblages ever seen in St Louis to express their hearty satisfaction at the turn affairs had taken in Louisiana.

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\*In his diary wrote President David French Boyd of Louisiana State University—making heroic struggles to keep that institution open and in operation in the face of overwhelming difficulties, with three professors and six cadets—no financial assistance from the State, no supplies, no meat, no bread, no coffee, no sugar, no butter (for many months), no clothes:—“September 17, 1874 . . . I telegraphed Sherman again Thursday that the restoration of Kellogg was the beginning of anarchy and lawlessness, and that a proper regard for the protection of life and property demanded that a military, or provisional Government should be formed. . . . Have three breech loading Springfield muskets, and a number of Enfields loaded in the Professors’ rooms on the 5th and 4th floors. Walker also has one, and Bob Ferguson is ready with his six shooter to help us. And the cannon can be spiked in a moment or two . . . the bell rung, as well as one or two muskets fired as an alarm for the young men of Baton Rouge who will come to our support. I will not give up my guns here, except to the United States military, or to some officer of Governor Kellogg, who may promise on his honor to take them to New Orleans, not to be used here. But I do not wish to give them to Kellogg at all. Surely such a miserable, weak, contemptible creature cannot rule longer over Louisiana, even tho’ he may be backed by U. S. Army . . . he must go to pieces from his own rottenness.—”

“It was a regular feast of congratulation, enthusiasm and outspoken approval; in fact, one of those popular manifestations that evinced with unmistakable certainty the political leanings of the population. The people were glad, and did not hesitate to express their joy. New Orleans may be sure that the sentiments that have stirred her gallant heart in the supreme effort she has put forth find a responsive echo in the breast of her sister city of the Mississippi. The mighty river that rolls its current at the feet of both is not truer to its course than is the heart of the Western queen to her Southern sister.

“Spoiled by robbers and beset by enemies, we behold in her, not a subdued and conquered Titan, but a veritable Minerva, redeemed and disenthralled, full of kindling energies, of glorious recollections, proudly true to the high memory of her ancient days, and rising in majestic scorn to cast her alien bondage off.

“Whatever else may be said of it, the struggle has been manful, bold and gallant. Such a people deserve to be free. They ask no aid, they seek no help. They only ask the Federal government to stand aloof and let them settle their local affairs in their own way. If this is not popular sovereignty, what is it?”

The Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana, *Henry Street et al. vs. the City of New Orleans*, 32nd Louisiana Annual 577, opinion of Mr. Associate Justice F. B. Poché, decided that the Battle of September 14th, 1874, was not a riot, but a patriotic movement.

In deciding the case brought by a citizen and nine other plaintiffs for damage done to their property, the Supreme Court held that they could not recover.

“We are satisfied, on the contrary, that it was a well organized body of citizens and patriots, acting under the orders of, and in obedience to, a State government ordained by the people, and wielding legitimate power, and that those citizens were exercising the sacred rights of resistance to oppression and usurpation, under which their dearest rights were being destroyed.

“And, therefore, the property which was destroyed, and the victims who fell, during the conflict were the inevitable results of a collision of arms between organized and contending forces, and under such a state of facts no municipal corporation can legally be held liable in damages for property destroyed.

“The occurrences of the 14th of September, 1874, although they failed to bear the fruits which immediately resulted from the events of the 9th of January, 1877, from which the true government of the State sprang into life, were not more than the latter, the deeds of a mob or of a riotous assemblage.

“Both are marked epochs in the history of Louisiana of which we take judicial cognizance; both contributed to the reestablishment of justice and order in the State; and neither could entail any liability for damages on the City of New Orleans, because, by accident, she happened to be the scene of the two movements.

“And, besides, at that time, the city authorities had no control over the police force, which under the laws, was part of the existing State government. The evidence in this case also shows that, on the 14th of September, the police force of New Orleans had been removed by the State authorities from its post of legitimate duty, that it was converted into a Militia Brigade, and that, armed and equipped and officered as for war, that same police was marched out to disperse the citizens who had assembled to petition and remonstrate against the abuses and outrages perpetrated by the usurping State government. This fact of itself should release the city from all liability in the premises.”

*Exclaimed The Chicago Times, in its issue of September 16, 1874, (reprinted in New Orleans Picayune, September 19, 1874):*

“Seven years ago, in the Senate of the United States, James R. Doolittle, said to the authors of the military Reconstruction acts: ‘You are proceeding to organize hell in the South.’



“A very literal fulfillment of the Senator’s prophetic words is now witnessed in Louisiana. The rebellion in the city of New Orleans is one of the full-grown fruits of that most unwise and short-sighted statesmanship which, refusing to deal with human nature as it is, proceeded upon the assumption that it is possible to reconstruct human nature by force of Congressional enactments. Not the cool judgment of wise heads, but the hot passions of hate and revenge inspired the Reconstruction policy of the Washington Congress, whose fruits of violence, butchery and revolutionary outbreak the Southern half of the republic has ever since been harvesting.

“The situation at New Orleans will be fully appreciated by a perusal of the special dispatches of the Times from ‘the seat of war.’ While on Monday all was confusion and riot, and blood flowed from scores of mortal wounds, yesterday afternoon the city was tranquil, and scarce a single armed man was seen upon the streets. . . . .

“There is a fear that the President will undertake to undo what has been accomplished so speedily and so well, and some who understand the citizens do not hesitate to say that such a course would result in general anarchy. At present the city is peaceful and the lawful government of the State in the full exercise of its powers. The only thing that will disturb this peace is an attempt to restore the reign of the plunderers and scallawags who have so long fattened at the people’s cost.”

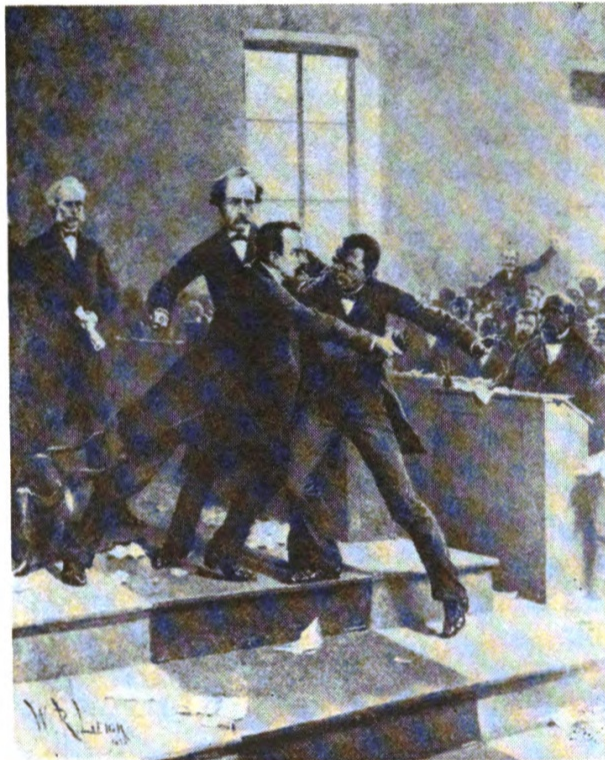
But unfortunately the President had even already interfered and bolstered up the tottering carpet-bag government; and let it be forever said to the undying credit of Louisiana—her White League and her loyal citizens all—that grim Anarchy did not rear its ugly head, but, with spirit unabated and unrestrained, the glorious, determined fight for self-government continued.

### DEMOCRATS WIN 1874 ELECTION

The State election of November 2, 1874, passed off quietly, with indications pointing to Democratic success. A break in the colored vote was foreshadowed due to the

fact that many of the negro leaders in the State had publicly agreed that "the Republican party in the State has, since Reconstruction, been managed and controlled by men in all respects as bad as 'the most rampant White Leaguer.'" \*

As the result of the election, the Democrats claimed a large majority in the legislature, but on December 24 the Returning-Board \* announced the returns as fifty-four Re-



L. A. WILTZ  
(1843-1881)

Taking possession of the Speaker's chair in the Louisiana State House, January 4, 1875 to be later ejected with other Democrats by Federal bayonets. *From Scribner's Magazine, Volume 27, 1895.* Elected Governor in 1880, died in office.

publicans and fifty-two Democrats, or Conservatives, and five seats left open. The legislature assembled on Monday, January 4, 1875, and the events of that day caused almost

\* from A HISTORY OF THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY, SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE, May, 1895.

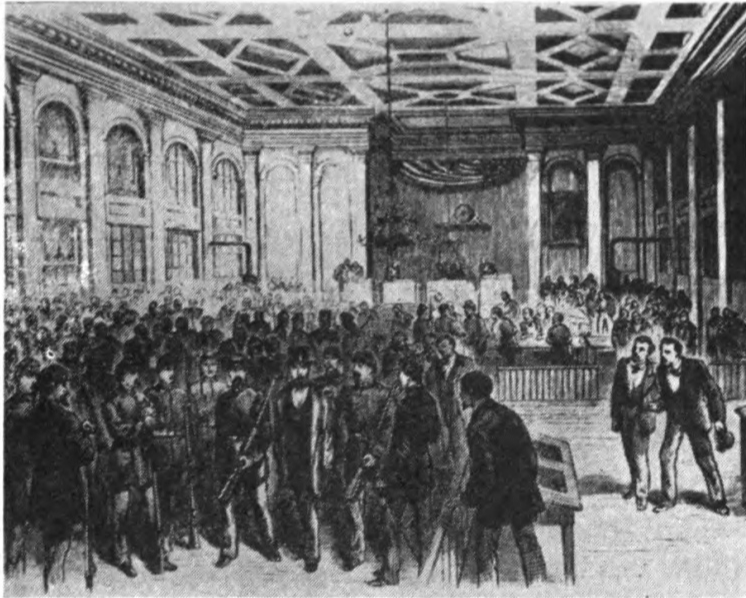
\* The Returning-Board was a result of the Congressional plan of Reconstruction of 1867. It provided for a committee whose duty it was to determine the legality of all votes cast in any election in the State. It was just another instrument of injustice in the hands of the carpet-baggers.

as great excitement throughout the United States as those of the previous September 14 had caused. At twelve o'clock, noon, the negro clerk of the last House, William Vigers, called the roll. A quorum was declared present, and thereupon John S. Billieu of Lafourche Parish nominated L. A. Wiltz of Orleans Parish as temporary Speaker. Vigers, the negro clerk, interposed some objection, but Billieu, disregarding him, hurriedly put the motion and declared it carried upon a *viva voce* vote. Wiltz sprang to the platform, pushed the clerk aside, seized the gavel and was sworn in by W. T. Houston, first justice of the peace in Orleans Parish. The oath was then administered *en masse* to the entire House, including the five Democratic members that the Returning-Board had refused to seat. The election of permanent officers followed, with Wiltz being elected permanent Speaker over Michael Hahn, the Republican. Several Republican members attempting to leave were prevented by a number of hastily commissioned sergeants-at-arms. In the meanwhile a crowd of disorderly persons had entered the lobby, pistols were displayed, and the disorder grew so great that the House requested General P. R. de Trobriand, commanding the Federal forces at the State House, to insist upon order in the lobby. This was done and order was restored.

About three p. m., as the House was quietly progressing in its proceedings, General de Trobriand re-entered, accompanied by two aides and the negro Vigers. He bore an order from Kellogg to eject the five Democratic members whose election had not been certified by the Returning-Board. Speaker Wiltz refused to point out these five men and refused to permit the former clerk, Vigers, to call his roll for that purpose. At length they were pointed out by two Republican members to General de Trobriand who then ordered his soldiers, fully armed and with fixed bayonets, into the hall; and one by one he caused these five, with four other objectionable members, to be forcibly taken from the hall by his soldiers—each member first rising in his place and entering his solemn protest in the name of his

constituents, against the unlawful expulsion. General de Trobriand then proceeded to eject the clerk, and arrested the proceedings of the Assembly, and for that purpose brought a file of soldiers to the Speaker's stand.

Thereupon Speaker Wiltz arose and addressed the House as follows: "As the legal Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, I protest against the invasion of our hall by the soldiers of the United States,



Democrats being ejected from the Louisiana Legislature under orders of the Carpet-Bag oligarchy.

with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets. We have seen our brother members violently seized and by force of arms torn from us in spite of their solemn protest. We have seen a file of soldiers march up the aisle of the hall of the Representatives of Louisiana, and have protested against this in the name of a once free people. In the name of the down-trodden State of Louisiana, I again enter my solemn protest. Gentlemen, the chair of the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana is in the possession of armed forces, and I call upon the Representatives of the State of Louisiana to retire with me from their presence."



## MILITARY OVERTHROW OF A SOVEREIGN STATE

The Speaker then left the hall, followed by all the Conservative members, the hall being left in possession of the military forces and the carpet-baggers—another tragic example of the military overthrow of a Sovereign State!

*On the following day, January 5, the New Orleans Picayune, facetiously creating comedy out of stark tragedy, remarked:*

### “GLIMPSES OF THE INSIDE WORKINGS OF THE STATE SOUP-HOUSE

#### ALMOST ON SHORT RATIONS

#### POLITICIANS IN BIVOUAC

“The State-House building last night presented not only the appearance of a besieged citadel, but also that of a vast, overcrowded and poorly supplied soup-house.

“Immediately after the adjournment of the radical legislature Mr. Kellogg took up permanent quarters in his private office, where he was waited upon by a special committee, who stated that, as it seemed undesirable for anyone inside to leave the State House, provisions were necessary as none were on hand.

“An order was at once dispatched to a prominent restaurateur to furnish a plentiful supply of eatables for all hands. In a short time, however, the messenger, dispatched upon the business, returned aghast, and announced that their credit was not good and that cash for the articles ordered must be forthcoming.

“This announcement created great consternation, and some of the biggest feeders began to hint at the necessity of their leaving the building to satisfy the cravings of hunger. A subscription list was thereupon handed around, which, after some delay, footed up a sufficient amount to secure what was actually needed.

“The arrangements for lodging were, in many cases, of the most primitive description . . . the mass of the members had to hang themselves up, as it were, around on the desks.”

At this time President Grant, still willfully blind to actual conditions, sent General Sheridan back to Louisiana to assume military control.\*

"It was unfortunate," says Professor Fortier, "for the Louisianians that General Sheridan should have had to interfere again in their affairs, inasmuch as he had proved to be such a partisan in 1866 and so extremely hostile to the Conservatives."

In a series of telegrams to Secretary of War Belknap, among other exaggerated statements, Sheridan termed the members of the White League "banditti", asked for permission to treat them accordingly (by court-martial), and grandiloquently exclaimed that he was "not afraid!" For a lieutenant-general of the United States army to have so asserted his not being afraid is without precedent. Regarding this extraordinary denial, Henry E. Chambers says in his History of Louisiana:

"It was a case of 'the gentleman doth protest too much.' The people took up the defiant words and made a slang expression of them to Sheridan's ridicule. In the window of Eyrich's bookstore, on Canal Street, was placed the statuette of a most comical bulldog with cocked head and ludicrous cap set awry, a placard at its feet reading 'I am not afraid.' The people gathered by hundreds to chuckle over the spectacle. Evidently the citizens themselves were as fearless as the General professed to be, else they would not have thus subjected themselves to the dangers of *lèse-majesté*."

General Sheridan's broad accusations that the people of Louisiana were breathing vengeance to all lawful authority and approving of murders and crime were indignantly refuted in a published statement that appeared on January 5, 1875, signed by the leading citizens of New Orleans—

\* Again quoting from Professor Boyd's diary: "Jan. 5, 1875. All is excitement about the high-minded outrage of the U. S. Military and Kellogg yesterday. What next? Yes—What next. Sheridan assumed command of New Orleans yesterday; and no doubt the whole outrageous affair was concocted in Washington. —Sheridan is now denouncing our poor people as 'Banditti.' And how can we stand up under all we have to bear—and it seems the trouble is never to stop—is more than I can conceive. But we must trust to Providence.

"Mar. 3, 1875.—It does look as if General Grant is several centuries behind the world as a civil ruler."

including Archbishop N. J. Perché of the Roman Catholic Church, Bishop J. P. B. Wilmer of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Bishop J. C. Keener of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and Rabbi J. K. Gutheim of the Temple Sinai. While on January 14 a special Congressional committee sent to New Orleans to investigate conditions reported that had Louisiana been a country by itself, the McEnery government would have been installed immediately—but that the Conservatives (Democrats) of Louisiana did not propose to fight the Federal government; that they sought peace and the opportunity for prosperity. President Grant, however, stubbornly persisted in upholding the carpet-bag Kellogg government with Sheridan and his Federal troops.

### DEMOCRATS WIN AGAIN IN 1876

The eyes and thoughts of all loyal citizens of the State were now hopefully turned toward the approaching gubernatorial election of 1876. The tickets of the Democrats and of the Republicans were headed respectfully by Francis T. Nicholls and Louis A. Wiltz, and by S. B. Packard and the negro Caesar C. Antoine. Again the proud old Pelican State determinedly made plans to overthrow the carpet-bag government within its borders. The White League was reorganized in New Orleans, and this patriotic organization was again to play a stellar role in the approaching election. The women of the State banded together and enthusiastically joined the movement to permanently end the carpet-bag rule. The heroism of the Southern women during the War and all through the years of Reconstruction is too well known to enlarge upon here. And the women of Louisiana were tireless in their whole-hearted support of their men during all the troublesome, heart-rending incidents herein related. Indicative of this loyal support is the following appeal from the pen of a Louisiana woman:

“Every heart bounds with joy! Hope, with her glad smile, beams on all faces. This murdered State, Phoenix-like, will arise from her ashes. She will cast off her garments of woe—the chains which have enthralled her in blackness and de-

spair, forged by oppression, linked by plunder. Louisiana, with her glorious . . . Gen. F. T. Nicholls, '*sans peur and sans reproche*,' will come forth as a giant from his slumbers.

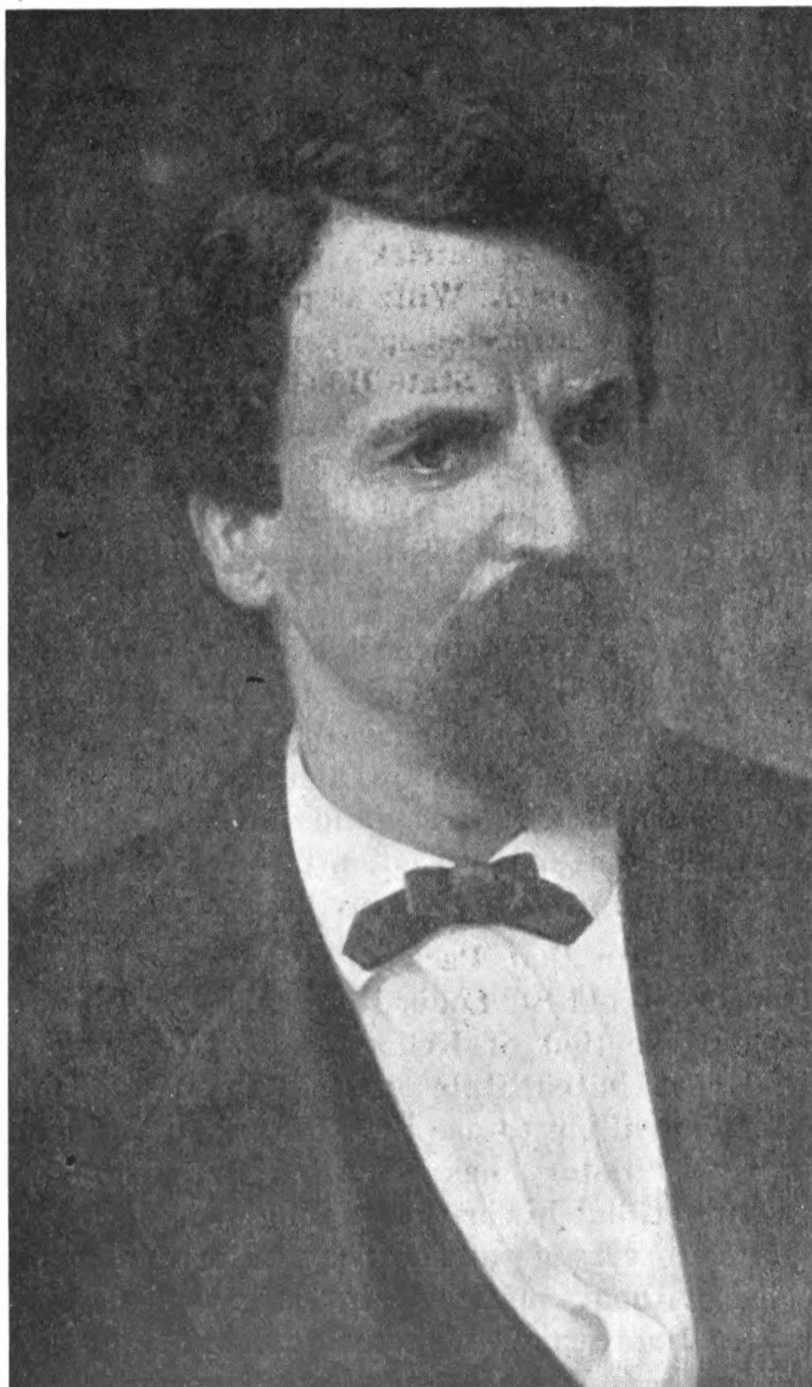
"Husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers, and patriots all! Gird yourselves for the coming strife of right against wrong, honesty opposed to fraud, corruption and infamy. With the brave, unflinching interpreter of reform—'Excelsior' on his banner, 'Justice, Truth and Honesty' engraved on his shield—who doubts of victory. Endowed with every characteristic of a chivalric, heroic nature, Gen. Nicholls possesses the kindly tender sympathies usually attributed to the softer sex." \*

The election was held on November 7 and passed off quietly, with both Federal troops and members of the White League on guard throughout the State. In the meanwhile President Grant, probably as a farewell gesture of a belated effort at justice, had sent a delegation of prominent Republicans to New Orleans to witness the work of the Louisiana Returning-Board. Among these visiting Republicans were Senator John Sherman, a brother of General W. T. Sherman, the Honorable James A. Garfield, a future President of the United States, and the distinguished author and statesman, General Lew Wallace. The National Democratic Committee also sent a Democratic delegation to New Orleans for the same purpose of observation. The Returning-Board, composed of three white Republicans and a negro undertaker, (the fifth member of the Board, having Conservative sympathies, had previously resigned) announced on December 6, 1876, the election of the Republican ticket. While on the same day the Nicholls forces announced a sweeping Democratic victory. And the Returning-Board's contention was upheld by the visiting Republican committee, while the visiting Democratic committee condemned the Returning-Board as "partial and unfair, and that the result it has announced is arbitrary, illegal and entitled to no respect whatever."

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\* from—WOMEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN LOUISIANA DURING RECONSTRUCTION, by Kathryn Reinhart Schuler, appearing in THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, July, 1936—(reprinted from New Orleans Picayune, Aug. 4, 1876).





FRANCIS TILLOU NICHOLLS  
1834-1912

Elected Governor in 1876, whose election finally ended Carpet-Bag Misrule in Louisiana. See Biography page 75.

So once again Louisiana witnessed the inauguration of two rival governments.\* "General Nicholls," says Henry E. Chambers, "with Jacksonian emphasis, declared that he had been elected governor of Louisiana and by the Eternal he would be governor."

The Democratic legislature duly met and organized on January 1, 1877, at St. Patrick's Hall, with the new lieutenant-governor, Louis A. Wiltz as president of the Senate; while Louis Bush was elected speaker of the House. Kellogg had again barricaded the State House on Royal Street, and admitted as members of the legislature only those who had certificates from the Returning-Board. This carpet-bag legislature organized under the negro lieutenant-governor Antoine as president of the Senate, and Michael Hahn was elected speaker of the House.

On January 8, 1877, Francis T. Nicholls was inaugurated at St. Patrick's Hall, and read his inaugural address from the balcony. He was received with enthusiasm by an immense throng which had followed him from Canal Street and which filled Camp Street and Lafayette Square. In Nicholls, Louisiana had at last, after many years, a governor *de jure* and *de facto* worthy of her.

It was in vain that Packard was inaugurated at the State House, the old St. Louis Hotel on Royal Street. His government, like that of Kellogg, could have been maintained only by United States troops, and President Grant was no longer willing to use the military to establish state governments. History has acquitted President Grant of errors of intent, but his errors of judgment with regard to Louisiana were very great and very unfortunate. In 1872 he decided without sufficient investigation that Kellogg was the legal governor of Louisiana, and he stubbornly persisted in this opinion, even after the people had risen, almost unanimously, against the usurper and had driven him away from the State capitol. President Grant did immense harm to Louisiana. Fortunately, at the end of his second

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\* In Alabama, Texas, Arkansas, and South Carolina similar conditions existed—each state having two rival claimants (Conservative and Radical) for the governor's office.

term of office, he understood his error and did not order United States troops to install Packard's government and to maintain it against the will of the people.

Ever since 1872, the Democrats of the Nation had gained control of the House of Representatives at Washington as a result of the dissatisfaction of the business interests and of the rank and file of the people at the Grant-Political-Reconstruction-Program and its attendant



Governor Francis Tillou Nicholls taking his oath of office at St. Patrick's Hall, fully restoring White Supremacy.

paralysis of business throughout the Nation. The North had become tired of a political control of the South which prevented its Economic Reconstruction Program. By 1876 Tilden, the Democratic Presidential Candidate, is believed by many to have won the election but was counted out by the Republican National Political Machine and its affiliated State Controlled Returning Boards.

On January 9, 1877, the White League in New Orleans, or citizen-soldiers, as they were called, assembled to the number of about six thousand under the command of General Frederick N. Ogden, and took possession of the courts, police stations, and arsenal. The companies were formed at 6 a. m. on Lafayette Square, and marched down Camp Street to Canal, and then to Decatur Street, and down Decatur Street to Jackson Square. When they were passing by the Custom House, the United States soldiers waved their handkerchiefs from the windows of the building and cheered the citizen-soldiers. The latter, on arriving at Jackson Square, were formed in line and were ordered on St. Peter Street to advance toward the Cabildo, or Supreme Court Building, which was guarded by Packard's police with several Napoleon and Gatling guns. The members of the White League were armed with all kinds of guns—fowling pieces, Winchester rifles, and some with antiquated and heavy rifles which had been taken the night previous at the French Opera House, where they had been used by the "soldiers" on the stage. After some parleying, Packard's troops, who were not numerous, but were admirably armed, surrendered and left the Cabildo, amid the jeers and hootings of an immense crowd that had assembled around the White Leaguers. A volunteer guard from the Roman Rifles occupied the Cabildo from the evening of January 9 to the evening of January 10. The citizen-soldiers took pleasure in eating their meager supper seated on the cannon which they had captured without firing a shot. Each man in the building bore a commission as special deputy sheriff, and the whole movement, on January 9, was executed in an orderly and legal manner. Governor Nicholls, on the same day, issued a proclamation to the people, in which he said: "Let no one be injured, however obnoxious he may be, and let the people of the whole country see that we are law-abiding, just and moderate."

January 9, 1877, is one of the most important dates in the history of Louisiana. On that day the government elected by the people was firmly established without blood-



shed. President Grant ordered General Augur (at that time in command of Federal troops in New Orleans) to preserve the *status quo* between the governments of Nicholls and Packard—but the latter had only the State House in his possession. He made this his stronghold, and it was understood by the Democrats that the State House should not be attacked as long as the United States troops were not removed from the city. For nearly four months the citizen-soldiers of New Orleans guarded the courts and police stations, each company in its turn being on duty. Corporal's guards of the White League patrolled the streets in the neighborhood of the Cabildo, and sentinels on Toulouse Street were separated only by the width of the street from Packard's sentinels, who guarded the rear entrance to the State House.

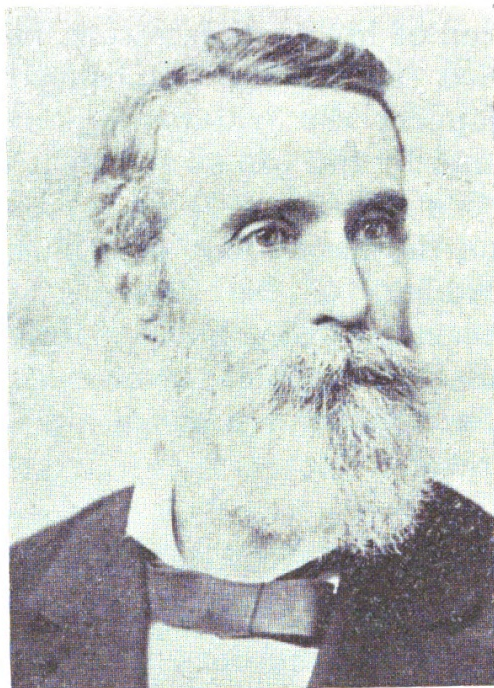
On March 1, 1877, Packard appealed to President Grant for the recognition of his administration, but the President judiciously replied that he did not believe public opinion would longer support the maintenance of State governments in Louisiana by the use of the military, and that he must concur in this manifest feeling. With this ultimatum from Washington the carpet-bag government proceeded to disintegrate; members of the Packard legislature went over to the Democrats at St. Patrick's Hall; and the negro P. B. S. Pinchback, who had never been seated in the United States Senate, acknowledged the legality of the citizens' government.

### FEDERAL INTERFERENCE CEASES

President Hayes on assuming office, March 4, 1877, turned his attention to conditions in Louisiana. Early in April, 1877, five commissioners, delegated by the President, visited New Orleans on their tour of investigation. On the same day that the carpet-bag Packard legislature dispersed, April 21, the commissioners made their report to President Hayes, in which they recommended the recognition of the loyal Democratic government headed by Governor Nicholls. Thereupon, by order of the President, April 24, 1877, the

United States troops were removed from the vicinity of the State House on Royal Street, and General Ogden and the citizen-soldiers took possession of the building, which was peacefully surrendered by Packard. And thus the curtain was drawn on the tragedy of Reconstruction—Louisiana appearing to awake, in April, 1877, from a hideous nightmare.

WHITE SUPREMACY WAS ESTABLISHED AS A CARDINAL PRINCIPLE OF A WISE, STABLE, AND PRACTICAL GOVERNMENT.



ALBERT VOORHIES  
(1839-1913)

Who distinguished himself in the cause of white Supremacy. See page 73.

## ALBERT VOORHIES

(1839-1913)

Albert Voorhies was born January 1, 1839, one of nine children of Cornelius Voorhies, Jr. and Cidalise Mouton. He was married to Leontine Durand daughter of Charles Durand and Amélie LeBlanc.

He was educated at St. Charles College, Grand Coteaux, Louisiana. Subsequently he went to Lexington, Kentucky, to study law. At that time his father was serving on the Supreme Court bench, and on his father's death in 1859 he succeeded him in office when only thirty, the youngest Judge ever to sit on that tribunal. During the War Between the States, he was Judge Advocate General of the Trans Mississippi Department of the Confederate Army, was made prisoner, and later exchanged for one general and sixty-five privates. Immediately after the War he was elected Lieutenant Governor of the State in 1865 with J. Madison Wells as Governor. This administration was recognized by President Johnson and it seemed as if the Re-Union of the State with the National Government had been amicably achieved. He was a member of the Legislature, Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, District Attorney, and District Judge. In the midst of his laborious duties he found time to prepare a revision of the Civil Code of Louisiana, and an excellent work on the Criminal Jurisprudence of that State. He died on January 20, 1913, at the advanced age of eighty-four. After death, when his portrait in oil was presented to the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Monroe in an extended address, among other things, said, that Judge Voorhies was one of the few men who had impressed him as being typically from a former generation, as he wore the same kind of clothing, silk hat, and a black frock coat, and that his fashion never changed. "I know of no finer encomium that can be bestowed upon any man than to say of him that he was a thorough gentleman, because I think that that includes everything that can be said of any human being on earth."

### THE SOLID SOUTH

In an address before the Louisiana Historical Society on June 17, 1908, Judge Voorhies said: "There was a Machiavelian purpose to lay the foundation to insure to the party that then governed (the Radical Congress of the Reconstruction Era) a permanent hold on these afflicted states by absolute control of the electoral college and of national representation. As a result these reinstated states came to Washington with an increase of some 50 members of the electoral college, and also of the house of representatives. That seemed to the greedy politicians an infallible result. But human calculations often turn in opposition to the views of Providence. Now this very increase of representation, fondly expected by the party in power as a sure political asset, brought the contrary result under providential operation. This increase of political representation was instrumental in securing twice the election of Hon. Grover Cleveland as president of the United States. Under the previous ratio of representation he would both times have been in the minority of the electoral college. What the authors of reconstruction did not foresee at the time was the rearing of the solid South providentially as the result of their very policy. This has introduced nearly an equilibrium in the electoral college and Congressional representation for the benefit of the whole country, north, south, east and west. And with time obliterating gradually but surely and permanently the prejudices and antipathies of Civil war origin, we have in sight the full restoration of the Union of the Fathers."



## FRANCIS TILLOU NICHOLLS

1834-1912

A brigadier-general in the Confederate army, 20th and 23d governor of Louisiana, is a native of that state, having been born at Donaldsonville, Aug. 20, 1834, youngest child of Thomas Clarke and Louis H. (Drake) Nicholls. He is a descendant of John Nicholls of Cornwall, England, who was a soldier in the War of 1812; a member of the Louisiana legislature; judge of the district court for several years; and who was appointed senior judge of the court of appeals in 1843.

Francis T. Nicholls was educated at Jefferson academy, New Orleans, until appointed a cadet in the U. S. military academy at West Point, where he graduated in 1855 and was commissioned second lieutenant of artillery, in which capacity he served against the Seminoles in Florida and later was stationed at Fort Yuma, Cal.

In 1856 he resigned his commission in the army to study law; was admitted to the bar in 1858, and began practice at Napoleonville, La. When the Civil war broke out he raised a company of infantry, of which he was made captain, and when the company was assigned to the 8th La. regiment he was made lieutenant-colonel of that organization. He was in the first battle at Manassas, Va., June 21, 1861, was next with Taylor's brigade of Ewell's division in Northern Virginia, and in the Spring of 1862 he participated in Stonewall Jackson's valley campaign, losing his left arm at Winchester, May 25. At the same engagement he was captured, but was exchanged the following September. In the meantime the 15th La. infantry had been organized and he had been commissioned its colonel, but before he could join the regiment he was promoted to brigadier-general (Oct. 14, 1862), and assigned to the command of the 2d La. brigade, Trimble's division, Jackson's corps, which he gallantly led at the battle of Chancellorsville. Here he lost his left foot by a shell, and after he became con-

valescent he was placed in command of the post at Lynchburg until 1864, when he was made superintendent of the conscript bureau in the Trans-Mississippi department, with headquarters at Marshall, Tex.

In 1876 he was elected governor for a term of four years and the details and events relating to his taking office are herein elsewhere related.

At the expiration of his term he was appointed a Member of the Board of Visitors to the West Point Academy by President Cleveland. In 1888 he was again chosen governor of the State on the Anti Lottery Ticket, and in 1892 was appointed Chief Justice of the Louisiana Supreme Court by Governor Murphy J. Foster.

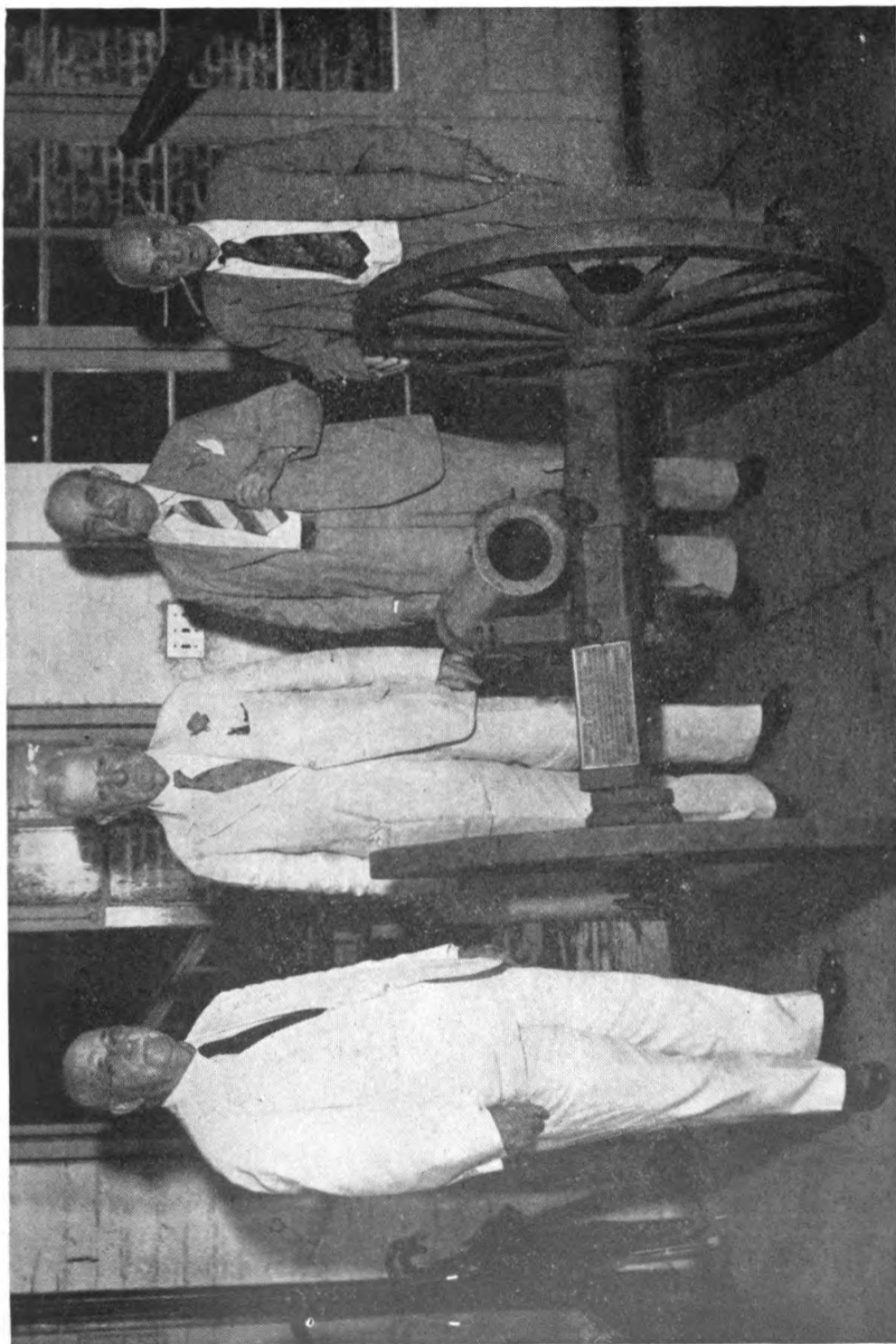
## GENERAL FREDERICK NASH OGDEN

1837-1886

A prominent military official, philanthropist and business man of New Orleans, was born at Baton Rouge, La., Jan. 25, 1837. He entered the mercantile business when a mere boy and was actively engaged in that line when the Civil war broke out. He thereupon enlisted in the Confederate army as a private, but was soon afterward elected color-bearer of the regiment, in which capacity he continued to serve through the Peninsular campaign. At the conclusion of this notable series of conflicts he returned to New Orleans, where he was commissioned major of heavy artillery. After the fall of Forts Jackson and St. Philip he was placed in command of the 8th Louisiana battalion. He was in charge of a battery at Vicksburg until the surrender of that place. Upon being exchanged he was placed on the staff of Gen. Leonidas Polk, but he remained there only a short time, when he entered the cavalry service of the Confederacy with the rank of Lieutenant-colonel and was actively engaged under the command of Gen. N. B. Forrest in northern Alabama at the conclusion of the war. He then returned to New Orleans and reentered the mercantile business, in which he was successfully engaged for many years. In 1868 he aided in founding the Crescent City Democratic club, the largest political organization of the city, of which he enjoyed the distinction of being the first president. Subsequently he aided in organizing the Crescent City White League, which took a very active part in the political campaigns of 1873 and 1874. About this time he was made major-general of the state militia, which he commanded in person on the memorable Sept. 14, 1874, when the Kellogg government was overthrown, and also in 1877, when the Packard government was overthrown. Gen. Ogden was president of the Red Cross association of Louisiana and vice-president of the Howard association during the famous yellow fever epidemic of 1878, when he made manifest his philanthropic turn of mind by closing his place

of business and devoting his entire time and attention to aiding the sick and the dying. In 1884 he was chief superintendent of the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial at New Orleans.





Some Surviving Veterans of the Battle for Freedom, September 14, 1874, taken at the Cabildo on July 22, 1938 besides the brass cannons Redemption and Resurrection captured from the Metropolitan Police by the Citizen Soldier.

From left to right: Jeff. D. Hardin, James Wilkinson, L. E. Hooper, C. D. Smith.



SOME SURVIVING HEROES OF SEPT. 14th, 1874

Left to right at top: Adam Lorch, Sr., Sam Dreyfous, Augustus Craft.  
At bottom: S. M. Todd, Frank Powell, W. J. Olivier.

**LIST OF MEMBERS OF LIBERTY PLACE  
COMMISSION AS OF AUGUST 1, 1938**

*Term 1934-1939:*

Dr. E. D. Fenner, William B. Wisdom, C. H. Hamilton,  
Frank B. Hayne, Jr.

*Term 1935-1940:*

Frank McLoughlin, Robert L. Levert, Henry Chaffe,  
Nelson Whitney, Bernard J. McCloskey, Walter J. Stauffer.

*Term 1936-1941:*

John Dart, Frank H. Mortimer, Dr. John G. Pratt, A.  
L. Saxon, S. A. Trufant, Jr., James J. A. Fortier.

*Term 1937-1942:*

Arthur A. de la Houssaye, Henry L. McLean, E. M. Rea,  
S. P. Walmsley, Jr., Rene J. LeGardeur, James Henry  
Bruns.

*Term 1938-1943:*

Archie M. Smith, Fred A. Toledano, D. M. Kilpatrick,  
George C. H. Kernion, Hugh M. Wilkinson.

**GOVERNORS OF LOUISIANA**

1860 to 1880

Thomas Overton Moore " <i>The War Governor</i> " .....	1860-1864
George F. Shepley ( <i>appointed military governor within Union lines</i> ) .....	1862-1864
Henry Watkins Allen ( <i>elected governor within Confederate lines</i> ) .....	1864-1865
Michael Hahn ( <i>elected within Union lines; re- signed to become U. S. Senator</i> ) .....	1864-1865

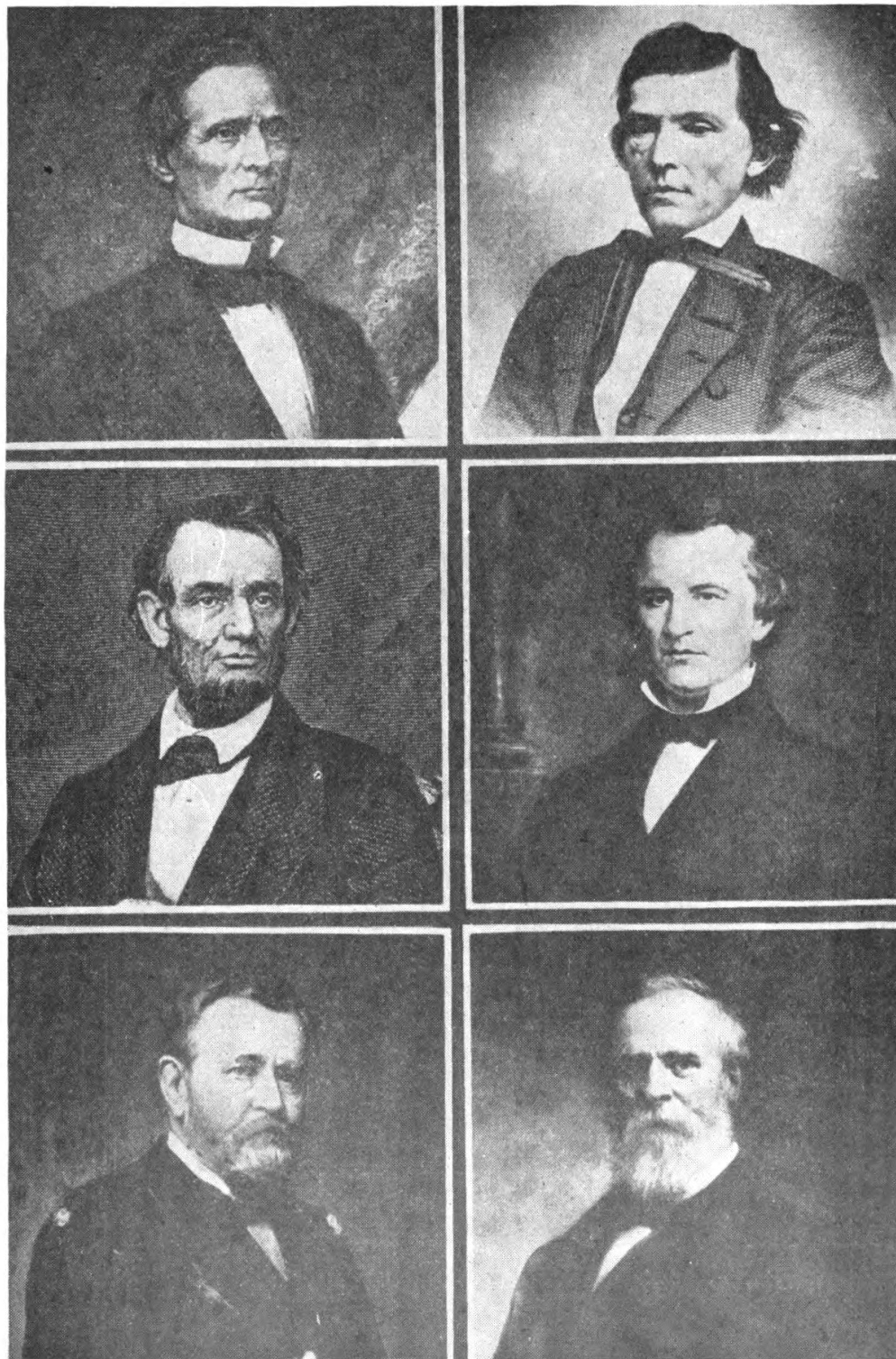
James Madison Wells ( <i>succeeded as lieutenant governor</i> ) .....	1865-1867
Benjamin Franklin Flanders ( <i>appointed by military authority to replace Wells, deposed</i> ).....	1867-1868
Joshua Baker ( <i>appointed by military authority</i> ).....	1868
Henry C. Warmoth ( <i>elected by Carpet-Bag forces</i> )	1868-1872
P. B. S. Pinchback negro ( <i>acting during Warmoth's impeachment proceedings</i> ).....	1872-1873
John McEnery ( <i>de jure elected, but ruled out</i> ).....	1873-1877
Davidson B. Penn, ( <i>de jure, Acting Governor Sept. 14-18, 1874.</i> ) .....	
William Pitt Kellogg ( <i>governor de facto supported by Federal bayonets</i> ).....	1873-1877
Francis Tillou Nicholls ( <i>elected by the forces of White Supremacy</i> ) .....	1877-1880

### DEBTS AND LIABILITIES OF THE SOUTHERN STATES

	At Close of War	After Recon- struction	Increase
Alabama .....	\$ 5,939,654.87	\$ 38,381,967.37	\$ 32,442,312.50
Arkansas .....	4,036,952.87	19,761,265.62	15,724,312.75
Florida .....	221,000.00	15,763,447.54	15,542,447.54
Georgia .....	nominal.	50,137,500.00	50,137,500.00
Louisiana .....	10,099,074.34	50,540,206.61	40,341,132.27
N. Carolina .....	9,699,500.00	34,887,467.85	25,187,967.85
S. Carolina .....	5,000,000.00	39,158,914.47	34,158,914.47
Mississippi .....	nominal.	20,000,000.00	20,000,000.00
Tennessee .....	20,105,606.66	45,688,263.46	25,582,656.80
Texas .....	nominal.	20,361,000.00	20,361,000.00
Virginia .....	31,938,144.59	45,480,542.21	13,542,397.62
Total .....	\$87,139,933.33	\$380,160,575.13	\$293,020,641.80

See Congressional Record, first session Fifty-first Congress, D. 6566.





At top: Pres. Davis, C. S. A.; Vice-Pres. Stephens, C. S. A.  
In center: Pres. Lincoln, U. S. A.; V.-P. then Pres. Johnson, U. S. A.  
At bottom: Pres. Grant, U. S. A.; Pres. Hayes, U. S. A.

**A CHRONOLOGY OF NATIONAL EVENTS RELATIVE  
TO THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES AND  
RECONSTRUCTION**

- 1860 November* Election of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois Republican as President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, Republican as Vice-President.
- December* South Carolina secedes from the Union
- 1861 January* Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana secede
- February* Texas secedes — Southern Confederacy formed  
Jefferson Davis elected President  
Montgomery, Alabama, selected as first capital
- March* Lincoln inaugurated. Announces he will maintain the Union.
- April* Bombardment of Fort Sumter by Genl. P. G. T. Beauregard of Louisiana when Lincoln undertook to reprovision the garrison of the Fort, as proof of his non-recognition of Secession — Lincoln calls for troops  
The War between the States begins
- May* Arkansas, North Carolina, Virginia secede
- June* Tennessee secedes, completing the Confederacy of eleven states  
Richmond selected as permanent capital
- 1862 April* New Orleans captured by the Federals
- September* Lincoln issues his Emancipation Proclamation, providing that unless the states in rebellion return to the Union by January 1, 1863, all slaves behind Confederate lines would be considered free

- 1863 *July* Battle of Gettysburg—Lee gives up hope of transferring the War to the North—Vicksburg captured after long siege, thus giving the entire Mississippi River to the Federals and splitting the Confederacy—These two disasters mark the turning point in the War
- 1864 *November* Abraham Lincoln re-elected President; Andrew Johnson of Tennessee (a Democrat opposed to Secession) elected Vice-President
- 1865 *January* Congress, by the necessary two-thirds majority, recommends to the states a thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery in the United States — (By December, 1865, three-fourths of the states in the Union had accepted the amendment, and slavery ceased to exist)
- April* The Confederacy surrenders—The War ends  
President Lincoln assassinated  
Andrew Johnson takes oath of office as President and announces that he will follow Lincoln's plan of Reconstruction
- 1866  
*June* Break between President Johnson and Congress, primarily caused by different views on Reconstruction  
Congress recommends the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, giving citizenship to the negro—(Ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the states and adopted July, 1868)
- 1867 *March and July* Congress passes, over the President's veto, its "thorough" Reconstruction plan under the rabid leadership of Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania
- 1868 *March* President Johnson impeached by a bitter, radical House of Representatives. Tried and acquitted in the Senate by one vote

- November* General Ulysses S. Grant of Illinois elected President over Democratic Candidate Horace Greeley of New York, Publisher and Editor
- 1869 *February* Congress recommends the fifteenth amendment, explicitly giving the negro the right to vote—(Declared adopted by ratification of three-fourths of the States, March, 1870)
- 1870 *July* With the re-admission of Georgia, all eleven seceded states were back in the Union, as reconstructed by Congress, sometimes referred to as “synthetic” states made to order.
- 1872 *November* President Grant re-elected—Many political scandals unearthed in his Administration, involving every department of the National government
- 1873 Serious financial panic, causing national economic distress
- 1876 *November* Hotly contested Presidential election
- 1877 *March* Republican Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio declared elected over Democratic Samuel J. Tilden of New York, by an Electoral Commission—Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida (still in the hands of carpet-baggers) sent in two sets of election returns—The Electoral Commission, composed of seven Democrats and eight Republicans, decided in favor of the Republican returns—and thus Hayes was declared President
- April* Admitted failure of Reconstruction—Federal troops withdrawn from the South—Democratic state governments re-established—Home Rule restored—Louisiana is returned to Louisianians





The readers of this pamphlet are invited to send the Museum relics relating to Reconstruction as well as to other historic events.

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\* This work erroneously states that Lieutenant-Governor Davidson B. Penn was of the colored race. How this error occurred is almost impossible to imagine for Lieutenant-Governor Penn was a leader of the Whites in wresting control of the State from Carpet-Bag Rule.

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The Editor wishes to express his thanks for assistance given in the preparation of this booklet to the staff of the Louisiana State Museum Reference Library and the staff of the Works Progress Administration at the Museum, as well as courtesies extended by the Howard Memorial Library and by those who have permitted the use of their works as referred to in the Bibliography.

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## PUBLICATIONS of the LOUISIANA STATE MUSEUM

- Carpet-Bag Misrule in Louisiana—The Tragedy of The Reconstruction Era.
- Natural History in Bounteous Louisiana. Part 1, Audubon —The Creole Naturalist.
- Natural History in Bounteous Louisiana. Part 2, Conserve Wild Life.
- Huey Pierce Long—The Martyr of the Age.
- General Zachary Taylor—The Louisiana President of the United States of America.
- Glamorous Louisiana Under Ten Flags.
- The Life of Judah Philip Benjamin.
- Death Mask of Napoleon—The Causes of the Rise and Fall of Napoleon Bonaparte.
- The Story of Jean and Pierre Lafitte—The Pirate-Patriots.

## THE BOARD OF CURATORS

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ROBERT GLENK, PH.M.

### HONORARY CURATORS

DR. ELLSWORTH WOODWARD  
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## THE MUSEUM

The Louisiana State Museum was created by Act No. 169 of the General Assembly of 1906.

The Museum is under the direction of a Board of Curators appointed by the Governor; ex-officio members are the Governor of Louisiana, the Commissioner of Agriculture, the Director of Experiment Stations of Louisiana State University, and the Mayor of New Orleans.

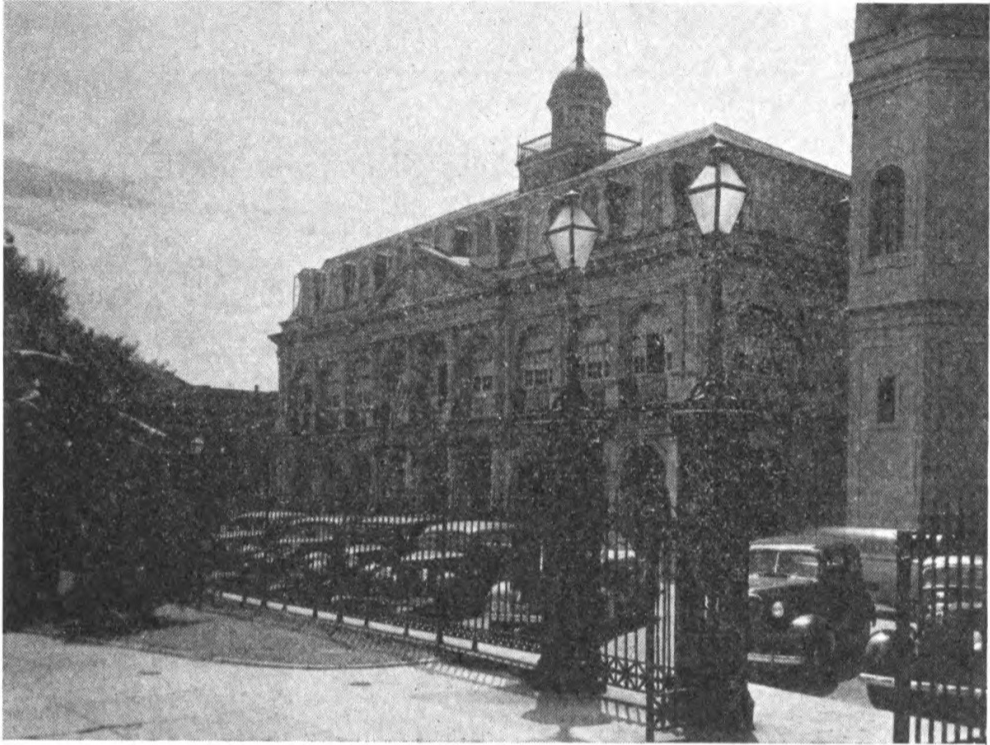
The Museum Buildings, at Jackson Square in the "Historic Center" of Louisiana, are in the very heart of the Vieux Carré of New Orleans.

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## VISITING HOURS

The Louisiana State Museum is open to the public each day in the week, except Monday.

The visiting hours on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday are from 9 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock in the afternoon. During these periods the Museum is open free of charge.



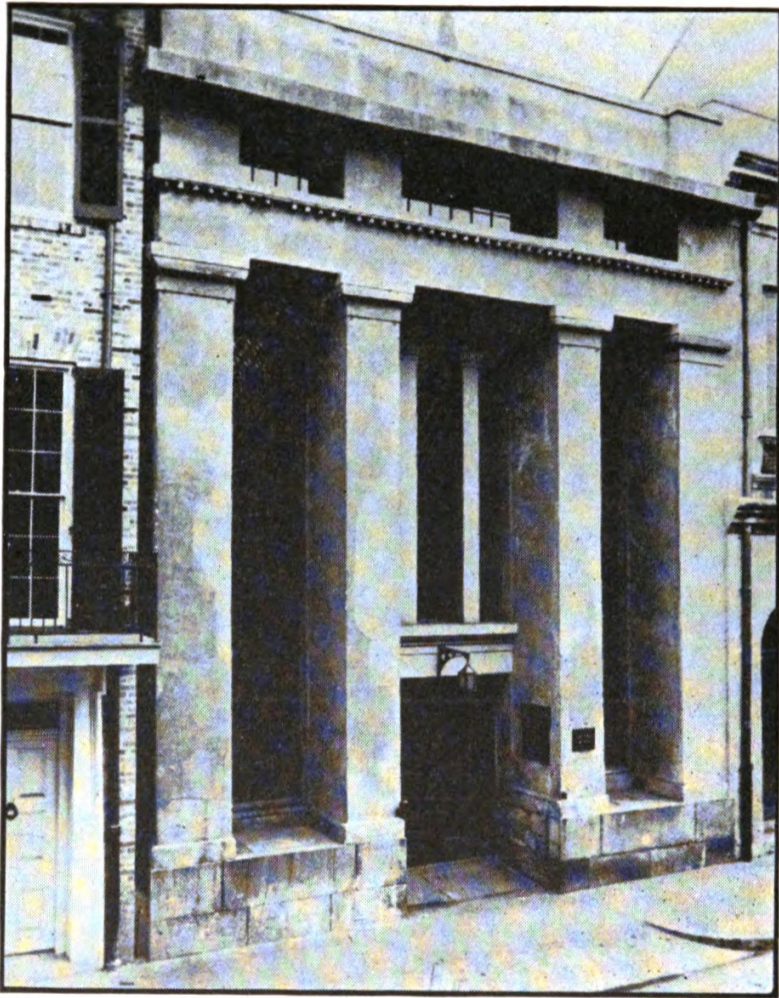
## CABILDO

### MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ART

On upper side of St. Louis Cathedral at Chartres and St. Peter  
Streets facing Jackson Square (old Place d'Armes)

Erected in 1795 to replace the building of 1770 destroyed in the fire of 1788, by Don Andres Almonester y Roxas, Architect, during the administration of Governor Francisco Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, as the seat of Government of the Spanish Province of Louisiana and named Casa Capitular, meaning Assembly House.

The "Cabildo", or governing authority, met there and in time the building was given that name. It was a two story brick structure, the Mansard roof of French design being added in 1847. Dedicated to Museum purposes in 1908. The Sala Capitular, or Louisiana Purchase Transfer Room, is dedicated to the use of the Louisiana Historical Society. The building is also known as La Maison de Lafayette because this great friend of liberty lived there for a week while visiting New Orleans in 1825.



## ARSENAL

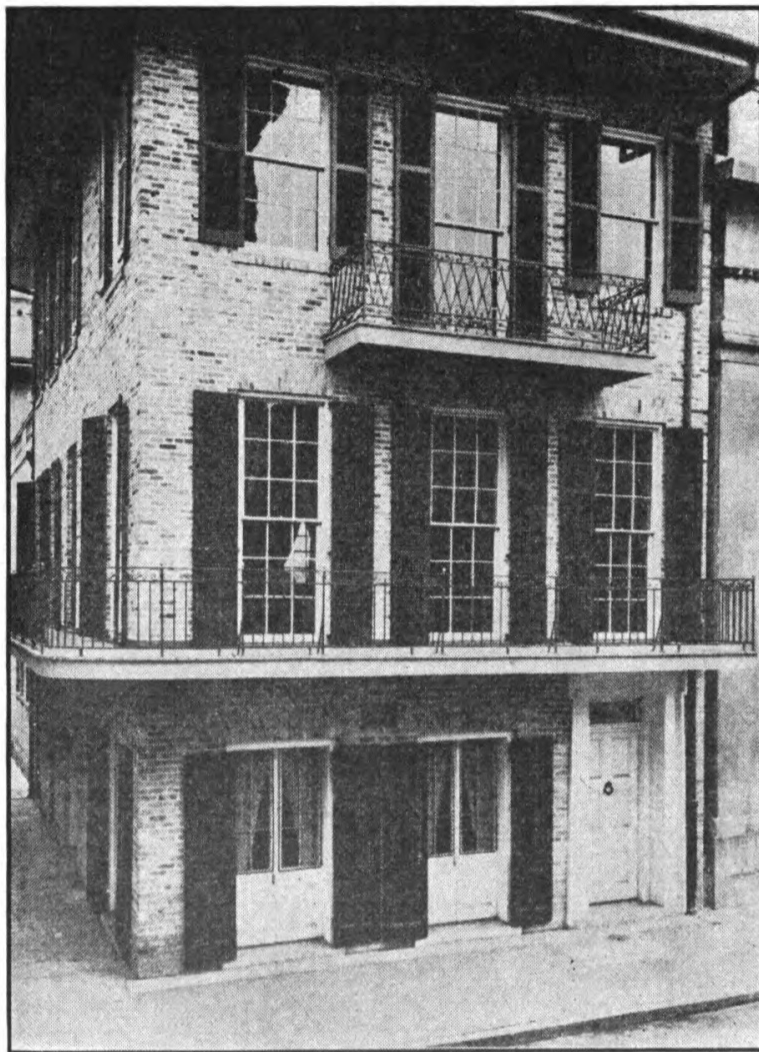
### MUSEUM OF WAR

Adjoining the Cabildo on St. Peter Street

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Erected in 1839 on the site of the old Spanish Arsenal of 1769 as a State Arsenal during the administration of Governor André Bienvenu Roman and was so used until it was dedicated to museum purposes in 1915.





JACKSON HOUSE  
(So-Called)

DIVISION OF MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ART  
Adjoining the Arsenal, No. 619 St. Peter Street

Erected in 1842 by Hugh Montgomery Dowlin, a house and sign painter, for use as a residence. Given to the Museum by William Ratcliffe Irby, banker and philanthropist, in 1921. Reconstructed in 1936 by Weiss, Dreyfous & Seiferth, Architects, as a Works Progress Administration Project sponsored by the Museum. The lower floor is the home of the Chalmette Chapter, National Society United States Daughters of 1812, who called it Jackson House, and the Colonial Dames resident in Louisiana have their headquarters on the second floor.



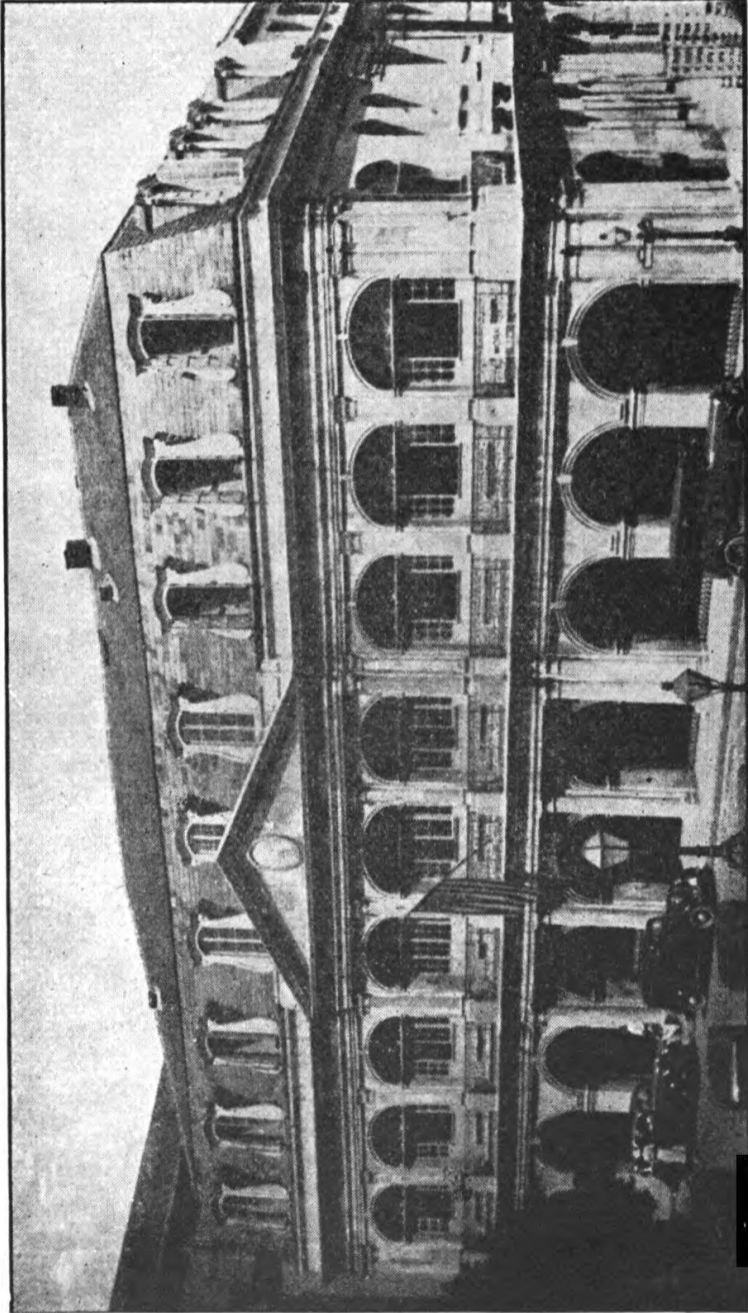
### CALABOZO

*La Maison Créole—Dédiée au Souvenir Français*  
 The Creole House—Dedicated to French Souvenir

DIVISION OF MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ART  
 No. 616 Orleans Alley, sometimes called Pirates' Alley

Erected in 1842 by Hugh Montgomery Dowlin, a house and sign painter, for use as a residence, on the site of the Guard House of 1726 and of the old Spanish Prison or Calabozo of 1769 from which it derived its name. Given to the Museum by William Ratcliffe Irby, banker and philanthropist, in 1922. Dedicated on March 27, 1937 to the Souvenir of France as *La Maison Créole* (Creole House).

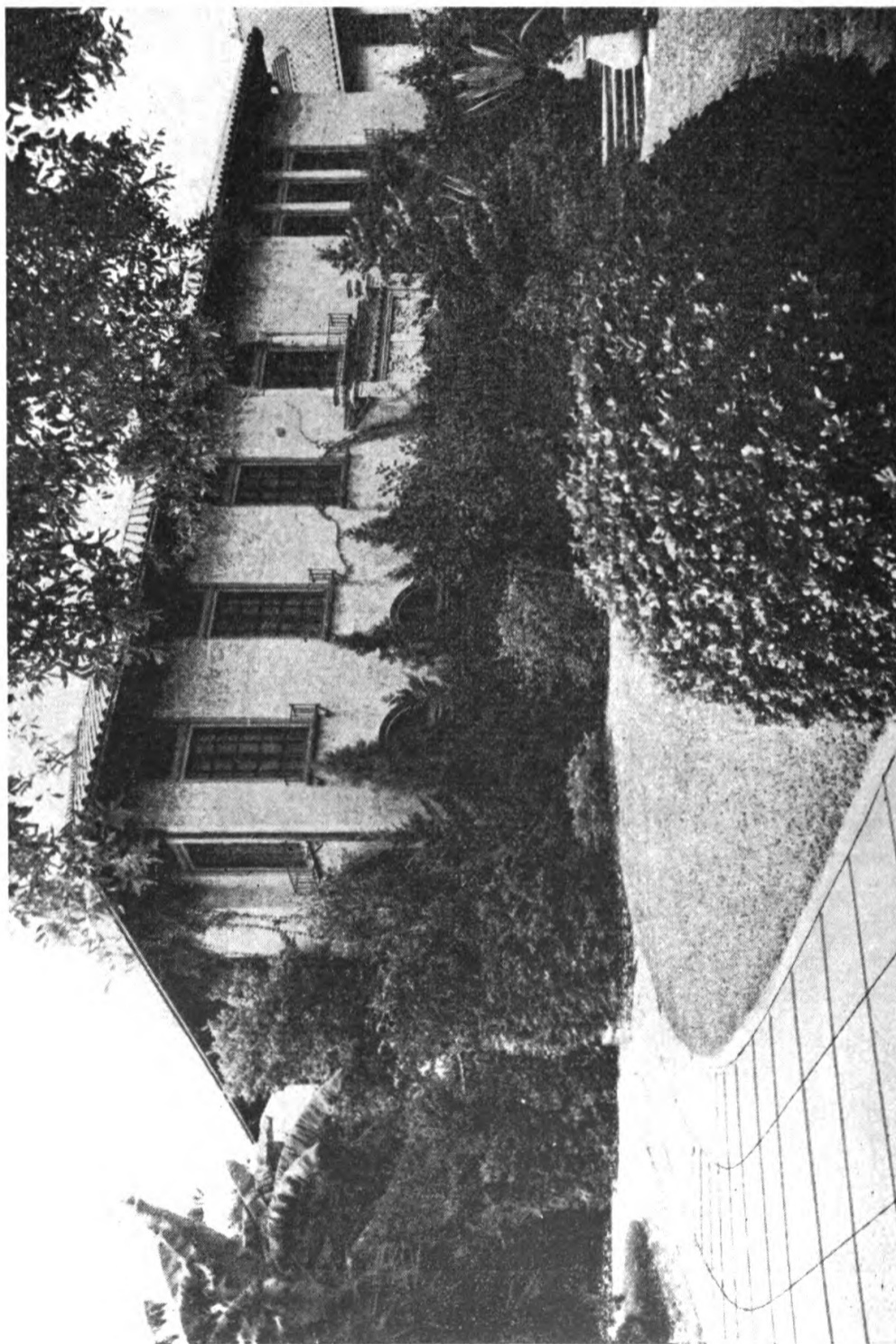
The Louisiana Colonials have their headquarters in *La Maison Créole*.



**PRESBYTÈRE—MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, ETHNOLOGY, AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE**  
On lower side of St. Louis Cathedral at Chartres and St. Ann Streets facing Jackson Square (old Place d'Armes)

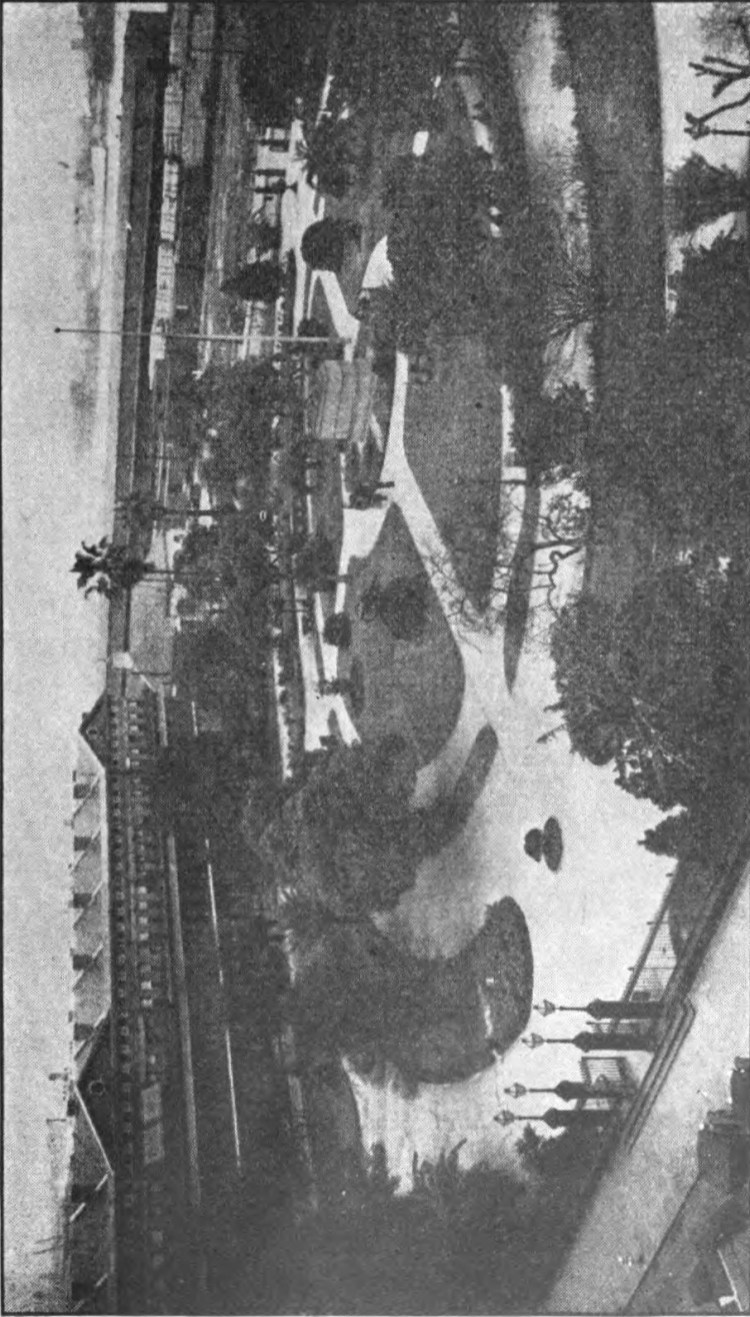
When constructed it was called Casa Curial, meaning Ecclesiastical House, and derives its name from the fact it was built on the site of the residence or presbytère of the Capuchin Monks at the foundation of the city of New Orleans. The lower floor was built in 1794 or shortly prior thereto by Don Andres Almonester y Roxas, Architect, and used for government purposes, during the administration of Governor Francisco Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet. The second floor was added in 1813 during the administration of Governor W. C. C. Claiborne. The Mansard roof was added in 1847. It was acquired by the State in 1853 and was used as a courts building until it was converted into a museum in 1911.

The Department of Agriculture and Immigration of Louisiana has an office in this building.



**The Residence at the time of his death of Huey Pierce Long, "The Martyr of the Age", No. 14 Audubon Boulevard, New Orleans, purchased by the State of Louisiana, by Act of the Legislature in 1938, and placed under the control of the Louisiana State Museum to be maintained as The Huey Pierce Long Memorial Residence.**





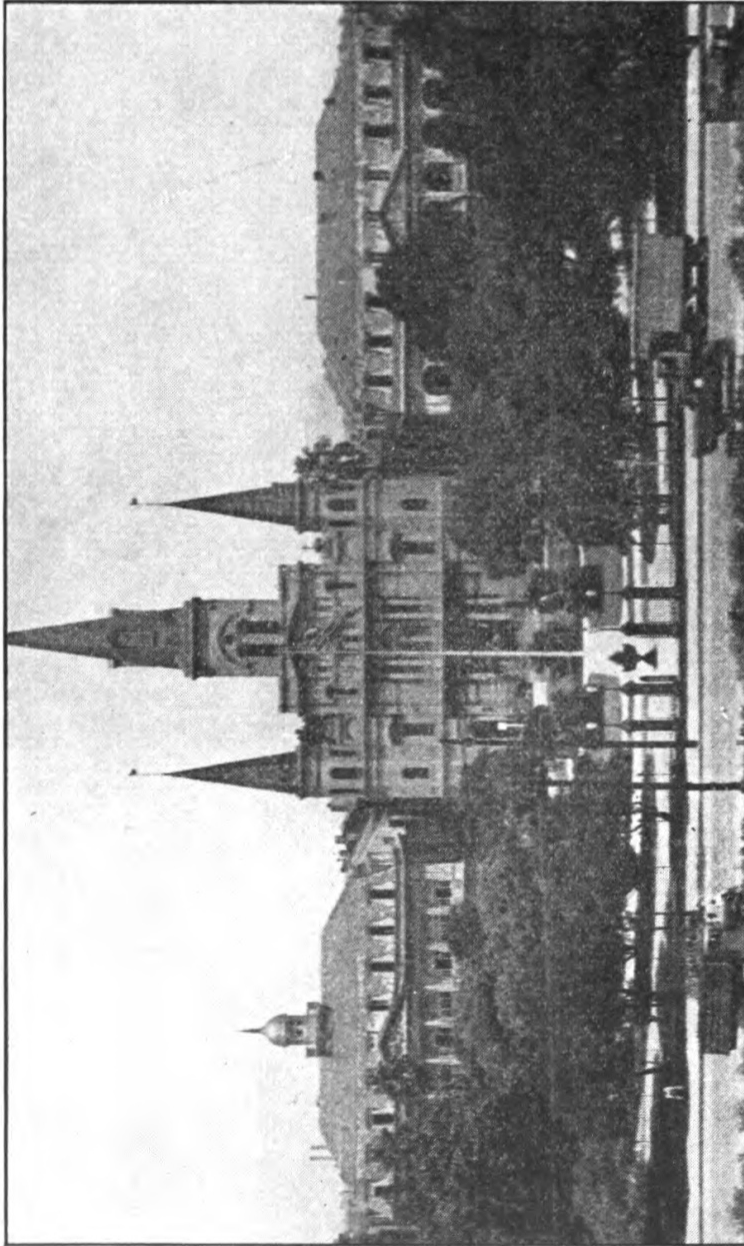
#### JACKSON SQUARE (Old Place d'Armes)

Under the direction of the Board of Curators of the Louisiana State Museum. Was Parade Ground of the French and Plaza de Armas of the Spanish. Was renamed in 1851 in honor of General Andrew Jackson, the hero of the Battle of New Orleans and President of the United States of America.

#### LOWER PONTALBA BUILDING

On St. Ann Street, extending from Chartres to Decatur, facing Jackson Square (old Place d'Armes) and buildings acquired by him by grant and completed in 1850 by James Gallier, Sr., Architect. This building contains the Reference Library of the Museum and of the Louisiana Historical Society on the lower floor at the corner of Chartres and St. Ann Streets. The balance of the building consists of apartments occupied by writers, journalists, members of the legal and medical professions, and prominent citizens. The building was acquired from the Pontalba Estate in 1921 and bequeathed to the Louisiana State Museum by Mr. William Ratcliffe Irby in 1926.





**THE HISTORIC CENTER AT JACKSON SQUARE  
IN THE HEART OF THE VIEUX CARRÉ  
CABILDO, ST. LOUIS CATHEDRAL, PRESBYTÈRE**

## CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LOUISIANA STATE MUSEUM

The Museum cordially invites all persons to assist in its development, and those contributing to its collections will be given proper credit.

Bequests to the Louisiana State Museum may be made in *securities, money, books, or collections*. They may, if desired, take the form of a memorial to a person or cause, named by the giver.

*The following objects are desired:*

Books, pamphlets, manuscripts, documents, letters, journals, accounts, or any data in any way shedding light upon the history of Louisiana from its earliest settlement to the present time, as well as works on any subject written by Louisianians.

Maps, plans, photographs, paintings and any kind of pictures of old places, historic scenes.

Louisiana newspapers and periodicals.

Portraits of distinguished citizens, works of art, autographs, medals, coins, war relics, old arms, souvenirs, statuary, crockery, glassware, silverware, curiosities.

Indian relics, pottery, arrow points, shells, costumes, ornaments.

Natural history specimens of all kinds.

*All communications should be addressed to the  
Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, La.*





