THE WHITE LEAGUE

IN

LOUISIANA.

Examined by the light of White League testimony.

The Occasion of its Organization.

The true character of the Organization—Its object and the design of its originators and leaders.

The existence of an organization in Louisiana known as the "White League," is a fact so well known that nobody can feign ignorance of it or question it, except perhaps, Louisiana correspondents of the Northern press, who are accustomed to represent it as a mere myth, a malicious republican falsehood, intended to furnish the President a plausible pretext for sending troops to Louisiana to control elections, etc. We shall not stop here to controvert these groundless but often repeated assertions, which constitute only a part of a stupendous effort of the White Leaguers and their friends at home and abroad to conceal from the world the nature and designs of this organization; but will proceed at once to make a brief exhibit of the organization as shown by the sworn testimony of White League witnesses before the Congressional Committee, together with utterances of the democratic press throughout the State.

We first present some extracts from the testimony of

Mr. James Buckner,

"Called to testify in particular in regard to the "White League"—its origin and purposes."

"Has been a resident of New Orleans for thirty-five years—is and was on the 14th of September, a member of the Staff of General Ord, and was one of the originators and first members of the League, and a member of the executive committee of it. The League was organized in June, 1874 (just at the opening of the political campaign of that year.)

"The organization was effected for the purpose of affording us mutual protection, and also our fellow citizens, so far as our lives and property were concerned. The police, as organized, did no,
afford us that protection, particularly in that portion of the city where a large number of the original signers for the "White League" lived—in the Fourth District. There were outrages committed on the street, day after day; houses were robbed two or three times a winter; our ladies had no protection on the streets, particularly in the day time, in the absence of the gentlemen during business hours. My wife was forcibly stopped on the street, at half past three in the afternoon, maltreated, and her pocket-book taken from her.

My brother's wife was treated in the same manner shortly afterward. There was not a policeman to be seen up there. At one time we thought of patrolling, but we gave up that idea because we thought that we might get into conflict with the authorities. My house was robbed of nearly everything valuable and I went to the Chief of Police (General Badger) and gave information of the robbery and was told to call again. I did call again, and Gen. Badger quietly informed me that during the last week he had been so busy in politics that he could not give his attention to my case.

What I suffered myself, and the other cases that were brought under our notice were the occasion in part of the formation of the "White League."

"The organization was entirely non-political and intended for no other purpose than keeping the peace." It was not our intention to come in contact with the Metropolitan Police. We did not consider ourselves police, but a military organization. The organization numbered about two thousand in New Orleans (General Ogden says about 2,800), two-thirds of whom were armed with Belgian muskets purchased in New York, and nine tenths of them with pistols, and they had two cannons.

"I did not say that fears of the blacks caused the organization of the League," and the League was not intended to operate against the blacks.

"We called our organization the "White League" because we had heard of the existence of a black league.

The organization consisted exclusively of whites, and witness "does not positively know that there were any Republicans in it." "Although there were one or two that were said to be republicans." "It was principally made up of the first young men of the city, merchants, doctors, lawyers—men of standing here."

"My conversation with General Badger was in the winter of 1872."

"It was our intention at first to patrol in the day time, but we never carried out that intention."

"The arms were procured for the purpose of arming the 'White League,' for the reason that the police were continually drilling as a military organization and not affording us that protection to which we were entitled."

"There was a large consignment of arms on the steamship Mississippi for the 'White League' and they went down on the 14th of September to seize them by force from the police,
"We were determined to have a fair election."

The foregoing is the substance of Mr. Buckner's testimony so far as it touches the occasion or cause for organizing the League, and its extent and purposes. The logic of it seems to be about this, viz:

"To preserve the peace" and good order of the city against the deprivations of a few vagrant thieves and house-breakers, which it was the duty of the regular police to do, a military organization is formed more than 2500 strong, and armed with pistols, Belgian muskets and cannon; Mr. Buckner's wife and his brother's wife have been robbed on the streets in the day time, and Mr. Buckner's house had been robbed. There is probably not in the world a city of the size of New Orleans, where such occurrences do not take place daily. He calls on the Chief of Police for protection. This he tells us was in the winter of 1872. Two and a half years later (and just at the opening of a political campaign) Mr. Buckner promotes the organization of the "White League" as the only relief against the shortcomings of the police. How he restrained his virtuous indignation all this time he has not been pleased to reveal.

"It was at first the intention of the Leaguers to patrol in the day time," but they never patroled in the day time nor in the night time either, though the several companies drilled a good deal in the day time in public with arms, which probably served the Leaguers a more useful purpose.

"The organization was entirely non-political" but "we were determined to have a fair election."

"The League was not intended to operate against the Blacks," but "It was called the White League because we heard of the existence of a Black League."

"It was not our intention to come in conflict with the Metropolitan Police" and we abstained from patroling in the day time lest we should come in conflict with them," but "the arms were procured for the purpose of arming the White League for the reason that the police were continually drilling as a military organization."

Mr. Buckner is cautious enough to say that the robberies, thefts etc., which he enumerates "were the occasion, in part of the formation of the League;" what other circumstances may have served as a cause or occasion for so extraordinary a proceeding he has left as to infer. And as he was put upon the stand as one of the founders and leaders of the organization "to testify particularly in regard to the White League, its origin and purposes," he will have no reason to complain, if we construe against him his silence on the most vital point in the whole case.

F. C. Zacharie

Testifies before the Committee, January 5th, 1875.

"I desire to explain to the Committee certain facts within my knowledge in regard to the origin of the White League. I was one of the originators of the White League in this city. The circumstances which gave rise to the origin of the White League were these: In the month of June the people of the State had been
alarmed to an unusual extent by the distribution and carrying to the Country of large quantities of arms, which were given to the Blacks. Nearly every Steamboat Captain that went up the river reported to the Citizens here that a certain quantity of arms had been sent up and delivered to certain persons living in different parts of the State. About that time there commenced a series of black outrages in the City of New Orleans and throughout the Country. In many cases white ladies in every portion of the City of New Orleans were assaulted and indignities offered them; and the conduct of the Police of the City of New Orleans, became very oppressive afterwards to the Citizens and arrests were very seldom made, and many of those made were for trivial causes and often the policemen violently beat and assaulted the person arrested."

After citing a special instance or two of outrages committed by the police in attempting to arrest offenders, and a trial of one policeman on a charge of maltreating a prisoner, in which Mr. Zacharie was counsel against the policeman—the Court acquitting the accused, remarking that he was convinced that the policeman was justifiable in using force to make the arrest, and after reciting the particulars of a personal quarrel of his own, Mr. Zacharie proceeds as follows:

"This led me and other persons to conceive the idea of getting up an Association for protection, and a meeting was called on Magazine Street; some twenty or thirty gentlemen assembled to discuss the best method of organizing means for the protection of Citizens.

"We appointed a Committee of five for the purpose of suggesting at an adjourned meeting the proper means of organizing. I was appointed Chairman of the Committee, Col. Walton, Richard C. Bond, Archibald Mitchell, and another gentleman were on the Committee.

"In our deliberations we were virtually agreed upon an organization but the only trouble in the way was the name of the organization. There had been an organization in the Parish of St. Martin called La Ligue Blanche, composed of Creoles and which partook of a political nature. Our idea was to disconnect and designate this organization entirely from politics and to have it simply as a protective body. On the Saturday after the adjournment of the Committee I received this letter from Mr. Mitchell (a member of the Committee on organization above mentioned) which I will read because it shows our deliberations."

Extract from the letter of Archibald Mitchell.

New Orleans, June 26th 1874.

My dear Zacharie,

"I inclose you my manifesto issued in April 1872, believing at that time that the people of the State would be warranted, as the only possible solution of their grievances, to arm and organize into military Associations. I yet think that it is the only feasible means
of asserting our manhood and obtaining at least a portion of our rights, which will never be conceded while we remain quiescent. No people are respected unless feared.

"If we possessed a general armed organization in this State, we would obtain our rights, in great part at least, without firing a gun or shedding one drop of blood."

"But I am afraid that a "White man's League," which means armed aggression on the negro—or what is the same thing, will be universally taken as such—will not succeed. If it was only to inspire the people of Louisiana with a feeling of determined unanimity, nothing could be better; but we all know that our oppression is not so much internal as extraneous. It comes from a State Government it is true; but that State Government is only dreaded or to be dreaded because it is sustained by an irresistible force outside of the State.

"The North is becoming tired of the eternal nigger, to whom the greatness, glory, and prosperity of the Country have been sacrificed. But although dormant and becoming obliterated by time, yet there is an immense and tremendous latent fanaticism and hatred towards us, which might, under the manipulations of unprincipled demagogues, be fanned into a flame. I dread it. Now I ask you, is not this Association of ours calculated to do this very thing; may it not turn the wheel of liberalitv and progress backward? We must remember that the nigger is yet a pet and the ward of the nation; yet the conviction is breaking through the heads of the Northern people that he is something of a failure as a legislator.

* * *

"A White man's League means, say what you will, an anti-Black man's League; and, if it is armed it will be taken to mean aggression.

"I would as my plan, rather have combined under a different name, ostensibly to wage a defensive war against oppression.

"If we can carry this organization through, it will have to be engineered with cautious circumspection, a calm dispassionate judgment approaching inspiration. The public sentiment of the Country at large and especially of the North, has to be appealed to by a calm enumeration of wrongs, oppressions and exactions that will unite the sympathy and public sentiment of the world with us as a wretched, down trodden and impoverished people. Thus engineered and thus heralded, if controlled afterwards with great judgment, this movement may win; but it is a fearful risk, as it may set back the wheels of progress, now slowly revolving in the North towards our liberation and place us in irretrievable ruin.

"This movement originated in the Country and for that reason I dread it—it is prima facie evidence of its folly. They led us into a union with Warmoth which carried us to hell, and this movement if not taken up and directed with great dexterity and circumspection, will yet carry us into a lower depth.
"I am in favor of a White League—political Association—but the armed part should be secret." (Signed) A. Mitchell.

This letter, be it remembered, was written by a member of the Committee appointed to organize the "White League," and at the time of the organization, and certainly presents some strong contrasts to the testimony of Messrs. Buckner and Zacharie.

Mr. Mitchell’s thoughts, while writing, were not oppressed by any necessity for concealment. He feels no necessity for guarding his expressions. He is writing to Mr. Zacharie, as Chairman of the Committee and he writes freely what he really thinks and fears. He seems totally oblivious and ignorant of all such causes as Messrs. Buckner and Zacharie gave as the occasion for organizing the "League." He has probably never heard of the thefts and robberies mentioned by Mr. Buckner, nor of the arms sent to the Country to arm the negroes, nor of the series of black outrages perpetrated by the negroes throughout the State. It is hardly probable that anybody had heard of these occurrences at that time. Mr. Mitchell evidently does not share the opinions expressed by Messrs. Buckner and Zacharie that the "White League" was entirely non-political and designed only to keep the peace. Every line of his letter discloses unmistakably that in his view of the matter, the League was being organized and armed as a political engine to control the politics of the State. Mr. Mitchell says, "A White man’s League means armed aggression on the negro. "A White man’s League means, say what you will, an anti-Black man’s League, and if it is armed it will be taken to mean aggression." And in this we think Mr. Mitchell is clearly right. The short of it is that Mr. Mitchell’s letter contradicts the testimony of Messrs. Buckner and Zacharie in every essential particular.

Mr. Frederick M. Ogden,

Testified before the Foster sub-Committee as follows:

"My position is commanding officer of all the "White League" organizations in the City of New Orleans. The object and purposes of our organization you will find, very clearly defined in the Constitution of the League which I now hand to you.

CONSTITUTION.

ART. 1 — This Club shall be called "The Crescent City" White League of New Orleans.

ART. II — The object of this Club is to assist in restoring an honest and intelligent government to the State of Louisiana; to drive out incompetent and corrupt men from office and by a union with all other good Citizens the better to maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States and of the State with all laws made in pursuance thereof, and to maintain and protect and enforce our rights and the rights of all Citizens thereunder."

"Our organization was formed on the 1st of July 1874."
"Our organization is purely for defensive purposes."

"It grew out of the situation of affairs which existed here. We had under this usurpation, a military brigade of police, backed by a negro militia, of which our Citizens were in terror all the time. We did not know how far they would extend their outrages upon us. Men were arrested without due form of Law. Police were sent into the Country for the purpose of executing the orders of this colored government, and the negroes, from information I received from all quarters were drilling and arming in the back part of town, and there was a feeling of dread and apprehension on the part of our people.

"By the Metropolitan brigade, I mean the police in this City."

"They were organized as a part of the Militia of the State." "The negro Militia spoken of is the general Militia of the State. They hold commissions from Governor Kellogg." "That is the necessity to which I refer for organizing the White League."

The organization was called the White man's Club, "simply because we thought that the white people in our State were the only ones that could be depended upon in the condition of affairs that then existed in the State."

Q.— "Do you know whether in your organization there are any republicans?"

Ans.— "I can say this, I do not know whether the gentleman is a republican or not—He served with us on the 14th of September, but his name is Lieut. Robins. He was in the Federal army." "The White League assumed a military character immediately upon its organization, military to this extent, that on its organization officers were appointed and their orders were obeyed."

"I have no official data of the numerical force of the League in the State; but in the City of New Orleans, I think sir, that our roll will call from 2500 to 2800."

"Since the action of the 14th of September, in order to get them all under command for our defensive purposes, I have organized so far (31st of December 1874) two (2) regiments of infantry and one (1) regiment of artillery."

"These regiments are officered."

"These Leagues have been drilled by the officers of the companies."

"Each company, with respect to its drill, acts upon its own responsibility."

"The drills take place in different places in the City and on the streets."

"There are organizations of the League in parishes throughout the State, over which I have no control." "I have heard that there are Leagues in all the other parishes of the State, but I do not know anything about the extent of the Leagues in those parishes."

"I know that there are organizations of the White League in other parishes, but I have no control over them. But I believe that if I was to call upon them for assistance, it would be rendered to me."

"I think they might all be united if I gave the order." "It is my impression that the "White League" organization existed in one
of the parishes in the Northern part of the State before it existed here."

**Political, or non-political.**

Genl. Ogden continues "we took no political steps (between the 14th of Sept. and the election) because our organization was not exactly a political one."

"There was no resolution passed with regard to the action of the League on election day. A few days before the election three or four gentlemen came to my house together with officers of my Staff, to adopt a plan by which we could watch the polls of the City of New Orleans on the 2nd of November, the police of our City being unable to do anything, and for the purpose of maintaining peace in the City. My plans were not known to any member of the Republican party. They were simply these; My orders were to those gentlemen, in the first place, to divide up the Leagues into three divisions; the first division, under command of General Young, which would embrace the City of New Orleans from Canal street to Louisiana Avenue: The second division, under command of General Gwinn, embracing the section of the City below Canal street: The third division, under Maj. Allen, comprising that part of the City above Louisiana Avenue. These instructions were, early in the morning on election day, to place at each poll in the City a force of twenty men under a competent officer for the purpose of maintaining order at the polls and to interfere with no man's right to vote.*** I gave positive instructions to my officers that they were to remain at the polls all night and see the count of the commissioners and see that everything was conducted fairly."

It is noticeable that all of these witnesses, in stating the circumstances that occasioned the organization of the League, appear entirely oblivious of the threatened insurrection of the Blacks to take place on the 4th of July—the childish invention of the Picayune which the Bulletin and Times both scouted and ridiculed as too thin for a pretext.

General Ogden tells us "Our organization is purely for defensive purposes." The object of the League is to drive incompetent and corrupt men from office," etc. It is not easy to see just how these great and patriotic purposes were to be accomplished by "defensive" action alone.

When we see a military organization formed, coal-extensive with the borders of the State, composed exclusively of one political party, and well armed, officered and drilled for the distinctly avowed purpose of driving corrupt officials from office, our mind becomes impressed very much as Mr. Mitchell's was. "Say what you will, it means aggression."

**What the Press says:**

The following extracts from the White League papers of Louisiana will serve to elucidate more fully the real design of the originators of the League, and their modes of accomplishing that design.
Before proceeding, however, to make the citations, it is proper to say for the benefit of persons not intimately acquainted with the particular etiquette and courtesies of White League newspapers, that the three terms "carpet-bagger," "scalawag" and "negroes" embrace all persons not belonging to or acting with the White League Party. Such convenient epithets as "thief," "villain," "scoundrel," "plunderers" and the like are, in White League parlance, applicable indiscriminately to all Republicans alike.

[From the New Orleans Bulletin of June 23, 1874.]

Gov. McEnery on the Color Line.

"We print with pleasure the subjoined letter from a citizen of Monroe, La., and need scarcely say that they are the sentiments of the Bulletin."

The writer of the letter reports the Governor to have said among other things:

"There is not a decent thinking man in Louisiana who will deny that race lines of distinction are already sharply drawn, and that as each day passes the breach gapes wider, that separates the white from the colored race in this State of ours. Further, that unless this insolent encroachment on the rights, political and social of the white people of Louisiana is ended, the day of the irrepressible conflict will come when physical force shall solve the political problems of Louisiana politics. The only means of averting this calamity lies in the union of the white people of the State, representing as they do, its virtue, courage and wealth, into one compact and imposing phalanx."

[From the Opelousas Courier of July 4, 1874.]

"The object of the White League is to put the control of the State Government into the hands of the white people of the State."

Platform of Principles of the White League in the Parish of St. Mary.

"We, whose names are hereunto affixed have formed ourselves into an association to be known as the "White League of the parish of St. Mary," with the following declaration of principles and objects, to wit:

"Whereas it is a fact that cannot be denied or ignored that the colored race of this parish have banded themselves together with one object in view, hostility to the white race and all its interests, and in carrying out that object have filled our legislative halls with an ignorant and corrupt set of negroes; foisted upon us a judiciary proverbial for its venality, ignorance and corruption; filled our principal offices with the worst of their race and the scum of ours; and

"Whereas, we have made advances of conciliation towards the black race, invoking them to link their interests with ours, and conceding to them all their rights under the Constitution and laws of the land, which overtures have been rejected, or, if accepted, only done so with the most treacherous designs.

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"Therefore we enter into and form a League for the protection of our own race against the daily increasing encroachment of the negro and we are determined to use our best endeavors to purge our legislative, judicial and ministerial offices from such a horde of miscreants as now assume to lord it over us."

"That to accomplish this end we solemnly pledge our honor to each other, to give our hearty support to all that this League may determine by majority of votes cast at any regular meeting, and to aid to the utmost of our ability in carrying out such measures as it may adopt.

"That we do not condemn nor reject any white man for his political opinions, so that he joins us in the one grand object we have in view, and we do not contemplate any interference in national politics, but strictly to confine our efforts to our own State."

[From the Alexandria (La.) Democrat.]

"The people have determined that the Kellogg Government has to be gotten rid of and they will not scruple about the means as they have done in the past."

[From the Franklin Enterprise of August 6, 1874.]

"We ask for no assistance; we protest against any intervention."

"We own this soil of Louisiana, by virtue of our endeavor, as a heritage from our ancestors, and it is ours and ours alone. Science, Literature, History, Art, Civilisation and Law belong alone to us and not to the negroes. They have no record but barbarism and idolatry; nothing since the war, but that of error, incapacity, beastliness, voudouism and crime. Their right to vote is but the result of the war; their exercise of it a monstrous imposition and a vindictive punishment upon us for that ill-advised rebellion."

"Therefore are we bandied together in a White League army, drawn up only on the defensive, exasperated by continued wrong, it is true, but acting under Christian and high principle leaders, and determined to defeat these negroes in their infamous design of depriving us of all we hold sacred and precious in the soil of our nativity or adoption, or perish in the attempt."

[From the Shreveport Comet.]

"While we are willing, and always have been, to give to the negro everything he needs and should have to make him happy, free and contented, we are not and never will be in favor of his ruling the State of Louisiana any longer; and we swear by the Eternal Spirit that rules the universe, we will battle against it to the day of our death, if it costs us a prison or a gallows!"

"Let each white man make it his special duty to watch the pot-house-scalawags, as they have spotted skins, and damned black hearts. Of course these scoundrels have misrepresented everything they took occasion to describe in their infamous letters and dispatches,
"Somebody ought to make these black-hearted villains, angels at once, for from the present temper of the State the quicker such monumental liars take unto themselves wings and fly away, the better.

"Let the negro be made to know his place, treat him as he should be treated; but never, no never, will we submit more to his laws, as we were born free and will die free, in spite of all the powers this side of hell."

By way of caution to other young comets that may aspire to flash their light upon the world, and to dazzle the eyes of misguided men with their amazing brilliancy, the author of this work deems it proper to turn aside, for a moment from the current of his discourse, to inform the reader that the above deliverance from the "Shreveport Comet," proved to be too much for its caliber and so completely exhausted its light that it has never been seen since.

From the Natchitoches Vindicator.

"We are all of the same opinion as to what we will do in the event of their (Federal troops) being sent to our midst, but how that action will begin, public opinion seems divided.

That our minds have long since been made up that no power on earth can continue this Kellogg fraud in rule over our people, and that we will resist to the death, any force that may be applied to that end, is the fixed and unalterable determination of the people of Natchitoches Parish."

"No Kellogg official shall rule over us; this is our fixed determination come what may."

"The people of Natchitoches have come at last to the wise conclusion to put a stop to being represented by these interlopers and we will be in New Orleans in sufficient number to see if our will is not respected."

"We are not disposed to be blood-thirsty, but where a people who have suffered so long with patience as we have, have cried aloud to the world for help and that has been denied us, despair and desperation have filled our nature and we are determined upon one of two things; That Louisiana must be governed by white citizens or that in 60 sixty days she will be blotted from the map of free states and a military force sufficient to conquer us shall be stationed in every neighborhood."

"Our people are quiet, more so than for a long time, but they are still determined not to submit to the rule of the men who have herefore presumed to lord it here. The McEevry officers are in possession and will only yield to the demand of Federal authorities. From the manner in which some of our warnings have been received, it seems that some of the radicals here think we have all along been joking. This is a serious mistake on their part. They should remember that revolutions never go backward; and we have this to say, that United States troops can put in the Kellogg thieves, but they cannot keep them there."

The Editor of the Vindicator, J. H. Cosgrove, has recently given
us a striking proof that White Leagueism is no joke. The slaying of E. L. Pierson by Mr. Cosgrove and his coworkers only a week or two ago, interprets the base teachings of the Vindicator and emphasizes the fiendish malice of its Editor. This monster laid the foundation of his bloody work long since by endeavoring to form public opinion to suit his guilty intentions. As far back as September 1875 he uses this language.

"Pierson has rendered himself more than odious to the White people of Natchitoches Parish. * * * It is therefore but to be expected that we will hold him more guilty than even Boult; and when the hour comes he will learn how we reward those who betray us."

"The people of Natchitoches have at last come to the wise conclusion to put a stop to being represented by these interlopers."

Pierson was a republican member of the Legislature, and though he was a native and life-long resident of the Parish of Natchitoches, well born and well reared, he was a republican leader who dared expose the crimes of his political foes, and hence the tragedy of Christmas morning, 1875.

Cosgrove says he "is not disposed to be blood-thirsty." Perhaps a flickering spark of humanity may have lighted up his soul for a moment, just to reveal to him, by the contrast, how monstrous a creature man is, when devoid of the instincts of humanity.

**From the Southern Cross.**

"After the armistice is over we do not know what position may be taken by those in power. We know full well there is no love between them and the people, and our experience of the past teaches us they will undertake to override us as they have already done and the White Leaguers should be ready for any action demanded by the people."

"This is either a republican government or it is a satrapy. At present, it is a satrapy. Let the people therefore never lose a single opportunity left them to convince the other States that this is such, and let us lose no opportunity of getting rid of satraps."

"We believe that we ought to compel the United States government to keep soldiers throughout every Parish."

"But we must be ever watchful and on the alert. We must ever be ready for any occasion that presents itself. Let not the White Leaguers disband, but rather let them be ready for the tide."

"The White Leaguers so far (23d September) have fulfilled their mission; but we say, do not disband, so long as the basis of the compromise exists and is kept faith with, it should be regarded as an armistice. The White Leaguers should rest upon their arms, and be ready at any moment in case of necessity."

"So long as the United States troops remain among us, so long will the carpet-baggers pack about their carpet-bags among us; but we must be ready everywhere throughout the State, for action against these thieving scoundrels and make them put aside their satchels and go to work or leave the State."
From the Shreveport Times.

"The radical or negro party has not yet, so far as we know, nominated a Parish ticket. The movements of that party are usually conducted in the manner of those of a thief-stealthily and while honest people are asleep; therefore their nominations may be agreed upon, though not yet known to the honest portion of the community. We think not, however. We are of the opinion that the plan of the carpet-baggers, scalawags and negroes has been to wait until the White man's ticket was in the field, and then to move. It has been surmised from expressions which have fallen from some of the Chiefs who have leaky mouths, that the negro party would nominate on their ticket, white men of average character and seek by that means to break our ranks, and divide our strength."

"If such is the design it certainly will fail, for we cannot conceive that any man, who has any honesty or pride or decency or self-respect, would, in this crisis, accept a nomination from the negro party against the white people's ticket. Should any white man outside of the carpet-baggers and well known scalawags, have the temerity to accept such a nomination, he would be banished from decent society and universally condemned by the community. No white man could at this juncture, accept such a nomination without perpetrating a crime against his fellow man. Should the radicals or negroes tender their nomination to white men in any measure identified with or possessing the respect of this community, it will be not for the purpose of putting good men in office but with the view of dividing our strength and perpetuating the reign of ignorance and rascality."

"It is a well known fact that the Returning Board is designed to be an instrument of fraud, a medium to deprive the people of an expression of their will at the ballot-box; and its members have been sagaciously chosen for the dirty work they are to do. We propose to watch its proceedings from this stand point and in this light, and if they attempt to carry out the nefarious purpose for which they are now assembled, they must be promptly and vigorously dealt with."

"We know the results of the election in every parish. The Returning Board cannot change the count of a single precinct without perpetrating fraud and violating the constitution and the most sacred rights of the people. Therefore we should simply give the members of that Board to distinctly understand, that unless they return the elections, as they were returned at the polls, they and those they seek to count in, will pay the forfeit of their lives.

"We have no appeal to make to our fellow-citizens of New Orleans. We know that the men of the 14th of September will do their whole duty as free men, and Louisianians zealous of their liberties. But throughout the country parishes there should be concert of action and that action should be prompt and emphatic. In every parish where the officers elected by the people may be counted out by the Returning Board, the people should use hemp or ball on the defeated candidates counted in. To localize the proposition; if Geo. L. Smith is counted in, over Wm.
M. Levy; or if Twitchell is counted in over Elam, let Smith and Twitchell be killed; if Johnson and Tyler in DeSoto are counted in over Scales and Schuler; or if Keating, Levisée and Johnson in Caddo are counted in over Vaughan, Horan and Land, then let Johnson, Tyler, Keating, Levisée, and Johnson be killed; and so let every officer from Congressman down to Constable, in every district and parish of the State be served, whom the people have defeated and whom the Returning Board may count in."

From the Shreveport Times of May 20th.

"We are going to redeem this State from the rule of villany and ignorance, or we will force the Federal government to establish a military government."

From the issue of July 29, 1874.

"There has been some red-handed work done in this parish that was necessary, but it was evidently done by cool, determined and just men, who knew just how far to go, and we doubt, not if the same kind of work is necessary it will be done again."

"We again say that we fully, cordially approve what the white men of Grant and Rapides did at Colfax. The white man who does not is a creature so base that he shames the worst class of his species. We say again we are going to carry the election in this State next fall."

"Then let the negroes of Louisiana beware. Whenever the Anglo-Saxon and African have met in arms the result has not been a battle but a butchery—as it has been as in Bossier in 1868 and at Colfax in 1873."

From the Issue of July 9th, 1874.

"If a single hostile gun is fired between the White and Blacks, in this and surrounding Parishes, every carpet-bagger and scalawag that can be caught, will in twelve hours thereof be dangling from a limb. We do not say this in a spirit of braggadocio, we say it in the interest of peace and we know what we are talking about."

From the Issue of August 5th 1874.

"It has been charged that the White man’s party expects to achieve success by intimidation. This is strictly true. We intend to succeed by intimidation; and we place little confidence in our numerical strength as shown in the figures above given from the ninth census."

"Perhaps the fusion Legislature was one of the ablest and most conservative bodies assembled in Louisiana in many years, and yet its vacillation lost the cause; its timidity betrayed the trust the people reposed in it. There were some bold and resolute men in that body and they sought to rally their fellow-members to action, but in vain. There were too many men in it afraid of trouble, afraid of a little blood letting, afraid of making things worse."

"The people of Louisiana are fast making up their minds that this state of things shall exist no longer. Either the next government will be composed of the tax-payers of the State, or else a strong military government brought about by their action."
"There are two other classes who do not seem to comprehend these things—a small class of white men who refuse to register and aid their people in carrying the election and avoiding this crisis and the negroes who are again rallying to the support of the thieves they have put in power and are thus invoking upon their heads a terrible and bloody retribution."

Natchitoches Vindicator of July 18th, 1874.

"The white men intend to carry the State election this fall. This intention is deliberate and unalterable from the fact that their very existence depends upon it; and that you (the colored race) may enjoy the blessings which will naturally follow such an event, blessings made doubly sweet when you know that you partly instrumental in bringing them about, we desire your co-operation; and we simply ask you, will you assist us in redeeming your State from the degradation and ruin she now is in, or will you follow still the advice of those who have placed her thus? Take time to answer it and let your mind, should you decide affirmatively, be at rest for your future welfare and happiness!! We propose to do for you more than any party has yet done for you! On the other hand should you imagine that the teaching of your former rulers is correct, and you elect to attempt—for it will only be an attempt—to continue their rule, then you must take the consequences, for we tell you now and let it be distinctly remembered that you have fair warning, that we intend to carry the State of Louisiana in November next, or she will be a Military Territory."

From the Mansfield Reporter of July 4th, 1874.

"There is nothing to be gained by pleadings or concessions, but everything is within our reach, if we will move forward and grasp it. Let our action be such that everybody will know what we want and let them see that we are in earnest and are determined to carry out the programme regardless of consequences."

The following from the same paper of July, affords some idea of what this "programme" was.

"The lines must be drawn at once before our opponents are thoroughly organized, for by this means we will prevent many milk and cider fellows from falling into the enemy's rank."

"While the white man's party guarantees the negro all his present rights, they do not intend that carpet-baggers and renegades shall be permitted to organize and prepare the negroes for the coming campaign. Without the assistance of these villains the negroes are totally incapable of effectually organizing themselves, and unless they are previously excited and drilled, one half of them will not come to the polls and a large per cent of the remainder will vote the white man's ticket."

From the Minden Democrat.

"The remedy for all the evils that afflict our State and every
The following is published from the White League headquarters in the semblance of a military order.

"Resolutions unanimously adopted by the Crescent City White League of New Orleans, at a meeting held Aug. 18th, 1874.

"Whereas we have understood that a movement is on foot to organize and arm a white militia under the usurping governor, and that overtures have been made to citizens to enroll therein and,

"Whereas the direct tendency of such a movement, if carried out with that good faith that should preside over the engagements of honorable citizens, would be the perpetuation of the wrongs against which the white people of Louisiana have been so long and so honestly struggling.

"Therefore, Resolved that we protest against the movement as hostile to the best interests of the State."

**Extent of the League.**

From the Minden Democrat of August 29th, 1874.

"The New Orleans Bulletin says that "in the White League of Louisiana are now organized and armed fourteen thousand men, over one-half of whom are inclined to battle and privation." The Bulletin has certainly made a mistake in its figures. Why, there are ten thousand in North Louisiana alone, who are ready and willing to march at the first clarion note of the bugle that calls them in the defense of their rights; and the deep sense of the wrongs they have been compelled to submit to, in the bayonet government, will make them no ordinary force in the event a conflict is precipitated upon us."

The following is the editorial comment of the Shreveport Times, on the event of 14th September, in its issue of Sept., 16th, 1874.

"Tuesday morning at 10 o'clock, that Government, (the Kellogg) was literally swept out of existence, and nothing of it remains this morning, but a few local officials in remote parishes, which the power of the revolution has not reached, while the (McEnery) officials State and Parish, are everywhere in full and undisturbed authority."

"The purpose of the President to reinstate that government is not clearly defined in his proclamation. * * We know that whatever his purpose may be, he never can re-instate that government. The President’s soldiers may reinstate Mr. Kellogg in the gubernatorial chair—the President may send troops to the parishes to re-instate the officials of the fraud, but the moment the troops retire, Mr. Kellogg will again be a fugitive, and the local officials will be expelled or killed."

"If he, (the President,) establishes anything, it will be a reign of assassination.

"From Gen. Grant’s policy towards Louisiana, it would seem that self-indulgence and extraordinary power have utterly degraded him into a brute." * * *
"When the intelligence came to us of the grand movement in New Orleans, we were instantly in arms, ready to sustain it to any extremity. New Orleans might be bold enough to carry it. At night the telegraph announced the opening of the conflict at the Capital City, and the morning sun shone upon a people, from the banks of the Ouachita to the borders of Texas, in arms and prepared to take the field."

The careful reader will hardly find difficulty in determining from the foregoing extracts what was the real character of the White League, and the occasion and design of its formation. The evidence already adduced shows to a considerable extent, the mode of proceeding adopted by the Leaguers to reach their objective point—the possession of the government of the State by the White League party. Threatened violence and overpowering force stand out prominently in all these extracts as well as in the declaration of the Constitution.

There are still two other methods adopted and extensively applied by the Leaguers which we now proceed to show.

**Ostracism.**

From the Franklin Enterprise.

At Alto on the 11th July, the following was adopted.

"That we regard it the sacred and political duty of every member of this Club to disown and socialize all white men who unite themselves with the radical party; and to supplant every political opponent in all his vocations by the employment and support of those who ally themselves with the white man’s party; and we pledge ourselves to exert our energies and use our means to the consummation of this end."

"There should be kept and carefully preserved for future reference a black list or book of remembrance, in every parish, wherein should be inscribed the names of those white men, who, in this emergency prove recrants to the duties and instincts of race and cast their lot with the African. The infamous record should be as conspicuous, for all time to come as the pictures of notorious criminals in the rogues galleries of large cities. These men must not be forgotten. Let their names be written in the Black List with a pen of adamant, that they and all who descend from their loins to the fourth generation may be Pariahs, forever cast out from all association with the Caucasian race. Let all who adhere to the negro party in this political contest be reckoned as negroes and treated as such. Let the Black List for St. Mary be opened. Let the names of those who pant for immortal infamy be enrolled. Whose names shall head the List? We know two, father and son, who have equal claims to the distinction."

The above passage is reproduced in the New Orleans Picayune of August 1st, 1874, with tacit commendation.
From the Nativists Vindicator.

We advise our native white fellow citizens of Louisiana, who have arrayed themselves against their white brothers, to retrace their steps while there is still time left to do so. When a war of races is imminent—and we tell them that it is imminent—they should be found but on one side battling with the Caucasian race; words of sympathy will not do. The people will be satisfied with nothing short of acts, plain and unmistakeable. They have yet time to redeem themselves. "They know full well that the white men of this State are no more beginners in the arts of peace or war, and that in going through such an ordeal, all those who are not with us must certainly be against us, and none such will be allowed to remain in our midst to take us in flank or rear at the opportune moment. When the conflict will have commenced, it will be too late then. The contest will be quick, sharp and decisive. Let them take warning in due time, for the dice is surely cast."

"Words cannot express our abhorrence of the man or men, who would thus aid our foes. Every man who votes a split ticket, who gives his support to an independent candidate, is not only an enemy to our citizens, but a traitor worse to his own race and to civilization."

"Let us never cease to make war upon them, both in their official and private capacities; discomfit any person who meets them as gentlemen on the street. Shut your doors and your hearts to them; let them be outcasts to every feeling of mercy you may have, so that living they may only encumber the earth, and dying descend to hell covered with the curses of every virtuous man in Louisiana."

From the Baton Rouge Advocate. (The White League Club of Sandy Creek puts it thus.)

"Resolved, That we consider it beneath our moral and social dignity to associate with any white man who refuses to enroll his name among those who have openly declared themselves to be white men with principles favoring a white man's government."

(The Baton Rouge White League No. 1, on the 5th of Sept., 1874, delivers itself as follows.)

"Resolved, That all the members of this organization compose a committee with the Secretary as its Chairman, and that it be the duty of every member of said committee to report to the chairman the names of all white men, who through indifference to the future welfare of the white race of Louisiana have failed to register; and that a list of those names be kept for publication after the election, together with the names of all white men who voted the radical ticket."

From the Shreveport Times.

"If any white man accepts a radical negro nomination, place upon him the ban of public scorn and contempt; and if any man seeks to
divide our strength by attempting the independent dodge, treat him as a public enemy."

Threats to discharge negro laborers from employment.

(The New Orleans Bulletin of 2d July, 1874, says this:)

"We intend to tell the Merchants, Lawyers, Doctors, and all others of our people who employ black men as porters, that they are supporting the best and most intelligent of the republican party; and because they are the best and most intelligent, therefore the most dangerous."

The Catholic Messenger.

In its abounding love and good will to all men everywhere, having also an eye on politics, makes the following deliverance.

"That they (the blacks) are and have been carrying on a relentless war upon the whites, is unfortunately too true. It is not, indeed a war of arms, for in that they would not have the shadow of a chance, and they know it well, but it is a legislative war—a war of ruin and extermination through the army of Sheriffs and their deputies."

"And how has the white race met this war. We must answer weakly very weakly. They have shown no courage, no spirit of sacrifice, no public spirit whatever in meeting the emergency. On the contrary they have met this open, insolent defiance of these unscrupulous partizans with the most accommodating submissiveness. So far from breaking off relations with them as a public enemy, which they are in every true sense of the word, every planter, every employer, has run a race with his comppears as to which of them could employ the greatest number of negroes. They are kept fully occupied everywhere. By this means they are furnished with the ability to carry on that very war which they wage so relentlessly against their employers. The white man supplies them with food, clothing and money. They grow fat and insolent. They go to the polls and defiantly vote to ruin the very man who weakly and stupidly warms into life and strength the reptile which he knows is stinging him. There is but one way now to manage the negro. He is, as a class, amenable to neither reason nor gratitude. He must be starved into the common perception of decency."

Intimidation and Violence.

THE LAW AND THE DUTY OF SELF-PROTECTION.

Under the above caption, the Shreveport Times of October 14th, says:

"Without delay every man in Shreveport, whatever his business may be, should give every negro voter in his employ to understand that, if he votes the radical ticket, he will be instantly discharged. The planters should pursue a like policy. They should warm the
negroes on their plantations that, if they vote the radical ticket, they must leave their plantations."

Political proscription.—Voluntary victims and open defiance of law. Shreveport merchants court prosecution for prejudice' sake, and are eminently successful.

**Action of the Merchants.**

Under the above head, the Shreveport Times instant has the following editorial remarks approving the proscription of republicans now going on in Northern Louisiana:

"We call attention to the two cards signed by the merchants of Shreveport, published in this morning's Times. The merchants have acted promptly, and it is to be hoped the example they have so nobly and fearlessly given will be everywhere followed. Let the negroes be made to fully and clearly understand that their insolence and mistrule has gone as far as it can go, and that they must either cooperate with us to re-establish good government and the prosperity of the State, or depend upon their radical friends for employment and support.

"We would suggest, now that our merchants and business men are in earnest in this important matter, that they immediately correspond with their friends in Saint Louis and Cincinnati, and make arrangements to have a brigade of draymen and porters sent here when needed. Draymen and porters in Saint Louis and Cincinnati are working for one third less than the negro draymen and porters are getting in Shreveport, and will be glad to come if they are assured of regular work. The planters of Summer Grove and the merchants of Shreveport have spoken. Let us hear the next voice."

* * *

The cards referred to are found in the same paper signed by about sixty names of persons and firms calling themselves merchants of Shreveport. The first reads;

**SHREVEPORT, October 14th, 1874.**

"We the undersigned, merchants of the City of Shreveport, in obedience to a request of the Shreveport Campaign Club, agree to use every endeavor to get our employees to vote the people's ticket at the ensuing election, and in the event of their refusing so to do, or in case they vote the radical ticket, to refuse to employ them at the expiration of their present contracts."

The above is signed by (69) sixty-nine merchants and commercial firms.

(The second card says:)

**SHREVEPORT, October 14, 1874**

"We the undersigned, merchants of the City of Shreveport, alive to the great importance of securing good and honest government to the
State, do agree and pledge ourselves not to advance any supplies or money to any planter the coming year who will give employment, or rent land to laborers who vote the radical ticket in the coming election.

"We are constrained to this course from a principle of self-defense. Knowing that the negroes are being banded together for the purpose of foisting upon the country incompetent and dishonest men for office, and if they persist in their determination to support a ticket which plunders the white people of their subsistence, they must look to others than the white people for the means of subsistence."

Above is signed by (60) sixty merchants and commercial firms.

* * * *

"The position assumed by our merchants and property-holders has had its effect upon the negro dupes of the thieves who lead the Radical party. It has opened their eyes, and many of them have determined to vote with their best friends—the white people. The object of this movement of the Kelloggists and federal authorities is simply to counteract the influence of this movement upon the negroes. It is to intimidate the gentlemen who entered into the agreement, and force them to withdraw from it; to make them sink out of a brave and proper action by threatening them with the terrors of arrest and confinement in stockades and of Federal Courts as they exist in Louisiana. If this is accomplished and our people back down, the negroes will become insulting, arrogant, and intolerable. Led by their chiefs, they will literally ride rough-shod over the community; and this section of the State will be carried by them in the election. This is what this proceeding means—nothing more nor less.

"If these men, fellow-citizens, make this issue, force them to develop the dastardly outrage in its full proportions, that the whole country may see it in all its hideousness.

"Our word for it, no one will remain in General Merrill's stockade or guard house many hours after the news of the outrage is telegraphed North and East.

"Citizens, stand firm! Dispatches have already been sent over the United States in relation to the threatened outrage upon your rights and liberty, and the eyes of the American people are upon you. Your action in this matter now will excite the sympathy or derision of the country, according as it is courageous and manly, or weak and contemptible.

"You are not alone: the whole community supports you. Lists are now circulating throughout the city, pledging the signers to the same line of action you agreed upon. One hundred additional names have been signed and every man in Shreveport will share your responsibilities. The planters of Summer Grove, Spring Ridge, Greenwood
and Mooringsport neighborhoods have unanimously signed similar pledges. Even the ladies of our city are signing cards that will make them as guilty as you are."

(The following is the heading of the list referred to above)

"We the undersigned, agree to use every endeavor to get our employees to vote the people's ticket at the ensuing election. And in the event of their refusal so to do, or in case they vote the radical ticket, to refuse to employ them, at the expiration of their present contracts.

"The signers of the obligation will, every one of them, stand squarely up to what they have done. Indeed, so far from scaring any body in to backing down, the citizens are now more absolutely than ever determined to stand firm, and yesterday, 180 additional names signed to the pledge, representing nearly every business house in this city. The same obligation has been signed by the planters in the different neighborhoods throughout the Parish, while a large number of ladies signed an obligation to hire no servants whose husbands affiliated with the radical party. Thus, if General Merrill and Commissioner Levissee carry out their programme, they will have by to-night under arrest about three-fourths of the white population of the Parish.

"The temper of the people is splendid, and their resolution is to test this question, and learn whether they are free men, or the minions of a brutal military despotism.

"The people of this city are much excited over the outrage which General Merrill and the U. S. Commissioner Levissee have threatened to perpetrate upon them this morning, and unless caution is observed by the deputy marshal in executing the warrants of these worthies, some desperate act may be perpetrated. We doubt if any deputy marshal's life will be safe if he attempts alone to arrest citizens hereupon these scandalous processes. We admonish any civil officer, therefore, in perpetrating the outrages, to be accompanied by Federal troops."

From the Baton Rouge Advocate.

"We understand that the leading merchants are seriously considering the propriety of entering into a solemn compact to supply no man next year who either votes against the interests of the property holders in the coming election, or gives employment to those who do. We would suggest also that they adopt a method to do away with both the renting and share system. Both of these systems are ruinous to both planter and merchant. By concert of action the merchants and planters can and will put down the disastrous rule of political thieves in this Parish and State, and we know they do not lack
the courage and the will to do it. They hold their fate in their own hands; therefore let them wield their influence for the future good of all."

"That we, the white people, do solemnly promise and bind ourselves not to employ or aid in any manner any person, whether white or black, who votes against our interest, as well as their own, at the coming election in November."

A similar resolution was passed by the meeting of the people's party of Ward No. 1, Parish of East Baton Rouge.

**From the Shreveport Times of October 17th.**

"Whereas there has been a preconcerted plan carried into effect by the radical party, since the enfranchisement of the colored race, to unite them in leagues bound by the most solemn oaths, to support none but radicals for office, which has brought our Country to the verge of destruction."

Be it resolved by the white peoples party of ward No. 2, (parish of Caddo) that we pledge ourselves and our sacred honor, that we will under no circumstances whatever, employ as laborers, rent to, or in any other manner give employment to any man, white or black, who votes the radical ticket at the coming election.

We hereby pledge ourselves to discontinue any one who refuses to sign or who fails to comply with this agreement, by refusing to associate with him in any manner whatever."

**From the Shreveport Times of September 19.**

"With the Federal Army and Navy at his command, the President may reseat Mr. Kellogg; he may replace in some of the Parishes the local officials, but if he would keep them there, he must keep troops in every parish in the State, and it will require an army of 20,000 men to hold in place the rotten and contemptible usurpation. Nor will this quiet the State. The people of Louisiana cannot fight the Federal Government, but they will not bear tamely, or patiently the outrage and it will be as much as a man’s life is worth to accept office from Kellogg. We doubt if Kellogg himself will live twenty days after his reinstallation, even surrounded by an army. Lawlessness will break out everywhere, the worst elements of society, under no fear of public opinion or law, will follow their evil instincts. Carpet-baggers and scalawags and negroes too, we fear, will be killed."

The following editorial comment on the Conchatta massacre is from the Shreveport Times of Sept. 3rd.

"If the civil commotion of the last few days in Red River Parish had no counterpart in other parishes of the State, it might be surmized that lawless men there had outraged the law, and outraged humanity, but the simple fact that similar occurrences are transpiring in other and distant sections of the State, and that the white people in
every section of it, sympathize in these occurrences, is evidence that a
general and powerful cause has provoked them.

"And now looking at the killing of the creatures that were caught
in Red River Parish, engaged there in organizing a war of the blacks
against the whites, from this standpoint, we believe that justice has
been done.

"It may have been in the language of some of our friends, bad
policy, to kill the men who were engaged in organizing ruin and death
in Red River parish, but we differ with them.

"The ring-leaders of the war in Red River are dead. As for our
part, while we do not exult over their death, we have no tears with
which to be-dew their graves, and no censure to bestow upon the men,
whose lives, whose wives and children were threatened.

"The Eagles have struck down the foe and swept away. Now let
the buzzards of radicalism squat upon the carcasses and scream and
chatter and flutter; their noise strikes terror to not a single heart in
Louisiana."

The foregoing extracts are only samples of the torrent of a like
nature that poured forth daily from the White League press all over
the State.

The careful reader, however, of all the foregoing testimony will
readily see that the White League in Louisiana was a military organi-
ization extending through the whole State—that its formation in the
several parishes was nearly contemporaneous, thereby indicating a
general unity of purpose all over the State—that the organization of
the League was effected generally throughout the State about the
month of June and the 1st of July, 1874. That this organization
was probably not less than twenty-five thousand strong, of well armed
men in the State. That these men, having more or less of military
experience, were regularly formed into companies and regiments, and
were armed, officered and drilled, ready for military action; and that
they could all be massed if the exigency required it.

The intelligent reader will also perceive that this organization was
formed for a political purpose. That the direct object of the forma-
tion of the League was to wrest the government of the State from the
hands of the republican party, and to place it in the control of the
White League party. That to accomplish this they adopted the
dangerous policy of uniting the white population as a race, against
the colored population as a race, thus making a strictly race issue of
the matter. And to reach the desired end (of possessing the govern-
ment) it was necessary to pursue two lines of action at once, viz:
"to drive incompetent and corrupt men from office," that is "to get
rid of the Kellogg officials;" and "to carry the election."

How the election was to be carried, the reader can have no trouble
in determining from the foregoing extracts: intimidation, violence,
threats and proscription in its most aggravated forms were freely used.
We will now proceed to show

**How the Officials were to be gotten rid of.**

**The 14th of September in New Orleans**

Was the overthrow of the State Government an accidental result, or was it a part of the regular programme?

**Mr. James Buckner,**

One of the organizers of the League in New Orleans and one of General Ogden's aids on the 14th of September, gives the following account of the overthrow of the Kellogg government on that day.

Question.—How did it happen that on the 14th of September you obeyed the orders to take possession of the State House?

Answer.—The State House was left unoccupied and we walked into it.

Q. Was that action a violation of the understanding with which you joined the White League?

A. It was not a violation of the understanding, and it was not an understood thing either.

Q. It was in accordance with the general views of the persons who joined the League?

A. No sir, it came in accordance afterwards.

Q. Do you know any of the members of the White League who abandoned it in consequence of the proceedings of the 14th of September?

A. No sir.

Q. Can you give any explanation how it happened that the White League being a non-political organization, and for the mere purpose of affording protection to the property of citizens, the members of it armed themselves with guns and drilled, and none of them refused or demurred to proceeding to overthrow the government of the State?

A. We did not proceed to overthrow the State government.

Q. Well, you did it without proceeding to do it?

A. The opportunity offered and it was done.

Q. You did it?

A. It was done in the regular order of things. The mere fact of our marching down the levee to take what belonged to us, gave us possession of the government.

**General Ogden**

Commander of the White League in New Orleans gives the following account of the 14th of September.

Q. You say that the organization was gotten up to preserve the peace; how did you preserve the peace on the 14th of September by your action then?
A. The immediate cause of our being out on the streets was to get some arms, that actually belonged to us, on the steamer Mississippi; that we had been threatened by the police to take these arms. In fact, I believe they were meeting on the levee for the purpose of capturing those arms, when they were discharged from the vessel. Arms belonging to the organization had been captured previous to this by the police, and we assembled to go down to the levee and take our arms, when we were met by the police. I then immediately formed my line of battle and the results are as known.

Q. How was it your object then, to preserve the peace on that day?
A. I do not pretend to say that our sole object was to preserve the peace.

Q. But you have stated in a general way that your object was to preserve the peace. How did you do that on the 14th of September?
A. Our object on that day was to get possession of our property.

Q. Now, as a matter of fact, was it not a military organization for the support of the Democratic organization and the Conservative Party?
A. I emphatically answer that it was not for that purpose.

Q. Did it not support the Democratic party by its votes and its action at the polls, and in every way that it had power to give it support?
A. They gave both parties help by preserving peace at the polls.

Q. Which (political) organization did it support on the 14th of September?
A. It simply supported its own organization and got its guns.

Q. Had it nothing to do with the induction of Governor Penn into office on the 14th of September?
A. It gave him an opportunity to get in.

Q. It was purely an accidental affair, as I understand that you went down there to get those guns, and that you got into a fight, and that Governor Penn, through that accident, got into office as Governor?
A. I have simply to say that the League understood that they were going out for the purpose of capturing their arms. I am free to say that I thought the opportunity would present itself for me to take the step of inducing Governor Penn?

Q. I cannot understand that exactly. We get the general idea that this was an organization to preserve the peace, and for no other purpose; that all your deliberations were in public. Is that the idea you have given us of it?
A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that you went out that morning on the peaceable mission to get some arms, and that you were in hopes that this opportunity would be afforded to do this, (namely to induct Governor Penn.) Did any of the members of the organization have such views?
A. I do not know.

Q. They went out like lambs to the slaughter?

A. No, sir. A great many of them did not know what was going to take place. They were ordered to assemble at their headquarters, and I believe that a great many of them who went down that morning did not know what they were to do.

Q. Now, was that the only object of marching out on the 14th of September to get those arms?

A. I do not believe the men had any other idea than that. I stated, if I remember correctly, that one of the purposes of the League being out that day was to get our guns. Now if you wish to know what my purposes were, I will tell you them. The organization acted under my orders, and they did not know what my plans and purposes were.

Q. Did any member of it know?

A. Some of my staff knew.

Q. Was not the meeting on Canal street, which demanded the abdication of Governor Kellogg, composed of the White League?

A. No, sir, it was a committee of citizens, I believe.

Q. Were you not acting in concert with them?

A. I was awaiting the action of the people, and refused to allow the League to act, until I had heard from them.

Q. And then you acted in concert with the Committee of Seventy?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then I understand you rightly, and you were acting in concert with the Committee of Seventy?

A. I never acted with the Committee of Seventy.

Q. You were acting then in concert with the committee of citizens?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And your mission that morning was really a peaceable one, and if you did anything to overthrow the Kellogg government, it was accidental?

A. Yes, sir; accidental.

"I will state one thing that I omitted to state, that at the time of the change of the government, and while Governor Penn was acting as Governor of the State, he authorized me then to organize the militia of the State, but I have received no orders from him since."

"The Penn government came in on Tuesday, and surrendered on Thursday or Friday."

"The artillery we used on the 14th of September we fixed up ourselves for the occasion."
We make the following citation from the official report of General Ogden of the engagement of the 14th of September:

HEADQUARTERS LOUISIANA STATE MILITIA,
New Orleans, September 17, 1871.

Col. E. J. Ellis, A. A. G.

Colonel—I have the honor to report that on Monday, September 14th, at 1 P. M., upon the uprising of citizens en masse, and immediately on receipt of commission from Lieutenant Governor Penn, acting Governor during the absence of Governor McEnery, appointing me Major General, commanding the State militia, and in pursuance of his orders to assemble my troops, I at once proceeded to form a defensive line of battle on Poydras street—my right resting on the levee, my left on Carondelet street—with the intention of throwing the city into a military camp, for the purpose of thoroughly organizing the State forces.

With commendable alacrity, the following commands reported at my headquarters on Camp, near Poydras street, viz:

Crescent City White League (Col. W. J. Behan, commanding), composed of—

Section A, Capt. W. T. Vaudry,
Section B, " Geo. H. Lord,
Section C, " S. H. Buck,
Section D, " Archibald Mitchell,
Section E, " R. B. Pleasants,
Section F, " Thomas McIntyre,
Section G, " D. M. Kilpatrick,
Eleventh Ward White League, Capt. F. M. Andress,
Tenth " " Edward Flood,
Sixth District " " H. E. Shropshire,
Sixth " " C. H. Allen,
The Sixth Ward " " Geo. W. Dupre,
The Seventh " " O. M. Tennison,
The Washington " " A. B. Phillips,
The St. John " " Charles Vautier,
The Second Ward " " R. Stewart Deneen,
The Third Ward " " J. R. S. Selleck.

Major Legardeur with Capt. A. Roman’s company (the remainder of his battalion being present unarmed);

Col. John G. Angell, commanding First Louisiana Infantry, composed of the following companies:

Company A, Capt. Borland,
  B, " F. McGloin,
  C, " Blanchard,
  E, " Lieutenant T. A. Richardson, together
with two (2) companies of artillery, under Capt. John Glynn, Jr., acting chief of artillery, and Capt. H. D. Coleman.

B. R. FORMAN sworn, says:

I am a lawyer and live in New Orleans, and am a member of the White League, and have been from its inception.

Q. At any of the meetings of the White League was it resolved to change the State Government?

A. It is hard to say resolved: Of course we were all in favor of overthrowing the State Government if a favorable opportunity offered.

Q. How long before it took place was it determined to capture the government?

A. So far as the masses were concerned, I do not think they knew that morning, (14th September.)

Q. Well, the leaders?

A. On the Saturday previous they proposed to get their guns, and if collision occurred, they would defend themselves: and if they could overthrow the Kellogg Government, they would do it.

Q. Was there any meeting of the citizens on the 14th of September.

A. Yes, sir, there was a meeting on that day about 11 o’clock. Notice of it was published in the Sunday, (the 13th,) “papers.”

Q. By what arrangement did they (the Leaguers.) appear suddenly on the streets that day?

A. There was a general resolution to turn out. They knew that the arms were intended to be seized that day. There had been several seizures of arms by the police previous to that day, without warrant or legal process. A mass meeting had been called on the 14th of September to condemn the action of the police in taking private property by force.

Extract Showing the History and Character of the Insurrection of September 14th, 1874.


* * * * *

"Unless our citizens have decided to withdraw entirely from the coming political contest and are willing to see the State of Louisiana pass irrevocably into the hands and possession of negroes and carpet-baggers they must do something promptly and definitively. The enemy is playing a bold game, and making a vigorous effort, by a system of intimidation, to demoralize the people to such an extent that the next election will be but a farce, so far as the white democratic voters are concerned.

If therefore, we have any desire or intention to drive from power, and the control of the government, the horde of miscreants, thieves, and usurpers that now cures Louisiana, the people should be up and doing. Let them to-morrow by their presence and voices, and by
their acts, if necessary, show the janizaries and hirelings, as well as the prime instigator of all the outrages heaped upon us, that we are of right, ought to be and mean to be free."

R. H. Marr says:

He is and has been for a year or two chairman of the Committee of Seventy, and is an honorary member of the White League.

Q. Were not you the head, and front, and chief of the movement of the 14th of September?
A. I don't know how far you call me the head and front, for I had been to the country from Thursday to Saturday evening.

Q. I am asking you what you think. Don't you think you had as much as anybody to do with it?
A. I think the speeches I had made in advance probably had prepared the public mind, but when I got back here on Friday night, the town was in a ferment: What I did after that was with the determination that it should not be a mob; that if there was an uprising of the people, it should be organized, controlled and controllable, and not a mob.

Q. Well, your requests were generally carried out.
A. Yes, sir: My impression is that the people would have done almost anything I had asked of them to do that was reasonable. I tried a little of that on the day after the fight.

Q. Really, then, you had great influence with the white party on that day?
A. Well, for some strange reason it does happen that I have had a great deal of influence.

Q. Did you take an active part in the insurrection of the 14th of September?
A. Well, sir, I suppose it might be said that I did take a pretty active part in it. But I should like to tell you what I did do.

Q. Did you in connection with Dr. Beard and Dr. Bruns, in an excited way, tell the people to go home and get their arms and assemble again?
A. Yes, but now I claim the right to explain that.

Q. I don't want your explanation, I want simply to know the fact. You did tell them so?
A. I did.

Q. Did you yourself bear arms that day?
A. I did not.

Q. Did you go as one of the committee to the Governor (Kellogg) and demand his resignation?
A. I did.

Q. As chairman of the committee?
A. I was at the head of the committee.

Q. Then those people (the mass meeting) were not rising because they had not had a fair election?
A. No, sir, they were rising because the opinion prevailed, whether true or not, that the colored people were being armed, and that, in certain portions of the city, they were drilling and prepared, and the white people were to be disarmed, and that produced a considerable alarm among the people.

Q. Did you believe that?
A. Well yes, Mr. Fry, I did.

“There was no premeditation about the uprising on the 14th of September. At least, if there was, I was not aware of it. I considered it spontaneous.”

“With regard to the advice to people to go home and get their arms, when I came back and announced, after the attempted interview with Governor Kellogg, that he had refused audience, and the answer he had sent through his adjutant-general, I said to these people, “the matter is now in your hands.” I offered them no word of advice at that moment. Some gentleman got up and said something. The people manifested a great deal of excitement, and cried one “Hang him, hang him,” and I don’t know what all. I saw from the temper exhibited at that time that it was either to be an organized, controlled, controllable body, or it was to be a mob, and I apprehended the most serious consequences from a mob, and determined that it should not be a mob; and it was then I said to them: “If you are determined to go into this matter, go home and get your arms;” or I said to them, “Go home and get your arms and come here at half past two o’clock.”

An account of the proceedings of the mass meeting of September 14th, taken from the New Orleans Bulletin.

The meeting was called to order at 11:30 o’clock a.m. by R.H. Marr.

“M. Marr introduced the president, Mr. M. Musson.


“The President requested Mr. Marr to read the resolutions and explain the object of the meeting. Mr. Marr read the following resolution and made a stirring speech, requesting all present to be calm and quiet.

“Whereas at a general election held in Louisiana on the 4th day of November, 1872, John McEnery was elected Governor by a majority of near ten thousand over his opponent, William P. Kellogg, and D. B. Penn, Lieutenant-Governor, by a majority of fifteen thousand over his opponent C. C. Antoine;

“And whereas, by fraud and violence these defeated candidates
seized the Executive chair, and from time to time, by other fraudulent and violent acts, in the face of the report of the Committee of the Senate of the United States, appointed to investigate the affairs of Louisiana, that the existing government of the State is an usurpation, the result of violent abuse of judicial functions, and sustained simply by force, W. P. Kellogg has continued himself in power to the gross wrong and outrage of the people of the State of Louisiana and to the imminent danger of republican institutions throughout the entire country;

And whereas, with a view to controlling and determining the results of the approaching election to be held in Louisiana in November next, he has, under an act known as the "Registration Act" and passed for the purpose of defeating the popular will, secured to himself and his partisans the power of denying registration to bona-fide citizens, whose applications before the Courts for a mandamus to compel the assistant Supervisors to enroll and register them has been refused, the registration law indeed, punishing the Courts if they dare to take cognizance of such appeals.

"And, whereas, by false and infamous misrepresentations of the feelings and motives of our people, he has received the promises of aid from the Federal army, placed at the orders of the Attorney General of the United States and subject to the calls of the United States Marshals, for the purpose of overawing our State and controlling the election;

"And whereas, in the language of the call for this meeting, one by one our dearest rights have been trampled upon, until at last, in the supreme height of its violence, this mockery of a republican form of government has dared even to deny that right so solemnly guaranteed by the very Constitution of the United States, which in article II of the Amendments declares "that the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed;""}

"Be it resolved that we re-affirm solemnly the resolution adopted by the White people of Louisiana in convention assembled at Baton Rouge, on the 24th of August, 1874, "That the white people of Louisiana have no desire to deprive the colored people of any rights to which they are entitled; that W. P. Kellogg is a mere usurper, and we denounce him as such; that his government is arbitrary, unjust and oppressive, and can only maintain itself through Federal interference; that the election and registration laws under which this election is being conducted, were intended to perpetuate usurpation by depriving the people and especially our naturalized citizens, of an opportunity to register and vote; and therefore in the name of the citizens of New Orleans, now in mass-meeting assembled and of the people of the State of Louisiana whose franchise has been wrested from them by fraud and violence, and all of whose rights and liberties have been outraged and trampled upon, We demand of W. P. Kellogg his immediate abdication."
Resolved that a committee of five be immediately appointed by the chairman, who shall be a member of said committee, to wait upon Mr W. P. Kellogg, to present to him these resolutions, to demand of him an immediate answer and to report the result of such interview to this meeting.

The following named gentlemen were appointed to wait on Kellogg to demand his resignation: R. H. Marr, chairman, Jules Fryes, Samuel Choppin, J. M. Seixas, J. B. Woods.

The gentlemen who had been appointed a committee to wait upon Kellogg having departed, the meeting was addressed by E. John Ellis, who delivered "a telling speech" and wound up by advising the people to remain on Canal street and await the receipt of the report of the committee, when they would be advised what to do.

Now, all of these witnesses agree in putting forth the assertion that the occasion of the White Leaguers being out in force on the 14th of September was to seize their arms on the steamer Mississippi, and that the overthrow of the Kellogg government on that day was an "unpremeditated," "accidental" result of the attempt to capture their arms. They would also have us believe that the mass meeting on Canal street on that day was a "spontaneous" uprising of the people, maddened into action by repeated wrongs and oppressions of the Kellogg government. They would also have us infer that there was no logical connection between the mass-meeting and the overthrow of the State Government, and that there was no necessary connection between the movement of the White Leaguers and the overthrow of the government. And that the concurrence, in point of time, of the mass-meeting and the movement of the White Leaguers to seize their arms, was without design and accidental.

Now all this is the sheerest pretext. The primary, premeditated purpose of the White Leaguers in that day's proceeding was to capture the Kellogg government, and the mass-meeting was gotten up by the White Leaguers simply as a blind to assist in concealing their purposes, and to popularize their action.

We do not propose to argue the foregoing propositions seriatim. The truth of them stands out so conspicuously in the testimony cited that the ordinary reader cannot fail to see it.

In the first place, the constitution of the League lays down as one of the fundamental purposes of its formation, "to drive incompetent and corrupt men from office." Everybody knows that in White League language this means simply the forcible expulsion of republican officials.

Mr. Forman says, "of course we were all in favor of overthrowing the State government, if a favorable opportunity offered."

The consultation of the Chiefs of the League on Saturday, the 12th of September, and their resolution to hold a mass-meeting on Canal street, on Monday; and "If they could overthrow the Kellogg govern-
ment they would do it," discloses the purposes and the plan of the Leaguers so plainly, that there is no room for interpretation.

The editorial language of the Bulletin of September 13th, is equally plain as to the purpose for which the meeting was called. "If therefore we have any desire or intention to drive from power and the control of the government the hordes of miscreants, thieves and usurpers that now curses Louisiana, the people should be up and doing. Let them to-morrow, by their presence and voices, and by their acts, if necessary, show the janizaries and hirelings, as well as the prime instigator of all the outrages heaped upon us, that we are of right, ought to be and mean to be free."

Mr. Ogden says:

"White Governor Penn was acting as governor of the State, he authorized me then to organize the militia of the State."

Question. But this organization of the White League is not that?

Answer. No, sir, it would not be considered that. This organization (the White League) was not this militia authorized by Governor Penn.

Q. You were under the orders of Gov. Penn in the affair of the 14th of September?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You acted then under him?

A. Yes, sir."

It will be observed that this corresponds with General Ogden’s report of the battle, in which he expressly states that the battle took place in pursuance of the orders of Gov. Penn. And yet the White League is entirely non-political and "emphatically was not a military organization for the support of the Democratic or Conservative party."

Gen. Ogden volunteers the assertion that "our organization was purely for defensive purposes."

It may require some little effort of the imagination to see precisely where the "defensive" comes in in this 14th of September affair, but that is not probably the fault of the General.

"The White League simply supported its own organization" on the 14th of September.

"I do not think it gave its support as an organization" to either party."

Nevertheless the General fought the battle with White Leaguers exclusively, as Major General of State Militia, under the orders of Governor Penn.

Question by Mr. Foster. Your mission then that morning was really—(not?) a peaceable one, and, if you did anything to overthrow the Kellogg government, it was accidental?

A. Yes, sir, accidental.
Now in connection with this, interpret the meaning of the following:

"One of the purposes of the League being out that day was to get our guns" from the steamship.

"I have simply to say that "the League understood that they were going out for the purpose of capturing their guns." I do not believe the men had any other idea than that.

"A great many of the men did not know what was going to take place."

"The organization (White League) acted under my orders and they did not know what my plans and purposes were. But, some of my staff knew what my plans and purposes were, and what was going to take place. And General Ogden has not left us to infer what was going to take place. "I thought the opportunity would present itself to induce Governor Penn." As Mr. Forman expresses it "If they could overthrow the Kellogg government they would do it."

Will General Ogden tell us where the "accidental" comes in?

I am free to say, says General Ogden: "I thought the opportunity would present itself for me to take the steps of inducing Gov. Penn."

This anticipated opportunity of inducing the McEnery Government necessarily presupposes an equally probable opportunity of expelling the Kellogg Government; for the induction of the one necessarily includes the expulsion of the other.

Therefore General Ogden, cooperating with the mass meeting, which "demands of W. P. Kellogg, his immediate abdication," and acting as Major General of State Militia under the orders of Lieut. Governor Penn in the absence of Governor McEnery, proceeds to fight the battle of the 14th of September, with White League troops exclusively, subject to his orders as "Commander of all the White League organizations in New Orleans," and not subject to him as Major General Commanding State Militia, with the scarcely disguised purpose of expelling Governor Kellogg from office, and of inducing Governor Penn. And still General Ogden "does not think the White League gave its support as an organization" to either party, and "emphatically it was not a military organization for the support of the democratic organization and Conservative party."

If the principal (and as some of the witnesses assert,) the sole object of the Leaguers that day was to get their guns from the steamship, why did General Ogden await the action of the mass meeting, or why did he consult the movements of the mass meeting at all, before he would allow the Leaguers to act? What had the action of the mass meeting to do with the getting of the guns? And what had the Leagues to do with the mass meeting? The answer is obvious. The Leaguers had everything to do with the mass meeting, and the mass meeting had nothing to do with getting the guns.
Says General Ogden: “The Penn Government came in on Tuesday, the 15th.”

How then came Gov. Penn to be playing Governor on Monday, the 14th, by perpetrating so stupendous an act as that of creating a Major General of Militia, and of ordering a pitched battle, twenty-four hours before he was inducted into office?

To the average understanding, this looks a little premature. But we leave the reader to make his own inferences. There is, however, one thing about it, that is beyond all question. It is the most rapid military operation on record, especially for a government inducted into office so suddenly and undesignedly by a mere “accident” which had not yet happened.

Mr. R. H. Marr, an honorary member of the White League, chairman of the Committee of Seventy, who called the meeting of the 14th of September to order, and “made a stirring speech, requesting all present to be calm and quiet,” read the series of “spontaneous” resolutions heretofore quoted, closing with these remarkable words, “We demand of W. P. Kellogg his immediate abdication.”

This looks much more like going for the Governor, than for the guns.

Mr. Marr further tells us that the people were rising on the 14th of September “because the opinion prevailed that the colored people were being armed—were drilling and prepared, etc. This he gives as the occasion or active cause of that meeting.

Mr. Forman says: “A mass meeting had been called on the 14th of September to condemn the action of the police in taking private property by force.”

When the leaders, who are supposed to be equally familiar with the plans and purposes of the League, give two reasons so totally variant, we feel authorized to disregard them both and believe the truth.

We have an unqualified right to judge of the object of that meeting by the terms of the resolutions prepared and read by Mr. Marr, and these resolutions do not make the faintest reference to the arming of the blacks as one of the grievances complained of; nor do they in any manner allude to the purpose of seizing the arms on the steamship. But, after the usual number of familiar and stereotyped ‘wheresoever’ they come directly to the object of the whole movement.—“We demand of W. P. Kellogg his immediate abdication.” And Mr. Marr does this in the name of the people of New Orleans and of the people of the State of Louisiana. Whence does Mr. Marr derive his authority to represent the people of Louisiana in an act of such transcendent impudence! The only people of Louisiana, who authorized this bold act of open rebellion, were simply the White Leaguers and their sympathizers. It was they alone that got up the meeting and directed all its operations.
Mr. Marr was chairman of the Committee sent to demand the Governor's resignation. He makes his demand. The Governor does not abide readily. Mr. Marr informs the Governor that, if he, (the Governor,) would grant their demands, they would not molest him or his property! It may seem surprising that the Governor should have been so obdurate as to still refuse. But he did.

While Mr. Marr and the rest of his Committee were gone to wait on the Governor, Mr. E. John Ellis entertained the meeting and wound up a "telling speech" by advising the people to remain on Canal Street and await the receipt of the report of the Committee, when they would be advised what to do." Mr. Marr returns to the meeting at a quarter before one o'clock and makes his report. He says, "I offered no word of advice at that moment." But "I said to the people the matter is now in your hands." "If you are determined to go into this matter, go home and get your arms and come back here at half past two o'clock." This is the advice which the crowd was waiting for; and is there any chance to misinterpret its meaning? Does it not show that the League—that day was under the supreme direction of Mr. Marr? For it was they to whom he addressed these remarkable words, and they were the only ones that responded to them, as is shown by General Ogden's report of the troops engaged.

Now watch Mr. Marr through all this.

There is no direct evidence that he advised the calling of the mass meeting, but the inference that he did so is almost irresistible from the conspicuous part that he bore in the proceedings and the entire management and control which he seems to have had. He appears among the first at the meeting, and calls it to order, and then immediately reads his resolutions, which he had already prepared for the occasion and supports them by a "stirring speech." The substance of the resolutions is the demand for the resignation of the Governor, and that a Committee be appointed to make the demand. Mr. Marr goes as chairman of the Committee and makes that demand. He returns to the meeting and reports a failure of success, and advises the people to "go home, get their arms, and come back at half past two o'clock." Thus it appears that it was pretty much Mr. Marr's meeting.

"The matter is now in your hands. If you are determined to go into this matter."

What matter does Mr. Marr refer to? Necessarily the forced abdication matter. The abdication of Governor Kellogg was the business of the day with him and of course that was the matter referred to.

"Go home and get your arms" &c.

To whom were these words addressed? To the White Leaguers, who in all probability composed the larger part of the meeting.

The New Orleans Times, in its account of 14th of September, says "It was very evident that a large number of those present
came simply out of curiosity," and who without any other notice did assemble at the time and place thus designated.

Now put all these facts and coincidences with the statements of General Ogden that the Leaguers acted on that day under his orders and that he acted in concert with the Committee of the Mass-Meeting; and that he (Ogden) refused to let the League act until he had heard from the Committee of the Mass-Meeting, and then ask yourself if there is any escape from conclusion that the principal and premeditated purpose of the Leaguers on the 14th of September, was to capture the State government, and that the material support on which they relied to accomplish that purpose, was the White Leaguers.

Mr. Marr also tells us about the "spontaneous uprising of the people," and General Ogden of "the rising en masse." This is sheer stuff. The only rising en masse on that occasion was the rising of the White Leaguers, and they rose under the direction and guidance of their leaders. They claim that there were five thousand people present—surely an immense throng for a city of more than 200,000 population! Deduct those that have come "from mere curiosity," and there will be a residuum of about twenty-five hundred White Leaguers.

"Spontaneous" indeed, but the spontaneity was all on the part of such men as Mr. Marr, Dr. Bruns, Beard, Ogden and a few others who inspired and directed every movement. These gentlemen are bottling moonshine when they attempt to conceal from the world the fact that the 14th of September was simply a White League demonstration and nothing else. When the masses rise spontaneously to assert their rights against their rulers, or to avenge a wrong, they do not govern themselves with so much method. Their movements are guided by passion alone, while this, at every successive step, betrays the governing hand of caution design. We must needs judge of the motives and intentions of men by their acts, and, in this affair, the acts speak so plainly that a child cannot misread them. The undisguised truth of the whole matter is simply this. To expel the Kellogg officials from office was a part of the programme of the white man's party. This branch of the business had already been accomplished in several parishes of the State. In Natchitoches by a very strong demonstration of White League force, the officials fleeing for their lives—in Red River Parish, by first capturing the officials and then slaying them in cold blood, (this is known as the Coshatta massacre,) in Caddo and in many other parishes the business had progressed apace; and the fullness of time had now come for the City of New Orleans to act, if, in the language of the Bulletin: "We have any desire or intention to drive from power and the control of the government the horde of miscreants, etc."
But to avoid shocking too much the sensibilities of mankind, they must need have some sort of pretext to conceal a design so monstrous. Hence this spontaneous uprising of Mr. Marr and his colleagues. Hence this lame attempt to cast upon the people the odium of an act that belongs exclusively to the Leaguers. The meeting was regularly called by notice in the newspapers; and when assembled exhibited no extraordinary excitement and when dismissed the people went quietly to their homes as from any other meeting, and the Leaguers reported pursuant to Mr. Marr’s instructions, at half past two, and probably not one in twenty of the people of New Orleans knew anything of this “uprising” till it was all over.

"Spontaneous." It is Mr. Marr that says this.—Mr. Robert H. Marr, the great conservator of the liberties of the people, and the self constituted guardian of the honor of the State. The man who has never held an office, and has never been a candidate for any office—who, two or three years ago, made the most intrepid attempts to nationalize the cause of Louisiana, and who has been fighting windmills ever since—whose speeches made in advance prepared the public mind for the 14th of September, but who “did not himself bear arms on that day”—an honorary member of the White League and chief of the expurgated edition of Louisiana Democracy known as the Seventy, and finally the man who has so Marded the Democracy of Louisiana, that those outside the State scarcely recognize it. This man, it is, who says to this excited throng (as he would have us believe they were,) “The matter is now in your hands.” We have tried intimidation and it won’t win. Go home and get your guns.

“The people manifested a great deal of excitement.” ** I saw from the temper exhibited at that time, that it was to be an organized, controlled and controllable body, or it was to be a mob; and I apprehended the most serious consequences from a mob, and determined that it should not be a mob; and it was then I said to them ‘If you are determined to go into this matter, go home and get your arms’, or I said to them: ‘Go home, get your arms and come here at half past two o’clock.”

Noble words fitly spoken! ! This single utterance ought to make the name of Marr immortal. We have tried intimidation on the Governor and it didn’t win. We now turn the case over to you, “Go home and get your arms.” How few men would have thought of so novel and yet so happy an expedient for controlling the surging passions of that infuriated throng! And how noble it was in Mr. Marr to throw himself into the breach and face the whirlwind of passion that is just about to sweep everything to destruction, just to save the city of New Orleans! But some men are born great and can’t help it.
Nothing short of the genius of White-Leaguism could have suggested a remedy at once so original and so apt for a danger so threatening.

How beautifully too this illustrates Mr. Marr's conservatism! He was apprehensive of danger from a mob, and "determined it should not be a mob." Therefore, he tells them "the matter is in your hands," "Go home and get your arms."

And while this thrilling instance of escape from public danger illustrates Mr. Marr's readiness to sacrifice himself, if need be, for the public safety, it also exemplifies, in a striking manner his happy method of maintaining and defending the Constitution; and of protecting the rights of all citizens, and conspicuously of preserving the peace, which, the reader will remember, constituted a prominent part of the White League platform.

But thanks to the inspiration of his noble genius, Mr. Marr determined that this "spontaneous uprising" should be "organized," which of course made that mass-meeting "an organized spontaneous uprising" and as such it was as controllable as an ordinary camp-meeting. Perhaps the secret of Mr. Marr's great success in this matter, is that "the uprising was organized in advance; and, when, at one o'clock, the meeting was dismissed, those who had come simply out of curiosity," went quietly home about their business; and those that had been organized, got their arms and fell into line under the command of General Ogden.

Many other proofs might be adduced, but it would seem that the foregoing ought to suffice. The attentive reader of this evidence has not failed to see that the White League was organized, officered and armed for the express purpose of forcibly expelling the Republican officials of Louisiana from office; and that it was also the purpose of the organization of the League, through its influence, to control the election of 1874, by threats, proscription, intimidation and by actual violence, even to the shedding of blood if necessary.

It is equally plain, (as a sample of their mode of carrying out their designs), that the 14th of September in New Orleans, was simply a White League demonstration, gotten up by White Leaguers and managed by White Leaguers for White League purposes.

The platform of the White Man's Party in Louisiana is simply "opposition to republicanism." The compilation of documents, testimony of witnesses and extracts from the press, herein presented, is intended to display the principles and spirit of that opposition and its modes of action.

There are very many of the ablest and best men in Louisiana, who have never, down in the depths of their hearts, approved the White League or its acts. Captured, perhaps, by surprize, or influenced, it
may be, by the fear of proscription, many, very many, among the best citizens of the State, yielded against their better judgment and cooperated, in 1874, with the White Man’s Party, without a proper knowledge of the real designs of that party or of its modes of action.

Is the reader ready to pledge himself anew to the support of that party in the coming election of 1876?

Do you believe that the principles of the White League, put in force and fully carried out, can subserve the public good?

Are you willing to support an organized, military power, subject to no control but its own, to dominate the individual will and to control elections?

Are you willing to inaugurate anarchy, to defeat a fair expression of the will of the people at the ballot-box?

Do you not perceive that the White League Leaders are endeavoring to control the political affairs of the State by armed force?

Do you value the right of free speech and freedom of opinion? Then you certainly will not lend your voice and your influence to the support of a party, whose undoubted purpose is to substitute armed force for law, and to control the will of voters by proscription, violence and fraud.

It may be true that the white people of Louisiana combined and a large part of them armed and organized into a military body, may overcome the Republican voters of the State in 1876, as has been lately done in Mississippi, and as was partially the case in Louisiana at the last election. But is the reader so weak as to believe that a settled and satisfactory condition of our political affairs can be reached and secured by this mode of proceeding?

Every sensible man in Louisiana has long since discovered and deplored the damaging effect of our disorders on the agricultural and commercial interests of the State. Does any Louisianan need to be reminded that the only cause of these disorders is in the insane attempt of few ambitious leaders among the whites to defeat, in one way or another, the right of the negro to vote?

How many and who are these leaders? You can count them on your fingers; and are they men of such character and antecedents as to invite your following? Are you a man capable of directing your own action; or are you a puppet that you should follow the lead of designing demagogues? Haven't we long enough striven in this direction? Isn't it time for the thinking, substantial men of the State, to say, we have had enough of such folly? Our agriculture, commerce, manufacture and social progress are all imperiled by these disorders, and we will have no more of it? This bloodshed and political proscription must cease. Let the law have its course. Let the colored man, without fear or molestation, go to the poll and vote his will, as any other free man.
We address these inquiries.—not to the rabble—not to the unthinking multitude of men who blindly follow any one ambitious enough to lead—but to the intelligent men of Louisiana—to those men who are capable of divorcing themselves from their prejudices and of dispassionately viewing things as we find them.

The condition of things in Louisiana demands your action. Let that action be tempered with prudence and judgment, and the relief we so much desire will be attained.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from the Press, showing the spirit of the White League, towards the General Government.

[An article reproduced in and commended by the "Shreveport Times"]

GEORGIA READY FOR RESISTANCE TO FEDERAL TROOPS.—ORGANIZING FOR ANOTHER SECESSION.

"Every radical convention that has been held this year has demanded the passage of the civil-rights bill; every radical politician of any prominence has advocated it, and President Grant in yielding to the clamors of secedingly politicians and sending troops to the South, ostensibly to preserve order, but really to control the elections in the interest of the negroes and their allies, has demonstrated that we have nothing to hope from him in the shape of a veto of the bill. What, then, are the facts? Radicalism has declared a war of extermination against the whites of the South. It purports to punish rebels and make "treason odious", by the most vindictive measures its malignity can conceive. Our fate is to be less merciful than that of the Trojans, less sublime than that of the Carthaginians. We are not to perish by the sword, as these people perished; we are to live, and live in degradation. Our helots and serfs of yesterday are to rule us politically and to sit beside us on terms of equality socially. All pride of race is to be crushed within us. We are to be the slave; the negro is to be the master. History gives no precedent for this monstrous programme; its pages teem with the stories of conquered and oppressed people; but not one story is akin to this. It was left for the fertile brain of a New England Yankee to conceive the punishment.* Nor will it end in this civil-rights bill. The next thing on the programme will be to enact a compulsory-education law, and compel us to send our children to public schools, there to herd with negroes. This is not a gratuitous proposition. It has already been made and favorably received. Against the fate that confronts us what have the Southern people to do? Is it that "prudence"
which such papers as the Louisville Courier-Journal advocates, but which men less gifted than the editor of that paper calls a dastardly submission? No. Our only hope is in a stern, resolute resistance—a resistance to the death, if necessary, with arms in our hands.

"Let there be White Leagues formed in every town, village, and hamlet of the South and let us organize for the great struggle which seems to be inevitable. If the October elections, which are to be held at the North are favorable to the radicals, the time will have arrived for us to prepare for the very worst. The radicalism of the Republican party must be met by the radicalism of white men. We have no war to make against the United States Government, but against the Republican party our hate must be unquenchable, our war interminable and merciless. Fast fleeting away is the day for wordy protests and idle appeals to the magnanimity of the Republican party. By brute force they are endeavoring to force us into acquiescence to their hideous programme. We have submitted long enough to indignities and it is time to meet brute force by brute force. Every Southern State should swarm with White Leagues, and we should stand ready to act the moment Grant signs the civil-rights bill. It will not do to wait until radicalism has fettered us to the car of social equality before we make an effort to resist it. The signing of the bill will be a declaration of war against the Southern whites. It is our duty to ourselves, it is our duty to our children, it is our duty to the white race, whose prowess subdued the wildness of this continent, whose civilization filled it with cities and towns and villages, whose mind gave it power and grandeur, and whose labor imparted to it prosperity, and whose love made peace and happiness dwell within its homes, to take the gage of battle the moment it is thrown down. If the white Democrats of the North are men, they will not stand idly by and see us borne down by Northern radicals and half barbarous negroes. But, no matter what they may do, it is time for us to organize. We have been temporizing long enough. Let Northerners understand that military supervision of Southern elections and the civil rights bill mean war, that war means bloodshed, and that we are terribly in earnest, and even they, fanatical as they are may retrace their steps before it is too late."

The following is from an editorial in

The New Orleans Picayune of Aug. 27th, 1874.

"Apparently our neighbors of Kentucky do not hold the average United States soldier in the breathless veneration he has excited here. When the government troops went down to meddle in that Lancaster emeute the other evening, they were fired into with a
promptness and cordiality quite instructive. We have always sus-
pected that the proper way to estimate soldiers was by the standard of
their strength. The propriety of allowing them to interfere in
local and domestic concerns which the engaging parties are perfectly
competent to regulate, is, and always will be open to very grave
doubts in a country professing republican institutions. It is done,
however, and we presume must be regarded as a characteristic
feature of our government. Louisiana is a melancholy witness of the
fact and discussion of the theory is useless. But we have always con-
sidered that such interference ought to be treated in strict accordance
with its material power. The most abject spectacle we can imagine
is that of a regiment of able-bodied human beings crouching and
whimpering before the effigy of the United States Army.

From the Picayune of May, 1870.

"The Fifteenth amendment to the Constitution was a shameless
fraud and imposition upon Louisiana and her sister Southern States,
and this fact will be fully acknowledged in coming years."

From the Franklin Enterprise, of August 6th, 1874.

"Come what may, upon the radical party must rest the whole
responsibility of this conflict, and as sure as there is a just God in
Heaven, their unnatural, cold-blooded and revengeful measures of re-
construction in Louisiana, will meet a terrible retribution."

From the Natchitoches Vindicator, September 12, 1874.

"The United States troops can come among us for two purposes;
first, to preserve order and restore peace, should we require their
presence for such purpose, which does not exist at this time, for the
civil authorities, aided by the willing assistance of the white citizens,
can check all violence and arrest all offenders; Second, to foster,
preserve, and defend the continuation of the monstrous iniquity, the
slender upon government, which has existed by suffrage (?) alone for
the past six years in Louisiana.

"We can have no serious objection to the Federal authorities
sending a force here for the purposes first specified, but their resi-
dence among us will be trying indeed, not from any fear of an out-
break of our people, but their situation will be singular, and they will
be compelled to conduct themselves with care, and their acts must be
strictly in accordance with the expressed purposes for which they
come. But should this movement of troop be intended for a Federal
interference with the affairs of Louisiana, a movement to give strength
and backbone to the plundering thieves and merciless villains, who
are now quiet, but not convinced, then God help our opponents."

"As we foreshadowed, nay, stated in our last, the last turn of the
screw has been Louisiana's fate. Aportion and dispensation, and again
she is crushed, prostrate, and murdered by the crowning wrong which has come to put its capstone on the pyramid of private and public iniquity. The President of the United States, bloated and gangrened by continued debauchery, * never once paused to reflect or investigate our true situation, but with vengeance in his debased composition, and blasphemy on his accursed lips, decided against us, and once more we are down. Never for a single moment did it occur to him even to pause and appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, but sans soul, and with malice aforethought and indecent haste, did he hurl the thunders of his harem against us, and his perfumed chambers of power were converted into Louisiana's Tour de Nesle, and thus once more we are at the tender mercies of Laundelet Williams, who assumes command of the Army and Navy of the United States,"

From the Shreveport Time.

"If the Federal Government again strikes them down, then let the infamy of the deed rest upon the shameless despotism that has arisen out of the malignity and hate of the northern people, beneath whose withering influence no sentiment of liberty can survive; under whose policy of meanness, cowardice and hate, every community that does not worship it must be trampled in the dust, and every civilization that does not pay tribute to it blasted by its curse."

From the Shreveport Times of January 29, 1875.

"We need scarcely say to the readers of the Times that this policy of peace never had our endorsement. We believed and we believe now that the protest of Louisiana against the wrong upon her constitution and liberty had better been written in the blood of ten thousand men than in the speech of Speaker Wiltz. We believed and believe now that the American people should have risen in their might and forced the brute of the White House to recede from his infamous, illegal and tyrannical interference with the legislature of a Sovereign State. Republics are born in the midst of battles; and evils, innovations upon government, corruptions and wrongs, such as those established by the present administration, have seldom, if ever, been corrected by the civil processes of the law. They gradually engraft themselves upon the law and institutions of the country and only the fires of revolution can burn them out. The revolution must come, and we believe it better that the American people should confront Grant and his twenty thousand soldiers in 1875, than that they should confront Grant and his three or four hundred thousand soldiers in 1876. But our people have decided and we stand with them. Let us wait in peace."

From the Caucasian of Alexandria, La.

"Thus is the sovereign will of a once free people, fairly and hon-
estly expressed by the constitutional method of the ballot, to be overthrown by a band of conspirators whose head and front is the drunken Knave who fills the President's chair to its disgrace and his everlasting infamy. The question presents itself here that we have heard on the lips of every one for some time. "What are we to do?" To that question there can be but one answer; and that answer is comprised in a single word, *fight*.

**From the New Orleans Bulletin.**

"We learn that an officer of the United States, stationed at this city, declared yesterday that United States troops would be sent here to enforce the rights of radicals, white and black, to vote. If this was said as a threat, or if the officer spoke advisedly, we can assure him that the coming of United States troops to Louisiana is a matter of small importance to any of the white people against whom they may be sent to operate. The people of this State who are opposed to radicalism and negro-rule have no thought of interfering with the right of any man of any color to vote as he may elect; but they do solemnly propose to exercise that privilege themselves, spite of Kellogg, spite of metropolitan police and spite of the United States troops.

"We have arrived at the conclusion that if the United States officers so far forget their duties as to permit themselves to be used as the tools of a local faction in a State contest, they deserve no more consideration than any other men and should be treated as ordinary ruffians. The example of Arkansas and other States where United States troops were treated as impertinent intermeddlers, has taught us folly of yielding more than a proper obedience and respect to the blue coats and the bayonets of the Federal Soldiery. If the soldiers choose to get mixed up in broils with which they have no concern, they must expect to come out with punched heads and torn uniforms. The time has passed when a blue coat stuck upon a pole can make us bow in abject submission as before Gesler's cap."

**From the New Orleans Bulletin, September 19th, 1874.**

"By the many dispatches received from the different parishes in the State, it is clear that the Kellogg usurpation has been completely and thoroughly overthrown. The honest and intelligent portion of the people are now in possession of the local governments. They are able to sustain the position they have assumed, and we hope that no paper orders from the Federal Government will drive them from their position.

"We have fifty-seven parishes in this State and it will take a regiment of Federal soldiers in each parish to sustain in office the officials of the Kellogg usurpation. This will require 50,000 troops.
Is the Government prepared to quarter that number of soldiers in Louisiana, to maintain in power a fraudulent and infamous government?

"It is true that we in New Orleans have surrendered to General Emory, not because he was able to compel submission, but because gun-boats and other machinery of the United States Government which might be used against us would result in the destruction of life and property greater than the local interests of the City would justify. But this, in itself, does not warrant a surrender or submission to the Kellogg usurpation in the country parishes, until actual demonstration of physical and armed force by the Federal Government are exhibited to such an extent that resistance would be fruitless.

"Let then every parish in the State drive from office every usurper and appointee of Kellogg and maintain their position until overwhelmed by a superior military force of Grant's government. Compel him to send troops in every parish in the State, and thus convince the world of the truthfulness of the assertion that the Kellogg usurpation cannot exist in Louisiana unless backed up by the army of the United States."

Extracts from the report of the Congressional Committee of inquest upon Louisiana. February 1875.

"The White League is an organization which exists in New Orleans, and contains at least from twenty-five hundred to three thousand members, armed, drilled and officered as a military organization. Organizations bearing the same name extend throughout many parts of the State *** Its organization, equipment, drill and discipline were wholly military. Its name was not appropriate to a volunteer police, but was appropriate to an association designed to put the whites of the State into power by force. It had cannon. On the 14th of September, 1874, it rose upon and attacked the police of the City, the pretext of the attack being the seizure of arms which it had imported from the North, and having defeated them with considerable slaughter, it took possession of the State-house, overthrew the State government, and installed a new governor in office, and kept him in power until the United States interfered. This rising was planned beforehand. Its commanding officer, Ogden, published an elaborate and pompous report of his military movements, in which he expresses his thanks to his aids and other officers for their important and valuable services before and during the day of the action. In other parts of the State, organizations under the same name existed, and we have no doubt that their purposes and methods were also