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THE WHITE LEAGUE CONSPIRACY  
AGAINST FREE GOVERNMENT.

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We print in full in this morning's Republican the able speech of General Hugh J. Campbell, delivered in Union Chapel on Monday evening last. This speech is a manly and bold exposition of the causes which have led to our present unhappy political position, and is substantiated by an irresistible array of facts and figures. As an oratorical effort it was one of the best of the General's life, and he was listened to by his large audience with undivided attention, and was greeted with frequent burst of applause. General Campbell is a speaker of great force, and his efforts are always fortified with a strong showing of facts. We have as yet seen no attempt to disprove any of the grave assertions which he last Monday evening made concerning the acts and plans of the revolutionary party in this State. We commend this speech of General Campbell's to our readers as a valuable addition to current political literature.

[New Orleans Republican, January 17.



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# THE WHITE LEAGUE CONSPIRACY

## AGAINST FREE GOVERNMENT.

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### SPEECH OF GENERAL HUGH J. CAMPBELL,

*On Monday Evening, January 11, 1875, before a Republican Mass Meeting, held in Bethel Chapel, for the purpose of giving the sense of the Republicans of Louisiana as to the correctness of the facts stated in General Sheridan's dispatches.*

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MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW CITIZENS—I thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me in asking me to address you at this time. I appear before you with the most solemn impression that we are now standing at the critical point in the fortunes of Republicanism in the Southern States. The destinies of the Republican party, and with them those of the colored people, and with them those of the white people of this State and of the South, who have been the supporters of the Republican party, are now in the scale, and the scale is literally trembling on its balance. At this very hour, while I am speaking to you, the people of this Union, in every city, town and village; and in every capital of the States, and every legislative hall; in the capital of the nation itself, and in the halls of Congress, are solemnly, and with intense excitement, deliberating upon the question whether there is anything in Republicanism at the South worthy of preserving it to the nation. They are everywhere asking the question to-night: If there are ninety thousand Republican voters in Louisiana, what is the reason that the election of 1872 has so long been in doubt? What is the reason that, on the fourteenth of September last, three thousand men, with arms in their hands, in thirty minutes, overthrew your State government and all its forces, and drove your State officials into the Customhouse for protection? What is the reason that at the recent election it is now claimed by the Democrats that they carried it, and

carried it by virtue of negro votes, and that thousands of colored men are said by them to have voted the White League ticket?" It is just at this critical juncture that one man, independent in position and character, with the intuition of genius and the force of a strong and well balanced mind, has gone right straight to the heart of the question and answered it—"BANDITTI." [Loud applause and long cheers.] That word contains the whole answer; it sums up the volume of eight years of bloodshed, anarchy, massacre and murder. In giving the wings of language to that term, in hurling it like a thunderbolt at the heads of the guilty, coming from his lips as it did, clothed with all the authority and majesty of the solemn official declaration of the second military officer in rank in the nation; of one of the historical military heroes of our national history; of one of the eight or ten names which stand at the topmost line on the scroll of the world's greatest military names, General Philip H. Sheridan, has uttered the most fearful indictment against a part of the people of this State which has ever been found against any civilized community. Not only through every town and village, not only through every great city, not only in Washington and in Congress, but in Paris, London, Amsterdam, Rome, Berlin, Vienna, and in every civilized capital of the globe has this terrific indictment been read, pondered and judicially weighed. [Applause.] It is to the facts of historical record which none can dispute and which every one knows, upon which this indictment of General Sheridan is based, that I wish to address myself now.

#### NINE MASSACRES IN EIGHT YEARS.

From 1866 to the present time there have been nine great butcheries or massacres for political reasons in the State of Louisiana. I give you the list. In 1866, 200 persons were killed, and 160 were taken wounded to the Marine Hospital, and this is not counting those dead and wounded whose bodies were carted away by the authorities and dumped in some unknown places. At that massacre, I have the authority of a surgeon in the United States army now on duty in this city for stating that, after these 160 wounded were taken to the Marine Hospital, the perpetrators of the massacre, standing in line on the New canal, fired volleys into the hospital itself, the marks of whose bullets were for a long time visible on the walls.

officials of Lincoln parish, two of whom held appointments under the United States, and their murder in cold blood. Not a solitary conservative newspaper in this State has denounced this atrocity, while several of them have boldly and repeatedly applauded and indorsed it. Advice of the most sanguinary character and the most revolutionary lawlessness was given from week to week in the columns of the principal newspapers of the State. The *Picayune* on the sixteenth of September advised that any white man found addressing colored people as I am addressing you should be "shot down like a dog in his tracks." The *Bulletin* threatened United States soldiers and officers with torn uniforms and punched heads should they interfere with the White Leaguers in their operations, and quoted with approval the resistance to the United States troops in Tennessee. The Shreveport *Times* advocated over and over the murder of every Republican official who should be found elected by the returning officers against the decrees of the White Leaguers, and its chief proprietor recently in this city, before the congressional committee itself, openly and boldly stated that such had been his advice and would continue to be his advice, and that he thought the murders would be committed. Threats of assassination of the Governor, of the returning officers and of the various leaders of the Republican party were made openly throughout the summer, in the newspapers and on the streets, in the hotels and in all places of public resort. Finally the White League conspiracy culminated in the bloody insurrection of September 14, which for a moment overpowered the State government, and which, next to the Coushatta massacre, had the most powerful influence throughout the whole State in intimidating and deterring negroes from voting. [Applause.]

#### TESTIMONY OF THE COLORED PEOPLE.

There are in this meeting prominent colored citizens, members of the Legislature, and others from all portions of the State. There are also prominent colored gentlemen of the highest social and moral standing in this community; men educated in Paris and other capitals of Europe; men who have natural abilities and acquired accomplishments; men of honor and high standing among their fellow-citizens; men who are not excelled by the highest toned gentlemen whose names are on the White League rolls. I now appeal to this

Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade and these other indignant mercantile and theological bodies a question: Gentlemen, did you ever call one single meeting to denounce them in public or private? Were you afraid? [Terrific applause.] Did your press denounce them, or did it not try to conceal or apologize for them? Were they afraid? And did not a part of your press boldly justify them? France had one great massacre—St. Bartholomew—and ever since, for hundreds of years, the black cloud of its memory has darkened the fame of that nation. And her savants, her clergy, her business men, her statesmen have solemnly before the world, denounced the horrid crime. England had her massacre in the obscure Scotch valley of Glencoe. One hundred persons were murdered. England, up to the day of Macaulay, two hundred years afterward, kept repenting for and denouncing the crime before the civilized world. Macaulay has crystalized her repentance in the tearful and indignant confession and rebuke of his immortal history. Louisiana has had *nine* massacres in eight years, all of them as atrocious as St. Bartholomew; most of them bloodier and with more victims than Glencoe. Gentlemen, merchants and clergy of New Orleans, when did you ever call a meeting to denounce these horrid crimes? Are you afraid? [Loud applause.]

And yet you denounce Sheridan as being untrue in his statements. What is untrue? That these atrocities were committed? You dare not say that! That the men who committed them are

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You dare not say that! That you have kept silence and refused to condemn them in the same manner that you were so swift to condemn Sheridan? You dare not say that.

#### THE WHITE LEAGUE CAMPAIGN OF 1874.

The Democratic and White League campaign of 1874 was a second edition of the White Camelia campaign of 1868. It opened by an organized, systematic plan, commenced simultaneously throughout the State, for ejecting by violence from their positions the lawfully appointed or elected parish officials, and substituting in their places the so-called McEnery officials. The opening act of this novel political campaign, was the capture by a mob, of six men,

publican voters, *not one* vote was cast for Grant; in Union, out of 872 registered Republican voters, one vote was cast for Grant; in St. Martin, out of 933 registered Republican voters, 25 votes were cast for Grant; in St. Helena, out of 569 registered Republican voters, 136 votes cast for Grant; in Avoyelles, out of 2188 registered Republican voters, 520 votes were cast for Grant; in Catahoula, out of 992 registered Republican voters, 150 votes were cast for Grant; in Caldwell, out of 536 registered Republican voters, 28 votes were cast for Grant; while in those banner Democratic and White League parishes of De Soto with 1403 Republican voters; Jackson with 822 Republican voters; Lafayette, with 897 Republican voters; Vermilion, with 282 Republican voters, and Washington, with 168 Republican voters, not one solitary Republican vote for Grant was cast in all those parishess. The net result of the Democratic and White Camelia campaign of 1868 was that out of 36,278 Republican votes in twenty-two parishes of the State, through the intimidation, fear and terrorism resulting from the massacres before enumerated, only 1118 Republican votes were allowed to be deposited for General Grant.

#### CAUSE OF THE ELECTION LAW AND RETURNING BOARD.

Those facts were the origin and the cause of the peculiar election laws of this State, sometimes styled by our White League friends "infamous." They have, however, no word of similar reprobation for the massacres which made their enactment necessary. These massacres, in which riots were substituted for elections, are what made a Returning Board right and necessary. [Loud cheers.]

#### ARE THE INDIGNANT MERCHANTS AND THEOLOGIANs AFRAID ?

These facts have been officially proven before a committee of the General Assembly and before two congressional committees. They are not denied. They have been notorious for years. Now, when General Sheridan characterizes the perpetrators of similar deeds of atrocity in 1874 as

BANDITTI,

the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade, the Cottou Exchange, the City Council, the bodies of merchants and a part of the clergy assemble and pass indignant resolutions, denouncing his statements as untrue. Let me ask the

The Bossier parish massacre in which over 300 negroes were killed and wounded, the St. Landry massacre, in which 200 were killed and wounded; the Orleans massacres, in which sixty-three were killed and wounded; the Caddo massacre, in which forty-six were killed and wounded; the Jefferson massacre; in which forty-seven were killed and wounded; the St. Bernard massacre, in which sixty-eight were killed and wounded—all these occurred in the one year 1868.

In 1873 the Colfax massacre, in which 100 were killed and wounded. In 1874 the Coushatta massacre, in which six white men were first captured by a mob and afterward taken out and shot in cold blood. Add to these an estimate given by members of the General Assembly from the different parishes of over 1000 persons since 1869 who have been killed for political reasons, and you have the grand total, and by no means an accurate or full one, but such as I have been able to gather hastily together of 2190. You will observe that of these 724 were perpetrated in 1868, in the fall and summer preceding the presidential election. To these 724, which belong to the particular massacres which I have just enumerated, must be added over 300 individual murders, which occurred in that same period, making somewhere over 1000 persons killed in 1868, and for political reasons.

#### THE EFFECT ON THE ELECTION.

Now mark the result. The day of election in 1868 was as peaceable and quiet an election day as ever occurred in this country. Yet in the parish of Orleans where there were from 13,000 to 16,000 registered Republican voters, the total vote cast for General Grant was only 270; in the parish of Bienville out of 715 registered Republican voters, one vote was cast for Grant; in the parish of Bossier out of 1895 registered Republican voters, one vote was cast for Grant; in Caddo, out of 3134 registered Republican voters, one vote was cast for Grant; in Calcasieu, out of 245 Republican voters, nine votes were cast for Grant; in Claiborne, out of 1293 Republican votes, two votes were cast for Grant. In Morehouse, out of 1330 registered Republican voters, one vote was cast for Grant; in Sabine out of 227 registered Republican voters, two votes were cast for Grant; in St. Bernard, out of 610 registered Republican voters, one vote was cast for Grant; in St. Landry, out of 3641 registered Re-

audience, so constituted, to answer whether I tell the truth or no when I charge and aver that in the last election in this State all the colored men who voted the Democratic ticket in this State, voluntarily and through their own preference, and not from fear either of violence to their persons or lives or of being deprived of their daily bread, could be held in this room upon this platform where I am now standing. [Cries of "That is so." Applause.] I charge and aver that the same violence and intimidation which in 1868 absolutely barred through terror from the polls 38,000 Republican voters, who desired to vote for Grant, did at this election, in 1874, control ninety-nine out of every one hundred colored votes that were cast for the Democratic party, and did drive thousands away from the polls. [Applause, and cries of that's so.]

#### THE WHITE LEAGUE CONSPIRACY.

I come now to the special function of the White League conspiracy in controlling the late election. The White League organization is a semi-military, semi-political society. It is also a confederated organization, being in sympathy, co-operation and correspondence with organizations of a similar character in the other reconstructed States of the South. Its objective point in all these States is the overthrow of the reconstructed governments as based upon negro suffrage. I aver and charge that as the results of the White League organization open and repeated threats of resistance to the United States arms were made throughout this city and State for weeks and months. I aver that the assassination of the Governor, of the returning officers and of other Republican officials were publicly and repeatedly made everywhere. I aver that on the fourteenth of September offers of aid of men and munitions were sent to the League here from other Southern States. I am told by a correspondent of one of the Western papers that cannon and munitions of war were sent by the League of this city to Vicksburg. I aver that at the Baton Rouge Convention, in speeches which were afterward suppressed from the newspapers, both John McEnery and R. H. Marr counseled and threatened violence and revolutionary proceeding against the State government. Robert Toombs, when in his speech last summer he threatened that United States troops on their way to New Orleans should be arrested in Georgia, only said

out openly what all were thinking secretly, and no other one was bold and candid enough to assert.

Finally I aver and charge that the Colfax and Coushatta massacres, the fourteenth of September revolution and the White League conspiracy did for the political campaign of 1874 precisely what the six massacres of 1868 and the Knights of the White Camelia did for the political campaign of 1868; that is they by organized violence, bloodshed, force and intimidation suppressed and drove from the polls the Republican majority. [Applause, and cries of that's so.]

THE REVOLUTIONARY ATTEMPT TO SEIZE THE GOVERNMENT ON JANUARY 4.

On the second of January the White League preparations for forcibly revolutionizing the State government were inaugurated by the violent and secret kidnapping and abduction of Mr. Cousin, member from St. Tammany. I aver and charge that in the then state of parties, there being fifty-three Democrats to fifty-three Republicans returned elected to the House, the abduction of Mr. Cousin was as completely revolutionary as if they had abducted all the Republican members. The abduction of one vote, which gave to them the control of the House, was as grave an offense and as much of a revolution as though the Republican majority had been twenty, and they had abducted twenty-one. I further charge that this abduction was a part of the conspiracy, on the part of the Democrats and White Leaguers, and the first step in its carrying out. I charge that the murder of Fabius McKay Dunn was a crime committed by a mistake of the perpetrators who intended in his place to have murdered Raford Blunt, a Republican Senator. [Cries of "That is so." Applause.] I charge that the sudden appearance on the street in front of the State House doors of a company of men, with badges as sergeant-at-arms suddenly displayed upon their coats, was another step in the conspiracy. I charge that there was, in the immediate vicinity of the State House, a company of White Leaguers prepared with scaling ladders for the purpose of forcibly entering the State House. The violent seizure by Mr. Wiltz of the Speaker's chair was another step in the conspiracy. I charge that the Senators known as the McEnry Senators, who claim to have been elected in 1872, were all present in the city from their different parishes, and meeting with the Democratic and White



League Senators elected at the last election in preparation of a plan to revolutionize the State Senate. I charge that on the floor of the House of Representatives, during the revolutionary proceedings of the fourth, it was openly asserted by White Leaguers that the Kellogg government would be completely overthrown that day. I charge that when General De Trobriand entered the hall of the House there was no legally organized House in session; Mr. Wiltz was not the Speaker of any House. The body there assembled was a revolutionary mob—nothing more. [Loud cheers and applause.]

WHITE PEOPLE REPUDIATE THEIR PLEDGES.

Finally, I charge that in the White League Coushatta campaign of 1874, in its assassinations and massacres, in the tone of its press, in its war upon negro children in the schools, in their proposition for restoring star ears, and in the thoroughly proscriptive, vindictive and revengeful spirit which they have reawakened in the people and heightened to a fury never known before, the white people of this State have more completely repudiated every principle they professed and every promise they made in 1872 than was ever done by any political party in the history of the world before. In 1872 they had adopted Greeley and his platform of peace and conciliation and the recognition of the legitimate results of reconstruction. In their adoption of the Liberal platform they more expressly and specifically repledged themselves to these principles. In the speeches of all their orators, in the resolutions of all their meetings and in the professions of all their newspaper press they again and again iterated and reiterated these same principles. There is not a single one of these principles that they have not abandoned, repudiated, condemned and put under the ban of a terrible prescription by their course for the last eighteen months. [Loud applause].

The massacre of 1866 led to reconstruction; the massacre of 1868 led to the election laws, and the enforcement acts of Congress; the massacre of Colfax in 1873 sent a chill over the wave of sympathy, which was rising at the North for us, and in my opinion defeated Mr. Carpenter's bill for a new election; and the massacre of Coushatta, and the White League campaign of 1874, with the riot of September fourteenth, ending in the revolutionary attempt to overthrow the State government on January fourth, have undone

all that the Liberal and Conservative men of both parties sought to accomplish in 1872, and have brought the State to the brink of war and desolation. [Applause].

#### WHY REPUBLICANS SUPPORTED THE FUSION OF 1872.

My friends, I went with the Fusion party of 1872. I did it honestly. I did it without pay. They all can not say that. I did it without bargain or promise of reward. They all can not say that. I did it at much pecuniary and personal sacrifice. I did it to my own political destruction, for I was bitterly assailed by my former political friends, and, at the same time politically ostracised, ignored, and in every way thrown overboard by the people whom I was trying to assist. I did it, clearly and painfully foreseeing all these disagreeable consequences to myself; but I did it solely and exclusively for one reason. It was to avert this very conflict that is now upon us. I tried to commit, and did commit, publicly, solemnly, and, as I thought, beyond recall, the white people of this State to such an acknowledgement of the rights of the colored people, and of republican principles, as would forever prevent them from again drawing a color line; from again proscribing people for political opinions; from again trying to carry an election by fear and threats, by revolvers and knives, by leagues and conspiracies, by murder and massacre. I was content to abandon all hopes of political preference for myself, could I by this course have attained the end.

I failed, failed more completely and swiftly than ever did any public man who trusted to the public professions of so large a number of people. I failed not from any fault of my position, but from the deliberate abandonment by the white people of this State of the position taken by them in 1872, and their going back to the violent and bloody tactics of 1868. In this course they were encouraged and sustained by the Democracy of the country and by the hopes of a Democratic victory in 1876. In the returning sense of the country of the true situation here, and in the continued ascendancy of Republican principles, rests our only hope for salvation from a reign of terror under the second Confederacy, equal in violence to that of the first Confederacy of 1860.

For those sincere and liberal Conservative and Democratic gentlemen who acted with me in good faith in 1872, and who have extended

to me so many acts of courtesy and kindness, I have no words but of friendliness, adding the hope that we may yet co-operate for the cause of good government in Louisiana. To those able and astute leaders and followers of the Democratic party who accepted the aid of myself and Republican friends with mental reservations, and who afterward repudiated their promises and made themselves merry at the expense of our credulity, I beg leave to return my thanks for the ingenious and useful lesson that they have taught to Republicans, and I hope they will pardon me for comforting myself with the words of the quaint old Scotch rhyme:

He digged a pit,  
 He digged it deep,  
 He digged it for his brother;  
 By his great sin  
 Himself fell in  
 The pit he digged for 'tother.















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