

# The Semi-Weekly Louisianian.

"REPUBLICAN AT ALL TIMES, AND UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES."

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## PROSPECTUS OF The Louisianian.

In the endeavor to establish another Republican journal in New Orleans, the proprietors of the LOUISIANIAN, propose to fill a necessity which has been long and sometimes painfully felt to exist. In the transition state of our people, in their struggling efforts to attain that position in the Body Politic, which we conceive to be their due, it is regarded that much information, guidance, encouragement, counsel and reproof have been lost, in consequence of the lack of a medium, through which these deficiencies might be supplied. We shall strive to make the LOUISIANIAN a desideratum in these respects.

### POLICY.

As our motto indicates, the LOUISIANIAN shall be a "Republican at all times and under all circumstances." We shall advocate the security and enjoyment of broad civil liberty, the absolute equality of all men before the law, and an impartial distribution of honor and patronage to all who merit them.

Desirous of allaying animosities, of obliterating the memory of the bitter past, of promoting harmony and union among all classes and between all interests, we shall advocate the removal of all political disabilities, foster kindness and forbearance, where malignity and resentment reigned, and seek for fairness and justice where wrong and oppression prevailed. Thus united in our aims and objects, we shall conserve our best interests, elevate our noble State to an enviable position among her sister States, by the development of her illimitable resources, and secure the full benefits of the mighty changes in the history and condition of the people and the Country.

Believing that there can be no true liberty without the supremacy of law, we shall urge a strict and undiscriminating administration of justice.

### TAXATION.

We shall support the doctrine of an equitable division of taxation among all classes, a faithful collection of the revenue, economy in the expenditures, conformably with the exigencies of the State or Country and the discharge of every legitimate obligation.

### EDUCATION.

We shall sustain the carrying out of the provisions of the act establishing our common school system, and urge as a paramount duty the education of our youth, as vitally connected with their own enlightenment, and the security and stability of a Republican Government.

### FINAL.

By a generous, manly, independent, and judicious conduct, we shall strive to rescue our paper, from an ephemeral, and temporary existence, and establish it upon a basis, that if we cannot "command," we shall at all events "deserve" success.

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## POETRY.

### THE GLORY OF LABOR.

BY CALSB DUNN.

The brow of Labor wears a wreath  
Of honor, wrought by hands of love,  
Whose flowers shall triumph over death,  
And ripen grow above.  
When God shall call the toiler hence,  
And crown him with his recompense,  
Then shall all stains of mortal sense,  
All imperfections die,  
And in their place shall shine the grace  
Of immortality.

The lowliest creature of His hand  
May work great ends, toil not in vain:  
For every humble act is grand,  
If it be free from stain.  
The selfish monarch on his throne  
Who calls all victories his own,  
Tho' bought with blood and curse and  
groom,  
Let no man emulate;  
Virtue alone hath ever shone  
Divinely pure and great.

Riches, and high degree, and power,  
Stamp not the value of the man;  
They may but live a short, weak hour  
They only mark the clan.  
But Labor, if it be the right,  
Thought humble, in His equal sight,  
Is great as though it owned the might  
Of crowns and wealth combined:  
Its works, if pure, shall stand, endure,  
Long as the immortal mind.

## ADDRESS

Peter H. Clark.

On the Anniversary of Emancipation in the West Indies.

The 1st of August is fast taking a secondary place in the list of anniversaries kept by the colored people of this country.

We have now the 22nd of September, which marks the date of Mr. Lincoln's warning proclamation to the rebels of the South, marks the date when turning from the conservative position which he held at the beginning of his administration, when he was willing to maintain slavery if thereby the Union might be maintained, he declared that he would absolutely and forever free the slaves of those who remained in rebellion after the 1st day of January, 1863.

We have now the 1st day of January, when we who sat in the darkness of slavery saw a great light, when the chains fell from the limbs of millions, and we who had been bondsmen and outcasts in our native land, we raised to the grand dignity of free citizens of the Great Republic.

We have that auspicious day in April, when the proclamation of President Grant announced that two-thirds of the States had ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, and that not only were we free men, made so by the proclamation of Lincoln and guaranteed by the Thirteenth Amendment; not only citizens of the United States, made so by the Fourteenth Amendment, but that now we were endowed with the high privilege of making our opinions upon public affairs effective by casting our votes into the ballot box in common with the rest of our fellow-citizens.

The transition is bewildering. What people ever went with such speed from the auction block to the ballot box? What grand tributes to the excellence of republican institutions are the moderation and prudence of the freed people on the one hand and the cordial acceptance of the situation by the mass of the white people of the land on the other.

Finally, we have now the Fourth of July, which is the true anniversary of humanity. The germs of the West Indian emancipation, of the proclamations of Lincoln, of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, are all contained in the grand old Declaration, which asserts that "all men are created equal, with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Those words, bravely

spoken and manfully maintained as they were by the fathers of the Revolutionary era, were the signal to the people of all nations, all kindreds and all tongues to arise from the abyss of slavery into which they were plunged, and take their stand on the broad platform of equal and impartial liberty.

I look forward to the day when, ceasing to convene in these meetings, which represent a partial triumph of the great principles of liberty and justice, we will unite with the mass of our fellows in celebrating the ever glorious Fourth of July.

Yet the 1st of August was for a long time a date of vast significance to us. It was the anniversary of the only event in the long reach of the centuries which bore any token of hope to us as a people. Slavery was and had been the doom of all the children of Africa, until that glorious day, in 1834, when England set free the eight hundred thousand bondmen of her colonies. It was to us the wished-for sign of a brighter future. It was the morning star, heralding the rise of the sun of our liberty.

What a long night it was. How despairingly we prayed, how bitterly we wept. The power of our enemies seemed invincible. Freedom seemed to lose everything, slavery to gain everything. We had the annexation of Texas, that the area of slavery might be extended; we had the Mexican war, and the failure to enact the Wilmot Proviso; we had the Fugitive Slave Act; we had the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; we had the Kansas murders, and finally, the slaveholder's rebellion. Here the tide was stayed. Slavery went down in a sea of blood, and we stand here to-day free men and free women.

Those who sympathized with us when we sat in sackcloth and ashes, who bore our shame with us, are to-day filling the high places of the nation, while their opponents wander in exile, or creep at home seeking to hide their shame in dishonorable graves.

### DUTIES DEVOLVING ON US UNDER THE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES.

But, fellow-citizens, we have with our new condition assumed new duties—duties which mean more than any mere rejoicings can mean. The friends of the Union and liberty have clothed us with the right of voting; that we may assist them in bearing up safely the ark of American liberty. We have the duty of sustaining by our votes the men and measures which gave us our freedom, the principles which, impartially applied, will not only maintain us and our children as freemen, but will extend the blessings of republican liberty over the earth. To us comes with double force the admonition: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Already the enemy is at work, pointing out the shortcomings of the Republican party, which are many, and seeking to render us discontented with it and its principles.

No man can abhor more than I do that clamish spirit which drives all, or nearly all, the men of a race to vote for the same political party. In approaching the ballot-box, then, if never before or after, a man should exercise the right of private judgment. The responsibility rests with the individual, not with the party. If a man sustains a party the principles and practices of which are contrary to the great laws of justice and right, he is guilty, in his individual capacity, of the wrong done even though millions join him.

I hope the day is far distant when the mere name of a party shall control the colored voters of this country irrespective of the principles which it represents. But in this case there can be no cause for hesitation. The Republican party is the political embodiment of the heart and conscience of the American people. Through its instrumentality we stand to-day free and enfranchised. It has taken us in its great arms and redressed our wrongs. Through its stalwart stroke slavery and the rebellion are dead, and the Republic stands forth ennobled and purified of the stains which had made it a hissing and a byword in the earth. Nor has it been unmindful of the interests of

white men. Every amendment or law which defines or guarantees the rights of black men, equally defines and guarantees the rights of white men.

The country torn by the ravages of a four year's war, during which billions of wealth were wasted, millions of men taken from the active pursuits of peaceful life, and tens of thousands slain, finds, under the wise administration of this party, all this waste being rapidly repaired, the public debt and the burden of taxes diminishing together, and peace prevailing throughout our borders.

### STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

Just what they mean by States' Rights it is hard to find out by their declarations, but their deeds make all plain enough. When they imprisoned citizens of sister States, entitled under the Constitution to the rights and immunities of the citizens of all the States, and drove away with violence and insults the agent sent to test in a peaceful manner, in the Federal Courts, the legality of that imprisonment, that was States' Rights. When they, by order of a Democratic postmaster, violated the privacy of the mails, that was States' Rights. When they abused and sometimes murdered peaceful travelers, who chanced to have about their persons copies of papers obnoxious to the community in which they were sojourning, that was States' Rights. When refusing to submit to a Presidential election called to the high votes office by the votes of a majority of his fellow-citizens, they rushed into that wild rebellion which covered our land with the graves of the bravest and best sons, that was States' Rights.

States' Rights mean the power to deprive citizens of the United States of their liberty, the power to deny them the right of testifying in courts of justice, the power to deny them the right of educating their children, the power to deny their right to travel from State to State, the power to prevent the opening of railway connections between distant commercial cities, all this it means and more that is baleful.

Our Democratic platform admits the binding force of the recent amendments, but demands their strict construction. Like Ethan Spike, they are in favor of the amendments, but opposed to their enforcement.

Imagine a colored man approaching the ballot-box in some district where this Democratic idea of construction prevails. He is met by a committee of Democratic fellow-citizens, who assure him that in accordance with the recent amendments they recognize his right to freedom; they admit his citizenship; they are willing he shall vote, but—here comes in the strict construction—if to-night you find your dwelling surrounded by a masked and armed band of assassins, if your wife is beaten senseless before your eyes, if the torch is applied to your house and you taken off and hanged, there will be no punishment for this outrage and arson and murder, for no colored person can testify against a white man, nor do these amendments demand that they shall. We give you all they grant, but you take what is granted at your own risk. We are strict constructionists.

### FREE SPEECH AND A FREE PRESS.

If the Democracy favor a free press, they have been recently converted to the doctrine. I meet continually in the streets of Cincinnati the man who, assisted by his brother, dragged James D. Birney's press from his office at the corner of Seventh and Main streets. This man is an active Democrat, and would abandon his party instantly if he thought it favored free speech and a free press.

In the South at this moment thousands of Democrats are joined in Ku-Klux bands to put down free speech. Compelled to work secretly, they still work. The scourge, the torch, the pistol, the hangman's rope are the means they have chosen with which to combat free speech, and in vast regions of our country a complete reign of terror prevails. Thus we find that the Union, a free press and a free speech are yet menaced, and if we are wise we will

stick by the Republican party till Jeff. Davis accepts the situation and the most black or white voter in the land can approach the ballot-box without fear.

### THE NEW DEMOCRATIC DEPARTURE.

Supposing the gentlemen who composed the convention of the Democratic party in June last to be in earnest, the question arises naturally, can they carry their party with them? Can the party whose chief inspiration is derived from abuse of the negro, be held together if that cause of inspiration is removed? Imagine a Democratic meeting where nothing can be said about thick lips, woolly heads and cho skins. Where the Democratic mind can not be harrowed by pictures of beautiful white virgins forced into the arms of loving Othellos. I don't think the thing can be done. Imagine anything strange and unnatural that you choose, but a Democratic party which upholds the Thirteenth Amendment, which forever prohibits its slavery and involuntary servitude, except for crime, the Fourteenth Amendment which would make a citizen of Dred Scott if he were alive, and the Fifteenth Amendment which brings black men to the ballot-box, these cannot be imagined. The leopard will change his spots sooner. The leaders may resolve it, but they can't bring the rank and file to see the music, they will blake when the word is given to fall in. Nature in that case will be stronger than grace.

Mr. Blair speaks truly the Democratic sentiment when he says: "None of the reconstruction measures, so-called, would have been adopted if they had been submitted to the people. They have been forced in *seriatim* by fraud. The constitutional amendments have been adopted by coercion in the South, and in defiance of the known will of the people in the North. Perfidious representatives of the people have betrayed their trust, and fixed a yoke upon their necks."

The conclusion from this is evident. If the reconstruction measures have been adopted by "force and fraud," then the Democrats, if they are honest, when they get into power will repudiate the whole affair, and put us back to where we were when Buchanan left the Presidential chair.

### GENERAL GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION.

In this audience, composed so largely of colored men, I need not waste time in speaking of the merits of General Grant's administration. His cheerful recognition of our citizenship, and his quiet determination to enforce the reconstruction acts of Congress, have won for him such a place in our hearts that I have not yet seen the colored man who is not a Grant man. He has adhered to the declaration that he would have no policy to enforce in opposition to the will of the people. He has secured as much honesty in the administration of public affairs as is possible in a country where the system prevails of turning a man out of office as soon as he fully understands how to perform its duties. The mountain of public debt is being paid at an astonishing rate, and yet the burden of taxation is being reduced year by year.

It was held that he departed from his pledge of having no policy to enforce when he endeavored to have the treaty for the annexation of San Domingo ratified. In making that pledge he did not agree to have no ideas of his own, but that he would not enforce them in opposition to the will of the people. His manly words used in submitting the report of the San Domingo Commissioners, show that he does not mean to fly from his pledge; "And now my task is finished, and with it ends all personal solicitations upon the subject."

"My duty being done, yours begins and I gladly hand over the whole matter to the judgment of the American people and their representatives in Congress assembled. The facts will now be spread before the country and a decision rendered by that tribunal whose convictions so seldom err, and against whose will I have no policy to enforce."

The most amusing thing in this whole San Domingo business is the spasm into which Democracy fall whenever it is mentioned. They who invented and are the especial champions of the doctrine of manifest destiny in our country to incorporate all of North America and its adjacent islands within her bounds; they who recruited, armed and drilled men here in the State of Ohio, and marched them through the streets of Cincinnati, on their way to seize Texas, a State of Mexico, which country was then at peace with us; they who brought Texas into the Union, and with it a war; they who intrigued during Pierce's administration for the seizure of this same San Domingo; they who encouraged Crittenden, and Lopez and Walker in their efforts to seize Cuba and Central America, they of all men should hold their peace when the subject of San Domingo is discussed.

### SHALL COLORED MEN DEMAND OFFICES?

Notwithstanding this grand record, there are to be found men who ask: "What has the Republican party done for colored men?" Members of the Democratic party are greatly exercised at the fact that in the North few or none of the colored people have been elected to office, and that even in the South they have received but insignificant official recognition.

Now, I am free to declare, that in my opinion a consistent adherence to Republican principles demands that colored men shall be elevated to office by the party. I think a Northern constituency would honor itself by sending a colored man to Congress. I believe the day is not far distant when this will be done. In many places it can be done without peril to the ascendancy of the party, and where and when this can be done we should have candidates for office, but I am opposed to colored men making a demand for such action. I want one more triumph of the party and its principles in a Presidential election; I want one more Congress elected pledged to maintain the results of the war. I want the Democratic party to understand that there is no shadow of turning in the purpose of the American people to bury slavery and rebellion out of sight forever.

Then when we are fairly out of the woods will be time enough to press our claims for office.

### HAS THE TIME COME FOR DISBANDING THE REPUBLICAN PARTY?

Many are now found who assert that the time has come for breaking up the grand party organization which has won such great triumphs in the past twelve years. It is asserted that the old questions have been settled, that new ones have arisen, and that new organizations are needed to meet them. We cannot, of course, expect to maintain a living party upon dead issues; but before we disband it will be well enough to make sure that the issues are dead, to make sure that the enemy has abandoned the battle-field and finally and full yielded the points in dispute.

The Republican party has fought to maintain the Union, the supremacy of the national Constitution and of the laws made in pursuance thereof.

Has the Democratic party yielded that point? Jefferson Davis, who represents more democratic votes than any man in the nation, says they have not. In his speech at Atlanta, he declares: "I am not one of those who accept the situation. These cant phrases that we hear so much of about 'accepting the situation,' and about our rights having been submitted to the 'arbitration of the sword,' are but the excuses of cowards. I admit that power is so great that it would be folly to resist it, and therefore, I am in favor myself of being acquiescent and advise you to the same course; but I do not admit that our rights have ever been submitted to the arbitration of the sword." When Davis speaks of rights, of course, he means States' rights. What other rights did any Southerner ever have or claim? Look to the States controlled by the Democracy, and see what result.

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