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**The President's Message.**

For the benefit of our friends in the interior of the State who may not have had an opportunity to read the salient features of President Hayes' last message we publish the subjoined extracts which are by far the best things done by him since he has been in the White House:

"Continued opposition to the fall and free enjoyment of the rights of citizenship conferred upon the colored people by the recent amendments to the constitution still prevails in several of the slave-holding States. It has, perhaps, not been manifested in the recent election to any large extent in acts of violence or intimidation. It has, however, by fraudulent practices in connection with the ballots, with the regulations as to the places and manner of voting, and with counting, returning and canvassing the votes cast, been successful in defeating the exercise of the right of suffrage of all rights, the right of suffrage, which the constitution expressly confers upon our enfranchised citizens.

It is the desire of the good people of the whole country that sectionalism as a factor in our politics should disappear. They prefer that no section of the country should be united in solid opposition to any other section. The disposition to refuse a prompt and hearty obedience to the equal rights amendments to the constitution is all that now stands in the way of a complete obliteration of sectional lines in our political contests. As long as either of these amendments is flagrantly violated or disregarded, it is safe to assume that the people who placed them in the constitution as embodying the legitimate results of the war for the Union, and who believe them to be wise and necessary, will continue to act together and to insist that they shall be obeyed. The paramount question still is as to the enjoyment of the right by every American citizen who has the requisite qualifications to freely cast his vote and to have it honestly counted. With this question rightly settled the country will be relieved of the contentions of the past, bygone will indeed be bygone, and political and party issues with respect to economy and efficiency of administration, internal improvements, the tariff, domestic taxation, education, finance, and other important subjects, will then receive their full share of attention; but resistance to and nullification of the results of the war will unite together in resolute purpose for their support all who maintain the authority of the government and the perpetuity of the Union, and who adequately appreciate the value of the victory achieved. This determination proceeds from no hostile sentiment or feeling to any part of the people of our country, or to any of their interests. The inviolability of the amendments rests upon the fundamental principles of our government. They are the solemn expression of the will of the people of the United States.

The sentiment that the constitutional rights of all our citizens must be maintained does not grow weaker. It will continue to control the government of the country. Happily the history of the late election shows that in many parts of the country where opposition to the fifteenth amendment has heretofore prevailed it is diminishing, and is likely to cease altogether if firm and well-considered action is taken by Congress. I trust the House of Representatives and the Senate, which have the right to judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of their own members, will see to it that

every case of violation of the letter or spirit of the fifteenth amendment is thoroughly investigated, and that no benefit from such violation shall accrue to any person or party. It will be the duty of the Executive, with sufficient appropriations for the purpose, to prosecute impartially all who have been engaged in depriving citizens of the rights guaranteed to them by the constitution.

It is not, however, to be forgotten that the best and surest guarantee of the primary rights of citizenship is to be found in that capacity for self-protection which can belong only to a people whose right to universal suffrage is supported by universal education. The means at the command of the local and State authorities are, in many cases, wholly inadequate to furnish free instruction to all who need it. This is especially true where, before emancipation, the education of the people was neglected or prevented, in the interest of slavery. Firmly convinced that the subject of popular education deserves the earnest attention of the people of the whole country, with a view to wise and comprehensive action by the government of the United States, I respectfully recommend that Congress, by suitable legislation and with proper safeguards, supplement the local educational funds in the several States where the grave duties and responsibilities of citizenship have been devolved on uneducated people, by devoting to the purpose grants of the public lands, and, if necessary, by appropriations from the Treasury of the United States. Whatever government can fairly do to promote free popular education ought to be done. Wherever general education is found, peace, virtue, and social order prevail, and civil and religious liberty are secure.

A comprehensive improvement of the Mississippi and its tributaries is a matter of transcendent importance. These great waterways comprise a system of inland transportation spread like a network over a large portion of the United States, and navigable to the extent of many thousands of miles. Producers and consumers alike have a common interest in such improved facilities for cheap transportation. Geographically, commercially, and politically, they are the strongest tie between the various sections of the country. These channels of communication and interchange are the property of the Nation. Its jurisdiction is paramount over their waters, and the plainest principles of public interest require their intelligent and careful supervision, with a view to their protection, improvement, and the enhancement of their usefulness.

**Emancipation in Brazil.**

A dispatch from the capital of Brazil gives the information that the Senate, or conservative body of the Brazilian Parliament, has passed the bill rendering Protestants, naturalized foreigners, and freedmen eligible to seats in the Chamber of Deputies, or lower house of the Legislative Assembly. The Roman Catholic, it should be understood, is the established religion in Brazil. Dissenters, up to this time, have enjoyed all political and civil rights with the exception that they have not been allowed seats in the Chamber of Deputies. This new Senate bill removes this restriction as to dissenters and other proscribed classes, and the action is the more significant because the Senators are virtually appointed by the Emperor and hold for life.

In connection with this dispatch is another, stating that in the

Chamber of Deputies Mr. Hilliard, United States Minister, had been attacked for his anti-slavery attitude, and that his presence at an anti-slavery banquet had been made the subject of Parliamentary inquiry. To those who remember the Hon. Henry W. Hilliard as one of the old Whigs and conservatives of the South, this announcement will be more startling and more interesting than the other.

The anti-slavery agitation in Brazil bore fruit in 1871 in the shape of a law which declared that from that date every child born of slave parents should be free; that all slaves belonging to the State or to the Imperial household should be set free at once; and that an emancipation fund should be provided for the ransom of a certain number of slaves annually.

This plan of gradual emancipation has involved many disappointments to those who originated the scheme, and has caused much dissatisfaction among the negroes still held as slaves. For some years there has been a growing sentiment in favor of immediate emancipation of all the slaves. This sentiment is fostered by the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Association, and under date of Oct. 19, 1880, Deputy Joaquim Nabuco, president of that society, addressed a letter to Mr. Hilliard, in which he asked the American Minister's views on immediate emancipation, information in his possession as to its success in the United States, and his assistance in convincing the planters of Brazil that "free labor is infinitely superior in every respect to forced and unremunerated labor."

Under date of Oct. 25 Mr. Hilliard replied at length, stating that, while he was not disposed to obtrude his opinions on any of the institutions of Brazil, he did not feel at liberty to withhold the information asked. After reviewing the history of slavery in the Southern States, and referring briefly to the struggle that precipitated emancipation in this country, Mr. Hilliard declared that he was among those who favored gradual emancipation. He then shows that abolition of slavery was a great benefit to both whites and colored people in the South, and commits himself unreservedly to the policy pursued in this country. For Brazil he recommends that a time be fixed for the enfranchisement of all the slaves, and he suggests as a date at which slavery shall end forever in Brazil, the 25th day of September, 1837.

This letter was published in the Rio News with the following editorial comment:

"We can heartily commend the letter to our Brazilian readers, not as the interference of a foreigner in Brazilian domestic affairs, but as the mature judgment of a gentleman who has not only learned the economic errors of slave labor, but who has the highest interests of this Empire at heart and earnestly wishes to see emancipation effected as a measure of substantial progress."

Notwithstanding this hearty indorsement, Mr. Hilliard's letter seems to have created a commotion among the planters and the pro-slavery members of the Chamber of Deputies. The indications are that his relations to the agitation will be made the subject of legislative inquiry, and the discussion may lead to unlooked-for results. Dom Pedro's warm feeling toward the United States and his admiration for many features of our political system are well known. In Brazil the Emperor, liberal-minded and progressive, has been a leader in reform, and it is probable that Mr. Hilliard's letter was written with his approval.

But be this as it may, the spectacle of an old Southern Whig, and

an advocate of gradual emancipation in this country, becoming in Brazil the adviser of those who favor immediate and universal emancipation, is not without its lesson. It is but another proof of the power of accomplished facts to remove prejudice and give shape to new impulses and convictions.

According to the census of 1872 there were in Brazil 8,223,629 free people and 1,476,567 slaves. The present movement, originating with the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society and encouraged by the United States Minister at the Brazilian capital, is to give these slaves their freedom at once, or within a few years.—*Inter-Ocean.*

**Governor St. John.**

THE ELOQUENT KANSAS' ADDRESS ON THE 'EXODUSTERS' IN HIS STATE. THEY ARE NOW MOSTLY SELF-SUPPORTING, AND ALL GOOD CITIZENS STRONGLY PROHIBITION.

Governor St. John of Kansas, spoke last night at Farwell Hall, on the subject of the negro exodus. The Governor has come into national prominence lately, not only by reason of his connection with the Northern movement of the colored men of the South, but by his recent re-election to the gubernatorial chair on a platform which pledges the State government to prohibition, and forbids the manufacture as well as the sale of liquor within the State of Kansas. On the latter movement he will speak to-night at Farwell Hall. In reference to the exodus he spoke with the deep feeling born of intimate acquaintance with the people whom it fell to his lot as Governor to welcome to the State, and for whom the State has generously provided. His manner as a speaker is singularly breezy and enthusiastic, and he held the attention of his audience to the close.

He expressed a regret, in opening, that so few people were present, because he was to speak of a subject that before many years, possibly before many months, might become of interest and importance to the entire country. Twenty-five years ago the pro-slavery men, with guns in their hands, were fighting to force the negroes into Kansas as slaves. Free men met them, fought them back, and won a glorious victory. [Applause.] To-day the very element that fought to force the negro into Kansas are opposed to his entering the State, on the ground that the climate is too cold, and the poor colored man would freeze to death there. [Laughter.] When they

FIRST BEGAN TO ARRIVE at Wyandotte in 1873—peniless, naked, friendless, miserable-looking objects of pity—and the people of Kansas were told that thousands more were on their way from the South, he was appealed to, as the Governor of the State, to issue a proclamation forbidding their coming. But he remembered that of the 100,000 white emigrants into Kansas 100,000 were poor men; that to the bone and muscle and brain of poor men Kansas owed her glorious position as a State; that at Oswatomie the tree of liberty was planted by old John Brown, whose soul was still unrebelling; he had seen it actually demonstrated that corn planted and hoed by colored men grew as rapidly as that planted and hoed by white men, brought as much money; he remembered that corn was worth a ton of race prejudice, and he said, "Let them come."

Speaking of the causes of the exodus, he cited the case of an old

colored man, nearly 90, without money, food, or friends, who told him he knew he couldn't work, "but," he added, "Mass, der's one thing I kin do. I kin be barred here in free Kansas."

The investigating committee which he organized, and which inquired into the causes of the exodus among the refugees themselves, found that they had been bull-dozed, outraged, cheated, wronged in every conceivable way, not permitted to vote, their leaders killed, and the masses of them intimidated and frightened till they did not dare even to talk about going to Kansas. As showing how the colored people were

SWINDLED BY THE DOMINANT RACE at the South, he exhibited a bill produced by one of the refugees who came from Edward's Landing, Miss., and curiously enough one of the white men who came from Mississippi to inquire of Governor St. John as to how the exodus might be stopped, was the man who made out this bill. In this account half a pound of dog-leg tobacco was charged at 25 cents; molasses, \$1.50 a gallon (worth 40 cents in Chicago); bacon, 20 cents per pound; brogans, \$2.50 a pair; flour, \$14 a barrel, and other things in proportion. The money sent for the relief of the refugees had been spent in erecting barracks for their accommodation, a general headquarters, with storerooms, etc., and in forwarding them westward.

Gov. St. John took occasion to pay a tribute to Mrs. Elizabeth L. Comstock and Mrs. Laura Haviland, who, in this work, had been faithful, honest, earnest, and prayerful, stinting themselves in order to do more for these oppressed people. God, said Gov. St. John, never made two nobler, grander women.

He estimated that 60,000 colored people had come into Kansas since 1877, of whom, perhaps, 40,000 remained, while 20,000 had been forwarded to Colorado, Nebraska, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. There had been spent about \$50,000 in their behalf. Ninety per cent of them, perhaps, needed help at the start, but only temporarily, because they quickly became self-supporting. God's hand was in this work, and whenever they fell short of funds from some unexpected quarter. Morally, the refugees were getting along well. They were well-behaved, sober, industrious, and fully 80 per cent of their votes this fall were in favor of prohibition. [Applause.] He felt if Abraham Lincoln were living, that greatest and truest of all Americans would prefer to see some of these people acquire homes in his own State of Illinois. He appealed to the country, whose captive soldiers, escaping from Southern prison pens, had always found a friend in the log-cabin of the colored man, not to turn away now from the refugees from Southern tyranny.

Gov. St. John predicted that the exodus would continue, and would increase in magnitude until the people of the South gave to the black man protection at the ballot-box, protection for his property, allowed him to vote according to the dictates of his own conscience, and respected the sanctity of his home. These given them, they would prefer to stay in the South, but as matters now stood their feeling was expressed in the remark of a colored man to him, that he would rather be shot than sent back. We had had enough temporizing on this question, and he (Gov. St. John) favored assuring the black man in the South all the rights that we now enjoy in the Northern States.—*Inter-Ocean.*

and resumed again Dec 25 '80 with no 28  
D.M.