TRUTH AT LAST

Report of the Congressional Investigation at New Orleans.

The Allegations of the President Contradicted.

THE RETURNING BOARD'S INFAMY.

Their Acts Declared "Arbitrary, Unjust and Illegal."

The November Election "Free, Full and Peaceable."

CONSERVATIVES CHOSEN IN MAJORITY

Kellogg Supported Only by the Federal Army.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15, 1875.

Representative George F. Hoar, in behalf of the Special Committee on that portion of the President's Message relative to the condition of the South, reported to-day as follows:—

In pursuance of the order of the full committee of December 22, a special committee of three visited New Orleans and proceeded with an investigation, the result of which they report to the General Committee, as follows:—

THE INVESTIGATION.

In pursuance of the order of the General Committee of December 22, the undersigned visited New Orleans, and there proceeded with all diligence to the examination directed by the committee. During the eight days they remained there they were attended throughout their sessions, which were public, by the counsel of the republican and conservative State committees. In that period they examined over ninety-five witnesses, besides taking a large amount of documentary evidence, amounting in all, it is estimated, to more than 1,500 printed pages. In view of the exigency that now exists in the affairs of that State, and of the delay of weeks which must elapse before that testimony can be written out and printed, your committee has determined to state the conclusions at which they have arrived, so far as they are unanimous in reaching these conclusions. The committee undertook no investigation of the election of 1872. Much evidence has already been taken by other committees of Congress upon that question, and the time allowed both for their action and for the session of Congress seemed to be too short to call for their entering on that investigation.

THE RETURNING BOARD.

They announced this conclusion, and that therefore they would first proceed to an examination of the acts of the Returning Board of the State in respect to the late election, and then to an inquiry in reference to the White League. The law provides that the Board shall consist of five persons representing all parties. It consisted at the opening of their last session of five republicans, upon the resignation of one of whom (General Longstreet) Mr. Arroyo, a conservative, was taken to fill the vacancy.

THE LAW NOT FULFILLED.

After protesting against the action of the Board in secret session Mr. Arroyo resigned before the conclusion of the labors of the Board, and his place was not filled; so that, as your committee think, the law as to the constitution of the Board was not complied with. The election laws of Louisiana provide for a supervisor of registration, who appoints his own deputies for each ward in New Orleans, and for one supervisor of registration for each parish in the State. The officers were all appointed by Governor Kellogg. In addition to those supervisors the police jurors, the local authorities of the parishes, appointed three commissioners of election for each poll in the parish, and there were also two United States supervisors appointed by the District Judge of the United States for each poll. The law further provided that in case of such violence, intimidation or corruption at or near either poll, either during registration or election, preventing a fair, free, peaceable and full vote, the commissioners of election, if the occurrence was on election day, the supervisors of registration if on the day of registration, should make a full, verified statement of the fact and currence, forward the same with and annexed to the returns; and, further provided, that when the Returning Board in canvassing the returns should come to any poll where the returns were accompanied by such a protest they should not canvass, count or compile the statement of voters from such poll until the statements from all other polls had been canvassed and compiled.

PROTESTED RETURNS.

The conservative counsel objected that the Board, on reaching the returns from such protested polls, read and became informed of these returns before laying them aside to take up the other polls. They insisted that the purpose of the law was to prevent the commissioners from knowing what the results at the polls protested against were, in order that when they came to examine the polls protested against they might do so without being biassed by knowing what was the result returned; and they objected that in these cases of protest the Board had proceeded to read the returns, add up and compile them, and then defer their determination of the case until after having acquired knowledge of how the returns protested against would affect the elections. On the other hand, the republican counsel insisted that such a course was impracticable; that the object of the law in deferring any determination of the results of the polls protested against until the returns from the other polls were canvassed, was merely to enable the Board to ascertain whether the result of the disputed returns would affect the election, however decided, so that if they would not the Board might be spared the labor of considering this protest. Your committee have not found it necessary to come to any determination upon that question.

THE RESULT OF THE ELECTION.

The election embraced but one State officer. The chief struggle was over the election of members of the State Legislature and parish officers, and in these elections local and personal considerations, as well as national and State politics, entered. The returns by the commissioners of election, compiled and forwarded by the supervisors of registration, gave the conservatives a majority of 29 members out of a total of 111 members. In only three instances were there any protests accompanying the returns. The Returning Board was in session for many weeks. As finally announced their findings gave, as Kellogg reckoned it, fifty-three members to the republicans and fifty members to the democrats, of whom, however, one was regarded as not a staving democrat. The Board made no decision as to the remaining five seats. The public sittings of the Returning Board were attended by the counsel of the republican and conservative State committees. Objections were received from the counsel of the respective parties to the returns from different polls. The objecting party was generally allowed to produce evidence to support the objection, and the other party to reply by affidavits.

THE RAPIDES PARISH FALSIFY.

A day was fixed when these proofs were to be closed. After these public sessions the Board went in private, or, as they were called, executive sessions, where the proofs and matters in dispute were discussed, and a decision arrived at. The minutes of the Board are very meagre. They contain little more than a record of its meetings, going into executive session and its adjourning and some formal public orders. They contain no minutes whatever of the proceedings in executive session, and furnish, therefore, little light upon the findings of the Board. The parish of Rapides chose three members to the Legislature. The returns elected all three conservatives. When the proofs closed the only paper filed with the Returning Board was the affidavit of the United States Supervisor that the election was in all respects full, fair and free. It was not known in the parish that any contest existed against those members. They left their homes and proceeded to New Orleans to be present at the opening of the Legislature, no intimation of contesting their seats or objection to their election having been given by their opponents. At one of their last sessions the Returning Board declared all the republican members elected from that parish. When the papers of the Returning Board were produced before your committee there was found among them an affidavit by Mr. Wells, the President of the Board, declaring that intimidation had existed at certain polls in that parish, and that the returns from those polls should, therefore, be rejected. The counsel for the democratic committee testified that they had no opportunity to contradict the statements of this paper; that they had never seen or known of it before, and that upon an examination of the papers before the Board. When the proofs closed it was not among them.

THE ACTION OF THE BOARD CONDEMNED.

The counsel for the Republican Committee reserved the right to make explanation upon this point, but offered none; the affidavit was dated — day of December, 1874; it appeared that Governor Wells was not himself in the parish on the day of the election, and though at the opening of their first session your committee declared their intention to examine into the action of the Returning Board, Governor Wells never came forward as a witness. At the close of our proceedings leave was asked that his deposition might be given in; this was declined, and Mr. Wells was invited to appear before the committee, but he never came; leave was also given for taking his testimony by a commissioner if he declined to appear, but this was not availed of. Your committee are therefore constrained to declare that the action of the Returning Board in the rejection of these returns in the parish of Rapides, and giving the seats for that parish to the republican candidates are arbitrary, unfair and without warrant of law.

THE CHARGES OF INTIMIDATION UNSUSTAINED.

If the committee were to go behind the papers before the Board and consider the alleged charge of intimidation upon the proofs before the committee, their finding would necessarily be the same. It was asserted in Governor Wells' affidavit that the McEnery officials had usurped the offices of the parish, and thereby intimidated voters. Immediately after the 14th of September, when the Kellogg authorities in New Orleans were put out by the Penn authorities, certain changes took place in some of the parishes. When the news from New Orleans reached these parishes the McEnery officers demanded their places of the Kellogg officials. They were at once given up. When the federal government intervened and unseated the McEnery authorities, the Kellogg officials demanded and received back their places, but some time seems to have elapsed before the Kellogg officials took their places back; indeed, the McEnery Register of Deeds was still acting as such when your committee were in New Orleans, the Kellogg Register never having come to reclaim the place, which was said to be worth nothing now. In Rapides parish the Kellogg Clerk was Mr. Wells' son, who, having yielded his place to the McEnery competitor in September, does not appear to have reclaimed it, and he was accordingly sent for after the election to come from his residence, some miles distant, to sign the returns of the elections, which he did. Your committee are at a loss to see in their action any intimidation of Mr. Wells, still less of the electors of the parish. It so happens that this parish was taken as a sample parish of intimidation, many witnesses from which, of both parties, were examined with reference to it. They show beyond question that there was

A FREE, FULL, FAIR AND PEACEABLE ELECTION

and registration there; there was no evidence of any intimidation of voters practised on the day of election, although it was asserted that intimidation of colored men before the election had been effected by threats of refusal to employ them, or to discharge them if they voted the republican ticket. No evidence, either of discharge or refusal to employ was produced. Certain witnesses themselves, every one office-holders, testified generally to such action; but hardly any one was able to specify a single instance in which he heard any employer so threaten or discharge any voter or knew of any employé being so threatened or discharged. Not one single colored man throughout the entire parish was produced to testify either to such a threat or to the execution of such a purpose, whether before or after the election.

ILLEGAL ACTION OF SUPERVISORS.

The action of the Returning Board in the parish of Rapides alone changed the political complexion of the lower house, and their action in the other parishes was equally objectionable. For instance, in Iberia parish it was claimed before your committee that the vote of Poll No. 1 in that parish had been rejected on account of intimidation, but the papers produced by the Clerk of the Board shewed no such proof whatever. One of the counsel—Mr. Ray—produced some affidavits, which he declared had been submitted to the Board by another of the counsel, General Campbell. The conservative counsel insisted that these papers had never been before the Board, when opportunity was given to the republican counsel to show that the paper had been submitted, but the testimony offered for that purpose by them, so far, however, from establishing that fact established the reverse.

It was then asserted that the returns were rejected because the accounts of the election were not delivered to the Supervisor of Registration within twenty-four hours after the close of the election, which was six o'clock on the 3d day of November; whereas it appeared that both in the morning and afternoon of the 3d day of November, search was made for this Supervisor of Registration for that parish in order to deliver to him these returns and he was not to be found until after six o'clock; but that as soon as he could be found on the evening of that day they were offered to him and again reappeared the next morning, but were refused to be received. Yet this same Supervisor of Registration received other republican returns after he had refused to receive these conservative ones, on the ground that they were too late, and the Returning Board, although it had held as to other polls in the State that the returns were not to be rejected merely because they were sent too late, rejecting the returns from this poll, thereby changed the representation of the parish from conservative to republican. So, in the parish of De Soto the returns showed a conservative elected by over one thousand majority. It was alleged that the Supervisor of Registration had brought the returns to New Orleans and had left them with

A WOMAN OF BAD CHARACTER,

who offered to produce them on payment of $1,000. The Conservative Committee took legal proceedings to compel their production, but the Court held it had no jurisdiction to that end. They then caused to be produced before the Board the duplicates of those returns from the office of the Secretary of State, together with the tally sheets, poll lists, &c., filed there according to law. These duplicates corresponded exactly with the alleged result of the compiled returns which the said woman had produced, and of these alleged facts undisputed proof was submitted to the Board. Nevertheless, the Board refused to count the vote for that parish.

ARBITRARY REJECTION OF HEAVY CONSERVATIVE MAJORITIES.

So, in Winn parish, where 404 conservative and 164 republican votes were cast, upon a verbal protest that the Registrar of Elections was not properly qualified, of which the only proof was that he had failed to forward his oath of office to the Secretary of State. Although there was no pretence that the election was not a fair representation of the will of the people the whole vote of the parish was rejected and the case referred to the Legislature. So in Terrebonne parish, where there was a conservative majority, it was proved that the Commissioners of Election, through misapprehension of their duties, enclosed all the returns in the ballot boxes and deposited them with the Clerk of the Court, with whom the law required the boxes to be left. The Judge of the Court thereupon issued a mandamus commanding the Clerk to take the returns from the boxes and forward them to the Secretary of State, which was done. Nevertheless the Board rejected the returns from these polls, thereby giving the parish to the republicans with the result of choosing a republican Senator, two republican members of the Legislature and the republican parish officers.

Without now referring to other instances we are constrained to declare that the action of the Returning Board on the whole was arbitrary, unjust, and, in our opinion, illegal, and that this arbitrary, unjust and illegal action alone prevented the return by the Board of a majority of conservative members to the lower house.

NO OPPRESSION OF NEGRO VOTERS.

When the general subject of the state of affairs in the South and as to whether the alleged wrongs to colored citizens for political offences are real or were asserted without due foundation your committee took such proof as the opportunity offered. Both parties agreed upon four parishes as samples of the condition of affairs in that respect in the State. Of these, owing to the impossibility of procuring witnesses from the locality in time, your committee were obliged to confine their especial examination to two parishes. They received all the testimony that was offered, and in addition they received all the testimony that was then on hand in New Orleans offered by either party as to the condition of affairs in other parts of the State. As a whole, they are constrained to say that the intention charged is not borne out by the facts before us. No general intimidation of republican voters was established. No colored man was produced who had been threatened or assaulted by any conservative because of political opinion, or discharged from employment or refused employment. Of all those who testified to intimidation there was hardly one who of his own knowledge could specify a reliable instance of such acts; and of the white men who were produced to testify generally on such subjects very nearly all, if not every single one, was the holder of an office.

KELLOGG SUPPORTED MAINLY BY OFFICE-HOLDERS.

Throughout the rural districts of the State the number of white republicans is very few; it hardly extends beyond those holding office and those connected with them. No witnesses, we believe, succeeded in naming in any parish five republicans who supported the Kellogg government who were not themselves office-holders or related to office-holders, or those having official employment.

FEDERAL AND MILITARY ARRESTS.

On the other hand, applications to the United States Commissioners in the various parishes not only for alleged crimes, but because of alleged threats of discharge and non-employment or other interference with political preference were frequent. Upon these applications warrants were often issued and white citizens arrested and bound over for trial. In many localities the federal troops were detained for service under the marshals and deputy marshals, and not only made many arrests immediately before the election, but the reports that they were coming to particular neighborhoods about the time of the election for the purpose of making such arrests served, as the conservatives claimed, to intimidate, and sometimes even to produce a stampede among the white voters. How differently the two parties look upon the same fact will appear from the testimony of Mr. Ruddle. He was a United States Commissioner in the parish of Iberia. Shortly before the election, upon the application of colored persons, he issued a large number of warrants; he considered it his duty, upon the arrest of the persons charged, to require bail from sureties who possessed landed estates within the parish, certified to by the assessor of the parish to be of sufficient value, and of which the title was approved by the registrar of deeds; this rule necessarily produced delay in procuring bail for the persons arrested, and he was waited on in one case by a procession of citizens who offered him a bond signed by every man in the procession. This he regarded as in derision of his proceedings, and refused to receive the bond. He was called as a witness to prove the intimidation that existed in that parish. He had himself no knowledge of any act of the kind, except this procession, which he thought was calculated to intimidate the colored voters. He had no idea that the arrests made upon his warrants and the proceedings under them had any effect in interfering with the conservative voters. On the other hand, the conservatives in that neighborhood thought about this just the reverse. Indeed, the reports of the military officers in command of the forces of the United States in the country, though generally indicating a condition of quiet and order, take sometimes an entirely different view of the situation.

CONSERVATIVE BLACKS IN DANGER.

On the other hand, it was in evidence that the blacks who sought to act with the conservative party were, on their part, sometimes exposed to enmity and abuse. In the interior one colored man was shot for making a conservative speech, and in New Orleans it appeared from the testimony that colored men who sought to co-operate with the conservatives were subject to so much abuse from the police and otherwise that an association of lawyers volunteered to protect them, but with little effect.

THE STORY OF DESPOTISM REVIEWED.

The general condition of affairs in the State of Louisiana seems to be as follows:—The conviction has been general among the whites since 1872 that the Kellogg government was a usurpation. This conviction among them has been strengthened by the acts of the Kellogg Legislature, abolishing existing courts and judges and substituting others presided over by judges appointed by Kellogg, and having extraordinary and exclusive jurisdiction over political questions. By changes in the law centralizing in the Governor every form of political control, including the suspension of the elections; by continuing the Returning Board with absolute power over the returns of elections; by the extraordinary provisions enacted for the trial of titles and claims to office; by the conversion of the police force, maintained at the expense of the city of New Orleans, into an armed brigade of State militia, subject to the command of the Governor; by the creation, in some places, of monopolies in markets, gas making, water works and ferries, cleaning vaults, removing filth and doing work as wharfingers; by the abolition of courts with election judges and the substitution of other courts with judges appointed by Kellogg in evasion of the constitution of the State; by enactments punishing criminally all persons who attempted to fill official positions unless returned by the Returning Board; by unlimited appropriations for the payment of militia expenses, and for the payment of legislative warrants, vouchers and checks issued during the years 1870 to 1872; by laws declaring that no person in arrears for taxes after default published, shall bring any suit in any court of the State or be allowed to be a witness in his own behalf—measures which, when coupled with the extraordinary burdens of taxation, have seemed to vest, in the language of Governor Kellogg's counsel, "a degree of power in the Governor of a State scarcely exercised by any sovereign in the world." With this connection is a general want of confidence in the integrity of the existing State and local officials, a want of confidence equally in their persons and in their *personnel*, which is accompanied by the paralyzation of business and destruction of values.

LOUISIANA BEYOND HOPE OF PROSPERITY.

The most hopeful witness produced by the Kellogg party, while he declared that business was in a sounder condition than ever before, because there was less credit, has since declared that there was no prosperity. The securities of the State have fallen in two years from 70 or 80 to 25, of the city of New Orleans from 80 or 90 to 30 or 40, while the fall in bank shares, railroad shares, city and other corporate companies has in a degree corresponded. Throughout the rural districts of the State, the negroes, reared in habits of reliance upon their masters for support and in a community in which the members are always ready to divide the necessaries of life with each other, not regarding such action as very evil, and having immunity from punishment from the nature of the local officials, had come to pilching and stealing fruit, vegetables and poultry so generally that Bishop Wilmer stated, without contradiction from any source, that the raising of these articles had to be entirely abandoned, to the great distress of the white people, while within the parishes, as well as in New Orleans, the taxation had been carried almost literally to the extent of confiscation. In New Orleans the assessors are paid a commission on the amount appraised, and houses and stores are to be had there for the taxes. In Natchitoches parish the taxation reached about eight per cent of the assessed value on property.

OFFICES MADE CONGENITAL.

In many parishes all the white republicans and all the office-holders belong to a single family. There are five of the Greens in office in Lincoln parish, and there are seven of the Bonns in office in the parish of Natchitoches. As the people saw taxation increase and prosperity diminish, as they grew poor while the officials grew rich, they became naturally sore. That they love their rulers cannot be pretended. The Kellogg government claims to have reduced taxation. This has been effected in part by establishing a board to fund the debt of the State at sixty-per cent of its face value. This measure aroused great hostility, not so much because of the reduction of its acknowledged debt, as because it gave to the Funding Board, whose powers seem to be absolute and without review, discretionary authority to admit to be funded some $6,000,000 of debt alleged to be fraudulent, so that under the guise of reducing the acknowledged debt it gave opportunity to swell the fraudulent debt against the State. This nominal reduction of the state taxes has been accompanied by a provision that the parishes taxed shall not exceed the State, but parishes have, notwithstanding, created liabilities. Judgments having been received on them, the courts have directed taxes to be levied for their payment and thus the actual taxes have been carried far beyond the authorized rates.

GRINDING THE PEOPLE.

Rings have been formed in parishes, composed of the parish officers, their relatives and office-operating democrats, who would buy up these obligations, put them in judgment and cause them to be enforced, to the great distress of the neighborhood, a distress so great that the sales of land for taxes have become almost absolutely impossible. But the reduction of wages, the non-fulfilment of personal or political pledges, the malfeasance of home and local officials, disputes among the leading colored persons, in other localities the loss or embezzlement in some cases of the school funds and the failure of the Freedman's Bank—all combined to divide the views of colored voters during the late campaign. An effort was accordingly made by the conservatives to acquire a part of the negro vote. With that view it was sought in many quarters to propitiate them.

THE CONSERVATIVES THE REAL MAJORITY.

The frequent arrests by the United States marshals for intimidation or threats of non-employment and the apprehension that was felt that the Returning Board would count out their men it an excuse for such a course were offered; all combined, especially after the 14th September, to put the conservatives on their good behavior, and the result was that in November, 1874, the people of the state of Louisiana did fairly have a free, peaceable and full registration and election in which a clear conservative majority was elected to the lower House of the Legislature, of which majority the conservatives were deprived by the unjust, illegal and arbitrary action of the Returning Board. That there were turbulent spirits cannot be denied. Those returned to office by the Returning Board in violation of the wishes of the people are especially odious. In one instance, the editor of the *Shreveport News*, in anticipation of the frustration by the Returning Board of the will of the people openly declared that the only remedy was "to kill the usurpers," and declared this to be the sentiments of the conservatives of his State; but beyond a newspaper editor or two, no declaration, even of that sort, was brought to our own notice, although it was admitted on all hands that the white people of the whole State felt greatly outraged by the action of the Returning Board.

KELLOGG PROPPED UP BY THE MILITARY ALONE.

Indeed, it is conceded by all parties that the Kellogg government is only upheld by the federal military. Withdraw the military and that government will go down. This was true before the 4th of January as well as now. Governor Kellogg says this is owing to the doubt that Congress has permitted about the legality of his government. The conservatives say that this is not only because his government is illegal, but because it has been abusive and corrupt. In this connection we refer to the White League mentioned in the message of the President. In the last campaign in Louisiana the opposition was composed of various elements, democrats, reformers, disaffected republicans, liberal republicans, old whigs, and, in order to induce the co-operation of all, some of whom refused to unite with an organization called democrats, they took the name of "the People's Party," called in some localities the "conservative party," in others "the white man's party," in others "the White League," and had ordinary political clubs under these names throughout the rural districts, which were ordinary political clubs and nothing more—neither secret nor armed, nor otherwise different from usual political organizations. These must not, however, be confounded from the similarity of names with the

"WHITE LEAGUE OF THE CITY OF NEW ORLEANS."

That league is an organization comprised of different clubs, numbering in all between 2,500 and 2,800, the members of which have provided arms for themselves, and with or without arms engage in military drill. They have no uniform, and the arms are the property of the individuals and not of the organizations. They comprise a large number of the estimable citizens and of property-holders in New Orleans. Their purpose they declare to be simply protection—a necessity occasioned by the existence of leagues among the blacks, by the hostility with which the Kellogg government arrayed the black against the white race, by the want of security to peaceable citizens and their families, which existed for those reasons, and because also of the peculiar formation of the police brigade. On the other hand, the republicans assert that this is an armed body of volunteers, existing for the purpose of intimidating the blacks and overthrowing the Kellogg government. That it had any considerable relations outside of the city of New Orleans, or that it was intended in any way to interfere with the rights of the colored citizens, did not appear. Now, on the other hand, did it appear that there was any extensive secret league among the black of any kind?

THE OVERTHROW OF KELLOGG.

That the White League would readily co-operate in any feasible scheme for overthrowing the Kellogg government your committee do not doubt; so will, substantially, all the white citizens of Louisiana. Such organizations may be dangerous, and are very rarely to be justified. The affair of the 14th of September is an illustration of this. The members of the White League had purchased arms. The police had seized those arms without process of law, taking them forcibly from the merchants who had sold and from the members who had bought them. A consignment of arms was to arrive by the steamer Mississippi. The members of the league were called out on the morning of the 14th to go and take them in a body. The police undertook to seize the arms. The two bodies came into collision on the wharf, and several persons were killed and wounded. There were then hardly any federal troops in New Orleans, and the disintegration of the Kellogg party was such that before night Penn and his associates had only to take possession of the executive offices without a struggle. The movement was everywhere quietly accepted by the whites throughout the State until the federal government interfered, when Penn and his associates at once surrendered. If Louisiana was a country by itself McEnery and his associates would at once be installed in power, but the conservatives of Louisiana do not propose to fight the federal government.

DISPOSITION OF THE WHITES.

They submit, not because they want to, but because they must, not because they proclaim any enmity against the flag, not because free labor has not been found practicable, not because of any hostility to the enfranchised people, because they are colored, but because they regard themselves as defrauded out of the election of 1872, and yet more, out of the last election and because they think their state government has been to the last degree destructive and corrupt. Indeed, in our judgment, the substantial citizens of the State will submit to any fair determination of the question of the late election, or do anything by which they can secure a firm and good government. What they seek is peace and an opportunity for prosperity. To that end they will support any form of government that will afford them just protection. In their distress they have got beyond any mere question of political party. After your committee had announced their intention not to investigate the election of 1872 they received a letter from Governor Kellogg expressing a desire that they should investigate that subject. Later they received a letter from McEnery and Penn and associates proposing to submit their claims to the state offices to the committee as arbitrators. In view of the assurance that such submission was desired on the part of Messrs. Kellogg and Antoine and their associates the committee addressed a letter to each of these gentlemen desiring to know explicitly whether each one would submit to the determination of the committee, and if they found he was not duly elected he would resign his office or all claim to the office, and would not enter upon it during the term for which he claimed to have been elected.

To this communication they received a reply from Mr. McEnery and those associated with him, assenting to the submission; and in the course of his examination before the committee, Governor Kellogg expressed the same intention and his opinion that those associated with him ought to consent to the arrangement. His formal reply has been received since our return, and we see by the public press that Mr. Antoine has expressed his willingness to accede to the arrangement.

THE DISPERSION OF THE LEGISLATURE.

As to the proceeding on the 4th of January, about which the committee desired a statement, we now said that your sub-committee, on the invitation of the Democratic Conservative Committee of the State of Louisiana, visited the hall of the House of Representatives and witnessed the convening of the Louisiana House of Representatives. Mr. Potter, refusing to go inside the bar, remained outside while Messrs. Foster and Phelps were seated inside and near to the speaker's chair. Mr. Potter remained only until Mr. Wiltz was elected Speaker, and states nothing as to what subsequently occurred. Mr. Foster remained perhaps an hour, and Mr. Phelps remained about an hour longer, until he learned that the military were about to enter under Governor Kellogg's orders. The doings in the State House on the 4th of January, as seen by the committee, or subsequently, in evidence, were substantially as follows:—

At twelve o'clock noon William Vigers, the Clerk of the last House, called the Assembly to order and proceeded to call the roll of members as made up from the returns of the Returning Board. This roll contained the names of 106 members, classed by Governor Kellogg as fifty-three republicans and fifty-three democrats. But it is claimed that one of the democrats was not a staying democrat. The republicans claimed that one of their number, Mr. A. G. Cousin, had been kidnapped and forcibly taken to a distant parish to prevent his presence at the organization of the House. Your committee were about to investigate this charge when in public session. It was claimed by the democratic counsel, and admitted by the republican counsel, that the arrest was under legal process, and by the hands of the Sheriff. It was further claimed, and not denied, that the privilege of his office did not shield him from arrest, the charge was embezzlement. The full house would contain 111 members, of which fifty six would form a quorum. On the first call of the roll 102 answered to their names. It is claimed by the republicans, and we believe conceded by the democrats, that fifty of those answering to their names were democrats and fifty-two were republicans.

ELECTION OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

The instant the clerk finished the roll call, several members rose to their feet, but the floor was successfully held by Mr. Billieu, who said that he nominated L. A. Wiltz as temporary chairman. The Clerk suggested that the legal motion was to elect a speaker. Mr. Billieu, himself, paying no attention to the Clerk, proceeded hurriedly to put his own motion, which was received by loud yeas and followed by loud nays, and declared it carried. Mr. Wiltz sprung instantly to the platform, took from the Clerk the gavel, was quickly sworn in by Justice Houston, who followed him to the platform, and then rapped the House, which during this time had been in great confusion, into a temporary quiet. Mr. Wiltz, as temporary chairman, administered the oath to the members *en masse*, who rose to receive it. Some member made a motion to elect Mr. Trezevant Clerk. Mr. Wiltz put the motion and declared it carried. Trezevant at once came forward and took the clerk's chair. Immediately after, and with the same haste, Mr. Flood was elected Sergeant-at-Arms, and at once, whether on motion or not your committee do not remember, a number of assistant sergeants-at-arms were appointed who promptly appeared, wearing badges, on which was printed "Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms." While the above mentioned motions were being put, members objected and called for the yeas and nays, all of which was disregarded and pronounced out of order by the acting chairman, Colonel Lowell. A republican made the point of order that the constitution of the State allowed any two members to call for the yeas and nays on any motion; but the temporary chairman decided the point not well taken until a motion for permanent organization was made.

ELECTION OF CONTESTING MEMBERS.

Next a motion to go into election for a permanent organization was offered and declared premature. Against this ruling the republicans protested. A motion to seat the democratic members elected to be seated in the four parishes, whose election was referred to the Legislature, was immediately made and carried. During this stage there was much disorder. The republican members protested, but their protests were disregarded. These gentlemen then appeared and were sworn in. A motion to adjourn was then put and declared lost. Mr. Lowell (rep.) then moved that the House proceed to a permanent organization, and that the vote be taken upon the roll of the Returning Board. This motion was declared lost, Mr. Lowell protesting. Mr. Matthews (rep.) then nominated Mr. Lowell as temporary chairman, and put the motion, amid great confusion and disorder, and declared it passed. Mr. Lowell declined to serve.

ELECTION ON SPEAKER WILTZ.

The House then proceeded to elect a Speaker. The roll was called by Clerk Trezevant, who reported 55 votes for Wiltz, 2 for Hahn and 1, Mr. Wiltz's own, blank. This result was ascertained by the Clerk privately keeping a tally of the members voting as they answered to their names. No roll of members voting was kept, neither were tellers ordered or any such other means employed than calling the roll to ascertain the number voting. This vote includes the five members who had been sworn in to fill vacancies. During the roll call, when Mr. Hahn's name was called he rose and asked to be excused from voting and to be allowed to state his reasons. Objection was made, and then the speaker *pro tem.* asked for unanimous consent to his explanations. Consent was given, and Mr. Hahn spoke at some length. After the announcement by the Clerk of the vote, Mr. Wiltz was sworn in as speaker, and proceeded to swear in others present so far as they came forward to be sworn. Those thus sworn in were said to number six in all, made up of fifty conservatives and five republicans who were returned by the Returning Board and the five democratic members who had just been admitted.

GENERAL DE TROBRIAND PRESERVES ORDER.

Outside of the bar of the legislative hall in the State House there were a large number of police, supported by the federal troops. No person was permitted to the State House, except through the orders of Governor Kellogg. Within the bar of the House were permitted only the gentlemen returned by the Returning Board and the Clerk and Sergeant-at-arms of the former Legislature, ten persons allowed to the conservatives as messengers, who suddenly became their assistant sergeants-at-arms, and a few other persons, such as were admitted by courtesy to the floor. Without the bar, in the public part of the hall, stood the contestants and other persons admitted. They numbered, by actual count, 127. Besides these the door of the hall was kept by twenty-seven police. Wiltz maintained control of the Assembly until some time after he was chosen Speaker. When the republicans undertook to withdraw from the hall Mr. Wiltz gave instructions to the Sergeant-at-Arms not to allow any one to pass out or enter the hall. Then the disturbance without the bar at once increased and pistols were displayed, when, at this juncture, a conservative member moved that the Speaker be requested to ask Colonel de Trobriand to preserve order a committee was appointed to wait on Colonel de Trobriand and request his compliance. Colonel de Trobriand soon came to the bar, unaccompanied, except by one aid, who remained behind and then alone approached the Speaker. The Speaker requested him to ask for order in the lobby. Colonel de Trobriand did so and order was then restored. The Speaker thanked him, in the name of the House, for his courtesy and he withdrew.

EXPULSION OF THE CONTESTING MEMBERS.

The action of the body proceeded for an hour or so without interruption, during which time a committee on contested seats was appointed, minor officers elected and debate had; but no message was sent to the Senate or to the Governor notifying them that the House was organized and ready to proceed to business, when at length Colonel de Trobriand returned and stated he had orders to remove the five members sworn in who had not been returned by the Returning Board; and, after the protest and resistance of Mr. Wiltz to the persons referred to, and after General Campbell had been sent for to point them out, they were removed by the United States soldiers. Mr. Wiltz then left the chair as Mr. Vigers, to organize the House, began to call the roll made out by the Returning Board, and two democratic members had answered to their names when Mr. Wiltz interrupted the Clerk and called upon the conservative members to refuse to answer and to leave the hall. The interruption over, Mr. Vigers began anew his roll call, and obtained only fifty responses, but as the two democratic members had just before answered on the roll call which was interrupted, he assumed it right to announce that fifty-four members had answered to their names.

THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION.

Those who remained after Mr. Wiltz and his friends withdrew elected Hahn Speaker by acclamation and proceeded to the business of the Legislature. There was no subsequent roll call by which the number of those members whose names were returned by the Returning Board and who still remained present at these deliberations could be determined.

Your committee have not been able to agree upon any recommendation; but upon the situation in Louisiana as it appeared before us we are all agreed.

CHARLES FOSTER.
WILLIAM WALKER PHELPS.
CLARKSON N. POTTER.

JANUARY 14, 1875.

The evidence upon which the sub-committee base their conclusions has not yet been written out. It will be submitted hereafter if it shall be deemed desirable.

The committee themselves voted to adopt the report, and also to report the same to the House, with the recommendation that the same be printed and recommitted.

For the committee. GEORGE F. HOAR, Chairman.

A REPUBLICAN CAUCUS.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15, 1875.

A caucus of republican Senators was held this morning, Mr. Anthony presiding. The order of business under discussion was with especial reference to the Louisiana question. It was decided, with almost complete unanimity, that the Louisiana case should be disposed of first, and that the President should be sustained in his recognition of the Kellogg administration as the legal government of that State. It is understood that a resolution to that effect will be introduced within a day or two and passed with as little debate as possible.

SHIPPING NEWS

OCEAN STEAMERS.

DATES OF DEPARTURE FROM NEW YORK FOR THE MONTHS OF JANUARY AND FEBRUARY.

Steamer.	Sails.	Destination.	Office.
City of Brooklyn	Jan. 16	Liverpool	15 Broadway.
Celtic	Jan. 16	Liverpool	19 Broadway
Denmark	Jan. 16	London	69 Broadway.
Hohenstaufen	Jan. 16	Bremen	2 Bowling Green
Bolivia	Jan. 16	Glasgow	7 Bowling Green
Parthia	Jan. 20	Liverpool	4 Bowling Green
State of Indiana	Jan. 20	Glasgow	72 Broadway.
Pommerania	Jan. 21	Hamburg	61 Broadway.
Mass	Jan. 21	Rotterdam	50 Broadway.
England	Jan. 23	Liverpool	69 Broadway.
City of New York	Jan. 23	Liverpool	15 Broadway.
Oceanic	Jan. 23	Liverpool	19 Broadway.
Elysia	Jan. 23	Glasgow	7 Bowling Green
France	Jan. 23	Havre	55 Broadway.
America	Jan. 23	Bremen	2 Bowling Green
Goethe	Jan. 26	Hamburg	113 Broadway.
Russia	Jan. 27	Liverpool	4 Bowling Green
Suevia	Jan. 28	Hamburg	61 Broadway.
Republic	Jan. 30	Liverpool	19 Broadway.
City of London	Jan. 30	Liverpool	15 Broadway.
California	Jan. 30	Glasgow	7 Bowling Green
Hermann	Jan. 30	Bremen	2 Bowling Green
Klopstock	Feb. 2	Hamburg	113 Broadway
Java	Feb. 3	Liverpool	4 Bowling Green
State of Georgia	Feb. 3	Glasgow	72 Broadway.
Holsatia	Feb. 4	Hamburg	61 Broadway.
P. Caland	Feb. 4	Rotterdam	50 Broadway.
Spain	Feb. 6	Liverpool	69 Broadway.
City of Montreal	Feb. 6	Liverpool	15 Broadway
Baltic	Feb. 6	Liverpool	19 Broadway.
Victoria	Feb. 6	Glasgow	7 Bowling Green
Ville de Paris	Feb. 6	Havre	55 Broadway.
Deutschland	Feb. 6	Bremen	2 Bowling Green
Cimbria	Feb. 11	Hamburg	61 Broadway.

ALMANAC FOR NEW YORK—THIS DAY.

SUN AND MOON.			HIGH WATER.		
Sun rises	7 22		Gov. Island	morn	2 56
Sun sets	4 59		Sandy Hook	morn	2 11
Moon sets	morn	1 55	Hell Gate	morn	4 41

PORT OF NEW YORK, JAN. 15, 1875.

CLEARED.

Steamer Gaelic (Br), Parsell, Liverpool via Queenstown—R J Cortis.

Steamer Bolivia (Br), Small, Glasgow—Henderson Bros.

Steamer Fanita, Howe, Philadelphia—James Hand.

Ship Jacob A Stamler, Samson, Havre—Boyd & Hincken.

Ship Robert McManus, Beals, Montevideo and Buenos Ayres—John Norton, Jr, & Son.

Barq Juanita (Br), Brown, The Downs—George F Bulley.

Bark Merlo (Ital), Bozzano, Cork or Falmouth—Slocovich & Co.

Bark Three Brothers, Edwards, Rio Janeiro—James E Ward & Co.

Bark Siomanden (Nor), Hansen, Baltimore—Tetens & Bockmann.

Brig Lily (Br), Passiful, Stranraer (Scotland)—Geo F Bulley.

Brig Harry, Robinson, Sagua la Grande—Simpson, Clapp & Co.

Brig Hattie Eaton, Cook, St Thomas—Peniston & Co.

Schr Joshua Grindle, Freethy, Indianola—Evans, Ball & Co.

Schr A H Hurlbut, Griffin, Norfolk, Va—Slaght & Petty.

Schr Edward Everett, Gray, Gloucester—R J Godwin & Son.

Schr Piscataqua, Welsh, Gloucester—R J Godwin & Son.

Cleared 14th—Schr Kocheko, Johnson, Barcelona—Jas Henry.

ARRIVALS.

REPORTED BY THE HERALD STEAM YACHTS AND HERALD WHITESTONE TELEGRAPH LINE.

Steamer Carondelet, McCreary, New Orleans Jan 7 and Southwest Pass 8th, with mdse and passengers to C H Mallory & Co.

Steamer Gulf Stream, Faircloth, Savannah Jan 9, with mdse and passengers to R Lowden.

Steamer Cleopatra, B