

1940

The Career of Henry Watkins Allen.

Luther Edward Chandler

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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THE CAREER OF HENRY WATKINS ALLEN

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
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requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of History

By
Luther Edward Chandler
B. A. Louisiana College, 1927
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Louisiana State University
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ABSTRACT

A biographical study of Henry W. Allen, one of Louisiana's very capable and most respected nineteenth century statesmen, has long been overdue. Only one effort has been made to treat this subject: that was in 1866 only a few months after his death and at a time when many of the records were not available. This study is based upon newspapers, manuscript correspondence, United States census reports, deeds, mortgage records, assessment and tax rolls, and other county and state records in Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Texas, and Virginia.

Henry Watkins Allen, brigadier general and wartime governor of Louisiana, was born near Farmville, Virginia, April 29, 1820. His father moved to Missouri in 1833; four years later Allen left home and established himself as a tutor in the home of William R. McAlpine, a prominent planter at Grand Gulf, Mississippi.

The Claiborne County records in Port Gibson and in the Department of Archives and History at Jackson reveal that between 1837 and 1852 Allen practiced law, served six months in the Texas army, was for one term an active member of the lower House of the Mississippi legislature, and operated a cotton plantation. He also purchased a large amount of land in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas during this period. In 1844 Allen married Salome Ann Crane, the daughter of a prominent Claiborne County planter. Eight years later Allen

disposed of his property in Mississippi and went to Louisiana.

Allen's life in West Baton Rouge was that of the aristocratic, well-to-do plantation owner in the ante-bellum days. The West Baton Rouge Parish records show that he acquired a half interest in Westover, a \$300,000 sugar plantation, which later was divided. Allen named his portion of the estate Allendale and erected on it a fine brick home, Negro cabins, a sugar mill, and the other necessary buildings for operating a sugar plantation. Two men were associated with Allen at different times in operating his plantation which permitted him to give much of his time to public life.

He aided in building plank roads and in securing the Baton Rouge, Opelousas, and Grosse Tête railroad for his parish and was zealous in organizing the sugar planters. During the 1850's Allen traveled in the United States and Europe and, according to the records of the alumni office, in the summer of 1854 he was in Cambridge and attended classes at Harvard University. While traveling, Allen wrote letters under the pseudonym of "Guy Mannering" and had them published in a Baton Rouge paper.

Allen was very active in politics. He was a member of the Whig party in Mississippi and after coming to Louisiana he continued his alignment with the organization until it was replaced by the American or Know Nothing group about 1856. Allen was a member of the American party until 1859 when he affiliated with the Democratic organization. He supported Breckinridge in 1860 and after the election results

were made known he became a rabid secessionist. Allen served in the legislature from 1858 to 1861; and the legislative journals, acts, committee reports, newspapers, and other documents show that he was very active in the assembly.

When the Civil War began, Allen joined the Delta Rifles as a private and within three years had been appointed a brigadier general by President Davis. He was also commissioned a major general of the Louisiana troops by Governor Moore. Allen received a wound in the battle at Baton Rouge which incapacitated him for about a year and disabled him for the remainder of his life.

As Governor of Louisiana Allen made his name a household word among the people of Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, and Texas. To supply the needs of the state he established a cloth factory, turpentine still, laboratory for making medicines, and iron foundry. Allen purchased cotton and sent it through Texas to Mexico where it was exchanged for medicines, cloth, paper, and other articles. This part of the study is based primarily upon the Confederate records preserved by Allen and left at the close of the war with John M. Sandidge who delivered them to the Federal officials. These sources consist of a letter book, legislative journals and acts, treasury records, and other state documents. They are in The National Archives and have been used for the first time in a Louisiana study. Two manuscript collections supplied valuable information in the preparation of this portion of the work. One consists of about forty letters from Allen

to Doctor Bartholomew Egan and are now in possession of his granddaughter, Miss Lavina Egan, at Mount Lebanon, Louisiana; the other is the official correspondence of Governor Pendleton Murrah of Texas.

After the war closed, Allen, like many other Confederate leaders, preferred exile to arrest and imprisonment; so he went into Mexico, where he spent the last nine months of his life. Allen edited a newspaper, the Mexican Times, which is one of the primary sources for this portion of the study. The writer also used the papers of Matthew Maury and the official correspondence between William H. Seward and the United States officials in Mexico City.

Chapter I

THE ALLEN FAMILY

In the southern part of Virginia near the foothills of the Blue Ridge mountains lies Prince Edward County. This region is about forty miles southwest of Richmond and is situated between two historic places — Amelia and Appomattox Courthouses. Farmville, a lively little town of 4,000 people, is the county seat today, and it has been the center of the county's activities since the eighteenth century. Hampden-Sydney College, a Presbyterian school and one of Virginia's oldest, is located about six miles southwest of Farmville.¹ Many of the people who settled in this tobacco growing section of Virginia in the eighteenth century were staunch Presbyterians with French Huguenot blood flowing in their veins. Among the leading families were the Allens, Watkins, Venables, Woodsons, and Michauxs. Their names are linked indelibly with the history of Virginia and Prince Edward County, for many of them were distinguished in the civil and military affairs of their state and nation.²

The Allen family came to Prince Edward from Cumberland County, where the original members of the family had settled

¹ Hampden-Sydney College, established in 1775 as an academy by the Hanover Presbytery, was incorporated in 1783 as a college with Patrick Henry and James Madison among the board of directors. The college has had a continuous history and has never changed its location. Franklin H. Hooper (ed.), Encyclopedia Britannica, 24 vols. (New York, 1936), XI, 137.

² James W. Alexander, The Life of Archibald Alexander, first Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton (New York, 1854), 178-182.

as emigrants in the seventeenth century. Thomas Allen, the son of Colonel Charles and Mary Venable Allen, was born in Prince Edward County near Farmville, July 16, 1789, and was the fourth son in a family of six children. He had two brothers, Samuel V. and James R. His sisters were Mary V., Fanny R., and Judith Ann Woodson.³ Thomas, after receiving an elementary education, entered Hampden-Sydney College in 1807 and remained there for three years; then he entered the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia and in two years completed the work for his degree.⁴

The young doctor returned to Prince Edward in 1812, began the practice of medicine, and soon became a practitioner of distinction. Two years later Doctor Allen married his cousin, Ann Venable Watkins,⁵ the daughter of Captain Thomas Watkins who had participated in the American Revolution.⁶

In 1823 Doctor Allen purchased from George I. Hunt for \$2,157.50 approximately 215 acres of land on which he settled

³ This information was supplied by William S. Morton, Farmville, Virginia, who is a descendant of the Allen family.

⁴ A. J. Morrison, Dictionary of Biography, Hampden-Sydney Alumni (Lynchburg, 1921), 141.

⁵ Prince Edward County (Virginia) Marriage Bond License Book, 1800-1850, in Prince Edward County courthouse, Farmville, Virginia. The marriage bond was issued February 23, 1814 to Thomas Allen and Ann V. Watkins. The date of the marriage was not given. In other records Mrs. Allen signed her name as Nancy Allen.

⁶ Captain Watkins raised a troop of soldiers, "The Virginia Dragoons", in Prince Edward County and participated in the battle at Guilford Courthouse March 15, 1781. Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution, April 4, 1775 to December, 1782 (Washington, 1914), 575.

and lived for the next ten years.⁷ The property lay on both banks of Briery River, which is a few miles east of Farmville. In the next decade Doctor Allen increased his holdings to about 584 acres.⁸ In this section of Virginia tobacco was the chief crop, and it is reasonable to suppose that he engaged in agricultural pursuits because he owned twenty-four slaves and a large amount of land.⁹

The home of the Allen family was located on Briery River about two miles from Farmville and a short distance from "High Bridge", which was to become famous in later years. Between Allen's home and Farmville stood "Logwood", for many years the home of Virginia's famous jurist and legislator, Judge Peter Johnston, who was the father of Joseph Eggleston Johnston, commander of the Western Army of the Confederate States. Adjoining the Allen plantation was the property of Benjamin Price, the father of Sterling Price. The latter won fame as a general of the Missouri forces during the Civil War.¹⁰

Seven children were born to the Allens while they were living in Virginia: Nathaniel V., William L., Henry Watkins, Mary V., Elizabeth Ann, Charles Beverly, and Richard G.¹¹

⁷ Prince Edward County Deed Book, XVII, 603.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XXI, 83.

⁹ United States Census Reports, MSS., Population in Prince Edward County, Virginia, 1830, XXXIX, 111. All census records used in this study are in the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

¹⁰ Prince Edward County Deed Book, XXI, 83; *Alexandria Louisiana Democrat*, May 23, 1866.

¹¹ Sarah A. Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, Brigadier-General Confederate States Army, Ex-Governor of Louisiana (New York, 1866), 20; United States Census Reports, MSS., Population in Prince Edward County, Virginia, 1830, XXXIX, 111.

Henry Watkins, the third son of Doctor Allen, was born April 29, 1820.¹² His early life was much like that of other boys living in Prince Edward County in the early part of the nineteenth century. When old enough to attend school, Henry went to live for a time with his uncle, Samuel V. Watkins, who taught a neighborhood school. Just what kind of a student he was we do not know, but Sarah Dorsey described him as being "distinguished for his aptness to learn" and "for his high toned honor and politness."¹³ His education in Virginia was terminated at an early age because the Allen family moved to Missouri in 1833.

About 1830 Henry's mother died, leaving the father with a family of small children.¹⁴ Three years later Doctor Allen sold his property consisting of a home and about 369 acres of land to Joseph G. Williams for \$4,566.37¹⁵ and prepared to carry his family to Missouri where he had purchased some land.

Doctor Allen and his brother, James R. Allen, had acquired large landholdings, principally in Ray County, in the western part of Missouri. Some of this land had been purchased as early as 1821 by the two brothers and held jointly by them until Doctor Allen was ready to take his family to the West. The property was then divided, and Doctor Allen

¹² Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 23; Douglas Southall Freeman, "Henry Watkins Allen," in Dictionary of American Biography, 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), I, 192.

¹³ Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 23.

¹⁴ Mrs. Allen died sometime after the census report was made in 1830 and before May 6, 1833.

¹⁵ Prince Edward County Deed Book, XXI, 83. A portion

acquired the title to about 1,120 acres in Ray County near the town of Lexington.¹⁶

In Missouri Doctor Allen continued the practice of medicine and also established himself as one of the larger landowners in that section of the state. His home, "East Hill," located near Lexington, was one of the most beautiful places in western Missouri.¹⁷ Doctor Allen married a Mrs. Scott after his removal to Missouri, but there were no children from this union.¹⁸ When the father died in 1850, he left an estate consisting of twenty slaves, household articles, farm implements, and 2,660 acres of land.¹⁹ The property exclusive of the land and home was valued at \$12,930.

The children of Doctor Allen began leaving home within a few years after arriving in the West. Mary, the elder daughter, married Philip L. Edwards and later moved to California.²⁰ Elizabeth Ann, the younger sister, married Ephraim B. Ewing, who became attorney general and then a member of the Supreme Court of Missouri. The eldest son, Nathaniel V., went with a Missouri company to Texas in 1842 of his land was sold in 1828.

¹⁶ Ibid., 110-111.

¹⁷ Information supplied by a descendant of the Allen family, Mrs. Guy Blackmer, 1642 Kingsburg Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.

¹⁸ Ibid.; Morrison, Dictionary of Biography, Hampden-Sydney College, 141; Ray County (Missouri) Inventory Records, in Ray County courthouse, Richmond, Missouri, B, 127.

¹⁹ Ray County Inventory Records, B, 127.

²⁰ Walter B. Davis and Daniel S. Durrie, An Illustrated History of Missouri Comprising its Early Record, and Civil, Political, and Military History from the First Exploration to the Present Time, including ... Biographical Sketches of Prominent Citizens (St. Louis, 1876), 460-61; Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 20.

and was killed in the war with Mexico. The second son of Doctor Allen, William L., served a term in the Seminole Wars of Florida then returned to Missouri, where he died early in the 1840's.²¹

The fourth son, Charles Beverly, graduated from the University of Missouri in 1850 and died sometime before 1852.²² Richard G., the youngest member of the family, joined General Sterling Price's command, participated in the Mexican War, returned to Missouri, and about ten years later went to California.²³

Henry Watkins Allen, the third son of the family, lived in Missouri only four years. He worked for a time in the store of S. B. Stramacke in the town of Lexington²⁴ but became dissatisfied with the place and left to enter Marion College at Palmyra, Missouri. This was a Methodist school under the direction of Reverend Hiram P. Goodrich, D. D., who had been a friend of Doctor Allen when they lived in Virginia, where Doctor Goodrich was a professor in the Theological Seminary at Farmville.²⁵ While Henry was in school

21 Davis and Durrie, Illustrated History of Missouri, 508-9; Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 20.

22 Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 20; Information supplied by the Registrar of the University of Missouri.

23 Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 20.

24 Mexico City Mexican Times, December 30, 1865. After the Civil War Allen went to Mexico City where he established this paper.

25 Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 23; Alexandria Louisiana Democrat, November 1, 1865. Marion College was founded in 1831 by William Muldrow, Doctor David Nelson, and Doctor David Clark in Marion County about twelve miles west of Palmyra. Parties in New York supplied the capital to buy about 5,000 acres of land and erect buildings worth \$70,000. The college, under the influence of the Methodist Episcopal church, operated for about ten years when it proved a financial failure and was abandoned. Howard L.

a Missouri militia officer insulted his father. When the young and impetuous Henry heard of the affair, he went immediately to the officer and demanded an apology or else a resort to "the code." The militia officer realized the seriousness of the threat and lost no time in making friends with Doctor Allen. This marked the first of Allen's challenges to a duel, but as we shall see later, he had other occasions to demand "satisfaction."²⁶

Henry, after spending two years in college, returned home but discovered that it was difficult to live under the strict rule maintained by his father. In the year 1837, after some misunderstandings with his father, the young man of seventeen years left "East Hill" and made his way south where he was destined to carve out an illustrious career for himself.

Conrad (ed.), Encyclopdia History of Missouri: A Compendium of History and Biography for Ready Reference, 6 vols. (New York, 1910), IV, 190.

²⁶ Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 24.

Chapter II

TEACHER, LAWYER, AND FARMER IN MISSISSIPPI

1837-1852

On the banks of the Mississippi River midway between the cities of Vicksburg and Natchez stood in the ante-bellum period the town of Grand Gulf, which was the third most important place in the state. Founded in 1828, it acquired a population of 1,000 within a decade and boasted two fine hotels, a boarding house, six dry good stores, several commission houses, a number of grocery stores, a bank, a tin shop, and several lawyers and physicians.¹ Eight miles southeast of Grand Gulf was the historic town of Port Gibson, founded in 1788 by Samuel Gibson as Gibson's Port. The name changed to Port Gibson in 1803 and the town was incorporated in 1811. By 1840 it had about sixty families and a population of approximately 600.²

¹ Port Gibson Correspondent, August 2, 1839; Dunbar Rowland, Mississippi, 4 vols. (Atlanta, 1907), I, 420-23; Robert Lowry and William H. McCardle, A History of Mississippi from the Discovery of the Great River by Hernando DeSoto ... to the Death of Jefferson Davis (Jackson, Mississippi, 1891), 459. Grand Gulf no longer exists as a town. Only one or two Negro cabins mark the place today (1940). Much of the original townsite has long since caved into the Mississippi River, but there remain even to this day a few landmarks indicating where some of the streets were laid out. On a hill overlooking the townsite are the remains of the old cemetery which has been left to the ravages of nature. There are many tombs which carry names of the prominent people of ante-bellum days. Some of them are McAlpine, Torrey, and Brenham. The Federal forces burned Grand Gulf in 1862 and it has not been restored.

² New Orleans Times-Picayune and New Orleans States, January 22, February 26, 1939; Lowry and McCardle, A History of Mississippi, 459.

The two places were the important towns in Claiborne County, which in 1840 had a combined white and black population of 13,078.³ By 1850 Port Gibson's population had increased to 1,110 but Grand Gulf's had decreased to about 600. Although the latter contained comparatively few people, it was an important port and shipped annually about 40,000 bales of cotton.⁴

Henry Watkins Allen came down the Mississippi River from Missouri by boat and got off at Grand Gulf. There was no particular reason for stopping at that point as he had no acquaintances there, nor was he sure of finding employment. However, the determined young man with a charming personality and an affable nature resolved to seek his fortune in that section of Mississippi. Allen soon secured employment as a teacher in the home of William R. McAlpine, who lived only a few miles northeast of Grand Gulf.⁵ He served as tutor to the children of the McAlpine family for about two years and

3 United States Census Reports, MSS., Population in Claiborne County, Mississippi, 1840, I, 76.

4 Port Gibson Correspondent, August 2, 1839; Lowry and McCordle, History of Mississippi, 459.

5 Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 25; Port Gibson Correspondent, August 2, 1839; Josie Frazee Cappleman, "Local Incidents of the War Between the States," in Mississippi Historical Society, Publications (Oxford, Mississippi, 1898-1914), IV (1901), 79. Most of the biographies of Allen say that he taught a school in Grand Gulf but there is no evidence to substantiate this conclusion. The members of the McAlpine family were Edward, Daniel V., Agnes, Roderick, Emma, Mary M., and William S. The father was one of the leading planters in Claiborne County, a slaveowner, member of the Whig party, and one of the directors of the Port Gibson Bank. In 1850 he owned property valued at \$12,000. Tax Roll for Claiborne County, Mississippi, 1842, in the Department of Archives and History, Jackson; United States Census Reports, MSS., Schedule I, Free Inhabitants in Claiborne County, Mississippi, 1850, I, 243.

became a very close friend of the older boys.

While teaching in the McAlpine home, Allen prepared himself for the legal profession by studying at night. He took the oath as an attorney and was licensed to practice law in Mississippi on May 25, 1841, before Judge George Coalter of the circuit court in the first district.⁶ Allen entered the legal field and continued to practice law in Grand Gulf until he left the state in 1852. According to the records of the court in Claiborne County, he was a very busy lawyer at every session of the court during the 1840's.⁷

In 1842 Henry became interested in the cause of Texas which attracted attention throughout the United States at the time. Texas had won its independence from Mexico in 1836 and had been recognized by the United States as an independent nation. During the administration of the second President, Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar, an effort was made to break up a flourishing trade between the United States and Mexico by diverting its course from Santa Fé through Texas. In June, 1841, a Texas expedition under General Hugh McLeod left for Santa Fé but the party arrived before the town in a half starved condition, and without striking a blow surrendered to the Mexican Governor Armijo. The Texans were sent to various prisons in Mexico and detained until June 13, 1842, when all but one were released.⁸

⁶ Claiborne County Circuit Court Minute Books, H, (1840-1842), 143, in Port Gibson courthouse.

⁷ Claiborne County Circuit Court Writ Document Book, (1844-1850), in Port Gibson courthouse. This contains a list of the cases and the names of the lawyers connected with them for each term of court.

⁸ For information on the origin of the war, see H. Yoakum,

General Sam Houston became president of the Republic in December, 1841, and did not have long to wait before hostilities with Mexico were renewed. In March of the following year a Mexican army occupied Goliad, San Antonio, Refugio, and Victoria, but retired after a few days, taking all the loot they could carry away. Exaggerated reports about the occupation of the south Texas cities and the treatment of the Santa Fé prisoners enraged the people of Texas and stirred public opinion in the United States. The people of Texas demanded action against the invaders and forced President Houston to issue the call for the army, although the President knew that Texas was not prepared for a war and could not properly equip an army for such an engagement. On March 10 Houston issued a call for the militia and on the next day he wrote the Texas consul at New Orleans stating the conditions under which he could receive emigrants from the United States.⁹ It was the plan of the President to rendezvous the troops at Corpus Christi for defense against Mexican

Original Narratives of Texas History and Adventure: History of Texas from its first Settlement in 1565 to its Annexation to the United States in 1846, 2 vols. (Austin, Texas, 1935), II, 323-84; Eugene C. Barker, Readings in Texas History (Dallas, 1929), 262-65; Nathaniel W. Stephenson, Texas and the Mexican War (Allen Johnson [ed.] The Chronicles of American History, 50 vols. [New Haven, 1921], XXIV), 11-113.

⁹ Barker, Readings in Texas History, 364. President Houston wrote the consul that all men must have "a good rifle or musket, with a cartouch box, or shot pouch and powder horn, with at least one hundred rounds of ammunition, a good knapsack and six months' clothing, and enter service for six months subject to the laws of Texas. They must be landed for the present at some point west of the Brazos River, with eight days' provisions. No number less than fifty-six in companies well organized will be received, and on landing each commandant will report to the secretary of war for orders."

invasions.¹⁰

The people of the United States were interested in the affairs of Texas because of the close racial ties, family connections, and economic and political associations between the two republics. In order to facilitate the sending of aid to Texas, President Houston appointed representatives in the United States to supervise the raising of funds and volunteers. Major B. Gillespie was the general agent for the United States with headquarters in New Orleans; C. W. Webber of Kentucky was a subordinate agent; and A. S. Lipscomb was agent at Mobile.¹¹

Public meetings were held in New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, Memphis, Philadelphia, and many smaller towns to arouse interest in the Texan's cause, raise funds, and secure volunteers for the war. The people of Mobile, who were very active in the cause of Texas, met in March to discuss plans for sending aid to Texas and a committee of twenty-one was appointed to receive funds. The citizens of Mobile responded to the call, about \$1,000 was soon forwarded to President Houston, and later a vessel was equipped and sent over for the navy.¹²

In Memphis, Tennessee, Colonel F. S. Latham, a prominent

¹⁰ Houston Telegraph and Texas Register, June 29, 1842.

¹¹ Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Daily Gazette, May 18, 1842; New Orleans Daily Picayune, May 6, 1842. General James Davis of Mississippi had been appointed agent for Texas at New Orleans but, apparently, resigned in order to go to Texas. Major Gillespie was then appointed.

¹² Port Gibson Correspondent, March 26, 1842; Houston Morning Star, April 2, 26, May 31, 1842; Houston Telegraph and Texas Register, March 30, April 27, 1842.

editor of the city, led the movement to raise funds and secure volunteers for the Texas "Wolf Hunt," as the editors called the war with Mexico. They subscribed \$300, enlisted fifteen or twenty soldiers, and appointed a committee of ten to receive additional contributions for Texas.¹³

The people of Jackson, Port Gibson, and Natchez, Mississippi, expressed their interest in Texas by holding public gatherings. The citizens of Jackson met early in April and made plans to send aid to the young republic.¹⁴ Port Gibson held its meeting on April 2 with a number of prominent citizens of Claiborne County present. Colonel Richard Parkinson was chairman, and Major Henry G. Ely was secretary. Parmenas Briscoe, well-known legislator of Mississippi, was made chairman of the committee on resolutions.¹⁵ The committee's recommendations were characteristic of the spirit of the public gatherings held in the interest of Texas. They reported that the relations between the two republics were most cordial because they had the same ideals, that Texas ought to be free, and that any interest which Mississippi had in Texas was honorable. They condemned Mexico's treatment of the Santa Fé group as infamous and tyrannical and as characteristic of the Mexican people. The committee recommended that, if President Tyler did not move at once to defend the

¹³ Houston Morning Star, April 19, 1842. Members of the committee were Major E. Hickman, Doctor W. Christian, David Parker, F. S. Latham, W. Howard, Major J. B. Mosley, and Charles Stewart.

¹⁴ Ibid., April 21, 1842.

¹⁵ Port Gibson Correspondent, April 9, 1842. Members of the committee were: James Mason, John Kercheval, and Doctor F. Walton Todd.

United States flag and people, they should act on their own initiative. The meeting adopted the resolutions and then appointed a committee of fifteen to receive donations and to correspond with the Texans.¹⁶ Already Henry W. Allen had enlisted a few volunteers and was on his way to the Texas "Wolf Hunt" by March 30. Those accompanying him from Grand Gulf were William C. Parke, Samuel A. Williams, John M. Massie, and Daniel F. Barney.¹⁷

Natchez held its first meeting for the aid of Texas on April 3, with Captain Noah Barlow in the chair and Walter Hickey, well-known newspaper man, acting as secretary. Speeches were made by L. M. Day, General John A. Quitman, and L. Sanders. Shortly after the meeting adjourned, some twenty-six volunteers met and elected Walter Hickey captain and John Dixon lieutenant.¹⁸ On April 8 this well-equipped group left Natchez on the steamer Ambassador for New Orleans where they remained until April 16 before leaving for Texas.¹⁹

A third group of about fifty volunteers came from Holly Springs, in northern Mississippi, under the leadership of W.

¹⁶ Members of the committee were: John Rail, J. E. Calhoun, R. R. Sharkey, J. N. Harding, T. D. Jeffers, G. H. Evans, G. S. Torrey, J. G. Hastings, J. B. Thrasher, R. Parkinson, R. T. Archey, V. Stamps, R. Valentine, Doctor Walter Rossman, and Joseph Brook.

¹⁷ Port Gibson Correspondent, April 23, 1842; Natchez Daily Courier, April 1, 1842.

¹⁸ Natchez Free Trader, April 4, 1842.

¹⁹ New Orleans Daily Picayune, April 9, 10, 12, 1842. The Natchez company arrived in New Orleans and bivouacked at the cotton shed on Magazine street. Later they went down to Fort Jackson where they remained until their departure for Texas. Natchez Daily Courier, April 18, 1842. The roll of the company from Natchez and Adams counties was: Walter Hickey, captain, John Dixon, first lieutenant, P. M. Hitchcock,

G. Wilson of Tennessee.²⁰ They left New Orleans for Texas in April.²¹

It is evident that many men and much aid was sent from the United States to Texas, but the number of soldiers and the amount of money and provisions contributed to the young republic is unknown because of the diplomatic circumstances surrounding it and the dearth of records for the period.²² Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi sent more men into Texas than did any other section of the United States. Most of the troops went by boat from New Orleans to Galveston or Houston, and then transferred to their camp near Corpus Christi. Some troops went overland via Alexandria, and others took the Shreveport and Marshall route. Volunteers began

sergeant, E. C. Deadman, Walter De Minther, T. F. Sanders, Z. Kelly, L. D. Kirby, C. M. Beck, F. B. Flores, C. M. Amos, D. G. Kenner, Samuel Yates, Robert Cote, Thomas Mooze, C. H. McMurray, John Conway, John W. Corbin, Charles Gouveneaux, John Davis, William Hamrick, William Fulcher, William Perrot, Thomas Lumley, Thomas Philips, M. Fitzgerald, Edward Davis, Thomas Kelly, James Conway, Patrick Boyle, W. J. Montgomery, Thomas McCollum, Henry Williams, Edwin Caldwell, William B. Joy, Robert Duncan, L. S. Knowles, James Young, Abraham Monteith, Richard R. Howard, E. Olney, F. Mullhazlern, William Conner, and P. Gullmer. Ibid.

²⁰ Wilson was the son of George Wilson, one of the oldest editors in Tennessee. He was a graduate of Nashville University.

²¹ New Orleans Daily Picayune, April 10, 1842; Houston Telegraph and Texas Register, September 21, 1842.

²² The Charleston Courier, June 8, 1842, reported the following amounts contributed from the various cities to aid Texas: New Orleans, \$17,000 and 1,000 men; Mobile, \$14,000 and 500 men; Tuscaloosa, Alabama, \$4,000 and 100 men; Natchez, \$6,000 and 500 men; Columbus, Georgia, \$3,000 and 75 men; and Augusta, Georgia, \$885. These figures are surely too high because no such information has been found concerning the contributions of New Orleans and the cities in Mississippi. The number of men is certainly too large because there were never that many men in the volunteers' camp near Corpus Christi.

arriving early in April, and among the first to reach Houston was Captain Allen and a portion of a company from Mississippi which was called the Mississippi Guards.²³ On April 9 the Morning Star reported that 150 well-armed men had come over from New Orleans and Mobile. Volunteers from various points in the United States continued to land in Texas for the "Wolf Hunt" during the months of May and June;²⁴ and Captain B. O. Payne, with twenty-one men, was reported making an overland trip from Alexandria, Louisiana, in August.²⁵

While the Mississippi Guards were in Houston awaiting transportation to Corpus Christi, they were addressed by President Houston. Captain Allen, in his characteristic manner, responded with much eloquence.²⁶ On May 5 Allen's company with two others left Houston for Corpus Christi,²⁷ and in June five more companies departed for the camp on the Nueces River.²⁸

A portion of the Texas militia had been stationed at

²³ Houston Telegraph and Texas Register, April 13, 1842. Allen arrived in Houston April 8.

²⁴ See New Orleans Daily Picayune, April 9, May 5, 1842; Houston Morning Star, April 5, 9 and May 17, 1842; Houston Telegraph and Texas Register, May 4, 1842.

²⁵ Houston Morning Star, August 2, 1842; Houston Telegraph and Texas Register, August 3, 1842.

²⁶ Houston Morning Star, April 14, 1842.

²⁷ Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Daily Gazette, May 9, 1842; Houston Morning Star, May 6, 1842. Companies listed were: Captain John M. Allen, Galveston Invincibles; Captain H. W. Allen, Mississippi Guards; and Captain John B. Hoxie, Georgia Volunteers.

²⁸ Houston Morning Star, June 28, 1842; Houston Telegraph and Texas Register, June 29, 1842. The captains listed were H. Stevens, St. Louis; Walter Hickey, Natchez; B. Symmes, Tuscaloosa; Jere Clements, Huntsville, Alabama; and one company from Perry County, Alabama, without a captain.

Corpus Christi before the volunteers from the United States arrived. The number of men there is unknown, but early in April it was reported that between 300 and 500 men including the recently arrived soldiers from the United States, were at the camp.²⁹ On May 3 Captain Hitchcock of the Alabama company arrived in Galveston and stated that there were over 300 volunteers at the camp.³⁰

Early in April Colonel Clark L. Owen was placed in charge of the troops near Corpus Christi, but toward the end of the month Colonel Thomas Casey arrived from Galveston with orders from President Houston to take command of the camp.³¹ This change in commanding officers caused some dissension among the soldiers; so both men were removed and Adjutant General James Davis of Mississippi was placed in control.³² The General found his army on the Nueces River at Camp Lipantitlan poorly organized and with very little food. He appointed a quartermaster who had difficulty in securing tents, clothing, and provisions during the month of May, but in June they were well supplied with beef, sugar, and coffee.³³

The only time General Davis and these troops experienced any fighting was on July 7 when a poorly organized force of about 700 Mexicans under General Canales attacked them. There were, at the time, about 200 volunteers in the camp

²⁹ Houston Morning Star, April 16, 1842.

³⁰ Ibid., May 3, 1842.

³¹ Ibid., May 10, 1842.

³² Ibid., May 10, 17, 1842; Yoakum, Original Narratives of Texas History and Adventure, II, 358.

³³ Yoakum, Original Narratives of Texas History and Adventure, II, 359.

and only 50 of these were mounted; however, they repulsed the enemy with little difficulty.³⁴ Soon after this attack General Davis moved the soldiers north of Arransas Bay and encamped near Lamar.³⁵

The young adventurous American troops, restless with camp life, soon began to quarrel among themselves and to complain when they were not allowed to engage the Mexicans in battle, for they had come to Texas to fight and not to sit idly in their camps. A few weeks of this uneventful and routine life was enough for many of the volunteers; so they began to leave the army and return to their homes. One writer thought there was about 192 volunteers at the camp in June,³⁶ and certainly by August there were very few of them left. The Company from St. Louis left Egypt, Texas, in August and was described by the Morning Star as being unfortunate and destitute and in need of food and clothing.³⁷

The activities of Captain Allen during the summer months are not revealed by the records. Dorsey said that he was in charge of a company stationed during the summer at Egypt and that sometime early in the fall he made his report to the Texan Secretary of War and received an honorable discharge

³⁴ Ibid., 350; Houston Morning Star, July 14, 1842.

³⁵ Houston Morning Star, July 26, 1842. In July Captain Hickey of the Natchez company and Captain Stevens of the St. Louis company fought a duel resulting from a dispute over the use of a boat to move their companies from Corpus Christi to Lamar. Hickey was severely wounded but had recovered by August, 1842. Civilian and Galveston Gazette, July 24, 1842; Houston Telegraph and Texas Register, August 3, 1842.

³⁶ Yoakum, Original Narratives of Texas History and Adventure, II, 361.

³⁷ Houston Morning Star, August 6, 1842.

from President Houston.³⁸ A letter written in 1866 to the Daily Picayune by a Texan said that he remembered seeing Allen in the spring of 1842 when the young Captain was in Houston conversing with the President on military affairs and that Allen and Jere Clements of Alabama were stationed on the western frontier where they did good service in protecting Texas against the Indians and Mexicans.³⁹ According to a report in the San Augustine Red Lander, Allen organized a company of mounted men composed of citizens and volunteers from the United States for the protection of the western frontier. In September he was in Galveston after a large supply of provisions which he had secured at his own expense from the United States.⁴⁰ The records do not reveal further endeavors of Allen or the time when he left Texas, but the young Captain was back in Grand Gulf late in October, 1842.

After Allen returned to Mississippi, he resumed his law practice and began to acquire more real estate. His first purchase had been made in January, 1842, at a sheriff's sale when he bought a lot in Grand Gulf for \$4.88. Allen continued to invest in real estate in Grand Gulf until April, 1846, when he owned about forty-two lots which had cost him approximately \$3,126. He purchased lots in Port Gibson and

³⁸ Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 27; New Orleans Picayune, August 31, 1842, quoting the Houstonian, said, "The volunteers left in command of Captain Allen, at Carlos Rancho, were recently disbanded at Egypt, on the Colorado."

³⁹ New Orleans Daily Picayune, May 22, 1866. Colonel Clements resigned from the army September 7, 1842. Houston Telegraph and Texas Register, September 7, 1842.

⁴⁰ San Augustine Red Lander, September 8, 1842.

acquired land in Tensas Parish near St. Joseph, Louisiana, in 1846.⁴¹ His largest real estate transaction was with Harrison W. Davis of Texas from whom he purchased for \$5,000 about 4,428 acres — known as the League of Sand⁴² — near Galveston in Liberty County. The next largest purchase of land comprised 454 acres which he bought from the school board in Claiborne County for \$1,929.⁴³

Allen began to sell his real estate holdings in 1844, and within two years he had disposed of the lands in Tensas Parish and in Texas, all the lots in Port Gibson, and most of those in Grand Gulf. Other sales were made between 1846 and 1852, when his last transaction was recorded in Claiborne County.

The courtship of Allen was a very short one, and according to Dorsey was a "Romeo and Juliet" affair. He became infatuated with Salome Ann Crane, the beautiful and eccentric daughter of James Crane, who lived near the small town of Rodney in the southern part of Claiborne County.⁴⁴ The marriage took place on July 2, 1844, with Zebulon Pike Butler,

41 Claiborne County (Mississippi) Deed Book, AA, W, X, Y, and Z (1837-1860), in Port Gibson courthouse, contains the numerous transactions of Allen.

42 Claiborne County Deed Book, Y, 46.

43 *Ibid.*, X, 318; Claiborne County Plat Book (1850), in Port Gibson courthouse.

44 The Crane family was one of the oldest and largest landowners in Claiborne County. Captain Silas Crane came into Mississippi in 1772 from Lebanon, Connecticut, and received a section of land as a grant from the Spanish government. His son, Waterman Crane, kept the estate intact and passed it on to his son, James Crane, the father of Salome Ann. Her mother was Martha Ragsdale. Salome, the oldest child, had three brothers, Robert, Samuel, and Frank. James Crane erected near Rodney the family mansion "Montgomer"

the Presbyterian minister of Port Gibson, officiating.⁴⁵

The parents did not approve of the marriage and were estranged from the couple for some time, but eventually they were reconciled. Allen and his bride returned home after the parental opposition had died down and settled on his place near the Crane estate. The young couple lived there for the next seven years while Allen continued his law practice and engaged in farming. The place was in charge of an overseer, James McVoy, who lived with Allen. In 1850 Allen had thirty-three slaves and 810 acres of land with improvements which was valued at \$7,000.⁴⁶

According to a contemporary, Allen was "impetuous, impulsive, ambitious, proud, vain, and somewhat boastful, but generous, kindhearted, and genuinely chivalrous."⁴⁷ One

which became one of the most beautiful places in Mississippi. The remains of the home are still visible. James Crane owned in 1850, 1,187 acres of land and 79 slaves. His property was valued at \$15,000. This information was supplied by Smith C. Daniel, Port Gibson, Mississippi; Claiborne County Assessment Roll, 1850, in Port Gibson courthouse; United States Census Report, MSS., Schedule I, Free Inhabitants, Claiborne County, Mississippi, 1850, II, 229.

⁴⁵ Claiborne County Marriage Bond and License Book, (1839-1845), 162, in Port Gibson courthouse; Port Gibson Herald, July 11, 1844. Dorsey said they were married on July 4 but this is an error.

⁴⁶ United States Census Reports, MSS., Schedule I, Free Inhabitants in Claiborne County, Mississippi, 1850, II, 228; Schedule II, Slave Inhabitants in Claiborne County, Mississippi, 1850, I, 58; Claiborne County Assessment Roll, 1850, pp. 9, 23. Fifteen of the slaves were purchased in 1850 for \$5,250 from Watt and Desaulles in New Orleans. Claiborne County Deed Book, 2, 250.

⁴⁷ H. S. Fulkerson, Random Recollections of Early Days in Mississippi (Vicksburg, 1885), 45, copy available in the county library, Port Gibson, Mississippi. There is a reprint of this with a biographical sketch of the author and an introduction by P. L. Rainwater (Baton Rouge, 1938).

having these characteristics would naturally be expected to defend his honor on all occasions, and Allen was no exception to the rule. Only a few days after his marriage he challenged Doctor R. H. Marsteller, a fellow townsman, to a duel. They had been on unfriendly terms until a friend of Allen's reported that the Doctor was down the street using abusive language about him. The Captain left immediately in search of the doctor and, upon finding him, held forth two pistols⁴⁸ with the handles extended toward Marsteller, demanding that he take his choice. A mutual friend intervened and suggested that a street fight was unbecoming to gentlemen, whereupon Allen challenged Marsteller to a duel. They agreed to meet at Coffee's Point across the river near the present town of St. Joseph, Louisiana. Seconds and a doctor were secured and means of crossing the Mississippi River provided. The news of the duel spread around Grand Gulf, and within thirty minutes a number of people were crossing the river to witness the affair.

When the designated place was reached friends attempted to reconcile the two men, but to no avail. In describing the scene of the duel, Fulkerson said that "Allen was greatly excited. He stripped himself to the skin as low as the waist; was very vociferous, and confident of killing his antagonist, and his countenance bore a marked expression of ferocity. Marsteller said nothing and was perfectly calm

⁴⁸ Allen owned two dueling pistols during the 1840's. Claiborne County Assessment Rolls, 1844-1845, in Port Gibson courthouse.

as he awaited the settlement of the preliminaries. He had only taken off his coat and loosened his shirt collar."⁴⁹

They agreed upon ten feet as the distance and were to use pistols loaded with buckshot. They took their positions, Allen with his gun down and Marsteller holding his up and when the second gave the signal both men fired. The shots were so close together that it sounded as one report. After the smoke had cleared away both men were standing facing each other. Marsteller sank to the ground and Allen turned and walked away. Each had received a wound in the thigh. They returned to Grand Gulf but remained enemies until many years later when they met and became friends.

Allen's political activities began early in life. At the age of nineteen years he attended the Whig party's national convention in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1839.⁵⁰ He continued to work for the party during the next few years, and in the spring of 1844 was elected as a delegate to the state convention which met in Jackson. Allen was a member of the Clay organization at Grand Gulf and worked diligently for the election of his presidential candidate.⁵¹

In April of the following year Allen announced as a

⁴⁹ Vicksburg Sentinel and Exposition, July 16, 1844. Fulkerson, Random Recollections, 45-48, gives a detailed account of the duel. Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 31, says that Allen fought the duel in defense of Doctor Hunt, a Presbyterian minister. Doctor Hunt was in Grand Gulf in 1844 but there is no evidence that Allen was defending him. Again Dorsey says that in 1852 Allen returned to Grand Gulf to champion the cause of a Presbyterian minister who had been killed. The sources for the period do not reveal any such evidence.

⁵⁰ Mexico City Mexican Times, December 30, 1865.

⁵¹ Port Gibson Herald, May 11, 25, 1843; June 13, 1844.

candidate for the office of district attorney in the first judicial district, composed of Adams, Wilkinson, Amite, Franklin, Jefferson, and Claiborne counties.⁵² After campaigning during the summer months he withdrew his candidacy for the office and announced as an independent candidate from Claiborne County for the lower House of the Mississippi legislature. He had three opponents in this race. Two of them, Doctor Walter Rossman and Doctor R. H. Marsteller, announced as independents; and the third, Richard Valentine, as a Democrat.⁵³ In the November election Allen led the ticket with 431 votes. Doctor Rossman received 395 votes and was elected as the other legislator from the county. Valentine and Marsteller received 393 and 229 votes, respectively.⁵⁴

The legislature met at Jackson in January, 1846, and after completing its organization turned to the election of two United States senators. Henry S. Foote and Joseph W. Chalmers, both Democrats, were elected to fill the two places. Allen voted with the Whigs who supported George Winchester in both contests.⁵⁵

⁵² Ibid., April 10, 1845.

⁵³ Ibid., September 4, October 23, 1845.

⁵⁴ Ibid., November 6, 1845. Parmenas Briscoe, a Democrat, was elected to the Senate. T. G. McIntyre and J. T. Moore were members of the lower House from Claiborne County in 1844. The re-apportionment bill of 1846 reduced Claiborne's representation. Richard Valentine was elected in 1847. Briscoe was re-elected to the Senate.

⁵⁵ Journal of the House of Representatives at a Regular Session of the Legislature held in Jackson, Mississippi, 1846, pp. 187-89. Cited hereafter as Mississippi House Journal. One senatorial vacancy was caused by the resignation of Robert J. Walker who had been appointed secretary of the treasury.

As a member of the Whig party which was the minority group in the legislature, Allen worked under difficulties in getting legislation through the body. He introduced many measures during his term, but most of them were concerned with private matters or bills affecting Claiborne County. His most important work as a member of the legislature was in the interest of public schools. He secured the appointment of a committee on education and became its chairman. Other members of the committee were George W. Woodburg of Yazoo; J. E. Sharkey of Warren; J. W. Campbell of DeSoto; and J. M. Smilley of Amite. One of Allen's first bills resulted in the establishment of a system of common schools for the state. It provided for the appointment of a board of commissioners for each county with power to select teachers and fix their salaries.⁵⁶ Allen worked for the establishment of a Seminary of Learning in Jackson and supported the bill which incorporated the University of Mississippi.⁵⁷

When the legislature adjourned, Allen returned to his home in Grand Gulf where he resumed his legal practice and continued to operate his plantation. He was not a candidate for re-election in 1847 but did remain active in political affairs during the next few years;⁵⁸ however, he was unable

⁵⁶ Ibid., 156-66, 183, 717-19; Laws Enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi at the Regular Session held in Jackson, 1846, p. 98. Cited hereafter as Mississippi Acts.

⁵⁷ Mississippi House Journal, 1846, pp. 219-20; Mississippi Acts, 1846, p. 419.

⁵⁸ Port Gibson Herald, April 18, 1851.

to give as much time to public life as he had in the past because of the illness of his beautiful young wife. They were a devoted couple and when, two years after their marriage, she contracted tuberculosis Allen spent as much time as possible with her. Mrs. Allen was confined to her bed during the last months of her lingering illness.⁵⁹ She died January 25, 1851, and was buried in the family cemetery near Montgomer plantation.⁶⁰

Allen, broken hearted over the loss of his wife, visited for a time at Cooper's Wells, a resort near Vicksburg, and during his stay at this place met an elderly planter, Colonel John Nolan, from Louisiana. They became very warm friends while at the resort and Colonel Nolan offered to sell Allen one-half interest in his West Baton Rouge sugar plantation.⁶¹ The Captain, having no desire to return to Grand Gulf where there were so many things to remind him of his great loss, agreed to visit with Colonel Nolan and to consider his proposition. Allen returned to his home, disposed of his slaves, land, and other property, and then went to Louisiana.

59 Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 36.

60 Port Gibson Herald, February 7, 1851.

61 Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 40.

Chapter III

THE CITIZEN PLANTER, 1852-1861

West Baton Rouge Parish, originally a part of Iberville, was created by an act of the legislature in 1807. It is bounded on the north by Pointe Coupee, on the west and south by Iberville, and on the east by the Mississippi River.¹ In 1850 it had a combined white and black population of about 15,000. One of its largest towns, Brusly or Brusle Landing, was located on the river in the southern part of the parish and in 1850 had several large stores and a post office. The Jenny Lind Coffee House in Brusly was the important meeting place for political gatherings in this parish.² In the northwestern part of the parish about seventeen miles from the Mississippi River was the town of Grosse Tete situated on Bayou Grosse Tête, a stream which flowed in a southerly direction and entered Bayou Plaquemine. The oldest settlement in the parish was San Michel just across the river from Baton Rouge. This town began in 1809 when Michel Mahier sold several lots in his "Town of Saint Michel" and donated to the parish of Baton Rouge and to the town of San Michel

¹ Acts passed at the Second Session of the First Legislature of the Territory of Orleans (New Orleans, 1807), 2. It was created as Baton Rouge Parish but when the United States annexed West Florida in 1810 Governor Claiborne organized a county of Baton Rouge east of the river. The area west of the river was then called West Baton Rouge.

² Alcée Fortier, Louisiana, Comprising Sketches of Counties, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopaedic Form, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1909), II, 207; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, May 19, 1860.

two lots for a courthouse and jail, two lots for a school, and one lot for a church. These lots were usually about sixty by one hundred and twenty feet and sold for \$250.³ This town was gradually taken by the river until in 1860 only about five or six houses were left of the original town. Near the middle of the century the town of West Baton Rouge which later was called Port Allen was located west and north of San Michel.⁴

There was a post office at this point called West Baton Rouge as early as 1824, but it was discontinued and the mail delivered by a route from Donaldsonville or from Baton Rouge. The post office of West Baton Rouge was re-established in 1836 and maintained for about one year. During the next few years this area was served by rural routes from Donaldsonville and from Baton Rouge. In 1871 the West Baton Rouge post office was again established and has remained in existence since that date, although the name of the town has been changed several times.⁵ Douglas C. Montan, president of the Baton Rouge, Grosse Tête, Opelousas Railroad Company was responsible for re-establishing the post office. He

3 West Baton Rouge Parish (Louisiana) Sales of Land, Mortgages, and Powers of Attorney, A, 151-53, in the clerk of court's office, Port Allen; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, May 19, 1860.

4 West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, May 5, 1860.

5 Information supplied by K. P. Aldrich, Chief Inspector, United States Post Office Department. In 1836 there was a mail route from Donaldsonville by Bayou Goula, Plaquemine, West Baton Rouge, and Pointe Coupee to Faulkners once each week. S. Van Wickle was the contractor. In 1837 the route ran from Plaquemine by West Baton Rouge to Pointe Coupee, and back once each week.

thought a post office would give his company additional publicity and probably increase its business. He obtained an appointment with the assistant postmaster general, who was visiting in New Orleans, and secured the station for West Baton Rouge. Montan wanted to name the place Allen in honor of their illustrious citizen, Henry Watkins Allen, but J. T. Allain,⁶ a West Baton Rouge Negro politician and legislator, secured the name of Allain for the post office in 1875. It was changed to Port Allen in 1878.⁷

Allen came to West Baton Rouge in the year 1852 and acquired one half interest in Westover, one of the largest sugar plantations in that parish. Colonel John Nolan,⁸ who

⁶ J. T. Allain, born in 1836 and known as Soulouque, was the slave of Sosthene Allain who lived in the southern part of West Baton Rouge Parish. In 1872 he was elected to the lower House of the state legislature from West Baton Rouge Parish. New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 27, 1874; New Orleans Bee, January 25, 1874.

⁷ Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, May 3, 1878; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, May 19, 1860, January 1, 1870. The postmasters for the West Baton Rouge Station were: Juan Pages, June 7, 1871; Philip Bauer, April 19, 1872; (Name of office was changed to Allain March 5, 1875) W. Shannon Woods, March 5, 1875; Cordelius J. Barrow, July 31, 1876; (Name was changed to Port Allen April 24, 1878) Cordelius J. Barrow, April 24, 1878; William W. Bauer, June 11, 1889; George D. Cade, September 1, 1890; and Henry G. Parker, November 2, 1891. Douglas C. Montan became president of the railroad company in 1868. He was also publisher of the Baton Rouge Advocate. This information was supplied by a brother-in-law of Montan, George Hill, who resides on the Homestead plantation just north of Port Allen and is now about 82 years of age. He has lived in the parish since 1862. His father, George Hill, was for many years a member of the Board of Regents of Louisiana State University and the Hill Memorial Library was named in honor of him.

⁸ Colonel John Nolan, born in Virginia in 1779, came to West Baton Rouge about 1820 and three years later married Rose Josephine Babin who died in 1841. Colonel Nolan was later married to Louise Jane Russell, the widow of John M. Taylor. There were no children from either marriage but he

lived about eight miles northwest of West Baton Rouge courthouse, sold to his nephew, William Nolan,⁹ and Captain Allen 125 slaves, about 2,600 arpents¹⁰ of land, farm implements,

adopted the two children of John Taylor. They were Emma Louisa and Mary Frances. In the bill of sale Colonel Nolan reserved a home for his family at Westover so long as they wished to remain there, and he also set aside a burial place for the family. In his will he bequeathed to his wife a Negro boy, Honaxs, and \$50,000 on the condition that she would not marry after his death. To each of the daughters he left \$50,000 and a female slave provided the girls married honorable men when they became of age. His wife was made executrix of the will. Colonel Nolan died August 31, 1852, in Washington, D. C. West Baton Rouge Parish Probate Records, Nos. 322, 466. These are original papers filed in the succession of the Nolan estate and are in the office files of the clerk of court, Port Allen. West Baton Rouge Parish Record of Wills (1846-1926), I, 17-21, in the clerk of court's office, Port Allen. John Nolan's will was filed September 27, 1852. Baton Rouge Daily Comet, September 11, 1852. For the marriage of Colonel John Nolan, see West Baton Rouge Parish Certificate of Marriage and License Book (1807-1846), I-B, 74, in the clerk of court's office, Port Allen.

9 William Nolan was the son of William Nolan, a deceased brother of Colonel John Nolan. He came to West Baton Rouge Parish in the 1840's and lived with his uncle. William married M. Virginia Blanchard in 1852. West Baton Rouge Parish Certificates of Marriage and License Book (1837-1874), I-A, 129; West Baton Rouge Parish Probate Records No. 466; West Baton Rouge Parish Original Acts (1852-1854), I, 1, in clerk of court's office, Port Allen. Doctor John Tilman Nolan, a cousin of William, was the son of George W. Nolan another deceased brother of Colonel John Nolan. Doctor Nolan was born in Virginia later went of Mississippi where he married Frances H. Scott who died about 1836. There was one son, France L., from the union. In the year 1836 Doctor Nolan married Jane Garnet Frazier of Kentucky and about ten years later removed to West Baton Rouge where he acquired an estate. His wife died in 1855 and left him with five children, Josephine G., Philadelphia F., John T., Virginia K., and Mary E. Doctor Nolan was a nephew of Colonel John Nolan and in 1853 entered a claim for his portion of the estate. He became the legal representative for a number of the heirs and in 1855 was made executor of the estate after he had arranged a compromise with Mrs. Louise Jane Nolan. She and her daughters agreed to accept \$80,000 as their portion of the estate. West Baton Rouge Parish Original Acts (1852-1854), I, 1; West Baton Rouge Parish Probate Record Nos. 464, 466. West Baton Rouge Parish Record of Succession Book (1852-1855), T, 47, in clerk of court's office, Port Allen.

10 An arpent is an old French measure of land varying in

sugar mill, and stock, for \$300,000. The plantation had about four miles of frontage on the Mississippi River and extended over one mile from the river. A number of the slaves were mortgaged to the Citizens Bank of Louisiana in New Orleans for 240 shares of bank stock; Allen and Nolan agreed to pay this loan of \$5,022.50 when due May 5, 1852. The property was held as a mortgage for the debt by Colonel Nolan, but he stipulated in the bill of sale that his nephew and Allen be "indulged in when they were unable to meet the notes due on the \$300,000 sale of plantation, provided they paid the interest due each year."¹¹

Colonel John Nolan died in August, 1852, and within a few years a large number of heirs, living in the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Arkansas, entered claims against the estate and won judgments for their portions of the property. All claims, varying from \$260 to \$18,000 and amounting to \$75,154.75, were paid and charged against the estate of John Nolan.¹²

Allen¹³ and his partner acquired an additional 497 acres size with the locality from .84 to 1.28 acres. It is also a linear measure the length (about 12 rods) of the side of a square arpent. In West Baton Rouge an arpent contained approximately one acre.

¹¹ Notarial Records (New Orleans), Hilary Breton Cenas, No. 51, February 5, 1852; West Baton Rouge Parish Mortgage Record Books, R (1848-1852), 546-51; V (1855-1859), 371, in clerk of court's office, Port Allen. A note in the margin of Book R, 547, stated that on April 30, 1860, all notes had been paid and the mortgage had been cancelled. West Baton Rouge Parish Probate Records, No. 466 contains the bill of sale, will, and an inventory of the estate in 1852.

¹² West Baton Rouge Parish Mortgage Book, V. There are 37 claims recorded in this book.

¹³ Captain Allen, being a man of wealth and having some

in West Baton Rouge before they terminated their partnership in 1855.¹⁴ Nolan received the northern and western half of the estate, which included Westover, about 1,444.75 acres, fifty slaves, and one half of the horses, mules, and fixtures on the plantation. Later he purchased from Allen for \$5,022.60 about seventy-five acres of land.¹⁵

Among the neighboring plantations lived men whose names have a place in Louisiana history. Judge William B Robertson, well-known lawyer, lived just north of Westover and in 1850 owned seventy-five slaves and property worth \$60,000.¹⁶ John L. Lobdell, a lawyer and sugar planter, one to take care of his plantation, spent the summer of 1853 traveling and while on these journeys, under the pen name of Guy Mannering, he wrote letters for the Baton Rouge Daily Comet.

His first trip carried him to Georgia where he mixed and mingled with the leading political figures of the state. He attended the wedding of Robert Toombs' daughter and was introduced to the Governor of Georgia. Allen heard Toombs give an excellent address before an agriculture convention at Montgomery. In Athens the Governor entertained a party which included Allen and Alexander H. Stephens. In the latter part of May Allen returned to Westover but was preparing for another trip.

On June 9 "Guy Mannering" wrote from Vicksburg, Mississippi, describing a very pleasant trip up the river on the steamer Reindeer. The young sugar planter was on his way to Cooper's Wells. He visited Natchez, transacted some business, and then went up to Paducah, Kentucky, and Evansville, Indiana, where he remained for a few days with friends. Later he went over to Cairo, Illinois, and St. Louis. Allen returned to the South and in July was on the Mississippi coast at Pass Christian where he spent the next several weeks. He then revisited Cooper's Wells and enjoyed a pleasant visit with his friend John J. Perkins, Jr., of Madison Parish, Louisiana. Later he went to Jackson and was entertained by Governor Henry P. Foote. He returned to Westover in September, 1853. Baton Rouge Daily Comet, May-September, 1853.

¹⁴ West Baton Rouge Parish Mortgage Record Books, R, T, U, and V, show these transfers.

¹⁵ Ibid., V, 194-97, 186-88.

¹⁶ United States Census Reports, MSS., Schedule I, Free Inhabitants in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, 1850, I,

lived about seven miles north of West Baton Rouge courthouse. His plantation was located at the bend of the river and was one of the important landing places for West Baton Rouge. He maintained a store which served that section of the parish, owned 148 slaves, and in 1850 had property valued at \$140,000.¹⁷ Thomas B. Chinn, one of the physicians for the community, was the brother of Bolling R. Chinn, a planter, whose property, Cypress Hall, was valued at \$335,000 in 1860.¹⁸ Alexander D. Barrow lived on Homestead and Barroza plantations in the northwestern part of the parish and in 1860 owned fifty-one slaves and property valued at \$27,000.¹⁹ James Victor Duralde, a brother-in-law of A. D. Barrow, owned over one hundred slaves in 1860 and lived in the southern part of the parish near Brusly Landing.²⁰

450; Ibid., Schedule II, Slave Inhabitants in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, 1850, VII, 472. For location of plantations touching the Mississippi River in 1850, see A. Persac, Norman's Chart of the Lower Mississippi River (New Orleans, 1855).

¹⁷ United States Census Reports, MSS., Schedule I, Free Inhabitants in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, 1850, VII, 456. There is an account book for Lobdell's store in the Louisiana State University Archives. See also Wendell H. Stephenson and Edwin A. Davis (eds.), "The Civil War Diary of Willie Micajah Barrow, September 23, 1861-July 13, 1862," in Louisiana Historical Quarterly (New Orleans, 1917-), XVII (1934), 715, says that Lobdell's store was about six or seven miles north of Port Allen. This article located other plantations in the parish.

¹⁸ United States Census Reports, MSS., Schedule I, Free Inhabitants in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, 1860, I, 642; Schedule II, Slave Inhabitants in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, 1860, I, 202.

¹⁹ Ibid., Schedule I, Free Inhabitants in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, 1860, I, 644; Schedule II, Slave Inhabitants in West Baton Rouge Parish, 1860, I, 204; Stephenson and Davis (eds.), "The Civil War Diary of Willie Micajah Barrow," in loc. cit., 436.

²⁰ United States Census Reports, MSS., Schedule II, Slave Inhabitants in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, 1850, VII,

Allen called his place Allendale, and soon after the division of Westover, he acquired additional lands in East and West Baton Rouge parishes.²¹ He constructed a fine brick home, sugar mill, saw mill, Negro cabins, barns, and other structures necessary for the operation of the sugar plantation. Allen took great pride in his plantation and "all that art and science could bring to bear, was used to perfect and adorn his palatial residence."²² His genial ways and southern hospitality made Allendale a popular place for his large number of friends. He frequently had visitors from New Orleans to come for a sojourn with him, and Dorsey said that he permitted the young people of the community to maintain a dancing school at his place.²³

In 1857 Charles D. Hamilton,²⁴ an old friend and business associate of Allen's in Grand Gulf, came to West Baton

450; Stephenson and Davis (eds.), "The Civil War Diary of Willie Micajah Barrow," in *loc. cit.*, 436.

²¹ West Baton Rouge Parish Mortgage Record Books, A-B, V, and X; East Baton Rouge Parish Conveyance Record Book, N, 85, 138, in the clerk of court's office, Baton Rouge. The purchases and sales of Allen will be found in these volumes.

²² West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, May 19, 1866.

²³ Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 44. The writer also related that while living at West Baton Rouge, Allen was engaged for a brief period but never married a second time. *Ibid.*, 45.

²⁴ Charles D. Hamilton lived in Claiborne County, Mississippi, where he was one of the largest land owners in the 1840's. He had in 1850 property valued at \$40,000, including a large warehouse in Grand Gulf which was destroyed by fire the following year. In 1851 he was assessed with 3,700 acres and seven years later he was assessed with 3,187 acres valued at \$15,964. In 1861 he owned in Mississippi only 1,187 acres of land. Port Gibson Herald, April 27, 1849, November 8, 1850, April 18, 1851; Port Gibson Reveille, November 14, 1857; United States Census Reports, MSS., Schedule I, Free Inhabitants Claiborne County, Mississippi, 1850, I, 245; Claiborne County Assessment Rolls, 1850, pp.

Rouge and acquired one-half interest in Allendale. The bill of sale called for \$12,500 in cash and the remainder to be paid in three equal payments through the counting house of Richard Nugent and Company in New Orleans.²⁵ Hamilton paid his last note on April 30, 1860, when the mortgage was canceled. For another consideration Allen made Hamilton owner of three-fourths of the plantation.²⁶

A few months after gaining a controlling interest in the estate, Hamilton and his wife, Lizzie Belknap, made plans to return to Mississippi so they sold to Allen and Barnabus Stevens of West Baton Rouge their share of Allendale estate for the sum of \$142,681.00, payable in eight equal payments. Then Allen sold to Barnabus Stevens one half of his one-fourth interest in the place for \$26,000 payable in eight equal payments. In both sales the estate was mortgaged for the payments.²⁷

During the War Allen's plantation, like many others near the Mississippi River, suffered from the raids of the Federal forces; his fine brick house was burned, much of his property was taken away, slaves left the place, and at one time the Federals used Allendale for their headquarters.²⁸

23, 49; 1856, p. 9; 1857, pp. 23, 25; 1861, p. 22, in Port Gibson courthouse.

25 West Baton Rouge Parish Mortgage Record Books, A-B, 92; V, 519-23.

26 Ibid., Z, 203-204; Y, 233-35. Hamilton was made three-fourths owner on April 30, 1860. Ibid., Z, 287-90.

27 Ibid., Z, 287-90, 294-95. Hamilton sold his property February 10, 1861. Allen sold to Stevens February 23, 1861.

28 West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, May 19, 1866; Mexico City Mexican Times, February 10, 1866; Alexandria Louisiana Democrat, May 26, 1866.

The Civil War and the economic chaos of Reconstruction prevented the execution of the sales made in 1861 by Hamilton, Stevens, and Allen; therefore in 1867 Hamilton brought suit to recover his property. By order of the court, the Allendale plantation (consisting of approximately 2,000 acres of land), sugar mill, saw mill, engines, Negro cabins, and barns were ordered sold. No one offered to buy the property; so it was re-advertised and sold on June 1, 1867, for \$10,993.11 to James Nugent Sherry of New Orleans.²⁹ The following year Sherry sold the estate to Mrs. Lizzie D. Hamilton for the same sum which he had paid for it.³⁰ In the fall of that year the Citizens Bank of Louisiana brought suit to recover debts against Allendale. They secured a judgment in the court and the estate was appraised at \$19,824.00 plus \$1,404 for the 700 acres of land in East Baton Rouge. The Citizens Bank purchased the estate for \$14,000 on July 2, 1870, at a sheriff's sale.³¹

West Baton Rouge Parish was one of the leading sugar producing regions in Louisiana in the decade preceding the Civil War. In the season 1849-50 the parish produced 7,035

²⁹ West Baton Rouge Parish Mortgage Records, Y, 557-60; 599-610; West Baton Rouge Parish Sheriff's Deeds of Sale (1867-1868), 421-26, in clerk of court's office, Port Allen; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, April 6, June 8, 1867.

³⁰ West Baton Rouge Parish Cash Sales Book, II, 447-51; in clerk of court's office, Port Allen. This sale was made February 9, 1868.

³¹ West Baton Rouge Parish Sheriff Sales Book, D, 379-88; West Baton Rouge Parish Cash Sales Book, III, 324-25; Original Papers filed in Fifth District Court, No. 2,098, in the clerk of court's office, Port Allen; East Baton Rouge Conveyance Record Book, Z, 72-73, in clerk of court's office, Baton Rouge.

hogsheads, and for the next ten years only one season failed to show an increase. The peak year for the parish was 1858-59 when it produced 21,683 hogsheads.³²

Colonel John Nolan was the leading sugar producer in West Baton Rouge when he sold his plantation to Allen and William Nolan. In 1851 Westover produced 600 hogsheads, leading all other plantations in the parish. Colonel Nolan Stewart at Popular Grove plantation was first for the season of 1852-53 with a total of 903 hogsheads; Allen and Nolan ranked second with 835 hogsheads. The next year, 1853-54, they were first with 1,150 hogsheads. In the season of 1854-55, after Allen and Nolan had divided their property, Alledale was second in the parish with 502 hogsheads. Sosthene

32 P. A. Champomier, Statement of Sugar Crop made in Louisiana in 1849-50 (New Orleans, 1850). These reports were published annually for the 1850's and all figures on sugar production have been taken from them. Some statistics on the West Baton Rouge crops are:

West Baton Rouge Parish	Year	Hogsheads Produced									
	1849-50	7,035	(Estimated that three crevasses destroyed about 5,500).								
	1850-51	7,454									
	1851-52	10,842									
	1852-53	14,172									
	1853-54	21,024									
	1854-55	17,455									
	1855-56	11,042									
	1856-57	2,122	(A killing frost in October, 1855, blasted the crops in Iberville and West Baton Rouge).								
	1857-58	15,697									
	1858-59	21,683									
Planter	Year	1850	'51	'52	'53	'54	'55	'56	'57	'58	'59
J. L. Lobdell		276	215	285	312	520	398	290	112	304	385
R. H. Barrow				258	234	582	389	275	63	412	590
John Nolan		475	266	600	835	1,150					
William Nolan							501	450	60	600	1,038
H. W. Allen							502	200	30	550	680
W. B. Robertson		315	180	270	276	275	283	220			
Sosthene Allain		100	190	220	833	815	735	540		618	1,111
D. Hickey & Co.		205	215	198	170	362	282	289		281	465

Allain in the southern part of the parish was first with 735 hogsheads. Allendale plantation was among the leading sugar producers in the parish during the next few years.

The sugar planters in Louisiana became excited over the practice of an importing company which brought an article from the West Indies into the United States and evaded the tariff laws. Messers. Charles Belcher and Brothers imported from Cuba, a product which was disguised as molasses concentrate or "mallada." The sugar planters of West Baton Rouge met at the courthouse in May, 1853, with Colonel Nolan Stewart as chairman and Allen as secretary to devise ways and means of preventing this unlawful practice. Allen was appointed on a committee of eight to collect funds for the purpose of retaining counsel to assist the United States district attorney in prosecuting this importing company.³³ The following month a larger group of sugar planters assembled at Donaldsonville with Colonel Nolan Stewart acting as chairman. They adopted a set of resolutions condemning the practice of Messers. Belcher and Brothers and voted to secure counsel to assist E. Warren Moise, the Federal attorney for the New Orleans district. A committee was named to secure the counsel, and it soon reported that Randall Hunt, well-known lawyer of New Orleans, had agreed to represent the planters.³⁴

³³ West Baton Rouge Capitolian Vis-a-Vis, June 1, 1853; Baton Rouge Daily Comet, June 2, 1853.

³⁴ Baton Rouge Daily Comet, June 21, 1853; New Orleans Daily Crescent, June 24, 1853.

Moise, after agreeing to accept the assistant counsel, took offense at the action of the sugar planters in securing aid for him and wrote to them saying: "Gentlemen Sugar Planters of Louisiana, you are a set of ignorant ill-bred asses; you know nothing of the courtesies or common usages of civilized life; you are a set of factious, lawless, clodpolls, who have dared to meet together in conventions and interfere with me, E. W. Moise, one of the District Attorneys of the United States of America. You impudent, Blockheads."

Allen, who replied to the district attorney, said, "No man dreamed that your fastidious sensibilities would be disturbed, or that your frothy vanity would receive the slightest wound; we thought that a gentleman of your late multifarious employments, a gentleman who had heretofore had his washing done in the Parish of Plaquemines, slept in Jefferson, drank his claret in the Citizens Bank, and practices law in New Orleans, and electioneered promiscuously, largely and generally, over the state, and now wants to be the next governor thereof, we thought, sir, under all these circumstances, you would be glad to receive the assistance of even as humble an individual as Randall Hunt."³⁵ The case ended with the exchange of letters because the Board of Appraisers in New Orleans settled the trouble for the sugar planters by adding twenty-five cents to the value of each barrel of imported sugar concentrate and collecting the regular import

³⁵ For this correspondence, see West Baton Rouge Capitolian Vis-a-Vis, July 6, 1853; Baton Rouge Daily Comet, June 23, 25, 1853; see also, New Orleans True Delta, June 22, 1853; New Orleans Daily Crescent, June 24, 1853.

duty on the article.³⁶

In the year 1855 the sugar planters of Louisiana had trouble over the storage space at the port in New Orleans. The city had provided only a small space and refused to increase the size of it and, moreover, enacted a city ordinance requiring that all sugar had to be removed within thirty-six hours after it was placed on the levee. In January the planters met in the Lyceum Hall with Judge John Moore of St. Martin presiding. Joseph S. Williams of Lafourche Parish read the resolutions of the convention which proposed the appointment of a committee of planters and merchants to ascertain the possibility of extending the sugar storage space in the city; and if unable to secure additional space, they were to make plans for another sugar market. The committee was instructed to make its investigation and be ready to report at the next meeting of the sugar planters. The convention, at the suggestion of J. J. Hanna, authorized the committee to secure from the legislature a charter for a Sugar Planters' Association. Captain Allen closed the meeting with one of his very stirring addresses in which he urged more brotherhood and closer co-operation among the members of the convention from the different parts of the state.³⁷

Judge Moore called the planters to New Orleans on April

³⁶ Baton Rouge Daily Comet, August 13, November 8, 11, 1853.

³⁷ New Orleans Daily Crescent, January 24, 1856; New Orleans Bulletin, January 23, 24, 1856; New Orleans Daily True Delta, January 24, 1856. The following merchants were members of the committee: M. O. H. Norton, S. O. Nelson, P. A. Foley, and J. A. Braud; planters, J. S. Williams, E. Roma,

11 for a report of the committee, when Colonel J. S. Williams, speaking for his group, proposed that the planters secure a place across the river in Gretna for their market because the city officials refused to increase the port facilities and the expense of doing so would be too much for the farmers. The convention adopted the report and entered into a discussion of a charter for the Planters' Association. J. J. Hanna, explaining the charter, said that it proposed a capital stock of \$250,000 divided into 5,000 shares of \$50 each and that when 3,000 shares had been sold they could elect a board of directors to manage the affairs of the Association. After some discussion the convention adopted the charter, and Judge Moore appointed a committee to receive the subscriptions. Soon after the meeting adjourned, the city officials provided additional space at the port; and this being the farmers' chief grievance, they dropped their plans for acquiring a new market. Nothing further was done at this time about the organization of the Association.³⁸

When the tariff bill came before Congress in 1857, an effort was made to repeal the duty on sugar so the planters in West Baton Rouge met to protest against this action of Congress. Captain Allen, who, according to the Crescent, had done more than any other man in the state to advance the interest of the sugar growers, was called upon to explain Doctor G. W. Campbell, William J. Minor, J. J. Hanna, and L. G. Compton.

³⁸ New Orleans Daily Crescent, April 11, 1856; New Orleans Daily Delta, April 11, 1856; New Orleans Daily True Delta, April 11, 1856; Baton Rouge Daily Advocate, April 12, 1856; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, April 19, 1856.

the object of the meeting, which he did in his very able and eloquent manner. A committee³⁹ was appointed to draw up resolutions expressing the will of the convention. They reported that the thirty per cent ad valorem duty was only a small protection to the sugar planters and that in their precarious position, with seed cane depreciating and frost killing the crop, they could not exist without the duty on sugar. The report concluded that "whenever Congress shall see proper to take all duties of all kinds, off, and abolish the present system of imposts, although not advocating such a policy, we will not murmur."⁴⁰ The resolutions were sent to all congressmen from Louisiana. Just how much influence they had is not known, but the tariff was not repealed.

One of the greatest needs of the West Baton Rouge Parish in the decade preceeding the Civil War was roads. There were no railroads or state maintained roads, and the bayous in the western part of the parish flowed to the south and southeast entering either the Mississippi River or the Bayou Plaquemine, which flowed into the river. These bayous did not have enough water in them during several months of the year to afford transportation by boats; so the farmers in the Grosse Tete and Maringouin sections were without adequate facilities for marketing their crops. The Grosse Tête section west of the bayou had been originally a part of West Baton Rouge

³⁹ Members of the committee were Colonel J. S. Williams, Frame S. Woods, Henry W. Allen, Doctor W. Jones Lyle, and James V. Duralde.

⁴⁰ Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, January 7, 1857; New Orleans Crescent, January 10, 1857.

Parish but was being held under the jurisdiction of Iberville until "a good and practicable road" could be built from that area to the Mississippi River.

In the summer of 1852 Allen and a number of his friends organized a company to construct a plank road from the courthouse to the Grosse Tête region.⁴¹ The legislature in 1853 granted a charter to the Baton Rouge, Grosse Tête, and Opelousas Plank Road Company with a capital stock of \$250,000.⁴² The state purchased one fifth of the stock.⁴³

The construction of the road began early in the year and was completed in time for a celebration on July 6, 1853, at Grosse Tête. Allen was in charge of the program and gave one of the principal addresses.⁴⁴

The progressive citizens of West Baton Rouge were not content with a plank road for transportation in their parish, and within a few months after the completion of the Grosse Tete road they began working for a railroad to connect the Grosse Tête section with West Baton Rouge. The stockholders of the Plank Road Company agreed to increase its stock from \$250,000 to \$1,000,000.⁴⁵ The city of Baton Rouge promised to take \$50,000 of the stock to assist the company in getting the railroad underway.⁴⁶ The remainder of the stock was purchased by citizens of Louisiana. The Board of Directors

⁴¹ West Baton Rouge Capitolian Vis-a-Vis, November 7, 1852.

⁴² Louisiana Acts, 1853, pp. 242-49.

⁴³ Ibid., 179.

⁴⁴ Baton Rouge Daily Comet, June 2, 7, 1853; West Baton Rouge Capitolian Vis-a-Vis, June 1, July 13, 1853.

⁴⁵ Baton Rouge Daily Comet, August 4, 1854; New Orleans Daily Delta, August 9, 1854.

⁴⁶ Louisiana Acts, 1858, pp. 28-29.

was selected; it met, organized, and then proceeded to construct the road to Grosse Tête. They purchased a number of slaves with which to do the work, thus effecting a saving in contractual costs. The road was surveyed by Louis Hebert, the state engineer, and his assistant Louis Wrotnowski.⁴⁷ The railroad followed the plank road. It terminated at the river between Charropin and Courthouse streets of Port Allen, which was then the town of West Baton Rouge.

The work on the road progressed rapidly during the year 1856. In June of that year grading of the road bed was well under way, and by June 28 some 15 miles were completed and contracts for laying the crossties were let. The finances of the company were in good shape for it reported liabilities at \$82,101.72 and assets amounting to \$104,520.68. The company was able to negotiate a loan of \$60,000 payable in ten years.⁴⁸

Charles S. Slack, president of the Board of Directors, began laying track in January, 1857, but was delayed during the next two months because of inclement weather. By April 1 eight miles had been completed; and the company, with its thirty-six Negro slaves, was laying track at the rate of one mile per week. When the road was completed it consisted of 15.82 miles and had cost approximately \$239,468.82. In July, 1857, rolling stock comprised one locomotive, eight freight cars, and two passenger cars; a train had made the trip daily

⁴⁷ New Orleans Daily True Delta, October 7, 1866.

⁴⁸ New Orleans Daily Delta, June 17, 1856; Baton Rouge Advocate, June 26, 1856; Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, June 28, 1866.

since June 13.⁴⁹

West Baton Rouge arranged for another Fourth of July celebration at Grosse Tête in 1857 to commemorate the completion of the railroad. The company furnished their trains and cars to convey the people to the scene of activities. Allen was prominent in the affairs of the day, being one of the speakers for the occasion.

Charles S. Slack resigned as president of the board in 1858 and was succeeded by James Victor Duralde, who held the position until after the war.⁵⁰ Under his efficient management the road was extended to Livonia,⁵¹ a distance of about twelve miles from Grosse Tête. The company proposed to extend the road to the Atchafalaya River and then to Alexandria,⁵² but the outbreak of the war prevented its completion until a much later date. On January 4, 1862, the road was completed for a distance of about 30 miles, and the president reported it would reach the Atchafalaya River within four months.⁵³

The finances of the company were in good order as late as January, 1862, for it reported in that year total assets of \$274,691.89 against liabilities of \$95,856.05. It owned

⁴⁹ Annual Report of the Baton Rouge, Grosse Tête, and Opelousas Railroad Company, April 1, 1857 (Baton Rouge, 1857).

⁵⁰ New Orleans Picayune, October 26, 1858.

⁵¹ Livonia was a settlement at the head of the navigation on Grosse Tête Bayou. It had a post office, a fine store, and a number of public buildings in 1853. J. B. Johnson was mayor of the town. Baton Rouge Daily Comet, June 14, 1853.

⁵² Louisiana House Journal, 1860, p. 56; Louisiana Acts, 1860, p. 209; New Orleans Daily Delta, March 4, 1860.

⁵³ New Orleans Daily True Delta, January 4, 1862.

about eighty Negroes, and plows, wagons, and mules valued at \$117,000. The receipts for the year were \$25,000 and the expenses were only \$13,000, which indicated the company was making a fair profit.⁵⁴

The war wrecked the railroad and almost bankrupted the company. Duralde reported to Governor Madison Wells in 1866 that the road had been closed in 1863 and left to the ravages of weather and floods which had destroyed most of the tracks and embankments. The loss of the slaves was estimated at \$115,000. He reported only \$35,000 in assets and liabilities of \$89,000.⁵⁵

Duralde resigned in 1866 and John Hill, who became president of the company, attempted to get the road into running condition once more. The debt was reduced from \$124,148.83 to only a few thousand dollars, and the road was operating again by February, 1867. The levees broke, however, and destroyed a large part of the track, which gave the company another backset. In 1868 Hill resigned as president and his son-in-law, Douglas C. Montan, was elected head of the organization.⁵⁶ The company was set in order and the road began operating once more.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Report of Baton Rouge, Grosse Tête, and Opelousas Railroad Company (Baton Rouge, 1866).

⁵⁶ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, August 21, 1869; Annual Report of Baton Rouge, Grosse Tête, and Opelousas Railroad Company (Baton Rouge, 1869). The members of the Board of Directors were James V. Duralde, John Hill, T. W. Colwell, John Lombard, Henry M. Favrot, Thomas G. Sparks, and D. C. Montan. Duralde had resigned and John Hill became the president.

⁵⁷ Annual Report of the Baton Rouge, Grosse Tête, and Opelousas Railroad Company (Baton Rouge, 1870).

In the year 1854 Allen went to Harvard University to study law.⁵⁸ He traveled by river boat and train via St. Louis, Chicago, Wheeling, Washington, Baltimore, and New York. In the capital he had the pleasure of meeting President Franklin Pierce and William L. Marcy, Secretary of State.⁵⁹ Allen arrived in Cambridge in May and remained there until July. While attending the law school at Harvard, he formed a very close friendship with Charles Greene, editor of the Boston Post.⁶⁰ Very little is known about Allen's school activities but during that summer one of Massachusetts celebrated fugitive slave trials occurred.⁶¹

The Compromise of 1850 provided, among other things, that the Federal government would assist slaveowners in recovering their runaway slaves. This law was anathema to the

58 Information supplied from Harvard University Alumni Directory Office.

59 Letters of "Guy Mannering" in Baton Rouge Daily Comet, May 25, June 1, 1854.

60 Mexico City Mexican Times, January 6, 1866; Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 45.

61 There was another kidnapping case in Syracuse, New York, in 1851-52, when William Henry alias Jerry was arrested and held as a fugitive slave. The Liberty party was holding a convention in the city and a mob broke into the jail, seized Henry, and sent him away to Canada. Henry W. Allen, the United States Deputy Marshal, was arrested and brought to trial for kidnapping. Gerrit Smith acted as counsel for the state when the marshal was tried. Henry W. Allen was from Missouri and not related to Henry Watkins Allen of Louisiana. For information on this case, see Trial of Henry W. Allen, U. S. Deputy Marshal, for Kidnapping, with Arguments of Counsel & Charge of Justice Marvin, on the Constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law, in the Supreme Court of New York (Syracuse, 1852), copy available in the Library of Congress; New York Daily Times, October 2, 1851; New York Daily Tribune, October 4, 1851; Cleveland Herald, October 4, 1851. For the identification of Allen, see Miscellaneous Letters, MSS., February, 1852, Department of State, Jack Lawrence, U. S. Attorney, Northern District of New York, to Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, February 7,

abolitionists and a number of northern states in the 1850's enacted the so-called "Personal Liberty Laws" to nullify the effect on the Fugitive Slave Act. They required a jury trial, provided for the use of the writ of habeas corpus, forbade state officials to co-operate in apprehending suspects, and prohibited the use of local jails for confinement of the fugitives.⁶²

Two Virginia citizens, Charles F. Suttle and William Brent, came to Boston in May, 1854, claimed Anthony Burns as their slave and had him arrested. The Federal marshal placed him in jail on May 26 and immediately the abolitionists in Massachusetts protested vigorously. Suttle and Brent were arrested for kidnapping and placed under \$5,000 bonds which were guaranteed by Allen. During the next few days much excitement occurred in Boston.

The abolitionists called a meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society to meet at Faneuil Hall. This meeting attracted three or four thousand people and was led by such noted abolitionists as Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Francis W. Bird, Stephen S. Foster, and William Lloyd Garrison. After a number of inflammatory speeches were made the group adjourned to meet the next morning at the courthouse, but just at that moment a messenger announced the Negroes were trying to force their way into the jail. The

1852, in The National Archives.

⁶² Arthur C. Cole, The Irrepressible Conflict, 1850-1865 (Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon R. Fox [eds.] A History of American Life, 12 vols. [New York, 1927-], VIII, 1934), 273.

mob rushed over and attempted to enter the building; guns were fired, windows broken, and doors battered, but no entrance was effected. However, during the disturbance James Batchelder, United States Marshal, was killed.

At midnight two companies of the United States Marines were brought in from the Boston naval yard to protect the courthouse. On Saturday about 500 people remained on the courthouse lawn, but no further disturbances occurred. At the request of the attorneys the United States judge postponed the case from Saturday until Monday.

On Monday the trial proceeded with Charles M. Ellis and Richard Danna, Jr., defending Burns, and B. F. Hallett, United States district attorney, representing Suttle and Brent. Friday, June 2, Judge Edward Greely Loring decided that Anthony Burns, a slave, belonged to the Virginia citizens and ordered him delivered into their custody. The next day Burns surrounded by about one hundred well-armed men and guarded by a detachment of soldiers, was marched to the wharf and placed on board a ship. Some 20,000 people thronged the city to witness the affair. Many buildings decked with mourning were closed, an American flag was tied up and draped across the street which Burns traveled to the wharf, and bells were tolled in many Massachusetts towns.⁶³

After the affair Allen wrote a letter in behalf of Suttle and Brent to the Boston press thanking them for their

⁶³ New York Herald, May 27-31, June 2-5, 1854; Boston Post, May 26-31, June 2, 1854; New York Tribune, May 26-31, June 2-5, 1854.

part in trying to secure a fair trial for the slave and, also, commending the people of Boston and Massachusetts for their law-abiding attitude in the case.⁶⁴ When the editors of the Boston Commonwealth who had been criticizing Allen continued to attack him and his southern slaveowning friends, he wrote a spicy letter to them praising the southern system and defending slavery. He closed with some very pointed remarks about the lies and the lack of honesty of the editors.⁶⁵

Allen returned to Louisiana in the fall of 1854, and three years later was elected to the lower House of the Louisiana legislature.⁶⁶ Still inflamed over his experience in Boston, he introduced, in February, 1855, a retaliatory measure against one of the personal liberty laws of Massachusetts.⁶⁷ The northern state's law prohibited state officials from aiding in arresting fugitive slaves and denied the use of jails for detaining them.⁶⁸ Allen's measure proposed a tax of 50 per cent on all articles manufactured in Massachusetts and offered for sale in Louisiana and prevented Massachusetts citizens from collecting debts in the state

⁶⁴ Boston Post, June 3, 1854; New York Herald, June 4, 1854; West Baton Rouge Capitolian Vis-a-Vis, June 2, 1854, quoting the New York Family Courier.

⁶⁵ Baton Rouge Daily Comet, August 8, 1854, quoting the Boston Daily Times; Boston Daily Advertiser, July 18, 1854.

⁶⁶ Post, Chap. IV.

⁶⁷ This same year the Texas legislature made an appropriation for purchasing equipment for the state with the provision that none of it could be manufactured in the state of Massachusetts. General Laws of the Seventh Legislature of the State of Texas (Austin, 1858), 207.

⁶⁸ For a copy of the Massachusetts law, see West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, February 20, 1858; New Orleans Daily True Delta, February 16, 1858.

courts of Louisiana.⁶⁹ The bill did not pass the lower House and Allen was criticized by most of the leading papers in the state for introducing such a measure, but the Bossier Banner thought the resolutions were sensible and that Allen deserved much credit for them. The editor remarked that "such men as Col. Allen are worth a host of union loving cowards."⁷⁰

In the same year Governor Robert C. Wickliffe of Louisiana received from the Governor of Maine a set of resolutions adopted by the state legislature condemning the extension of slavery. These were sent to the Louisiana Senate, but the body refused them and instructed Governor Wickliffe to return the resolutions to Maine. The Louisiana Governor wrote the Maine executive that "these resolutions are essentially aggressive and revolutionary in their tendency and aim, and seek the subversion of a compact which Louisiana has plighted her faith to support and that Louisiana would not place such in her archives."⁷¹

The next year Allen became involved with the Federal government when he was indicted for importing slaves. He made bond and prepared for the trial. Two United States marshals went to West Baton Rouge, spent the night at Allendale, and the next day visited the neighboring plantations

⁶⁹ Louisiana House Journal, 1858, pp. 22, 28; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, February 12, 27, 1858; New Orleans Daily Picayune, February 14, 1858; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, February 20, 1858.

⁷⁰ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, March 10, 1858 quoting the Bossier Banner.

⁷¹ Louisiana Senate Journal, 1858, p. 10; Acts and Resolves of the State of Maine, 1857, pp. 58-60.

in an effort to secure evidence against Allen. When the case came up in the November session of the court, it was necessary to postpone until Allen's factor, Richard Nugent and Company, and Captain Baranco of the steamer D. F. Kenner could bring all their books and records into the court. The case was prolonged in the courts until 1861 when the outbreak of the Civil War closed it.⁷²

In the session of 1860 Allen demonstrated very clearly his political views on the question of secession and slavery when he introduced a set of resolutions condemning the North for sympathy with John Brown's raid in Virginia. The resolutions stated that Louisiana would stand by Virginia in the event of further invasion and proposed an appropriation of \$25,000 as a gift to aid Virginia in fighting the battles of the South. They provided further that if a Black Republican were elected president the Governor of Louisiana would call immediately an election for selecting delegates to a southern convention and that the Governor should ask the other southern states to co-operate in such a movement. The resolutions failed to pass the lower House, but they were very indicative of the feeling of Allen and the state rights Democrats in Louisiana.⁷³

In the summer of 1859, after arranging for his candidacy

⁷² United States Circuit Court Minute Books, VIII, 34, 45, 79, 185, 197-200, 270, in the Post Office Building, New Orleans; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, June 18, 1859; New Orleans Daily Picayune, May 15, 1859.

⁷³ Louisiana House Journal, 1860, p. 10; New Orleans Daily True Delta, January 19, 24, 1860; New Orleans Daily Crescent, January 19, 1860; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, January 20, 1860.

in the fall elections, Allen left on a trip to Europe. He made his way to New York and on July 6 sailed on the steamer Persia in company with a number of distinguished people, among them were Judah P. Benjamin, United States Senator from Louisiana, former Governor Paul O. Hebert and his wife, Charles D. Stewart and family of Pointe Coupee Parish, Doctor Sol A. Smith of Rapides Parish,⁷⁴ and Congressman George Rustis of Louisiana and his wife. Also on board were former President Ignacio Comonfort of Mexico, John Van Buren, and O'Gorman Mahon, the Irish patriot.⁷⁵ Allen was introduced to these people and wrote that with two of them he talked politics and "the other I entertained, in true West Baton Rouge style, with a small game of draw poker."⁷⁶

While traveling in Europe Allen wrote letters to the

74 Doctor Smith became a member of General Kirby Smith's staff in the Trans-Mississippi Department. Post, Chap. IX.

75 Ignacio Comonfort (1812-1863), soldier and politician, joined with Juan Alvarez to overthrow Santa Anna's control of Mexico in 1855. Comonfort became President and remained in the office until forced into exile in 1858. Franklin H. Hooper (ed.), Encyclopedia Britannica, VI, 140; J. Fred Rippy, The United States and Mexico (New York, 1926), 168, 214-15; Henry B. Parkes, A History of Mexico (Boston, 1938), 227-41. Charles James Patrick Mahon, better known as O'Gorman Hamon (1800-1891), was born March 17 in Clare County, Ireland. He was associated with Daniel O'Connell, the Irish patriot, and aided him in winning the Clare County election in 1828. O'Gorman was elected to Parliament in 1830 and served intermittently until his death. He worked with Charles Stewart Parnell for Irish Home Rule in the 1880's. The Irish patriot traveled extensively in Europe and America where he was entertained by the leading political leaders. He participated in many civil insurrections in Europe and South America. Dictionary of National Biography, 22 vols. (London, 1882-1922), XII, 776-79.

76 Henry W. Allen, The Travels of a Sugar Planter or, Six Months in Europe (New York, 1861), 2.

Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate describing with very choice phrases the people he met and places he visited. Upon Allen's return they were assembled and reprinted under the title, The Travels of a Sugar Planter or, Six Months in Europe.⁷⁷ Some of these comments are worth reviewing because it gives us an insight to Allen's interests and certainly acquaints us with his vast knowledge of literature, art, and the customs of the time.

Allen arrived in Liverpool and then went to Belfast, Ireland. On his way he inspected the estate of Eaton Hall, estimated to be worth at that time about two million dollars. He considered it one of the best and largest in Ireland. St. Patrick's Cathedral claimed his attention because it contained the remains of Dean Jonathan Swift, the writer. Allen believed Swift's writings in defense of the Irish were actuated more because he hated the English than because of his love for the Irish. While standing near Swift's tomb Allen said, "I thought of the devoted, the ill-requited Vanessa, the constant but unhappy Stella. I thought of Dryden and of Pope, of Addison and Steele, of Bolingbroke and Gay, all of whom paid court to the mighty Dean, and thought it an honor to be considered his friend."⁷⁸

On leaving Ireland Allen went to Scotland, where he visited Robert Burns' home and the scenes of Scott's Lady of

⁷⁷ These letters were published in the Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, August-December, 1859. Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 45, said Allen went to Europe to aid the Italians in the war of liberation. The writer has not found any evidence to substantiate such a conclusion.

⁷⁸ Allen, Travels of a Sugar Planter, 9.

the Lake, which he said were more beautiful than Scott had pictured in his writings.

Among the places Allen saw in Edinburgh was the home of John Knox, who, he said, "was no temporizing, milk-and-cider, cream-cheese preacher. He spared neither king nor queen, priest nor people, but boldly lashed vice wherever found, in pampered wealth or squalid poverty."⁷⁹ Allen spent much time in describing the buildings, churches, and statues found in the city of Edinburgh. He thought the university the best in Scotland and second to none in Europe.

When Captain Allen was ready to leave Scotland for England, he left his traveling companion, Doctor Sol A. Smith. In London Allen registered at the Trafalgar Hotel, where he met Shelby and Johnson, two gentlemen from Mississippi. The three engaged in a hilarious party and enjoyed themselves in true American style by imbibing freely. Allen said, "We occasionally get on a 'burst' and astonish these phlegmatic Englishmen very much indeed."⁸⁰ While in London Allen visited Hay Market, the Tower, Parliament, Westminster Abbey, and nearby Hampton Court; then he took a trip down the Thames in order to see the eight bridges which spanned the river at that time.

The House of Lords was trying a case on appeal when Allen visited it. He thought Henry Lord Brougham, who sat on the right of the Chief Justice, resembled John Bell of Tennessee and Judge Moore of St. Martin Parish, Louisiana.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 27.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 37.

Allen believed there were only a few great statesmen or orators in the aristocratic House of Lords, but in the House of Commons, which he visited frequently, there was much talent. Lord Palmerston, the Prime Minister, according to the Louisiana sugar planter, was a man of great ability and Lord John Russell was "every inch a statesman." William E. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had "no equal in Great Britain for clear and concise logic, for pure and elegant rhetoric." Allen thought that Lord John Russell looked very much like the elder brother of Duncan F. Kenner of Ascension Parish, and he said, "They are as much alike as two black-eyed peas or two bald-headed men possibly can be." Benjamin Disraeli, James Whiteside, John A. Roebuck, and John Bright, Allen considered men of talent. "John Bright, he said, "was a large, fine looking, stout man, resembling somewhat Toombs, of Georgia."⁸¹

Allen's visit to Westminster Abbey disturbed him because the remains of Lord Nelson and John Bunyan were not there. He believed they were the most influential men of their time.

While in London Allen was entertained by the writer, Doctor Samuel Warren. On a Sunday he heard the celebrated Charles H. Spurgeon preach to about six or eight thousand people who had assembled in the Surrey Gardens music hall, Allen said, "He took his text, ... and without note or comment, or memorandum, kept his congregation spell-bound for

⁸¹ Ibid., 43-44.

two hours."⁸²

The Louisiana sugar planter had a unique experience while visiting London. One morning during his stay there he decided to visit Billingsgate, or the Fish Market; so he made a hurried trip down to the place. Driving along the Strand on his return he noticed a familiar figure walking briskly along the street. He jumped from his cart, ran over, and walked along with the man for a few steps until he felt sure that it was his English friend, Prescott, who came to Louisiana each year to buy sugar, then Allen slapped him on the back and said:

"How are you, old fellow, You don't know me, do you!"

"No, sir, I don't know you," replied the stranger.

"Why, is it possible you have forgotten me? Have you never been to Baton Rouge? Don't you know Dan Hickey? Don't you recollect our balls at Brule's Landing? Look at me well. Don't you know Allen?"

The stranger replied with much reserve:

"No, sir, I have never been to West Baton Rouge; I don't

⁸² Ibid., 61, 78. Samuel Warren (1807-1877), author, lawyer, member of Parliament, and a staunch defender of the established church, was recognized in the decade of the 1850's as one of England's leading writers. Two of his best known works are Ten Thousand a Year and Passages from the Diary of a Late Physician. Dictionary of National Biography, XX, 380-83. Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-1842) was the elder son of John Spurgeon, an independent minister. Charles attended school at Colchester, Maidstone, and Cambridge. He became a baptist in 1850 and began preaching at the early age of sixteen years. His oratorical ability soon made him famous throughout England. Spurgeon was invited to preach at Surrey Gardens music hall where occasionally as many as ten thousand people heard him. At the age of twenty-two he was the most popular preacher in England. Ibid., XVIII, 841-43.

know Dan Hickey; I don't know anything about the balls of Brule's Landing; I have looked at you well — I don't know Allen."

When Allen learned the gentleman's name was Lord Palmerston, he was astonished, and took off his hat to the distinguished statesman, asked forgiveness for his very rude act, and explained that he was only visiting in London. Palmerston exchanged a few pleasant remarks with Allen and invited him to visit Parliament while in London.⁸³

Doctor Smith, Allen's traveling companion, who had arrived in London, hurried him off for Paris on August 13 in order that they might view the triumphant entry of Louis Napoleon on his return from the wars in behalf of the Italian people. They arrived in time for the return of the French army, and Allen said, "We saw a sight the like of which will never again be witnessed in this world. With 100,000 veteran troops, Napoleon entered Paris."⁸⁴

In Paris Allen visited the churches, parks, and public buildings, which he enjoyed thoroughly. He described the Palace of Luxembourg as the most gorgeous of all Parisian buildings.⁸⁵

On his way from France to Switzerland Allen went to Dijon in the Province of Burgundy, where he found the most

⁸³ Allen, Travels of a Sugar Planter, 44-45; Mexico City Mexican Times, December 16, 1865.

⁸⁴ Allen, Travels of a Sugar Planter, 63.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 67. Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 45, 48, said she visited with Allen in Paris and that he spent the morning hours studying French under a tutor and went sight-seeing in the afternoon.

delicious wines that could be had in all the world. They contained a flavor, he marked, that could not be duplicated, neither could the wines be transported and still retain the delightful flavor.

In Strassburg the Louisiana sugar planter almost had a duel with a Frenchman over a very minor affair. Allen accepted the challenge and was ready to give "satisfaction" when the police intervened and stopped them.⁸⁶

Allen spent several days enjoying the beautiful mountain scenes around Lucerne, Geneva, and Zurich. He thought the scenery of the Alps was unsurpassed in any country and that the descriptions of it were inadequate. From Geneva Allen wrote to his old friend, Reverend Zebulon Butler of Port Gibson, Mississippi, and inclosed a sprig of fern which he pulled from a tree that grew over the grave of John Calvin. He remarked in writing to his old Presbyterian friend that Calvin's faith was his parents' choice and that it would always remain his religion.

He traveled down the Rhine River and described it as a "beautiful stream, about the size of Red River." Allen believed the wines produced along the river were fine, especially the rare Johannisberg brand.

At Antwerp Allen was especially interested in the paintings in the art gallery and remarked that "No modern artist has ever equalled the rich coloring of Rembrandt and Rubens,

⁸⁶ Allen, Travels of a Sugar Planter, 239-42; J. C. Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," in Contemporary Review (London, 1866-), VIII (1868), 36.

or the soft, silky touch of Murillo and Raphael."⁸⁷ From Antwerp he went to Aix-la-Chapelle, to Brussels, and to the battle field at Waterloo.

In Holland Allen was attracted by the lowness of the land and the problem of maintaining the levees. He observed the locks at the mouth of the Rhine and, in his letter to the Advocate, described their method of operation. He thought the people of Holland had done a fine job of holding back the Rhine and the ocean, and stated that the people of Louisiana could do just as good a job fighting the Mississippi River. Allen urged that the levee system of Louisiana ought to be placed under the control of the state and supported from a general fund.

The Louisiana traveler said the women in Holland were down right pretty for "they all look fresh, clean, and healthy. True they have broad flat feet and round chubby faces, and can't say a word, but the eternal yaw — yaw — still, I like the Dutch gals."⁸⁸

Allen passed through Leyden on his way to Berlin, where he called upon his friend, Edward Butler of Iberville Parish, who was attached to the legation, and was entertained in true Louisiana style. He visited in Dresden and Vienna, where in the Austrian arsenal he saw their artillery wagons and baggage trains. Allen thought it was a shame for the Austrians to have so many very fine wagons because they

⁸⁷ Allen, Travels of a Sugar Planter, 115.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 119-20.

could be used for hauling sugar cane, a much better purpose than hauling cannon balls and powder. In commenting upon war Allen said, "I much prefer to fight crab-grass cockle-burs, to mortal men of flesh and blood; and such modest unpretending tools as the plough, the hoe, and the spade, are much more congenial to my nature than broadswords, smooth-bores, and grapple-shot."⁸⁹

The sugar planter was always ready to attend the opera or other fine entertainments and did not miss an opportunity to hear a good program. He attended the operas in France, England, and Germany, and in Vienna he was fortunate in being able to attend a band concert of Straus's at a fashionable resort in the suburbs.

In Italy Allen visited Trieste, Milan, Venice, Padua, Verona, Solferino, Turin, Alessandria, and Genoa. He thought Victor Emmanuel was very popular and held in deep affection by his people, but they were all against Napoleon for not liberating them from Austrian control. He traveled by boat from Genoa to Leghorn, and spent a few days visiting the art galleries, the leaning tower, and the cathedrals in Pisa and Florence. In Florence Allen was the guest of Hiram Powers,⁹⁰ the American sculptor, and while visiting in the city he met two Englishmen who remained his companions until they completed their sojourn in Italy. The Englishmen were William Forsythe, an eminent lawyer of London, and Reverend J. C.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 151.

⁹⁰ Post, Chap. V.

Robertson, a scholar and minister.⁹¹ On the trip from Leghorn to Rome the two Englishmen discovered that Allen was a willing talker, and without much encouragement he told them about America and that he was a sugar planter from Louisiana; he also remarked that he had engaged in a number of duels or "difficulties" but that he always fought in behalf of someone else. In Rome, which Allen described as "a one-horse place," the Englishmen saw very little of their traveling companion during the day; he rushed about from one place to another seeing Rome as only Americans could see it. They thought Allen saw more in five days than any Englishman could see in three weeks.⁹²

Allen described the Tiber River as a small, muddy stream, about as wide as the Atchafalaya, at Simmesport, Louisiana, but not so deep. He said it was "a filthy-looking stream, and I should think a very congenial place for loggerhead turtles and mud cats. There is no poetry about this river. It smells too bad."⁹³

Leaving Rome Allen traveled by boat to Marseilles and went to Paris and London. On the trip to Marseilles he contracted a fever which made him quite sick all the way to London, and for several days after his arrival he was in a critical condition. Forsythe visited Allen while he lay ill and did much to comfort him; also Beverly Tucker, United

⁹¹ Allen, Travels of a Sugar Planter, 206; Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," in loc. cit., 36.

⁹² Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," in loc. cit., 36.

⁹³ Allen, Travels of a Sugar Planter, 211.

States consul at Liverpool, did much to aid him during his illness.⁹⁴ Allen recovered sufficiently to return to the United States late in November. He arrived in Boston on November 23, still very weak and suffering from his recent illness. Early the next month he was in West Baton Rouge and wrote his last letter to the Advocate concerning the European trip. It compared the United States and England and concluded with a budget for such a trip as he had taken. He thought one could make a ninety day trip to Europe for \$1,000 if he did "not risk his money at cards in a strange land."⁹⁵

Although in poor health, Allen plunged into public life once again. His first work was to assist in getting the Industrial Fair Association ready for its exhibition in 1860. This organization was composed of citizens in East and West Baton Rouge who had organized for the purpose of encouraging agriculture and industry in Louisiana. Allen, vice-president

⁹⁴ Ibid., 227; Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," in loc. cit., 39. Nathaniel Beverly Tucker (1820-1890), Confederate agent, the son of Henry St. George Tucker, was born in Winchester, Virginia. He was educated at Richmond Academy and the University of Virginia. Beverly engaged in business for a brief period in Richmond and then went to Washington as editor of the Sentinel. In 1857 he succeeded Nathaniel Hawthorne as consul at Liverpool. When Virginia seceded from the Union, Tucker returned and became agent for the Confederacy. He visited Europe and Canada in the interest of the Southern cause but was thwarted in all of his efforts. After the war he was accused of complicity in the plot to murder Lincoln and for a time the government offered a reward of \$25,000 for him. He spent a number of years traveling in England, Mexico, and Canada but returned to the United States in 1872. Dictionary of American Biography, XIX, 37-38.

⁹⁵ Allen, Travels of a Sugar Planter, 246-49.

of the Association, was a member of the committee to purchase premiums for the fair and was also on a committee to secure a charter from the legislature for the Association.⁹⁶ In March of the following year the first exhibition was held on the grounds of the United States barracks north of the city of Baton Rouge. It was well attended and pronounced a success by everyone.⁹⁷

During the summer of 1860 a permanent organization was effected for the Fair Association. It was capitalized at \$100,000 with shares selling for \$100 each. Allen was one of the first to buy stock in the Association, and by August over thirty members had purchased shares.⁹⁸ The legislature granted a charter for the organization in 1861 and named the first Board of Directors;⁹⁹ however, the outbreak of the war interrupted the work of this organization before it held another exhibition.

In 1859, under the leadership of Allen, the Louisiana Historical Society was re-organized.¹⁰⁰ The preliminary

⁹⁶ Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, December 8, 1859, January 18, 1860.

⁹⁷ Ibid., March 12-18, 1860.

⁹⁸ Ibid., August 3, 1860; New Orleans Daily Picayune, August 9, 1860.

⁹⁹ Louisiana Acts, 1861, pp. 37-39.

¹⁰⁰ The first society in Louisiana was the Historical Society of Louisiana, organized May 9, 1835. Henry Adams Bullard addressed the group at its second meeting in January the following year when he was elected president. This society had a very short life but it was re-organized under the influence of Judge François Xavier Martin in 1846 who served as president until his death in December of that year. H. A. Bullard was chosen president and served until his death in 1851. During the next few years there does not appear to have been an active organization. Walter Prichard (ed.), "Henry Adams Bullard: First President of the Louisiana

meeting was held in June in the capitol; Allen was elected president pro tempore and George A. Pike of Baton Rouge was appointed secretary. A committee was appointed to prepare a constitution and by-laws for the organization; then the group adjourned and accepted Allen's invitation to dinner in the Gem Saloon.¹⁰¹ In the following month they adopted the proposed constitution and elected Charles Gayarré president.¹⁰² Allen secured permission from the state for the Society to hold its meetings in the capitol and was instrumental in securing a charter for the Society. He was one of the charter members. Allen introduced a resolution in the legislature requiring all Notarial and Colonial Records in the city of New Orleans to be deposited with the State Librarian in Baton Rouge. At the meeting of the Society in February, 1860, the charter was accepted and Gayarré made president, Allen, first vice-president, and Daniel D. Avery, second-vice-president.¹⁰³ At the second anniversary meeting of the Society, held in the capitol in 1861, Allen was made president, Avery, first vice-president, and S. M. Hart, second vice-president.¹⁰⁴ The work of the Society was soon brought

Historical Society," in Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XIX (1936), 7-8.

101 West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, June 23, 1859; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, June 21, 1859.

102 West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, July 23, 1859. The other officers were John Perkins, Jr., first vice-president, Daniel D. Avery, second vice-president, Reverend T. Castleton, corresponding secretary, George A. Pike, recording secretary, F. M. Kent, treasurer, and Henry Droz, State Librarian, curator.

103 Ibid., February 18, 1860; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, February 16, 1860; Louisiana House Journal, 1860, p. 109; Louisiana Acts, 1860, pp. 5-7, 95.

104 West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, February 16, 1861;

to a close by the outbreak of the Civil War.

In 1861 the people of Texas instituted a search for two guns known as the "Twin Sisters". They were the only pieces of artillery which General Houston had in the battle of San Jacinto, April 21, 1836, when his army defeated Santa Anna. The guns were brought to Louisiana when Texas was admitted into the Union in 1846 and stored at the Federal arsenal in Baton Rouge; later they were sold for scrap iron. Allen instituted a search for them and located one at the foundry of Hill and Markham in Baton Rouge, and C. A. Brusle of Iberville found the other one in St. Gabriel in Iberville Parish. The Louisiana legislature under the leadership of Allen appropriated money to have these mounted and returned to Texas. William F. Tunnard, well-known iron worker in Baton Rouge, mounted and engraved them. On March 4, 1861, Allen, Brusle, and William G. Austin presented them to Texas.¹⁰⁵ The Texas legislature in 1862 adopted resolutions thanking the state of Louisiana for the gift and resolved "That it is our desire to cultivate and perpetuate the friendly relations that now exist between this State and the State of Louisiana and should an occasion occur in which it will become necessary for Texas to use the 'Twin Sisters', in defense of the right

Baton Rouge Weekly Gazette and Comet, February 13, 1861.

¹⁰⁵ Louisiana House Journal, 1861, p. 35; letter of George Williamson to H. W. Allen; Alexandria Louisiana Democrat, May 26, 1866; Plaquemine Iberville Gazette and Sentinel, April 6, 1861. These guns were given to Texas by the people of Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1836. They were cast by Miles Greenwood, a noted ironmaster, of Ohio. Stephenson, Texas and the Mexican War, 75.

of Louisiana, Texas, or any other State in the Confederacy, and to repel the invasion of a despot, the sons of Texas will be ready to man them, and remain by them until the invaders of our common country shall be driven from our soil."¹⁰⁶

The "Twin Sisters" were lost before the close of the Civil War and, although there have been many reports concerning their location, the guns have not been found.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ General Laws of the Ninth Legislature of the State of Texas, 1862 (Houston, 1862), 35.

¹⁰⁷ E. W. Winkler, "The 'Twin Sisters' Cannon, 1836-1865," in Southwestern Historical Quarterly (Austin, 1897-), XXI (1917-18), 61-68.

Chapter IV

LOUISIANA POLITICS, 1852-1861

From 1830 to 1860 local politics in Louisiana were often decided by the issue of "American" versus "Creole", but on national questions during the period of "personal politics" the people followed Jackson or Clay. After their followers had aligned themselves on national issues into Democrats and Whigs, respectively, the people of Louisiana affiliated with one or the other of the two groups.¹ The sugar growers, needing a protective tariff, supported the Whigs, whose strength centered in New Orleans and the sugar growing regions, although a large number of voters in the Red and Ouachita River valleys also affiliated with the party. The Whigs and Democrats were about evenly divided in the decade preceeding midcentury, but in the 1850's the Democrats gained control of the state legislature and all state offices. On national issues the Whigs divided into a Northern or "Conscience" group and a Southern or "Cotton" faction. In Louisiana the party declined rapidly after 1850 and was replaced by the American, or Know Nothing, party.

The American party appeared first in Louisiana early in 1835 when the "Natives" in New Orleans organized to oppose the foreigners.² The organization, also called Know

¹ For a discussion of Louisiana politics in the decade of the 1850's, see James K. Greer, "Louisiana Politics, 1845-1861," in Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XII (1929), 381-416, 555-610; XIII (1930), 67-116, 257-303, 444-483, 617-654.

² W. Darrel Overdyke, "History of the American Party in

Nothings, became important after 1854, when they replaced the Whigs as the leading opposition party in the State. By 1859 or 1860, a substantial number affiliated with the Southern Democrats on national issues which dominated state politics at that time; others allied themselves with the new Constitutional Union party.

The year 1852 was a very busy time for the Louisiana electorate because they were called upon to elect representatives to a constitutional convention, presidential electors, a full ticket of state officials, and to vote upon a proposed constitution.

The Whigs, who were in power, elected 85 out of 126 delegates to the constitutional convention and had no difficulty in controlling the work of the organization. When the convention assembled at the capitol on July 5, Duncan F. Kenner from Ascension was elected president and John E. Layet, secretary.³ Judah P. Benjamin, recently elected United States senator, acted as floor leader and was able to complete the work of the convention in less than four weeks. The convention liberalized the suffrage requirements, modified office qualifications by removing property requirements, apportioned representation in the legislature by population instead of qualified voters, and provided for Louisiana," *ibid.*, XV (1932), 581-88; XVI (1933), 84-91, 256-77, 409-26, 608-27.

³ New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 10, 1852; Journal of the Convention to Form a New Constitution for the State of Louisiana (New Orleans, 1852), 4. Cited hereafter as Journal of the Convention.

the biennial election of all state officials except the governor, lieutenant governor, and secretary of state, who served for four years. Judges were made elective for the first time in the history of the state, a simplified method of amending the constitution was recommended, and, to encourage internal improvements, liberal laws for joint-stock companies were proposed. The convention completed its work July 31, and submitted the constitution at the November election. At the same time voters were also called upon to elect presidential electors.⁴

Both Louisiana parties were in the field early in 1852. The Democrats held their first large meeting June 26 in New Orleans, and John Slidell, one of the state's prominent Democrats, gave the principal address.⁵

As the Whigs had controlled the constitutional convention and were in possession of all state offices, they were confident of carrying the state. They held their ratification meeting in New Orleans early in July and Senator Benjamin addressed the group. Later they sent Randell Hunt into Rapides Parish and Benjamin into the Attakapas country as stump speakers for the campaign.⁶

Allen had been very active in the Whig party during the 1840's while a lawyer, planter, and legislator in Mississippi; so when he became a sugar planter in Louisiana, it

⁴ Ibid., 90-100.

⁵ New Orleans Weekly Delta, June 28, 1852; New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 27, 1852.

⁶ New Orleans Weekly Delta, July 4, 1852; New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 2, September 15, 1852.

was natural for him to continue a member of that party. His ability as an orator and his readiness as a debater quickly won him a place on the speaker's platform at all party meetings and public gatherings. Within six months after his arrival in West Baton Rouge Allen was on the stump for the Whigs. On October 2, 1852, he was the principal speaker at a Whig barbecue in Plaquemine, whither he had gone by boat with a number of friends from East and West Baton Rouge parishes. The following week it was reported that Allen scored "a complete triumph" in a political debate with Edward White Robertson, a Democrat, at Brusly Landing.⁷ He was a speaker at virtually every important Whig meeting in the central part of the state during the presidential campaign.

The chief opposition to the new constitution centered in the method of apportioning representation which gave the Whig planters with a large number of slaves too much influence in the government.⁸ However, the constitution received a majority vote in twenty-six parishes and was adopted by over 4,000 votes in a total of 34,372 ballots. Ratification support came from both parties because the Democrats carried the state in the presidential election by only 1,400 votes.⁹

Both political parties called state conventions im-

⁷ West Baton Rouge Capitolian Vis-a-Vis, October 2, 6, 13, 26, 30, 1852.

⁸ Baton Rouge Daily Comet, September 4, 8, 1852; New Orleans Daily True Delta, October 3, 1852; New Orleans Daily Picayune, November 3, 1852.

⁹ New Orleans Weekly Delta, November 28, December 15, 1852.

mediately after the adoption of the constitution and selected tickets for the December election. The Whigs assembled in Baton Rouge late in November and named Louis Bordelon, state auditor from Avoyelles, as their candidate for governor after Randell Hunt, well-known lawyer of New Orleans, declined the nomination. John Ray of Ouachita was nominated for lieutenant governor.¹⁰ Paul O. Hebert, a Creole farmer, and W. W. Farmer of Union Parish were the Democratic nominees for governor and lieutenant governor, respectively.¹¹

The brief period for campaigning and the inadequate transportation facilities prevented the candidates from making a state-wide campaign. Their work was confined for the most part to New Orleans and the southern part of the state. The Whigs advocated railroad building and other internal improvements, but more or less rested upon the laurels won in securing the adoption of the constitution. The Democrats advocated state aid for public works, railroads, common schools, and a shorter term for judicial officials.

After a short and listless campaign the Democrats elected a complete state ticket. They gained control of the

¹⁰ Baton Rouge Daily Comet, November 30, 1852; New Orleans Daily Picayune, December 26, 1852; New Orleans Weekly Delta, December 5, 1852. Other candidates were Daniel D. Avery, secretary of state; R. N. Ogden, attorney general; John E. Layet, auditor; George C. McWhorter, treasurer; and Thomas B. Thorpe, superintendent of education.

¹¹ New Orleans Weekly Delta, December 5, 1852; Baton Rouge Daily Comet, December 2, 1852. Other candidates were Andrew S. Herron, secretary of state; Charles E. Grenaux, treasurer; Isaac E. Morse, attorney general; and J. N. Carrigan, superintendent of education.

legislature by electing fourteen of the twenty-three senators and fifty-one of the eighty-two representatives. Hebert received a majority of 2,030 votes.¹²

Louisiana's first important political event of the year 1853 was the election of a United States senator to occupy the seat vacated by Pierre Soulé, who had resigned in April to become minister to Spain.¹³ The Democrats were in control of the state political organization, the legislature, and all state offices; but there was a bitter fight growing within the ranks of the party. Although Soulé had been for a number of years the leader of the Democratic group, John Slidell had, in the late forties, made his influence felt among the party leaders and was ready to challenge Soule's leadership. To bring peace and harmony within the ranks of the party, there were efforts to make Slidell minister to one of the Central American countries; but by declining the appointment he thwarted these plans to get him out of the state. In the Democratic caucus Slidell was opposed by Governor Hebert, Lieutenant Governor Farmer, and former Governor Alexandre Mouton. However, Slidell won the nomination on the eighth ballot,¹⁴ and the Democrats, being in

¹² New Orleans Weekly Delta, January 16, 1853; New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 19, 1853.

¹³ New Orleans Weekly Delta, April 19, 1853. Although the constitution of 1852 limited the regular term of the legislature to sixty days, an exception was made for the first session because the convention had anticipated more work for the assembly than usual; therefore the legislature had not adjourned when Soule resigned his place in the Senate.

¹⁴ New Orleans Daily True Delta, April 28, 1853; New Orleans Daily Picayune, May 4, 1853.

control of the legislature, had no trouble in defeating his opponent, Theodore G. Hunt, the Whig nominee.¹⁵ Two years later Slidell was re-elected to the position by defeating the Whig candidate, Judge John Moore from St. Martin Parish.¹⁶

In the year 1853 both parties placed candidates in the field in each of the four congressional districts, and in the nominating conventions both groups showed signs of dissension. In their strongest district, the second, which was composed of the sugar regions, the Whigs had a hard fight before the convention at Donaldsonville in August could nominate Theodore G. Hunt of New Orleans. The rural parishes opposed Hunt because he was from the city which had both United States senators.¹⁷ In the ensuing campaign Allen, David N. Barrow, and Philip Winfree, Jr., did excellent service for their party in the parishes of Iberville, Avoyelles, and East and West Baton Rouge.

The election returns placed three Democrats and a Whig, Theodore G. Hunt, in office.¹⁸ After the results were announced, the usual cry of stealing, fraud, and graft in the election was voiced by the press in various districts, but at this time Charles Gayarré, the defeated candidate in the

¹⁵ New Orleans Daily Picayune, May 4, 1853; New Orleans Daily Crescent, May 4, 1853.

¹⁶ New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 24, 1855.

¹⁷ New Orleans Weekly Delta, July 24, August 7, 1853; New Orleans Daily Crescent, August 3, 1853.

¹⁸ New Orleans Daily Picayune, November 10, 17, 1853; New Orleans Weekly Delta, November 27, 1853; Baton Rouge Daily Comet, December 4, 1853. Judge William Dunbar defeated Charles Gayarre in the first district, Hunt won over James Davis in the second, John Perkins, Jr., won over Preston Pond, Jr., in the third, and Charles Jones won over John Blair Smith in the fourth district.

first district, startled the state by publishing a pamphlet in which he exposed the corrupt election methods in the city of New Orleans.¹⁹

Before the election of 1855, the disintegrating Whig party was replaced by the rapidly growing American or Know Nothing organization. In July the Americans met in New Orleans to name their state ticket. Charles Derbigny of New Orleans won the nomination for governor over such candidates as Charles M. Watterman of Orleans, William Christy of New Orleans, and John Ray of Ouachita. Other candidates selected were Lewis Texada, Rapides, for lieutenant governor; Robert G. Beale, East Baton Rouge, for secretary of state; James Victor Duralde, West Baton Rouge, for treasurer; Walter Rossman, Claiborne, for auditor; Randell Hunt, New Orleans, for attorney general; and O. D. Stillman, Ouachita, for superintendent of education. Thus the first complete American party state ticket represented every section of the state. The party platform called for a retrenchment of expenditures, a more efficient and economical administration of the Department of Internal Improvements, expansion of the educational system, and more stringent regulation of immigration.²⁰

¹⁹ Charles Gayarré, Address to the People of the State on the Late Frauds Perpetrated at the Election held on the 7th of November, 1853, in the City of New Orleans (New Orleans, 1853); New Orleans Daily Crescent, December 26, 1853; West Baton Rouge Capitolian Vis-a-Vis, December 28, 1853; Baton Rouge Weekly Comet, November 13, 1853.

²⁰ New Orleans Daily Crescent, September 5, 1855; Baton Rouge Daily Comet, July 7, 1855; New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 6, 1855; New Orleans Daily Delta, July 2-6, 1855.

The Democrats had assembled in June with their usual factional differences in the convention. Slidell's faction, the old line group, was led by John M. Sandidge, speaker of the House. The younger and more aggressive faction was led by Robert C. Wickliffe, president pro tempore of the Senate. Wickliffe won the nomination for governor, and Charles Mouton received the second place on the ticket. The platform of the Democrats proclaimed loyalty to the Union, endorsed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and declared opposition to the Know Nothings and their secret organization.²¹

In the congressional nominations of that year, Allen was favorably mentioned as the American party candidate for the third district. The New Orleans Crescent referred to him as a gentleman, a scholar, a fine writer, and a man of much practical experience. The Baton Rouge Comet said, "The Col. is a polished gentleman; one both worthy and well qualified; and being 'a planter', he is identified permanently with the interest of Louisiana." Other candidates mentioned were G. B. N. Wailes of Concordia, Preston Pond, Jr., of East Feliciana, and Governor Hebert, but when the district convention assembled in Vidalia on July 28, Pond was nominated. George Eustis, Theodore G. Hunt, and William B. Lewis were named in first, second, and fourth districts, respectively.²²

²¹ New Orleans Weekly Delta, June 28, 1855; New Orleans Daily Delta, June 20, 22, 1855; Baton Rouge Daily Comet, June 20, 1855.

²² Baton Rouge Daily Comet, July 12, 1855; New Orleans Daily Crescent, July 6, 28, 1855.

When the Vidalia meeting did not nominate Allen for Congress, the state senatorial district convention selected him to oppose the Democratic candidate, Bennett Barton Simmes of Pointe Coupee.²³

The campaign was a spirited one, especially for Allen and Simmes in the senatorial district. Allen spoke at St. Francisville, Whitakers Springs, and Greenwell Springs. On August 19 Allen, speaking at Pointe Coupee courthouse, opposed Simmes in a speech which held the audience spell-bound for two hours. A few days later the New Orleans Crescent reported that a meeting at Brusly Landing was closed by Allen in a speech replete with power and eloquence, which had a "most happy effect upon his hearers." The paper stated that the Colonel was doing yeoman service and deserved much at the hands of the American party.²⁴

The campaign caused much rivalry in the city of New Orleans and in the rural parishes. Torchlight parades, barbecues, and music added to the interest and attendance of these gatherings. In July the Democrats met in New Orleans, where Wickliffe, Moise, and Herron spoke before a large assembly. They criticized the Know Nothing party for its secret organization and made political capital of its anti-Catholic position. The speakers deprecated the dissolution of the Whig party and urged its members to join the Demo-

²³ Baton Rouge Daily Comet, August 10, 1855. Allen was referred to frequently as Captain or Colonel.

²⁴ Baton Rouge Daily Comet, August 10, 1855; Baton Rouge Democratic Advocate, August 18, 1855; Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, August 30, 1855; New Orleans Daily Crescent, July 21, September 4, 8, 20, October 24, 1855.

ocratic ranks.²⁵

The Know Nothings entered the campaign of 1855 handicapped because of their treatment at the national convention in June.²⁶ But they were determined to overthrow the Democratic machine and went about their campaign in a very serious manner. A large demonstration was held in New Orleans late in July. William M. Perkins was president of the meeting; Charles Derbigny, candidate for governor, George Eustis, congressman, and Albert Pike were the principal speakers.²⁷ The party expected and invited Senator Benjamin to enter its ranks since the Whigs had dissolved, but was disappointed when he declined to declare openly for the party.²⁸

The approach of election day brought much excitement and many disturbances throughout the state. Riots in New Orleans and fights in the rural parishes intensified the campaign. The Democratic press practiced the old political trick of publishing daily in their papers long lists of withdrawals from the Know Nothing party. On election day New Orleans had a number of fights when foreigners were denied the right to approach the polls, and in two places the ballot boxes were destroyed by the mobs.²⁹

²⁵ New Orleans Weekly Delta, July 22, 1855; New Orleans Daily Crescent, July 23, 1855; New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 23, 1855.

²⁶ Louisiana sent six delegates to the national convention. Charles Gayarré, one of the representatives, was a Catholic and was not admitted as a delegate to the national meeting. New Orleans Weekly Delta, June 17, 1855.

²⁷ New Orleans Weekly Delta, July 15, 1855.

²⁸ Ibid., August 3-5, 1855; New Orleans Daily Picayune, August 7, 1855.

²⁹ Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, August 9, 30, September

The election returns placed the entire Democratic state ticket in office. The vote for governor gave Wickliffe 22,382 and Derbigny 19,417 votes. The Democrats elected forty-seven members to the lower House and ten senators, giving them a majority in each House. In the congressional races three Democrats and one American were elected. Eustis (American) won over Albert Fabre; Miles Taylor defeated Hunt; Davidson won over Pond, and Sandidge defeated Lewis in the first, second, third, and fourth districts, respectively.³⁰

The political pot began to boil early in 1856, when Hebert, the retiring governor, and Wickliffe, the incoming executive, called attention to the corrupt conditions in the New Orleans elections during the past few years and suggested that something should be done to regulate them. The legislature investigated the election of the sheriff in New Orleans and found reasons for expelling him from office. The Senate expelled three members of the American party from New Orleans and the House expelled one member from New Orleans because of election frauds.³¹

The first election held in the state during the year was for the city officials of New Orleans in June. The

13, 27, 1855; New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 3, 31, 1855; New Orleans Weekly Delta, November 11, 1855.

³⁰ New Orleans Daily True Delta, December 4, 1855; New Orleans Daily Picayune, November 12, 18, 1855; Opelousas des Courier, December 8, 1855; Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, November 17, 1855.

³¹ New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 24, 1856; New Orleans Weekly Delta, January 27, February 3, March 30, 1856; New Orleans Daily Crescent, March 27, 1856.

The American party demonstrated its strength when it elected Major Charles M. Watterman and won all the other contests.³²

The chief interest in the state during the year was the presidential election slated for November. The Democrats met in Baton Rouge in March with their members divided as usual under the two leaders, Soulé and Slidell. The convention elected representatives from the Soulé faction to the national convention.³³

The American party parish organizations held meetings in the spring to name representatives for a state convention. In West Baton Rouge, Allen, Henry M. Favrot, Dan Hickey, and Joachim Aillet, all former Whigs, were elected delegates to the state meeting scheduled to meet in Baton Rouge.³⁴ The convention assembled in June with about 273 present, chose John Waddill of Natchitoches president, and selected a number of vice-presidents, among whom was Allen. After Bernard Marigny of New Orleans addressed the convention, it adopted resolutions favoring Millard Fillmore and A. J. Donelson as candidates for president and vice-president, respectively. The convention elected an executive committee, abolished all secret organizations, and adopted the platform which had been formulated at the Philadelphia meeting in February. The meeting closed with an address by Allen, who, according

³² New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 3, 1856; New Orleans Daily True Delta, June 3, 1856.

³³ New Orleans Daily Picayune, March 12, 1856; Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, March 15, 1856; New Orleans Daily True Delta, March 11, 12, 1856.

³⁴ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, May 17, 1856.

to a Baton Rouge paper, "made one of those 'telling' speeches, for which he is remarkable."³⁵

An effort was made by a number of the old line Whigs to resuscitate their party in September, when they called for meetings in New Orleans; however, they were unable to effect an organization which could compete with the two parties in the state. After a number of meetings, each having a small attendance, the Whigs gave up the idea of reorganizing their party.³⁶

The campaign brought forth much oratory on the Kansas-Nebraska bill but Louisiana appeared apathetic toward the issue. More interest was manifested in the state on the Cuban question because it had greater possibilities for the people of Louisiana.³⁷

The election returns were a source of much pleasure to the Democrats because in the past four years they had defeated the Whig party in both state and national elections and now they had defeated the Americans in their first bid for the state's electoral vote. Buchanan polled 22,164 and Fillmore 20,709 votes; although the majority was small, the Democrats had carried thirty-four parishes.³⁸

³⁵ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, May 31, June 7, 21, 1856; Baton Rouge Daily Advocate, June 17, 1856; Baton Rouge Daily Comet, June 17, 1856; New Orleans Daily Crescent, June 18, 1856; New Orleans Daily Delta, June 20, 1856.

³⁶ New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 12, 28, 1856; New Orleans Weekly Delta, September 28, 1856.

³⁷ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, August 16, 23, October 4, 25, 30, 1856; Baton Rouge Daily Comet, September 16, October 3, 28, 1856; Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, September 27, 1856; New Orleans Daily Crescent, August 15, September 18, October 7, 1856; New Orleans Daily Picayune, September 13, 1856.

³⁸ New Orleans Daily Crescent, November 25, 1856; Baton

The year 1857 was another busy time for the voters in Louisiana because it was necessary to elect congressmen, certain state officials, members of the lower House, and one half of the state senators.

The Democrats took the field first. Early in May they held their state convention in Baton Rouge and nominated Edward W. Robertson, auditor; R. A. Hunter, Rapides, treasurer, and W. I. Hamilton, Natchitoches, superintendent of education. They endorsed the administration, and condemned the American party for its secrecy and its anti-Catholic stand.³⁹ Within a few months every parish and senatorial district had nominated candidates for the legislature. Charles J. Villere, Miles Taylor, Thomas G. Davidson, and John Sandidge were nominated for the congressional districts.

The American party assembled a large and enthusiastic convention in Baton Rouge on June 9 to nominate candidates for state and congressional offices. They nominated Frank Hardesty of East Feliciana, Joseph W. Walker, St. Mary, and W. A. Lacy, Caddo, for auditor, treasurer, and superintendent of education, respectively. The convention adopted resolutions condemning the misrule of the Democratic party within the state and authorized the appointment of a state executive committee. After the state convention adjourned, the delegates assembled in their respective district conventions and nominated George Eustis, New Orleans, Glendy Rouge Daily Comet, November 12, 1856.

³⁹ New Orleans Daily Picayune, May 19, 1857; New Orleans Daily Delta, May 19, 20, 1856; New Orleans Weekly Delta, June 21, 1857.

Burke, New Orleans, George W. Watterson, Livingston, and William H. Sparkes, Jackson, for first, second, third, and fourth congressional district candidates, respectively.⁴⁰

A few days after the state meeting adjourned Allen was nominated by the West Baton Rouge Parish convention as a candidate for the state legislature, receiving fifty-one votes to seventeen for his opponent, Frame A. Woods. In announcing the nomination, the West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter said Allen was "known all over the state as a brilliant and beautiful speaker, and emphatically a man of our times, our parish will feel a pride in her selection to represent her in the General Assembly." Allen defeated his Democratic opponent, E. B. Trinidad, by a decisive vote in the fall election.⁴¹

The chief excitement in the campaign occurred in the third congressional district, where the Democrats, because of dissension, had two candidates, L. J. Sigur and Thomas G. Davidson. They were opposed by George W. Watterson.⁴² After a close and bitter fight Davidson retained his place in Congress. Two other Democrats, Miles Taylor and John Sandidge, and George Eustis, American, from the first district, were re-elected. In the state elections the Democrats won all the state offices and elected a majority in

⁴⁰ Baton Rouge Weekly Gazette and Comet, June 15, 1857; New Orleans Daily Crescent, June 10, 12, 1857; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, June 10, 12, 1857.

⁴¹ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, July 4, October 10, 1857; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, July 10, 1857.

⁴² New Orleans Weekly Picayune, October 5, 1857.

both Houses of the legislature,⁴³ a fact which was very important because of the approaching senatorial election.

The Democrats anticipated no trouble in controlling the state politics in 1859 if they could compromise their differences. The split between Slidell and Soulé had continued to grow until it had almost divided the party within the state, and the senatorial election of 1859 demonstrated clearly how dangerous it was for the organization. Senator Benjamin had indicated that he might retire at the expiration of his term, opening the field for other candidates. Before time for the election he agreed to stand for re-election to hold the party together. The rural parishes, growing restless under the leadership of the New Orleans group, were ready to offer their own candidates for the position. North Louisiana wanted Congressman John M. Sandidge, and central Louisiana pushed the candidacy of Henry M. Gray.

The Democrats had a majority of twenty-five in the joint assembly and therefore had only to agree upon a candidate before entering the election. They spent two days in caucus at Baton Rouge before they nominated Benjamin. This was done, however, when the followers of Gray failed to attend the caucus. When the legislature convened for the election, Gray's followers placed his name before the group and a small number of Americans nominated Randell Hunt. Allen and four other members of the American party voted for Benjamin, enabling him to get the required majority. The vote was

⁴³ New Orleans Weekly Delta, November 21, 1857; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, November 7, 1857.

Benjamin 57, Gray 50, and Hunt 5.⁴⁴

Early in June the Democratic party met in Baton Rouge to select a state ticket for the fall elections. The meeting was well attended from every section of the state, and the first business of the convention brought a test vote on the strength of the two forces in the Democratic party. Slidell's group wanted W. W. Pugh of Assumption named for chairman, and the Soulé faction nominated G. W. Munday of East Feliciana. The election of Pugh was the signal for the triumph of the Slidell faction in the Democratic party. They probably named their most representative ticket for the state offices: Thomas O. Moore, a well-known planter from Rapides Parish, was nominated governor; and Henry H. Hyams of New Orleans, for lieutenant governor. Other places on the ticket went to the Parishes of St. Landry, Iberville, East Baton Rouge, New Orleans, and Jackson.⁴⁵

The American party did not call a state convention because many of its members had joined the ranks of the Democrats, but there was an opposition group which met in New Orleans the second Monday in September and selected a state

⁴⁴ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, January 29, 1859; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, January 26, 1859; Louisiana Acts, 1859, pp. 6-7; Louisiana House Journal, 1859, p. 13; New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 25, 29, 1859; New Orleans Daily Delta, January 26, 1859; New Orleans Daily Crescent, September 14, 26, 1859.

⁴⁵ New Orleans Daily Picayune, May 27, 28, 1859; New Orleans Daily Crescent, May 27, 28, 30, 1859; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, June 28, 1859. Other candidates were Thomas J. Semmes, attorney general; B. L. Defreese, treasurer; Edward W. Robertson, auditor; Pliny D. Hardy, secretary of state; and Henry Avery, superintendent of education.

ticket. Thomas J. Wells, Rapides, was selected for first place; and John Ray, Ouachita, was nominated lieutenant governor. They adopted resolutions opposing Slidell and his policies and condemning the extravagance of the Board of Public Works and the corrupt elections.⁴⁶

In each of the congressional districts the Democrats named candidates who were opposed by Independent candidates. In the first district a division within the ranks of the Democrats brought three candidates into the race.

Allen went to Europe in July, 1859, and did not return until December; but he and his friends took care of his nomination before his departure. The West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter announced in April that he was a candidate for the legislature and urged the people irrespective of party to support him.⁴⁷

The campaign caused less excitement throughout the state than any one held during the decade. The Democrats were sure of victory from the beginning because the opposition ticket was weak and did not have a complete state organization. Allen was elected in November without opposition. The Democrats won all the state offices by the largest majority that any Democratic party had ever polled in Louisiana. They also retained control of the legislature and elected three

⁴⁶ New Orleans Daily Crescent, October 14, 1859; New Orleans Weekly Delta, September 16, 1859.

⁴⁷ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, April 30, 1859. The West Baton Rouge Police Jury on March 24 adopted a resolution expressing its appreciation of the able manner in which Captain Allen had discharged his duty as a representative from the parish. West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, April 9, 1859.

congressmen. J. E. Bouligny, Independent, won in the first district because of a division within the ranks of the Democrats. Other congressmen elected were Miles Taylor, John M. Landrum, and Thomas G. Davidson.⁴⁸

By 1860 the Democratic party was hopelessly divided on national issues into a Slidell faction, or Southern Rights party, and a Soule faction, which later became the Constitutional Union party.⁴⁹ Many members of the American party joined with the Soule faction for the election of 1860, but Allen preferred to follow the Southern Rights party. His first attendance at a Democratic meeting was at Brusly Landing on February 20, 1860, when he was elected as one of the West Baton Rouge delegates to the state convention which had been called to meet in March at the capitol to elect delegates to the national convention.⁵⁰

The Democratic convention was probably the most representative that had been held in Louisiana for many years because it contained members from every political faction, old and new Democrats, old line Whigs, and Know Nothings. Further, all but one of the parishes had delegates present. The Baton Rouge Gazette and Comet, in reporting the convention, said, "We noticed in the crowd many old and familiar faces of by gone times representing various shades of political or rather personal differences."⁵¹

⁴⁸ New Orleans Daily Delta, November 20, 1859; New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 15, 1860; New Orleans Weekly Delta, November 26, 1859.

⁴⁹ Willie Malvin Caskey, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana (Baton Rouge, 1938), 1-2.

⁵⁰ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, February 25, 1860.

⁵¹ Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, March 6, 1860;

The convention elected Albert G. Carter president, and he appointed a committee on credentials. On the first day of the meeting a number of anti-Slidell delegates were rejected; and although much objection was raised, the fight was not carried to the floor of the convention. The delegates adopted resolutions expressing admiration for the Northern friends of States' Rights, endorsing Buchanan's administration, and declaring that the constitution protected slavery in the territories. The convention refused to adopt a resolution pledging the Louisiana delegates to support the candidate named at the Charleston meeting, but they instructed the delegates to vote as a unit and to adhere to the two-thirds rule. They refused to instruct the delegates to vote for Slidell for president, but they did say that the "Democrats have utmost confidence in Slidell." The convention agreed that if a Black Republican were elected, Louisiana ought to confer with her sister states on the welfare of their future.⁵² The delegates elected to the convention were Emile LaSere, Richard Taylor, Augustus Talbot, R. A. Hunter, Effingham Lawrence, F. H. Hatch, John Tarleton, D. D. Withers, James McHatton, Charles Jones, Benjamin W. Pearce, and former Governor Mouton.

The Louisiana representatives, under the leadership of Mouton, took an active part in the Charleston meeting. They

New Orleans Daily True Delta, March 6, 1860; New Orleans Daily Delta, March 7, 8, 1860.

⁵² New Orleans Daily Delta, March 6, 7, 8, 1860; New Orleans Daily Picayune, March 6, 7, 1860; New Orleans Daily True Delta, March 6, 7, 8, 1860; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, March 10, 1860; Alexandria Louisiana Democrat,

aligned themselves with William L. Yancy, who led the Alabama delegation; and when the deadlock over the platform occurred, they followed the Alabama leader out of the convention.⁵³

This news was received in Louisiana with mingled emotions. The commercial leaders of New Orleans called a mass meeting for May 12 to ratify the action of the Charleston delegation. The response was gratifying, for a large number attended and those who spoke expressed the belief that the delegates had pursued the only course left open to them. They adopted resolutions saying that it was not necessary to call another state convention to elect representatives to the Baltimore meeting.⁵⁴

The Douglas group, opposing the action of the Louisiana delegation, had called another mass meeting in New Orleans on May 8. Colonel Isaac Morse presided at the gathering and made one of the addresses; other speakers were Michael Hahan and Christian Roselius. They opposed the action of the Louisiana delegates at Charleston because it was the first step toward disunion and disorganization.⁵⁵ The Douglas faction, under the influence of Soule, called a state-wide meeting at Donaldsonville for May 19. When the group

March 21, 1860.

⁵³ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, May 12, 1860; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, May 10, 1860; New Orleans Daily Delta, May 10, 1860; New Orleans Daily Crescent, May 7, 1860.

⁵⁴ New Orleans Daily Delta, May 12, 13, 1860; Dwight L. Dummond, The Secession Movement, 1860-1861 (New York, 1931), 126; Baton Rouge Weekly Gazette and Comet, June 4, 1860.

⁵⁵ New Orleans Daily Delta, May 12, 1860; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, May 30, 1860; New Orleans Daily True Delta, May 9, 1860.

assembled, they elected delegates to the Baltimore convention and indicated their preference for Douglas' nomination.⁵⁶

The West Baton Rouge Democrats met at Brusly Landing on June 2 and adopted resolutions approving the action of the Charleston delegation. Allen was on the committee to draw up the resolutions of the group and in a very stirring address reported them to the meeting. Then they appointed a parish executive committee consisting of seven members.⁵⁷

During the presidential campaign of 1860, John C. Breckinridge, John Bell, and Douglas had organizations in Louisiana; and all of them stirred up much excitement before the November election. The Breckinridge ticket carried most of the rural parishes but ran third in New Orleans. The Bell-Everett ticket was first in New Orleans, and the Douglas faction, which drew most of its vote from the city, was second. The final vote for Louisiana gave Breckinridge, 22,681; Bell, 20,204; and Douglas, 7,625.⁵⁸

Within a few weeks after the presidential election, Governor Moore began receiving memorials and petitions asking him to call a special session of the legislature. When the Governor was convinced that the people of Louisiana wanted a special session, he called it to meet early in December.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, June 9, 1860; New Orleans Daily Delta, June 8, 1860; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, June 9, 10, 1860.

⁵⁷ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, June 9, 1860.

⁵⁸ New Orleans Daily Picayune, December 6, 1860; New Orleans Daily Crescent, December 4, 1860; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, December 5, 1860.

⁵⁹ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, November 15, 1860;

The extraordinary session convened in Baton Rouge December 10, and in a harmonious and conciliatory spirit completed its work within three days. The legislature arranged for a convention, provided for a Military Board to organize and equip the militia, and appropriated \$500,000 for its use. On December 12 Allen introduced Wirt Adams, Commissioner from Mississippi, who addressed the joint session and urged the legislators to call a convention to co-operate with his native state.⁶⁰

The chief issue in the election for the convention held on January 8, 1861 was immediate secession or co-operation. Before the convention assembled two weeks later it was evident from the returns that the immediate secessionists had a majority.⁶¹

The legislature met in regular session two days before the convention assembled. Governor Moore, in his annual message, indicated the action the convention should take. He gave some attention to the normal report of the state, stating that the finances, the banks, the railroads, and the military affairs were in good order. Then he spent much time on the question of secession. The Governor was con-

New Orleans Daily Delta, November 8, 1860; New Orleans Daily Crescent, November 16, 20, 1860.

⁶⁰ New Orleans Daily True Delta, December 11, 1860; New Orleans Daily Crescent, December 11, 12, 1860; New Orleans Daily Delta, December 14, 1860; Caskey, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, 20; Louisiana Acts, 1860 (extra session), 5-7.

⁶¹ New Orleans Daily Crescent, January 8, 18, 1861; New Orleans Daily True Delta, January 18, 1861; New Orleans Daily Delta, January 11, 1861; Caskey, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, 21-28.

vinced the people wanted secession and urged the convention to exercise its sovereign powers.⁶²

The convention assembled in Baton Rouge January 23 with 123 members present and 7 delegates absent. Former Governor Mouton was elected president by a large majority, and J. Thomas Wheat of New Orleans was made secretary by a unanimous vote. The delegates heard letters read from members of Congress and then invited former Governor John L. Manning of South Carolina and Governor John A. Winston of Alabama to address the convention. These commissioners painted a beautiful picture for the future of the Confederacy and made eloquent pleas for Louisiana to join with other Southern states by electing delegates to the Montgomery convention.⁶³

A committee of fifteen, with John Perkins, Jr., of Madison as chairman, was appointed to prepare a resolution on secession. On January 25 the committee reported an ordinance to dissolve the union between Louisiana and the United States.⁶⁴ The proposal did not go unchallenged, for three members of the convention introduced resolutions calling for different procedures. Joseph A. Rozier of New Orleans pre-

⁶² Louisiana House Journal, 1860, pp. 6-8; Governor Thomas O. Moore's "Annual Message", in Legislative Documents, 1861; New Orleans Daily True Delta, January 24, 1861; New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 24, 1861.

⁶³ Journal of the Official Proceedings of the Convention of the State of Louisiana (New Orleans, 1861), I, 5, 15, Cited hereafter as Convention Journal. See also New Orleans Daily True Delta, January 26, 1861; New Orleans Daily Delta, January 26, 1861; New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 26, 1861.

⁶⁴ Convention Journal, 10; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, January 26, 1861; New Orleans Daily Crescent, January 26, 1861.

sented a resolution asking for united action on the part of the Southern states in lieu of separate action by Louisiana. James O. Fuqua of East Feliciana wanted joint action with the other Southern states and argued that it would be disastrous for Louisiana to secede because its commerce would be ruined and cotton would no longer be king. Charles Beinvenue of Orleans introduced a resolution asking for the submission of the secession ordinance to a vote of the people.⁶⁵ All were defeated and on January 26 the secession ordinance passed by a vote of 117 to 13. The ordinance was signed by 121 members of the convention.⁶⁶ The Crescent said, "By a vote almost unanimous, and with calm dignity and firm purpose, Louisiana resumes her delegated powers, and escapes from a Union in which she felt that she could no longer remain with honor to herself and her sister states of the South."⁶⁷ When the official vote of the convention was announced, Allen, carrying the flag of the state, entered the hall, followed by Governor Moore, Colonel Braxton Bragg, Reverend W. E. N. Linfield, Methodist pastor, Father Hubert, and other distinguished officials. This group "was received with waving of handkerchiefs by the daughters of Louisiana, and perfect hurricane of applause from her gallant sons." Appropriate dedicatory services were held, and then a rocket

⁶⁵ Convention Journal, 10-23; New Orleans Daily Crescent, January 26, 1861; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, January 26, 1861.

⁶⁶ Convention Journal, 18; New Orleans Daily True Delta, January 27, 1861.

⁶⁷ New Orleans Daily Crescent, January 27, 1861.

was sent up from the capital grounds, the signal for the raising of the Pelican flag and the firing of guns, indicating that Louisiana was now a sovereign state.⁶⁸

The convention authorized the Governor to appoint commissioners to Texas,⁶⁹ where a convention was scheduled to meet January 28. On January 26 the delegates adjourned to meet three days later in New Orleans. The convention remained in session, except for two short recesses, until March 26 when it adjourned sine die.

When the convention resumed its work in New Orleans it elected delegates to the Montgomery meeting, where the Confederate government was being organized.⁷⁰ They authorized the siezing of about \$418,311.52 in the United States mint in New Orleans and the transfer of \$147,519.66 from the customhouse funds to the Confederacy. The convention adopted an oath of allegiance, a state flag,⁷¹ and resolutions favoring the election of Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens. They passed ordinances relative to the organization of the state government, military defense, operation of the postal system; issuing of bonds, organization of

⁶⁸ Convention Journal, 18; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, February 2, 1861; Baton Rouge Weekly Gazette and Comet, February 2, 1861.

⁶⁹ Governor Moore appointed George Williamson of Caddo.

⁷⁰ Delegates elected were Charles M. Conrad, Duncan F. Kenner, Henry Marshall, Edward Sparrow, John M. Perkins, and Alexander DeClouet. Convention Journal, 20-23; New Orleans Daily True Delta, February 1, 1861.

⁷¹ Convention Journal, 47-48. The flag had thirteen red, white, and blue stripes. In the upper left corner was a red field with a yellow star in the center.

banks, the election of members to Congress, and ratified the Confederate Constitution.⁷²

Early in February when Louisiana's senators, Benjamin and Slidell, heard of their state's action, they delivered their valedictory speeches and resigned from the Senate.

Three congressmen, Thomas G. Davidson, John M. Landrum, and Miles Taylor withdrew from the House of Representatives.⁷³

⁷² Ibid., 25. et. seq.

⁷³ Congressional Globe, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 720-22; New Orleans Daily Crescent, February 11, 1861.

Chapter V
THE LEGISLATOR, 1858-1861

Allen entered the Louisiana legislature at its session in 1858. He, being a fluent orator, an excellent debater, and capable leader, was able, during his four years of service, to take a leading part in formulating the policies of the legislature. He was seldom absent from the sessions and, thanks to his ability, was able to secure much desirable legislation for his parish and state.

In the first session Allen served on four standing committees: Public Buildings, Parochial Affairs, Federal Relations, and Banks and Banking. However, in the next three sessions he was not a member of the committee on Parochial Affairs. The only time Allen held a chairmanship of a standing committee was that of the Federal Relations Committee in 1860, but he was chairman of numerous special committees. On many occasions he presided over the House when it sat as the Committee of the Whole, and his name occurs frequently in the House Journals, thus indicating an active part in the work of the assembly.¹ When General Winfield Scott came to Baton Rouge in 1859, Allen was a member of the joint committee which invited that distinguished visitor to address the state Assembly. Allen was prominently mentioned for the speakership before the meeting of the legislature in 1860, but because of poor health he did not seek the place.²

¹ Louisiana House Journals, 1859-1861.

² New Orleans Daily Crescent, December 14, 1859; Monroe

He was chairman of the inauguration committee in 1860; and through his influence a special committee, of which he became the chairman, was appointed by the speaker in that session to revise the rules of the House. Having joined the ranks of the Democratic party in 1859, Allen played a conspicuous part at the regular meeting of the legislature, but in December he assumed the role of administration floor leader and guided most of the bills through the special session. In 1861 he continued to direct the affairs of the administration in the lower House.

In 1846 the legislature had voted to move the capital from New Orleans to Baton Rouge and ordered the construction of suitable buildings to take care of the state government.³ It assembled in 1850 for the first meeting in the new capitol at Baton Rouge. Many members of the body were not content for the capital to remain in Baton Rouge, and during the next decade there were numerous attempts to return it to New Orleans; consequently, very little was done toward landscaping and beautifying the capitol grounds. The legislature made a small appropriation in 1854 to make certain repairs to the buildings⁴ and in 1855 over \$20,000 was appropriated to erect an iron fence and to construct brick walks around the buildings.⁵

One of the first major improvements to the capitol was

Register, December 29, 1859.

³ Louisiana Acts, 1846, pp. 4, 9; 1848, pp. 118, 128.

⁴ Ibid., 1854, pp. 145, 162; Baton Rouge Daily Comet, August 31, 1854.

⁵ Louisiana Acts, 1855, p. 265.

the installation of gas lights in 1857 by Daniel R. Tighe of Baton Rouge. When Allen, of the Public Buildings committee, recommended the payment of \$6,000 to Tighe the Senate objected because it thought some irregularities had taken place in connection with the contract; however, the differences were settled and the amount paid.⁶

The following year the legislature ordered the rotunda of the building remodeled to increase the visibility of the building.⁷ They also recommended the placing of Hiram Powers' statue of George Washington in the center of the rotunda.⁸

⁶ Ibid., 1857, p. 246; 1858, p. 94; Louisiana House Journal, 1858, pp. 34, 56, 66, 79; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, March 9, 1858; New Orleans Daily Picayune, February 2, 1858.

⁷ Louisiana House Journal, 1858, p. 31; Louisiana Acts, 1859, p. 187; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, June 30, 1858.

⁸ Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, December 28, 1858; January 5, 1859. In 1848 the legislature authorized the governor to contract with Hiram Powers for a full length marble statue of George Washington to be placed in the capitol at Baton Rouge. It was completed and delivered to the state in 1854. The next year the legislature appropriated \$15,000 and authorized the governor to have it placed in the capitol. When the building was remodeled in 1858, the statue was placed in the center of the rotunda, where it remained until carried away by the Federal army when it evacuated Baton Rouge in September, 1862. Louisiana Acts, 1848, p. 82; 1848 (extra session), 46; Baton Rouge Daily Comet, October 21, 1853, June 9, August 17, 1854; Louisiana Acts, 1855, p. 197; New Orleans Daily Delta, December 9, 1858; February 20, 1859; New Orleans Daily True Delta, September 17, 1862. Powers (July 29, 1805-June 27, 1873), sculptor, was born near Woodstock, Vermont. His family moved to Ohio, where he, beginning at the age of seven years, worked in various industries. Powers was engaged in the wax works of Dorfeuille's Western Museum in Cincinnati, 1829-1834, and while employed there he discovered his ability to make likeness of pictures and individuals. In 1834 he moved to Washington, began work in portraiture, and before leaving the city he completed busts of Chief Justice Marshall, Andrew

Few improvements had been made on the grounds since the erection of the building; therefore, it was necessary to terrace the rough hillside of the capitol grounds, construct additional walks, and plant shrubs and flowers. This work was authorized by the legislature in 1857 but nothing was done until the following year. William E. Sale of Baton Rouge was chairman of the legislative committee for Public Buildings from 1858 to 1860, but Allen was probably more interested in the work than any other member because he gave much attention to the supervision of it. After the legislature adjourned in 1861, Allen made a trip to Cuba to procure plants, seeds, and trees for the capitol grounds.⁹

The work of terracing, grading, and leveling the capitol grounds began in September, 1858, and was completed early the next year. The landscaping and planting of the shrubs and trees was directed by Thomas Affleck,¹⁰ who came Jackson, John C. Calhoun, and Daniel Webster.

The young sculptor, with the aid of Nicholas Longworth, moved to Italy in 1837. His first work was "Eve before the Fall"; then followed the famous "Greek Slave". One of the six copies of the latter is now in the Corcoran Gallery in Washington. Later he did statues of Washington, Webster, Calhoun, and Edward Everett. From his studio in Florence he made about 150 portraits busts in marble.

He erected a beautiful home in Florence, where he received many famous American and English tourists. Among them were Longfellow, Bryant, Browning, and Dickens. Allen visited him while on his trip in 1859. Adeline Adams, "Hiram Powers," in Dictionary of American Biography, XV, 158-160; "Concerning Hiram Powers' Statue of Washington Made for the State of Louisiana before the Civil War and Destroyed by Fire in New Orleans During the Louisiana State Fair in 1872," in Louisiana Historical Quarterly, II (1918), 272-75.

⁹ Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 48; New Orleans Daily True Delta, April 23, 1851; New Orleans Daily Crescent, April 23, 1851

¹⁰ Thomas Affleck (1812-1868), agricultural writer, editor,

to Baton Rouge in 1859 at the request of the Public Buildings Committee. The cost of the beautification program was \$14,290.14; Milton Powers was paid \$1,259.80 for grading and terracing; Affleck, \$2,750.00 for landscaping; James McVey, \$8,944.85 for altering the roof for light; H. A. Rhanman, \$1,225.70 for painting the inside of the building and putting in glass windows; and R. C. Huff, \$35.00 for special police service. A sun dial was purchased for \$25.00.¹¹

Allen took great pride in his work about the capitol buildings; and once when a friend asked him why he devoted so much time and attention to them, he replied that he was "building a monument of evergreens and flowers."¹² To insure protection and proper care of the shrubs, Allen secured a gardener and placed over the grounds as a policeman the sergeant-at-arms of the House.¹³ The people of Baton Rouge were taking too many liberties with the grounds during the spring of 1859; so Allen and Sale asked the City Council of Baton Rouge to take action against the damaging of the

and horticulturist, was born in Scotland. He came to America in 1832 and after living in New York and Pennsylvania, he went to Indiana and later lived in Ohio. In Cincinnati Affleck became editor of the Western Farmer and Gardener. About 1842 he went to Mississippi, engaged in farming, established a commercial nursey, and wrote for a number of newspapers. In 1857 he moved to Washington County, Texas, where he purchased a farm. Affleck did much to improve the plant life and live stock breeds, and was recognized as one of the progressive farmers of the South. Claribel Ruth Barnett, "Thomas Affleck," in Dictionary of American Biography, I, 110-11.

¹¹ Louisiana House Journal, 1858, p. 31; 1859, p. 64; Louisiana Acts, 1859, p. 240; New Orleans Daily Picayune, February 16, 1858; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, September 20, 1858; March 5, 1859.

¹² Baton Rouge Tri-Weekly Advocate, January 23, 1867.

¹³ Louisiana House Journal, 1859, p. 68; Louisiana Acts,

buildings and grounds.¹⁴ By the middle of the summer the plants, shrubs, and flowers were growing luxuriantly, and the loveliness of the place attracted each day the people of Baton Rouge.¹⁵

One of Allen's first proposals as a legislator had to do with the boundary controversy which began in 1828 between West Baton Rouge and Iberville parishes. In that year the legislature enacted a law which provided that the people living along the Grosse Tête and Maringouin bayous would remain under the jurisdiction of Iberville Parish until a "good and practicable road" was constructed from the Grosse Tête region to the Mississippi River, terminating not over three miles from the West Baton Rouge courthouse.¹⁶ This settlement appeared to be a satisfactory one in the early nineteenth century because the few people living in those sections used as their chief means of transportation, the bayous flowing into Bayou Plaquemine and the Mississippi River; moreover, the sugar industry in those fertile lands was not very important at that early date. However, by 1857 there were numerous plantations on both sides of these bayous 1859, p. 204; 1860, p. 51.

¹⁴ Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, May 1, 1859.

¹⁵ Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, July 27, 1859; January 18, 1860. After the invasion of the Federals in 1862, the gates to the grounds were left open and many of the plants were taken by people or trampled by horses and cattle. The iron fence and the seats about the grounds were broken or carried away. Not until 1864 was any attempt made to restore the capitol grounds, when Lieutenant D. W. Bowan, provost guard at the place, stopped this destruction and began a restoration. Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, March 26, 1864.

¹⁶ Louisiana Acts, 1828, p. 92.

producing large sugar crops annually and paying a large amount of taxes each year.

During this period the people of Iberville Parish had complacently enjoyed their profitable relations with the Grosse Tête section without spending any money to give them an all-weather road to Plaquemine. About six months during the year the bayous inundated certain areas between Plaquemine and the Grosse Tête sections, but the remainder of the year they had scarcely enough water to float the sugar crops to market. These conditions made it difficult, expensive, and inconvenient for the Grosse Tête citizens.

An effort was made in 1853 to settle the boundary question. S. M. Brown, representative from Iberville Parish, attempted by law to annex the area permanently to his parish, but the bill was defeated in the Senate.¹⁷ In June of that year the Iberville Parish Police Jury proposed to spend \$20,000 to build a plank road to the Grosse Tête section but did not carry the project through when taxpayers objected to the expense.¹⁸

The question continued to be a controversial topic between the citizens of the two parishes; and when the railroad was completed from the river to Grosse Tête, the West Baton Rouge citizens demanded a settlement of the question in accordance with the act of 1828. One of Allen's first bills after he became a member of the legislature in 1858

¹⁷ Baton Rouge Daily Comet, April 6, 16, 22, 1853; New Orleans Daily Crescent, April 21, 1853.

¹⁸ Baton Rouge Daily Comet, June 15, August 24, 1853.

was to reannex the territory to West Baton Rouge Parish. It passed the House but was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 13 to 18 with Senator Augustus Talbot of Iberville casting the deciding vote.¹⁹ In the next session of the legislature a bill passed which provided a plebiscite in the contested area. The election was set for May 2, 1859.²⁰

During the month of April the people of the two parishes engaged in a spirited contest for the region. The newspaper in each parish gave much space to the question, and the police juries entered the fight by offering to construct roads to Grosse Tête. Iberville Parish proposed to spend \$26,500 if Grosse Tête joined them, and West Baton Rouge proposed to give the railroad company \$17,000 and to spend \$1,500 for a road in the southern part of the parish. The boundary controversy terminated on May 2 when the people of the Grosse Tête region gave a majority of twenty in favor of joining Iberville Parish.²¹

An important question before the legislative session of 1858 was the closing of Bayou Plaquemine. This stream and its tributaries, Choctaw, Grosse Tête, and Alabama bayous, drained West Baton Rouge, Pointe Coupee, and Iberville parishes. It entered the Mississippi River a few miles south

¹⁹ Louisiana House Journal, 1858, pp. 9, 18, 20; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, March 20, 1858.

²⁰ Louisiana House Journal, 1859, pp. 11, 20; Louisiana Acts, 1859, pp. 16, 17.

²¹ West Baton Rouge Parish Police Jury Records, 1859, pp. 21, 24, in clerk of court's office, Port Allen; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, April 9, 27, 30, May 7, 1859; Plaquemine Iberville Gazette and Sentinel, April 20, 1859.

of Baton Rouge at a point where the river turned sharply to the east. This caused a large portion of the river's driftwood and a great volume of water to enter the bayou. The driftwood quickly closed Bayou Plaquemine and caused it to overflow into the parishes of West Baton Rouge, Iberville, and St. Mary, destroying a large amount of sugar cane and rendering less valuable much of the land in those regions.

The proprietors in the parishes of Iberville, St. Mary, St. Landry, and those living in the southwestern part of West Baton Rouge, wished the bayou closed as a protection against overflows and to facilitate drainage in that area. However, the people living on the river south of Bayou Plaquemine, including New Orleans, were afraid that closing the stream would endanger their property by causing the river to overflow more frequently.

The control of the bayou had been a problem since the territorial days of the state. The first efforts to prevent these overflows were initiated by the people living in the area drained by the stream, which at that time was called the Attakapas and Opelousas country. From 1804 to 1819 a number of unsuccessful attempts were made to stop the overflowing. The voters of this section brought enough pressure upon the legislature in 1819 to secure the levying of a tax to aid them in controlling the stream. During the next few years the measure yielded about \$12,000, and the state appropriated approximately \$6,000; however, by 1827 nothing permanent had been done toward preventing overflows from the

bayou. In this year the parishes of St. Landry and St. Martin organized the Plaquemine Navigation Company under the direction of Joshua Baker. This company expended about \$20,000 placing piling at the mouth of the bayou to prevent the driftwood from entering, but the first highwater in the early thirties destroyed the work. A few years later the state replaced the piling, which remained as a protection for a number of years.²²

By 1850 the bayou had increased its width and depth, permitting a larger volume of water to enter and making overflows more frequent. During the same period the population in this area had increased and the sugar crop had become larger and more valuable, a fact which enhanced the value of the land. The people in this section were able to exert more influence on the legislature, and in 1853 the Assembly instructed the state engineer to examine the stream and report on the feasibility of closing the stream.²³

The next year, George W. Morse, state engineer, reported that the bayou should be kept open because it was a natural outlet for the Mississippi River and was needed for navigation.²⁴ Following this recommendation the legislature appropriated \$5,000 and authorized the state engineer to place piling at the mouth of the bayou.²⁵ According to the

²² New Orleans Daily Crescent, February 23, 1858; Annual Report of the State Engineer, in Legislative Documents, 1854.

²³ Louisiana Acts, 1853, pp. 236-39; New Orleans Daily Crescent, November 23, December 2, 1858.

²⁴ Annual Report of the State Engineer, in Legislative Documents, 1854.

²⁵ Louisiana Acts, 1854, pp. 36, 120.

report of the state engineer in 1858 nothing had been done toward closing the bayou. He advised the legislature against closing it because the stream was needed as an outlet for the river, and he thought it ought to be enlarged in order to take care of more water.²⁶ The legislature instructed the state engineer to report a plan which would stop the influx of water into the bayou but would not interfere with navigation.²⁷

When the question came before the legislature in 1858, Allen, in response to petitions from the parishes of West Baton Rouge, Iberville, and St. Mary, led the fight for the closing of the bayou. A legislative committee visited the bayou and reported that it ought to be closed and recommended an appropriation of \$100,000 for the work.²⁸ Allen worked diligently to secure the passage of the bill. He urged the proposal because it would save "the Garden spot of the state from ruin," and land, which at that time was worthless, could be reclaimed; furthermore, in times of high water a portion of the Baton Rouge, Grosse Tête, and Opelousas Railroad tracks were submerged, prohibiting their use, and thus

²⁶ Special Report of the State Engineer in Relation to Closing of Bayou Plaquemine, in Legislative Documents, 1857. A minority report from a Senate committee recommended the closing of the bayou. Members of the group reporting were Bennet B. Simmes, J. Marcel Ducros, H. J. Heard, and John R. Smart. Minority Report of the Senate Committee on Internal Improvements, in Legislative Documents, 1857.

²⁷ Louisiana Acts, 1857, p. 30.

²⁸ Report of Committee on Lands and Levees in Answer to Petition of Iberville Citizens Praying for the Closing of Bayou Plaquemine (Baton Rouge, 1858), 6; Louisiana House Journal, 1858, pp. 29, 32; New Orleans Daily Picayune, February 19, 1858.

endangering the sugar planters' interests.²⁹ There developed some constitutional opposition to the bill based upon the act which admitted Louisiana into the Union. This act prohibited the state from closing any navigable stream which entered the Mississippi River. Allen contended that this bayou was a dry bed in certain seasons and was not legally a navigable stream.³⁰ After much acrimonious debate, the bill passed the legislature but was vetoed by Governor Wickliffe because he thought it violated the enabling act and therefore was unconstitutional. No progress was made towards passage of the bill when the Governor's message was debated in the session of 1859.³¹

In 1861 Johnson K. Duncan, the state engineer, recommended closing of the bayou by establishing a system of locks and estimated the cost at \$500,000.³² When the state failed to take action the Police Jury of Iberville Parish began the work of closing the bayou. A committee was named with full power to proceed and \$500 was appropriated for materials.

²⁹ Louisiana House Journal, 1858, pp. 64, 66, 69; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, March 13, 1858.

³⁰ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, March 13, 1858; Richard Peters (ed.), The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America ..., 8 vols. (Boston, 1850), II, 642, stated that "the River Mississippi, and the navigable rivers and waters leading into the same or into the gulf of Mexico, shall be common highways and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said state as to the inhabitants of other states, and the territories of the United States without any tax, duty, impost, or toll, therefor, imposed by the said state."

³¹ Louisiana Acts, 1858, p. 9, Governor's Veto Message, in Legislative Documents, 1858; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, March 4, 1858; February 17, 1859; Louisiana House Journal, 1859, p. 26.

³² New Orleans Daily True Delta, February 6, 1861.

Parish negroes were to be used for the work.³³ The task was not completed the next year for the Iberville Police Jury attempted to secure aid from the West Baton Rouge Police Jury, which refused because they thought it was the duty of the military force to close the bayou.³⁴ In 1865 the Iberville Police Jury secured permission from the state to close it;³⁵ however, it remained a problem for many years until the Federal government saw fit to establish a system of locks in the bayou.

Much of Allen's work in the legislature naturally centered in protection against floods, drainage of land, opening of bayous, and the regulation of steamboats because he was a sugar planter and owned a large plantation which had a four mile frontage on the Mississippi River. In 1850 the state had no public levee system. Each proprietor was required by law to maintain the levee in front of his place and to provide a public road for the people in the vicinity.³⁶ During the decade preceding the Civil War Louisiana began spending large sums on the levees throughout the state. This revenue was derived from the sale of certain swamp lands which had been donated to Louisiana by the Federal government.³⁷ By acts of 1849 and 1850 the state received about

³³ Shreveport Daily News, November 1, 1861, quoting the Plaquemine Iberville Gazette; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, June 22, 1861.

³⁴ West Baton Rouge Police Jury Records, 1862, October 16, 1862, p. 135.

³⁵ New Orleans Daily Picayune, September 13, 1865.

³⁶ Louisiana Acts, 1858, p. 146.

³⁷ Acts and Resolutions passed at the Thirtieth Congress of the United States (Washington, 1849), 41-42; Acts and

nine million acres, the proceeds from their disposal to be used for draining and reclaiming the lands which were subject to overflow. In 1852 the legislature provided for the sale of one million acres for not less than \$1.25 per acre. Any white person over twenty-one or head of a family could enter from 40 to 300 acres at the minimum price.³⁸ In 1855 another million acres were offered for sale under the same conditions,³⁹ and in 1859 a third million went on sale.⁴⁰ The legislature created the office of Registrar of the Land Office to handle the sale of the lands.

It appeared that all of these lands sold for the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre, and by 1858 many people of the state felt that the most desirable lands had been purchased by speculators. Allen and other members of the legislature attempted to stop the sale of swamp lands but were unsuccessful.⁴¹ By 1861 Louisiana had disposed of nearly three million acres of land, which brought into the treasury for drainage and reclamation purposes over three million dollars.⁴²

Resolutions passed at the Second Session of the Thirty-First Congress of the United States (Washington, 1850), 141-42.

³⁸ Louisiana Acts, 1852, p. 167-69; 1853, p. 35.

³⁹ Ibid., 1855, p. 306-07.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 1859, p. 91.

⁴¹ Louisiana House Journal, 1858, p. 12; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, February 27, July 10, 1858; New Orleans Daily Crescent, August 5, 1858; New Orleans Daily Delta, August 5, 1858. Allen tried again in 1860 and 1861 to stop the sale of swamp lands. Louisiana House Journal, 1860, p. 50; 1861, p. 35; New Orleans Daily Delta, February 19, 1861; New Orleans Daily Crescent, February 19, 1861.

⁴² Annual Report of the Register of the Land office, in Legislative Documents, 1852, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860.

To administer this fund the legislature created in 1853 the Board of Swamp Land Commissioners. The state was divided first into three and later into four districts which were subdivided into levee and drainage areas. The governor appointed for each district a commissioner who served for two years.⁴³ The revenues from the sale of swamp lands were divided among these districts in proportion to their needs.⁴⁴

In 1855 the legislature placed 5 per cent of the revenues derived from the sale of swamp lands in a special fund known as the "Internal Improvement Fund". This money was used for improving navigation and constructing highways. The state was divided into four improvement districts.⁴⁵

⁴³ Louisiana Acts, 1853, pp. 289-93; New Orleans Daily Crescent, March 17, 1853. District one included all land in Louisiana east of the Mississippi River; two included land west of the Mississippi and south of the thirty-first parallel, excepting Avoyelles and Rapides parishes; three included land north of the thirty-first parallel, including Avoyelles and Rapides parishes. Ibid. The first commissioners were Hugh Grant, first district, Stephen Van Winkle, second, and J. W. Butler, third. They held their first meeting in Baton Rouge in June and elected Van Winkle president of the Board, and T. B. Hatch, secretary. Engineers appointed were Levi C. Pettees, first, Vincent Kirkland, second, and W. H. Peck, third district. New Orleans Daily Crescent, June 27, 1853; Baton Rouge Advocate, June 25, 1853; Annual Report of the Board of Swamp Land Commissioners, in Legislative Documents, 1854. In 1854 the state was divided in four Swamp Land districts as follows: first, area east of Mississippi River; second, area west of the river and south of the thirty-first parallel, excepting parishes of Avoyelles and Rapides; third, parishes of Avoyelles, Rapides, Natchitoches, Bienville, Claiborne, Bossier, Caddo, DeSoto, Winn, and Sabine; and fourth, parishes of Concordia, Tensas, Madison, Carroll, Morehouse, Union, Ouachita, Jackson, Caldwell, Franklin, and Catahoula. Louisiana Acts, pp. 93-98.

⁴⁴ In 1853 the revenues were divided as follows: 2/8 to the first district, 3/8 to the second, and 3/8 to the third. Louisiana Acts, 1853, pp. 289-93. In 1854 they were divided: first 7/32, second 11/32, third 6/32, and fourth 8/32. Ibid., 1854, pp. 93-98.

⁴⁵ Louisiana Acts, 1855, pp. 487-89. The districts were

At each session of the legislature during the 1850's there occurred much log rolling and trading for appropriations out of these improvement funds. The best politician or trader usually came out with the most money for building and repairing levees within his territory. This cost the state large sums of money each year without giving the people adequate protection from overflows. There was no uniformity in levee planning or construction, for some parts of the state secured more money than others. To eliminate some of the overlapping and duplication of services performed by the two improvement departments and to give the state a uniform policy in handling of the levee and drainage problems, the legislature asked the state engineer for recommendations concerning the practicability of uniting the two departments.⁴⁶ In his report to the legislature in 1858 Louis Hebert recommended the creation of a single department in order that the work might be co-ordinated under the direction of the state engineer.⁴⁷ The legislature accepted the advice and before the close of the session created a Board of Public Works. The state was divided into four districts, and each elected a commissioner by popular vote. These four officers constituted the Board, which had complete control over all first, area east of Mississippi River; second, Ouachita and Blue River systems, their tributaries, and all land between them and the Mississippi River; third, Red and Sabine rivers and their tributaries; fourth, all land south of Red River and west of the Mississippi.

⁴⁶ Louisiana Acts, 1858, pp. 73-74.

⁴⁷ Report of the Board of Swamp Land Commissioners and State Engineer, in Legislative Documents, 1858.

levees, drainage, and reclaiming of swamp and overflowed lands in the state, except those in charge of joint-stock companies.⁴⁸

This arrangement did not prove satisfactorily, and within a year much opposition had developed against the Board of Public Works. It cost the state a large sum of money each year, but the levee and road systems were not improving. In the session of 1861 Allen led the fight to abolish the Board; and after a spirited debate lasting over several days the legislature abolished it.⁴⁹ The Governor was authorized to appoint a state engineer to continue the work which the Board had contracted and to act as custodian of all its records.⁵⁰

During Allen's four years in the legislature he, like many of the other legislators, had secured large sums of money from the Swamp Land fund for the repairing of levees, draining of land, and cutting of canals in West Baton Rouge Parish. However, his chief interest lay in establishing a state levee system supported from a general fund. There were

⁴⁸ Louisiana Acts, 1859, pp. 229-33; New Orleans Daily Delta, March 15, 1859. The district lines followed those of the four Swamp Land districts. The Board, consisting of Lewis G. DeRussy, F. M. Kent, A. D. Bragg, and D. H. Montgomery, held its first meeting in January, 1860. DeRussy was elected president, L. J. Fremeaux, secretary, and Johnson K. Duncan, chief engineer. District engineers were James M. Searless, first; P. H. Thompson, second; W. H. Osborn, third; and Fred H. Farrar, fourth. New Orleans Daily Delta, January 6, 1860; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, January 5, 1860; Annual Report of Board of Public Works, in Legislative Documents, 1861.

⁴⁹ Louisiana House Journal, 1861, pp. 20, 31, 39; Louisiana Acts, 1861, p. 52; New Orleans Daily Delta, February 26, 1861.

⁵⁰ Louisiana House Journal, 1861, p. 42; Louisiana Acts, 1861, pp. 200, 205.

many people in the state who believed it was the only practicable method for controlling the Mississippi River, which overflowed periodically and cost the property owners many thousands of dollars. Louis Hebert, state engineer, in 1858 recommended to the legislature the propriety of a state system,⁵¹ and Governor Wickliffe in his annual message⁵² the following year suggested that the legislature consider the feasibility of setting up such a plan. In the session of 1860 Allen introduced two bills advocating public support of the levees. The first proposal provided for a general system of levees controlled and maintained by the state. When this bill did not get beyond the committee stage in the House,⁵³ Allen introduced a second measure which provided for a general property tax on all lands in the parishes protected from overflows of the Mississippi and Atchafalaya rivers and Bayou Lafourche.⁵⁴ The House refused to consider this bill, so Allen made no further attempt to secure levee legislation in the session of 1861 because of the approaching disruption of the Union.

Another subject which attracted the attention of Allen as a legislator was a geological survey of the state. Many

⁵¹ Report of State Engineer and Swamp Land Commissioners, in Legislative Documents, 1858.

⁵² Annual Message of Governor Robert C. Wickliffe, in Legislative Documents, 1859; Louisiana House Journal, 1859, p. 8.

⁵³ Louisiana House Journal, 1859, p. 48; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, March 7, 8, 1859; New Orleans Daily Delta, January 14, 1859.

⁵⁴ Louisiana House Journal, 1860, p. 39; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, February 23, 1860; New Orleans Daily Delta, January 22, 1860; New Orleans Daily Picayune,

states had made surveys which proved valuable in their economic development, but Louisiana, lagging behind, had taken no action for such a project. The question had come before the legislature for the first time in 1841 when a committee was appointed to make a survey, but their cursory report was never published.⁵⁵ Nothing more was done about a survey until the session of 1856 when, because of the work of the New Orleans Academy of Sciences, William A. Gordon sponsored a bill for the investigation.⁵⁶ The measure did not get out of the House committee. Two years later a number of newspapers urged the necessity for such a survey; and Hebert, the state engineer,⁵⁷ in his annual report to the legislature, pointed out the need for it. Doctor Joseph T. Hawkins of St. Mary Parish introduced a bill which failed to pass.⁵⁸ In the following session another effort was made but the legislature could not be convinced of the need for the survey.⁵⁹

In the summer of 1860 the New Orleans Academy of Sciences was able to create enough interest in a geological survey to secure Governor Thomas O. Moore's endorsement in January 20, 1860.

⁵⁵ Report of the Special Committee of the New Orleans Academy of Sciences ... on the Importance of a Geological and Scientific Survey of the State of Louisiana (Baton Rouge, 1856), 3.

⁵⁶ Louisiana House Journal, 1856, p. 29.

⁵⁷ Special Report of the State Engineer, in Legislative Documents, 1857; Annual Report of State Engineer, in ibid., 1858; New Orleans Daily Picayune, December 22, 1857; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, December 15, 1867.

⁵⁸ Louisiana House Journal, 1858, p. 36; Baton Rouge Weekly Gazette and Comet, February 18, 1858; New Orleans Daily Crescent, February 19, 1858.

⁵⁹ Louisiana House Journal, 1859, p. 11.

his inaugural address.⁶⁰ A number of parishes sent petitions to the legislature asking for favorable action on the project and the Louisiana press emphasized the need for it.

Allen agreed to sponsor the bill and in February introduced his measure calling for "a scientific description of the rocks and minerals, soils, waters, and animal, and vegetable productions" within the state.⁶¹ The chief opposition to the bill appeared to be the expense involved in making such a survey; however, Allen, after nearly a month's work, was able to get the bill through the lower House. The measure went to the Senate late in the session but, was never considered by it.

Since Allen was a lawyer with several years' experience, it was only natural that his interest would gravitate toward legal reforms. During his quadrennium as a legislator he made numerous attempts to modify and improve the legal system of the state; and although only a limited number of his proposals became law, they are worth considering. He attempted to abolish the taking of testimony in writing in all civil suits,⁶² a change which would have saved the state much time and expense and would have accelerated such cases in the courts. An effort was made in 1859 to legalize the use of

⁶⁰ Governor's Annual Message, in Legislative Documents, 1860; Louisiana House Journal, 1860, p. 5; New Orleans Daily Picayune, November 11, 1859; January 26, 1860; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, January 25, 31, 1860; New Orleans Daily Delta, February 5, 1860.

⁶¹ Louisiana House Journal, 1860, pp. 28, 29, 39, 42, 47, 51-54, 57, 77; New Orleans Daily Delta, February 16, 1860; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, February 23, 1860; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, March 10, 1860.

⁶² Louisiana House Journal, 1858, p. 49.

arbitration in the settlement of certain disputes based on article ninty-five of the Louisiana constitution of 1852.⁶³

Allen was successful in having the fees, costs, and expenses in criminal prosecutions transferred to the parishes in which the act was committed.⁶⁴ An effort to increase the district judges' salary to \$3,500 was defeated.⁶⁵

In 1858 an unsuccessful attempt was made to prevent the imprisonment of slaves in the state penitentiary.⁶⁶ Allen thought they ought to be punished immediately for criminal acts commensurate with the deed instead of confining them at the expense of the state. He did secure the enactment of a law permitting any free person of color to select his master and become a slave for life by having such action confirmed in a district court.⁶⁷ The state owned a number of slaves which had been purchased for the engineer's department, but many of them were too old for active service; so by an act of the legislature these were placed under the care of the superintendent of the state hospital for the deaf.⁶⁸

Allen was ever ready to aid education during his four years in the legislature. Although he did not introduce a single bill on the subject, he supported those which came

⁶³ Ibid., 1859, p. 10. Article 95 stated, "It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to pass such laws as may be proper and necessary to decide differences by arbitration."

⁶⁴ Ibid., 22; Louisiana Acts, 1859, p. 21.

⁶⁵ Louisiana House Journal, 1858, pp. 42, 55.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 9, 34; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, January 21, March 1, 1859.

⁶⁷ Louisiana House Journal, 1859, pp. 8, 56; Louisiana Acts, 1859, p. 214.

⁶⁸ Louisiana House Journal, 1859, p. 36; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, March 8, 1859.

before the assembly. He, believed railroads were the greatest assets of a state and was always ready to assist in getting companies organized and in securing desirable legislation for them.

One writer, in describing Allen as a legislator, said, "He was quick and ready as a debater, spoke with sharpness and energy; his utterance was rapid and distinct; his enunciation clear and defined; always enthusiastic, he was sometimes violent, but he had the good fortune to have generally his political adversaries as his personal friends."⁶⁹ When the session of 1860 closed, the Sugar Planter remarked that "Captain Allen has not only made his marks as one of the most talented, but also one of the most influential Representatives in the present Legislature. He has not only by his eloquence, his energy, and perseverance, secured the passage of many wholesome laws, but has been equally as serviceable to the state in preventing the passage of those doubtful if not bad in policy."⁷⁰

69 Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 48.

70 West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, March 10, 1860.

Chapter VI

FROM PRIVATE TO MAJOR GENERAL, 1861-1863

Louisiana began preparations for the Civil War at the special session of the legislature in December, 1860, when a Military Board was created and \$500,000 appropriated for the protection of the state. The legislature at its session in 1861 and the convention of the same year enacted additional legislation which increased the powers of the military authorities, enlarged the state forces, and co-ordinated them with the Confederate military organization.¹ The first military action occurred on January 10, 1861, when Governor Moore at the head of some 600 Louisiana militiamen demanded and received the surrender of the United States arsenal at Baton Rouge. The Federal troops surrendered without offering any resistance and were allowed to remain in the barracks until they received instructions from Washington two days later.² On January 11 Louisiana troops occupied Ports Jackson and St. Philip on the Mississippi River south of New Orleans, and during the next few days seized other

1 Louisiana Acts, 1860; 1861; Journal of the Convention, 1861. For the organization of the Louisiana forces, see Edwin A. Leland, "Organization and Administration of the Louisiana Army During the Civil War" (M. A. Thesis Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1938).

2 Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, January 11, 1861; New Orleans Daily Delta, January 12, 1861; Governor Moore's annual message to the legislature, in Louisiana House Journal, 1861, p. 8; The War of the Rebellion; A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 129 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. I, 489-500. Cited hereafter as Official Records.

Federal property in the state.³

In April, after President Davis had issued his call for troops, Governor Moore called for 3,000 volunteers for twelve months' service. The response was most gratifying because three weeks later more than the required number had been assembled under General Edward L. Tracy at Camp Walker, located on the Metairie race course near New Orleans.⁴ Within sixty days 12,000 well-equipped troops had left the state for the Confederate army, and by mid-July the state had furnished over 20,540 men.⁵

Allen was present as a private when Governor Moore received the surrender of the Baton Rouge arsenal; he participated in the ceremonies of the convention announcing the secession of Louisiana, and on January 23 he assisted in raising the Pelican Flag over the capitol. After the call for volunteers Allen and Henry Mortimer Favrot of West Baton Rouge worked as enrolling officers for about three weeks.⁶

³ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. I, 489-500. The governor of Mississippi asked that the spoils of Baton Rouge be divided. Governor Moore sent 8,000 muskets, 1,000 rifles, 6 twenty-four pounds guns, and a considerable amount of ammunition. James W. Garner, Reconstruction in Mississippi (New York, 1901), 9.

⁴ New Orleans Daily Delta, April 18, 1861; New Orleans Daily True Delta, April 20, 1861; New Orleans Daily Picayune, December 20, 1861.

⁵ Caskey, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, 41.

⁶ New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 5, 1865; Shreveport Daily News, May 3, 1861; Baton Rouge Capitolian and Advocate, July 5, 1865; John S. Kendall, "The Diary of Surgeon Craig, Fourth Louisiana Regiment, C. S. A., 1864-1865," in Louisiana Historical Quarterly, VIII (1925), 53. When the Confederacy was organized and Louisiana had made plans for electing congressmen, Allen announced for the fourth district composed of the parishes of West Feliciana, Pointe Coupee, St. Landry, Lafayette, Vermillion, West Baton

In response to the Governor's call, one or more companies were enlisted in virtually every parish within the state. West Baton Rouge had two units: the Tirailleurs and the Delta Rifles. The latter, organized in December, 1860, with Henry M. Favrot as captain, offered its services to Governor Moore. Allen, one of the first to join the company, remained within its ranks until the organization of the Fourth Regiment Louisiana Volunteers in New Orleans, May 8, 1861.⁷

The Regiment elected Robert J. Barrow, Pointe Coupee, colonel, Allen, lieutenant colonel, and Samuel E. Hunter, East Feliciana, major. The Crescent remarked: "A better selection of officers could not have been made. These gentlemen are known throughout the state for their chivalrous Rouge, Iberville, St. Mary, and St. Martin. The writer found no evidence of his campaign activities, and it is likely that his friends made the announcement for him. He withdrew his candidacy September 29, 1861, while stationed at Mississippi City. For his announcement, see Plaquemine Iberville Gazette and Sentinel, April 6-July 27, 1861; The Pointe Coupee Democrat, June 1, 1861; Bayou Sara Ledger, June 8, 1861. New Orleans Daily Crescent, May 2, 1861, remarked, "We are well acquainted with the Captain, and have noted very minutely, during our sojourn at Baton Rouge, his labors in our last legislature, and can testify to his ability and sincere worth. As a high-toned and chivalrous gentleman, Capt. Allen stands unequalled in the entire district. He is a man that would reflect honor upon any constituency — possessed of all the adornments of social and estimable virtues, he presents all the bearings of a gentleman in the walks of society — refined in tastes and culture." For the withdrawal of his candidacy, see his letter from Camp Relief, Mississippi City, in Baton Rouge Daily Advocate, October 4, 1861; Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, October 5, 1861.

⁷ Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1892), II, 207; New Orleans Times Democrat, July 5, 1865. Baton Rouge Evening Truth, July 3, 1899; and Kendall, "The Diary of Surgeon Craig," in loc. cit., 56-57, contain a complete roster of the Delta Rifles.

character and military accomplishments."⁸ The Fourth Regiment, destined to participate in a number of important engagements, organized with ten companies containing 850 men. It mustered into the Confederate service at Camp Moore, May 25, 1861.⁹

Camp Walker was a temporary location and became very congested when over 3,000 men arrived there early in May. The water supply was inadequate, and with the approaching summer season there was great danger of disease; so the military authorities selected a camp site at Tangipahoa about seventy-eight miles north of New Orleans in the higher climate of St. Helena Parish. The place was designated as Camp

⁸ West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, May 11, 1861; New Orleans Daily Crescent, May 9, 1861.

⁹ The following companies formed the regiment, according to the Register of Louisiana Volunteers, MSS., in Confederate Records, The National Archives, Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXVI:

<u>Company</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Captain</u>
Beaver Creek			
Rifles	78	St. Helena	James H. Wingfield
St. Helena Rifles	83	St. Helena	John Bunyan Taylor
Hunter Rifles			
Company A	83	East Feliciana	Samuel E. Hunter
Hunter Rifles			
Company B	76	East Feliciana	A. Pullen
West Feliciana			
Rifles	103	West Feliciana	C. E. Tourene
Lafourche Guards	100	Lafourche	Thomas E. Vick
Tirailleurs	76	West Baton Rouge	Francis A. Williams
Delta Rifles	78	West Baton Rouge	Henry M. Favrot
National Guards	76	East Baton Rouge	Henry A. Rauhnan
Lake Providence			
Cadets	77	Carroll	Franc V. Whicher

Louisiana Pamphlets, 1864-1865 in Louisiana State University Librarian's office, contains a broadside with the muster roll and a brief history of the St. Helena Rifles.

Moore, and General Edward L. Tracy was given command of the troops stationed there. By May 15 all the soldiers in the New Orleans camp had been transferred to Camp Moore, and it was estimated that about 4,000 troops would be at the Camp before the end of the month. The troops were delighted with their new location, for there was an abundance of fresh water supplied by Beaver Creek and Tangipahoa River, of space for their tents, and probably not so many mosquitoes. During the day the companies were busy drilling, studying military tactics, and perfecting their organizations. At night the regimental bands entertained with martial music.¹⁰ Early in June the Confederate authorities began calling for the Louisiana troops. Many of the companies left Camp Moore for the eastern sector of the war, and others went into Tennessee. The Fourth Regiment was sent via New Orleans to the Mississippi coast, where it was stationed during the summer. Colonel Barrow placed two companies at Pass Christian, two at Biloxi, two at Pasagoula, and four at Mississippi City; later, two of these were sent to Ocean Springs.¹¹ Late in July Lieutenant Colonel Allen, with four companies, was sent to Ship Island.¹²

¹⁰ New Orleans Commercial Bulletin, May 6, 13, 20, 1861; New Orleans Daily True Delta, May 4, 14, 20, June 4, 1861; New Orleans Daily Crescent, May 8, 13-15, 17, 22, 1861; Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, May 12, 1861; Bayou Sara Ledger, June 8, 1861. Camp Moore is located at Tangipahoa in the parish of the same name. This parish was organized in 1869.

¹¹ New Orleans Daily Crescent, June 10, 11, 1861; New Orleans Commercial Bulletin, June 11, 1861; Baton Rouge Weekly Gazette and Comet, June 13, 1861; Bayou Sara Ledger, June 22, 1861; Stephenson and Davis (eds.), "The Civil War Diary of Willie Micajah Barrow," in loc. cit., 440.

¹² Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. LIII, 709, 741;

This island, located a few miles south of the Mississippi coast, formed an important barrier to the Mississippi Sound, which extended from Mobile Bay to Lake Borgne and was a strategic point in the defense of that area. For many years the Federal government had maintained a lighthouse on the Island and had begun construction of a fort there in 1859.¹³

In May, 1861, the Confederates burned the woodwork in the fort and lighthouse. They made no effort to occupy the island until July 6, when Lieutenant Alexander F. Warley of the Confederate navy landed a small force there. Three days later the Massachusetts, a Federal ship, attacked the group but failed to drive them off the island.¹⁴ Near the end of the month Warley left the island in command of Colonel Allen, who had come over from Mississippi City. A few days later a small number of troops from New Orleans arrived to assist in the defense of the place.¹⁵

Allen, cognizant of the great danger of his unprotected location, worked his men day and night during the first week they were on the island. The soldiers rebuilt the fort, constructed eleven fine bomb-proof casemates and a magazine, and mounted twenty guns which had been brought over from New Shreveport Weekly News, July 22, 1861. The companies with Allen were the Lafourche Guards, Lake Providence Cadets, Beaver Creek Rifles, and St. Helena Rifles.

¹³ The American Annual Cyclopedic and Register of Important Events of the Year 1861 (New York, 1864), 290-91. The island was about seven miles long and less than a mile wide.

¹⁴ Ibid., 291; New Orleans Daily Crescent, May 23, 1861; Shreveport Weekly News, July 22, 1861; New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 10, 11, 1861; Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. LIII, 709.

¹⁵ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. LIII, 709, 741.

Orleans. When the fort was completed and the men had made their living quarters comfortable, there was little work for them to do, so Allen kept them busy each day drilling and within a few weeks had a well disciplined group. The Colonel ruled his camp with a firm hand during the short period on the island. He maintained a strong guard from his picked troops and punished severely any infraction of the rules. He would not permit spirituous liquor on the island and disciplined those who smuggled it into the camp.¹⁶

In September the Confederate authorities ordered the place abandoned and sent Colonel Johnson K. Duncan of the Confederate army to supervise the evacuation. All provisions, equipment, and about fifteen guns were sent to New Orleans; Allen and his four companies went to Mississippi City, and the other troops reported to the New Orleans military headquarters. Before leaving the Confederates set fire to the rebuilt fort and all buildings on the island.¹⁷

¹⁶ Mexico City Mexican Times, December 9, 1865; Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, August 25, 1861. When one of the companies refused to work Allen unhesitatingly ordered the other troops with loaded muskets to march upon the mutineers. The affair ended without any bloodshed, and he had no further disciplinary troubles while on the island. Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 55; Freeman, "Henry Watkins Allen," in Dictionary of American Biography, I, 192. Henry M. Favrot said that Allen, in order to make himself proficient in giving commands, spent many hours secretly drilling his servant, Vallery. Henry Mortimer Favrot, An Address on the Military Career of Governor Henry Watkins Allen, Delivered at the State Capitol on the Occasion of the Reception of his Remains and Transfer of the Monument Erected to his Memory (Baton Rouge, 1885), 5; Baton Rouge Capitollian and Advocate, July 5, 1885; New Orleans Times Democrat, July 5, 1885.

¹⁷ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. LIII, 741; New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 12, 1861; New Orleans Commercial

In the fall of 1861 the people of Louisiana, especially those of New Orleans, became very apprehensive about the protection of the city. They realized that President Davis had called from Louisiana a large number of companies and men, including such important leaders as P. G. T. Beauregard, Bragg, Leonidas Polk, and Richard Taylor. Only a remnant of the state's forces were left to protect the most important metropolis of the South because many of the Confederate leaders did not believe that the Federals would attack the city and that if they did, it would be impossible to get by the forts on the river below the city.¹⁸

The defense of the southern area had been intrusted to General David E. Twiggs, who had surrendered his post at San Antonio, Texas, when the war began. The General was much too old to supervise the work of such a vast and important area; so in October when the people began inquiring about the defense of the city he resigned because of "ill health".¹⁹

Bulletin, September 18, 1861; Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, September 22, 1861; Greensburg Imperial, October 5, 1861.

¹⁸ New Orleans Daily Delta, October 16, November 9, 26, 1861; New Orleans Daily Crescent, October 3, 10, 1861; New Orleans Daily True Delta, June 21, 1861.

¹⁹ New Orleans Daily Delta, October 11, 1861; New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 17, 1861. David Emanuel Twiggs (1790-July 15, 1862) was born in Richmond County, Georgia. He entered the United States army early in life, was a captain in the War of 1812, and in 1814 was promoted to the rank of major. Twiggs served various commands until the war with Mexico, when he joined General Taylor's forces and did splendid work at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, which secured for him the rank of brigadier general. After the Battle of Monterey, Taylor asked for another promotion although Twiggs was ill and did not participate in the fight. Twiggs was transferred to the southern division where he supported Scott at Vera Cruz and Mexico City.

After the war, Twiggs served at a number of posts in the

Brigadier General Mansfield Lovell of the Confederate army was ordered to New Orleans to take charge of the district, which was designated as Department Number I.²⁰ He arrived on October 17 and immediately went on a two weeks tour of his district to study the topography and to ascertain the exact condition of the troops under his command. General Lovell learned that the city was protected by Forts St. Philip and Jackson on the river some seventy-five miles south of New Orleans. West of the river on Barataria Bay was Fort Livingston, and farther west were Forts Berwick and Chene on Berwick Bay. East of New Orleans, Forts Pike and Macomb on the Rigolets and Chef Monteur straits defended Lake

army, mostly in the South; and when the Civil War began, he was commander of the Department of Texas, which he surrendered to the Confederates in February, 1861. The Union authorities promptly dismissed him, and he returned to Louisiana where he had spent a number of years. Arriving in New Orleans on March 5, Twiggs was received with a great celebration including a seventeen-gun salute. The legislature at the suggestion of Allen adopted a resolution commending Twiggs for surrendering his post in Texas and coming to Louisiana. On May 22, he was made major general and assigned to a command Department Number I. Much too old to attend the multifarious duties of so vast a department he resigned in October, 1861. Twiggs died the following year and was buried near Augusta, Georgia. He was survived by his second wife and two children. New Orleans Daily Delta, March 6, October 11, 1861; Louisiana Acts, 1861, p. 112; Louisiana House Journal, 1861, p. 53; William A. Gance, "David Emanuel Twiggs," in Dictionary of American Biography, XIX, 83.

²⁰ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 643; New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 17, 1861. Department Number I embraced all of Louisiana and the southern half of Mississippi excepting the area including the cities of Natchez and Vicksburg. They belonged to Department Number 2. Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 556. Mansfield Lovell (1822-1884), soldier and civil engineer, was born in Washington, D. C. He graduated from West Point Academy in 1842, and entered the military service. Lovell served with distinction in the Mexican War and was brevetted captain. After the war he did garrison duty in New York and Kansas until 1854 when

Pontchartrain.²¹ In the city Lovell found conditions deplorable from a military viewpoint. There were only three poorly organized and ill-disciplined regiments, a limited amount of ammunition, and on the river there were two completed vessels, the MoRae and the Joy, but the Manassas was under construction and the contracts for constructing the Louisiana and Mississippi, two additional iron-clad vessels, had been awarded. General Lovell hastened the work on the Manassas and ordered work to begin at once on the two iron-clads.²²

He telegraphed General Josiah Gorgas, chief of the Ordnance Department of the Confederate forces, for some heavy guns and ammunition, but because of the demands from the eastern army none were sent to New Orleans. Lovell then called upon General Bragg, who commanded at Pensacola, for some aid; but the latter replied that he did not have a gun to spare. When Lovell could not get any assistance from the he resigned to enter private business. Lovell was employed by Cooper and Hewitt's Iron Works in Trenton for a time and then became superintendent of streets in New York, and later deputy street commissioner. He resigned to enter the Confederate service in September, 1861. The following month Lovell replaced General Twiggs and had the misfortune to hold the position when New Orleans fell the next year. He continued to command the department until criticism necessitated his removal in December, 1862. Lovell was unable to secure another important assignment during the remainder of the war.

After the close of the war Lovell returned to New York and, except for a brief and disastrous adventure into rice planting in Georgia, remained there until his death in 1884. George W. Cullum, Biographical Register of Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy, 7 vols. (New York, 1891-1930), II, 122; Donova Yeuell, "Mansfield Lovell," in Dictionary of American Biography, XI, 441-42.

²¹ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 513, 558-59.

²² Ibid., 559.

Confederate authorities he began negotiations to supply his department's needs. He bought saltpeter and sulphur, gathered all the iron chains which he could find, and made contracts with the foundries in New Orleans and other Louisiana cities to manufacture shells and to mould bullets. Messrs. Leeds and Company, Bennet and Surges, and S. Wolf and Company agreed to make heavy guns; and Hobart and Foster erected a powder mill in the city.²³

The portion of Louisiana west of New Orleans was a very valuable section not only to New Orleans but to the Confederacy. It was the rich sugar producing region and after 1861 became more important because of the salt production around Avery Island.²⁴ The valuable cattle trade with Texas came through this region. The Opelousas, New Orleans, and Great Western Railroad connected the river with Brashear City (Morgan City). Across the river was Berwick, an important town at the mouth of the Atchafalaya and the terminal point for the Texas trade; also it was an important center for blockade runners. In September, 1861, there was stored at Berwick about 60,000 barrels of coal.²⁵ If the Federals

²³ Ibid., 558-60. The powder mill erected by Hobart and Foster was destroyed by an explosion, December 28, 1861. Ibid., 790. General Twiggs and Governor Moore had urged the Confederate authorities to send men and supplies into the department. For their correspondence see ibid., 728-54. Governor Moore asked for the removal of General Twiggs because of his advanced age and ill health. Ibid., 748. For General Lovell's correspondence with the Confederate authorities see ibid., 754-89.

²⁴ Post, Chap. VIII.

²⁵ New Orleans Daily True Delta, November 2, 1861; Stephenson and Davis (eds.), "The Civil War Diary of Willie Micajah Barrow," in loc. cit., 440; Official Records, Ser. I,

were permitted to penetrate this section, they would have easy access to Alexandria in the heart of the state.

In response to petitions from this region General Lovell ordered Colonel Barrow to take his Fourth Regiment to Berwick. They left Mississippi City October 31, and went via New Orleans to Brashear City and then over to Camp Lovell near Berwick, where most of the troops were stationed. Allen with two companies, the West Feliciana Rifles and Beaver Creek Rifles, was sent about three miles south of the city to Forts Chêne and Berwick. The Lafourche Guards and Providence Cadets under Major Hunter were stationed at Franklin in St. Mary Parish.²⁶ The soldiers of the Fourth Regiment were becoming restless with inactivity and the routine of camp life, and since there was little or no fighting in this area, Allen and Hunter had to keep them busy drilling and improving the forts and camps. They remained in southern Louisiana until February, 1862, when General Lovell, in response to a call from President Davis for more troops, ordered them to Tennessee.²⁷

The Fourth Regiment arrived in Jackson, Tennessee, Vol. VI, 557; Vol. XV, 183-88, 1087; Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 185, 337-81. The New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad was about eighty miles long and had been constructed between 1852 and 1857.

²⁶ New Orleans Daily True Delta, January 16, October 28, November 11, 1861; New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 30, November 10, 1861; West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, November 2, 30, 1861; Baton Rouge Weekly Gazette and Comet, November 7, 1861; Stephenson and Davis (eds.), "The Civil War Diary of Willie Micajah Barrow," in loc. cit., 444-46.

²⁷ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 832; New Orleans Daily True Delta, February 26, 1862. The regiment left New Orleans February 25, 1862.

about the first of March. General Beauregard appointed Allen military governor of Jackson, a position he held until Western Tennessee fell into the control of the Federal government early in April.²⁸

Soon after the Fourth Regiment arrived in Tennessee, Colonel Robert J. Barrow resigned his command because of ill health, and Lieutenant Colonel Allen was elected to succeed him. Major Samuel E. Hunter was elected lieutenant colonel, and Captain Thomas E. Vick of the Lafourche Guards was promoted major.²⁹

Colonel Allen's regiment was attached to the second corps of the Army of the Mississippi under the command of Major General Bragg and was a part of the first division under the immediate command of General Daniel Ruggles. On March 21 the Fourth Regiment received orders to prepare five days' rations and be ready to march on quick notice. This order brought joyous shouts from all members of the Fourth Regiment because they had been in the army for nine months without a single engagement and were anxiously looking forward to the time when they could participate in battle.³⁰ In the last days of March the Confederate army under the command of Albert Sidney Johnston withdrew from central

²⁸ Memphis Appeal, March 5, 1862; New Orleans Daily True Delta, March 11, 1862; Baton Rouge Weekly Gazette and Comet, March 14, 1862; New Orleans Daily Delta, March 13, 1862.

²⁹ Baton Rouge Weekly Gazette and Comet, March 14, 1862; New Orleans Daily Delta, March 13, 1862; Baton Rouge Capitolian and Advocate, July 5, 1865.

³⁰ Baton Rouge Weekly Gazette and Comet, March 21, 1862; Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. 1, p. 382.

Tennessee and concentrated around Corinth, Mississippi.

On the morning of April 6, General Johnston ordered an advance upon the Union forces encamped near Pittsburg Landing under the command of Grant. On the first day most of the fighting occurred near Shiloh Church in southern Tennessee. The Confederates, in three fierce charges, drove the Union forces from their camps, but near the end of the day General Johnston was mortally wounded. The command fell to General P. G. T. Beauregard, who, thinking enough had been accomplished for the day, stopped the fighting.³¹

Colonel Allen led his gallant Fourth Regiment on each of the charges made by the Confederates, and in his report of the battle he stated that just before the regiment was ready to make the first charge a Tennessee regiment, immediately behind him, fired, by mistake, killing and wounding a number of his men. This almost demoralized his troops, but Colonel Allen was able to reorganize the group and lead them into the battle. During the day Allen appeared to be everywhere, always encouraging and directing his men in the fight.³² At the close of the first day's fighting one member of the regiment said, "Col. Allen acted with greatest gallantry and coolness. I expected to see him fall every moment."³³ The intrepid leader exposed himself unnecessarily,

³¹ For Confederate reports of the battle, see Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. X, 382-641; for Union reports, see Ibid., 98-381; D. W. Reed, The Battle of Shiloh and the Organizations Engaged (Washington, 1913).

³² Allen's report of the battle, see Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. 1, pp. 489-90; Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 73-5.

³³ Thomas Chinn Robertson, Battle of Shiloh from a

during the day and received a very painful flesh wound in the face. That night Captain Henry M. Favrot of the Delta Rifles was in the same tent with Colonel Allen and later said, "although seemingly quiet he had little sleep if any."³⁴ The next morning, his face swollen, and suffering from loss of blood and intense pain, Allen placed the Fourth Regiment under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Hunter and went to the hospital for relief. His wound being treated, Allen lay down to get some much-needed rest, but just at that moment he heard a general stampede of wagons, horses, and men. He rushed out, mounted his horse, and rode after the soldiers. Allen in his report said, "I succeeded in putting a stop to the stampede, and placed cavalry in the rear, with orders to cut down all who attempted to pass."³⁵ During the day of April 7 Allen, by order of General Bragg, remained in the rear of the army rallying the stragglers and organizing them into companies. His Fourth Regiment went into action under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Hunter.³⁶

On the night of April 6 a portion of General Don C. Buell's army joined Grant's forces and the following morning took the field against the Confederates. General Beauregard

Southern Stand-Point: A Letter Written to his Mother When a Soldier Boy (United Daughters of the Confederacy, Baton Rouge, 1912), 6.

³⁴ Baton Rouge Capitolian and Advocate, July 5, 1885; H. C. Clarke, Diary of the War for Separation: A Daily Chronicle of the Principal Events and History of the Present Revolution to Which is added Notes and Descriptions of all the Great Battles ... (Augusta, 1862), 133.

³⁵ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. 1, p. 490.

³⁶ Ibid.

met the assault but was unable to hold his position and after another day of heavy fighting retreated to Corinth.

The army remained in northern Mississippi until May 30, when the advance of the Federal forces made necessary a battle or another retreat. The Confederates chose the latter as the more expedient and withdrew southward about fifty-two miles to Tupelo, Mississippi.

In the meantime, a large Federal force under Brigadier General Benjamin F. Butler and Admiral David G. Farragut had occupied the city of New Orleans on May 1, 1862,³⁷ and a week later Farragut took possession of Baton Rouge. Leaving Commander David D. Porter in charge of the latter city, he went up the river beyond Natchez and Vicksburg. Admiral Farragut found none of the places strongly fortified, but he realized the Federal forces were not strong enough at that time to capture and hold the cities.³⁸

³⁷ For Confederate correspondence on the defense of New Orleans, see ibid., Vol. VI, 510-54; for Union correspondence of the capture of the city, see ibid., 503-10, 675-725. President Davis, in response to a resolution of the Confederate Congress, ordered a Court of Inquiry concerning the loss of New Orleans. Members of the court were Major General Thomas C. Hindman, Brigadier Generals Thomas F. Drayton, William M. Gardiner, and Major L. R. Page. The court began its hearings in Jackson, Mississippi, April 4, 1863, and concluded its work in Richmond, Virginia, July 13, 1863. A number of military officials including General Lovell and citizens of New Orleans were called before the court. They found that Lovell had taken proper steps for the defense of the city but his department was weakened by the withdrawal of forces. For the court proceedings, see ibid., 555-643. For a criticism of the Confederate authorities on the defense on New Orleans, see H. A. Trexler, "The Confederate Navy Department and the Fall of New Orleans," in the Southwest Review (Dallas, 1915-), XIX (1933-34), 88-102.

³⁸ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 457, 498, 514-15, See Confederate General M. L. Smith's report, ibid., 6-12.

The capture of New Orleans, Farragut's trip up the river, and the loss of Tennessee revealed to the Confederates the plan of the Federal forces to take the Mississippi River. It was most essential that the Confederates hold the river because of the valuable trade from Mexico through Texas and Louisiana; therefore in the summer of 1862 they began work on the defenses at Port Hudson and Vicksburg.

General Lovell, the commander of the department, left New Orleans in April and went to Camp Moore. The following month he was ordered to take charge of the work at Vicksburg. General M. L. Smith, a subordinate of Lovell's, supervised the construction of the fortifications around the city of Vicksburg. To assist him in the work Beauregard sent a number of troops from Tupelo; among them was the Fourth Louisiana Regiment.³⁹

General Smith pushed the work on the fort at Vicksburg and had almost completed it when on May 18 the Federals attacked the city from the river. Vicksburg was bombarded for the next two months but with little damage to the city and its fortifications. The last operations against the city were concluded on July 27.⁴⁰

Shortly after the Fourth Regiment arrived in Vicksburg

³⁹ See General Smith's report, *ibid.*

⁴⁰ For Confederate correspondence, see *ibid.*, 6-19; for Union correspondence, see *ibid.*, 22-35. For an account by a Union general, see G. Mott Williams, "The First Vicksburg Expedition and the Battle of Baton Rouge, 1862," in War Papers Read before the Commandery of the State of Wisconsin, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, 4 vols. (Milwaukee, 1849-1914), III (1896), 67-70.

Major Vick withdrew his company and William F. Pennington was elected major. Colonel Allen and his group were posted outside the city as a part of the picketing force.⁴¹

On June 28 General Earl Van Dorn replaced Lovell as commander of the army east of the Mississippi River; and after the successful defense of Vicksburg, he decided to drive the Federals out of Baton Rouge and then attack New Orleans. General John C. Breckinridge, former Democratic candidate for president, was designated to lead the expedition in South Louisiana. He left Vicksburg July 27 with about 4,000 men and, traveling by railroad, arrived at Camp Moore the next day. There he found Brigadier General Ruggles and a small force of men. Most of the troops under the command of Breckinridge had participated in the defense of Vicksburg and were weakened by exposure to the heavy rains and the intense heat. A large number of the men fell ill before they left Camp Moore on July 30 for the sixty-mile march to Baton Rouge, and others became sick before arrival. When Breckinridge encamped on the Comite River about ten miles east of Baton Rouge on August 4, he had less than 3,000 men forming two divisions under Generals Charles Clark and Ruggles.⁴²

Baton Rouge was defended by Brigadier General Thomas Williams with a land force of about 2,500, and supported by

⁴¹ New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 5, 1865; Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 11. Major Vick was appointed brigadier general of the Louisiana militia and assigned to command Avoyelles, Rapides, and Concordia parishes. Ibid., 985.

⁴² Ibid., 76-82.

a number of vessels on the river.⁴³

Early on the morning of August 5 the Confederates, expecting the Arkansas, which had been ordered to aid them, attacked the city. The battle raged until early in the afternoon, when Breckinridge learned that the Confederate ship's machinery was disabled and the boat had grounded above Baton Rouge.⁴⁴

Colonels Allen and Alla P. Thompson led the forces under General Ruggles' command, which were the second division of the troops, and occupied the southern end of the line. They attacked Baton Rouge from the southeast. Colonel Allen displayed much bravery and skill in the fight; with a flag in his hand and out in front of his troops he led them on a daring dash across an open field for about 150 yards in the face of a strong fire from the Federal forces. When within a few yards of their objective — a Union battery stationed south of the capitol — Allen was wounded, having been shot in both legs. He urged his men to continue the fight, but disorder soon prevailed, and they, carrying their wounded leader, retreated east of the city.⁴⁵

Breckinridge, cognizant that his men were thirsty and exhausted from the day's hard fighting and that he could not

⁴³ For Union correspondence on the battle, see ibid., 37-76; G. Mott Williams, "The First Vicksburg Expedition and the Battle of Baton Rouge, 1862," in loc. cit., 57-60.

⁴⁴ For Confederate reports on the battle, see Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 76-108.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 100-102, 106; Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 144-45.

drive the Federals out of the city without aid, withdrew his troops to the Comite River. They remained here for a short time and then were ordered to Port Hudson under command of Hunter.⁴⁶ The regiment was stationed there until May, 1863, and then was ordered to Jackson, Mississippi. Later it aided in the defense of Mobile and participated in a number of battles in Georgia, where they were stationed when the war closed.⁴⁷

Colonel Allen was taken about six miles from Baton Rouge to the home of Granville Pierce, where he lay very ill for several weeks. The bones in his right leg were shattered by the bullet, but the left received only a flesh wound. Doctor Amzi Martin, his physician, thought it necessary to amputate the right leg, but Colonel Allen refused to give his consent. After a long period of convalescence he was able to walk with the assistance of crutches,⁴⁸ and although too weak to remain with his regiment, he visited it at Port Hudson. When it was evident he would not be strong enough to lead the regiment in the summer campaigns, he resigned his command on January 19, 1863.⁴⁹

Allen returned once more to Cooper's Wells, a resort in Mississippi, and while recuperating was appointed to the

⁴⁶ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 82.

⁴⁷ John S. Kendall, "Diary of Surgeon Craig," in loc. cit., 54-55.

⁴⁸ Mexico City Mexican Times, February 10, 1866; New Orleans Times Democrat, July 5, 1885; Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 144-45.

⁴⁹ Andrew B. Booth (comp.), Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands, 3 vols. (New Orleans, 1920), I, 46.

military court at Jackson.⁵⁰ The Colonel, being very anxious to continue in active duty and thinking that he would soon be strong enough to ride a horse, declined the appointment. Colonel Allen's Louisiana friends prevailed upon Governor Thomas O. Moore to appoint him major general of the Louisiana state troops, which he did with the hearty approval of the state legislature. Allen took the oath of office on February 28, 1863, and was reappointed in June of the same year.⁵¹ He did not become active in his new position because the state's jurisdiction extended over a very small area east of the river and Allen did not cross the Mississippi until October, 1863.

In August, 1863, President Davis appointed Allen brigadier general and ordered him to report to General Kirby Smith, commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department. He was given the privilege of raising a brigade of soldiers from certain paroled troops, deserters, and stragglers west of the river.⁵²

The Mississippi River had been under the control of the Federal forces since the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson in 1863.⁵³ It was being patrolled very closely by the Federal

⁵⁰ Official Records, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 395. The court was created by General Orders No. 17, February 13, 1863. The members were George B. Wilkinson, presiding judge, Mississippi; John J. Good, Texas, Henry W. Allen, Louisiana, and John P. McMillan, judge-advocate. Most of the authorities erroneously state that Allen was president of the court.

⁵¹ List of Commissions for Louisiana, MSG., in Confederate Records, The National Archives, Chap. VIII, Vol. CLXIX, p. 3.

⁵² Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 974. The Trans-Mississippi Department was organized May 26, 1862. Post, Chap. IX.

⁵³ Vicksburg surrendered July 4, 1863, and Port Hudson on

authorities and blockade running was a dangerous thing, but it was imperative that Allen cross the river into the Trans-Mississippi Department.

After the surrender of Vicksburg many of the Confederate soldiers went across the river to their homes in Louisiana, but others remained in Mississippi. A parole camp was established near Enterprise, Mississippi, where a number of troops from the Third Regiment of the Louisiana Infantry assembled.

General Allen had selected a former subordinate officer, Captain Ben W. Clark, as his adjutant, who with Nolan Clark went to the parole camp and asked for five volunteers to accompany them across the river and through the blockade. Major J. F. Springer of the Third Regiment was at the camp on special duty for the Confederate government. He had about 30,000 rounds of ammunition and \$1,500,000 of Confederate money which he hoped to deliver in the Trans-Mississippi Department.⁵⁴

Allen's party consisted of Captain Clark, acting adjutant general, Captain T. K. Fauntleroy, Major A. E. LaSalle, Major J. F. Springer, A. J. Perry, G. W. Webb, Eli Nash, and F. D. and William H. Tunnard of the Third Regiment of Louisiana Infantry. After securing an open top ambulance, a skiff mounted on wheels, and an army wagon loaded with money and ammunition, they left Enterprise in September for the July 9, 1863.

⁵⁴ William H. Tunnard, "H. W. Allen," in Baton Rouge Evening Truth, July 3, 4, 1899.

Mississippi River. The group passed through Shubuta, Ellisville, Monticello, Summit, Liberty, Woodville, and Fort Adams, which was just north of the Louisiana line. They rested for a short time at the home of Colonel J. Hunter, near the town of Waterloo, Mississippi, before making their first effort to get through the blockade. Late in September they departed for the river, but before arriving there Major Springer discovered a company of Federals landing. Immediately Allen's party left their wagons, jumped on their horses, and made a hurried escape. They were successful in evading the Federal troops and returned to Colonel Hunter's home, where they secured another wagon and the necessary supplies for a second attempt at blockade running. Leaving Major Springer at Woodville, the party traveled about forty miles up the river and encamped on the campus of Oakland College near Rodney, Mississippi, which is opposite the town of Waterproof, Louisiana. About the first of October they crossed the river safely and made their escape into Louisiana. They began a long journey of more than one hundred miles to Alexandria, where they arrived October 11.⁵⁵

Allen had instructions to assemble all the soldiers belonging to the Third, Seventeenth, Twenty-second, Twenty-third, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-

⁵⁵ Ibid. Tunnard, writing some thirty-six years after the event took place, must have forgotten the exact dates. He said the group spent the night of October 20 at Oakland College near Rodney. Allen, writing to James A. Seddon, Secretary of War, from Alexandria, Louisiana, October 12, said, "I arrived at this place yesterday." Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, p. 173.

eighth, and Thirty-first regiments of Louisiana Volunteers who had been paroled at Vicksburg or Port Hudson, and any stragglers in Louisiana. The troops were ordered to report to Brigadier General Allen at Alexandria. General Kirby Smith wrote the generals in his department to give Allen such assistance as they could in gathering his command.⁵⁶

Allen, writing to James A. Seddon, Secretary of War, on October 12, said, "Things over here look gloomy. The enemy are reported advancing in force, and the people are desponding [*sic*] very desponding [*sic*]." He communicated with Kirby Smith and General Taylor, who commanded the southern part of the state, and then made plans to assemble his brigade. Late in October Allen moved his headquarters to Shreveport and issued his first general order designating the place for each of his companies to assemble and naming the commanding officer in each group.⁵⁷ However, before Allen could assemble his brigade the people of Louisiana had elected him governor of the state, and he accepted in January, 1864. Allen resigned his position in the Confederate Army about January 1, 1864.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 173, 174, 365; Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, November 3, 1863.

⁵⁷ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, November 11, 13, 17, 1863; Opelousas Courier, December 12, 1863

⁵⁸ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 16, 1864.

Chapter VII

DUAL GOVERNMENT, 1862-1863

The capture of New Orleans and extension of control over south Louisiana by the Federals in 1862 marked the beginning of a dual government for the people of Louisiana. Before the end of the year General Benjamin F. Butler appointed George Foster Shepley military governor of Louisiana and, in keeping with President Lincoln's reconstruction policy, prepared to restore civil authority. In December Benjamin Franklin Flanders and Michael Hahn were elected to Congress from the first and second districts, respectively.¹

General Nathaniel P. Banks replaced Butler as commander of the department in December, 1862 and after thirteen months delay, called an election for February 22, 1864. Hahn, the administration candidate for governor, won over J. Q. A. Fellows and Flanders. Other officers elected were James Madison Wells, Stanislas Wrotnowski, Bartholomew Leahy Lynch, James G. Belden, John McNair, and Doctor A. P. Dostie, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, attorney general, treasurer, superintendent of education, and auditor, respectively.

In March the voters elected delegates to a constitutional convention, which met the following month in New Orleans

¹ For a discussion of Reconstruction in Louisiana, see Caskey, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana; John R. Ficklin, History of Reconstruction in Louisiana through 1868, in Johns Hopkins University Studies (Baltimore, 1910).

and revised the constitution of 1852; later a small number of voters adopted the constitution. Government under the modified organic act continued to function until the close of the war. Its jurisdiction was confined for the most part to the parishes in the southern part of the state, although those along the Mississippi River and others where the Federal armies were located, as in St. Tammany, conformed to the Federal laws and the reconstructed state government.

From 1862 to 1865 the Confederate authority was not questioned in the northwestern portion of the state, but its control over the remainder of the parishes depended upon the success of the Federal armies. There were from thirty to forty parishes which recognized the Confederate authority. In June, 1863, the legislature at Shreveport recognized that nineteen parishes were under complete control of the Federals and four more were partly under their control.² This legislature had forty parishes represented at Shreveport and in the following year legislators from forty-one parishes attended the session. There were certain parishes which sent representatives to both governments in 1864, New Orleans under the control of the Federals had two legislators in Shreveport. Madison, Concordia, Rapides, Avoyelles, East

² Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, June 9, 1863. Ascension, Assumption, East Baton Rouge, Iberville, Jefferson, Lafayette, Lafourche, Orleans, Plaquemine, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Landry, St. Martin, St. Mary, Terrebonne, Vermillion, and West Baton Rouge parishes were recognized as being within the Federal's jurisdiction and Avoyelles, Carroll, Madison, and Tensas were partly under their control.

Felician, St. Mary, Terrebonne, Assumption, and Iberville had representatives and senators in Shreveport, but they also elected delegates to the constitutional convention in March, 1864.³ It is certain that the Confederate governors had control over more parishes than the Lincoln government at New Orleans, but they did not have as large a population under their jurisdiction because the city of New Orleans was within the Federal lines. In the Confederate state election of November, 1863, the highest vote polled was 7,705, whereas the vote cast for Governor Hahn and the other candidates on February 22, 1864, was 11,335 with about one-half of them coming from Orleans Parish.⁴

The Florida parishes, although completely separated from West Louisiana after 1863, continued to maintain their Confederate government, to send representatives to the legislature, to collect and make returns for taxes, to send men into the army, and to receive aid from the state government at Shreveport.

When the war began the state capital was located at Baton Rouge, but it became a peripatetic one after the fall of New Orleans in May, 1862. Governor Moore hurriedly left the city and established headquarters in the southwestern part of the state at Opelousas.⁵ The state legislature held

³ Journal of the Convention for Revision and Amendment of the Constitution of Louisiana (New Orleans, 1864), 5. For those attending the session at Shreveport, see Appendix I.

⁴ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 2, 1864; New Orleans Times, February 23, 24, 25, 1864; New Orleans Daily Picayune, February 23, 1864.

⁵ Shreveport Southwestern, June 25, 1862; Shreveport

one session there in the fall of the year, but the nearness to the coast and the fear of an invasion caused them to transfer the capital to Shreveport.

Governor Moore and his staff established their headquarters at his plantation near Alexandria, where it may be said the capital was located for a short time. However, early the next year the Governor followed the other officials who had gone to Shreveport in February.⁶

The legislature met in extraordinary session at Shreveport on May 4, when the question of a quorum was raised. They debated whether those living under Federal control could be members of the assembly and, if they were not present, what would constitute a quorum.

According to the constitution there were ninety-eight members in the lower House and a majority was a quorum. As there were a number of representatives absent at this time a committee was appointed to investigate the matter. It reported on June 1 that fifty-four members were under the jurisdiction of the state, that forty-one members were within the enemy lines or absent from the state, and that there were three vacancies caused by death. Since only fifty-four members were under the state's jurisdiction the committee recommended that twenty-eight be accepted as a quorum. The House adopted the report and proceeded with its work.⁷

Governor Moore, in his message to the legislature on

Semi-Weekly News, December 9, 1862.

⁶ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 1, March 13, April 24, 1863.

⁷ Ibid., March 16, May 11, 26, June 5, 9, 12, 1863.

June 11, 1863, reported that Louisiana had sent approximately 50,000 men to the army, but stated that he was unable to enforce the militia law enacted at Opelousas because of the large number of men absent from the state in the Confederate service.⁸ The Governor said that he had printed and distributed about one-half of the treasury notes which the legislature had authorized, but he opposed such a policy because inflation was dangerous and would soon destroy the credit of the state. He stated that such measures would seriously handicap private business. Governor Moore further recommended that part of the five million dollars appropriated for the poor be used to purchase cotton cards to be sold at cost. He proposed that the distillation of liquor be prohibited or taxed so heavily that it would not be profitable to pursue the trade. Governor Moore urged the legislature to take the necessary steps to preserve the state government. He wanted laws enacted to take care of the next election, but he did not believe it expedient to call a state convention because only about one-half of the parishes could send representatives.

After hearing the Governor's message, the legislature began work and by June 20 had completed its program. The assembly fixed the third Monday in January as the next regular meeting date for the legislature and provided that it should meet "at the seat of government." It arranged for the election of state officials and congressmen on the first

⁸ Ibid., June 12, 1863, contained the message of Governor Moore.

Monday in November of 1863. The supreme court was authorized to hold at least one session each year in Shreveport. The secretary of state was instructed to have printed the acts and journals of the legislative session held in Opelousas.⁹

For the defense of the state, Governor Moore was authorized to place in the state militia all white males between the ages of seventeen and fifty years. None were to be exempted and no substitutes were to be received. The Governor was authorized to call the troops into service for a period of not less than three months or more than twelve months at a time. The legislature appropriated one million dollars and instructed the Governor to contract for two ironclad gunboats.

The death penalty was fixed as punishment for the negro slaves caught taking up arms against the state or the Confederacy.

To regulate the amount of money in circulation and to stabilize business conditions the legislature provided that no individual or corporation except chartered banks might issue notes to circulate as money. Towns, parishes, and banks were authorized to issue notes of one dollar or less for the purpose of providing a medium of exchange.

In response to Governor Moore's recommendation, the legislature prohibited the manufacture of intoxicating liquor

⁹ For the work of the legislature, see Acts passed by the Sixth Legislature of the State of Louisiana at its Extra Session, Held in the City of Shreveport, on the 4th day of May, 1863 (Shreveport, 1863).

by distillation of grains, sugar, molasses, or cane juice.

The assembly was generous in its appropriations for the remainder of the year. A sum was made available for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers in the three hospitals at Natchitoches. Three hundred thousand dollars was placed at the disposal of the Governor to aid the people who had been expelled by the Federals from the vicinity of New Orleans. He was instructed to name one or more commissioners to visit the city of Mobile and distribute the money among the Louisianian's who had gone there. The legislature authorized the Governor to use the \$500,000 appropriated in January for the aid of soldiers families to purchase cotton and wool cards to be distributed among the families of soldiers and officers. Sums were appropriated to repay citizens of Louisiana who had lost slaves or property while employed on public works, to defray departmental printing costs, for removing the state records, and for the rent of offices in Shreveport.

The legislature adopted a resolution of sympathy for the mother of General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson who had recently been killed at the Battle of Chancellorsville.

No convention was called to nominate state officials in 1863 but soon after the legislature adjourned a group of names began appearing in the papers under the title of "State Ticket." Allen was nominated governor and Benjamin W. Pearce, former state legislator from Bienville, was selected for second place on the ticket. Other candidates

were Flavillus S. Goode, attorney general; Hypolite Peralta, auditor of public accounts; B. L. Defreese, treasurer; Pliny D. Hardy, secretary of state; and W. H. N. Magruder, superintendent of education.¹⁰

Allen was east of the Mississippi River recuperating from his wounds when nominated. He did not arrive at Alexandria until August 12, and two months passed before he went to Shreveport.¹¹ The campaign was quiet and uneventful, for none of the candidates were active in their own behalf. There were no public gatherings and barbecues which usually accompanied Louisiana campaigns.

Colonel Leroy A. Stafford of Rapides, a member of the Ninth Louisiana Regiment, was Allen's chief opponent.¹² However, on the day of the election votes were cast for James W. McDonald, John M. Sandidge, Congressman Benjamin L. Hodge, and General Leonidas Polk.¹³

Thirty of the forty-eight parishes made election returns to the secretary of state. The "State Ticket" was elected by a large majority; Allen received 6,321 votes out of a total of 7,404, and the candidates for other offices received similar majorities.¹⁴

¹⁰ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, August 25, 1863; Opelousas Courier, September 12, 1863; Shreveport Southwestern, August 30, 1863.

¹¹ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, October 27, 1863.

¹² Shreveport Southwestern, October 28, 1863.

¹³ For election returns, see Appendix II.

¹⁴ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 2, 1864; Journal of the Louisiana Senate, December 15, 1862, to February 11, 1864, MSS., in Confederate Records, The National Archives, Chap. VIII, Vol. CXCII, 3.

Although Allen was still weak, suffering from his wounds, and unable to walk without crutches, he made a most fatiguing five weeks trip over the state in an ambulance to ascertain the condition and needs of the people. Leaving Shreveport on November 20, he made a number of speeches in the northern part of the state before arriving at Monroe. He turned south to Alexandria, and then up the Red River Valley via Natchitoches and Mansfield to Shreveport, where he arrived on December 23.¹⁵

It is probable that Allen's speeches were the same wherever he went. Only one of them has come to light and that was made at Alexandria on December 11, when he told the people that he had come to answer two questions for them: "What is the condition of our armies and of the Confederacy?" and "When will the war end?"¹⁶

Allen described the future of the Confederacy in glowing terms and exaggerated somewhat the size of the Confederate armies when he estimated that the Confederacy had 318,000 troops in service. Allen was very optimistic about the amount of food, clothing, munitions, and the number of soldiers available for the army. He thought that the Confederacy could carry on indefinitely without any serious damage

¹⁵ Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 234; New Orleans Daily Picayune, May 17, 1866; Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, November 18, 20, 29, 1863. Allen's itinerary included Bellevue, Minden, Homer, Farmerville, Bastrop, Monroe, Vernon, Mount Lebanon, Alexandria, Natchitoches, Many, Mansfield, and Keachie.

¹⁶ Alexandria Louisiana Democrat, December 14, 1863; Opelousas Courier, December 28, 1863; Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, December 22, 1863.

to itself or its population if the people would put their shoulders to the wheel. Allen told the people of Alexandria that after careful observation and deliberate thought he believed the war would end within twelve months because Lincoln would be unable to get enough troops to continue the war longer. He then said:

He would rather fight until the last Confederate was slain than ever again to come under the political union with our barbarous enemies. He would ask as the first condition of a return to the Federal Union that our hundred thousand gallant dead should be restored to life, that our weeping orphans and widows should be healed of their sorrow, that our great sacrifices should all be repaid to us, that our stolen, corrupted, and slaughtered slaves should be returned to us with all the material prosperity which we enjoyed before the waging of this wanton, cruel, and most barbarous war. 17

After his return to Shreveport, Allen and Governor Moore, working together, prepared their messages for the legislature¹⁸ which was scheduled to meet on January 18. When the assembly convened the House had twenty-one present but only seven answered roll call in the Senate.¹⁹ Joseph B. Elam of DeSoto was elected speaker of the House. Benjamin W. Pearce was president of the Senate and John Moore of St. Martin Parish²⁰ was elected president pro tempore.

On January 20 Governor Moore sent his final message on

17 Opelousas Courier, December 26, 1863.

18 Thomas C. Manning, "Reminiscences of Henry W. Allen," in New Orleans Times-Democrat, July 6, 1885.

19 Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, January 29, 1864. For members of the legislature, see Appendix III.

20 Officers of the House were: A. Isaacson, clerk; E. W. Halsey, assistant clerk; and James W. Wilson, sergeant-at-arms. Officers of the Senate were: William F. Wagner, secretary; Oscar Arroyo, assistant secretary; and D. E. Grove, sergeant-at-arms.

the condition of the state to the legislature.²¹ He reported that the receipts for the state during the past year were \$6,706,774.55 and the expenses amounted to \$2,689,142.71. He pointed out that no taxes had been collected as ordered by the legislature and that the expenses of the state had been met by issuing state bonds which he said was a bad policy because the bonds were depreciating. Moore said, "This state of things must be remedied or we shall experience disastrous results." He urged that the bonds be sold only to pay the deficit of the state.

Moore stated that the acts of the session at Opelousas had not been printed and, as an economy measure, he suggested that the acts and journals should be printed in English only. He reported that he had spent \$300,000 appropriated for the aid of the Louisiana citizens living in Mobile, Alabama. He recommended that the legislature prohibit free negroes from testifying in the courts since Louisiana was the only southern state which permitted it. He criticized the enforcement of the impressment acts because he thought the officers had exceeded their power. He urged the organization of a local reserve corps to aid with the defense when a territory was invaded and to assist in maintaining order.

Moore recommended the use of slaves in the army because the Federal government was using them. He thought they could be used for ditch digging, wagon drivers, and similar tasks

²¹ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 2, 1864, contained the recommendations of Governor Moore.

to release a large number of soldiers for more important duties. He concluded with a report on the soldiers furnished by Louisiana which he said numbered about 52,000 in addition to over 10,000 in local reserve corps.

Few men entered office under the conditions which confronted Governor Thomas Overton Moore in 1860 and probably none left office when his state was so prostrate as Governor Moore did in 1864. He had done much to keep up the courage of the people, furnish supplies, and enlist troops for the Confederacy, but the loss of New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and south Louisiana, the richest section of the state, coupled with the devastation caused by Federal raids was too much for him to overcome.

The governor-elect was inaugurated on January 25 before a joint meeting of the legislature in front of the Shreveport courthouse, which at that time was the capitol. Allen, pale, emaciated, weak, and suffering intense pain from the wounds received in the Battle of Baton Rouge, was introduced by Governor Moore.²² Few, if any, expected him to revolutionize the impoverished state, because his jurisdiction was limited, the soldiers were in need of food and clothing, and there was a bitter conflict between the civil and military authorities.

Allen opened his inaugural address by promising to serve the state honestly, faithfully, and zealously, and then said:

22 Shreveport Army and Navy Messenger, February 2, 1865.

Without any solicitation whatever on my part, I have been elected to the highest honor within the gift of the people. If I were ambitious, the measure of my ambition is full. To be called to the helm in these stormy times, to pilot the ship of State, (I trust to a port of safety) is indeed honor enough for any man. I would, therefore, be recreant to every principle of honor, of manliness, and of patriotism, if I permitted any thing but a high sense of conscientious duty to govern me in the administration of the affairs of State. I shall not falter in the discharge of the duties assigned me by the constitution, but whenever the good of the people require it, and I have the power, I shall take all responsibilities, and trust to you and your constituents to support me. 23

The Governor paid a tribute to the retiring executive for his spotless integrity and patriotic heart. Then he turned to the suffering of the people and said, "For nearly three years we have battled with a cruel and vindictive foe. ... Age and innocence have alike been murdered, and the widow and the orphan have been brought to the door of starvation. The enemy, glutted with murder, rapine and plunder, seemed to have sickened at their own outrages, and are now offering terms of peace." But Allen remarked, "What terms of peace does the bloody Moloch at Washington suggest to his Congress? He asked you to give up all your negroes, to submit to the constitution and the acts of the Black Republican party, and, if called upon to do so, to hunt down your brother and neighbor." Allen concluded, "The fiend of hell in all his

23 Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 12, 1864; New Orleans Times, February 18, 23, March 31, 1864; Alexandria Louisiana Democrat, February 5, 1864; Galveston Weekly News, February 3, 1864; Houston Tri-Weekly News, February 1, 1864; Inaugural Address of Governor Henry W. Allen to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, January 25, 1864, Delivered at Shreveport (Shreveport, 1864). Copy available in Howard Memorial Library.

malice never conceived such unnatural and infernal wickedness!" The Governor declared that he would never surrender and urged the people of Louisiana not to give up because of the large number of fathers and brothers who had died to save the Confederacy. He criticized Butler, Banks, and other Federal generals for their acts of robbery, plunder, theft, devastation, burning of the capitol, and the taking of private property.

He then turned his attention to the women of the state and said, "Oh mothers of Louisiana, God Almighty bless you and sustain you in this your hour of trial! ... Your prayers have pierced the clouds — they have ascended to the skies, and our Heavenly Father will, in his own good time, answer your petitions."

Allen, turning to the legislature, said, "I shall recommend that you place in the hands of every woman in the state a pair of cards, and that you enact a law for the purpose of supplying the people of the state with medicines."

In his concluding remarks he stated that Generals Kirby Smith and Richard Taylor had done their duty most nobly, as gallant soldiers, and when the civil and military authorities had conflicted they had always accepted cheerfully the decisions of the state courts.

On the following day Allen, delivering his first message to the legislature, asked for the organization of a "State Guard" composed of one regiment of five hundred men. He recommended that all able-bodied men between the ages of fifteen

and fifty-five years be called into service for a period not to exceed sixty days at a time.²⁴

Allen praised the legislature of 1863 for prohibiting the manufacture of intoxicating liquors. He pointed out the ill effects of it upon the community and the army and urged that the legislature enact more stringent laws to prevent its manufacture and importation and promised that they would be enforced if placed on the statute books.

For the aid of soldiers' wives and families, Allen asked for liberal appropriations and proposed that the executive be authorized to procure corn and supplies to distribute among the poor and needy. He recommended that a pension of eleven dollars per month be provided for each soldier of the state who had been wounded while in the service of the state or Confederacy.

The Governor complained of the treatment given the people of Louisiana by the enforcement of the impressment act and suggested that the legislature make it an offense for anyone to impress illegally in the state.

He recommended an appropriation of one million dollars to purchase cotton cards for every female in the state above the age of eighteen years. He asked for five hundred thousand dollars to purchase medicines which would be distributed among the physicians of the state and sold to the people at cost.

²⁴ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, January 29, 1864; Opelousas Courier, February 6, 1864, contained Allen's recommendations to the legislature.

Allen proposed that all state treasury notes be called and exchanged for state bonds payable twenty years after the war closed. He further suggested that all corporations be instructed to call in their notes and that the state issue five hundred thousand dollars in notes varying from ten cents to one dollar in order that business might have a uniform currency throughout the state. During the period of the war Allen suggested that no state taxes be collected by force.

He urged that all free persons of color be enrolled and subject to the call of the Governor for any work which the executive might select.

The Governor complained that a geological survey of the state had never been made and asked that the executive be authorized to send experienced men over the state in search of iron, lead, and sulphates which he thought existed in abundance. Allen was confident that Louisiana could supply all of its needs by the proper utilization of its raw materials and to initiate such a program he urged the legislature to encourage manufactories of all kinds. He said, "Bend all your energies to the manufacturing of every article needed at home or in the field. ... Start the hammer and the loom. Let the furnace smoke and the anvil ring." Allen concluded his address by recommending the establishment of a mining and manufacturing bureau to which would be attached a laboratory for preparing indigenous medicine.

The legislature working rapidly and harmoniously completed its work within a few weeks and indicated its complete

confidence in Governor Allen by adopting virtually his entire program. He was authorized to begin negotiations immediately to bring cotton seeds, medicines, food, and other necessities into the state and was instructed to buy cotton and transport it through Texas to the Rio Grande. The legislature was very liberal in appropriating large sums for the use of the executive.

Chapter VIII

WAR TIME GOVERNOR, 1864-1865

Before the legislature adjourned Governor Allen began negotiations to supply the needs of his impoverished state. He made contracts with a number of agents to buy and transport cotton out of the state. These agreements provided that the agent would supply the state with medicines, cotton cards, or other articles in exchange for cotton purchased by the state. The contracts usually guaranteed the agent one fourth of the net proceeds. Allen was careful to safeguard the interests of the state by requiring all agents to make sufficient bond to guarantee the execution of the contract.

On February 19 the Governor contracted with Edward Jacobs, a Shreveport merchant, to buy in New Orleans at wholesale prices \$200,000 worth of medicines to be exchanged for cotton at twenty-five cents per pound. Jacobs was required to deposit \$50,000 as a bond with Allen.¹ A similar contract was made on February 20 with Robert Mott, legislator from New Orleans.² A few days later the Governor made a contract with Leopold Levy who agreed to buy at wholesale prices \$40,000 worth of cotton and wool cards and medicines to the amount of \$10,000 and deliver them within the Con-

1 Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., in Confederate Records, The National Archives, Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 21. This volume contains a number of contracts, appointments by the governor, record of bonds made by the agents, and much information relative to the purchases and sales of the agents.

2 Ibid., 22.

federate lines. Levy agreed to sell cotton which the state had purchased at twenty-five cents per pound and to take as his profit one fourth of the net proceeds. Allen required him to deposit \$10,000 as a bond.³ Another contract was made in March with Charles Lamb of Clarksville, Texas, who agreed to deliver into Louisiana \$50,000 worth of medicines and machinery for spinning cotton and wool which he had purchased at wholesale prices in New Orleans and other places. Governor Allen agreed to furnish Lamb with cotton at twenty-five cents per pound.⁴ In March Allen authorized L. P. Conner to proceed to Brownsville or to cities in Mexico and purchase ordnance stores and medical supplies for the state of Louisiana.⁵ Other contracts were made with John G. McWilliams, Emory Clapp, and J. S. Vedder.

Much of the Louisiana cotton was sent to Houston and Galveston and sold to the blockade runners. Other shipments were made to San Antonio, where it was sent either to Brownsville or Eagle Pass, Texas. Early in 1864 Emory Clapp became the chief state agent in Texas with headquarters in Houston.⁶ When shipping conditions became dangerous at Houston and Galveston, Clapp moved north of Houston to Navasota where he received cotton from Louisiana and dispatched overland to Shreveport, paper, cloth, medicines, and

³ Ibid., 25.

⁴ Ibid., 26-27.

⁵ Special orders of the Adjutant General's office, 1862-1864, MSS., in Confederate Records, The National Archives, Chap. VIII, Vol. CLIII, 221.

⁶ Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 24-25.

cotton cards. The records do not reveal the amount of business conducted by the state through its agent, but the correspondence between Clapp and Allen indicated that it was a very extensive trade. Letters were exchanged almost daily during the last fourteen months of the Confederacy. Some indication of the business can be concluded from a few of the letters between Allen and the state agents.

Clapp, writing on June 5, 1864, said that Weston's train had left for Shreveport on June 2 and that there was at Navasota over 100,000 pounds of freight awaiting transportation.⁷ In the fall of the year Clapp reported to Governor Allen that he had purchased 9,000 yards of calico, and 66 pairs of cards.⁸ On November 11 he wrote that he was preparing over 500 bales of cotton for export across the Rio Grande.⁹ A few weeks earlier Allen had written J. S. Vedder at Navasota requesting him to take charge of the cotton arriving at that point. He agreed to store it if no more than 100 bales arrived at a time.¹⁰ In the same month Allen wrote Edward Jacobs, another state agent, to proceed to Havana and to purchase \$20,000 worth of cotton cards and 5,000 pairs of wool cards.¹¹ Jacobs, writing in March, 1865, reported that

7 Letters Received and Other Papers of the Executive Department of the State of Louisiana, 1860-1865, MSS., in Confederate Records, The National Archives, Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 71. Cited hereafter as Letters Received. This volume contains a summary of each letter, the date it was written, and the name of the writer.

8 Letter dated November 10, 1864, ibid., 87.

9 Ibid., 88.

10 Letter dated September 12, 1864, ibid., 77.

11 An undated letter, ibid., 90.

his agent at Navasota was sending 1,186 pairs of cotton cards.¹² Another agent, F. T. Mitchell, wrote from San Antonio in May, 1865, stating that he had shipped 300 bales of cotton and had purchased 726 more but needed an additional one thousand bales.¹³

The trade extended into northern Texas where Waco and Dallas became important centers. Allen sent sugar to these places and exchanged it for flour and meat.¹⁴

To conduct the trade in cotton and other products Allen needed a large number of agents. Some were designated to buy cotton, others to transport it from the state, and still others to conduct the business in Texas and Mexico. The Governor appointed agents in virtually every parish under his jurisdiction and authorized them to buy cotton for the state.¹⁵ They paid from thirty to fifty cents per pound for the cotton purchased in the year 1864, when they bought over 2,000 bales for approximately \$300,000.¹⁶

The cotton trade was not as easy as it appeared because Allen had both the military and Confederate authorities to deal with in getting his cotton out of the state. The trade had caused much trouble from the beginning of the war. Confederates took the position that a cotton embargo would win the war by securing recognition in Europe, and to prevent

¹² Letter dated March 1, 1865, ibid., 117.

¹³ Letter dated May 11, 1865, ibid., 133.

¹⁴ Ibid., 123, 132.

¹⁵ For a list of state agents appointed from April 1 to May 16, 1864, see Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 162.

¹⁶ Ibid., 86, 72, 101-102, gives the names of state agents,

cotton from being shipped out of the South, the Confederate Congress in May, 1861, had prohibited trade with the United States.¹⁷ In October of the same year Governor Moore issued a proclamation prohibiting the sending of cotton to New Orleans.¹⁸ In the following March Congress passed a resolution calling upon the farmers to reduce their cotton crop and a few days later enacted a law which authorized the military authorities to destroy cotton and tobacco when in danger of being captured by the enemy.¹⁹

When Allen became governor, General Kirby E. Smith was impressing cotton and sending it into Texas in exchange for supplies. This work was done through the Cotton Bureau of the Trans-Mississippi Department under Lieutenant Colonel L. W. O'Bannon and later under William A. Broadwell.²⁰ A Confederate law which required a permit for sending cotton out of the state was administered by this bureau.²¹ Allen had difficulty in securing a sufficient number of permits and often times had to call upon General Smith to prevent the military authorities from interfering with his extensive trade through Texas.²²

the amount of cotton purchased, and prices paid by them.

¹⁷ Frank L. Owsley, King Cotton Diplomacy, Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America (Chicago, 1931), 25-51.

¹⁸ New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 2, 1861; New Orleans Daily Crescent, October 2, 1861; Shreveport Daily News, October 5, 1861.

¹⁹ Official Records, Ser. IV, Vol. III, 1066-67.

²⁰ Shreveport Weekly News, July 28, 1863; Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, January 12, 1864; Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. LIII, 972.

²¹ New Orleans Times, October 20, 1864.

²² Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. LIII, 1043; Vol.

During the first year of his administration Allen had opposed the destruction of cotton; and in December, 1864, he asked his Chief of Ordnance, John M. Sandidge, who had served in the state legislature and in Congress, his opinion on the subject. Sandidge replied that it was useless to continue such destruction when the government could no longer protect its people and that there was no reason for continued destruction of private property.²³ In December, 1864, when General Smith was preparing to burn the cotton in the Ouachita Valley because there was danger of its falling into the hands of the Federals, Allen protested vigorously and successfully against such a policy.²⁴

In the spring of 1864 one of the great needs of the people was spinning and weaving machinery. The war had closed the trade which brought clothing to the people of Louisiana, and those who were fortunate enough to have cotton and wool cards when the war began had worn them out. Allen, recognizing the need for such materials, had proposed that the legislature buy and distribute a pair of cards to every female in Louisiana above the age of eighteen. The assembly appropriated seven hundred thousand dollars in 1864²⁵ and a

XLVIII, Pt. 1, p. 1399; Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 64, 77, 95.

²³ See Sandidge's letter in New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 28, 1865; Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. LIII, 1032-33.

²⁴ Allen to General Smith, December 21, 1864, quoted in Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 282-83.

²⁵ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 12, 1864; Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 88, et. seq. Expenditures of the Treasurer's Office, 1861-1865, MSS., in Confederate Records, The National Archives, Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXV, 480-81, contains a list of

million dollars the following year, to supply cards and medicines for the needy of the state.²⁶

Allen appointed a large number of agents and advanced them money to buy cotton and wool cards for the state. Among those appointed for the work were Emory Clapp, state agent at Houston and Navasota, Texas, J. C. Bell, John G. McWilliams, Frederick H. Farrar, and Leopold Levy.²⁷ Early in the year 1864 these agents began importing cotton cards through Texas and sending them to Shreveport where Governor Allen had them distributed to the people of Louisiana. Agents appointed for this purpose were sent to the parishes under the control of the Governor, and one or more sets of cards were placed in the hands of every family. By July it was reported that over 6,000 pairs of cards had been imported and sold at \$10 per pair to those able to pay for them.²⁸ The following January Allen stated that 15,000 pairs had been distributed²⁹ and three months later he reported that 25,000 pairs of cotton cards and 50,000 pairs of wool cards were on the way to Shreveport.³⁰

The people in the Florida parishes were not neglected.

agents and the amount advanced to them for the purchase of cards.

²⁶ Acts of the Seventh Legislature of the State of Louisiana Held and Begun in the City of Shreveport at Second Session, January 16, 1865 (Shreveport, 1865), in Confederate Records, The National Archives, Chap. VIII, Vol. CXCVI, 53. Cited hereafter as Louisiana Acts.

²⁷ Expenditures of the Treasurer's Office, 1861-1865, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 480-81.

²⁸ Opelousas Courier, July 20, 1864.

²⁹ Shreveport News, January 30, 1865.

³⁰ Ibid., April 28, 1865.

Allen granted Doctor J. D. Barksdale, superintendent of the Insane Asylum at Jackson, permission to sell cotton and use the proceeds for the benefit of the inmates.³¹ The iron looms stored at the state prison in Clinton were distributed among the heads of families.³²

The Governor was not content to import cards for the people of Louisiana but in keeping with his recommendations to the legislature started the manufacture of them. He sent an agent to Georgia and purchased from Governor Joe E. Brown a quantity of wire and a machine for making cotton cards.³³ Allen contracted with Josiah Marshall to erect a card factory at Minden, Louisiana.³⁴ The work on the plant began in April, 1864, and three months later the factory was producing fifteen pairs of cards per day. Allen, in his annual message to the legislature in 1865, stated that the factory had three machines for making cards with a capacity of 1,000 pairs per month.³⁵

Another great need of the people in Louisiana was medicine. The doctors were unable to supply the people's demands because of the scarcity of the article and the prohibitive prices. The legislature at its session in 1864 appropriated \$250,000 and authorized the Governor to establish a state laboratory for the purpose of making medicines.³⁶

31 Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXI, 113; Louisiana Acts, 1865, pp. 41, 47.

32 New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 5, 1865.

33 Opelousas Courier, July 30, 1864.

34 Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 33; Opelousas Courier, July 30, 1864.

35 Shreveport News, January 31, 1865.

36 Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 12, 1864. Copy

Allen appointed his former physician, Doctor Amzi Martin, surgeon-general of the Louisiana state troops and gave him control over the state laboratory and stores for dispensing medicines.³⁷ Doctor Martin organized the state medical department in accordance with the regulations of the Confederate service.³⁸

The chief executive did not wait for the laboratory to furnish the people with medicine; instead he sent agents to Mexico with money to buy the much needed commodity. The correspondence with his agents indicated an extensive trade. John G. McWilliams, agent at San Antonio, reported on October 25, 1864, that he had purchased the medicines for Louisiana.³⁹ S. B. Bell, writing on the same day from San Antonio, stated that he would return from Mexico with the drugs about November 25.⁴⁰ Emory Clapp, writing from Navasota October 28, reported that S. E. Loeb and Company had delivered the medicines ordered from them.⁴¹ The following March Allen, writing to Doctor Bartholomew Egan, stated that he had on the way from Mexico 250 pounds of quicksilver, 1,000 pounds of

of the legislative act in Egan Collection. This manuscript collection is the property of Miss Lavina Egan who lives at Mount Lebanon, Louisiana. Miss Egan is the granddaughter of Doctor Bartholomew Egan. This collection contains about forty letters from Allen to Doctor Egan.

³⁷ Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIX, 22. This volume contains a list of Allen's staff. Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 16, 1864.

³⁸ See advertisement by Doctor Martin, in Shreveport News, March 8, 1864.

³⁹ Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 24.

⁴⁰ Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 84.

⁴¹ Ibid., 85.

liquorice, and 350 pounds of phosphorous.⁴² As late as April, 1865, Bell wrote from San Antonio that he was enclosing an invoice for medicines.⁴³

Allen appointed Doctor Bartholomew Egan, who lived at Mount Lebanon in Bienville Parish, to erect and superintend the laboratory.⁴⁴ His salary was fixed at \$4,000 per year. Writing to Doctor Egan February 24, 1864, Allen said, "You will purchase and put up such machinery as you may think proper, in order to meet the wants of the suffering people. I have this matter much at heart and wish you to enter at once on the duties of your office. I suggest that you make your headquarters at Minden and immediately advertise for indigenous barks, roots, herbs, etc."⁴⁵

Doctor Egan purchased for \$6,400 the female college buildings and eighty-four acres of land at Mount Lebanon.⁴⁶ Some of the buildings were converted into a hospital which by 1865 was crowded and had no room for additional patients.⁴⁷

The Governor authorized Egan to buy wagons, mules, and other materials needed for his laboratory and, if the people refused to sell for reasonable prices, he promised to send a military detail and impress them.⁴⁸ Within a few months

⁴² Allen to Doctor Egan, March 25, 1865, in the Egan Collection.

⁴³ Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 124.

⁴⁴ Allen to Egan, February 24, 1864, in Egan Collection.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Annual Report of Doctor Egan, in Egan Collection. This report is an incomplete draft of the original summary made by Doctor Egan on January 1, 1865.

⁴⁷ B. Powell, Surgeon in Charge of the Hospital, to Allen, January 8, 1865, in Egan Collection.

⁴⁸ Allen to Doctor Egan, May 8, 1864, ibid.

Doctor Egan had the laboratory in operation and was producing a good grade of whiskey according to Governor Allen, who wrote on November 17 and thanked the superintendent for his first sample.⁴⁹

In the same letter Allen inquired whether Doctor Egan had attempted to obtain an extract from the "bitter weed?" He said, "I am convinced its virtues are antipesodic [sic] and will yet take the place of quinine in domestic practice to a considerable extent."

By the close of the year the laboratory was in full operation. It had a force of seventeen laborers, a number of chemists, and one skilled pharmacist. J. H. Fuller, senator from Union Parish, had contracted to raise castor beans for the use of the laboratory.⁵⁰ Doctor Egan, making his first annual report on January 1, 1865, stated that he found the greatest need of the people in Louisiana was turpentine and whiskey which was free from fusil oil. He began work to supply these products, and by January, 1865, he had enough to care for all the people in Louisiana.⁵¹ Doctor Martin advertised in the Shreveport News from December, 1864, through March, 1865, that the State Dispensary in Shreveport had on hand a large and general assortment of medicines. He stated that orders from the citizens of Louisiana would be filled promptly.

Allen reported to the legislature in 1865 that the state

49 Id. to id., November 17, 1864, ibid.

50 Id. to Id., March 16, 1864, ibid.

51 Annual Report of Doctor Egan.

had one castor oil factory, one establishment for making baking soda, two distilleries for pure medicinal alcohol, and two laboratories for indigenous medicines.⁵²

For dispensing the medicine to the people of the state, Governor Allen established a state store in Shreveport under the control of Doctor Martin. Those who were able paid for their medicines, and others were supplied without cost. Medicines received from the state laboratory and imported from Mexico were dispensed to the people. The store proved a very profitable establishment for the state because Allen reported in January, 1865, that the state had furnished medicines to the value of \$274,072 and that \$13,790 worth had been distributed for charitable purposes. He stated that the net profits in the last five months of 1864 had amounted to about \$50,000.⁵³ From August 1, 1864, to June 6, 1865, the store paid into the treasury \$793,925.84.⁵⁴

Governor Allen did not forget his friends in the Florida parishes. On the same day that he appointed Doctor Egan superintendent of the laboratory at Mount Lebanon, he authorized Doctor Edward DeLaney and W. D. Winter, state agent, to establish a state laboratory at Clinton, Louisiana. He paid the agents \$10,000 and instructed them to make and dispense

⁵² Shreveport News, January 31, 1865; Opelousas Courier, March 11, 1865.

⁵³ Shreveport News, January 31, 1865.

⁵⁴ Treasurer's Office Ledger, 1861-1864, MSS., in Confederate Records, The National Archives, Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXIII, 192; Journal of the Treasurer's Office, MSS., in Confederate Records, The National Archives, Chap. VIII, Vol. CXIV, 168, 171, 172, 178, 183, 189, 193, 199, 202.

medicines for the families in Louisiana east of the Mississippi River.⁵⁵

The question of iron was an important one for the Trans-Mississippi Department. Early in August of 1863 the military authorities had taken over the Nash Iron Works in Marion County, Texas, to supply the needs of the Department.⁵⁶

Allen, recognizing the need for iron in his own state, began negotiations in the fall of 1864 with the Sulphur Forks Iron Works located in Davis County, Texas. By April of the following year he had concluded an agreement whereby the state of Louisiana became owner of fifty-two shares, which represented one fourth of the total stock. Allen purchased the stock at \$1,000 per share from Daniel Cole, president of the company.⁵⁷

The state advanced money and supplies to the company in order that it might begin operations at an early date. It was producing iron of a good quality early in 1865, and according to the Shreveport News, the company was producing six tons per day by the end of April. The News thought the company would soon be able to supply all the demands for plows, kitchen utensils, and other articles needed by the

55 Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 97; Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 106.

56 Dallas Herald, August 5, 1863; R. H. Temple to Allen, December 8, 1864, in Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 93.

57 Allen to Sulphur Forks Iron Works, December 14, 1864, in Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 94, Daniel Cole to Allen, December 1, 1864, ibid., 75; agreement between Allen and Sulphur Forks Iron Works, in Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 140-41.

people.⁵⁸

The state acquired control of the Thomas W. Jones Foundry, one of the oldest establishments in Shreveport, and appointed A. W. Moffett superintendent of it.⁵⁹ The foundry began operations for the state in 1864, and by the spring of the following year it was producing a fine quality of iron products.

The Governor was not content with the establishment of iron manufacturing plants because he believed that Louisiana could supply its own raw materials and had urged the legislature to provide for a geological survey. Allen had made an unsuccessful attempt to secure such a survey in 1860. The assembly responded to his suggestion and appropriated \$50,000 for the establishment of a mining and manufacturing bureau.⁶⁰ One of Allen's first appointments under this act made Judge J. B. Robertson commissioner for the bureau with instructions to make a geological survey.⁶¹ His report was made to the Governor late in 1864.⁶² Allen secured the release of Charles N. Tripp from a Texas military company in order that he might search for minerals in the northwestern

⁵⁸ Shreveport News, April 25, 1865.

⁵⁹ Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 143; Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 77; Shreveport News, November 8, 1864, January 31, 1865.

⁶⁰ Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 129, contains the account of the bureau; Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 12, 1864; Expenditures of the Treasurer's Office, 1861-1865, MSS., in Confederate Records, The National Archives, Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXV, 398.

⁶¹ Contracts for the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 79.

⁶² Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 100.

part of the state.⁶³ To encourage the search for natural resources the legislature in 1865 provided that any company might prospect upon state lands and, if minerals were found, they could operate the mines for two years and then would have the privilege of purchasing one half of the lands.⁶⁴ An additional offer was made by the state during the last year of the war when Allen advertised a reward of \$2,000 for anyone who found lead in quantities sufficient to warrant mining it.⁶⁵

Turpentine was a much needed article in the spring of 1864 and Allen saw no reason why Louisiana could not supply its needs because there was an abundance of pine trees growing in the state. When the legislature in 1864 appropriated money to supply this item, Allen established plants in Sabine Parish. E. J. Brown was appointed superintendent of the Turpentine Works in July, 1864.⁶⁶ W. S. Reed contracted to make barrels for the works⁶⁷ and David J. Elder, a state agent, was authorized to pay for all resin milled at the Turpentine Works.⁶⁸ Allen reported to the legislature in 1865 that the state had two stills in operation.⁶⁹

⁶³ Allen to Governor Pendleton Murrah, February 29, 1864, in Governor's Official Correspondence, State Library, Austin, Texas; Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 33-34.

⁶⁴ Louisiana Acts, 1865, p. 39.

⁶⁵ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 16, 1864; Opelousas Courier, May 14, 1864.

⁶⁶ Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 75.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 111.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 85.

⁶⁹ ⁶⁷ Ibid., 111. January 31, 1865; Opelousas Courier, March ⁶⁸ Ibid., 85.

⁶⁹ Shreveport News,

To supply the soldiers and people with cloth, Allen established a manufacturing plant in Claiborne Parish in 1864. G. J. Riddle was appointed state agent at a salary of \$11,000 per year to supervise the factory.⁷⁰ The Opelousas Courier in July, 1864, reported that the factory had been established in Claiborne Parish and was running several spinning machines. It stated further that a large quantity of cloth had been made for the state troops.⁷¹ The Governor reported to the legislature in 1865 that the state had two cotton cloth manufacturing plants in successful operation.⁷²

A rope-walk was erected near Minden and was making excellent cotton rope in July, 1864.⁷³

Salt as a factor in the Civil War has been treated by another writer,⁷⁴ but it is pertinent to discuss some of the things done by Governor Allen to aid the people in procuring this much needed commodity.

In the northern part of the state there were salt licks and deposits on Saline and Dugdemona Bayous and on Lake Bisteneau in the parishes of Bossier, Bienville, and Winn. Important works in these parishes were King's Salt Works and Drake's plant about one mile east of Goldonna and Rayburn's in southeastern Bienville. On Lake Bisteneau was by far the

⁷⁰ Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 130-31, 158.

⁷¹ Opelousas Courier, July 30, 1864.

⁷² Shreveport News, January 31, 1865; Opelousas Courier, March 11, 1865.

⁷³ Opelousas Courier, July 30, 1864.

⁷⁴ Ella Lonn, Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy (New York, 1933).

most important of these works.⁷⁵ In January, 1864, it was reported that about 300 hands were at work manufacturing salt and producing an average of six barrels per week at the Bisteneau works.⁷⁶

In the southern part of the state salt was mined in paying quantities on Avery's Island. It was discovered there about 1791 by John Hayes. Later he sold some of the land to Jesse McCaul who attempted to mine the salt but found it unprofitable. During the war of 1812, when the price of salt increased, John Marsh began working the mines again; within a few years they became unprofitable and were abandoned. When the Civil War began, Judge Daniel D. Avery, owner of the land, began working the mines. His son, John, to increase the output, attempted to deepen the wells when his workers discovered a solid rock of salt about sixteen feet below the surface.⁷⁷

When information about the discovery spread Avery was besieged by agents from the southern states for a supply of salt. Mississippi and Alabama made contracts with him.⁷⁸ In 1864 Avery's agent, J. P. Kearney, visited Allen and offered to supply salt to the people of the state at twenty-five cents per pound.⁷⁹ In October Allen sent John M.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 22; A. C. Veatch, "The Salines of North Louisiana," in A Report on the Geology of Louisiana (Baton Rouge, 1902), 51-57; F. V. Hopkins, Second Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Louisiana to the General Assembly (New Orleans, 1871), 5.

⁷⁶ Shreveport Southwestern, January 29, 1862; New Orleans Daily True Delta, February 4, 1862.

⁷⁷ Lonn, Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy, 32.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 33, 91, 93.

⁷⁹ Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 80.

Sandidge, Chief of Ordnance of Louisiana, to inspect the mines and to study the possibility of making a contract to supply the people of south Louisiana.⁸⁰ No agreement was made by the state but the people of Louisiana did not suffer from the lack of salt in the last year of the war because Avery supplied the needs of south Louisiana and the works at Lake Bisteneau furnished more than enough for north Louisiana. During the last year of the war Phelps and Company, Shreveport merchants, offered good Bisteneau salt at wholesale or retail prices and boats made regular trips from Shreveport to Natchitoches and Alexandria offering the commodity at retail prices.⁸¹

Louisiana in 1864 was in a destitute condition because many people were without food, clothing, medicine, and the necessities for maintaining life. Allen set to work immediately to take care of as many of the people as he could. The legislature in 1864 appropriated \$200,000 and in the following year added \$4,300,000 to furnish provisions for the families of soldiers serving in the state or Confederate forces. Other appropriations were made to provide medicines for the families.⁸²

Allen appointed agents in the parishes to distribute these products to the people. They were authorized to draw upon either the state treasury or the Governor for certain

⁸⁰ Ibid., 83.

⁸¹ Shreveport News, February 7, 1865; Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, June 13, 1865.

⁸² Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 12, 1864; Louisiana Acts, 1865, pp. 2, 154.

sums to provide for the needs in their respective areas. The amount sent into the parishes varied from a few dollars up to \$50,000. To facilitate the distribution of provisions the state was divided into two districts. The parishes north of Red River constituted one district under the supervision of Nicholas C. Coleman, and the region south of the river was under the supervision of state Senator L. Vincent Reeves from Concordia Parish.⁸³

The people living in the Red River Valley from Shreveport to Alexandria were suffering when Allen became governor, and the invasion of Banks a few months later placed virtually the entire population in destitute conditions. The Federal army as it retreated destroyed, burned, and stole from the people. Their destruction reached its climax in the burning of Alexandria. The Confederate troops followed the Federals' retreat closely and, if there were any provisions left in the Valley, they impressed them for their use.

The city of Alexandria in the spring of 1864 presented a very strange contrast to the same place at the beginning of the war. It had a population of about 2,000 when the war began and was a terminal for the trade from Texas. Wagons came regularly to the city loaded with beef, wool, and coffee which were packed and shipped by boat to the Confederate Army. In January, 1862, it was reported that over 100 wagons

⁸³ Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 27-28, 30-31. For a list of state agents appointed by Allen, see Appendix IV.

were en route from Texas⁸⁴ and on January 28, the Louisiana Democrat stated that a person traveling to the Sabine River was never out of sight of a wagon.⁸⁵ Plenty of produce was reported in town throughout the year of 1862, but two years later it was a very different story.

The city had been visited by the Federals on three different occasions, and each time brought disastrous results. The Louisiana Democrat in the spring of 1864 asked, "Where's the remedy? For the past week the food question as regards our village has assumed an alarming form. No beef in the markets; not a pound to be had for love, prayer or money; and no better prospect ahead."⁸⁶ The paper stated further that only a few bushels of meal had been brought to town and they sold for "the liberal price of eight dollars a bushel". A few beans and potatoes were offered for sale at five dollars per bushel and a small amount of flour at one dollar per pound.

To alleviate the suffering of the people in the region visited by the Federals, Allen sent medicines, food, clothing, and animals to assist them in getting their crops started. In March, 1864, John G. McWilliams carried 3,115 bushels of corn into the Red River country and distributed it among the people.⁸⁷ By June there had been delivered at Natchitoches

⁸⁴ New Orleans Daily True Delta, January 7, 28, February 4, 25, 1862.

⁸⁵ Alexandria Louisiana Democrat, January 21, 1862.

⁸⁶ Ibid., February 5, 1864; New Orleans Times, February 17, 1864.

⁸⁷ Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 200-201.

over 6,000 bushels. In May Governor Allen loaded two boats with nearly 15,000 pounds of flour, 7,000 pounds of bacon, and 5,000 barrels of corn and sent them to Alexandria.⁸⁸

The provisions were sold at reasonable prices to those who could pay and given to those who were in destitute conditions. Later Allen secured a number of beef cattle from the Opelousas region and sold them at reasonable prices to the markets in Alexandria.⁸⁹

In dispensing the supplies Allen had one great aim and that was to relieve suffering. He instructed his Relief Committee in Rapides "to make no distinction, and not to inquire into the past and present status of those needing relief."⁹⁰ The Louisiana Democrat stated, "We positively know that the families of those in the Confederate, Federal and Jayhawker service were all supplied alike. He had but one object in view, to afford instant relief to the needy."⁹¹

Allen was always ready to look after the interests of the civilian population, and he was just as eager to take care of the soldiers. As early as 1861 a hospital for the sick and wounded soldiers was established in Shreveport under the direction of Doctor A. Williams.⁹² In August, 1863, the ladies of Shreveport organized a hospital to take care of transient soldiers. Mrs. J. H. Reynolds was president and Mrs. W. A. Lacy secretary. They raised by public subscription

⁸⁸ Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 279.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 280.

⁹⁰ Alexandria Louisiana Democrat, November 1, 1865.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, December 26, 1862.

over \$5,000 and rented a house on Edwards street to take care of the stranded soldiers.⁹³ Within ten days the organization reported that they had furnished food and lodgings for over one hundred soldiers and had given them from one to three days rations when they left the hospital.⁹⁴ In January, 1865, the organization reported that they had furnished 1,380 meals and 447 lodging to 535 soldiers during the month of January.⁹⁵ The legislature recognized the value of such work and appropriated \$150,000 to aid the group in their program.⁹⁶ Another soldiers' home, about which less is known, was located at Vernon, Louisiana, with Mrs. J. E. Smith president and Low Clark secretary of the organization.⁹⁷

When the Governor learned that some Louisiana soldiers held in northern prisons were in need of food and clothing he secured a \$50,000 appropriation to aid them.⁹⁸

He appointed L. Vincent Reeves commissioner for the aid of the prisoners,⁹⁹ and he purchased fifty bales of cotton and ordered it sent to Colonel I. Szymanski in New Orleans to be sold and the proceeds sent to the Confederate prisoners held at Johnson's Island.¹⁰⁰

93 Ibid., August 11, 1863. It was called the Soldiers' Home Association, Lucy Moore was vice-president and Mrs. H. L. Guion was treasurer. The executive committee was composed of Mesdames H. J. G. Battle, J. C. Beall, and H. L. Guion.

94 Ibid., August 28, 1863.

95 Shreveport News, February 7, 1865.

96 Louisiana Acts, 1865, p. 28.

97 Mrs. J. E. Smith to Allen, January 31, 1865, Vernon, Louisiana, in Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 106.

98 Louisiana Acts, 1865, p. 11.

99 Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 147.

100 Allen to Colonel I. Szymanski, agent of exchange,

In 1861 there was organized in Richmond a Louisiana Soldiers Relief Association and Hospital to aid Louisiana soldiers who were wounded in the eastern sector of the war.¹⁰¹ This organization was maintained during the entire period of the war, and in 1865 the legislature appropriated \$50,000 to aid it in its work.¹⁰²

In checking the ledger for the Governor's contingent fund one is attracted by the numerous gifts which Allen made to wounded soldiers during the latter part of 1864 and all of 1865. From June 30 to December 31 Allen paid out over \$3,000 to soldiers and destitute women in sums of fifty and one hundred dollars. From January to June, 1865, he paid over \$8,000 to soldiers and women from this fund. The amount paid usually was one hundred dollars per person.¹⁰³

When Allen learned that the people of Texas were raising money for the family of Tom Green who was killed in the Battle of Mansfield he immediately sent \$5,000 as a gift from the state of Louisiana.¹⁰⁴

Trans-Mississippi Department, March 31, 1865, in Official Records, Ser. II, Vol. VIII, 450; Special Orders No. 57, Headquarters Department of the Gulf, April 11, 1865, ordered the cotton sold at New Orleans, *ibid.*, 487.

¹⁰¹ Louisiana Soldiers' Relief Association and Hospital in the City of Richmond, Virginia (Richmond, 1862). This pamphlet contains the history of the organization, the personnel of the hospital, annual report of finances, record of men with the date they entered the hospital, and the date of discharge or death. Copy available in Louisiana State University Library. William A. Carrington, secretary of the Association, to Allen, October 27, 1864, in Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 84.

¹⁰² Louisiana Acts, 1865, p. 28.

¹⁰³ State of Louisiana Contingent Fund, MSS., in Confederate Records, The National Archives, Chap. VIII, Vol. CXVI.

¹⁰⁴ Houston Daily Telegraph, July 8, 1864; Shreveport News, June 14, 1864.

The Governor was always ready to assist his people in a material way and was careful to see that their civil rights were protected. Shortly after becoming governor, he wrote to President Davis protesting against the impressment acts and the slowness of the Confederate government in paying citizens' claims against the Confederacy. Allen suggested that a more direct manner of handling these claims be provided but the President replied that such a change would have to be made by Congress.¹⁰⁵ Allen realized that a large number of citizens in his state had claims against the Confederacy for services, use of their slaves, animals, and for property impressed during the war, and that many of these people were unable to secure counsel to collect these claims. The Governor appointed Andrew R. Hynes commissioner of claims, and authorized him to settle all claims held against the Confederacy by the citizens of Louisiana.¹⁰⁶

Allen did not depend upon private enterprise to take care of the needs of his people; instead he established a state store and within a year had a system working which would bring "joy to the heart of any socialist." The store kept a complete stock of clothes, shoes, household articles, kitchen utensils, and groceries. Those who were able paid for what they purchased; others were furnished with the

¹⁰⁵ Jefferson Davis to Henry W. Allen, April 9, 1864, in Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. LIII, 981-83. On the question of impressment, see Preston Pond to Allen, May 8, 1864, ibid., Ser. IV, Vol. III, 398-400.

¹⁰⁶ Opelousas Courier, June 18, 1864; Shreveport News, May 17, 1864.

necessities without cost. James C. Wise, quartermaster general, was in charge of the store and each month during Allen's administration made returns to the state treasury. In 1864 he paid into the treasury \$398,116.55 and in 1865 through May 25, he deposited \$1,516,033.43.¹⁰⁷

When it was evident that the Confederacy was going to fall Governor Allen ordered the store to dispose of its stock of goods for state money and according to a Shreveport paper the store took on the appearance of a bank. Its wares were sold to all those who were fortunate enough to have any state money in their possession, but strangely enough no Confederate money was accepted for the purchases.¹⁰⁸

The Louisiana Executive was truly a great administrator and at all times had the complete confidence of his subordinates and the military officials in the Trans-Mississippi Department. No item was too large nor none too small for him to give his attention. The following letter illustrated how the people regarded Allen when they needed something. "R. A. R.," writing on May 15, 1865, to Governor Allen said,

Many thanks for the one pair of shoes and ten yards of towels, which I got at your store this morning. The Colonel would not let me have any shoes for myself and the two little ones, nor a suit of clothes for my husband, because it was not specified in the order. Will your Excellency, Governor Allen, extend

¹⁰⁷ Journal of the Treasurer's Office, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXIV, 170, et. seq. For Wise's appointment, see Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 16, 1864; Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIX, 20. Clinton H. Ardis, Chief of the Clothing Bureau, was connected with the military store in 1865.

¹⁰⁸ New Orleans Times, May 23, 1865, quoted in the Shreveport Sentinel, May 14, 1865.

your generosity a little further, and give me an order for the following articles: Needles, thread, pins, one of the large bowls, two or three small ones, some plates, cups and saucers, a pitcher, shoes for myself and the two little ones, one suit of clothes for my husband, knives and spoons, one dish, chamber, stockings and anything else you are willing for me to get. I sent you a gold pencil and twenty-five cents, all I have to recompense you with now. God will reward you, and you will have my best wishes for your success and happiness. If you will let me have the order, please send it with this note, by the boy Henry.

A postscript said, Governor, I hope, I am not asking too much of you; if I am, please forgive. And will you please let me have a comb, some buttons, and also a few more yards of towels. 109

The New Orleans Daily Crescent in speaking of Allen's work after his death in 1866 said, "If an Arkansas, Missouri or Texas soldier wanted a shirt or a pair of shoes, the order issued. If a poor lady's mule had been impressed, an aid-de-camp was sent instantly to headquarters. If news was wanted of some young private in North Carolina or Virginia, secretaries were ordered to write at once. The Governor's office became the great center and focus of excitement. Men and women came from Arkansas and Texas for the aid they could not get at home, and the Missourians claimed Allen as their Governor."¹¹⁰

Allen, cognizant of the importance of disseminating news in time of war in order to keep up the moral of the people, made sure that the newspapers in Shreveport and other Louisiana towns under his control had a supply of printing paper. The correspondence between the Governor and his

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 252.

¹¹⁰ New Orleans Daily Crescent, May 15, 1866.

agents indicated the importance of the trade. S. E. Loeb, an agent, reported in October, 1864, that he would bring printing paper to Shreveport.¹¹¹ Emory Clapp, writing from Navasota in November, stated that 110 reams of paper had been forwarded and more paper would come on the next wagon,¹¹² and in April, 1865, W. F. Blackburne wrote that one bundle of paper costing \$940 was on its way to the city.¹¹³ Enough paper came to Shreveport to supply the needs of the printers because none of them suspended publication during Allen's administration.

Five papers were published in Shreveport during the period of the War. The Shreveport News was a daily in 1861 but changed to a weekly and then a semi-weekly paper. The Southwestern, Caddo Gazette, and Sentinel, made similar changes in their publications, and the fifth paper, the Army and Navy Messenger, was published weekly. It was paid for by public subscription and distributed gratuitously to the soldiers. The legislature in 1865 appropriated \$2,000 for its editor, H. M. Smith.¹¹⁴

John Dickinson, editor of the Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, published in 1863 the first almanac at Shreveport.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Loeb to Allen, October 29, 1864, in Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 86.

¹¹² Clapp to id., November 5, 1864, ibid., 87.

¹¹³ Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 160.

¹¹⁴ Louisiana Acts, 1865, p. 42; Expenditures of the Treasurer's Office, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXV, 152; New Orleans Times, October 18, 24, 1864; July 8, 1865. The New Orleans Times stated that another paper, the Mugginsvillian, was published in 1865 in Mugginsville, a suburb of Shreveport.

¹¹⁵ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, January 23, 1863.

In January, 1865, Allen had published a Louisiana Almanac which received favorably comment in Louisiana and Texas. It contained the calendar, the eclipses for 1865, officers of the Confederate government, information on secession, population of the seceded states, officers of the Louisiana state government, a list of judges, attorneys, and the military commands of the Trans-Mississippi Department.¹¹⁶

In June, 1864, Allen appointed a committee to gather information on Federal depredations in Louisiana. Those selected were Thomas Courtland Manning of Rapides, General John G. Pratt and Colonel John E. King of St. Landry, John W. Butler and Colonel Phanor Prudhomme of Natchitoches, Judge E. North Cullum and E. DeGeneres of Avoyelles. These commissioners received testimony from people in their respective parishes and sent the material to Allen, who had it published in pamphlet form.¹¹⁷

Allen did not neglect public education during his administration. Realizing the need for text books in the schools, he had his private secretary, E. W. Halsey,¹¹⁸ compile a book called the Louisiana English Grammar which con-

¹¹⁶ Shreveport News, January 24, 1865; Marshall Texas Republican, January 20, 1865.

¹¹⁷ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, April 29, 1865; Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, April 27, 1865. This report was published in the Tri-Weekly Telegraph April 27, May 11, 16, 1865. Also, see Official Reports Relative to the Conduct of Federal Troops in Western Louisiana During the Invasions of 1863 and 1864, Compiled from Sworn Testimony, Under Direction of Henry W. Allen, Shreveport, April, 1865 (Shreveport, 1865). Copy available in Louisiana State University Library.

¹¹⁸ Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate, June 20, 1885. E. W. Halsey, lawyer and scholar, was made editor of the New Orleans Courier in 1855. Four years later he resigned and

tained about 100 pages and was published at the Southwestern's office. The material was taken from Roswell C. Smith's New English Grammar.¹¹⁹ Governor Allen had compiled the Louisiana Spelling Book which was based upon Noah Webster's Elementary Spelling Book.¹²⁰ Another book called the Confederate Speller was published by M. F. Wells at Mount Lebanon.¹²¹

The legislature at its session in 1865 appropriated \$100,000 and authorized the Governor to purchase school books to be distributed by the police juries to the children of the state between the ages of six and sixteen.¹²² The books were sold at cost, but those unable to pay received them gratuitously. The Governor had his spelling book and grammar printed in Shreveport and bought from T. W. Dillard and Company an additional \$16,000 worth of books.¹²³

The state kept its public schools operating throughout the period of the war. In 1862 the appropriation amounted to \$92,906, but it had fallen to less than \$10,000 for the year 1864.¹²⁴ In 1863 W. H. N. Magruder was elected super-

became editor of the Louisiana Democrat to aid Thomas Overton Moore in his campaign for governor. He served as private secretary to Moore and Allen. After the war he was an officer in the legislature and became secretary to Governor Samuel D. McEnery. New Orleans Daily Delta, February 11, 1860; Halsey to Moore, May 8, 1861, in Thomas Overton Moore, MSS., Department of Archives, Louisiana State University.

¹¹⁹ Copy of the grammar available in Louisiana State University Library.

¹²⁰ Shreveport News, December 27, 1864.

¹²¹ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 23, 1864. Copy available in Louisiana State University Library.

¹²² Louisiana Acts, 1865, p. 26.

¹²³ Julius Lisso to Allen, November, 1864, in Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 99; Contracts of the State of Louisiana, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIV, 61, 95, 159.

¹²⁴ Expenditures of the Treasurer's Office, MSS., Chap.

intendent of education and served until the end of the war. The legislature at its session in 1865 abolished the office of superintendent of education effective the following January. The duties of the office were transferred to the auditor of public accounts.¹²⁵

When Allen became governor, private business was at a standstill because a depreciated Confederate currency, and the lack of a uniform state currency handicapped trade and prevented the normal exchange within the state. Allen urged the legislature to withdraw from circulation all state notes and substitute Confederate notes for them. He recommended, furthermore, that all corporations be prohibited from issuing notes and that the state treasurer be authorized to issue currency from ten cents up to one dollar.

The legislature, responding to these recommendations, authorized the Governor to recall all state bonds and to re-issue them only when needed to meet the expenses of the state. He was instructed to issue enough notes of small denominations to afford a medium of exchange for conducting business. These were issued bearing the portrait of General Beauregard and stating that they were printed at the "The Treasurer Office, Shreveport, Louisiana."¹²⁶

The Governor worked diligently to bring the state's currency out of its chaotic condition and by establishing a

VIII, Vol. CXXV, 419.

¹²⁵ Louisiana Acts, 1865, pp. 20, 45.

¹²⁶ J. Fair Hardin, "An Outline of Shreveport and Caddo Parish History," in Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XVIII (1935), 865.

store made it possible for the people to secure the full value of their money, which increased the demand for the state's currency. The Semi-Weekly News in 1865 said, "The State of Louisiana would be nearly destitute of change, only for our State money, which has been made good and current by the energy of our excellent Governor."¹²⁷ A few weeks later the same paper said, "We are glad to see the money of our State, now so much in demand. It is at par with the new issue."¹²⁸ By May, 1865, the Louisiana money was held at 20 per cent premium over the Confederate money.

Governor Moore had reported that from all sources Louisiana received \$6,706,774.05 during the year 1863 and the expenditures for the same year were \$2,689,144.71.¹²⁹ In January, 1865, Allen, reporting the financial condition of the state to the legislature, stated that he had drawn \$6,247,979 out of \$16,042,730 appropriated by the legislature and that a balance of \$4,794,651 remained in the treasury. He stated that the property on hand which had been acquired and paid for by the state during the past year consisted of cotton, sugar, subsistence stores, drugs, and medicines amounting to \$5,510,000. He reported that \$300,000 in treasury notes of one dollar and fractions of a dollar had been issued. Allen reported that the state debt was \$19,000,000 but that the Confederate government owed Louisiana \$4,000,000 for military service.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, April 29, 1865.

¹²⁸ Shreveport News, May 15, 1865.

¹²⁹ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 2, 1864.

¹³⁰ Shreveport News, January 31, February 7, 1865;

Allen did what he could to reorganize and preserve the state government. He secured legislation which permitted district judges to hold court anywhere within the parish. They were authorized to call court upon forty-eight hours notice.¹³¹ The state supreme court transferred its domicile to Shreveport where it held sessions during the last sixteen months of the war. The legislature instructed the court to hold one meeting each year in the town of Greensburg, St. Helena Parish.¹³²

Members of the supreme court were Chief Justice E. T. Merrick, Thomas T. Land, A. M. Buchanan, and Albert Voorhies. In April, 1864, Allen appointed Peter E. Bonford of New Orleans to succeed the late A. M. Buchanan. In the same month Thomas Courtland Manning of Rapides was appointed to replace Land, who had resigned.¹³³

When Bank's invasion threatened Shreveport in the spring of 1864, Allen hurriedly sent the state archives into Texas. Thomas M. Mann of Carroll Parish took them to Mount Enterprise in Rusk County where Frank Kelly later went to assist in protecting the records. They were taken back to Shreve-
Opelousas Courier, March 11, 1865.

¹³¹ Louisiana Acts, 1865, p. 3.

¹³² Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 12, 1864.

¹³³ Shreveport News, April 19, August 2, 1864. For the resignation of Land, see Land to Allen, April, 1864, in Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 134. For the judges salaries, see Journal of the Treasurer's Office, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CMIV, 160, 174, 183; Expenditures of the Treasurer's Office 1861-1865, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXV, et. seq. Some of the district judges were E. D. Farrar, H. D. Ogden, W. Barthes Egan, George W. Martin, R. W. Richardson, I. B. Smith, E. North Cullum, M. A. Frute, Roland H. Jones, and Chichetter Chaplin.

port in the latter part of the year.¹³⁴

In 1862 the Federals seized the state penitentiary and liberated about five hundred convicts. During the next several months each parish had to provide a place for detaining its criminals which was unsatisfactory because the upkeep of the jails placed a heavy burden upon the parishes. Allen arranged with Governor Pendleton Murrah to place the Louisiana convicts in the Texas penitentiary and the Texas legislature approved the arrangement by an act in November, 1864.¹³⁵

The state legislature met on January 16 and remained in session until February 4. Allen reported on the finances of the state, the amount of business transacted during the year, and the number of state manufacturing plants in operation. He reviewed the military events of the past year and urged the legislature to erect a monument in honor of the gallant soldiers who had died at Mansfield.¹³⁶

The Governor then recommended that he be given full power to call every able-bodied free male capable of bearing arms at any time he thought necessary for the defense of the state. He proposed that taxes be collected during the year,

¹³⁴ Allen to Murrah, April 24, 1864, in Governor's Official Correspondence, MSS.; State of Louisiana Contingent Fund, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXVI, 100.

¹³⁵ Allen to Murrah, August 10, 1864, in Governor's Official Correspondence, MSS., id. to id., October 21, 1864, ibid.; Louisiana Acts, 1865, p. 27.

¹³⁶ Shreveport News, January 31, 1865; Shreveport Army and Navy Messenger, February 2, 1865; Opelousas Courier, March 11, 1865; New Orleans Daily True Delta, February 5, 1865.

urged that more appropriations be made for the relief of families, and asked for a stringent law against kidnapping of slaves. He recommended that the Governor be authorized to purchase a sea-going steamer for running the blockade.

Then Allen touched upon two subjects which invoked criticism from many people in Louisiana and other sections of the South. He recommended that the legislature prohibit the sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors, except for family and medicinal use, and provide for the employment of slaves in the army.

In September, 1864, Allen had written to James A. Seddon, "The time has come for us to put into the army every able-bodied negro man as a soldier. This should be done immediately."¹³⁷ He stated that the negro knew he would have to fight if he escaped into the Federal lines and since the Federals were already using them, Allen urged the Secretary of War to put the negroes in the army.

This letter fell into the hands of the Federals and was published by them. Many of Allen's friends wanted him to deny its validity, but he refused and in the face of criticism urged that such a policy was expedient for the Confederacy.

When he appeared before the legislature Allen said, "The employment of negroes in the army is favorably noticed

¹³⁷ For a copy of the letter, see Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. LXI, Pt. 3, p. 774; E. T. Sykes, "Walthall's Brigade," in Mississippi Historical Society, Publications, Centenary Series, I (1916), 557-58. See Edward R. S. Canby's reply, in New Orleans Times, October 13, 1864.

and advocated. If the worse should come, perish slavery —
perish the institution forever — but give us independence."¹³⁸

The state legislature did not think it worthwhile to enact
such a law, but the assembly did prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors as Allen had recommended.¹³⁹

The legislature enacted other measures suggested by
Allen and indicated its full approval of his work during the
past year by adopting in approbation of his work the following resolution:

That in view of the extraordinary emergencies,
occasioned by a state of war, and the impoverished
and straightened conditions of our people, in which
Governor Allen, has been called upon to act, we approve
what he had done for the public relief and welfare,
prompted as his action has been, by patriotic zeal,
and parental care of our people, and guided as it
has been by sound judgement and discretion, and executed
with extraordinary energy and industry; be it further
resolved, that Governor Allen has earned the thanks
of the people of the State of Louisiana, which we, as
their Representatives hereby gratefully tender him. 140

Allen entered office when Louisiana's largest city, almost
one half of its territory, and a large portion of its
wealth were in the hands of the enemy. Agriculture was
paralyzed, legitimate commerce was gone, manufacturies did
not exist, and no effort had been made to establish them.
The food supply was exhausted in many parishes, medicines,
and other necessities were not available or the price was
too high for the average family. The state was defended by

¹³⁸ Shreveport News, January 31, 1865; Opelousas Courier,
March 11, 1865; New Orleans Daily True Delta, February 5,
1865.

¹³⁹ Louisiana Acts, 1865, p. 19.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 22-23.

a small, poorly equipped, and ill-disciplined force of men. The military authorities had impressed most of the animals and wagons for use in the army and only a small remnant of the able-bodied men remained at home to keep the plantations in order. The state was harassed by Jayhawkers, brigands, thieves, and robbers. Federal raiding parties visited and pillaged the border parishes regularly.

Under such gloomy conditions Allen began work and within a few months made his name a household word throughout the state; and before the end of 1864, he had become one of the best known officials in Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and Missouri. The Texas Republican remarked in October that Allen had just been in Marshall, was looking well, and that "the cares of office seem to sit lightly upon him."¹⁴¹ A few weeks later the same paper stated that "Governor Allen is winning golden opinions from all sorts of people."¹⁴² A citizen of Arkansas, commenting on Allen's message to the legislature, wrote to the Shreveport News in February, 1864, that "The people of the State of Louisiana are truly fortunate; combined with the most active and energetic mind, this message presents one remarkable feature; the strong desire apparent on every page, not only to relieve the people to the utmost extent, but a determination to develop every possible resource of the State, and drive suffering and want from every hearth stone."¹⁴³ The Opelousas Courier, writing

¹⁴¹ Marshall Texas Republican, October 28, 1864.

¹⁴² Ibid., December 9, 1864.

¹⁴³ Shreveport News, February 28, 1864.

on January 28, 1865 said, "Our Governor is really an extraordinary man. Every one is acquainted with his characteristics, his courage, patriotism, indefatigable energy and great confidence in our cause. It is good to hear him, for one insensibly adopts his views and opinions, and fires renewed strength in his convictions."

No name holds the place in Louisiana that Allen's did in the nineteenth century, and yet amid all of this glamour and praise Allen did not demand luxury for himself. He lived with his staff officers in a small three-room house equipped with very modest furnishings.¹⁴⁴ His office was located on the North side of Texas street in a very small unpretentious building.¹⁴⁵ When his day's work was completed Allen liked nothing better than to retire to his home and spend a few hours with his close friends. He usually led the conversation, which pertained to his life and deeds. One of his favorite topics was his work on the capitol grounds in Baton Rouge.¹⁴⁶

144 J. Fair Hardin, "An Outline of Shreveport and Caddo Parish History," in loc. cit., 865. The house was located at 322 Allen Avenue. This home later became the property of Rance Cole.

145 Ibid. The executive office was located on the north side of Texas street at 724-26 in a frame building which was recently demolished.

146 New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 5, 1865.

Chapter IX

THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT, 1862-1865

After the fall of the city of New Orleans in April, 1862, it was evident that the Confederacy would have to form a special department to administer adequately, and to give the proper protection to, the territory west of the Mississippi River. In the latter part of May, 1862, the Confederate military authorities created the Trans-Mississippi Department which embraced three districts. Texas and the territory of Arizona constituted the District of Texas; Arkansas, Missouri, and the Indian Country composed the District of Arkansas; and that portion of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River became the District of West Louisiana.¹ General Theophilus H. Holmes who was in command of the Arkansas area was placed in charge of the Department. He established his headquarters at Little Rock, where he assumed command of the Trans-Mississippi Department in July, 1862.²

Holmes had as subordinates Generals Thomas C. Hindman, commander in Arkansas, Paul O. Hebert in Louisiana, Henry H. Sibley in Texas, and Albert Pike among the Indians. Later, J. Bankhead Magruder was placed in charge of the Texas District.

General Richard Taylor, a native of Louisiana who had

1. Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. IX, 713; ibid., General Orders No. 5, August 20, 1862, p. 731.

2 Ibid., Vol. XIII, 855, 860; Alexandria Louisiana Democrat, September 10, 1862; Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, July 11, 1862.

commanded a brigade in Virginia, was sent to Louisiana in 1862 to assume command of the district of West Louisiana. He arrived in Opelousas late in August and after holding a conference with Governor Moore assumed command of the district.³

The condition of the army attracted Taylor's attention, because he had only a small number of men. He tried to increase his forces by enforcing the conscription acts but had very little success. Taylor then appealed to the authorities of the East and received two small regiments, the Eighteenth Louisiana and the Crescent, a small battalion in infantry, and some light artillery.⁴ Louisiana was ill-supplied with munitions and had no means of manufacturing any, so Taylor called upon the Richmond authorities and received some assistance. With limited supplies and poorly trained men, he was instructed to prevent the Federals from advancing into the interior and, if possible, to drive them from the southern coast of Louisiana.⁵

Conditions in other portions of the trans-Mississippi region were likewise deplorable. It appeared that General Holmes and his forces in Arkansas were not doing so well in 1862 because the army had decreased from 50,000 to about 15,000 men; they were half starved, very dissatisfied, and

³ Richard Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, Personal Experiences of the Late War (New York, 1879), 99, 102; Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 789, 791.

⁴ Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 110, 113; Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, p. 691.

⁵ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 791, 808, 897; ibid., Vol. XIII, 912.

were plundering the citizens instead of protecting their property.⁶ Missouri was suffering even worse conditions because the government had fallen when Governor Claiborne F. Jackson died.⁷ The Lieutenant Governor, Thomas C. Reynolds, had not arrived from South Carolina, where he was visiting at the time of his accession.⁸ The Federal forces had driven many of the Confederates out of Missouri and naturally the people suffered from raids, robbers, and impressments.

6 Ibid., Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 802.

7 Claiborne Fox Jackson (1806-1862), governor of Missouri, was born in Fleming County, Kentucky. He migrated to Missouri before he was twenty, secured employment in a store, and later became the proprietor.

Jackson was elected to the General Assembly in 1836 and again in 1842. He was speaker in 1844 and 1846. He was a pro-slavery Democrat and followed Thomas H. Benton until 1848 when the latter prevented his re-election. Benton successfully opposed Jackson's election to Congress in 1853 and 1855. Jackson was elected governor in 1860.

He did not advocate immediate secession but urged the legislature to call a convention and to reorganize the militia. The convention met in February, 1861, and proposed to accept any favorable compromise. Jackson acquiesced in the decision but he wanted to arm the militia. When Lincoln called for troops, Jackson wrote a defiant letter to the Secretary of War saying that no troops would be furnished for such an "unholy crusade."

When the legislature reassembled and voted to arm the militia, Jackson called for 50,000 troops to defend the state. He and some members of the legislature went to Neosho and in December, 1861, adopted the secession ordinance. Jackson was not very active in the Civil War. He died at Little Rock, Arkansas, in December, 1862. H. Edward Nettles, "Claiborne Fox Jackson," in Dictionary of American Biography, IX, 538.

8 Thomas C. Reynolds to John B. Clark, December 27, 1862, p. 1, in Thomas C. Reynolds Letter Book, 1862-1865, MSS., in Library of Congress. Cited hereafter as Reynolds Letter Book. Reynolds was visiting in Winnsborough, South Carolina, when he learned of Governor Jackson's death in December, 1862. Early in 1863 he went to Richmond but was detained another two weeks because of illness. On March 19 he went to Winnsborough thence to Columbia, and then to Montgomery and Mobile, where he conferred with Simon Bolivar Buckner. He arrived in Jackson, Mississippi, April 8, and after two unsuccessful

Under these conditions General E. Kirby Smith replaced Holmes as commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department. At the time of his appointment Smith was in Richmond, but he quickly made his way south, crossed the Mississippi River at Port Hudson, and entered Louisiana. He arrived at Alexandria March 7, 1863, officially assumed command of the Department, and established his headquarters there.⁹ Among the members of Smith's staff were Lieutenant Edward Cunningham and Doctor Sol A. Smith of Alexandria, medical director, both of whom had served with Smith while he commanded in the East. Joseph F. Belton, assistant adjutant general, and General William R. Boggs, chief of staff, had been with him in his Tennessee campaign.¹⁰

Smith conferred with his old friend from the eastern theater of the war, General Richard Taylor, and in response to President Davis' request formulated plans to protect the Mississippi River. Then he hurried away to Arkansas where there appeared some dissension among the troops, and after spending about three weeks inspecting the area, Smith returned to Alexandria. He learned that General Nathaniel P. Banks' attempts were able to cross the river at Natchez on May 1. He proceeded to Little Rock via Monroe. Reynolds established temporary headquarters at Camden in May. A few weeks later he transferred to Shreveport but, being unable to secure accommodations, he went to Marshall where his headquarters were located when the war closed. Reynolds Letter Book, MSS., 1, 14, 15, 45-47, 49-50, 62, 66, 104.

⁹ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 948, 972, 1005; Shreveport Weekly News, March 23, 1863; Dallas Herald, May 6, 1863.

¹⁰ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 1009, 1048; William R. Boggs, Military Reminiscences of General W. R. Boggs, C. S. A. (John Lawson Monographs of the Trinity College Historical

had landed a force of 18,000 at Berwick Bay and planned to move against Taylor who was located at Opelousas.¹¹

General Taylor began a retreat and, keeping away from the Federals, arrived safely in Alexandria.¹² When Banks was within one day's march of the city, Smith had the departmental records taken to Shreveport and ordered a retreat toward Natchitoches.¹³

Banks occupied Opelousas April 20 and a few days later began his march toward Alexandria. He arrived before the city on May 7, but instead of pursuing Taylor decided to cross the Mississippi River and invest Port Hudson.¹⁴

During May and June Smith attempted to aid Vicksburg which was besieged by the Federal forces, but lack of communication and inadequate transportation facilities thwarted his efforts.¹⁵ The city surrendered July 4, 1863, and Port Hudson was taken three days later, thus effecting a break in the Confederacy and giving the Federals complete control of the Mississippi River.

General Smith found himself in command of a department Society, Durham, 1913), 60-61.

11 Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, pp. 871, 935; Ibid., Vol. XV, 386-87; Boggs, Reminiscences, 56.

12 Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 3, p. 636; ibid., Vol. XV, 296-98, 388-96, 370-74; ibid., Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 5-21.

13 Boggs, Reminiscences, 58; Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, April 20, 28, 1863.

14 Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 313, 316-17; ibid., Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 5-21.

15 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 137-38; Boggs, Reminiscences, 58; J. P. Blessington, The Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division by a Private Soldier ... (New York, 1875), 122; Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, pp. 904, 913.

almost independent of the Confederacy. He had to supply munitions, food, and clothing, and raise the morale of his army. All had to be done without the aid of Confederate authorities because the Federal blockade made it almost impossible for any Confederate news to cross the Mississippi River. Smith had established his headquarters at Shreveport because of its central location at the head of navigation on Red River.¹⁶ He formulated plans to make his department self-sustaining.

He turned his attention first to the establishment of a communication system; and by June, 1863, he had completed a telegraph line between Shreveport and Monroe; later, Little Rock, Alexandria, and Texas were in direct communication with headquarters. Smith established a foundry, took over the Nash Iron Works in Davis County, Texas, and organized a clothing bureau which brought cloth, hats, and other articles of clothing from Texas and Mexico. There were erected near San Antonio a large tannery and a woolen factory.¹⁷

¹⁶ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 871.

¹⁷ Ibid., 871, 885, 935; ibid., Vol. XV, 1028; Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, July 24, 1863; Dallas Herald, March 11, May 27, 1863; February 2, 1865. S. Armitage, a Federal scout, reported February 2, 1865, that "The department depot for provisions is at Jefferson; only a provost guard there. At Marshall there is a Government tannery, a shoe manufactory, a foundry for cannon shot and shell, a factory for percussion caps, a powder factory, and the headquarters of the Treasury Department for the Trans-Mississippi Department. Lead is brought to Marshall from Mexico. At Shreveport is a foundry for casting cannon shot and shell; also the depot of clothing, which is full of blankets, shoes, and other clothing for the Trans-Mississippi Department. All shoemakers and tailors are obliged to work there. A breastwork surrounds the city, with embrasures at intervals of 100 yards for guns. No guns are now mounted. No troops are there

When Vicksburg fell, Smith had virtually completed the reorganization of the department. President Davis wrote him at the time that he had a political as well as a military problem and urged him to co-ordinate his department by calling a conference of the governors from the various states because some were complaining that their states were being neglected. Davis stated that he had great confidence in Smith's ability to handle the matter.¹⁸

Governor Harris Flanagin of Arkansas had objected to Smith's withdrawing troops from Arkansas to strengthen the forces in southern Louisiana, and he complained about the abandoning of Camden and of moving machinery into the interior. Smith had replied to him that these things had been done for the best interests of the department.¹⁹

Before Davis' letter arrived, Smith had called the suggested conference at Marshall, Texas, for August 15. He had invited the governors, supreme court judges, and congressmen to attend the meeting.²⁰ The conference was well attended from Arkansas, Missouri, Texas, and Louisiana. After Governor Francis R. Lubbock of Texas was elected chairman of the except a provost guard." Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. 1, p. 720.

¹⁸ Official Records, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, pp. 919, 935.

¹⁹ Ibid., 935-49, 952.

²⁰ For proceedings of the conference, see ibid., 949, 1004; Shreveport Southwestern, September 2, 1863. Those attending the conference were: from Texas Governor Francis R. Lubbock, William S. Oldham, Colonel Pendleton Murrah, Major Guy M. Bryan; from Louisiana Governor Moore, Colonel Thomas C. Manning, W. Merrick, Albert Voorhies; from Arkansas H. Robert, W. Johnson, C. B. Mitchell, W. K. Patterson; and from Missouri Governor Thomas C. Reynolds.

group, General Smith submitted the following questions for their consideration:

1. What is the condition of the states since the fall of Vicksburg, the attitude of the people, the resources of the states, and their ability to contribute to the defense of the department?

2. What is the best method of restoring confidence, of preventing dissension, and of keeping the people steadfast in the hope of ultimate victory?

3. What is the proper way to safeguard government credit, to secure the cotton of the department without the people's opposition, and to dispose of this cotton to the best advantage?

4. What should be the extent of the civil authority exercised by the department commander?

5. What is the opinion of the delegates with regard to the appointment of commissioners to confer with the French and Mexican authorities in Mexico?

6. What is the amount of arms and ordnance stores in the various states?

Governor Lubbock appointed three committees to consider these questions, and after due deliberation they reported that something should be done to improve the manufacturing of the district, that the food supply was adequate to take care of the needs of the people in the department, and although there was some disaffection among the people, the Trans-Mississippi Department was still a part of the Con-

federacy.

The group recommended that General Smith assume only those military powers exercised by the generals in other parts of the Confederacy. They urged him to open trade with Mexico and suggested that he confer with the Mexican and French authorities with the view of securing an understanding between the powers.

The conference adopted a resolution asking that the governors be constituted into an unofficial Committee of Public Safety. They recommended that each parish and county organize a similar committee "to harmonize, and infuse vigor into the patriotic efforts of the people, diffuse correct information, and discourage disloyalty." Upon the recommendation of Senator C. B. Mitchell of Arkansas the conference adopted the following resolution: "That from our intercourse with Lieutenant General E. Kirby Smith, and on hearing his plans, we have the most implicit confidence in his regard for law, his military skill and ability, his devotion to Southern rights, his purity and integrity as a man, and we believe that the united, vigorous efforts of our people will, under his leadership, insure our final complete success."²¹

Thomas C. Reynolds, Governor of Missouri, was made chairman of the governor's committee. He issued a circular after the meeting adjourned setting forth the results of the conference and urging the people to co-operate with the

²¹ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, P. 1010; Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, August 25, September 4, 1863.

government.²²

In the parishes of Louisiana a number of committees or associations were organized, and did excellent service in securing supplies for the people and protecting their rights. The first Association of Public Safety was organized at Shreveport in September, 1863, with R. J. Looney as president, Major George Tucker, vice-president, M. Estes, secretary, and Samuel Wells, treasurer.²³ In other parts of the state, committees were organized and functioned intermittently for the remainder of the war.²⁴

In the latter part of 1863 Smith's chief problem was his army because he had to keep the ranks filled and procure food, clothing, medicines, and munitions. These supplies came from Texas and Mexico and in order to get them Smith had to export cotton. To get the necessary amount of cotton he began impressing but encountered opposition from the governors of Louisiana and Texas.²⁵

Governor Lubbock and later Pendleton Murrah objected to impressment of cotton and both executives gave Smith much trouble when he tried to recruit soldiers in Texas. Smith had fewer difficulties with Governor Moore about the army because Louisiana had virtually no militia.

²² Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, September 25, 1863; Shreveport Southwestern, September 2, 1863.

²³ Shreveport Southwestern, September 15, 1864.

²⁴ Ibid., October 16, November 17, 1863; February 5, 1864.

²⁵ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 1028; Dorsey Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 282-83; Shreveport News, June 7, 1864; Frank L. Owsley, States Rights in the Confederacy (Chicago, 1925), 60-62.

Governor Moore had been authorized to raise a state guard by the legislature in 1863. The act provided that all men in the state between the ages of seventeen and fifty, except state officials, clergymen, physicians, and those mentally disqualified and physically unfit, were subject to military duty. The act provided a bounty of fifty dollars and eighty acres of land plus sixteen dollars per month for privates while in actual service.²⁶

Under this law Governor Moore appointed Allen major general, and the legislature elected General John G. Pratt, Colonel C. M. Randolph, and Colonel Thomas E. Vick brigadier generals.²⁷ However, the Governor was unable to raise very many troops because the people opposed the law, and when the district court in Shreveport declared the act unconstitutional, it became unenforceable. Governor Moore reported to the legislature in 1864 that he had been unable to raise the state force.²⁸

Under these conditions Allen became governor. To remedy the situation the legislature at its first session enacted a law authorizing the Governor to raise a State Guard composed of two battalions of mounted men consisting of five hundred each.²⁹ On February 15 Allen appointed Majors R. E. Wyche and W. H. Terrell to command the two battalions of the

²⁶ Louisiana Acts, 1863, pp. 42-43; Galveston News, January 16, 1863; Dallas Herald, January 28, 1863; Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, January 16, 27, 1863.

²⁷ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, January 16, 1863.

²⁸ Ibid., April 7, May 1, June 12, 1863; February 2, 1864.

²⁹ Ibid., February 16, 1864.

cavalry and infantry.³⁰ All men between the ages of sixteen and eighteen and all over forty-five years were subject to service in the State Guard. When the companies had recruited as many as fifty each they were permitted to organize. The noncommissioned officers were to be appointed by the captain and the others selected by the governor.

John W. Stuart and Samuel McCutcheon were appointed captains of the State Guards and authorized to enlist men for the organization.³¹ On March 6 the first company was enrolled in the state's service, and before June two battalions had been recruited and placed in General Smith's army.³² Allen, attempting to form a battalion in eastern Louisiana, appointed James B. Corkern major and D. B. Graham captain. In June, 1864, he wrote to James A. Seddon, secretary of war, and asked that these men and the others named as officers in battalion be transferred from the Confederate service to the State Guard.³³

The Louisiana militia act of 1864 conflicted with a Confederate law enacted on February 27, 1864, which made all men between the ages of seventeen and fifty eligible for Confederate service. Allen wrote Davis protesting against the act and asked that Louisiana be exempted from the law. The President replied that such was beyond his or General Smith's power but suggested that Smith would aid Allen in

³⁰ Ibid., February 16, 19, 1864.

³¹ Ibid., February 16, 19, 26, 1864; Opelousas Courier, March 5, 1864.

³² Shreveport News, March 8, 1864.

³³ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. LIII, 1003-04.

every way possible to make the Louisiana troops available when needed.³⁴

Allen selected for his personal staff a group of well-known Louisiana citizens most of whom had held public offices before the war and many of whom had been officers in the Confederacy. Ernest Miltenberger of New Orleans and Thomas G. Parkes of Pointe Coupee were appointed lieutenant colonels and made aide-de-camps. Theodore Gaillard Hunt, prominent New Orleans attorney, was named adjutant general with the rank of a brigadier general. William F. Wagner, assistant adjutant general, was made a colonel, and Duncan L. Cage of Terrebonne was appointed captain and acting adjutant. Henry M. Favrot of West Baton Rouge, formerly captain in the Delta Rifles, was appointed commanding general of the State Guard with the rank of lieutenant colonel. James C. Wise of Rapides, was named colonel and quartermaster general. T. W. Mieure became assistant quartermaster general. Clinton H. Ardis was appointed chief of the clothing bureau and keeper of the state military store. Doctor Amzi Martin of East Baton Rouge was made surgeon general with the rank of colonel. John Milton Sandidge, former congressman from Bossier, was appointed major and chief of ordnance. Colonel Phanor Prudhomme of Natchitoches and Lieutenant Colonel John W. Toles of West Feliciana became voluntary aides to the governor.³⁵

³⁴ Ibid., 981-83; Dunbar Rowland (ed.), Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches, 10 vols. (Jackson, 1923), VI, 220-22.

³⁵ Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXIX, 20;

The people in Shreveport became very anxious about the city's defense in 1862, before it became the state capital or the headquarters for the military authorities. A safety committee called the Caddo Parish Committee was organized to formulate plans for the city's protection. Its first meeting on May 1, 1862, was in response to Governor Moore's proclamation concerning the destruction of cotton. The committee ordered all cotton removed from the city and burned.³⁶ In order to co-ordinate the work of the Red River Valley parishes the Caddo committee proposed that a system of communication be established. The lower valley parishes agreed and assisted in placing riders and horses at regular intervals between Shreveport and Alexandria.³⁷

On May 22 the DeSoto Parish Committee recommended the placing of obstructions in Red River to prevent a Federal invasion of their section.³⁸ In the same month Mount Lebanon published a circular calling for a meeting at Vernon in Jackson Parish to discuss the matter of defending Louisiana. The meeting was attended by representatives from the neighboring parishes, but they were unable to agree upon a definite plan.³⁹

Late in 1862 the people of Shreveport again bestirred Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 16, 26, 1864; Special Orders of the Adjutant General's Office, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CLIII, 197, in Confederate Records, The National Archives.

³⁶ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, May 6, 1862. Members of the committee were Rueben White, chairman, Roland H. Jones, Walter Cates, William Ball, and V. H. Jones.

³⁷ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, May 16, 1862.

³⁸ Ibid., May 30, 1862.

³⁹ Ibid., May 30, June 2, 1862.

themselves concerning the defense of their state and city. At a mass meeting held on November 1, with Colonel Benjamin L. Hodge as chairman, representatives from the Red River parishes adopted resolutions asking that every white citizen be enrolled in the army and that a committee be sent to Governor Moore and General Taylor urging that every precaution be taken for the defense of Louisiana. They agreed to contest every foot of the Red River Valley before surrendering to the Federals. A resolution authorized the chairman of the meeting to appoint two members from every parish in the Red River Valley to see that the defense was established. They fixed November 22 as the next meeting time to carry on their work of defending the state.⁴⁰ During the second week of November another meeting composed of representatives from the parishes of the Red River Valley was held in Bienville Parish at the Lake Bisteneau Salt Works. They adopted resolutions similar to those published by the Shreveport group.⁴¹

On November 22 representatives from Bienville, Bossier, Caddo, DeSoto, and Winn parishes and Harrison County, Texas, assembled in Shreveport. They voted to place obstructions in Red River and appointed a committee to consult with the military authorities. The parish representatives subscribed a sum of money to pay for preparing the defense of the Valley. R. C. Cummings of Bossier, David J. Elder of Caddo,

⁴⁰ Ibid., November 4, 1862.

⁴¹ Ibid., November 11, 1862.

Samuel Clark of DeSoto, Thomas Hunter of Natchitoches, and J. D. Strother of Winn were appointed as an executive committee to administer the fund.⁴²

The group met in Natchitoches on December 2 and received reports from the Chief Executive and military authorities. Governor Moore agreed to call the legislature to aid them in their work and General Taylor promised to furnish an engineer to assist with the work and made plans to defend any obstructions which they might erect.⁴³

The legislature conferred on the executive committee corporate powers with full authority to proceed with its work. The committee received \$138,551.91 from Bienville, Bossier, Caddo, DeSoto, Rapides, Natchitoches, Winn, and Avoyelles parishes and other sources. The committee strengthened the defense at Fort DeRussy and at Grand Ecore. In the spring of 1864, when it had completed its work, the committee prorated the surplus funds among those parishes which had contributed.⁴⁴

Early in 1864 the military authorities of the Trans-Mississippi were cognizant of a Federal plan to invade the Red River Valley. This campaign had been formulated late in December, 1863, by Grant, Sherman, Banks, and Rear Admiral David D. Porter. Frederick Steele, the Federal commander in Arkansas, was to march from Little Rock with 10,000 troops and occupy Shreveport; Banks proposed to move up the Missis-

⁴² *Ibid.*, December 2, 1862.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, December 12, 1862.

⁴⁴ For the committee's report, see *ibid.*, February 2, 1864.

issippi River with 18,000 troops, and Major A. J. Smith with a force of 10,000 was to come from Vicksburg to aid Banks, Porter prepared to support the armies with a squadron of gunboats.⁴⁵

General Kirby Smith began preparations for the defense of the Red River Valley early in the spring of 1864; his first efforts were to concentrate the departmental forces in Louisiana. General Tom Green was brought from Texas to Alexandria.⁴⁶ General Sterling Price who had replaced Holmes as commander in Arkansas was ordered to send all his infantry and artillery, keeping only his cavalry to oppose Steele.⁴⁷ Smith instructed Taylor to harass Banks in his march up the River Valley but not to engage him in a contest.⁴⁸ Supplies to aid the Confederate's retreat had been placed along the Red River in Louisiana and Texas.⁴⁹ Smith then called upon the governors to aid with their local guards.

Allen responded to this call by ordering his State Guard to report at designated places in the Red River Valley. On March 16 he issued General Orders Number 2 which instructed the enrolling officers to have their companies ready to march on a moment's notice. He said, "The movements expected to be made by the enemy in this quarter will require the service

⁴⁵ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXI, Pt. 1, p. 596, ibid., Vol. XXVI, Pt. 3, pp. 460-61, ibid., Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, p. 267.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 1027.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, p. 58.

⁴⁸ Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, p. 515.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 550, 560-72.

in the field of every son of Louisiana. In this condition of public affairs the good citizen will lay aside every selfish and unworthy consideration and devote his whole care and attention to the public defense. At the call of the Executive the merchant must be ready to leave his counting room, the farmer his plow, the mechanic his tools, and men of other classes of labor their pursuits."⁵⁰ On March 18 the commanding officers in Caddo, DeSoto, and Claiborne were instructed to bring their companies, mounted and equipped, to Shreveport.⁵¹ On the following day Allen called upon the officers from Union, Bienville, Winn, Natchitoches, and Sabine to assemble their companies, march them to Natchitoches, and report to Lieutenant B. W. Clark of the State Guard.⁵² And on March 28 he ordered all units which had not reported to do so immediately.⁵³ A few days later Allen revoked all furloughs and ordered every man in Louisiana to report immediately for service. On April 9 he sent out Special Orders Number 90 which called every citizen in the parishes to the army. He instructed his officers to arrest and bring into camp any person refusing to enroll. Allen said, "If any man resist you with deadly weapons, you will cause him to be shot dead on the spot."⁵⁴

Late in March General Steele left Little Rock and moved

⁵⁰ Ibid., Pt. 2, p. 1047.

⁵¹ Shreveport News, March 22, 1864.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., March 29, 1864.

⁵⁴ Special Orders of the Adjutant General's Office, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CLIII, 242-43.

towards Arkadelphia with an army of 10,000 infantry, 25 pieces of artillery, 400 wagons, and a small cavalry force.⁵⁵ On March 27 Smith ordered General Price to retard his advance and operate on his line of communication but not to risk an engagement.⁵⁶

Banks, moving toward Alexandria on March 16, was notified that he must take Shreveport within ten or fifteen days because Sherman would need the troops which he sent over under General Smith.⁵⁷ On March 26 Banks was at Alexandria with his forces.

Smith ordered Taylor to retreat and not risk a fight with Banks until he received reinforcements.⁵⁸ Taylor evacuated Alexandria, marched his army toward Pleasant Hill, where on April 7 his cavalry, without orders, engaged the advanced wing of Bank's army at Wilson's plantation. After a sharp engagement Taylor went to Mansfield to await the arrival of reinforcements. He notified General Smith of the engagement at Pleasant Hill and asked for aid.⁵⁹

On the morning of April 8 General Taylor without instructions from Smith decided to attack. He had under his command such capable leaders as Thomas Green, Hamilton Bee, Alfred Mouton, John G. Walker, and C. J. Polignac. After a day's hard fighting the Federal army retreated a few miles south of Mansfield. The next day Taylor pursued the enemy

55 Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 267-68.

56 Ibid., 722.

57 Ibid., Vol. XLVI, Pt. 1, p. 13.

58 Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, p. 515.

59 Ibid., 181-85, 520-21, 527.

and engaged them in some stiff fighting near Pleasant Hill, but toward the close of day he withdrew his forces and the Union army retreated to Grand Ecore south of Natchitoches.⁶⁰

When Smith received news of the engagement at Pleasant Hill and Taylor's plan to attack, he and Governor Allen hurriedly left Shreveport for Mansfield but arrived too late for the battle. Smith and Taylor held a conference to determine their next move. The latter wanted to pursue General Banks; but Smith thought Steele, who was within ninety miles of Shreveport, the more dangerous foe; so they decided to attack him.

Taylor, leaving only his cavalry under General Polignac to watch Banks, left for Shreveport with the infantry divisions of Walker, Thomas J. Churchill, and Mosby M. Parsons. When he arrived in Shreveport, Taylor learned that Smith was going into the field against Steele and leave him at headquarters. He refused to remain in Shreveport and left immediately to join his army at Natchitoches, where he assumed command on April 19.⁶¹

Steele was moving toward Washington, Arkansas, but was being harassed by General Price. On April 17 Smith assumed personal command of the Confederate forces in front of Steele but the news of Banks' failure and two small defeats at Marks Hill and Poison Springs, Arkansas, caused Steele to evacuate Camden and move rapidly toward Little Rock. Smith's army was

⁶⁰ Ibid., Pt. 3, pp. 125-26.

⁶¹ Ibid., Pt. 1, pp. 535, 582-83, 650-72.

tired, without food, and handicapped by flooded streams, so he gave up the pursuit of Steele and returned to Shreveport.⁶²

Banks, followed by Taylor, moved slowly down Red River to Alexandria where he had trouble in getting his vessels down the river because of the low water. Taylor planned to keep Banks in Alexandria but was unable to do more than harass the Federal army while Banks' engineers constructed a dam in Red River to float their vessels over the falls south of Alexandria. Banks evacuated the city May 12 and two days later it was burned.⁶³

Soon after Smith came to the Department, he and Taylor had disagreed over certain articles appearing in an Alexandria paper.⁶⁴ Later Taylor criticized Smith's policy of handling the deserters, and when Taylor was not permitted to direct the construction of the fortifications at Fort DeRussy he accused Smith of being inconsistent.⁶⁵ The Red River campaign accentuated to the breaking point the rift between the two generals. In June, 1864, Smith relieved Taylor of his command and ordered him to proceed to Natchitoches and await the pleasure of the President.⁶⁶ About a month later Taylor was ordered East to assume Polk's command in Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana.

During the last year of the war Smith's Department ex-

⁶² Ibid., Pt. 3, pp. 72-78.

⁶³ Ibid., 333.

⁶⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2, pp. 29-30; ibid., Pt. 1, pp. 394-95, 929.

⁶⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 883, 892-93, 897-99, 901-902.

⁶⁶ Ibid., Pt. 4, p. 664.

perienced only one more campaign and that was General Sterling Price's unsuccessful expedition into Missouri late in 1864.

Governor Allen addressed the soldiers at Mansfield after the victory over the Federals and then returned to Shreveport.⁶⁷ A few days later he issued a general order congratulating the men of Louisiana for the fine spirit in which they had responded to his call. He stated that every man who failed to comply with his order would be arrested and brought into camp. He pointed out that the Confederate Congress had amended the conscript law so as to include all the men in his militia. Allen said, "You are therefore permanently discharged from the command of the Governor. He parts from you with much regret, and tenders to each and all of you his best wishes for your health, happiness, and prosperity."⁶⁸

During the remainder of the war the Governor was without a militia, but he did not forget those who had participated in the conflict. In 1865 the legislature authorized him to appoint a superintendent of army records with authority to make a complete list of all men and officers who had served in either the state or Confederate service. Allen appointed Henry M. Favrot to this position, and when the war closed a few months later he was busily engaged in compiling

⁶⁷ Blessington, The Campaigns of Walker's Division, 194. For a copy of Allen's speech, see ibid., 204-206.

⁶⁸ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 3, p. 778; Shreveport Southwestern, April 27, 1864; Shreveport News, April 19, 1864.

the necessary data. The Governor also planned to erect a monument at Baton Rouge to the memory of the men who had fallen for the Southern cause.⁶⁹

Allen was not only interested in the Louisiana troops, but he was always ready to aid those of the neighboring states. When the Federals advanced into Missouri, they forced the state troops south into Arkansas and Louisiana. After Governor Reynolds established headquarters at Marshall, many of the Missouri troops came to Shreveport and remained in or near the town until the war ended. The Governor asked the people of Shreveport in the fall of 1864 to raise money for the benefit of the soldiers. In November he wrote to a number of citizens in Natchitoches and asked them to raise money for the destitute troops. In answer to his request a concert was held at Mansfield which raised about \$5,000 for the soldiers; a Shreveport benefit contributed a similar amount.⁷⁰

In February, 1865, Governor Reynolds wrote Allen and thanked him for Louisiana's contribution to the Missouri troops. He complimented Allen for his message delivered at the recent meeting of the legislature. Reynolds stated further that the people had not forgotten that Allen once lived in Missouri and it was with great pride that they watched his great accomplishments.⁷¹ The following April

⁶⁹ See John M. Sandidge's speech in New Orleans Times-Democrat, July 5, 1865; Louisiana Acts, 1865, p. 16.

⁷⁰ Allen's letter, quoted in New Orleans Times, December 5, 1864; Shreveport News, November 29, 1864.

⁷¹ Reynolds to Allen, February 1, 1865, in Reynolds

Reynolds wrote Allen again, requested, and received permission to use the Louisiana agents in San Antonio and Matamoras for the purpose of exporting cotton.⁷²

Near the end of the year 1864 there occurred an interesting episode which involved Allen, Smith, and General C. J. de Polignac, a brigadier general serving under Smith in the Trans-Mississippi Department. Polignac had gone to Shreveport where he was honored with a public banquet. General Smith, Governor Allen, and other leading figures of the Department were present for the dinner, after which Governor Allen presented Polignac with a sword.⁷³

While in Shreveport Polignac, believing that he could arouse some interest in the Confederate cause, asked permission from General Smith to visit France and talk with the Duke de Morny who was a close friend of Napoleon. Smith granted Polignac permission to go and agreed that he might take his chief of staff, Major John C. Moncure. When Allen heard of the proposed visit he suggested that Colonel Ernest Miltenberger, his aid-de-camp, go with them and take a letter to Napoleon.⁷⁴

Letter Book, MSS., 300.

72 Reynolds to Allen, April 10, 1865, ibid., 310.

73 Hatchitoches Times, October 29, 1864.

74 New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 28, 1865, contains this account. Polignac wrote a letter from France April 17, 1901, giving a narrative of this trip. See R. A. Brock (ed.), "Polignac's Mission," in Southern Historical Society Papers, 37 vols. (Richmond, 1876-1909), XXXII (1904), 364-71. Also, see Richmond Dispatch, May 20, 1901; Washington Post, March 14, 19, May 7, 1901. Ernest Miltenberger was given authority to proceed to Europe and purchase goods for Louisiana in December, 1864. Letters Received, MSS., Chap. VIII, Vol. CXXXI, 99.

The party left Shreveport in January, made their way across Texas to Matamoras, and sailed for Havana. After a short delay in Cuba they took passage to Cadiz, Spain, and then went to Paris. Upon arriving in the French capital they learned that the Duke de Morny had died; however, General Polignac was able to obtain a conference with Napoleon and later introduced Colonel Miltenberger who presented Allen's letter to the Emperor.

It appears from the information available Allen wrote Napoleon that France and England ought to intervene in the Civil War. He suggested that the Emperor would need the assistance of the Confederacy if he expected to maintain his position in Mexico. Napoleon replied that he had asked England on two occasions to join with him but had not been successful and that it was now too late.

In the spring of 1865 the Trans-Mississippi Department was in a better condition from every standpoint than it had been since the war began. Smith had about 50,000 troops under his command, a number of capable generals, well-trained subordinate officers, plenty of munitions, and food supplies were ample. When the outlook for the West was very hopeful news of Lee's surrender reached the Department.

On April 21, the day Smith received information of the surrender, he issued a stirring address to his army urging them to stand by their colors. He said:

You possess the means of long resisting invasion,
You have hopes of succor from abroad — protract the
struggle, and you will surely receive the aid of
nations who already deeply sympathize with you.

Stand by your colors — maintain your discipline. The great resources of this Department, its vast extent, the numbers, the discipline, and the efficiency of the Army, will secure to our country terms that a proud people can, with honor, accept, and may, under the Providence of God, be the means of checking the triumph of our enemy and of securing the final success of our cause. ⁷⁵

On the following day Major Charles W. Squire's Battalion of Light Artillery and Captain William G. Mosley's Battery of Horse Artillery assembled at their camp near Shreveport and resolved to stand by their country through good and bad and never to surrender their rights as a free people. ⁷⁶ On April 26 General Joseph O. Shelby of Missouri issued an address to his men who were stationed at Pittsburg, Texas, in which he urged the soldiers to stand by their colors and fight for their motherland. He urged the Missouri cavalry to remain together and prefer exile rather than surrender. ⁷⁷ On April 27 Governor Murrah of Texas announced the surrender of Lee and urged the people to join the army and continue the struggle. He said, "It may be the privilege of Texas, the youngest of the Confederate sisters, to redeem the cause of the Confederacy from its present perils." ⁷⁸ On the same day the soldiers under General William P. Hardeman of Texas, encamped in Washington County, held a meeting and resolved to continue the struggle. On April 29 Governor Allen issued a ringing appeal to the soldiers of Louisiana, Texas, Arkan-

⁷⁵ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, April 22, 1865; Shreveport Army and Navy Messenger, April 27, 1865.

⁷⁶ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, April 29, 1865.

⁷⁷ Dallas Herald, May 11, 1865; Walker, "Reconstruction in Texas," in loc. cit., 42.

⁷⁸ Walker, "Reconstruction in Texas," in loc. cit., 42.

sas, and Missouri, urging them to stand by the cause.⁷⁹

On April 25 Allen presided at a public meeting in Shreveport which adopted resolutions proposed by Judge Roland H. Jones calling for a meeting on Saturday, April 29, to determine the needs and conditions of the country and to suggest ways and means of promoting the success of the war. Three committees were appointed to arrange for the next meeting.⁸⁰ On the following Saturday a large group of citizens and over 2,000 soldiers assembled. Among the leaders present were Generals Smith, Simon B. Buckner, Sterling Price, Brigadier Generals Harry T. Hays, Alexander T. Hawthorne of Arkansas, Theodore G. Hunt of Louisiana, and Governors Allen and Reynolds.

Allen, the first speaker for the day, appealed to the people to continue the war because the department was able to maintain itself for it had plenty of food, munitions, and soldiers. General Hays followed Governor Allen and took the same view with reference to the war. Others making speeches were General Hawthorne, Colonel R. H. Musser of Missouri, and Colonel George W. Flournoy of Texas.⁸¹

Amid all these preparations to continue the war General Smith received on May 8 a letter from General John Pope, commander of the District of Missouri, offering him the same

⁷⁹ Ibid. For a copy of Allen's address, see Marshall Texas Republican, May 12, 1865; Shreveport News, May 16, 1865.

⁸⁰ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, April 27, 1865; New Orleans Times, May 7, 1865.

⁸¹ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, May 4, 1865; New Orleans Daily True Delta, May 7, 1865; Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, May 10, 1865; New Orleans Times, May 7, 1865.

terms of surrender which General Lee had received. The letter was brought to Shreveport by Lieutenant Colonel John T. Sprague accompanied by Major John Bundy.⁸² The following day General Smith informed Colonel Sprague that he could not accept the terms of surrender.⁸³ The Federal commissioners were ready to return with the message when Governor Allen and John Sandidge prevailed upon General Smith to detain Colonel Sprague until after a conference of the governors had been held. Smith complied with the request and on the same day, May 9, sent invitations to the governors in his department to meet on May 10 at Marshall.⁸⁴

Governors Allen, Flanagan, and Reynolds met General Smith at Marshall. Guy M. Bryan represented Governor Murrah, who was ill and unable to make the trip from Austin. By May 13 the conference had adopted the terms of peace which only a very strong power could expect to receive. The group authorized Allen to meet with the Federal authorities and conclude such terms as he could make.⁸⁵ On May 15 General Smith wrote Colonel Sprague and informed him of the decision of the conference and asked that he consult with the Louisiana governor.⁸⁶

Allen proposed to accompany Sprague to St. Louis and

⁸² Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. 1, pp. 186-87.

⁸³ Ibid., 189; Shreveport News, May 16, 1865.

⁸⁴ Shreveport News, May 16, 1865; New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 26, 1865; Smith's letter, quoted in Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 288-89.

⁸⁵ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. 1, pp. 190-91; Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 292-93; Marshall Texas Republican, May 12, 19, 1865.

⁸⁶ Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. 1, p. 191.

then go to Washington and negotiate a treaty; but as the Federal representative refused to guarantee his safety, Allen did not make the trip. Colonel Sprague left Shreveport May 17, arrived in St. Louis ten days later, and reported that Smith had refused to surrender.⁸⁷

Allen wrote on May 17 that he would not leave Shreveport until he heard from the Federal authorities. He stated further that he would remain at the helm as long as his people needed him but he urged those who wished to live under Federal rule to return home to their property because the war was over.⁸⁸

Three days later General Smith made Simon B. Buckner chief of staff for the department and left for Houston, where he expected to rally his army and continue fighting.⁸⁹ During the next few days momentous changes occurred within the army. Communications from Magruder, Walker, Churchill, Price, and others indicated that the soldiers were deserting rapidly and that only a few days would be needed until the army would be disbanded. In response to a call from General Harry Hays, Allen left Shreveport for Mansfield to rally the Louisiana troops, but before he arrived most of them had deserted and gone to their homes. Under these conditions Buckner called a conference of the leading officers who were near Shreveport. They advised Buckner to proceed at once to New Orleans and negotiate a treaty. General Sterling Price

⁸⁷ Ibid., 188.

⁸⁸ Letter, quoted in Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 294.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 295, 300.

was appointed to accompany him on his mission.⁹⁰

On May 25 Buckner and Price arrived in New Orleans and were joined by Lieutenant General Richard Taylor who had already surrendered his command. On the following day Buckner, Taylor, and Price met Major Generals Edward R. S. Canby and Francis J. Herron and arranged the terms of peace which were substantially the same as those given to General Robert E. Lee.⁹¹ The treaty was sent by steamer to Galveston, where on June 2 General Smith signed the articles.

Generals Buckner and Price returned to Shreveport the first week in June and made plans to parole the soldiers. On June 8 Buckner issued his final address to the soldiers in which he stated that the struggle was over and that they had won the respect of their enemy and the admiration of the world. He urged them to go home, refrain from any acts of hostilities, and to help rebuild their state. He stated that they would have much to endure but as courage had been their characteristic on the field fortitude should guide their actions in private life. He commended the Missouri troops for their orderly deportment and firm discipline and then said, "Soldiers! Our official relations are now severed. You will carry with you to your homes or into exile, my warmest wishes for your prosperity and happiness."⁹² On the following day Buckner appointed paroling officers for Texas

⁹⁰ Memorandum written by Buckner, June 11, 1866, quoted in *ibid.*, 300.

⁹¹ *New Orleans Times*, May 26, 28, 29, 1865; *Shreveport Semi-Weekly News*, June 13, 1865; *New Orleans Daily True Delta*, May 26, 28, 1865.

⁹² *Shreveport News*, June 10, 1865; *New Orleans Times*,

and Louisiana.⁹³

Allen remained in Shreveport until he knew that the treaty had been signed; then he made plans to go into exile because he refused to surrender. He had been informed that if he remained in Louisiana a humiliating imprisonment awaited him. Before leaving, Allen arranged for John Sandidge, chief of Ordnance, to remain at the executive office in charge of all papers and state documents with instructions to deliver them to the proper state or Federal official.

In his letter to Sandidge, Allen said, "I have but one request to make of him or them. It is this, that all the debts contracted by me for the State of Louisiana shall be honestly paid. The Confederate States has transferred to the State a large quantity of cotton. I simply ask that enough may be set apart to pay the creditors of the State, who have furnished the actual necessities of life in good faith."⁹⁴

When Allen had closed all the books of the state and June 15, 1865.

⁹³ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, June 20, 1865. Buckner appointed Brigadier General E. Greer supervising commissioner north of the Trinity River in Texas. Others appointed were Colonel S. A. Roberts, Bonham, Texas; Major William A. Steadman, Marshall, Texas; Colonel W. R. Shivers, Shreveport, Louisiana; Major J. J. Yarborough, Mansfield, Louisiana; Captain T. K. Faunt LeRoy, Minden, Louisiana. Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, June 20, 1865.

⁹⁴ Allen's letter, quoted in New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 28, 1865. Sandidge turned these state records over to Major General Francis J. Herron who came to Shreveport the first week in June. They were placed in boxes and sent to General Canby in New Orleans. Later these records were sent to Washington and today are located in The National Archives. For correspondence concerning these records, see Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. 2, 803-804; 816, 890, 927.

had made proper disposition of his own business, he delivered on June 2 his farewell address to the people of Louisiana.⁹⁵ He told them that the war was over, the army had disbanded, and that there was no further opposition to the constitution of the United States. The Governor urged the people to return to their homes and for their own immediate protection he suggested that they organize small companies to prevent destruction of property.

Allen told them that they had fought for a just and honorable cause and had done so bravely but the war was over and it was time to make peace. He said, "Now let us show to the world, that as we have fought like men — like men we can make peace. Let there be no acts of violence, no heart burnings, no intemperate language, but with manly dignity submit to the inevitable course of events." Allen urged further that there should be no repinings for lost property because it would do no good.

The Governor stated it rested with the Washington authorities to restore peace, happiness, and prosperity to Louisiana which they could do within five years. He said, "If my voice could be heard and needed at Washington, I would say, Spare this distracted land — oh, spare this afflicted people. In the name of bleeding humanity, they have suffered enough!" Allen stated that he would not be heard at Washington because he had been proscribed and that he was

⁹⁵ Allen's address was quoted probably more widely than any other speech delivered by a state or Confederate official. For a copy of it, see Appendix Number V.

going into exile to escape persecution, but he said, "I leave the office of Governor with clean hands, and with the conscious pride of having done my duty." Fellow citizens," he continued, "in this the darkest hour of my life, I do not come before you as an old man, broke down by the storms of state, nor do I come to plead for mercy, at the hands of those whom I have fought for four long years," but he said, "I come in the pride and vigor of manhood, unconquered, unsubdued. I have nothing to regret." Allen stated further that as a soldier, citizen, and administrator he had done his duty because he had cared for the soldiers, the widows, and the orphans and he had protected the people from encroachments of the military authority.

In urging the people to return to their homes and rebuild the state Allen said, "Refugees, return to your homes! Repair, improve, and plant. Go to work, with a hearty goodwill," and if necessary take the oath of allegiance. "It is my prayer to God, that this country may be blessed with permanent peace, and that real prosperity, general happiness, and lasting contentment may unite all who have elected to live under the flag of a common country."

In conclusion Allen directed his remarks to the ladies of Louisiana who had always responded to his calls. He praised their work in aiding the soldiers, making clothes, and nursing the sick and afflicted. He told them that he hoped some day when the storm of passion and prejudice had passed away that he might be able to return to Louisiana and

mix and mingle with all his friends, but, he said, "If this should be denied me, I humbly trust we may all meet in Heaven."

Chapter X

EXILES IN MEXICO

When the news of Lee's surrender reached the army of the Trans-Mississippi, it was distributed from Arkansas to South Louisiana and from the Mississippi to the Rio Grande River. General Magruder commanded in Texas; Price was in Arkansas; Hays was in Louisiana; and Buckner was with Smith at Shreveport. Upon receiving the information, many of the soldiers did not wait for orders to disband or to be paroled; instead they threw down their arms and went home. Others remained until their officers gave orders to march or disband. Probably the most loyal group in the Trans-Mississippi Department during the last days of the Confederacy was the Missouri troops. Allen and Buckner in their final addresses commended them for their loyalty and steadfastness.¹

When General Smith called the governors conference at Marshall on May 10, a number of the leading military officials went to the city for the meeting. After the governors adjourned on May 13, Colonel George Flournoy of Texas, Colonel William A. Lewis of Price's division, Joseph O. Shelby, Generals William Preston of Kentucky and Alexander T. Hawthorne of Arkansas met at Senator Lewis T. Wigfall's home in Marshall. They decided, if necessary, to fight their way across the Rio Grande and join Maximilian's Empire which

¹ See Appendix V.

had been established in Mexico.² They voted to ask General Smith to lead them, and if he refused Simon B. Buckner was their second choice. Smith, when informed of the meeting, declined the offer and refused to dismiss the army until President Davis ordered him to do so. Buckner, loyal to his superior officer, would not accept the position without permission from Smith. This delay proved fatal to the plans of the group because within forty-eight hours most of the troops had disbanded.³

² Benito Juárez, a leader of the Liberal faction, entered Mexico City on January 11, 1861, and assumed control of the government. He expelled the Spanish minister and papal legate because of their political activities. Juárez found the Mexican finances in a chaotic condition. He recognized Great Britain's debt in return for political recognition and a loan. Juárez attempted to enforce the laws of 1859 which disestablished and disendowed the church. At this time Mexico owed European countries about \$82,000,000. In July the Mexican Congress suspended interest payments on the national debt for two years.

Napoleon, influenced by his wife, personal ambition, and Mexicans visiting in Paris decided to intervene in Mexico. He called a meeting with England and Spain and secured an agreement for joint intervention.

In December, 1861, Vera Cruz was occupied by a joint army. By April of the following year Great Britain and Spain had secured acceptable terms for their claims and had withdrawn from Mexico. The French army occupied Mexico City and prepared to take control of the government. Napoleon arranged for Maximilian of Austria, the brother of Emperor Francis Joseph, to become emperor of Mexico.

He arrived in Mexico City, June 12, 1864, and found the French army in control of a large part of the country, but he did not find a group of Mexicans ready to greet him as their ruler. Maximilian found the financial situation deplorable. During the next three years it did not improve, and when the United States secured the withdrawal of the French troops in 1867 Maximilian was left without protection. He was captured by the Liberal army at Querétaro and was executed on June 19, 1867. Parkes, A History of Mexico, 251-74; Rippey, The United States and Mexico, 252-74; Blasio Jose Luis, Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico; Memoirs of his Private Secretary ... (New Haven, 1934), 2-236.

³ Alexander Watkins Terrell, From Texas to Mexico and the

Shelby who commanded one of the largest groups of Missouri soldiers returned to his men at Pittsburg, Texas, and told them that the war was over but that he did not expect to remain in the United States. He asked for volunteers to go into Mexico, and immediately about 300 of his men agreed to follow him. Equipped with one or two small field pieces, rifles, pistols, sabers, and plenty of ammunition, Shelby and his men started about June 1 on their long march.⁴

They planned to stop for a few days' rest in San Antonio, but before arriving at this point, according to one authority, Shelby's men had to perform a final service for the people of Texas. In a number of towns Confederate depots and supply houses were being raided by Jayhawkers, robbers, and brigands. When Shelby heard of these outrages in Houston, Waxahatchie, and Tyler, he dispatched soldiers to protect the people and to distribute the supplies among those who needed them.⁵ Shelby arrived in Austin and conferred with Governor Murrah, who, being the last Confederate executive to resign, desired to take \$3,000 in gold which was in the Confederate subtreasury. The Missouri leader insisted that his men would have nothing to do with it and prevailed upon Governor Murrah to leave the money. The Texas Governor,

Court of Maximilian in 1865 (Dallas, 1933), 2, 4; Jennie Edwards (comp.), John N. Edwards, Biography, Memoirs, Reminiscences and Recollections. ... Also a Reprint of Shelby's Expedition to Mexico ... (Kansas City, 1889), 234-36. Cited hereafter as Shelby's Expedition to Mexico.

⁴ Edwards, Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, 239; New Orleans Times, June 17, 1865.

⁵ Edwards, Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, 243.

although very weak from a long illness, decided to join the Missouri soldiers and go into exile.⁶ The group arrived in San Antonio June 15 and were greeted by a number of prominent Confederates who were on their way to Mexico.⁷

Governor Allen, after delivering his farewell address in Shreveport on June 2, left for Crockett, Texas, where he visited for several hours with an old friend, Mrs. Sarah A. Dorsey.⁸ He and his companion, Henry Denis, traveling in an ambulance, had a pleasant trip across Texas because they were kindly received and entertained all along the way. Allen, writing to Doctor Drury Lacy in Shreveport, said, "All seem to vie with each other in doing me honor. I feel truly grateful [sic] of these evidences of popular regard."⁹ He arrived in San Antonio about the middle of the month.

By June 15 the large number of Confederate officials gathered in San Antonio gave it the appearance of being the Trans-Mississippi headquarters. Among them were former Governors Moore, of Louisiana, Murrah of Texas, and Reynolds of Missouri, Generals John B. Clark of Missouri, D. Leadbetter of Alabama, Cadmus M. Wilcox of Missouri, Shelby of Missouri, Thomas C. Hindman of Arkansas, William Preston of Kentucky,

⁶ Ibid., 246-47.

⁷ San Antonio Herald, June 17, 1865; New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 6, 1865.

⁸ Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 307, 322.

⁹ Letter quoted in Galveston Daily News, January 31, 1878. See also, Allen to John M. Sandidge, June 15, 1865, San Antonio, quoted in Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 325. The Marshall Texas Republican, June 5, 1865, stated that Allen was robbed within fifty miles of Shreveport. The author found no other evidence of such an event.

and William P. Hardeman of Texas.¹⁰ On June 18 Edmund P. Turner of Texas, Richard Taylor of Kentucky, and Magruder joined the group.¹¹ General Kirby Smith, after signing the articles of surrender at Galveston on June 2, traveled day and night to reach San Antonio on June 19.¹² Two other Confederate officials making their way toward the Rio Grande were Governor Isham G. Harris¹³ of Tennessee and General Jubal A. Early.¹⁴

¹⁰ Dallas Herald, July 25, August 12, 1865; New Orleans Times, June 4, 1865; Galveston News, July 29, 1865.

¹¹ Dallas Herald, August 12, 1865; Galveston News, July 29, 1865.

¹² Edwards, Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, 253.

¹³ Harris, accompanied by General Samuel Lyon of Kentucky and two servants, crossed the Mississippi River at Grenada, Mississippi, on May 14. They started for Shreveport but learned that the army had been disbanded; so they went into the Red River Valley in Texas where Harris had sent a portion of his Negroes and plantation stock. He was detained for a week because of illness; but on June 7, equipped with supplies and cooking utensils, he left for San Antonio. Harris arrived there on June 26 and the next day started for Eagle Pass, Texas, where he crossed the river on June 30. He arrived in Monterey on July 9 and left immediately for Mexico City with General Sterling Price and ex-Governor Trusten Polk of Missouri. See Harris to George W. Adair, November 12, 1865, in Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs, Accompanying the Annual Message of the First Session Thirty-Ninth Congress (Washington, 1866), Pt. III, 528-30. Cited hereafter as Diplomatic Correspondence.

¹⁴ Early left Franklin, Virginia, May 22, 1865. He traveled southward through North and South Carolina and Alabama, then turned west through Mississippi. Early crossed the river into Arkansas on July 16. After lingering for some time in the state, he traveled southward and crossed Red River about thirty miles from Shreveport. On August 4 he passed through Dallas and traveled toward Houston, arriving there on October 10. After spending some time near the city he went to Galveston, and on November 6 took a steamer for Cuba. On January 6, 1866, Early visited in Mexico City but remained only a short time before returning to Havana. Later he returned to the United States. Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early's Diary, May 22, 1865, to November 19, 1865, MSS., in Library of Congress; Mexico City Mexican Times, January 6, 1866.

On the morning of June 17 Shelby and his men, accompanied by many Confederate leaders, began a six-day march to the Rio Grande.¹⁵ Before arriving at the river some of the ex-officials, becoming impatient, formed small parties and left the main force.

Most of the Confederates leaving San Antonio in June crossed the Rio Grande at Eagle Pass or Piedras Negras; later others crossed at Laredo and Brownsville. Shelby and his soldiers agreed to join Emperor Maximilian rather than take their chances with the Liberal forces. They sold their field pieces and part of their ammunition to the Liberals after crossing the river and continued their journey toward Mexico City.¹⁶

Among the first to reach Monterey were General Magruder, Colonel Turner, Major Oscar M. Watkins, Commodore Leon Smith, and Colonel A. C. Jones, who arrived on June 29. A few days later they were joined by Generals Smith, Preston, and John B. Clark, Governors Reynolds, Allen, Murrah, and George W. Clarke. Others were to come during the following days.¹⁷ The French General, Jeannigros, who commanded about 5,000 troops at Monterey, received the Confederate exiles very kindly and on June 29 invited a number of them to dinner.¹⁸

¹⁵ Baton Rouge Tri-Weekly Gazette and Comet, July 20, 1865; Edwards, Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, 263.

¹⁶ Dallas Herald, August 12, 1865; Edwards, Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, 262; Galveston Flake's Daily Bulletin, July 6, 1865; Terrell, From Texas to Mexico, 19.

¹⁷ Terrell, From Texas to Mexico, 18; New Orleans Times, July 11, August 10, 1865; Shreveport Gazette, August 4, 1865; Dallas Herald, August 19, September 2, 1865.

¹⁸ Edwards, Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, 289; Terrell,

On July 4 about fifty of the Confederate exiles in Monterey, including such leaders as Allen, Moore, Reynolds, Magruder, Smith, and Preston, enjoyed a dinner and drank toasts to the fallen Confederacy and its noble leaders.¹⁹

All was not well with the exiles in Mexico. Governor Murrah, who had been suffering from tuberculosis, died August 10.²⁰ A small group of Missouri soldiers led by Major General Monroe M. Parsons were murdered when they attempted to return to the United States. Parsons, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Colonel William Standish, William Conrow, ex-member of Congress, and three privates, set out for Matamoros but when within four days march of the city they were captured by the Liberal forces and later executed.²¹

Before Shelby left Monterey for Mexico City he asked permission from General Jeannigros to join his army — a request which the General refused because he thought it might cause trouble with the United States. However, he granted the Confederate leader permission to march to Mexico City.²²

Soon after July 4 the Confederates began leaving

From Texas to Mexico, 21.

¹⁹ Terrell, From Texas to Mexico, 23.

²⁰ Mexico City Mexican Times, September 23, 1865.

²¹ Ibid., September 23, October 14, November 4, 1865; Dallas Herald, October 14, 1865; Edwards, Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, 294-95. Parsons, a lawyer and soldier, was born in Charlottesville, Virginia, May 21, 1822, and moved to Jefferson City, Missouri, at the age of thirteen. He graduated from St. Charles College and was admitted to the bar in 1846. He served in the lower House of the Missouri legislature in 1856 and in the Senate in 1858. Governor Jackson appointed him brigadier general when the war began. Parsons' group was killed near Camargo. Conrad (ed.), Encyclopedia History of Missouri, V, 67-68.

²² Edwards, Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, 301.

Monterey and making their way south toward the historic old mining town of San Luis Potosí. Allen, accompanied by Generals Preston and Wilcox, Colonel Henry Denis, and Governor Moore, left on July 8 and spent one day at Saltillo. Here they became acquainted with a French captain who invited them to be his guests at breakfast on the following morning.

Allen arose early the next morning and, as was characteristic of him, he rode out to see the mountains and to have a look at the city. When about one mile from the city he was arrested by a French soldier and forced to walk back to the city. Still suffering from the wounds received in the battle at Baton Rouge, Allen was in no condition to walk the distance, but the soldier ordered him to march. By the time they arrived at headquarters Allen was raging with anger. When his identity was made known, the officer in charge apologized for the mistake and released him. Allen hurried away to have breakfast with the French officer and was very much amused when he discovered that the soldier belonged to his host's command. The incident was soon forgotten; and after enjoying an appetizing meal, Allen and his party mounted their horses and traveled towards San Luis Potosí where they joined other Confederate exiles.²³

The trip from San Luis Potosí to Mexico City required about six days. A number of the Confederates, including Allen and Moore, sold their horses and took the stage from

²³ Mexico City Mexican Times, December 23, 1865. For a description of Allen's trip, see letter by Henry Denis quoted in Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 326-27.

Potosí. Among the first to reach Mexico City was Cadmus M. Wilcox of Missouri, who was there on July 16; Kirby Smith came the following day; later Moore, Alexander W. Terrell, and George Flourney arrived; and on July 28 Allen and Denis joined the group.²⁴

Apparently only two of the exiles had thought about bringing letters of introduction to Emperor Maximilian: they were A. W. Terrell and William P. Hardeman, who had secured a letter from Governor Murrah before leaving Austin. This communication secured an interview with the Emperor shortly after they arrived in Mexico. Maximilian gave Terrell an appointment in the army and most important of all some much needed gold because he and his Confederate friends were running short of money.²⁵ This appointment was subject to the approval of the French foreign office and apparently was never approved because a few weeks later Terrell accepted an office with the colonization bureau in Mexico.²⁶ When Shelby arrived in Mexico City he offered to raise an army for the Emperor if he would accept it. Magruder and Commodore Mathew F. Maury, who had been one of the first Confederates to arrive in Mexico, worked for Shelby's appointment, but the Emperor remained steadfast in his refusal to accept the exiles or make additional appointments in his army.²⁷

²⁴ Mexico City Mexican Times, September 23, 1865.

²⁵ Terrell, From Texas to Mexico, 5, 7, 8, 45, 53-61. Letter quoted in Ibid., 7, 8.

²⁶ Mexico City Mexican Times, October 21, 1865; Rippey, The United States and Mexico, 245-46.

²⁷ Edwards, Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, 363-67.

Shortly after the Confederates began arriving in Mexico, they received a small sum of money which was thought to have been sent to them by Empress Carlotta. This was gone within a few days and it became necessary for them to seek employment or leave the country. Former Governor Moore, Generals Preston, Smith, and John G. Walker went to Havana and one or two others made plans for an immediate return to the United States.

Allen had resolved never to return home unless he received a pardon without solicitation, and he did not expect such treatment at the hands of the Federal government. He had not been in Mexico very long before he was received by the Emperor and Empress who expressed much sympathy for the exiled Confederates.²⁸

With the arrival of such a large number of ex-Confederates in the month of August, Allen foresaw great possibilities for a newspaper printed in the English language in Mexico City because at that time there was no English newspaper printed in Mexico. Furthermore the Imperial government was making extensive plans for immigration and expected to bring large numbers of Americans into Mexico. Allen secured a subsidy of \$10,000 from the Imperial government and agreed to publish for one year a newspaper printed in the English language.²⁹

²⁸ See Allen's letters quoted in Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 50, 334-35; also, see Shreveport Southwestern, December 6, 1865.

²⁹ See history of the Times in Mexico City Mexican Times, January 23, 1866. The only known file of the Times is in

Allen, with the assistance of two printers, one of them John N. Edwards,³⁰ former adjutant on General Shelby's staff, began publication of the Mexican Times in September, 1865. He had to do most of the writing for the paper and supervise the assembling of the materials, all of which took long hours of hard work. Allen wrote in December, "I am endeavoring to make an honest living as editor, but find it hard work. I have no assistant and but two printers, but I make a good living, and that is as much as I need or expect."³¹ A few days later he wrote to Sarah Dorsey that he labored twelve hours every day.³² Such hard labor caused Allen to suffer much from his wounds and in the spring of 1866 he resolved to leave the paper and go to Paris. However, before he departed for Europe he became ill and died on April 22, 1866.

According to Allen's will, his intimate friend, J. Bankhead Magruder, became business manager of the Times for the Louisiana State University Library. It is in an excellent state of preservation; only two numbers are missing and only three of the four hundred pages have suffered from the scissors.

³⁰ John Newman Edwards was born January 4, 1838, at Front Royal, Virginia. He went to Missouri at an early age and began working in a newspaper office at Lexington. When the war started Edwards joined General Shelby's command and attained the rank of major before the close of the war. He followed Shelby into Mexico and became a printer for the Mexican Times. In 1867 he returned to the United States and engaged in journalistic work. Edwards secured employment with the St. Louis Republican and later became editor of the Kansas City Times. He was recognized as one of the leading editors of the 1880's. He died May 4, 1889.

Among Edward's publications were Shelby's Expedition to Mexico: an Unwritten Leaf of the War, and Shelby and his Men, or the War in the West. F. Y. Hedley, "John Newman Edwards," in Encyclopedia History of Missouri, II, 354-56.

³¹ New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 4, 1866.

³² Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 354-55.

the remainder of the year which Allen had contracted to print the paper. Edwards succeeded Allen as editor, and in August, 1866, he acquired control of the business management of the paper. The Imperial government paid him \$150 per month for publishing the paper. In November Edwards disposed of the Mexican Times and prepared for his return to the United States.³³

The paper was purchased by the Mexican Times Printing Company, owned and managed by Bradford C. Barksdale, who had been circulation manager for a short time while Allen was publishing the Times. Barksdale, the new editor, began printing the paper December 4, 1866, as an independent newspaper.³⁴ He retained the editorship until the paper ceased publication. In February, 1867, Barksdale sold his business interests including the Mexican Times Printing Company to R. J. Percy who became business manager for the Times.³⁵

The first edition of the Mexican Times appeared Saturday, September 16, 1865. It began as a five-column paper, but with the fifth number its size was increased and another column added. It was printed in the Estafette printing office until December, 1865, when Allen purchased a press and located at Number Eight Calle de Cordobanes.³⁶ Under Allen's

³³ Mexico City Mexican Times, January 22, 1867; also, see West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, July 24, 1866; Baton Rouge Weekly Gazette and Comet, June 16, 1866.

³⁴ Mexico City Mexican Times, December 4, 1866.

³⁵ Ibid., February 13, 1867.

³⁶ L'Estafette was a newspaper printed in the French language at 20 Calle de Don Juan Manuel. The editors were M. Charles de Barres and Jules M. Caire. It was the official paper for Marshal Bazaine. The Ere Nouvelle another paper

management the Times was well edited, neatly printed, and almost void of typographical errors.

Volume II, number 1, of the paper was published August 27 under Major Edwards' editorship, but it was not printed as neatly and carefully as Allen had done it, and very noticeably missing were those characteristic and caustic comments about Yankee leaders, especially Benjamin F. Butler, Philip H. Sheridan, and William T. Sherman. The editor quoted freely from the Railway Era during this period of the paper.³⁷

When Barksdale became editor, the Times appeared as Volume III, number 1, with the subtitle, "Mineralogy, Agriculture, Literature, Commerce, and Politics." The paper was published as a weekly until February 5, 1867, when it became a five-column semiweekly. On April 11 it was marked volume IV, number 1, and the editor proposed to issue a tri-weekly as soon as some new type arrived. However, it remained a semiweekly until its last number. The Times ceased publication with Volume IV, number 15, Monday, June 17, 1867, because the Liberal forces entered Mexico City, June 21, when it became necessary for Imperial sympathizers and foreigners to suppress their activities.

The amount of advertising³⁸ under Allen's editorship printed in French at Orizaba was the official organ for the French minister in Mexico.

³⁷ The Railway Era was an English newspaper published by George W. Clarke at Orizaba during the summer of 1866.

³⁸ Rates listed October 21, 1865, were one square ten lines or less for first insertion \$1.00 and each subsequent insertion 50 cents. Liberal discounts were made on monthly,

was small, usually less than one page. The business houses, apparently, were seeking the trade of immigrants because they offered such services as hotels, railroad and steamship schedules, banks, et cetera. Although the paper depended primarily upon local firms for its advertising, some foreign companies purchased space in the paper. Richard Nugent and Company, cotton factors of New Orleans, was the first foreign organization to place an advertisement in the Times; ³⁹ later other companies advertised through the paper. The amount and character of the advertising changed very little under Edwards' editorship.

After Barksdale acquired control of the paper there was a rapid increase in the amount of advertising from local and foreign companies. Expansion of the latter was due probably to Barksdale's business connections for he represented at one time about fourteen different organizations in the United States and each placed advertisements in the paper. Several commission merchants from the United States were listed in the Times, and in 1867 it carried regularly advertisements offering for sale lots within Mexico City and nearby haciendas.

The initial issue of the Times received many favorable comments from the press in Mexico and the United States.

quarterly, and yearly contracts. The rates after December 4, 1866, were one square for one insertion, \$1.00; four insertions, \$2.00; ten insertions, \$4.00; and one year, \$15.00.

³⁹ The members of the firm were Richard Nugent, James N. Sherry, and A. H. Isaacson, 192 Common Street New Orleans, and it had been Allen's factor when he lived in West Baton Rouge. Sherry purchased Allendale at the sheriff's sale in 1867.

Notices of its appearance were published in Mazatlan Times, Gaceta de Monterey, Le Journal d' Orizaba, Sociedad, Nacion, Estafette, Ere Nouvelle, and Pajaro Verde.⁴⁰ A copy of the first edition was brought to New Orleans October 26, 1865, by R. H. Thomas and J. M. Lane of Missouri. The Daily Picayune took notice of its arrival and commented upon its prospectus.⁴¹ The editor of the New York News, writing about the first issue of the Times, said, "It is printed in English, and is full of that intelligence, enthusiasm, spirit, and loftiness of tone which are eminently characteristic of its gallant and distinguished editor."⁴² The New York Evening Post stated that it was "a really sprightly, readable sheet, far ahead of the clumsy, lumbering native journals."⁴³ However, the New York Times ridiculed the paper for its lack of news.⁴⁴

In October, 1865, the circulation department of the Times was placed in charge of Bradford C. Barksdale, owner of the American and Mexican News Company. Local salesmen were appointed in the Mexican cities of Vera Cruz, Orizaba, Mazatlán, Guadalajara, Puebla, San Luis Potosí, Matamoras, Zacatecas, Chihuahua, Monterey, and Córdoba, an indication that the paper had an extensive circulation.⁴⁵ It was sent

40 Mexico City Mexican Times, October 7, November 4, 11, 1865; Mexico City La Sociedad, September 17, 1865.

41 New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 26, 1865.

42 Quoted in Mexico City Mexican Times, November 18, 1865.

43 New York Evening Post, February 1, 1866.

44 New York Times, October 17, 1865.

45 Mexico City Mexican Times, September 16, 1865. The Times sold for 25¢ per single copy, \$1.00 for one month, \$5.00 for six months, \$10.00 for one year. After December 4,

to London, Havana, and many cities in the United States. Allen appointed a number of his friends in the states to act as agents, and when Barksdale joined the Times he made additional appointments in the United States and Europe. The American and Mexican News Company was discontinued as the circulation agency for the Times in December, 1865, when Allen assumed direct control over this part of the work. In the following March, Joseph H. Boulliet, Jr., became the authorized agent to solicit subscriptions and advertisements and to make collections for the paper.⁴⁶ He remained with the organization in this capacity until it ceased publication.

The number of copies printed by Allen is unknown, but he said on October 28, "We send large numbers to the island of Cuba and Europe, and every two weeks the edition for the United States, by the American steamers, will reach from Five hundred to a thousand."⁴⁷ However, Barksdale said when he took over the agency in October that there were only 38 paying subscribers. This number was increased to 137 by the following January, but it fell to 46 in November, 1866. Barksdale reported that 112 subscriptions were added during the first week of his editorship and that by January, 1867, there were 427 subscribers with less than twelve of them outside of Mexico City.⁴⁸ On February 4 the Times said that it had "at least 1,000 readers the majority of whom were

1866, the price was \$1.00 for one month, \$2.50 for three months, \$4.50 for six months, and \$8.00 for one year.

⁴⁶ Ibid., March 3, 1866.

⁴⁷ Ibid., October 28, 1865.

⁴⁸ Ibid., January 22, 1867.

merchants," and on March 4 it referred to its circulation as second only to one other paper in Mexico. A few days later the editor boasted that he was publishing 1,000 copies and that his foreign circulation was very large. However, it must be remembered that the editor was seeking advertising among foreign business houses and this may be an exaggeration of its circulation.

The editor stated in the first edition of the Times that its aim would be to work for the best interests of the Empire and to advocate immigration and progress. In the second number of the paper Allen published a prospectus which elaborated on his editorial policy. He said that the Times would advocate immigration and progress, internal improvements, especially manufacturing and railroads, and would give attention to the arts and sciences.⁴⁹ Allen and Edwards were zealous in their efforts to carry out the aims of the paper. Both were especially anxious for the success of the Empire; however, Barksdale was not at all times willing to support Maximilian as will be pointed out later.

Allen defended the Emperor and Empress at all times and scarcely an issue of the paper appeared without an article about one of them. He was always very gracious and laudatory in his remarks about Empress Carlotta, alluding to her as a beautiful, courageous, and intelligent woman. Her work in raising money for charity received much notice as did her trip to Yucatan in the southern part of Mexico where she was

⁴⁹ Ibid., September 16, 23, 1865.

acclaimed, according to the paper, with all the enthusiasm and fervor that any royal personage could receive.

The Times during the editorship of Allen and Edwards contended that a monarchical government was best for the people of Mexico, and it urged the Mexican people to support Maximilian, who was described as a kind, industrious, intelligent, and liberal sovereign. On October 28, 1865, the editor summarized the achievements of the Emperor as follows:

He has done much for its (Mexico's) welfare and prosperity. In the first place he has given to his people one of the best and most liberal constitutions of the age. ... A first class railroad has been completed from Vera Cruz to Paso del Macho, and is progressing rapidly on to this city, with a branch to Puebla. The short road to Guadalupe on this line has long since been in successful operation. The Chalco Railway has been finished for two leagues, and the work is being pressed forward with vigor in the direction of Cuernavaca — on the line to the Pacific. A splendid line of American steamers has been placed between New York and Vera Cruz, and another between the San Francisco and Mazatlan. The roads and bridges through the Empire have been repaired and public buildings heretofore permitted to go to ruin, have been restored. The customs are being regularly collected, and a system of general order has been established. Forced loans and public robberies, under whatever name, are among the things of the past, while the rights of persons and property are every day becoming more and more secure. His Majesty has caused to be established a Bureau of Colonization, and his attention is earnestly directed to this great enterprise. With the eye of a statesman he plainly sees many and great advantages which must flow from its success. Foreign capital, skill, and labor are therefore invited to Mexico, on the most liberal terms, for the purpose of assisting in the developing of the great and wonderful resources of this country. Knowing full well the vast importance of education to a nation he has given a new impetus to schools and colleges, to science and literature. But the crowning virtues of our Emperor are these — he is honest and sincere. 50

The paper under Allen's management took the position that the United States would not interfere with the Emperor in Mexico. Editorially the Times contended that intervention by the United States would be too expensive and could not serve any good purpose for it had no direct interest in the Mexican affairs. Allen, referring to the Monroe Doctrine as "a bloated humbug," did not believe the United States would enforce it to the extent of driving the French and Emperor Maximilian out of Mexico. He reasoned that if the Yankee nation removed the Emperor, it would be necessary to control Mexico — an expensive endeavor. He pointed out further that the United States had a huge debt, that the army was being demobilized, and that the people were tired of war and were busy with reconstruction.

During the year 1866 the possibility of United States ^{Ed.} intervention became of great importance to the Empire and equally significant was the question of French withdrawal. Major Edwards thought the French could leave without any material danger to the Empire, and as early as May, 1866, the Times was ready to accept French withdrawal although other Mexican papers did not believe the French would leave Mexico. In August, when the Emperor's forces were being defeated, the Times defended him for withdrawing the army from certain interior towns. In this connection the paper said, "True enough the Dissident forces in Mexico have been active of late and gained advantages in various positions of the Empire, but in all of them there is nothing alarming or even

discouraging."⁵¹

The Times remained loyal to the Empire until Edwards sold it to Barksdale in November, 1866, when its tone immediately changed. In outlining its policy the editor said, "The Mexican Times will advocate peace, educational, agricultural, mineral and public improvements and no official high or low will be asked what we may or may not say."

"It no longer employs its columns to call Juarez a half-blood Indian and the Liberals brigands and thieves. Neither does it waste ink and space in declaiming upon the regal titles of any power. It will not invite Americans to 'come to Mexico,' merely to accomplish the ends some enthusiastic speculator."⁵²

In his first issue, December 2, Barksdale advocated abdication by Maximilian as the best solution for the Empire's problems. The Times said the American people had decreed that the Empire must go and that the best policy was for the Emperor to resign. Editorials between December and January 15 pointed out the condition of the country and showed that abdication was essential if the Mexican people wanted peace and prosperity. Again on January 29, after the French Commander, Achille François Bazaine, had declared that the Emperor ought to resign, the Times urged Maximilian to heed the advice because the Empire was at an end and that it was needless to prolong the war. The editor thought much blood-

51 Ibid., August 27, 1866.

52 Ibid., January 22, 1867.

shed could be saved by the Emperor's resignation, although he said, "we distinctly affirm that as foreigners and peaceful citizens, we care not what form of Government exists in Mexico, if only the Mexicans are contented and live in peace."⁵³

The Times was suspended in April by order of the government for publishing a borrego or rumor concerning a meeting of Maximilian's minister and General Porfirio Diaz, commander of Juarez's army. The Emperor's government was badly shaken at the time, he had already left Mexico City, and this story made it appear that he was ready to compromise with the Liberal forces. Barksdale spent nearly a month in a military prison before he could secure his release. Upon resuming his editorial duties he praised the Emperor in his first edition and concluded by saying that "the writer desires you to rally now to the support of Emperor Maximilian because he feels that everything dear to the Mexican Patriot depends upon his success to establish peace in Mexico."⁵⁴ The editor continued to support the Empire until the end of the regime in June, 1867.

The Times contains much information on the constitutional development of the Empire. Maximilian's constitution and many documents promulgated by him and his administrative officers were published, as were also the names of members of the Emperor's cabinets and the changes which were made during

⁵³ Ibid., January 29, 1867.

⁵⁴ Ibid., May 16, 1867.

the last years of the Empire.

The editors were assiduous in advocating internal improvements. They urged the building of railroads and telegraph lines, the construction and improvement of highways, and the bringing of steamship lines to Mexico. A perusal of the paper's files leads to the conclusion that the Emperor responded to many of these suggestions.

Mexico City shared in the improvements, especially during the editorship of Allen, who was much interested in improving the drainage of the city. The capital, located in a valley, was subject to annual floods which cost the property owners many thousands of dollars. Allen urged the proper drainage of the city and advocated the construction of canals and levees with a sufficient number of pumps to keep the city free from surplus water. Henry Hirsh, a native of Louisiana, came to Mexico City in 1866 to direct the construction of the drainage system.⁵⁵

Another item of interest was Allen's efforts to remove beggars from the streets. He proposed workhouses or government public works as a means of removing them from the capital. However, neither of the suggestions was accepted. To alleviate suffering in the city during the year 1865-66, the Emperor spent large sums of money, part of which was used in the construction of a hospital.

As the Confederate exiles were interested in information from the United States, the Times gave much space to news

⁵⁵ Ibid., November 19, 1866.

from various localities, especially in the southern states. These notes usually were published under the title of Omnibus de Rebus. The editors were vigilant in securing information on the Reconstruction acts, re-organization of state governments in the South, and the general development in the United States. The work of Congress was followed very closely through the newspapers received in Mexico City. President Johnson's message to Congress in 1865 was printed in English and in Spanish.

The Times published much European news of a general character but gave especial attention to French affairs during the years 1865 and 1866 because of the close relation between Napoleon III and Emperor Maximilian. Within Mexico the editors were careful to note local incidents, and Allen and Edwards were always ready to criticize Liberal leaders, but Barksdale did not use the paper to condemn either group so readily as his predecessors.

Allen was prompt to defend the Confederates against any attack, and in doing this he frequently criticized Yankee leaders, but he never attacked the United States government. He wrote on many occasions that he had no grievance against the government and his only wish was that the officers would be kind to his many friends in Louisiana. Allen, through the columns of his paper, wrote a letter to Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, asking him to leave criticism of the Confederates out of his paper because they were not serving in the Mexican army. He stated they left the United

States and sought exile in Mexico and it was only just that his unwarranted attacks should cease.⁵⁶ Major Edwards had very little to say in defense of the Confederates, and Barksdale found no reason to employ the Times for such a purpose.

Immediately after Barksdale became editor of the Times, he stirred up a controversy with the Patria and Pajaro Verde, two local papers which sympathized with the Empire. He criticized them for being late with their news, for lack of material, and for publishing incorrect statements. Barksdale took issue with them frequently for misquoting articles which they took from his paper. They retaliated by criticizing the Times for deserting the Emperor.

Barksdale conducted a vigorous campaign for freedom of the press. He demanded that the government adhere to the constitutional guarantees regarding it, and after February 9, 1867, the Times published in the upper left corner of the front page the constitutional provisions guaranteeing certain private rights.

The Times is perhaps most interesting to the American historian because it contains much information on the Confederates who emigrated and attempted to colonize in Mexico during the years 1865 and 1866. Immediately after the close of the Civil War an emigration fever spread over the southern states. Many of the exiles left the United States to escape arrest and imprisonment as rebels; some became downhearted after the close of the war when they returned home

⁵⁶ Ibid., February 24, 1866.

and found their property destroyed, and others were influenced by emigration companies dominated by the profit motive and directed by strong-willed individuals such as Maury. Some of the emigrants went to South America; others to Central America; but Mexico was the El Dorado for many who left the United States.⁵⁷

After the movement had got well under way, many of the southern editors sounded warnings against such adventurous trips. They advised the people not to go into countries where the government was unstable or even worse where civil war prevailed. The editors urged upon them as a patriotic duty the necessity of remaining at home to aid in rebuilding the South. In Louisiana the New Orleans Daily Picayune, the Daily True Delta, the Crescent, and the Times were vigorous in their opposition to this emigration movement. Other papers in the South which opposed the movement were the Charleston Daily Courier, the Charleston Daily News, the Raleigh Standard, and the Mobile Daily Register.⁵⁸

Shortly after the close of the Civil War in the United States, Mexico City had within its confines a large number of prominent Confederate military and civil leaders who had

57 For a discussion of this movement, see Lawrence F. Hill, "The Confederate Exodus to Latin America," in Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXIX (1935), 100-134; 161-199, 309-326; George D. Harmon, "Confederate Migration to Mexico," in Hispanic American Historical Review (Durham, 1918), XVII (1937), 458-487.

58 Harmon, "Confederate Migration to Mexico," in loc. cit., 458; also, see editorials in New Orleans Daily Picayune, February 12, April 17, 1866; New Orleans Daily Crescent, December 15, 1865; April 12, 1866.

gone into Mexico voluntarily. The Mexican Times in its first issue carried a list of ninety-five names representing ten different states. Forty-nine of the exiles came from Missouri, thirteen from Texas, and eleven from Louisiana. The preponderance of Missourians was due to the number of soldiers who followed General Shelby. Some of the leading Confederates and the dates of their arrival in Mexico City are former Governor Isham G. Harris, Tennessee, August 9, 1865; General J. Bankhead Magruder, Virginia, August 5, 1865; Captain Matthew Fontaine Maury, Virginia, June 1, 1865; former Governor Thomas O. Moore, Louisiana, July 25, 1865; Judge John Perkins, Jr., Louisiana, August 9, 1865; General Sterling Price, Missouri, August 9, 1865; former Governor Thomas C. Reynolds, Missouri, August 8, 1865; and General Joseph O. Shelby, Missouri, September 3, 1865.⁵⁹

One of the first prominent Americans to attempt a colonization movement in Mexico was William M. Gwin of California, former Senator, Jacksonian Democrat, and Unionist. He went to Paris in 1863 and obtained a conference with Napoleon III, who questioned him closely concerning his proposed colonization in the states of Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and Durango. Gwin left Paris, thinking he had everything ready for his colony; but after his arrival in Mexico City the project was abandoned when Maximilian refused to support him

⁵⁹ For a list of these immigrants, see Mexico City Mexican Times, September 16, 23, 30, October 17, 1865 et. seq. The writer has compiled the names of over 200 Confederates who went to Mexico in 1865 and 1866.

with the necessary military force.⁶⁰ Gwin remained in Mexico until the latter part of 1865 when he and John B. Clark, former brigadier general of Missouri, returned to the United States. They crossed the Rio Grande at Matamoras, were arrested, and taken to Fort Jackson near New Orleans. They were released on May 17, 1866.⁶¹

Captain Maury, internationally known geographer, writer,

⁶⁰ Rippy, The United States and Mexico, 247-49; Edwards, Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, 300; Terrell, From Texas to Mexico, 43; New York Times, January 25, 27, March 30, 1865; Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, April 6, 1865; New Orleans Times, June 23, 1865; also, see letters written from Mexico City, Gwin to his mother, May 16, 1865; id. to Colonel John Winthrop, May 18, 1865, in Diplomatic Correspondence, Pt. III, 512-14; Mr. Romero to William H. Seward, Secretary of State, July 8, 1865, ibid., 511; Thomas H. Corwin, United States Minister to Mexico, to Seward in Diplomatic Correspondence from Thomas Corwin to William H. Seward, June 26, 1863, to May 29, 1864, MSS., XXX, The National Archives. Cited hereafter as Mexican Diplomatic Correspondence.

William McKendree Gwin (October 9, 1805-September 3, 1885), was born in Sumner County, Tennessee. He studied law and medicine and received a degree in the latter from Transylvania University (now Transylvania College) Lexington, Kentucky, March, 1828. Gwin went to Mississippi, where he practiced medicine until 1833 when President Jackson appointed him United States marshal. He was elected and served one term in the lower house of Congress in 1840. When financial obligations forced him into private life, Gwin transferred to New Orleans where he was appointed to supervise the construction of the customhouse. He went to California in 1849, was elected to the constitutional convention, and took a leading part in the work of the body. After the adoption of the constitution he was elected to the United States Senate in 1850. Gwin represented the state until 1861. He was arrested on board a ship in the Bay of Panama and taken to New York where he was held a prisoner from November 18 to December 2, 1861. In 1863 he visited in Paris and the following year he went to Mexico. Gwin returned to the United States in 1865 and after his release from Fort Jackson he retired to private life. John D. Wade, "William McKendree Gwin" in Dictionary American Biography, VIII, 64-65.

⁶¹ New Orleans Times, October 1, 1865; Mexico City Mexican Times, October 28, 1865; January 20, 1866; New Orleans Daily Picayune, May 17, 1866.

and prominent leader in the Confederacy, arrived in Mexico City June 1, 1865. He was received by the Emperor at once and soon became his close friend and a regular visitor at the Imperial palace. Maury urged the Emperor to invite immigrants into Mexico, and when the Confederate exiles began arriving he was able to convince the Emperor of the possibilities of colonization, Maury was made Honorary Counsellor of State by an Imperial decree in September, 1865, and later was made a citizen of Mexico.⁶²

⁶² Mexico City Mexican Times, October 14, 1865; Corwin to Seward, October 28, 1865, in Mexican Diplomatic Correspondence, MSS., XXX; Mexico City La Sociedad, October 10, 1865.

Matthew Fontaine Maury (January 14, 1806-February 1, 1873), was born in Fredericksburg, Virginia, and after receiving an early education he joined the United States navy in 1825. He made during his first period of service three cruises to different parts of the world. In 1834 Maury received a leave of absence, returned to Virginia, and published his first work on navigation which met with immediate favor. Two years later he was promoted lieutenant and attached, as astronomer, to the exploring expedition to the South Seas. However, he refused to go when trouble developed over the appointment of the commander. Maury wrote a number of articles during the next few years in which he criticized the Secretary of the Navy for his inefficiency. In 1842 Maury was appointed superintendent of the Depot of Charts and Instruments of the Navy Department at Washington. This post also included the superintendency of the new Naval Observatory and Hydrographical Office. He spent most of his time working on the hydrographic and meteorological aspects. Maury wrote a number of books on these subjects which received international recognition. His work became so important by 1853 that he was invited to Belgium for the international hydrographic congress. Cyrus W. Field consulted with him frequently and later expressed his indebtedness to Maury.

Three days after Virginia seceded from the Union, Maury resigned, returned to his home, and became a commander in the Confederate States navy. After the war Maury went to Mexico and offered his services to Maximilian. In 1866 Maury went to London where he secured employment with a trans-Atlantic company and, also, wrote a number of geographies for a New York publishing house. In 1868 he returned to the United States and accepted a professorship of meteorology in the Virginia Military Institute. H. A. Marmer, "Matthew

In the same month Allen established the Times, which had as one of its chief functions the encouragement of immigration. Each of the editors placed much emphasis upon immigration, but Allen was the most enthusiastic. The Times carried many editorials on immigration, and almost every issue during the first six months carried an article describing some section of Mexico, its crops, the minerals, resources, or climate.⁶³ Although Allen was zealous about immigration, he never misinformed his readers. He urged them to come in groups and to bring enough money to pay for their upkeep until they were established. Writing in February, 1866, he said, "Wealth is accumulated here faster than perhaps in any other portion of the world, but do not come without some capital."⁶⁴ He warned the immigrants that they would not find things easy during their first few months in Mexico. He said, "Emigrants coming to Mexico, must not expect to sleep on beds of roses. They must come prepared to submit to an emigrant's life."⁶⁵

The Imperial government, in order to encourage and expedite the flow of immigration, permitted them to bring into Mexico "free of all duty, their equipage, their domestic utensils, brood and draft animals, implements of husbandry, Fontaine Maury," in Dictionary American Biography, XII, 428-31.

⁶³ Many of the articles and editorials were written by Matthew F. Maury. See the Papers of Matthew F. Maury, MSS., 51 vols., in Library of Congress, XXIII-XXV. Cited hereafter as Maury Papers.

⁶⁴ Mexico City Mexican Times, February 3, 1866; also, see February 17, March 13, 24, 1866.

⁶⁵ Ibid., February 3, 1866.

and tools of all kinds;" later when the United States began to impede and restrict emigration to Mexico they were admitted without a passport.⁶⁶ To aid immigration further, Maximilian established a colonization office and chartered three companies to bring immigrants into the Empire.

In October, 1865, Maury was appointed Imperial commissioner of colonization. He was paid an unannounced salary and allowed \$2,150 for clerical and office expense.⁶⁷ The Commissioner was authorized to appoint agents of colonization in the United States. Each was to receive a salary of \$100 per month and was allowed \$300 annually for expenses. These agents were located in Virginia, Texas, North and South Carolina, Missouri, California, Louisiana, and Alabama. Later agents with instructions to "invite to Mexico colonists who are practical agriculturists and skilled in mechanical arts" were appointed for New York, Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Buffalo.⁶⁸

Perhaps the most important immigration company was the American and Mexican Emigrant Company which was organized in December, 1865, with headquarters in Mexico City. Members of the organization were from some of the leading cities of the United States. The officers of the company were James Harrison, president; Pierre A. Berthold, vice-president; Charles P. Chouteau, treasurer; Bernard G. Caulfield, attorney;

⁶⁶ Maury Papers, XXIII; Diplomatic Correspondence, Pt. III, 214.

⁶⁷ Mexico City Mexican Times, October 14, 1865; Maury Papers, XXIII.

⁶⁸ Mexico City Mexican Times, October 14, 28, 1865.

and George Frank Gouley, secretary. The purpose of the company was to secure immigrants for Mexico. To accomplish this, the company appointed in the principal cities of the United States agents who were expected to disseminate information about Mexico's land, climate, resources, and the privileges accorded by the Empire. The company received in its charter the privilege of securing lands for colonization purposes and was exempted from the five per cent tax on land transfers. It was free to introduce into Mexico certain implements without duty and immigrants could be sold land not to exceed one square kilometer.⁶⁹

The Asiatic Colonization Company with Doctor Manuel B. de Cunha Reis as its leader was organized for the purpose of introducing Chinese labor into Mexico. This company did very little, if anything, toward bringing in coolies and subsequently its charter was revoked by the government.⁷⁰

An Imperial decree of October 18, 1865, authorized Numa Dousdebes, a merchant in Mexico City, to organize a company in Paris to assist in bringing French and Spanish immigrants

⁶⁹ Mexico City Mexican Times, December 2, 1865; January 13, 20, 27, 1866. The prospectus of the company was printed in the Times, December 2, 1865. Members of the company were Bernard G. Caulfield, Chicago; William H. Russell, Lexington, Missouri; A. W. Arrington, Chicago; R. O. Glover, New York; John How, St. Louis; James Rigney, Lexington; Marshall O. Roberts, New York; Edward P. Tesson, St. Louis; Charles P. Chouteau, St. Louis; Giovanni A. Bertolla, St. Louis; Gerard B. Allen, St. Louis; J. B. Wilcox, St. Louis; Charles S. Waller, Chicago; Pierre A. Berthold, St. Louis; Daniel N. Carrington, New York; William H. Warder, Chicago; B. P. Churchill, Cincinnati; and Lyttleton Coke, Louisville.

⁷⁰ Maury Papers, XXIV; Mexico City Mexican Times, March 10, 17, April 14, 1866; January 8, 1867.

from the Basque provinces to Mexico; however, very few if any, of them ever reached Mexico.⁷¹

In October, 1865, the Imperial government received from some French soldiers, whose terms were about to expire, applications for land in Mexico. The Emperor ordered land in the Tacuba and San Juanico districts, which were about six miles from the capital, set aside for any French soldier who desired to remain in Mexico.⁷²

The success of the Emperor's efforts to encourage immigration is not known, but it is certain that they accelerated the movement. Marcus Otterbourg, American Consul in Mexico City, wrote as early as September 11, 1865, that there were about 350 Confederates there and more were arriving daily. In the same letter he said that the Confederates had done much to promote the colonization scheme.⁷³ Writing again a few weeks later he said that about 500 Americans had come to the city during that year.⁷⁴

Statistics are not available to show the exact number which came into Mexico, but the Times published incomplete reports on the number of immigrants who arrived at Vera Cruz, Tampico, and Guaymas. The following table⁷⁵ shows the number arriving in certain months at Vera Cruz and also the

71 Mexico City Mexican Times, November 4, 1865.

72 Ibid., November 18, 25, 1865; Mexico City La Sociedad, November 17, 1865.

73 Marcus Otterbourg to William H. Seward, September 11, 1865, in Consular Dispatches, Mexico to United States, January 15, 1861 to December 29, 1866, MSS., XI, in The National Archives.

74 Ibid., September 30, 1865.

75 This information was compiled from the Mexican Times.

number of Americans included in the group:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Number of Americans</u>
September 1865	264	29
October 1865	290	--
January 1866	239	--
February 1866	765	540
July 1866	186	11
October 1866	252	30
December 1866	81	--
Total	2,077	610

The total number of immigrants arriving at Vera Cruz for the year 1866 was 2,097, and the number of departures from the port was 2,536.⁷⁶

Immigrants coming by boat to Mexico from the United States usually sailed from New Orleans or Galveston, but many preferred to take the overland route through Texas. They crossed the Rio Grande at Matamoras, Laredo, or Eagle Pass and traveled via Monterey, Saltillo, and San Luis Potosí. The Matamoras Ranchero in October, 1865, said, "not a day passes that exiles from the old Confederate states do not enter the Empire at this point."⁷⁷

Many of the exiles who arrived in Mexico in 1865 and 1866 lived only a short time. Some died from exhaustion caused by the long and arduous journey, others contracted disease after reaching Mexico, and a few were murdered. Among the first to die as noted earlier, were former Governor Murrah of Texas and General Monroe M. Parsons and his party. Some of the leaders who died in 1866 were D. F. E. Kavanaugh

⁷⁶ Ibid., January 29, 1867.

⁷⁷ Quoted in ibid., October 21, 1865.

of Missouri.⁷⁸ Colonel Dan Showalter of Pennsylvania,⁷⁹
former Governor Allen, and Major Frank Mullins of Texas.⁸⁰

A note of despair is seen in an October announcement that an unidentified American had committed suicide near Cordoba because of extreme poverty.⁸¹

The Imperial government offered land to immigrants and promised that they would receive an incommutable title to it. The head of a family received 640 acres and a single person received 320 acres free or at a very nominal price. They were permitted to bring their personal effects into the country free of duty and it was suggested that they might bring laborers with them. The immigrants were exempt from military duty for a period of years and they did not pay any transaction tax which was customary at the time.⁸²

Lands offered to the colonists were of three classes: improved public lands which had been confiscated or had escheated to the government, unimproved parts of the public domain, and private lands which the proprietors were willing to sell for liberal terms.

The most important source was government owned land which was offered to the immigrants at \$1.00 per acre payable with six per cent interest in five equal annual payments.⁸³

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, March 3, 1866.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, March 31, 1866.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, August 27, 1866.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, October 1, 1866.

⁸² *Ibid.*, September 23, 1865. See extracts from Maximilian's decree of September 5, 1865, in Diplomatic Correspondence, Pt. III, pp. 204-206; also, see Richard L. Maury to Reuben Herndon, February 28, 1866, Galveston, Texas, *ibid.*, 214.

⁸³ Mexico City Mexican Times, December 2, 1865; Diplomatic

If the land had not been improved the government usually gave it to the immigrant, reserving every alternate section for the public domain.

Commissioner Maury appointed as chief of the Land Office of Colonization John B. Magruder at an annual salary of \$3,000. He was authorized to select engineers to survey the lands for colonization.⁸⁴ A large number of Confederates were appointed to visit various parts of Mexico and inspect the lands with the view of colonizing them. Sterling Price, Isham G. Harris, and John Perkins, Jr., were sent to the Cordoba region; W. P. Hardeman and Judge O. M. Roberts of Texas went into the Guadalajara section on the west coast; William M. Anderson and John G. Lux went to Monterey; George W. Clarke was sent to Durango; Alonzo Ridley went to Mazatlán; John Henry Brown was sent to Merida near Orizaba; and Z. P. Cropesa inspected near Vera Cruz. These men made their reports to Commissioner Maury between November 24 and February 1, 1866. Their recommendations on the possibility of using the lands for colonization were made in glowing terms because everyone was high in his praise of Mexico.⁸⁵

The Commissioner of Colonization urged the Mexican citizens to share their lands with the immigrants, and many complied with his request, making their offers through his

Correspondence, Pt. III, pp. 207-208; also, see Maury's Circular letter, February 7, 1866, in Maury Papers, XXIV.

⁸⁴ Mexico City Mexican Times, October 14, 1865.

⁸⁵ Mexico City Mexican Times, September 23, 1865; Diplomatic Correspondence, Pt. III, 209. A record of appointments and the reports of these men are in Maury's Papers, XXIV.

organization. An example of the arrangements generally offered is illustrated by the proposal of Buenaventura Saravia who sent, concerning his hacienda, the "Chaparrion", the following proposal:

I will furnish on that farm, situated in the neighborhood of Nombre de Dios and Parrila, a habitation to the colonists and their families. I will give them gratis, for five years, a fanega of fertile land, watered by rain, for I have no irrigation; also, a yoke of oxen, two cows with their calves, two mares, one horse, two ewes, two hogs, two goats, one jackass, one chicken cock and two chickens; and moreover, the necessary tools for planting.

I will give the colonists, for their subsistence during one year, two mudes of corn, one-half measure of beans and one dollar each week. If at the end of the five years, the colonists have realized fine profits, they will pay me the price of the animals and the tools. We will then make a new contract for the future, in which, for my part, I will bring perfect good faith. I only ask for the present of my colonists honest, good conduct and the obligation to assist me in defending my property in case of attack by wild Indians or robbers. 86

The colonists settled in all parts of the Empire from the Rio Grande south to the state of Oaxaca; from Matamoras and Vera Cruz on the Atlantic to Mazatlán on the Pacific coast. Some of the more important colonies were attempted by Price, Harris, and others at Carlotta near Córdoba; Bryant of Arkansas in Chihuahua; Terry of Texas in Jalisco; Reverend P. T. Mitchell of Missouri in the Tuxpan on the Rio Verde near San Luis Potosí; and Shelby in the Tuxpan.

Harris, Price, and Perkins, after making their report to Maury, announced that they were taking lands in the Córdoba region which very quickly caused many Confederates

86 Mexico City Mexican Times, October 7, 1865; also, see ibid., October 14, 1865; Maury Papers, XXIII.

to seek grants in that section. Magruder, Shelby, Edwards, and others soon secured land grants in Carlotta. Allen owned a piece of land near there and said that he expected to spend the last days of his life on it. By October, 1865, thirty-eight Confederates were listed as living in the region of Carlotta.⁸⁷

While most of them engaged in farming, General Shelby and John McMurtry secured from the government a contract for hauling freight into the interior, which occupation Shelby retained until the fall of 1866, when he joined Barron Sauvage in a colonization project in the Tuxpan region. Captain Herbert Price, the son of Sterling Price, and James E. Slaughter erected a sawmill near Protrero to make cross ties for the railroads. Colonel Richard H. Andrews of General Lee's staff and General Walter H. Stevens were employed by the railroad company. Judge W. S. Oldham, formerly chief justice of Texas, turned photographer and writer.⁸⁸

The colonists at Carlotta in the fall of 1865 had a bright future because there was plenty of land which could be had without much difficulty, but with the increased immigration conditions changed. It was reported that fifty

⁸⁷ Mexico City Mexican Times, October 14, March 3, 1865; New Orleans Daily Crescent, February 24, 1866; New Orleans Daily Picayune, August 30, 1865; Galveston Flake's Daily Bulletin, August 26, 1865; Austin Tri-Weekly State Gazette, February 13, 1866; Mexico City La Sociedad, December 24, 1865; Diplomatic Correspondence, Pt. III, 214. The Mexican Times, October 14, 1865, contains a list of the settlers at Córdoba.

⁸⁸ Mexico City Mexican Times, February 17, 1866; Edwards, Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, 370; Baton Rouge Weekly Gazette and Comet, March 31, 1866.

families had staked out claims in the region before the end of 1865, and in the first few months of the following year many Americans came into the colony. It is estimated that 500 immigrants arrived the first week in March, 1866. This influx of population caused congestion and lack of housing facilities although two hotels had been erected to take care of the immigrants. The early arrivals had taken the best lands and were holding them for higher prices; quarrels developed over the unsurveyed boundaries and lawsuits resulted which caused much confusion. These conditions created much unrest and dissatisfaction and were aggravated by the government's inability to provide lands as advertised. As early as March 24 the Mexican Times took note of the situation when it remarked that the immigrants "find the lands all disposed of and the proprietors each day becoming more exorbitant in their terms. The consequence is that all those who can do so return to the United States and take with them the most discouraging accounts. Last week more than 50 colonists returned in this manner." Added to these woes was the toll taken by fever and dysentery during the first rainy season because the newcomers were poorly acclimated and without proper medical cure. Otterbourg, writing in June, 1866, said he was besieged for medical aid, hospital service, and assistance for returning to the United States.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Otterbourg to Seward, June 2, 1866, in Consular Dispatches, Mexico to United States, MSS., XI. For information on the development of the colony, see Dallas Herald, January 13, 1866; Mexico City Mexican Times, February 17, March 10, 24, 1866.

If the trouble in the region of Carlotta were not already enough to cause the colonists to seek ways and means of returning to the United States, the final incentive was given when the group living at Omealco a few miles from Carlotta were captured and marched away by Figueroa, one of the Mexican bandit leaders. After being robbed and mistreated, they were released and permitted to return but upon arriving at Omealco they found their homes destroyed, their animals killed or driven away, and their crops ruined.⁹⁰ This was enough to start the exodus, and before the end of 1866 the grandiose colonization scheme of Maury had become only a dream.

The next most important colonization project was located north of Cordoba in the Tuxpan region near the old city of San Luis Potosi. F. T. Mitchell, a Methodist minister from Missouri, purchased a 5,000 acre plot in the Rio Verde Valley midway between San Luis Potosi and Tampico.⁹¹ Another settlement in this region was a hacienda known as Tumbadero, containing about 10,138 acres, which was occupied in April, 1866, by Major John H. Brown and a number of friends. Adjoining this tract was another containing about 1,817 acres

⁹⁰ Mexico City Mexican Times, May 26, June 2, 9, 16, 23, 1866; Diplomatic Correspondence, Pt. III, 215; Otterbourg to Seward, June 2, 1866, in Consular Dispatches, Mexico to United States, MSS., XI; Shreveport Southwestern, November 1, 1866; Galveston Flake's Daily Bulletin, June 7, 1866; New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 12, 1866. For the names of the people captured, see Galveston Flake's Daily Bulletin, June 7, 1866; New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 12, 1866.

⁹¹ Mexico City Mexican Times, October 14, 21, 1866; October 29, 1866; Hill, "The Confederate Exodus to Latin America," in loc. cit., 315.

which had been purchased and settled by several families. In this same region between Tumbadero and the coast lay another tract of 7,000 acres called Zapotal. A number of families occupied this hacienda and in 1869 were operating a large plantation with a sugar mill, sawmill, and a grist-mill.⁹²

Another colony in the Tuxpan region was under the direction of Shelby who secured a grant of land from Baron Suavage, a financier in Mexico. The government granted a concession to Suavage in 1866 on condition that he colonize 300 families in the departments of Huachinango and Tuxpan by February, 1867. The rights were transferred to Shelby who organized a company for the purpose of colonizing the area.⁹³

Hardeman and H. W. Keith of New York became directors in Shelby's company. It secured two small vessels which were to bring passengers without cost from New York and New Orleans to Mexico. Shelby's organization proposed to sell land in 320 acre tracts at \$1.00 per acre. When only a few people had settled in the area, the colony suffered the same fate that others did in Mexico. After the withdrawal of the French soldiers, Shelby's schooners were seized by the people of Tampico, his colonists were attacked by robbers, and the finishing touch to the colony was administered when a large group of Indians raided the place.⁹⁴

⁹² Hill, "The Confederate Exodus to Latin America," in loc. cit., 323-24.

⁹³ Mexico City Mexican Times, September 24, October 1, 1866.

⁹⁴ Ibid., October 29, November 19, 1866; Edwards, Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, 397-99.

Cunha de Reis secured from the government all its public lands in Mitlaltoyuca and Amixtlan of the Huachinango district. He agreed to bring into Mexico 8,000 Portuguese within six years and promised that not less than 500 would be brought during the first year of his contract. His grant of land was about fifty miles from the Tuxpan on the Rio de las Naranjas or Orange River. He contracted with R. J. Lawrence, a skillful engineer, who had been working for a railroad company in Mexico and sent him to survey the land. Later Reis brought a few Americans into the district but he was unable to bring enough immigrants to colonize the area.⁹⁵

In the state of Tamaulipas, about thirty miles north of Tampico on the Panuco River, D. J. O. Forns owned the Hacienda de Limon which consisted of twenty-five square leagues. He wrote Commissioner Maury and offered to sell his land at \$2.00 per acre in blocks of 320 and 640 acres. Although this offer was advertised in the Times, very few immigrants ever settled in the area, probably because it was too near the section of the state held by the Liberal forces.⁹⁶

David L. Terry and Hardeman of Texas purchased a hacienda of 22,140 acres on the west coast in the Quadalajara section. They agreed to furnish colonists with horses,

⁹⁵ Mexico City Mexican Times, January 27, April 21, August 27, 1866; Maximilian's decree to Reis, January 18, 1866, in Maury Papers, XXIV.

⁹⁶ Mexico City Mexican Times, February 17, 1866; Forns to Maury, February 6, 1866, Maury's circular letter, February 7, 1866, in Maury Papers, XXIV.

some sheep, and a portion of the provisions necessary to maintain them for the first year. They expected the immigrants to give them one third of the crop and animals raised on the land.⁹⁷

The Palacio Colony in the state of Durango was begun as a model community for Mexico. Edward Conway of Missouri was sent into the region to make surveys, but after arriving there he found the Mexican official willing to connive with him so he secured for a very nominal consideration the title to the more desirable lands. Conway proposed to sell these lands at an enormous profit when immigrants began coming in to the area. In April, 1866, George W. Clarke was appointed agent of colonization and sent to supervise the settlement of the immigrants in this area. When he arrived and discovered the questionable transactions of Conway and the Mexican official, Clarke reported to the colonization office and asked for their removal. Before any official action was taken a few Americans settled in the region but with the advent of the year 1867 and the overthrow of Maximilian most, if not all, the colonists returned to the United States.⁹⁸

Colonel Alonzo Ridley, formerly of California and a member of the southern army, was the colonization agent for the Department of Mazatlán on the west coast. He was in-

⁹⁷ Mexico City Mexican Times, November 4, 1865; New Orleans Daily Picayune, March 11, 1866; Mexico City La Sociedad, November 1, 1865.

⁹⁸ Mexico City La Sociedad, October 3, 1865; Mexico City Mexican Times, February 10, 1866; Clarke to Richard L. Maury, April 10, 1866, Conway's report to Maury, March 20, 1866, Juan de Dios Palacio to Maury, March 20, 1866, in Maury Papers, XXIV.

strumental in securing land for Judge D. O. Shattuck from California and formerly of Louisiana, who in 1866 was growing his first cotton crop in the Comacho Valley only thirty miles from the town of Mazatlán.⁹⁹ The largest colonization project on the west coast was under the direction of Doctor Cornelius Boyle and Eustace Barron, who received in September, 1866, a grant of land in the state of Jalisco. The tract lay between the San Pedro and Santiago rivers and was located around the Hacienda de San Lorenzo. Doctor Boyle contracted with five Americans who made a survey of the area and later published their reports in the Mexican Times.¹⁰⁰ After Boyle received their reports he left for New York to secure immigrants but it does not appear that any colonists ever arrived at the San Lorenzo colony.

Although much was done under Maximilian's regime to encourage immigration and colonization the entire program was doomed to fail within a year after it started. As early as January, 1866, the chief leader of the movement, Commissioner Maury, realized it was failing and asked for a leave of absence to visit Paris. His excuse for visiting Europe was to meet his family in Paris and bring them to Mexico. He also proposed to purchase instruments to aid him in studying the weather and determining the rainfall in Mexico. After receiving Maximilian's permission he placed his son, Richard

⁹⁹ Mexico City Mexican Times, November 11, 25, December 30, 1865; March 3, 1866; Mexico City La Sociedad, November 9, 1865.

¹⁰⁰ Mexico City Mexican Times, September 3, 10, 24, November 19, 1866.

L., in charge of the colonization bureau and in March departed for London.¹⁰¹ The following month Maximilian wrote to Maury who was in London, "I am impelled by motives of economy and convenience to abolish the Imperial Commissioner of Colonization."¹⁰² The Emperor expressed much pleasure in the work done by Maury and urged him to return to Mexico and take charge of the observatory. Later in August, 1866, when Maury had secured an appointment to assist in laying the trans-Atlantic cable, Maximilian conferred upon him the "Grand Cross of the Order of Guadalupe," and again urged him to return to Mexico.¹⁰³

The fundamental cause for the failure of the colonization movement was the chaotic political conditions in Mexico. Maximilian was not a strong ruler and did not have a capable group of advisors to assist him with the government. He did not develop a strong political party among the Mexicans so when the French army withdrew the overthrow of the Emperor was inevitable. Many of the lands sold or given to the colonists had been confiscated, and when Maximilian was defeated many of the foreigners were driven out. Other reasons for its failure were the character of the immigrants, lack of capital, and speculation by a few of the leaders.

101 Maximilian to Maury, January 29, 1866, Richard Maury to W. C. Hasbrouck, New York, February 18, 1866, in Maury Papers, XXIV; Richard L. Maury to W. S. Ventree, New Orleans, March 3, 1866, Diplomatic Correspondence, Pt. III, 215.

102 Maximilian to Maury, April 19, 1866, in Maury Papers, XXV.

103 Maximilian to Maury, August 16, 1866, Maximilian to Maury, August 18, 1866, ibid.

Chapter XI
LOUISIANA HONORS A HERO

Allen's nine months in Mexico were in many respects very disagreeable to him. He hated to leave his beloved state of Louisiana, and after his arrival in Mexico he continually referred to his very dear friends in Louisiana and on many occasions expressed a great desire to return. Shortly after arriving in Mexico and finding himself in a destitute condition, he secured a tutor in order that he might learn the Spanish language and become an instructor.¹ He taught school after establishing the Times, and as late as January, 1866, Allen wrote that he was teaching school to earn an honest living.² Writing in December, 1865, he said, "I am out of money and must do something to live on. I am too proud to beg, and too honest, I hope, to steal."³ Later he wrote that his printers lived with him and that he had gone for weeks with only one meal each day.⁴

When these conditions were made known to the people of Louisiana in October, 1865, A. D. Battle of Shreveport organized a committee to raise funds for the destitute Confederate exile. The people of Louisiana raised 179 pounds sterling and sent it to Allen through R. C. Cummings and Company of

1 Allen to Dorsey, August 7, 1865, in Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 331; Shreveport Southwestern, December 6, 1865.

2 Allen to Dorsey, January 1, 1866, in Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 338.

3 Id. to id., September 5, 1865, ibid., d., 333.

4 Id. to id., January 1, 1866, ibid., 3, 338-39.

Shreveport.⁵ Receiving this money on Christmas day, he wrote and thanked the many friends for their material expression of love and sympathy, and in closing selected what later became his epitaph. He said, "When it shall please God to consign this mutilated body to its final resting place, be it

5 Shreveport Southwestern, October 4, 1865; Shreveport Gazette, September 29, 1865; Baton Rouge Tri-Weekly Gazette and Comet, October 19, 1865; New Orleans Daily True Delta, October 12, 1865; New Orleans Times, October 15, 1865; Marshall Texas Republican, April 17, 1866. Allen's name was before the people at this time as a candidate for governor. In the fall of 1865 James Madison Wells of Rapides accepted the gubernatorial nomination from the Democratic and the National Conservative Union parties, the strongest organizations in Louisiana. A group of disgruntled politicians in New Orleans organized the "Young Men's Allen Association" and placed Allen's name before the people for the governorship. He had been mentioned before the Democratic convention, but the group thought it unwise to nominate him although he was very popular and probably would have won the election. The New Orleans group held mass meetings which were well attended and sent a circular letter over the state asking for the election of Allen. The Louisiana Democrat urged his election and at public meetings in Alexandria all the candidates were forced to declare for or against him for governor. In the Florida Parishes and in the Shreveport area organizations were effected to secure his election. On October 21 James V. Duralde, Richard Nugent, Bolling R. Chinn, Alexander Barrow, H. M. Favrot, and other close friends of Allen published a notice in the New Orleans papers urging the people not to support Allen because he was ineligible for the office and that it would be inexpedient to elect him. Most of the leading papers opposed Allen's nomination because they believed his election would retard reconstruction. When Allen heard of his nomination he said that he was not interested in it and that he expected to spend the remainder of his life in exile. It appeared that the nomination of Allen by the New Orleans group was a political trick because none of them had ever been associated with him in business, politics, or any other capacity.

Although Allen's personal friends opposed his election, he carried five parishes, Caddo, Rapides, Livingston, St. Helena, and Washington, and received a respectable vote. The total vote cast was Wells, 22,312, and Allen, 5,497. For an account of the election, see Caskey, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, 160-84. For Allen's nomination, see New Orleans Times, October 25, 26, 1865; New Orleans Daily Crescent, October 24, 25, 29, 1865. For information on the Alexandria campaign, see Alexandria Louisiana Democrat,

among strangers in Mexico, or friends in my own Louisiana, I will want no better epitaph inscribed on my tomb than the sentiment contained in the closing part of your letter: 'Your friends are proud that Louisiana had a Governor who had an opportunity of securing a million dollars in gold, and yet preferred being honest in a foreign land, without a cent.'⁶

Allen's destitute condition was aggravated by pains from his old wounds which caused him to spend much time in bed. In January, 1866, when he had determined to go to Paris for an operation, Allen wrote Sarah Dorsey that he expected to leave in May because his wounds troubled him very much.⁷

Writing again in March he said that he was going to Vera Cruz and Córdoba for a short visit and upon his return he expected to leave for France. Allen arranged with one of his printers to edit the Mexican Times while he was in Europe. If his operation had been successful Allen planned to travel in Europe for about twelve months during which time he was going

October 25, November 4, 1865; Baton Rouge Tri-Weekly Gazette and Comet, October 31, 1865. For cards opposing Allen's election, see New Orleans Daily Crescent, October 21, 27, 28, 29, November 24, 1865. Papers opposing Allen's election, see New Orleans Bee, October 16, 17, 23, 1865; New Orleans Daily Southern Star, October 24, 1865; New Orleans Daily Crescent, October 16, 18, 24, 28, 1865; Opelousas Courier, October 28, 1865. For Allen's comment, see Mexico City Mexican Times, December 9, 1865. For the results of the election, see New Orleans Daily Crescent, December 4, 6, 11, 12, 1865; Louisiana Senate Journal, 1865, pp. 25-26.

⁶ Allen to R. C. Cummings, December 25, 1865, in Dallas Herald, March 10, 1865; Alexandria Louisiana Democrat, February 28, 1865; Shreveport Gazette, February 25, 1865; Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 336-37.

⁷ Id. to Dorsey, January 1, 1865, in Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 339.

to write letters for the Times. The editor had agreed secretly to pay him for these articles which was Allen's means of traveling.⁸

The first week in March Allen went to the coast and spent ten days at Vera Cruz. Upon his return to Mexico City he was taken ill, and for three weeks in April he suffered from his wounds and probably yellow fever although John Perkins said it was "over fatigue."⁹ He died Sunday, April 22, 1866. During his last days Captain P. H. Thompson of Louisiana, Colonel William A. Broadwell of New Orleans, Major Robert J. Lawrence of Missouri, and Major Edwards cared for him day and night.¹⁰ When Marshall Bazaine heard of his illness he sent his personal physician to assist in treating him.¹¹

Allen's Confederate friends secured permission from Marcus Otterbourg, the American consul, to bury him in the American cemetery. However, when Otterbourg learned that they planned to bury Allen in his Confederate uniform and use the Confederate flag he informed them that the grant would be withdrawn if such ceremonies were held. They promised not to use any Confederate clothes or flag. Later Otterbourg said he learned "that Allen was buried in the

8 Id. to id., March 15, 1865, Vera Cruz, ibid., 340-41; Mexico City Mexican Times, March 17, 1865. This secret arrangement was necessary because the Emperor was subsidizing the paper.

9 West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, August 18, 1866.

10 John N. Edwards to Dorsey, July 18, 1866, in Dorsey, Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, 363-64. See account of his death, in Mexico City Mexican Times, April 28, 1866.

11 Edwards, Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, 460.

fatigue uniform coat which he wore whilst in command of Confederate troops."¹²

The first report of Allen's death reached the United States about May 11, 1866. The Picayune in announcing the news said, "He was endeared to every class of our people by his brilliant qualities of head and heart, by his chivalric bearing as a gentleman and soldier, and his ever generous, genial and unselfish virtues and manners..... His intelligence, firmness, and earnestness gave him a conspicuous position and great influence in the political arena and in public affairs."¹³

The Baton Rouge Gazette and Comet, referring to his death, said, "The State of Louisiana, to which he was so devoted, will mourn his loss in the sense that a fond mother mourns the death of a dearly beloved child. Hearts will ache and tears will flow in contemplating a bereavement like this."¹⁴

When the news reached other sections of Louisiana comments of a similar nature were published in many of the state's papers. As late as the second week in June the Bossier Banner appeared in mourning as a tribute to the late Governor.¹⁵ The information reached Alexandria on May 22, and the district court after hearing Judge Michael Ryan, senior member of the bar, pay an eloquent tribute to Allen, adjourned for the day.¹⁶

12 Otterbourg to Seward, May 6, 1866, in Consular Dispatches, Mexico to the United States, MSS., XI.

13 New Orleans Daily Picayune, May 15, 1866.

14 Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet, May 15, 1866.

15 New Orleans Daily Crescent, June 16, 1866.

16 Alexandria Louisiana Democrat, May 23, 1866.

The people of Shreveport and Caddo Parish were so devoted to Allen that they arranged for a commemorative service for him. Honorable Thomas T. Land, former member of the state Supreme Court, was appointed to deliver the eulogy and Reverend Bishop E. M. Marvin was selected for the sermon. Saturday, June 23, all the business houses in Shreveport closed and a great crowd gathered to do honor to the deceased patriot. Judge Land's eulogy, it was reported, was all that one could ask for and Bishop Marvin "was really eloquent and impressive."¹⁷

On May 16 about fifty of Allen's friends met at the St. Charles Hotel in New Orleans and elected General John L. Lewis president of the meeting and E. W. Halsey secretary. John Sandidge announced that \$1,400 had been subscribed to bring Allen's remains to Louisiana and asked that a committee be appointed to arrange for their return.¹⁸ The committee met on May 18 and instructed Secretary Halsey to write the Mexican officials for information concerning the removal of Allen's remains. Halsey and Henry Denis communicated with J. Bankhead Magruder; Governor Madison Wells and Major John J. Monroe of New Orleans wrote the mayor of Mexico City.¹⁹

¹⁷ Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, June 2, 1866; Shreveport Southwestern, June 6, 27, 1866; New Orleans Daily Crescent, June 12, July 3, 1866.

¹⁸ New Orleans Daily Crescent, May 16, 17, 1866.

¹⁹ E. W. Halsey to J. Bankhead Magruder, May 18, 1866, New Orleans, in Mexico City Mexican Times, June 2, 1866; Henry Denis to id., May 10, 1866, New Orleans, ibid.; J. Madison Wells to Mayor of Mexico City, May 18, 1866, New Orleans, ibid.; John J. Monroe to id., May 18, 1866, New Orleans, ibid. These letters were also quoted in New Orleans Daily Crescent, July 4, 1866.

Magruder, after talking with the Emperor and other officials, informed Halsey that Allen's remains could be removed but they would have to be placed in a metallic coffin which could be secured in Mexico. The officials agreed to wave the usual fees charged for removing a body from Mexico and stated, further, that they were anxious to assist the people of Louisiana in every way possible. Magruder suggested that he would pay all the expenses but it was beyond his ability.²⁰

On May 22 a group of New Orleans people met at the Lyceum Hall and organized the H. W. Allen Monumental Association and appointed a committee of eighteen to take charge of bringing Allen's remains to the city.²¹ Captain M. Hanley who was selected to go to Mexico, left New Orleans, December

²⁰ Magruder to Halsey, May 29, 1866, Mexico City, in Mexican Times, June 2, 1866, New Orleans Daily Crescent, July 4, 1866.

²¹ New Orleans Daily Crescent, May 23, 1866. The members of the committee were D. W. Adams, Ernest Miltenberger, John L. Lewis, Harlow J. Phelps, William S. Pike, Doctor W. G. Austin, Henry Denis, Samuel Smith, Colonel I. Szymanski, J. O. Nixon, J. W. Overall, John Pemberton, James McCloskey, A. H. Isaacson, John M. Sandidge, J. S. Copes, R. C. Cummings, and Robert M. Lusher. Monumental Associations were organized in St. Helena and Rapides parishes to assist in defraying the expenses of bringing Allen's remains to Louisiana. Members of the executive committee in St. Helena Parish were E. John Ellis, Charles S. Stewart, C. H. Hyde, James B. Corkern, and William O. Lea. New Orleans Daily Crescent, June 18, 1866. Members of the Rapides Association were Judge Thomas C. Manning, president, W. A. Seay, secretary and E. R. Blossat, treasurer. Executive committee members were James C. Wise, S. W. Henarie, Julius Levin, Moses Rosenthal, W. L. Sanford, Lewis Texada, Benjamin Turner, J. M. Cavanaugh, M. Nugent, P. Boggas, Stephen Holstein, F. W. Marshall, M. Ryan, G. W. Stafford, J. H. Ransdell, E. M. Wells, John J. Swan, and Dempsey Fennell. Alexandria Louisiana Democrat, July 4, 1866.

6, and upon arriving in Mexico "was treated with extreme kindness and courtesy by citizens and public officers." General Hindman assisted him in making the necessary arrangements, and by January 5, 1867, he was ready for the return trip. Hanley, arriving in New Orleans on January 24, took the remains to Messrs. Casanave and Brothers establishment on Marais Street.²²

General Edward R. S. Canby, the commanding general for the district, had given orders that no display of flags, guns, or anything pertaining to the military would be permitted at the funeral.²³ In keeping with this the Crescent on January 27 published the following notice: "There will be no display of any sort; no music, no salvos of artillery, no flaunting of banners, no military procession. The brave, generous, whole-souled and noble Allen will be buried with the funeral ceremonies of a citizen."²⁴

On Sunday, January 28, Reverend J. P. B. Wilmer, presiding Bishop of the New Orleans diocese, assisted by Doctors W. Wheat and C. S. Hedges, conducted the funeral service for Allen at Christ Church. There was no sermon or oration, only a simple service performed before Allen's friends and admirers who had filled every seat in the building. The pallbearers were close friends and former associates of

²² Ibid., January 25, 1867. General J. Bankhead Magruder left Mexico December 10, 1866.

²³ Ibid., June 28, 1865.

²⁴ Ibid., January 27, 1867. It is interesting to note that General Albert Sidney Johnston's remains were taken from New Orleans on the same day that Allen's arrived. Johnston was reburied in Galveston.

Allen.²⁵

When the procession left the church, it moved along Canal Street to Magazine Street and up it to Washington then down to the Lafayette Cemetery. A huge crowd lined both sides of the streets; the procession extended over about twenty blocks and contained over 5,000 people. It was estimated that about 1,000 had assembled at the cemetery before the arrival of the remains.²⁶ The New Orleans Times, commenting upon the funeral, said, "Not even partisan or sectional hostility — not all the revengeful thoughts and passions engendered by a war, of which he was one of the victims — could suppress or restrain that natural impulse, of every honest and generous heart, to unite in the testimonials of respect to a man of such rare and singular virtue. Even those who had been arrayed against the deceased in mortal conflict could not withhold their admiration from one, who so heroically gave his life to the cause."²⁷

The people of the country parishes, and more especially those of Baton Rouge, were disappointed when Allen's remains were not brought to the capital for internment. It appeared that the New Orleans Monumental Association in December, 1866, just before the arrival of the remains, informed the

²⁵ New Orleans Daily Crescent, January 27, 28, 1866; New Orleans Times, January 28, 1867; New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 28, 1885. The pallbearers were Theodore G. Hunt, John L. Lewis, E. W. Halsey, John M. Sandidge, William S. Pike, Oscar Arroyo, Ernest Miltenberger, M. Hanley, Harlow J. Phelps, William Ball, James B. Corkern, and Henry Denis.

²⁶ New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 28, 1885; New Orleans Daily Crescent, January 28, 1867.

²⁷ New Orleans Times, January 28, 1867.

Baton Rouge organization that Allen would be buried at the capital. Immediately the Baton Rouge Association appointed an executive committee consisting of J. O. Nixon, chairman, Henry M. Favrot, Joseph E. Elam, James M. Taylor, Alexander Barrow, and Douglas O. Montan to make plans for the services. A number of committees were appointed to prepare for the internment.²⁸

A place just inside the gates of the capital grounds was selected for the tomb and on January 15, G. M. Lockwood and P. A. Walsh began constructing the vault.²⁹

However, three days later the New Orleans Association decided that Allen's remains would be buried in one of the city cemeteries. The Baton Rouge Tri-Weekly Advocate remarked, "The hopes and expectations of thousands of Governor Allen's friends have been disappointed, and it will be a hard task to convince them that the New Orleans Committee ever intended to carry out the arrangement the committee here was authorized to make for the internment."³⁰ In February the Felician Democrat said, "Considerable feeling has been elicited by the change throughout the country parishes."³¹ The Quachita Telegraph, which did not approve of burying him in New Orleans, said, "Bury him among his flowers and shrubs,

²⁸ Baton Rouge Tri-Weekly Advocate, January 7, 11, 14, 16, 1867. The members of the committees are listed in ibid., January 7, 1867. The West Baton Rouge Police Jury appropriated fifty dollars to pay for the ferry fee of all who wished to cross the Mississippi River on the day of the funeral. West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter, February 2, 1867; West Baton Rouge Police Jury Records, 1867, p. 163.

²⁹ Baton Rouge Tri-Weekly Gazette and Comet, January 15, 1867.

³⁰ Ibid., January 18, 1867.

³¹ Quoted in ibid., February 8, 1867.

magnolias and cedars — beneath the ruins of our Gothic capitol, where he may sleep evermore."³² The Carroll Record said they expected the legislature at its next meeting to pay all the expenses incurred by the New Orleans Association, to bring the remains to Baton Rouge, and "have them deposited in the most appropriate place for their long rest."³³

For three years after Allen's burial nothing was done about erecting a monument at his grave; however, in March, 1870, his friends reorganized the Allen Monumental Association and prepared to raise funds and erect a suitable monument.

A permanent organization was effected on March 1 when Samuel E. Hunter, former lieutenant colonel and colonel of the Fourth Louisiana Regiment, was elected president and A. W. Roberts vice-president. E. W. Halsey, Allen's former private secretary, was made the corresponding secretary and W. I. Hodgson, recording secretary. John M. Sandidge, chief of ordnance under Allen, was elected treasurer. A constitution was adopted which provided for the above officers and an executive committee of five members. It proposed to erect over Allen's grave a monument which would not cost over \$50,000. Anyone could become a member of the organization by signing the roll or sending a written request with one dollar. The original roll contains 812 names, with the following distribution: 754 from New Orleans and vicinity, 15 from Avoyelles Parish, 24 from Franklin, 15 from

32 Quoted in ibid., February 18, 1867.

33 Quoted in ibid., February 8, 1867.

Richmond, Arkansas; 2 from Rocky Comfort, Arkansas, and one each from Brownsville, Mississippi, and Aberdeen, Scotland.³⁴

In May, 1872, the Association contracted with James Hagan to erect a monument of Missouri granite consisting of a large base and a shaft twenty-six feet long. The executive committee estimated the cost at \$10,000 and it reported the treasurer had only \$1,200. The monument, which cost \$4,250, had been set in place by December 1, 1872.³⁵

In December and January of the following year the Association secured a number of benefit performances by dramatic clubs in New Orleans and raised enough money to pay for the monument and relieve the Association of all its indebtedness.³⁶

By 1882, the chaotic days of Reconstruction were gone and the control of the government in Louisiana had returned to the native sons. The capitol had been restored and Baton Rouge had become the seat of the government. Two years later

³⁴ New Orleans Daily Picayune, March 1, 1870. Allen Monumental Association, MSS., contains a copy of the constitution, a list of the members, programs for benefits given in New Orleans, an invitation to the dedication in Baton Rouge, and numerous newspaper clippings about the work of the Association. Copy available in Howard Memorial Library. Members of the executive committee were J. S. Copes, William S. Pike, Harry T. Hays, A. H. Isaacson, and James H. Wingfield.

³⁵ New Orleans Daily Picayune, November 24, December 1, 1872; New Orleans Times, November 24, December 1, 1872. The officers of the Association were John M. Sandidge, president, A. W. Roberts, vice-president, W. I. Hodgson, recording secretary, Horace Carpenter, corresponding secretary, and William S. Pike, treasurer. Members of the executive committee were J. S. Copes, Harry T. Hays, J. H. Wingfield, A. H. Isaacson, and William C. Black. New Orleans Daily Picayune, November 24, 1872.

³⁶ New Orleans Daily Picayune, December 8, 15, 27, 31, 1872; January 4, 13, 21, 25, 1873; New Orleans Daily Times, December 8, 22, 30, 31, 1872; January 21, 1873.

the Allen Monumental Association in response to a demand from the people agreed to transfer the remains of Allen and the monument erected by them to the state if it would place them in a suitable spot on the capital grounds in Baton Rouge and pay all the costs of transferring them.³⁷ Charles Knowlton of New Orleans introduced a bill in the lower House providing for the necessary appropriation and accepting the proposition of the Association. The bill became a law without any opposition. A committee composed of three citizens and three members of each of the houses was appointed to carry out the provisions of the act.³⁸

The legislative committee met June 6, 1885, and appointed a number of special committees to arrange for the receiving and reburial of Allen on July 4. Messrs. Hannan and Voss contracted to bring his remains to Baton Rouge. The committee selected a place about halfway between the building and the fence near the northwest tower of the old capitol which is the present location of the monument.

A most elaborate program was prepared for the occasion. General P. G. T. Beauregard was chosen grand marshal and instructed to select six assistants. United States civil and military officials, foreign consuls, state judges, military

³⁷ Baton Rouge Capitolian and Advocate, July 6, 1885.

³⁸ Ibid., July 10, 1884; Louisiana House Journal, 1884, p. 178; Louisiana Acts, 1884, p. 57. Members of the committee from the House were Charles Knowlton of Orleans, G. W. Munday of East Feliciana, and L. B. Claiborne of Pointe Coupee; from the Senate John D. Fisher of East Baton Rouge, Allen Jumel of Iberville, and G. A. Breaux of Orleans; and citizens William Garig, Charles McVea, and S. M. Hart.

organizations, civic groups, and state officials were invited to participate in the ceremony. Surviving members of the Fourth Louisiana Regiment, Allen's old organization, were sent special invitations. Colonel Thomas G. Sparks of Pointe Coupee, formerly associated with Allen in Shreveport, was chosen to give the address on his civil character and Colonel Henry M. Favrot was selected to discuss his military life.³⁹

Allen's remains were taken from his grave about June 1 and placed in the tomb of Hodgson where they rested until July 3, when they were placed in the armory of the New Orleans Washington Artillery. A large procession participated in the removal, and the pallbearers for the occasion were former members of the Fourth Louisiana Regiment.⁴⁰

On the morning of July 4, accompanied by a large number of people from New Orleans, including a special guard, members of the Allen Monumental Association, Fourth Louisiana Regiment, military organizations, and civic groups, Allen's remains were placed on the train and taken to Baton Rouge. They were received in the capital by one of the largest groups that had ever assembled in Baton Rouge for such an occasion. The procession formed at the depot and moved up North Boulevard to Church Street, thence to Main, up it to Lafayette Street, and down it to the capitol grounds.

³⁹ For the complete program and members of the various committees, see Baton Rouge Capitolian and Advocate, July 6, 1885; also, see ibid., June 15, 18, 20, 28, 1885; New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 4, 1885; New Orleans Times-Democrat, June 28, 1885.

⁴⁰ New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 4, 1885.

Colonel John Milton Sandidge, president of the Allen Monumental Association, presented the monument, remains, and Allen's sword to Governor Samuel D. McEnery. The Chief Executive accepted the gift of the Allen Monumental Association and in describing Allen and his administration said, "Craft and cunning were abolished from his council chamber, and an open and frank, firm and courageous policy dictated his course. He went directly to the popular heart, bringing the people in the closest sympathy with him, winning their love and their support." Then followed an eloquent address by Henry M. Favrot, who reviewed Allen's military career. Cadet J. G. Lee of Farmerville, Louisiana, read a poem which had been written for the occasion by Marie B. Williams of St. Landry Parish. Thomas G. Sparks concluded the program with a eulogy on Allen's civil life.⁴¹

He described the destitute condition of the people in 1863 and the inability of the government to aid them and then summarized Allen's work as governor. Sparks related how Allen sent aid to the suffering people in the Red River Valley after the invasion of 1864 and how he was one of the first to secure supplies for the Missouri soldiers when they came to Louisiana.

⁴¹ Baton Rouge Capitolian and Advocate, July 6, 1885; New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 5, 1885; New Orleans Times-Democrat, July 5, 1885. These papers printed complete programs, including the speeches made during the day. For a copy of Favrot's address, see Henry M. Favrot, Address on the Military Career of Governor Henry Watkins Allen on the Occasion of the Reception of his Remains and Transfer of the Monument Erected to his Memory, Baton Rouge, July 4, 1885 (Baton Rouge, 1885). Copy available in Howard Memorial Library.

Allen was sincere in every undertaking which he attempted and entered upon every new task with all his energy. Although he was often perplexed and irritated by the slowness of the military regulations of the army, Allen could not be discouraged. He, according to Sparks, "infused his enthusiasm into every department of the Government, and all who came within the magic circle of his magnetic power caught the contagion of his public spirit." It was Allen's high ambition "to make the state independent of the world and by scattering manufactories over it to fabricate at home every article which was absolutely needed for consumption." Allen "had an exalted idea of the obligations of his office and his duty to his people," Sparks said, and he thought that every individual ought to have the same high regard for his position. Although Allen's "love of approbation was great, and the applause of his people was the sweetest music he could hear. Yet fear of public opinion never swerved him from his course, when he felt his was right, nor ever caused him for a moment to evade his responsibilities."

In describing the closing of the war, Sparks stated that when it became known at Shreveport that Allen was to leave, a profound sensation was produced, and feelings of deep sorrow were witnessed on every side. "Hundreds of people came to grasp his hand and wish good luck to him in exile." "During these trying moments," Sparks said, "he preserved his equanimity and cheerfulness, advising all to return to their homes and cheerfully accepting the inevitable,

remain good citizens, and show the world that they had fought like men, like men they could make peace."

Since his death, Louisiana has honored Allen in many ways. The town of Port Allen was renamed in 1878 for him, a parish created in 1912 was given his name, and a section of Shreveport and an avenue bear the name of Allen. In the city of New Orleans there is a Henry Watkins Allen school and in Shreveport the Confederate monument on the courthouse square bears the name of Allen along with those of Beauregard, Lee, and Jackson. In the 1870's a steamboat which operated on the Mississippi River carried Allen's name. About the time of Allen's death a number of people wrote poems and dedicated them to him. Tim Linkinwater, well-known writer and actor of New Orleans in the nineteenth century, wrote one which was read at a benefit performance in New Orleans in 1872. John Dimitry, the historian, dedicated a poem to him, and Colonel A. M. Hobby of Texas wrote another in 1866.

The death of Allen took one of Louisiana's most illustrious sons. He demonstrated his versatility when he came to Louisiana as a stranger and within fifteen years became a leading sugar planter, legislator, soldier, and governor. He arrived in West Baton Rouge at the age of thirty-two and quickly won a host of friends because of his genial nature and forceful personality. His oratorical ability secured him a place on the program for all public gatherings which opened the avenue for a political career. Allen entered the legislature as a Know Nothing, the minority group, but soon

demonstrated his ability to influence the policies of the state; before the Civil War began he joined the Democratic party and became its floor leader in the lower House.

Allen possessed all the qualities of a military leader. Entering the army as a private he attained the rank of major general. He did not know the meaning of fear because he was brave to the point of recklessness. He, as an officer, never ordered his men to charge; instead he was always out in front leading them. Although daring and impulsive, Allen never abused his men nor would he permit others to mistreat them. He was a stern disciplinarian but was not overbearing. He had a high sense of duty and expected others to maintain the same standard.

As an administrator Allen ranks second to none in the history of Louisiana. His work at Shreveport demonstrated clearly his ability to organize and husband the resources of the state. He took over when conditions were chaotic and within eighteen months had established order and had supplied the people with food, clothing, and medicines. Allen did these things without making enemies and without suffering criticisms from his subordinates or even his enemies.

A great tribute that can be paid Allen is that during his brief but active life he was never criticized by any one through the press or printed sources. Even his political adversaries were willing to concede his ability and were always anxious to have him as a personal friend. Allen as a citizen, public official, soldier, and statesman, ranks among

the best which Louisiana has produced.

Appendix I

The following were elected to the Legislature in 1861.
Those marked with an asterisk attended the session at Shreveport, from May 4 to June 20, 1863.

<u>District</u>	<u>Senators</u>
Assumption, Ascension, and Terrebonne:	A. Tete, and Thomas H. Weightman*
Avoyelles, Pointe Coupee, and West Feliciana:	F. Cannon and S. W. McKneeley
Bienville and Bossier:	John L. Hodges
Caldwell, Catahoula, and Winn:	C. C. Meredith
Carroll and Franklin:	H. R. Lott
Claiborne:	W. F. Moreland*
East and West Baton Rouge and East Feliciana:	Alexander Barrow and Thomas J. Buffington
Iberville:	N. J. Dupuy
Jefferson, St. Bernard, Orleans, Right Bank, and Plaquemines:	F. Gardere and E. Lawrence
Lafourche and St. Charles:	Doctor J. A. Scudday
Livingston, St. Helena, St. Tammany, and Washington:	J. P. Wall
Madison, Tensas, and Concordia:	S. B. Oswald and E. D. Newell
Morehouse and Ouachita:	R. Wilson*
Natchitoches, Caddo, DeSoto, and Sabine:	J. W. Butler* and J. S. Flourney*
Orleans:	F. Labatut, J. B. Leefe, E. A. Patterson, and E. Salomon
Rapides:	Lewis Texada
St. John the Baptist and St. James:	J. H. Loughbotough
St. Landry, Lafayette, and Calcasieu:	B. R. Cantt and J. A. Taylor
St. Martin and Vermillion:	John Moore*
St. Mary:	Doctor H. J. Sanders
Union and Jackson:	J. F. Fuller*

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Representatives</u>
Ascension, Assumption, Avoyelles,	R. J. Babin and E. F. Morehead* D. LeBlanc and W. B. Foley Colonel B. W. Blakewood* and G. P. Voorhies*
Bienville, Bossier, Caddo, Calcasieu, Caldwell, Carroll, Catahoula, Claiborne, Concordia, DeSoto, East Baton Rouge, East Feliciana, Franklin, Iberville,	J. R. Head* T. J. Caldwell* and A. A. Abney* J. A. McRady* and R. White* W. H. Kirkman* J. J. Meredith* J. D. Imboden* and F. H. G. Taylor* T. Briethaupt* James W. McDonald* and J. M. Scaife* T. Alexander* and E. B. Whitaker* Joseph B. Elam* and J. W. Mundy* F. M. Hereford W. F. Kernan* and George H. Jones* J. W. Williss* Joseph A. Breaux and Charles O. Hebert
Jefferson, Lafourche, Lafayette, Livingston, Madison, Morehouse, Natchitoches,	F. Charleswelle O. Harang and R. M. Ogden E. Gilbeau* Thomas G. Davidson Samuel Anderson and N. D. Coleman* C. C. Davenport* Phanor Prudhomme and J. M. B. Tucker*
Ouachita, Orleans, First District, Second District, Third District, Fourth District, Right Bank, Rapides,	Charles H. Morrison* S. Jamison*, J. W. Carroll, and Robert Mott* F. C. Guady and J. V. Bofil J. F. Barthelemi J. Holmes* and T. G. McLean A. Fortier J. P. Helm*, J. P. Eddleman*, and J. R. Andrew* Z. Demruelle, Jr.* J. Foulhouze* D. A. Blackshear* F. H. Knapp G. B. N. Wales* M. S. Newsom J. R. Gaudet and E. Legendre Joseph Bossier* John M. Moore*, A. O. Guidry, R. J. Smith*, and J. J. Morgan E. T. King* J. B. Robertson*, and A. Oliver B. Edwards*
Pointe Coupee, Plaquemine, Sabine, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. Helena, St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Landry,	
St. Martin, St. Mary, St. Tammany,	

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Representatives</u>
Tensas,	A. Snyder* and E. Mason (deceased) Drake*
Terrebonne,	W. H. Knight and J. B. Robinson
Union,	S. C. Lee* and J. Taylor*
Vermillion,	A. Nunez
Washington,	A. C. Bickham*
West Baton Rouge,	James Victor Duralde
West Feliciana,	C. N. Gibbons* and Wade H. Richardson*
Winn,	William Walker*

Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, December 5, 1861, contains a list of those elected in 1861. ibid., June 5, 9, 1863, contains the names of those who attended the session in Shreveport.

Appendix II

	Governor						Treasurer
	Allen	Stafford	Polk	McDonald	Hodge	Sandidge	Defreese
Avoyelles	38	23	3				405
Bienville	351	64					369
Bossier	253	67					308
Caddo	535	141					637
Calcasieu	162						158
Caldwell	149	28		84			253
Carroll	174	8					193
Catahoula	209	16	2	139			241
Claiborne	576	146					698
Concordia	78						
Desoto	506	11					503
Franklin	185	65		1			238
Iberville	20						19
Jackson	270	60					242
Livingston	225				8		107
Madison	24						25
Morehouse	281	9				3	291
Natchitoches	500	23	1				560
Ouachita	218	7					208
Pointe Coupee	33						32
Rapides	273	131					373
Sabine	355						353
St. Helena	515				12		149
St. Landry	80	4					73
Tensas	112						52
Union	372						357
Vermillion	27						27
West Feliciana	299						166
Winn	277	4		2	12		253
Total	7,092	807	3	226	32	3	7,048

	Lieutenant Governor					Auditor			Superintendent of Education			
	Pearce	Rayburn	Barry	Powers	Ray	Peralta	Defreese	Hunter	Robertson	Magruder	Walker	Avery
Avoyelles	407					404				405		
Bienville	247	113				370				377		
Bossier	312	1				310				307		
Caddo	655					665				666		
Calcasieu	159					151				157		
Caldwell	142		118			254				258		
Carroll	192					193				192		
Catahoula	246					240				237		
Claiborne	409	32				707				696		
Concordia												
DeSoto	119	354				505				506		
Franklin	187		63			237				243		
Iberville	20					19				20		
Jackson	258	4				260				255		
Livingston	229					110	1	4		78	25	
Madison	25					25				27		
Morehouse	290					293				294		
Natchitoches	534	13				558				580		
Ouachita	209					209				215		
Pointe Coupee	32					32				22		
Rapides	351			30		374				375		
Sabine	355					354				353		
St. Helena	245				241	492		1		344		
St. Landry	74					74				73	8	
Tensas	113					60				50		
Union	367					364				362		
Vermillion	27					28						
West Feliciana	166					170				158		
Winn	163					253				250		
Total	6,918	169	181	30	241	7,711	1	4	1	7,500	25	8

Secretary of State

Attorney General

	Hardy	Estes	Zim	Eastin	Ray	Goode	Defreese	L. Semmes	Muse	Moise	T. Semmes
Avoyelles	186		2	220		405					
Bienville	188	223		5		370					
Bossier	129	190		10		306					
Caddo	218	437	5			652					
Calcasieu	139	12		9		158					
Caldwell	127	4	9			156	69				
Carroll	104	23	50			193					
Catahoula	127	19	79	8		226					
Claiborne	537	173				705					
Concordia											
DeSoto	119	354		2		506					
Franklin	70		455	3		238					
Iberville	18					20					
Jackson	162	40	6			261					
Livingston	206					70	1	1	2	7	9
Madison	19					25					
Morehouse	245	9	1	36		291					
Natchitoches	416	53				569					
Ouachita	2	9	188		3	211					
Pointe Coupee	32					32					
Rapides	321	7	28			367					
Sabine	273	73				352					
St. Helena	140				11	145					
St. Landry	58	13		2		73					
Tensas	29		19			51					
Union	294	31				362					
Vermillion				27		17					
West Feliciana	159					167					
Winn	234	10				242					
Total	4,552	1,680	842	322	14	7,170	I	70	2	7	9

The names of the candidates were Henry Watkins Allen, Leroy F. Stafford, Leonidas Polk, James W. McDonald, Benjamin L. Hodge, John M. Sandidge, Benjamin W. Pearce, Hodge Rayburn, Edward Barry, Sam Powers, John Ray, Pliny D. Hardy, Doctor M. Estes, Lewis Zim, E. R. Eastin, R. Ray, Flavillus S. Goode, B. L. Defreese, L. D. Semmes, J. H. Muse, T. J. Semmes, E. Warren Moise, Lewis Zim, Hypolite Peralta, B. L. Defreese, R. A. Hunter, Edward W. Robertson, B. L. Defreese, W. H. N. Magruder, P. A. Walker, and Daniel D. Avery.

For election returns, see Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, February 2, 1864; Journal of the Louisiana Senate, December 15, 1862- to February 11, 1864, MSS., in Confederate Records, The National Archives, Chap. VIII, Vol. CXCI, 3.

Appendix III

The following were elected to the Legislature in 1863.
Those marked with an asterisk attended the session at Shreveport, from January 18 to February 11, 1864.

<u>District</u>	<u>Senators</u>
Ascension, Assumption, and Terrebonne:	Thomas H. Weightman*
Avoyelles, Pointe Coupee, and West Feliciana:	A. D. Coco* and A. W. Gray*
Bienville and Bossier:	A. A. Abney*
Caddo, DeSoto, Natchitoches, and Sabine:	J. W. Butler* and Samuel Clark*
Calcasieu, Lafayette, and St. Landry:	Benjamin R. Gantt* and J. A. Taylor
Carroll and Franklin:	Hiram A. Lott*
Caldwell, Catahoula, and Winn:	William H. Rogers*
Claiborne:	James W. McDonald*
Concordia, Madison, and Tensas:	Vincient L. Reeves* and Samuel B. Oswalt*
West Feliciana and West Baton Rouge:	Alexander Barrow*
East Baton Rouge, East Feliciana, and West Baton Rouge:	Preston Pond, Jr.*
Iberville:	J. A. Dardemne
Livingston, St. Helena, St. Tammany, and Washington:	J. P. Wall*
Morehouse and Ouachita:	James C. Weeks*
Rapides:	Lewis Texada*
St. Martin and Vermillion:	John Moore*
St. Mary:	H. J. Sanders
Union and Jackson:	J. F. Fuller

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Representatives</u>
Ascension,	E. F. Morehead*
Avoyelles,	G. Couvillion* and J. C. Jaffrion*
Bienville,	J. R. Head*
Bossier,	J. R. Griffin* and J. A. Snyder*
Caddo,	J. B. Gilmore* and W. A. Lacy*
Calcasieu,	E. A. Perkins*
Caldwell,	F. A. Blanks*
Carroll,	J. W. Dougherty* and F. H. G. Taylor*
Catahoula,	Moses Walker
Claiborne,	J. W. Berry* and J. Murrell*
Concordia,	J. B. Cotton* and E. B. Whitaker
DeSoto,	B. F. Chapman* and Joseph B. Elam*
East Feliciana,	Clement Gore* and W. F. Kerman*
Franklin,	M. S. Osborne*
Iberville,	H. Desobry, James Foulhouze*, and J. H. Johnson*
Jackson,	G. W. McCravey*
Livingston,	Jones
Madison,	Samuel Anderson* and W. H. Peck*
Morehouse,	W. R. Mayo*
Natchitoches,	W. H. Jack* and F. Roubien*
Orleans,	Samuel Jamison* and Robert Mott*
Ouachita,	J. D. McEvery*
Pointe Coupee,	W. H. Cooley and W. L. Jewel*
Rapides,	T. B. Helm*, S. B. Johnson*, and J. J. Meyers*
Sabine,	E. F. Pressley*
St. Helena,	M. S. Newsom*
St. Landry,	Thomas Anderson*, J. C. Barrey* and A. R. Hawkins* and F. L. Pitre*
St. Mary,	J. B. Robertson*
St. Tammany,	James Bowie
Tensas,	H. W. Drake* and R. H. Snyder*
Union,	C. H. Hodges* and J. G. Taylor*
Washington,	C. P. Bailey*
West Feliciana,	J. Hunter Collins* and W. H. Richardson*
Winn,	J. A. Hargis

For a complete list of the legislators, see Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, January 8, 1864. For the names of those who attended the session at Shreveport, see Shreveport Semi-Weekly News, January 22, 29, February 2, 1864.

Appendix IV

Commissioners appointed by Governor Allen to distribute relief funds.

W. M. Allen, DeSoto
Thomas C. Anderson, St. Mary
Edward Barry, Caldwell
F. A. Blanks, Caldwell
John H. Boatner, Catahoula and Concordia
E. North Cullom, President Relief Commissioner in Avoyelles
R. A. Cutliff, Caddo
Eugene Duchamp, St. Martin
R. W. Futch, Union
J. L. Generes, Avoyelles
J. M. Gibbs, Sabine
M. E. Girade, Lafayette
J. R. Head, Bienville
John Jourdan, Chairman of Committee at Blair's Landing, Natchitoches
Jacob Kenneth, Caldwell
W. M. Kidde, Jackson
Julius Lisso, Natchitoches
W. McFee, Morehouse
Wilson McRerall, St. Mary
John G. McWilliams, Adjutant Commissioner South Side of Red River
A. Nunez, Vermillion
M. L. Osborne, Franklin
A. H. Pierson, Agent for Poor in Natchitoches
John Ray, Ouachita
L. Vincent Reeves, Commissioner South Side of Red River
W. L. Sanford, Rapides
J. D. Strother, Commissioner for distribution of corn, Winn
J. Thomason, Claiborne
James Todd, St. Mary
C. L. Wamsley, Agent for Poor in Natchitoches
M. J. Watson, Carroll
W. D. Winter, East Feliciana

Appendix V

TO THE PEOPLE OF LOUISIANA

Executive Office,

Shreveport, La., June 2d, 1865.

FELLOW CITIZENS, — I have thought it my duty to address you a few words in parting from you, perhaps forever. My administration as Governor of Louisiana closes this day. The war is over, the contest is ended, the soldiers are disbanded and gone to their homes, and now there is in Louisiana no opposition whatever to the Constitution and the laws of the United States. Until order shall be established, and society with all its safeguards fully restored, I would advise that you form yourselves into companies and squads for the purpose of protecting your families from outrage and insult, and your property from spoliation. A few bad men can do much mischief and destroy much property. Within a short while the United States authorities will no doubt send you an armed force, to any part of the State where you may require it for your protection.

My countrymen, we have for four long years waged a war, which we deemed to be just in the sight of high heaven. We have not been the best, the wisest, nor the bravest people in the world, but we have suffered more and borne our sufferings with greater fortitude than any people on the face of God's green earth. Now let us show to the world, that as we have fought like men — like men we can make peace. Let there be no acts of violence, no heart burnings, no intemperate language, but with manly dignity submit to the inevitable course of events. Neither let there be any repinings after lost property — let there be no crimination or recrimination — no murmurs. It will do no good, but may do much harm. You who, like myself, have lost all (and oh, how many there are!) must begin life anew. Let us not talk of despair, nor whine about our misfortunes, but with strong arms and stout hearts adapt ourselves to the circumstances which surround us.

It now rests with the United States authorities to make you once more a contented, prosperous, and happy people. They can within five years restore Louisiana to its original wealth and prosperity, and heal the terrible wounds that have been inflicted upon her — so great are our recuperative energies — so rich is our soil — so great are the resources of the State! Our rulers have it in their power to dry the mourners' tears — to make glad the hearts of the poor widow and the orphan — to cause the past in a great measure to be forgotten, and to make your devastated lands "to blossom as the rose." If my voice could be heard and

heeded at Washington, I would say, "Spare this distracted land — oh, spare this afflicted people. In the name of bleeding humanity, they have suffered enough!" But, my countrymen, this cannot be. I am one of the proscribed — I must go into exile — I have stood by you, fought for you, and stayed with you, up to the very last moment, and now leave you with a heavy heart. The high trust with which you have honored me, is this day returned. I leave the office of Governor with clean hands, and with the conscious pride of having done my duty. All the officers of State, and all employees in its various departments, have rendered their final accounts, made full and complete statements. I thank them for their uniform kindness to me, and their patriotic devotion to the several duties assigned them. These accounts are in the hands of Colonel John M. Sandidge. I invite the closest scrutiny, not only of these papers, but to all my acts as Governor of Louisiana. My State Stores, and Dispensaries, and Manufactories, have all been conducted, in the most successful manner. None can tell the vast amount of good they have done, not only to you, but to the people of Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri.

Fellow citizens, in this the darkest hour of my life, I do not come before you as an old man, broke down by storms of state, nor do I come to plead for mercy, at the hands of those whom I have fought for four long years. No, no, I come in the pride and vigor of manhood, unconquered, unsubdued. I have nothing to regret; I look back with mournful pleasure at my public career, now about to close. As a citizen, as a soldier, as a statesman, I have done my duty. The soldier's family, the widow and the orphan, the sick and the wounded, the poor and needy, have all had my especial care, while the wants of the soldier and the citizen have not been forgotten. I have protected the people from the encroachments of military power, and have never permitted a bale of cotton in the State to be seized or impressed. It is partially in remembrance of these acts, that you have always given me your entire confidence. But few in authority have ever had so many evidences of affection and regard as you have so often shown me.

Refugges, return to your homes! Repair, improve, and plant, Go to work, with a hearty good-will, and let your actions show that you are able and willing to adapt yourselves to the new order of things. We want no Venice here, where the denizens of an unhappy State shall ever meditate with moody brow, and plot the overthrow of the government, and where all shall be dark and dreary — cold and suspicious. But rather let confidence be restored. If required, let each and every one go forward cheerfully, and take the oath of allegiance to the country in which they expect in future to live, and there pursue their respective avocations with redoubled energy, as good, true, and substantial citizens.

I go into exile not as did the ancient Roman, to lead

back foreign armies against my native land — but rather to avoid persecution, and the crown of martyrdom. I go to seek repose for my shattered limbs. It is my prayer to God, that this country may be blessed with permanent peace, and that real prosperity, general happiness, and lasting contentment may unite all who have elected to live under the flag of a common country. If possible, forget the past. Look forward to the future. Act with candor and discretion, and you will live to bless him who in parting gives you this last advice.

And now, what shall I say in parting, to my fair countrywomen! Ladies of Louisiana, I bow to you with tears of grateful affection. You have always responded most promptly and cheerfully to the calls of patriotism and duty. You clothed the soldiers, nursed the sick and wounded, cheered up the faint-hearted, and smoothed the dying-pillow of the warrior patriot. God bless you! God bless you! I can never forget you. In the land of the exile, I shall remember you with feelings of gratitude too deep for utterance. Sometimes think of him who has sacrificed all for you. Perhaps, in better days, when the storm of passion and prejudice shall have passed away, we may meet again; I may then be permitted to return — to mingle with my friends — to take them by the hand, and "forget my own griefs, to be happy with you." If this should be denied me, I humbly trust we may all meet in Heaven, at last, to part no more.

For complete copies of the address, see Alexandria Louisiana Democrat, June 14, 1865; Baton Rouge Weekly Gazette and Comet, June 17, 1865; Clarksville Standard, July 15, 1865; Marshall Texas Republican, June 9, 1865; New Orleans Bee, June 12, 1865; New Orleans Times, June 13, 1865; New York Times, June 25, 1865; Shreveport News, June 6, 1865.

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____ Schedule I, Free Inhabitants in Claiborne County, Mississippi, 1850, I; Schedule II, Slave Inhabitants in Claiborne County, Mississippi, 1850, I.

____ Population in Prince Edward County, Virginia, 1830, XXXIX.

____ Population in Ray County, Missouri, 1840, V.

____ Schedule I, Free Inhabitants in Ray County, Missouri, 1850, VIII; Schedule II, Slave Inhabitants in Ray County, Missouri, 1850, XI.

____ Schedule I, Free Inhabitants in Ray County, Missouri, 1860, XX; Schedule II, Slave Inhabitants in Ray County, Missouri, 1860, XXI.

____ Schedule I, Free Inhabitants in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, 1850, I; Schedule II, Slave Inhabitants in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, 1850, VII.

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BIOGRAPHY

Luther Edward Chandler, youngest son of the late James Edward Chandler and Harriet Price Chandler, was born September 8, 1905, at Pollock, Louisiana. He graduated from Pollock High School in 1923 and ranked second in a class of ten.

He entered Louisiana College in 1923 and four years later received the B. A. degree. During his years of undergraduate study he participated in four sports, held offices in school organizations, served on the annual staff, and was editor of the school paper in 1927. In his senior year he was an assistant in the history department and assistant instructor in physical education.

After teaching and coaching for two years at Trout-Good Pine High School, LaSalle Parish, Louisiana, he entered the graduate school of the University of Texas in June, 1929, and remained there until the close of the following summer session. He received the M. A. degree in June, 1930.

In September, 1930, he became professor of history and government in Edinburg College, Edinburg, Texas where he was employed for the next six years. During this period at one time or another he was dean of men, director of athletics, basketball and tennis coach, and director of the summer school in 1935 and 1936.

In the summer of 1934 he attended the University of Wisconsin. He accepted a teaching fellowship in the history

department of Louisiana State University in the fall of 1936 and remained there for two years. In 1938 he was appointed associate professor of history and government at Southeastern Louisiana College in Hammond, Louisiana, where he is currently employed.

He married Eloyse Lorraine Flowers, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Flowers of Jena, Louisiana, in 1931. They have one son, Davis Edward, who was born in 1936.

EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Luther Edward Chandler

Major Field: History

Title of Thesis: THE CAREER OF HENRY WATKINS ALLEN

Approved:

Walter Pritchard
Major Professor and Chairman
Chas. W. Phipps
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

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W. B. Hoatcher
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Chas. E. Smith
Edward O. O'Connell

Date of Examination:

May 8, 1940

W. H. Stephenson